

THE SEMANTIC FUNCTION OF FOCUS AFFIXES IN LIMOS KALINGA

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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 Kalinga¹ 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 student in applying this theory is that there is considerable overlap in the mapping from the underlying case structure to the surface representation 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 luput. (*wet-Of-2sg. topic the cloths*)
'Wet the cloths.'
2. Ibasam nat luput. (*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 ambiguous 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			
Actor	incomp.	man-		
	comp.	nan-		
	incomp.	maN-		
	comp.	naN-		
Object	incomp.		-um-	
	comp.		-umm-	
Referent	incomp.			-on
	comp.		-in-	
Accessory	incomp.			-an
	comp.		-in-	-an
Beneficiary	incomp.	i-		
	comp.	in-		
Beneficiary	incomp.	i-		-an
	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 particular instance and what difference his choice makes to the meaning of the sentence. Out of an inventory of 300 stems studied, it was found that the large majority could be affixed with more than one of these affixes and over half could take all three.

After studying a large number of stems which could take two or all three of these affixes, a recurrent distinction among them was noted,

based on duration or extent of the action. This distinction was abstracted as the primary semantic function for these three affixes and is described in Chart 2.

CHART 2

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

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 illustrated as follows.

1. Si Agunay ud man-aalisig. *'Agunay is one who performs curing ceremonies.'*
2. Si Dopan ud mangalisig sidan masakit. *'Dopan will perform a curing ceremony for the sick people.'*

2.3. THE INFIX -um-

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

2.4. ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES

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

Examples with *kan 'eat'*

1. Mangkan kayu ta 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, meteorological roots always take -um- with no actor expressed. *umudan* 'will rain/is raining', *gumayogbog* 'will blow/is blowing'. Descriptive roots also regularly take -um- to indicate a process of development. Many of these also take man- to focus the experiencer who is acquiring the state described.

Examples with *buuk* 'drunk'

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

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

3. NON-ACTOR FOCUS AFFIXES

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

Descriptions based on the theory of case have identified the focused complement in terms of its participant role in the action. However, as pointed out earlier, such a description is not adequate for a person learning the language, because there is so much overlap in the mapping from deep to surface structure. Three of these affixes may focus the participant whose role is patient and often two affixes may focus the same patient with the same verb stem as illustrated in section 0. The labels, traditionally used to refer to these affixes based on the grammatical slot on which they focus in the surface structure, have apparently been chosen to indicate something about their semantic functions, but the labels are too broad and fail to adequately describe their functions in a way that a student of the language can apply them to the majority of situations in which they are used. Wolfenden (1975) attempts to make these labels more descriptive of the functions of the

affixes by substituting 'Direct Object' for the more traditional term 'Object' and 'Conveyant' for 'Accessory'; this helps to explain the apparent ambiguity in the examples cited under section 0. above where the verb *basa* 'to we' uses both -on and i- to focus the same participant whose role in both sentences is patient. However, his continued use of the traditional term 'Referent' is not descriptive enough to explain the apparent ambiguity in the following examples where both -on and -an on the stem *buna* 'leave' focus the same participant with the role of patient.

1. *Bunaom nat isna.* (*leave-Of-2sg. topic the rice*)
'Leave the rice (for next meal).'
2. *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 understanding 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 participant role is patient or range, which is the more commonly expected role of participants focused with -an. However, to a student trying to decide which of the two affixes he should use a description of the participant roles in terms of patient or range is not really very

helpful. But, if he has in mind the semantic functions described for these affixes above he will know that if he wants the participant to be seen as totally affected he will use -on, and if he wants it to be seen as less totally affected he will use -an.

Examples with alyug 'to travel'

1. 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 participant tells the student that he must choose the affix -on if he wants this participant to be in focus.

3.3. THE AFFIX i-

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

The following examples illustrate the use of this affix.

1. 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 implication of conveyance.

2. Ipokpok nu nat badang. (Af-cut 2sg. topic *the bolo*)
 'Cut (it) down with the bolo.'

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

3.4. THE AFFIX *i-* -an

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

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

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

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

3.5. ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES

The following examples illustrate the use of these four affixes.

Examples with *anup* 'hunt'

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

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

part, 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 classification. These classes are then subdivided on the basis of other shared semantic components and affixation potential.

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

4.1. SUBCLASSIFICATION OF CLASS 1

Class 1 is divided into five subclasses.

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

The following are some members of this subclass which take all three affixes. aba 'carry on the back' 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', sikipaw 'catch', ani 'harvest', kan 'eat', inum 'drink', addang 'reach for', pusit 'pick (fruit)', bonnag 'chase'.

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

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

1. Aknamom danat batu. (pick up-Of-2sg. topic stones)
'Pick up the stones.'
- 2a. 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 characteristically affixed with -on to focus the patient. The large majority also take i- with which they usually focus instrument although with a few of these stems i- was found to focus both patient and instrument and with a few only patient. A number of these stems also take -an to focus the range. First those stems found only with -on are listed: banig 'spook', bultug 'destroy', bolang 'hard', buyag 'head (of rice)', angoy 'tired', alingu 'disturb', balus 'coward', biyag 'capture (prisoner of war)', baal 'make active'.

The following stems take both -on and i-: bannay 'slow', langon 'roast', aboba 'short', andu 'long', asot 'mill (cane)', abus 'finish', aled 'sharpen', balin 'continue', angpus 'wear out', asasut 'dry (meat)', amis 'overpower', bilag 'dry (in sun)', apal 'continue', pokpok 'chip', akiyak 'sieve', bognat 'relapse', talibasus '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', apias 'sand', bukol 'point (sharp)', buyuk 'spoil (make rotten)', banglos 'spoil (bad smell)', abak 'defeat', balun 'food (for trail)', apius 'wipe', lampasu 'skate the floor', bunyag 'baptize'.

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

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

b) Examples with asasut 'dry'

1. Asasutom nat babuy. (*dry-Of-2sg. topic the meat*)
'Dry the meat.'
2. Iyasasut nu nat babuy sidin sùugan. (*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 distinct from the Class 3 addition and removal verbs in that with these, the agent is seen as joining himself or something else to the patient to accomplish the action. Besides -on to focus patient, these verbs also take i- to focus patient or instrument. With some it is difficult to determine whether the conveyed participant has the role of patient or instrument. Some of the stems in this subclass are: angkas 'free labour', abuyug 'co-operative work', awis 'invite', alliw 'turn away', amung 'group', alom 'court', biling 'visit'.

The following stems add -an to focus beneficiary or goal. Bulig 'carry together (using pole)', bulun 'companion', asawa 'marry', bulog 'join in line', bungguay '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 instead of an agent. They are affixed with -on to focus the patient which is experienced by the experiencer. The first member listed here was found to take -on, i- and -an, the second was found to take -on and i- and the remainder only -on: apos 'jealous', buya 'view', bilbiii '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. wasas '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', бага '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 instead of an agent. A non-instigator cause or force as Grimes (1975) calls it is focused by *i-* and is seen as being conveyed to the experiencer to cause him to undergo the experience or state described by the stem. One of the stems in this group *apaI* '*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 participant 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 example views the house as less broadly affected and thus refers to only a part of the job.

This subclass also accepts *i-* to focus instrument. Some of its members are: *bulidaw* '*bamboo walling*', *alad* '*fence*', *alisut* '*wall*', *badal*

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

The following examples with 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 article of clothing, a physical injury etc., is added to a range. These verbs take i- and -an. The participant focused by i- is the one conveyed to be added in the action, but it is not always clear whether its tole 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. I am grateful for their valuable and unselfish assistance in this study. I am indebted also to Dr. Elmer Wolfenden, a colleague in the Summer Institute of Linguistics under whose leadership this paper was prepared, for many helpful comments and suggestions.

Linimos has nineteen segmental phonemes, including fourteen consonants: p, t, k, b, d, g, m, n, ng, s, l, w, y, and ʔ, 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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