

STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES & CULTURES

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Roy Mayfield, comp.; Fe T. Otones, Austin Hale, series eds.

4. *Inya ya nakaliwāt?* / Who is guilty? [narrator not known] (c. 1955) 30–34



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4 INYA YA N=AKA=LIWĀT?
who N,NP CM=APT=fault

WHO IS GUILTY?

1. "E yāk m=ag=pasyār ta talun," kun=na
go 1SN INC=GN=visit O,NP forest QT=3SG

hapa na atu. 2. Dulay, te
also G,NP dog bad because

n=a=hitlam=ān na ā n=ag=idda ta fun
CM=PAS=night=LF CM CJ CM=GN=lie.down O,NP base

na kayu. 3. N=a=takit=ān ya ulolag, ya
G,NP tree CM=PAS=pain=LF N,NP insect N,NP

taggam=in ā k=in=agāt na ya huli na
ant=ID1 CJ bite=CM=bite 3SG N,NP rump G,NP

atu. 4. "Agi," kun=na hapa na atu in.
dog ouch QT=3SG also G,NP dog ID1

5. N=ag=ugug ya atu in, ā ya ugta en,
CM=GN=bark N,NP dog ID1 CJ N,NP deer ID4

n=ag=bilag na hapa. 6. N=ag=bilag na hapa ya
CM=GN=run CM also CM=GN=run CM also N,NP

ugta en, te n=e=tapāl=ān* na atu
deer ID4 because CM=PAS:ACF=bump=LF G,NP dog

en. 7. N=e=lu=lubeg=ān na ya anāk
ID4 CM=PAS:ACF=AG=tread=LF 3SG N,NP child

na fugu, ā "āyæ, āy-e, an~ k=en,
G,NP quail CJ INJ INJ child 1SG=ID4

anun muy na n=e=lubeg ya anāk
why:OF 2PLG CM CM=PAS:ACF=tread N,NP child

k=en?" kun=na hapa na fugu. 8. "A on ay,
1SG=ID4 QT=3SG also G,NP quail CJ yes INJ

te awe=k n=a=ita." 9. "Anum
because NEG=1SG CM=PAS=see why:OF:2SG

n=e=lubeg?" kun na fugu ta ugta.
CM=PAS:ACF=tread QT G,NP quail O,NP deer

1. "I'm going for a walk in the forest," said the dog. 2. But unfortunately he was benighted and he lay down at the base of a tree. 3. An insect, in particular the ant, was hurt and it bit the dog's rump.

4. "Ouch," cried the dog. 5. The dog barked, and the deer, it ran. 6. The deer ran because it was bumped by the dog. 7. It accidentally trampled the baby of a quail, and the quail yelled, "Oh my, oh my, my baby! Why did you step on my baby?"

8. "For sure I did, but I didn't see it."

9. "Why did you step on it?" repeated the quail to the deer.

10. "That's true, because I here, I was chased by this dog," answered the deer.

11. "Just you wait, just you wait, because I'm going to file charges against all of you before the barrio lieutenant," responded the quail.

10. "On ay, te iyāk=in d=in=agdag
yes INJ because 1SE=ID1 chase=CM=chase

nāk na atu in," kun=na hapa na ugta.
3SG:1SN G,NP dog ID4 QT=3SG also G,NP deer

11. "Awe=m bit, awe=m bit, te en
NEG=2SG LM NEG=2SG LM because go:OF

ta kām i=darum ta
1,2SG 2PLN ACF=file.charges O,NP

tinyente,"* kun=na hapa na fugu.
barrio.lieutenant QT=3SG also G,NP quail

12. Ta p=aka=datang na
O,NP AB=APT=arrive G,NP

tinyente in "Anu ya dulay,
barrio.lieutenant ID1 what/why N,NP bad

fugu?" kun=na tinyente ta fugu. 13. "Anu
quail QT=3SG lieutenant O,NP quail what

ya dulay?" kun=na tinyente, ā
N,NP bad QT=3SG lieutenant CJ

"N=e=lubeg na ugta ya anāk k=en
CM:PAS:ACF=tread G,NP deer N,NP child 1SG=ID4

ā nasi=n," kun=na hapa na fugu. 14. "Ittā
CJ CM:die=CM QT=3SG also G,NP quail EXT

yāk sin te pagān da ya anāk k=en
1SN O,D1 because pay:LF 3PLG N,NP child 1SG=ID4

ta pirāk." 15. "Ayag=ām kid mantu sin
O,NP money call=LF:2SG 3PLN CNF O,D1

ya atu ikid na ugta ikid na taggam."
N,NP dog and G,NP deer and G,NP ant

16. "E kām sin, Atu, Ugta, Taggam,
go/come 2PLN O,D1 Dog, Deer, Ant

sā e kānan sin," ā ittā kid na.
all come 2PLN:CM O,D1 CJ EXT 3PLN CM

12. When the barrio lieutenant arrived, he said to the quail, "Quail, what's the problem?" 13. "What's the problem?" said the barrio lieutenant, and the quail answered, "The deer stepped on my child and it's dead now. 14. I'm here because they're going to pay for my child with money." 15. "Then call them all here, the dog and the deer and the ant."

16. "You come here, Dog, Deer, Ant, all of you, come here now," and they came.
17. "Who is guilty? Which one of you is

17. "Inya ya n=aka=liwãt? Inya ya
who N,NP CM=APT=fault Who N,NP
n=aka=liwãt tekamuy," kun=na hapa na
CM=APT=fault 2PLO QT=3SG also G,NP
tinyente. 18. "Ugta ay," kun=na hapa na atu.
lieutenant deer INJ QT=3SG also G,NP dog
19. "Anum n=e=lubeg ya anãk na
why:OF:2SG CM=PAS:ACF=tread N,NP child G,NP
fugu, Atu, ay* Ugta?" kun=na hapa na
quail Dog INJ Deer QT=3SG also G,NP
tinyente. 20. "A on ay, te
lieutenant CJ yes INJ because
d=in=agdag nãk hapa na atu in."
chase=CM=chase 3SG:1SN also G,NP dog ID1
21. "Anum d=in=agdag Atu, ya ugta
why:OF:2SG chase=CM=chase Dog N,NP deer
in?" 22. "D=in=agdag ku ay, te
ID1 chase=CM=chase 1SG INJ because
k=in=agãt na hapa na taggam ya huli
bite=CM=bite G,NP also G,NP ant N,NP rump
na atu." 23. "Anum k=in=agãt, taggam
G,NP dog why:OF:2SG bite=CM=bite ant
ya huli na atu?" 24. "Awe=k minã
N,NP rump G,NP dog NEG=1SG IRR
k=in=agãt ya huli na atu am awe=nãk
bite=CM=bite N,NP rump G,NP dog if NEG=3SG:1SN
in=igsil=ãn." 25. "A on ay, te
CM=líe.on.top=LF CJ yes INJ because
ãmu=k na lã mantu ta ittã ka ten."
know=1SG CM LM CNF O,NP EXT 2SN O,D4
26. "Inya ya m=ag=paga tekamuy ngãmin,
who N,NP INC=GN=pay 2PLO all
Ugta o Taggam?" 27. "Awãn, awe=k, awe=k
Deer or Ant NEG NEG=1SG NEG=1SG
guilty?" said the
barrio lieutenant.
18. "The deer is,"
replied the dog.
19. "Why did you step
on the quail's child,
Dog--rather, Deer?",
said the barrio
lieutenant. 20. "Well,
it's true because I
was chased by the dog
here." 21. "Dog, why
did you chase the
deer?" 22. "I chased
it because the ant bit
my rump." 23. "Ant,
why did you bite the
dog's rump?" 24. "I
wouldn't have bitten
the dog's rump if he
hadn't lain down on
top of me." 25. "Well,
of course, how did I
know that you were
there?"
26. "Which one of
you is going to pay?
Deer or Ant?"
27. "Never, I'm not, I
don't want to pay any
money," answered the

i=kǎyǎt m=ag=paga ta pirāk," kun=na hapa deer.
 ACF=AB:love INC=GN=pay O,NP money QT=3SG also

na ugta.
 G,NP deer.

28. "Iko hapa, Taggam." 29. "Awǎn." 30. "A
 2SE also Ant NEG CJ
 iko, Atu." 31. "Awǎn, awe=k, awe=k
 2SE Dog NEG NEG=1SG NEG=1SG
 i=kǎyǎt m=ag=paga," kun=na hapa na atu.
 ACF=AB:love INC=GN=pay QT=2SG also G,NP dog

28. "You, then,
 Ant." 29. "Never!"
 30. "How about you,
 Dog?" 31. "Never, I'm
 not, I don't want to
 pay," answered the
 dog.

32. Awe=da p=in=agǎn hapa.*
 NEG=3PLG pay=CM=pay:LF also

32. And they didn't
 pay.

Ethnographic and Linguistic Notes on WHO IS GUILTY?

6. netapālān 'bumped'. (See also nelulubegān 'stepped on' in sentence 7.) Although no categories of inflection have been analyzed indicating intentional versus accidental action, the particular form ne-...-ān often functions to indicate nonintentional action in contrast to ne-... which indicates intentional action. Compare nelubeg in 7.

11. tinyente 'barrio lieutenant', the head official of a barrio, a political subdivision of a town. This text was recorded in the early 1950s at which time tinyente was the term still in use by the barrios in most of the Philippines. About ten years later it was changed to kapitan 'captain'. This official is responsible for all community projects, as well as peace and order. All legal disputes are intercepted by him and if necessary referred by him to higher authorities. Agtas are noted for having no indigenous authority structure. Social interaction is governed by consensus, although the lā-lāy 'elder men' exert substantial influence over their particular clans. Disputes involving members of separate clans are taken to authorities in the neighboring lowlander communities.

19. ay 'emphatic'. This particle immediately follows what is emphasized, but it may precede in order to call special attention or to indicate the correction of a mistake.

32. The age of this story is unknown, and it cannot be classified for certain as a folk tale. It does, however, reflect the typical Agta viewpoint of social violations. Guilt and justice are almost impossible to establish. To an outside observer it appears that, no matter what an offender's excuse may be, the fact that he has one implies acquittal. Actual cases have been witnessed where disputes have remained unresolved due to the very same type of argumentation in this story.