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COTABATO MANOBO FIRST PERSON NARRATIVE:
MAJOR FEATURES OF DISCOURSE AND PARAGRAPH

E. CLAY JOHNSTON

0. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to discover the major features of narrative discourses and paragraphs in Cotabato Manobo in an attempt to maximize the author's control of these features in translating narrative literature into the Manobo language.

The method of the study was to analyse in detail three first person narrative discourses with special attention given to the grammatical features relating to participant and prop introduction and reference. The discourse 'My Trip to Nasuli', text MTN, was considered primary since it represents a written style which is the author's primary concern as a translator. The other two discourses, text MTB, 'My Trip to Beluwan' and text SML, 'Story of My Life', are transcriptions of oral narrations.

1. MAJOR STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

A first person narrative discourse occurs whenever a speaker or writer relates a series of events which he has participated in or witnessed. This type of discourse is characterized by: (1) a chronological sequence of events in past time, and (2) first and third person reference to the participants in these events. The events that comprise the narrative are grouped in narrative paragraphs and may be actual physical events or speech acts. Explanatory paragraphs may be interspersed among the narrative paragraphs but they provide background and are not part of the internal linkage of the narrative discourse. Longacre (1968) has made similar observations for other Philippine languages.
Structurally, the first person narrative discourse consists of an opening paragraph of one or more sentences, a body consisting of any number of paragraphs, and a closure which is usually a single sentence.

1.1. DISCOURSE OPENING

The opening introduces the participant which is the discourse topic and gives some kind of basic time/space setting. In the three texts of this study some of the other participants were also introduced in the opening paragraph. It usually announces the general subject of the discourse and may or may not prepare the reader/listener for the specific details of the discourse.

The opening paragraph may be a single sentence as in text MTN: "Now, this is about when the American took my wife, my child, and me." Formally, this is a single dependent clause as follows: na 'now' egoh 'when' ké 'our (exclusive)' inuwit 'to-take-it' Malikanu 'American' sa sawa ku 'my wife' owoy 'and' sa anak ké 'our child'. The author's opinion is that 'this is' is understood, although not expressed, to make a well-formed sentence. It is characteristic of Cotabato Manobo that specific past times are expressed by the time pronoun egoh 'when' which is possessed by some participant, e.g. 'my time to build a house' or 'his time to teach me'.

In this opening the narrator and his family are introduced as the discourse topic along with a secondary participant, 'the American', who also happens to be the addressee of the discourse. The time setting is indicated by the time pronoun egoh 'when' which places the discourse in completed past time. The spacial setting is given by the verb 'to take' which implies a trip away from the point of the narration, which in this case was the home of the narrator. The sentence announces the general subject of the discourse as a trip by the main participants but gives no indication of what specific kinds of thing happened on the trip.

The opening paragraph of a discourse may consist of several sentences as in the case of text MTB which opens: 'My departing was at my place. That was my going into Beluwan (an interior river valley). I went to see my aunts because I had been born at the ocean and they had not yet seen me. Yes, I would arrive there.' The next sentence begins the body: 'I travelled, departing from the ocean.' This opening introduces the narrator as the discourse topic and announces the general subject of the discourse as a trip from the ocean into the interior. It prepares the listener/reader to anticipate a family reunion, which, in fact, does comprise a large part of the body of the discourse.
Text SML opens: 'When I was little (literally: egoh 'when' ku 'my' tukééy 'little'), my father took me to that aunt of ours at Lemugket, which is the name of that place.' Here the narrator is introduced as the discourse topic and the opening includes the first event in the discourse. There is no indication of the general subject of the discourse. The narrator's father is introduced as a secondary participant along with the narrator's aunt.

1.2. DISCOURSE INTERNAL LINKAGE

In the body of the narrative discourse the narrative paragraphs are linked together primarily by what has been called 'tail-head linkage' (Longacre 1968, vol.1:8). That is, the initial sentence of the paragraph usually begins with a dependent clause margin which states the outcome of the events of the previous paragraph. A linking particle frequently occurs also in the initial sentence of the paragraph. Table 1 shows the paragraph-initial linking features of texts MTN, MTB, and SML. It is readily apparent from Table 1 that discourse linkage is not always marked explicitly by particles and margins.

1.3. DISCOURSE CLOSURE

The discourse closure is usually a single sentence and is characterized by overt or implied reference to the narrator and addressee. For example, text MTN closes as follows: iya daa 'that only' sa igsuát ku 'thing-written my' 0 amay Teloy 'father of Troy', i.e. 'That's all of what I have written, Father of Troy', where 'I' refers to the narrator and 'Father of Troy' is the addressee of the discourse. Text MTB closes: iya daa 'That's all.' Text SML closes: néejut dē 'It is depleted.'

2. MAJOR STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS

Narrative paragraphs, which comprise the body of narrative discourses, consist of one or more sentences which describe events. The events which comprise the paragraph are viewed as occurring in sequence in a single time/space continuum which in turn is one unit in the time/space setting of the entire narrative.

2.1. PARAGRAPH BOUNDARIES

The boundaries of narrative paragraphs are identified by the introduction of a new time/space continuum. Formally, narrative paragraphs are usually marked in the first sentence by one of the particles na,
TABLE 1
PARAGRAPH-INITIAL LINKING FEATURES OF NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Para.</th>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Time/Space Margin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MTN</td>
<td>Opening</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>'when we were taken by the American'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#1</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>'when we left here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#2</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>'when we arrived at Babangkaw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#3</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>'when we arrived at Makina'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#4</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>'when we beached at Sibayol'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#5</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Explanatory paragraph)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#6</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>'when we landed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#7</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>'after we were there a while'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#8</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>'when we arrived at the hospital'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#9</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Explanatory paragraph)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#10</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>'when we were about to go home'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#11</td>
<td>agulé</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#12</td>
<td></td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#13</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>'when we arrived here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Closure</td>
<td></td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MTB</td>
<td>Opening</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>'when we arrived at Beluwan'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#3</td>
<td>hè</td>
<td>'for as long as I was there'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>'when the next day came'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#5</td>
<td>hè</td>
<td>'on the fourth day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#6</td>
<td>agulé</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#7</td>
<td>agulé</td>
<td>'when we arrived at the place of Sepinit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Closure</td>
<td></td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SML</td>
<td>Opening</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>'when I was little'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>'when we arrived there'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#2</td>
<td>hè</td>
<td>'when father settled at the beach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#3</td>
<td>hè</td>
<td>'when we were not yet three months at the beach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#4</td>
<td>hè</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#5</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>'when grade five came'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>'when the opening of school came again'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#7</td>
<td>agulé</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#8</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>'when one year had passed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Closure</td>
<td></td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
hê, or agulé (see 2.2) and a sentence-initial dependent clause margin specifying a new time and/or space setting. These paragraph features, which are also part of the narrative discourse linkage (see 1.2), are shown in Table 1. In some cases the particle does not occur in text with the sentence-initial time/space margin, but the particle may be supplied and is preferred by Manobo readers. In other cases, a new narrative paragraph begins without an overt time/space margin but with some indication of a change of time and/or location. For example, paragraph #12 of text MTN begins without a linking particle and without a time/space margin: 'We were a long time at Makina and they kept on asking us about what we did at Nasuli and the customs of the Americans.' However, the opening independent clause specifies the new location for the following events and one may posit an implied margin such as: 'When we arrived there'.

2.2. LINKING PARTICLES

There are three particles which function to link narrative paragraphs together and also to link sentences together within narrative paragraphs. All three indicate advance of the narrative in chronological sequence and appear to represent different degrees of contrary-to-expectation. Agulé suggests normal and expected progression, usually links sentences rather than paragraphs, and may be glossed 'then next' Na suggests a slight degree of contrary-to-expectation, usually links paragraphs, and may be glossed 'now, to move on'. Hê suggests a considerable degree of contrary-to-expectation, usually links paragraphs, and may be glossed 'and the next thing you know'. Hê also seems to have exclamationary implications and is sometimes used to highlight climactic points in the paragraph.

Although the above characteristics are quite obvious in some contexts, in others the particles seem to be used for variety without significant contrast. For example, the following sequence of sentences occurs in text MTN: "Na, I'm going," said Lamisan. Agulé, she boarded the boat again. Hê, we travelled.' It is difficult to see how the particles have any contrastive function in this sequence of sentences since everything that occurs seems highly predictable.

The use of these particles also varies from speaker to speaker and is highly contrastive in the three texts of this study. Table 2 shows this contrast.
TABLE 2

FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE OF LINKING PARTICLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>No. of Sentences</th>
<th>No. of Occurrences per 10 Sentences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>aguíé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MTN</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>1.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(19 times)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MTB</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>1.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(6 times)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SML</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(5 times)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total absence of na from the texts MTB and SML suggests that these speakers may be using hé as a substitute for na as used by the author of MTN. Also, the fact that MTN was written rather than oral may explain the contrast. Exposure to other Philippine languages does not seem to explain the difference since both the author of MTN and the speaker of SML have had some public school education and a similar exposure to Tagalog, Cebuano, and Magindanao languages.

2.3. PARAGRAPH INTERNAL LINKAGE

Internally the events of narrative paragraphs are linked together by chronological sequence. This linkage between sentences is frequently marked by the particle aguíé, and occasionally it is marked by the particle na or the particle hé (see 2.2).

Chronological sequence need not be marked if the connection is clear from sentence to sentence. For example, the following sentences from text MTN are a logical sequence and the linkage is not overtly marked with particles: 'Na, he carried us to the airstrip. We boarded a truck. We boarded the airplane.'

Another device for marking internal paragraph linkage is to restate the event of the preceding sentence in the margin of the following sentence. For example, the following sentences in text MTN are linked this way: 'And he went to buy two bottles of Cocacola, one for me and one for him. Na, when we had finished (drinking implied), he took the bottles back.' This kind of sentence linkage is rare in the texts of this study, possibly because this device is used primarily for linking paragraphs in the discourse.

2.4. DIALOGUE AND MONOLOGUE

Dialogues and monologues occur frequently in narrative paragraphs. Direct speech appears to function in at least two ways: (1) it provides background to explain the events, and (2) it sometimes substitutes for events. In the latter case, a statement of intent or command is
viewed as an accomplished event. For example, in text MTB the narrator is quoted as saying at one point in the narrative, 'Cut loose the binding of my bow because I'm going to shoot those pigs.' In the following sentence he shoots the pigs with the implication that his command about cutting the binding was carried out.

The particle aguie is used frequently in sentences which resume narrative events within a paragraph following direct speech (6/12 in texts MTN, MTB, and SML) and therefore functions as a quote termination marker as well as a linking particle.

3. PARTICIPANTS

As a translator, the author was interested in knowing how participants are introduced and referred to grammatically in narrative discourses and paragraphs. He was especially interested in discovering how verb focus is related to participant introduction and reference.

For the purpose of this discussion participants are defined as animate entities which are capable of initiating events, or inanimate entities, such as airplanes and boats, which behave in a similar manner due to the presence of an animate operator. Props are inanimate objects involved in the events of the discourse which typically play a passive role with regard to the events and participants of the discourse.

Narrative discourse participants, which may appear as nouns or pronouns, fall into one of three categories at any point in the discourse: (1) discourse topic, (2) paragraph topic, or (3) nontopic. The term topic is used here only in reference to participants and means 'the focal participant'. The discourse topic is the participant that is focal throughout the entire discourse. The paragraph topic is the participant that is focal in a given paragraph. In general, the paragraph topic is the participant that is grammatical subject of most of the verbal clauses of the paragraph, and the discourse topic is the participant that is topic of most of the paragraphs of the discourse. Nontopic participants are those which are neither discourse nor paragraph topic in a given paragraph.

The two features which proved to be most significant in describing the references to participants in narrative discourses are: (1) the subject or nonsubject grammatical status of the participant in the verbal event clauses of the discourse, and (2) the instigator or noninstigator semantic role status of the participant in the events of the discourse. The combination of these two features for any specific occurrence of a participant is referred to as the orientation of that participant. That is, participant orientation has four possible values:
subject-instigator, subject-noninstigator, nonsubject-instigator, and nonsubject-noninstigator. Participant orientation for the MTN text of the study is charted.

Subject is the nominal construction in a verbal clause which is in complementary relationship with the verb as indicated by focus affixation, word order, and/or nominal markers, i.e. it is the nominal item 'in focus'. Each verbal clause has one subject but it may consist of a compound nominal expression so that more than one participant has subject status. Nonsubject refers to a nominal item that has the potential for being subject but is not so designated in the clause in question.

Instigator roles include agent, causer, source, and stimulus. Noninstigator roles include experiencer, patient, goal, instrument, and site.

3.1. PARTICIPANT INTRODUCTION

Table 3 lists the four different grammatical forms used to introduce the participants of the three texts of this study and the number of participants introduced with each form.

The following observations define the introduction of participants in Cotabato Manobo first person narrative within the scope of this study.

(1) Discourse topics are always (3/3) introduced as possessors in a nominal phrase where the head of the phrase is a time pronoun or gerund. In all three texts of the study the narrator is the discourse topic. However, in the author's corpus of other first person narrative texts there is a single example of a third person being discourse topic. In this case also, he is introduced as the possessor of a time pronoun.

(2) Secondary participants are normally introduced as nonsubject items in verbal clauses (9/11) or as referents in existential clauses (3/21). An example of the latter from text MTB is the following sentence where participant C, the sick relative, is introduced: 'There was this companion of ours who was sick.' Introduction of participants in existential clauses is limited to text MTB, which suggests that this feature may be characteristic of certain speakers.

(3) Secondary participants may be introduced as subjects of verbal clauses (6/21) under the following circumstances: (a) The initial occurrence of the participant is in an event that is intransitive, i.e. that requires the only participant involved to be the subject (3/6). (b) The initial occurrence of the participant is in an event where he interacts with a formerly introduced participant which occurs only as nonsubject in the remainder of the discourse, i.e. where there is strong
TABLE 3
INTRODUCTION OF DISCOURSE PARTICIPANTS

Grammatical Form of Introduction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Subject of Verbal Clause</th>
<th>nonSubject of Verbal Clause</th>
<th>Referent of Existential Clause</th>
<th>Possessor in Noun Phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MTN</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MTB</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SML</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Narrator and discourse topic

pattern pressure against the second participant being subject (1/6). Introduction of participant Cl, the first pumpboat (Appendix, sent. 5), follows this pattern since it occurs in interaction with participant B, the American, which occurs almost exclusively as nonsubject in this discourse.

(4) There are two cases where there is no apparent explanation for the introduction of new participants as subject rather than nonsubject: (a) participant E2, the second group of Visayans (Appendix, sent. 22) is introduced as subject of the verb 'to-be-amazed', i.e. 'The Visayans were amazed at us ...', and (b) participant B, the aunts of the narrator, is introduced as subject of the verb 'to-see', i.e. 'I went in order to see my aunts ...' In both of these clauses there seems to be no reason why the narrators, who are the second participants in the clauses, should not be the subjects. In both cases the narrators are the discourse topics and occur as subject in most of the other clauses of the discourses.

3.2. PARTICIPANT ORIENTATION

The orientation of a participant in any specific occurrence in a discourse is the combination of his subject/nonsubject grammatical status and his instigator/noninstigator role status. Distinct patterns of participant orientation help identify paragraphs and characterize discourses in Cotabato Manobo. The Appendix reveals this pattern for the MTN text of this study.
All participants tend to have a fixed orientation throughout a paragraph and this is an identifying feature of paragraphs. The participant which is the paragraph topic will occur as subject in most of the verbal clauses and usually with a consistent role, either as instigator or noninstigator. Likewise, the other participants will occur primarily as nonsubject in the verbal clauses with consistent roles.

A new paragraph and paragraph topic is indicated whenever a different participant begins to appear repeatedly as subject of the verbal clauses. For example, paragraph 5 (MTB) is clearly identified by the shift of subject from participant A, the narrator, to participant D, the pigs. By definition, the pigs are the paragraph topic here even though the narrator is the discourse topic.

Similarly, a shift of role for the participant that is occurring consistently as subject of the verbal clauses may also indicate a new paragraph. For example, at the beginning of paragraph 4 (SML) the role of participant A, the discourse topic, suddenly shifts from noninstigator to instigator, marking a new paragraph. Role shifts, however, appear less significant than subject shifts unless they are sustained over several clauses.

The participant orientation patterns in all paragraphs are not equally distinct but are usually discernible. For example, in paragraphs 6 and 7 (Appendix) the pattern of participant A as paragraph topic in a noninstigator role along with participant B in an instigator role is very clear. However, in paragraphs 4 and 8 the patterns are indistinct due to the reduced number of occurrences of the primary participants and the occurrence of several minor participants. Probably participant A is paragraph topic in both of these paragraphs with predominantly an instigator role in 4 and predominantly a noninstigator role in 8.

Participant orientation patterns also appear in sections of the discourse larger than a single paragraph. The best example of this is text SML where participant A, the narrator, is discourse topic and paragraph topic in all the paragraphs. He appears almost exclusively in a noninstigator role through paragraph 3. In all but one of the remaining paragraphs, however, he appears only in an instigator role. Also, in text MTN (Appendix) there seems to be a lot of pressure throughout the entire discourse to maintain the respective orientations of participant A as subject-noninstigator and participant B as nonsubject-instigator. This is seen most clearly in paragraphs 6-8.

It seems likely that participant orientation is a feature related to discourse plot but this consideration was beyond the scope of this study.
In conclusion, charting of participant orientation is a productive way to begin to identify paragraphs in a discourse. Participant orientation patterns taken along with other narrative paragraph features provide positive paragraph identification. Also, with regard to translation, it appears important to attempt to maintain the respective orientations of the participants throughout each paragraph and discourse. It seems very likely that there are other considerations not yet fully appreciated that affect participant orientation in any specific case. At the very least, the results of this study suggest that participant orientation is patterned rather than random.

4. PROPS

Props play only a minor role in first person narrative discourses but are handled grammatically in a way that contrasts with participants. Whereas participants are normally introduced as nonsubject and maintain that status unless they are the paragraph topic, props are introduced as nonsubject but become the unspecified subject of any following clauses that refer to them. For example, in text MTN (Appendix, sent.48,49) the prop 'Cocacola' is introduced as nonsubject followed by a clause in which it (the bottles) is the unspecified but clearly understood subject. Likewise, in text MTB the prop 'bananas' is introduced as nonsubject followed by a clause in which it is the unspecified but understood subject. In text MTN (Appendix, sent.60,62) the prop 'motorbike' follows the same pattern.
APPENDIX

Participant Orientation in the Verbal Clauses of the First Person Narrative Discourse MTN, 'My Trip to Nasuli'

Participants

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<th>A - Narrator and family</th>
<th>B - American</th>
<th>C1 - First pumpboat</th>
<th>C2 - Second pumpboat</th>
<th>D - Airplane</th>
<th>E1 - First group of Visayans</th>
<th>E2 - Second group of Visayans</th>
<th>E3 - Third group of Visayans</th>
<th>F - God</th>
<th>G - Companions at home</th>
<th>H - People at Makina</th>
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Values of Orientation (See 3.2)

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Note: When no participant orientation is listed for a sentence, it is nonverbal background or a reported speech event.

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COTABATO MANOBO FIRST PERSON NARRATIVE

NOTES

1. Cotabato Manobo is a Philippine language spoken by some 10,000 Manobo people living in the province of Sultan Kudarat (formerly Cotabato) on the island of Mindanao. The language area extends along the seacoast and inland 10-15 miles with the Tran river as its approximate northern boundary and the town of Milbuk as its approximate southern boundary. The author did field work in Paril, Kalamansig, intermittently between 1964 and 1976 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

2. The study was made in a workshop conducted in 1976 by Elmer Wolfenden of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. I am indebted to him for guidance in background reading, encouragement to complete the paper, and frequent reminders to be alert to the implications of the study for translation. I am also indebted to Dave Thomas of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for his editorial assistance.

3. The author is indebted to Mr. Dasul Gansing for text MTN (106 sentences) which was written in 1975. Mr. Gansing, who was about 30 years of age at the time, has assisted the author off and on since 1964. He has achieved a fifth grade education in the public school and is one of the most literate Manobos in the area.

4. The author is indebted to Mr. Masot Silog for text MTB (55 sentences). It was given orally and recorded and transcribed by Tom Lyman of the Summer Institute of Linguistics prior to the author's beginning his fieldwork in 1964. Mr. Silog is probably about 65 years of age now and is an influential leader among the Manobos. He is usually referred to as Datù Watà.
5. The author is indebted to a Manobo man known only to him as Kelo for text SML (48 sentences). It was tape recorded and transcribed in 1964 when the speaker was perhaps 18 years of age. Kelo was a high school student at the time. He died in 1969.

6. No extensive study of explanatory paragraphs was made but it was necessary to discover some contrastive features of this paragraph type to distinguish it from narrative paragraphs. Explanatory paragraphs are characterized by existential and descriptive opening sentences, the absence of events, and/or the absence or irrelevance of chronological sequence. Explanatory paragraphs do not normally begin with time/space margins, are not part of the internal narrative discourse linkage, and may be removed from the discourse without affecting the sequential connection between the narrative paragraphs. On this basis, paragraphs 5 and 9 in text MTN were identified as explanatory.

7. The term participant orientation as used by the author should not be confused with the same term used by Grimes (1971). As the author understands Grimes' use of the term, it represents the role relationships sustained by a set of participants at any given point in a discourse. In this study, however, the term applies to the grammatical-role status of single participants as to whether they are subject or nonsubject and instigators or non-instigators. The author is indebted to Wendland (1975) for the notion and methodology that led to the identifying of this significant discourse and paragraph feature of Cotabato Manobo.

8. The author is using the term subject for what has been formerly called topic by many Philippine linguists. For a discussion of why subject is a better term, see McKaughan (1973). The author used the term subject as a tagmeme name in a previous published paper (Johnston 1975).
COTABATO MANOBO FIRST PERSON NARRATIVE

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GRIMES, Joseph E.

JOHNSTON, E. Clay

LONGACRE, Robert

McKAUGHAN, Howard P.

WENDLAND, Ernest R.
THE SEMANTIC FUNCTION OF FOCUS AFFIXES IN LIMOS KALINGA

HARTMUT WIENS

0. INTRODUCTION

Most people who have studied Philippine languages in detail have recognized that the system of verbal affixation in these languages is complex. Because of this, most people have seen a need for some kind of classification of the verbs in order to handle the complexity and to try to abstract an approach which will make this complex verb system easier for non-native speakers to understand and use.

Perhaps the greatest contribution of all these attempts at verb classification to date has been to give students of Philippine languages a better understanding of the complex relationship between the focus affixes and their nonpredicate complements. On the other hand, the weakest point of all of them is that they fail to give much direction to a new student trying to learn one of these languages. There is very little in the literature which will help him in choosing which one of the potential affixes to use in order to form a correct sentence which says what he wants to express in a particular situation.

This paper attempts to provide a first step in this direction for Limos Kalinga by examining the semantic function of the focus affixes. An attempt is made to show how an understanding of what these affixes indicate about the speaker's view of the action expressed by the verb can help a student of the language choose the correct affix to properly communicate what he wishes to say. Finally this information is related to a classification of Kalinga Verbs which is based on their shared semantic components and affixation potential.

Each of the attempts which have been made at classifying verbs in Philippine languages have made an important contribution to an ongoing attempt to better understand the structure of these languages. Earlier
attempts concentrated mostly on surface structure phenomena such as
focus potential (Miller 1964), clause structure (Reid 1966), and
affixation potential (Wolff 1970). More recent descriptions have
relayed heavily on underlying or deep structure relationships such as
affix meaning (Ballard 1973), and participant roles of nonpredicate
tagmemes in a clause (Porster & Barnard 1968; Chandler 1974). Most
recently attempts have been made at classifications on the basis of a
combination of semantic and grammatical functions (Ruch 1974; Wolfenden
1975).

Perhaps the most helpful insights have been gained from the attempts
to apply the theory of case as developed by Fillmore (1968), Langendoen
(1969), Grimes (1975) and others. One of the problems for a new stu­
dent in applying this theory is that there is considerable overlap in
the mapping from the underlying case structure to thesurface represen­
tation signaled by the relationship of the focus affixes to their non­
predicate focus complements. This overlap is graphically illustrated
in Ruch's diagram showing 'Participant roles and their clause level
tagmemes encodings' (Ruch 1974:29). The greatest overlap occurs in the
participant role of patient which can be focused by three of the focus
affixes. One of the problems for the student of the language is which
affix to choose when more than one affix can focus the same participant
as patient with the same stem. This is not uncommon in Kalinga, and
an understanding of case relationships does not help one to make the
correct choice. This problem is illustrated in the following set of
examples.

1. Basaom nat iuput. (true-Of-2sg. topic the cloths)
   'Wet the cloths.'

2. Ibasam nat iuput. (Af-true-2sg. topic the cloths)
   'Wet the cloths.'

The analysis presented in this paper helps a student of the language
to know which of the two affixes to use in the proper situation and
the different connotation conveyed by each.

Walrod (1976) attempted to formulate an analysis with a less am­
biguous mapping between the semantic relationships and their surface
representations. This led him to group semantic relationships on the
'stratum of semology' into what he called 'case sememes'. These 'case
sememes' then are fairly unambiguously realized by different affixes
on the 'stratum of grammar'.

I am persuaded that Walrod was right in pointing out that there is
some sort of fairly unambiguous mapping from some semantic function in
the underlying structure to the affixes in the surface structure. How-
ever, I doubt that this is so in the realm of case relationships or situational roles. The quotations which Walrod takes from Fillmore are a description of an approach taken by Redden and not representative of Fillmore's theoretical stance. The view presented in this paper is that the correlation between underlying structure and focus affixes on the surface structure derives from the way in which the speaker wants the action of the verb and its affect on the nonpredicate complements to be viewed. This is really recognizing what Ballard (1973) has already said and many others admit, namely that the focus affixes do have semantic function on the sentence level. Others such as Johnston (1974:38) want to relegate this semantic function purely to the discourse level. The analysis presented here differs from Ballard's, however, in that it does not assign a variety of meanings to the affixes depending on their co-occurrence with different verb stems.

The view presented here maintains that it is possible to abstract a fairly consistent semantic function for all the focus affixes which will help a student in the majority of situations to choose the correct affix and decide which participant should be focused in order to express what he wants to say. Of course not every stem can be used with all the affixes and so far nothing has been said about how the student will know the affixation potential of a stem. To a certain extent this must be learned as a vocabulary item along with the stem, but a classification of verb stems can facilitate this. This paper presents such a classification of stems for Limos Kalinga.

1. DESCRIPTION OF FOCUS AFFIXES

The focus affixes are described first. Chart 1 shows the position of these affixes in relation to the verb stem and also which slot in the grammatical structure of a clause is focused by each one. The first three of these affixes are called actor focus affixes and the others are non-actor focus affixes. Their semantic functions are described in sections 2 and 3 respectively.

These affixes may combine with the aspect system signalled by various kinds of reduplication or modes such as the causative signalled by pa- or the stative signalled by ma-. Aspect and mode are not described in this paper.
Chart 1 shows the focus affixes, their position in relation to the verb stem in both completive and incompletive aspect and also shows the grammatical slot on which each focuses. The first column gives the names of the affixes according to the grammatical slot on which they focus. The second column indicates the aspect of the form being described, whether completive or incompletive and the vector across the top indicates the position the affix takes in the verb to which it is affixed.

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</table>

2. THE SEMANTIC FUNCTION OF ACTOR FOCUS AFFIXES

One area of complexity is removed from the actor focus affixes in that all, by definition focus on the actor (or experiencer for certain classes). However, this still leaves a student of the language with the problem of deciding which of these three forms to choose in a particular instance and what difference his choice makes to the meaning of the sentence. Out of an inventory of 300 stems studied, it was found that the large majority could be affixed with more than one of these affixes and over half could take all three.

After studying a large number of stems which could take two or all three of these affixes, a recurrent distinction among them was noted,
based on duration or extent of the action. This distinction was abstracted as the primary semantic function for these three affixes and is described in Chart 2.

**CHART 2**

Chart 2 shows the semantic function abstracted for each of the three actor focus affixes. The first column gives the actor focus affix being described in its incompletive aspect and the second column gives the semantic function abstracted for each affix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus Affix</th>
<th>Semantic Function of Affix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man-</td>
<td>durative/inclusive action indicated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maN-</td>
<td>limited action indicated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-um-</td>
<td>partial action indicated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1. **THE PREFIX man-**

The prefix man- is at once the most common and the least descriptive of the actor focus affixes since it indicates nothing specific about the action. When this affix is used it indicates that the action of the verb is viewed by the speaker as durative or inclusive. Nothing is implied about the length of duration or extent of inclusion, although this information may be supplied in a separate non-nuclear phrase.

2.2. **THE PREFIX maN-**

The prefix maN- indicates that the speaker views the action as limited in some specific way as to time, manner, extent etc. It implies an end to the action and usually the limitation expressed or implied represents the total of the required action. This affix is also used most commonly to emphasize the actor in prepredicate position. This is logical, however, from the description of its semantic function given above, since in this construction there is an implied limit to the time of the action. That is, that at this particular time the actor so emphasized will perform the action, although normally, or on another occasion, someone else may do it. However, it is also possible to
emphasise an actor who habitually or customarily does something by using man- plus CV reduplication. The prefix man- and maN- are illustrated as follows.

1. Si Agunay ud man-aalisig. 'Agunay is one who performs curing ceremonies.'

2. Si Dopan ud mangalisig sidan masakit. 'Dopan will perform a curing ceremony for the sick people.'

2.3. THE INFIX -um-

The infix -um-, like the prefix maN-, indicates that the speaker views the action as limited in some way, but it further implies that when the actor has reached the expressed or implied limit to the action he will have only completed part of the possible or potential goal implied by the action.

2.4. ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES

The semantic functions abstracted for these affixes are contrasted in the following sets of sentences.

Examples with kan 'eat'

1. Mangkan kayu ta manasian kami. 'You eat, for we are leaving.'

   The implication here is that those who are left will just continue eating, but nothing is implied about a limitation in time or amount.

2. Mangan ka nu nabiti ka. 'Eat when you are hungry.'

   Implicit here is a specification such as 'a meal' or a certain food.

3. Kuman nat asu. 'The dog bites.'

   The action involved in biting is the same as for eating but it is severely limited as to duration and further implies that having bitten, the dog will not have achieved all that he could have from this action, which would have been to consume the patient.

Examples with bunut 'coconut husk'

1. Mambunut takut tun iyug. 'Let's husk these coconuts.'

   Duration is implied, but nothing as to length of duration.

2. Mamunut takut tun iyug si lima. 'Let's husk five of these coconuts.'

   A definite limit to the action is specified and implied further is that limited amount is the total amount required.
3. Gumunut kayu man sinat iyug. 'You husk (emphasis) some coconuts.'

A limit to the action is implied. Not all the coconuts will be husked and further implied is that when the actor ceases the action there will still be more to do.

Examples with bulbul 'cook rice to make it soft'

1. No occurrence of this stem with man- was found. Possibly this is due to the fact that this is a special kind of cooking used in specific situations which makes it inherently a non-durative action.

2. Mamulbul kat kanon din masakit. 'Cook-soft the food of the sick person.'

There is a specific amount of food implied here, namely that which the sick person will eat and it is implied that this is the total amount needed.

3. Gumuibul kat akita lawa. 'Cook-soft just a little.'

There is a limitation given here, but the speaker also has in view the larger amount which could be cooked and the fact that what will be cooked is only a part of that total.

2.5. OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

The foregoing is an abstraction of the semantic function of these affixes as they are most commonly used. As already mentioned, not all stems can take all three of these affixes and no indication has been given as to how a student of the language might know what the affix potential for a stem is, aside from learning this as a vocabulary item along with each stem. Of course it does help to have the information that at least half of the stems studied accepted all three affixes. For those which do not it is possible that there is some semantic quality inherent in the root which restricts its affix potential, as has been pointed out above in the example with the stem bulbul. It is possible, for example, that a stem like akkeyot 'to walk slowly, or deliberately, step by step', which only accepts the prefix man-, has an inherently durative quality which limits it to this affix. There are also stems which can take more than one of the affixes but are most commonly heard with one or the other. Examples of this are kan 'eat', and tadok 'dance' which are most often heard used with the prefix man-. This may again be due to inherent semantic factors in the stems which predispose them to this affix. For example, these stems are most commonly used in situations where a specific time limit to the action is implied such as 'a meal' or 'a celebration'.
There are also groups of stems which are always used with certain affixes but which have no explanation on the basis of the semantic characteristics of the affixes described above. For example, meteorological roots always take -um- with no actor expressed. umudan 'will rain/is raining', gumayogbog 'will blow/is blowing'. Descriptive roots also regularly take -um- to indicate a process of development. Many of these also take man- to focus the experiencer who is acquiring the state described.

Examples with buuk 'drunk'
1. Mambuuk kat nat basi. 'You are drunk from the wine.'
2. Gumuuk nat basi. 'Wine makes people drunk.'

A full understanding of affixation potential with these three actor focus affixes as well as their semantic function with special groups of stems such as the meteorological roots mentioned above requires further analysis, but the semantic functions abstracted and explained here when combined with semantic considerations inherent in the stems themselves are enough to help a student of the language to choose the correct affix in the majority of situations.

3. NON-ACTOR FOCUS AFFIXES

In this section the four affixes which focus a participant other than the actor are discussed. The problem with these four affixes for a student learning the language arises in knowing which participant should occur as the nonpredicate focus complement with each affix and what difference each affix makes in the semantic structure of the sentence.

Descriptions based on the theory of case have identified the focused complement in terms of its participant role in the action. However, as pointed out earlier, such a description is not adequate for a person learning the language, because there is so much overlap in the mapping from deep to surface structure. Three of these affixes may focus the participant whose role is patient and often two affixes may focus the same patient with the same verb stem as illustrated in section 0. The labels, traditionally used to refer to these affixes based on the grammatical slot on which they focus in the surface structure, have apparently been chosen to indicate something about their semantic functions, but the labels are too broad and fail to adequately describe their functions in a way that a student of the language can apply them to the majority of situations in which they are used. Wolfenden (1975) attempts to make these labels more descriptive of the functions of the
affixes by substituting 'Direct Object' for the more traditional term 'Object' and 'Conveyant' for 'Accessory'; this helps to explain the apparent ambiguity in the examples cited under section 0. above where the verb *basa* 'to we' uses both -on and i- to focus the same participant whose role in both sentences is patient. However, his continued use of the traditional term 'Referent' is not descriptive enough to explain the apparent ambiguity in the following examples where both -on and -an on the stem *buna* 'leave' focus the same participant with the role of patient.

1. Bunaom nat isna. (*leave*-Of-2sg. topic the rice)  
   'Leave the rice (for next meal).'

2. Bunaom nat isna. (*leave*-Rf-2sg. topic the rice)  
   'Leave the rice (for next meal).

The ambiguity is resolved by an application of the semantic function abstracted for these affixes in this section. The view presented here is that each of these affixes indicate something specific about the speaker's view of the orientation of the action and that when a student knows what that is he will be able to choose the correct affix within the limitations of the stem's affixation potential in the majority of situations. The non-actor focus affixes appear in Chart 3 along with the semantic functions abstracted for each.

CHART 3

Chart 3 shows the semantic function abstracted for each of the four non-actor focus affixes. The first column gives the affix name according to the grammatical slot focused by each and the second column gives the semantic function of the affix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus Affix</th>
<th>Semantic Function of Affix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Object</td>
<td>focused participant is to be viewed as more directly or broadly affected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-on)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referent</td>
<td>focused participant is to be viewed as less directly or broadly affected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-an)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessory</td>
<td>focused participant is to be viewed as being conveyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i-)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beneficiary</td>
<td>focused participant is to be viewed as having the action done for him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i- -an)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1. THE AFFIX -on

The first affix discussed in this section and the one which has the heaviest functional load of all the non-actor focus affixes in Kalinga is -on. This affix is often referred to as the object or goal focus affix because of the grammatical slot it focuses on in the surface structure. The semantic function abstracted for this affix is that it indicates that the speaker is viewing the more directly or broadly affected participant to be in focus.

3.2. THE AFFIX -an

This affix in contrast to -on indicates that the speaker is viewing the less directly or broadly affected participant to be in focus. The term 'more directly affected' and 'less directly affected' are only relevant when both affixes can be used with the stem under consideration. When only one of the affixes is used by a particular stem the terms 'more' and 'less' cease to be relevant and the participant is only viewed as the affected participant.

This contrastive description of these two affixes eliminated the apparent ambiguity in the examples with the stem buna above. When this analysis is applied to these two examples it is seen that in the first example the rice is more broadly affected and thus the implication is that all the rice will be left, while in the second example the rice is less broadly affected and thus only part of the rice will be left.

Other examples illustrating how this analysis is applied to an understanding of the use of these affixes follow.

1. Buyuk om nat bolok. (spoil-0f-2sg. topic the pig) 'Spoil the pig (meat).'

The implication here is that the meat will be completely or totally spoiled.

2. Buyukam nat tipoy nu nu piyam. (spoil-Rf-2sg. topic your viand if you like) 'Spoil your viand if you like.'

The implication here is that something spoiled will be mixed with the viand and thus it is to be seen as less directly or broadly affected than if the verb were affixed with -on.

The case role of the focused participant in the first example is clearly patient, while in the second it is not clear whether the participant role is patient or range, which is the more commonly expected role of participants focused with -an. However, to a student trying to decide which of the two affixes he should use a description of the participant roles in terms of patient or range is not really very
helpful. But, if he has in mind the semantic functions described for these affixes above he will know that if he wants the participant to be seen as totally affected he will use -on, and if he wants it to be seen as less totally affected he will use -an.

Examples with alyug 'to travel'

1. Aiyugom din Baliwon. (travel-Of-2sg. topic the lowlands) 'Travel through/in the lowlands.'
2. Aiyugam din asin. (travel-Rf-2sg. topic the salt) 'Travel for the salt.'

Here the focused participant with -on is range and with -an it is goal, but again describing them in these terms is less descriptive and less helpful to a student of the language trying to determine which affix to use than the description of the semantic function of these affixes given above. The place over which the travelling is done is clearly more directly affected than the item one hopes to get and therefore knowing that -on focuses the more directly affected participant tells the student that he must choose the affix -on if he wants this participant to be in focus.

3.3. THE AFFIX i-

The affix i- in contrast to the two affixes discussed above indicates that the speaker wants the focused participant to be understood as being conveyed. This participant may at the same time be affected or it may be the thing used to accomplish the action, but it is not the function of this affix to indicate this aspect. The context will make it clear whether the participant is patient or instrument if this is relevant, but the primary function of i- is to indicate that the participant is conveyed. If the participant is also affected by the action, the conveyance may be viewed as before, during or after the action. The context will tell which is most logical.

The following examples illustrate the use of this affix.

1. Ipokpol nu nat kayu. (Af-cut 2sg. topic the tree) 'Cut down the tree (and take it away).'

The conveyance implied in this example takes place after the action of the verb since it would not normally be logical to think of moving a tree before cutting it down. This example is contrasted with another example with an identical surface structure except for the use of the affix -on instead of i-. Pokpokom nat kayu. (cut-Of-2sg. topic the tree) 'Cut down the tree'. The semantic structure of this example is also identical to the first sentence except that it lacks the implication of conveyance.
2. Ipokpok nu nat badang. (Af-cut 2sg. topic the bolo)  
'Cut (it) down with the bolo.'

This example simply replaces the participant 'tree' with 'bolo', but in so doing the participant role of the focused compliment is changed from patient to instrument. However, it is not the affix which signals this difference in participant role, but the context and the nature of the participants themselves. The function of the prefix i- is to indicate that the participant is conveyed. In the second example where the bolo is the participant in focus, the most logical thing is to see it as being conveyed to the participant being cut down which is not expressed. However, all this information is not indicated by the affix but by the context.

3.4. THE AFFIX i- -an

This is the final affix discussed under this section. The semantic function of this affix is that it indicates that the speaker wants the focused participant to be viewed as having the action done for him, not so much for his benefit as in his place. (It seems that the only limitation on which stems this affix can occur with, is whether or not it is logical to view the action as being done by someone for another person.) For this reason this affix is not used in determining stem classifications in the next section.

The use and non-use of this affix is illustrated as follows.

1. Iyakutan da si danum si ina ta adi na makadanum. (Bf-carry 3pl. oblique water topic mother since she is unable to fetch-water)  
'They carry water for mother since she is unable to fetch water.'  

A stem which does not accept this affix is atteng 'defecate'. It would be absurd to think of doing this for someone else.

3.5. ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES

The following examples illustrate the use of these four affixes.

Examples with anup 'hunt'

1. Anupom din bateled. (hunt-Of-2sg. topic the mountain)  
'Hunt on the mountain.'

The participant role of the mountain is range which in case descriptions of Philippine languages is most often focused by -an, making this a departure from what is generally expected in a case description. However, since in the act of hunting the area over which the hunt takes place is both the most directly and the most broadly affected partici-
pant, this is completely predictable according to the description of the semantic function of this affix given in this paper.

2. Anupam dan babuy sin bateled. (hunt-Rf-2sg. topic the wild pigs location the mountain)
   'Hunt the wild pigs on the mountain.'

The pigs which are the goal of the hunt are less directly affected than the place where the hunt takes place, since they are not even certain to be affected.

3. Iyanup nu da at asut din bateled. (Af-hunt 2sg. topic the dogs location the mountain)
   'Send out the dogs to hunt on the mountain.'

The dogs are seen as being conveyed by the actors voice to accomplish the action of hunting.

4. Iyanupan yu si ama. (Bf-hunt 2plu. topic father)
   'Hunt for father.'

Implied here is that father is unable to hunt for himself.

Examples with asug 'cook'
1. Asugom nat binayu. (cook-Of-2sg. topic the rice)
   'Cook the rice.'

The rice is most directly affected in the act of cooking.

2. Asugam nat dalpong. (cook-Rf-2sg. topic fire table)
   'Cook on the fire table.'

In this case the range which is the fire table is less directly affected than the rice.

3. Iyasug nut nat dalpong nat bang a. (Af-cook 2sg. location the fire table topic the pot)
   'Cook on the fire table with the pot.'

Implied here is that the pot is conveyed to the fire table to be used in cooking. Its participant role happens to be instrument, but it is not the function of i- to signal this role since it would be just as possible to focus the rice with this affix, in which case it would be the patient, but it would still be viewed as being conveyed. When focused with i- the rice is viewed as being conveyed to the pot to be cooked.

4. Iyasugam nat bulun nu. (Bf-cook-2sg. topic your companion)
   'Cook for your companion.'
4. CLASSIFICATION OF VERB STEMS

The examples given in the previous section use verbs which can accept all four affixes for non-actor focus, but here again as with the actor focus affixes, it is recognized that the affixation potential of many verbs is limited. The question now arises, is there something which can help a student of the language to know what the affixation potential of a verb is without his having to learn this individually for each verb?

At first it was felt that a classification of verb stems purely on the basis of affixation potential would best serve this purpose. However, after classifying the three hundred stems studied on this basis it was found that although this resulted in a relatively small number of classes, these classes had very little to tie them together semantically. This would really give very little help to a student in learning a stem's affixation potential, since there would be little to help him decide to which class a particular verb belonged. The class membership of each verb would still have to be learned individually.

After further study of the examples a method of classification was arrived at which serves the primary purpose of helping a student of the language use the verbs correctly with their affixes. To arrive at this classification the affix i- -an was excluded since, as noted above, the primary restriction on its occurrence appears to be a fairly easily determined semantic restriction.

The method of classification divides the verb stems into three broad classes. Each of these classes have in common at least one semantic component and characteristically take one of the three affixes used in the classification. These classes are then subdivided on the basis of other shared semantic components and affixation potential.

The first class, Class 1 shares the semantic component of patient orientation and is characteristically affixed by -on when affixed for non-actor focus. The second class, Class 2 shares the semantic component of conveyance from one place to another and is characteristically affixed by i-. The third class, Class 3 shares the common semantic component of addition to a range or goal or removal from a range or source depending on the direction of the action. This class is characteristically affixed by -an.

4.1. SUBCLASSIFICATION OF CLASS 1

Class 1 is divided into five subclasses.
4.1.1. Subclass 1.1. is composed of verbs which involve the positioning of a patient in the manner described by the verb. Most of these verbs can be affixed by -on to focus the patient, by i- to focus the instrument. Most also take -an to focus the range.

The following are some members of this subclass which take all three affixes. aba 'carry on the back', buku 'carry on shoulders', agtu 'carry on head', bakwal 'carry in arms', begkeng 'carry in hand', akut 'carry', awit 'load', allatoy 'foot-bridge', lobon 'bury', boloy 'house', aldan 'stairway', banaw 'soak', basa 'wet', atapaw 'shallow', uyad 'straighten'.

The following members of this subclass have not been found to occur with -an: balud 'prison', biligat 'basket', balisa 'invert', balikkid 'turn over', tikig 'lie on side'.

The following members of this subclass have been found to occur only with -on: bigak 'separate', bagut 'pull out', bennat 'stretch', bikyad 'unroll', buwas 'disperse', butbut 'lead'.

The following examples illustrate subclass 4.1.1:

a) Examples with aba 'carry on the back'
1. Abaom nat abeng. (carry-Of-2sg. topic the child)
   'Carry the child on your back.'
2. Abaam si batu nat alisut. (carry-Rf-2sg. oblique stone topic wall) 'Attach a stone to the wall.'
3. Iyabam nat abeng kan sakon. (Af-carry-2sg. topic the child oblique me) 'Place the child on my back.'

b) Examples with balisa 'invert'
1. Balisaom nat suikod nu. (invert-Of-2sg. topic your walking-stick) 'Invert your walking stick.'
2. Ibalisam nat binilag. (Af-invert-2sg. topic things-to-be-dried) 'Invert the things to be dried (implied also is the conveyance involved in inverting them).'

c) Examples with bikyad 'unroll'
1. Bikyadom nat ulos. (unroll-Of-2sg. topic blanket) 'Unroll the blanket.'

4.1.2. Subclass 1.2. is composed of acquisition and dispersion verbs in which the agent acquires or disperses the patient in a manner described by the verb. These verbs also accept i- to focus the instrument and in some cases the patient, and a few also take -an to focus range.
Members of this subclass which take only -on and i- are: aknam 'pick up', ala 'get', akkat 'lift', sikpaw 'catch', ani 'harvest', kan 'eat', inum 'drink', addang 'reach for', pusit 'pick (fruit)', bonneg 'chase'.

The following include all three affixes in their affixation potential: akas 'remove', bulas 'gather', apit 'harvest', amin 'take all', addag 'drive off'.

a) Examples illustrating subclass 4.1.2. with aknam 'pick up'

1. Aknamom danat batu. (pick up-Of-2sg. topic stones) 'Pick up the stones.'

2a. I yaknam nu nat imam. (Af-pick up 2sg. topic your hand) 'Pick (them) up with your hand.'

2b. I yaknam nu man danat batu. (Af-pick up 2sg. emphasis topic stones) 'Please pick up some stones.'

b) Examples with bulas 'gather'

1. Bulasom nat kapî. (gather-Of-2sg. topic coffee) 'Gather the coffee.'

2. Ibulas nu nat imam. (Af-gather 2sg. topic your hands) 'Gather (some) with your hands.'

3. Bulasam nat kapi. (gather-Rf-2sg. topic coffee) 'Gather some of the coffee.'

4.1.3. Subclass 1.3. consists of change of state verbs. This is by far the largest subclass of patient oriented verbs and implies that the agent changes the patient in some way. These stems are characteristically affixed with -on to focus the patient. The large majority also take i- with which they usually focus instrument although with a few of these stems i- was found to focus both patient and instrument and with a few only patient. A number of these stems also take -an to focus the range. First those stems found only with -on are listed: banig 'spook', bultug 'destroy', bolang 'hard', buyag 'head (of rice)', angoy 'tired', alingu 'disturb', balus 'coward', biyag 'capture (prisoner of war)', baal 'make active'.

The following stems take both -on and i-: bannay 'slow', langon 'roast', aboba 'short', andu 'long', asot 'mill (cane)', abus 'finish', aled 'sharpen', balin 'continue', angpus 'wear out', asasut 'dry (meat)', amis 'overpower', bilag 'dry (in sun)', apai 'continue', pokpok 'chip', akiyaw 'sieve', bognat 'relapse', talbasu 'work', aiwong 'headache', bannug 'tired', bitiil 'hunger', buuk 'drunk', bongog 'deaf', bulsok 'blind', bulaw 'dust in eye', dalus 'clean (ceremonially)', atulong
'offend', busul 'enemy', bukal 'dig', baybay 'plough (by trampling)', aladu 'plough (with plough)', omos 'bath', battut 'dam', dikot 'chop wood', balsig 'chop', palti 'butcher', biik 'split', dabbab 'skin', biklag 'slap', banat 'strike', bakbak 'beat (cloths)', bokbok 'smash', botad 'pound', bayu 'pound (rice)', balled 'mash'.

The following stems in this subclass were found to take all three affixes: ba' 'hammer', badang 'bolo', sapsap 'remove bark', gaat 'clean trail', bollat 'weed', boka 'excavate', asug 'cook', banu 'bless', apiis 'sand', bukol 'point (sharp)', buyuk 'spoil (make rotten)', bangios 'spoil (bad smell)', abak 'defeat', balun 'food (for trail)', apius 'wipe', lampasu 'skate the floor', bunyag 'baptize'.

a) Examples illustrating subclass 4.1.3. with bolang 'hard'

1. Bolangom nat isna.  (hard-Of-2sg. topic cooked-rice) 'Make the cooked rice hard.'

b) Examples with asasu 'dry'

1. Asasutom nat babuy.  (dry-Of-2sg. topic the meat) 'Dry the meat.'

2. Iyasasu nu nat babuy sidin suigan.  (Af-dry 2sg. topic meat location rack) 'Dry the meat on the rack.' (implied in this sentence is also the conveyance to the rack).

c) Examples with asug 'cook'

1. Asugom nat binayu.  (cook-Of-2sg. topic pounded-rice) 'Cook the rice.'

2. Iyasug nut nat dalpong nat bang.  (Af-cook 2sg. location fire table topic pot) 'Cook on the fire table with the pot.'

3. Asugam nat dalpong.  (Cook-Rf-2sg. topic fire table) 'Cook on the fire table.'

4.1.4. Subclass 1.4. contains verbs of grouping. These verbs are distinct from the Class 3 addition and removal verbs in that with these, the agent is seen as joining himself or something else to the patient to accomplish the action. Besides -on to focus patient, these verbs also take i- to focus patient or instrument. With some it is difficult to determine whether the conveyed participant has the role of patient or instrument. Some of the stems in this subclass are: angkas 'free labour', abuyug 'co-operative work', awis 'invite', alliw 'turn away', amung 'group', alom 'court', biling 'visit'.

The following stems add -an to focus beneficiary or goal. Bulig 'carry together (using pole)', bulun 'companion', asawa 'marry', bulog 'join in line', bungguy 'group together (to work)', abat 'meet'.
a) Examples to illustrate subclass 4.1.4. with atom 'court'

1. Alomon yu danat babai. (court-Of-2pl. topic females) 'Court the ladies.'
2. Iyalom yu dit pilak. (Af-court 2pl. topic money) 'Court with money' (money is seen as conveyed to the one being courted).

b) Examples with bulig 'carry together (using pole)'

1. Būligom si Juan. (Carry-Of-2sg. topic John) 'Join John in carrying (either end of the pole).'  
2. Ibulig nu nat bulu. (Af-carry topic bamboo) 'Use the bamboo in carrying' (bamboo is conveyed in the process).
3. Buligan yu nat masakit. (carry-Rf 2pl. topic sick person) 'Join together in carrying the sick person.'

4.1.5. Subclass 1.5. consists of stems which take an experiencer instead of an agent. They are affixed with -on to focus the patient which is experienced by the experiencer. The first member listed here was found to take -on, i- and -an, the second was found to take -on and i- and the remainder only -on: apos 'jealous', buya 'view', bībīli 'inspect', apdu 'read bile', bangsog 'smell'.

The following examples with buya 'view' illustrate this subclass.

1. Buyoan taku din tado. (view-Of 1pl.-incl. topic dance) 'Let's view the dance.'
2. Ibuyo taku dat ata taku. (Af-view 1pl.-incl. topic our eyes) 'Let's view with our eyes.'

4.2. Subclassification of Class 2.

Class 2 is divided into eight subclasses.

4.2.1. Subclass 2.1. is composed of distribution/conveyance verbs. The following stems of this subclass were found to occur only with their characteristic affix i- to focus patient. dulīn 'put aside', aggusuk 'convey stealthily', bulakbol 'convey carelessly', bantok 'bounce'.

The following stems were found to include -an to focus range or goal in addition to i- focusing patient. walas 'distribute', puluk 'feed chickens', tulūd 'push', dawat 'throw away', pagkal 'throw', ayus 'flow'.


The following stems take -on and i- for patient, and -an for goal or range. anud 'float away', alis 'transfer', bugi 'impregnate', abeng 'child', batu 'stone', aloy 'hang rice (on rack).'

The following were found only with -on and i- for patient: bulu 'ball', awat 'receive/give', bingay 'divide'.

The following examples with walas 'distribute' illustrate this subclass of stems.

1. Iwalas nu nat tinapay sidanat tagu. (Af-distribute 2sg. topic bread oblique people) 'Distribute the bread to the people.'

2. Walasam danat tagut nat tinapay. (Distribute-Rf-2sg. topic people oblique bread) 'Distribute some bread to the people.'

Examples with alis 'transfer'

1. Alisom nat tutuppakan. (transfer-Of-2sg. topic chair) 'Move the chair.'

2. Iyalis nu nat tutuppakan. (Af-transfer 2sg. topic chair) 'Move the chair.'

3. Alisam datun udum sinat sakit nu. (transfer-Rf-2sg. topic these others oblique your sickness) 'Transfer your sickness to these others.'

4.2.2. Subclass 2.2. consists of speech verbs and these are further subdivided. Speech categorizing verbs focus patient with -on and i- and for some also goal with -an.

The following are examples of speech categorizing verbs with -on and i- affixation: agasaas 'whisper', alig 'compare', basa 'read', baun 'send', intuud 'consult', angaw 'joke'.

Speech categorizing verbs which also take -an are: bukal 'alarm', bilin 'command', bilang 'count', ulnug 'story', adal 'learn/教', balin 'relate/accuse', imus 'ask', luwalu 'pray'.

Speech conveying verbs are: pakuy 'shout', akkal 'call together', awag 'call', sungbat 'answer', baag 'announce', ayag 'call', ambag 'echo', bage 'speak'.

Two speech verbs belbel 'repeat', and bedbed 'talk nonsense' do not fit in either of these categories. The first only takes -an and the second only -on.

The following examples with bilang 'count' illustrate speech categorizing verbs.

1. Bilangom nat iblu. (count-Of-2sg. topic books) 'Count the books.'
2. Ibilang nu dit awad sidi. (Af-count 2sg. topic what-is there) 'Include in the count the things which are there' (they are viewed as being conveyed to be included).

3. Bilangam nat kesugal nu. (count-Rd-2sg. topic your companion-in-gambling) 'Count for your gambling companion.'

The following examples with pakuy 'shout' illustrate speech conveying verbs:

1. Ipakuy nu nat natoy kan Pakito. (Af-shout topic the death oblique Pakito) 'Shout the announcement about the death to Pakito.'

2. Pakuyam si Pakito. (shout-Rf-2sg. topic Pakito) 'Shout to Pakito.'

4.2.3. Subclass 2.3. consists of travel verbs. These verbs focus patient with i-, range with -on and goal with -an. Only two stems in this subclass were found that did not take all three of these affixes, akyang 'walk' does not take -an and akkeyot 'walk slowly' was not found to occur with -an or -on. Other members of this subclass are: taud 'fly', basat 'cross', boted 'go,straight', tagada 'climb', oy 'go', askay 'scatter', toddak 'run', adayu 'far', adani 'near', alyug 'travel', baat 'travel', butik 'flee'.

The following examples with baat 'travel' illustrate this subclass:

1. Baatom din Isabela. (travel-Of-2sg. topic Isabela) 'Travel through Isabela.'

2. Ibaat nu nat pilak nu. (Af-travel 2sg. topic your money) 'Travel with your money.'

3. Baatam nat kanon yu. (travel-Rf-2sg. topic your food) 'Travel for your food.'

4.2.4. Subclass 2.4. consists of verbs of fiscal transactions. When these verbs take the full complement of affixes they focus patient with -on and i- and goal with -an.

The following two stems were the only ones in this group found to take all three affixes: i tod 'give', laku 'sell'.

The following were found only with -on and i-: bungkul 'buy/sell', bulud 'borrow'.

These were found only with i- and -an: bayad 'pay', ngina 'sell/buy', bilog 'give advance', abang 'rent', bugis 'tax'.


The following examples with bugis 'tax' illustrate these verbs:

1. Ibugis nu nat spit nu. (Af-tax 2sg. topic your harvest)  
   'Pay tax with your harvest.'
2. Bugisam nat pitam. (tax-Rf-2sg. topic your land)  
   'Pay tax on your land.'

4.2.5. Subclass 2.5. consists of body function verbs. These verbs focus patient with -on and i- and range with -an when they occur with all three affixes.

The following were found to take all three affixes: atteng 'defecate', bulis 'diarrhoea'. The rest of the stems in this subclass were found only with i- and -an: lugpa 'spit', boon 'sneeze', angisol 'smell', angos 'breathe', bukos 'cough', angod 'runny nose'.

The following examples with lugpa 'spit' illustrate these:

1. Ilugpaam nat mome. (Af-spit-2sg. topic betel chew)  
   'Spit out the betel chew.'
2. Lugpaam nat pantalon na. (spit-Rf-2sg. topic his pants)  
   'Spit on his pants.'

4.2.6. Subclass 2.6. consists of verbs of positioning. Most of these are body positions and focus patient with i- and range with -an. Other stems in this subclass are: tupak 'sit', sikad 'stand', paligawgaw 'squat', lukgub 'lie on stomach', obog 'lie down', bikos 'curl up', bukat 'open', boot 'between'.

The following examples with obog 'lie down' illustrate these verbs:

1. Iyobog nu nat abeng. (Af-lay down 2sg. topic child)  
   'Lay the child down.'
2. Obgam nat katili. (lie down-Rf-2sg. topic bed)  
   'Lie down on the bed.'

4.2.7. Subclass 2.7. consists of verbs of social interaction and focuses patient with i- and beneficiary with -an.

Some of the members of this subclass are: tabok 'dance', bodong 'peace pact', adang 'donation (at time of death)', banat 'put down/leave as engagement gift', bolay 'betroth'.

These verbs are illustrated by the following examples using adang 'donation at time of death'.

1. Iyadang nu nat pilak nu. (Af-donate 2sg. topic your money)  
   'Make a donation of your money for the death observance.'
2. Adangam din natoy. (donate-Rf-2sg. topic dead-person)
'Make a donation for the dead person.'

4.2.8. Subclass 2.8. consists of verbs which have an experiencer instead of an agent. A non-instigator cause or force as Grimes (1975) calls it is focused by i- and is seen as being conveyed to the experiencer to cause him to undergo the experience or state described by the stem. One of the stems in this group apa! 'jealous' also include -an to focus goal and two of the stems, busug 'satisfy with food' and bulung 'trouble', include -on to focus source.

Other stems in this subclass are: suyop 'sleep', busali 'boil', basul 'fault/sin', bos-ol 'brave', balos 'revenge', bados 'seal', baknang 'rich'.

This subclass is illustrated by the following example using bos-ol 'brave'.

1. I bos-ol nu nat kinabilog nu. (Af-brave 2sg. topic your strength)
'Your strength makes you brave.'

4.3. SUBCLASSIFICATION OF CLASS 3.

Class 3 is divided into six subclasses.

4.3.1. Subclass 3.1. consists of verbs of enclosure. The agent is seen as adding an enclosure to a range which is characteristically focused by -an. With these verbs -on often focuses the same participant as -an and it is not always clear whether the role of this participant is patient or range when focused with -on. However, when seen from the point of view of more directly or broadly affected participant, the distinction between what is expressed by a sentence where the participant is focused by -on and where it is focused by -an becomes clearer. In the examples:

1. Aliasutem nat boloy. (wall-0f-2sg. topic house)
'Wall the house.'

2. Aliasutem nat boloy. (wall-Rf-2sg. topic house)
'Put wall(s) on the house.'

The first example views the house as more broadly affected and thus the whole job of walling the entire house is in view. The second example views the house as less broadly affected and thus refers to only a part of the job.

This subclass also accepts i- to focus instrument. Some of its members are: bulidaw 'bamboo walling', alad 'fence', alisut 'wall', badal
'wrap', bungun 'wrap (enclose completely)', bugus 'wrap (enfold)', botok 'bundle'.

The following examples with badaI 'wrap' illustrate these verbs.

1. BadaI om nat sugat. (wrap-Of-2sg. topic wound)
   'Wrap the wound.'

2. Ibadal nu nat luput. (Af-wrap 2sg. topic the cloth)
   'Wrap (it) with the cloth.'

3. BadaI am si bollat nat sugat. (wrap-Rf-2sg. oblique herbs topic wound) 'Wrap herbs around the wound.'

4.3.2. Subclass 3.2. includes verbs of addition. With these verbs something which is implied by the meaning of the verb, such as an article of clothing, a physical injury etc., is added to a range. These verbs take i- and -an. The participant focused by i- is the one conveyed to be added in the action, but it is not always clear whether its role is patient or instrument. Some verbs in this subclass are: badut 'clothing', baal 'loin cloth', battukung 'hat', baut 'spank', baledbed 'scrape', kudkud 'scratch', atung 'burn', belak 'burn', bukyak 'cut (slit)', bilgat 'cut (by grass)', angpas 'cut', batonit 'button', sobsoh 'extinguish', bawi 'shelter', apuy 'fire', asuk 'smoke', abunu 'fertilizer', iasa 'fertile soil', bungu 'round', attod 'drip', bulik 'paint', anidu 'warmth', baw-an 'cool', baIa 'hot coals', aggom 'hold'.

The following examples using baal 'loin cloth' illustrate these stems.

1. Ibaal nu nat luput. (Af-loin-cloth 2sg. topic cloth)
   'Use the cloth for a loin cloth.'

2. Baalam nat abeng. (loin-cloth-Rf-2sg. topic child)
   'Put a loin cloth on the child.'

4.3.3. Subclass 3.3. consists of verbs of removal and is similar to 3.2. except with these stems something is removed from the range or source. The thing removed may be implied such as dirt with verbs of washing or illness as with verbs of curing. With these verbs i- usually focuses instrument and -an range. Some stems in this subclass are: saksak 'laundry', dalus 'clean', kiwas 'wash dishes', bulu 'wash hands', among 'curing (with smoke)', alisig 'curing (by ceremony)', agas 'curing (by medicine)', anit 'remove skin', bosat 'remove growth from path', attod 'remove roots', bunut 'remove husk of coconut', abut 'make hole', baIu 'make hole (using stick)'.

These stems are illustrated by the following examples using bulu 'wash hands'.

1. Ibulum tun danum. (Af-wash-2sg. topic water) 'Wash with this water.'
2. Buluwam nat ikim. (wash-Rf-2sg. topic feet) 'Wash your feet.'

4.3.4. Subclass 3.4. consists of verbs implying removal in a negative sense. These differ from the other removal verbs in that with these there is always a patient focused by -on, but rarely an instrument or other participant focused by i-. Two verbs that do take i- are agum 'take advantage of', and agaw 'grab'. Others in this class take only -on and -an. These include: asut 'draw (a weapon)', akaw 'steal', amet 'damage (to crops by animals)'.

Examples to illustrate these with akaw 'steal' are:

1. Akawom nat liwang da. (steal-Of-2sg. topic their carabao) 'Steal their carabao.'
2. Akawam dida. (steal-Rf-2sg. topic them) 'Rob them.'

4.3.5. Subclass 3.5. consists of verbs of hunting. These take -on to focus range, i- for instrument, and -an for patient/goal or the participant being hunted. One of the stems in this subclass, bitu 'trap in a pit' was not found to occur with i-. Others in this subclass are: anup 'hunt', balais 'trap', bungwit 'hook (fish)'.

The following examples with bungwit 'hook' illustrate these:

1. Bungwitom din sulung. (hook-Of-2sg. topic stream) 'Fish in the stream.'
2. Ibungwit nu danat kolang. (Af-hook 2sg. topic worms) 'Fish with the worms.'
3. Bungwitam dat igat sin sulung. (hook-Rf-2sg. topic eels location stream) 'Fish for eel in the stream.'

4.3.6. Subclass 3.6. consists of verbs of guarding. These focus the patient with -an. Some stems in this subclass are: andog 'watch', alibunu 'watch over sick person', ayyuwan 'guard (animals)', bulaw 'guard (crops)'. Andog was found to take i- in addition to -an and alibunu was found to add -on to its affixation potential.
An example to illustrate these stems follows:

1. Ayyuwanam nat baka. (guard-Rf-2sg. topic cow)
   'Guard the cow.'

Of the 300 stems studied, only three were found which could not take any of the non-actor focus affixes. These are: bunot 'cloud', bunglun 'rainbow' and bug-ut 'throb (with pain)'.

THE SEMANTIC FUNCTION OF FOCUS AFFIXES IN LIMOS KALINGA 43
HARTMUT WIENS

NOTES

1. Limos Kalinga, or Linimos as it is often referred to by native speakers of the dialect, is a subdialect of Kalinga, a language spoken by the inhabitants of the southern part of Kalinga–Apayao Province in northern Luzon, Republic of the Philippines. Linimos is spoken by about 7,000 people along the lower Salatan River in the municipality of Pinokpok.

The data for this paper were gathered under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics between 1974 and 1976, while the author and family lived in Asibanglan, a barrio of Pinokpok municipality. The principal language assistants for this study were Mr. Louis Balutoc, Mr. Pedro Augustin and Mr. Benito Aggueban, all residents of Asibanglan. I am grateful for their valuable and unselfish assistance in this study. I am indebted also to Dr. Elmer Wolfenden, a colleague in the Summer Institute of Linguistics under whose leadership this paper was prepared, for many helpful comments and suggestions.

Linimos has nineteen segmental phonemes, including fourteen consonants: p, t, k, b, d, g, m, n, ng, s, l, w, y, and ?, and five vowels i, e, a, o, u. Glottal stop is represented in the orthography only in syllable initial position after another consonant or when occurring in geminant clusters between two vowels.

2. There are a number of morphophonemic changes in these affixes when they are attached to certain kinds of stems. The final nasal in man­ assimilates to the point of articulation of the first consonant of the following stem. The final nasal in maN- fuses with and assimilates to the point of articulation of the first consonant of the stem. When -um­ is added to stems beginning with b or p these consonants become g and k respectively. The affixes -on and -an fuse with the attributive pronouns of the first, second and third person singular to make the forms -ok,
-om, -ona and -ak, -am and -ana. When i- is used with stems ending in vowels, the first and second person singular attributive pronouns fuse with the stem as -k and -m respectively. When i- is affixed to stems beginning with glottal stop, the glottal is replaced by y.
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PHONEMICS AND MORPHOPHONEMICS OF SAMA BAANGINGI

JO ANN GAULT

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF SULAIMAN BARHAMA AND FATIMAH BARHAMA

O. INTRODUCTION

Sinama Baangingi is one of several related Sama languages spoken in the Sulu Archipelago of the southern part of the Republic of the Philippines. The Sama languages belong to the Sama-Bajaw sub-group of the Austronesian family of languages.

The original home of the Baangingi people was Balangingi Island (or Baangingi as pronounced by the people themselves), located in the Tongkil island group, to the south of Basilan Island. During the Spanish occupation, the Baangingi were a constant thorn in the sides of the Spanish authorities. They would not be subdued until 1848, when with a fleet of newly developed steamships, the Spaniards shelled Balangingi Island. Many hundreds were killed and about 150 captured and transported to Cagayan Valley in Luzon, where there is still a sizeable community of their descendants. The remaining Baangingi fled to other islands.

According to Sama tradition, the Spaniards chose a time when most of the men of Balangingi Island were away on an expedition to Malaya. When the men returned and found their island ruined, their homes destroyed, and their families scattered, they began a search which led some of them as far as Palawan, the Visayas, and Luzon. Many settled in the lands in which they found their families.

Most of the Baangingi settled in one of three areas of the northern Sulu Archipelago: the Tongkil island group, the coastal areas and islands bordering the island of Basilan, and the southern Zamboanga peninsula. These are today the three major areas of Baangingi population. Balangingi Island itself has never been repopulated. It is
said that when the moon is full, sounds of crying can still be heard on the island, and children can be seen playing on the shore.

The Baangingi are today a dispersed people, and their language reflects this dispersion. Each Baangingi area seems to have its own sub-dialect, with certain intonation, pronunciation, and lexical peculiarities. The differences are usually very minor, however, within the three areas mentioned above; the sub-dialects being completely mutually intelligible.

This paper represents only one of the sub-dialects of Baangingi, that spoken in the barrio of Panigayan which is located on the Basilan Strait.

1. PHONEMICS

1.1. THE PAN PEPET IN SINAMA BAANGINGI

The midcentral vowel, *a, of Proto-Sama-Bajaw (PSB) is a reflex of the Proto-Austronesian (PAN) pepet. The PSB *a occurs before homorganic or geminate consonant clusters. The latter are due to the gemination in PSB of the consonant following the PAN pepet (Pallesen 1976). Central Sinama (CS), which is fairly representative of Sama languages with a six-vowel system, still has a phonemic schwa /ə/ that reflects quite faithfully the PSB *a, occurring only before a homorganic consonant cluster. However, the CS /ə/ has allophones which tend toward assimilation with the vowel in the succeeding syllable (Pallesen 1967). The PSB *a in Sinama Baangingi achieved five distinct daughter reflexes. This diversity is reminiscent of the entire range of realizations in the PAN pepet in diverse Austronesian languages, e.g. a and ə in Malay; i in Tagalog; u in Cebuano; e in Yakan; e, ə, and ə in Pangutaran Sarna. Diagram 1 is an adaptation from Pallesen 1976a showing the relationship between the Sama languages and the Austronesian languages.

This diversity in the reflexes of the PSB *a in Sinama Baangingi is due to the same process of assimilation as observed in CS, but in Baangingi the assimilation to the vowel in the succeeding syllable is almost complete. The net effect is to give Baangingi a five-vowel rather than a six vowel system (see below). The assimilation is not complete, however, as the articulation of the reflexes of the PSB *a tend to be more centralized than the reflexes of other PSB vowels:
Each of the reflexes in Baangingi of the other PSB vowels has a more centralised allophone which occurs in the same environment as the reflex of the PSB *a, i.e. before homorganic consonant clusters. The articulation of the incompletely assimilated schwa approaches that of the centralised allophones. In some words, no significant difference can be heard between the articulation of the centralised allophone and that of the incompletely assimilated schwa. This is particularly true for words in which the assimilation is toward the mid vowels /e, o/. In words of other types, particularly those in which the assimilation is toward the high vowels /i, u/, the difference is more pronounced. This has not been interpreted as amounting to contrasting phonemes, for reasons which will be mentioned in the following discussion.

In words in which the assimilation is toward the low central vowel /a/, a certain degree of latitude in pronunciation seems to be allowed. Sometimes the difference is very noticeable; sometimes it is negligible. Even though there is this allowed variation in the pronunciation of some words, there are a number of cases where the assimilation is complete, including words that in CS are minimal or near minimal pairs. Two of these pairs are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Central Sinama</th>
<th>Sinama Baangingi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[pəddi?]</td>
<td>[piddi?]/piddi/ 'pain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ləssut]</td>
<td>[lussut]/lussut/ 'squeeze through'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[lëtte?]</td>
<td>[lette?]/lette/ 'sharp thunder'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kəllə?]</td>
<td>[kollə?]/kollə/ 'remove'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bəllə]</td>
<td>[ballə]/ballə/ 'cook rice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[hənda]</td>
<td>[handa]/handa/ 'wife'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Central Sinama</th>
<th>Sinama Baangingi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[pəggə?]</td>
<td>[paggə?]/paggə/ 'squeeze out by hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[paggə]</td>
<td>[paggə]/paggə/ 'because of the circumstances'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kabbət]</td>
<td>[kabbət]/kabbət/ 'speak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kabbət]</td>
<td>[kabbət]/kabbət/ 'close'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Normally the PSB *a tends to assimilate to the following vowel, but in some dialects of Baangingi it tends to become [ə] is rare; however, there are a few words in which the PSB *a has assimilated to [ə] in all dialects of Baangingi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Central Sinama</th>
<th>Baangingi-Zamboanga</th>
<th>Baangingi-Panigayan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[bəllə]</td>
<td>[bella]</td>
<td>[bella]/bella/ 'cook rice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[hənda]</td>
<td>[handa]</td>
<td>[handa]/handa/ 'wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[dənda]</td>
<td>[denda]</td>
<td>[denda]/denda/ 'female'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There remain a few words in Panigayan Baangingi in which the PSB *a has not yet clearly assimilated to any of the other five vowels. The task of identifying the vowels is made more difficult because of the amount of allowable fluctuation in vowel pronunciation in Baangingi. The first vowel in the following three words seems to range in the area between [ə], [u], and [ó]. They have been assigned to the vowel /o/ because of the tendency for the PSB *a to assimilate to the following vowel. These words are the following: [pónnô?] /ponno/ 'full', [póndôk] /pondok/ 'short', and [bôttôŋ] /bottoŋ/ 'stomach'.

One word has been observed to retain something very near the schwa: [tødô] /tødə/ 'once'. It has been assigned to /e/ because the articulation seems to be somewhat fronted and because of the observed tendency in some words for the schwa to assimilate to /e/.

The vestiges of the schwa are clearly seen in Panigayan Baangingi; however, the ongoing process of assimilation to other vowels is also clearly evident. Baangingi could be interpreted as having a six-vowel system with the schwa being realized in five allophones, but it was felt that because there are instances of almost complete assimilation more accurately represents the current state and direction of change of Sinama Baangingi.

1.2. THE SYLLABLE

The syllable in Baangingi is defined as an obligatory nucleus with an optional onset and coda. The syllable nucleus is filled by a vowel; the syllable margins are filled by consonants. Nearly all root words are bisyllabic, but with affixation and reduplication many polysyllabic words result, up to seven syllables in observed data.

There are four nonsuspect syllable patterns: CV, CVC, V, and VC (but see Section 1.4.3.). Of these, CV and CVC occur much more frequently. The four syllable patterns combine freely in polysyllabic words with the following restrictions: (1) Every phonological word begins with a consonant. Therefore, word-initial syllables are restricted to the syllable patterns CV and CVC. (2) When the sequence VCV occurs, the syllable break is always before the consonant. Therefore, the syllable sequence (C)V(C)VC cannot occur. When a vowel-initial suffix is added to a consonant-final stem, there is a change in the function of the stem-final consonant from coda to onset: [ˈda.ɡaŋ] /daːgaŋ/ 'to sell' when suffixed becomes [da.ˈgaŋaŋ] /daːɡaŋəŋ/ 'things to sell'.

The following show examples of the four syllable patterns:
1.3. STRESS AND PHONOLOGICAL WORD

The criterion for determining a phonological word in Baangingi is stress. A phonological word is defined as a sequence of at least two syllables in which primary stress occurs on the penultimate syllable. Suffixation perturbs primary stress to the right according to the number of syllables affixed. Such affixation is considered part of the phonological word:

- [ 'kól.îō?] /kollo?/ 'to remove'
- [kól.'lo.?in] /kollo?in/ 'remove it'
- [kól.îо.'?an.ku] /kollo?anku/ 'I will remove it'

Monosyllabic particles comprise a separate category of morphemes. They do not carry stress of their own and do not perturb the stress of the preceding word; therefore, they are not considered a part of the preceding phonological word. In the examples below, pa and da are the particles. [?a.'ma.naŋ pa 'ʔa.ʔu] /ʔaman paʔaku/ 'I will eat yet', and [ 'ku.ʔa da] /kuana da/ 'only a little'.

1.4. INTERPRETATION OF SEGMENTS AND SEQUENCES

1.4.1. Word-initial glottal preceding vowels occurs in Baangingi. This glottal could be interpreted as either a transition between silence and the articulation of a vowel or as a phonemic segment. The former interpretation is attractive, especially since the glottal does not contrast with silence in the word-initial position, and tends to be lost within a pause group. However, word-initial glottal has been interpreted as phonemic for the following reasons.

The glottal is retained when a word is prefixed with a consonant-final prefix, and when a word is reduplicated, as in [ʔaʔa] /ʔaʔa/ 'to prepare (food)' and [ʔinuʔinu] /ʔinuʔinu/ 'little by little'.

When a word is prefixed with a vowel-final prefix, the glottal is obligatorially retained between like vowels. Between dissimilar vowels, retention of the glottal is optional. When the vowel sequence is from low to high, the glottal is optionally retained. But when the vowel sequence is from high to low, the glottal is usually dropped (see Section 2.2.2.). The reasons for the alternations are not phonological, but rather sociolinguistic, e.g. who is speaking, the kind of discourse, and the psychological context of the utterance.
This same pattern of glottal reduction has been observed within a pause group. Word-initial glottal tends to be dropped when preceded by a word ending in a dissimilar vowel or in a consonant.

The distribution of the glottal is similar to that of the other stops. It is found in every position in which the other stops are found with one exception: the glottal does not occur as part of a consonant cluster in root words. However, it does occur as either member of a consonant cluster in affixed, reduplicated, or compound words, as in [ag?an?ad] /ag?anad/ 'to practice', [um?lam?] /um?la?m/ 'playhouse', and [bu?ta?na?] /bu?ta?na?/ 'right now'.

1.4.2. The alveopalatal affricate [dz] and the alveopalatal nasal [n] have been interpreted as single segments, rather than a sequence of two consonants, /dz/ and /ny/. This interpretation is based on non-suspect syllable patterns. Both alveopalatal s pattern in the same way, occurring as a syllable onset in word-initial and word-medial positions. In word-initial position, nonsuspect data does not support initial consonant clusters; therefore [dzaum] and [nawa] are interpreted as /jaum/ 'needle' and /nawa/ 'soul'. In word-initial position, nonsuspect data does not support a sequence of three consonants as would be necessary if the alveopalatal s were interpreted as a sequence; therefore, [baddzu?] and [bau?an?a] are interpreted as /badju?/ 'shirt' and /badan?a/ 'support'.

There yet remains the possibility that [n] could be interpreted as the consonant-vowel sequence /ni/. The interpretation has been rejected because the penultimate stress pattern indicates that the following word has three syllables, not four: [?na.?a.õa.m] /?na?anam/ 'weave mats', not *[?na.?a.?i.a.m] */?na?anam/. There is also a clear phonetic distinction between the prefixed word [ni.?u.?i?] /ni?il?/ 'to be massaged' and [?i?u.?i?] /ni?i?/ 'a kind of parrot'.

The sequence [dn] and [nn] have been interpreted as the homorganic clusters /dj/ and /nn/ rather than the geminate clusters /jj/ and /ññ/, because there are no other nonsuspect occurrences of /j/ or /ñ/ as a syllable coda.

1.4.3. Six words in Baangingi have been observed which begin with a nasal initial homorganic consonant cluster. The initial nasal is clearly the syllable nucleus, and in bisyllabic words also carries the stress.

- [m.pat] /m?at/ 'four'
- [n.nom] /n?om/ 'six'
- [m.m?] /m?ma?/ 'father'
The phonetic syllable pattern here is C. Its historical antecedent is CVC, specifically ?aC, as determined by its occurrence in other Sama languages (Pallesen 1967). The initial e of the above six words has been dropped in the speech of most speakers on Panigayan; however, occasionally an onset is heard. When it occurs, it follows the pattern of the assimilation of the FSBB *e to either /e/ or to the vowel in the following syllable of the word (section 1.1.). When the word is prefixed, there is no onset and the nasal becomes the coda of the syllable, the preceding vowel being the syllable nucleus, as in [?i.'kam. p?at] /?ikampat/ 'fourth' from ['m.p?at], and [kAm.'bo.?A n] /kambo?an/ 'ancestry' from ['m.bo?'] 'grandparent'.

A problem arises in interpretation. Is this interpreted as another syllable pattern, C, or as the sequence ?aC? Neither interpretation is attractive; not the first, because of the limited occurrence of the syllabic nasal, nor the second, because the schwa is not phonemic in Baangingi (section 1.1.). A satisfactory solution has not yet been found.

1.4.4. Geminate consonants occur word-medially in nonsuspect data. They are interpreted as spanning syllable borders for the following reasons. Nonsuspect syllable patterns do not support syllable-initial consonant clusters. They do support word-medial consonant clusters which span syllable borders. The following examples show the nonsuspect pattern followed by a corresponding geminate cluster.

['?'as.lâg] /?as.lâg/ 'large, coarse'
['?'as.sa? ] /?as.sa?/ 'pigeon'
[?A.'sAn.dâl] /?asanda?/ 'durable'
[?A.'sAn.na? ] /?asanna?/ 'peaceful'
['kum.pît] /kumpît/ 'round-hulled boat'
['kap.pâl] /kappâl/ 'ship'

1.4.5. The high vocoids [i, u] occur with great frequency in Baangingi. Sometimes they pattern as consonants, occurring as syllable margins; sometimes they pattern as vowels, occurring as syllable nuclei. When a high vocoid occurs between consonants or between a consonant and a word boundary, it clearly patterns as a vowel, being the nucleus of the syllable. However, when a high vocoid is contiguous to another vocoid, an interpretation must be made. Is this a sequence of two vowels, or a sequence of a vowel and a consonant?
When a high vocoid occurs word-initial followed by a vowel, it is interpreted as a consonant, since no nonsuspect words begin with a vowel, as in [ˌuʌ.tɔŋ] /watɔŋ/ 'ten' and [ˌuʌ.ka.na] /yukna/ 'he said'.

When a high vocoid occurs intervocally, it is interpreted as a consonant when stress indicates that the vocoid is non syllabic: [ˌsa.ʌn] /sawɔn/ 'drinking glass', [ˌgu.ʌd] /guyud/ 'to drag'.

When a high vocoid occurs as a member of a vocoid sequence, it is interpreted as a vowel when the stress pattern indicates the presence of two syllable nuclei; otherwise, it is interpreted as a consonant. Nonsuspect vowel sequences also indicate that vowel sequences involving high vocoids are possible. Further evidence is given by nonsuspect syllable patterns: when a high vocoid occurs contiguous to a word-initial or a word-final consonant, it is interpreted as a vowel because there are no nonsuspect consonant clusters word-initial or word-final.

Examples of nonsuspect vowel sequences are:

- [ˌpe.ʌt] /peat/ 'red'
- [pa.'ɛŋ.ke?] /paŋkeʔ/ 'stand on tiptoe'
- [ˌbo.ʌ?] /boʔ/ 'mouth'
- [ˌa.ə.ŋas] /aŋas/ 'shaved'

The following high vocoids are interpreted as vowels:

- [ˌi.ʌ?] /iaʔ/ 'shame'
- [bi.'a.niŋ] /baniŋ/ 'yellow'
- [ta.'u.ʔun] /taʔun/ 'put it away'
- [ˌ'su.i.'su.i] /suisui/ 'report, rumour'

The following as consonants:

- [ˌpa.tə] /patay/ 'kill'
- [ˌʔi.ʔai] /aiaʔ/ 'day'
- [ˌbə.ʔi.ʔuʔi] /bayhuʔ/ 'face'
- [ˌtə.ʔi.ʔaʔi] /tawwaʔ/ 'on the mark'

When the sequences [au, ai] occur word-final, they have been interpreted as /aay, aaw/ because of the morphophonemics of affixation. The preferred suffix allomorphs that occur with these roots are those which occur with consonant-final roots. For example, when suffixed, [ˌpa.i] [ˌpə.i] /paay/ 'unhusked rice' becomes [ka.ˌpa.ˈa.ˈan] /kapaayn/ 'rice field' which follows the pattern of consonant-final /bagay/ which becomes /kabagayan/ 'set of friends', not the pattern of vowel-final /suisui/ which becomes /suisuihan/ 'to be told a report, a rumour'.

Although there is no nonsuspect data to support a three vowel cluster, such a cluster may have to be set up at least for affixed
words (Pallesen 1967). For example:

\[ ['i.a?] /?ia/? \quad \text{'shame'} \]
\[ [?a.'i.a?] /?aia/? \quad \text{'ashamed'} \]

1.4.6. Each of the vowels in Baanginì can occur with length. These lengthened vowels are interpreted as a sequence of like vowels which are the nuclei of two successive syllables. Nonsuspect data support a sequence of two vowels. In addition, if long vowels were considered to be single phonemes, it would force the setting up of monosyllabic words, for which there is no nonsuspect evidence. There is also further evidence of two syllable nuclei from the reduction of /i/ intervocally, as in [hi:gu] /huug/ or [hi:lu:gu] /huulug/ 'drop, fall'. Other examples of lengthened vowels are:

\[ ['si:n] /siin/ \quad \text{'money'} \]
\[ ['pu:?] /puu?/ \quad \text{'island'} \]
\[ ['pe:?] /pee?/ \quad \text{'go'} \]
\[ [?a.'lo:m] /?aalom/ \quad \text{'deep'} \]
\[ [?a:. 'ga:ma] /?agama/ \quad \text{'religion'} \]

1.5. PHONEME DESCRIPTIONS

There are twenty-two phonemes in Sinama Baanginì, seventeen consonants as shown in Table 1 and five vowels as shown in Table 2.

1.5.1. There are five classes of consonants: stops, fricatives, nasals, laterals, and semivowels. All of the consonants except /j, ñ, h/ occur as both syllable onset and syllable coda. These three occur only as syllable onset. /h/ does occur as syllable coda in some borrowed words.

The phoneme /d/ has two allophones: [d], a voiced alveolar flap which occurs intervocally, and [d] which occurs elsewhere. Very infrequently [d] occurs intervocally also, for reasons which are not clear but are probably of a sociolinguistic nature. The following illustrate the allophonic variation: [adagàn] /adagán/ 'run' (as opposed to another mode of travel), versus [padagàn] /padagán/ 'run' (in general). [ㄚ] does occur word-initial in some words borrowed from Arabic and from other Philippine languages. In these words the [ㄚ] has gained phonemic status; however, since [ㄚ] does not occur word-initial in Baanginì words, it is not treated as a phoneme in this paper.

The phoneme /i/ has two allophones in the speech of some speakers and a third in the speech of others. The first two allophones are: 
[!] a retroflexed alveolar lateral which occurs word-final or when
followed by a consonant other than /l/, and [i], which occurs elsewhere. The third is a sociolinguistic variant, a retroflexed oral [ɾ] which fluctuates with [i]. It typically occurs in the speech of those with some education in Arabic, mostly in words borrowed from Arabic. The [ɾ] in the Arabic loan words occurs in the same environment as the [i]. Speakers who have adopted the [ɾ] will often substitute this allophone for [i] even in Baan gingi words. Speakers not educated in Arabic pronounce [i] and substitute it for [ɾ] in the Arabic loan words.

The following illustrates the occurrence of these three alternations:

\[
\begin{array}{lcl}
\text{[\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{"\text{

\text{TABLE 1}
Consonant Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Alveopalatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vl. stops</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vd. stops</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nâ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semivowels</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\text{TABLE 2}
Vowel Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>high</th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.5.2. Of the five vowel phonemes in Baangingi, /i, u/, and /a/ occur much more frequently than do /e, o/. /e, o/ tend to be articulated more toward the centre of the mouth as Table 2 shows.

Vowel harmony is extensive in Baangingi. Mid vowels often occur together in the same roots and high vowels often occur together in the same roots, but mid vowels never occur with high vowels in bisyllabic root words. The low vowel /a/ occurs freely with both high and mid vowels.

Each of the vowel phonemes has an additional allophone which is articulated in a more lax manner and more toward the centre of the mouth. These allophones occur in closed syllables and are symbolised as [i], [u], [ê], [ô], and [ʌ] respectively. The more tensely articulated allophones, as represented in Table 2, occur in open syllables.

The centralised allophones also tend to occur in open syllables that occur in the pre-stress position of words whose roots contain more than two syllables, but not in words which have more than two syllables as a result of affixation. For example, the [u] occurs in pre-stress position in [ku.'lâm.bu?] /kula'mbu/ 'mosquito net' but not in [tu.'ku.lun] /tukulun/ 'hammer it', which is formed by suffixing /-un/ to the root. The allophone [ʌ] consistently occurs in pre-stress position, as in [mʌ.'həd.don] /mahaddon/ 'hungry'.

1.6. PHONEME CONTRASTS.

1.6.1. The voiceless and voiced stop consonants contrast as follows: pote? 'white', bohe? 'water'; tahn 'year', dahun 'leaves'; katas 'paper', gatas 'milk'; dabug 'bamboo shoots', jabut 'vegetable fibres'; to?od 'really', tokod 'guess'.

The nasal consonants contrast as follows: madas 'auumber', napas 'breath'; nibuŋ 'type of bamboo', qinig 'shiny'; nabi 'prophet', ñawa 'soul'; pañap 'things, equipment', bañol 'type of headache'.

The glottal consonants contrast as follows: lâ?at 'bad', lâhat 'location'.

1.6.2. High and mid vowels contrast as follows: palimbu 'to block off', alembo 'waterlogged'; bua? 'fruit', boa? 'mouth'.

2. MORPHOPHONEMICS

2.1. THE MORPHOPHONEMICS OF NUMBERS

Between numbers and certain roots, a nasal |N₁|⁶ occurs whose phonemic shape is determined by the point of articulation of the initial consonant of the following root. This nasal occurs only following /da/
'one', the remaining numbers which end in a vowel or a glottal, and the root /piila/ 'how many'. Where the nasal occurs the final glottal of the number is dropped.

The set of roots which effect the occurrence of the nasal are limited generally to units of measurement, but do not include all units of measurement. The choice seems to be arbitrary; for example: the nasal occurs with /bole/ 'stalk of bananas' but not with /seppe?/ 'hand of bananas'; it occurs with /tuhug/ 'bundle of fish' but not with /pokkos/ 'bundle (of vegetables, wood, etc.)'.

The nasal has the following realisations: /m/ before bilabial stops, /n/ before alveolar stops and /s/, /ŋ/ before velar stops, and ŋ elsewhere.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>prefix</th>
<th>realised</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/piila/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>/bahanį/</td>
<td>/pipambahanį/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dua/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>/puu?/</td>
<td>/duamppuu?/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/da/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>/dappa/</td>
<td>/dandappa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lima/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>/jaam/</td>
<td>/limanjaam/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pitu?/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>/saŋom/</td>
<td>/pitunsanŋom/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/watu?/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>/kehet/</td>
<td>/waltukheht/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two roots, /ʔibu/ 'thousand' and /ʔinday/ 'don't know', constitute a special class with which the nasal occurs with all numbers. The nasal is realised as /ŋ/, and the initial glottal of the root is lost.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>prefix</th>
<th>realised</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/da/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>/ʔinday/</td>
<td>/danŋinday/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dua/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>/ʔibu/</td>
<td>/duanŋibu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mpat/</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>/ʔibu/</td>
<td>/mpat ʔibu/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2. THE MORPHOPHONEMICS OF AFFIXATION

2.2.1. Assimilation occurs with the prefixation of the nasal-final prefixes /aN2/ and /paN2/. The nasal assimilates to the point of articulation of the initial consonant of the following stem. The nasal /N2/ has the following realisations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>consonant</th>
<th>prefixed</th>
<th>realised</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m before /p, b/</td>
<td>/bissada/</td>
<td>/ʔamissada/</td>
<td>'speak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n before /t, s/</td>
<td>/tahiʔ/</td>
<td>/ʔanahiʔ/</td>
<td>'sew'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ before /k, ʔ/</td>
<td>/sulat/</td>
<td>/panulat/</td>
<td>'writing implement'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ before /g/</td>
<td>/kolloʔ/</td>
<td>/panøolloʔan/</td>
<td>'place where something was obtained'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When a reduplicated stem is prefixed with |aN₂| or |paN₂|, the morphophonemic nasal |N₂| is also reduplicated in certain phonologically defined cases. This is true whether the stem is completely reduplicated, or whether only the initial CV of the stem is reduplicated. This reduplication takes place only when the |N₂| is realised as m, n, or n. In the following examples R₁ represents the reduplication of the entire stem, R₂ the reduplication of the initial CV of the stem.

2.2.2. Phoneme loss occurs in some cases when a glottal-initial stem is prefixed with a vowel-final prefix. The initial glottal of the stem is nearly always lost between a vowel sequence which is low to high, i.e. following an /a/ final prefix. The glottal is obligatorily retained between like vowels, with one exception: in stems with an initial vowel /a/ which is a reflex of the PSB *a (see section 1.1.) the glottal is optionally lost following an /a/ final prefix. When this loss occurs, the resulting geminate vowel cluster is sometimes shortened.
2.2.3. The morpheme -in- has three allomorphs: /ni-/, which occurs with roots beginning with /d, h, l, or ?;/i-/, which fluctuates with /ni-/ in the same environments; and /-in-/, which occurs elsewhere. /ni-/ and /-in-/ fluctuate in /d/-initial roots, though /-in-/ is the preferred form.

When the allomorph /i-/ occurs with roots beginning with /#hV/ where V is not a front vowel, the /#ih/ metasthesises to /#hi/.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{/ni-} & \ + \ /hagut/ \quad \rightarrow \ /nihagutan/ \quad 'softened \ by \ being \ drawn' \\
\text{/i-} & \ + \ /hagut/ \quad \rightarrow \ /hiagutan/ \quad 'over \ a \ dull \ edge' \\
\text{/ni-} & \ + \ /huttut/ \quad \rightarrow \ /nihuttut/ \quad 'siphoned' \\
\text{/i-} & \ + \ /huttut/ \quad \rightarrow \ /hiuttut/ \\
\end{align*}
\]

but: \text{/ni-} + /hibal/ \quad \rightarrow \ /nihibal/ \quad 'be \ moved'

The vowels of the allomorphs /-in-/ and /ni-/ are lowered to /-en-/ and /ne-/ respectively when preceding the mid vowels /e, o/, in accordance with the vowel harmony principle present in Baangini (section 1.5.2.).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{/in-} & \ + \ /pene?/ \quad \rightarrow \ /penene?an/ \quad 'chosen' \\
& \ + \ /bo?/ \quad \rightarrow \ /benoan/ \quad 'carried' \\
& \ + \ /too?/ \quad \rightarrow \ /tenoo?an/ \quad 'taught' \\
\text{/ni-} & \ + \ /lembol/ \quad \rightarrow \ /nelembo/ \quad 'waterlogged' \\
& \ + \ /henkot/ \quad \rightarrow \ /nehenkotan/ \quad 'tied' \\
\end{align*}
\]

When /mi-/ is prefixed to /#e/, this harmonisation is optional; when it occurs, the glottal is retained:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{/ni-} & \ + \ /te?tom/ \quad \rightarrow \ /ne?tom/ \quad 'longed \ for' \\
& \quad \text{or:} \ /nientom/ \\
\end{align*}
\]

When /-in-/ and /ni-/ precede an /a/ which is a reflex of the PSB *a, the /a/ optionally becomes /e/. This /e/ does not affect the assimilation of the /-in-/ to /-en-/.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{/in-} & \ + \ /ballo/(*a) \quad \rightarrow \ /bello/ \quad 'rice \ being \ cooked' \\
\text{/ni-} & \ + \ /anlo/(*a) \quad \rightarrow \ /nianlan/ \quad 'being \ held' \\
& \quad \text{or:} \ /nientan/ \\
\end{align*}
\]

In a manner similar to the /-in-/ above, the infix /-um-/ is harmonised to /-om-/ preceding /a/. Because the occurrence of this morpheme is very rare in Baangini, there is only one example of this harmonisation in the data:
2.2.4. Phoneme insertion occurs in some cases with suffixation. There are three suffixes in Baangingi, all vowel-initial: /-an-/ , /-in-/ , and /-un-/.

An /h/ is realised between a stem ending in a vowel and a vowel-initial suffix, resulting in the sequence /VhVn/.

A glottal stop is realised between a stem ending in a semivowel and a suffix beginning with a vowel at the same point of articulation as the semivowel, resulting in the sequences /w?un/ and /y?in/.

\[
/\text{boal} + /-\text{un}/ \rightarrow /\text{boahun}/ \quad \text{'take it'}
\]

\[
/\text{billi} + /-\text{in}/ \rightarrow /\text{billihun}/ \quad \text{'buy (for him)'}
\]

\[
/\text{bagay} + /-\text{an}/ \rightarrow /\text{bagayun}/ \quad \text{'make friends'}
\]

\[
/\text{saggaw} + /-\text{un}/ \rightarrow /\text{saggaw\?un}/ \quad \text{'capture him'}
\]

\[
/\text{?amay-\?amay} + /-\text{in}/ \rightarrow /\text{?amay\?amay-\?in}/ \quad \text{'be very sure'}
\]

There are variations, apparently arbitrary (or under as yet undiscovered conditions), in the realisations of the suffixes when affixed to certain stems ending in a high vocoid sequence, particularly the sequences /ui, iu/. Sometimes the stems pattern as vowel-final stems and sometimes as consonant-final stems. Perhaps this reflects the nature of the high vocoids, that they can often be interpreted as consonants or as vowels. In the following examples, where two alternatives are given, the first is the referred one.

\[
/\text{tui} + /-\text{un}/ \rightarrow /\text{patuyun}/ \quad \text{'do it immediately'}
\]

\[
/\text{tui} + /-\text{un}/ \rightarrow /\text{patuihun}/
\]

\[
/\text{liu} + /-\text{un}/ \rightarrow /\text{paliuhun}/ \quad \text{'make it pass by'}
\]

\[
/\text{liu} + /-\text{un}/ \rightarrow /\text{paliw\?un}/
\]

2.2.5. Root perturbation occurs in some instances with suffixation. One such class of roots is those whose final syllable has the phonemic shape /hV/. Normal suffixation would result in the sequence /hVhVn/. However, Sinama Baangingi will not tolerate two successive /h/ initial syllables. There are two ways this unacceptable sequence is resolved: either the suffix is added without insertion of an /h/, or the /h/ in the stem is dropped. The latter is the usual occurrence. In some words, either resolution is acceptable:

\[
/\text{puhi} + /-\text{in-\?an}/ \rightarrow /\text{pinuih\?an}/ \quad \text{'put out to dry'}
\]

\[
/\text{puhi} + /-\text{in-\?an}/ \rightarrow /\text{pinuih\?an}/
\]

\[
/\text{dahu} + /-\text{an}/ \rightarrow /\text{dauhan}/ \quad \text{'first'}
\]

\[
/\text{dahu} + /-\text{an}/ \rightarrow /\text{dauhan}/
\]
NOTES

1. This paper is a result of an analysis of data gathered in the barrio of Panigayan during 1975 and 1976 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. It builds upon the analysis begun by Eunice Diment and uses much of the data gathered by her. Panigayan is located on an island just to the northwest of Basilan Island. The two language assistants, Sulaiman Barhma, aged about 35, and his sister Fatimah Barhma, aged about 40, were both born on Panigayan and, with the exception of a few years, have spent most of their lives there. They are both fluent in Tausug, the Muslim trade language, and in Chavacano, the Christian trade language. Sulaiman is also fluent in English.

The author also wishes to express her gratitude to Charles Walton, Kemp Pallesen, David Thomas, and Evan Antworth, her colleagues in SIL, who gave invaluable advice and assistance in the analysis and composition of this paper.

For further reading in the phonology of the Sama-Bajaw languages, the following papers are recommended: The Pepet in Sama-Bajaw (Pallesen 1976), Phonemes of Samal of Sulu (Pallesen 1967), Yakan Phonemics and Morphophonemics (Behrens 1975), Phonemes of Mapun (Forman 1976), and Phonemes of Pangutaran (Walton 1976).

2. Majul (1973:273-6) gives the figure of about 540 Baangingi killed by the Spaniards in the attacks on the four settlements on Balangingi Island. In order to subdue the Baangingi, a fleet of sixteen ships was used: six gunboats, two schooners, and eight smaller vessels. It was the first time steamships were used against the Muslims in the Philippines.
3. The following phonetic symbols are used in this paper: a period indicates syllable break; a single apostrophe in cited phonetic forms indicates primary stress; a double apostrophe indicates secondary stress, as in ['ma.ka.'ja.ri}. A colon following a vowel indicates vowel length [peː?].

4. The sequence /ao/ and /ae/ are only found in affixed forms.

5. There is reason to believe that [aay] and [aaw] are actual phonetic shapes of these sequences. When the forms are affixed, vowel length before the high vowel is very clear. In addition, the Tagalog (among other Philippine languages) cognate of /paay/ is /palay/, indicating a reduction of /l/ (see section 1.4.6.) giving a lengthened vowel which is clearly two syllables.

6. The symbols | N_1 | and | N_2 | represent the morphophonemic base forms which have several phonemic realizations.

7. While not a correct construction in Baangingi, forms such as /loomembo/ and /loomeŋə?/ were pronounced by the language assistant as she attempted to determine whether such forms were possible. The latter was compared by the language assistant to /loomiŋə?/ which is the cognate in Tausug, a language with three vowels. This is a good illustration of the vowel harmony discussed in section 1.5.2.
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CO-EXISTENT ASPECT-MARKING PHENOMENA IN TAGBANWA\textsuperscript{1} OF PALAWAN ISLAND

PETER GREEN

PURPOSE

The purpose of this paper is to discuss verb affixation in Tagbanwa (formerly known as Aborlan Tagbanwa) with particular reference to an ongoing change within the language from one system of marking Aspect to another.\textsuperscript{2} This theory of an ongoing change is a solution to an otherwise confusing set of data, which seemed to be portraying two co-existing systems of marking Aspect in the language, one representing incomplete versus complete action and the other representing begun versus not-yet-begun action.

1. FOCUS

Like all Philippine languages Aborlan Tagbanwa has the feature of focus, whereby a particular participant in the action is highlighted. There are four Active Voice focus affixes and four Stative Voice focus affixes.

1.1. ACTIVE VOICE

In the Active Voice the actor can be focused by an actor focus ($A_f$) affix; the goal or receiver of the action can be focused by a goal focus ($G_f$) affix; the thing which is used in performing the action or that which is conveyed in the performance of the action can be focused by an accessory focus ($Acc_f$) affix; and the beneficiary of the action or the place where the action is performed can be focused by a referrent focus ($R_f$) affix.
1.11. Actor Focus ($A_f$)

The two Actor focus affixes are mag- (indicating action which has begun but has not yet finished - present) and -um- (indicating action which has not yet begun - future). These manifest as nag- and imn- respectively to indicate action which has begun and is now finished (past). The one who performs the action is the topic of the sentence. In the following examples (f) after a participant indicates that this item is in focus.

Examples:
1. Magbetang akut paray du'ut sampel
   present $A_f$-put I(f)-the rice there-to-the sack
   I am putting the rice in the sack.
2. Metang3 akut paray du'ut sampel
   Future $A_f$-put I(f)-the rice there-to-the sack
   I will put the rice in the sack.
3. nagbuwat aku nat sakayan mu
   past $A_f$-make I(f) now-the boat your
   I have made your boat now.
4. minwat4 aku nat sakayan ku
   past $A_f$-make I(f) now-the boat my
   I have made my boat now.

The difference in meaning between examples 3 and 4 is that there is a purposive element to the verb in example 3. The person for whom the boat was made had previously ordered a boat to be made for him, whereas, in example 4, the builder was merely making the boat for himself and happens to have finished now.

1.12. Goal Focus ($G_f$)

The Goal focus affixes are pag-...-en (action begun but not yet finished) and -en (action not yet begun). The infix -i- is the completed action manifestation of -en. However, no completed form of pag-...-en has been found in the data to date. The form which could be expected is piyag5, which is the pag- of pag- -en to which has been added the infix -i- (denoting non Actor topic completed action). The -en is deleted in the completed action. Goal focus indicates that the direct object of the verb (the object which receives the action) is the topic.
Examples:

5. pagpe'teken ku nay kayu
   present $G_f$-cut by-me now-the tree(f)
   I am cutting the tree.

6. piye'tek ku nay kayu nga iti
   future $G_f$-cut by-me now-the tree(f) ligature that
   I will cut that tree.

7. piye'tek ku nay kayu
   past $G_f$-cut by-me now-the tree(f)
   I have cut the tree now.

1.13. Accessory Focus ($\text{Acc}_f$)

The Accessory focus affixes are $\text{ipag}$- (action begun but not completed) and $\text{i}$- (action not yet begun), with their corresponding completed action forms $\text{ipi}$-$\text{yag}$- and $\text{i}$-....$\text{i}$-. The latter are formed merely by the addition of the non Actor topic, completed-action marker. Accessory focus means that the topic is the thing used in the performance of the action or that which is moved from its initial location by the action. This affix is also used when the time of the action is being focused upon.

Examples:

8. ibtang muy tagungtung situt kurun
   future $\text{Acc}_f$-put by-you-the eggplant here-in-the pot
   Put the eggplant here in the pot.

9. ipagbetang kuy tagungtung situt kurun
   present $\text{Acc}_f$-put by-me-the eggplant(f) here-in-the pot
   I am putting the eggplant here in the pot.

10. ipiyagbetang ku nay tagungtung situt kurun
    past $\text{Acc}_f$-put by-me now-the eggplant(f) here-in-the pot
    I put the eggplant here in the pot (in response to your request).

11. ibintang$^6$ ku nay tagungtung situt kurun
    past $\text{Acc}_f$-put by-me now-the eggplant(f) here-in-the pot
    I put the eggplant in the pot.

As with the completed action Actor focus examples the difference between examples 10 and 11 is that there is a purposive element involved in the meaning of $\text{ipi}$-$\text{yagbetang}$ which is not present in the meaning of $\text{ibintang}$. Example 10 presupposes that a command or request has previously been given to put some eggplant into a pot and this is the response to that when the action has been performed. The speaker is saying that he has purposely and conscientiously done that which was asked. In example 11 no such instigation is presupposed. The speaker
did it because someone sooner or later had to put the eggplant in the pot otherwise they would never get cooked.

1.14. Referent Focus ($R_f$)

The Referent focus affixes are pag- -an (action begun but not yet completed) and -an (action not yet begun). Their corresponding completed action forms are piyag-...-an and -i-...-an. Referent focus indicates that the topic of the sentence is the location of the action or its beneficiary.

Examples:

12. ari pagbetangan mut tagungtung?
   where(f) present $R_f$-put by-you-the eggplant?
   Where are you putting the eggplant?

13. ari betangan mut tagungtung?
   where(f) future $R_f$-put by-you-the eggplant?
   Where will you put the eggplant?

14. ari piyagbetangan mut tagungtung?
   where(f) past $R_f$-put by-you-the eggplant?
   Where did you put the eggplant?

15. ari bintangan 6 mut tagungtung?
   where(f) past $R_f$-put by-you-the eggplant?
   Where did you put the eggplant?

16. tabanan ku kanya, it punti'
   future $R_f$-bring by-me for-him(f) the bananas
   I will bring him some bananas.

17. sa'gebam ku ikaw it danum
   future $R_f$-fetch-water by-me for-you(f) the water
   I will get you some water.

In the completed action examples 14 and 15, the same difference in meaning holds as exists between 10 and 11 above. That is, example 14 presupposes that a command or request to do the action has previously been given, whereas in example 15 this is not so.

From these examples we see that in the Active Voice the Aspect is either Begun or Not Begun.

1.2. STATIVE VOICE ($St.A_k$)

In the Stative Voice there are Stative Actor Focus and Stative Goal Focus affixes, both of which can be regarded as Circumstantial Mode. There is also a Stative Instrumental Focus as well as a Stative Referent Focus.
1.21. Stative Actor Focus

This affix indicates that the topicalised Actor of the sentence, due to circumstances beyond his control, either will be or has already been put into the state of being able to perform the action. To denote action which is not yet completed the affix is maka- with a corresponding form maka- to denote action which is complete.

Examples:

18. barang makasuka kan ma'lay
    maybe St.A\(f\) incomplete-vomit you(f)-if non-past long time
    Maybe you will vomit if you are a long time (here).

19. unu, nakatugda na kamu?
    what St.A\(f\) complete-plant now you(f)
    Have you been able to plant yet?

20. ega pa nakatiwas aku
    not yet St.A\(f\) complete-finish I(f)
    I have not been able to finish yet.

21. pagka'uli' ku asat binit dekeye'
    having-completed-return by-me there-to-the shore little
    I(f)-ligature St.A\(f\) incomplete-vomit
    After arriving ashore I vomited a little bit.

1.22. Stative Goal Focus (St.G\(f\))

As might be expected, the Stative Goal Focus affix indicates that the topicalised direct object of the action, due to circumstances beyond his, her or its control, either will be or has already been put into the state represented by the verb. The affix is ma- for action which is not yet complete and na- for action which is complete.

Examples:

22. nagbanit aku temed egay napisi' ku nga seda'
    past A\(f\) fish I but no St.G\(f\) complete-catch by-me- fish(f)
    I went fishing but I did not catch any fish.

23. narasik nay ribru
    St.G\(f\) complete-tear now-the book(f)
    The book is torn (now).

24. ta, in talagang mademdemet? ya ... so, if really St.G\(f\) incomplete-remember he ...
    So, if he really remembers ... (the clause which follows will be in its entirety the topicalised goal which will be put into the state of being remembered).
25. in yu'gut lamang ega puydi ka mabari
if bolo(f) only not possible because St.O incomplete-snap
If (you only use) a bolo it will not be possible because (it)
will snap.

Note that in the Static Voice the Aspect is marked as either Incomplete
or Complete.

Before looking at the subject of Aspect we will look first at the
Durative/Distributive Mode and the Causative Mode which will help to
further illustrate the problem with which this paper is dealing and
its solution.

1.3. DISTRIBUTIVE/DURATIVE MODE (D)

The Distributive/Durative Mode is signalled by the affix paN-, where
N represents a nasal which assimilates to the same point of articu­
lation as the consonant which follows it. This Mode indicates that 1)
the action is performed on a multiplicity of objects, 2) the action is
done serially representing the things done in a list of actions, or 3)
the action spans a longer period of time than that denoted by punctil­
iar action. Inflected for the Active Voice Focuses, the forms appear as
follows:

Actor Focus: incomplete maN
            complete naN

Examples:
26. mamtang 8 akut tagungtung du'ut kurun
    will-put I(f)-the eggplant there-in-the pot
    I will put the eggplant in the pot.

27. nanle teg aku kagayna it sakayan du'ut laud
    saw I(f) a-while-ago a boat there-in-the distance
    I saw a boat there in the distance a while ago.

This example could denote either durative action or the fact that
the boat was only one of the things the actor saw as he was distributing
his act of looking over a number of things on the water.

Goal Focus: incomplete paN-...-en
            complete piyaN-

Examples:
28. mu'sat buwaten ku pamwaten 6 mu
    all-of-the things(f) to-do of-me do by-you
    Whatever work of mine (is left to do), you do (it).
29. mu'sat buaten ku piyamwat ni Militun
    all-of-the-things(f) to-do of-me did by-the-personal Militun
    All the work I (had left), Militun did (it).
    Accessory Focus: incomplete ipaN-
    complete ipiaN-

Examples:
30. esang ta'un si' i ipanggamit mi it
    one-year also the will-use bu-you-the
    mga betang situt balay nga itu
    plural thing here-at-the house ligature this
    Next year too you all (just) use the things here in this house.

31. kat'esang ta'un i ipiyanggamit nira it mga
    at-one-ligature year(f) the use-past by-them the plural
    betang nga itu
    thing ligature this
    Last year was when they used these things.

In the above two examples the time of the action is the topicalised
goal of the verb.

Referent Focus: Incomplete paN---an
    Complete piaN---an

Examples:
32. para du'ut Manila' i panggamitan it
    for there-at-the Manila the place-where-will-use the
    magagayeng pakayan ku
    good-plural clothes of-me
    My good clothes are for use in Manila.

33. du'ut Manila' i piyanggamit ku it
    there-at-the Manila the place-where-used by-me the
    magagayeng pakayan ku
    good-plural clothes of-me
    Manila was where I used my good clothes.

Note that throughout the Durative/Distributive Mode the Aspect markers
signal either Incomplete or Complete Aspect.

1.4. CAUSATIVE MODE (Caus.)

The affix pa- signals Causative Mode and indicates that the actor
does not perform the action but rather causes someone else to perform
it. This affix can theoretically be added to any other affix to produce a causative effect, although this has only been noted so far with the affixes of the Active Voice. The following are the Causative Mode Formations for the various focuses.

1.41. Begun But Not Completed Action

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor Focus</th>
<th>Pagpa-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goal Focus</td>
<td>Pagpa- -en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessory Focus</td>
<td>Ipagpa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referent Focus</td>
<td>Pagpa- -an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

34. Pagpabwat akut balay caus.-make I(f) house
   I am having a house made.

35. Pagpaka'nen kuy ke'deng caus.-eat by-me-the dog(f)
   I am feeding the dog.

36. Ipagpaka'en nan ni Rebrino i karbaw ya caus.-eat now by-the-personal Rebrino the carabao(f) of-him
   Rebrino is taking his carabao to pasture.

37. Pagpaka'nan ku nat karbaw i kama'yagan mi caus.-eat by-me now-the carabao the cleared-area(f) of-you-plural
   I am taking the carabao to pasture on your yard.

1.42. Action Not Yet Begun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor Focus</th>
<th>Pa-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goal Focus</td>
<td>Pa- -en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessory Focus</td>
<td>Ip-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referent Focus</td>
<td>Pa- -an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

38. Pak'a'en akut ke'deng mabway nga alas dus caus.-eat I(f)-the dog later ligature at two
   I will feed the dog later at 2 o'clock.

39. Pak'a'nen kuy ke'deng mabway caus.-eat by-me-the dog(f) later
   I will feed the dog later.

40. Ka'nuy ipaka'en mut ke'deng? when(f)-the caus.-eat by-you-the dog
   When will you feed the dog?
41. ariyen i paka’nan kut karbaw ku?
where(f) the caus.-eat by-me-the carabao of-me
Where will I take my carabao to pasture?

1.43. Action Begun And Completed

The following table is to be read like a matrix:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Purposive</th>
<th>Casual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>nagpa-</td>
<td>piya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>ipiyagpa-</td>
<td>ipiya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessory</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>piyagpa-...-an</td>
<td>piya-...-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referent</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>...-an</td>
<td>...-an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

42. nagpabwat akut balay
caus.-make I(f)-the house
I had a house made.

43. nagpaka’en akut ke’deng namen
caus.-eat I(f)-the dog of-us
I fed our dog.

44. piyaka’en ku nay manuk
caus.-eat by-me now-the chicken(f)
I fed the chicken already.

45. ipiyagpaka’en ku nat ke’deng i umay
purrp.-casu.-eat by-me now-the dog the cooked-rice(f)
I fed the dog the cooked rice (in response to your request to do so).

46. ipiyaka’en ku nat ke’deng i umay
casual-caus.-eat by-me now-the dog the cooked-rice(f)
I fed the dog the cooked rice (no special incentive to do so. Maybe I just wanted it used up).

47. Du’ut Bagabag i piyagpasuratan namen it kanta’
There(f)at-the Bagabag the casual-caus.-write by-us the song
nga itu
ligature this
Bagabag was where we wrote this song (in response to your
request to do so).

48. Du'ut Bagabag i piyasuratan namen it
              There at-the Bagabag the casual-caus.-write by-us the
kanta nga itu
song ligature this

Bagabag was where we wrote this song. (No particular incentive
to do so).

As can be seen from examples 42 through 48, where comparison can be
made, there is a contrast between Purposive and Casual Mode. Note now
that, in the Causative Mode, Aspect is represented as either Begun or
Not Begun.

2. ASPECT

What has been mentioned so far concerning Aspect can perhaps be more
readily seen if portrayed in a series of charts, each to be read as a
matrix with Focus being the horizontal parameter and Aspect the verti-
cal.

CHART 2

Active Voice Affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Accessory</th>
<th>Referent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not begun</td>
<td></td>
<td>-um-</td>
<td>en</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Begun not</td>
<td></td>
<td>mag-</td>
<td>pag---en</td>
<td>ipag-</td>
<td>pag---an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>completed</td>
<td></td>
<td>nag-</td>
<td>piyag-</td>
<td>ipiyag-</td>
<td>piyag---an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Begun and</td>
<td>Purposive</td>
<td>-imn-</td>
<td>-i-</td>
<td>i---i-</td>
<td>-i---an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>completed</td>
<td>Casual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When we examine the affixes ipiyag- and piyag--.-an, which are com-
pleted action affixes, it is obvious that the completed action is
represented by the infix -i- as this infix also appears with the same
meaning in all the completed action, Casual Mode, Non-Actor Focus
affixes in the line below. Obviously, then, if pag- is not carrying
the meaning of completed action in ipiyag- and piyag--.-an it must be
carrying the meaning of Purposive Mode. Looking across at the Actor
Focus, completed action, Purposive Mode affix we see that it has 'ag'
in common with ipiyag- and piyag--.-an. We can therefore deduce that
'pag' denotes purposive Mode and that 'n' indicates completed action in an Actor Focus affix, the 'n' replacing the 'p' of 'pag'.

Looking at the Begun-not-completed Aspect of Chart 2, we can see that 'pag' also occurs with 'm' replacing the 'p' in the Actor Focus cell. However, the function of the affix here is to differentiate between action which is begun but not completed and action which is not yet begun. In other words, it is marking Aspect here whereas it was marking Purposive Mode in the previous chart (Begun and Completed Aspect cells). Aspect was marked there by something else.

CHART 3
Causative Mode Affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Accessory</th>
<th>Referent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not begun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pa-</td>
<td>pa-...-en</td>
<td>ipa-</td>
<td>pa-...-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Begun not</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>completed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>magpa-</td>
<td>pagpa-...-en</td>
<td>ipagpa-</td>
<td>papa-...-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Begun and</td>
<td>Purposive</td>
<td>nagpa-</td>
<td>piya-</td>
<td></td>
<td>ipiyagpa-</td>
<td>piyagpa-...-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>completed</td>
<td>Casual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What was said about the affixes in Chart 2 can also be said about the Causative Mode affixes portrayed above, namely that 'pag' denotes Purposive Mode in the Begun and Completed Aspect cells, but that 'pag' denotes Aspect in the Begun not Completed cells.

CHART 4
Stative Voice Affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Accessory</th>
<th>Referent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not Completed</td>
<td></td>
<td>maka-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ma'i-</td>
<td>ma-...-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed</td>
<td></td>
<td>naka-</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>na'i-</td>
<td>na-...-an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From Chart 4 and Chart 5 we can see that there is a clear-cut distinction in Aspect between action which is completed and action which is not completed.

Hence the data is revealing two Aspect marking systems. In the Active Voice and also when causative pa- is added to the Active Voice affixes the Aspect is represented as being either Begun or Not Begun. However, in the Stative Voice and also the Distributive/Durative Mode the Aspect is represented as being complete or not complete. Although this is what the data is telling us this conclusion does not strike a ready chord of acceptance in the minds of those of us who want to see symmetry and reason behind the system being analysed. To say, for instance, that 'pag' marks Purposive Mode in Completed Aspect but marks Aspect in Begun not Completed Aspect does not somehow 'make sense'.

I am proposing, however, that this is indeed the case and that it represents a change from the original Aspect marking system of Tagbanwa. For evidence of this I will refer to an unpublished thesis written by Stewart Hussey (1965). The material for that thesis was "based on some two hundred pages of text ... gathered ... while living in the municipality of Aborlan in the province of Palawan during the years 1960-1963." (1965:1) The municipality of Aborlan is also the birthplace of many of the speakers of the Tagbanwa spoken in the sitio of Lamani. For those speakers who were not born in Aborlan their roots can certainly be traced back to there through either their parents or grandparents. It can be concluded, therefore, that the Tagbanwa language spoken in Lamani is the Tagbanwa language spoken in Aborlan, although the data from Lamani shows (as will be seen) that the form of the language spoken there cannot correctly be called Aborlan Tagbanwa.

On page 48 of his thesis Hussey has given a summary chart of what he calls Active, Stative and Narrative Voice affixes. I will represent only the Active Voice and the Narrative Voice here.
CHART 6
Active and Narrative Voice Affixes
(from Hussey)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Incomplete Aspect</th>
<th>Completive Aspect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOPIC</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>mag-</td>
<td>um=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrument</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location/Beneficiary</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ACTIVE VOICE</strong></td>
<td>Intentive</td>
<td>Voluntary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(modes)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensive</td>
<td>nang-</td>
<td>imy=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involuntary</td>
<td>i= /in=</td>
<td>i= /in=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NARRATIVE VOICE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incomplete Aspect</td>
<td>pag-</td>
<td>piag-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete Aspect</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal</td>
<td>pag-</td>
<td>piag-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrument</td>
<td>qipag-</td>
<td>qipiag-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location/Beneficiary</td>
<td>pag-</td>
<td>piag-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicate</td>
<td>pag-</td>
<td>piag-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can readily be seen that this chart is not symmetrical in a number of places. Firstly, in the Active Voice the Intensive Mode columns of both Incomplete and Completive Aspect contain 'ag' in the Subject Focus cells. But 'ag' does not appear anywhere else in those columns with the other Focus affixes, which is contrary to what we would expect if affixes representing those other affixes (Goal, Instrument and Location/Beneficiary) all likewise signal Intensive Mode. Secondly, in the Involuntary Mode columns, Incomplete and Completive Aspect, of the Active Voice, only one affix occurs, namely Subject Focus, out of a possible four, which is a low percentage and therefore suspicious. Thirdly, 'ag' does occur in another part of the chart, namely Narrative Voice. Unfortunately Hussey does not define the term Narrative Voice except by putting into prose what is
represented elsewhere in chart form. Illustrative sentences are also lacking and so it is hard to know what is meant by the term. From the Lamani data I have not found any evidence which would warrant the introduction of a voice other than Active and Stative.

On the basis of the asymmetrical features mentioned above I would like to reinterpret the data in Chart 6.

CHART 7

Reinterpretation of Hussey's Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVE VOICE</th>
<th>Incompletive Aspect</th>
<th>Completive Aspect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(modes)</td>
<td>Intensive</td>
<td>Involuntary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOPIC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Intensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>mag-</td>
<td>um=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal</td>
<td>pag- -en</td>
<td>-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrument</td>
<td>ipag-</td>
<td>i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location/</td>
<td>pag- -an</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beneficiary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The basic thing involved in this reinterpretation is the combination of the Active Voice affixes with the Narrative Voice affixes. This results in a chart in which all the cells are filled and which is completely symmetrical. In the new chart 'ag' occurs consistently throughout all the cells of both Intensive Mode columns and, in both Involuntary Mode columns, all the Topic cells are filled instead of only those denoting Subject Topic. pag- and piag- from the Predicate Topic cells of the Narrative Voice in Chart 6 do not appear in Chart 7.

Note, however, that a form piag- does occur in the Completive Aspect, Intensive Mode, Goal Topic cell of Chart 7. I submit that that form and the piag- occurring in the Predicate Topic Completive Aspect of the Narrative Voice of Chart 6 are one and the same affix, and which now occurs in the Goal Focus, Intensive Mode, Completive Aspect cell of Chart 7. As for the pag- of Chart 6, I do not think it would be amiss to consider it to be the same as the pag- in the Lamani data.

Assuming, then, that Chart 7 shows the Active Voice affixes of Aborlan Tagbanwa as they existed in 1965, and that this moreover,
reflects the original form of the Active Voice affixes of Lamani Tagbanwa, I propose that the present form of the Active Voice affixes of Lamani Tagbanwa, as shown in Chart 2, represents an ongoing change within the language from a system which differentiated between Incomplete Aspect versus Complete Aspect to a system which differentiates between action which is proposed, action which is presently continuing, and action which is completed, or between Not Begun Aspect versus Begun Aspect i.e. from a two-way division of Aspect based on a point of completion to a three-way division of Aspect based on point of beginning the action.

Note that the original system of marking Aspect still remains in the Stative Voice and the Distributive/Durative Mode (refer to Chart 4 and Chart 5). This points to the fact that the change is an ongoing one. In the future further change may occur which will include also the Stative Voice and the Distributive/Durative Mode.

So that what has historically happened can more readily be seen we will chart the affix movement which has taken place in Lamani Tagbanwa.

**CHART 8A**

**Pattern of Affix Movement in Lamani Tagbanwa**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FOCUS →</th>
<th>ACTOR</th>
<th>GOAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASPECT ↓</td>
<td>MODE</td>
<td>Proposed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Purposive</td>
<td>Casual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposed</td>
<td>-um-</td>
<td>mag-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*piyag-* has not yet been found in the Lamani data.
We have seen from the reinterpretation of Hussey's data that the affixes -um-, -en, i- and -an originally signalled Casual Mode, Not Completed Aspect. We can see from the above matrices, however, that these affixes have now moved and now signal Proposed action.

When the stem betang 'put' is inflected with nag- the result is Purposive Mode:

49. nagbetang akut paray du'ut sampel past-put I(f)-the rice there-in-the sack
    I put the rice in the sack (in response to your request).

When the same stem is inflected with -imn- the result if Casual Mode:

50. mintang⁴ akut paray du'ut sampel past-put I(f)-the rice there-in-the sack
    I put the rice in the sack.

When the speaker wants to say that the action of putting the rice in the sack is still in progress he uses the affix mag-:

51. magbetang akut paray situt sampel put I(f)-the rice here-in-the sack
    I am putting the rice here in the sack.

If the speaker wants to propose the action of putting rice in the sack he uses the affix -um-:

52. metang³ akut paray du'ut sampel will-put I(f)-the rice there-in-the sack
    I will put the rice in the sack.

Even though the Purposive Mode is not relevant as far as can be determined in the words metang and magbetang, -um- and mag- are placed
In the Purposive Mode cells of Chart 8A because they occur on stems, of which betang is an example, for which Purposive Mode is relevant when inflected for Completed Aspect with nag-.

There is a further point of interest which should be noted. With inherently Casual Mode stems such as uran 'rain', ramig 'cold' and dakula 'big', -um- and mag- can also occur. Because of semantic restrictions, however, the affixes do not signal Purposive Mode but rather Casual Mode.

Examples:
53. mag'uran na continuing-rain now
   It is raining now.
54. barang muran mabway
    maybe rain later
    Maybe it will rain later.
55. magdakula' i keke'deng continuing-big the puppy(f)
    The puppy is (still) growing.
56. in egay kumut rumamig aku in delemen if not blanket proposed-cold (f) if night
    If I do not have a blanket, I will be cold at night.

When these stems are inflected for Completed action the affix -imn- is used rather than nag-. This leads us to conclude that -um- and mag- can also occur in the Casual Mode cells of Chart 8A.

Rationale

The question immediately arises as to why such a change as has been explained above is taking place. We cannot say definitively but there are some factors which may help to give an answer to that question.

Firstly, it may be an attempt by the speakers, either conscious or otherwise, to harmonise Tagbanwa with Tagalog, the lingua franca of Palawan and a language in which most of the speakers of Tagbanwa are functionally fluent. Wolfenden (1961) reports that, in Tagalog,

"Two mutually exclusive state-of-action morphemes; a preposed CV (consonant-vowel) reduplication indicates 'continuing action'; absence of reduplication indicates 'punctual Action'."

(Wolfenden 1961:16) This is saying that Tagalog inflects stems to mark action which is begun (compare the Lamani Tagbanwa Completed), not begun (compare the Lamani Tagbanwa Proposed) and continuing (compare the Lamani Tagbanwa Continuing). It may be a desire to conform somewhat
to the Aspect marking system of Tagalog, which is the basis of Filipino, the National Language of the Philippines, that prompted the change which is taking place in Tagbanwa.

Secondly, the group which currently resides in Lamani and the surrounding area were displaced quite recently (1973) from their former area in and around Berong, when their land was bought from them by a mining company. This upheaval in their lives could have provided an ideal climate for the language to likewise change. In a private conversation with John and Kadi Keller, the comment was made by them that, in the course of their studies, they had observed the group at Lamani to be less conservative and much more ready to accept new ideas and conform to them than the Tagbanwas who live in and around Aborlan on the east coast of the island.

Thus, although the solution to the seemingly confusing set of data which I have reported in this paper did not at first seem to be a very satisfactory solution to me, it now appears in the light of the points presented to represent very well the true state of affairs which exists in the Tagbanwa spoken in and around Lamani. On the basis of what has been presented here it seems obvious that the language spoken in and around Lamani cannot now be correctly called Aborlan Tagbanwa but should be distinguished from the form of the language spoken on the east coast. I propose, therefore, that the general name Tagbanwa be used to describe this language on whatever side of the island of Palawan it is spoken. If further identification is needed the terms Lamani Tagbanwa, Aborlan Tagbanwa, etc. could be used, as has been done in this paper.
THE ISLAND OF PALAWAN

Geographical extent of the Tagbanwa Language group
NOTES

1. Tagbanwa is spoken by approximately eight thousand persons living in the province of Palawan on the island of Palawan in the Republic of the Philippines. As will be seen from this paper there are differences between the form of the language spoken on the East coast of the island and the form spoken in and around Lamani on the West coast.

The material for this paper is based on text material gathered while working under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and while living in the sitio of Lamani, Municipality of Quezon, in the Province of Palawan during 1974 through 1976.

Formal analysis of the text material was done at the Institute's facilities in Bagabag, Nueva Viscaya with the help of Limbuan Copong and Rebrino Pandod, native speakers of Tagbanwa and residents of Lamani.

2. This suggestion was first made by Elmer Wolfenden of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

3. In a stem beginning with a bilabial consonant -um- manifests as m- and portmanteau occurs in which the bilabial is lost.

4. This note comments on some of the morphophonemic changes of -imn-.

- imn- \rightarrow mIN-/

stem beginning with a bilabial consonant where the second syllable begins with an alveolar consonant. The first syllable of the stem is replaced by mIN- and N is a nasal which assimilates to the same point of articulation as the consonant which immediately follows.

\rightarrow mI-/

elsewhere where the stem begins with a bilabial consonant which is deleted. If the vowel following
the bilabial consonant is /u/ then /n/ is
inserted between mi- and that /u/.

5. The y in this affix is not part of the affix strictly speaking but
is inserted after the i to conform to the convention used in the rep­
resentation of Pilipino, the National Language of the Philippines,
which inserts a y after an i which would otherwise be followed by
another vowel and a w after a u which would otherwise be followed by
another vowel. This is done in Pilipino because intervocalic glottal
catch is not symbolised and so any two contiguous vowels are automati-
cally pronounced with a glottal catch in between. The insertion of the
y and w in Pilipino, then, serve to distinguish contiguous vowels which
should not have a glottal catch pronounced between them from those which
should. Although in Tagbanwa the glottal catch is symbolised every­
where it occurs except word-initial y is inserted between i and a fol­
lowing vowel and w is inserted between u and a following vowel to
conform somewhat to the Pilipino convention.

6. The completed action non-Actor Focus affix -i- manifests as -in­
in a stem which has /e/ as its first vocoid. The /e/ is omitted.

7. In form this is a Stative Referent Focus affix which is required by
the stem demdem- (among others). When used with these stems, however,
the function is exactly the same as a Stative Goal Focus affix.

8. Even when portmanteau occurs the lost consonant still conditions
the nasal preceding. In the word mamtang the first syllable be- of
the root betang has been dropped, but the b- has still caused the -N­
of maN to assimilate with it. The same can be said of the word pamwatan
(from the stem buwat) in which the b- of the stem has been dropped, and
also of the word piyamwat where the same thing has happened.

9. At this point no occurrence of Causative Mode affix pa- has been
found in conjunction with the Completed Action, Goal Focus Purposive
Mode affix (hypothetical piyag-) or with the Completed Action, Casual
Mode, Actor Focus affix (-imn-) (See Chart 3 CAUSATIVE MODE AFFIXES).
The absence of piyagpa- is not surprising when we consider that piyag­
itsel ft has not been seen in the data to date. I expect that examples
of these affixes (piyag-, piyagpa-, and -imnpa- or a variant) will be
found as the corpus of data is enlarged in the future.

10. Doctoral candidates in the Department of Anthropology of the
University of Hawaii who resided in the sitio of Lamani in pursuit of
their studies on two occasions during the years 1973 and 1975.
PETER GREEN

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THE SOUTHERN KALINGA /l/

BRUCE GRAYDEN

0. INTRODUCTION

Southern Kalinga\(^1\) is classified by Reid (1974) as a member of a subgroup of Philippine languages which he labels Central Cordilleran. The purpose of this paper is to describe the Southern Kalinga phoneme /l/ and its allophones, and the patterning of these sounds within the phonological system of Southern Kalinga against the background of information given about the /l/ variants of several of the languages of the Central Cordilleran family.

In a description of Central Bontoc phonology Reid (1963) discusses /r/ and its allophonic variations [ɾ], a retroflexed low central vocoid [r], and [ɾ]. J. Shetler (1966) in a description of Balangao posits a lateral consonant with one variant, [ɾ], a mid central retroflexed vocoid. Geiser (1958) describes an alveolar lateral /l/ with one variant [ɾ] as a central resonant oral, produced by relaxing the tongue and placing the tip either behind the lower front teeth, or behind the lower lip. Limos Kalinga, according to Wiens (1975) has an alveolar lateral with three variants: a voiced palatal lateral (which he considers as corresponding to Guinaang Kalinga [ɾ]), a retroflexed vocoid [ɾ], and a voiced retroflexed lateral [ɾ]. In all of these languages the articulation and environment of the voiced alveolar lateral seems to be correspondent, but the pronunciation, variety and environment of the variants appears to be different.

Section 1 of this paper presents a sketch of the phonological system of Southern Kalinga. Section 2 traces the derivation of the allophones of /l/.
1. PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEM

There are eighteen segmental phonemes in the dialect of Southern Kalinga. Consonants are p, t, k, ?, b, d, g, s, l, m, n, ɻ, w, y (see Chart 1). Vowels are a, i, o, u (see Chart 2). Word stress ['] is also a phonemic feature of the dialect.

CHART 1
Consonant Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BILABIAL</th>
<th>ALVEOLAR</th>
<th>VELAR</th>
<th>GLOTTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops, vl.</td>
<td>p τ k ?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vd.</td>
<td>b d g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m n ɻ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowels</td>
<td>w y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHART 2
Vowel Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FRONT</th>
<th>CENTRAL</th>
<th>BACK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>[i]</td>
<td>[u]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td></td>
<td>[o]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1. INTERPRETATION OF AMBIGUOUS SEGMENTS

The high vocoids [i] and [u] are interpreted as:
(1) vowels i and u when they occur as syllable peaks; and
(2) consonants y and w when they occur as syllable onset or coda, thus fitting the two basic non-suspect syllable patterns CV and CVC.

kuy.'k uy.on 'to pull something'
?iw.?iw.'?i.wom 'you are stirring'

High vocoids [i] and [u] occurring as syllable onsets are lenis with fricative qualities to varying degrees.
si' yam   'nine'
du'wa    'two'

The sequences [-i.-i-] and [-u.-u-] are interpreted as i.y and u.w (period indicates syllable boundaries) to fit the non-suspect syllable patterns. Further evidence in support of this interpretation is seen in reduplication:

si.'yam   'nine'
sin.'siy.yam   'nine each'
du.'wa    'two'
sin.'duw.wa   'two each'

Phonetically long consonants are interpreted as two segments to conform to the non-suspect CV syllable patterns. They occur only word-medially between two peaks, forming the coda for one syllable and the onset for the next syllable. This analysis results in geminate clusters that contrast with single consonants:

p and pp   '?apul   'lime'
     '?apput   'sinew'
? and ??   'pa?ul   'dry rono stick'
     'pa??ul   'upper hen's leg'
s and ss   ya??o'san   'soft'
     ?os'sana   'his first time'
m and mm   ?u'mamaŋ   'to laugh'
     'gammat   'finger'

Further evidence for this interpretation of long consonants comes from the observation that geminate clusters of voiced stops are realised phonetically as two distinct segments (see section 1.2.).

/ˈtubba/ → [ˈtubfa]²   'saliva'
/ma'ŋuddi/ → [ma'ŋudči]   'last'
/sag'gaypu/ → [sag'kXaypu]   'mouth-flute'

1.2. CONSONANT ALLOPHONES

The voiceless stops contrast with the voiced stops in the coda slot of the syllable:

p:b /ma'si.kap/   'tricky'
    /man'si.gab/   'painful; difficult'
t:d /'ba.lat/   'banana'
    /'pa.lad/   'palm of the hand'
k:g /'pu.ŋak/   'bald'
    /'?a.ŋag/   'drought'
In the onset slot the voiced stops have voiceless fricative or affricate allophones:

\[ /b/ \rightarrow [f] \quad /\text{mam'bal.no}/ \rightarrow [\text{mam'bal.no}] \quad \text{'to drive something deep into the ground'} \]

\[ /d/ \rightarrow [ Zealand] \quad /\text{man.doo'pa}/ \rightarrow [\text{man.doo'pa}] \quad \text{'to stretch the arms wide as a means of measuring'} \]

\[ /g/ \rightarrow [k\text{ Zealand}] \quad /\text{ga.aw}/ \rightarrow [\text{ka.aw}] \quad \text{'corn'} \]

The phoneme /l/, a voiced alveolar lateral, occurs word-initially and in the following segmental environments:

\[ (1) \ V_1(?).IV \quad \text{where } V \text{ is any vowel,} \]
\[ \quad V_1 \text{ is front,} \]

\[ (2) \ V.IV_1 \quad V_2 \text{ is non-front,} \]
\[ \quad C_1 \text{ is alveolar,} \]
\[ \quad C_1.IV \quad C_2 \text{ is non-alveolar, and} \]
\[ \quad C_3 \text{ is neither alveolar nor glottal.} \]

The phoneme /l/ has threeallophones that reflect successive degrees of articulatory weakening. The first allophone is a palatal lateral, symbolised as [l₃] that is produced by moving the tongue towards the position for an [l] but without touching the alveolar ridge. It occurs only in syllable-initial position, word-medially, in the following segmental environments:

\[ (1) \ V_2C_2.I V_2 \]
\[ (2) \ V_1C_3.I V_2 \]

\[ /l/ \rightarrow [l₃] \quad /\text{sum.lot}/ \rightarrow [\text{sum.lot}] \quad \text{'tight'} \]
\[ \quad /\text{lip.lug}/ \rightarrow [\text{lip.lug}] \quad \text{'egg'} \]

The second allophone of /l/ is [l₃], which is produced in a manner similar to [l₃] except that the tongue tip is slightly retroflexed. It occurs only in syllable-initial position, word-medially, between non-front vowels.

\[ /l/ \rightarrow [l₃] \quad /\text{da.lan}/ \rightarrow [\text{da.lan}] \quad \text{'way, trail'} \]
\[ \quad /\text{bo'loy}/ \rightarrow [\text{bo'loy}] \quad \text{'house'} \]

The third allophone of /l/ is [r], a mid central retroflexed vocoid. It occurs only in syllable-final position preceded by a non-front vowel and followed by either a non-lateral consonant or word boundary.

\[ /l/ \rightarrow [r] \quad /\text{a'gor}/ \rightarrow [\text{a'gor}] \quad \text{'pig's food'} \]
\[ \quad /\text{bilo'lu}/ \rightarrow [\text{bilo'lu}] \quad \text{'very good'} \]

The allophone [r] is further modified to become [r₃], a backed mid-central retroflexed vocoid, when the syllable in which it occurs...
mences with a back velar, or when the following syllable commences with a back velar. (The voiceless velar stop /k/ is phonetically specified as back velar.)

\[
[r] \rightarrow [\mathbf{r}] \quad [\mathbf{d}a\acute{\mathbf{k}}o\mathbf{r}] \rightarrow \quad [\mathbf{d}a\acute{\mathbf{k}}o\mathbf{r}] \quad \text{"big"}
\]

\[
[\mathbf{t}a\mathbf{r}.\mathbf{k}o\mathbf{n}] \rightarrow \quad [\mathbf{t}a\mathbf{r}.\mathbf{k}o\mathbf{n}] \quad \text{"foster"}
\]

The labiovelar semivowel /w/ is in free variation syllable-initial with \([9w]\). The onset \([9]\) varies from lenis fricative to velar stop. In a geminate cluster, /w.w/ varies to \([g.9w]\).

\[
/w/ \rightarrow [9w] \quad /\mathbf{w}a\cdot\mathbf{?i}\mathbf{i}l/ \rightarrow \quad [\mathbf{g}w\mathbf{a}.?i\mathbf{i}l] \quad \text{"brook"}
\]

\[
/\mathbf{d}a\mathbf{w}.\mathbf{w}a\mathbf{?}/ \rightarrow \quad [\mathbf{d}a\mathbf{g}.9\mathbf{w}a\mathbf{?}] \quad \text{"river"}
\]

In a similar process, the palatal semivowel /y/ is in free variation syllable-initial with \([d\mathbf{f}\mathbf{]}\), a lenis alveopalatal affricate. In a geminate cluster, /y.y/ varies to \([d.d\mathbf{f}\mathbf{]}\).

\[
/y/ \rightarrow [d\mathbf{f}] \quad /\mathbf{p}i\cdot\mathbf{y}o\mathbf{?}/ \rightarrow \quad [\mathbf{p}i\cdot\mathbf{d}\mathbf{?o}\mathbf{?}] \quad \text{"mud"}
\]

\[
/\mathbf{m}a\cdot\mathbf{n}a\cdot\mathbf{y}.?a\cdot\mathbf{y}\mathbf{a}\mathbf{s}/ \rightarrow \quad [\mathbf{m}a\cdot\mathbf{n}a\cdot\mathbf{?a}\cdot\mathbf{d}\mathbf{d}\mathbf{z}\mathbf{a}\mathbf{s}] \quad \text{"challenging"}
\]

1.3. VOWEL ALLOPHONES

The phoneme /i/ has an allophone \([\mathbf{.}]\), a high open front unrounded vocoid that occurs in closed syllables.

\[
/i/ \rightarrow [\mathbf{.}] \quad /\mathbf{s}i\cdot\mathbf{s}i\cdot\mathbf{w}t/ \rightarrow \quad [\mathbf{s}\cdot\mathbf{s}i\cdot\mathbf{w}t] \quad \text{"bird"}
\]

The phoneme /a/ has an allophone \([\mathbf{\land}]\), a mid open central unrounded vocoid that occurs in unstressed syllables and in stressed syllables closed by voiced stops.

\[
/a/ \rightarrow [\mathbf{\land}] \quad /\mathbf{p}a\cdot\mathbf{l}a\cdot\mathbf{t}.\mathbf{p}a\mathbf{t}/ \rightarrow \quad [\mathbf{p}\cdot\mathbf{l}a\cdot\mathbf{t}.\mathbf{p}a\mathbf{t}] \quad \text{"axe type"}
\]

\[
/\mathbf{s}o\cdot\mathbf{l}a\mathbf{g}/ \rightarrow \quad [\mathbf{s}o\cdot\mathbf{l}\mathbf{a}g] \quad \text{"moonlight"}
\]

1.4. SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

A syllable consists of an obligatory onset and peak with an optional coda. The onset and coda are filled by consonants and the peak by a vowel. The consonants (C) and the vowels (V) occur in two basic syllable patterns, CV and CVC.

\[
e.g. \quad \mathbf{i}a.\mathbf{.b}i \quad \quad \text{"night"}
\]

\[
\mathbf{m}a.\mathbf{.s}u\mathbf{p}.\mathbf{.s}u\mathbf{p} \quad \quad \text{"to suck"}
\]

Consonant clusters occur word-medially when a closed syllable precedes another syllable. When the consonants in a consonant cluster are at different points of articulation, open transition usually occurs between the two consonants, and thus the two syllables concerned.
1.5. STRESS

There is a phoneme of stress. Intonation often makes it difficult to determine word stress because pitch is raised on the final syllable of a phrase.

However, stress appears to be manifested by lengthening of the vowel when word stress is on an open penultimate syllable. Stress is difficult to determine otherwise, since the vowel of a closed penultimate and of both open and closed final syllables will not carry length even though word stress may be on one of these syllables.

The clue may be that when the vowel in the penultimate is lengthened it receives the stress placement, since vowel length appears to occur only in stressed syllables; and when the penultimate is short, stress is on the final syllable.

There is also secondary stress and there is length on the vowels of open syllables so stressed. Usually it appears that secondary stress is on the second syllable preceding primary stress, but sometimes it occurs three syllables before, particularly in verbs.

Further study needs to be done on this whole subject. However, here are examples that show primary stress in contrast, as it is understood at present:

| 'ba:lat'  | 'banana' | cf. i 'ballu  | 'to throw out' |
| ba'lat   | 'broth'  | cf. ba'la   | 'lung'         |
| '?u:tu:' | 'rat'    | cf. a'gutti | 'because'      |
| ?u'tu    | 'flatulence' | cf. ba'tu | 'stone'       |
| man'su:gob | 'to quarrel' | cf. 'subgom | 'you quarrel' |
| manso:gob | 'to burn (something)' | cf. ?umma'go | 'where?'     |

2. DERIVATION OF THE SOUTHERN KALINGA /l/  

The voiced alveolar lateral /l/ and its variants [λ], [ɾ], and [ɹ] present not only the most complex phenomenon in the language, but also the most interesting. The voiced lateral itself is straightforward in its pronunciation and environments, and corresponds to the alveolar lateral /l/’s of Bontoc, Balangao, and Guinaang and Limos Kalinga. Environments for the alveolar lateral /l/ generally seem to be the same in each of these Central Cordilleran languages; word-
initially, contiguous to /i/, contiguous to consonants of alveolar articulation, and in geminate clusters.

The variant [r], which occurs only in syllable-final position preceded by central or back vowels, normally coalesces with the preceding vowel resulting in a central, retroflexed vocoid.

\[
\text{[r]} \rightarrow [\gamma] \quad [\text{?u}. \text{ma'}. \text{ti}. \text{ur}] \rightarrow [\text{?u}. \text{ma'}. \text{ti}. \text{ur}] '\text{to obey}'
\]
\[
[\text{man}' \text{a}. \text{fur}] \rightarrow [\text{man}' \text{a}. \text{fur}] '\text{to drive animals away}'
\]
\[
[\text{or}] \rightarrow [\gamma] \quad [\text{?o}' \text{no} \text{r}] \rightarrow [\text{?o}' \text{no} \text{r}] '\text{nose}'
\]
\[
[\text{ma'fu'} \text{or}] \rightarrow [\text{ma'fu'} \text{or}] '\text{round}'
\]
\[
[\text{ar}] \quad [\gamma] \quad [\text{'?ag'. \text{par}] \rightarrow [\text{'?ag'. \text{par}] '\text{hand}'
\]
\[
[\text{ma'fu'.ar}] \rightarrow [\text{ma'fu'.ar}] '\text{to disperse}'
\]

The phonemic source of the central retroflexed vocoids can be recovered by affixing the root word. Final CVC syllables are resegmented when a root is suffixed by a VC form. The final C of the root becomes the onset of the suffix syllable: CV.C + VC. If the final syllable of a root is of the form CVr, the [r] does not coalesce with the preceding vowel as shown above, but instead becomes the onset C of the following syllable, and is realised as [ɬ].

\[
[\text{'a'.ti}. \text{ur} + \text{on}] \rightarrow [\text{a'.ti'nu}. \text{jon}] '\text{to obey}'
\]
\[
[\text{?o}' \text{no} \text{r} + \text{an}] \rightarrow [\text{?o'.o'.\text{an}] '\text{he has a big nose}'
\]
\[
[\text{'?ag'. \text{par} + \text{an}] \rightarrow [\text{'?ag'.pa'.\text{an}] '\text{he has a big hand}'
\]

A slightly different pattern of vowel plus [r] coalescence takes place in the environment of the back velar [k]. In section 1.2, it was noted that the allophone [r] becomes backed in the environment of [k]. In a similar manner, vowels become backed when they occur in the environment of [k]:

\[
\text{/u/} \rightarrow [\text{u'}] \quad [\text{?u}'. \text{ku}] \rightarrow [\text{?u}'. \text{ku}] '\text{finger/toe nail}'
\]
\[
\text{/o/} \rightarrow [\text{?o'}] \quad [\text{ma'. ko'.ton}] \rightarrow [\text{ma'. ko'.ton}] '\text{mature}'
\]
\[
\text{/a/} \rightarrow [\text{a'}] \quad [\text{ma'. ka'.a'.an}] \rightarrow [\text{ma'. ka'.a'.an}] '\text{able to remove}'
\]

When the sequence Vr occurs whether preceded or followed by [k] the retroflexed vocoids that result from the coalescence process are more backed than the retroflexed vocoids shown above:

\[
[\text{ku'} \text{r}] \rightarrow [\text{ky'}] \quad [\text{ku'} \text{r} \text{pi}. \text{yon}] \rightarrow [\text{ky'} \text{pi}. \text{yon}] '\text{to fold}'
\]
\[
[\text{u'.r}.k] \rightarrow [\text{y'.k}] \quad [\text{?u'.r'ku'.u} \text{k}] \rightarrow [\text{?y'.k'yu'.u} \text{k}] '\text{trachea}'
\]
\[
[\text{ko'} \text{r}] \rightarrow [\text{ky'}] \quad [\text{da'.ko'} \text{r}] \rightarrow [\text{da'.k'k}] '\text{big}'
\]
\[
[\text{o'.r}.k] \rightarrow [\text{?o'.k}] \quad [\text{bo'.r'.k'a}. \text{kan}] \rightarrow [\text{b'k'a}. \text{kan}] '\text{crop of a bird}'
\]
\[
[\text{ka'} \text{r}] \rightarrow [\text{ky'}] \quad [\text{ma'.ka'.r}. \text{no} \text{?}] \rightarrow [\text{ma'.k'k}. \text{no} \text{?}] '\text{able to enter}'
\]
\[
[\text{a'.r}.k] \rightarrow [\text{?a'.k}] \quad [\text{'tta'.r'.kon}] \rightarrow [\text{'t'k'.kon}] '\text{foster}'
\]
At this point a set of parallel derivations will be displayed to summarise the processes that have been posited.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'drizzle'</th>
<th>'big'</th>
<th>'very big'</th>
<th>'hand'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UF</td>
<td>/#lom' lom#/</td>
<td>/#da'kol#/</td>
<td>/#da'kol + an#/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>#lom' lom#</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>#da'ko'lan#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>#da'kor#</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>#da'ko'r#</td>
<td>#da'ko'lan#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>#da'kų#</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>#čl'kų#</td>
<td>#čl'ko'lan#</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DF [lom' lom] [čl'kų] [čl'ko'lan] [?'agpą]

The first line shows the phonemic, or underlying forms of five words. Lines (1) to (6) show successive stages of derivation. The last line shows the phonetic, or derived forms.

In line (1), the phoneme /l/ has become the palatal lateral [ɭ]. The word-initial /l/ as well as the /l/’s of the other four words do not undergo this change (see section 1.2. for a statement of environments).

The second and fourth words are root words which are suffixed to produce the third and fifth words. This suffixation results in three changes which are shown in line (2): resyllabification, stress shift, and the change of /l/ to [ɭ].

Next, in line (3), the word-final /l/’s of the second and fourth words become [ɬ].

In line (4) vowels and [ɬ] become backed in the environment of [ɬ]. Then the coalescence of vowel plus [ɬ] takes place in line (5), resulting in the retroflexed vowels.

In line (6) other allophonic processes also apply which affect voiced stops and certain vowels (see section 1.2. and 1.3.).

After removing boundary symbols, the phonetic forms are as shown in the last line.
1. The data upon which this description is based were obtained in the Barrio of Mallango, Municipality of Tinglayan, Kalinga-Apayao Province, during extended stays since September, 1974, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The term "Southern Kalinga" refers to both the area of the said Municipality, and the dialect generally spoken. It should be noted that minor differences occur in the dialect, between barrios, particularly in the spoken intonation. The chief dialectical difference occurs in Butbut, where, for example, b occurs syllable-initially as a voiceless laryngeal [h] with labiovelar semi-vocalic release.

The writer is indebted to many of the people of Mallango, particularly Mr. Saryong Gasatan (38 years of age), for language data obtained during the course of this study.

I am also indebted to the following people for their help and suggestions in writing this paper: Evan Antworth, Lou Hohulin, Elmer Wolfenden, Dick Roe and Larry Allen.

2. [ ] indicate a non-phonemic form ranging in detail from narrow phonetic to phonemic.
BRUCE GRAYDEN

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CHAMORRO INFIXES

JEANNETTE WITUCKI

1. THE TWO KNOWN INFIXES IN CHAMORRO

All previous discussions of Chamorro infixes mention only two, and clearly state or imply that these two are the only infixes to be found in the language. These two common and well-studied infixes of Chamorro are /-um-/ and /-in-/ . They occur also, in identical form and with comparable functions, in many Philippine languages; hence their existence and uses in Chamorro were 'givens' even to early students of the language.

One of the first to attempt a comprehensive grammatical explanation of Chamorro was William Edwin Safford. Safford noted the use of /-in-/ as forming abstract nouns (1903:5:305), and as indicating single-agent passive in certain verbs (1904:6:506, 511, 525). Safford likewise mentions several uses of /-um-/ . For example, /-um-/ is said to form the reciprocal of nouns (1903:5:301) and verbs (1904:6:528); the 'infinitive' (ibid:508); and various forms of present and past progressive (ibid:501-3, 515, 518-9).

The most recent grammar of Chamorro is that of Donald Topping, who states: "There are two infixes in Chamorro..."; one is the Nominalising Infix -in-, as in hinasso 'thought, knowledge', from hasso plus -in- (1973:170). Later he discusses -in- as being also the Goal Focus Infix and the Adjectivising Infix (ibid:187), and as having yet several other functions (ibid:188-9). Topping refers to -um- as the Actor Focus Infix, and as a Verbalising Infix having several different functions (ibid:184-5). In these explanations, Topping adds little to Safford's presentation other than terminological innovations derived in part from the structuralist approach to language analysis (affix labels like
verbalising, nominalising, etc.), and in part from the custom of recent analysts to characterise Philippine languages in terms of a "focus system" (i.e., having actor, goal, location, and/or other focus constructions).

The many labels given to these infixes by Topping, and the many functions assigned to each by both Safford and Topping, suggest that a more natural analysis of their functions and contexts remains to be done. Regardless of this fact, both authors leave no doubt that they are dealing with only two infix forms. Nevertheless, several other infixes most certainly exist in Chamorro, as I have found in the course of analysing my field data. One of these 'new' infixes is relatively common; its form, meaning and usage are the subject matter of this report.

2. A THIRD CHAMORRO INFIX

The shape of this third Chamorro infix is /-VI-/I, with restrictions on the /V/ (vowel) to be noted shortly. Topping (1973:175) vaguely speculates on the possible existence of such an affix. He states:

"There is no doubt that some affixes which were formerly productive have now become fossilized in a few words. For example, there is an obvious relationship between papa 'wing' and palapa 'to flap wings', but the meaning of -la- (if there ever was one) has been lost. We find it in a few other words such as chalaochao (from chaochao) 'shake, rattle', kalaskas (from kaskas) 'rustling sound', and palangpang (from pangpang) 'explosion'. Even in these words the meaning of the affix -la- is not clear."

The true form of the affix glimpsed by Topping, in the words in his examples, is /-al-/I, not /-la-/I. This conclusion derives from two items of evidence. (1) The only two well-known Chamorro infixes, /-um-/I and /-in-/I, both have the structure /-VC-/I. (2) The word chalaochao (mentioned by Topping in previous quotation) must be derived from chaochao. To get chalaochao from this plus Topping's infix -la-, the latter would have to be inserted between the /a/ and the /o/ of the diphthong /ao/. This is unlikely, and equally inadmissible is the infix insertion rule logically derived from all of Topping's examples, given his statement that the affix form is -la-. That is, the insertion rule would be:

/-la-/I is inserted after the C1V1- of a stem;
if V1 = diphthong /ao, a/o/, the affix is inserted between the [a] and the following [o] or [i].
Certainly there are allophonic changes in Chamorro where a diphthong is blended into one phonetic segment (e.g., [tlauto] 'person' from /tautau/); a diphthong may also be reduced to its primary (first) phonetic component (e.g., [tatatauña] 'his body' from /tautautauña/).

However, splitting of diphthongs is certainly not found in Chamorro. For these reasons, then, the affix derived from Topping's examples is best described as /-a/-, not /-la-/

However, /-a/- is still an insufficient formula for this 'new' affix, because the affix occurs not only in words with /a/ or /au/ in the first syllable, but in words with other first syllable vowels. Words with root vowels other than /a/ and /au/ have correspondingly different vowels in the infixed. That is, vowel harmony is in effect here. Examples follow for four of the five Chamorro vowel phonemes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root Vowel</th>
<th>Derived Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/tii̠i̠ntiŋ/</td>
<td>'jingling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>/bulukbuk/</td>
<td>'bubbling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>/palapa/</td>
<td>'flapping (wings)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/au/</td>
<td>/talauťau/</td>
<td>'rattling'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I do not have an example with first syllable vowel /ai/ -- the fifth Chamorro vowel phoneme. I expect to find the pattern /-a-a/ - /ai/-, as exists for example in the word for 'canoe', /galai'di?/ (But there is no proof that this word comes from the hypothetical stem /galai'di?/.)

3. THE MEANING OF THE INFIX /-Vl-/

The meaning of infix /-Vl-/ has been difficult to determine; however, the most appropriate tentative hypothesis seems to be to assign to it the meaning of augmentation. That is, the action or action-result denoted by a word is reported to be maximised or maximally extended in time or space by use of the affix. The exact significance of the 'augmentation' varies with the stem to which it is applied. The primary and common senses of /-Vl-/ are indicated by the sets of examples given below:

(a) Augmentation including time extension:

/papa/ 'wing' + /palapa/ 'to flap; flapping noise'
/bukbuk/ 'to uproot' + /bulukbuk/ 'boiling, bubbling (noise)'
/kaskas/ 'crisp, dry' + /kalaskas/ 'rattling, crackling'
Ipa kpak/ 'explode, boom' olap + /palakp/ 'crackling noise as thunder, gun; chattering, babbling (talk)'
/tuŋtuŋ/ 'to pound clothes' + /tuluŋtuŋ/ 'hammering; pounding clothes'
/kamtin/ 'active, restless' + /kalamtin/ 'to be in motion, to move'
/biŋbiŋ/ 'to buzz' + /biliŋbiŋ/ 'buzzing'
/taudau/ 'to shake, rattle' + /talauďau/ 'shaking, rattling'
/papanaŋ/ 'to explode; explosion, blast, concussion' + /palapanaŋ/ 'sound of explosion(s), of falling down stairs; noise in car mechanism, etc.'
/taktak/ 'to peck' + /talaktak/ 'pecking sound'
/dzaka/? 'to knead, work into mass as dough' + /dzalaka/? 'to beat up a thin batter, stir up a salad'

(b) Augmentation implying spatial extension:
/(ma)duk/ 'a hole' + /duluk/ 'stab, puncture, or pierce (to extend a knife or other instrument)'
/(ma)bakbak/ 'scooped out, as the neck of a dress' + /balakbak/ 'bag or suitcase'
/ďal/ 'chop' + /tılık/ 'a cut to the bone, as that made in a fish to season it before cooking'

4. USAGE OF THE INFIX

I do not have many examples of in-context usage of the infix /-VI-/ since I was not aware of its existence at the time that I did my field work, and I do not now have a local informant. However, the following are sentence usage examples gleaned from a search through data collected from various informants in the past. Note that infix /-VI-/ can be used with both /-ir-/ and /-um-/

/Tsuli magi l dzinalıkə?/ 'Bring me the beaten (batter).'</n/Hu duluk i hilitai/ 'I stabbed the lizard.'
/Kumalamtın i lahi/ 'The man is moving (away).'</n/Bulukbuk i kadun maruk/ 'The chicken stew is boiling.'
/Ti dzahu i palapakə?/ 'I do not like her chattering.'

5. DISCUSSION

For comparison and corroboration, I call attention to a similar infix in some Philippine languages. The form is usually the same as that of the Chamorro infix, though sometimes an /r/ replaces the /l/,
and vowel harmony may not occur. I do not include here instances of these differences, nor do I offer a hypothesis for the meaning of the infix in the several Philippine languages. As far as I can ascertain, there is (as in the case of the Chamorro infix) no published analysis of this infix for any Philippine language. A few examples follow:

Isneg: (Vanoverbergh 1972):

/batáy/ 'to stand on a support' + /balátay/ 'bridge'
/bátug/ 'in front of' + /balátug/ 'a row of stepping stones leading from one house to another'
/báwi/ 'a hut' + /baláwi/ 'a spirit who protects huts'

Hiligaynon (Motus 1971):
/tágsa/ 'only one per person' + /talágsa/ 'rarely, seldom'
pákpak/ 'feather, wing' + /palákpak/ 'clapping of the hands'
gátug/ 'to burn as firewood' + /galatón/ 'firewood'

Returning to Chamorro, and to the examples illustrating the meaning of the infix /-VI-/ , it should be noted that the 'augmentation' meaning often implies loudness or noisiness. Thus, /-VI-/ usually involves the maximisation of energy and force being perceived through the hearing sense. It is interesting in this regard to find that /taŋa/ means 'sound' in Chamorro and /taláŋa/ means 'ear', the organ of hearing.

In the Chamorro language in general, there is a great stress on sound and its perception. Sound symbolism is an obvious and frequent influence in word formation, and is quite evident in many of the word examples cited in this paper. Informants have volunteered statements to me indicating the importance to them of sensation and its perception by self and others. Underwood stated that Chamorro speech tends overall to convey 'pictures'; that is, communication is through verbal recreation of images, sounds, emotional perceptions, etc. Mrs. Sablan, who taught me to cook (a little) in the Chamorro style, revealed that she cooks much by sound perception, which can be illustrated by two examples: (1) When waiting for the pot to boil, one does not watch it, as we do, for the beginning of bubbles. Instead, the Chamorro listens, for the 'buk-buk' which is the sound of boiling. (The word for boiling or bubbling is /bulukbuk/.) (2) When frying fish, one does not watch
for it to change colour, or flake, or whatever; one again listens, and "you know when the fish is done when the sound changes" (because the moisture has been expelled from the skin).

In conclusion, augmentation of various sorts seems often to be recognised by Chamorro persons through perception of an increase in volume and/or continuation of sounds. This recognition is expressed through the use of the inflex /-VI-/; which, however, expresses spatial extension as well.
1. Chamorro is the native language of the Mariana Islands in Micronesia. Differences between the varieties of Chamorro spoken on the different islands (Guam, Rota, Saipan, etc.) are not significant for this study.

2. My field data on Chamorro was gathered during the summer of 1971, when I lived with and was helped by Mrs. Rosario Sablan of Merizo, Guam. Another informant on Guam was Mrs. Remedios Perez, of Agaña.

3. Note that Topping's works employ standard Chamorro orthography (as used in schools and newspapers in the Marianas), and (usually) not phonemic or phonetic notation. For example, he uses 'ch' for /ɛ/, 'ng' for /ŋ/, in the examples given in this paper. My representations of Chamorro speech sounds are phonemic if given in slants, and phonetic if given in brackets.


5. In addition to the informants named in note two, above, I had as informants in Los Angeles Mrs. Ruperta Bias and Mr. Robert Underwood.
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