

# Grammar Sketch

## Abbreviations

ABL	abilitative	INTPRO	interrogative pronoun
ADJM	adjective marker	IO	indirect object
ADJU	adjunct	LK	linker
ASP	aspect	MOD	modal
C	consonant	NEG	negative
C1	gemination of the initial consonant of a root	NOM	nominalizer
C2	gemination of the medial consonant of a root	NP	noun phrase or non-past tense
CV(C)	reduplication of the first syllable of a root	O	object - in affix gloss, the object is cross-referenced; in pronoun gloss, it is the object
CV(C).CV	reduplication of the first syllable and the second CV of a root	PART	participatory
		PASS	passive
CAUS	causative	PL	plural in pronoun gloss; topicalized place in affix gloss
CONT	continuative		
CR	cross-reference/ing	POSS	possessive
DEM	demonstrative (the number following refers to the set)	PROC	process
DEMPRED	demonstrative predicate	QUAN	quantifier
DET	determiner	REC	reciprocal
DEV	derivation	REFL	reflexive
DEV-N	derived noun	S	subject - in affix gloss, the subject is cross-referenced; in pronoun gloss, it is the subject
DIM	diminutive		
DIST	distributive		
DO	direct object	SG	singular
DUAL	dual pronoun	STA	stative
EX	exclusive	UNIFIER	unifier
EXIS	existential predicate	V	verb or vowel
IA	inceptive aspect	1	first person
IN	inclusive	2	second person
INT	intensifier	3	third person

## 1.0 Introduction to Morphophonology

### 1.1 Phonological changes resulting from affixation

#### 1.1.1 Consonants

##### Assimilation

Prefixes ending in a nasal consonant assimilate to the point of articulation of the consonant which follows, i.e. the root-initial consonant. The canonical forms of the dictionary entries for four prefixes are as follows: *maN-*, *naN-*, *paN-*, *iN-*.

<i>maN-</i> + <i>bayu</i>	→	<i>mambeyyu</i>	will pound husk from rice
<i>naN-</i> + <i>degeh</i>	→	<i>nandegéh</i>	sick
<i>naN-</i> + <i>gubat</i>	→	<i>nanggubat</i>	fought
<i>paN-</i> + <i>baga</i>	→	<i>pambaga</i>	ask
<i>paN-</i> + <i>degyun</i>	→	<i>pandegyun</i>	drive away animal
<i>iN-</i> + <i>bayu</i>	→	<i>imbayu</i>	pounded with instrument
<i>iN-</i> + <i>dikhal</i>	→	<i>indikhal</i>	split wood with instrument
<i>iN-</i> + <i>gangnguk</i>	→	<i>inggangnguk</i>	bumped against

When the infix *-in-* co-occurs with roots of the Ce.CV(C) pattern and there is syncope of the e vowel in the root form, the infix nasal assimilates to the medial C of the root.

<i>-in-</i> + <i>demet</i>	→	<i>dimmet</i>	bartered it
<i>-in-</i> + <i>bedad</i>	→	<i>bindad</i>	loosened tie
<i>-in-</i> + <i>beka</i>	→	<i>bingka</i>	threw it away

The alveolar nasal can be postulated as the underlying form since no assimilation occurs before the glottal stop, and the alveolar nasal is the coda consonant of the prefixes noted below.

<i>maN-</i> + <i>-ap-apu</i>	→	<i>man-ap-apu</i>	to rule over
<i>maN-</i> + <i>-ang-ang</i>	→	<i>man-ang-ang</i>	to see
<i>iN-</i> + <i>a-abbig</i>	→	<i>in-a-abbig</i>	told a story
<i>iN-</i> + <i>inat</i>	→	<i>in-inat</i>	pulled or stretched something

### Deletion

The members of the prefix set, *meN-*, *neN-*, *peN-*, when attached to a root invoke a deletion of the root-initial consonant. Before deletion of the initial consonant, the alveolar nasal of the prefix assimilates to the point of articulation of the root-initial consonant.

<i>meN-</i> + <i>kapya</i>	→	<i>mengapya</i>	he will be the one to make
<i>meN-</i> + <i>baddang</i>	→	<i>memaddang</i>	he will be the one to help
<i>maN-</i> + <i>ta-lid</i>	→	<i>mena-lid</i>	he will be the one to sharpen

### Gemination

The members of the prefix set, *meka-*, *neka-*, *peka-* invoke a gemination of the root-initial consonant.

<i>neka-</i> + <i>bahbah</i>	→	<i>nekabbahbah</i>	totally destroyed
<i>meka-</i> + <i>gibbuh</i>	→	<i>mekaggibuh</i>	will be completely finished
<i>peka-</i> + <i>dengel</i>	→	<i>pekaddenglen</i>	listen very well

The members of present and future tense affix sets invoke germination of the medial consonant of roots with the syllable pattern CV.CV(C) unless other morphophonological changes would result in a CCC pattern. The exception to this rule is the *i-* prefix present and future sets that invoke the germination of the initial consonant in all syllable patterns.

<i>kaman-</i> CV- + <i>depap</i>	→	<i>kamandedeppap</i>	fight each other
<i>i-</i> + <i>ha-ad</i>	→	<i>ihha-ad</i>	will place something

### 1.1.2 Vowels

#### Syncope

The *e* vowel is the usual one to undergo the syncope process. Prefixes of the form CV- and infixes of the form -VC- when affixed to roots of the form Ce.CV(C) invoke syncope of this vowel in the first syllable of the root.

<i>na-</i> + <i>behi</i>	→	<i>nabhi</i>	a hole was made
<i>na-</i> + <i>dehing</i>	→	<i>nadhing</i>	broken into pieces
<i>-in-</i> + <i>bedad</i>	→	<i>bindad</i>	loosened the tie
<i>-in-</i> + <i>dehek</i>	→	<i>dinhek</i>	poked in eye

#### Syncope of the *e* vowel and assimilation of the coda consonant of the infix -iN-

<i>-iN-</i> + <i>kebet</i>	→	<i>kimbet</i>	scratched it
<i>-iN-</i> + <i>begay</i>	→	<i>binggay</i>	planted rice
<i>-iN-</i> + <i>dekep</i>	→	<i>dingkep</i>	put together

#### Change in vowel *a* → *e* in the Ca.CV(C) syllable pattern

1. The root vowel *a* changes to the vowel *e* when co-occurring affixes contain the vowel *i*

<i>haben</i> + <i>-in-</i>	→	<i>hineben</i>	bumped into
<i>habu</i> + <i>-in-</i> <i>-an</i>	→	<i>hinebuan</i>	splashed water
<i>habut</i> + <i>-in-</i>	→	<i>hinebut</i>	to cause a rough texture
<i>badah</i> + <i>-in-</i>	→	<i>binedah</i>	whipped
<i>badeng</i> + <i>i-</i>	→	<i>ibedeng</i>	tie rope to poles

2. The root vowel *a* changes to the vowel *e* when the medial consonant is geminated with non-past affixes

<i>danag</i> + <i>paN-</i> <i>-an</i>	→	<i>pandennagan</i>	worrying
<i>danga</i> + <i>me-</i> <i>-an</i>	→	<i>medengngan</i>	will worry about someone or something
<i>hapul</i> + <i>-en</i>	→	<i>heppulen</i>	will find
<i>bayu</i> + <i>pa-</i>	→	<i>pabeyyu</i>	cause rice to be pounded (husked)
<i>bayu</i> + <i>paN-</i>	→	<i>pambeyyui</i>	cross-references place of pounding rice

#### Change in vowel *e* → *a* in the CV.Ce.CVC syllable pattern

<i>hulemid</i> + <i>-in-</i>	→	<i>hinulamid</i>	licked it
<i>baledung</i> + <i>-in-</i>	→	<i>bineladung</i>	throw a piece of wood

## 1.2 Phonological changes resulting from clitic attachment

### 1.2.1 Pronoun attachment

The vowel *u* of the pronouns *ku*, 'I' and *mu*, 'you', is deleted when the pronouns are attached to verbs and nouns that end in a vowel.

<i>kapyu</i> + <i>mu</i>	→	<i>kapyam</i>	you make it
<i>ibagu</i> + <i>ku</i>	→	<i>ibagak</i>	I will ask it
<i>heli</i> + <i>ku</i>	→	<i>helik</i>	my foot
<i>kadwa</i> + <i>mu</i>	→	<i>kadwam</i>	your companion

The **n** of suffixes **-an** and **-en** is deleted when such pronoun enclitics are attached.

<i>kapyā</i> + <b>-en</b> + <i>ku</i>	→	<i>kapyāek</i>	I will make it
<i>gating</i> + <b>-en</b> + <i>mu</i>	→	<i>gatangem</i>	you can buy it
<i>tanem</i> + <b>-an</b> + <i>ku</i>	→	<i>tanemak</i>	I will plant it

### 1.2.2 Linker and determiner attachment

The **i** vowel of the linker **ni** and determiner **di** is deleted when the determiners are attached to words ending in a vowel.

<i>kaumhiga</i> + <b>ni</b> → <i>kaumhigan</i> ‘lazy’	<i>Hedin kauminglay tuu <b>kaumhigan</b> mangngunu.</i> ‘When a person is bored, he is lazy to work.’
<i>balwasi</i> + <b>ni</b> → <i>balwasin</i> ‘clothing’	<i>Meingpih <b>balwasin</b> indawat tu.</i> ‘The clothing that she gave is thin.’
<i>mu</i> + <b>di</b> → <i>mud</i> ‘you’	<i>Ipetuk <b>mud</b> patsay.</i> ‘You place it on the shelf.’
<i>kami</i> + <b>di</b> → <i>kamid</i> ‘we’	<i>Limmau <b>kamid</b> delyah ni payew da.</i> ‘We went to the edge of their ricefield.’

## 2.0 Introduction to Morphology

Keley-i is a polysynthetic language with the fusion of morphosyntactic features in the morphemes. Morphemes are considered to be the smallest meaningful units of the language; they code referential, syntactic, and semantic information. Some forms can be easily segmented, and in this case a one-to-one relationship can be identified between segments of the form and morphosyntactic features; but in other forms the fusion is complete.

**Types of morphemes.** Roots,<sup>7</sup> words, affixes, reduplicants, and geminates are different types of morphemes in the language. They are distinguished by form, position within words, and distinctive syntactic and semantic features. Every morpheme is treated as a lexeme within the dictionary. Each lexeme is entered as a major entry or sub-entry.<sup>8</sup>

- Verb Root: *ha-ad* ‘to place something’
- Verb Word: *inha-ad* ‘placed something’
- Affix: *inha-ad* ‘past tense prefix cross-referencing an object’
- Reduplicant: *inhahha-ad* ‘something continues to be where it has been placed’
- Geminant: *inhahha-ad* ‘the geminant satisfies a phonological rule related to syllable patterns’

Morphemes may be decomposed into semantic and functional components. On the basis of both types of components, root and word morphemes have been classified into four functional categories: predication, referential, modification, and relational. Parts of speech, also called lexical categories, are related to these functional categories. (See 13.1 Rhetorical function for an explanation of lexical categories and rhetorical functions.)

<sup>7</sup> In this grammar, the term ‘root’ refers to the base form of a word stripped of all affixes and is the form that undergoes word formation processes.

<sup>8</sup> In *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, David Crystal defines ‘morpheme’ as follows: “(Morpheme) is the minimal distinctive unit of grammar and the central concern of Morphology.” He defines ‘lexeme’ as follows: “A term used by some linguists to refer to the minimal distinctive unit in the semantic system of a language.” These definitions are the basis for differentiating the terms used when describing the same language units in the Keley-i grammar and dictionary. Within the grammatical description, morphemes are set within the context of the morphological system of the language, and in the dictionary, lexemes are set within the semantic system of the language.

**Semantic components.** The semantic components of morphemes are defined as those that are correlated with the features of referents in the Ifugao referential world and differentiate one lexical unit from another. These semantic components also distinguish primary, secondary, and figurative senses of lexemes. Semantic components provide the meaning needed to write the definitions in the dictionary entries. They are also the basis for the semantic categorization displayed in the Classified Dictionary (see 2.0 Entry Fields, Section 2.11 Semantic Domains) and decisions regarding Lexical Relations (see 2.0 Entry Fields, Section 2.10 Lexical Relations).

**Functional components.** The functional components of morphemes are those that relate to feature assignment, selectional restrictions, and inflectional and derivational potential. It is these functional components that distinguish the morphosyntactic characteristics of lexical categories from one another; they predict and explain affix selection possibilities, and constrain which words can co-occur within phrases, clauses, and sentences. Functional components also provide the basis for Part of Speech classification (see 2.0 Entry Fields, Section 2.1) and Stem classes (see 2.0 Entry Fields, Section 2.13).

## 2.1 Roots and words

### 2.1.1 Roots

Roots are subdivided into two types: bound and free; this division is based on form in context, i.e. whether or not they may occur without affixation. Verbal roots functioning as predicates, with very few exceptions, are bound forms, i.e. they do not occur without affixation. One subclass of adjectives requires affixation, but the other adjective classes and nouns are free forms, i.e. they may occur without affixation.

Pronouns, demonstratives, determiners, adverbs, adjuncts, and conjunctions are also free forms and do not undergo inflectional or derivational processes. However, adverbs, adjuncts, and conjunctions may undergo a compounding word formation process.

Although nouns and adjectives may be inflected and undergo derivational processes, verbal roots, in particular, have highly patterned and very productive word formation processes. The number and types of affixes which may co-occur and the functions and change of meaning resulting are statistically higher with verbal roots than any other lexical category. The resulting verbal predications govern the semantic role and grammatical relations of co-occurring NP constituents and the referential ranking of those constituents in discourse.

### 2.1.2 Words

The term ‘word’ in Keley-i refers 1) to any free form that does not require affixation, and also 2) to the final form of affixed roots. As mentioned previously, nouns, most classes of adjectives, pronouns, demonstratives, determiners, adverbs, adjuncts, and conjunctions are all free forms and therefore are considered to be words without affixation.

## 2.2 Affixes

There are six morphological processes by which Keley-i roots and words can be formally altered to adjust their meanings to fit their syntactic and communicational contexts: prefixation, suffixation, infixation,<sup>9</sup> reduplication, gemination, and compounding. Many affixes have multiple functions depending on the semantic and functional components of the roots with which they co-occur.

---

<sup>9</sup> Keley-i also has discontinuous morphemes which are called circumfixes. In this grammar we include infix and suffix combinations as circumfixes, along with the usual prefix and suffix combinations that linguists call circumfixes. Both types are combinations of affixes that function as single morphemes, and fit within paradigmatic affix sets.

## 2.3 Word formation processes

Keley-i words have been analyzed as being members of four functional categories: predication, referential, modification, and relational. Each of the functional categories consists of the following parts of speech:

- Predication – verbs, adverbs, nouns, adjectives, demonstratives
- Referential – nouns, determiners, and personal, demonstrative, and interrogative pronouns
- Modification – adjectives, adverbs, adjuncts
- Relational – linkers, conjunctions

There are two word formation processes that members of these categories may undergo:

- Inflectional – The inflectional process adds one or more affixes to a root. The lexical category of the root does not change. It retains the semantic and functional characteristics that resulted in its being classified as a member of that category.
- Derivational – The derivational process also adds one or more affixes to a root. However, the semantic and functional categories of a root are changed with the derivational process.

### 2.3.1 Inflection

Keley-i inflection is an important process in the word formation of the members of three lexical categories: verbs, nouns, and adjectives. Verbs have the most extensive and complex range of potential inflectional possibilities; the range for nouns and adjectives is less broad and less complex.

#### 2.3.1.1 Verb inflection

There are eight classes of Keley-i inflectional affixes. Their classification has been based on their grammatical and rhetorical functions. There are seven verbal root classes. Each root class and each of its associated subclasses own certain sets of the inflectional affixes from each of the eight classes. One set of affixes from the Basic Cross-Referencing Class is assigned as the default set for each of the seven verbal root classes. The reason for this is that the functional properties of the default set of affixes match the inherent properties of their verbal root class. This combination of the inherent properties of the root class and the functional properties of the default set of affixes results in the least morphosyntactic complexity in a clause. See 4.2 Inflectional affixes for tables showing the forms and an explanation of their functions.

#### *Tense (see Tables 4.2 Inflectional affixes and 4.3 Derivational affixes)*

Keley-i has a three-part tense system: past, present, and future. The affix forms reflect the three-part tense system. However, the actual relationship between the tense features of affix forms and time reference in context is much more complex.<sup>10</sup> The use of tense affix forms is always related to a communication situation that is set at the ‘now’ point on a time line,

---

<sup>10</sup> There has been a long-term debate among linguists that is still on-going as to whether such affixes in Austronesian languages are encoding tense or aspect. Although we have chosen to define the affixes as encoding tense with further description of their functions in context, we acknowledge that there often seems to be an aspect component. Also, the affixes that co-occur with Class 6 stative and process verbs, and affixes that derive passive verbs clearly encode complete aspect, incomplete aspect and, in some cases, an in-process aspect rather than tense.

but which specific affix form is chosen is dependent on 1) whether there are time settings in the constructions in the context and 2) whether the construction in which the verb occurs is dependent or independent. Also, the default affixes encoding tense have inherent aspect components that parallel the durative or punctiliar aspect components in the verbal roots that own them.<sup>11</sup>

Except for the past tense infix *-imm-*, all other prefix and infix forms encode past tense with the formative<sup>12</sup> *n*.

### **Aspect (see 4.2.5 Time aspect affixes)**

Verbal roots are partly classified on the basis of their inherent time aspect components. Active verbal roots inherently have either punctiliar or durative aspect components, while stative and stative-process verbal roots allow for either completive or incompletive aspect; the co-occurring affix form encodes the appropriate aspect in context. Affixes and reduplication forms can add aspect meaning or change the inherent time aspect of verbal roots. The reduplication forms co-occur with tense inflectional forms. There are five main aspects:

- Inceptive - refers to the beginning of a state or activity immediately preceding the 'now' point on a time line.
- Iterative - refers to an action done repeatedly; the aspect usually refers to a punctiliar aspect action and, in contrast to the habitual aspect, may have reference to a specific time.
- Continuative - refers to an action or activity that continues over a period of time in reference to a time line; the aspect expresses a single uninterrupted continuing act.
- Continuative process – refers to a process that has continued over a period of time in the past or the present, or will be a continuative process in the future.
- Habitual - refers to an action or activity that is customary but has no reference to a time line.

### **Mood (see 4.2.3 Mood affixes)**

Affixes differentiate between three moods: indicative, interrogative, and imperative.

### **Mode (see 4.2.4 Modal affixes)**

The modality system encoded in the inflection of verbs characterizes one of the following:

- the ability, expertise, or pretense of the agent of the action or activity
- the tendency or facility of an experiencer or undergoer<sup>13</sup> to be affected by an action or activity
- the intensity of the action, experience, or state encoded by the verb.
- the distribution of the action or activity among agent-subjects or objects
- the speaker's judgment in regard to the truth-value or factual status of the predication

---

11 There are, in addition, two particles that convey modality information, *ali/lli* and *la*. The *ali/lli* forms add the modal concepts of intentionality or certainty when co-occurring with future tense affixes. The *la* form when co-occurring with past tense affixes refers to a time past, e.g. someone who lived in times past or something that occurred or was done before the present time.

12 In this grammar sketch the word 'formative' is used to refer to a single part or segment of a morpheme, rather than a morpheme per se.

13 Undergoer is a general semantic role used for three specific semantic roles; conveyed, patient, and site. Each of these is encoded as an object grammatical relation.

### 2.3.1.2 Affix selection and the cross-referencing system

There is a correlation in each Keley-i clause between the affixes occurring on the verb and one of the NPs in the clause. However, affix selection and cross-referencing in Keley-i is a complex system. Discourse reference, morphosyntactic processes, and lexical semantics all relate to verbal morphology, and the cross-referencing of a noun phrase in a clause. The selection of affixes in any context will have morphological constraints, grammatical relations constraints, and referential constraints.

#### ***Morphological constraint – lexical semantics, verbal root classes and affix selection***

There is an inherent morphological preference for matching certain components of roots and affixes (see 4.1 Verbal root classification).

- *Default affixes* – Each verbal root class has a set of default affixes. The default affixes match certain inherent semantic components of the class relating to aspect, spatial notions, valence, and the set of semantic roles owned by the root class. A non-default affix may co-occur with a verbal root, but when it does so, that affix modifies the expression of the inherent semantic components of the root.
- *Aspect* – Each verbal root class has one inherent aspect component. In the case of Classes 1-5 active verbs, this aspect is either punctiliar or durative; and in the case of Class 6 stative and stative-process verbs, this aspect is either completive, incompletive, or in-process. A default affix will have the same inherent aspect as the verbal root with which it co-occurs. If a non-default affix co-occurs, the verb has a marked aspect that changes the inherent aspect of the verbal root.
- *Spatial* – Most of the verbal root classes have inherent spatial components that are related to the direction of an action or activity, e.g. away from or toward the agent, a path, a site, a source, a goal or a destination.
- *Lexical valence and semantic role sets* – Each verbal root class has an established number of valents (1, 2, or 3) that match a set of core semantic roles. Valents are obligatorily encoded in argument NP constituents in clauses, having one or more of the grammatical relations—subject, direct object, and indirect object—depending on the transitivity of the verbal root (see Table 3 Semantic Roles and Grammatical Relations). Many verbal root classes also have some peripheral semantic roles that may be promoted and encoded as argument constituents. These resulting constructions are considered to be derived.
- *Transitivity* – Roots that are inherently intransitive may undergo derivation to become verbs that we call derived-transitive verbs, and roots that are inherently transitive may undergo derivation to become verbs that we call derived-intransitive. We use the term ‘derived’ because the verbs do not lose their inherent transitivity features. The derived constructions are motivated by pragmatic rhetorical strategies that control referential identifiability and prominence ranking of co-occurring NP constituents. See 11.6 Morphosyntactic derivation for further discussion and explanation.

Table 3 Semantic Roles and Grammatical Relations

Semantic Role	Definition	Grammatical Relations
Agent	A volitional doer of an activity, action or action-process.	Subject
Causative Agent*	An agent who causes another agent to do an action or causes an experiencer to respond cognitively or emotionally.	Subject
Experiencer	One who undergoes an emotion or process.	Subject
Participatory Agent*	A participatory agent is one that participates in an action, along with the primary agent.	Subject
Existent	A thing, person or place about which existence is asserted.	Subject
Statant	A thing, person, or place that is identified or described.	Subject
Ambient	Meteorological phenomenon	Subject is not expressed
Conveyed	A thing that undergoes movement from one place to another.	Direct Object
Patient	A thing that undergoes a structural or state change, or a person that is affected by an action.	Direct Object
Site	A place that undergoes a change of state.	Direct Object
Instrument*	An implement that is used in an action.	Indirect Object
Benefactive*	One who benefits from another's action.	Indirect Object
Source*	The beginning point of a movement.	Direct Object
Goal <sup>14</sup> and Path*	The goal tends to express the purpose for the movement, and the path expresses the way through which an agent passes.	Direct Object

\*The semantic roles that are marked with an asterisk are peripheral roles and are considered to be derived grammatical relations. The constructions that encode the roles in constituent NPs are also considered to be morphosyntactically derived. See 3.2 for a description of morphosyntactic derivation.

### ***Grammatical relations constraints***

There are three grammatical relations in Keley-i: subject, direct object, and indirect object. Each is defined on the basis of 1) the canonical word order of clauses, 2) the contrastive semantic roles that each relation may encode, 3) the cross-referencing of NP core arguments

---

<sup>14</sup> For intransitive movement verbal roots, destination is the term used for a place NP marked by the determiner *di*.

by verbal affixes, and 4) the syntactic processes that are related to pragmatic reference. The evidence for these grammatical relations constraints is the following:

- Affixes cross-reference either subjects or objects, except when a fronted<sup>15</sup> constituent is a time or place; in this latter type of construction, the time or place is cross-referenced.
- The core semantic roles of verb classes are those that are generally encoded as grammatical relations arguments and cross-referenced by default affixes. However, if a discourse context requires the preferential treatment of a peripheral semantic role, it will be promoted to a grammatical relations argument and will be cross-referenced by a non-default affix.
- The number of obligatory argument constituents in a non-derived construction matches the valence of the verbal root class. For example, a trivalent verbal root will have three obligatory argument constituents: subject, direct object, and indirect object.

### ***Referential constraint – rhetorical strategies in discourse***

Rhetorical strategies in discourse express two referential goals:

- to introduce and track referents
- to indicate the significance of each referent at any point in a discourse through prominence ranking

The affix selection and cross-referencing system described above feeds into the goals of Keley-i rhetorical strategies. The deictic system works in conjunction with the morphological and grammatical relations constraints so that determiners, personal pronouns, and demonstrative pronouns occurring in subject and object positions are cross-referenced by affixes. Although every affix cross-references a subject or an object NP, there are two sets of affixes, basic and complex, that help to define this cross-referencing system more clearly. These two sets are related to two rhetorical strategies – Focusing Referential Strategy and Topicalizing Referential Strategy.

**Referential focusing.** The Basic Cross-Referencing Affixes function at the clause level to cross-reference the subject or object NP. The cross-referenced NP expresses the semantic role that has preferential treatment in the clause. This preferential treatment focuses attention on the NP in question and is motivated by either the identificational tracking or prominence ranking active at that point in a communication context as summarized above. See 4.2.1 Basic cross-referencing affixes for a table showing the forms and sentence examples.

**Referential topicalizing.** The Complex Topicalizing Affixes coordinate with the syntactic movement of an NP to the pre-verb position in constructions. The members of this set may cross-reference a subject, an object, a time or a place. The set functions rhetorically to indicate the introduction, reintroduction or contrastive reference to a discourse participant, prop, time or place. See 4.2.2 Complex topicalizing affixes for a table showing the forms and sentence examples.

#### **2.3.1.3 Affix combining**

Affixes that function independently may combine to form multimorphemic units that function differently than the independent forms. This process can be compared to the compounding of words in order to form new linguistic units that have unique functions and meanings. In some cases, the combined affixes result in circumfix forms; each of these circumfixes functions as a

---

15 An NP that is fronted occurs preceding the verb and is pragmatically cross-referenced by the affix on the verb.

single morpheme. Also, there are some combinations of affixes—reduplicants, or geminants, or both—that are not circumfixes that have single meanings or functions.

2.3.1.4 Noun inflection

There are three quantifying notions encoded in the inflectional affixes of Keley-i nouns: number, grouping, and distributive concepts. Number is encoded in a reduplicant form. The grouping concept is encoded in a prefix, and the distributive concept is encoded in a combination prefix and reduplicant. These are the only three forms used to inflect nouns (see 7.1.1 Inflectional affixes).

2.3.1.5 Adjective inflection

The lexical category of adjectives is small in comparison to verbs and nouns. There are two sub-categories of adjectives: qualifying and quantifying. The quantifying category of adjectives is the most productive. This sub-category is classified into three categories: dimension, size, and number. Dimension adjectives require the prefix aN- . This category may also take intensifier, comparative, and superlative inflection (see 8.1.3 Inflectional affixes).

2.3.2 Derivation

Lexical derivation has traditionally been called simply derivation. In Keley-i, lexical derivation is the process by which the lexical category or meaning of a word is changed. There are three main types of lexical derivation in Keley-i.

2.3.2.1 Denominalization – noun → verb

The derivational operation of denominalization is an extremely productive one in Keley-i. There are semantic classes of nouns which, with affixation, form predictable verbal paradigms.

<i>manuk</i> – ‘chicken’	→	<i>mammanuk</i>	‘to raise chickens’
<i>kail</i> – ‘wine’	→	<i>mangkail</i>	‘to make wine’
<i>deleg</i> - ‘fish’	→	<i>menelleg</i>	‘to catch fish’

2.3.2.2 Verbalization – adjective → verb

<i>dukkey</i> – ‘long’	→	<i>dukkeyen</i>	‘to lengthen something’
<i>gadwa</i> – ‘half’	→	<i>gedwaen</i>	‘to halve something’

2.3.2.3 Renominalization – noun → noun

The renominalization process is another type of lexical derivation. In this case, affixation changes the semantic class of a noun, not its lexical category. For example, the circumfix puN- -an derives container-nouns from those referring to entities that are conceptually associated with placement in containers.

ahin – ‘salt’ + puN- -an	→	pun-ahinan	‘salt container’
--------------------------	---	------------	------------------

2.3.2.4 Nominalization

There are two main types of nominalizing derivational operations: lexical and clausal. Lexical nominalization is the term used to refer to the process of forming a noun from a verb or

adjective. Clausal nominalization refers to a process of forming a nominalized clause from an underlying verbal clause; this latter type of nominalization is considered to be a morphosyntactic process, rather than a simple lexical process. See 3.2 Morphosyntactic derivation, 4.3 Derivational affixes and 12.2 Nominalized clauses for more information about nominalization.

### Lexical nominalization

#### Adjective → Noun

*dakel* – ‘much or many’ → *kedaklan* ‘abundance’

#### Verb → Noun

*ahul* – ‘to fetch water’ → *ahhullan* ‘a place to fetch water’  
*habley* – ‘to hang something’ → *hableyyan* ‘a place to hang things’

### 2.3.3 Compounding

The compounding word formation process in Keley-i is one in which linguistic units that may function independently combine to form a unique unit both grammatically and semantically. There are two types of compounding: 1) compounding within a grammatical category, e.g. two adjuncts (*aninman*, *ngudedan*, *tu-wangu*) and 2) compounding across grammatical categories, e.g. a pronoun and demonstrative (*kadman*, *daddadman*), determiner and pronoun (*yadda*), adjunct and demonstrative (*mannuman*).

Conjunctions and adjuncts may undergo the first compounding word formation process, i.e. compounding within their own grammatical categories, and it must be noted that not all members of these two grammatical categories can undergo the process. Personal and demonstrative pronouns may undergo the second compounding word formation process, i.e. compounding across grammatical categories. Only the *ya* determiner may compound.

#### Compounding two conjunctions

*anin* ‘even though’ + *man* ‘this conjunction expresses what follows is a logical conclusion of what precedes’ = *aninman* ‘an expression of concession’

*Aninman hedin ellan tu matsilyu haggud eleg damengu meussal di deya.*  
 Never mind if he takes the hammer, anyway it is not being used here.

The actual compounding of two conjunctions is not common though the sequencing of conjunctions is quite common.

*nem* ‘but’ + *hedin* ‘if or when’  
*Endi edum ni tayu kadaydayawad puyek ebuh ida ap-apu tayu **nem hedin** makulug ni umlaw itsud kabunyan, hi Meknengan ni ebuh hu daydaywen tayu.*  
 There are no others that we honor on earth, only our leaders **but if** it’s true that we will go to heaven, God is the only one we will honor.

#### Compounding two adjuncts

*tu-wa* ‘in truth, in fact’ + *ngu* ‘certainly’ = *tu-wangu* ‘a modal expressing the certainty of some event or the genuineness of an object or the truth of a statement’

*Kanda ey um-aliddan Ka-pat ey **tu-wangun** immalidda.*  
 They said that they will come on Thursday and **indeed** they came.

### Compounding a pronoun and a demonstrative

*ka* ‘2nd person singular pronoun, you’ + *deya* ‘here’  
*Melyaw kapih hedín man-epuy kadya.*  
 The coffee trees will dry up if you make a fire **here**.

### Compounding a determiner and pronoun

*ya* ‘a determiner that signals a topicalized noun or phrase’ + *da* ‘plural 3rd person pronoun, they’  
*Yadda a-ammed la ey eleg ida mampantalon.*  
 As for the ancestors, they did not wear trousers.

## 3.0 Morphosyntactic Processes

### 3.1 Valence<sup>16</sup>

Lexical valence refers to the number of arguments that are inherently owned by a verbal root. Verbal roots may be aivalent (having no arguments), monovalent (having one argument), bivalent (having two arguments), or trivalent (having three arguments). The valent arguments express core semantic roles that are encoded in subject, direct object or indirect object grammatical relations in a clause (see Table 3 Semantic Roles and Grammatical Relations). Each verbal root also owns a set of peripheral semantic roles that may be encoded as non-argument NP constituents. The core semantic roles that are encoded in grammatical relations have natural pragmatic prominence. However, there are morphosyntactic derivational strategies for pragmatically 1) increasing the prominence of a peripheral semantic role, e.g. by adding a causative agent, or 2) decreasing the prominence of a grammatical relations argument, e.g. by deleting an agent-subject in a passive construction. See 11.6.1 Augmentation of syntactic arguments and 11.6.2 Reduction of syntactic arguments for discussions about changes in valency.

### 3.2 Morphosyntactic derivation

#### *Clausal nominalization*

A verb may be nominalized, resulting in a nominalized clause. An intransitive verb that is nominalized has one argument which appears in the subject position if the agent-subject is definite or specific. A transitive verb that is nominalized has two arguments, one in the NP subject position and the other in the NP object position. Nominalized clauses may occur as the argument of equative or existential predicates or as subordinate clauses in complex sentences. See 4.3.2 Clausal nominalizing affixes for the set of affix forms and sentence examples. Also, see 12.2 Nominalized clauses for a description of their rhetorical function.

#### *Syntactic derivation*

In this grammar, **syntactic derivation** refers to a process that is related to the addition or reduction of NP arguments in a sentence, and to the ranking of NP arguments for referentiality

---

<sup>16</sup> Crystal defines valency as follows: A valency grammar presents a model of a sentence containing a fundamental element (typically the verb) and a number of dependent elements (variously referred to as arguments, expressions, complements or valents) whose number and type is determined by the valency attributed to the verb. (p. 407)

and prominence. The lexical categorization of the roots expressing the predicate does not change. For this reason, this type of derivation is in contrast to **lexical derivation**, the process that changes the lexical category of roots. For a more in-depth description, see 11.6 Morphosyntactic Derivation and 12.0 Introduction to Complex Sentences.

## 4.0 Verbal Predicates

Verbs have the most extensive and complex range of morphological variety, making use of affixation, reduplication, and gemination word formation processes.

### 4.1 Verbal root classification

Six classes of verbal roots have been identified on the basis of semantic, morphological, and grammatical factors. These factors are briefly described below.

#### *Classification of verbal roots based on semantic factors*

- Referentially, verbal roots may refer to actions, activities, experiences, processes or states.
- There are subclasses of the six main classes, and the meaning components of each class constrain the choice of co-occurring affix, reduplicant, and geminant morphemes.
- Verbal roots have inherent time-aspect components, and those components are particularly important in determining which reduplicant morphemes encoding other aspects may co-occur.

#### *Classification of verbal roots based on valence and grammatical relations factors*

- Verbal roots with one subject core argument are classified as intransitive or stative-process.
- Verbal roots with two core arguments, subject and object, are classified as transitive.
- Verbal roots with three core arguments, subject, direct object, and indirect object are classified as ditransitive.

See 11.3 Verbal sentence types for further descriptions and sentence examples.

#### *Classification of verbal roots based on affixation*

- Each verbal root class has a set of default affixes that are compatible with the meaning and grammatical components inherent to the members of the class. The tense forms of the sets are shown separated by the forward slash symbol, e.g. *maN-/kamaN-/naN-*. Durative and punctiliar aspects are inherent in both the verbal roots and the default affixes that cooccur with them; non-default affixes that cooccur signal changes or modification of the inherent components of the root.
- Each default affix cross-references either the subject or an object (direct or indirect) of a clause. This particular grammatical component of the affixes matches the transitivity component of the members of the root classes. The application of a non-default affix can change the cross-referencing process. Nevertheless, all affixes, whether default or non-default, cross-reference either the subject or object, with one exception: The affixes that co-occur with verbs in clauses with topicalized fronted times or places cross-reference the fronted time or place. See 4.2.2 Complex topicalizing affixes, Tables 6, 7 and 8.

With that background, consider the six classes of verbal roots and their characteristics.

### 4.1.1 Class 1

Class 1 verbal roots are active,<sup>17</sup> intransitive verbs; they are classified as activity<sup>18</sup> verbs because a durative time aspect is inherent to them. The primary valent of the members of Class 1 is a volitional agent-subject.<sup>19</sup> See 11.6 Morphosyntactic derivation for changes in argument structure and transitivity. The default affix set for Class 1 is *maN-/kamaN-/naN-*. These prefixes cross-reference the agent-subject in a sentence. There are five subclasses.

Subclass **1A** has a movement manner component that is important, and the other, **1B**, has a movement directional component that is important. Subclass **1C** is a general class. Subclass **1D** has the criterial component of sound. Subclass **1E** has the criterial component of physiological functions.

#### Class 1A Movement with a manner component

The criterial semantic component for Class 1A verbal roots is the manner in which one moves.

Examples: *dalan* ‘to walk’, *gihhud* ‘to limp’, *baka* ‘to crawl’

#### Class 1B Movement with a directional component

The criterial semantic component for Class 1B verbal roots is the direction in which one moves.

Examples: *teyed* ‘to ascend’, *abat* ‘to go to a nearby place’

#### Class 1C General class

Subclass **1C** is a general class; the members of this subclass have criterial components that are unrelated to movement, and are varied in their criterial components (illustrated in detail below).

The criterial semantic components for Class 1C verbal roots are the following:

- Types of work, e.g. *ngunu* ‘to work’, *abel* ‘to weave’
- Types of behavior, e.g. *bakal* ‘to quarrel’, *tutut* ‘to argue’
- Types of attitudes, e.g. *ngehay* ‘to be obstinate’
- Purposeful activities or actions, e.g. *da-guh* ‘to stop someplace’, *dangdang* ‘to sit by the fireplace for warmth’, *ani* ‘to harvest rice’
- Tastes, odors, and other features of entities, e.g. *lengsiw* ‘for food to be tasteless’, *apiit* ‘to have an acrid odor’

---

<sup>17</sup> The term ‘active’ is used in contrast to ‘stative’ and ‘passive’.

<sup>18</sup> The term ‘activity’ is used in contrast to ‘action’. These terms are used to differentiate verbal root classes that contrast in regard to inherent durative (activity) and punctiliar (action) aspects.

<sup>19</sup> In this Grammar Sketch an agent is defined as someone or something that is capable of producing an effect.

## Class 1D Sounds

The criterial semantic component for Class 1D verbal roots is sounds of humans, animals or inanimate things.

Examples: *elug* ‘sound made by animals such as a carabao or goat’, *kihi* ‘rustling sound made by the wind blowing on cane or by large animals moving through grass’

- Class 1E Physiological functions and body conditions
- The criterial semantic component for Class 1E verbal roots is physiological functions.

Examples: *yahyah* ‘to breathe’, *degeh* ‘to be sick’

### 4.1.2 Class 2

Class 2 verbal roots are also active, intransitive verbs; they are divided into three main subclasses: actions, experiences, and processes. The primary valent of all Class 2 verbs is either a volitional agent-subject or experiencer-subject. For all Class 2 verbal roots, the default affix set is *um-/kaum-/imm-*. The prefix *um-* has an allomorph infix *-um-*; the infix co-occurs with verbs in dependent or negated clauses. These infixes cross-reference the agent-subject or experiencer-subject in a sentence.

The *actions* subclass is divided into two movement subclasses: both have a punctiliar time component, but one encodes movement from one place to another **2A**, and the other encodes simply a change of position **2B**.

#### Class 2A Movement from one place to another

The criterial semantic component for Class 2A verbal roots is agentive movement from one place to another.

Examples: *ali* ‘to come’, *elaw* ‘to go’, *gepnad* ‘to descend’

#### Class 2B Movement, change of position

The criterial semantic component for Class 2B verbal roots is agentive movement resulting in change of position.

Examples: *ehneng* ‘to stand up’, *yudung* ‘to sit down’

The *experiences* subclass is further divided into verbs encoding physiological functions **2C** and verbs encoding emotions and sensations **2D**.

#### Class 2C Physiological functions

The criterial semantic component for Class 2C verbal roots is an agentive physiological function.

Examples: *uk-uk* ‘to cough’, *ba-kih* ‘to sneeze’

The *emotions* and *sensations* subclass is further divided into verbs encoding emotions and sensations, **2D**, and verbs encoding sounds that are made related to those emotions and

sensations, **2E**; with these subclasses, the punctiliar time component might be better described as an episodic time component.

### **Class 2D Emotion and sensation**

The criterial semantic component for Class 2D verbal roots is an agentive-experience of an emotion or sensation feeling.

Examples: *takut* ‘to be afraid’, *ameh* ‘to be jealous’, *abtu* ‘to long for something’, *amleng* ‘to be happy’, *baing* ‘to be ashamed’

### **Class 2E Vocal sounds expressing feeling**

The criterial semantic component for Class 2E verbal roots is an agentive response or reaction to an emotion or sensation.

Examples: *palak* ‘to groan’, *nangih* ‘to cry’

The subclass, *processes*, is divided into those verbs encoding meteorological phenomena **2F** and those encoding non-meteorological processes **2G**. The verbs in Classes 2C-2H are never expressed in the imperative mood.

### **Class 2F Meteorological**

Although we have set up a class for meteorological verbal roots, they may actually be derived from nouns; as nouns, the roots may occur unaffixed.

The criterial semantic components for Class 2F verbal roots is meteorological events. These verbs do not have an explicit subject constituent.

Examples: *udan* ‘to rain’, *kidul* ‘to thunder’, *bulan* ‘for the moon to shine’

### **Class 2G Processes**

The criterial semantic component for Class 2G verbal roots is a gradual change of something that brings about a resultant state. A non-volitional experiencer role is encoded as subject and may be an animate or inanimate experiencer. Also, the processes are durative and an incomplete and complete aspect is expressed, rather than tense.

Examples: *dalang* ‘to become red’ *delpang* ‘for deposits or sediments to form on wood or rocks’, *elay-ay* ‘for firewood to burn away’

The 2H class is independent of the three main subclasses in that it is an action and the primary valent is an agent-subject but semantically the members of the class are totally unrelated to the members of the two movement subclasses.

### **Class 2H Behavior**

The criterial semantic component for Class 2H verbal roots is agentive behavior in social situations or social interaction.

Examples: *hedul* ‘to betray’, *guluh* ‘to cause trouble’

### 4.1.3 Class 3

The core meaning component of Class 3 verbal roots is the movement of an object away from the agent. Each subclass has a core component expressing what is done with the object after being moved, e.g. positioned, released, combined, or attached. Punctiliar aspect is an inherent component of all members of Class 3. The core semantic roles associated with this class are agent-subject, conveyed-object, and site-object. Other possible semantic roles are causative agent, and participatory agent. The default affix set for this verbal root class is *iC1*<sup>-20</sup>/*kei*-/*iN*-.

#### Class 3A Move and position an object at a site

The criterial semantic components for Class 3A verbal roots are movement of a conveyed object and release of the conveyed object at a site. Most of the members of this class are ditransitive in that these verbal roots also have a site semantic role which is encoded in an indirect object grammatical relation. The site-indirect object may be cross-referenced with the affix set *-an/ka- -i/-in- -an*.

Examples: *talu* ‘to hide something’, *ha-ad* ‘to place something’.

#### Class 3B Move and release an object

The criterial semantic components for Class 3B verbal roots are movement and release of a conveyed object.

Examples: *wahit* ‘to scatter something’, *walak* ‘to release something’, *tuldag* ‘to throw something upward’

#### Class 3C Move an object and combine it with or attach it to another object

The criterial semantic components for Class 3C verbal roots are move something and combine or attach it to something else.

Examples: *kamdug* ‘to mix something with another thing’, *huup* ‘to fasten two things together’

#### Class 3D Move an object with a resulting change of state

The criterial semantic component for Class 3D verbal roots is to move something with a resulting change of state; most of the members of this class refer to the cooking of food.

Examples: *haeng* ‘to cook food’, *hibak* ‘to boil food’, *tangtang* ‘to cook food on charcoal’

#### Class 3E Move an object directionally

The criterial semantic component for Class 3E verbal roots is the directional movement of something.

---

<sup>20</sup> The future tense prefix form for this affix set requires the gemination of the initial consonant of the root; the C1 in the form symbolizes the required geminant.

Examples: *wedwed* ‘to shake something back and forth’, *abnak* ‘to spread something open’, *bulduk* ‘to overturn something’

### Class 3F Move an object along with oneself

The criterial semantic component for Class 3F verbal roots is to move something along with oneself. The manner of carrying an object is also criterial.

Examples: *pahan* ‘to carry something on shoulder’, *eba* ‘to carry something or someone on back’, *agtu* ‘to carry something on head’

### Class 3G Conversive action process

The criterial semantic component for Class 3G is the bi-directional movement of an object. The members of this set generally refer to the exchange of objects. The *iC-/kei/iN-* prefix set is only the default set when an object is being moved away from the agent, e.g. sold. The choice of other affix sets is based on what syntactic constituent is being cross-referenced and whether the direction of an object is away from an agent or toward an agent.

For example, if an agent-subject is cross-referenced, the affix set *maN-/kamaN-/naN-* identifies the agent-subject as the seller and the affix set *um-/kaum-/imm-* identifies the subject as the agent-buyer. If an object is cross-referenced, the affix set *iC-/kei/iN-* identifies what is being sold by the agent-subject and the *-en/ka- -a/-in-* affix set or the *-an/ka- -i/-in- -an* affix set identifies what is being bought by an agent-subject.

Examples: *gatang* ‘to buy or sell’, *hulul* ‘to exchange or barter’

#### 4.1.4 Class 4

The members of this class are actions that involve contact with an object; the degree of pressure on a contact is important in how much of an effect the action has on an object. The pressure may vary from gentle contact that has little effect on the object to forceful contact that will change the structure of the object. Punctiliar aspect is an inherent component of all members of Class 4. The core semantic roles associated with this class are agent-subject, and patient-object. For some subclasses a peripheral instrument semantic role may be highlighted and encoded as a direct object. The default affix set for this verbal root class is *-en/ka- -a/-in-*.

Members of the class may be divided into the following subclasses by distinguishing the semantic components of the actions (these components contrast with the semantic components of Class 3 and Class 5 members):

- changing the structure of an object
- touching an object
- moving an object toward the agent
- releasing, removing, or detaching an object
- perception and cognition of an object
- movement toward a point of contact with an object

### Class 4A Changes the structure of an object<sup>21</sup>

The criterial semantic component for Class 4A verbal roots is to change the structure of an object.

Examples: *bahbah* ‘to destroy something’, *beyuk* ‘to bend something’

### Class 4B Tactile - Touch contact

The criterial semantic component for Class 4B verbal roots is to touch an object; the degree of pressure, i.e. a continuum of light touching to forceful striking is also criterial in distinguishing the members of the class.

Examples: *duntuk* ‘to punch someone’, *dapa* ‘to touch someone or something’, *kewit* ‘to touch someone briefly’

Included in this subclass are roots that relate to the concept of abstract touching that includes influencing or affecting someone in some way, e.g. *tugun* ‘to give advice’ *a-alluk* ‘to comfort’.

### Class 4C Convey or bring object toward agent

The criterial semantic component for Class 4C verbal roots is moving an object toward agent.

Examples: *ala* ‘to get something’, *ekan* ‘to eat something’

Although all the members of Class 4C have an agent and a conveyed object, there are members that would appear to differ as far as whether a volitional agent is responsible for moving an object toward himself. For the example, *heged* ‘to wait’, *dammu* ‘to meet’, and *beltan* ‘to claim inheritance’ all have volitional agents who actively receive something or someone coming toward them; another agent is required in each case. However, the categorizing semantic component for each root is that something or someone encoded in an object grammatical relation is moving toward the obligatory agent.

### Class 4D Release, remove, or detach object

The criterial semantic components for Class 4D verbal roots are to release, remove or detach an object. These verbal roots are ditransitive so there is a site-object from which the object is being released, removed, or detached.

Examples are: *ekat* ‘to remove something from a container’, *bedad* ‘to untie something’

The amount of exertion to remove or detach something distinguishes the words in Class 4D. These verbal roots also have a site semantic role which is encoded in an indirect object grammatical relation. The site-indirect object may be cross-referenced with the affix set **-an/ka- -i/-in- -an**.

---

<sup>21</sup> The ‘changing the structure of an object’ is the criterial component of the prototypical verbal roots for Class 4. However, the ‘change of the object’ can relate to the features of an object or the appearance of an object. For example, *dagem* ‘to cool hot food’ simply changes a temperature feature, not the structure of the food. Another example is *inat* ‘to stretch something’.

### Class 4E Perception and cognition

The criterial semantic component for Class 4E verbal roots is the perception and cognition of an object.

Examples: *adal* ‘to learn something’, *ang-ang* ‘to see something’, *denget* ‘to hear something’

There appear to be semantic components that categorize perception and cognition verbal roots as forming a subclass of Class 4 ‘Contact with an object’ verbal roots. They can be stated as follows:

- The senses or the mind both make contact with objects in the referential world.
- The object is abstracted and conveyed or brought to the experiencer-agent’s senses or mind.
- Perhaps the best basis for placing members of Class 4E with the other subclasses of Class 4 verbal roots is the fact that their functional components result in their fitting the morphosyntactic patterns of this class.

### Class 4F Adjacency and Adjoining of an object

The criterial semantic component for Class 4F verbal roots is to move toward a point of contact with an object.

Examples: *unud* ‘to follow’, *pedug* ‘to chase’

Criterial components of each member of this class relate to the purpose of an action and thus distinguish each one from the others.

#### 4.1.5 Class 5

The criterial semantic component of most of the members of Class 5 verbal roots is a state-change action on a site-type object. That means the site-object stays in place and intact while another object is added to it (Class 5A) or removed from it (Class 5B), changing its state but not its structure. A third subclass (Class 5C) has a different criterial semantic component, i.e. the site is the goal of the action. The default affix set for all Class 5 verbal roots is **-an/ka- -i/-in- -an**.

#### Class 5A Changing state of site by adding something

The criterial semantic component for Class 5A verbal roots is to change the state of a site by adding something.

Examples: *banew* ‘to put viand in a dish’, *batek* ‘to put a pattern or design on something’, *bet-ul* ‘to build stone walls’

Most of the verbal roots of Class 5A are very specific as to the type of site, and the object(s) that may be added to it, though a few like *hani* ‘to protect with cover’ and *alben* ‘to obstruct a passageway’ have a broader range of application.

#### Class 5B Changing state of site by removal of something

The criterial semantic component for Class 5B verbal roots is the removal of something from a site-object.

Examples: *abyuh* ‘to strip cane or bamboo’, *ad-ad* ‘to scour or scrape something off surface’, *beka* ‘to dig out root vegetables’

### **Class 5C Goal oriented sites**

The criterial semantic component for Class 5C verbal roots is to direct an action toward a goal-site.

Examples: *adug* ‘to guard something or someone’, *gamgam* ‘to pursue something that is desired’

The objects of Class 5C verbs are less affected than the objects of Class 5A & Class 5B verbal roots.

### **4.1.6 Class 6**

Class 6 verbal roots are descriptive state and state-process intransitive verbs. These verbs express the properties of entities that undergo what is perceived of as non-agentive change. When a human is involved, as in physiological state-processes, the human is perceived of as an experiencer rather than a volitional agent. The default affixes for state and state-process verbs are *me-* and *ne-* for incompletive and completive aspect.<sup>22</sup> To encode process, the default affixes are the affixes *um-* and *-imm-*. All of these default affixes cross-reference the animate or inanimate experiencer-subject in a sentence.

#### **Class 6A Physiological process – state**

The criterial semantic component for Class 6A verbal roots is a physiological process or physiological state.

Examples: *agang* ‘to be hungry’, *ewew* ‘to be thirsty’, *aleg* ‘to have a cold’, *alibegbeg* ‘to have numbness in part of the body’, *aliwet* ‘to be dizzy’, *atu* ‘to be tired’

#### **Class 6B Process or state of inanimate objects**

The criterial semantic component for Class 6B verbal roots is the description of a state or process involving inanimate objects.

Examples: *hunal* ‘to be blunt or dull’, *danglel* ‘to be slippery’, *bel-at* ‘for something to be heavy’, *baew* ‘for a house to be empty’, *bakug* ‘for vegetables to be undercooked’, *balol* ‘for something to be valuable’

#### **Class 6C Characteristics of human nature**

The criterial semantic component for Class 6C verbal roots is the characteristics of human nature. The only affix that may co-occur is the prefix *ma-*.

Examples: *kuliput* ‘to be a selfish person’, *higa* ‘to be a lazy person’, *bunget* ‘to be an angry person’

---

<sup>22</sup> The stative prefix set, *me-/ne-* has an allomorph set, *ma-/na-* that occurs with roots that have the form Ce(C).CV(C).

## Class 6D Descriptives

The criterial semantic component of Class D verbal roots is a description of a feature of a life situation.

Examples: *ligat* ‘difficult’, *nam-ay* ‘easy’, *a-ul* ‘lacking or undesirable’

### 4.1.7 Speech verbs

Although the morphosyntax of speech verbal roots differs little from the basic six classes of verbal roots, it is helpful to look at the difference in the purpose of the speech acts. The same criteria used in classifying other verbal roots are used for distinguishing the subclasses of speech verbal roots.

- Semantic role sets: All speech verbal roots have an obligatory volitional agent role who is the speaker. Two other core roles are a part of this set, the addressee: a patient or site role and what is said: the conveyed role.
- Grammatical relations: The volitional agent is always encoded in the subject; the other core roles are encoded in either the object or indirect object grammatical relation.
- Affixation: The agent-subject of the members of the subclasses may be cross-referenced by either the *maN-/naN-* or the *um-/imm-* affix sets depending on whether the durative or punctiliar aspect is being expressed in the verb. The prefix set *i-/iN-* cross-references an object that has the conveyed role. The affix set *-en/-in-* cross-references an object that has a patient role and the affix set *-an/-in- -an* cross-references an object that has the site role.

### Speech Verbs - General

The members of the general class have a broader range of meaning, and can take a number of different affixes depending on what semantic role is significant in the context.

Examples: *ehel* ‘to speak’, *ungbal* ‘to converse’

### Speech Verbs – Manner of speaking

There are two types of speech verbal roots related to manner:

- articulation, e.g. *tuttubbu* ‘to whisper’, *tekuk* ‘to shout’

### Speech Verbs – Purpose for speaking

#### *An answering or clarifying purpose*

This class of verbal roots is used with the purpose of answering or clarifying something that has been said or reported.

Examples: e.g. *haut* ‘to deny or to lie’, *hadak* ‘to testify’

#### *An evoking response purpose*

This class of verbal roots is used to evoke a response from a hearer. The response may be either speech or behavior.

Examples: *awis* ‘to persuade’, *tutut* ‘to argue’

### Speech Verbs – Purpose is to affect recipient

The purpose of this class of speech verbal roots is to have an effect on the recipient. Some of the members of the class are ritual words for cursing someone.

Examples: *hena* ‘to tease someone’, *du-gah* ‘to curse someone’

### Speech Verbs – Purpose is to entertain

The purpose of this class of speech verbal roots is to entertain. Through the years, there have been members of the community who were known as effective storytellers, and there were those who were able to tell about a day’s events in song.

Examples: *a-abbig* ‘to tell a story’, *ebuy* ‘to sing Ifugao epics’

## 4.2 Inflectional affixes

### 4.2.1 Basic cross-referencing (CR) affixes<sup>23</sup>

These affixes are called ‘basic’ because their co-occurrence with active verbal roots results in the least complex morphosyntactic constructions and the mood associated with them is indicative. Each member of these sets cross-references either a subject or an object that is either definite<sup>24</sup> or specific<sup>25</sup> and has a higher referential rank in the context than any other co-occurring NP constituent in that clause. The choice of a basic affix is constrained by the meaning components and lexical valence of a root, and discourse identifiability factors. The set is related to the rhetorical Focusing Referential Strategy (see 2.3.1.2 Affix selection and the cross-referencing system).

Each set of basic affixes is the default set for one of the six classes of verbal roots (see 4.1 for the description of the classes). The benefactive and instrumental affix sets are exceptions to the default principle; neither of these sets is associated with a particular verbal root class. Instead these two affix sets may co-occur with any verbal root class that allows for their associated peripheral semantic roles.<sup>26</sup> The components of a default set have the following characteristics:

- The affixes match the inherent aspect and spatial components of the root class.
- The affixes cross-reference either the subject or the object in a construction.
- The affixes clarify, along with the root, the semantic role encoded in the cross-referenced grammatical relation.

When the affixes co-occur with any grammatical class other than verbal root classes, they function both derivationally and inflectionally. They derive verbs from the roots of the non-

---

<sup>23</sup> This set of affixes has traditionally been called ‘focus affixes’ in linguistic studies of Philippine languages.

<sup>24</sup> The term ‘definite’ is used in this grammar to refer to an identifiable entity within a text.

<sup>25</sup> The term ‘specific’ is used in this grammar to refer to an identifiable entity in the extralinguistic context of a text.

<sup>26</sup> It should be noted that the forms of the Instrumental set of affixes are the same as the default set for Class 3 verbal roots. The Instrumental set primarily co-occurs with members of Class 4 and Class 5.

verbal class with which they co-occur, and inflectionally they realize the same functions listed above. When they co-occur with verbal roots, they function only inflectionally.

The inflectional function of the basic affixes is complex in that a given form may function in more than one way, depending on whether or not it co-occurs with verbal roots belonging to a class other than its own. The semantic components and lexical valence of verbal roots are very important factors in the choice of inflectional affixes in Keley-i language use. For example, when the set *um-/kaum-/imm-* co-occurs with transitive verbal roots, the set cross-references the grammatical object and adds a quantifying concept meaning that the action is performed on only ‘some’ of the noun referent.

Table 4 Basic Cross-Referencing (CR) Affixes

Tense		Subject CR	Object CR				
	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	benefactive	instrumental
Past	<i>naN-</i>	<i>-imm-</i>	<i>iN-</i>	<i>-in-</i>	<i>-in- -an</i>	<i>iN- -an</i>	<i>iN-</i>
Future	<i>maN-</i>	<i>um-/ -um-<sup>27</sup></i>	<i>iC1-</i>	<i>-en</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>iC1- -an</i>	<i>iC1-</i>
Present	<i>kamaN-</i>	<i>kaum-</i>	<i>keiC1-</i>	<i>ka- -a</i>	<i>ka- -i</i>	<i>keiC1- -an</i>	<i>keiC1-</i>

As stated above, the prefixes *um-* and *umi-* express a partitive quantity when co-occurring with transitive verbs.

Future and present tense affixes geminate C2 of verbal roots with the syllable pattern CV.CVC with the exception of Class 3 prefixes.

**Class 1 affix set is the default set for Class 1 verbal roots.**

*abat* – ‘to go to a nearby place’ + *naN-*  
*Nan-abat kamin kaalman di baley da.*  
We went to their nearby house yesterday.

**Class 2 affix set is the default set for Class 2 verbal roots.**

*abtu* – ‘to desire or long for’ + *kaum-*  
*anemut* – ‘to return’ + *um-*  
*Kaum-abtu u-ungnga ni um-anemut tep neupa.*  
The child is longing for her to return because he is hungry.

**Class 3 affix set is the default set for Class 3 verbal roots.**

*bulduk* ‘to overturn something’ + *iN-*  
*Imbulduk ni killum hu eheb ni luhud et bumsik.*  
The pig pushed over the gate in the fence and ran away.

27 The prefix *um-* co-occurs with roots in independent clauses while the infix *-um-* co-occurs with roots in dependent clauses.

**Class 4 affix set is the default set for Class 4 verbal roots.**

*depap* ‘to catch and hold an animal’ + *-en*

*Heged dakemidya et milli depapen etan newang et malkaan tayu.*

Wait for us here and we will catch the carabao so we can mark him.

**Class 5 affix set is the default set for Class 5 verbal roots.**

*dunglu* ‘to add wood to a fire’ + *-in- -an*

*Dinungluan tu etan apuy et aye kaman-a-ahhuk.*

He added more firewood to the fire and so it is very smoky.

**Class 6 Stative**

The stative-process affixes shown in Table 5 below also belong to the class of Basic Cross-Referencing Affixes but they have been placed on a separate chart because the Class 6 verbal roots with which they co-occur are semantically different than Classes 1-5 verbal roots; also the syntactic constructions in which they occur are different. See 4.1.6 for a description of this class of verbal roots. The differences that are characteristic of Class 6 verbal roots are shown in the following ways:

- The verb encodes a state or a process rather than an action or activity.
- The inherent aspect is neither durative nor punctiliar, instead the aspect is either completive or incompletive.
- The subject grammatical relation does not encode a volitional agent semantic role; rather the core semantic roles of the verbal root class and subclasses are Statant or Experiencer.

The stative-process affixes shown in Table 5 co-occur with Class 6 Stative verbal roots; they function inflectionally. The prefixes, *me-*, *kame-*, *ne-* are the default affix set for that class.<sup>28</sup> The components of all the affix sets are the following:

- They express the completive aspect, the incompletive aspect or the on-going process aspect.
- The set cross-references the subject.

The forms that encode ‘intense state’ have a segment C1. This symbolizes that the initial consonant of the root is geminated, and the geminate co-occurs with the prefix form. The affix forms for the Incompletive and On-going aspects of the stative and durative process have a C2 segment. This symbolizes that the second consonant of the root is geminated.

The passive forms of Classes 3, 4, and 5 verbal roots take the same intense state and durative process affix sets (see the *halag* and *gitek* sentences below).

<sup>28</sup> The stative prefixes *me-/kame-/ne-* have the same form as the passive set for Class 4 verbal roots (see 4.1.4).

Table 5 Stative and Process Affixes

Aspect	Stative	Intense State <sup>29</sup>	Process	Durative Process
Completive	<i>ne-</i>	<i>nekaC1-/nekaC1- -an</i>	<i>-imm-</i>	<i>nangke-</i>
Incompletive	<i>me- C2</i>	<i>mekeC1-/mekeC1- -an</i>	<i>um-</i>	<i>mangke- C2</i>
On-going	<i>kame- C2</i>	<i>kamekaC1-/kamekaC1- -an</i>	<i>kaum-</i>	<i>kamangke- C2</i>

**Stative**

*aleg* ‘to have a cold’ + *ne-*

**Nealeg** *tep ida nandu-du-luk di udan ni kaalman.*

He has a cold because they were playing in the rain yesterday.

*bungag* ‘to have a low or hoarse voice’ *kame- C2*

**Kamebungngag** *hu tuka penga-appreh.*

He sings in a low or hoarse voice.

*tama* ‘to be confused’ + *kame- C2*

**Kametemma** *hi Julia ni ihhumang tud daka ibbaga tep eleg tu peka-amtaen hu hapit da.*

Julia is confused on how to answer their questions because she does not understand their language very well.

**Intense state affixes**

*pigut* ‘to be thin’ + *nekaC1-*

**Nekappiguttak** *e heni-ak genit niya belat ni ebuh.*

I am very thin, it is like I’m only bone and skin.

*agang* ‘hungry’ + *nekaC1- -an* (Class 6A root)<sup>30</sup>

**Neka-agangan** *nak law tep hambatenganan.*

I’m now very hungry because it is already mid-afternoon.

*halag* ‘to dry objects on shelves over fireplace’ + *mekeC1- -an*<sup>31</sup>

**Piggad** *mu etan neihelag ni pagey di huguhug ma-lat mekahhalagan ida.*

Turn over the bundles of rice grains on the shelves so that they will be well dried.

*gitek* ‘to cut wood’ + *nekaC1-*<sup>32</sup>

**Nekaggitek** *hu keyew.*

The wood is well-cut.

29 The choice of which intense state form is used depends on whether the verbal root form is a member of Class 6A or 6B. Class 6A verbal roots require the circumfix forms, i.e. the **-an** suffix along with the complex prefixes.

30 All vowel initial roots actually have a glottal stop consonant preceding the vowel. In the example shown the geminated glottal stop is symbolized by the hyphen symbol -.

31 The *halag* verbal root actually belongs to the transitive Class 5A but takes on the intense state affixation to describe the resultant state of a particular action.

32 The *gitek* verbal root actually belongs to the transitive Class 4A but takes on the intense state affixation to describe the resultant state of a particular action.

The affix, *makaC1-*, is used in a negative or neutral aspect intense state.

*lutu* ‘to be cooked’ + *makaC1-*

*Nan-ekan da etan inhihak kun ubi anin ni eleg **makallutu** tep neka-upadda.*

They ate the sweet potatoes that I cooked even though they were not well-cooked because they were very hungry.

*gawa* ‘to be the middle or center of something’ + *makaC1-*

*Nak betwingen danum ma-lat **makaggawa**.*

I will go and direct the water so that it will be equally divided (lit. well-centered).

### **Process affixes**

Process affixes frequently encode a causation component in appropriate contexts.

*agang* ‘to be hungry’ + *kaum-*

*Kaw **kaumagang** hu sinapay?*

Does bread make us hungry?

*aleg* ‘to have a cold’ + *kaum-*

*Kaw **kaum-aleg** hu udan?*

Does the rain cause a cold?

### **Durative process**

*tuleng* ‘to be deaf’ + *kamangke-* + *C2*

***Kamangketulleng.***

He is becoming-deaf.

*wineh* ‘for something to be entangled and flattened’ + *nangke-*

***Nangkewineh** hu helek di nangguyudan min keyew ni kaalman.*

The vegetation where we dragged the logs yesterday was being entangled and flattened.

## **4.2.2 Complex topicalizing affixes**

There are four classes of topicalizing affix sets.

- Topicalizing agent-subjects (Table 6)
- Topicalizing instruments (Table 6)
- Topicalizing times and places with intransitive verbal roots (Table 7)
- Topicalizing times and places with transitive verbal roots (Table 8)

The affix sets that are members of these four classes differ from the Basic Cross-Referencing Affixes in that they function rhetorically at a higher level. They cross-reference the NP constituent that has been syntactically moved to the initial position of a clause (i.e. pre-predicate) to encode the introduction of participants, or to contrast or reintroduce participants, props, times, and places. The set is related to the Rhetorical Topicalizing Referential Strategy (see 2.3.1.2 Affix selection and the cross-referencing system).

The Complex Topicalizing Affixes function in the same way with the verbs of interrogative sentences, i.e. they cross-reference the question words ‘who’, ‘what’, ‘where’, and ‘when’. See 7.7 Interrogative pronouns for the Keley-i forms. The Keley-i question words occur in the

same pre-verb position as those NPs that are moved to the pre-verb position in declarative or statement sentences for topicalized reference (see 11.1.2 Change of Word Order).

The Complex Topicalizing Affixes also co-occur with the verbs of relative clauses. The relativized noun or noun phrase is in the pre-verb position in the relative clause; this is the same position as a topicalized constituent or question word in a main clause.

Table 6 Topicalizing-Question-Relative Clause Affixes

Tense	Fronted Object			Fronted Agent-Subject		Fronted Instrument
	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Class 3	Class 4 <sup>33</sup> Class 5	
Past	iN-	-in-	-in- -an	nengi-	neN-	impeN-
Future	iC1-	-en	-an	mengiC1-	meN-	peN-
Present	KaiC1-/keiC1-	ka- -a	ka- -i	kamengiC1-	kameN-	kapeN-

Future and present tense affixes geminate C2 of roots with the syllable pattern CV.CVC. Class 3 prefixes are the exception; instead they geminate C1.

Fronted Object - Classes 3, 4, and 5

When a definite or specific object noun referent is questioned or precedes a relative clause, the Basic Cross-Referencing affixes cross-reference it.

Kaw **wangal** *in-abnak* *dad dep-ul*?  
Was it a **blanket** that they spread in the dust?

Piga **kaweyan** *ni in-agtum* *ni kaalman*?  
How many **bamboo** did you carry yesterday?

Endin *hekey hu dinel dan hi-gatu tep ya etan* *impahding tu lan nunman*.  
They have no trust in him at all because of **what** or **that** he did in the past.

Iwelak *mu eya ahhun* *singnged mu ma-lat an mangan*.  
Release that **dog** you are holding so it can go and eat.

Fronted Agent-Subject - Class 3

*abnak* ‘to spread something open’ + *nengi-*  
*Hipa an nengiabnak* *ni wangal di dep-ul*?  
Who spread the blanket in the dust?

*buyun* ‘to lower an object’ + *mengiC1-*

33 The members of the prefix set, *meN-*, *neN-*, *peN-*, when attached to a root invoke a deletion of the root-initial consonant. Before deletion of the initial consonant, the alveolar nasal of the prefix assimilates to the point of articulation of the root-initial consonant. Also, if the syllable pattern of the root is Ca.CV(C), the **a** vowel will become the **e** vowel, and the medial consonant will be geminated (see the *habak* example). See 1.0 Introduction to Morphophonology in the Grammar Sketch for further explanation and description of changes in roots when affixes are added.

Endi **mengibbuyun** ni teyey tep nangkeugip idan emin.

There is no one to lower the ladder because they are all sleeping.

dagyum ‘to agree with’ + kamengiC1-

Endi **kamengiddagyum** di nemnem tu tep hin-appil.

No one is agreeing with his idea because it is different.

### Fronted Agent-Subject - Class 4 & 5

delhuk ‘to put water on plant’ + meN-

Ya kuma udan **menelhuk** eyaddan nangkeitnem tep ey endi danum.

It will be the rain that will water the plants since there is no water.

habak ‘to weave baskets’ + kameN- + C2

Ida **kamenebbak** ni lagba.

They are the ones weaving baskets.

### Fronted Instrument

alped ‘to build a fence’ + impeN-

Hipa **impengalped** mu, kaw ya man paul?

What did you use to fence it; was it cane?

### Topicalizing of a time or place in statements, questions and relative clauses

When a topicalized time or place is a constituent of the clause, and not just a time setting, the phrase will be linked to the clause with the form **ey**. There are two sets of affixes that cross-reference the preposed times and places. Clauses or phrases consisting of reasons or manner may also be preposed before the main clause, and these constituents are also cross-referenced by the sets of affixes used for times and places.

- Topicalizing times and places with Classes 1 and 2 intransitive verbal roots
- Topicalizing times and places with Classes 3, 4, and 5 transitive verbal roots

**Table 7 Topicalizing Time or Place – Classes 1 & 2 Affixes**

Tense	Class 1	Class 2
Past	naN- -an	-imm- -an
Future	paN- -an	-an
Present	kapaN- -i	kaum-

Future and present tense affixes geminate C2 of roots with the syllable pattern CV.CVC.

### Class 1 topicalizing time or place affix set

adug ‘to guard something’ + naN- -an

Kaw endi mu inang-ang nan ametun immalid kad-an mun hileng eman ni **nan-adugan** mud baley da?

Did you not see his father come there during the night when you were guarding their house?

*ahul* ‘to fetch water’ + *naN-* -an

*Attu mu nan-ahulan ni kakkabbuhhan ey nebahbah hu ahhullan?*

Where did you fetch-water this morning, yet the spring was destroyed?

*ani* ‘to harvest rice’ + *paN-* -an

*Pigantu pan-annian yud Pel-ig?*

When will you harvest in Pel-ig?

*kitlabbung* ‘shaking or swaying movement of water’ + *kapaN-* -i

*Hipa gaputun kapangkitlabbungi ni danum di baldih?*

What’s the reason that the water in the pail is moving?

### ***Class 2 topicalizing time or place affix set***

*hablang* ‘for the hablang-tree to bloom’ + *-an*

*Pigantu hablangan tu tep?*

When will the hablang-tree bloom then?

*abab* ‘to give premature birth’ + *kaum-*

*Kenayun ey kaum-abab eya killum mi hedin nepa-lek.*

Every time this pig of ours gives premature birth.

**Table 8 Topicalizing Time or Place – Classes 3-5 Affixes**

Tense	Class 3	Class 4 & 5
Past	<i>nengi-</i> -an	<i>neN-</i> -an
Future	<i>pengi-</i> -an	<i>peN-</i> -an
Present	<i>kapengi-</i> -i	<i>kapeN-</i> -i

### ***Class 3 Topicalizing time or place affix set***

*lehet* ‘to take a shortcut route’ + *nengi-* -an

*Attu nengilhetan idala etan ni nandalan di Asipulu?*

Where is the shortcut route used by those people who passed through Asipulu?

*bekah* ‘to throw something away’ + *kapengi-* -i

*Yad baybay daka pengibkahin lugit di Manila.*

It is in the ocean where they throw away dirt in Manila.

### ***Class 4 & 5 Topicalizing time or place affix set***

*bugbug* ‘to pick coffee beans’ + *neN-* -an

*Pigantu yu nemugbugan ni kapih?*

When did you gather the coffee beans?

*kagat* ‘to fence an area’ + *peN-* -an + C2

*Han-aggew pengeggatan ni kapan-ayyamin limuken, tep mahkang.*

It will take one day to fence where the doves play because it is very wide.

*abak* ‘to compete; to win’ + *kapeN-* *-i* + *C2*  
*Pinpinhakkey kapengebbaki law nan hi Tomas hedin an nekitugal.*  
 It is seldom that Tomas is winning now in gambling.

### 4.2.3 Mood Affixes

There are three moods in Keley-i: indicative, imperative, and interrogative. The imperative and interrogative are marked as shown in Table 9.

Table 9 Mood Affixes

Mood	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Instrument
Imperative	<i>paN</i> -. <sup>34</sup>	0	<i>i-</i>	0	<i>-i</i>	
Interrogative - future			<i>mengi-</i>	<i>meN-</i>	<i>meN-</i>	<i>peN-</i>
Interrogative - present			<i>kamengi-</i>	<i>kameN-</i>	<i>kameN-</i>	<i>kapeN-</i>
Interrogative - past			<i>nengi-</i>	<i>neN-</i>	<i>neN-</i>	<i>impeN-</i>

#### Imperative Mood Affixes

The imperative mood syntax requires a 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun as the subject-agent.

#### Class 1 Imperative prefix - *paN-*

*deka* ‘to go roaming without purpose’ + *paN-* CV(C)CV-  
*Antan an pandekadeka tep wada lawwan tayun mahmahdem.*  
 Do not be going somewhere (lit. roaming) else because we are going somewhere in the evening.

*wahiwah* ‘wave a stick’  
*Mu panwahiwah ida eman tukkan ma-lat bumsik ida tep pangkellaten dadda hu u-ungnga.*  
 Go and wave a stick at those mosquitoes so that they will go away because they will bite the children.

#### Class 2 Imperative affix – (no affix, root only)

*ali* ‘to come’ + 0  
*Ali kayudya.*  
 Come here (you all).

*elaw* ‘to go’ + 0  
*Elaw kad Nepayew et mulli alen ida hu gangha tep ussalen tayud Bahag.*  
 Go to Nepayew and bring with you the gongs because we will use them in Bahag.

<sup>34</sup> It has been noted that this imperative affix co-occurring with Class 1 verbal roots is most commonly used with the negative imperative word *entan* ‘do not’.

**Class 3 Imperative prefix i-**

*aplag* ‘to spread open blanket or clothing’ + *i-*  
*Iaplag mudda eya wangal et maha-peyan.*  
 Spread this blanket so it will be dried.

**Class 4 Imperative affix – (no affix, root only)**

*ehel* ‘to say something’ + 0  
*Ehel mun Ballawen et buyunen tulli teyten et humgep ida eya mangili.*  
 Tell Ballawen to lower the ladder so that these visitors can enter.

**Class 5 Imperative suffix -i**

*apyuh* ‘to strip rattan’ + *-i* + *m(u)* ‘you’  
*Apyuhim eya ewey et pemedbed ku.*  
 Strip this rattan and I will use it to tie.

*ayag* ‘to go and call for a person’ + *-i*  
*Mulli ayagi hi ama e hi Guindayan et manhuhummangan itsu hedin pigantu lawwan tayu.*  
 Go and call for your father Guindayan and we will agree about when we are going.

**Interrogative mood affixes**

Classes 1 and 2 intransitive verbs require their default affixes for the interrogative mood. Also when a definite or specific object is questioned with Classes 3-5 verbal roots, their default affixes are used. (see 4.2.1 Basic cross-referencing affixes for the default affixes)

**Class 1 Intransitive verbal root**

*eh-ehneng* ‘to stand’ + *kamaN-*  
*Hipa eya kaman-eh-ehneng di hinanggam?*  
 Who is that standing in front of you?

Classes 3, 4, and 5 require the same affixes for interrogative mood as for complex topicalization (see 4.2.2) except in the case of a referentially definite or specific object; in that case the object will be cross-referenced by the basic cross-referencing affixes (see 4.2.1).

**Class 3 Transitive verbal root**

*abnak* ‘to spread open’ + *nengi-*  
*Hipa an nengiabnak ni wangal di dep-ul?*  
 Who spread the blanket in the dust?

**Class 4 Transitive verbal root**

In the sentence below, the object is cross-referenced by the past tense default affix for the class.

*ablih* ‘to operate surgically on someone’ + *-in-*  
*Kaw inablih da hi Fernando di hospital?*  
 Did they operate on Fernando in the hospital?

## Instrument

*apyaw* ‘fish trap or use fish trap’ + *impeN-*  
*Hipa kan apyaw ni impengapyaw yu?*  
 Whose fish trap did you use?

### 4.2.4 Modal affixes

There are four types of modality in Keley-i:

- Agentive - Agentive modality involves the concepts of pretense, abilitative and expertise.
- Predicative – Predicative modality involves intensification.
- Distributive – Distributive modality distributes the action or activity among agent-subjects or objects.
- Epistemic – Epistemic modality involves a speaker’s judgment about the truth value or factual status of the predication.

#### 4.2.4.1 Agentive modal affixes

The Agentive Modal Affixes do not encode tense or aspect.

Table 10 Agentive Modality Affixes

Pretense	Abilitative	Expertise Class 3	Expertise Class 4	Expertise Class 5
<i>hiN-/kahiN-</i>	<i>haN-</i>	<i>paka- iC1-</i>	<i>pakaC1- (-en)</i>	<i>pakaC1- (-an)</i>

#### Agentive pretense prefix *kahin-*

Agentive pretense modality expresses that an agentive-subject is pretending to do an action or be in a state. The prefix *hiN-/kahiN-* may co-occur with the CV(C)- or CV(C)CV-. If an object is cross-referenced, either the *-i* or *-a* suffix co-occurs with the prefix; the selection of the suffix depends on the transitive root class.

*tuleng* ‘to be deaf’ + *kahin- -i*  
*Dingngel mu na-mu nem ay ka kahintullengi.*  
 You heard it perhaps but you are pretending to be deaf (lit. didn’t hear it).

*dungyuy* ‘to be stooped and bent’ + *kahin- CVC-*  
*Kahindungdungyuy hedin kamandellan nem hedin kamanggunnu man heni pewek.*  
 He pretends to be stooped and weak if he is walking but when he works he is like a typhoon.

*lekud* ‘to measure something’ + *kahin- CV(C)CV- -i*  
*Kele ka kahinlekulekudi?*  
 Why are you pretending to measure it?

#### Agentive abilitative prefix – *haN-*

The agentive abilitative modality prefix is primarily used in negated or interrogative sentences meaning an inability or questionable ability to do something.

*hamak* ‘to find something’ + *haN-*

*Mi nangkapkap etan inggah tud pehung ni benwit nem eleg mi hanhamak.*

We went feeling for the fishhook that he dropped in the waterhole but we could not find it.

*abyuh* ‘to remove by stripping the soft part of cane or bamboo’

*Kaw han-abyuh ta ey dakel?*

Can we strip them all since they are many?

### Agentive expertise – pakaC1-

Agentive expertise modality expresses that an agentive-subject is able to do something well or completely. The modal affix set may also imply that the agentive-subject intensifies the action. Syntactically, the affixes also express the imperative mood. When the prefix *iC-* or suffixes *-en* or *-an* co-occur, the object undergoing the action is contextually prominent and is cross-referenced.

#### Class 3 - paka- iC1-

*bikhet* ‘to tighten something around waist’ + *paka- iC1-*

*Antan tu paka-ibbikhet hu ballikid tep makageh.*

Do not tighten the belt so much because it is painful.

*pedped* ‘to press something into a container’ + *paka- iC1-*

*Paka-ippedped mu hu gagan ihha-ad mud balunnan ma-lat dakel ellan tu.*

Compress the rice very well as you put it in the lunch-box so it can accommodate more.

#### Classes 4 and 5 – pakaC1-

This prefix also expresses the imperative mood for these two verbal root classes.

*bugay* ‘to break into pieces’ + *pakaC1-*

*Antan tu pakabbugay ey nangkemummukkel ni puyek.*

Do not completely break into pieces these clumps of soil.

*genit* ‘bones or remove meat from bones’ + *pakaC1-*<sup>35</sup>

*Pakagnisi yudda etan tu-ngal et han yu idwat idan ahhu.*

Pick all the meat from the bones before giving them to the dogs.

*ki-let* ‘to tighten something’ + *pakaC1-*

*Pakakki-let mu hu binuhan mu tep aye nekakkayyay.*

Tighten your g-string a bit more since it is a bit loose.

#### Class 4 – pakaC1- -en

*bayu* ‘to pound something with pestle’ + *pakaC1- -en*

*Nanengtun gahal etan inubud dan gahhilang tep eleg da pakabbayuen.*

The corn that they pulverized is still coarse or unrefined because they did not pound it hard enough.

*galgal* ‘to chew something’ + *pakaC1- -en*

*Nehikel ni detag tep eleg tu pakaggalgalen ey inekmun tu.*

He choked on meat because he swallowed it without chewing it well.

35 Note that the geminant C1 is omitted with this root because the morphophonological loss of the ‘e’ vowel would result in an unacceptable three consonant sequence. Also, the consonant ‘t’ becomes ‘s’ before the suffix *-i*.

**Class 5 – pakaC1- -an**

*bayad* - ‘to pay for something’ + *pakaC1- -an*

*Anin ni ellan yun emin eya begah et endi metdaan laki-dih pakabbeyyadan yu.*

You can take all of this rice and none will be left as long as you pay the full price.

**4.2.4.2 Predicative modal affixes – intensifiers**

Predicative modal affixes function to express the intensity of an action, activity, experience or state. The objects of transitive verbs are promoted to subject and cross-referenced by the sets of affixes related to the three transitive verbal root classes and the stative verbal root class.

**Table 11 Modality – Intensity of Action, Activity, Experience-State Affixes**

Tense	Transitive			Stative
	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Class 6 <sup>36</sup>
Past	<i>nakaiC1-</i>	<i>nakaC1-</i>	<i>nakaC1- -an</i>	<i>nakaC1-/nekaC1-</i>
Non-past	<i>makaiC1-</i>	<i>makaC1-</i>	<i>makaC1- -an</i>	<i>makaC1-/mekac1-</i>

**Class 3 intensifier affix set**

*adip* ‘for an object to fit into a covering or supporting structure’ + *nakaiC1-*<sup>37</sup>

***Nakai-adip*** *hu pingway di kinapya tun asip.*

The bolo fits very well into the scabbard that he made.

**Class 4 intensifier affix set**

*pehed* ‘to like, want, or love’ + *nakaC1-*

***Nakappinhed*** *dakeyun Apu Dios.*

God loves you very much.

**Class 5 intensifier affix set**

*hemed* ‘to tie a pig in order to lead it’ + *naka- -an*<sup>38</sup>

***Nakahmedan*** *yu ngullaw etan babuy tep entanni ey umbesik di dalan?*

Did you tie it very well otherwise it will run away on the way?

**Class 6 intensifier affix set**

*lutu* ‘to cook food’ + *makaC1-*

*upa* ‘hungry’ + *nekaC1-*

*Nan-ekan da etan inhibak kun ubi anin ni eleg makallutu tep neka-upadda.*

They ate the sweet potatoes that I cooked even though they were not well-cooked because they were very hungry.

36 The choice of which intensifier affix set is used depends on the Stative sub-class being affixed. Note the example sentence that illustrates both sets, ***makallutu*** and ***neka-upa***.

37 The hyphen – in the verb *nakai-adip* symbolizes the germination of the initial consonant glottal stop of the root *adip*.

38 Gemination of the initial consonant is blocked because it would produce an unacceptable CCC syllable pattern.

4.2.4.3 Distributive modality affixes<sup>39</sup>

*Subject distribution*

When a member of the prefix set *mampaN-/kamampaN-/nampaN-* co-occurs with a verbal root, it functions to distribute the activity among plural agent-subjects. The agent-subjects are cross-referenced by the affixes. Activities are durative in aspect.

*Object distribution*

When the Classes 3, 4, and 5 prefix sets co-occur with a transitive verbal root, they express a distributive action among plural agent-subjects or objects but the objects are always referentially more important than the agent-subjects. The aspect of the verbs is punctiliar.

Table 12 Distributive Affixes

Tense	Distributive S	Distributive O	
		Class 3	Class 4 & Class 5
Past	<i>nampaN-</i>	<i>nampengi-</i>	<i>nampeN-</i>
Future	<i>mampaN-</i>	<i>mampengi-</i>	<i>mampeN-</i>
Present	<i>kamampaN-</i>	<i>kapampengi- -i</i>	<i>kapampeN- -</i>

*Distributive subject affix set*

*tayab* – ‘to fly’ + *kamampaN-*  
*Kamampantattayab bulung ni keyew tep ya alipuhhapuh.*  
The leaves are flying everywhere because of the whirlwind.

*kedpil* – ‘to be close together’ + *kamampaN-*  
*Ida kamampangkedkedpil hu tuun yimmudung di det-al tep kulang hu yuddungngan.*  
The people are sitting close-to-each-other on the floor because there are not enough stools to sit on.

*Distributive object affix sets*

*Class 3*

*dawat* ‘give something’ + *kapampengi- -i*  
*Inanghab ni killum hu ngamay kun nakka pampengidwasin ubin hi-gada.*  
A pig snatched and bit my hand as I was handing (lit. giving) sweet potatoes to them.

*Class 4 & 5*

*ekan* ‘to eat or drink something’ + *nampeN-*  
*Ya na-mu nampengek-ekan min danum di wangwang hu dinggehan ni egeh kun hileng.*  
It is perhaps our drinking water from the river that caused my stomach trouble last night.

39 The distributive modality affix sets often co-occur with reduplications of the roots, or germination of consonants, or both.

*akud* ‘to ladle rice’ + *kapampeN-* *-i*

*Inhelan tuwak ni nakka pampengekkudin gaga tep nakka pan-egaha.*

He called me when I was ladling out the rice because I was dropping some.

#### 4.2.4.4 Evaluative modality affix sets<sup>40</sup>

The evaluative modality affix sets cover a broad range of a speaker or writer’s attitude, viewpoint or feelings about what he is communicating. Depending on context the affixes may encode 1) epistemic and evidential modality, i.e. the expression of the degree of certainty or evidence that a speaker judges can or cannot be associated with the predication, 2) the expression of a negative or positive evaluation of an action or event or 3) the expression of feelings. Negations and questions are often associated with epistemic modality. Indicative predications are associated with evaluations and expression of feelings.<sup>41</sup>

**Table 13 Evaluative Modality Affixes**

Tense			
Future	<i>peN-</i>	<i>peN- -an</i>	<i>pengi- -an</i>
Present	<i>kapeN-</i>	<i>kapen- -i</i>	<i>kapengi- -i</i>

*An nambelhan ni pemaddang tun hi-gak tep binaddangan kun nunman.*

He went to ask for a contribution to help me because I helped him before.

*Hipa ni-man tu pemeyyad ey ay ginastu tun emin hu pihhuh tu!*

What could he pay with when he spent all his money!

*Tuka enal-alkusi hu tuka penattayyaw.*

She is dancing artistically.

*Kamekiwwakiwwa nemnem kun panggep ni nak pengellaan ni pihhuh ni pemeyyad kun utang ku.*

My mind is distressed with regard to where I can get money to pay for my debt.

*Hipa ag mulli pengal-an etan ni inhel kun hi-gam?*

Why did you not get what I told you to get?

*Hipa muka pengeddaedangi eyan pinway et ma-gah alin hi-gam?*

Why are you reaching for this bolo and it will fall on you?

*Endi inna-nun pengi-ebbutan kun ngunuk tep hakey yak.*

There is no way of hurrying my work because I’m alone.

*Kaw yad paul yuka pengihhellabi?*

Do you roast young rice on cane-sticks?

<sup>40</sup> See 8.3 Adjuncts for the lexical class that is also used by a speaker or writer to express his attitude, viewpoint or feelings about what he is communicating.

<sup>41</sup> The columns of the Table have not been labeled because the choice of the correct evaluative affix involves 1) mood, indicative, interrogative or imperative, 2) the verbal root class, and 3) the type of evaluation being expressed [ADD period?]

#### 4.2.5 Time aspect affixes<sup>42</sup>

Table 14 Time Aspect – Action and Activity Verb Affixes

Inceptive	Iterative	Continuative	Habitual
<i>pake-</i>	<i>-en-/-enn-*</i>	<i>CV(C)-</i>	<i>CV(C)CV-</i>

\*The selection of the infix *-en-* or its allomorph *-enn-* is dependent on the syllable pattern of the root (see *bahbah* example below). Also, when the infix co-occurs with a glottal initial root, the glottal is deleted and the infix is positioned between the prefix and the root (see *abbal* and *ad-ad* examples below).

##### 4.2.5.1 Time - Inceptive

*begwat* ‘to build something’ + *pake-*  
*Nan-aldan idad pakebehwat ni baley da.*  
 They moved to their newly-built house.

*tanem* ‘to plant something’ + *pake-*  
*Hiniduman ni lumban etan pakeitnem ni guggullu di dagsi tu.*  
 The pomelo-tree shaded the newly planted orange tree beside it.

##### 4.2.5.2 Time – Iterative action

The *-en-/-enn-* infix co-occurs with the affix set *um-/kaum-/imm-* and transitive affix sets, *i-/kai-/iN-*, *-en/ka- -a/-in-* and *-an/ka- -i/-in- -an*; the infix always co-occurs with verbal roots that have an inherent punctiliar aspect. The iterative concept implies that the starting point and finishing point of an action is always in view for each repeated action.

##### Affix set *um-/kaum-/imm-*

*abbal* ‘a traditional belief that a certain act or event would cause rain or a storm’ + *-imm- -en-*  
*Kaw makulug ni immenabbal kunun nunman hu tukak?*  
 Is it true, according-to-someone, that long ago the frog has been causing rain?

##### Affix set *-en/ka- -a/-in-*

*bahbah* ‘to destroy something’ + *ka- -enn- -a*  
*Kele muka bennahbaha eya kinapyan amam ni yuddungan?*  
 Why are you destroying this seat that your father made?

##### Affix set *-an/ka- i/-in- -an*

*ad-ad* ‘to remove something by scraping a surface’ + *-in- -an, -en-*  
*Kaw inenad-adan mu hu bangan kaalman?*  
 Did you clean the cooking pot yesterday?

<sup>42</sup> The (C) segment in the Continuative and Habitual aspects symbolizes that the syllables may be open or closed.

#### 4.2.5.3 Time – Continuative activity<sup>43</sup>

The first syllable reduplication CV(C) expresses an aspect of an activity that is of uninterrupted duration and co-occurs with intransitive verbal roots. The actual form CV or CVC that the continuative reduplicant takes depends on the morphophonological process of resyllabification. Also, in non-past verbs, the medial consonant of a root will be geminated when the root form is CV(C)CV(C).

*be-haw* – ‘to steam’ + *kamaN*- CVC-

***Kamambe-be-haw*** *etan maetung ni kennen ni pakeibnew di duyū.*

The hot food just served on the plate is steaming.

#### 4.2.5.4 Time – Habitual

This reduplicant form, CV(C).CV, expresses a habitual aspect. The activity or action is not done continuously at a single point in time; instead there is a repetitious regularity to the activity or action over a period of time.

*bedang* – ‘to restrain someone’ + CV(C)CV- *-en*

*Bimma-dung hi Tuggaden et beddabeddangen da.*

Tuggaden created trouble so they have been restraining him.

#### 4.2.5.5 Time – Continuative process or action<sup>44</sup>

The time continuative process affixes refer to a process or action taking place over a period of time and co-occur with the passive forms of the classes of transitive verbal roots and stative-process verbal roots. The stative-process verbal roots co-occur with the same affix set as Class 4. The germination of C2 is not allowed if an unacceptable CCC syllable pattern would result.

**Table 15 Time Aspect – Continuative Process Affixes**

Tense	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5
Past	<i>nangkei-</i>	<i>nangke-</i>	<i>nangke- -an</i>
Future	<i>mangkeiC-</i>	<i>mangke- C2</i>	<i>mangke- C2 -an</i>
Present	<i>kamangkeiC-</i>	<i>kamangke- C2</i>	<i>kamangke- C2 -i</i>

*wahit* ‘to spread things over an area’ + *nangkei-*

*Kedut mudda eya nangkeiwehit ni papil et ag lumullugit eyad bawang.*

Pick up those papers that have been scattered so it will not make this room dirty.

<sup>43</sup> For more explanation of the difference between Time – Continuative activity and Time – Continuative process or action, see 4.1 Verbal root classification.

<sup>44</sup> The *ke-* *kei-* forms of the combined affixes have the allomorphs *ka-* and *kai-* that are selected based on morphophonological rules. Also, whether or not there is germination of the initial consonant with the *kei-* forms depends on a morphophonological rule related to the syncope of the *e* vowel (see 1.1.2 Vowels)

*heyen* ‘to spread diseases of humans or pigs’ + *mangkei-*  
***Mangkeihyen*** *hu pistid edum ni bebley tep ya detag ni kaellan tuu.*  
 The pestilence will spread because of the meat that people get.

*henup* – ‘to be near’ + *kamangkei-*  
***Kamangkeihnup*** *law hu ahi-ani tayud Asipulo.*  
 Our harvest time in Asipulo is drawing near.

*wetwet* ‘to be poor’ + *nangke-*  
***Binaddangak ida nangkewetwet niya nepu-hig.***  
 I helped those who became poor and orphans.

*geday* ‘for land to erode causing landslides’ + *mangke-*  
***Wadalli dakel hu mangkegeday di dalan hedin um-udan ni kewa-wa-wa.***  
 There will be much eroding (of land) onto the road if it rains everyday.

*e-puh* ‘to be consumed’ + *kamangke-*  
***Kele kamangke-puh eyadda busi deya?***  
 Why are these beetles becoming fewer (lit. being consumed)?

*bagbag* – ‘for stems of plants or trunks of palms to dry out’ + *nangke- -an*  
***Nangkebagbagan ida etan neiha-pey ni dagemi.***  
 The rice stems that were left to dry have become completely dry.

*liput* ‘to have a wound’ + *mangke- -an* + *C2*  
***Mangkelipputan idalli et mangketey idad keltad.***  
 They will become wounded and they will die on the road.

*bagbag* – ‘for stems of plants or trunks of palms to dry out’ + *kamangke- -i*  
***Kamangkebagbagi etan netukkad ni balat.***  
 The banana plant that fell down is becoming completely dry.

#### 4.2.6 Participation and inclusion in actions and activities

The inflectional affixes which are members of this set differentiate between participation in actions, and inclusion in an action. That means that volitionality vs. non-volitionality is an important conceptual component. Participant-subjects are generally agents that volitionally participate in actions, while objects are non-volitionally included in the effects of actions.

#### Reciprocal and Reflexive

The reciprocal and reflexive affixes co-occur only with transitive verbal roots. Clauses with reciprocal verbs have subject and object NP arguments combined in a single coordinate phrase occurring in the subject position; the subject argument encodes the volitional participants while the object argument encodes the non-volitional participants affected by the action or activity. In the case of pronominalization, both arguments are encoded in a single plural pronoun in the subject argument position. In clauses with reflexive verbs the subject argument encodes a single participant that is both the volitional agent and the non-volitional undergoer. The single argument constituent is encoded by a proper name NP or a single pronoun.

Table 16 Reciprocal and Reflexive Affixes

Tense	Reciprocal	Reflexive
Past	<i>nan-iN-</i>	<i>naN-</i>
Future	<i>man-iN-</i>	<i>maN-</i>
Present	<i>kaman-iN-</i>	<i>kamaN-</i>

**Reciprocal**

The circumfix set *nan-iN-/man-iN-/kaman-iN-* encodes the reciprocal concept. In a clause with a reciprocal verb, both participants in NP arguments are volitional agent-subjects as well as undergoer-objects (see 11.6.1.3 Addition of a reciprocal agent). The first hyphen in the Reciprocal affixes symbolize the glottal stop sound and the second hyphen symbolizes the fact that all three affixes are multiple morpheme prefixes.

*de-hig* ‘to compete in giving feasts’ + *nan-iN-* + CV-  
***Nan-indede-hig*** *ida*.  
They had competitive-ritual-feasts (lit. they competed with each other).

*abugaduh* ‘to sue someone in a court of law’ + *man-iN-* + CV-  
*Hipa himmulun et kayu* ***man-in-aabugaduh?***  
What caused you to bring each other to court (sue each other)?

*hekdil* ‘to shove’ + *kaman-iN-* + CV-  
*Ida* ***kaman-inhehekdil*** *hu u-ungnga di yinudungan da*.  
The children are shoving one another where they are sitting.

**Reflexive**

The prefix set *maN-/naN-* encodes the reflexive concept. In a clause with a reflexive verb, both the agent-subject and undergoer-object are the same referent, encoded as grammatical subject. A simple NP or pronoun will occur in the subject position of a clause with a reflexive verb (see 11.6.2.3 Reflexive).

*lekbi* ‘to close door’ + *naN-*  
*Endi inna-nu ni penga-allukan nan Maria tep* ***nanlekbid*** *bawang*.  
There is no way to pacify Maria because she locked herself inside.

*bedbed* ‘to bandage a wound or sore’ + *maN-*  
***Mambedbed*** *dak*.  
I will bandage myself.

**Subject-participation**

The subject-participation prefix set encodes a participatory agent in an action. Although the affix combinations look as though they could be segmented and the form *ki-* would then appear to encode the subject-participant, the combination is instead treated as a single morpheme form. The reason for this is that the affix combination expresses a unique function

that cannot be explained easily by simply describing the meaning and function of the parts (see 11.6.1.2 Addition of a participatory agent).

**Table 17 Subject-Participation Affix Set**

Tense	Subject
Past	<i>neki-</i>
Non-past	<i>meki-</i>

**Subject**

*gehat* ‘to clear land’ + *neki-* + CVC-  
*Kami **nekigeggehat** diman nem ey inna-nukkaw ni an pengittulluyan tep ay ahingunwan.*  
 We went to join in clearing there but then there’s no time to continue because it is working season now.

*elaw* ‘to go’ + *meki-*  
*Tuka ihhenu-del ni **mekillaw** hi Mary et mapilit ni nekilaw la anin ni eleg tu pinhed.*  
 He was compelling Mary to go along and so she went along even though she did not want to.

**4.2.7 Causative affixes**

The causative inflectional affixes mark the presence of a causative agent NP in the sentence (see 11.6.1.1 Addition of causative agent). The affix forms have a fusion of causative, the cross-referencing function and tense and aspect inflection. The different cross-referencing forms differentiate which NP constituent is highlighted among three possibilities:

- Causative agent
- Agent
- Undergoer-object

**Table 18 Causative Affixes**

Tense	Agent-Subject CR		Object CR
	Caus.Ag.CR	Agent CR	
Past	<i>nampa-/nampe-</i>	<i>impaN-</i>	<i>impe-/impa-</i>
Non-past	<i>mampa-/mampe-</i>	<i>paN-</i>	<i>pe-/pa-</i>

**4.2.7.1 Causative-agent cross-referencing**

The causative agent prefix sets *nampa-/mampa-* and *nampe-/mampe-* cross-reference the subject grammatical relation, and identify the ‘causer’ as the most significant role at that point in a discourse. The *mampe-/nampe-* allomorph set is preferred when the first vowel of a verbal root is the vowel *a*.

*hamul* ‘feast’ + *nampa-*

***Nampahemul*** *di baley tu et paeyag tudda dakel ni tuu.*

He had a feast at his house and invited many people. (lit. had many people be invited)

Note that in the above sentence, the second clause is also a causative construction with the verb *ayag* ‘to invite’ + *pa-*; the prefix, *pa-* encodes the cross-referencing of the object.

*ala* ‘to get something’ + *mampa-*

***Mampaelanak*** *hakey ni yuddungnan ni meihha-ad diman.*

I will have a chair gotten to be placed there.

#### 4.2.7.2 Agent cross-referencing in causative constructions

The prefix set ***impaN-/paN-*** cross-references the agent NP constituent in a clause. The agent is the one who is actually doing the activity or action. Often only the most significant agent at that point in a discourse is encoded in a clause; the other agent is understood in the context.

*dalan* ‘to walk’ + *impaN-*

***Kele mu impandalan*** *hi mahhiken ey petang?*

Why did you have baby boy walk and yet it is hot?

#### 4.2.7.3 Undergoer cross-referencing in causative-permissive constructions

In causative transitive constructions, objects may be cross-referenced with the ***impe-/impa-*** and ***pe-/pa-*** allomorph affix sets. The ***impe-/pe-*** set is generally preferred when the first vowel of a verbal root is the vowel *a*.

*banggad* ‘to return something’ + *impe-*

***Impebanggad*** *da balwasik ni netalak.*

They returned my shirt that was lost. (lit. they had my shirt return)

*kapyá* ‘to build’ + *impe-*

***Impekapyá*** *da baley dad ahpat.*

They had their house built in the upper place.

*almet* ‘to be displeased’ + *impe-*

***Kele yu impealmet*** *hu Malikanud Camandag.*

Why did you make the American in Camandag displeased?

*bunget* ‘to be angry’ + *impa-*

***Impabunget*** *da-ak ni u-unggam ni kaalman.*

My child made me angry yesterday.

#### 4.2.7.4 Causative agent and topicalization

With these sets of affixes, the pragmatic Rhetorical Topicalizing Referential Strategy becomes a component of the function. As with most affixes, these affixes encode tense and cross-reference one constituent of a clause. The affixes on the verbs in these syntactic constructions cross-reference the fronted NP of the clause. They differentiate causative-agent, agent, place and time.

Table 19 Causative-Topicalizing-Question Affixes

Tense	Causative Agent	Agent/Place/Time
Past	<i>nengipe-</i>	<i>nengipe- -an</i>
Non-past	<i>pengipe-</i>	<i>pengipe- -an</i>

**Causative agent topicalizing-question affix set**

*ahpat* ‘upper place’ + *nengipe-*  
*Hipa nengipeahpat ni newang?*  
 Who brought up the carabao?

*almet* ‘to be displeased’ + *nengipe-*  
*Hi Buyyakaw ngu hu nengipealmet ni hi-gatu.*  
 It was Buyyakaw who made him displeased.

*amta* ‘to know something’ + *nengipe-*  
*Hipa nengipeamtan hi-gayun meippanggep idan han-agi?*  
 Who informed you about the two sisters?

**Agent, Place, and Time topicalizing-question affix set**

*awwid* ‘to throw something behind the body’ + *nengipe- -an*  
*Innan-nun nengipeawwidan tu?*  
 How did he throw it behind?

*kalga* ‘to carry cargo’ + *nengipe- -an*  
*Hipa nengipekalgaan yudda etan ni carton ni neih-adan ni Tanduary?*  
 Who did you have carry the cartons of Tanduary?

*widwid* ‘to wave something back and forth’ + *nengipe- -an*  
*Attu nengipewidwidan tu?*  
 Where did he wave it?

*banggad* ‘to return something’ + *nengipe- -an*  
*Pigantu nengipebangganan da?*  
 When did they return it?

**4.2.8 Passive**

There are three sets of affixes that encode the passive voice in Keley-i (see 11.6.2.2 Passive). The affixes differentiate among the semantic classes of the transitive verbal roots.

- Class 3 - the prefix set *nei-/mei-* cross-references the conveyed-object semantic role when it is promoted to the subject grammatical relation.
- Class 4 - the prefix set, *ne-/me-* cross-references the patient-object semantic role when it is promoted to the subject grammatical relation.
- Class 5 – the circumfix set, *nei- -an/mei- -an* cross-references the site-object semantic role when it is promoted to the subject grammatical relation.

Table 20 Passive Affixes

Tense	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5
Past	<i>nei-</i>	<i>ne-</i>	<i>nei- -an</i>
Future	<i>mei-</i>	<i>me-</i>	<i>mei- -an</i>
Present	<i>kamei-</i>	<i>kame-</i>	<i>kamei- -an</i>

A negated passive co-occurs with the prefix **ma-**; also, the prefix **ma-** co-occurs with the passive verbs of dependent clauses. The prefix set **nei-/mei-** may also encode the cross-referencing of an instrument in a passive clause. The circumfixes **ke- -an** and **kei- -an** encode the cross-referencing of time or place when they are topicalized in clauses with passive verbs. See 4.2.1 Basic cross-referencing (CR) affixes and Class 6 Stative for the affix sets that co-occur with these verbal classes to encode the intensive state and durative process.

### Class 3

*abel* ‘to weave’ + *nei-*  
*Kaw negibbuh law ni neiebel hu ippaebel ku?*  
 Is the weaving I had you weave finished?

### Class 4

*gibbu* ‘to finish something’ + *ne-*  
*Kaw negibbu law ni neiebel hu ippaebel ku?*  
 Is the weaving I had you weave finished?

### Class 5

*balbal* ‘to wash clothes’ + *nei- -an*  
*Dineketan ni kamihita tun andeket hu pantalon kun mablah ni neibalbalan da.*  
 His black t-shirt blackened my white pants when they were washed together.

### Negated passive

*ekal* ‘to remove something’ + *ma-*  
*Ya etan kandan na-let ni agah hu impangegah da eyan degeh ku ey eleg kaya ma-kal.*  
 They treated me with that strong medicine as they say, yet my sickness is not cured (lit. removed).

### Times and Places

*bilang* ‘to count something’ + *keiC1- -an* + *C2*  
*Attu keibbillangan tu?*  
 Where will it be counted?

### 4.2.9 Passive-causative

The passive-causative affix sets **neipe-/meipe-** and **neipe- -an/meipe- -an** may co-occur with any of the three classes of transitive verbal roots.

Table 21 Passive-Causative Affixes

Tense		
Past	<i>neipe-</i>	<i>neipe- -an</i>
Non-past	<i>meipe-</i>	<i>meipe- -an</i>

*anta* ‘to know’ + *meipe-*  
*Eleg meipeamta ingganah nunya.*  
 It will not be made known now.

*amta* ‘to know’ + *neipe- -an*  
*Tuka dedlawu hu neipeamtaan ni tuka pengi-enu-ulligi etan ni bii.*  
 He is feeling uneasy regarding the revelation (lit. having been made known) of his sexual relationship with a certain woman.

4.3 Derivational affixes

There are two types of nominalization of verbal roots: lexical and clausal. Lexical nominalization results in a derived noun. Clausal nominalization results in a clause with a predicate that has noun-like attributes.

4.3.1 Lexical nominalizing affixes

Lexical nominalization is achieved through derivational affixes. The choice of affix depends on the verbal root class. The resulting nominal expresses a NP constituent.

Table 22 Lexical Nominalizing Affixes

Class 3	Classes 4 & 5	Location
<i>kei- -an</i>	<i>ke- -an</i>	<i>-an</i>

Class 3 nominalizing affix

*pehed* ‘to like, to want or desire’ + *kei- -an*  
*Keiphedan ni biyag tayun tuu hu kapehebbalin kedaklan ni tuun meippahding.*  
 The **desire** of most people is for the improving of our lives to happen.

Class 4 & 5 nominalizing affix

*dakel* ‘to be much, many’ + *ke- -an*  
*Yad muyung hu kad-an ni kedaklan ni buted.*  
 It is in the forest where the crawling-type-of-bamboo is **abundant**.

Location or Site nominalizing affix

*yudung* ‘to sit’ + *-an*  
*Kaibelbelyad kayun ekket et yudungan ida eyan ammed yu.*  
 You move a little so that your parents will have **seats** (lit. sitting places).

### 4.3.2 Clausal nominalizing affixes

The circumfixes **paN-** **-an** and **pangi-** **-an** encode nominalized verbal predicates. The nominalized verb is neutral in tense though aspect reduplications may co-occur (see **yudung** sentence below). (See 12.2 for a discussion of nominalized clauses.)

*yudung* + 'to sit' + **paN-** **-an** + CVC1-  
*Kaum-alibegbeg hu an likkuhen hu helin panyuyyuddungan di det-al.*  
 It will cause numbness to curl the feet while **sitting** on the floor.

*bakal* 'to quarrel' **paN-** **-an**  
*Lawah hu an iddeneldel hu nampapgan tep umhulun ni pambekkalan.*  
 It is not good to be pushing the boundary from its original position because it will cause **quarreling**.

*ha-pey* 'to place something in the sun to dry'  
*Mu ibedeng eya linubid et pangiha-peyan tayun balwasi.*  
 Go and tie this rope for **our drying of clothes**.

## 5.0 Non-verbal Predicates

### 5.1 Adverbial predicates

Adverbial predicates are differentiated from the lexical category adverbs by the following criteria:

- Adverbial predicates occur in the initial position of a clause which is the normal position for Keley-i predicates.
- Some of the adverbial predicate classes allow affixation and the resulting forms are similar to verbal predicates; lexical adverbs do not allow affixation.
- Most of the adverbial predicate classes have embedded clauses in the subject or object NP position.

There are six classes of adverbial predicates:

- Evaluative
- Time
- Manner
- Modality
- Comparative
- Mathematical

#### 5.1.1 Evaluative adverbial predicates

The forms that are classified as evaluative adverbial predicates are unaffixed. However, some members of this class may co-occur with derivational affixes.

**Table 23 Evaluative Adverbial Predicates**

Keley-i	English
<i>kedukdul</i>	better or preferable
<i>lawah</i>	bad or evil
<i>kayyaggud</i>	good
<i>kapyatu</i>	customary or traditionally
<i>ni-ngangu</i>	fortunate
<i>a-eyyula</i>	wasted

*Kedukdul* *eya pingway ku nem ya pingway mu tep metattaddem hu pingway ku.*  
 My bolo is better than your bolo because my bolo is sharper.

*Lawah* *hedin eleg tayu u-unnuda hu kayyaggud ni kaittugun ni ammed.*  
 It is bad if we do not follow the good advice of (our) parents.

**5.1.2 Time adverbial predicates**

There are four subclasses of time adverbial predicates, largely differentiated on the basis of affixation.

Class A time adverbial predicates shown in Table 24 are usually affixed with the *i-/iN-* set.

**Table 24 Class A Time Adverbial Predicates**

Keley-i	English
<i>siked</i>	stop
<i>tuluy</i>	continue
<i>lapu</i>	begin
<i>anteng</i>	continue without stopping
<i>dihhan</i>	simultaneous

*siked* ‘to stop doing something’ + *i-*  
*Isiked* *yu hu umpaliteng ni a-appeh yu.*  
 Stop making-noise with your song.

*anteng* ‘to continue doing something’ + *i-*  
*Daka ianteng eheehel.*  
 They keep on talking-talking.

Class B time adverbial predicates shown in Table 25 are affixed with the *-en/-in-* set.

Table 25 Class B Time Adverbial Predicates

Keley-i	English
<i>ganu</i>	do quickly
<i>elistu</i> *	hurry an action
<i>abut</i>	hurry an action

\*The adverbial predicate *elistu* is borrowed from Ilocano.

*ganu* ‘to do something quickly’ + CV + -in-  
**Ginaganu** *tun kinan hu sinapay ni indawat mu.*  
She quickly ate the bread that you gave her.

*elistu* ‘to do an action hurriedly’  
**Elistun** *umdalan di danum.*  
He can walk through water swiftly.

*abut* ‘to do an action hurriedly’ + CVC + -en  
*Hipa muka* **ab-abuten** *mu lawwan diman?*  
Why are you hurrying to go there?

Class C time adverbial predicates shown in Table 26 generally do not require affixation, though some may be affixed.

Table 26 Class C Time Adverbial Predicates

Keley-i	English
<i>dedangngu</i>	long time ago
<i>hin-addum</i>	sometimes or occasionally
<i>lektat</i>	suddenly
<i>kenayun</i>	always or often
<i>hagag</i>	quickly
<i>taggan</i>	continue or continuously
<i>ayepaw</i>	long time (to do)
<i>nganngani</i>	about to happen
<i>entanni</i>	later or after awhile

*dedangngu* ‘a long time ago’  
*Yan dedangngu la hu nengitneman ina eyaddan laya.*  
It was a long time ago when my mother planted these ginger-plants.

*lektat* ‘for something to happen suddenly’ + *naN-* + *-inn-*  
**Nanlinnektat** *hu neteyyan nan apu da.*  
Their grandfather’s death was sudden.

*taggan* ‘to do something continuously’ + *-in-*  
*Kaw sinaggan yu la linawwan ku tugal?*  
Did you continue gambling when I left?

Class D time adverbial predicates shown in Table 27 are commonly affixed with the *me-/ne-* or *mei-/nei-* set but may also take active affixation.

Table 27 Class D Time Adverbial Predicates

Keley-i	English
<i>bayag</i>	long time
<i>dihhan</i>	coincidentally or simultaneously
<i>e-eggel/kadema</i>	frequently
<i>kunnan</i>	seldom or infrequently
<i>ladaw</i>	late

*kunnan* ‘seldom’ + *ne-*  
**Nekunnan** *kaelliin duplanuh di Nepayew.*  
The plane seldom comes to Nepayew.

*ladaw* + ‘late’ + *ne-*  
**Neladaw** *law tep deh e kamangkehilleng!*  
It is late now because, there, it is becoming dark.

5.1.3 Manner adverbial predicates

Manner adverbial predicates express a way of doing something. Some occur unaffixed and others take an affix that cross-references a clause embedded in an object NP position.

Table 28 Manner Adverbial Predicates

Keley-i	English
<i>dayu</i>	to be fitting or appropriate
<i>hammad</i>	to strengthen or stabilize
<i>legem</i>	do something carelessly
<i>kaddiweh</i>	do something easily

**Dayu** tun manmittuduh ka tep nelaing kan mantuttuddu.

It is fitting for you to be a teacher because you are clever in teaching.

hammad + i-

**Ihammad** mu pemedbed mu ma-lat ag la maukah di dalan.

Bind it very well (lit. strengthen) so it will not be removed on the way.

**Kaddiweh** tu kapehding.

He does it easily.

#### 5.1.4 Modality adverbial predicates

Modality adverbial predicates express a speaker's attitude or opinion about the information given in an embedded clause in the subject NP position. A modality predicate is linked to an embedded clause by the linkers *ni/n* or *hu*. In the case of the adverbial predicate *ebuh*, a noun, pronoun, or a demonstrative may precede it (see the *ebuh* sentence below).

Table 29 Modality Adverbial Predicates

Keley-i	English
<i>dammutu</i>	it is possible or it can be
<i>ebuh</i>	it is only
<i>mahapul</i>	it is necessary
<i>mabalin</i>	it is possible or it can be
<i>gaputu</i>	it is the reason for

**Dammutun** meippahding etan kammu.

It is possible that what you said can be done.

**Mahapul** ni umlaw itsun emin di baley da et han da idwat hu pihhuh tayu.

It is necessary that we all go to their house before they can give us our money.

**Hi Meknengan** ni **ebuh** hu daydaywen tayu.

God is the only one we will honor.

#### 5.1.5 Comparative adverbial predicates

There are adverbial predicates that are comparisons, and therefore, evaluative in nature, for example *heni*, *paddung*, *inggeh*, *alig*.

**Ya kabbabbal** ni ehel ey **heni** danum ni putsukan e malumi-ih.

Kind words are like honey that is sweet.

**Paddung** tu inang-ang mu hi **Daniel** tep han-immatur mud latlatu.

It is as if you have seen Daniel because you can recognize him in the photo.

### 5.1.6 Mathematical adverbial predicates

The mathematical adverbial predicates are derived from the cardinal numbers by affixing with the set **maN-/naN-**. The resulting adverbial predicate encodes the number of times an action or activity takes place.

*tellu* ‘three’ + *naN-*

**Nampitlun** *linikkelikked mi hu baley dan hamak min hepeng ni sinlak tu.*

We went around their house three times in search for the centavo that he lost.

Other numbers are derived from the cardinal numbers by adding affixes, e.g. the prefix, **ne-** derives the ‘tens’, e.g. twenty, fifty, etc.

*lima* ‘five’ + *ne-*

**Nelima** *impambayad dan killum.*

Fifty pesos is what they paid for the pig.

### 5.2 Nominal predicates

The nouns that function as nominal predicates are limited to those that can specifically identify a role or feature of the referent encoded in the subject NP constituent of an equational clause. Examples of such nouns are:

- professions, e.g. *abugaduh* ‘lawyer’, *mittuduh* ‘teacher’
- kinship terms, e.g. *ama* ‘father’, *agi* ‘sibling’
- feature, e.g. *laki* ‘male’, *bii* ‘female’

The nominal predicate is normally in the initial position of an equational clause; however, if the subject noun referent is referentially prominent in the discourse, there is a reversal of the order with the subject occurring in the initial position. This reversal is related to the Topicalizing Referential Strategy. For an explanation of this strategy see 2.3.1.2 Affix selection and the cross-referencing system: Referential topicalizing. In the sentence below, the first clause has the normal constituent word order, and the second clause has the reversal of the nominal predicate and the subject NP constituent.

*mittuduh* ‘teacher’

*Mittuduh hi aman Jose.*

Jose’s father is a teacher.

*Hi aman Jose ey mittuduh.*

As for Jose’s father, he is a teacher.

### 5.3 Adjectival predicates

Many Keley-i adjectives are derived from classes of verbal roots. However, there are some canonical adjectives that do not require affixation; quantifiers, in particular, are a semantic class that are often unaffixed, but may take affixation (see the *dakel* sentences below)

Example: The verbal root *dukkey* with the Class 4 default affix set **-en/ka- -a/-in-** means ‘to lengthen something’. When the prefix **aN-** co-occurs with the root, the meaning is ‘long’.

*dukkey* ‘to lengthen something’ + *-in-*  
***Dinukkey*** *tun walun piyeh.*  
 He lengthened it by eight feet.

*dukkey* ‘long’ + *aN-*  
***Andukkey*** *bewek tu.*  
 Her hair is long.

Example: The verbal root *baing* with the Class 2 default affix set ***um-/kaum-/imm-*** means ‘to be ashamed’. When the prefix ***angge-*** co-occurs with the root, the meaning is ‘shameful’.

***Kaumbaing*** *hi Pablo ni umlaw di cammading tep ya anggeba-ing ni impahding tu.*  
 Pablo is ashamed to go to school because of the shameful thing that he did.

*dakel* ‘many or much’  
***Dakel*** *payew da.*  
 They have many ricefields.

***Daddakkel*** *hu intanem kun gahhilang ni nunya nem yan matsaggew.*  
 I planted more corn this year than last year.

## 5.4 Existential predicate

The existential predicate, ***wada***, has five functions:

- It predicates the existence of an entity.
- It predicates the existence or presence of persons.
- It predicates the existence of an event or action.
- It predicates the location of a person or entity.
- It predicates possession of an entity.

In all five functions, there is always a component of existence predicated. When the existential predicate asserts the existence of something or someone, it also has the function of introducing new information into a discourse. However, if a question about the existence or location of something or someone is being answered, the predicate is not introducing new information.

**Table 30 Existential Predicate and Predicate Time and Place Compounds**

English	Keley-i
there is	<i>wada</i>
there was	<i>wadala</i>
there will be	<i>wadalli</i>
there is here – near speaker	<i>wadadya</i>
there is there – near hearer	<i>wadadtan</i>
there is there – far from both speaker and hearer	<i>wadadman</i>

***Predicating the existence of an entity***

*wada* + *y* (attached allomorph of the determiner *di*)

**Waday** *dakel ni ubid gampa.*

There are many sweet potatoes in the basket.

***Predicating the existence or presence of persons***

*Annagam wada kamidya ey tep dingngel mi e um-ali kayu.*

The reason that we are here is because we heard that you are coming.

***Predicating the existence of an event or action***

*wada* + *n* (attached allomorph of determiner *ni*)

**Wadan** *kamengewwit law ni antak?*

Are the string beans climbing now?

*Impuut da hu peng-ah di baley da et wadan man-ungngaddalli law.*

They performed the *peng-ah*-ritual at their house so that they will now have children.

***Predicting the location of a person or entity***

*wada* + attached determiner *d/di* or attached demonstratives *deya*, *ditan*, or *diman*

*Lakkayuy et yulli balluen etan wadad ehpen ni dayyakket.*

Go and harvest the green rice that is below.

*Ey ya u-ungngak ey wadadya.*

And as for my child, he is here.

*Idwasi muwak ni linggeman ni kamekkan ni wadadtan tep neka-uppa-ak.*

Give me whatever food is there because I am hungry.

*Kayyaggud hedin wadadman tuun nelaing niya neanus ni mantuttuddu.*

It is good if there is a person there who is intelligent and patient to teach.

***Predicating the possession an entity***

*wada* + *y* (attached allomorph of the determiner *di*)

**Waday** *dewwan gelding mi.*

We have two goats. (lit. There are our two goats.)

**5.5 Demonstrative predicates**

There are six sets of demonstratives in Keley-i (see 7.6 Demonstrative Pronouns). Each set and each of its members contrasts with the others in both form and function. Sets 1, 2 and 5 may also function as demonstrative predicates.

Table 31 Demonstrative Predicates

	Set 1	Set 2	Set 5
Near speaker	<i>yadya(n)</i>	<i>huyya(n)</i>	<i>iyadya(n)/adyadeh</i>
Near hearer	<i>yadtan</i>	<i>huttan</i>	<i>itten/attandeh</i>
Far from both	<i>yadman</i>	<i>humman</i>	<i>immen/ammandeh</i>
Out of sight			<i>ammundeh</i>

**Set 1**

*Yadman neikgadan tun nunman.*

That (over there) was where the boundary was before.

**Set 2**

*Huyya etan killum ni bimmukyat.*

This is that pig that went out.

**Set 5**

*Adyadeh pihuh ku.*

Here is my money.

*Itten ditan hi agim.*

Your brother is there with you.

## 6.0 Predicate Negation

There are two types of negation that are encoded in four different forms in Keley-i: Negation Predicate, and Adverbial Predicate Negation. The four forms of negation are: **endi**, **beken**, **tawwey**, **eleg** (some speakers use **ag**). All forms, except **ag**, may be used in isolation in answer to a question. There is also an imperative negation form, **entan** meaning ‘do not’.

### 6.1 Negation predicates

The tense of the negation predicates is understood in context.

#### 6.1.1 Negative of existence

The negation predicate **endi** asserts that something or someone does not exist; it is the negation of the existential predicate **wada** and can be translated in three ways depending on the co-occurring constituents of a clause:

- there is none
- there is nothing
- there is no one or no way

*Endi inna-nu ni penga-allukan nan Maria tep nanlekbid bawang.*

There is **no way** to pacify Maria because she locked herself inside.

*Endi daka i-alang ni pagey tep daka ihhidum ni emin di bebley.*

They have **nothing** to put in their granary because they bring all the rice to the village.

The *endi* negation is also used when questioning someone about something that they did not do.

*Kaw endi yuka egguman pihhu di bebley yu?*

**Didn't** you collect any money in your place?

### 6.1.2 Negative of identity

The negation predicate **beken** 'it is not' asserts that something that has been stated or assumed is not true. It is the negative form of non-verbal predicates, i.e. nominal, adjectival and adverbial.

*Hipa mu neagagan ey beken mun kadwa etan kamekidpap?*

Why were you defending him and yet that man who is fighting is not your companion?

### 6.1.3 Negative of denial

The negation predicate **tawwey** 'I do not know' is the simple answer to a question stating that the addressed person has no knowledge of whatever is being asked.

*Tawwey ngu nengilawwan da!*

I certainly **do not know** where they took it!

## 6.2 Adverbial predicate negation

The adverbial predicate negation forms are **eleg** and **ag**.<sup>45</sup> The **eleg** form may also be used in answer to a question.

The adverbial predicate **eleg** 'not' is a clausal negative, i.e. it negates the entire proposition encoded in a declarative clause. The tense of the verb must be non-past. The predicate can be translated in various ways:

- did not
- will not
- is not
- cannot
- no

*Yadda a-ammed la ey eleg ida mampantalon.*

As for the ancestors, they **did not** wear trousers.

*Ehel mun Maria et a-alluken tu hi Edgar et eleg tu taggan nangih.*

Tell Maria to comfort Edgar so that he **will not** keep crying.

*Daka abtun kennen hu appangdan ey eleg malutu.*

They are eager to eat the pineapple but it **is not** ripe.

<sup>45</sup> The *ag* negation form relates to a speaker preference that is related to a dialectal difference in use. The most common usage is when the form co-occurs with a pronoun.

*Eleg tu han-akwal etan keyew tep etteteng ni peteg.*  
He **cannot** put his arms around the tree because it is so big.

*Nakka mea-uli ni e-helen ku tep **aggak** amta impahding tu.*  
I am lacking in what to say because I **do not** know what he did.

When the CVC2 reduplication is added to the form *eleg*, it encodes an evaluation that an action or object does not meet a standard.

*Lineukan tun danum etan meinnum et **el-eleg** law hu tamtam tu.*  
He mixed water with the drinks and now the taste **is not as it should be**.

*Yadda etan muka e-helan **el-eleg** ey humman kaumpapakkuk di kegibbuhan etan ni hummangan tayu.*  
The **negative things that you say** are the ones hindering the accomplishment of our agreement.

*Yinamyaman Alfonse hi Jeremiah tep ya **el-eleg** ni impahding tu.*  
Alfonse harshly-criticized Jeremiah because of the **inappropriate thing** that he did.

### 6.3 Imperative negation

The imperative negation form, *entan*,<sup>46</sup> is used to instruct someone to refrain from doing an action or activity.

*Entan an pan-ayyam di kad-an idan baka tep um-ibud-uk ida.*  
**Do not** play by the cows because they will push you over.

*Entan aletu kukuwah ni edum ni tuu tep takew.*  
**Do not** take the property of other people because it is stealing.

## 7.0 Introduction to Referential Categories

Keley-i is a reference-dominated language.<sup>47</sup> This means that although the predicate is the center of a clause, it is the discourse referential system that sets the parameters of choice related to the selection of cross-referencing verbal affixes, personal and demonstrative pronoun sets and determiners. This section is a description of the referential lexical categories that are encoded in NPs.

There are six referential lexical categories in Keley-i:

- common nouns
- proper nouns
- personal pronouns
- demonstrative pronouns

<sup>46</sup> *Antan* is a free variant of *entan*.

<sup>47</sup> Trask (1999:232) defines a reference-dominated language: "A language in which discourse factors are regularly syntacticized in clause internal grammar, and which consequently structures clauses in terms of a pivot (sense 2), which is normally the grammatical subject." It should be noted that this grammar uses the terminology in relationship to the first part of the definition, but defines the discourse factors related to the clause internal grammar differently. That means that the term 'pivot' is not used, and reference to the grammatical subject does not necessarily dominate in discourse factors.

- interrogative pronouns
- determiners

All of these categories function to refer to the people, things, places and times that are being talked about in any communication. However, each category has a unique referential function to introduce, trace, reintroduce or contrast the information encoded in the forms.

Four types of referentiality are identified in this grammar in relation to the use of referential categories. For endophoric reference, i.e. textual reference, the terms 'definite' and 'indefinite' are used in relation to the information encoded in the forms of the lexical categories. For exophoric reference, i.e. extra-textual reference, the terms 'specific' and 'non-specific' are used in relation to the information encoded in the lexical forms. Only two lexical categories differentiate these four types of referentiality: demonstrative pronouns and determiners. See 7.6 Demonstrative pronouns and 7.8 Determiners for tables showing the forms and an explanation of usage.

### *Textual referentiality*

As mentioned above, endophoric referential forms are those that refer to the relationships among referents within the structure of a text, providing cohesion. There are two types of endophoric relations in Keley-i: anaphoric, i.e. back reference; and cataphoric, i.e. forward reference. In either case, the referents are definite. The term 'indefinite' applies when reference is made to new information in a text.

### *Extra-textual referentiality*

By contrast, exophoric referential forms are those that refer to extra-textual referents. The forms encode specific or non-specific reference to entities in the extra-linguistic communication situation.

If a form encodes 'specific' reference, there is an identifiable entity in the referential world that is being referred to. It is not only identifiable, but it is a particular entity that a speaker has in mind in the context of the communication situation. A form that encodes non-specific reference identifies general or typical objects. Both types of extra-textual referents, specific and non-specific, after introduction into a text, become textually referential, i.e. definite.

These exophoric referential forms may encode two types of informational reference: shared information or unknown information.

Shared information may be of three types.

- Reference is made to a unique object or group of objects; only one exists or has existed or is identifiable as unique in the context of the communication.
- Reference is made to an institution, practice or tradition shared by the language community.
- Reference is general or typical for a class of objects.

### *Unknown information*

In this case, the speaker is introducing information into the communicational context that is unknown to his hearer(s).

### *Referential strategies*

Personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and determiners are classified partly on the basis of their function within two main rhetorical referential strategies, **Focusing** and **Topicalizing** (see 2.3.1.2 Affix selection and the cross-referencing system: Referential constraint—rhetorical strategies in discourse).

These discourse-pragmatic strategies are used in the following ways:

- to organize information
- to keep information intelligible
- to rank the significance of any piece of information

The analysis of texts has shown that these discourse-pragmatic strategies motivate the morphosyntax of clauses; and for this reason, this grammar describes Keley-i as a reference-dominated language.

The referential lexical categories work in conjunction with verbal affixation through cross-referencing to effectively signal the identity and significance of referents.

7.1 Common nouns

Prototypical nouns in Keley-i have the following distributional characteristics. They are heads of noun phrases (NPs) that have a core grammatical relation with the verb, i.e. subject, direct object or indirect object, or they may be heads of NPs that are peripheral, i.e. non-core in regard to grammatical relations. The NPs occupy various positions in clauses based on the normal constituent order of sentence types, and their grammatical relations. (See 11.1 Constituent order.) However, there are movement rules that change the normal constituent order of NPs. (See 11.1.2 Change of word order.) These rules are motivated by discourse-pragmatic factors.

Common nouns require the co-occurrence of a determiner or a demonstrative pronoun. The determiners and demonstrative pronouns are the forms that indicate the referentiality status of common nouns.

*Morphological (structural) characteristics of Keley-i prototypical nouns*

The most notable structural characteristic of Keley-i nouns that differentiates them from verbs is that they can, and often do, occur unaffixed. Other distinctive characteristics of nouns are the forms of affixes with which they co-occur, and the modification of the meaning which results, and their derivational potential.

7.1.1 Inflectional affixes

Quantification of nouns is a diversified notion morphosyntactically. There are four quantifying notions expressed through the inflectional morphology of Keley-i nouns: unifying or grouping, distributive, plural and diminutive. The following table introduces the prefixation used to express quantification (details to follow).

Table 32 Quantification Affixes

Unifier or Grouper	Distributive ‘every’ N	Plural	Diminutive
<i>haN-</i>	<i>kaCV(C).CV-</i>	<i>CV- -C2-</i>	<i>CV- C1- -C2-</i>

Grouping and unifying

The prefix *haN-* encodes the notion of a group or unity in reference to the noun with which it co-occurs.

*ama* ‘father’ + *haN-* → *han-ama* ‘father and children’

*Ida kamanhehbul ni han-ama.*

The father and son are similar (in appearance).

### Distributive, inclusive quantity

The prefix form **ka-** and the **CV(C).CV-** reduplicant expresses the distributive, inclusive quantity concept of ‘every’.

In the two examples below, note that both roots have vowel clusters, and in order to understand the reduplication forms, it must be remembered that a glottal stop always separates vowel clusters in Keley-i. Orthographically, the glottal symbol – is not written unless there is a double glottal stop between the vowels. (See the orthography notes following 2.15 Complex Forms and Component Fields in the Dictionary Entries notes.)

*toon* ‘year’ + *kaCV(C).CV-* → *katootoon* ‘every year’

*Humman dedan daka ippenahding ni katootoon.*

That is what they were doing every year before.

*tuu* ‘person’ + *kaCV(C).CV-* → *katuutuu* ‘all the people’

*Limmau ida katuutuud payew.*

All the people (lit. every person) went to the rice fields.

### Number

Plurality is marked within the morphology of nouns, the reduplicant **CV-** and germination of the medial consonant, **C2**. The plural lexical item, **da**, may co-occur, but it is not required to signal plurality.<sup>48</sup>

*baka* ‘cow’ + *CV- -C-* → *babakka* ‘cows’

*Ya babakka et ya killum ey iggatang ida.*

As for the cows and the pig, they will sell them.

### Diminutive

The diminutive is marked by a **CV-** reduplication and the gemination of the initial consonant, **C1-** and medial consonant, **-C2-**.

*batu* – ‘stone’ + *CV- + C1- + -C2-* → *babbattu* ‘small stone’

*Nemulling ni babbattu etan kan Julius ni sinupya tu.*

It is a rounded small stone that Julius claims to be his amulet.

*tuu* ‘person’ + *CV- + C1- + -C2-* → *tuttu-u* ‘statue’ (lit. small person)

*Hi Ramsfeld hu nengapya etan ni tuttu-u ni wadad alang mi.*

It was Ramsfeld who made the statue (lit. small person) that is in our granary.

<sup>48</sup> The plural lexical unit is often used without the reduplicant morphological marking. Also, if plurality is understood in the communicative context, speakers will simply use the noun without affixation and the plural lexical form.

## 7.1.2 Derivation

### 7.1.2.1 Denominalization

Denominalization refers to the derivational process of changing nouns into verbs. A study of the derivational patterns of denominalization reveals that semantic classes of nouns and the features of their referents are indicative of the types of derivation that may apply. The features of their referents must be compatible with one of the semantic classes or subclasses of verbal roots.

Although the derived verbs appear to share some of the same semantic components as a given class of verbs, there are general differences in the morphology of the two lexical categories. As mentioned earlier in this grammar, only a very small number of verbs may be used without affixation, i.e. verbs typically are bound roots. Nouns are unbound, free roots, and do not require affixation unless modification is needed in a context. Further, even though these results of denominalization may take some affixation as verbs, they are more constrained in the types of affixation they will accept.

#### *Class 1 – Volitionality*

Volitionality is the criterial semantic component of the referents of the members of Class 1 nouns. There are two subclasses.

- Nouns that refer to biological relations, e.g. *ama* ‘father’, *agi* ‘sibling’. When denominalized, these nouns become verbs that predicate a relationship in which the agent-subject treats someone as though they have that particular biological relationship.

*agi* ‘sibling’ + *ka-* *-an* + *C2* → *kaeggian* ‘to count someone as a relative or cousin’

***Kaeggian*** *ama hi inetu tep han-igid ametun nan hi inan ama.*

My father counts her mother as his cousin because her father is the brother of my father’s mother.

- Nouns that refer to a particular profession or type of work, e.g. *abugaduh* ‘lawyer’, *mittuduh* ‘teacher’. When denominalized, these nouns become verbs that predicate a relationship in which the agent-subject practices his profession or does a particular kind of work.

*abugaduh* ‘lawyer’ + *maN-* → *man-abugaduh* ‘to sue’

Kaw ***man-abugaduh*** *kayun kabbuhan?*

Will you sue (in court) tomorrow? (lit. act as a lawyer)

#### *Class 2 - Causality*

Causality is the criterial component of the referents of the members of this class, i.e. the referents can cause something to happen. The best examples of this class are those nouns that may be derived to become meteorological verbs, e.g. *aggew* ‘sun’, *dibdib* ‘air or wind’, *kidul* ‘thunder’.

*dibdib* ‘air or wind’ + *-imm-* → *dimmbidib* ‘wind blew’

***Dimmbidib*** *ey intayab tu etan papil ni neiha-ad di lamesaan.*

The wind blew and it blew (lit. made fly) the papers placed on the table.

### Class 3 – Functionality

Functionality is the criterial component of the referents of the members of this class, i.e. these things are useful in daily life. There are four subclasses based on the meaning of the derived verb.

- Nouns that refer to items of clothing and jewelry, e.g. *patut* ‘shoes’, *pantalon* ‘trousers’. The resulting verbs mean to put on the item of clothing or jewelry.

*pantalon* ‘trousers’ + *maN-* → *mampantalon* ‘to wear trousers’  
*Yadda a-ammed la ey eleg ida mampantalon.*  
 The ancestors did not wear trousers.

*banggel* ‘gold necklace’ + *iN-* → *imbanggel* ‘to wear necklace’  
*Imbanggel kun pinhakkey hu hubeng yu ey mebel-at.*  
 I wore your gold necklace one time and it was heavy.

- Nouns that refer to condiments, e.g. *ahin* ‘salt’, *tapal* ‘garlic’. The resulting verbs mean to add the condiment to food.

*ahin* ‘salt’ + *-in- -an* → *inehinan* ‘to salt food’  
*Inehinan tun han-idu hu danum ni ihhida ey mebanglu.*  
 He salted with one spoonful the broth of the viand and it was delicious.

- Nouns that refer to domestic animals, e.g. *ahhu* ‘dog’, *killum* ‘pig’. The resulting verbs mean to raise or care for that animal. Also, there are derived verbs from the noun referring to a dog expressing the mistreatment of someone.

*ahhu* ‘dog’ + *ka- CV- -a* → *kaa-ahhuwa* ‘treating someone like a dog’  
*Kele muwak kaa-ahhuwa.*  
 Why do you treat me like a dog?

- Nouns that refer to food or other useful items; e.g. *alma* ‘crabs’, *elkat* ‘reed grass’. The resulting verbs mean to collect these items for use.

*alma* ‘crabs’ + *neN- -an* → *nengalmaan* ‘to get or catch crabs’  
*Attu yu nengalmaan?*  
 Where did you go to catch crabs? (lit. where did you go crabbing)

### Class 4 - Instrumentality

Instrumentality is the criterial semantic component of the referents of the members of this class. The referents of the nouns are those instruments or tools that are used to accomplish tasks, e.g. *pawa* ‘woman’s bolo’, *basuh* ‘cup or glass’.

*pawa* ‘woman’s bolo’ + *-in- -an* → *pinewaan* ‘to cut grass with bolo’  
*Ginibbuh dan pinewaan hu payew min kaalman.*  
 They finished cutting the grass in our rice field yesterday.

*basuh* ‘cup or glass’ + *i-* → *ibasuh* ‘to put into a glass or cup’  
*Ibasuh mu danum.*  
 Put water in the glass.

### Class 5 - Containership

Containership is the criterial component of the referents of the members of this class. Anything that can be filled or that can hold things within it belongs to this class, e.g. *akbut* ‘backpack’, *busi* ‘bottle’. The resulting verb means to place items in the container.

*akbut* ‘backpack’ + *nengi-* → *nengi-akbut* ‘to put into a backpack’

*Kaw hi-gam nengi-akbut ni ahin?*

Were you the one who put the salt in your backpack?

### Class 6 - Relationship

Relationship is the criterial component of the referents of the members of this class. The referent of a noun expresses a relationship with another referent or a close relationship between the noun referent and an event, e.g. *ahuk* ‘smoke’ and *apuy* ‘fire’; *ahwa* ‘spouse’ and ‘to marry’.

*ahuk* ‘smoke’ + *kamaN-* + CV + C2 → *kaman-a-ahuk* ‘is smoking’

*Nanengtun kaman-a-ahuk etan nalgab ni baley.*

The burned house is still smoking.

*ahwa* ‘spouse’ + *meN-* → *mengahwa* ‘to marry’

*Aggak ngu mengahwa tep endi nak pengellaan ni pengastuk ni pamilyah ku.*

I will not marry because I do not have any way to get the support for my family.

### Class 7 - Construction

A structure is the criterial component of the referents of the members of this noun class. The members refer to items that are constructed by humans, e.g. *luhud* ‘fence’, *a-abbung* ‘hut’; the resulting verb means to construct that item.

*a-abbung* ‘hut’ + *kapaN-* -i → *ka pan-a-abbungi* ‘building a hut’

*Yad nehayyukung hu daka pan-a-abbungi tep wada danum diman.*

It is in the valley where they are building their hut because there is water there.

### Class 8 - Parts of wholes

To be a part of some whole is the criterial component of the members of this class. The referent of a noun expresses a part relationship with the referent of another noun. The denominalization often results in a stative verb which is intensified expressing a large number or large amount of the part being described, e.g. *dutdut* ‘feathers or fur’, *panga* ‘branch’

*dutdut* ‘feathers or fur’ + *nakaC-* -an → *nakaddutdutan* ‘has very thick feathers’

*Nakaddutdutan etan gawawwa.*

That duck has thick feathers.

#### 7.1.2.2 Renominalization

There are a number of ways in which affixation changes the semantic class of the noun, but not the grammatical class. This doesn’t appear to be a common derivational process; however, it is a patterned word formation process.

### *Entity to container concept*

When the circumfix **paN-** **-an**<sup>49</sup> is attached to words which refer to entities that are conceptually associated with placement in containers the noun is renominalized in order to refer to such a container, e.g. *ahin* ‘salt’ → *pan-ahinan* ‘salt container’

### *Entity to time-of concept (season)*

The prefix **ahi-** attached to words which refer to entities which are conceptually associated with seasonal times derives a noun which refers to that time, e.g. *ani* ‘harvest’ → *ahiani* ‘harvest season’.

*ani* ‘harvest’ + *ahi* → harvest season

**Ahiani** *law di Antipolo*.

It is rice harvest time now in Antipolo.

### *Single entity to group entity*

The prefix **han-** attached to words which refer to a single person or thing changes it to a unified group entity, *ama* ‘father’ → *han-ama* ‘father and children’.

## 7.2 Proper nouns

Both personal names and place names require a determiner. Personal names are marked by the determiner **hi** and proper name places are usually marked by the determiner **di**.

### *Personal names*

Personal names among the Keley-i speakers are of three types: 1) traditional, such as *Bugan* ‘female name’, *Kabbigat* ‘male name’, 2) Spanish, such as *Teresita*, *Conchita*, *Pedro*, *Pablo*, and 3) English, such as *Peter*, *Paul*, *Edna*, *Josephine*. Traditional names often have a meaning. Spanish names were usually given at the baptism of infants. English names have been adopted through contact with Americans or American media, and today, English names far outnumber either traditional or Spanish names. They are frequently used in illustrative sentences in the dictionary.

### *Place names*

The most common proper nouns of places are those classified by the word **bebley**. The word may refer to a country, city or town, i.e. any place where people live, e.g. Philippines, Manila, Nepayew, Antipolo/Asipulo.

## 7.3 Common count nouns

The count noun class is differentiated from the mass noun class by the type of quantifiers that co-occur with the two classes. Quantifiers that are restricted to co-occurrence with count nouns are the following:

- cardinal and ordinal numbers, e.g. *dewwa* ‘two’, *dewwan aggew* ‘two days’, *kadwan aggew* ‘second day’
- affixed and reduplicated cardinal numbers, e.g. *hakey* ‘one’, *hahhakkey ni betek* ‘few bundles’
- plural reduplication, e.g. *tuu* ‘person’, *tuttu-u* ‘people’

49 This circumfix **paN-** **-an** usually functions to nominalize a verb.

Grammar from Keley-i Dictionary and Grammar Sketch

© 2018 by Linguistic Society of the Philippines. Used with permission.

## 7.4 Common mass nouns

As mentioned above, the mass noun class is differentiated from the count noun class in that quantifiers that co-occur with mass nouns must include a measure word, e.g. *han-idun ahin* ‘one **spoonful** of salt’, *dewwan sakuh ni begah* ‘two **sacks** of rice’

## 7.5 Personal pronouns

There are four sets of pronouns in Keley-i (see Table 33 below). They all function to substitute for nouns and noun phrases in communication. Sets 1, 2, and 3 do not co-occur with determiners. A sub-set of Set 4 co-occurs with the determiner *ni* when a member of the set marks a direct or indirect object that is not cross-referenced by the affix on the verb or marks a subject that has been demoted. When the members of Set 4 encode the subject grammatical relation, they occur pre-predicate and are cross-referenced by a complex topicalizing affix, see 4.2.2 Complex topicalizing affixes. Plural pronouns may be further specified with quantifiers.

Set 3 is a compound set that encodes both subject and object. The object is cross-referenced by the affix on the verb. The *da* encodes a non-cross-referenced plural agent-subject and will be identified with a NP elsewhere in the context of the sentence. Singular agent-subjects are encoded with the singular pronouns, *ku* ‘I’, *mu* ‘you’ *tu* ‘he or she’, when the cross-referenced objects are plural, e.g. *kudda* ‘I-them’, *mudda* ‘you-them’, *tudda* ‘he or she-them’.

Keley-i pronouns, like English pronouns, encode person and number. However, they do not encode gender. In addition to singular and plural forms, there is a form called dual, i.e. 1st and 2nd, *ta/ita* ‘we two, i.e. I and you’. There is also a difference between 1st, plural, exclusive, *mi/kami* ‘we, not you’ and 1st, plural, inclusive, *tayu/itsu* ‘we all, including you’.

Table 33 Personal Pronouns

	Set 1	Set 2	Set 3	Set 4	
Gram. Rel.	Subj/Poss	Subj	DO	DO/IO	Top-Subj
Reference	Non-CR	CR	CR	Non-CR	CR
1 sg.	<i>ku</i>	<i>ak</i> <sup>50</sup>	<i>da-ak</i>	<i>ni hi-gak</i>	<i>hi-gak</i>
2 sg.	<i>mu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>daka</i>	<i>ni hi-gam</i>	<i>hi-gam</i>
3 sg.	<i>tu</i>	0	0	<i>ni hi-gatu</i>	<i>hi-gatu</i>
1,2 sg. (dual)	<i>ta</i>	<i>ita</i>	<i>daita</i>	<i>ni hi-gata</i>	<i>hi-gata</i>
1,2 pl. (excl)	<i>mi</i>	<i>kami</i>	<i>dakami</i>	<i>ni hi-gami</i>	<i>hi-gami</i>
1,2 pl (incl)	<i>tayu</i>	<i>itsu</i>	<i>daitsu</i>	<i>ni hi-gatsu</i>	<i>hi-gatsu</i>
2 pl	<i>yu</i>	<i>kayu</i>	<i>dakayu</i>	<i>ni hi-gayu</i>	<i>hi-gayu</i>
3 pl	<i>da</i>	<i>ida</i>	<i>dadda</i>	<i>ni hi-gada</i>	<i>hi-gada</i>

50 If this pronoun is preposed, the form is *nak*. If it attaches to a verb ending in a consonant or the negatives, *ag* and *eleg*, it geminates the coda consonant.

In Table 33 above, there is a row with the label ‘Reference’. In each of the columns of that row, the abbreviations Non-CR or CR classify the sets of pronouns as ones that are cross-referenced by the affix on the verb or non-cross-referenced by the affix on the verb. The morphosyntactic cross-referencing strategy encodes preferential treatment of one of the NPs in a clause; this preferential treatment is motivated by either identificational tracking or prominence ranking at that point in a communicational context. (See discussions in section 7.0 Referential strategies and 4.2.1 Basic cross-referencing affixes and 4.2.2 Complex topicalizing affixes.)

**Differences between English and Keley-i personal pronoun sets:**

- English differentiates a separate pronoun set to signify possession. Possession is just one function of Set 1 in Keley-i.
- Unlike English pronouns, Keley-i pronouns are not simply divided into subjective and objective sets. There is more complexity in their referential function related to discourse-pragmatic strategies.
- Keley-i does not have equivalent forms for the English reflexive, reciprocal, indefinite or relative pronoun sets. Morphosyntax signals reflexive and reciprocal actions. See 4.2.6 Participation and inclusion in actions and activities for reflexive and reciprocal affix forms. Instead of using relative pronouns, relative clauses are simply marked with the linker *ni/n*. See 9.1 Linkers for linker forms and description of their functions.

**7.6 Demonstrative pronouns**

The rhetorical function of demonstrative pronouns involves a complex system of reference. There is a total of seven sets (see Table 35 for the seventh set).The following are the main functional components of demonstrative pronouns.

- The spatial location of a referent: near speaker, near hearer or away from both
- Endophoric, i.e. reference to someone or something previously introduced or exophoric, i.e. reference to an extra-textual referent
- Crossing-referencing of the demonstrative by a verbal affix
- Referring to an action that is being compared, e.g. like this, like that

**Table 34 Demonstrative Pronouns**

	Set 1	Set 2	Set 3	Set 4	Set 5	Set 6
Near speaker	<i>yadya(n)</i>	<i>huyya(n)</i>	<i>ni nunya(n)</i>	<i>eya(n)</i>	<i>iyyadya(n)/adyadeh</i>	<i>diyyay</i>
Near hearer	<i>yadtan</i>	<i>huttan</i>	<i>ni nuntan</i>	<i>etan</i>	<i>itten/attandeh</i>	<i>ditten</i>
Far from both	<i>yadman</i>	<i>humman</i>	<i>ni nunman</i>	<i>eman</i>	<i>immen/ammandeh</i>	<i>dimmen</i>
Out of sight					<i>ammundeh</i>	<i>dimmun</i>

**7.6.1 Set 1**

The members of Set 1 function as predicates that reference location: *yadya* ‘location near speaker’, *yadtan* ‘location near hearer’ and *yadman* ‘location away from both speaker and hearer’. They are exophoric in function, i.e. they introduce a referent, and they are cross-referenced by an affix on the verb encoding the importance of the location in the context.

*Kangku ngu nem **yadya** panhehlungan mi.*

I thought (mistakenly) that **this was** where we would go upstream.

***Yadman** neikgadan tun nunman.*

**That was** where the boundary was before.

### 7.6.2 Set 2

The members of Set 2 are endophoric in function, i.e. they refer to someone or something previously introduced in the context and they contrast with Set 4 members that are exophoric in function referring to an entity outside of the text. Also, the members of Set 2 are always cross-referenced by an affix on the verb, and they contrast with Set 3 members that are never cross-referenced by an affix on the verb. Their spatial function relates to the proximity of the referent to the speaker, or proximity to the hearer or away from both. Finally, in conversation, a speaker refers back to what he has said with the *huyya* form and refers to what a second person has said by the *huttan* form and to what a third person has said by the *humman* form.

*Endi hilbi tun mu pambibigitan ni ellan eya wahay tep ebuh **huyyan** wahay mi.*

It is useless for you to be so eager to get this ax because **this** is the only axe we have.

*Ngini-ngi-ngian da hu ahhun kaalman et **humman** inabbalan tu.*

They laughed at the dog yesterday and **that** caused the rain.

### 7.6.3 Set 3

The members of Set 3 generally refer to time, *nunya* ‘now, today’, *nuntan* ‘then, soon’, *nunman* ‘a long time ago, from now’. However, the set may be used for exophoric reference to actions or things. The members are never cross-referenced by an affix on the verb and as shown in Table 34, they always occur with the determiner *ni/n*.

*Kele an humegyab hu aggiyet **ni nunya**?*

Why is it that flies are becoming so many **now**?

*Yad Ambagiw hu daka an pengippeeyyugin gullingay **ni nunman**.*

It was in Ambagiw where they were melting copper-pipe **before** (that past time).

*Hipa muka pengibbenanggelin **nuntan**?*

Why are you wearing **that** around your neck?

*Lawah hu an duntuken hu bii tep hakbaen hu henin **nunman**.*

It is bad to punch a woman because one can be made to pay a fine for things like **that**.

### 7.6.4 Set 4

The members of Set 4 are exophoric in function, i.e. they introduce an extra-textual referent. The members of the set are not usually cross-referenced by the affix on the verb; however, if the referent in context is highly significant, it may be cross-referenced. Their spatial function relates to the proximity of the referent to the speaker, or proximity to the hearer or away from both.

*Aggattan tep killaten dakallin **eyan** ahhu.*

Get away because **this dog** might bite you.

*Nealimudeng hi Junia ni nambessibessikan dan limmeniklikweh **etan** di baley.*  
Junia fainted while they were running around and around **that** house.

*In-a-appreh da a-appreh Tegnaen **eman** ni kasal di Dugyu.*  
They sang Tegnaen's song at **that** wedding in Dugyu.

### 7.6.5 Set 5

The members of Set 5 are predicates that are exophoric in function, i.e. they introduce an extra-textual referent with a spatial location related to the proximity of the referent to the speaker, or to the hearer or away from both.

*Antan tu i-pun deya ngala tu tep ay **iiyadya** kamandedgeh.*  
Do not gather here and be noisy because somebody **is** sick **here**.

***Iyadya** balwasim ni andeket.*  
**Here** is your black shirt.

*Hipa yuka an pengeyyaeyyagin hi-gada ey aye **immen** daka pan-ingngunu?*  
Why are you calling for them and yet **there is where** they are working?

*Ammandeh hu gaud mu e neihandag di dingding.*  
Look, **there is** your spade leaning on the wall.

### 7.6.6 Set 6

The members of Set 6 are endophoric in function, i.e. they refer to someone or something previously introduced. When a member of the set refers to an antecedent person, the determiner **hi** co-occurs with the demonstrative form. When a member refers to an antecedent location, the determiner **di/d** co-occurs with the demonstrative form. When a member refers to an antecedent thing the determiner **ni/n** co-occurs.

*Hipa **hi** **diyyay**?*  
Who is **this**?

*Pakkaw umguhngaw ni ekket **di** **diyyay** et dalnen ni danum.*  
You have to bore a little hole **here** for the water to pass through.

*Attu pa-nay ni keipnuen **ni** **diyyay**?*  
Where is the jar to fill with **this** (wine)?

*Hipa kahennunghungan ahhud **dimmen**?*  
What is the dog smelling over **there**?

*Kametuggaw dama etan payew dad **dimmun**.*  
Their ricefield **there** also always slides.

### 7.6.7 Set 7 Comparative demonstrative pronouns

The members of Set 7 are used to make a comparison of an object, action or activity with a standard. When a member of the set occurs in the first position of a sentence, there is emphasis on the comparison in the context.

Table 35 Comparative Demonstrative Pronouns

	Set 7
Near speaker	hanneyan
Near hearer	hannitan
Far from both	hanniman

*Hanneyan* killum Marcelo in imbaki dan kaalman.  
Marcelo’s pig that they ritually sacrificed yesterday is **like this** pig.

*Hanneyan* manginudan in matsaggew in dintengan da.  
It was rainy season **like this** last year when they arrived.

*Hannitan* hu wahay ni gintang ku.  
The axe that I bought is **like that** one.

*Hannitan* hu impahding dan hi-gatun neikelabutan tu.  
**Like that** is what they did to him when he was imprisoned.

*Inna-nu* dan ni ag tu kebelhigi hedin *hanniman* hu pehding?  
How will it not crack if it is done **like that**?

*Nakka* pan-e-depa nem kan Hummiwat ey anin *hanniman*.  
I was turning it off but Hummiwat said to let it be **like that**.

7.7 Interrogative pronouns

There are seven interrogative pronouns in Keley-i; they are shown in the chart below with their closest English equivalents; unlike some of the English interrogative pronouns, none of the Keley-i pronouns may be used as relative pronouns marking relative clauses.

Table 36 Interrogative Pronouns

Keley-i	English
hipa	who, what
piga	how many, how much
attu	where
pigantu	when
kele	why
kaw	question
inna-nu	how

*Hipa an nengiabnak ni wangal di dep-ul?*  
**Who** spread the blanket in the dust?

*Hipa tuka ebbuebbuhi?*  
**What** is he complaining about?

*Piga yuka panebang di baley Tomas?*  
**How much** rent are you paying for Tomas' house?

*Piga luhud ni inegidam?*  
**How many** fence posts did you sharpen?

*Attu mu nan-ahulan ni kakkabbuhhan ey nebahbah hu ahhullan?*  
**Where** did you fetch water this morning yet the spring was destroyed?

*Pigantu da penwaan ni pagey yu?*  
**When** will they divide your rice?

*Kele ag mu mangan ni kaalman?*  
**Why** didn't you eat yesterday?

*Kaw wangal in-abnak dad dep-ul?*  
Is it a blanket that they spread in the dust?

*Inna-nun tu nebelhigan etan lunay?*  
**How** did that sack tear?

7.8 Determiners<sup>51</sup>

Keley-i determiners function referentially to introduce, to trace, and to contrast the people, things, places, and times being talked about in a communication situation. They occur preceding nouns, i.e. pre-position, but they are not equivalent in function or meaning to English prepositions or articles. The determiner *ya*, *hu* and *di* may be considered shortened forms of demonstratives, Sets 1, 2 and 6. See 7.6 Demonstrative pronouns for those forms and the explanation of their usage.

Table 37 Determiners

	Cross-referencing								
	Subject		DO		IO	Time	Place	Topicalized NP	
	CR	Non-CR	CR	Non-CR	Non-CR	Non-CR			
Person	<i>hi</i>	<i>nan (hi)</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>nan (hi)</i>	<i>nan</i>			<i>hi</i>	
Common	<i>hu</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>hu</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>di</i>	0	<i>ya</i>

51 These forms have had a number of different terms applied to them by linguists, e.g. case markers, noun markers, voice markers, etc.

### 7.8.1 *Definite or specific reference determiner – hu*

The determiner **hu** is the shortened form of Set 2 demonstrative pronouns. Features of the noun, NP or clause marked with the **hu** determiner are the following:

- The determiner encodes either definite or specific referentiality of the marked referent. That means its use indicates that the referent has been referred to previously in the text or it has a specific extra-textual reference.
- The construction marked by the occurrence of the determiner is cross-referenced by the affix on the verb and the affix encodes the grammatical relation as subject, object or indirect object. The determiner itself does not have a case relation component.
- The determiner may also link a clause to a definite or specific noun or NP constituent that has been topicalized. (See 9.1 Linkers for the description of this function and sentence examples.)

#### **Marking a noun**

Ida kaum-amleng hu tuu hedin kaday endi gubat.  
The people are happy if they say there is no war.

#### **Marking a NP**

Limmebag hu am-ama-an ni winillin helik tep netepetep ni batu.  
The big toe on my left foot is swollen because it was crushed by a rock.

#### **Marking a clause as a cross-referenced direct object of a main verb**

Anggebe-hel tuwak nan Pedro tep aggak pinhed hu tuka pehpehdding.  
Pedro hates me because I do not like what he is doing.

### 7.8.2 *Indefinite determiner – ni/n*

The determiner **ni** has an allomorph **n** when it is attached to a preceding form that ends in a vowel. The determiner may co-occur with Sets 3 and 6 demonstratives and Set 4 pronouns, as well as co-occurring with nouns. The determiner also functions as a linker. It may link a complement clause to the main clause, and link a relative clause to the head noun (see 9.1 Linkers). Features of the noun, demonstrative, pronoun or NP marked with the **ni/n** determiner are the following:

- The determiner with its marked construction is not cross-referenced by the affix on the verb.
- The referent of a noun marked with **ni** is indefinite or non-specific.
- The referent of a demonstrative that is a member of Set 3 or Set 6 is definite when marked with **ni**.
- The referent of a pronoun that is a member of Set 4 is definite when marked with **ni**.
- The determiner itself does not have a case relation component.
- The marked construction may have either a subject or object relationship with the verb encoded by its position in a clause

#### **Marking a noun – the referent is indefinite and non-specific**

Inheweb tu galumeymey tud bungut ni busi ey immipet.  
He inserted his finger in the mouth of a bottle and it cannot be removed (lit. it is tight).

**Marking a member of Set 3 demonstratives**

Dakel mika kekenaan nunman ni hi-gami nengawan nunman.

We caught many (bats) that time when we were the ones who netted them at that time.

**Marking a member of Set 4 pronouns**

Antan kaidangkig ni hi-gak tep ay maetung.

Do not lean on me because it is hot.

**Marking NP and linking adjective and noun**

Lawah hu ita um-ameameh ni edum ni tuu.

It is bad to be envying other people.

**7.8.3 Definite and specific reference determiner – hi**

- Marks cross-referenced personal names and personal relationship nouns, e.g. *hi ina* ‘mother’, *hi ama* ‘father’
- The person referent may be either definite (that is, referred to earlier) or specific (introduced into the communication)
- The determiner itself does not have a case relation component.
- The marked construction may have either a subject or object relationship with the verb

**The marked construction is an indirect object that is cross-referenced by the affix on the verb.**

Antan tu idwasi **hi Robert** ni bubud tep eleg tu damengu innuma tep eleg tu pinhed hu bubud.

Do not give Robert rice wine because he will not drink it anyway because he does not like rice wine.

**The marked construction is a subject that is cross-referenced by the affix on the verb.**

Limmau dama **hi Samuel** di Amduntog ni kaalman.

Samuel also went to Amduntog yesterday.

**7.8.4 Definite and specific reference determiner– nan (hi)**

The determiner, *nan*, may occur alone or with the *hi* determiner. The *nan* may also be omitted when the cross-referenced person is marked. (See the first example sentence below.)

- Marks non-cross-referenced personal names and personal relationship nouns, e.g. *nan ina* ‘mother’, *nan ama* ‘father’
- The person referent may be either definite (that is, referred to earlier) or specific (introduced into the communication)
- The determiner itself does not have a case relation component.
- The marked construction may have either a subject or object relationship with the verb encoded by its position in a clause

In the following example, the marked construction, **nan Carlos**, is a subject that is not cross-referenced by the affix on the verb.

Tuwak kaa-amiha **nan Carlos** nem emmihen ku hedin mambultung kami.

Carlos underestimates me but I will beat him if we have a wrestling match.

In the following example, the marked construction, **nan ametu**, is a direct object that is not cross-referenced by the affix on the verb.

*Kaw endi mu inang-ang nan ametun immalid kad-an mun hileng eman ni nan-adugan mud baley da?*

Did you not see his father come there during the night when you were guarding their house?

### 7.8.5 Site or location determiner – di

The grammatical function of the **di** determiner is to mark proper nouns naming places and common nouns that refer to spatial places. It also marks the proper name of a person in an NP referring to a group of people.

Features of nouns marked by the **di** determiner are as follows:

- The marked proper nouns refer to places or to the first person named of a group.
- Some marked common nouns refer to spatial places, e.g. *di daulen* ‘lower place’, *di dallin* ‘outside’ *di bawang* ‘inside’.
- Other marked common nouns may refer to a container, a place or location, destination or source giving the determiner the English glosses of ‘at’, ‘in’, ‘to’, or ‘from’.

*Hipa kaanmengeggut ni pagey di payew mi hedin hileng ngu?*

Who is uprooting the rice **in our field** during the night?

*In-a-appreh da a-appreh Tegnaen eman ni kasal di Dugyu.*

They sang Tegnaen’s song during the wedding **in or at Dugyu**.

*Hipa kaman-addug di baley yu hedin limmaw kayun emin di iskul?*

Who guards your house when you all go **to school**?

*Eleg meang-ang hu allinew di engeenget tep ya benang hu tuka keltui.*

The shadow cannot be seen **in the dark** because it is the light that creates it.

*Ya ngala da hu nengipea-allawan dan hi-gada di ay-ayaman ni kaalman.*

Their noisiness caused them to be sent away **from** the game yesterday.

*Pigantu nan-ahwaan di Gullingay nan Kuwwaku?*

When did Gullingay and Kuwwaku marry?

### 7.8.6 Topicalizing indefinite, non-specific determiner - ya

The grammatical function of the determiner **ya** is to mark the topicalized constituent of an equational, stative or active clause. When a topicalized noun or NP is also marked with the determiners, **ni** or **di**, the consonants **n** and **d** attach directly to the **ya** form, the vowel **i** is dropped and the forms **yan** and **yad** result.<sup>52</sup> Various linkers between the constituent and the remainder of the clause may be used depending on the referentiality of the topicalized constituent.

Features of the noun, NP, or clause marked by the **ya** determiner are the following:

<sup>52</sup> Other grammatical forms that attach to this determiner are: *da/ida* ‘3rd person plural pronouns’; *ali/lli* ‘future time’; Set 1 demonstrative pronouns.

- The noun or NP is indefinite and non-specific.
- Generally the referent of the marked constituent is being introduced into the discourse.
- If the noun or NP is the topicalized constituent of a stative or active clause, it may have either the subject or object grammatical relation with the verb.

***The time constituent of an active clause is topicalized***

*Yan Katlu hu keemungan tayud baley yu et han itsu lumaw ni emin di kammading.*

On Wednesday we will all gather together in your house before we all go to the school.

***The site constituent of an active clause is topicalized***

*Yad andayyan ku hu nengihha-adan kun patut kun neugipan tayu.*

It was by my feet where I put my shoes when we were asleep.

***The agent-subject constituent of an active clause is topicalized***

*Ya anghel hu kamengia-addug ni hi-gatsu.*

An angel is the one guarding us.

***The instrument-object of an active clause is topicalized***

*Ya am-ama-an hu kapanpilma etan idan eleg da amta mantuddek.*

The thumb is being used for signing as a thumbmark by those who cannot write.

***The subject of an equational clause is topicalized***

*Ya ngadan ni Aliguyun ey nan-amtad Ifugao.*

The name Aliguyon is popular in Ifugao.

## 8.0 Introduction to Modificational Categories

Although there are some distinctive inflectional and distributional properties of the lexical categories classified as modificational, it is their semantic and functional properties that differentiate them from the lexical categories that are classified as predication, referential, and relational.

There are three main modificational categories in Keley-i: adjectives, adverbs, and adjuncts. Adjectives modify nouns; adverbs modify verbs and adjuncts modify clauses by encoding a speaker's perspective of the information contained in a clause.

Adjectives have two sub-categories: qualifying and quantifying. Adjuncts have two sub-categories: Interjection and attitudinal modality. Adverbs have three subcategories: time, additive, and limiting.

### 8.1 Adjectives

The subclasses of Keley-i adjectives are determined on the basis of syntactic, inflectional, and derivational criteria. Syntactically, adjectives function as modifiers in noun phrases, and as predicates in non-verbal clauses. In fact, statistically they are used to predicate more frequently than they are used to modify nouns in noun phrases.

When adjectives occur within NPs, they usually occur before the noun head and are generally linked to the noun by the form *ni*. This is the same linker that connects relative clauses to their head nouns and complements to the verbs they modify. When noun heads are definite or specific, determiners mark them as such and in these instances, the determiners also serve to link the adjective to the noun and the *ni* linker is not required.

Qualifying adjectives describe the characteristics or properties of referents; they are few in number and usually encode a value judgment of people, things or places. Quantifying

adjectives encode dimensions, size, measure, and number. Dimension adjectives require one of three prefixes, **an-**, **ma-/na-**, or **e-** (see examples in Table 38 below)

**Table 38 Criterial Components of Adjective Classes**

Qualifiers	Quantifiers		
	Dimension	Size	Number
<i>kayyaggud</i> - good	<i>andukkey</i> - long	<i>eteng</i> – big or large	<i>dewwa</i> – two <sup>53</sup>
<i>lawah</i> - bad	<i>ansikkey</i> - short	<i>eket</i> - small	<i>emin</i> - all
<i>daan</i> – old, former	<i>mahkang</i> - wide		<i>hahhakkey</i> – few <sup>54</sup>
<i>ustuh</i> - adequate	<i>nahkit</i> - narrow		<i>dakel</i> - many
<i>hilbi</i> - valuable	<i>eta-gey</i> - high		
	<i>ebabba</i> - low		

***Kayyaggud functioning as a predicate***

*Emin itsu ey kayyaggud tu hu u-unnuden hu tugun idan ammed tayu tep humman hu elaw tayu.*  
As for all of us, it is **good** to obey our parents' advice because that is our culture.

***Kayyaggud functioning as an adjective in a NP***

*Kiniblah tu hu kayyaggud ni tugal ku et endi law hilbi tu.*  
He caused **my good hand in the card game** to be unwinnable and so it is now useless.

***Andukkey functioning as a predicate***

*Andukkey bewek tu.*  
Her hair **is long**.

***Andukkey functioning as an adjective in a NP***

*Kalli alan andukkey ni paul et panewidaw ku eman ni melakkeb ni bulung ni keyew.*  
Go and get me a **long reed** so I can use it to reach that wide leaf of the tree.

***Etteteng and emin functioning as adjectives in NPs***

*Kaw na-gahan ni etteteng ni batu?*  
Did a **very large rock** drop on it?

*Ida kaumbalaw hu biid bebley yu tep babaknang idan emin tuudman.*  
The women in your place dislike us because **all the people there** are rich.

### **8.1.1 Measure quantifiers**

Measure quantifier constructions are formed with nouns that may serve as measures and co-occur with quantifiers. When the prefix *haN-* co-occurs, it encodes one unit of measure but cardinal numbers may also serve as quantifiers of measure nouns.

<sup>53</sup> All cardinal numbers function as quantifiers, 'two' is included here only as an example.

<sup>54</sup> The adjectival root is the cardinal number *hakey* 'one'.

Table 39 Measure Quantifiers

Keley-i	English	Keley-i	English
<i>basuh</i>	cup	<i>hambasu</i>	one cupful
<i>iduh</i>	spoon	<i>han-iduh</i>	one spoonful
<i>gamal</i>	one hand cupped	<i>hanggamal</i>	one handful
<i>betek</i>	bundle	<i>hambetek</i>	one bundle

### 8.1.2 Number quantifiers

There are two main categories of number quantifiers: plural quantifiers and cardinal numbers. The cardinal number category is particularly productive morphologically, inflectionally, and derivationally.

Table 40 Plural Quantifiers

Keley-i	English
<i>dakel</i>	many
<i>edum</i>	some
<i>linggeman</i>	any
<i>emin</i>	all

*Ida kamemmel hu edum ni intanem mun baltung.*  
**Some** of the mongo beans that you planted are sprouting.

Table 41 Cardinal Number Quantifiers

Keley-i	English	Keley-i	English
<i>hakey</i>	one	<i>pitu</i>	seven
<i>dewwa</i>	two	<i>walu</i>	eight
<i>tellu</i>	three	<i>heyam</i>	nine
<i>epat</i>	four	<i>hampulu</i>	ten
<i>lima</i>	five	<i>gatut</i>	hundred
<i>enem</i>	six	<i>libu</i>	thousand

### Cardinal number inflection and derivation

Table 42 shows the various inflectional and derivational word formation processes available to express mathematical concepts using cardinal numbers. Here dewwa ‘two’ is used to exemplify the patterns, but such forms occur with all cardinal numbers.

**Table 42 Cardinal Number Inflection and Derivation**

Keley-i	English
<i>dewwa</i>	two
<i>handedwa</i>	two each
<i>medewwaddewwa</i>	two per group
<i>dewwadewwaen</i>	divide into groups of two
<i>dewwadewwa</i>	pair, by twos
<i>meikadwa</i>	second
<i>meikkadwalli</i>	will be second or next
<i>ippidwa/pidwaen</i>	repeat it or do a second time

### 8.1.3 Inflectional affixes

Comparative inflection may co-occur with both dimension and size quantifier adjectives.

**Table 43 Comparative Inflection**

Comparative	Superlative
prefix + CV(C)-	<i>ke- -an</i> + CV(C)-

**Table 44 Comparative and Superlative Inflected Examples**

Keley-i root	Keley-i	English	Keley-i	English	Keley-i	English
<i>babba</i>	<i>ebabba</i>	low	<i>e-ebbabba</i>	lower than	<i>kebabbabbaan</i>	lowest
<i>ta-gey</i>	<i>eta-gey</i>	high	<i>e-etta-gey</i>	higher than	<i>keta-ta-geyan</i>	highest
<i>dukkey</i>	<i>andukkey</i>	long	<i>anduddukkey</i>	longer than	<i>keduddukkeyan</i>	longest
<i>sikkuy</i>	<i>ansikkuy</i>	short	<i>ansissikkuy</i>	shorter than	<i>keisissikkuyan</i>	shortest
<i>eteng</i>	<i>etteteng</i>	big	<i>e-etteng</i>	bigger than	<i>kee-ettengan</i>	biggest
<i>eket</i>	<i>ekkeket</i>	small	<i>e-ekkeket</i>	smaller than	<i>keek-eketan</i>	smallest

8.1.4 Derivational morphology

In general, qualifying adjectives may function as adjectival predicates without any change in form. As illustrated in Table 42 cardinal numbers have the most productive and broadest variety of derivations. Other quantifying adjectives have two common derivations: Adjective → Noun and Adjective → Active Verb.

Derived noun

The circumfix *ka-* *-in-* derives a noun from the dimension quantifier class of adjectives.

Table 45 Derived Nouns

Keley-i root	Keley-i	English	Keley-i	English
<i>hekanɡ</i>	<i>mahkanɡ</i>	wide	<i>kalinakkeb</i>	width
<i>dukkey</i>	<i>andukkey</i>	long	<i>kadinukkey</i>	length
<i>dalleṃ</i>	<i>edalleṃ</i>	deep	<i>kadinalleṃ</i>	depth
<i>ta-gey</i>	<i>eta-gey</i>	high	<i>kasina-gey</i>	height
<i>babba</i>	<i>ebabba</i>	low	<i>kabinabba</i>	lowness
<i>dakel</i>	<i>dakel</i>	many	<i>kadinakkel</i>	amount or number

Derived active verb

When an active verb is derived from an adjective, the derived verb fits into a verb class, and may then take the usual inflectional affixes associated with that class.

- dukkey* ‘long’ + *-um-* → *dumukkey* ‘to become long’
- dukkey* ‘long’ + *-en* → *dukkeyen* ‘to lengthen’
- dakel* ‘many’ + *-um-* → *dumakkel* ‘to become many’
- dakel* ‘many’ + *pe-* → *pedakkel* ‘to cause to become many’

8.2 Adverbs

Adverbial modification is encoded grammatically in one of two ways in discourse, either as predicates or as adverbs that modify verbal predicates. The choice of function depends on the prominence that a speaker wants to give to the information, and the scope of the modification. See 5.1 Adverbial predicates for a description of adverbial predicates.

There are three classes of adverbs: time adverbs, additive adverbs, and limiting adverbs. The classification is based largely on the modifying function. Some similar functions are expressed by adverbial predicates.

8.2.1 Time adverbs

Time adverbs modify a main verb by specifying a time element related to the verb. The usual position of a time adverb is immediately following the agent-subject of the clause. The

time adverb **ali** ‘future’ has a bound allomorph **-lli** that attaches to pronouns with a vowel final form. This allomorph also attaches to the existential predicate, **wada**, and the negated existential **endi**. The time adverb **la** ‘past’ also has a bound allomorph that attaches to the same words, but with no change in the form.

Table 46 Time Adverbs

Keley-i	English
<i>law</i>	now or already
<i>ali</i>	future time period
<i>la</i>	past time period
<i>et han</i>	before or not yet
<i>entanni</i>	after awhile

*Endi law kaman-a-bek tep endi kamambekki di alang ni ahiani.*  
There is no more drumming **now** because nobody performs a traditional ritual at harvest time.

*Nak ali pangngu peablih di Baguio.*  
I **will** try to be operated on in Baguio.

*Hi-gam hu inamnuan ni inhel lan apu yun kantuy wadalli hu inap-apu tun manmittuduh.*  
You are the fulfillment of what your grandfather said (in the past) when he said **there will be** a grandchild of his who will be a teacher.

*Attu nengilhetan idala etan ni nandalan di Asipulu?*  
Where is the shortcut route used by those people who **previously (in the past)** passed through Asipulu?

*Binelita tu etan batu et han meteg-ang.*  
He hit the stone with the crowbar **before** it split.

8.2.2 Additive adverbs

This class of adverbs modifies 1) a predicate by encoding the concept of a similar or added predication concept to one that has been mentioned previously, 2) an agent-subject as one who acted in a similar way or is described in a similar way or 3) a repeated action.

Table 47 Additive Adverbial Modifiers

Keley-i	English
<i>dama</i>	also
<i>mewan</i>	again

**Modification of an added predicational concept**

*Umbeni-tang hi Netaman pagey ey tagan mi **dama** ani.*  
Netama was spreading the bundles of rice while we **also** continued harvesting.

**Modification of an added agent-subject**

*Anin ni utut et netu-ngalan ida **dama** henin hi-gatsun tuu.*  
Even rats have bones **also** like us human beings.

*Mika kenna **dama** hu tungpup.*  
We **also** eat bamboo shoots.

**Modification of a repeated action**

*Ang-ang mu et agmu abekan **mewan** etan balwasin akki.*  
See to it that you will not spread the mat over the baby’s clothing **again**.

*Antan ali **mewan** tu ala etan balwasi tep sinebunan kun ebuh.*  
Do not get those clothes **again** because I just soaped them.

**8.2.3 Limiting adverbs**

Limiting adverbs are those that limit events, processes or persons.

**Table 48 Limiting Adverbs**

Keley-i	English
<i>ebuh</i>	only
<i>hinnang/et la</i>	nearly or almost

*Endi kaeddalaeddala etan ni u-ungngad bebley tep ya a-ayyam ni **ebuh** daka lawwi di iskul.*  
Children in the barrios are not learning anything because they go to school **only** for playing.

***Hinnang** et lan mekillawwak ni hi-gada nem nantuttuyyu-ak tep makaggeh uluk.*  
I **almost** went along with them but I changed my mind because my head was aching.

*Kamangkedulnek **et la** numan nem inang-ang ku kuma et epwatan ku.*  
It was **almost** overcooked but I saw it so I removed it.

**8.3 Adjuncts**

All adjuncts are those that express speaker involvement in the evaluation of the information given in any sentence, as well as its linguistic and extra-linguistic context. The adjunct examples listed in the tables below are just a sampling of the entries in the dictionary. There are three subclasses of adjuncts:

- interjectional modifiers - express emotion
- attitudinal modifiers
  - are related to information, perceived reality and belief
  - are related to mood, emotion
- interpersonal modifiers – are related to personal relationships and communication

### 8.3.1 Interjection adjuncts

Except for the adjunct, *anhan*, the interjection adjuncts occur in the first position of clause word order. Some of the words may express either negative or positive feelings; the context determines the interpretation.

Table 49 Interjection Adjuncts

Keley-i	English
<i>aday</i>	surprised dismay, oh dear
<i>ay</i>	exclamation of insight
<i>ayyuh</i>	expression of concern or pity
<i>anakkayang</i>	surprise, amazement
<i>ayyakaw</i>	intense feeling of dislike or surprise
<i>ambuley</i>	an unsurprising consequence
<i>anhan</i>	pleading expression; please
<i>aninman</i>	never mind, no problem
<i>higaw</i>	offensive to the senses, gross, yuck
<i>anay</i>	ouch, ow
<i>deh</i>	emphasizes an obvious fact
<i>hinuy</i>	oh no, dismay or fear

*Kamandedgeh hi inetu et humman na-mu hu **ambuley** kaum-abtun meibbangngad ni kaalman.*  
Her mother is sick so probably it is **no wonder** that she was wanting to return yesterday.

*Pautangi muwak **anhan** ni pihhuh mu.*  
**Please** lend me money.

*Inla-yab da kaya hu iduidut idan tuu et **deh** e bimmaknang ida.*  
They overcame the people's curse and **there now**, they became rich.

### 8.3.2 Attitudinal adjuncts

#### 8.3.2.1 Related to information, reality, belief

Speakers choose these adjuncts when they wish to express a judgment about the factual status of the information they are giving.

Table 50 Epistemic Modality Adjuncts

Keley-i	English
<i>tu-wa/tuwangu</i>	truly, in fact
<i>gayam/kumedek</i>	contrary to expectation
<i>entu</i>	might be, could be
<i>damengu</i>	anyway, in any case
<i>mannuman</i>	certainly
<i>kaya</i>	certainly, definitely
<i>pay</i>	definitely, emphatic certainty
<i>kunu</i>	reportedly
<i>na-mu</i>	maybe, possibly, perhaps
<i>endi maptek</i>	it is uncertain <sup>55</sup>
<i>makkaw</i>	doubt, uncertainty

*Endi tu-wa hu pihhuh ni iddawat ku.*  
The **truth** is that I have no money to give.

*Ya gayam gaputun nandegehan tu ey tep ya kinan tun detag et beken ni ya ininum tun danum.*  
**Contrary to expectation**, the cause for his sickness is the meat that he ate and not the water that he drank.

*Aninman hedin ellan tu matsilyu haggud eleg damengu meussal di deya.*  
Never mind if he takes the hammer as it is not being used here **anyway**.

*Tuka benninbina etan libluh tep kantu na-mu nem humman libluh tu.*  
She is examining that book because she **perhaps** thinks that it is her book.

### 8.3.2.2 Obligatory modality

The obligatory modality adjuncts express a sense of duty or what is considered to be appropriate behavior in the current circumstance.

Table 51 Obligatory Adjuncts

Keley-i	English
<i>hamban</i>	obligatory, should
<i>pakkaw, pakkadek</i>	necessary, required

<sup>55</sup> This adjunct functions as a predicate.

*Hamban neki-li hi inam et ang-angen tu hi ina ey.*

Your mother **should** have come (with others) so she could see my mother.

*Pakkaw la-wangen idan bii hu payew ni han ida kunu an nangga di habal.*

The women **must** clear the ricefield before they start cleaning in the sweet potato patch.

*Yad elaw tayu ey pakkadek mettey hu bineley mu ni han ka nambintan.*

In our culture, your spouse **has to** die before you can remarry.

## 9.0 Introduction to Relational Categories

Keley-i has two main relational categories: linkers and conjunctions. Linkers have two main functions, relating constituents of phrases and relating constituents of clauses. Conjunctions relate clauses and have two main functions, either subordinating or coordinating.

### 9.1 Linkers

There are six main linker forms, *hu*, *ey*, *ni*, *niya*, *e*, and *an*.

- The *hu* form links a fronted NP constituent to the remaining constituents of a clause.
- The *ey* form also links a fronted constituent to the remaining constituents of a clause.
- The *ni* form links the constituents of noun phrases and links restrictive relative clauses to their head nouns.
- The *niya* form links coordinate nominal constituents of a NP.
- The *e* form links non-restrictive relative clauses to their head nouns.
- The *an* form links complement clauses to the main clause. It may also be used to link question words and fronted pronouns to other constituents of a clause, but it is not required. (See 12.1.1 Relative clauses and 12.1.2 Complement clauses)

#### *Linking a clause to its topicalized noun or NP constituent*

*Yan Katlu hu keemmunan tayud baley yu et han itsu lumaw ni emin di kammading.*

On Wednesday we will all gather together in your house before we all go to the school.

*Yad andayyan ku hu nengihha-adan kun patut kun neugipan tayu.*

It was by my feet where I put my shoes while we were asleep.

*Ya anghel hu kamengia-addug ni hi-gatsu.*

An angel is the one guarding us.

*Ya impan-ammed la idan kamangekeley-i ey nalpuddad kabunyan.*

As for the ancestors of Keley-i speakers, they are from the sky.

*Ya ngadan ni Aliguyun ey nan-amtad Ifugao.*

As for the name Aliguyon, it is popular (lit. well-known) in Ifugao.

#### *Linking constituents of NPs*

*Ehel mun amam et alladduen tu [hu habyen ni baley yu].*

Tell your father to unlock [the door **of** your house].

*Lawah hu an keemmehan [hu edum ni tuu].*

It is bad to envy [other people].

### ***Linking a restrictive relative clause to its head noun***

*Neandeng hu [keyew ni intu-bek da].*  
The [tree that they staked] is straight.

*Hipa kan [baley etan ni neihelpat di baley Deungyan]?*  
Whose [house is that one near to Deungyan's house]?

### ***Linking coordinate nominal constituents of NPs***

*Ineyum tu etan kinna tun [tabaw niya ut-ut].*  
He tamed the [wildcat and the wild pigeon] that he caught in the traps.

*Yadda tuud Banawe kamengi-i-lin [binuhlan niya ginallit] di deya.*  
The people from Banawe are the ones bringing [Ifugao loincloths and Ifugao native skirts] here.

### ***Linking a non-restrictive relative clause to its head noun***

*Ammandeh hu [gaud mu e neihandag di dingding].*  
Look, there is [your spade leaning on the wall].

*Inang-ang ku [hi Daulayan e kaumhenamlit ni ewah di baley da].*  
I saw Daulayan [who was sharpening his knife in their house].

### ***Linking a question word to other constituents of its clause***

This linker is not required.

*Hipa an nengikehal ni bubud Daganih?*  
Who drank all of Daganih's wine?

### ***Linking a complement clause to the main clause***

There are two complement clauses in the sentence below marked by *an*. In the English translation, the word 'to' introduces the complement clauses.

*Nakka hihhinnuan an an-um-e-hel ni hi-gatu tep kamehihinnu hu an tuggunen hu neta-gey adal tu.*

I feel awkward **to** say something to him for it is an awkward thing **to** advise somebody who is highly educated.

## **9.2 Conjunctions**

Conjunctions are of two types: coordinating and subordinating. In Keley-i, coordinating conjunctions function to relate clauses that encode information that is equally prominent in the context; neither clause modifies the other. Subordinating conjunctions mark adverbial clauses that modify main clauses by indicating the semantic relationship that the subordinate information has to that in the main clause. Both types of conjunctions are cohesive elements in discourse.

Some Keley-i conjunctions have more than one meaning, and context is required to interpret the meaning. Predicates and information conveyed by the NP constituents are needed to determine the meaning and function of those conjunctions that have multiple meaning and function.

Two or more conjunctions may occur in sequence expressing two logical relations for the information in the clauses.

### 9.2.1 Coordinating conjunctions

As mentioned above, coordinating conjunctions indicate that the information in the coordinated clauses is of equal significance in the context of use. Neither clause in a coordinate relationship is subordinate to the other.

**Table 52 Coordinating Conjunctions**

Relation	Keley-i	English Equivalent
Addition	<i>ey</i>	and
Sequence – time	<i>et</i>	and then
Sequence – reason-result	<i>ey/et</i>	and so
Combined	<i>niya</i>	and
Contrast	<i>nem</i>	but
Alternative	<i>winu</i>	or

*Nandekuggak ey inag-ang ku e tuka pankennan kindih.*

I turned around **and** saw him eating the candies.

*Hinek-il Daniel hi Jerome di yuddungnan et yumudung di diman.*

Daniel pushed Jerome from the seat **and then** sat down on it.

*Nandegeh ni dewan bulan ey nepippigut.*

He was sick for two months **and so** he is thin.

*Binaddangak ida nangkewetwet niya nepu-hig.*

I helped those who became poor and orphans.

*Nan-egah et la nem inheka tu et ag metukkad.*

He almost fell **but** he placed his hand (on the ground) **and so** he did not fall down.

The alternative conjunction, *winu*, is borrowed, and is more often used in a coordinate NP (see second sentence below).

*Nangkenemneman kayu et ngenamung kayun mannemnem hedin neiptek winu neihla eya nakka pan-e-hela.*

You are all intelligent and so it is up to you to decide if what I am saying is correct **or** is mistaken.

*Kaumlebeng ni bebley hedin innudan ni dewan bulan winu telun bulan.*

It floods in places if it rains for two **or** three months.

### 9.2.2 Subordinating conjunctions

The naming of relations and English equivalents cannot be considered prescriptive. Most of the subordinating conjunctions have multiple meanings. Usually, context disambiguates the relations between the clauses and the meaning encoded in the form.

**Table 53 Subordinating Conjunctions**

Relation	Keley-i	English
Conditional-Conclusion*	<i>hedin</i>	if-then
Time	<i>hedin</i>	when
Time	<i>inggana</i>	until
Time	<i>et han</i>	before
Reason	<i>tep</i>	because
Result	<i>mukun</i>	that's why
Purpose	<i>ma-lat</i>	so that or in order to
Concession	<i>anin</i>	even or even though
Concession-contrarexpection	<i>ma-nu</i>	although

\*The conditional-conclusion clauses may appear in either order; the clause that contains the most significant information in the context occurs first.

*Hedin eleg ka man-eddal man eleg mu ewwasi hu ehel ni Malikanu.*

If you do not get educated, then you will not understand the language of the Americans.

*Diman eman dimmun tep milli hegpaten hedin meibbangngad kami.*

Leave that one there because we will cut it down **when** we return.

*Ag ida um-ali ingganah hebbaken dan emin indaddan dan ewey.*

They will not come **until** they weave all the rattans they have prepared.

*Antan tu abab etan intanem kun mangga et ma-tengan ida ni et han yu pan-ala.*

Do not get the immature mangoes I planted and they will mature **before** you get them.

*Et mukun eleg tu inumen humman ni danum.*

And **that is why**, he did not drink that water.

*Limmaw di baley da ma-lat an umlan begah.*

He went home **in order to** get some rice.

*Nan-ekan da etan inhibak kun ubi anin ni eleg makallutu tep neka-upadda.*

They ate the sweet potatoes that I cooked **even though** they were not well-cooked **because** they were very hungry.

9.2.3 Sequencing of conjunctions

Conjunctions may occur in sequence expressing two logical relations. The first conjunction expresses the logical connection between the main clause and the two following clauses; the second conjunction expresses the logical connection between the two subordinate clauses.

*Antan legelegem tu ekan ni mekkan di muyung **tep hedin** ag meulhan ey umlegung.*  
Do not just eat any kind of food in the forest **because if** it is not washed it will cause illness.

*Kahindungyuy hedin kamandellan **nem hedin** kamanggunnu man heni pewek.*  
He pretends to be stooped and weak if he is walking **but when** he works he is like a typhoon.

10.0 Introduction to Noun Phrases

Noun phrases are of three types: simple, expanded, and complex.  
The lexical categories that are constituents of noun phrases are the following:

- nouns, personal and demonstrative pronouns, and determiners
- adjectives - quantifying and qualifying modifiers
- embedded relative clauses and complement clauses

10.1 Constituents and constituent order within noun phrases

Table 54 Constituent Order of Noun Phrases

NP marker	Modifier	Head	Possessive
+ determiner, demonstrative, or quantifier	+ - adjective (if + modifier, a linker or determiner must follow) + - stative verb + - passive verb	+ common or proper noun, demonstrative or personal pronoun, embedded relative or complement clause	+ - possessor pronoun or noun (if N, must be preceded by linker or determiner)

The simple NP below consists of the determiner, *ni*, the head noun *lehung* ‘mortar’ and the possessor pronoun, *da* ‘their’.

*Dina-daan mi hi Gumangan ni nengialdan **ni lehung da**.*  
We helped Gumangan to transfer **their mortar**.

The complex NP below consists of the demonstrative, *etan* ‘that’, noun1: *begah* ‘rice’, determiner, *di* ‘on’, and noun2: *det-al* ‘floor’.

*Akup mu **etan begah di det-al** et iha-ad mu di duy.*  
Scoop up **that rice on the floor** and place it on a dish.

The complex NP below consists of a the determiner, *ni*, the stative verb, *nepili* ‘perfect’, the linker *n*, the adjective, *kayyaggud* ‘good’, the linker, *ni*, and the head noun *tuu* ‘man’. Although the *ni/n* forms may function as either determiners or linkers, it is likely that within complex NPs, they function more as linkers, rather than determiners.

*Attu mu pemuddahan ni nepilin kayyaggud ni tuu?*

Where can you search for a perfect, good man?

The sentence below illustrates a noun phrase with coordinate common noun heads. The determiner, *ni/n*, marks the noun phrase, and the conjunction, *niya* 'and' connects the two heads. The alternative conjunction, *winu* 'or', may also connect coordinate common noun heads.

*Yadda tuud Banawe kamengi-i-lin binuhlan niya ginallit di deya.*

The people in Banawe are the ones bringing loincloths and skirts here.

*Kaumlebeng ni bebley hedin innudan ni dewwan bulan winu tellun bulan.*

It floods in places if it rains for two or three months.

### *Change of order of constituents*

The quantifier or qualifier adjective constituent of a NP may be moved to the pre-verb position, resulting in the disjunction of the quantifier or qualifier and its head noun. This change of order gives more emphasis to the quantifier or qualifier.

*Dakel na-mu daka peebbang ni baley di Kiangang.*

Maybe there are many houses for rent in Kiangang.

*Kaw dakel kunu himmegep ni abbun di baley yu?*

Is it true that many ants entered your house?

*Dewwa hu dinweng dan buwet.*

They hunted two squirrels.

## 10.2 Noun phrases with embedded relative clauses

Restrictive relative clauses embedded in noun phrases are marked and linked to the head noun(s) by *ni*. The content of the relative clause is identificational, i.e. it is required for interpreting the referent of the head noun in the context within which the NP occurs. Non-restrictive relative clauses are marked, linked to the head noun(s) by *e*, and tend to add information that is descriptive. (See 12.1.1 Relative clauses for more information and sentence examples.)

## 10.3 Categorization of noun phrases

Because Keley-i is a reference-dominated language, the discourse system of reference controls the internal morphosyntactic structure of clauses and sentences. NPs have been categorized as being of five types:

- subject NP
- direct object NP
- indirect object NP
- time NP
- place NP

The criteria used for identifying the NP types are:

- Sentence type and NP constituency
- Constituent order in the clause
- Predicate class and grammatical relations required by the class

- Type of head in the NP – common noun, proper noun, personal pronoun or demonstrative pronoun
- Type of co-occurring determiner or demonstrative with common and proper nouns

### 10.3.1 Noun phrases and types of heads

#### Common and proper noun heads

The determiner **hi** marks proper names when the referent is cross-referenced by the affix on the verb; the determiner **nan/nan hi** marks proper names that are not cross-referenced. The determiner, **hi**, is also used to mark terms referring to parents or grandparents when they are cross-referenced by the affix on the verb, i.e. the titles are treated as proper names. Common nouns can be marked by various determiners depending on the significance of the referent in context. For example, if the referent of a common noun is cross-referenced by the verb, the noun will be marked with the determiner, **hu**; if the referent of the noun is not cross-referenced, it will be marked with the determiner, **ni**.

*Mulli ayagi hi ama e hi Guindayan et manhuhummangan itu hedin pigantu lawwan tayu.*  
Go and call for your **father Guindayan** and we will agree about when we are going.

*Andengen nan Tomas dalam di Dugyo.*  
Tomas will straighten the path to Dugyo.

*Negulid hu beneg nan Gaspar.*  
Gaspar's **back** has sores.

*Hi-gak hu mengihhellinew ni manuk dan hanlingguan ni lawwan dad Kiangon.*  
I will take care of their **chickens** for one week when they go to Kiangon.

#### Personal pronoun heads

The only set of personal pronouns that require a determiner is the Set 4 direct or indirect object. This set is never cross-referenced by the affix on the verb, and the determiner **ni** marks them. None of the other sets require a determiner.

#### Object pronoun

*Behhuten dakeyu la mannuman ni pitpit tep agyu ibegan ammed yu ey kayu umlaw.*  
The omen-bird will indeed prevent **you** (give you a bad sign) because you did not ask permission from your parents yet you will go.

*Hi Buyyakaw ngu hu nengipealmet ni hi-gatu.*  
It was Buyyakaw who displeased **him**.

#### Subject pronoun

*Ehel mun inam et hengeten tu etan inhaeng tun tuyyeng et alen ku lad baley mi.*  
**You** tell your mother to wrap the tadpoles that **she** cooked and I will take them home.

#### Demonstrative pronoun heads

A demonstrative pronoun can function as a head when a noun is omitted because the noun referent is understood in context. The demonstrative functions anaphorically, i.e. it refers back to a noun referent that has been introduced previously in the larger discourse context.

*Hipa nengulih eyan diyyay?*  
Who drew **this** (line) here?

### Time word heads

Time phrases consist of two constituents: 1) a determiner or a demonstrative and 2) a time word head. When the time phrase is simply denoting the time of an event, it will occur in the final position of a clause unless there is also a location phrase. In that case, it will precede the location phrase. Time phrases may occur preceding a main verb for emphasis or when they are encoding a setting for an episode in a discourse. Some time forms that occur initially in a clause do not require a determiner.

*Inta-lid Juan hu pingway tud ba-uggan Pedro **ni kaalman**.*  
Juan sharpened his bolo on Pedro's whetstone **yesterday**.

*Bimma-dung hi Pugong **ni kaalman** di Hipat.*  
Pugong made trouble **yesterday** in Hipat.

Below is a sentence with a time word preposed for emphasis without a determiner or demonstrative.

***Kaalman** illa-an kun begah.*  
**Yesterday** was when I got the rice.

Below is an example sentence with a time phrase preposed as a setting for an episode in a discourse.

***Yan nunman** ey hahhakkey ida hu tuun nekibebley di deya.*  
**At that time**, only a few people lived here.

### 10.3.2 Other constituents of NPs

#### Quantifiers

A noun phrase usually has only one quantifier, and it precedes the head noun in the phrase. A demonstrative may occur in-between a quantifier and the noun head. However, a quantifier may be moved out of the noun phrase; and in some cases, occur as the first constituent of a clause.

Noun phrase: quantifier *emin* 'all', demonstrative *eya* 'this', noun head *agah* 'medicine'  
*Aminul mun **emin** eya agah.*  
Swallow **all** this medicine without chewing.

In the sentence below, the quantifier *emin* 'all' is dislocated from its noun head *ewey* 'rattan' in the clause appearing in the object position of the second clause of a complex sentence.

*Ag ida um-ali ingganah hebbaken dan **emin** indaddan dan ewey.*  
They will not come until they weave **all** the **rattan** they have prepared.

## Qualifiers

A noun phrase usually has only one qualifier; however, a descriptive stative verb may co-occur with a qualifying adjective (see the second sentence below).

*Ida kamanggagaya u-ungnga tep wada **kayyaggud ni balwasi da**.*  
The children are happy because they have **good clothing**.

*Attu mu pemuddahan **ni nepilin kayyaggud ni tuu?***  
Where can you search for **a perfect good man?**

## Referential determiners and demonstratives

All noun heads, both common nouns and proper nouns, require a co-occurring determiner or demonstrative pronoun. Determiners and demonstratives contain features that differentiate head nouns as subjects or objects and as having definite or indefinite reference or specific or non-specific reference. (See 7.8 Determiners and 7.6 Demonstrative pronouns.)

In the sentence below the determiner **ni** indicates that the phrase *ni kuheyaw ni gelding* ‘goat’s blood’ is indefinite and the object of the verb *ekan* ‘ate’.

*Hinalman tu ekan **ni** kuheyaw ni gelding dedan ey humman kamengipadgeh ni egeh.*  
He ate too much goat’s blood and that causes the stomach to be painful.

In the sentence below, the demonstrative pronoun *etan* ‘that’ marks a cross-referenced object and also encodes the fact that *danum* ‘water’ is definite.

*Itsuy et tayu benunen **etan** danum di kullukul.*  
Let’s go and dam that water in that creek.

## 11.0 Introduction to Simple Sentences

Simple sentence structure in Keley-i may be equated with the simple sentence in traditional grammar. A simple sentence has one independent clause that consists of a predicate constituent and at least one NP argument constituent.<sup>56</sup> The number of NP argument constituents depends on the lexical category that expresses the predicate; and in the case of verbal predicates, the number depends on the lexical valence<sup>57</sup> of the verb.

### 11.1 Constituent order

An understanding of Keley-i communicational principles and rhetorical strategies is necessary for explaining the canonical word order of constituents and the various types of constituent movement. See 13.0 for a description of rhetorical function and strategies.

---

<sup>56</sup> The exception to this rule is meteorological verbal predicates. Such verbs as raining, thundering, etc. do not require a NP argument.

<sup>57</sup> Verbal roots are partially classified on the basis of the number of valents owned by the root. The semantic roles expressed in syntactic arguments are selected from the lexical valents available. The number of NP constituents in a clause with a verbal predicate head is not necessarily isomorphic with lexical valence. For a discussion of semantic roles, syntactic arguments and lexical valence, see 2.3.1.2 Affix selection and the cross-referencing system.

### 11.1.1 Canonical word order

In the unmarked word order of constituents in Keley-i, the predicate is in the initial position of a sentence. In the case of non-verbal predicates, the predicate will be followed by a NP-subject argument. In the case of verbal predicates, the verb will be followed by a minimum of one NP-subject argument and a maximum of two additional core NP arguments, V S O (IO), as in the case of ditransitive verbs. Time (T) and place (P) noun phrases follow core arguments in basic sentence structure.

V      S      DO      IO

*Inha-ad da hu basket di kuwaltuh ku.*  
They placed the basket in my room.

The above sentence has the basic word order for a sentence with a ditransitive verb: V S DO IO. The verbal prefix **in-** cross-references the definite NP *hu basket* ‘the basket’ which is the conveyed- direct object. The NP *di kuwartuh ku* ‘my room’ is an indirect object expressing the site (in this case, the location in which the basket ends up). Intransitive verbs have but a single core argument (NP-subject).

V      S      T      P

*Nan-abat kamin kaalman di baley da.*  
We went to their house yesterday.

Transitive verbs have a NP-subject argument, as well as a NP-DO argument.

V      S      DO      P

*Inang-ang ku hi Tomas di Baguio.*  
I saw Tomas in Baguio.

### 11.1.2 Change of word order

#### Moving NPs to pre-predicate position – Topicalizing Referential Strategy

Any NP constituent may be moved to a position preceding the predicate although this is only possible if the referent of the NP is being introduced, reintroduced or contrastively identified in the discourse communicative situation.

#### Preposing agent-subjects

**Type 1.**<sup>58</sup> In the sentence structures shown below, the agent-subject has been preposed, leaving behind a co-referential pronoun following the verb. The preposed NP is linked to the other constituents of the clause by the *ey* linker. In this type of construction, the affixes on the verb will be members of the basic cross-referencing affix class (see 4.2.1).

***Yadda tuun yimmudung di det-al ey nandidittum ida.***  
As for the people sitting on the floor, they are seated together shoulder to shoulder.

***Yadda etan idan tuu ey nebuteng idan kaalman di payew Juan.***  
As for those people, they were drunk yesterday at Juan’s ricefield.

<sup>58</sup> This construction is similar to what has been called left-dislocation in English and some other languages.

**Type 2.** In the sentence structures shown below, the agent-subject has been preposed before the verb, and the affix on the verb cross-references the agent-subject. The preposed agent-subject may be linked to the other constituents of the clause by the linker *hu*, but it is not required. In this type of construction, the affixes on the verb are members of the complex topicalizing affix class (see 4.2.2).

### *Preposing agent-subject*

*Hi Anannayo tu-wangu nengikumpil ni ewah kun eman ni linawwan tayud Dugyu.*

It was really **Anannayo** who kept my knife in his little bag when we went to Dugyu.

*Hi Diego hu nengi-teg et han kadwain Darwin.*

It was **Diego** who beat-the-first-gong before Darwin beat the second.

### *Preposing objects*

In the sentence below, the direct object, *buhuy tu* ‘his calf’ is preposed before the verb, and is connected to the other constituents of the clause by the linker, *hu*, and is cross-referenced by the circumfix *nengi- -an*.

*Yad buhuy tu hu nengiklatan etan ni ahhu.*

It was his calf that the dog bit.

In the sentence below, the site-indirect object is preposed before the verb, and is connected to the other constituents of the clause by the linker, *hu*, and is cross-referenced by the circumfix *nengi- -an*.

*Yad palepag di nambina-hil ni baley da hu nengikapyaan tun kagab ni manuk da.*

It was **on the shelves on both sides of their house** where he set the basket-nests for their chickens.

### *Preposing time expressions*

There are two different constructions for preposing a time NP constituent. One construction type is linked by *hu* indicating that the scope of the time referent is the clause to which it is linked. The other construction is linked by *ey* indicating that the scope of the time referent includes more than the clause to which it is linked.

*Yan dedanggu la hu nengitneman ina eyaddan laya.*

It was **a long time ago** when my mother planted these ginger-plants.

In the sentence below, the preposed time NP, *Yan nunya law*, is linked to its clause by the linker *ey*. In this sentence, a new time is being introduced into the text, and it is a setting for a new set of events. The scope of the time referent includes more clauses and sentences than the one clause to which it is linked.

*Yan nunya law ey eleg mahapul ni wada hu manggawwi di kaman-ahwa.*

**Nowadays**, there is no need for a mediator in a marriage.

### *Preposing place expressions*

In the sentence below, the site-place phrase, *Yad Ambagiw*, has been preposed before the verb. The ‘place’ phrase is connected to the other constituents of the clause with the linker, *hu*, and is cross-referenced by the main verb circumfix *nengi- -an*.

*Yad Nepayew la hu nengipalpuan dan da nengibadngan etan ni gigit.*  
It was in Nepayew where they began lining that wire.

## 11.2 Classification of simple sentence types

Following is a brief summary of each simple sentence type.

**Verbal and non-verbal sentences.** The first classification of simple sentence types is based on the lexical category of the predicate. A verbal sentence type has a verbal predicate. A non-verbal sentence type has an adjectival, adverbial, nominal, existential or demonstrative predicate.

**Active and stative sentences.** Verbal sentences are subclassified as active or stative on the basis of the verb class encoding the predicate, the morphology of verbs and the constituent structure of the sentences.

**Intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive sentences.** Active sentences are subclassified on the basis of the lexical valence of verbs and the constituent structure of the sentences. An intransitive sentence has one core argument. A transitive sentence has two core arguments, and a ditransitive sentence has three core arguments. Core arguments are those that have a grammatical relationship with the verb and are required by the lexical valence of the verb.

**Stative-Process sentences.** The two most important criteria for classifying sentences as stative-process are 1) they do not have agent-subjects and 2) their affixes encode aspect, rather than tense.

**Existential and equational sentences.** Non-verbal sentences are subclassified on the basis of the lexical category expressing the predicate. There are two types of non-verbal sentences: existential and equational. The existential word, *wada*, or one of a set of demonstratives expresses the predicate in an existential sentence. Equational sentences may have nominal, adjectival or adverbial predicates.

**Passive.** Passive sentences are not considered to be a basic sentence type; they are morphosyntactically derived. The passivization process is considered to be a syntactic valence reduction strategy. (See 4.2.8 Passive for affixation of passive sentences and 11.6.2.2 Passive for a description of sentence structure changes.)

## 11.3 Verbal sentence types

The classification of verbal sentence types is based on 1) verbal root semantics (see 4.1 Verbal root classification), 2) semantic roles encoded in NP grammatical relations (see Table 3 Semantic Roles and Grammatical Relations), and 3) inflectional affixes (see 2.3.1.2 Affix selection and the cross-referencing system and 4.2 Inflectional affixes).

### 11.3.1 Intransitive sentences

**Active, intransitive sentences.** Many traditional ideas about grammar are ill-suited to the Keley-i language. Although this type of verbal sentence is considered to be active and intransitive, its structure and usage cannot be understood without considering the lexical semantics of the verbs that express the predicates. The description of this sentence type here is integrated with brief statements concerning the important components of the verbal root classes involved and the semantic roles of subject NPs.

An active, intransitive sentence consists of a predicate and one core argument that is the grammatical subject. The verbs that express the predicate, in particular their inflectional and derivational potential, are the criteria used for subclassifying this sentence type. The semantic role of the subject may be an agent of an action or an activity, or an experiencer of an emotion, a physiological function or a process. Also, there is one subclass of this sentence type that is expressed by a predicate only: the ambient verb expresses meteorological concepts such as raining, thundering, etc.

Two other constituent NPs that may co-occur with this type of predication are time and place. Given the fact that events necessarily take place in a temporal and spatial context, spatial and temporal information is always implied but explicitly stated infrequently. However, with certain classes of intransitive verbs, a spatial concept may be encoded in an object NP and be cross-referenced by an affix on the verb. In such cases, these constructions are considered to be syntactically derived transitive sentences.

### Intransitive sub-type 1 (See 4.1.1 Class 1)

*Magettel annel ku tep aggak **man-emeh** ni telun aggew.*  
My body is itchy because I did not **bathe** for three days.

### Intransitive sub-type 2 (See 4.1.2 Class 2)

*Lakay et mu itudun hi-gada etan ebbaten dan **umlaw** di Mayyaggud.*  
Go and point them in the direction that they **will go** to Mayyaggud.

## 11.3.2 Transitive sentences

**Active transitive sentences.** An active, transitive sentence consists of a predicate expressed by a verb, an argument that is a grammatical subject and one or more arguments that are grammatical objects. Two other constituent NPs that may co-occur with this type of predication are time and place.

Transitive sentences may be subclassified into three types based on the semantic classification of the action-process expressed by the verb, the number of objects and the type of semantic roles that the objects express. The inflectional and derivational potential of the verb is also a criterial factor in the subclassification. No clear understanding of Keley-i verbal sentences can be achieved without an understanding of the lexical semantics of the verbs.

### Transitive sub-type 1

There are seven semantic subclasses of verbs that are expressed by the predicates of this sentence type; all have a criterial core component relating to the movement of an object. This implies that there will be a grammatical object that will formally instantiate an entity that is conveyed or moved; an understanding of the core component of movement of an object also often implies a grammatical indirect object that will formally instantiate a site to which the object is moved although the site may not be expressed explicitly in the syntax (see 4.1.3 Class 3).

Verb	Subject -agent	Direct Object - conveyed	Indirect Object - site
<i>Ingkamdug</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>hu asukal</i>	<i>di kapeh tu</i>
mixed	mother	the sugar	in her coffee

Mother mixed the sugar in her coffee.

In the sentence example below, the indirect object has been promoted to the direct object position directly following the verb indicating its importance; however, the affix on the verb cross-references the direct object itself indicating that the direct object is a definite referent.

Verb	Subject -agent	Indirect Object - site	Direct Object - conveyed
<i>Indawat</i>	<i>tun</i>	<i>hi-gak</i>	<i>hu libluh</i>
gave	he	me	the book

He gave me the book.

### Transitive sub-type 2

There are six semantic subclasses of verbs that are expressed by the predicates of this sentence type; all have a criterial core component 'contact with an object'. This implies that there will be a grammatical object that will formally instantiate an entity undergoing one of these contact actions (see 4.1.4 Class 4).

Verb	Subject -agent	Direct Object - patient
<i>Pineluh</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>etan teyten</i>
dismantled	I	that ladder

I dismantled that ladder.

Verb	Subject -agent	Direct Object - patient	Time
<i>Pinehek</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>etan kinehtung</i>	<i>ni kaalman</i>
split	he	that log	yesterday

He split that log yesterday.

Verb	Subject – agent and Direct Object
<i>Kinwit</i>	<i>tuwak</i>
touched	she-me

She touched me.

### Transitive sub-type 3

There are three semantic subclasses of verbs with the core semantic component of affecting a site-object by changing its state. This implies that a grammatical object will formally instantiate a site-entity that undergoes this type of action (see 4.1.5 Class 5).

Verb	Subject -agent	Direct Object - site
<i>Bintekan</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>angah tun andeket</i>
tattooed	he	his face with black

He tattooed his face with black.

Verb	Subject - agent	Direct Object - site
<i>Binet-ulan</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>gilig ni payew da</i>
built stone walls	they	edge of their ricefield

They built stone walls at the edge of their ricefield.

### 11.3.3 Stative-Process sentences

There are four semantic sub-classes of verbs that express non-agentive, descriptive states or processes. There is just one core argument in this basic sentence type that is grammatically a subject and semantically an experiencer or patient (see 4.1.6 Class 6).

Stative Verb	Subject
<i>Nealiwet</i>	<i>hi Maria</i>
was dizzy	Maria

Maria was dizzy. (state)

Process Verb	Subject
<i>Umaliwet</i>	<i>hi Maria</i>
will become dizzy	Maria

Maria will become dizzy. (process)

## 11.4 Non-verbal sentence types

There are two types of non-verbal sentences: existential and equational. They are classified on the basis of types of predicates (see 5.0 Non-verbal predicates), the nature of the one core argument that is grammatically the subject and the forms that link the predicate to the subject constituent.<sup>59</sup>

### 11.4.1 Existential

A Keley-i existential sentence may express three types of assertions:

- simple existence
- locational existence
- possession

Functionally, in discourse, the existential sentence may also be used to introduce and identify participants or props. A demonstrative may be substituted for the existential word that then functionally expresses identification.

#### Existence example

**Wada** *naknan ulha di bitu nan hi Dulludul.*

**There is** a wild pig caught in Dulludul's trap.

#### Locational example

*Anggetakkut ni pan-e-mehan etan pehung tep heni wada uleg diman.*

It is fearful to bathe in that water hole because it is as if **there is** a snake in **there**.

#### Possession example

**Wada** *dama ablan gawgawa.*

Ducks also **have** white meat.

<sup>59</sup> Although we have classified adverbial predicates as non-verbal, the syntax of sentences with adverbial predicates differs from the existential and equational sentence types. A different analysis might be to reclassify some of the adverbial predicates as a separate class of verbal predicates, and then, the others might be classified as the equational sentence type.

### 11.4.2 Equational

The reason for classifying these sentences as equational is that the order of predicates and subject NPs can be reversed. Normal word order is predicate-subject. The reversal of order is a rhetorical strategy with the same discourse function as the rhetorical Topicalizing Referential Strategy for verbal sentence types. The discourse function is for the purpose of introducing participants and props, or for the reintroduction of them or for emphatic contrast.

Whether the predicates are nominal, adjectival, or adverbial, in general they express descriptive information. For that reason, they occur with a statistically higher level of frequency in expository discourse, and tend to be on the theme-line.

A simple equational sentence has two main constituents, a predicate and a subject NP.

A nominal predicate functions to state something about the head noun referent occurring as the subject NP. For example, it may identify the role, function, feature or classification of the head noun. An adjectival predicate qualifies or quantifies the subject NP that is grammatically related to it. Adverbial predicates tend to be evaluative of whatever situation or behavior is expressed in the subject NP.

The non-predicate constituent may be a demonstrative pronoun, a common noun phrase, or a proper name. When the order of an equational sentence is Predicate NP, the determiner *hu* marks the NP though it is not required. When the order of the sentence is reversed, the preposed common noun NP is marked with the determiner, *ya*, while the preposed proper noun NP is marked with the determiner, *hi*. In both cases, the preposed NP is connected to the predicate by the linker, *ey*.

#### Nominal predicates

*Abugaduh hu u-ungnga tu.*

His son is a lawyer.

*Ya u-ungnga tu ey abugaduh.*

As for his son, he is a lawyer.

#### Adjectival predicates

*Andukkey bewek tu.*

Her hair is long.

*Ya bewek tu ey andukkey.*

As for her hair, it is long.

#### Adverbial predicates

*A-eyyula hu pihhuh tun intugal tu.*

His money that he gambled was wasted.

*Ya pihhuh tun intugal tu ey a-eyyula.*

As for his money that he gambled, it was wasted.

## 11.5 Sentence types based on rhetorical function

There are three types of sentences in Keley-i related to rhetorical function: declarative, imperative, and interrogative. A fourth type might be postulated: expressive. Structurally, expressive sentences are the same as non-imperative types except for the addition of an adjunct that can turn a declarative sentence into an exclamatory or ironic statement or an insult; in addition, an interrogative sentence may be intended as a rhetorical question and

therefore, take on a rhetorical function distinct from its interrogative form. Often only context disambiguates the rhetorical function of sentences.

### 11.5.1 Declarative

Keley-i declarative sentences are those that rhetorically make statements. There are many examples in the sections preceding this one.

*Limmibwat idan emin ni menang-ang ni hi-gamin dintengan mi.*  
They all stood up to see us when we arrived.

### 11.5.2 Imperative

Keley-i sentences that function as imperatives are morphosyntactically similar to the declarative. Unlike English imperative structure, reference to the person being addressed appears in the subject position. This use of the second person pronoun in the address is one of the criteria for identifying imperative sentences. In addition, the verbs are in non-past tense. It has been noted that Keley-i imperative sentences have a higher statistical frequency in hortatory or advice and procedural discourses than in any other types.

*Libusim ni kappusih eya kamihitah ku ma-lat eleg ma-bel.*  
You wrap my t-shirt with plastic so that it will not get wet.

### 11.5.3 Interrogative

The interrogative sentence structure is derived from the declarative by adding in the initial position of the sentence the interrogative word, **kaw**, when a yes or no answer is requested. In questions in which information is being requested, **kaw** does not occur, instead an interrogative pronoun replaces the constituent reference that is being questioned, *who*, *what*, *where*, *when*, *how*, *why* (see 7.7 Interrogative pronouns). All such interrogative words occur pre-predicate. Depending on what is being questioned, there are associated changes in the morphology of the verb, pronoun forms, and determiners. These changes are the same as for those in the Topicalizing Referential Strategy described in section 2.3.1.2 Affix selection and the cross-referencing system: Referential constraint – rhetorical strategies in discourse.

**Kaw** kanda dedan ey mu keppaen huttan?  
Did they actually tell you to touch that?

**Hipa** namaneh etan ni gelgel di baley tayu.  
**Who** borrowed the saw in our house?

**Kele** hinakkung mu hu impangapyam?  
**Why** did you make it in a bowl shape?

### 11.5.4 Quotations

#### Direct and Indirect quotations

Both direct and indirect quotations use the word, *kan* ‘say or said’. However, the linkers are different. When a pronoun is attached to *kan*, the ‘n’ consonant assimilates to the initial consonant of the pronoun, e.g. *kangkuy* ‘I said’, *kammuy* ‘you said’.

### Direct quotation

The linker **ey** connects the word, *kan*, to the quotation. When a pronoun ending in a vowel is attached to the form, the ‘e’ vowel is dropped, and the ‘y’ closes the full form, e.g. *kanday* ‘they said’.

*Lakay alid baley di amam hi Buyyayaw et mu hudhuden e **kaney** “Aggak mekillaw tep wada ingngunu min ama.”*

Go to your uncle Buyyayao’s house and **tell** him, “I will not go along with you because I have work to do with my father.”

*Nambalun la ina tep **kantuy** “Aggak um-alin emaggew.”*

Mother took lunch because she said “I will not come at noon”.

### Indirect quotation

Instead of the linker, **ey**, the determiner, **ni/n**, links the quotation form to the indirect quotation.

*Mabnang etan **kandan** talaw e bittuwwen ni kamangkewa-wa-wa.*

The star that **they call** the morning star shines brightly when it is becoming morning.

*Kaw mu impeapyuh etan **kangkun** hi-gam?*

Did you have the rattan stripped that **I told** (you to do).

## 11.6 Morphosyntactic derivation

There are two patterns of derivation in Keley-i: lexical derivation and morphosyntactic derivation. Morphosyntactic derivation differs from lexical derivation in that lexical categories do not change with morphosyntactic derivation, e.g. verbs are still verbs, nouns are still nouns. See 2.3.2 Derivation for a discussion of lexical derivation.

In contrast to lexical derivation, morphosyntactic derivation changes the argument structure of basic sentences. There are two general changes: 1) augmentation, i.e. adding to the number of arguments and 2) reduction of the number of arguments. The associated structural changes involve verbal affixation, NP ordering, and marking of NPs. The motivation for these changes is based on Keley-i intelligibility and rhetorical strategies to indicate prominence. Specifically, these strategies are used to give greater or lesser prominence to semantic roles encoded in subject or object grammatical relations.

### 11.6.1 Augmentation of syntactic arguments

In the case of the augmentation process, an argument is added to the core argument constituents of the sentence. The added NP encodes non-core arguments or what we have called peripheral semantic roles. There are three types of agentive role arguments that may be added to a verbal predication: causative agent, a participatory agent, or a reciprocal agent. There are two types of semantic roles that may be added as object arguments to a verbal predication: an instrument semantic role or a beneficiary semantic role.

With the addition of causative, participatory, and reciprocal agentive roles there are two agents involved in an action conceptually. Syntactically there will be two NPs or two pronouns involved in a sentence with causative and participatory agentive roles. With the reciprocal agentive role, there will also be two NPs; but if there is pronominalization, only one plural pronoun will be encoded in the subject argument to refer to both agents.

### 11.6.1.1 Addition of a causative agent

A causative agent role may be added, encoded in the subject NP, resulting in a derived causative construction. The causative agent role may be added to either a transitive or intransitive construction. There are three sets of prefixes that signal that a causative agent has been added to the construction. The sets differentiate which argument in a sentence has preferential prominence in a context by cross-referencing that argument. (See 4.2.7 Causative affixes for the affix sets and more sentence examples.)

**Intransitive example.** The verbal root *elaw* ‘to go’ and *ehep* ‘to go out’ are inherently intransitive with a single subject argument, but when a causative subject agent is added as a sentence constituent, the affixed root form becomes a derived transitive verb. The agents of these verbs become the acted-upon direct objects and result in a two-argument construction.

*Kaumdalang hedin **impalaw** dad hinanggan mittudu.*  
He blushes when they send him in front of the teacher.

***Impa-hep** Pedro idan emin etan tuun wadad kuwaltuh.*  
Pedro had all those people who were in the room go out.

**Transitive example.** The verbal root *dikhal* ‘split wood’ is inherently transitive with two grammatical relations arguments, subject, and direct object. When a causative agent is added as the subject constituent, the agent performing the action is encoded as an indirect object constituent resulting in a three-argument construction.

***Impadikhal** Maria hu e-etteng ni keyew hi Pedro.*  
Maria had Pedro split the large chunk of wood.

### 11.6.1.2 Addition of participatory agent

When a participatory agent is encoded as the subject argument, a two-argument participatory construction results. The affix set *meki-/neki-* signals that a participatory agent is an added constituent.

*Aggattan tep lawah ni itsu **meki**-emmung ni hi-gada.*  
Get away from here because it is not good that we will join them.

*Kami **neki**hemul ni in-alidan simbal nan Felisa, ni tellum babuy.*  
We joined the feast in which they brought three pigs for the dowry of Felisa.

### 11.6.1.3 Addition of a reciprocal agent

Adding a reciprocal agent may only be done with transitive verbal roots. Sentences with reciprocal verbs have subject and object NP arguments combined in a single phrase encoded as the subject constituent. In the sentence example below the 2nd person plural pronoun *kayu* encodes both the subject and object grammatical relations. The circumfix *man- -in-* cross-references the reciprocal agents.

*Hipa himmulun et **kayu man-in-aabugaduh**?*  
What caused **you** to bring **each other** to court (sue each other)?

### 11.6.1.4 Addition of an object argument

An object NP constituent can be added to a basic intransitive clause. This object NP may encode one of the three peripheral semantic roles, source, goal or path, resulting in a derived transitive construction. Some intransitive verbal roots also allow semantic roles that are core roles associated with transitive verbal roots. The first sentence example below illustrates a typical intransitive construction, and the second illustrates an added object argument resulting in a derived transitive construction.

*Umlaw kamid Kiangán.*  
We will go to Kiangán.

*Inlaw kami hu tudek di Kiangán.*  
We took **the letter** to Kiangán. (lit. went with the letter)

### 11.6.1.5 Addition of an instrument-object argument

An instrument-object argument may be added to a sentence if the verbal root class allows for an instrument semantic role. However, an instrument-object argument is not commonly added to a construction because most verbal roots have a specific instrument that is used in the action inherently associated with them. For this reason, an instrument is significant only if it varies from the ‘norm’ in some way; and in that case, it is encoded in the direct object argument and cross-referenced. The prefix set *iC-/iN-* cross-references the instrument. If the instrument is topicalized, the affix set *ipeN-/impeN-* will cross-reference it.

*Lakkay et mu an-antagen ida etan batu ni ittuping di dalan.*  
Go and line up the stones to be used for stonewalls on the road. (lit. used in stonewalling)

*Ya wahay hu impengehtung tu etan ni udyaw.*  
The ax is what he used to cut the mahogany-tree into sections.

### 11.6.1.6 Addition of a beneficiary-object argument

Since the beneficiary semantic role is considered a peripheral semantic role, one would expect that it would be encoded in the indirect object position in a clause since the direct object generally encodes a core semantic role. However, when a beneficiary-object argument is added to a clause, it is promoted to the direct object position and cross-referenced by the affix on the verb. The circumfix set *iC- -an/iN- -an* cross-references the beneficiary of an action.

In the sentence below, the pronoun form *tuddan* encodes both the subject and beneficiary object.

*Indawatan tuddan babaka.*  
He gave **them** cows.

## 11.6.2 Reduction of syntactic arguments

In the case of the morphosyntactic reduction process, a syntactic argument is deleted, or in some cases retained but given less prominence in the syntax.

### 11.6.2.1 Derived intransitive

An object constituent in a transitive clause can be deleted or the prominence can be reduced.<sup>60</sup> In this case, the aspect of the verbal root is also affected, changed from punctiliar to durative. The verb *dikhal* ‘to split wood’ is a two-argument verb but an object constituent can be deleted when it is understood or non-specific resulting in a derived intransitive construction. The first sentence below illustrates a typical transitive construction, and the second illustrates a derived intransitive construction.

#### Transitive clause

*Dinikhal tu hu e-etteng ni keyew.*

He split the big log.

#### Derived intransitive clause

*Nandikhal hi Juan ni kaalman.*

Juan split (wood) yesterday.

### 11.6.2.2 Passive

An agent-subject argument in a transitive clause can be deleted or the prominence can be reduced, resulting in a passive construction. Compare the following passive sentence with the transitive sentence above.

*Nedikhal emin etan keyew ni nunya.*

All of that wood was split today.

### 11.6.2.3 Agent-subject argument deletion in a subordinate clause

An agent-subject argument is deleted in a complement clause if the agent-subject is the same in both clauses. The linker, *an*, marks a complement clause. A verb in the complement clause will follow the linker, and there will be no agent-subject argument in the complement clause. (See 12.1.2 Complement clauses for more description and examples of this type of clause.)

*Limmau hi inan an menepnak nunyad payew di Indannum.*

My mother went to lay seeds in Indannum’s field today.

*Impa-ba tun agitu hu u-ungnga et an man-a-ayyam.*

He had his brother carry the baby and went to play.

## 12.0 Introduction to Complex Sentences

Complex sentences in Keley-i result from two different sentence structuring strategies: clause embedding and clause combining. With the clause embedding strategy, the sentence structure that results has a clause occurring in a position where a NP is commonly found. The embedded clause constituent has the same type of grammatical relationship with the predicate that a noun or noun phrase would have in that position; and these relationships are marked in the same way as simple noun phrases, i.e. by being cross-referenced by an affix on the verb and by the same set of determiners used in a NP. With the clause combining strategy, the clauses are connected by conjunctions.

<sup>60</sup> Some linguistic theories treat the resulting construction as an anti-passive.

## 12.1 Clause embedding

There are three types of clause embedding in Keley-i. Both relative and complement clauses in Keley-i are considered to be embedded in positions commonly filled by noun phrases. Relative clauses are marked by the linker *ni* or *e* and complement clauses are marked by the linker *an*, with the exception of the speech verb complement clause marked with the linker *ey/y*. The relative and complement clauses are disambiguated on the basis of their modificational functions. The relative clause modifies a nominal argument, and the complement clause adds information that completes the meaning of the predicate.

Another construction that is embedded in the position of an NP is the nominalized clause. This nominalized clause differs from relative and complement clauses in two ways: 1) they are derived clauses; and 2) their rhetorical function is referential, like nouns or NPs, rather than modificational.

### 12.1.1 Relative clauses

A relative clause in Keley-i modifies an expressed or implied antecedent noun. The relative clause expresses identificational or descriptive information. Its rhetorical function may be correlated with the modificational function of adjectives.

#### Relative clause with a head noun

The noun being modified is the head noun in this type of relative clause. The head noun is linked to a restrictive relative clause by the linker, *ni*; it is linked to a non-restrictive relative clause by the linker *e*. The subject, direct object, and indirect object may all be relativized. When the head noun ends in a vowel, the ‘i’ vowel in the linker, *ni*, is deleted, and the ‘n’ is attached to the noun.

In the sentence below, the noun phrase *taban detag* ‘fat of meat’ is the head noun with the linker *ni* marking the restrictive relative clause.

*Kamantetelleytey hu taban detag [ni daka pan-ittangtang di apuy].*

The fat of the meat [that they are roasting over the fire] is melting.

In the sentence below, *Kesi-melan* is the proper noun head with the linker *e* marking the non-restrictive relative clause.

*Ammun hu Kesi-melan [e keta-ta-geyyan ni duntug di Antipolo].*

There is Kesi-melan [which is the highest mountain in Antipolo].

#### Relative clause without a head noun

Another type of relative clause is headless, embedded as an NP constituent of the main clause and marked with the linker *ni*. The noun that is being modified by the relative clause is understood, indicated by the verbal information in the two clauses.

In the sentence below, the word *baltung* ‘beans’ is not in the main clause; instead the adjective, *edum* ‘some’ is in the main clause, and the head noun is in the relative clause.

*Ida kamemmel hu edum ni intanem mun baltung.*

Some beans that you planted are sprouting.

### 12.1.2 Complement clauses

A complement clause in this grammar is defined as one that functions to modify a predicate in the main clause by adding to the meaning. This complex construction, i.e. a main clause and complement, may be in subordination to another main clause.

However, to classify complements strictly based on form does not adequately describe their function in discourse. Most complements marked with **an** or **ni/n** have the rhetorical function of adverbial modification of the main clause predicate.

It is also necessary to study the meaning of complement clauses since the linker **ni** also marks relative clauses. One has to look beyond form and structure to determine whether the clause marked with **ni** modifies a noun as an identifying relative clause, or whether it modifies a verb by adding adverbial-type meaning such as manner, purpose, reason, etc.

Complement clauses have been classified into six types. This classification is based on three criteria: 1) the type of main clause predicate, 2) how the meaning encoded in the complement clause modifies the predicate, and as noted above, 3) the form of the linker connecting the complement clause to the main clause predication.

#### 1. Active verbal complement

Frequently the complements of active verbs indicate the purpose or reason for the action or activity.

##### Intransitive verbal complement

*Limmau hi inan **an menepnak nunyad payew di Indannum.***

My mother went to lay seeds in Indannum's field today.

#### 2. Adverbial predicate complements

There are two types of adverbial predicate complements. The structure of one type encodes the complement as an object argument of the adverbial predicate in the main clause and is marked by the linker, **ni/n**. The structure of the other type encodes the complement as a subject argument of an adverbial predicate and is marked by the linker, **an**.

*Inah-ahinut tun **ginibbuh etan tuka pan-inggunu.***

Little by little, **he finished the job he was doing.**

*Kele agyu dan iab-abut **ni inlaw di hospital etan kamandedgeh?***

Why are you not hurrying **to take that sick person to the hospital?**

In the sentences below, the complement clauses following the **an** linker function as the subject arguments of the adverbial predicates.

*Pi-yew kunu **an dennu-gahan hu edum ni tuu tep lawah.***

It is taboo **to be** cursing other people because it is bad.

*Lawah **an keemmehan hu edum ni tuu tep lintu deitsun emin ni Meknengan.***

It is bad **to be** jealous of other people because we are all created by God.

### 3. Stative verbal complements

The complements of stative verbs are those that further clarify something about the person or thing that is being described by the stative verb.

*Nea-atu kamin **an** nan-a-ayyam ni bolah di baley da.*

We are tired **from** playing ball at their house.

### 4. Speech verbal complements

There are three types of speech verbal complements. One type is the complement of a direct quotation. The frozen form verb, *kan* ‘say’, is linked to the clause encoding what is said with the *ey* linker if the speaker is identified by a proper name; however, if the speaker is identified by a pronoun, the pronoun is attached to the *kan* form, and the compound is linked to the quotation by the allomorph of *ey*, i.e. *y*. The second type is the complement of an indirect quotation. The root *ehel* ‘speak’ or ‘say’, is prefixed with the prefix set *i-/iN-*. The prefix cross-references the complement clause; the linker, *ni/n* connects the clause to the main verbal clause. The third type is a complement of a combination of indirect and direct quotation. The root, *ehel*, is affixed by the set *um-/imm-* and then, is linked to the *kan* frozen form by the conjunction *ey* ‘and’; the *kan* form is then linked to the complement by the *ey/y* linker.

#### Type 1 Direct quotation complement linked by *ey/y*

*Kanday “Keklengen da etan hakey ni pukaw ni babuy nem eleg inetu.”*

They said “They will sacrifice the white pig but his mother wouldn’t permit it.”

#### Type 2 Indirect quotation complement linked by *ni/n*

*Inelawah Pedro hu inhel kun meippanggep ni linawwan yud Amduntog.*

Pedro took personally what I said in regards to your trip to Amduntog.

*Hinengud Harold etan inhel mun pehding tu tep amta tun panyaggudan tu.*

Harold paid attention to what you told him to do because he knew it is for his benefit.

#### Type 3 Combined quotation complement

*Immehel etan opisyal ey kantuy “Heballi hu um-itu-dak itsun an menang-ang hedin hipa makulug ni neipahding.”*

That official spoke and he said “It would be better if we send someone to see if what (they say) happened is true.”

### 5. Attitude and emotion verbal complements

The complements of attitude and emotion verbs express the information that evokes the attitude or emotion encoded in the main clause verbs.

*Nakka umtakut **ni** an mengibleh tep dakel ida.*

I’m afraid **to** revenge it because they are many.

*Nakkaum-agel **ni** mekiungbal tep mabunget angah tu.*

I am hesitant **to** talk with him because his face shows anger.

## 6. Time complements

Time complements encode actions or activities that are coincidental with whatever action or activity is being encoded in the main clause.

*Binneng tullu udan **ni** wada kamid Kiangon nem agtu kaya idteng.*

It had appeared that it would rain **when** we were in Kiangon but it did not actually arrive.

### 12.1.3 Nominalized clauses

Nominalized clauses are identified through the special morphology of the verbs. Two circumfixes nominalize the verbs in these clauses, **paN-** **-an** and **pangi-** **-an**. The rhetorical function of these clauses is referential. The constituency of these clauses may be structured in three ways: 1) one constituent - the nominalized verb, 2) two constituents - the nominalized verb and a subject or possessive, 3) three constituents – the nominalized verb, a subject and an object.

*bakal* ‘to quarrel’ **paN-** **-an**

*Lawah hu an iddeneldel hu nampagan tep umhulun ni **pambekkalan**.*

It is not good to be pushing the boundary from its original position because it will cause **quarreling**.

*ha-ad* ‘to put/place something’

*Mahapul ni um-abang kayun **panha-adan yudman**.*

You need to rent (a house) for **your stay** there.

*Ida kamantuttuyyun **agda pangibalhan hi nematyan dan edum da**.*

They were repenting for **their having not revenged their companion who was killed**.

## 12.2 Clause combining

Clauses that are connected by conjunctions are also considered to be complex sentences. See 9.2 Conjunctions for the conjunction forms. Keley-i may combine two or more clauses; the usual number of combined clauses observed in natural written text is two or three. More may be found combined in transcribed oral text.

There are three ways of combining clauses in Keley-i:

- Clauses can be combined by relating them with coordinating conjunctions. Clauses that are combined by coordinating conjunctions encode information that is equally prominent in context. Each clause is a complete sentence and can occur alone or as the main clause of a sentence with a subordinate clause.

*Yu pan-agut ida etan letak ni kapih di ligliggan **et** tayu pan-itnem.*

Go and uproot the coffee seedlings outside the village **and then** we will plant them.

*Panlepet mudda eya nebenegwah ni gigit **et han** mu iakbut.*

Bend all those cut-up wires **before** you put them in the backpack.

*Hipa mu pengebbulutan nunman **ey** lawah?*

Why do you accept that **and** it is bad?

*Inehinan tun han-idu hu danum ni ihhida ey mebanglu.*

He put one spoonful of salt in the broth of the viand **and** it was delicious.

*Neagaggak tep daka panduntuka et nak dama duntuken etan nenuntuk ni hi-gatu ey netukkad.*

I defended him because they were socking him **and so** I socked that person who was socking him **and** he fell down.

*Tuka i-enakbut etan duyu ey inang-ang da.*

He was putting the dishes in his backpack **and** they saw him.

- Clauses can be combined with subordinating conjunctions. Clauses that are marked with subordinating conjunctions are related to at least one main clause. The conjunction that marks the subordinate clause signals how the information in the clause is logically related to the main clause.

*Balkehim eya ginallit mu tep me-gah.*

Use a belt with that skirt **because** it will drop (without a belt).

*Endi law kapemalluin ina tep kami kaumhigan mengihlab.*

My mother does not harvest young rice now **because** we are too lazy to roast it.

*Kabebellayyak hedin pahan ne eleg hedin peinnagtu.*

I'm easily tired **when** it comes to carrying on the shoulder but not **if** carried on the head.

*Nakka an menennang-ang ni an pengiddu-yepan nem napnun tuu emin hu baley.*

I have been looking for a place to sleep **but** all the houses were filled with people.

### 13.0 Keley-i Communication

Keley-i speakers use their language very effectively in communication. This Dictionary and Grammar Sketch present an analysis of the usage of the language based on defining a distinction between rhetorical functions and rhetorical strategies. Rhetorical functions are related to lexical categories and syntactic structures, whereas rhetorical strategies are related to and encompass the organization of a text and the choices of lexical forms and constructions to express kinds of information in a text. However, both rhetorical functions and rhetorical strategies relate to the four communicational principles listed below.<sup>61</sup>

- **Quantity.** A speaker or writer will give the amount of information needed for the interpretation of meaning<sup>62</sup> by the hearer/reader.
- **Quality.** The information given will be of high quality, i.e. believed to be true by the speaker or writer.
- **Relevance.** The information will be significant, i.e. usually considered to be relevant to the hearer or reader but in some cases, particularly relevant to the speaker or writer.
- **Appropriate.** The information and style of communication will be appropriate for the communicational situation.

<sup>61</sup> These principles match the conversational maxims defined by Grice. (1975)

<sup>62</sup> Semantic and pragmatic meaning is differentiated in this grammar. Semantic meaning is restricted to the semantic components of lexical forms. Pragmatic meaning involves the textual context of constructions, as well as the extralinguistic context of the communication act, and the kinds of information expressed by constructions in a text of a particular discourse genre.

Speakers of Keley-i can and do violate these principles, either intentionally or inadvertently. However, the analysis of natural and translated texts reveals evidence for rhetorical functions and strategies based on these principles.

13.1 Rhetorical function

Every Keley-i sentence has words with predicational, referential, modificational or relational rhetorical functions; basic rhetorical functions match the grammatical categories described and illustrated in earlier sections of this Grammar Sketch.<sup>63</sup> Each semantic class of Keley-i words can be classified and assigned a lexical category on the basis of form and meaning and may also be assigned a rhetorical function on the basis of their constituency, and so function at a higher level in a construction. In some cases, a word may have a secondary rhetorical function, but retain significant semantic components that are related to its basic rhetorical function.

For example, an adjectival predicate has a predicational rhetorical function in a clause, but it retains semantic components that reflect the features of the referent of a noun and therefore continues to have a modificational function. We have, however, in this grammar chosen to assign only one rhetorical function at any particular level of a construction. Therefore, an adjective would be assigned a modificational function at the phrase level, but would be assigned a predicational function at the clause or sentence level of a construction. Table 55 shows the basic rhetorical function of lexical categories.

Table 55 Basic Rhetorical Functions of Lexical Categories

Lexical categories	Rhetorical functions
Verbs	Predicational
Nouns, Pronouns, Demonstratives, Determiners	Referential
Adjectives, Adverbs, Adjuncts	Modificational
Conjunctions, Linkers	Relational

In Table 56, we show the general semantic classes that are expressed in lexical categories and the basic and secondary rhetorical functions of the lexical categories. Table 56 also shows the rhetorical functions of relative and complement embedded clauses and subordinate clauses. These types of syntactic structures have the same rhetorical functions as their corresponding lexical categories.

63 Some of the ideas for the development of lexical categories and rhetorical function have been adapted from Croft (1991).

Table 56 Semantic Classes, Lexical Categories, Syntactic Structures

Semantic Class	Referential	Predicational	Modificational	Relational
Things	Nouns, Pronouns, Demonstratives, Determiners	Nominal predications Existential predications Demonstrative predications		
Events <sup>64</sup>	Nominalized clauses Complement clauses	Verbs	Complement clauses	
Attributes		Adjectival predications	Adjectives, Adverbs, Adjuncts Stative Verbs	
			Relative clauses	
Relationals			Subordinate clauses	Conjunctions, Linkers
				Subordinate clauses

13.2 Rhetorical strategies

Rhetorical strategies are those needed to create a well-organized, coherent, and relevant text.<sup>65</sup> These strategies are related to discourse genre and the appropriate presentation of information. Rhetorical strategies incorporate the following tenets:

- Certain types of information are associated with particular discourse genres.
- Prominence ranking of types of information promotes an understanding of the relevance of a text.
- Organization and cohesion of information at all levels of discourse, phrase, clause, sentence, and paragraph, is needed to create coherence and intelligibility of a text.

64 States and processes are included in the semantic classification of events though they are significantly different in verb forms and functions. They are predicational in both structure and rhetorical function, though they semantically function to describe the referents of the nouns in the NP constituent.

65 This is not to claim that Keley-i speakers are necessarily familiar with the stated tenets of rhetorical strategies. It is, however, a claim that effective Keley-i speakers intuitively use rhetorical strategies to create excellent texts. Evidence for this claim is given through the illustrative sentences excerpted from their natural texts.