**Focus and Aspect in Iraya Mangyan Verbs**

**Abstract**

This paper aims to contribute to the scarce literature describing the linguistic system of Iraya Mangyan, a language primarily spoken on the island of Mindoro. The focus of this paper is to describe how aspect and focus are marked on verbs in Iraya. Similar to other other Philippine languages, Iraya has focus affixes which can mark the agent, patient, goal, location, or the instrument NP as the focus of the sentence. Focus marking on the verb also influences the aspect marking of verbs in Iraya as the language uses both synthetic and analytic means to express the aspect of the verb. Some verbs in the language also appear to not be available for combination with affixes that encode focus and aspect. It is hypothesized that the irregularity of verb paradigms in the language may reflect that the verbal morphology of this endangered language is currently in flux.

**Keywords:** *Iraya Mangyan, verb morphology, focus, aspect, Philippine language*

**1.0 Introduction**

The Iraya Mangyan group is one of the eight ethnolinguistic groups indigenous to the island of Mindoro. These indigenous groups are collectively known as *Mangyan,* and members of these indigenous groups also use this label to refer to themselves, which also serves to distinguish themselves from lowland dwellers who are mostly Tagalog speakers.

The other Mangyan groups, as listed by the Mangyan Heritage Center (Mangyan groups, n.d.), are the Alangan, Tadyawan, Tau-buhid, Bangon,[[1]](#footnote-1) Buhid, Hanunuo, and Ratagnon. Comparative studies done by Zorc (1974) and Barbian (1974) show that these Mangyan groups can be divided into two linguistic subgroups based on shared linguistic features which indicate closer genetic relation among members within each subgroup: the Northern Mangyan group, which includes Iraya, Alangan, and Tadyawan, and the Southern Mangyan group, which includes the Hanunuo, Buhid, and Bangon.[[2]](#footnote-2) According to Tweddell (1970) and Zorc (1974), the Ratagnon group might not actually be indigenous to Mindoro, as the language they speak is reportedly a dialect of Cuyonon – a Visayan language spoken on Cuyo, Palawan (Tweddell 1970, p.190). Barbian (1977), however, includes Ratagnon under the Southern Mangyan subgroup.

There are very little studies on the Iraya Mangyan language. Aside from the diachronic studies which refer to this language to identify the internal relationship that Mangyan languages share with each other (see Zorc, 1974 and Barbian, 1977) or to identify the position of these languages in relation to other Philippine and/or Austronesian languages (see Dyen, 1963 and Reid, 2017), the only study which focuses on describing aspects of the Iraya Mangyan language system is Tweddell’s (1958) dissertation on the phonology and morphology of the language.

Tweddell’s dissertation presents a large amount of data on Iraya, however his work is crucially flawed in its (1) lack of morpheme-to-morpheme glossing, (2) lack of comprehensive definition of terms, (3) lack of consistency in labelling and translation, and (4) its failure in distinguishing between the grammatical marking of an affix with the lexical denotative meaning of the verb stem the affix attaches to.

For example, he lists the following affixes as verbal affixes that attach to verbs.

(1) a. /nan- … -an/ ‘place where…’

*nanbukan* ‘place where many plants grow’

*nanrirukan* ‘place where the writings are’

b. /pa- … - an/ ‘person who does…’

*paruŋawan* ‘guide’

*paʔipedan* ‘helper’

c. /-in- … -an/ ‘place, person, time’

*pinalayan* ‘place to put the rice’

*tinragan* ‘place where it fell’

*sinaʔiŋan* ‘period taken to cook rice’ (p. 94)

Based on the description of the affixes and the glosses of the resulting words after affixation, these can be construed as nominalizing affixes rather than verbal affixes. It could be argued that Tweddell meant that this category is for affixes that solely attach to verb stems. However, we can see that a few of the words listed above have nominal roots, such as *pinalayan* ‘place to put the rice’, which he himself describes as having the root word *palay* ‘unhusked rice’.

Some terms used in the study also suffer in the lack of description, which could have illuminated how the morphemes are used. For example, auxiliary particles are defined as particles that combine “partly verbal and partly relational functions” (p. 67). However, Tweddell does not go on to say what exactly are the verbal features these particles exhibit, and how they perform relational functions.

Another instance where Tweddell applies labels without adequate explanation or discussion on what they mean can be seen in his categorization of affixes according to the tense or aspect that they mark. The following affixes for example are all labelled as “comp.”for completive aspect. However, some affixes have a secondary label “punct*.”* which stands for punctiliar aspect*.* According Comrie (1976), punctiliar or punctual aspect is related to a momentary or point-like action, (i.e. it takes a short period of time to complete). Based on the sample sentences and their accompanying English glosses given by Tweddell, one would not know for certain the differences in the types of aspect marked by the affixes listed below. The punctuality of an event is most likely interpreted from the denoted action of the root rather than bestowed upon as a function of the attached affix.

**Table 1. Completive affixes in Iraya according to Tweddell (1958, pp.93-113)**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Affix** | **Aspect** | **Samples** |
| 1 | *ma-* | comp. ; punct. | *kawu mamataw tuwaʔ*  ‘You stay here.’ |
| 2 | *na-* | comp.; punct. | *naʔay natabuy ani*  ‘It is already given by me.’ |
| 3 | *man-* | comp.; punct. | *kura mamti maʔusun bukar naʔapun*  ‘They picked much fruit yesterday.’ |
| 4 | *nan-* | comp.; punct. | *naʔay nanbag kura*  ‘I have answered them.’ or ‘They have been answered by me.’ |
| 5 | *-um-* | comp.; punct. | *ʔiya tumduʔ sa naʔay saʔI ka ʔigway naʔapun*  ‘He taught me one song yesterday.’ |
| 6 | *mi-* | comp. | *mu ʔiraya maki tay pununit makayiʔ teʔ man sa lupaʔ ba ʔiya tay misuŋu baygira tay kunin naggaru*  ‘If a person will take up by hand something from the ground, he will bow the body before he can get it.’ |
| 7 | *ni-* | comp. | *maraw nikapet sa tedek tay ʔinikapetan tay-maʔ ʔiya baʔit*  ‘And so, (he) held the post which would be held by everyone who arrived.’ |

The following table lists affixes that are marked by Tweddell as incompletive affixes. There are more affixes under this group perhaps because both ongoing actions (see numbers 9, 10, 23 below) and actions that may or may not have yet begun (see numbers 13, 15, 21, and 22) are included. However, examples number 12, 16, 19, 20 and 25 do not seem to fit what one would expect to describing an “incomplete action”. The verbs in the English glosses for these two examples are in the past tense. Other affixes seem to denote a habitual action based on the sample sentences provided for each one (see numbers 11, 14, 17, 18, and 24).

**Table 2. Incompletive affixes in Iraya according to Tweddell (1958, pp. 93-113)**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Affix** | **Aspect** | **Sample** |
|  | *mag-* | incom.; custom. | *ʔaku ba magtabuy sa naʔay ʔariʔan nu kayu man ʔaku maki ŋaʔ*  ‘I (habitually) give to my younger bronger whatever I have.’ |
|  | *nag-* | incom.; custom. | *maki teʔ nagsaraŋ ʔuway*  ‘There is a little rattan hanging up.’ |
|  | *mamag-* | incom.;  custom. | *kura mamagtabuy ʔag lapis sa naʔay*  ‘Each one of them gives a pencil to me.’ |
|  | *namag-* | incom.; custom. | *kura namagtabuy ʔag lapis sa naʔay*  ‘A (one) pencil was given to me by all of them together.’ |
|  | *ʔa-* | incom. | *naʔay tay ʔatabuy ʔag begas sa kunin*  ‘I can (will be able to) give the rice to him.’ |
|  | *ka-* | incom. | *ʔaku kamataŋ naʔ teʔ*  ‘I know just a little.’ |
|  | *pa-* | incom. | *kawu patarek sataʔ sa tuŋaʔan*  ‘You sit still there on the seat.’ |
|  | *ba-* | incom.;  moment. | *ʔag ʔiraya kabanʔer balaŋgit ʔudas*  ‘The man was numb for a short time.’ |
|  | *i-* | incom.; incept. (?) | *ʔag takleb nakay-teʔ-man ŋani ba masaklaŋ dapu da nawed ʔag ʔitakleb.*  *‘A covering of anything at all is wider than what is covered.’* |
|  | *mal-* | incom.; custom. | *kidawa tanan maltabuy*  ‘We two both give to each other.’ |
|  | *may-* | incom.; punct. | *daʔ mayliʔug sa kunin ʔag maʔusun ʔabakay ka ʔiraya*  ‘And there were gathered together to him a great number of people.’ |
|  | *tagu-* | incom.; punct. | *naʔay tagubirin, kunin remremen ʔag naʔay pinasked sa kunin*  ‘I commanded, he thought of what I said to him.’ |
|  | *-an* | incom.; punct. | *kumu kay ʔarken tiyaʔ*  ‘Please smell this.’ |
|  | *-en ~ -un* | incom.; punct. | *ʔayaw telnen ʔag butʔul ŋaʔ karam kawu ʔaleyen*  ‘Don’t swallow the bone lest it choke you.’ |
|  | *si-* | incom. | *ʔiya marsitaway sa darwa ka ʔiraya*  ‘He fights against two men.’ |
|  | *-aŋ-* | incom. | *nagpaŋaspak ba magsuway da pasek kayu sa kayuwanan panawen kuʔaya*  ‘Stripped off is breaking off branches of trees in the woods by the wind.’ |
|  | *ʔa-…-an* | incom.; punct. | *naʔapun ʔaku ʔatugitan pisaw*  ‘Yesterday I was cut accidentally by a bolo.’ |

The final group of verbal affixes based on the aspect that they mark is the continuative and stative affixes. There is actually only one affix that is marked as markingcontinuative aspect. Tweddell does not discuss how continuative aspect differs from incompletive aspect. However, upon comparing the samples given, it seems to denote an ongoing action at a specific point of time, which is to say that it is not a habitual action or an action that has been ongoing for a long period of time prior to the speaker’s utterance. Stative affixes on the other hand seem to refer to progressive aspect. But again, these are all conjectures based on the samples given.

**Table 3. Continuative and stative affixes in Iraya according to Tweddell**

**(1958, pp.93-113)**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Affix** | **Aspect** | **Sample** |
| 26 | *ʔag-* | contin. | *ʔaku ba ʔagtabuy lapis sa kumu*  ‘I am giving a pencil to you (sg.)’ |
| 27 | *maka-* | stative | *makasuginap ka balay*  ‘Beautifying the home.’ |
| 28 | *naka-* | stative | *kaynu naʔay baduʔ ba mararay ba nakamaʔagut ba nakabali maputiʔ*  ‘Even my dress, it was green, in a long time changes to white.’ |
| 29 | *ti-* | stative | *naʔapun ba maki saʔI ka ʔibun tilaŋgit sumpat sa kakayuwan*  ‘Yesterday there was a bird suddenly passed through a grove of trees’ |
| 30 | *-ar-* | stative | *tarimpuwan ba kunin sadiri*  ‘placed on top (of something (is)) by itself’ |

As we can see in these examples, in lieu of further explanation of the functions and usage of the morphemes listed in the study, English equivalents and sample phrases and sentences containing the morphemes being discussed are given instead. However, the lack of morpheme-to-morpheme glossing of the sample sentences results to the obfuscation of the actual meaning of the sample sentences and the function of the affixes that Tweddell is trying to illustrate.

For example, one of the features that are identified to be properties of verbal affixes is their function of ascribing *emphasis* to arguments playing specific thematic roles. Three prefixes from Tweddell’s list of verbal affixes are labelled as putting emphasis on the goal. These are *namag-, pa-,* and *na-*. In the sample sentences below, which contain verbal predicates that carry these affixes, it seems that what Tweddell means by goal is the recipient of the action in (2a), and in (2b) the goal refers to the endpoint of the action. In (2c), it is unclear what is being referred to as the goal.

(2) a. *kura namagtabuy ʔag lapis sa naʔay*

‘A (one) pencil was given to me by all of them together.’

b. *kawu patarek sataʔ sa tuŋaʔan*

‘You sit still there on the seat.’

c. *nayawak balaʔaŋ*

‘The bridge was destroyed by the flood.’

Tweddell actually does not define what emphasis is nor discusses how it is marked in Iraya sentences. The reader is left to conjecture how this feature is marked by verbal affixes based on the sample sentences that he provides.

The issues in Tweddell’s description of the Iraya Mangyan language, coupled with the dearth of available literature on the Iraya Mangyan language, warrant another look the language. The present study uses first-hand data, as used by contemporary speakers of Iraya residing in Oriental Mindoro. The main objective of this paper is to describe how focus and aspect are expressed or marked in Iraya Mangyan based on these data collected.

**2.0 The current linguistic situation of the Iraya Mangyans**

The data in the present study were mainly gathered from two fieldwork sites in Oriental Mindoro. The first is in Baras, a barangay and designated Mangyan community in the municipality of Baco (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2015), and the second is in Sitio Suyong in Caagutayan, a barangay in the municipality of San Teodoro. These two sites were chosen because available language consultants were identified in these areas.

Description of the usage of the Iraya language and its level of vitality is limited to what has been observed in these two communities, and is also based on interviews conducted with some of the residents in these communities, as well as with members of the Mangyan Heritage Center and the Mangyan Mission. These two organizations are Catholic-based non-government organizations that conduct missionary work and programs that promote cultural maintenance and other outreach projects for the Mangyans of Mindoro.

Baras is a larger community compared to the relatively more isolated small community in Suyong, Caagutayan. According to the 2015 Census of Population and Housing, Baras has a population of 1,626. The houses in Baras are built closely together, and the families here live very close together. Baras is also nearer to the downtown area of Baco, and residents can easily go to the market and commercial areas of the municipality to buy and sell their wares. All of the houses in Baras have been connected with electricity, and some households have television sets and other electronic appliances. In Baras, only very few adults can still speak Iraya, and the children no longer learn Iraya as their mother tongue. The children instead learn Tagalog as their mother tongue.

Suyong, on the other hand, is a small community made up of very few households, and is located further up the mountain from Baras. It takes about half an hour by motorcycle to get to Suyong from Baras. Unlike in Baras, electronic appliances are not as ubiquitous in Suyong, and neighbors live farther apart from each other. Like the residents of Baras, Suyong residents are fluent in Tagalog, however, Iraya is spoken more frequently here. The residents we interviewed report that they often speak a mixture of Iraya and Tagalog when speaking to one another. Children in this community could be heard mixing the two languages as well.

Both communities have local elementary schools where Tagalog is used as the medium of instruction. This is largely because the teachers and administrators in these schools are either Tagalog or members of other Mangyan groups who cannot speak in Iraya. Students, who continue on to higher education, have to go down from the mountains to the town proper, where the high schools and tertiary institutions are located. In these schools, Mangyan and non-Mangyan students are mixed together, and Tagalog and English are the main mediums of instruction.

Iraya is listed in the Ethnologue, as a *developing language* (Simons & Fennig, 2015). This is a label bestowed to a language that is still “in vigorous use, with literature in a standardized form being used by some though this is not yet widespread nor sustainable” (Simons & Fennig, 2015). The assignment of this status to Iraya may be partly due to the availability of an Iraya translation of the Bible’s New Testament, and a book of Christian songs, both of which were published by the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (OMF).

Fieldwork observation and interviews with people in the fieldwork sites however tell us that the language is far from being “vigorous” according to the definition used by the Ethnologue. The number of Iraya speakers is dwindling or, as in some areas, have dwindled away. In Baras, we were told that only adults above 50 years old could still speak the Iraya language, however, we were not given an exact number of speakers. Some Iraya Mangyans that we spoke to, who were between 30 to 50 years old, reported that they can only understand a few words and could not engage in conversation that is completely in Iraya.

Tagalog is the dominant language used in the domains of education, media, and governance, as well as the language of commerce on the island of Mindoro. This may be one of the reasons why many Iraya Mangyans have shifted to using Tagalog. Intermarriages with non-Iraya speakers may also serve as a motivating factor for shifting to Tagalog as the language used in the household.

**3.0 Methods and materials used in data collection**

The data were collected first-hand by way of direct elicitation, and was phonetically transcribed by the researcher and two other collaborators, Mr. IPB and Mr. JC, in April 2014. Fieldwork was conducted in Barangay Baras in Baco, Oriental Mindoro and Sitio Suyong in Barangay Caagutayan, San Teodoro, Oriental Mindoro. Field research was conducted in a span of six days, during which time the researcher and her collaborators stayed in the Iraya community of Baras. Language consultants in Suyong were visited on the last day of the field research period to verify the data that were gathered from the consultants in Baras and gather additional data as well.

Three main language consultants, who are native speakers of the language, participated in the study. The language consultants, whose ages range from 32 years old to approximately 70 years old,[[3]](#footnote-3) have lived in this area of Oriental Mindoro since birth. There are no significant differences in the language used by the language consultants from these two areas, aside from their preferences in the use of certain nominal markers.

The elicitation material used was a modified Swadesh word list made up of over 500 lexical items and a sentence list made up of 570 items. The word list is written in both English and Tagalog, and the words are grouped according to semantic domains.

The elicitation material was read aloud to the language consultants, who then translated the items orally. Additional words and sentences that came up during the data elicitation process were also recorded and transcribed.

Data verification was also done on January 30 to February 1, 2017, in consultation with another Iraya speaker from Baras, who visited Manila during that time and also provided additional data. These have also been included in this study.

Elicitation sessions were recorded using a digital audio recorder. The data presented in this paper are transcribed phonemically using the International Phonetic Alphabet.

**4.0 Iraya verb morphology**

Like majority of other Philippine languages, Iraya Mangyan is a dominantly agglutinating language. Verbs in Iraya may be affixed with markers for focus, aspect, and mode when used in sentence constructions. In the paper, we will only focus on the former two features, which are commonly associated with the verb.

**4.1 Focus**

One of the defining characteristics of Philippine-type languages is their so-called *focus system,* which is defined by Reid (2005) as “a system characterized by the use of verbal affixes to indicate the thematic role of the [noun phrase] bearing the nominative case in a sentence” (p.3). For example, if the verb carries an affix that marks *actor focus,* then the noun phrase argument within the sentence that has the actor role will be marked with the nominative marker, and would thus be described as the argument that is bearing the focus within the sentence. The nominative argument is generally recognized as the subject of the sentence (Crystal, 2008). This tradition is also followed in this study due to the perceived privileged status of the focused argument in its relation with the verbal predicate head.

Iraya does not have overt morphological case markers for noun phrase arguments. The language only has markers that distinguish between core arguments and oblique arguments within a sentence. The term *core argument* is being used here to refer to the argument required by the head of the predicate, which includes the agent (A) and the object (O) of the transitive verb, and the subject (S) of the intransitive verb (Dixon, 1994). The term *oblique* or *peripheral argument*, on the other hand, is being used here to refer to the argument which usually takes on the role of instrument, accompaniment, recipient, beneficiary, time, place, and manner (Aikhenvald, 2015), and which usually does not affect the grammaticality of the sentence with its omission.

Because of this, it may be difficult to determine which is the focused argument in the sentence. This is particularly true for transitive clauses where both the agent and object of the verb would be marked similarly if they both take the form of noun phrases, as we can see in the example below where both arguments are marked by *da.*

(3) *ma-maŋan* ***da*** *ʔʊŋa* ***da*** *bʊkar*

AF-eat CORE child CORE fruit

‘The child ate the fruit.’

It is without question, however, that verbal affixes in Iraya do mark focus similar to Tagalog and other Philippine languages. We can see this in the changing forms of singular pronouns and, to a certain extent, in the marking on the arguments in the sentence. We can see that these are sensitive to changes in the affix attached to the verb serving as the head of the predicate in the sentence. This is illustrated by the sample sentences below. The focused argument in each sentence is underlined.

(4) a. Actor Focus (AF)

*ʔakʊ*  ***mag-tabʊj*** *da bʊtakan sa daŋgasən*

1SG.NOM AF-give CORE flower OBL young.woman

‘I gave the flower to the young woman.’

‘Nagbigay ako ng bulaklak sa dalaga.’

b. Patient Focus (PF)

*naʔaj* ***nag-tabʊj*** *da bʊtakan sa daŋgasən*

1SG.GEN PF-give CORE flower OBL young.woman

‘I gave the flower to the young woman.’

‘Aking ibinigay ang bulaklak sa dalaga.’

c. Goal Focus (GF)

*naʔaj*  ***t<ɪn>abʊj-an*** *bʊtakan da daŋgasən*

1SG.GEN <GF.PERF>give-GF flower CORE young.woman

‘I gave the flower to the young woman.’

‘Aking binigyan ng bulaklak ang dalaga.’

All three sentences in (4) essentially describe the same event, where the speaker gave flowers to a young woman. However, the sentences vary based on the focus affix attached to the verb, and the form of the pronouns used, as well as the markers that precede the nominal arguments. In (4a), the first-person pronoun *ʔakʊ* occupies the initial position of the sentence that is reserved for the actor argument in the sentence. The pronoun is also in its nominative form. In (4b & c), the first-person pronoun is no longer in nominative form. Based on this, we can say that the actor is not the focused argument in the latter two sentences. In the second sentence, only the object *bʊtakan* ‘flower’, which has the thematic role of patient, is marked by the core nominal marker *da,* therefore we can say that it is the focused argument in this sentence and the verbal affix *nag-* marks patient focus. Finally, in the final sentence (4c) above, the previously oblique dative argument *daŋgasən* ‘young woman’, which is the recipient of the action, is marked with *da,* and therefore may be analyzed as having the focus in this sentence by virtue of the verb being affixed by *-ɪn-…-an.*

The table that follows shows the categorization of verbal affixes according to the focus that they mark[[4]](#footnote-4):

**Table 4. Verbal focus affixes in Iraya**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Actor Focus** | **Patient Focus** | **Goal/ Locative Focus** | **Instrumental Focus** |
| m-  ma-  maN-  mag-  ʔag-  -ʊm-  pa-  -an | na-  naN-  nag-  -ɪn-  -ən  -ɪn-…-an  ʔa-…-an | -an  -ɪn-…-an | pɪnaN- |

Each category of focus affixes will be discussed in turn, and example sentences will be provided in the following sections. The focused argument in each sentence will be underlined.

**4.1.1 Actor Focus**

The following verbal affixes mark actor*[[5]](#footnote-5)* focus (AF): *m-, ma-, maN-, mag-,* *ʔag-, -ʊm-, pa-* and *-an.* Whether or not any of these affixes may be attached to a verb depends on the subcategorization of the said verb within the language. This means that certain verbs and affixes go together, while some do not. For example, the verb *maŋan* ‘eat’ may only be inflected with the AF affix *ma-,* and it cannot be attached with the AF affix *mag-* or *-ʊm-.*

There are also verbs, such as *ʔʊlɪ* ‘go back’ and *garʊ* ‘get’, that may take more than one AF affix, and this could only either be *mag-* or *-ʊm-.* Using either affix does not actually change the meaning or valence of the verb. The difference between the two affixes lies in the aspect that they mark. The infix *-ʊm-* encodes both actor focus and the perfective aspect, which indicates that the action or event has already been completed. On the other hand, verbs that are affixed with *mag-* may be interpreted as being perfective or imperfective depending on the context. The sample sentences below illustrate this. Verbs that may combine with both *-ʊm-* or *mag-* usually take *-ʊm-* to express perfective aspect, and their *mag-* forms are more often interpreted as expressingimperfective aspect.[[6]](#footnote-6) The sample sentences below illustrate this.

(5) a. *ʔɪja* ***t<ʊm>abʊj*** *baʔaw.paraj sa naʔaj*

3SG.NOM <AF.PERF>give rice OBL 1SG.GEN

*naʔapʊn*

yesterday

‘S/he gave me rice yesterday.’

‘Nagbigay siya ng kanin sa akin kahapon.’

b. *ʔɪja*  ***mag-tabʊj*** *baʔaw.paraj sa naʔaj*

3SG.NOM AF-give rice OBL 1SG.GEN

*aldaw-aldaw*

every.day

‘S/he gives me rice every day.’

‘Nagbibigay siya ng kanin sa akin araw-araw.’

It should also be noted that there are still some verbs which do take AF affix *mag-* but do not take the AF affix *-ʊm-*. For example, the verbs *kalək* ‘sleep’ and *rəmrəm* ‘think’ cannot be attached with the AF affix *-ʊm-*. These may only be marked with AF by the affix *mag-.*

The following table shows a list of some verbs and the actor focus affix that they may combine with based on the current data on hand.

**Table 5. Selected list of Iraya verbs and the AF affixes that they may combine with**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **AF Affixes** | **ma-** | **maN-** | **mag- / ʔag-** | **-ʊm-** | **m-** | **pa-** | **-an** |
| 1. *maŋan*   ‘eat’ | ✓ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. *karŋəj*   ‘listen’ | ✓ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. *ʔadar*   ‘learn’ |  | ✓ |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. *kadaŋ*   ‘walk; go’ |  | ✓ |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. *pataw*   ‘live, reside, stay’ |  | ✓ |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. *rəmrəm*   ‘think’ |  |  | ✓ |  |  |  |  |
| 1. *kalək*   ‘sleep’ |  |  | ✓ |  |  |  | ✓ |
| 1. *ʔaŋgat*   ‘bring with’ |  |  | ✓ | ✓ |  |  |  |
| 1. *banʔaw*   ‘look; watch’ |  |  | ✓ | ✓ |  |  |  |
| **AF Affixes** | **ma-** | **maN-** | **mag- / ʔag-** | **-ʊm-** | **m-** | **pa-** | **-an** |
| 1. *gəgən*   ‘hold’ |  |  | ✓ | ✓ |  |  |  |
| 1. *bɪjag*   ‘live; life’ |  |  | ✓ | ✓ |  |  | ✓ |
| 1. *pʊlaw*   ‘wake up’ |  |  | ✓ | ✓ |  |  | ✓ |
| 1. *panawən*   ‘do; work’ |  |  | ✓ | ✓ |  |  |  |
| 1. *paraʔʊj*   ‘go’ |  |  | ✓ | ✓ |  |  |  |
| 1. *ʔʊlɪ*   ‘go back’ |  |  | ✓ | ✓ |  |  |  |
| 1. *tʊkaw*   ‘talk’ |  |  | ✓ | ✓ |  |  |  |
| 1. *garʊ*   ‘get’ |  |  | ✓ | ✓ |  |  |  |
| 1. *tabʊj*   ‘give’ |  |  | ✓ | ✓ |  |  |  |
| 1. *ʔɪnawa*   ‘breath; breathe; sigh’ |  |  | ✓ |  | ✓ |  |  |
| 1. *ʔɪnəm*   ‘drink’ |  |  | ✓ |  | ✓ |  |  |
| 1. *tɪndəg*   ‘stand’ |  |  |  |  |  | ✓ | ✓ |
| 1. *balɪ*   ‘approach’ |  |  |  |  |  | ✓ |  |

Below are some example sentences showing some of the verbs above, used together with the respective actor focus affix/es that they may combined with. The focused noun phrase argument in each sentence is underlined.

(6) Verbs with the AF affix *ma-*

a. ***ma-maŋan*** *da ʔʊŋa bʊkar*

AF-eat CORE child fruit

‘The child ate the fruit.’

‘Kumain ang bata ng prutas.’

c. *nawed kʊjʊ* ***ma-karŋəj*** *sa naʔaj*

NEG.INDIC 2PL AF-listen OBL 1SG.GEN

‘You (pl.) did not listen to me.’

‘Hindi kayo nakinig sa akin.’

(7) Verbs with AF affix *maN-[[7]](#footnote-7)*

a. ***maN-ʔadar*** *da ʔʊŋa sa balaj*

***maŋadar*** *da ʔʊŋa sa balaj*

AF-study CORE child OBL house

‘The child studied at home.’

‘Nag-aral ang bata sa bahay.’

b. ***maN-kadaŋ***  *pag daŋgasən*

***maŋadaɡ*** *pag daŋgasən*

AF-walk CORE young.woman

‘The young woman left.’ / ‘The young woman walked.’

‘Umalis ang dalaga.’ / ‘Naglakad ang dalaga.’

c. *bajɪ marɪja ba* ***maN-pataw*** *sa balaj bajɪ sɛlja*

*bajɪ marɪja ba* ***mamataw***  *sa balaj bajɪ sɛlja*

FEM Maria INV AF-stay OBL house FEM Celia

‘Maria stayed/lived in Celia’s house.’

‘Si Maria ay tumira sa bahay ni Celia.’

(8) Verbs with AF affix *mag-* or *ʔag-*

The affix *mag-* also has a variant form *ʔag-.* There is no discernable pattern that may be observed from the data on hand that would tell us when one form would be used over the other, therefore these two forms are considered free variants.

a. *kawʊ* ***mag-kalək/ ʔag-kalək***

2SG.NOM AF-sleep

‘(You) slept.’

‘Natulog ka.’

b. *ʔɪja lajən*  ***mag-panawen/ ʔag-panawen*** *pɪja*

3PL.NOM always AF-do good

‘S/he always does good (deeds).’

‘Palagi siyang gumagawa ng mabuti.’

c. *ʔakʊ* ***mag-panɪwala / ʔag-panɪwala*** *sa kʊmʊ*

1SG.NOM AF-believe OBL 2SG.GEN

‘I believe in you.’

‘Naniniwala ako sa iyo.’

(9) Verbs with AF affix *-ʊm-*

a. ***g<ʊm>arʊ*** *da ʔʊŋa kɛndɪ sa naʔaj*

<AF.PERF>get CORE child candy OBL 1SG.GEN

‘The child got candy from me.’

‘Kumuha ang bata ng kendi sa akin.’

b. ***p<ʊm>araʔʊj*** *da daŋgasən sa ʔadajɔ*

<AF.PERF>go CORE young.woman OBL far

‘The young woman went to a far (place).’

‘Pumunta ang dalaga sa malayo(ng lugar).’

c. *ʔɪja da* ***t<ʊm>abʊj*** *kʊnɪn bɪjag*

3SG.NOM CORE <AF.PERF>give 3SG.GEN life

*para sa naʔaj*

for OBL 1SG.GEN

‘S/he is the (one who) gave his/her life to me.’

‘Siya ang nagbigay ng kanyang buhay para sa akin.’

(10) Verbs with the AF affix *m-*

Not many samples were found in the data that use the AF affix *m-* except for the verb *ʔɪnəm* ‘drink’ and *ʔɪnawa* ‘breathe; sigh; breath’. The language consultants also used the forms *ʔʊmɪnəm* and *magʔɪnəm*, therefore there is reason to believe that *m-* is a shortened form of the perfective AF affix *-ʊm-*, perhaps applied to stems that have /ɪ/ as the initial vowel.

However, if this is true, other words in the data that matches the condition stated, *ʔɪgwaj* ‘sing’, and *ʔɪbat* ‘from; origin,’ should also be affixed with the shortened perfective AF affix *m-,* but this is not the case and *ʔʊmɪgwaj* and *ʔʊmɪbat* are used respectively instead. Because of this indeterminacy, the affix *m-* is, in the meantime, listed as a separate affix from *-ʊm-*.

a. *ʔalabət* ***m-ɪnəm*** *da ʔʊŋa pag sapa*

want AF.PERF-drink CORE child CORE water

‘The child wants to drink water.’

‘Gustong uminom ng tubig ang bata.’

b. **m-ɪnawa** da bɪnata

AF.PERF-sigh CORE young.man

‘The young man sighed.’

‘Nagbuntong hininga ang binata.’

(11) Verbs with the AF affix *pa-*

a. *ʔɪja da* ***pa-balɪ***  *sa tamʊ*

3SG.NOM CORE AF-approach OBL 1PL.EXCL

‘S/he approached us.’

‘Lumapit siya sa amin.’

b. ***pa-tɪndəg*** *da ʔʊŋa*

AF-stand CORE child

‘The child stood.’

‘Tumayo ang bata.’

(12) Verbs with the AF affix *–an*

The AF suffix *–an* creates stative verbs, i.e. verbs that denote a state of being as opposed to dynamic verbs that denote actions or processes that change over time (Timberlake, 2007). Stative verbs only require one complement, which is an entity that whose state is being described by way of describing the continuous action s/he performs.

a. ***bɪjag-an*** *ʔɪja*

live-AF.STV 3SG.NOM

‘He is alive.’

‘Buhay siya.’

b. *naba pag ʔɪraja* ***pʊlaw-an*** *dapʊ*

MED.DEM CORE person wake-AF.STV still

‘That person is still awake.’

‘Gising pa ang iyang tao.’

There are also other affixes which also focuses the argument that has the actor role. However, these affixes, such *mal-* and *magpa-,* also encode mode or modality, which is a semantic category that includes a wide range of meaning, including the speaker’s attitude towards the possibility, probability, and/or ability to perform a certain action or event (Aikhenvald, 2015), or encode other meanings such as the intentionality of the actor, or the number actors involved. (Malicsi, 2013). Modal affixes, however, will not be covered in this paper.

**4.1.2 Patient Focus**

When a verb is marked with patient focus, the argument that performs the patient role is the subject of the sentence. The patient is usually identified as the element which is the most affected by the action of the verb (Crystal, 2005; Bussmann, 1998). Malicsi (2013) also describes it as the entity that undergoes change, either by being constructed or destructed as a result of the action of the actor or of a certain event (e.g. *Sinunog ko ang papel* ‘I burned the paper’, where in *ang papel* ‘the paper’is the patient).[[8]](#footnote-8)

The table that follows shows the list of affixes that mark patient focus (PF) in Iraya and some of the verbs that they may attach to. We again see thatsome of the verbs listed below may take two PF affixes, which are usually *nag-,* and *-ɪn-* or *-ɪn-…-an,* or *-ɪn-* and *-ən.*

These affixes are also present in other Philippine languages such as Tagalog. Compared to the affixes used in Tagalog, however, the aforementioned Iraya affixes are related to each other in that they only differ in the aspect that they mark. The *-ɪn-* and *-ɪn-…-an* affixesare generally interpreted as encoding perfective aspect. Meanwhile, the affix *nag-,* similar to the AF affix *mag-,* does not encode aspect, and verbs that are affixed with *nag-* may be interpreted as being perfective or imperfective depending on the contexts.

Finally, the suffix *-ən* is never interpreted as the expressing perfective aspect, and verbs attached with this affix is always interpreted as expressing the imperfective aspect. This is due to the fact that verbs combined with this PF suffix *-ən* are usually used in imperative clauses. Still, based on the data we have on hand, it seems that not all verbs may combine with this suffix.

**Table 6. Selected list of Iraya verbs and the PF affixes that they may combine with**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **PF Affixes** | **na-** | **naN-** | **nag-** | **-ɪn-** | **-ən** | **-ɪn-… -an** | **ʔa-…-an** |
| 1. *maŋan*   ‘eat’ | ✓ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. *garʊ*   ‘get’ | ✓ |  |  | ✓ |  |  |  |
| 1. *ʔadar*   ‘learn’ |  | ✓ |  |  | ✓ |  |  |
| 1. *bəŋlaj*   ‘throw’ |  |  |  | ✓ | ✓ |  |  |
| 1. *ʔɪnəm*   ‘drink’ |  |  |  | ✓ | ✓ |  |  |
| 1. *sarak*   ‘find’ |  |  | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |  |  |
| 1. *rəmrəm*   ‘think’ |  |  | ✓ | ✓ |  |  |  |
| 1. *panawən*   ‘do; work’ |  |  | ✓ | ✓ |  |  |  |
| 1. *tabʊj*   ‘give’ |  |  | ✓ | ✓ |  |  |  |
| 1. *gəgən*   ‘hold’ |  |  | ✓ | ✓ |  |  |  |
| 1. *pʊtɔl*   ‘cut’ |  |  | ✓ | ✓ |  |  |  |
| 1. *bʊnʊʔ*   ‘kill’ |  |  | ✓ | ✓ |  |  |  |
| 1. *ʔʊjas*   ‘wash’ |  |  | ✓ |  |  | ✓ |  |
| 1. *ʔaŋgat*   ‘accompany, bring with’ |  |  | ✓ |  |  | ✓ |  |
| 1. *banʔaw*   ‘look; watch’ |  |  | ✓ |  | ✓ | ✓ |  |
| 1. *kɪta*   ‘see’ |  |  |  |  |  |  | ✓ |
| 1. *mataŋ*   ‘know’ |  |  |  |  |  |  | ✓ |
| 1. *pʊlaw*   ‘wake up’ |  |  |  |  |  |  | ✓ |
| 1. *karŋəj*   ‘listen’ |  |  |  |  |  | ✓ | ✓ |

Below are some examples showing the use of some of the verbs above affixed with the corresponding PF verbal affix. The patient noun phrase argument that is focused by the verb in each sentence is underlined.

(13) Verbs with the PF affix *na-*

a. *kʊra da* ***na-maŋan*** *da bəgas*

3PL CORE PF-eat CORE rice

‘They ate the rice.’

‘Kinain nila ang bigas.’

b. *kʊnɪn* ***na-garu*** *da tɪja gʊlanɪt*

3SG.GEN PF-get CORE PROX.DEM clothes

‘S/he got this dress in Manila.’

‘Kanyang kinuha ang damit na ito.’

(14) Verbs with the PF affix *naN-*

a. *sɪdawa* ***naN-ʔadar*** *sata da maŋa rɪbrʊ*

*sɪdawa* ***naŋadar*** *sata da maŋa rɪbrʊ*

3DL PF-study DIST.LOC CORE PL book

‘The two of them studied the books over there.’

‘Pinag-aralan nilang dalawa ang mga libro doon.

b. *kʊra* ***naN-bəŋlaj*** *da maŋa daʔət*

*kʊra* ***naməŋlaj*** *da maŋa daʔət*

3PL PF-throw.away CORE PL bad

‘They threw away the bad [ones].’

‘Tinapon nila ang mga masasama/pangit.’

(15) Verbs with the PF affix *nag-*

a. *naʔaj da* ***nag-tabʊj*** *da maŋa kɛndɪ sa ʔʊŋa*

1SG.GEN CORE PF-give CORE PL candy OBL child

“I gave the candies to the child.’

‘Binigay ko ang mga kendi sa bata.’

b. *kʊra* ***nag-ʔɪnem*** *da sapa*

3PL PF-drink CORE water

‘They drank the water.’

‘Ininom nila ang tubig.’

c. *kʊnɪn* ***nag-pʊtʊl*** *da tajma saŋa*

3SG.GEN PF-cut CORE every branch

‘He cut every branch.’

‘Pinutol niya ang bawat sanga.’

(16) Verbs with the PF affix *-ɪn-*

a. *kʊnɪn*  ***t<ɪn>abʊj*** *da maŋa kɛndɪ sa daŋgasən*

3SG.GEN <PF.PERF>give CORE PL candy OBL young.woman

‘They gave the candies to the woman.’

‘Ibinigay niya ang mga kendi sa dalaga.’

b. ***ʔ<ɪn>ɪnəm*** *maŋa ʔɪraja da masadap ka ʔɪnəmən*

<PF.PERF>drink PL person CORE delicious LNK beverage

‘The people drank the delicious beverage.’

‘Ininom ng mga tao ang masarap na inumin.’

c. *da tajma pʊʔɔn kajo ba* ***p<ɪn>ʊtʊl***

*da tajma pʊʔɔn kajo ba* ***p<ɪn>tʊl[[9]](#footnote-9)***

CORE every tree wood INV <PF.PERF>cut

‘Every tree was cut.’

‘Bawat punong kahoy ay pinutol.’

(17) Verbs with the PF affix *-ən*

In (17a) below, we can see that /h/ is inserted before the suffix if the stem ends in a vowel.

a. *ʔɪja ba naʔaj* ***samba-ən***

*ʔɪja ba naʔaj* ***sambahən***

3SG.NOM INV 1SG.GEN worship-PF.IMP

‘I worship him/her.’

‘Sinasamba ko siya.’

b. *kʊmʊ* ***bəŋlaj-ən*** *da batʊ*

2SG.GEN throw-PF.IMP CORE rock

‘(You) throw the rock.’

‘Ihagis mo ang bato.’

c. *kʊmʊ* ***sarak-ən*** *da ʔʊŋa*

2SG.GEN search-PF.IMP CORE child

‘(You) search for the child.’

‘Hanapin mo ang bata.’

(18) Verbs with the PF affix -*ɪn-…-an*

a. *kʊmʊ bataj* ***ʔ<ɪn>ʊjas-an*** *da naʔaj maŋa paʔa*

2SG.GEN CONT <PF>wash-PF CORE 1SG.GENPL foot

‘You will wash my feet.’

‘Huhugasan mo ang aking mga paa.’

b. *ʔɪja ba* ***ʔ<ɪn>aŋgata-an*** *da kʊnɪn ʔabɪjan*

3SG.NOM INV <PF>accompany-PF CORE 3SG.GEN friend

‘He was accompanied by his friend.’

‘Sinamahan siya ng kanyang kaibigan.’

c. *kʊnɪn* ***b<ɪn>anʔaw-an*** *ʔakʊ*

3SG.GEN <PF>look-PF 1SG.NOM

‘He looked at me.’

‘Tiningnan niya ako.’

(19) Verbs with the PF affix *ʔa-…-an*

a. *naʔaj* ***ʔa-kɪta-an*** *da lakɪ pɛdrɔ*

*naʔaj* ***ʔakɪtan*** *da lakɪ pɛdrɔ*

1SG.GEN PF-see-PF CORE MASC Pedro

‘I saw Pedro.’

‘Nakita ko si Pedro.’

b. *ʔɪja ba* ***ʔa-pʊlaw-an*** *da kʊnɪn ʔadaŋ*

3SG.NOM INV PF-wake-PF CORE 3SG.GEN mother

‘S/he was woken up by his/her mother.’

‘Ginising siya ng kanyang nanay.’

c. *nawed kʊnɪn*  ***ʔa-mataŋ-an*** *da ʔawɪtan pag*

NEG.INDIC 3SG.GEN PF-know-PF CORE name CORE

*daŋgasen*

young.woman

‘He does not know the name of the young woman.’

‘Hindi niya alam ang pangalan ng dalagan.’

**4.1.3 Goal or Locative Focus**

Verbs that are conjugated with affixes that mark goal or locative focus require that the focused core argument is the argument taking on the semantic role of goal or location in the sentence. *Goal* is the label for the entity which refers to the end point or final destination of a movement expressed by the verb. The locative noun phrase, on the other hand, denotes the setting where the action is performed or where the event denoted by the verb occurs.

Two verbal affixes that mark goal focus (GF) or locative focus (LF) are *–an* and *-ɪn-…-an.* It will be noticed that *-ɪn-…-an* also marks patient focus, as we have seen in the previous section. Whether the affix marks patient focus or GF/LF depends on whether the verb may take a goal or locative argument that is focusable. For example, the verb *ʔaŋgat* ‘follow; accompany’ generally only requires two arguments: the entity that perfoms the act of following or accompanying, and the entity that is being followed or accompanied. An adverb of place may be added as an adjunct, however it is not focusable with the use of *-ɪn-…-an*, which is why (20b) below is considered ungrammatical.

(20) a. *naʔaj* ***ʔ<ɪn>aŋgata-an*** *ʔɪja sa balaj kapɪtan*

1SG.GEN <PF>accompany-PF 3SG.NOM OBL house captain

‘I accompanied him/her to the captain’s house.’

‘Sinamahan ko siya sa bahay ng kapitan.’

b. \**naʔaj* ***ʔ<ɪn>aŋgata-an*** *kʊnɪn da balaj kapɪtan*

1SG.GEN <PF>accompany-PF 3SG.GEN CORE house captain

‘I accompanied him/her to the captain’s house.’

‘Sinamahan ko siya sa bahay ng kapitan.’

Below is a list of verbs that these affixes may combine with.

**Table 7. Some verbs that may combine with GF/LF affixes**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | **-an** | **-ɪn-…-an** |
| 1. *tabʊj*   ‘give’ | ✓ | ✓ |
| 1. *kadaŋ*   ‘walk’ | ✓ | ✓ |
| 1. *paraʔʊj*   ‘go’ | ✓ | ✓ |
| 1. *patɪndəg*   ‘stand’ | ✓ | ✓ |
| 1. *tʊŋka*   ‘sit’ | ✓ | ✓ |
| 1. *sʊrat*   ‘write’ | ✓ | ✓ |
| 1. *dalan*   ‘cross, pass’ | ✓ | ✓ |

Most verbs that may be affixed with the GF/LF affix may take both ­*–an* and *-ɪn-…-an.* The difference between the two affixes is that GF/LF verbs affixed with *–an* are often used in imperative (21a), or infinitive (21b & c) constructions.

(21) Verbs with GF/LF affix *–an*

a. (Imperative construction)

*kʊmʊ* ***tabʊj-an*** *ʔɪja pamaŋnən*

2SG.GEN give-GF 3SG.NOM food

‘Give him food.’

‘Iyong bigyan siya ng pagkain.’

b. (Infinitive construction)

*ʔɪja ba jamən dɪsɪn ʔalabət* ***sʊrat-an***

3SG.NOM INV 1PL hope want write-GF

‘We want to write to him.’

‘Siya ay gusto sana naming sulatan’

c. *naʔaj t<ɪn>abʊj da tʊŋkaʔan sa kʊmʊ para* ***tʊŋka-an***

1SG.GEN <PF>give CORE chair OBL 2SG.GEN for sit-LF

*nawəd para* ***tɪndəg-an***

NEG.INDIC for stand-LF

‘I gave you the chair to sit on, not for (you) to stand on.’

‘Aking ibinigay ang upuan sa iyo para upuan (mo ito), hindi para tayuan

(mo ito).’

When the verbs are affixed with *-ɪn-…-an,* these are considered finite, which would often be interpreted as having perfective aspect, unless used in a specific context or temporal adverbs signify otherwise.

(22) Verbs with GF/LF affix *-ɪn-…-an*

a. *kʊnɪn* ***t<ɪn>abʊj-an*** *bʊŋkalɔ da ʔɪdɔ*

3SG.GEN <GF>give-GF bone CORE dog

‘S/he gave the dog a bone.’

‘Kaniyang binigyan ng buto ang aso.’

b. *saʔɪ ka kɪlɔmɛtrɔ da* ***k<ɪn>adaŋ-an*** *pag ʔʊŋa*

one LNK kilometer CORE <LF>walk-LF CORE child

‘[It was] one kilometer [of road] that the child walked on.’

‘Isang kilometro ang nilakad ng bata.’

c. *naʔaj bataj*  ***s<ɪn>ʊrat-an*** *da papɛl*

1SG.GEN CONT <LF>write-LF CORE paper

‘I will write on the paper.’

‘Aking susulatan ang papel.’

**4.1.4 Instrument Focus**

Only one affix, *pɪnaN-[[10]](#footnote-10)*, is used to indicate instrumental focus. The instrumental role is played by the NP that refer to the object used to perform the action denoted by the verb. Below are some sample sentences showing verbs with the instrumental focus affix.

(23) a. ***pɪnaN-sʊrat*** *pag ʔʊŋa da naʔaj lapɪs*

***pɪnansʊrat*** *pag ʔʊŋa da naʔaj lapɪs*

IF-write CORE child CORE 1SG.GEN pencil

‘The pen was used by the child to write.’

‘Ipinansulat ng bata ang aking lapis.’

b. *naʔaj* ***pɪnaN-pʊtʊl*** *da kajʊ da kʊnin pɪsaw*

*naʔaj* ***pɪnampʊtʊl*** *da kajʊ da kʊnin pɪsaw*

1SG.GEN IF-cut CORE wood CORE 3SG.GEN bolo.knife

‘I used his/her bolo knife to cut the wood.’

‘Aking ipinamputol ng kahoy ang itak.’

**4.2 Aspect**

Verbal aspect is defined by Aikhenvald (2015) as “the grammatical representation of the internal structure and composition of activity” (p. 136). The most basic aspectual contrast is between the (1) perfective aspect, which implies the completion of an action or event, and (2) imperfective aspect, which refers to the continuous duration of an event or action without specifying its completion (Crystal, 2008).

Aspect is usually morphologically marked on the verb in most Philippine languages, often by way of affixation and, in some languages, by way of partial reduplication. Three aspectual categories are usually used to discuss verbal aspect in Philippine languages. This includes the aforementioned perfective and imperfective aspects, plus the contemplative aspect, which refers to action that has not yet begun.

Previous descriptions of the Iraya aspectual system consistently align the perfective aspectual form of the verb and the contemplative aspectual form of the verb. That is, to express the verb in contemplative aspect, the verb takes on the same form as when it is marked for perfective aspect. The two aspects are differentiated by the adverbial particle *bataj,* whichis regularly placed before the verb to indicate that the action has not yet begun and it is intended to be done at a future point of time.

Meanwhile, the marking for the imperfective aspect in Iraya is described in previous studies as being different from the perfective aspect marking. The following examples were used by Reid (2017) to show this pattern, where the contemplative and perfective aspectual forms of the verb are the same with the infix *-ɪn-,* while the imperfective form of the verb is marked differently with the suffix *-ən.*

(24) a. Imperfective Aspect

*nay ʔinəm****-ən*** *ʔag sapaʔ ŋuna*

GEN.1SG drink-PV SPCF water now

‘I’m drinking the water now.’

‘Aking iniinom ang tubig ngayon.’

b. Perfective Aspect

*nay ʔ****<in>****inəm ʔag sapaʔ ʔaray ʔumaga*

GEN.1SG <NPRST>drink SPCF water today morning

‘I drank the water this morning.’

‘Ininom ko ang tubig ngayong umaga.’

c. Contemplative Aspect

*nay batay ʔ****<in>****inəm ʔag sapaʔ girabas*

GEN.1SG FUT drank DFNT water tomorrow

‘I’ll drink the water tomorrow.’

‘Iinumin ko ang tubig bukas.’ [[11]](#footnote-11)

(Reid, 2017, p.34)

Contrary to previous descriptions of the Iraya aspectual system, the current data collected for this study show that aspect is marked irregularly in Iraya. According to the current data, only a few verbal affixes in Iraya encode the feature of aspect, and they are closely intertwined with the focus affixes. These affixes are (1) *-ʊm-*, (2) *-ɪn-*, and (3) *–pa-* The first two affixes encode perfective aspect, while the latter express imperfective aspect.

Aside from marking the aspect feature on the verb, these affixes also encode focus. As had been discussed in the previous section, there are multiple affixes in Iraya that mark the same type of focus, and verbs may be subcategorized based on the focus affix that they may combine with. This means that there are verbs that may not combine with the three affixes *–um-, -ɪn-,* and *–pa-*. They may only combine with other focus affixes, and there is no evidence that shows that these other focus affixes indicate aspect.

For these verbs that do not combine with affixes that clearly mark aspect, the interpretation of their aspect is context-dependent or would rely on the use of temporal adverbs. This issue will be discussed further in §4.2.4 where analytic aspect marking in Iraya will be discussed.

**4.2.1 Imperfective aspect**

As mentioned in the previous section, verbs in Iraya that may combine with *-ʊm-* and *-ɪn-* to mark perfective aspect, usually take *mag-* and *nag-* to indicate imperfective aspect. An example of a verb showing this paradigm is given in Table 8. Other verbs that may combine with *mag-/-ʊm-* and *nag-/-ɪn-* were shown in Tables 5 and 6.

Another affix, the infix -*pa-,* is used to mark imperfective aspect in some verbs. The action denoted by the verb that this affix attaches to is interpreted as an ongoing action. Below are some sample sentences where verbs attached with these affixes are used.

(25) a. ***mag-pa-maŋan*** *da lakɪ pɪdrɔ sa balaj lakɪ hɔsɛ*

AF-IMPF-eat CORE MASC Pedro OBL house MASC Jose

‘Pedro is eating at Jose’s house.’

‘Kumakain si Pedro sa bahay ni Jose.’

b. ***nag-pa-maŋan*** *ʔʊŋa da bʊkar*

PF-IMPF-eat child CORE fruit

‘The child is eating the fruit.’

‘Kinakain ng bata ang prutas.’

c. *kajtaŋ kawʊ* ***mag-pa-naŋɪs***

why 2SG.NOM AF-IMP-cry

‘Why are you crying?’

‘Bakit ka umiiyak?’

Interestingly, the imperfective *–pa-* affix may only be used in combination with either the actor focus *mag-* (as in 25a & c above) or the patient focus *nag-* (25b)*.* It may not be used on its own. This observation is consistent with Tweddell’s (1958), who found that, based on his data, that there are affixes in Iraya that may only be used in conjunction with another affix.[[12]](#footnote-12)

The distribution of these affixes is also limited in terms of the verbs that they may combine with. Not all verbs may combine with these affixes. For instance, the verbs *garʊ* ‘get’ and *lakalak* ‘boil’ do have the forms *magpagarʊ* and *magpalakalak* respectively, however, these are always interpreted as bearing the causative affix *–pa-* rather than the imperfective affix, which shares its form. We can see this in the sentences given below.

(26) a. *mag-pa-garʊ da daŋgasən lapɪs sa kamanlakɪjan*

AF-CAUS-get CORE young.woman pencil OBL man

‘The woman (asked) the man to get a pencil.’

‘Nagpakuha ang dalaga ng lapis sa lalaki.’

b. *da daŋgasən ba mag-pa-lakalak sapaʔ*

CORE young.woman INV AF-CAUS-boil water

‘The young woman (is the one who) boiled the water (caused the water

to boil).’

‘Ang dalaga ang nagpakulo ng tubig.’

For verbs that do not combine with these imperfective affixes, interpretation of the state of completion of the action that they denote is dependent on the context in which they are uttered. This phenomenon is discussed further in 4.2.4.

**4.2.3 Contemplative Aspect**

Iraya has a contemplative aspect marker, *bataj,* which is placed before the verb to indicate that the action indicated by the verb has not yet begun. The verb usually takes the perfective form. The verb’s perfective form may be explicitly marked, as with the verbs in (27a & b) below, or the verb may not have a distinct perfective form, as with the verb in (27c & d) below.

(27) a. ***bataj p<ʊm>araʔʊj*** *da daŋgasən sa ʔadajɔ*

CONT <AF.PERF>go CORE young.woman OBL far

‘The young woman will go to a far (place).’

‘Pupunta ang dalaga sa malayo(ng lugar).’

b. ***bataj t<ɪn>abʊj*** *da ʔʊŋa da kɛndɪ sa daŋgasən*

CONT <PF.PERF>give CORE child CORE candy OBL young.woman

‘The child will give the candy to the young woman.’

‘Ibibigay ng bata ang kendi sa dalaga.’

c. *ʔakʊ ba* ***bataj mag-kalək***

1SG.NOM INV CONT AF-sleep

‘I will sleep.’

‘Ako ay matutulog.’

d. ***bataj pa-tɪndəg*** *pag ʔʊŋa*

CONT AF-stand CORE child

‘The child will stand.’

‘Tatayo ang bata.’

**4.2.4 Analytic aspect marking**

Aspect in Iraya may be expressed through analytic means. This means that the aspect is expressed through independent free morphemes modifying the verb (Aikhenvald, 2015). Contemplative aspect in Iraya verbs is expressed through analytic means, as we have seen in §4.2.3, as it involves the placement of the contemplative marker *bataj* before the verb.

In §4.2.1 and §4.2.2, affixes that mark perfective and imperfective affixes were discussed, however, as previously mentioned, not all verbs may combine with these affixes. For verbs that do not combine with these affixes, whether or not the actions that they denote may be interpreted as having already been completed or still ongoing would depend on the context of the conversation. Below are examples where the sentences may be interpreted as perfective or imperfective. The affixes attached to the verbs in these sentences do not mark aspect.

(28) a. ***pa-tɪndəg*** *lakɪ pɛdrɔ*

AF-stand MASC Pedro

‘Pedro stood.’ / ‘Pedro is standing.’

‘Tumayo si Pedro.’ / ‘Tumatayo si Pedro.’

b. ***mag-tʊkawan-an*** *da ʔʊŋa sa daŋgasən*

AF-speak-RECIP CORE child OBL young.woman

‘The child spoke to the young woman.’ /

‘The child is speaking to the young woman.’

‘Nakipag-usap ang bata sa dalaga.’ / ‘Nakikipag-usap ang bata sa dalaga.’

c. *naʔaj* ***ʔa-kɪta-an*** *da lakɪ pɛdrɔ*

*naʔaj ʔakɪtan da lakɪ pɛdrɔ*

1SG.GEN PF-see CORE MASC Pedro

‘I saw Pedro.’ / ‘I see Pedro.’

‘Aking nakita si Pedro.’ / ‘Aking nakikita si Pedro.’

It should be noted that the sentences above are more readily interpreted by the language consultants as expressing perfective aspect when uttered outside a specific context. Therefore, the sample sentences used in this study are translated to their closest equivalent past tense construction in English, unless temporal adverbs or adverbial particles are used to specify the specific time period when the actions or events occurred.

As we can see in the following examples, adverbs of time may be used to clearly indicate when the action occurred. The temporal adverbs used in these sentences are written in bold.

(29) a. ***ŋʊna*** *mag-kalək da kʊmʊ ʔapaŋ*

now AF-sleep CORE 2SG.GEN father

‘Your father is sleeping right now.’

‘Natutulog ngayon ang iyong tatay.’

b. *mag-tʊkawan-an* ***naʔapʊn*** *da ʔʊŋa sa daŋgasən*

AF-speak-RECIP yesterday CORE child OBL young.woman

‘The child spoke to the young woman yesterday.’

‘Nakipag-usap kahapon ang bata sa dalaga.’

c. *naʔaj ʔa-kɪta-an* ***ʔaraj***  *da lakɪ pɛdrɔ*

*naʔaj ʔakɪtan* ***ʔaraj***  *da lakɪ pɛdrɔ*

1SG.GEN PF-see earlier CORE MASC Pedro

‘I saw Pedro earlier.’

‘Nakita ko si Pedro kanina.’

Aspect in Iraya may be described as a mixed system that employs both synthetic and analytic means for marking verbal aspect. Synthetic aspect marking is available to verbs that may combine with affixes that clearly and explicitly encode the aspect of the verb. For verbs that may not combine with these affixes, the interpretation of their aspect is context-dependent or expressed through the use of temporal adverbs.

**5.0 Summary and Conclusion**

Contrary to previous descriptions of Iraya verb morphology, which described how the form of the verb is the same in perfective and contemplative aspect and marked differently to express imperfective aspect, we saw in the current data that verb aspect is marked both by synthetic means through the use of a limited set of affixes that encode both focus and aspect, as well as by analytic means through the use of temporal markers or adverbs (or they are just left to the interpretation of interlocutors based on the context of the conversation). There also seems to be a subgroup of verbs that do not take any inflection at all, therefore the interpretation of when the action that they refer to occur would be reliant on interpretation from the context. The capacity of verbs to combine with affixes that mark aspect is closely tied to which focus affixes they may combine with.

The presence of irregularity in verbal paradigms is not new nor unique. We only have to look at the language used to write this paper, English, to see an example of a language that employs different processes to express different tenses. It is therefore very useful for descriptions of grammars to look into possible subcategorizations of verbs.

It may also be worth exploring the possible evolution that a language as vulnerable as Iraya Mangyan goes through as its speakers dwindle and shift to using other languages more frequently in their everyday lives. The discrepancies between the observations of the current paper and Tweddell’s description could be a sign of the language’s verb morphology being in flux and is currently in an in-between state moving from one morphological type to another. Further studies on the language are still required.

**List of Abbreviations**

1 first person

2 second person

3 third person

AF actor focus

CAUS causative

CONT contemplative

CORE core argument

DEF definite

DEM demonstrative

DIST distal

DL dual

EXCL exclusive

FEM feminine

GEN genitive

GF goal focus

IF instrumental focus

IMP imperfective aspect

INCL inclusive

INDIC indicative

INV inversion marker

LF locative focus

LNK linker

LOC locative

MASC masculine

MED medial

NEG negation

NOM nominative

OBL oblique argument

Q question particle

P pronoun

PF patient focus

PL plural

PERF perfective aspect

PROX proximal

Q interrogative particle

RECIP reciprocal

REDUP reduplication

REL relative clause

SG singular

STV stative

SBJV subjunctive

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**APPENDIX**

**Inflectional patterns of some verbs in Iraya**

Items 1 to 9 below show verbs that have different perfective and imperfective forms. Items 10 to 15 show verbs that are not inflected for aspect. Whether or not they should be interpreted perfective or imperfective will be based on the context of the conversation that they would be used in, or the presence of temporal adverbs that would indicate the time of the action or event being referred to.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Root** |  | **Perfective** | **Imperfective** | **Contemplative** |
| 1. tabʊj   ‘give’ | *AF* | tʊmabʊj | magtabʊj | bataj tʊmabʊj |
| *PF* | tɪnabʊj | nagtabʊj | bataj tɪnabʊj |
| 1. ʔɪnəm   ‘drink’ | *AF* | mɪnəm | magʔɪnəm | bataj magʔɪnəm |
| *PF* | ʔɪnɪnəm | ʔɪnəmən | bataj ʔɪnɪnəm |
| 1. garʊ   ‘get’ | *AF* | gʊmarʊ | maggarʊ | bataj gʊmarʊ |
| *PF* | gɪnarʊ | nagarʊ | bataj gɪnarʊ |
| 1. bʊnʊʔ   ‘kill’ | *AF* | bʊmʊnʊʔ | magbʊnʊʔ | bataj bʊmʊnʊʔ |
| *PF* | bɪnʊnʊʔ | nagbʊnʊʔ | bataj bɪnʊnʊʔ |
| 1. panawən   ‘do; work’ | *AF* | pʊmanawən | magpanawən | bataj pʊmanawən |
| *PF* | pɪnawanən | nagpanawə | bataj pɪnawanən |
| 1. sarak   ‘find; look for’ | *AF* | sʊmarak | magsarak | bataj sʊmarak |
| *PF* | sɪnarak | nagsarak | bataj sɪnarak |
| 1. gəgən   ‘hold’ | *AF* | gʊməgən | maggəgən | bataj gʊməgən |
| *PF* | gɪnəgən | naggəgen | bataj gɪnəgen |
| 1. banʔaw   ‘look; watch’ | *AF* | bʊmanʔaw | magbanʔaw | bataj bʊmanʔaw |
| *PF* | bɪnanʔawan | nagbanʔaw | bataj bɪnanʔawan |
| 1. maŋan   ‘eat’ | *AF* | mamaŋan | mamaŋan | bataj mamaŋan |
| *PF* | namaŋan | namaŋan | bataj namaŋan |
| 1. karŋəj   ‘hear; listen’ | *AF* | makarŋəj | makarŋəj | bataj makarŋəj |
| *PF* | ʔakarŋəjan | ʔakarŋəjan | bataj ʔakarŋəjan |
| 1. kɪta   ‘see’ | *AF* | makɪta | makɪta | bataj makɪta |
| *PF* | ʔakɪtan | ʔakɪtan | bataj ʔakɪtan |
| 1. tɪndəg   ‘stand’ | *AF* | patɪndəg | patɪndəg | bataj patɪndəg |
| *LF* | tɪndəgan | tɪndəgan | bataj tɪndəgan |
| 1. balɪ   ‘approach; go closer’ | *AF* | pabalɪ | pabalɪ | bataj pabalɪ |
| *GF* | pabalɪjen | pabalɪjen | bataj pabalɪjen |
| 1. taŋɪs   ‘cry’ | *AF* | magpanaŋɪs | magpanaŋɪs | bataj magpanaŋɪs |
| *PF* | pɪnapanaŋɪs | pɪnapanaŋɪs | bataj pɪnapanaŋɪs |
| 1. kalək   ‘sleep’ | *AF* | magkalək | magkalək | bataj magkalək |
| *PF* | nagkalək | nagkalək | bataj nagkalək |

1. Also referred to as *Batangan* by Barbian (1974) and Tweddell (1958, 1970) [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Of the two comparative studies, only Barbian (1974) included data from Bangon. Both studies do not include data from Tau-buhid. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. One of the language consultants could not give her exact age as she does not know the year she was born, nor did she have a copy of her birth certificate. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. It will be noticed that there are no verbal affixes that mark beneficiary focus in Iraya mentioned in this study. There is not enough data to establish that there is beneficiary focus in Iraya. It may be that the beneficiary focus affix is similar in form with the goal/locative focus based on the following sentence which appears in the current data. However, further data is needed to establish this analysis.

   a. *ɪja ba kʊmʊ bɪlɪ-an kɛndɪ*

   *ɪja ba kʊmʊ bɪlhan kɛndɪ*

   3SG.NOM INV 2SG.GEN buy-BF candy

   ‘You buy candy for him/her.’

   ‘Siya ay iyong bilhan ng kendi.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. The term *actor* is used here to refer to the macro-role that encompasses, not only the volitional agent, who performs the stated action with intent, but it may also refer to the experiencer or preceptor of a stimulus. These are arguments that may take the role of the Agent of a transitive clause, which is described by Dixon (2010b) as “that role which is most likely to be related to the success of the activity” or “the participant who could control and/or initiate the activity, state, or property, if anyone could” (p.128). Whichever more specific role the actor plays in the sentence is determined by the meaning of the verb. In Iraya, these different roles are not marked distinctly from one another. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Tagalog also has *mag-* and *–um-* focus affixes, however unlike in Iraya, these belong to separate paradigms, at least for the Tagalog dialect spoken in Manila. For example, the Tagalog verb *laba* ‘to wash (clothes)’ takes the affix *mag-* for actor focus marking*,* and *talon* ‘jump’ only takes the affix *–um-* for actor focus marking.

   |  |  |  |
   | --- | --- | --- |
   |  | *laba* ‘to wash (clothes)’ | *talon* ‘jump’ |
   | Perfective | naglaba | tumalon |
   | Imperfective | naglalaba | tumatalon |
   | Contemplative | maglalaba | tatalon |

   According to Prof. Irma Peneyra and Ms. Victoria Vidal, who are both native Tagalog speakers from Mindoro, some Tagalog dialects such as Tagalog Mindoro, affixes of different forms are placed in the same aspectual paradigm. For example, for the verb *kain* ‘eat,’ the actor focus perfective form is formed by using the infix *-ʊm-,* while the imperfective form is formed by using the prefix *na-* as in *Kumain ng isda si Pedro.* ‘Pedro ate fish.’ and *Nakain ng isada si Pedro.* ‘Pedro eats fish.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. As had been previously discussed in §3.5.4, the *N* at the end of this affix stands for a nasal sound that assimilates the place of articulation of the initial consonant sound of the stem that it attaches to. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. As with the actor role, the label of patient role is also being used in this study in the macro sense in that it encompasses the prototypical patient as initially defined in this section, but also other semantic roles such as the theme, which Malicsi (2013) describes as the entity that is moved or whose state is affected without actual change in its essence or form (e.g. *I returned the book,* wherein *the book* is the theme). The patient macro-role also encompasses the percept, which is the stimulus perceived by the experiencer or perceptor, and the reference, which is defined as the idea thought of or discussed, or the topic of discussion, examination, or investigation (Malicsi, 2013). The different semantic roles are assigned based on the semantic features of the verb. However, these different semantic roles are not marked distinct from each other in Iraya. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. The /ʊ/ in the first syllable of */pʊtʊl/* is regularly dropped when the infix */-ɪn-/* is attached to this word. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. While language consultants regularly use this form to convey instrumental focus constructions for both perfective and imperfective clauses, it may be possible that this is actually inflected with the perfective aspect *-ɪn-.* However, additional data and further study is needed to further establish this claim. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. The Tagalog translations in this set of sentences were provided by the researcher. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Tweddell (1958) did not identify a *–pa-* infix, however, he writes that the prefix *pa-* has a wide distribution and may appear as an outer layer prefix, or as an inner layer affix used in combination with another prefix (p.95). Tweddell writes that *pa-* marks incompletive aspect, and is also used in causative constructions (p.99). [↑](#footnote-ref-12)