

ISNEG VERBAL CLAUSES, STEM CLASSES, AND AFFIXES

Rodolfo R. Barlaan
Summer Institute of Linguistics

0. Introduction
1. Verbal affixes
2. Verb stem classes
3. Verbal clauses in general
4. Verbal clauses for each stem class

0. INTRODUCTION

In their study of Maranao clauses, Ward and Forster (1967:30) note the relevance that stem classes have to the description of transitive clauses. Similarly, it has been found that Isneg¹ verbal clauses cannot be adequately described without reference to both the class of the stem in the predicate and the affixation of that stem.

It is the purpose, therefore, of this paper² to

¹Isneg is a language spoken by approximately 10,000 people in the province of Kalinga-Apayao, in the Republic of the Philippines. It is classified by Dyen (1965:31) in the same group as Ibanag, Gaddang, Yogad, and Atok. Although the language has usually been referred to by outsiders as Isneg, it is actually called Isnag by native speakers. In accordance, however, with the orthography currently in use (Roe 1966), it is spelled Isneg in this paper.

²This analysis is based on data for 112 verbs supplied by Mr. Ramon Caddawan, whose home is Dibagat, Kabugao, Kalinga-Apayao. He is approximately 33 years of age and has had the following schooling: high school and college to the third year.

describe how verbal clauses in Isneg are formed. In addition, because of the influence they have on verbal clause construction, both verbal affixes and verb stem classes are discussed as well.

1. VERBAL AFFIXES

The most frequent affixes and their combinations, which are presented in tables 1a and 1b, are found to fall into two main groups, A and B. Many verb stems do not take all of these affixes and combinations, but almost all verbs take some from group A and some from group B. There are sets of clauses that involve these affix groups, and in section 4 clauses are labeled to correspond to the sets.

The research for this paper and its writing were done at a workshop held by the Summer Institute of Linguistics at its southern center at Nasuli, Malaybalay, Bukidnon, during February, March, and April, 1972. I am indebted to Alan Healey, consultant of the Papua New Guinea Branch of SIL, for his guidance in both research and writing.

Table 1a

ISNEG verbal affixes

Clause type	Aspect	Tense	Group A			Group B		
Subject Focus	apt	p ³	nag-	nang-	nalN-	-um-	nagi-	nangi-
		np	mag-	mang-	malN-	-inum-	magi-	mangi-
		p	naka-	naka-	naka-	-um-		
		np	maka-	maka-	maka-			
		coop	p	nepag-	nepang-	nepalN-		nepagi-
		np	mepag-	mepang-	mepalN-		mepagi-	mepangi-
Object Focus	apt	p	-in--án	-in-	-in-		ne--án	ne-
		np	-an	-an	-an		i--án	i-
		p	na--án	na-	na-		ne--án	ne-
		np	ma--án	ma-	ma-		me--án	me-
Instrument Focus		p	pinag-	pinang-	pinalN-			
		np	pag-	pang-	palN-			
Referent Focus	apt	p	pinag--án	pinang--án	pinalN--án		pinagi--án	pinangi--án
		np	nag--án	nang--án	nalN--án		nagi--án	nangi--án
		p	pag--án	pang--án	palN--án		pagi--án	pangi--án
		np	naka--án	naka--án	naka--án			
		np	paka--án	paka--án	paka--án			
Beneficiary Focus	apt	p	pinag-	pinang-	pinalN-		pinagi-	pinangi-
		np	pag-	pang-	palN-		pagi-	pangi-
		p	ne--an	ne--an	ne--an			
		np	i--an	i--an	i--an			

Table 1b

ISNEG nominal affixes

Clause type	Aspect	Tense	Group A			Group B	
Time and		p	<i>nag-</i> <i>nagg-</i>	<i>nang-</i> <i>nangng-</i>	<i>naNN-</i> <i>naN-</i>	<i>naggi-</i>	<i>nangi-</i> <i>nangngi-</i>
Manner Nominal		np	<i>ag-</i> <i>agg-</i>	<i>ang-</i> <i>angng-</i>	<i>aNN-</i> <i>aN-</i>	<i>aggi-</i>	<i>angi-</i> <i>angngi-</i>
Habitual Location Nominal		p	<i>nag--án</i> <i>nagg--án</i>	<i>nang--án</i> <i>nangng--án</i>	<i>naN--án</i>	<i>naggi--án</i>	<i>naggi--án</i>
		np	<i>ag--án</i> <i>agg--án</i>	<i>ang--án</i> <i>angng--án</i>	<i>aN--án</i>	<i>aggi--án</i>	<i>aggi--án</i>

³The meanings of abbreviations and symbols used in this paper are the following: apt, aptative aspect; B, beneficiary tagmeme; bf, beneficiary focus; coop, cooperative aspect; E, emphatic transform of a clause; I, instrument tagmeme; if, instrument focus; n₁, most nouns; n₂, all-nouns; n₃, implements or body parts; n₄, geographical nouns; n₅, personal nouns; np, nonpast tense; O, object tagmeme; of, object focus; P, predicate tagmeme; p, past tense; pl, plural; Pv, predicate verb; R, referent tagmeme; rf, referent focus; S, subject tagmeme; sf, subject focus; T, topic tagmeme; v, verb; VC, verbal clause; +, obligatory occurrence; ±, optional occurrence; /, simultaneous occurrence; and ~, free variation.

The meanings of clauses with group A affixation in the predicate differ from those with group B affixation in several ways, depending upon the verb stem in the predicate. In some instances set B clauses have an extra nuclear tagmeme; in other instances the object tagmeme of set B clauses expresses a participant, or role, different from that expressed by the object tagmeme of set A clauses; and in other instances group B affixation implies that the subject moves to the scene of action before performing the action, while group A affixation does not imply such movement.

When prefixes ending in *N* are attached to stems having certain consonants⁴ in stem initial position, morphophonemic alternation occurs between the *N* and the consonant. These alternations are shown in the formula below.

	<i>k, g, q</i>	>	<i>maŋ-</i>
<i>maN-</i>	<i>p, b</i>	>	<i>maɱ-</i>
	<i>t, d, s</i>	>	<i>maɳ-</i>

The formula may be read as follows: when the prefix *maN-* is attached to a verb stem having *k, g, q* (glottal stop),⁵ *p, b, t, d,* or *s* in initial position, *N* fuses with the consonant to become the nasal having the same point of articulation as the consonant.

⁴In Isneg there are twenty segmental phonemes, including fifteen consonants, *b, k, d, g, l, m, n, ng, p, r, s, t, w, y,* and *q* (glottal stop), and five vowels, *a, e, i, o,* and *u*. There is at least one suprasegmental phoneme, length. *e* and *o* are always long; therefore length is not indicated on these vowels in the examples. In the case, however, of the other vowels, which may be either long or short, length is indicated by an acute accent (').

⁵When glottal stop occurs stem initial, it is unwritten; when it occurs syllable final, it is represented by a grave accent (̀) over its preceding vowel, as in *silat* and *waè*.

Thus, *maN-* + *kirod* > *mangirod* 'to bail out water'; ... + *unè* > *mangunè* 'to climb'; ... + *patay* > *mamatay* 'to kill'; ... + *báyu* > *mamayu* 'to pound in a mortar'; ... + *tagtág* > *manag-tág* 'to run'; --- + *dagut* > *managut* 'to go down'; and ... + *sílát* > *manílát* 'to split'. As yet no example of *maN-* + a stem with initial *g* has been observed. Also, no prefixes ending in *N* have been observed to occur with stems having initial *l*, *m*, *n*, *ng*, *r*, *w*, and *y*.

The initial glottal stop of a stem is lost when a prefix having a final consonant is attached. Example: *nag-* + *unè* 'to climb' > *nagunè* 'he climbed'.

Time, manner, and habitual location prefixes with all -lomorphic endings in *g* ~ *gg* and in *ng* ~ *ngng* occur in their geminated form when attached to stems with initial glottal stop. In contrast, prefixes with allomorphs ending in *NN* ~ *N* occur in their nongeminated form as a free variant only when attached to stems with initial glottal stop. The other pairs of allomorphs in tables 1a and 1b, namely, *-umm-* ~ *-inum-*, *nangi-* ~ *-nangngi-*, *angi-* ~ *angngi-*, and *pinag--an* ~ *nag--an* with the other pairs in the same row are all free variants.

Of the affixes in each of the first five horizontal divisions in table 1a, only these in the first row in each division are used in the clauses discussed in sections 3 and 4. Any statement about any affix's occurrence and clause structure is true also for all the affixes below it within its division, with one exception. That exception is that aptative object focus affixes of group A (*na--án*, *ma--án*, *na-*, and *ma-*) differ from the other object focus affixes of group A in that, in contrast with clauses containing nonaptative affixes, in which the subject is obligatory, in aptative clauses the subject is optional.

When subject focus affixes *-umm-* ~ *-inum-*, *nag-*, *nang-*, and *naN-* occur with a given class of verb stems, they have similar meanings and their clause structures are similar. One feature, however, which differentiates these affixes, is whether the object of the clause is singular or plural. For *nag-* the object is always plural. For *nang-*, *naN-*, and *-umm-* the object may be specified as either singular or plural. In clauses having *naN-* and *-umm-* where the number of the object is not specified, the object is understood to be singular, and in clauses having *nang-*, and object with number unspecified is ambiguous with respect to number.

In addition, these four affixes may be differentiated by what they signify with respect to the duration of an action. *nag-* signifies lengthy or habitual past action, whereas *nang-*, *nan-*, and *-um-* signify a brief or single past action. In summary, these affixes may signal number of object, duration of action, or both in any given clause.

Affixes⁶ of nonsubject focuses also signify number of the object and duration of the action in a way similar to that of subject focus affixes. This correspondence of meaning of both subject and nonsubject focus affixes is indicated in the lists of clauses below by use of the same letters following reference numbers. That is, all clauses having plural objects or lengthy or habitual action are labeled with *a*, and all clauses having singular or unspecified objects, or signifying brief or singular action are labeled with *b*, *c*, or *d*.

2. VERB STEM CLASSES

Because verb stems take different affixes with different meanings in different clause structures, it is convenient to divide verb stems into classes. With regard, incidentally, to classification of stems, it has been found that, because of their occurrence with most, if not all, stems, subject focus affixes have little, if any, classificatory value. For this reason they have been disregarded in the classifications described in this paper.

Two criteria are the basis for the classification of verb stems in this paper. The first is whether or not a verb stem can be affixed for nonsubject focus, that is, for object, instrument, referent, or beneficiary focus. This virtually amounts to finding which of the nonsubject affixes from tables 1a and 1b occur with each stem. This criterion serves to distinguish all the stem classes from each other, except classes 2 and 3. The second criterion is the comparison of object tagmemes in set A clauses with those in set B clauses to see whether they express the same or different items in the real-life situation. This criterion distinguishes class 2 from class 3, as well as from all the other classes.

⁶No account is taken of causative affixes or affix combinations, or of causative clauses in this paper.

On the basis of the 112 verb stems examined, there are at least seven verb stem classes in Isneg. Since, however, there are three verb stems that do not fit exactly into any of these seven classes, when more stems are studied, there may prove to be more classes than this. In the meantime, these three stems are included in the classes to which they are most closely related.

3. VERBAL CLAUSES IN GENERAL

In Isneg a verbal clause may be one of at least five types: subject focus, object focus, instrument focus, referent focus, or beneficiary focus. Each clause type contrasts with the others by (a) the particular nuclear tagmemes that can occur together; (b) whether each of the nuclear tagmemes is obligatory or optional; (c) the particular tagmeme that is topicalized; and (d) the affixation of the verbal predicate.

These five clause types and their variants are represented by formulas in table 2. Aside from the nuclear tagmemes that occur in these clauses, there are peripheral tagmemes such as time, purpose, and reason, which may occur in all clauses. These peripheral tagmemes, however, are not considered in this paper.

Table 3 shows the particles that mark different tagmemes. A tagmeme that is topicalized is introduced by one of the following topic markers: *ya* for a singular noun, *daya* for plural nouns, *e* for a singular person, *de* for plural persons, and *tu* for an extinct person or thing.

Table 2

Conditioned variants of verbal clause types

Clause Type	Formulas of Clause Variants					Conditioning Factors	
						Verb Stem Classes	Verb Affix Group
Subject Focus	+P:v	+T/S:n ₁	+O:n ₂		±R:n ₄	1,2,3,4 1,7	A B
	+P:v	+T/S:n ₁			±R:n ₄	5,6,7	A
Object Focus	+P:v	+S:n ₁	+T/O:n ₂	±I:n ₃	±R:n ₄	1	
	+P:v	+S:n ₁	+T/O:n ₂		±R:n ₄	2,3,4,7 1,2,3,5,6,7	A B
	+P:v	±S:n ₁	+T/O:n ₂		±R:n ₄	1,2	A
Instrument Focus	+P:v	+S:n ₁	+O:n ₂	+T/I:n ₃	±R:n ₄	1	A
Referent Focus	+P:v	+S:n ₁	+O:n ₂		+T/R:n ₄	1,2,3,4 5,6,7	A A
	+P:v	+S:n ₁			+T/R:n ₄	1,2,5,6,7	B
Beneficiary Focus	+P:v	+S:n ₁	+O:n ₂	±R:n ₄	+T/B:n ₅	1	A
	+P:v	+S:n ₁	+O:n ₂		+T/B:n ₅	3	B
	+P:v	+S:n ₁	+T/B:n ₅	±O:n ₁	±R:n ₄	1,2,5,7	B
	+P:v	+S:n ₁	+T/B:n ₅	±O:n ₁		2,3,4	A
	+P:v	+S:n ₁	+T/B:n ₅		±R:n ₄	6	A

Table 3

Tagmeme markers

	Topic	Nontopic Subject	Nontopic Object	Nontopic Instrument	Nontopic Referent
Noun					
singular	ya	na	ka	ka	ki, ka, kiya
plural	daya	da	kada	kada	kada
Person					
singular	e	ne	ke		kitu...kitun
plural	de	de	kade		kadatun...kitun
Extinct					
noun	tu	natu	ka...kitun	ka...kitun	
person	tu	natu	ke...kitun		

4. VERBAL CLAUSES FOR EACH STEM CLASS

In what follows, each stem class is considered in turn. For each class, the set of typical clauses with group A affixes is described first; then the set with group B affixes is described. Finally, some stems belonging to the class are listed.

4.1. CLASS 1

4.1.1. Verbal clause set 1A. All the verbal clauses in set 1A may be constructed by attaching affixes of group A to each of the verb stems of class 1. In this set of clauses, subject object, instrument, referent, and beneficiary tagmemes are focusable, or, in other words, may be the topic.

In this set, all the clauses labeled with the same letter (such as 1a, 2a, 3a, 4a, and 5a) describe the same real-life situation. The difference between these clauses is the function of the topic, which reflects the particular situational role upon which the speaker is focusing his attention. Thus, each of these clauses has a different tagmeme as topic.

Concerning topic, it may be noted that one of the functions of topicalization may be taken to be correlation of a question and its answer. Thus, according to which tagmeme is topicalized, or focused, a given clause may be regarded as the answer to a question like the following:

- 1a. What did the man do?
- 2a. What was affected by his action?
- 3a. What did he use?
- 4a. Where did he do it?
- 5a. For whom did he do it?

One, and only one, nuclear tagmeme in a clause can be focused at a time, and the affixation of the verbal predicate signals the grammatical function of this focused tagmeme, which is introduced by one of the topic markers shown in table 3. The particular tagmeme focused is a contrastive feature of each of the five clause types in this set. Except for beneficiary, all nuclear tagmemes can occur together in instrument focused clauses. The beneficiary tagmeme occurs only when it is focused.

Formal Paradigm 1A

1a.	VC1sf	> Pv	<i>nag-</i>	+T/S	+0		±R
1b.	VC1af	> Pv	<i>nang-</i>	+T/S	+0		±R
1c.	VC1af	> Pv	<i>naN-</i>	+T/S	+0		±R
1d.	VC1sf	> Pv	<i>-umm-</i>	+T/S	+0		±R
2a.	VC1cf	> Pv	<i>-un--dn</i>	+S	+T/O		±R
2b.	VC1cf	> Pv	<i>-in-</i>	+S	+T/O		±R
3a.	VC1if	> Pv	<i>pinag-</i>	+S	±0	+T/I	±R
3b.	VC1if	> Pv	<i>pinang-</i>	+S	±0	+T/I	±R
3c.	VC1if	> Pv	<i>pinaN-</i>	+S	±0	+T/I	±R
4a.	VC1rf	> Pv	<i>pinag--dn</i>	+S	±0		+T/R
4b.	VC1rf	> Pv	<i>pinang--dn</i>	+S	±0		+T/R
4c.	VC1rf	> Pv	<i>pinaN--dn</i>	+S	±0		+T/R
5a.	VC1bf	> Pv	<i>pinag-</i>	+S	±0		±R +T/B
5b.	VC1bf	> Pv	<i>pinang-</i>	+S	±0		±R +T/B
5c.	VC1bf	> Pv	<i>pinaN-</i>	+S	±0		±R +T/B

Citation Paradigm 1A

1a. *Nagsilát ya tolay ka búlu ki ammaság.*
sf split T man O bamboo R yard

'THE MAN⁷ split some pieces of bamboo in the yard.'

1b. *Nangsílát ya tolay ka búlu ki ammaság.*
sf split T man O bamboo R yard

'THE MAN split bamboo in the yard.'

1c. *Nanílát ya tolay ka búlu ki ammaság.*
sf split T man O bamboo R yard

'THE MAN split a piece of bamboo in the yard.'

1d. *Summílát ya tolay ka búlu ki ammaság.*
sf split T man O bamboo R yard

'THE MAN split a piece of bamboo in the yard.'

2a. *Sinílatán na tolay ya búlu ki ammaság.*
of split S man T bamboo R yard

'The man split SOME PIECES OF BAMBOO in the yard.'

2b. *Sinílát na tolay ya búlu ki ammaság.*
of split S man T bamboo R yard

'The man split THE BAMBOO in the yard.'

3a. *Pinagsílát na tolay ka búlu ya aliwa.*
if split S man O bamboo T bolo

'The man split some pieces of bamboo WITH THE BOLO

ki ammaság.
R yard

in the yard.'

⁷Small caps are used to indicate the topic, or focused item, of the clause.

3b. *Pinangsilat na tolay ka bûlu ya aliwà*
if split S man O bamboo T bolo

'The man split bamboo WITH THE BOLO

ki ammasag.

R yard

in the yard.'

3c. *Pinanilat na tolay ka bûlu ya aliwà*
if split S man O bamboo T bolo

'The man split a piece of bamboo WITH THE BOLO

ki ammasag.

R yard

in the yard.'

4a. *Pinagsilatán na tolay ka bûlu ya ammasag.*
rf split S man O bamboo T yard

'The man split some pieces of bamboo IN THE YARD.'

4b. *Pinangsilatán na tolay ka bûlu ya ammasag.*
rf split S man O bamboo T yard

'The man split bamboo IN THE YARD.'

4c. *Pinanilatán na tolay ka bûlu ya ammasag.*
rf split S man O bamboo T yard

'The man split a piece of bamboo IN THE YARD.'

5a. *Pinagsilat na tolay ka bûlu ya babay.*
bf split S man O bamboo T woman

'The man split some pieces of bamboo FOR THE WOMAN.'

5b. *Pinangsilat na tolay ka bûlu ya babay.*
bf split S man O bamboo T woman

'The man split bamboo FOR THE WOMAN.'

5c. *Pinanilat na tolay ka bûlu ya babay.*
bf split S man O bamboo T woman

'The man split bamboo FOR THE WOMAN.'

4.1.2. Verbal clause set 1B. Set 1B clauses may be produced by affixing verb stems of class 1 with group B affixes. There is no instrument focus type in this set of clauses, and normally no nontopic instrument tagmeme occurs in this set either. In those rare situations when a nontopic instrument tagmeme does occur, it expresses a body part used to manipulate a tool. As in set 1A, a beneficiary tagmeme occurs only when it is focused.

Clauses of this set show several differences from their corresponding clauses of set 1A. In the English free translations in the citation paradigm of this set, the phrase 'went and used' is introduced to show the meaning of Isneg verbs formed by attaching group B affixes to class 1 verb stems.

In the clauses of set 1A, 'bolo' in the instrument slot is the tool used to perform the action, and 'bamboo' in the object slot is the patient, the thing affected. However, in the clauses of set 1B, 'bolo' is more prominent than 'bamboo'; therefore, it occupies the object slot while 'bamboo' occupies the referent slot. The action of splitting the bamboo is not so much in view as is that of going and using the bolo to split bamboo. Although splitting bamboo is still present in the real-life situation, it is made less prominent by group B affixes used in set 1B clauses. In set 1A clauses the referent, introduced by a nontopic referent marker, for example, *ki*, is a location, 'yard', but in set 1B clauses the referent is that upon which the action is performed, 'bamboo' in this case.

Formal Paradigm 1B.

1a.	VC1sf	> Pv	<i>nagi-</i>	+T/S	+0	±R
1b.	VC1sf	> Pv	<i>naangi-</i>	+T/S	+0	±R
2a.	VC1of	> Pv	<i>ne--<u>an</u></i>	+S	+T/0	±R
2b.	VC1of	> Pv	<i>ne-</i>	+S	+T/0	±R
4a.	VC1rf	> Pv	<i>pinagi--<u>an</u></i>	+S	+0	+T/R
4b.	VC1rf	> Pv	<i>pinangi--<u>an</u></i>	+S	+0	+T/R
5a.	VC1bf	> Pv	<i>pinagi-</i>	+S	+T/B	±0 ±R
5b.	VC1bf	> Pv	<i>pinangi-</i>	+S	+T/B	±0 ±R

Citation Paradigm 1B

1a. *Nagisilát ya tolay ka aliwa ki bñlu.*
sf split T man O bolo R bamboo

'THE MAN went and used the bolos to split bamboo.'

1b. *Nangisilát ya tolay ka aliwa ki bñlu.*
sf split T man O bolo R bamboo

'THE MAN went and used the bolo to split bamboo.'

2a. *Nesilatán na tolay daya aliwa ki bñlu.*
of split S man T-pl bolo R bamboo

'The man went and used THE BOLOS to split bamboo.'

2b. *Nesilát na tolay ya aliwa ki bñlu.*
of split S man. T bolo R bamboo

'The man went and used THE BOLO to split bamboo.'

4a. *Pinagisilatán na tolay ka aliwa ya bñlu.*
rf split S man O bolo T bamboo

'The man went and used bolos to split BAMBOO.'

4b. *Pinangisilatán na tolay ka aliwa ya bñlu.*
rf split S man O bolo T bamboo

'The man went and used the bolo to split BAMBOO.'

5a. *Pinagisilát na tolay ya babay ka aliwa ki bñlu.*
bf split S man T woman O bolo R bamboo

'The man went and used bolos to split bamboo
FOR THE WOMAN.'

5b. *Pinangisilát na tolay ya babay ka aliwa ki bñlu.*
bf split S man T woman O bolo R bamboo

'The man went and used the bolo to split bamboo
FOR THE WOMAN.'

4.1.3. Representative stems of class 1. Two glosses are given for each stem. The first applies when group A affixation is used, and the second, when group B affixation is used. A typical object is indicated in parentheses in each gloss.

1.	<i>putad</i>	'cut (rattan)'	'go and use (a bolo) to cut'
2.	<i>balldt</i>	'remove weeds from (a garden)'	'go and use (a hoe) to remove weeds'
3.	<i>báyu</i>	'pound (rice)'	'go and use (a pes - tle) to pound'
4.	<i>síldt</i>	'split (bamboo)'	'go and use (a bolo) to split'
5.	<i>súrdt</i>	'write (a letter)'	'go and use (a pen- cil) to write'
6.	<i>gálut</i>	'tie up (a bundle)'	'go and tie up with (rope)' 'go and tie (a pig) to a tree'
7.	<i>tiptep</i>	'cut grass in (the yard)'	'go and use(a bolo) to cut grass'
8.	<i>wè</i>	'climb (a tree)'	'take (something) up'
9.	<i>kirod</i>	'bail (water) out'	'go and use (a can) to bail water'
10.	<i>táldg</i>	'cut (wood) for fuel'	'go and use (an ax) to cut'

4.2. CLASS 2

4.2.1. Verbal clause set 2A. Verb stems of class 2 may be used to construct all the clauses of set 2A. These verbs, like those of class 1, are transitive, but they do not require the use of any toollike instrument to perform the action. Rather, a body part, which is usually involved in the action, is the instrument. In set 2A clauses, subject, object, referent, and beneficiary tagmemes are focusable, just as in clauses of set 1A.

The four clause types in this set contrast according to what particular tagmeme is focused. Each type has several variants with similar meanings. Those labeled *a* through *d* vary only in the number of the object or duration of the action, as described in section 1. In the beneficiary focus type, the referent tagmeme cannot occur preceding the beneficiary tagmeme. In this set, as in set 1, the beneficiary tagmeme occurs only when it is focused. Some verb stems of class 2 do not occur with the group A affixes *nan-*, *-um-*, *pinaN--an*, and *pinaN-*.

Formal Paradigm 2A

1a.	VC2sf	> Pv	<i>nag-</i>	+T/S		+O	±R
1b.	VC2sf	> Pv	<i>nang-</i>	+T/S		+O	±R
1c.	VC2sf	> Pv	<i>nan-</i>	+T/S		+O	±R
1d.	VC2sf	> Pv	<i>-um-</i>	+T/S		+O	±R
2a.	VC2of	> Pv	<i>-in--an</i>	+S		+T/O	±R
2b.	VC2of	> Pv	<i>-in-</i>	+S		+T/O	±R
4a.	VC2rf	> Pv	<i>pinag--an</i>	+S		±O	+T/R
4b.	VC2rf	> Pv	<i>pinang--an</i>	+S		±O	+T/R
4c.	VC2rf	> Pv	<i>pinaN--an</i>	+S		±O	+T/R
5a.	VC2bf	> Pv	<i>pinag-</i>	+S	+T/B	±O	±R
5b.	VC2bf	> Pv	<i>pinang-</i>	+S	+T/B	±O	±R
5c.	VC2bf	> Pv	<i>pinaN-</i>	+S	+T/B	+O	±R

Citation Paradigm 2A

- 1a. *Nagbilág ya babay ka ammay ki kapanágan.*
sf sun-dry T woman O palay R riverbank

'THE WOMAN dried a lot of palay (unhusked rice) on the riverbank.'

- 1b. *Nangbilág ya babay ka ammay ki kapanágan.*
sf sun-dry T woman O palay R riverbank

'THE WOMAN dried palay on the riverbank.'

- 1c. *Nambilág ya babay ka ammay ki kapanágan.*
sf sun-dry T woman O palay R riverbank

'THE WOMAN dried a little palay on the riverbank.'

- 1d. *Bumnilág ya babay ka ammay ki kapanágan.*
sf sun-dry T woman O palay R riverbank
'THE WOMAN dried a little palay on the riverbank.'
- 2a. *Binilagán na babay ya ammay ki kapanágan.*
of sun-dry S woman T palay R riverbank
'The woman dried A LOT OF PALAY on the riverbank.'
- 2b. *Binildg na babay ya ammay ki kapandagan.*
of sun-dry S woman T palay R riverbank
'The woman dried THE PALAY on the riverbank.'
- 4a. *Pinagbilagdn na babay ka ammay ya kapandagan.*
rf sun-dry S woman O palay T riverbank
'The woman dried a lot of palay ON THE RIVERBANK.'
- 4b. *Pinangbilagdn na babay ka ammay ya kapandagan.*
rf sun-dry S woman O palay T riverbank
'The woman dried palay ON THE RIVERBANK.'
- 4c. *Pinamilagdn na babay ka ammay ya kapandagan.*
rf sun-dry S woman O palay T riverbank
'The woman dried a little palay ON THE RIVERBANK.'
- 5a. *Pinagbildg na babay ya bábakat ka ammay*
bf sun-dry S woman T old woman O palay
'The woman dried a lot of palay on the riverbank
ki kapandagan.
R riverbank
FOR THE OLD WOMAN.'
- 5b. *Pinangbildg na babay ya bábakat ka ammay ki*
bf sun-dry S woman T old woman O palay R
'The woman dried palay on the riverbank
kapandagan.
riverbank
FOR THE OLD WOMAN.'

5c. *Pinamilág na babay ya bábakat ka ammay ki*
 bf sun-dry S woman T old woman O palay R

'The woman dried a little palay on the riverbank

kapanágan.
 riverbank

FOR THE OLD WOMAN.'

4.2.2. Verbal clause set 2B. The clauses of this set are similar to those of set 2A in that there is no difference in the roles of the object and referent tagmemes. In both sets the object tagmeme is a patient, and the referent tagmeme is a location. In this regard, class 2 stems differ from class 1 stems. However, there is a difference of meaning between the clauses of sets 2B and 2A. When attached to class 2 stems, group B affixes mean 'go and do'.

Formal Paradigm 2B

1a.	VC2sf	> Pv	<i>nagi-</i>	+T/S	+O		±R
1b.	VC2sf	> Pv	<i>nangi-</i>	+T/S	+O		±R
2a.	VC2of	> Pv	<i>ne--án</i>	+S	+T/O		±R
2b.	VC2of	> Pv	<i>ne-</i>	+S	+T/O		±R
4a.	VC2rf	> Pv	<i>pinagi--án</i>	+S	+O		+T/R
4b.	VC2rf	> Pv	<i>pinangí--án</i>	+S	+O		+T/R
5a.	VC2bf	> Pv	<i>pinagi-</i>	+S	±O	+T/B	±R
5b.	VC2bf	> Pv	<i>pinangí-</i>	+S	±O	+T/B	±R

Citation Paradigm 2B

1a. *Nagibilág ya babay ka ammay ki kapanágan.*
 sf sun-dry T woman O palay R riverbank

'THE WOMAN went and dried a lot of palay on the riverbank.'

1b. *Nangibilág ya babay ka ammay ki kapanágan.*
 sf sun-dry T woman O palay R riverbank

'THE WOMAN went and dried some palay on the riverbank.'

- 2a. *Nebilagán na babay ya ammay ki kapandagan.*
of sun-dry S woman T palay R riverbank

'The woman went and dried A LOT OF PALAY on the
riverbank.'
- 2b. *Nebilág na babay ya ammay ki kapandagan.*
of sun-dry S woman T palay R riverbank

'The woman went and dried THE PALAY on the
riverbank.'
- 4a. *Pinagibilagán na babay ka ammay ya kapandagan.*
of sun-dry S woman O palay T riverbank

'The woman went and dried a lot of palay
ON THE RIVERBANK.'
- 4b. *Pinangibilagán na babay ka ammay ya kapandagan.*
of sun-dry S woman O palay T riverbank

'The woman went and dried palay ON THE
RIVERBANK.'
- 5a. *Pinagibilág na babay ka ammay ya bábakat*
of sun-dry S woman O palay T old woman

'The woman went and dried a lot of palay on the
ki kapandagan.
R riverbank

riverbank FOR THE OLD WOMAN.'
- 5b. *Pinangibilág na babay ka ammay ya bábakat*
of sun-dry S woman O palay T old woman

'The woman went and dried palay on the riverbank
ki kapandagan.
R riverbank

FOR THE OLD WOMAN.'

4.2.3. Representative stems of class 2

1.	<i>bása</i>	'read (a story)'	'read (a story) aloud to people'
2.	<i>kípat</i>	'distribute it to (people)'	'go and distribute (shares of meat)'
3.	<i>bilág</i>	'dry (rice) in the sun'	'go and dry (rice) in the sun'
4.	<i>útu</i>	'cook (meat)'	'go and cook (meat)'
5.	<i>úgám</i>	'roast (corn)'	'go and roast (corn)'
6.	<i>súru</i>	'teach (the children)'	'go and teach (the children or the lesson)'
7.	<i>úku</i>	'sell to (someone)'	'go and sell (a pig)'
8.	<i>dungsu</i>	'put fuel on (the fire)'	'go and put (wood) on the fire'
9.	<i>sagána</i>	'prepare food for (a visitor)'	'prepare (food) for someone'

4.3. CLASS 3

4.3.1. Verbal clause set 3A. Verb stems of class 3 may be used to construct all clauses in set 3A. These verbs also are transitive, and they, like class 2 verb stems, do not require the use of any toollike instrument to perform the action. Again, a body part is usually involved in the action, and it would be the instrument.

Clauses of this set are identical in structure to those of set 2A. The four types in this set contrast according to what particular tagmeme is focused. Normally, in the beneficiary focused type the referent tagmeme cannot occur preceding the beneficiary tagmeme. And again, the beneficiary tagmeme occurs only when it is focused.

Formal Paradigm 3a. (See Formal Paradigm 2A.)

Partial Citation Paradigm 3A

1a. *Naglága ya babay ka abà.*
sf wove T woman O mat

'THE WOMAN was weaving mats.'

1b. *Nanglága ya babay ka abà.*
sf wove T woman O mat

'THE WOMAN wove a mat.'

The remaining clauses are fully analogous to those in the citation paradigm of set 2A clauses.

4.3.2. Verbal clause set 3B. In this set of clauses, just as in set 1B, group B affixes convey the meaning of 'go and use' the thing mentioned in the object slot. In the clauses of set 3, 'mat' in the object slot is the thing manufactured (factive); however, the ingredient 'pandanus leaf', which is the patient used in the process, cannot be expressed in any slot in these clauses, even though it is always in the real-life situation. This contrasts with the structure of clauses in set 1 where 'bolo', the instrument, can be expressed in both object focus and instrument focus clauses. On the other hand, in the clauses of set 3B 'pandanus leaf' is more prominent than 'mat'; therefore, it occupies the object slot, and 'mat' is transferred to the referent slot.

Formal Paradigm 3B

1a.	VC2sf	> Pv <i>nagi-</i>	+T/S	+O	+R
1b.	VC2sf	> Pv <i>nangi-</i>	+T/S	+O	+R
2a.	VC3of	> Pv <i>ne--án</i>	+S	+T/O	+R
2b.	VC3of	> Pv <i>ne-</i>	+S	+T/O	+R
4a.	VC3rf	> Pv <i>pinagi--án</i>	+S	+O	+T/R
4b.	VC3rf	> Pv <i>pinangi--án</i>	+S	+O	+T/R
5a.	VC3bf	> Pv <i>pinagi-</i>	+S	+O	+T/B
5b.	VC3bf	> Pv <i>pinangi-</i>	+S	+O	+T/B

Citation Paradigm 3B

- 1a. *Nagilága ya babay ka ulángu ki abà.*
 sf wove T woman O pandanus R mat
 'THE WOMAN went and wove pandanus strips into a mat.'
- 1b. *Nangilága ya babay ka ulángu ki abà.*
 sf wove T woman O pandanus R mat
 'THE WOMAN went and wove some pandanus strips into a mat.'
- 2a. *Nelagáan na babay ya ulángu ki abà.*
 of wove S woman T pandanus R mat
 'The woman went and wove THE PANDANUS STRIPS into a mat.'
- 2b. *Nelága na babay ya ulángu ki abà.*
 of wove S woman T pandanus R mat
 'The woman went and wove SOME PANDANUS STRIPS into a mat.'
- 4a. *Pinagilagáan na babay ka ulángu ya abà.*
 rf wove S woman O pandanus T mat
 'The woman went and wove pandanus strips into THE MAT.'
- 4b. *Pinangilagáan na babay ka ulángu ya abà.*
 rf wove S woman O pandanus T mat
 'The woman went and wove a pandanus strip into THE MAT.'
- 5a. *Pinagilága na babay ka ulángu ki abà ya*
 bf wove S woman O pandanus R mat T
 'The woman went and wove pandanus strips in a
 ina na.
 mother her
 mat FOR HER MOTHER.'

- 5b. *Pinangilága na babay ka ulángu ki abà ya*
 bf wove S woman O pandanus R mat T

'The woman went and wove pandanus strips in the

ina na.
 mother her

mat FOR HER MOTHER.'

4.3.3. Representative stems of class 3

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>lága</i> | 'weave (a mat)' | 'go and weave (strip) into a mat' |
| 2. <i>sápuł</i> | 'look for (something lost)' | 'go and look for (a buyer)'
'go and look for something to buy with (the money)' |
| 3. <i>anup</i> | 'hunt (wild pig)' | 'go and use (a dog) to hunt' |
| 4. <i>paltù</i> | 'spear (fish) with a gun' | 'go and use (a spear gun)' |

4.4. CLASS 4

4.4.1. Verbal clause set 4A. Verb stems of class 4 may be used to construct all of the clauses of set 4A. These verb stems are transitive, but they do not require the use of any toollike instrument to perform the action. However, a body part is usually involved in the action, and the instrument is this body part.

Clauses of this set are identical in structure to those of sets 2A and 3A. The four clause types in this set contrast according to what particular tagmeme is focused. Normally, in the beneficiary focus type the referent tagmeme cannot occur preceding the beneficiary tagmeme. And again, the beneficiary tagmeme occurs only when it is focused.

Formal Paradigm 4A. (See Formal Paradigm 2A.)

Partial Citation Paradigm 4A

- 1a. *Nangngàngat ya babay ka bwa.*
 sf chewed T woman O betel nut

'THE WOMAN chewed betel nut for some time.'

- 1b. *Nangngàngat ya babay ka bwa.*
 sf chewed T woman O betel nut

'THE WOMAN chewed betel nut.'

The remaining clauses are fully analogous to those in the citation paradigm of set 2A clauses.

4.4.2. Verbal clause set 4B. In clauses of this set, the purpose of the action is more prominent than the action itself; hence, the person who benefits from the action is expressed by the object, and in object focus clauses this person is the topic. In this set of clauses, beneficiary focus, with verbal prefixes *pinagi-* and *pinangì-*, does not occur.

Also, unemphatic clauses (that is, those presented in the paradigms) do not allow focusing of the referent tagmeme, which indicates the place where the action was performed. However, in an emphatic transformed clause (indicated by 'E' in the formal paradigm) the referent can be focused.

Formal Paradigm 4B

1a.	VC4sf	>	Pv	<i>nagi-</i>		+T/S	+0
1b.	VC4sf	>	Pv	<i>nanngi-</i>		+T/S	+0
2a.	VC4of	>	Pv	<i>ne--an</i>		+S	+T/0
4a.	VC4Erf	>	+T/R		+Pv <i>nagi--an</i>	+S	+0
4b.	VC4Erf	>	+T/R		+Pv <i>nanngi--an</i>	+S	+0

Citation Paradigm 4B

1a. *Nagingàngat ya ina kada anndà na.*
sf chewed T mother O-pl children her

'THE MOTHER chewed for her children.'

1b. *Nangingàngat ya ina ka an-anà na.*
sf chewed T mother O child her

'THE MOTHER chewed for her child.'

2a. *Nengàngattàn na ina ya an-anà na.*
of chewed S mother T child her

'The mother chewed FOR HER CHILD.'

4aE. *Kusìna ya nagingàngattàn na ina kada*
kitchen T rf chewed S mother O-pl

'The mother chewed for her children

annàna na.
children her

IN THE KITCHEN.'

4bE. *Kusina ya nangingangattan na ina ka an-ana*
na.
kitchen T rf chewed S mother O child
her

'The mother chewed for her child IN THE KITCHEN.'

4.4.3. Representative stems of class 4.

- | | | |
|-------------------|------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>pili</i> | 'choose (one) of them' | 'choose carefully (a place or recipient) for it'
'choose for someone ' |
| 2. <i>karraw</i> | 'call (a child)' | 'call (someone) for someone' |
| 3. <i>ritù</i> | 'break (a stick)' | 'break (something) for someone' |
| 4. <i>ngàngat</i> | 'chew (betel nut)' | 'chew (something) for a child' |
| 5. <i>sup</i> | 'blow (the fire)' | 'blow (the fire) for someone' |
| 6. <i>lukát</i> | 'open (the can)' | 'open (something) for someone' |
| 7. <i>takkaw</i> | 'borrow (a shovel)' | 'borrow (something) for someone' |

4.5. CLASS 5

4.5.1. Verbal clause set 5A. Verbal clauses of set 5A are intransitive and reflexive, and they may be generated from class 5 stems. The clauses in this set differ from those in all the other sets in that they have no object, instrument, or beneficiary tagmemes.

Some verbs in this class do not take all the group A affixes that are listed in paradigm 5. In most cases, if a verb takes the *naN-* prefix, it does not take the *-umm-* infix.

Formal Paradigm 5A

1a.	VC3sf	> Pv	<i>nag-</i>	+T/S	±R
1b.	VC3sf	> Pv	<i>nang-</i>	+T/S	±R
1c.	VC3sf	> Pv	<i>naN-</i>	+T/S	±R
1d.	VC3sf	> Pv	<i>-umm-</i> ~ <i>-inum-</i>	+T/S	±R
4a.	VC3rd	> Pv	<i>pinag--dn</i>	+S	+T/R
4b.	VC3rd	> Pv	<i>pinang--dn</i>	+S	+T/R
4c.	VC3rd	> Pv	<i>pinaN--dn</i>	+S	+T/R

Citation Paradigm 5A

- 1a. *Nagsikáád ya an-anà ka útun tebol.*
sf stood T child R top table
'THE CHILD stood on top of the table.'
- 1b. *Nangsikáád ya an-anà ki útun tebol.*
sf stood T child R top table
'THE CHILD stood on top of the table.'
- 1c. *Nanúdu ya an-anà ki bantay.*
sf went up T child R mountain
'THE CHILD went up the mountain.'
- 1d. *Summikáád ya an-anà ki útun tebol.*
sf stood T child R top table
'THE CHILD stood on top of the table.'
- 1e. *Nakasikáád ya an-anà ki útun tebol.*
sf stood T child R top table
'THE CHILD was able to stand on top of the table.'
- 4a. *Pinagsikáadan na an-anà ya útun tebol.*
rf stood S child T top table
'The child stood ON TOP OF THE TABLE.'

4b. *Pinangsikàdan na an-anà ya útun tebol.*
 rf stood S child T top table

'The child stood ON TOP OF THE TABLE.'

4c. *Pinanùdàwàn na an-anà ya bantay.*
 rf went up S child T mountain

'The child went up THE MOUNTAIN.'

4e. *Nakasikàdan na an-anà ya útun tebol.*
 rf stood S child T top table

'The child was able to stand ON TOP OF THE TABLE.'

4.5.2. Verbal clause set 5B. Intransitive verbs of class 5 have the property of becoming transitive when they take group B affixes. In clauses of this set, the object tagmeme expresses the concomitant to the action. Except for the instrument tagmeme, the other nuclear tagmemes that cannot occur in set 5A clauses can occur with the same verbs in clauses of set 5B.

Aside from differing in the number of the object, *nangi-* differs from *nagi-* in that *nagi-* implies habitual past action or action performed over a longer span of time, whereas *nangi-* implies an action performed only once or for a shorter time.

Formal Paradigm 5B

1a.	VC3sf	> Pv	<i>nagi-</i>	+T/S	+O	±R
1b.	VC3sf	> Pv	<i>nangi-</i>	+T/S	+O	±R
2a.	VC3of	> Pv	<i>ne--án</i>	+S	+T/O	±R
2b.	VC3of	> Pv	<i>ne-</i>	+S	+T/O	±R
4a.	VC3rf	> Pv	<i>pinagi--án</i>	+S	+O	+T/R
4b.	VC3rf	> Pv	<i>pinangì--án</i>	+S	+O	+T/R
5a.	VC3f	> Pv	<i>pinagi-</i>	+S	+T/B	+O ±R
5b.	VC3bf	> Pv	<i>pinangì-</i>	+S	+T/B	+O ±R

Citation Paradigm 5B

- 1a. *Nagisikád ya babay ka an-ana ki útun tebol.*
sf stood T woman O child R top table
'THE WOMAN stood for a long time with the child
on top of the table.'
- 1b. *Nangisikád ya babay ka an-ana ki útun tebol.*
sf stood T woman O child R top table
'THE WOMAN stood with the child on top of the
table.'
- 2b. *Nesikád na babay ya an-anà ki utun tebol.*
of stood S woman T child R top table
'The woman stood WITH THE CHILD on top of the
table.'
- 4a. *Pinagisikádan na babay ka an-anà ya utun tebol.*
rf stood S woman O child T top table
'The woman stood for a long time with the child
ON TOP OF THE TABLE.'
- 4b. *Pinangisikádan na babay ka an-ana ya útun tebol.*
rf stood S woman O child T top table
'The woman stood with the child ON TOP OF THE
TABLE.'
- 5a. *Pinagisikád na babay ya tolay ka an-anà na.*
bf stood S woman T man O child his
'The woman stood for a long time with the child
FOR THE MAN.'
- 5b. *Pinangisikád na babay ya tolay ka an-anà na.*
bf stood S woman T man O child his
'The woman stood with the child FOR THE MAN.'

4.5.3. Representative stems of class 5

1.	<i>síkád</i>	'stand on (the table)'	'stand up with (a child)' 'stand (a ladder) up'
2.	<i>iddrup</i>	'wash (one's own) face'	'go and wash (a child's) face' 'use (hot water) to wash his face'
3.	<i>simù</i>	'hide oneself'	'hide (something)'
4.	<i>dagut</i>	'go down (a slippery slope)'	'bring (something)' 'bring (something) down'

4.6. CLASS 6

4.6.1. Verbal clause set 6A. Verbal clauses of set 6A may be constructed from stems of class 6, and they are intransitive in form in that they have no object or instrument tagmeme. However, these clauses often imply an unstated patient or location, which must be translated as an object in English. In this set there are no object focus or instrument focus clauses. Also, some verb stems in this class do not take all of the group A affixes of paradigm 6A. The affixes *nag-*, *nang-*, *naN-*, and *-umm-* signal duration of the action.

Formal Paradigm 6A

1a.	VC6sf	> Pv	<i>nag-</i>	+T/S		±R
1b.	VC6sf	> Pv	<i>nang-</i>	+T/S		±R
1c.	VC6sf	> Pv	<i>naN-</i>	+T/S		±R
1d.	VC6sf	> Pv	<i>-umm-</i>	+T/S		±R
4a.	VC6rf	> Pv	<i>pinag--án</i>	+S		±T/R
4b.	VC6rf	> Pv	<i>pinang--án</i>	+S		±T/R
4c.	VC6rf	> Pv	<i>pinaN--an</i>	+S		±T/R
5a.	VC6bf	> Pv	<i>pinag-</i>	+S	+T/B	±R
5b.	VC6bf	> Pv	<i>pinang-</i>	+S	+T/B	±R
5c.	VC6bf	> Pv	<i>pinaN-</i>	+S	+T/B	±R

Citation Paradigm 6A

1a. *Nagkarárag ya babay.*
sf prayed T woman

'THE WOMAN prayed for a long time.'

1b. *Nangkardrag ya babay.*
sf prayed T woman

'THE WOMAN prayed.'

1c. *Nangardrag ya babay.*
sf prayed T woman

'THE WOMAN prayed.'

1d. *Kummarárag ya babay.*
sf prayed T woman

'THE WOMAN prayed.'

4a. *Pinagkarardgan na babay ya kuarto.*
rf prayed S woman T room

'The woman prayed IN THE ROOM.'

4b. *Pinangkarardgan na babay ya kuarto.*
rf prayed S woman T room

'The woman prayed IN THE ROOM.'

4c. *Pinangarardgan na babay ya kuarto.*
rf prayed S woman T room

'The woman prayed IN THE ROOM.'

5a. *Pinagkardrag na babay ya tolay.*
bf prayed S woman T man

'The woman prayed FOR THE MAN for a long time.'

5b. *Pinangkardrag na babay ya tolay.*
bf prayed S woman T man

'The woman prayed FOR THE MAN.'

- 5c. *Pinangararang na babay ya tolay.*
 bf prayed S woman T man

'The woman prayed FOR THE MAN.'

4.6.2. Verbal clause set 6B. This set may be produced by affixing verb stems of class 6 with group B affixes. In this set of clauses the purpose of the action is more prominent than the action itself; hence, the person who benefits from the action is expressed in the object slot. Thus, in an object focus clause, this person who benefits from the action is the topic. The usual beneficiary, focused with verbal prefixes *pinagi-* and *pinangi-*, does not occur in this set of clauses.

Also, unemphatic clauses (that is, those presented in the paradigms) do not allow for focusing of the referent, which indicates the place where the action is performed. However, in an emphatic clause the referent can be focused.

Formal Paradigm 6B

1a.	VC6sf	>	Pv	<i>nagi-</i>	+T/S	+0	±R
1b.	VC6sf	>	Pv	<i>nanagi-</i>	+T/S	+0	±R
2a.	VC6of	>	Pv	<i>ne--dn</i>	+S	+T/O	±R
2b.	VC6of	>	Pv	<i>ne-</i>	+S	+T/O	±R
4a.	VC6Erf	>	+T/R	Pv <i>pinagi--dn</i>	+S	+0	
4b.	VC6Erf	>	+T/R	Pv <i>pinangi--dn</i>	+S	+0	

Citation Paradigm 6B

- 1a. *Nagikararang ya babay kada maragbásul.*
 sf prayed T woman O-pl sinners

'THE WOMAN prayed for the sinners.'

- 1b. *Nangikararang ya babay ka maragbásul.*
 sf prayed T woman O sinner

'THE WOMAN prayed for a sinner.'

- 2a. *Nekararagan na babay daya maragbásul.*
 of prayed S woman T-pl sinners

'The woman prayed FOR THE SINNERS.'

- 2b. *Nekararag na babay ya maragbásul.*
 of prayed S woman T sinner

'The woman prayed FOR THE SINNER.'

- 4aE. *Kapilya ya pinagikararagan na babay kada*
 chapel T prayed S woman O-pl

'It was IN THE CHAPEL where the woman prayed for

maragbásul.
 sinners

the sinners.'

- 4bE. *Kapilya ya pinangikararagan na babay ka*
 chapel T prayed S woman O

'It was IN THE CHAPEL where the woman prayed

maragbásul.
 sinner

for the sinner.'

4.6.3. Representative stems of class 6

- | | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>kararag</i> | 'pray' | 'pray for (someone)' |
| 2. <i>sála</i> | 'dance' | 'dance with (someone)' |
| 3. <i>antà</i> | 'get beans' | 'get beans for
someone' |
| 4. <i>ini</i> | 'talk' | 'talk to someone for
someone' |
| 5. <i>búgat</i> | 'climb a
coconut tree' | 'climb a coconut tree
for someone' |

4.7. CLASS 7

4.7.1. Verbal clause set 7A. All the verbal clauses in this set may be constructed using verb stems of class 7. Instrument and beneficiary tagmemes do not occur in the clauses of this set, and an object tagmeme occurs only when it is in focus.

Some stems in class 7, when they take the infix *-um-*, convey the meaning of an unusual action, that is, an action wrongly done. For instance, when the verb stem *tugaw*

'sit' takes *-um-* it means to sit on someone. The affixes *na--an* and *na-* signify nothing with regard to the number of the object, that is, whether singular or plural, but they do signify whether the action is of long or short duration. This is also true of the prefixes *nag-*, *nang-*, and *naN-* when they occur with stems of this class. *na-* signifies ability to do an action, and sometimes it means happenstance, depending on the context of the clause.

Formal Paradigm 7A

1a.	VC7sf	> Pv	<i>nag-</i>	+T/S		+R
1b.	VC7sf	> Pv	<i>nang-</i>	+T/S		+R
1c.	VC7sf	> Pv	<i>naN-</i>	+T/S		+R
1d.	VC7sf	> Pv	<i>-um-</i>	+T/S		+R
2a.	VC7of	> Pv	<i>-in--an</i>	+S	+T/O	+R
4a.	VC7rf	> Pv	<i>pinag--an</i>	+S		+T/R
4b.	VC7rf	> Pv	<i>pinang--an</i>	+S		+T/R
4c.	VC7rf	> Pv	<i>pinaN--an</i>	+S		+T/R

Citation Paradigm 7A

1a. *Nagtugaw ya tolay ki lamdaawan.*
sf sat T man R window

'THE MAN sat in the window for a long time.'

1b. *Nangtugaw ya tolay ki lamdaawan.*
sf sat T man R window

'THE MAN sat in the window.'

1c. *Nanugaw ya tolay ki lamdaawan.*
sf sat T man R window

'THE MAN sat in the window.'

1d. *Tumugaw ya tolay ka an-anà.*
sf sat T man O child

'THE MAN sat on the child.'

2a. *Tinugawán na tolay ya lupang ki lamdaawan.*
of sat S man T mud R window

'The man sat IN THE MUD for a long time in the window.'

- 4a. *Pinagtugawán na tolay ya lamdawan.*
 rf sat S man T window

'The man sat IN THE WINDOW for a long time.'

- 4b. *Pinangtugawán na tolay ya lamdawan.*
 rf sat S man T window

'The man sat IN THE WINDOW.'

- 4c. *Pinanugawán na tolay ya lamdawan.*
 rf sat S man T window

'The man sat IN THE WINDOW.'

4.7.2. Verbal clause set 7B. Clauses of set 7B are produced by affixing verb stems of class 7 with group B affixes. These affixes in these clauses signal that the object is a concomitant to the action. As in other sets, a beneficiary tagmeme occurs only when it is in focus.

Similar to clauses of set 5B, the difference between the *nagi-* and *nangi-* prefixes lies in the duration of the action, that is, *nagi-* signifies habitual past action or action performed over a longer period of time, while *nangi-* signifies an action completed once in a punctiliar way in the past.

Formal Paradigm 7B

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------|---|-----------------------|------|---------|------|
| 1a. | VC7sf | > | Pv <i>nagi-</i> | +T/S | +0 | ±R |
| 1b. | VC7sf | > | Pv <i>nangi-</i> | +T/S | +0 | ±R |
| 2b. | VC7of | > | Pv <i>ne-</i> | +S | +T/O | ±R |
| 4a. | VC7rf | > | Pv <i>pinagi--án</i> | +S | +0 | ±T/R |
| 4b. | VC7rf | > | Pv <i>pinangi--án</i> | +S | +0 | ±T/R |
| 5a. | VC7bf | > | Pv <i>pinagi-</i> | +S | +T/B +0 | ±R |
| 5b. | VC7bf | > | Pv <i>pinangi-</i> | +S | +T/B +0 | ±R |

Citation Paradigm 7B

- 1a. *Nagitugaw ya tolay ka an-anà ki lamdawan.*
 sf sat S man O child R window

'THE MAN sat with the child in the window for a long time.'

- 1b. *Nangitugaw ya tolay ka an-anà ki lamdawan.*
 sf sat T man O child R window
 'THE MAN sat in the window with a child.'
- 2b. *Netugaw na tolay ya an-anà ki lamdawan.*
 of sat S man T child R window
 'The man sat in the window WITH THE CHILD.'
- 4a. *Pinagitugawan na tolay ka an-anà ya lamdawan.*
 rf sat S man O child T window
 'The man sat IN THE WINDOW for a long time with the child.'
- 4b. *Pinangitugawan na tolay ka an-anà ya lamdawan.*
 rf sat S man O child T window
 'The man sat IN THE WINDOW with the child.'
- 5a. *Pinagitugaw na babay ya tolay ka an-anà na.*
 bf sat S woman T man O child his
 'The woman sat for a long time with the child FOR THE MAN.'
- 5b. *Pinangitugaw na babay ya tolay ka an-anà na.*
 bf sat S woman T man O child his
 'The woman sat with the child FOR THE MAN.'

4.7.3. Representative stems of class 7

- | | | |
|---------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>tugaw</i> | 'sit on (a chair)' | 'sit holding (something)' |
| 2. <i>sabat</i> | 'meet (someone)' | 'meet someone to give him (a letter)' |
| 3. <i>tallan</i> | 'swallow (food)' | ---- |
| 4. <i>lan ~ ina</i> | 'enter (the house)' | 'bring (something) inside' |
| 5. <i>látù</i> | 'jump over (a canal)' | 'jump carrying (something)' |
| 6. <i>agadláng</i> | 'crawl to get (a toy)' | 'crawl carrying (something)' |

REFERENCES

- DYEN, ISIDORE. 1965. A lexicostatistical classification of the Austronesian languages. Indiana University publications in anthropology and linguistics. Memoir 19 of the International Journal of American Linguistics. Baltimore: Waverly Press.
- FORSTER, JANNETTE, and MYRA L. BARNARD. 1968. A classification of Dibabawon active verbs. *Lingua* 20.265-278.
- REID, LAWRENCE ANDREW. 1966. An Ivatan syntax. *Oceanic Linguistics special publications* 2. Honolulu: University of Hawaii.
- ROE, RICHARD. 1966. Isneg spelling. *Philippine Journal for Language Teaching* 4:1-2.66-71.
- WARD, ROBERT G., and JANNETTE FORSTER. 1967. Verb stem classes in Maranao transitive clauses. *Anthropological Linguistics* 9:6.30-42.