

VERB STEM CLASSIFICATION IN UMIRAY DUMAGET

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O. INTRODUCTION

Over the years linguists have classified verbs for various reasons and by various methods. Some have based their classification upon features of the surface grammar, whereas others have based it upon semantic or deep grammar considerations. In Philippine linguistics it has been usual to set up classes of verb stems on the basis of certain of the affixes they take and the syntactic and semantic properties of those affixed forms. The difficulty is to know how many and which of the many affixes and combinations to select as the diagnostic criteria for classification. This paper indicates how this problem was faced in analysing the verb stems of Umiray Dumaget¹, and presents details of the classification that resulted. Of the 425 stems examined, 255 have membership in only one of the classes, 148 have simultaneous membership in two of the classes, 19 have triple class membership, and 3 are unique and remain unclassified.

O.1. PREVIOUS APPROACHES TO CLASSIFYING VERB STEMS

In Philippine languages "focusing" is a grammatical device for highlighting a particular substantive phrase within a verbal clause. The focused substantive phrase is called the "topic". In Umiray Dumaget the focused phrase is simultaneously functioning as either subject, object, referent or accessory in the clause. The topic is marked by a preposed *i*, which replaces the usual function-marking particles, and the function of the focused phrase is indicated by an affix on the verbal predicate.

Up until recently, this topicalization of surface structure items has been used as a dividing or screening criterion for establishing verb stem classes (Reid 1967, Ward and Forster 1967, McLachlin and Blackburn 1968). At the point of beginning research on

¹The Umiray Dumaget language is spoken by an estimated three thousand negritos living along the east coast and on the slopes of the eastern coastal range of Luzon Island, Philippines. The northern limit of the language is at Dibut Bay just a few kilometers south of Baler, Quezon Province and the southern limit has been estimated to be at Labayat, twenty kilometers south of Infanta, Quezon Province. The western limit is constituted by the settled areas of the provinces of Nueva Ecija, Bulacan, and Rizal. Approximately two hundred and fifty speakers live on Polillo, a large island lying off Infanta. The geographical centre of the language area is the Umiray River area at the southern end of Dingalan Bay. The Dumagets generally call themselves *agta* 'people', but differentiate themselves from other negritos by the two names *tagi kélogen* 'from Umiray' or *tagi bulus* 'from the flow'.

Two other neighboring negrito languages are *tagi kabuluwen* 'of the valued ones', and *tagi depoynga* 'from the Depoynga River', whose numbers are estimated at six hundred and one hundred respectively. The *tagi kabuluwen* people are found in the Dingalan Bay area and along the coast to the north, as well as in settlements along the western slopes of the mountains. The *tagi depoynga* people are found on a river that runs south, parallel to the coast behind the first coastal ridge and which joins the *ilog* river near Bituluk, Nueva Ecija. In addition, the *Diteki* people numbering about one hundred live close to the headwaters of the Depoynga River and not far from Baler, Quezon. The languages of the *tagi kabuluwen*, *tagi depoynga* and *Diteki* people are said to be fairly closely related but quite different from the language of the Umiray Dumaget people and that of the negrito people of Baler, Quezon. The *Anglat*, a negrito group who speak a fifth language, have been reported as living along the headwaters of the Agos River which flows southeast into the sea near Infanta. They are said to number about one hundred and fifty. These five languages are all mutually unintelligible.

this paper², the writer was convinced that a classification of verb stems based on topicalization of the various surface structure items would not lead to stem classes in Umiray Dumaget that would be helpful in understanding the language for talking and translating. However the writer eventually came to the conclusion that the topicalization of the various non-subject items was useful as a basis for setting up subclasses, once classes had been established on some more fruitful grounds.

Recently deep case relationships between predicates and their associated substantive phrases have been used as the basis for classifying verb stems (Barnard and Forster 1968, Hall 1969, Ashley 1971, Hettick 1971). Usually the manner in which such case relationships in the deep structure are expressed or verbalized in the surface structure has also been mapped and sometimes used as a basis of subclassification.

Dissatisfaction with the results of these two methods of verb stem classification stimulated the writer to try a somewhat different approach in the analysis of Umiray Dumaget verb stem classes.

0.2. A DIFFERENT APPROACH

In this paper the analysis proposed for Umiray Dumaget has eight primary classes of verb stems³, six of which have several subclasses. In this primary analysis of classes changes in topicalization or focus have been deliberately avoided. Topicalization has been held constant by using three out of the four subject focus affix sets. These are *nag-*, *naN-* and *-inum-* and their non-past counterparts. (The prefix *naN-* might well have been eliminated if it were not for the fact that some verbs occur only with *naN-*.)

Subject focus verbal affixes indicate that the grammatical subject is the topic or item being focused in the clause. This use of only subject focus as the basis for the primary screening avoided much of the overwhelming complexity that comes with an initial analysis involving changes of focus.

Research in the very nature of the case requires much trial and error activity. After a preliminary classification had been achieved on the basis of these three prefixes, next to be examined in detail was how the various subject focus active clauses are changed when causative *pa-* is introduced. This investigation, however, proved to be much more complex than was expected, partly because of the extra role of 'causer' that had been added to the real-life situation. Since the aim was to find a simple basis for classification and the properties of *pa-* were neither simple nor closely correlated with the preliminary classification, this avenue of enquiry was abandoned after a while. But this part of the research did have the effect of drawing my attention less to the particular subject focus affixes in the active clauses, and more to the surface and deep structures of those clauses.

²The basic field work for this paper was done during the period from July, 1961 to the spring of 1971, in the sitio of Matawe some eight kilometers south of Dingalan, Quezon Province, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The specific research for this paper was done during the period February–April 1972 at a linguistic workshop. I am indebted to Alan Healey and Richard Gieser for their encouragement and help on all parts of my analysis, and to Diego Frigal, a native speaker of Umiray Dumaget from Matawe, Dingalan, Quezon Province, for patiently supplying and checking all the data.

³After completing my basic research, my attention was directed to Ernesto Constantino, 1965. The sentence patterns of twenty-six Philippine languages. *Lingua* 15:71–124., in which he states (page 85) that there are six active verb subclasses. His six classes match to six of the eight basic types established in this paper as follows: (a) to D, (b) to E, (c) to C, (d) to G, (e) to A, and (f) to B.

Next, several of the non-subject topicalizations were examined to see whether or not they matched the primary classification. As well as looking at surface features the deep role of each topicalized item was also identified. The results were extremely valuable in revealing that the initial and primary division into classes was not completely precise. Non-subject topicalizations forced into focus items which were understood to be present in the situation but yet were only optionally present (or even obligatorily absent) in the surface structure of the subject focus clause. For example, stems which on the basis of the primary division or screening appeared to signify an agent acting upon a patient, later, on the basis of non-subject focuses, actually turned out to signify an agent acting upon a patient that was directed toward a goal.

The secondary features examined are as follows: in object focus the grammatical object of the clause is topicalized, the affix being *-in-#*; in referent focus the grammatical referent of the clause is topic, the affixes being *-in-an* or *pinag-an*; in accessory focus the grammatical accessory is topic, the affix being *pinag-*. The passive object focus *na-* and passive referent focus₁ *na-an* were examined, but since they proved to be almost completely parallel to *-in-#* and *-in-an* they have not been used in the subclassification. For the purposes of this paper, the role of location as topic-referent is excluded from consideration since it may optionally occur with all verb stems.

At the beginning of this research a corpus of about 120 stems was assembled by translating into Umiray Dumaget the English glosses found in several papers on verb stem classification for other Philippine languages. Not until the last few of these stems were examined did it become apparent that one's ability to see a pattern or even to recognize that a class exists depends on having an adequate corpus. By the time the corpus has been expanded to 200 stems (from the same source), many of the classes and their patterns could be clearly seen. The corpus was then selectively expanded to 425 stems by introspection and searching through the Dumaget dictionary. The aim was to add stems that seemed as though they might fit with the smaller classes (especially A and B) or with several unique stems. No stem was later rejected if careful examination demonstrated that it was actually unique. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that a minimum of 200 verb stems representing a wide variety of semantic types is needed for the analyst to be able to recognize sufficient pattern and to know how to set up classes that will be fruitful.

Another thing learned during this research concerns elicitation. At first the full list of stems was examined to find out whether or not a particular kind of topic occurred for each stem; then the whole list of stems was examined again for a second kind of topic. The constant repetition seemed to have a somewhat hypnotic effect upon the Dumaget speaker who was answering these enquiries, for when a different routine was followed, testing each stem for the various focuses before going on to the next stem, he disallowed a good deal of what he previously had allowed as good Dumaget. It is obviously advisable to avoid long periods of the first kind of elicitation, and to cross-check using a variety of methods.

O.3. CONTRASTS BETWEEN THE CLASSES

Differences in the surface structure of Umiray Dumaget subject focus clauses have been used to divide the verb stems into eight classes. Table 1 shows the correlation between the surface structure and deep structure of subject focus clauses with verb stems of Classes A to H in the predicates. (See O.4. for terms and abbreviations.)

The eight classes of verb stems in Umiray Dumaget are:

CLASS A: Patient Intransitive stems represent process-states and are characterized by the

TABLE 1

SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSE STRUCTURE: Contrasting the Eight Classes.

Surface Tagmemes	Pred _{SF}	Topic-Subject	Object	Referent	(Accessory)	
Surface Markings	{ <i>nag- naN- -inum-</i> }	<i>i</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>ni</i>	
CLASS A	Process-State	Patient	-----	-----	{ Stim } { Instr }	{ Stim } { PsAgt }
CLASS B	{ Process-State Action }	{ PsAgt Agent }	-----	-----	{ { Stim } { Instr } } { { Vol } { Stim } { Instr } }	
CLASS C	Action	Agent	-----	Goal~ Source	{ { Vol } { Stim } { Instr } }	
CLASS D	Action	PsAgt Agent	Patient	-----	(Instr)	
CLASS E	Action	Agent	Patient	Goal~ Source	(Instr)	
CLASS F	{ Process-State Action }	{ PsAgt } { Agent }	Pat _{sg/pl}	Pat _{pl}	(Instr)	
CLASS G	Reciprocal Action	Agent _{pl}	-----	-----	(Instr)	
CLASS H	Symmetrical Action	Agent	Patient	Goal	(Instr)	

obligatory occurrence of patient as topic-subject. The optional accessory expresses a stimulus or instrument for some verbs and a stimulus or pseudo-agent for other verbs.

CLASS B: Agent Intransitive stems represent process-states or actions and are characterized by the obligatory occurrence of agent or pseudo-agent as topic-subject. The optional accessory expresses a stimulus or instrument, or volition if there is an agent.

It should be noted that in subject focus clauses, Classes A and B have identical surface structure and differ only in deep structure. However, these classes have been established, not on this basis, but on the basis of their transformations to accessory focus clauses and their surface structure.

CLASS C: Referent Transitive stems represent actions and are characterized by the obligatory presence of agent as topic-subject and goal as non-topic referent.

CLASS D: Object Transitive stems represent actions and are characterized by the obligatory presence of agent or pseudo-agent as topic-subject and patient as non-topic object.

CLASS E: Ditransitive stems represent actions and are characterized by the obligatory presence of agent as topic-subject, patient as non-topic object and goal as non-topic referent.

CLASS F: Count Transitive stems represent process-states or actions and are characterized

by the obligatory presence of agent or pseudo-agent as topic-subject and by the obligatory presence of either singular or plural patient as non-topic object or plural patient as non-topic referent.

CLASS G: Reciprocal Agent stems represent reciprocal actions and are characterized by the obligatory presence of plural agents as topic-subject acting reciprocally upon one another as patients.

CLASS H: Symmetrical Ditransitive stems represent symmetrical actions and are characterized by the obligatory presence of agent as topic-subject, patient as non-topic object and goal (or second patient) as non-topic referent, the patient being joined to the goal in what is virtually a symmetrical action.

0.4. TERMINOLOGY

In sections 1 to 8 the displays of the structure of subject focus clauses are presented in three ways. First the surface structure is shown as a string of tagmemes: predicate, subject, object, referent and accessory. Secondly, the Dumaget morphemes marking these tagmemes are indicated; these consist of the verbal affixes and *i* "topic marker", *ni* "non-topic marker" and *de* "referent marker". Thirdly, these elements of surface structure are related to the situational roles of the deep structure.

In this paper the term "deep role", or simply "role" (Langendoen 1970:62), has been used for the non-lexical elements of deep or semantic structure that correspond to the substantive phrases in a clause, elements that have also been called "situational roles" (Pike 1964:8-9) and "case", "deep case" or "underlying case" (Fillmore 1968:21). The deep roles that are assumed in this paper are: agent, pseudo-agent, patient, goal, source, route, instrument, stimulus, volition and beneficiary (Chafe 1970, Langendoen 1970).

Agent (Agt) is the animate participant who is instigator of the action.

Pseudo-Agent (PsAgt) is an inanimate thing or a human action or emotion which has a role similar to stimulus but which matches agents in surface structure. It is necessary to distinguish the roles of pseudo-agent and stimulus in some verbs (Class B).

Patient (Pat) is the thing or person that is affected or changed by the action or that is in the state indicated by the predicate.

Goal (G) is the place, thing or person toward which an action or patient is moved or directed.

Source (S) is the place, thing or person away from which an action or patient proceeds.

Route is a thing or place passed along, over or through by the agent or patient.

Instrument (Instr) is the thing used by the agent in performing the action. It may be an inanimate implement or tool (I_{in}), or it may be an animate body part, mental activity or vocal expression (I_{an}).

Stimulus (Stim) is the non-instigative cause, the thing or circumstance causing the state, process or action indicated by the predicate. Circumstances acting as stimulus include meteorological forces, supernatural forces, the actions and words of other people and the emotions of the agent.

Volition (Vol) is the intention, wish, or desire of the agent, which appears in the clause as the possessed noun, *buot* 'desire'. Volition is only considered as a pertinent factor in the differentiation of Class B from other classes.

Beneficiary (Ben) is the person for whom the action is done.

The following abbreviations are used in this paper.

AF	Accessory Focus
Agt	Agent
Ben	Beneficiary
G	Goal
I _{an}	Instrument animate
I _{in}	Instrument inanimate
Instr	Instrument
OF	Object Focus
Pat	Patient
pl	plural
Pred	Predicate
PsAgt	Pseudo-Agent
pt	one out of many, or part of a whole
RF	Referent Focus
S	Source
SF	Subject Focus
sg	singular
Stim	Stimulus
Vol	Volition
wh	whole
X/Y	either X or Y may occur
$\underline{X} \ Y$	either X or Y may occur
(X)	X is optional in the structure
X \sim Y	some verb stems take X and others take Y
$\left. \begin{array}{c} X \\ Y \\ Z \end{array} \right\}$	either X, Y, or Z may occur but some stems do not take all of them
-#	zero allomorph of <i>-in</i> for object focus.

1. CLASS A PATIENT INTRANSITIVE

1.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. In their surface structure, clauses with predicates formed from Class A verb stems in subject focus, have an obligatory topic-subject and an optional accessory.

Stems of this class express states or the processes leading to such states. The topic-subject tagmeme expresses the role of patient, and the accessory tagmeme expresses the role of stimulus or instrument (one stem only) or pseudo-agent. Approximately one quarter of the stems are related to the action of the sun. With such stems either the stimulus 'heat' or the pseudo-agent 'sun' may be accessory in the subject focus clause. Even though the surface tagmeme of accessory is not always present, the role of stimulus or instrument or pseudo-agent is understood to be present in the situation.

The role of agent does not occur in the deep grammar of subject focus clauses, which non-occurrence differentiates Class A from all other classes.

Table 2 shows the correlation between the surface structure and deep structure of subject focus clauses with Class A verbal predicates.

TABLE 2
SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSE STRUCTURE: With Class A Verbal Stems

Surface Tagmemes	Pred _{ASF}	Topic-Subject	(Accessory)
Surface Markings	{ <i>nag- naN- -inum-</i> }	<i>i</i>	<i>ni</i>
Deep Roles	Process-state	Patient	{ Stim Instr } ~ { Stim PsAgt }
	<i>Minumiyen</i> SF light	<i>i kew</i> T wood	<i>ni init.</i> A heat.
	'The wood became light in the heat.'		
	<i>Minumiyen</i> SF light	<i>i kew</i> T wood	<i>ni adow.</i> A sun.
	'The wood became light in the sun.'		

1.2. GENERAL FEATURES OF NON-SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. In accessory focus the stimulus or instrument (one stem only) is topic-accessory and occurs in second position after the predicate. In first position after the predicate, either agent or pseudo-agent occur as non-topic subject. In third position after the predicate, patient occurs as non-topic object. Examples in the subject focus and accessory focus are given below for comparison.

SF	<i>Tinumabe</i> SF fat	<i>i bebuy</i> T pig	<i>ni papangan.</i> A food.	
	'The pig became fat because of the food.'			
AF	<i>Pinagtabe</i> AF fat	<i>ni agta</i> S person	<i>i papangan</i> A food	<i>ni bebuy.</i> O pig.
	'The person fattened the pig with food.'			
SF	<i>Linumatom</i> SF black	<i>i kaldiro</i> T pot	<i>ni usang.</i> A soot.	
	'The pot became black from soot.'			
AF	<i>Pinaglatom</i> AF black	<i>ni apoy</i> S fire	<i>i usang</i> T soot	<i>ni kaldiro.</i> O pot.
	'The fire blackened the pot with soot.'			

Unlike most of the other major classes, Class A has no subclasses. Table 3 displays the deep role of the topic tagmeme in each non-subject focus clause for Class A stems.

TABLE 3
ROLES OF TOPICALIZED TAGMEMES IN NON-SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES:
With Class A Verbal Predicates.

Vb Affix	-in-#	-in-an	pinag-an	pinag-
Function	OF	RF ₁	RF ₂	AF
Topic	Object	Referent	Referent	Accessory
Deep Roles	Pat	-----	-----	{ Stim } Instr

1.3. REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

CLASS A *tabnal* 'to become salty', 'to become brackish'; *gespang* 'to become rough (in surface)'; *libtong* 'to become deep'; *miyen* 'to become light in weight'; *linow* 'to become clear', 'to become green'; *latom* 'to become black'; *lapsay* 'to become white'; *lumoy* 'to become soft'; *tabe* 'to become fat'; *pogu* 'to have been separate (as islands from the mainland)'; *piyun* 'good', 'to have become good (as in health)'; *tonggeyok* 'to become partially pushed over'; *karanakang* 'to rattle (as stones in rapid water)'; *konat* 'to become flexible'; *liptog* 'to become inflated'; *sapit* 'to have happened'; and *sibu* 'to have boiled', 'to purr' (idiomatic).

2. CLASS B AGENT INTRANSITIVE

2.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. In their surface structure, clauses with predicates formed from Class B verb stems in subject focus have an obligatory topic-subject and an optional accessory.

Stems of this class express states or the processes leading to such states with pseudo-agents and express actions with agents. The topic-subject tagmeme expresses the role of agent or pseudo-agent, and the accessory tagmeme expresses the role of body part-instrument (I_{an}) or stimulus or volition. Volition occurs only with stems that express the role of agent as topic-subject. Volition occurs with most stems in Classes B to H. It will not be mentioned further as its main value is for differentiating Class B from Class A.

Table 4 shows the correlation between the surface structure and deep structure of subject focus clauses with Class B verbal stems.

2.2. GENERAL FEATURES OF NON-SUBJECT CLAUSES. As mentioned under 2.1. in subject focus, accessory tagmeme expresses the role of body part instrument (I_{an}) or stimulus or volition. However in accessory focus clauses topic-accessory expresses body part instrument only. Stimulus almost always occurs as an additional accessory which is non-topic. It occurs in third position after the predicate. This contrasts with Class A accessory focus clauses where patient as non-topic object occurs in third position.

TABLE 4
SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSE STRUCTURE: With Class B Verbal Stems

Surface Tagmemes	PredB _{SF}	Topic-Subject	(Accessory)
Surface Markings	{ <i>nag- naN- -inum-</i> }	<i>i</i>	<i>ni</i>
Deep Roles	Process-state	Pseudo-Agent	{ Stim Instr }
	Action	Agent	{ Vol Stim Instr }
	<i>Inumatipal</i> SF echo	<i>i pitok</i> T explosion	<i>ni tinog na.</i> A sound it.
	'The explosion echoed by means of its sound.'		
	<i>Nag-uddi</i> SF stand	<i>i bebi ko</i> T wife my	<i>ni buot na.</i> A desire hers.
	'My wife stood when she was ready.'		
	<i>Nag-uddi</i> SF stand	<i>i bebi ko</i> T wife my	<i>ni pitok.</i> A explosion.
	'My wife stood when the explosion came.'		

Table 5 compares the subclasses of Class B with regard to the deep role of the topic tagmeme in each non-subject focus clause.

TABLE 5
ROLES OF TOPICALIZED TAGMEMES IN NON-SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES:
With Class B Verbal Predicates.

Vb Affix	<i>-in--#</i>	<i>-in--an</i>	<i>pinag--an</i>	<i>pinag-</i>
Function	OF	RF ₁	RF ₂	AF
Topic	Object	Referent	Referent	Accessory
Deep Roles	B1	Instr	-----	-----
	B2	Stim	-----	-----
	B3	-----	-----	-----

2.3. REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

CLASS B1 *uddi* 'to stand'; *lipa* 'to sit'; *ide* 'to lie down'; *doko* 'to bow the head'; *panangdeng* 'to be near the fire'; *sakbit* 'to hang down (as a bat)'; *polagpolag* 'to flip flop (as fish on a beach)'; *pilong* 'to close the eyes'; *tilamtilam* 'to smack the lips (as in eating)'; *alalay* 'to groan'; *pede* 'to sleep'; *atipal* 'to echo' and *tinog* 'to sound (as a guitar)'.

CLASS B2 *punapuna* 'to be colicky'; *abu* 'to cough'; *sin-ok* 'to hiccough'; *panirog* 'to burp'; *panisoka* 'to vomit'; *pamasa* 'to urinate'; *innawa* 'to breath'; *singa* 'to sneeze'; *nginan* 'to defecate'; *agewak* 'to roar (as waves or an explosion)' and *inokinok* 'to pulse pain (as a wound)'.

CLASS B3 *limbege* 'to hover over (back and forth)'; *yaman* 'to become rich'; *hingalo* 'to give a death rattle', 'to be very sick'; *tara-ok* 'to crow'; *siyap* 'to chirp'; *bilintogad* 'to go head over heels' *pologpolog* 'to get excited', 'to have the heart beat fast'; *lungkut* 'to be sad'; *lagpak* 'to thunder'; *litow* 'to float' and *ngadngad* 'to continuous pain (as a wound)'.

3. CLASS C REFERENT TRANSITIVE

3.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. Topic-subject is obligatory. Although the deep roles of goal or source are obligatory in the situation, the referent, which expresses these roles, is optional in subject focus clauses.

Stems of this class express actions and emotions. The agent as subject of the action is understood to be directed toward the referent as goal or away from the referent as source. With all stems instrument may be non-topic accessory. With most stems stimulus or volition may also be non-topic accessory, but these three may not co-occur in a subject focus clause. Stimulus may be joy, sadness, anger, fear, weariness and the doings and sayings of others. Instrument is usually a body part but may also be the words or thoughts of the agent.

With C4 stems a quote may occur with a non-topic object and following the referent.

Table 6 shows the correlation between the surface structure and deep structure of subject focus clauses with Class A verbal predicates.

3.2. GENERAL FEATURES OF NON-SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. Topic-accessory expresses body part instrument only.

Table 7 compares the subclasses of Class C with regard to the deep role of the topic tagmeme in each non-subject focus clause.

3.3. REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

CLASS C1 *duguk* 'to gather to'; *ilok* 'to laugh at'; *inggit* 'to growl at'; *ingos* 'to bark at'; *sutsut* 'to "psst" at'; *kiput* 'to cling to'; *arakap* 'to affectionately embrace'; *ngodngod* 'to root in the ground (as a pig)'; *soko* 'to surrender to', 'to give up'; *talinga* 'ear', 'to obey'; *tangos* 'to cry about'; *edog* 'back', 'to turn ones back to (so as to indicate displeasure)'; *sokò* 'to hit head on (as a low branch)'; *sagkad* 'to face toward'; *panalangin* 'to pray to'; *panulusun* 'to believe', 'to obey'; *yebeng* 'to brag'; *beet* 'to be kind to'; *tiyage* 'to be patient with', 'to bear with'; *bulas* 'to be angry at'; *taka* 'to be astonished at' and *kasalig* 'to be happy about'.

CLASS C2 *tampo* 'to be disappointed by' and *salad* 'to dive into'.

TABLE 6

SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSE STRUCTURE: With Class C Verbal Stems.

Surface Tagmemes	PredC _{SF}	Topic-Subject	(Referent)	(Accessory)
Surface Markings	{ <i>nag-</i> <i>-inum-</i> }	<i>i</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>ni</i>
Deep Roles	Action	Agent	Goal~ Source	{ Vol Stim Instr }
	<i>Nagbulas</i> SF angry	<i>i bebi ko</i> T wife my	<i>de wile na</i> R sister hers	<i>ni pagyedi na.</i> A doing hers.
				'My wife was angry at her sister because of what she did.'
	<i>Nagbulas</i> SF angry	<i>i bebi ko</i> T wife my	<i>de wile na</i> R sister hers	<i>ni ngosu na.</i> A mouth hers.
				'My wife was angry at her sister in plain words.'

TABLE 7

ROLES OF TOPICALIZED TAGMEMES IN NON-SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES:
With Class C Verbal Predicates.

Vb Affix	<i>-in--#</i>	<i>-in--an</i>	<i>pinag--an</i>	<i>pinag--</i>	
Function	OF	RF ₁	RF ₂	AF	
Topic	Object	Referent	Referent	Accessory	
Deep	C1	Instr/Stim	G~S	G~S	Instr
	C2	Stim	G~S	G~S	Instr
	C3	Instr	G~S	G~S	Instr
	C4	Instr	G~S	-----	Instr
	C5	G~S	G~S	-----	Instr
Roles	C6	-----	G~S	G~S	Instr
	C7	-----	-----	G~S	Instr

CLASS C3 *panarig* 'to trust'.

CLASS C4 *tangugtangug* '“yes” head gesture' and *halimbewa* 'for example', '“there it is” hand gesture'.

CLASS C5 *podi* 'to praise'; *bokbok* 'to bore a hole in wood (as an insect)' and *alapoop* 'to make humid at'. *alapoop* has a pseudo-agent.

CLASS C6 *pasalamat* 'to thank' and *gengsa* 'to have inward anger toward'.

CLASS C7 *kasala* 'to sin against', 'to do bad to'.

4. CLASS D OBJECT TRANSITIVE

4.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. Topic-subject is obligatory. Object is obligatory except for those stems in D3, D4 and D7 which do not take object. In these instances the patient, which the object would express, is implicit in the stem. Accessory is optional. As in all of its optional occurrences in the various stem classes, accessory is rarely made explicit and then only to emphasize the instrument. Such an instrument may be a tool (I_{in}) or a body part, word or thought of the agent (I_{an}). Usually it is the hand. Stems of this class express action.

Table 8 shows the correlation between the surface and deep structure of subject focus clauses with Class D verbal predicates.

TABLE 8
SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSE STRUCTURE: With Class D Verbal Stems

Surface Tagmemes	Pred _{DSF}	Topic- Subject	Object	(Accessory)
Surface Markings	<i>nag- naN- -inum-</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ni</i>
Deep Roles	Action	{ Agent Pseudo-Agent }	Patient	(Instrument)
	<i>Nagtadtad</i>	<i>i bebi ko</i>	<i>ni papangan</i>	<i>ni utak.</i>
	SF dice	T wife my	O food	A bolo.
	'My wife diced the food with the big knife.'			

4.2. GENERAL FEATURES OF NON-SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. The following applies to subclasses D1 and D2 only. In object focus, *-in-#*, the patient as topic-object is complete or entire (Pat_{wh}), whereas in referent focus₁, *-in-an*, the patient as topic-referent is one out of many or part of a whole (Pat_{pt}). For the other subclasses the whole versus part contrast is not pertinent. With subclass D1 in referent focus₂, *pinag-an*, patient as topic referent is repeatedly acted upon.

The topic-accessory may express either of two deep roles: instrument or beneficiary (Ben). If the filler is a phrase referring to people, the role is beneficiary; if it is a phrase that refers to body part or tool, it is instrument. The instrument for some verbs may be either a body part or a tool, but for other verbs it may be only a body part and others only a tool.

Table 9 compares the subclasses of Class D with regard to the deep role of the topic tagmeme in each non-subject focus clause.

4.3. REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

CLASS D1 I_{an} only: *porewos* 'to wring or twist something'; *omos* 'to drown something'

TABLE 9

ROLES OF TOPICALIZED TAGMEMES IN NON-SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES:
With Class D Verbal Predicates

Vb Affix	<i>-in--#</i>	<i>-in--an</i>	<i>pinag--an</i>	<i>pinag-</i>
Function	OF	RF ₁	RF ₂	AF
Topic	Object	Referent	Referent	Accessory
	D1 Pat _{wh}	Pat _{pt}	Pat	Ben/Instr
	D2 Pat _{wh}	Pat _{pt}	-----	Ben/Instr
Deep				
	D3 Pat	-----	-----	Ben/Instr
	D4 Pat	-----	-----	---- Instr
	D5 -----	Pat	-----	Ben/Instr
Roles				
	D6 -----	Pat	-----	---- Instr
	D7 -----	-----	-----	Ben/Instr

and *besa* ‘to read something’. I_{in} only: *tastas* ‘to cut binding’, ‘to cut thread at seam’; *pepi* ‘to launder with a paddle’ and *besag* ‘to break something (as a bottle)’.

CLASS D2 *tanus* ‘to straighten something’. I_{an} only: *begeh* ‘to heat (as over a fire or in the sun)’; *pinu* ‘to fill a container’; *poklut* ‘to tangle something’; *beli* ‘to break by bending’; *taptap* ‘to launder’ and *tapus* ‘to finish something’. I_{in} only: *ani* ‘to harvest’; *bigkis* ‘to tie long objects into a bundle’; *pande* ‘to forge something’; *buntol* ‘to pound rice’; *tadtad* ‘to chop up’, ‘to dice (as food)’ and *buwal* ‘to chop down’.

CLASS D3 *yedi* ‘to do’, ‘to make’ and *redis* ‘to crush something (as lice)’. I_{an} only: *laweg* ‘to look for’; *dekop* ‘to catch’; *belun* ‘to take lunch’; *tun* ‘to cook food’ and *getong* ‘to burn wood’. I_{in} only: *polak* ‘to chop down’.

Each of the following D3 stems may occur twice in the same clause when it is accessory focus: once in the predicate and once unaffixed, as the tool instrument as topic-accessory. *panà* ‘arrow’, ‘to shoot an arrow into an animal’; *dogkal*, ‘fish spear’, ‘to spear a fish’; *giyang* ‘animal spear’, ‘to spear an animal’; *láya* ‘throw net’, ‘to cast a throw net’ and *pokut* ‘drag net’, ‘to drag net for fish’.

<i>Pinagpanà</i>	<i>ni wile</i>	<i>ko i panà</i>	<i>ni bebuy.</i>
AF arrow	S brother my	T arrow	O pig.

‘My brother shot a pig with an arrow.’

Each of the following D3 stems may occur twice in the same clause when it is object focus, *-in--#*; once in the predicate and once unaffixed, as the patient as topic-object. They may not occur twice in the subject focus clause, that is there is no object in the subject focus clause. With the exception of the last two stems which may take only *nag-*, these

stems may take both *nag-* 'to make', 'to use' and *naN-* 'to get', 'to get materials for making'. *bengsi* 'flute'; *abok* 'sleeping mat'; *yodu* 'sago'; *bengka* 'outrigger canoe'; *salong* 'pitchpine'; *beloy* 'house' and *tas* 'light'.

CLASS D4 I_{an} only: *esip* 'to think'; *matud* 'true', 'to do something vigourously'; *adel* 'to study something'; *obus* 'to consume something completely'; *nenop* 'to dream about something' and *salong* 'to light (as a candle)'. This last stem is also a member of D3.

The last paragraph of explanation under D3 also applies to the following two stems. *ageh* 'bark cloth' and *tubi* 'beetle nut'.

The following stems occur with a pseudo-agent. *tobu* 'to sprout (as a seed or root in the ground)' and *ogbus* 'to sprout (as a plant sending out a new shoot)'.

CLASS D5 I_{in} only: *remong* 'tassel', 'to make a fringe on cloth'.

CLASS D6 I_{an} only: *bebi* 'spouse', 'to take a spouse'.

CLASS D7 The following stems take only *naN-* 'to get'. For this subclass the patient is the item signified by the stem in its nominal sense, therefore unlike D3 and D4, this role is not expressed by any nominal tagmeme in any focus. Thus there is no object in the subject focus clause. *lati* 'rattan'; *kahoy* 'cassava'; *kamoti* 'sweet potato'; *kew* 'wood'; *palaspas* 'a forest fruit'; *ogbus* 'kamoti leaf sprout' and *gesang* 'reef', 'shell fish location'. For this last stem *naN-*, instead of meaning 'to get, convey the meaning of 'get shell fish at'. I_{in} only: *kalaw* 'hornbill bird'.

5. CLASS E DITRANSITIVE

5.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. In the surface structure of clauses with predicates formed from Class E verb stems, in subject focus topic-subject and object are obligatory, and referent and accessory are optional.

Stems of this class express actions. The patient which is expressed by the object is understood to be moved or directed toward the referent as goal (G) or away from the referent as source (S). The deep role of goal or of source is obligatory in the situation, even though a referent expressing this role is not always present in the surface structure of the clause. Accessory expresses the role of instrument.

When a quote occurs with some E3 stems, the quote occurs in place of the object. In that event the quote follows the referent.

Table 10 shows the correlation between the surface structure and deep structure of subject focus clauses with Class E verbal predicates.

5.2. GENERAL FEATURES OF NON-SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. The first paragraph of 4.2. applies to Class E stems, provided one reads E1 for D1 and E2 for D2. Note tables 9, 11 and 13 for a comparison of some of the subclasses of these three major classes in reference to patient as topic-object and/or patient as topic-referent.

In addition, when a quote occurs with some E3 stems the quote occurs in place of the topic-object and following the referent.

Table 11 compares the subclasses of Class E with regard to the deep role of the topic tagmeme in each non-subject focus clause.

TABLE 10

SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSE STRUCTURE: With Class E Verbal Stems

Surface Tagmemes	PredE _{SF}	Topic-Subject	Object	(Referent)	(Accessory)
Surface Markings	{ <i>nag-naN</i> <i>-inum-</i> }	<i>i</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>ni</i>
Deep Roles	Action	Agent	Patient	Goal~ Source	(Instrument)
	<i>Nag-ahet</i>	<i>i anak</i>	<i>ni sapuk</i>	<i>de ulu na</i>	<i>ni labeha.</i>
	SF shave	T child	O hair	R head his	A razor.
	'The child shaved hair from his head with a razor.'				

TABLE 11

ROLES OF TOPICALIZED TAGMEMES IN NON-SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES:
With Class E Verbal Predicates

Vb Affix	<i>-in-#</i>	<i>-in-an</i>	<i>pinag-an</i>	<i>pinag-</i>	
Function	OF	RF ₁	RF ₂	AF	
Topic	Object	Referent	Referent	Accessory	
Deep Roles	E1	Pat _{wh}	Pat _{pt} /G~S	Pat/G~S	Ben/Instr
	E2	Pat _{wh}	Pat _{pt} /G~S	G~S	Ben/Instr
	E3	Pat	G~S	G~S	Ben/Instr
	E4	Pat	G~S	G~S	--- Instr
	E5	Pat	Ben/G~S	Ben/G~S	Ben/Instr

5.3. REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

CLASS E1 I_{an} only: *lewes* 'to get from in exchange'.

CLASS E2 *but* 'to discard into (or onto)' and *giput* 'to tie something to'. I_{an} only: *amit* 'to get from'; *polas* 'to pluck from'; *wesag* 'to pour dry substance into (or onto)'; *palis* 'to pour liquid into (or onto)'; *paNnákow* 'to steal from' and *adde* 'to carry to'. I_{in} only: *getang* 'to buy something from'. When *getang* 'to buy from' occurs with *pinag-*, 'money' as instrument as topic-accessory is that which is used to purchase whereas with *pinaN-*, the instrument as topic-accessory is that which is sold to acquire 'money'.

CLASS E3 *kanaw* 'to dissolve into'. I_{an} only: *aged* 'to request from'; *peta* 'to choose from'; *idem* 'to borrow from'; *polut* 'to pick up from'; *digmang* 'to pile wood on a fire', 'to

make a bonfire'; *bugeh* 'to spit at'; *kamkam* 'to covet', 'to forcibly take from'; *sampay* 'to hang on a line'; *boy* 'to give to'; *kalbi* 'to give to out of compassion' and *witik* 'to throw at'. I_{in} only: *solat* 'to write something onto'.

With the following stems a quote may take the place of the patient as object. I_{an} only: *sabi* 'to say to'; *bereta* 'to give news to'; *todu* 'to point to', 'to teach to'; *tuttugun* 'to order something from'; to ask someone to get from'; *ulit* 'to whisper to'; *olang* 'to call out to'; *surut* 'word', 'to speak to' and *tanto* 'to ask a question about'.

CLASS E4 I_{an} only: *kita* 'to see something there'; *ikna* 'to hear something there'; *sango* 'to smell something there'; *betyeg* 'to feel something here'; *angkim* 'to covet something from'; *lako* 'to sell to' and *borak* 'to spit spittle at'.

CLASS E5 *atid* 'to bring to', 'to take to' and *walat* 'to leave behind at'.

6. CLASS F COUNT TRANSTIVE

6.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. Topic-subject is obligatory and an object or a referent, which cannot occur together in a given clause, is obligatory. Accessory is optional.

Stems of this class express states or the process leading to such states with pseudo-agents or express actions or emotions with agents. The role expressed by object and referent is patient, but the patient is not the same in both instances. Patient as object is ambiguously singular or plural, while patient as referent is always plural. It is to be noted that a location as referent, marked by *de*, may not co-occur with a patient as referent, also marked by *de*.

With some F3 stems a quote may co-occur with object or referent and with some F5 stems a quote may co-occur with an object which expresses the deep role of patient, either singular or plural.

Table 12 shows the correlation between the surface structure and deep structure of subject focus clauses with Class F verbal predicates.

6.2. GENERAL FEATURES OF NON-SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. The first paragraph of 4.2. also applies to Class F stems provided one reads F1 and F2 for D1 and F3 and F4 for D2.

With some F3 and F5 stems a quote may co-occur with a topic-object. In this instance the quote is a command given to a single or to plural patients, roles which are expressed by the topic-object. With some F3 stems also a quote may co-occur with a topic-referent, and then it is a command given to one from among many patients who are expressed by the topic-referent.

Table 13 compares the subclasses of Class F with regard to the deep role of topic tagmeme in each non-subject focus clause.

6.3. REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

CLASS F1 I_{in} only: *pugtus* 'to cut off'; *sipak* 'to split (as bamboo)' and *lapdit* 'to whip'.

CLASS F2 *biyag* 'to satiate with food'.

CLASS F3 *takut* 'to frighten'; *keded* 'to startle'; *poyet* 'to stay awake'; *ungut* 'to feed'; *kopil* 'to bend'; *lenis* 'to clean' and *uges* 'to wash (as a dish)'. I_{an} only: *mamos* 'to shame';

TABLE 12

SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSE STRUCTURE: With Class F Verbal Stems

Surface Tagmemes	PredF _{SF}	Topic-Subject	Object	Referent	(Accessory)
Surface Markings	{ nag- naN- -inum- }	. i	ni	de	ni
Deep Roles	{ Action Process- state }	{ Agent PsAgt }	Pat _{sg/pl}	Pat _{pl}	(Instrument)
	<i>Nagsipak</i>	<i>i anak ko</i>	<i>ni kew</i>		<i>ni palakol.</i>
	SF split	T child my	O wood		A axe.
		'My child split the wood with an axe.'			
	<i>Nagsipak</i>	<i>i anak ko</i>		<i>de kew</i>	<i>ni palakol.</i>
	SF split	T child my	O wood		A axe.
		'My child split pieces of wood with an axe.'			

TABLE 13

ROLES OF TOPICALIZED TAGMEMES IN NON-SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES:
With Class F Verbal Predicates.

Vb Affix	-in-#	-in-an	pinag-an	pinag-	
Function	OF	RF ₁	RF ₂	AF	
Topic	Object	Referent	Referent	Accessory	
Deep	F1	Pat _{wh}	Pat _{pt}	Pat	Ben/Instr
	F2	Pat _{wh}	Pat _{pt}	Pat	--- Instr
	F3	Pat _{wh}	Pat _{pt}	-----	Ben/Instr
	F4	Pat _{wh}	Pat _{pt}	-----	--- Instr
	F5	Pat	-----	-----	Ben/Instr
Roles	F6	Pat	-----	-----	--- Instr
	F7	-----	Pat	Pat	Ben/Instr
	F8	-----	Pat	Pat	--- Instr

bogbog 'to awaken'; *owe* 'to pull', 'to lead'; *tukso* 'to tempt'; *tagbu* 'to meet' and *bulong* 'to medicate', 'medicine'. I_{in} only: *sinna* 'to make covetous' and *taguktuk* 'to pound a drum like object'.

With the following stems a quote may co-occur with the patient as object or the patient as referent. *dodul* 'to command to do'; *sablow* 'to forbid' and *pàpà* '“stop” gesture'. CLASS F4 *pusong* 'to be continuously angry with'; *besà* 'to make wet'; *sawit* 'horns', 'to gore'; *ingap* 'to blind by glare'; *pagel* 'to make weary' and *panglaw* 'to make lonely'.

With the following stems the topic-subject expresses a pseudo-agent. *sawen* 'to make fearful and nauseated (as by height or danger)'; *beng-aw* 'to make insane'; *tongka* 'to make sleepy'; *boktut* 'to make humpbacked'; *beyiki* 'to make gums sore'; *lagnat* 'to cause a fever'; *pilay* 'to make lame'; *bingol* 'to make deaf'; *bunol* 'to make dumb'; *tigeng* 'to make hungry'; *ohaw* 'to make thirsty'; *pol* 'to make stiff (as a body that is cramped)'; *maos* 'to make hoarse'; *taping* 'to make a jaw gland ache' and *kopas* 'to make to fade'. CLASS F5 *ligtas* 'to save'. I_{an} only: *ilat* 'to wait for'; *gewes* 'to play with'; *paNngimun* 'to be jealous of'; *saput* 'to pay attention to' and *buswal* 'to haunt', 'to appear to (as in a vision)'. I_m only: *buno* 'to kill' and *tobus* 'to ransom', 'to redeem'.

With the following stems a quote may occur along with the patient as topic-object. I_{an} only: *aket* 'to invite' and *paNallow* 'to order away'.

CLASS F6 *polong* 'to gather at'; *osesa* 'to enquire about', 'to investigate'; *kabeg* 'to turn partially'; *tipid* 'to be frugal', 'to use sparingly'; *takaw* 'to be greedy' and *linog* 'to make dizzy'. With the last stem the topic-subject expresses a pseudo-agent.

CLASS F7 I_{an} only: *ngalan* 'to name'; *alage* 'to care for'; *engat* 'to be careful with'; *bol* 'to hold'; *bituka* 'to disembowel'; *kiskis* 'to remove scales' and *katat* 'to remove skin'.

CLASS F8 I_{an} only: *tingges* 'to understand' and *eyen* 'no', 'to deny'.

7. CLASS G RECIPROCAL INTRANSITIVE

7.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. Topic-subject is obligatory. Accessory is optional.

Stems of this class express reciprocal action. A plurality of agents as topic-subject act mutually and reciprocally upon one another. Refer to 9.11, 9.13 and 9.16, which show this role structure in conjunction with other role structures.

Table 14 shows the correlation between the surface and deep structures of subject focus clauses with class G verbal predicates.

TABLE 14
SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSE STRUCTURE: With Class G Verbal Stems

Surface Tagmemes	Pred _G _{SF}	Topic- Subject _{pl}	(Accessory)
Surface Markings	<i>nag-</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ni</i>
Deep Roles	Reciprocal Action	Agent _{pl}	(Instrument)
	<i>Naggebok</i>	<i>i lalake ide</i>	<i>ni surut.</i>
	SF fight	T man 'pl'	A words.
	'The men fought each other with words.'		

7.2. GENERAL FEATURES OF NON-SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. The instrument may be either body part or vocal expression.

Table 15 shows the single subclass of Class G with regard to the deep role of the topic tagmeme in each non-subject focus clause.

TABLE 15
ROLES OF TOPICALIZED TAGMEMES IN NON-SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES:
With Class G Verbal Predicates.

Vb Affix	<i>-in-#</i>	<i>-in--an</i>	<i>pinag--an</i>	<i>pinag-</i>
Function	OF	RF ₁	RF ₂	AF
Topic	Object	Referent	Referent	Accessory
Deep G Roles	-----	-----	-----	Instr

7.3. REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

gebok 'to fight'.

8. CLASS H SYMMETRICAL DITRANSITIVE

8.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. Topic-subject, object and referent are obligatory and accessory is optional.

Stems of this class express action. The topic-subject expresses agent, the object expresses patient and the referent expresses goal.

Class H is differentiated from Class E in subject focus by the following: 1) Unlike class E clauses in which referent is optional in the surface structure, in clauses of this class, referent is obligatory. 2) The subject focus affix *-inum-* does not occur with Class H stems. 3) In the deep grammar of Class E the referent expresses goal or source, while in Class H the referent expresses goal only. 4) Because the axes of the phrases that fill the object and referent tagmeme of clause of this class are of the same kind, they may be freely interchanged. Thus, what is object may be made referent and what is referent may be made object.

Table 16 shows the correlation between the surface structure and deep structure of subject focus clauses with Class H verbal predicates.

8.2. GENERAL FEATURES OF NON-SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. When patient occurs as topic-object, goal as non-topic referent is marked by *de*. When goal occurs as topic-referent, patient as non-topic object is marked by *ni*.

Table 17 compares the subclasses of Class H with regard to the deep role of the topic tagmeme in each non-subject focus clause.

8.3. REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

CLASS H1 *beog* 'to mix mutually (as soup into rice or rice into soup)'.

TABLE 16
SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSE STRUCTURE: With Class H Verbal Stems

Surface Tagmemes	PredH _{SF}	Topic-Subject	Object	Referent	(Accessory)
Surface Markings	{ <i>nag-</i> <i>naN-</i> }	<i>i</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>ni</i>
Deep Roles	Action	Agent	Patient	Goal	(Instrument)
	<i>Nagkasal</i>	<i>i matande</i>	<i>ni lalake</i>	<i>de mahona</i>	<i>ni surut na.</i>
	SF marry	T old-one	O man	R woman	A word his.
	'The old-one married the man to the woman by pronouncement.'				

TABLE 17
ROLES OF TOPICALIZED TAGMEMES IN NON-SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES:
With Class H Verbal Predicates.

Vb Affix	-in-#	-in--an	<i>pinag--an</i>	<i>pinag-</i>
Function	OF	RF ₁	RF ₂	AF
Topic	Object	Referent	Referent	Accessory
Deep Roles	H1	H2	H3	
	Pat	Pat	Pat	
		Goal	Goal	Instr
				Instr
				Instr

CLASS H2 *kasal* 'to marry (as man to woman or woman to man)'.

CLASS H3 *awak* 'to separate two who are at odds with one another'.

9.1. PATIENT INTRANSITIVE AND AGENT INTRANSITIVE

9.1.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. Each of these stems have dual membership in Classes A and B. Clauses in subject focus, having predicates formed by the affixation of one of these stems by *nag-* or *-inum-*, have the surface structure of both Class A and Class B clauses, which are identical. That is, clauses of both classes have these tagmemes in their surface structures; predicate, topic-subject and accessory.

Thus, the class membership of the stem in a given subject focus clause is not indicated in any way grammatically. Rather, whether or not a stem in a given clause is of Class A or of Class B is shown only by the deep grammar roles expressed by the topic-subject and accessory tagmemes. If the role expressed by the topic-subject is patient, the stem is Class A. If, on the other hand, the role is agent, the stem is Class B.

However, these roles may be identified from surface features by transforming to accessory focus clauses. Refer to 1.2 and 2.2 for the manner in which accessory focus clauses distinguish the roles that accompany these classes.

9.1.2. EXAMPLES

CLASS A	<i>Nagbugnang</i>	<i>i bebi ko</i>	<i>ni alak.</i>
	SF drunk	T wife my	A wine.
	'My wife was made drunk by the wine.'		
CLASS B	<i>Nagbugnang</i>	<i>i bebi ko</i>	<i>ni alak.</i>
	SF drunk	T wife my	A wine.
	'My wife got drunk (chose to) on wine.'		

9.1.3. REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

bulangay 'to become high (as water)', 'to flood'; *tiplag* 'to be made to glance off', 'to glance off'; *tening* 'to be spun', 'to spin'; *anduwán* 'to be made long (as by God)', 'to grow in length'; *bugnang* 'to be made drunk', 'to get drunk'; *hedep* 'to become seriously sick', 'to endure a serious sickness' and *orom* 'to be in pain', 'to bear pain'.

9.2 PATIENT INTRANSITIVE AND REFERENT TRANSITIVE

9.2.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. Each of these stems has dual membership in Classes A and C. When one of these stems is affixed with *-inum-*, its clause has the grammar and role structure of a clause with a Class A verb stem, and when it is affixed with *nag-* its clause has the grammar and role structure of a clause with a Class C verb stem.

9.2.2. EXAMPLES

CLASS A	<i>Hinumayahay</i>	<i>i beloy</i>	<i>ni palos.</i>
	SF cools	T house	A wind.
	'The house became cool in the wind.'		
CLASS C	<i>Naghayahay</i>	<i>i palos</i>	<i>de beloy.</i>
	SF cool	T wind	R house.
	'The wind cooled the house.'		

9.2.3. REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

hayahay 'to be cooled', 'to cool' and *apoy* 'to be ignited', 'to ignite fuel'.

9.3. PATIENT INTRANSITIVE AND OBJECT TRANSITIVE

9.3.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. Each stem below has dual membership in Classes A and D. When one of these stems is affixed with *-inum-*, its clause has the grammar and role structure of a clause with a Class A verb stem, and when it is affixed with *nag-* its clause has the grammar and role structure of a clause with a Class D verb stem.

9.3.2. EXAMPLES

CLASS A	<i>Kinumalug</i>	<i>i lubi</i>	<i>ni palos.</i>
---------	------------------	---------------	------------------

	SF rattled	T coconut	A wind.
	'The coconut rattled in the wind.'		
CLASS D	<i>Nagkalug</i>	<i>i bebi ko</i>	<i>ni lubi.</i>
	SF rattled	T wife my	O coconut.
	'My wife rattled the coconut.'		

9.3.3. REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

kalug 'to be rattled', 'to rattle'; *tikayang* 'to be placed upright', 'to place upright (as a pot)'; *untik* 'to be made small', 'to make small'; *aliwet* 'to be placed face down (as a plate) or to be put inside out (as a garment)', 'to place face down or to put inside out'; *sapwar* 'to be broadcast (as seed)', 'to broadcast'; *sewag* 'to be thrown out (as water)', 'to throw out'; *tuwed* 'to be placed upside down (as a pot)', 'to place upside down'; *hanga* 'to be made big', 'to make big'; *pisa* 'to be split open (as an egg)', 'to split open'; *laktud* 'to be shot beyond or at random', 'to shoot beyond or at random'; *lawes* 'body', 'to become a body', 'to give a body to (as God to a plant)'; *depay* 'to be flattened (as grass)', 'to flatten'; *aduwá* 'two', 'to become two', to get two or wear two'; *tiluwun* 'three', 'to become three', 'to get three or hold three and so on'; *talab* 'to become dull (as a blade)', 'to make dull'; *piyug* 'to be flexed', 'to flex'; *sanga* 'branch', 'to be made a branch (as a canal of water)', 'to make a branching canal of water'; *tayuntayun* 'to be dangled down', 'to dangle something down (not to touch the surface)'; *aroy* 'to be dangled down', 'to dangle something down (to touch the surface)'; *kalamas* 'to be rustled', 'to rustle (as leaves)'; *kisa* 'to be made hard', 'to make hard'; *biyet* 'to be heavy', 'to make heavy'; *anak* 'child', 'to bear fruit', 'to give birth to young' and *ayus* 'to be acceptable', 'to make acceptable'.

9.4. PATIENT INTRANSITIVE AND DITRANSITIVE

9.4.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. Each stem below has dual membership in Classes A and E. When one of these stems is affixed with *-inum-*, its clause has the grammar and role structure of a clause with a Class A verb stem, and when it is affixed with *nag-* its clause has the grammar and role structure of a clause with a Class E verb stem.

9.4.2. EXAMPLES

CLASS A	<i>Kinumitad</i>	<i>i papel</i>	<i>ni taguk</i>	<i>de kew.</i>
	SF stuck	T paper	A sap	R tree.
	'The paper became stuck to the tree with sap.'			
CLASS E	<i>Nagkitad</i>	<i>i bebi ko</i>	<i>ni papel</i>	<i>de kew.</i>
	SF stuck	T wife my	O paper	R tree.
	'My wife stuck the paper to the tree.'			

Notice in the first example that the predicate is stative and that the referent expresses location, whereas in the second example the predicate is an action and the referent expresses the goal of the action.

9.4.3. REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

agidnaw 'to become cold', 'to make cold'; *enit* 'to become hot', 'to make hot'; *kitad* 'to

become stuck’, ‘to stick something to’; *sopra* ‘to be sprayed or splashed out (as water)’, ‘to spew out or splash on’; *gibe* ‘to be pushed over (as a house)’, ‘to push over’; *sangot* ‘to be snagged on’, ‘to snag on’ and *tawang* ‘to be carried off (as by a flood)’, ‘to carry off’.

9.5. PATIENT INTRANSITIVE AND COUNT TRANSITIVE

9.5.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. Each stem below has dual membership in Classes A and F. When one of these stems is affixed with *-inum-* its clause has the grammar and role structure of a clause with a Class A verb stem, and when it is affixed with *nag-* its clause has the grammar and role structure of a clause with a Class F verb stem.

9.5.2. EXAMPLES

CLASS A	<i>Kinumalag</i>	<i>i bebi ko</i>	<i>ni surut na.</i>
	SF scare	T wife my	A word his.
	‘My wife was scared by his words.’		
CLASS F	<i>Nagkalag</i>	<i>i bebi ko</i>	<i>ni anak.</i>
	SF scare	T wife my	O child _{sg/pl} .
	‘My wife scared the child.’		
CLASS F	<i>Nagkalag</i>	<i>i bebi ko</i>	<i>de anak.</i>
	SF scare	T wife my	R children.
	‘My wife scared the children.’		

9.5.3. REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

kalag ‘to be scared’, ‘to scare’; *tangkay* ‘to head out (as grain)’, ‘to make to head out (as by God)’; *tan-ok* ‘to be high nosed’, ‘to make high nosed (as by God)’; *kepsut* ‘to be smallhipped’, ‘to make smallhipped (as by God)’; *salimoot* ‘to be resentful’, ‘to make resentful’; *tokyab* ‘to be flipped up’, ‘to flip up (as a window)’; *inog* ‘to be ripe’, ‘to ripen (as by putting in the sun)’; *kitong* ‘to become filled out’, ‘to fill out’; *peno* ‘to be fine textured’, ‘to cause to be fine textured’; *malot* ‘to be soiled’, ‘to talk bad about’; *tande* ‘to be marked’, ‘to mark’; *melo* ‘to be fresh or green’, ‘to make fresh or green’; *salatan* ‘to be the season of the south wind’, ‘for a south wind to blow’; *amiyen* ‘to be the season of the northeast monsoon’, ‘for a northeast monsoon wind to blow’; *abiget* ‘to be the season of west winds’, ‘for a west wind to blow’; *kábeg* ‘to be bloated’, ‘to cause a gassy stomach’; *adlas* ‘to be a time of clear weather’, ‘to cause clear weather’ and *niwang* ‘to be thin’, ‘to cause to be thin’.

9.6. AGENT INTRANSITIVE AND OBJECT TRANSITIVE

9.6.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. Each stem below has dual membership in Classes B and D. When one of these stems is affixed with *-inum-* or *nag-* without an object tagmeme, its clause has the grammar and role structure of a Class B verb stem. When a stem is affixed with *nag-* with an object tagmeme, its clause has the grammar and role structure of a clause with a Class D verb stem.

9.6.2. EXAMPLES

CLASS B	<i>Nandiyus</i>	<i>i bebi ko.</i>
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	SF bath	T wife my.	
	'My wife bathed.'		
CLASS D	<i>Nandiyus</i>	<i>i bebi ko</i>	<i>ni aso.</i>
	SF bath	T wife my	O dog.
	'My wife bathed the dog.'		

9.6.3. REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

edup 'to live', 'to give life (as to a foster child in a home)'; *taan* 'to dwell', 'to cause to dwell'; *paNdiyus* 'to have a bath', 'to give a bath'; *giyus* 'to rise up', 'to cause to rise up'; *tino* 'to rest fully and intelligently stay at home', 'to cause to be intelligent and stay at home'; *kalog* 'to terminate', 'to cause to terminate'; *songdu* 'to finish', 'to cause to be finished or completed (as a house)'; *tipong* 'to be in the vicinity of', 'to place in the vicinity of'; *sangdoy* 'to lay oneself or a body part across', 'to lay something across (as one log across another)'; *tagilid* 'to lean sideways', 'to tilt something over (as a pot)'; *ropsak* 'to sit on the floor with legs extended forward', 'to place on in juxtaposition (as a pot on a fire)'; *onat* 'to stretch (as muscles)', 'to pull out to its length (as a rope)' and *peris* 'to turn around', 'to turn something around'.

9.7. AGENT INTRANSITIVE AND COUNT TRANSITIVE

9.7.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. Each stem below has dual membership in Classes B and F. When one of these stems is affixed with *-inum-* its clause has the grammar and role structure of a clause with a Class B verb stem, and when it is affixed with *nag-* its clause has the grammar and role structure of a clause with a Class F verb stem.

9.7.2. EXAMPLES

CLASS B	<i>Dinumapit</i>	<i>i bebi ko.</i>	
	SF ferried	T wife my.	
	'My wife ferried herself across the water.'		
CLASS F	<i>Nagdepit</i>	<i>i bebi ko</i>	<i>ni lalake.</i>
	SF ferry	T wife my	O man _{sg/pl} .
	'My wife ferried the man across the water.'		
CLASS F	<i>Nagdepit</i>	<i>i bebi ko</i>	<i>de lalake.</i>
	SF ferry	T wife my	R man _{pl} .
	'My wife ferried the men across the water.'		

9.7.3. REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

depit 'to ferry oneself across', 'to ferry others across'.

9.8. REFERENT TRANSITIVE AND OBJECT TRANSITIVE

9.8.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. Each stem below has dual membership in Classes C and D. When one of these stems is affixed with *-inum-* or *nag-* with a referent which expresses goal of the action, its clause has the grammar and role structure of a clause with a Class C verb stem and when a stem is affixed with *nag-* with an

object expressing patient, its clause has the grammar and role structure of a clause with a Class D verb stem.

9.8.2. EXAMPLES

CLASS C	<i>Tinumabeng</i>	<i>i bebi ko</i>	<i>de mahuna.</i>
	SF help	T wife my	R woman.
	'My wife helped the woman.'		

CLASS C	<i>Nagtabeng</i>	<i>i bebi ko</i>	<i>de mahuna.</i>
	SF help	T wife my	R woman.
	'My wife helped the woman.'		

CLASS C	<i>Nagtabeng</i>	<i>i bebi ko</i>	<i>ni mahuna.</i>
	SF help	T wife my	O woman.
	'My wife had the woman help her.'		

9.8.3. REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

tabeng 'to help somebody', 'to have someone help you'; *sut* 'to accompany somebody', 'to have somebody accompany you'; *rangbe* 'to stand or sit by someone', 'to have someone sit or stand beside you'; *kiblag* 'to separate from somebody', 'to cause someone to separate from you'; *salow* 'to eat with someone', 'to have someone eat with you'; *koloy* 'to be the companion of someone going', 'to have someone be your companion'; *ayun* 'to go along with somebody (as his friend)', 'to cause someone to come with you as a friend' and *dulog* 'to cause someone to cuddle you', 'to cuddle someone'. Note that the last stem works in an inverse manner.

9.9. REFERENT TRANSITIVE AND DITRANSITIVE

9.9.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. Each stem below has dual membership in Classes C and E. When one of these stems is affixed with *-inum-* its clause has the grammar and role structure of a clause with a Class C verb stem. When a stem is affixed with *nag-* its clause has the grammar and role structure of a clause with a Class E verb stem.

9.9.2. EXAMPLES

CLASS C	<i>Kinumang</i>	<i>i bebi ko</i>	<i>de beloy mi.</i>
	SF went	T wife my	R house ours.
	'My wife went to our house.'		

CLASS E	<i>Nagkang</i>	<i>i bebi ko</i>	<i>ni kew</i>	<i>de beloy mi.</i>
	SF went	T wife my	O wood	R house ours.
	'My wife conveyed the wood to our house.'			

9.9.3. REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

These stems which have dual membership in Classes C and E may be divided into two main subgroups: motion stems and non-motion stems. The following are non-motion stems. *tingos* 'to wrap oneself in something', 'to wrap something in something'; *tagu* 'to hide oneself', 'to hide something'; *sabit* 'to hang on a tree limb (as a person by his hands)', 'to hang something on a peg'; *salak* 'to join a group', 'to add something to a similar group (as a pole to bamboos)' and *tubeg* 'to answer someone', 'to answer someone about'.

The following are also non-motion stems. When the grammar and role structure of a clause with one of these stems is that of a clause with a Class E verb stem, the patient is inanimate and concomitant to the action, and the agent is animate; whereas when the grammar and role structure is that of a clause with a Class C verb stem, the agent is inanimate and the same as the patient of the corresponding clause having a Class E verb stem. *taklop* 'to cover something', 'to cover something with'; *songsong* 'to plug something', 'to plug something with' and *abet* 'to bar, block, barrier something', 'to barrier something with'.

CLASS C	<i>Tinumaklop</i>	<i>i agid</i>	<i>de beges.</i>	
	SF cover	T leaf	R rice.	
	'The leaf covered the rice.'			
CLASS E	<i>Nagtaklop</i>	<i>i bebi ko</i>	<i>ni agid</i>	<i>de beges.</i>
	SF cover	T wife my	O leaf	R rice.
	'My wife placed a leaf over the rice.'			

The following are motion stems. In clauses with Class E stems the patient is concomitant to the action, and in clauses with both Class C and Class E stems, the agent is animate. As illustrated by *oli* 'to go home', each stem has a meaning corresponding to its Class C and Class E functions. Since the Class E meaning is invariably that of Class C plus the concomitant, only the gloss of the Class C meaning is given with each stem. *oli* 'to go home', 'to go home with something'; *duman* 'there', 'to go there'; *ampulang* 'to return'; *kang* 'to go to'; *lusong* 'to come down from'; *detong* 'to arrive at'; *toto* 'to leave from'; *soksok* 'to go into (as a cave)'; *saka* 'to go from the water to the beach'; *salakat* 'to climb up into (as a house or boat)'; *bukud* 'other', 'to go to another place'; *tagpa* 'to go out from shore (as in a boat)'; *ona* 'to precede'; *dio* 'here', 'to come here'; *alis* 'to move to'; *gikan* 'to run to or from'; *nangoy* 'to swim to'; *arorog* 'to go and mingle with a group in order not to be observed'; and *lipad* 'to fly to'.

With the following motion stems, when a clause has the grammar and role structure of a clause having a Class E verb stem, the referent is not goal or source but range. *takeg* 'to pass by'; *sabusabu* 'to ford'; *sarasa* 'to barge through a group of people'; *lawot* 'to jump over'; *sakat* 'to ascend (as a slope)'; *sila* 'to detour into and then go on' and *sabe* 'to walk beside on the trail.

With the following conveyance stems the referent is the conveyance. *sakoy* 'to ride in or on' and *bebe* 'to ride on a human, piggy back style'.

CLASS C	<i>Sinumakoy</i>	<i>i bebi ko</i>	<i>de tarak.</i>	
	SF ride	T wife my	R truck.	
	'My wife rode on the truck.'			

The following stems are pseudo-motion stems. In both of the grammar and role structures, the agent is inanimate. In the first stem below the referent as goal is explicit. In the second stem the referent as source is implicit in the agent. *tapuk* 'rain', 'to rain' and *sagu* 'blood', 'to bleed'.

CLASS E	<i>Nagtapuk</i>	<i>i tapuk</i>	<i>ni orat</i>	<i>de putok.</i>
	SF rain	T rain	O water	R earth.
	'The rain rained water on the earth.'			

CLASS E	<i>Nagsagu</i>	<i>i beged</i>	<i>ni sagu.</i>
	SF bleed	T wound	O blood.
	'The wound bled blood.'		

The following stem is a pseudo-conveyance stem. In both of the grammar and role structures, the agent is inanimate. The referent as conveyance is implicit in the agent. *bulus* 'to flow'.

CLASS E	<i>Nagbulus</i>	<i>i orat</i>	<i>ni kew.</i>
	SF flow	T river	O wood.
	'The river flow-carried the tree downstream.'		

9.10. REFERENT TRANSITIVE AND COUNT TRANSITIVE

9.10.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. Each stem below has dual membership in Classes C and F. When one of these stems is affixed with *-inum-* its clause has the grammar and role structure of a clause with a Class C verb stem. When it is affixed with *nag-* or occasionally with *naN-* its clause has the grammar and role structure of a Class F verb stem.

9.10.2. EXAMPLES

CLASS C	<i>Sinumuntuk</i>	<i>i wile ko</i>	<i>de abeng.</i>
	SF poked	T brother my	R lowlander.
	'My brother hit the lowlander with his fist.'		

CLASS F	<i>Nagsuntuk</i>	<i>i wile ko</i>	<i>ni pinsan na.</i>
	SF poked	T brother my	O cousin _{sg/pl} his.
	'My brother hit his cousin with his fist.'		

CLASS F	<i>Nagsuntuk</i>	<i>i wile ko</i>	<i>de pinsan na.</i>
	SF poked	T brother my	O cousin _{pl} his.
	'My brother hit his cousins with his fist.'		

9.10.3. REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

abut 'to follow someone'; *kaget* 'to bite'; *suntuk* 'to hit with the fist'; *tapa* 'to touch with the flat of the palm (as to restrain)'; *toldu* 'to touch with the tip of the finger'; *biseta* 'to visit to check on'; *buot* 'to want', 'to desire', 'to love'; *tegbes* 'to slash at or down'; *sapgid* 'to brush lightly against'; *sipag* 'to do something with vigor' and *dongpal* 'to collide with', 'to run aground'.

9.11. REFERENT TRANSITIVE AND RECIPROCAL INTRANSITIVE

9.11.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. Each stem below has dual membership in Classes C and G. When one of these stems is affixed with *-inum-* or with *nag-* with a referent tagmeme, its clause has the grammar and role structure of a Class C verb stem. When a stem is affixed with *nag-* with a plural agent and the obligatory absence of a referent tagmeme, its clause has the grammar and role structure of a Class G verb stem.

9.11.2. EXAMPLES

CLASS C	<i>Linumaben</i>	<i>i bebi ko</i>	<i>de ayun na.</i>
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	SF fight	T wife my	R friend hers.
	'My wife fought with her friend.'		
CLASS G	<i>Naglaben</i>	<i>i lalake ide.</i>	
	SF fight	T man	'pl'.
	'The men fought with one another.'		

9.11.3. REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

laben 'to fight with' and *padipadi* 'to be the same as'.

9.12. OBJECT TRANSITIVE AND DITRANSITIVE

9.12.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. This stem has dual membership in Classes D and E. When this stem is affixed with *nag-* with an animate patient as object, its clause has the grammar and role structure of a Class D verb stem. When it is affixed with *nag-* with an inanimate patient as object and a goal as referent, its clause has the grammar and role structure of a clause with a Class E verb stem.

9.12.2. EXAMPLES

CLASS D	<i>Nagsosol</i>	<i>i bebi ko</i>	<i>ni anak.</i>	
	SF rebuke	T wife my	O child.	
	'My wife rebuked the child.'			
CLASS E	<i>Nagsosol</i>	<i>i bebi ko</i>	<i>ni kasalanan</i>	<i>de ina na.</i>
	SF repent	T wife my	O sin	R mother hers.
	'My wife repented of her sin to her mother.'			

9.12.3. REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

sosol 'to rebuke someone', 'to repent of to someone'.

9.13. OBJECT TRANSITIVE AND RECIPROCAL INTRANSITIVE

9.13.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. These stems have dual membership in Classes D and G. When one of these stems is affixed with *nag-* with a patient as object, its clause has the grammar and role structure of a clause with a Class D verb stem. When a stem is affixed with *nag-* with a plural agent and the obligatory absence of an object tagmeme, its clause has the grammar and role structure of a Class G verb.

9.13.2. EXAMPLES

CLASS D	<i>Nagtalo</i>	<i>i bebi ko</i>	<i>ni agta.</i>
	SF argue	T wife my	O person.
	'My wife argued with the person.'		
CLASS G	<i>Nagtalo</i>	<i>i agta</i>	<i>ide.</i>
	SF argue	T people	'pl'.
	'The people argued amongst themselves.'		

9.13.3. REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

talo 'to argue', *pagbu* 'to wrestle'.

9.14. PATIENT INTRANSITIVE, AGENT INTRANSITIVE AND OBJECT TRANSITIVE.

9.14.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. Each of these stems. has triple membership in Classes A, B and D. When one of these stems is affixed with *-inum-* with an inanimate subject, its clause has the grammar and role structure of a Class A verb stem. When it is affixed with *-inum-*, with an animate subject, its clause has the grammar and role structure of a Class B verb stem, and, when it is affixed with *nag-*, its clause has the grammar and role structure of a Class D verb stem.

9.14.2. EXAMPLES

CLASS A *Linuminod* *i kew* *ni biyet na.*
 SF emerse T wood A heaviness it.
 'The log became submerged by its heaviness.'

CLASS B *Linuminod* *i bebi ko* *ni buot na.*
 SF emerse T wife my A desire hers.
 'My wife submerged herself because she wanted to.'

CLASS D *Naglinod* *i bebi ko* *ni anak ko.*
 SF emerse T wife my O child my.
 'My wife submerged my child.'

9.14.3. REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

lenod 'to emerse', 'to submerge'; *tikig* 'to lean upper part to one side (as head or tip of tree)'; *tapor* 'to bury', 'to cover with earth'; *hande* 'to prepare'; *aknong* 'to lean over the water'; *rungtu* 'to feel depressed', 'to feel mentally out of sorts'; *tamlay* 'to feel physically out of sorts'; *aldut* 'to perspire' and *sowi* 'to sprout from ground with leaves'.

9.15. PATIENT INTRANSITIVE, REFERENT TRANSITIVE AND DITRANSITIVE

9.15.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. Each of these stems has triple membership in Classes A, C and E. When one of these stems is affixed with *-inum-* with an inanimate subject, its clause has the grammar and role structure of a Class A verb stem. When a stem is affixed with *-inum-* with an animate subject, its clause has the grammar and role structure of a Class C verb stem. When it is affixed with *nag-* its clause has the grammar and role structure of a Class E verb stem.

9.15.2. EXAMPLES

CLASS A *Inumalis* *i kew* *ni orat.*
 SF transfer T wood A water.
 'The wood was moved by the water.'

CLASS C *Inumalis* *i bebi ko* *de beloy a kakmukan.*
 SF transfer T wife my R house 'lk' other.
 'My wife moved to another house.'

CLASS E *Nag-alis* *i bebi ko* *ni kew* *de beloy.*
 SF transfer T wife my O wood R house.
 'My wife moved the wood to the house.'

9.15.3. REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

alis 'to move', 'to transfer'; *puoy* 'to place'; *dugeng* 'to add'; *degdeg* 'to throw down', 'to make to fall'; *tanga* 'to come forth from'; *lane* 'to draw near to'; *sandig* 'to lean against' and *tipun* 'to gather in one place'.

9.16. AGENT INTRANSITIVE, OBJECT TRANSITIVE AND RECIPROCAL INTRANSITIVE

9.16.1. GENERAL FEATURES OF SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES. Each of these stems has triple membership in Classes B, D and G. When one of these stems is affixed with *-inum-* its clause has the grammar and role structure of a Class B verb stem. When it is affixed with *nag-* with a patient as object, its clause has the grammar and role structure of a Class D verb stem. When it is affixed with *nag-* with a plural agent and the obligatory absence of an object tagmeme, its clause has the grammar and role structure of a Class G clause.

9.16.2. EXAMPLES

CLASS B	<i>Sinumayaw</i>	<i>i bebi ko.</i>		
	SF danced	T wife my.		
		'My wife danced by herself.'		
CLASS D	<i>Nagsayaw</i>	<i>i bebi ko</i>	<i>ni lalake.</i>	
	SF danced	T wife my	O man.	
		'My wife danced with the man.'		
CLASS G	<i>Nagsayaw</i>	<i>i agta ide.</i>		
	SF danced	T person		'pl'.
		'The people danced with each other.'		

9.16.3. REPRESENTATIVE STEMS

sayaw 'to dance' and *taben* 'to run away', 'to elope'.

10. UNCLASSIFIED STEMS

Of the 425 verb stems examined, only three could not be accounted for within the classification described in this paper.

The stem *libun* 'to die' occurs with none of the affixes used in the classification, but does take the passive object focus affix *na-*. The topic-object is a patient such as 'person'.

The stem *apdis* 'pain' also takes none of the affixes used in the classification, but does take the passive referent focus affix, *na-an*. The topic-referent is a goal such as 'body'.

The stem *beyed* 'to pay' has a clause and role structure different from all eight classes and their combinations. Table 18 shows the correlation between the surface structure and deep structure of a subject focus clause with *beyed* 'to pay'. Table 19 displays the deep role of the topic tagmeme in each non-subject focus clause for *beyed*.

TABLE 18
SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSE STRUCTURE: With *beyed* 'to pay'.

Surface Tagmemes	Pred _{SF}	Topic-Subject	Accessory? Object?	Referent	Referent
Surface Markings	<i>nag-</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>de</i>
Deep Roles	Action	Agent	Instrument	Patient	Goal
	<i>Nagbeyed</i>	<i>i bebi ko</i>	<i>ni kuwarta</i>	<i>de utak</i>	<i>de agta.</i>
	SF pay	T wife my	? money	R bolo	R person
	'My wife paid money to the person for the bolo.'				

TABLE 19
ROLES OF TOPICALIZED TAGMEMES IN NON-SUBJECT FOCUS CLAUSES:
With *beyed* 'to pay'.

Vb Affix	<i>-in- #</i>	<i>-in-an</i>	<i>pinag-an</i>	<i>pinag-</i>
Function	OF	RF ₁	RF ₂	AF
Topic	Object	Referent	Referent	Accessory
Deep Roles	Instr	Pat	Goal	Instr

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