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

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0. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to discover the major features of narrative discourses and paragraphs in Cotabato Manobo[1] 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[2] 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[3], 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[4], 'My Trip to Beluwan' and text SML[5] '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[6] 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 igsulat ku *'thing-written my'* O 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: neelut dé *'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

Text	Para.	Particle	Time/Space Margin
MTN	Opening	na	*'when we were taken by the American'*
	#1	na	*'when we left here'*
	#2	na	*'when we arrived at Babangkaw'*
	#3	na	*'when we arrived at Makina'*
	#4	na	*'when we beached at Sibayol'*
	#5	(Explanatory paragraph)	
	#6	na	*'when we landed'*
	#7	na	*'after we were there a while'*
	#8	na	*'when we arrived at the hospital'*
	#9	(Explanatory paragraph)	
	#10	na	*'when we were about to go home'*
	#11	agulé	---
	#12	--	---
	#13	na	*'when we arrived here'*
	Closure	--	---
MTB	Opening	--	---
	#1	--	---
	#2	--	*'when we arrived at Beluwan'*
	#3	hê	*'for as long as I was there'*
	#4	--	*'when the next day came'*
	#5	hê	*'on the fourth day'*
	#6	agulé	---
	#7	agulé	*'when we arrived at the place of Sepinit'*
	Closure	--	---
SML	Opening	--	*'when I was little'*
	#1	--	*'when we arrived there'*
	#2	hê	*'when father settled at the beach'*
	#3	hê	*'when we were not yet three months at the beach'*
	#4	hê	---
	#5	--	*'when grade five came'*
	#6	--	*'when the opening of school came again'*
	#7	agulé	---
	#8	--	*'when one year had passed'*
	Closure	--	---

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 exclammatory 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

Text	No. of Sentences	No. of Occurrences per 10 Sentences		
		agulé	na	hê
MTN	106	1.79 (19 times)	1.42 (15 times)	0.19 (2 times)
MTB	55	1.09 (6 times)	none	1.45 (8 times)
SML	48	1.04 (5 times)	none	2.71 (13 times)

The total absence of na from the texts MTB and SML suggests that
these speakers may be using hê 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 agulé, and occasionally it is marked by the
particle na or the particle hê (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 sen-
tence. 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 agulé 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 pro-
nouns, 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 par-
ticipant 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 par-
ticipant that is topic of most of the paragraphs of the discourse.
Nontopic participants are those which are neither discourse nor para-
graph 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 non-
instigator 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[7] 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[8] is the nominal construction in a verbal clause which is in
complementary relationship with the verb as indicated by focus affix-
ation, 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 po-
tential for being subject but is not so designated in the clause in
question.

   Instigator roles include agent, causer, source, and stimulus. Non-
instigator 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 sen-
tence 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 oc-
currence 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

Text	Subject of Verbal Clause	nonSubject of Verbal Clause	Referent of Existential Clause	Possessor in Noun Phrase
MTN	4	6	--	1*
MTB	1	--	3	1*
SML	1	3	--	1*

* Narrator and discourse topic

pattern pressure against the second participant being subject (1/6). Introduction of participant C1, 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 characteristize 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 paragrpph 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 cccurrence 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 noninsiigator 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 institator 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 orien-
tation patterns taken along with other narrative paragraph features
provide positive paragraph identification. Also, with regard to trans-
lation, 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, poops 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

A - Narrator and family
B - American
C1- First pumpboat
C2- Second pumpboat
D - Airplane
E1- First group of Visayans
E2- Second group of Visayans
E3- Third group of Visayans
F - God
G - Companions at home
H - People at Makina

Values of Orientation (See 3.2)

Sx - Subject, instigator
So - Subject, noninstigator
Nx - Nonsubject, instigator
No - Nonsubject, noninstigator

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

Para. No.	Sent. No.	A	B	C1	C2	D	E1	E2	E3	F	G	H	Props
Opening	1	So	Nx										
#1	2	So	Nx										
	3	Sx											
#2	4												
	5	--	Nx	So									
	6	Sx											
	7												
	8												
	9												
#3	10	--	--	Sx									
	11												
	12												
	13												
	14	Sx											
	15	Sx											
	16	Sx											

Para. No.	Sent. No.	A	B	C1	C2	D	E1	E2	E3	F	G	H	Props
#4	17	--	Nx	So									
	18	Sx											
	19	So	--	--	--	--	Nx						
	20	--	--	--	--	Sx							
	21	Sx											
	22	Nx	--	--	--	--	--	--	So				
		Sx	No										
	23												
	24												
	25	Sx											
	26	--	--	--	--	Sx							
#5	27	--	--	--	--	Sx							
		So											
		Sx											
		So											
	28	--	--	--	--	So							
	29	So											
	30	Sx	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	No			
	31	So											
		Sx	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	No			
#6	32												
	33	So	Nx										
		So	Nx										
	34												
	35	Sx											
	36	So	Nx										
	37	So	Nx										
#7	38												
	39	So	Nx										
	40	So	Nx										
	41	So	Nx										
		So	Nx										
	42												
	43	So	Nx										
	44	Sx											
#8	45												
	46	So	Nx										
	47												
	48		Sx											Cocacola: No
	49		Nx											Cocacola bottles:So
	50	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Sx				
	51	So	--	--	--	--	--	--	Nx				
	52												
	53												
	54	So	--	--	--	--	--	--	Nx				
		So	--	--	--	--	--	--	Nx				
	55												
#9	56												
	57	Sx											
	58	Sx											
	59												
	60	Sx											motorbike:No
	61	Sx											
	62	Nx											motorbike:So
	63												motorbike:Sx
	64	So											motorbike:So

Para. No.	Sent. No.	A	B	C1	C2	D	E1	E2	E3	F	G	H	Props
#9 (con't)													
	65	So	Nx										
	66	--	Sx										
	67												
	68												
	69												
	70	Sx											
#10	71	Sx											
	72	Sx	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	No		
	73	So	Nx										
	74	Sx											our stay: So
	75	Nx											our trip: So
	76	--	Nx										
	77	So	Nx										
	78	Sx											
	80												
	81	Sx											
#11	82	Sx											
	83	Sx	--	--	--	No							
	84												
	85												
	86												
	87												
	88												
	89	Sx											
	90												
	91	Sx	--	--	No								
	92	So	--	--	Nx								
#12	93	So	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Nx	
	94												
	95												
	96												
	97												
	98												
	99												
#13	100												
	101												
	102												
	103												
	104												
	105	Sx											
Closure	106												

N O T E S

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 approxi-
mate 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 sen-
tences) 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. Tha 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 irrelevence 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).

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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[1] 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
relied heavily on underlying or deep structure relationships such as
affix meaning (Ballard 1973), and participant roles of nonpredicate
tagmemes in a clause (Forster & 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 the surface 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
tagmeme 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. (*wet*-Of-2sg. topic *the cloths*)
    '*Wet the cloths.*'

2. Ibasam nat Iuput. (Af-*wet*-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

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.[2]

	position	prefix	infix	suffix
Focus Affix	Aspect			
	incomp.	man-		
	comp.	nan-		
Actor	incomp.	maN-		
	comp.	naN-		
	incomp.		-um-	
	comp.		-umm-	
	incomp.			-on
Object	comp.		-in-	
	incomp.			-an
Referent	comp.		-in-	-an
	incomp.	i-		
Accessory	comp.	in-		
	incomp.	i-		-an
Beneficiary	comp.	in-		-an

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 par-
ticular 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.

Focus Affix	Semantic Function of Affix
man-	durative/inclusive action indicated
maN-	limited action indicated
-um-	partial action indicated

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 illus-
trated 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 manalan 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 nabitil 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. Gumulbul 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, meteoro-
logical 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 sen-
tence.

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 gram-
matical slot on which they focus in the surface structure, have appar-
ently 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) at-
tempts 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 partici-
pant 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. Bunaam 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.

Focus Affix	Semantic Function of Affix
Object (-on)	focused participant is to be viewed as more directly or broadly affected
Referent (-an)	focused participant is to be viewed as less directly or broadly affected
Accessory (i-)	focused participant is to be viewed as being conveyed
Beneficiary (i- -an)	focused participant is to be viewed as having the action done for him

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 under-
standing of the use of these affixes follow.

1. Buyukom nat bolok. (*spoil*-Of-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 piyaom. (*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 par-
ticipant 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. Alyugom din Baliwon. (*travel*-Of-2sg. topic *the lowlands*)
   '*Travel through/in the lowlands.*'

2. Alyugam 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 partici-
pant 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 indi-
cates that the speaker wants the focused participant to be understood
as being conveyed. This participant may at the smme 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. Ipokpok 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 impli-
cation 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 de-
scriptions 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 dat 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 banga. (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 classificaiion. 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'* bukud *'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'*, bilutan *'basket'*, balisa *'invert'*, balikkid *'turn over'*, tiking *'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
'pickup', ala *'get'*, akkat *'lift'*, sikpaw *'catch'*, ani *'harvest'*, kan
'eat', inum *'drink'*, addang *'reach for'*, pusit *'pick (fruit)'*, bonnag
'chase'.

The following include all three affixes in their affixation poten-
tial: 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. Iyaknam nu nat imam. (Af-*pick up* 2sg. topic *your hand*)
    'Pick (them) up with your hand.'

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

b) Examples with bulas *'gather'*

1. Bulasom nat kapi. (*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 characteristi-
cally 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)'*, apal *'continue'*, pokpok *'chip'*,
akiyak *'sieve'*, bognat *'relapse'*, talibasu *'work'*, aliwong *'headache'*,
bannug *'tired'*, bitil *'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', dabdab '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: bai 'hammer', badang 'bolo', sapsap 'remove bark',
gaat 'clean trail', bollat 'weed', boka 'excavate', asug 'cook', banu
'bless', aplas 'sand', bukol 'point (sharp)', buyuk 'spoil (make rot
ten)', banglos 'spoil (bad smell), abak 'defeat', balun 'food (for
trail)', aplus '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 asasut 'dry'

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

     2. Iyasasut nu nat babuy sidin suugan. (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 banga. (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 dis-
tinct 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 alom *'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 in-
stead 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'*, bilbili
'inspect', apdu *'read bile'*, bangsog *'smell'*.
   The following examples with buya *'view'* illustrate this subclass.

   1. Buyaon taku din tadok. (*view*-Of 1pl.-incl. topic *dance*)
       'Let's view the dance.'

   2. Ibuya 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. dulin *'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', tulud *'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: bula *'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/teach'*, 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'*, baga *'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 kasugal 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*', botad '*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: itod '*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 apit 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. Ilugpam nat moma. (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 katli. (*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: tadok *'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 in-
stead 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 experi-
encer to cause him to undergo the experience or state described by the
stem. One of the stems in this group apal '*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 '*zeal*',
baknang '*rich*'.

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

1. Ibos-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 partici-
pant is focused by -on and where it is focused by -an becomes clearer.
In the examples:

1. Alisutom nat boloy. (*wall*-Of-2sg. topic *house*)
    '*Wall the house.*'

2. Alisutam 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 ex-
ample 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 mem-
bers are: bulidaw '*bamboo walling*', alad '*fence*', alisut '*wall*', badal

'wrap', bungun *'wrap (enclose completely)'*, bugus *'wrap (enfold)'*,
botok *'bundle'*.

The following examples with badal *'wrap'* illustrate these verbs.

1. Badalom 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. Badalam 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 ar-
ticle 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 con-
veyed 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'*,
sobsob *'extinguish'*, bawi *'shelter'*, apuy *'fire'*, asuk *'smoke'*, abunu
'fertilizer', lasa *'fertile soil'*, bunga *'round'*, attod *'drip'*, bulik
'paint', anidu *'warmth'*, baw-an *'cool'*, bala *'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 *'launder'*, 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'*, attud *'remove roots'*, bunut *'remove husk of coconut'*, abut *'make
hole'*, balu *'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 luwang 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)*'.

N O T E S

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 Saltan 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.
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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

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0. INTRODUCTION

Sinama Baangingi is one of several related Sama languages spoken in
the Sulu Archipelago of the southern part of the Republic of the Phil-
ippines. 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 occu-
pation, 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.[2] 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 de-
stroyed, 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 popu-
lation. Balangingi Island itself has bever been reinhabited. 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 re-
flects this dispersion. Each Baangingi area seems to have its own
sub-dialect, with certain intonation, pronunciation, and lexical pe-
culiarities. 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, *ə, of Proto-Sama-Bajaw (PSB) is a reflex of
the Proto-Austronesian (PAN) pepet. The PSB *ə 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 *ə, occurring only before a homorganic conson-
ant cluster. However, the CS /ə/ has allophones which tend toward
assimilation with the vowel in the succeeding syllable (Pallesen 1967).
The PSB *ə 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, ʉ, and o in Pangutaran Sama.
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 *ə 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 *ə
tend to be more centralized than the reflexes of other PSB vowels:

DIAGRAM 1
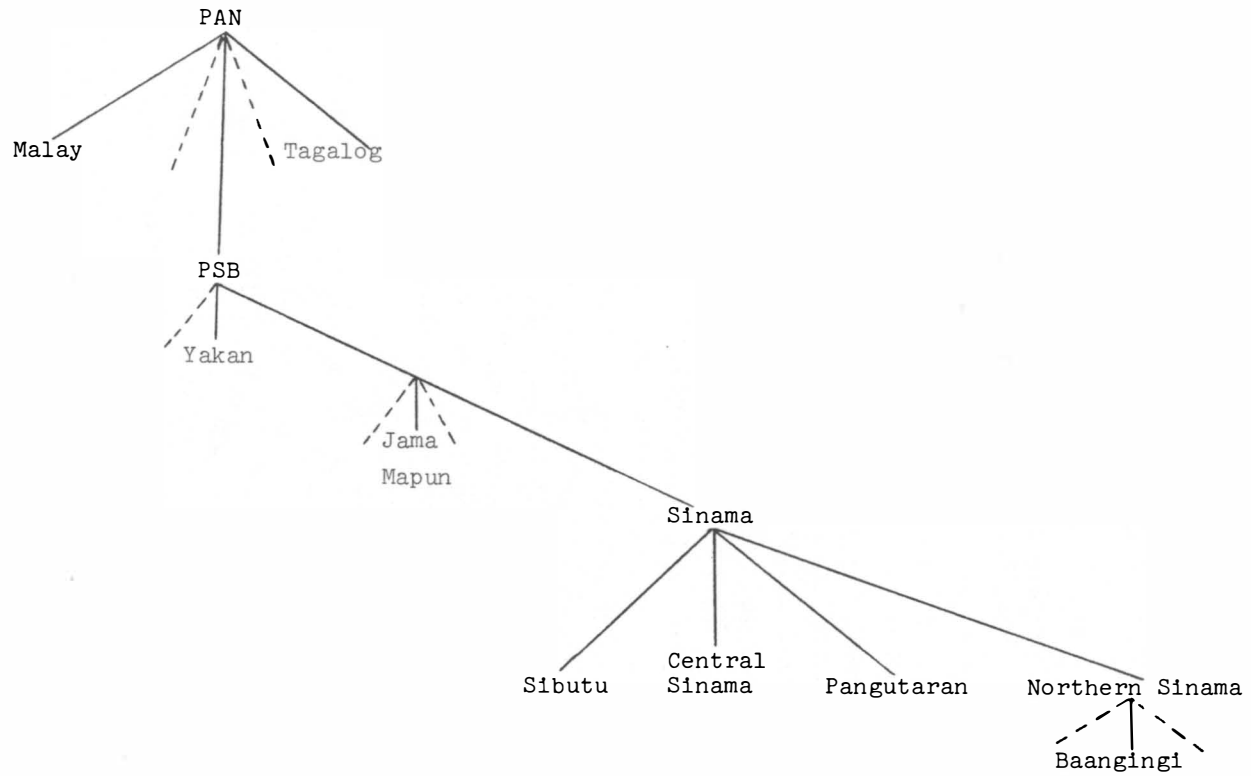
PAN

Malay   Tagalog

PSB

Yakan

Jama
Mapun

Sinama

Sibutu   Central   Pangutaran   Northern Sinama
              Sinama

Baangingi

	Central Sinama	Sinama Baangingi		
ɔ̌	[pəddɪʔ]	[pɪ́ddɪʔ]	/piddiʔ/	*'pain'*
	[ləssʊt]	[lʊ́ssʊt]	/lussut/	*'squeeze through'*
	[ləttɛʔ]	[léttèʔ]	/letteʔ/	*'sharp thunder'*
	[kəllɔʔ/	[kóllóʔ]	/kolloʔ/	*'remove'*
	[bəllʌ]	[bʌlla]	/balla/	*'cook rice'*
	[həndʌ]	[hʌnda]	/handa/	*'wife'*

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 *ə, 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:

Central Sinama	Sinama Baangingi		
[pəggʌʔ]	[pʌggʌʔ]	/paggaʔ/	*'squeeze out by hand'*
[paggʌ]	[pʌgga]	/pagga/	*'because of the circumstances'*
[kəbbʌt]	[kʌbbʌt]	/kabbat/	*'speak'*
[kabbɪt]	[kʌbbʌt]	/kabbat/	*'close'*

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

Central Sinama	Baangingi-Zamboanga	Baangingi-Panigayan		
[bəllʌ]	[bɛ̌lla]	[bʌlla]	/balla/	*'cook rice'*
[həndʌ]	[hɛ̌nda]	[hʌnda]	/handa/	*'wife'*
[dəndʌ]	[dɛ̌nda]	[dɛ̌nda]	/denda/	*'female'*

There remain a few words in Panigayan Baangingi in which the PSB *ə
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], [ʋ], and [ó]. They have been assigned to the vowel /o/
because of the tendency for the PSB *ə to assimilate to the following
vowel. These words are the following: [pónnóʔ] /ponnoʔ/ 'full',
[póndók] /pondok/ 'short', and [bóttóŋ] /bottoŋ/ 'stomach'.

One word has been observed to retain something very near the schwa:
[tə̌dda] /tedda/ 'once'. It has been assigned to /e/ because the artic-
ulation 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 polysyllablic
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 frequent-
ly. 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)VC.V(C) 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.gʌŋ][3] /dagaŋ/ 'to
sell' when suffixed becomes [da.ˈga.ŋʌn] /daganan/ 'things to sell'.

The following show examples of the four syllable patterns:

CV	['ma.ta]	/mata/	'eye'
CVC	['sum.pɪŋ]	/sumpiŋ/	'flower'
V	['so.a]	/soa/	'snake'
VC	['pe.ʌt]	/peat/	'red'

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 occording to the number of syllables affixed. Such affixation is considered part of the phonological word:

['kól.ló?]	/kollo?/	'to remove'
[kól.'lo.?ɪn]	/kollo?in/	'remove it'
[kól.lo.'?ʌn.ku]	/kollo?anku/	'I willrremove 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. [?ʌ.'ma.nʌŋ pa '?a.ku] /?amaŋan pa ?aku/ 'I will eat yet', and ['ku.lʌŋ da] /kulaŋ 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 [?ʌg?ʌdjʌl] /?ag?adjal/ 'to prepare (food)' and [?inut?inut] /?inut?inut/ 'little by little'.

When a word is prefixed with a vowel-final prefix, the glottal is obligatorily 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 [ʔʌgʔanʌd] /ʔagʔanad/ *'to practice'*, [lumʌʔlumʌʔ] /lumaʔ-lumaʔ/ *'playhouse'*, and [buʌtʔinaʔʌn] /buatʔinaʔʌn/ *'right now'*.

1.4.2. The alveopalatal affricate [dž] and the alveopalatal nasal [ñ] have been interpreted as single segments, rather than a sequence of two consonants, /dž/ and /ny/. This interpretation is based on non-suspect syllable patterns. Both alveopalatals 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 [džaum] and [ñawa] are interpreted as /jaum/ *'needle'* and /ñawa/ *'soul'*. In word-initial position, nonsuspect data does not support a sequence of three consonants as would be necessary if the alveopalatals were interpreted as a sequence; therefore, [bʌddžuʔ] and [bʌřʌnña] are interpreted as /badjuʔ/ *'shirt'* and /badanña/ *'support'*.

There yet remains the possibility that [ñ] 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: [ʔʌ.'ŋa.ñʌm] /ʔaŋañam/ *'weave mats'*, not *[ʔʌ.ŋa.'ni.ʌm] */ʔaŋaniam/. There is also a clear phonetic distinction between the prefixed word [ni.'u.lɪʔ] /niuliʔ/ *'to be massaged'* and ['ñu.li] /ñuli/ *'a kind of parrot'*.

The sequence [ddž] and [nñ] have been interpreted as the homorganic clusters /dj/ and /nñ/ 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.

['m̩.pʌt]	/m̩pat/	*'four'*
['n̩.nóm]	/nnom/	*'six'*
['m̩.mʌʔ]	/mmaʔ/	*'father'*

['m̩.bo̯ʔ]   /m̩boʔ/

[m̩.'bo.ho̯ʔ]   /m̩bohoʔ/

[ŋ̩.'ga.ʔi]   /ŋ̩gaʔi/

The phonetic syllable pattern here is C̩. Its historical antecedent
is CVC, specifically ʔəC, as determined by its occurrence in other Sama
languages (Pallesen 1967). The initial ə 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 PSB *ə to either /e/ or to the vowel in the
following syllable of the word (section 1.1.). When the word is pre-
fixed, there is no onset and the nasal becomes the coda of the syllable,
the preceding vowel being the syllable nucleus, as in [ʔi.'kam.pʌt]
/ʔikampat/ 'fourth' from ['m̩.pʌt], and [kʌm.'bo.ʔʌn] /kamboʔan/
'ancestry' from ['m̩.boʔ] 'grandparent'.

A problem arises in interpretation. Is this interpreted as another
syllable pattern, C̩, or as the sequence ʔəC? 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.

['ʔʌs.lʌg]   /ʔaslag/   'large, coarse'

['ʔʌs.sʌŋ]   /ʔassaŋ/   'pigeon'

[ʔʌ.'sʌn.dʌl]   /ʔasandal/   'durable'

[ʔʌ.'sʌn.nʌŋ]   /ʔasannaŋ/   'peaceful'

['kʊm.pɩt]   /kumpit/   'round-hulled boat'

['kʌp.pʌl]   /kappal/   '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 ['ᵘa.tǒŋ] /watoŋ/ 'ten' and ['ⁱʊk.na] /yukna/ 'he said'.

When a high vocoid occurs intervocalically, it is interpreted as a
consonant when stress indicates that the vocoid is nonsyllabic:
['sa.ᵘʌn] /sawan/ 'drinking glass', ['gu.ⁱʊd] /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:

['pe.ʌt]	/peat/	'red'
[pʌ.'ěŋ.ke?]	/paeŋke?/[4]	'stand on tiptoe'
['bo.ʌ?]	/boa?/	'mouth'
[?ʌ.'o.ŋʌs]	/?aoŋas/	'shaved'

The following high voicoids are interpreted as vowels:

['?i.ʌ?]	/?ia?/	'shame'
[bi.'a.nιŋ]	/bianiŋ/	'yellow'
[ta.'u.?ʊn]	/tau?un/	'put it away'
[''su.i.'su.i]	/suisui/	'report, rumour'

The following as consonants:

['pa.tʌⁱ]	/patay/	'kill'
['?ʌl.lʌᵘ]	/?allaw/	'day'
['bʌⁱ.hʊ?]	/bayhu?/	'face'
['tʌᵘ.wʌ?]	/tawwa?/	'on the mark'

When the sequences [au, ai] occur word-final, they have been inter-
preted 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, ['pa.i]
['pa:ⁱ][5] /paay/ 'unhusked rice' becomes [ka.pa.'a.'an] /kapaayan/ '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:

['ʔi.ʌʔ]	/ʔiaʔ/	'shame'
[ʔʌ.'i.aʔ]	/ʔaiaʔ/	'ashamed'

1.4.6. Each of the vowels in Baangingi 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 evi-
dence of two syllable nuclei from the reduction of /l/ intervocalically,
as in ['huːg] /huug/ or ['hu.lʊg] /hulug/ 'drop, fall'. Other examples
of lengthened vowels are:

['siːn]	/siin/	'money'
['puːʔ]	/puuʔ/	'island'
['peːʔ]	/peeʔ/	'go'
[ʔʌ.'loːm]	/ʔaloom/	'deep'
[ʔaː.'ga.ma]	/ʔaagama/	'religion'

1.5. *PHONEME DESCRIPTIONS*

There are twenty-two phonemes in Sinama Baangingi, seventeen conson-
ants 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 bor-
rowed words.

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

The phoneme /l/ has two allophones in the speech of some speakers
and a third in the speech of others. The first two allophones are:
[ḷ], a retroflexed alveolar lateral which occurs word-final or when

followed by a consonant other than /l/, and [l], which occurs elsewhere.
The third is a sociolinguistic variant, a retroflexed oral [ɽ] which
fluctuates with [ḷ]. It typically occurs in the speech of those with
some education in Arabic, mostly in words borrowed from Arabic. The
[ɽ] in the Arabic loan words occurs in the same environment as the [ḷ].
Speakers who have adopted the [ɽ] will often substitute this allophone
for [ḷ] even in Baangingi words. Speakers not educated in Arabic
pronounce [ḷ] and substitute it for [ɽ] in the Arabic loan words.

The following illustrates the occurrence of these three alternations;

[lèlla]	/lella/	*'male'*
[bʊḷbʊḷ]	/bulbul/	*'animal hair'*
[ʔʌḷbaʔa]	/ʔalbaʔa/	*'Wednesday'*
or: [ʔʌɽbaʔa] (Arabic)		
[gʌḷnʌʔ]	/galnaʔ/	*'cracked'*
or: [gʌɽnʌʔ] (Baangingi)		

TABLE 1

Consonant Phonemes

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Velar	Glottal
vl. stops	p	t		k	ʔ
vd. stops	b	d	j	g	
fricatives		s			h
nasals	m	n	ñ	ŋ	
lateral		l			
semivowels	w		y		

TABLE 2

Vowel Phonemes

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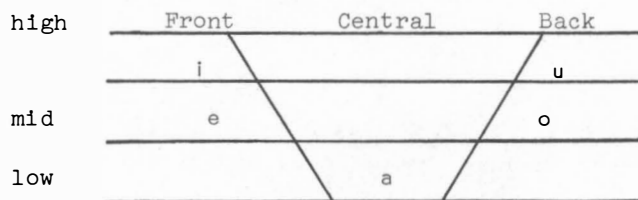
1.5.2. Of the five vowel phonemes in Baangingi, /i, u/, and /a/ occur much more frequently than do /e, o/. /e, o/ tend to be articulated more toward the centre of the mouth as Table 2 shows.

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 [ɪ], [ʊ], [ě], [ŏ], and [ʌ] respectively. The more tensely articulated allophones, as represented in Table 2, occur in open syllables.

The centrelised 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 [ʊ] occurs in pre-stress position in [kʊ.'lʌm.bʊʔ] /kulambuʔ/ 'mosquito net' but not in [tu.'ku.lʊn] /tukulun/ 'hammer it', which is formed by suffixing /-un/ to the root. The allophone [ʌ] consistently occurs in pre-stress position, as in [mʌ.'hʌd.dŏn] /mahaddon/ 'hungry'.

1.6. PHONEME CONTRASTS.

1.6.1. The voiceless and voiced stop consonants contrast as follows: poteʔ 'white', boheʔ 'water'; tahun 'year', dahun 'leaves'; katas 'paper', gatas 'milk'; dabuŋ 'bamboo shoots', jabut 'vegetable fibres'; toʔod 'really', tokod 'guess'.

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

The glottal consonants contrast as follows: laʔat 'bad', lahat 'location'.

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

2. MORPHOPHONEMICS

2.1. THE MORPHOPHONEMICS OF NUMBERS

Between numbers and certain roots, a nasal $|N_1|$[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 /pila/ *'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 ∅ else-
where.

/pila/	+	|N₁|	+	/bahaŋi/	→ /pilambahaŋi/	*'how many days'*
/dua/	+	|N₁|	+	/puu?/	→ /duampuu?/	*'twenty'*
/da/	+	|N₁|	+	/dappa/	→ /dandappa/	*'two fathoms'*
/lima/	+	|N₁|	+	/jaam/	→ /limanjaam/	*'five hours'*
/pitu?/	+	|N₁|	+	/saŋom/	→ /pitunsaŋom/	*'seven nights'*
/walu?/	+	|N₁|	+	/kehet/	→ /waluŋkehet/	*'eight slices'*

Two roots, /?ibu/ *'thousand'* and /?inday/ *'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.

/da/	+	|N₁|	+	/?inday/	→ /daŋinday/	*'countless'*
/dua/	+	|N₁|	+	/?ibu/	→ /duaŋibu/	*'two thousand'*
/m̩pat/	+	|N₁|	+	/?ibu/	→ /m̩pat ŋibu/	*'four thousand'*

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:

m before /p, b/
n before /t, s/
ŋ before /k, ?/
ŋan before /j/
ŋan ∿ ŋa before /d/ (ŋan is the preferred form)
ŋaŋ before /g/
ŋa elsewhere

|aN₂|	+	/bissada/	→ /?amissada/	*'speak'*
	+	/tahi?/	→ /?anahi?/	*'sew'*
|paN₂|	+	/sulat/	→ /panulat/	*'writing implement'*
	+	/kollo?/	→ /paŋollo?an/	*'place where something was obtained'*

	+	/ʔituŋ/	→	/paŋituŋ/	*'something to count with'*
|aN₂|	+	/duktuⅼ/	→	/ʔaŋanduktuⅼ/	*'run into'*
			or:	/ʔaŋaduktuⅼ/	
	+	/guyud/	→	/ʔaŋaŋguyud/	*'drag, pull'*
	+	/haap	→	/ʔaŋahaap/	*'become good'*
	+	/napas/	→	/ʔaŋanapas/	*'breathe'*
|paN₂|	+	/ⅼabas/	→	/paŋaⅼabas/	*'implement for clearing brush'*

When a reduplicated stem is prefixed with |aN₂| or |paN₂|, the morpho-
phonemic nasal |N₂| is also reduplicated in certain phonologically
defined cases. This is true whether the stem is completely redupli-
cated, 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 ŋ.
In the following examples R_1 represents the reduplication of the entire
stem, R_2 the reduplication of the initial CV of the stem.

	aN₂		+	/beaʔ/	+R_1	→	/ʔameaʔmeaʔ/	*'go along with'*
	+	/ʔandaʔ/	+R_1	→	/ʔaŋandaʔŋandaʔ/	*'look'*
	+	/ⅼendom/	+R_1	→	/ʔaŋaⅼendom-ⅼendom/	*'become somewhat dark'*
	paN₂		+	/pissi/	+R_2	→	/pamimissi/	*'fisherman'*
	+	/tahiʔ/	+R_2	→	/pananahiʔ/	*'seamstress'*
	+	/ʔinum/	+R_2	→	/paŋiŋinum/	*'drunkard'*
	+	/duŋkaʔ/	+R_2	→	/paŋanduduŋkaʔ/	*'pirate'*

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 *ə (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.

/ta-/	+	/ʔabut/	→	/taʔabut/	*'reached'*
	+	/ʔandaʔ/<*ə	→	/taʔandaʔ/	*'seen'*
			or:	/taandaʔ/	
/pa-/	+	/ʔakkom/<*ə	→	/paʔakkom/	*'face-down'*
			or:	/paakkom/	
			or:	/pakkom/	
/ta-/	+	/ʔipat/	→	/taʔipat/	*'cared for'*
			or:	/taipat/	

	+	/ʔubus/	→	/taʔubus/	'finished'
			or:	/taubus/	
/ni-/	+	/ipat/ .	→	/niʔipat/	'cared for'
	+	/ʔubus/	→	/niubus/'	'finished'
	+	/ʔabut/	→	/niabut/	'reached'

2.2.3. The morpheme -in- has three allomorphs: /ni-/, which occurs
with roots beginning with /d, h, l, or ʔ/; /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/ metathesises to /#hi/.

/ni-/	+	/hagut/	→	/nihagutan/	'softened by being drawn
/i-/	+		→	/hiagutan/	over a dull edge'
/ni-/	+	/huttut/	→	/nihuttut/	'siphoned'
/i-/	+		→	/hiuttut/	
but: /ni-/	+	/hibal/	→	/nihibal/	'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 accord-
ance with the vowel harmony principle present in Baangingi (section
1.5.2.).

/-in-/	+	/peneʔ/	→	/peneneʔan/	'chosen'
	+	/boa/	→	/benoa/	'carried'
	+	/tooʔ/	→	/tenooʔan/	'taught'
/ni-/	+	/lembo/	→	/nelembo/	'waterlogged'
	+	/heŋkot/	→	/neheŋkotan/	'tied'

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

/ni-/	+	/ʔentom/	→	/neʔentom/	'longed for'
			or:	/nientom/	

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

/-in-/	+	/balla/<*ə	→	/binella/	'rice being cooked'
/ni-/	+	/ʔantan/<*ə	→	/niantanan/	
			or:	/nientanan/	'being held'

   In a manner similar to the /-in-/ above, the infix /-um-/ is harmon-
ised to /-om-/ preceding /e/. Because the occurrence of this morpheme
is very rare in Baangingi, there is only one example of this harmon-
isation in the data:[7]

/-um-i/ + /leŋŋan/   →   /lomeŋŋan/   'walk'

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 /wʔun/ and /yʔin/.

/boa/	+	/-un/	→ /boahun/	'take it'
/billi/	+	/-in/	→ /billihin/	'buy (for him)'
/bagay/	+	/-un/	→ /bagayun/	'make friends'
/saggaw/	+	/-un/	→ /saggawʔun/	'capture him'
/ʔamay-ʔamay/	+	/-in/	→ /ʔamayʔamay-ʔin/	'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.

/tui/	+	/pa--un/	→ /patuyun/	'do it immediately'
			or: /patuihun/	
/liu/	+	/pa--un/	→ /paliuhun/	'make it pass by'
			or: /paliwʔun/	

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:

/puhi/	+	/-in--an/	→ /pinuihan/	'put out to dry'
			or: /pinuhian/	
/dahu/	+	/-an/	→ /dauhan/	'first'
			or: /dahuan/	

N O T E S

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 lo-
cated on an island just to the northwest of Basilan Island. The two
language assistants, Sulaiman Barhama, aged about 35, and his sister
Fatimah Barhama, 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 langugge, 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 composi-
tion 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 [ˈˈma.ka.ˈja.ɾi]. A colon following a vowel indicates
vowel length [pe:ʔ].

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 vocoid 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
/lomembo/ and /lomeŋeʔ/ 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 /lumiŋiʔ/ 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[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.[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 Af-put I(f)-the rice there-to-the sack
    I am putting the rice in the sack.

2. Metang[3]   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. minwat[4]   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, where-
as, 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 fin-
ished) and -en (action not bet 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 piyag[5], 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. pie'tek   ku   nay   kayu
    past G$_f$-cut by-me now-the tree(f)
    I have cut the tree now.

1.13. Accessory Focus (Acc$_f$)

The Accessory focus affixes are ipag- (action begun but not completed)
and i- (action not yet begun), with their corresponding completed action
forms ipiyag- and i-...-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 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 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 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 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 ipiyagbetang which is not present in the meaning of
ibintang. Example 10 presupposes that a command or request has pre-
viously 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 com-
pleted 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'geban   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 ($St.A_f$)

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 naka- 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*

    akung   makasuka
    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)*
    ligature
    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 mademdeman[7]   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.G$_f$ *incomplete-snap*
     *If (you only use) a bolo it will not be possible because (it)
     will snap.*

Note that in the Stative 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_m)

   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 punctiliar
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. nanleteg 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   piyanggamitan   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 pro-
duce a causative effect, although this has only been noted so far with
the affixes of the Active Voice.[9] The following are the Causative Mode
Formations for the various focuses.

1.41. Begun But Not Completed Action

    Actor Focus   magpa-
    Goal Focus   pagpa- -en
    Accessory Focus   ipagpa-
    Referent Focus   pagpa- -an

Examples:

34. magpabwat   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 na 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

    Actor Focus   pa-
    Goal Focus   pa- -en
    Accessory Focus   ipa-
    Referent Focus   pa- -an

Examples:

38. paka'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. paka'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:

CHART 1

Focus ↓ Mode →	Purposive	Casual
Actor	nagpa-	
Goal		piya-
Accessory	ipiyagpa-	ipiya-
Referent	piyagpa-...-an	piya-...-an

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
     purp.-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 vertical.

CHART 2

Active Voice Affixes

Aspect ↓	Mode ↓	Focus →	Actor	Goal	Accessory	Referent
Not begun			-um-	-en	i-	-an
Begun not completed			mag-	pag-...-en	ipag-	pag-...-an
Begun and completed	Purposive		nag-	piyag-	ipiyag-	piyag-...-an
	Casual		-imn-	-i-	i-...-i-	-i-...-an

When we examine the affixes ipiyag- and piyag-...-an, which are completed action affixes, it is obvious that the completed action is represented by the infix -i- as this iffix 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 be-
tween 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

Aspect ↓	Mode ↓	Focus →	Actor	Goal	Accessory	Referent
Not begun			pa-	pa-...-en	ipa-	pa-...-an
Begun not completed			magpa-	pagpa-...-en	ipagpa-	pagpa-...-an
Begun and completed	Purposive / Casual		nagpa-	piya-	ipiyagpa- ipiya-	piyagpa-...-ar piya-...-an

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

Aspect ↓	Focus →	Actor	Goal	Accessory	Referent
Not Completed		maka-	ma-	ma'i-	ma-...-an
Completed		naka-	na-	na'i-	na-...-an

CHART 5

Distributive/Durative Mode Affixes

Aspect ↓	Focus →	Actor	Goal	Accessory	Referent
Not Completed		maN-	paN-...-en	ipaN-	paN-...-an
Completed		naN-	piaN-	ipiaN-	piaN-...-an

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)

ACTIVE VOICE				
	Incomplete Aspect		Completive Aspect	
(modes)	Intentive	Involuntary	Intentive	Involuntary
TOPIC Subject	mag-	um=	nag-	imy=/imin=/ imn=
Goal	-en		i=/in=	
Instrument	i-		i- i=/in=	
Location/ Beneficiary	-an		i=/in= an	

NARRATIVE VOICE	
	Incompletive Aspect	Completive Aspect
TOPIC Goal	pag- -en	piag-
Instrument	qipag-	qipiag-
Location/ Beneficiary	pag- -an	piag- -an
Predicate	pag-	piag-

It can readily be seen that this chart is not symmetrical in a
number of places. Firstly, in the Active Voice the Intentive Mode
columns of both Incompletive 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 Intentive
Mode. Secondly, in the Involuntary Mode columns, Incompletive 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

ACTIVE VOICE				
	Incompletive Aspect		Completive Aspect	
(modes)	Intentive	Involuntary	Intentive	Involuntary
TOPIC Subject	mag-	um=	nag-	imy=/imin=/ imn=
Goal	pag- -en	-en	piag-	i=/in=
Instrument	ipag-	i-	qipiag-	i- i=/in=
Location/ Beneficiary	pag- -an	-an	piag- -an	i=/in= -an

The basic thing involved in this reinterpretation is the combi-
nation 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 Intentive 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,
Intentive 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, Intentive 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 Incom-
plete 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 com-
pletion 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 futher 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

FOCUS →		ACTOR		GOAL	
ASPECT ↓	MODE →	Purposive	Casual	Purposive	Casual
Proposed		-um-	↑	-en	
Continuing		mag-	(-um-)	pag-...-en	(-en)
Completed		nag-	-imn-	piyag- *	-i-

* piyag- has not yet been found in the Lamani data.

CHART 8B

Pattern of Affix Movement in Lamani Tagbanwa

FOCUS →		ACCESSORY		REFERENT	
ASPECT ↓	MODE →	Purposive	Casual	Purposive	Casual
Proposed Continuing Completed		i- ipag- ipiyag-	(i-) i-...-i-	-an pag-...-an piyag-...-an	(-an) -i-...-an

   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 Pur-
posive 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. mintang[4] 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. metang[3] 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 Pilipino, 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[10], 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 Tegbanwa 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

Puerto Princesa

Berong

Lamani

Aborlan

Kabigaan

Quezon

Brooke's Point

Geographical extent of the
Tagbanwa Language group

PETER GREEN

N O T E S

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
Isstitute 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- → 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 articu-
                lation as the consonant which immediately follows.

   → mi-/   elsewhere where the stem begins with a bilabial
                consonant which is deleted. If the vowel following

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> 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-
itself 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.

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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 sub-group 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 [l], a retroflexed low central vocoid [r], and [ǐ]. J. Shetler (1966) in a description of Balangao posits a lateral consonant with one variant, [r], a mid central retroflexed vocoid. Geiser (1958) describes an alveolar lateral /l/ with one variant [ł] 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 [ł]), a retroflexed vocoid [r], and a voiced retroflexed lateral [ḷ]. 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, ŋ, 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

	BILABIAL	ALVEOLAR	VELAR	GLOTTAL
Stops, vl.	p	t	k	?
vd.	b	d	g	
Fricatives		s		
Nasals	m	n	ŋ	
Laterals		l		
Semivowels	w	y		

CHART 2

Vowel Phonemes

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
High	i		u
Mid			o
Low		a	

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.'ku.yon   *'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'maman	*'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.).

/'tubba/	→	['tubfa][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/ → [f] /mam'bal.no?/ → [mam'fal.no?] *'to drive something*
deep into the ground'

/d/ → [č] /man.do'pa/ → [man.čo'pa] *'to stretch the arms*
wide as a means of
measuring'

/g/ → [k^x] /'ga.?aw/ → ['k^{x}a.?aw] *'corn'*

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

(1) V_1(?).lV   where V is any vowel,

V_1 is front,

(2) V.lV$_1$ V_2 is non-front,

C_1 is alveolar,

C_1.lV C_2 is non-alveolar, and

C_3 is neither alveolar nor glottal.

The phoneme /l/ has three allophones that reflect successive degrees
of articulatory weakening. The first allophone is a palatal lateral,
symbolised as [ʎ] 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.ʎ V_2

(2) V_1C_3.ʎ V_2

/l/ → [ʎ] /'sum.lot/ → ['sum.ʎot] *'tight'*
/'?ip.lug/ → ['?ip.ʎug] *'egg'*

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

/l/ → [ʎ̢] /'da.lan/ → ['da.ʎ̢an] *'way, trail'*
/bo'loy/ → [bo'ʎ̢oy] *'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/ → [r] /?a'ŋol/ → [?a'ŋor]   *'pig's food'*
/bal.ba'lu/ → [bar.ba'lu] *'very good'*

The allophone [r] is further modified to become [ɻ], a backed mid-
central retroflexed vocoid, when the syllable in which it occurs com-

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] → [ṛ] [da'ḳor] → [da'ḳoṛ]   *'big'*

             ['tar.ḳon] → ['taṛ.ḳon] *'foster'*

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

      /w/ → [^{g}w] /'wa.ʔil/ → ['^{g}wä.ʔil]   *'brook'*

               /'daw.waŋ/ → ['dag.^{g}waŋ] *'river'*

In a similar process, the palatal semivowel /y/ is in free variation
syllable-initial with [dž], a lenis alveopalatal affricate. In a
geminate cluster, /y.y/ varies to [d.dž].

      /y/ → [dž] /pi'yoʔ/ → [pi'džoʔ]   *'mud'*

            /ma.nay.ʔay'yas/ → [ma.nay.ʔad'džas]
                                     'challenging'

1.3. *VOWEL ALLOPHONES*

The phoneme /i/ has an allophone [ɪ], a high open front unrounded
vocoid that occurs in closed syllables.

      /i/ → [ɪ] /sis'si.wit/ → [sɪs'si.wɪt] *'bird'*

The phoneme /a/ has an allophone [ʌ], a mid open central unrounded
vocoid that occurs in unstressed syllables and in stressed syllables
closed by voiced stops.

      /a/ → [ʌ] /pa'lat.pat/ → [pʌ'lat.pʌt] *'axe type'*

            /so'lag/ → [so'lʌg]   *'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 syl-
lable patterns, CV and CVC.

    e.g. la.'bi   *'night'*

         man.'sup.sup   *'to suck'*

Consonant clusters occur word-medially when a closed syllable pre-
cedes 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.

e.g.   'siŋ.siŋ   'ring (for finger)'
        pa'lag.pag   'rib'
        'ot.yon   'to kill (something)'
        'pon.pon   'a pile of palay'

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 diffi-
cult 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 under-
stood at present:

'ba:lat	'banana'	cf.	i'ballu	'to throw out'
ba'lat	'broth'	cf.	ba'la	'lung'
'?u:tut	'rat'	cf.	a'gutti	'because'
?u'tut	'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 [ɭ], [ɭ], [r],
and [ɾ] present not only the most complex phenomenon in the language,
but also the most interesting. The voiced lateral itself is straight-
forward 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.

[ur] → [ʉ] [ʔu.ma'ti.ŋur] → [ʔu.ma'ti.ŋʉ] 'to obey'
             [man'ʔa.fur] → [man'ʔa.fʉ]   'to drive animals
                                                away'

[or] → [ə̣] [ʔo'ŋor] → [ʔo'ŋə̣]   'nose'
             [ma.fu'ʔor] → [ma.fu'ʔə̣]   'round'

[ar]   [ə̣] ['ʔag.par] → ['ʔag.pə̣]   'hand'
             [ma'fu.ʔar] → [ma'fu.ʔə̣]   '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 [ɭ].

[ʔa'ti.ŋur + on] → [ʔa.ti'ŋu.ɭon]   'to obey'
[ʔo'ŋor + an] → [ʔo.ŋo'ɭan]   'he has a big nose'
['ʔag.par + an] → [ʔag'pa.ɭan]   'he has a big hand'

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

/u/ → [uˑ] /ʔu'ku/ → [ʔuˑ'ḵuˑ] 'finger/toe nail'
/o/ → [oˑ] /ma.ko'toŋ/ → [ma.ḵoˑ'toŋ] 'mature'
/a/ → [aˑ] /ma.ka'ʔa.ʔan/ → [ma.ḵaˑ'ʔa.ʔan] 'able to remove'

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

[ḵuˑɽ] → [ḵʉˑ] [ḵuˑɽ'pi.yon] → [ḵʉˑ'pi.yon] 'to fold'
[uˑɽ.ḵ] → [ʉˑ.ḵ] [ʔuˑɽ'ku.ʔuḵ] → [ʔʉˑ'ḵu.ʔuḵ] 'trachea'

[ḵoˑɽ] → [ḵə̈] [da'ḵoˑɽ] → [da'ḵə̈] 'big'
[oˑɽ.ḵ] → [ə̈.ḵ] [boˑɽ'ka.ḵaŋ] → [bə̈'ka.ḵaŋ] 'crop of a bird'

[ḵaˑɽ] → [ḵə̈] [ma'ḵaˑɽ.noʔ] → [ma'ḵə̈.noʔ] 'able to enter'
[aˑɽ.ḵ] → [ə̈.ḵ] ['taˑɽ.ḵon] → ['tə̈.ḵon] 'foster'

At this point a set of parallel derivations will be displayed to
summarise the processes that have been posited.

	'drizzle'	'big'	'very big'	'hand'
UF	/#lom'lom#/	/#da'kol#/	/#da'kol + an#/	/#'ʔag.pal#/
(1)	#lom'ḽom#	---	---	---
(2)	---	---	#da.ko'ḽan#	---
(3)	---	#da'kor#	---	#'ʔag.par#
(4)	---	#da'ḳo›r̥#	#da.ḳo›'ḽan#	---
(5)	---	#da'ḳë̤#	---	#'ʔag.pə̤#
(6)	---	#čʌ'ḳë̤#	#čʌ.ḳo›'ḽan#	#'ʔʌg.pə̤#
DF	[lom'ḽom]	[čʌ'ḳë̤]	[čʌko›'ḽan]	['ʔʌgpə̤]

	'he has a big hand'
UF	/#'ʔag.pal + an#/
(1)	---
(2)	#ʔag'pa.ḽan#
(3)	---
(4)	---
(5)	---
(6)	#ʔʌg'pa.ḽʌn#
DF	[ʔʌg'paḽʌn]

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 [ḽ].
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 environ-
ments).

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 [ḽ].

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

In line (4) vowels and [r] become backed in the environment of [ḳ].

Then the coalescence of vowel plus [r] takes place in line (5), re-
sulting 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.

N O T E S

1. The data upon which this description is based were obtained in the Barrio of Mallango, Municipality of Tinglayan, Kalinga-Apayao Privince, 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 semivocalic 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.

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CHAMORRO INFIXES

JEANNETTE WITUCKI

1. THE TWO KNOWN INFIXES IN CHAMORRO[1]

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 exis-
tence 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 'in-
finitive' (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

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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 con-
structions).

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.[2] 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 /-Vl-/, 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 ohalaochao (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."[3]

The true form of the affix glimpsed by Topping, in the words in his
examples, is /-al-/, not /-la-/. This conclusion derives from two items
of evidence. (1) The only two well-known Chamorro infixes, /-um-/
and /-in-/, both have the structure /-VC-/. (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 inadmissable 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-/ is inserted after the C_1V_1- of a stem;
      if V_1 = diphthong /ao, ai/, 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., [tauto] *'person'* from
/tautau/); a diphthong may also be reduced to its primary (first)
phonetic component (e.g., [tatatauñʌ] *'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 /-al-/, not /-la-/.

However, /-al-/ 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 infix. That is, vowel harmony is in effect
here. Examples follow for four of the five Chamorro vowel phonemes:[4]

Root Vowel	Derived Word	Gloss
/i/	/tiliŋtiŋ/	*'jingling'*
	/biliŋbiŋ/	*'buzzing'*
/u/	/bulukbuk/	*'bubbling'*
	/duluk/	*'stab, puncture'*
	/tuluŋtuŋ/	*'hammering'*
/a/	/palapa/	*'flapping (wings)'*
/au/	/ȼalauȼau/	*'rattling'*

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

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 pri-
mary 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'*

/pakpak/ 'explode, boom' clap' → /palakpak/ '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'

/ȼauȼau/ 'to shake, rattle' → /ȼalauȼau/ 'shaking, rattling'

/paŋpaŋ/ 'to explode; explosion, blast, concussion' → /palaŋpaŋ/
                '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'

/ȼak/ 'chop' → /ȼalak/ '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 /-Vl-/,
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 col-
lected from various informants in the past. Note that infix /-Vl-/
can be used with both /-ir-/ and /-um-/.

/Tsuli magi i dzinalaka?/   'Bring me the beaten (batter).'
/Hu duluk i hilitai/   'I stabbed the lizard.'
/Kumalamtin i lahi/   'The man is moving (away).'
/Bulukbuk i kadun maruk/   'The chicken stew is boiling.'
/Ti dzahu i palapakña/   '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'* → /balatáy/ *'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'*
>
> /gátuŋ/ *'to burn as firewood'* → /galatúŋ/ *'firewood'*
>
> buscar, *'to search for'* is the probable Spanish base for /balúskay/
> *'to make a thorough search'*

Cebuano (Yap and Bunye 1971):

> /pándoŋ/ *'scarf, headcovering'* → /palándoŋ/ *'to shelter oneself'*
>
> /páŋga/ *'love, endear'* → /paláŋga/ *'beloved one, favourite'*

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 /talaŋa/ 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[5] 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 re-
creation 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 infix /-VI-/; which, however, expresses spatial
extension as well.

N O T E S

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 /ȼ/, '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.

4. Chamorro vowel phonemes are: /a, i, u, au, ai/. See Witucki 1973, 1974.

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

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