—AD IN ISINAI[1]

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Introduction

0. The purpose of this study is to describe the occurrence of the Isinai[2] (Is.) functor[3] -ad in simple situational predicative verbal sentences, both active and passive. -ad is a syntactic marker which co-occurs with the particles di or si. The co-occurrence of di with -ad marks the subject (S) of active (See 1.) and passive (See 1.1) sentences, the reciprocal actor complement (C) of active sentences (See 2.) and the agentive (See 3.2) and actor complements of passive sentences (See 3.), while that of si with -ad marks the construction of any one of the following C's: locative and benefactive

[3] The classification of morphemes into functors (function words) and contentives (content words) is followed in this study. Charles C. Fries in his *The Structure of English*, Harcourt Brace & Co. N.Y., 1952, p. 87-109, makes use of the terms *function words* and content words. He differentiates "function words" from "content words" in that the former signal structural meaning and a difficulty arises in assigning a lexical meaning to them, while there is no difficulty in assigning lexical meaning to "content words." References for the term *functor* are: Charles F. Hockett, *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, Macmillan Co., N.Y., 1958, p. 265 and Elmer Wolfenden, *A Re-statement of Tagalog Grammar*, SIL & INL, Manila, 1961 p. 3. Wolfenden divides functors into markers or substitutes. He defines *markers* as "morphemes (some free, some bound) that signal constructions" and substitutes as "free morphemes with the privileges of occurrence parallel to those of phrases built by certain constructions." Wolfenden then states that "Morphemes that are not functors are contentive elements." Hockett on the other hand types functors into substitutes, markers and inflexional affixes. One other reference which was drawn upon for this study is R.S. Pittman "The Four Minimal Structural Units of Descriptive Grammar" SIL, University of North Dakota, 1953. Pittman classifies morphemes into central morphemes (word bases) lateral morphemes (affixes), class marker, and construction markers. The last two are composed of morphemes which show function, relations and connections between terminals.

of active sentences (See 2.) and benefactive and locative of pas-sive sentences (See 3.) Both *di* and *si* co-occur with *-ad* to mark attributive constructions (See 4.). The occurrence of *di* with *-ad* is optional when *di* occurs in sentence initial (See 1.4). *-ad* does not mark the goal C of both active and passive sentences, the agen-tive C of active sentences or personal names as S of both active and passive sentences. It does not mark a pronoun as S or as C (See 4.4) except when the pronoun is in attributive constructions (See 4.).

0.1   This syntactic device in Is. is unique in Philippine languages and to my knowledge occurs only in one other Philippine lang-uage, Tinguian, spoken in Peñarubia, Abra.[4] In Tinguian, the marker is *-we* which co-occurs with *di* to mark the S, *kandi* to mark the C, *nidi* the doer of the action of passive sentences, *dadi* plural S and some other particles marking other constituents. Though the marker occurs in a similar manner in both languages there is greater diversity of the particles with which it co-occurs in Tinguian than in Is. Also the marker occurs with pronoun C's in Tinguian, but not in Is. (See 4.42).

0.2.   *-ad* has the allomorphs (*-wad, -d, -yad, -ad*) which are condi-tioned by the final sound of the stem to which it is suffixed. /-wad/ occurs after /o, u/, /-d/ after /a/, /-yad/ after /e, i/, and /-ad/ after consonants. *di* has the allomorphs /di/ and /ri/, /di/ occur-ring when the preceding sound is a consonant and /ri/ when the preceding sound is a vowel or /y, w/. *si* has the allomorphs /si/ and /-t/, /si/ occurring when the preceding sound is a consonant and /-t/ when the preceding sound is a vowel.

Occurrence in S

1.   Active sentences—The active and passive sentences of Is. have the same IC's (immediate constituents) as the active and pas-sive sentences of other Philippine languages,[5] that is, predicate (P) + S. The active sentences have an unmarked verb as P and a marked noun which is the doer of the action as S. In Is. the S is marked by a preposed *di* and postposed *-ad*.

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[4] In most Philippine languages, the S-marker occurs by itself, preposed to the S as in Tagalog *ang*, Ilokano *ti*, Bikol *an*, or postposed to the S, as in Yakan and Sama *hin*. The C's in most Philippine languages are preced-ed by markers, as in Tagalog *sa* (locative), *para sa* (benefactive), *dahil sa* (agentive), *nang* (goal).

[5] Ernesto Constantino, "The Sentence Patterns of Ten Major Philippine Languages," *Asian Studies*, University of the Philippines, Vol. II, No. 1, April, 1964 p. 31-32.

a. nanagtág *di a t ú w a d.*[6]
   r a n   *di*   dog ₊ -*wad.*
'The dog ran.'

b. nitumbúb *di b í q a l a d.*
   tripped *di*   old-woman ₊-*ad.*
'The old woman tripped.'

   1.1 Passive sentences — The passive sentences have an un-marked verb as the P and a marked noun as S. This S is not the doer of the action but that which is affected by the action express-ed by the verb.[7]

a. s i n a l í w   di   beyuntakúwad   *di   pulbúsad.*
   bougt -by *di*   young-man ₊ -*wad di* powder ₊ - *ad.*
'The powder was bought by the young man.'

b. pinútud   di   takúwad *di a y ú w a d.*
   cut-by *di*   man ₊ -*wad di* wood ₊ -*wad.*
'The wood was cut by the man.'

   1.2 Compound S — When the S of the passive or active sen-tence is a compound the -*ad* is suffixed to both nouns.

c. nanagtág *di a t ú w a d on   maNawád.*
   r a n   *di*   dog ₊ -*wad* and cat ₊ -*ad.*
'The dog and cat ran.'

d. nangán si maNgá   on   santól *di mantaytáyavad* on
   a t e si mango and santol *di*   b i r d ₊ -*ad* and
        m a m a n ú q a d.
   c h i c k e n ₊ -*ad.*
'The bird and chicken ate the mango and santol.'

   1.3 Plural S—When the S is a plural noun, the -*ad* is suffixed to the noun followed by the plural morpheme *rari*:

e. inilána *ri t a k u w a r á r i.*
   saw-him *ri*   man ₊ -*wa* ₊ *rari.*
'The men saw him.'

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   [6] Only a rough phonemization of Is. was made: consonants /p, b, t, d, k, g, q, v, s, l, r, m, n, N, w, y/; vowels /a, e, i, o, u/ and /'/. /q/ is the glottal stop, /N/ the velar nasal. Utterance initial vowels are automa-cally preceded by [q], this therefore is not phonemically transcribed.
   [7] E. Constantino, *op. cit.*

f. nanagtág *di a t ú w a r á r i.*[8]
   r a n   *di* dog + -wa + *rari.*
   'The dogs ran.'

1.4 Optional occurrences of -*ad*—When the order of the IC's both of active and passive sentences is reversed, the P' is marked by /yaq/. /Yaq/ may be called the reverse-order construction marker. The S which is now sentence initial is not preceded by *di*. However, in formal speech, the S is preceded by /wad/ in this order of IC's.

a. (*wad*)   *maserútad*   *bevayi* yaq nitumbúb.
   (wad) pretty + -*ad* woman *yaq* tripped.
   'The pretty woman tripped.'

b. *atúwad*   yaq nanagtág.
    dog + -*wad* yaq r a n.
    'The dog ran.'

c. *bokatad* yaq inqátod di bavayíyad si mampalpale-
      músad.
    rice + -*ad yaq* given-by *di* woman + -*ad si beggar*
    + -*ad.*
    'The rice was given to the beggar by the woman.

Active C's

2. Reciprocal actor C — In active sentences the active verbs may occur with certain C's. Some of these C's are marked by -*ad* (sentences 2.a to f and 2.2 a and b) and some are not (sentences 4.42 a to m). The reciprocal actor has both participants marked by -*ad* (unless one is a pronoun 4.42) co-occurring with *di* which marks the first constituent.

a. n i s a v á y a t   *di k o n s e h á l a d si mayúrad.*
   talked-to-each-other *di* councilor + -*ad* to mayor + -*ad.*
   'The mayor and councilor talked to each other.

b. n a n q í n s i n t ú k a n *di h a p ú n a d on bum-*
    báyad.
    b o x e d-e a c h-o t h e r *di* Japanese+ -*ad* and Hin-
    du+ -*ad.*
    'The Japanese and Hindu boxed each other.'

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[8] In *takuwarari* and *átuwarari, wad + rari* (plural) > *warari,* /d/ is drop-
ped. *rari* has a variant, *dari,* used in formal speech.

2.1 Locative C—The locative C is marked with -ad and is preceded by si.

> c. naNitút pidrú   si   kwadtát   kakúnad.
>   p u t-t Pedro   si   money-t box ₊ -ad.
>   'Pedro put the money in the box.'

> d. m a m m é q o N a t[9]   tagqón isabélad.
>   s i t   -you-t   next-to isabel⁺ -ad.
>   'Sit next to Isabel.'

The locative C may also be marked by -ad preceded by /i/: /i/ plus a personal name indicates   place of residence or home. The -ad is suffixed to the personal name in the phrase.

> e. m a m p a s y a l áq i á l i N   p a s i N a d.
>   will - drop - in -on   i title of respect Pasing⁺ -ad..
>   'I will drop in on 'Aling' Pasing.'

> f. immúy sirí i   pidrúwad[10].
>   went   to   i   Pedro⁺ -wad.
>   'He went to Pedro's house.'

2.2 Benefactive C—Another C of the active sentence to which -ad is suffixed is the benefactive C co-occurring with si.

> a. nansáliw   si sávuN   di   béyuntakúwad párat
>   bought si flower   di young-man⁺ -wad for-t
>   m a r i q i t a d.
>   young-girl ⁺ -ad.
>   'The young man bought the flowers for the young girl.'

> b. maNasór   si bókat   si   manpaspalimósad di
>   bavayívad.
>   g a v e   si rice   si b e g g a r ₊ -ad   di
>   woman ₊ -yad.
>   'The woman gave the rice to the beggar.'

Passive C's

3. Actor C—In passive sentences -ad is obligatory not only to mark the S but also to mark certain C's of the verb. -ad is obligatory for the actor C except when the C occurs as a pronoun or a personal name. This limitation will be discussed in 4.4.

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[9] /-at/ is composed of two morphs, /a/ pronoun, and /-t/ an allomorph of si.

[10] There is no overt form for the pronoun 3rd person singular in Is.

a. insalíwan *di   beyuntakúwad* di m a r i q í t a d
   si sávuN.
   bought-for *di* young-man+ -wad *di* young-woman₊   *-ad*
   si flower.
   'The young man bought flowers for the young woman.'

b. inatdán *di takúwad* di u q u N a r á r i t ma-
   kalíla.
   given-by *di* man+ -wad *di* child ₊ -ad ₊ -rari-t bana-
   nas.
   'The children were given bananas by the man.'

3.1   Benefactive and Locative C's—As in active constructions,
the benefactive and locative C's take on *ad* co-occurring with *si.*

a. insalíwan   di   beyuntakúwad   di   pulbúsad
   bought-by   *di* young-man + -wad *di* powder₊ -ad
        para*t   m a r i q í t a d.*
        for-*t*   young-woman+ -ad.
   'The powder was bought by the young man for the
   young woman.'

The S *di pulbusad* 'the powder' as well as the actor C *di beyunta-*
kúwad 'the young man,' and the benefactive C *-t mariqitad* 'the
young woman' are all marked by *-ad*. In the sentence:

b. impanlínis   di   bavayíyad   di   gaggárad *si*
   tablád.
   used-to-clean *di* woman + -yad *di* rag₊ -ad si
       floor ₊ -ad.

'The rag was used by the woman to clean the floor.'
di bavayídad 'the woman' is the doer of the action, *di gaggárad*
'the rag,' the agentive S, and *si tablád* 'the floor' the locative C, all
also marked by *-ad.*

Subject Phrases and Attributive Constructions

4.   Let us now examine the distribution of *-ad* in S phrases
and attributive constructions.   When the S of a sentence, either
active or passive, is a phrase composed of substantive and pro-
noun, the order of the morphemes is

di ₊ substantive ₊ pronoun ₊ *-ad.*

Active:

    a. natáqad *di a t ú q a d.*[11]
       barked *di* dog-my⁺ *-ad.*
       'My dog barked.'

    b. nantáliw *ri a n a q ú w a d* si éqeN.
       bought *ri* child-my ⁺ *-wad* *si* dress.
       'My child bought the dress.'

Passive:

    c. tinaqáran *di a t ú q a d.*
       barked-at *di* dog-my- ⁺ *-ad.*
       'He was barked at by my dog.'

    d. tináliw   *di a n a q ú w a d* ri   eqéNad síye.
       bought-by *di* child-my-₊ *-wad* *ri* dress₊-*ad*   this.
       'This dress was bought by my child.'

When the S phrase contains a demonstrative as the attribute, the demonstrative follows the head suffixed by *-ad*:

$$di + \text{head} + \textit{-ad} + \text{demonstrative.}$$

    e. tináliw   ri   a n a q ú w a d *di   eqéNad   síye*
       bought-by *ri* child-my- ₊ *-wad di* dress ₊ *-ad* this.
       'This dress was bought by the child.'

    4.1 Possessive attribution—In attributive constructions show-ing possession, *-ad* is suffixed to the possessor preceded by any of the following particles: /di/,[12]/-an/ and /da/. /-an/ is used when a personal name is one of the constituents, /da/ when the head is compound while /di/ is used with constituents other than personal names or compound head. The order of the morphemes is

    di
     ⁺ attribute ₊ /an/ ₊ head ₊ *-ad.*
                 /di/
    si   /da/

    a. siniláq *di tumbúk an Pedrúwad.*
       lost-I *di* k e y *an* Pedro⁺ *-wad.*
       'I lost Pedro's key.'

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    [11] The first person possessive pronoun has two allomorphs /u ∽ q/. /u/ occurs after consonants and /q/ after vowels *atu* ⁺ *q* ⁺ *ad*> *atúqad* 'my dog' *anaq* ⁺ *u* ⁺ *ad* > *anaqúwad* 'my child.'
    [12] This /di/, is not to be confused with the /di/ of *di* 'prepost particle.'

b. siniláq   si   pidrút   *tumbúk*   *di*[13]   *beyúyad*.
   l o s t   *si*   Pedro-*t*   k e y   *di*   house⁺-*ad*.
   'Pedro lost the key of the house.'

c. innán   di   atúwad   *di*   *m a N g á n*   *di*   *u N á d*.
   eaten-by   *di*   dog₊-*wad di*   mango -his   *di*   child₊-*d*.
   'The mango of the child was eaten by the dog.'

d. pinintúlannat   mapúraw   *di*   *déyom*   *di*   *kakúnad*.
   painted-by-him-*t*   white   *di*   inside   *di*   box⁺ -*ad*.
   'He painted the inside of the box white.'

e. m a m m é q o N a *t*   *tagqón*   *an*   *isabélad*.
      s i t   -you-*t*   beside   *an*   Isabel⁺ -*ad*.
   'Sit beside Isabel.'

f. nanméqoN   *si*   *deyóm*   *di*   *beyúyad*.
      s a t   *si*   inside   *di*   house⁺ -*ad*.
   'He sat in the house.'

g. m a m m é q o ᴺ a *t g a w a n da isabélad i rita*.
      s i t   -you-*t*   between   *da*   Isabel ⁺ -*ad i* Rita.
   'Sit between Isabel and Rita.'

The last example shows the marker suffixed to the first substan-
tive, a personal name, in a compound construction.

4.11   Pronoun attribute—When the head, a C, is in an attribution
with a pronoun showing possession, the morphemes in the cons-
truction show this order:

   si ₊ demonstrative ₊ head ₊ pronoun ⁺ -*ad*.

a. neyóq   si   pidrú*t*   *siye*   *k a t r i q a d*[14].
   slept   *si*   Pedro-*t*   there   b e d-my ⁺ -*ad*.
   'Pedro slept there on my bed.'

This is also true for C's which are not usually marked by -*ad*
(4.42). Sentence b shows the agentive C in an attribution with a
possessive pronoun.

b. naqaliwotwót   di   byahérowad   *si*   *bitílnad*.
   d i z z y   *di*   traveller₊ -*wad si* hunger-his ₊ -*ad*.
   'Hunger caused the traveller's dizziness.'

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[13] See footnote 12.
[14] See footnote 11.

An example for the goal C is

> c. naNan si pidrú*t* *i s i r á q a d.*
>   ate   *si* Pedro-*t* food-my + -*d*
>   'Pedro ate the food.'

4.2 Descriptive and numerative attribution —When the attri-
butive construction has a numerative or an adjective as an attri-
bute the morpheme order is different. The attribute exhibits -*ad*
and the head comes after the particle *an/dyén*,[15] the attribution
markers showing numeration or modification, which are in free
variation.

> *di*
>   + attribute + -*ad* + *an/dyen* + head.
> *si*

> a. naNán si maNgá *ri ammaqíyad dyén mantaytáyab.*
>   a t e   *si* mango *ri* big + -*yad* *dyen*   b i r d .
>   'The big bird ate the mango.'

> b. naNán si maNgá *ri o p a t a r á r i n*[16] *manúq.*
>   a t e *si*   mango *ri* four + -*ad* +*rari*+ -*n* birds.
>   'Four birds ate the mango.'

> c. i n i l á q di *t i y u w a r á r i n   m a n ú q.*
>   seen-by-me *di* three + -*wa* + -*rari* + -*n* chickens.
>   'The three chickens were seen by me.'

> d. dumátoN *si unaliyád diyén buwán.*
>   will-come *si* coming + -*yad* *dyén* month.
>   'He will come next month.'

> e. innán *di m a s e r ú t a d an bavayi ri   prútasad.*
>   eaten-by *di* beautiful + -*ad* *an* girl *ri* fruits + -*ad*.
>   'The fruits were eaten by the beautiful girl.'

> f. natóy *ri maNoqNótad dyen m a n ú q.*
>   died *ri* black + -*ad* *dyén* chicken.
>   'The black chicken died.'

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[15] /an/ is not to be confused with /an/ the particle marking a personal
name in an attribution showing possession.

[16] The numerative *opatarárin* and *tiyuwarárin*, in the sentences of 4.2.,
b and c, are composed of the morphemes:
    numerative + -*ad* + *rari* 'plural' + *an* 'attr.'
The /d/ of the /-ad/ is dropped when affixed by *rari* 'plural' and /a/ of
an is also dropped when affixed to *rari*.

g. naqugtút   si   putúqad   *di   nasiqláNad   an   leyáqi.*
   startled   *si* explosion ₊ *-ad di* thin ₊ *-ad an* m a n .
   'The thin man was startled by the explosion.'

In

h. dimmátoN   *di   mayuNótad   an   nantónat   beyóyad.*
   c a m e   *di cranky* ₊ *-ad an* owner-*t house* ₊ *-ad.*
   'The cranky owner of the house came.'

Two kinds of attribution described in 4.1 and 4.2 are shown. *di mayuNotad an natóna* is a descriptive attribution with *-ad* suffixed to the attribute. *-t nantonát beyóyad*, on the other hand, is a possessive attribution, *-ad* is suffixed to the head of the construction.

Limitations

4.4 Limitation of *-ad in* S — The *-ad* marker is *l*imited in its occurrence as S marker of active and passive sentences and, as has been mentioned in an earlier paragraph (0.), does not mark all C's of either active or passive sentences. When the S of either active or passive sentences is a pronoun or a personal name —*ad* is not used. The preposed particles for personal names are the allomorphs /si ∽ —t/ for the singular S and *da* for compound S.

a. naNitú*t pidrút* kwadát kakúnad.
   p u t-*t* pedro⁺-*t* money-t box ₊ *-ad.*
   'Pedro put the money in the box.'

b. timmaqdóg *si hwan* si tápaw di kávanad.
   s t o o d *si* Juan *si* t o p *di* box₊—*ad.*
   'Hwan stood on top of the box.'

c. nambeyoybeyóyan *da pídru i maríya.*
   played — house *da* pedro *i* Maria
   'Pedro and Maria played house.'

d. naNanáq si prútas.
   ate — I *si* fruit.
   'I ate the fruit.'

e. *nanlaqaráq* si addáwi.
   walked-I   *si* f a r .
   'I walked far.'

In 4.4-d and e the S is a pronoun, the first person postclitic /aq/.

4.4[1] Limitation of *di* — When the S phrase contains a demonstrative ₊ head ₊ demonstrative construction *di* does not co-

occur with —*ad*. This construction with double demonstrative is common in Philippine languages, as in Tagalog *Itong barong ito* 'This dress', Ilokano *dátoy bado nga dátoy* 'This dress'.

    a. tináliw   ri   anaqúwad   *niye*   *eqeNád*   *niye.*
      bought-by   *ri*   child-my$_+$ -*wad*   this   dress $_+$ -*ad* this.

    'This dress was bought by the child.'

4.42   Limitations of —*ad* in C's — Further limitation of the occurrence of —*ad* with C's of both active and passive sentences may be seen in the following sentences:

    a. nansáliw *si* *sávuN* di beyuntakúwad an
      bought   *si* flower *di* young-man$_+$—*wad* *an*
          iqasór nat m a r i q i t a d .
          u s e-her- *t* young-girl $_+$ *ad.*

    'The young man bought the flowers for the young girl.'

    b. maNasór *si* *bókat* si manpalpalimósad di bavayíyad.
      g a v e *si* rice *si* b e g g a r$_+$ -*ad di* woman$_+$*yad.*

    'The woman gave the rice to the beggar.'

    c. insalíwan di   béyuntakúwarari   ri
      bought-by *di* young-man $_+$ -*wa*$_+$ *rari ri*
          mamariqitararit   *savuN.*
          young-woman $_+$ -*ad* $_+$ -*rari-t* flowers.

    'The young men bought flowers for the young women.'

    d. natoy di   aríyad   miqbús *si* malárya.
      died   *di* king$_+$ -*ad* because *si* malarya.

    'The king died of malarya.'

    e. naqaliwotwót di   byahérowad *si* *bitíl.*
      d i z z y   di   traveller $_+$ —*wad.* *si* hunger.

    'The traveller got dizzy from hunger.'

Sentences a and b (active) and c (passive) in 4.42 contain a goal C which does not take -*ad*, *si sávuN*, *si bókat* and -*t sa-vuN*. This is true also for the agentive C of active sentences illustrated in d and e in 4.42. When a pronoun is used as, C -*ad* does not occur even though otherwise, the C, when not a pronoun, would obligate its use. The pronoun is unmarked. For example, when the benefective C is a pronoun:

   f. nantalíwaq   si   isirá*t*   *pára*   *isiyá.*
      bought-I   *si*   food-*t*   for   her.
      'I bought the food for her.'

or when a locative C is a pronoun,

   g. ammúy   r á *t*   *diyu.*
      will-go   they-*t*   there.
      'They will go there.'

and when the actor C is a pronoun,

   h. nilaqád   *u*   ri   simbaqánad.
      walked   I   *ri*   church ₊ *-ad.*
      'I walked (the distance of) the church.'

   i. ininán   *u*   ri   prútasad.
      eaten-by me   *ri*   fruit ₊ *-ad.*
      'The fruit was eaten by me.'

In

   j. nanlávan   a m i *t*   *uNgád.*
      fought   we (excl.)-*t*   child ₊ *-ad.*

      'The child and I fought.

ami 'we' (1st per. plu. excl.), which is an actor in the reciprocal C, does not have the marker *-ad* but *Unad* 'child,' the reciprocal actor, exhibits the marker. A further limitation to the occurrence of *-ad* is its not occuring with the benefactive C of an active sentence when it is a personal name. Ordinarily, as shown in sentences a and b of 2.2, the benefactive C obligates the use of *-ad*, but when this C is a personal name the marker is not used.

   k. nantalíwaq   si   isirát   *para   i   maryá.*
      bought-I   *si*   food-*t*   for   *i*   Maria.

      'I bought the food for Maria.'

The *-ad* marker does not occur in descriptive attribute constructions when the construction is a goal C.

   l. namugbúg   *si   ammáqi   on   mandirítuq   an   makópa.*
      picked   *si*   b i g · and   r e d   *an*   makopa

      'He picked the big, red makopa.'

The attributive construction is *ammaqi on mandírituq an makópa* 'the big red makopa,' not marked by *-ad.* #