

OPERATORS AND CLAUSE STRUCTURE IN KANKANAEY

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ABSTRACT

A sometimes puzzling area of syntax involves the many modifiers that occur above the phrase level. Role and Reference Grammar identifies three levels of the clause structure and predicts that each of these modifiers will structurally and semantically fit into one of these levels. Data from Kankanaey, a language in the northern Philippines, supports this claim by looking at the modifiers, called 'operators,' and noting that they either directly affect the predicate, or interact with the core of the clause by affecting the position of the pronominal arguments, or else occur in the clause without affecting any other part of it.

1. INTRODUCTION

Kankanaey is an Austronesian language spoken by over 150,000 people of central Luzon in the Philippines. The language area is centered in the province of Benguet and extends northward into Mountain Province and westward into La Union and Ilocos Sur. This study is drawn from research that began in October 1974 in Kibungan Central, Benguet, and continued over extended but intermittent periods of residence in Kibungan, Benguet, in Sayangan, Atok, Benguet, and in Balakbak, Kapangan, Benguet until June 1996. The author has had ongoing contact with speakers of Kankanaey through written correspondence, visits, and now, cellular texting.

1.1 The Question

In *Syntax: Structure, Meaning and Function* (1997), Van Valin and La Polla's Role and Reference Grammar posits a domain of grammatical categories that they term "operators." There are a number of types of operators, taking various forms from one language to another. The assertion, however, is that the operators are ordered similarly cross-linguistically, each operator modifying a certain layer of the clause structure.

It is of interest to examine whether Kankanaey data supports the cross-linguistic claims of RRG regarding operators, especially as Kankanaey is related to Tagalog, one of the languages used in the initial development of that theory. My earlier research (Allen, 1978a,b) and informal analysis of Kankanaey has looked at some of these "operators" as separate structural forms, attempting to understand the functions and meanings of each. If we take a function-to-form approach instead, will the analysis of function explain the distribution of the forms? Will the structural forms support the claim that certain types of operators relate to specific layers of the clause?

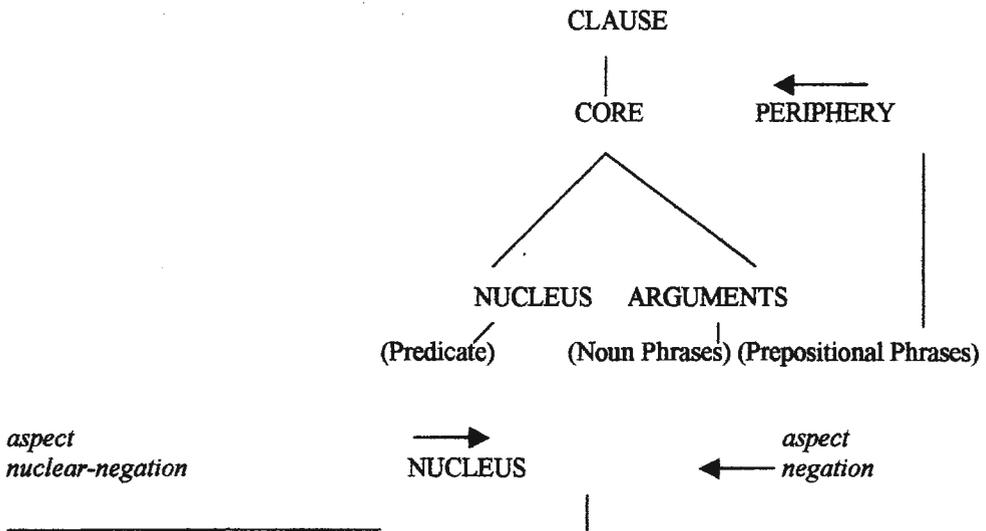
The design of this research consisted of searching through a corpus of natural texts such as personal letters, written and transcribed narratives, and recorded material of both formal and informal speech. Expressions of the functions identified as “operators” were noted with their contexts. Some examples were simplified slightly for brevity and clarity.

1.2 Background

Van Valin and La Polla (1997) present the view of the clause as having a layered structure. The simple clause is understood to have a core made up of a predicate nucleus and its noun-phrase arguments. Other information such as locatives, temporals and other adverbial phrases occur outside the core in what is termed the “periphery.” This study does not involve the periphery.

Further, they posit a domain called “operators,” a group of “grammatical categories which are qualitatively different from predicates and their arguments...[that] modify the clause and its parts” (1997:40). Thus an operator may modify the clause, its core, or the nucleus.

Figure 1 is a visual representation of the layered structure of a clause with the constituents at the top and the levels repeated with their respective operators in italics below. While the clause constituents are proposed to be universal, not every language has every possible operator. Because the list of operators is not yet finalized, I will take the liberty of suggesting a few modifications for Kankanaey. The left-hand listing of operators is taken from *Syntax* (1997, p. 49); those on the right represent the operator functions that will be examined for Kankanaey. Johnson (1987) is credited with formalizing the separate representation of operators. Kankanaey does not have a tense operator, which unequivocally marks the time of an action in relation to another reference time, so this will not be included. I am expanding deontic modality (ability and obligation conditions on the actor¹) to include motivation as another actor-oriented modifier. Although some linguists include evidentials with epistemic modality (Bybee and Fleischman, 1995, p. 4), I propose to subsume evidentials under “attitude” operators, following Derbyshire (1985, in Van Valin and La Polla 1997, p. 44).



¹ Following Van Valin and La Polla, the terms Actor and Undergoer will be used to refer to the generalized agent-type and patient-type roles respectively.

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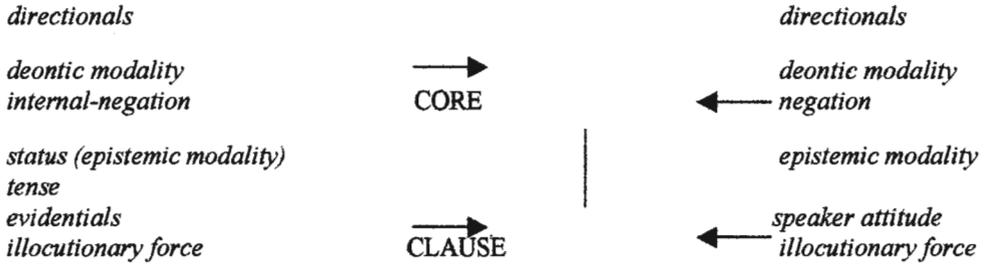


Figure 1. Simple clause structure constituents and operators

2. RESULTS

Table 1 lists the operator types for Kankanaey, with their general functions and the forms that they take. Each function is then explained with examples of the forms. Note that the table begins with operators that modify the nucleus, moves to the core level (the predicate with its arguments) and then lists the operators that modify the clause as a whole.

	Clause Operator	Function	Form in Kankanaey
N U C L E U S	Aspect	Completive continuative progressive or repeated intensive	predicate affixes
	Negation, directionals	negative existential most directional distinctives	lexicalized
C O R E	Deontic modality	Desire	quasi-verb construction 2-verb construction
		Ability Motivation/purpose	quasi-verb construction 2-verb construction adverbial construction
	Strong obligation Weak obligation	adverbial construction particle	
	Negation	Predicate negation limitation	adverbial construction
	external negation	Propositional negation	adverbial construction

C L A U S E	status (epistemic modality)	Necessity possibility Realis irrealis	epistemic adjectives verbal mood particle
	speaker attitude	Evidentials of varying degrees agreement, forcefulness, etc.	particles
	illocutionary force	Request Question Command hope, prediction	particles particles question pronouns addressee pronoun particle formulas

Table 1. Clause operator realizations in Kankanaey

Table 1 shows a strong correlation between the grammatical forms and the clause layer that the forms modify. **Nuclear operators** directly affect the predicate either by lexical choice or by affixation of the predicate. **Core operators** involve the predicate and its arguments by occurring as verbal constructions that place before the matrix verb an adverbial particle, quasi-verb or full verb, all of which involve the clitic core pronouns by displacing them forward from the normal post-predicate position. **Clause-level operators** leave the core intact with the exception of the pronoun-choice form of illocutionary force. Verbal mood and the lexical choice of adverbial negator do affect the core, and the possible reasons for this will be explored.

3. DISCUSSION

3.1 Nuclear Operators

Operators at the nuclear level are those that modify the predicate without particular reference to any of its arguments. Aspect refers to the various possible internal temporal situations of a predicate. These are completive/incompletive, continuative, progressive, iterative and intensive; they are expressed in Kankanaey by predicate affixes (3.1.1). This affirms the claim that aspect is a nuclear-level operator.

Nuclear negation denies the truth of a predicate, and directionals indicate the orientation of an action or state. In Kankanaey, the only nuclear negator is the negative existential; it and the directionals are components of specific predicate lexemes (3.1.2).

3.1.1 Predicate Affixes

Most Kankanaey predicates are affixed to syntactically cross-reference one of their arguments; these affixes interact with the obligatory completive aspect. Completive aspect is shown by *m/n* and *p/n* alternations, or with an *-in-* infix or prefix as seen in Table 2.

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Incomplete	Completive
man-	nan-
maN-	naN-
maka-	naka-
ma-, mai-, ma—an	na-, nai-, na—an
maki-	naki-
-om-	-in(o)m-
-en	-in-
-an	-in—an
i-	in-
pan-, pan—en, pan—an	nan-, nan—en, nan—an
paN-, pangi-, paN—an	naN-, nangi-, naN—an

Table 2. Kankanaey incomplete and completive aspect

Verbs with continuative aspect use a reduplicated CV prefix on the root as in (1), where a state has begun and is continuing. The operators are underlined in the examples.

- (1) *Man=bi=bilag di=n aso.*
 Actor=CV=be.in.sun DNM=DEF dog

‘The dog is lying in the sun.’ (continuative aspect)

A CVC prefix shows progressive aspect with verbs of action or process as in (2); the same prefix on predicates with no time duration (e.g. “kiss”) have an iterative (repeated-action) reading as in (3).

- (2) *Nan=sak=sakit di=n toktok na.*
 Actor.COMP=CVC=pain DNM=DEF head his

‘His head was hurting.’ (completive and progressive aspects)

- (3) *Siged ka=s ma=ong=-ongngo=an.*
 good 2s=ONM ABIL.Loc=CVC=kiss=<

‘You’re nice for being kissed!’ (iterative aspect)

CVC(C)V reduplication shows intensive aspect indicating unusually repetitive or long-lasting actions as in (4).

- (4) *Deda ay om=oga=oga=s Langdew.*
 Still LK Actor=INTS=cry=DPNM Langdew

‘Langdew is still crying and crying.’ (intensive)

3.1.2 Lexicalization

Most directions expressed by separate lexemes in English are included in the applicable roots in Kankanaey. The existential has two interchangeable negative forms.

- (5) *Man=song ka ay gakki.*
 Actor=upstream 2s LK crab

‘Go upstream, crab.’ (lexicalized direction)

- (6) *Pesaw=em di=n ginawang.*

downstream=Und.2s DNM=DEF river

'Follow the river downstream.' (lexicalized direction)

(7) *Iwed pay laeng di anak yo.*

NEG.EXIST PART PART DNM child 2p

'You don't have any children yet.' (lexicalized nuclear negation)

3.2 Core Operators

Core operators are those that give modifying information about the relationship between the predicate and its arguments. These operators are expressed in Kankanaey by several different forms; many of them have more than one possible expression. However, core operators use forms different from clause-level or nuclear-level operators; the quasi-verbs and adverbial particles occur only as core operators. Some of the forms include linkage to the core. Most important to note, however, is that all the core operators involve the core by involvement with clitic argument pronouns. The claim that these operators are modifying the core is upheld by the structures they employ.

Deontic modalities and internal negation are the two types of core operators. Deontic modalities are modifiers that are actor-oriented, addressing conditions that are on the actor regarding completion of the action, such as the actor's ability, motivation and desire. The quasi-verb construction (3.2.1) is one of the forms used for these modifiers. Some of these concepts can also be expressed by two-verb predicates in which the first modifies the second. Examples would be intention and desire, using two fully affixed and linked verbs (3.2.2).

Kankanaey also uses adverbial constructions (3.2.3) to express strong obligation and motivation. The same construction also covers core negation and partial negation (limitation). These concepts do not alter the meaning of the predicate (nuclear level!) but rather say something about the performance of the action by the participants (core level).

Weak obligation is expressed with a particle and will be shown to belong semantically with other attitude particles (3.3.4).

3.2.1 Quasi-Verbal Constructions

Quasi-verbs are roots that may function as a predicate in a clause, but do not take verbal affixation. When they modify a verb and serve as operators, they take the ergative argument (whether pronominal or full noun phrases) and are linked to the following verb with the linker *ay*. Thus, as operators they are modifying the core. Sentence(8) exemplifies the quasi-verb of ability.

(8) *Ay kaya=m ay man=maniho si addawi?*

Q able=2s LK Actor=drive ONM far

'Are you able to drive a far distance?'

The borrowed Spanish root *gusto* is used as a quasi-verb, with no verbal affixation necessary (9). *Gandat* (10) indicates a relationship between the actor and the action that is inner-motivated, a natural response.

(9) *D=in=amag da mo gusto=k ay make=ey en daida.*

enquire=Und.COMP 3p if want=1s LK Actor.ASSOC=go OPNM 3p

'They asked if I wanted to go with them.'

- (10) *Gandat na ay om=oga=oga tan nem=nemnem=ena=s*
motive 3s LK Actor=INTS=cry because CVC=think=Und.3s=DPNM
ina na.
 mother 3s

'Naturally he's crying and crying because he's thinking of his mother.'

3.2.2 Verbal Constructions

Desire and purposeful intention is usually expressed with a full two-verb construction as in (9). The first verb is affixed to cross-reference an Undergoer and shares the ergative actor argument with the matrix (second) verb. Semantically, the situation described by the second verb is the Undergoer argument of the first verb. Thus, in (9), what is desired (*laydek*) is 'to go' (*emey*).

- (11) *Layd=ek ay em=ey ed Banaue.*
 want/like=Und.1s LK Actor=go LOC Banaue
 'I'd like to go to Banaue.' (two-verb construction)

3.2.3 Adverbial Constructions

Adverbial particles precede the predicate and do not take any affixes. They attract clitic core pronouns, bringing them into the pre-predicate position with them. Thus they can be seen to be core-level modifiers. Some particles mark the constituents they displace with *-n* after a final vowel.

The necessity expressed in (12) is due to the hearer's pregnancy, so the deontic (actor-oriented) reading of the operator is indicated.

- (12) *Siyat ka=n man=tee sin beey.*
must 2s=DISP Actor=stay ONM house
 'You must stay at the house.' (strong obligation or necessity)

Motivation is another modifier of the actor's performance of the predicate idea. In (13) there is implicit purpose in "going" to do something. In (14) the actor is not acting on purpose.

- (13) *Ena in=abat di=n gayyem na.*
 go.3s Und.COMP=meet DNM=DEF friend 3s
 'She went to meet her friend.' (purpose)
- (14) *Mo eteng ka=n i=al=-alin di asawa=m*
 If unmotive 2s=DISP Und=CVC=jealous DNM spouse=2s
si aga=y kosto ay kinatet-ewa na...
 ONM NEG=DNM correct LK truth 3s
 'If you just feel jealous about your spouse for something that has no real truth in it...' (unmotivated)

Internal negation is a denial that an actor achieved a state or action; what is negated is the connection between the predicate and its participant(s) in a particular situation. Thus, in (15) the diners and the concept of "dirty" did not correlate, and in (16) the cooks' pounding action is denied and instead the action is limited to cooking. The displaced position of the pronoun in each case suggests strongly that the operator is modifying the core of the clause.

- (15) *Adi da ma=loya si=n mata=n di kaag.*
 NEG 3p ABIL.Und=dirty ONM=DEF eye=GEN DNM monkey
 'They aren't repulsed by the eyes of the monkey.' (negation)
- (16) *Adi da bayo=en; owat da=n kai=oto si=n banga.*
 NEG 3p pound=Und LIMIT 3p=DISP Actor.IMMED=cook ONM=DEF pot
 'They don't pound it; they just cook it (whole) in the pot.'
 (negation and limitation)

3.3 Clause Operators

Clause operators are those that modify the entire assertion or proposition of the clause with no specific relevance to the interaction of the arguments with the predicate. The modifications are more oriented to the speaker than to any constituent of the core. Clause operators include propositional negation (external negation), epistemic modality (situational necessity and possibility) and the related concept of "realis"; speaker-attitude modifiers and illocutionary force indicators also occur at the clause level. With a few exceptions, Kankanaey clause-level operators do not displace or interact with constituents of the core.

3.3.1 Adverbial Negator

Baken is the Kankanaey non-verbal negator; thus, it negates noun phrases and non-verbal predicates as well as propositions. Some speakers of the language tend to use *adi* for external negation, using context for interpretation. At this time it is not possible to prove whether the language is changing or if there are stable dialect boundaries on its usage.

When it is used as an epistemic, or external, negator, *baken* is an adverbial particle denying the truth of something more extensive than the verb alone. *Baken* displaces pronominal arguments of the verb, but its external-negation reading precludes a strict core-level interpretation of its scope. Thus in (17), the mother had said earlier in the story that she would go sleep; if *adi*, the core-level negator, had been used, it would mean she did not sleep. *Baken* goes further, and negates the mother's lie. In (18) the writer defends her behavior by denying the truth of a hypothetical situation.

- (17) *Ena in=abat di=n gayyem na si=n*
 go.3s Und.COMP=meet DNM=DEF friend 3s ONM=DEF
pang=om-=oma=an da, baken 0 baw na=na=ek.
 NOM=CVC=garden=< 3p NEG 3s PART ABIL.Und.COMP=CV=sleep
 'She went to meet her friend where they were making a garden, she wasn't sleeping (after all).'
- (18) *Baken=ak man=tet=tettee ta say wada=y timpo=k ay*
 NEG=1s Actor=CVC=stay.home so.that < EXIST=DNM time=1s LK
man=sol=solat.
 Actor=CVC=write
 'It's not the case that I'm staying home so I have time to write (letters).' (Implied: It is the case that I'm very busy and therefore haven't written to you.)

3.3.2 *Epistemic-Adjective Constructions*

Epistemic modality deals with the necessity or possibility of a proposition. In Kankanaey, special epistemic adjectives are linked with *ay* to the clause but do not affect core-internal pronoun constituents. (These special adjectives do not modify nouns.) Note that the clitic pronouns remain in the normal post-predicate position within the clause in (19)-(22). When an epistemic adjective is negated, as in (23), the negator *adi* is used and the scope of the negation is limited to the adjective. The negative adverbial does not displace the pronoun from the clause core. The examples suggest that epistemic modals in Kankanaey modify the clause level because they leave the core and the predicate intact.

- (19) *Ma=sapol ay i=sagana=k di=n anan-ak.*
 ADJ=necessary LK Und=ready=1s DNM=DEF children
 ‘I have to get the children ready.’ (This necessity relates to other plans.)
- (20) *Ma=sapol met ay ma=repair di=n jeep.*
 ADJ=necessary PART LK ABIL.Und=repair DNM=DEF jeep
 ‘It’s necessary that the jeep be repaired.’ (The situation, not the jeep itself, requires it.)
- (21) *Ma=balin ay ma=kontak mo=s sak-en sin CP# ay nay.*
 ADJ=possible LK ABIL.Und=contact 2s=DPNM 1s ONM CP# LK this
 ‘It’s possible for you to contact me at this cellphone number.’
- (22) *Ma=balin ay sokat=an tako=y pitsa.*
 ADJ=possible LK change=Loc 1pi=DNM date
 ‘It’s possible for us to change the date.’
- (23) *Say gapo ay adi ma=balin ay ma=toloy kami*
 That’s reason LK NEG ADJ=possible LK ABIL.Und=continue 1pe
ay em=ey ed Baguio.
 LK Actor=go LOC Baguio
 ‘That’s why it’s not possible for us to go ahead with the plan to go to Baguio.’

3.3.3 *Abilitative Mood*

The concept of possibility is often expressed in Kankanaey by the “abilitative” verbal mood. Without digressing into the verbal semantics of Kankanaey, which is a typical Philippine language, suffice it to say that there is a set of verbal affixes which not only cross-reference an argument of the predicate, but that also address the completion of a state or action without particularly implying intention or effort on the part of the actor. With completive aspect, successful completion is explicitly expressed, as in (24) and (25). This may be the “realis” indicator in Kankanaey but it seems to describe the predicate rather than the assertion as a whole. With incompletive aspect, the possibility of completion is an important component (26). When combined with the negative, there is an assertion of inability or impossibility (27). It appears that Kankanaey may incorporate some instances of “possibility” at the nuclear level, including it as one component of a semantically-complex predicate.

- (24) *Naka=dateng kami ed Abatan si alas dosi=n di labi.*
 ABIL.COMP.Actor=arrive 2pe LOC Abatan ONM time 12=GEN DNM
 night
 ‘We managed to arrive in Abatan at midnight.’

- (25) *Ed England na=ila=k di snow et nan=-amag*
 LOC England ABIL. COMP. Und=see=1s DNM snow and Actor. COMP=make
kami si snowman.
 1pe ONM snowman
 'In England I had the chance to see snow and we made a snowman.'
- (26) *Ay ma=balin ay om=ali kayo sin alas 6:30 tapno*
 Q ADJ=possible LK Actor=come 2p ONM=DEF time 6:30 so-that
maka=pirmiso=ak pay en Padi Berning?
 ABIL. Actor=ask.permission=1s PART OPNM priest Berning
 'Is it possible for you to come at 6:30 so I can (have time/chance
 to) get permission from Father Berning?'
- (27) *Adi na ma=asikaso di=n anak.*
 NEG 3s ABIL. Und=care.for DNM=DEF child
 'He can not take care of the child.'

3.3.4 Particles

A wide array of free-standing semantic particles encode the speaker's attitude regarding a statement; they range from indicating the source of the information (evidentials), to varying degrees of certainty. Expressing certainty is also a function of the interaction with the hearer, and many particles give nuances of agreement, persuasion or defense. Particles often follow a verb or occur with displaced pronouns in a pre-predicate position, but they are optional and do not affect other elements in a clause. Wherever they occur, they modify the meaning of the whole assertion. Only a few examples can be given in this study. [Kankanaey has more than fifty such particles; see "Kankanaey Adjuncts" (Allen, 1978b) for a full discussion of the semantic particles.]

The semantic particle *koma* indicates overt irrealis (contrary-to-fact). The scope of the irrealis in (27) seems to be greater than just the first clause, since both cores are untrue. *Koma* translates as obligation in some clauses with incompletive aspect (28). While it is difficult to translate every occurrence of this or any nuanced particle with any consistency, there is an element of speaker opinion in expressing obligation which may disqualify it as a "realis" marker and allow it to join the other "attitude" particles.

- (27) *P=in=ikpik ko 0 koma ta na=ek 0 baw.*
 Und. COMP=pat 1s 3s PART so.that ABIL. Und. COMP=sleep 3s PART
 'I should have patted him so that he would have slept, I see.'
 (I didn't pat him and he didn't sleep.) (realization)
- (28) *I=toloy ko koma ay man=-iskowila.*
 Und=continue 1s PART LK Actor=attend.school
 'I should (probably won't) keep going to school.' (obligation)

Evidentials give the speaker's justification for making an assertion. In Kankanaey these include realizing, recollecting, hearsay, first-hand knowledge, obvious or common knowledge, conjecture, and crediting the hearer for the idea. All of these are expressed with particles; a few examples are seen in (27), (29) and (30). Emphasis or certainty regarding the command is expressed by *adi* (not the negative) in (30) and a defensive tone by *ngay* in (31).

- (29) *D=om=ateng pay kano 0, in=dateng na kano=y lokto.*
 Actor=arrive yet PART 3s Und.COMP=bring 3s PART=DNM yam
 ‘She arrived and brought some yams.’ (hearsay, used here in traditional story)
- (30) *“En ka ala=n adi=s awni.” “Pag et kayman na=om.”*
 go 2s get=Und PART=ONM later all PART PART ABIL.Und=ripe
 “Be sure to go get them later.” “Yes, they are all ripe now.”
 (emphasis, hearer’s-idea)
- (31) *P=in=ikpik ko ngay ya adi’g=om=inek.*
 pat=Und.COMP 1s PART and NEG Actor=quiet
 ‘I DID pat him but he wouldn’t quiet down.’ (defense)

3.3.5 Illocutionary force pronouns and particles

The last category of clause-level modifiers is illocutionary force. Simple imperative is realized by using incompletive aspect and second-person pronouns (32). Question pronouns placed in fronted position are lexicalized interrogatives, as in (33).

- (32) *Gel-ad=am ay ina di=n onas ay nay.*
 peel=Loc.2s LK mother DNM=DEF sugarcane LK this
 ‘Mother, peel this sugarcane.’
- (33) *Sino=y ngadan mo?*
what=DNM name 2s
 ‘What’s your name?’ (question pronoun)

‘Yes-no’ and ‘why’ interrogation is indicated by particles with fixed positions at the beginning or end of the clause, seen in (34) and (35). Nuances of imperative such as pleading or demanding can be achieved with particles; politeness in (35) and diminution in (36) are examples.

- (34) *“Ayket ma=iwed di=n anak ko mo?” kanana.*
Why... ABIL.Und=NEG.EXIST DNM child 1s ...why say=3s
 “‘Why has my child disappeared?’” she said.’ (discontinuous ‘why’)
- (35) *Ay om=ali kayo? Om=ali kayo kod!*
 Q Actor=come 2p Actor=come 2p please
 ‘Will you come? Please come!’ (question and polite command)
- (36) *I=payag mo kay na si=n kantina.*
 Und=put.down 2s PART this ONM=DEF store
 ‘Would you drop this off at the store?’ (a small request)

Prediction and wish are expressed by fixed formulas of particles at the beginning of the clause.

- (37) *Sa pay koma ta p=om=igsa si baket mo.*
may-it-be Actor=strong DPNM wife 2s
 I hope your wife will get well.

- (36) *Kadi manet b=om=aknang ka.*
prophetic Actor=wealthy 2s
 'You will certainly become rich.'

4. CONCLUSION

Kankanaey data supports the claim that nuclear-level operators will be shown in nuclear-level forms, core-level operators will be a part of the core syntactically, and clause-level operators will not affect the core but appear independently. This analysis brings together into simple and semantically-motivated categories a wide assortment of functions and forms that were not previously easy to describe. The only exception is the abilitative set of verbal affixes that seem to express possibility or realis at the nuclear level.

A second important claim regarding operators is that they have ordered scope over each other within each level. This study was not able to include a discussion of that claim.

I hope that the glimpses afforded by this study into Kankanaey syntax and semantics will stimulate the reader to further explore the fascinating family of Philippine languages.

Abbreviations

<	included in discontinuous morpheme
1-3	personal pronoun
ABIL	Abilitative mood
Actor	affix cross-referencing Actor argument
ADJ	adjective affix
ASSOC	associative-action affix
COMP	completive aspect
CV	consonant-vowel reduplication
CVC	consonant-vowel-consonant reduplication
INTS	reduplicative intensive affix
DEF	definite
DISP	displacement marker
DNM	direct-argument nominal marker
DPNM	direct-argument personal nominal marker
e	exclusive
EXIST	existential
GEN	genitive
i	inclusive
IMMED	immediacy affix
LK	linker
Loc	affix cross-referencing locative argument
LOC	locative nominal marker
NEG	negative
NOM	nominalizer
ONM	oblique nominal marker
OPNM	oblique personal nominal marker
p	plural
PART	particle
Q	yes-no question particle
QT	quotation marker

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s	singular
Und	affix cross-referencing Undergoer argument

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