

# HANDWRITTEN NOTES

75.00.10

# Morphemes in Mar pronouns

+a+ku  
1 2

(+ka+) mit  
8a 8b

+ka+  
3

+nu  
9

+ta+  
4

"

sə+ka+ian  
5 6 7

(si+)iran  
5 10

(sə)akan  
5 11

+k+ /t  
12

Assim. }  
to fall. }  
 { n+ /V# }  
 { 13a }  
 { n+ /V# }  
 { 13b }

a+ /C#  
14  
 +yu+  
15  
 -i/-i#  
16

rə+  
17

17 out of 38 forms

MARANAŌ

IRANUN

HAGINDANAW

minimal nonminimal

1 aku kami  
 2 ka kanu  
 1+2 ta tanu  
 3 sakanian siran

aku kami  
 kanu  
 tanu  
 sakanian siran

aku kami  
 ka kanu?  
 ta tanu  
 # silan

1 sakan sakanian  
 2 saka sakanian  
 1+2 saka sakanian  
 3 sakanian siran

saka

sakanian

sakanian

-C# -V# -C# -V#

1 =ku~akan =ami~mi  
 2 =ka~nka =yu~nyu  
 1+2 =ta =tanu  
 3 =ian~nian =iran~ran

ku? ami?  
 ka  
 ta tanu  
 nian iran

ku nami  
 nanka nu  
 ta tanu  
 nin nilan

1 rakan rakanian  
 2 raka rakanian  
 1+2 raka rakanian  
 3 rakanian kiran

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
	what?	when?	who?	whose?	where?	which?	how?		why?	how many?
Mar	1	anda	anta(i)		ndaop?	anda on	ndokin		ino(to)	pira
Irn	2	kano	nta on		nda					pira
Mgd	3	kanu?	inta in		nda					pila?
Mar	4	ai	—	—	ndaon	—	—		—	—
"	5	anda(?i)	antaooa?a	?antaooa?i	anda(on)	—	—		nkaino	—
Mar	6	—	—	—	nda(ri)	—	—		—	—
	7									
Kor-Bil	8	det	s/tinto		nt?					fil+
Sar-Bil	9	tan	sinto		nt?					fil+
Tbl	10	ti duh	ta?uduh		nu? sth					hiluh
Tir	11	?at(i)	?at(i)	?at(i)	hon(on)	?at(i)	koy		(?a)sape	firay
	12									
	13									
	14									
	15									
	16									
	17									
	18									
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CHAMPION LINE No. 636

Maramao

ɲka 'thou'      (kao)      ɲika      siɲka

ɲkaʔi 'this'  
~~ɲkanan~~ 'that'  
~~ɲkoto~~ 'that'

ɲian 'his' 'he'  
~~ɲin~~ 'his'  
~~ɲis~~ 'you'

this	<del>aia</del>	gia	giaia	giaʔi	giankaʔi	ini	ɲkaʔi	on
that	<del>anan</del>		<del>gianan</del>				ɲkanan	zan
that	<del>ota</del>		gioto				ɲkoto	

here	<del>saia</del>	<del>sin</del>	<del>siʔi</del>	sisipʔi	katiʔi	saiaboʔ
there	<del>sari</del>	<del>samboʔ</del>	<del>adin</del>	~ adim-bis ~ adim-ba		sisari
there	<del>kaoto</del>			<del>adim-boʔ</del>		
	<del>roʔo</del>	<del>romboʔ</del>				

Maramao Deictic Sets

	1a	aia	giaia	gia	saia	saiaboʔ
katiʔi	1b	ini	giaʔi	giankaʔi	(si)siʔi	
	2a	anan	gianan	ɲkanan	(si)san	sam-boʔ
	2b	an ~ adin			sin	adim-boʔ
kaoto	3a	oto	gioto	ɲkoto		
	3b				roʔo	rom-boʔ

# OTHER MATERIALS

## Phrases and standard elicitation material:

1. Asalam mo alay kom.  
Alayi kom mi salah. (Standard maranao benediction and greeting.)
2. Anta'i ngaron ka? (What is your name?)  
Aya ngaron naken na si David. (My name is David.)
3. Anda ka pu'un? (Where do you come from?)  
na  
Pu'un/~~na~~ ako sa Amerika. (I come from America.)  
ka you  
sekanian he, she  
kami we  
tano we all  
ta you and I  
kano you  
siran they
4. Miyakapira ka den ragen? (What is your age/year?)  
Pira den i edad ka? (How old are you?)
5. Pemasa ~~aku~~ ako sa sda'. (I will buy a fish.)  
Saken na pemasa sa sda'. (I)  
Seka you  
Sekanian he, she  
Sekami we  
Sektano we all  
Sekta you and I  
Sekano you  
Siran they
6. Miyamasa ako sa sda'. (I bought a fish.)  
Miyamasa ako sa margas ku pirak ki Pedro. (I bought the rice with the money for...)  
So margas na piyamasa ku pirak ki Pedro.  
So pirak na inipamasa ko ~~sa~~ margas ki Pedro.  
Si Pedro na piyamasa'an nak'n sa margas ku pirak.  
  
Antona'a i pumasa'an ka? (What will you buy?)
7. Anda ka song? (Where are you going?)  
Song ako sa Marawi.
8. Mitepok s'kanian ku kayo. (He was hiding behind/with the tree.)
9. So sda' na miyada'. (There is no fish.)      b'dog (cat)  
Adem a ase aken. (I have a dog.)      niyog (coconut)  
Debaya sa Kok? (Do you want a coke?)      walay (house)
10. Mababaling ako sa walay. (I live in a house.)  
Baling ako sa walay. (I am going home.)
11. Oway (yes)      Di' (no)      Da' (nohe)  
Kaga'i (yesterday)      Mapita (tomorrow)      gawi'i (day)  
Imanto (today)      kagya (earlier)      alongan (sun)
12. Kaga'i na sumyong ako sa Manila. (Yesterday I went to Manila.)

Phrases and standard Maranaw sentences

1. Maranaw to Maranaw (standard Maranaw greeting and greeting).

2. Maranaw to Maranaw (standard Maranaw greeting).

Maranaw alphabet as learned by students:

(The Maranaw alphabet as learned by students)

alep  
ba  
ta  
sa  
dim  
dhim  
kha  
ka  
dal  
sal  
ra'  
zey  
zim  
sad  
bud  
ta  
la  
ain  
ga  
pa  
kep  
kup  
la  
mim  
run  
waw  
hu'  
palamip  
amdia  
ia

3. Maranaw to Maranaw (standard Maranaw greeting)

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16. Maranaw to Maranaw (standard Maranaw greeting)

17. Maranaw to Maranaw (standard Maranaw greeting)

18. Maranaw to Maranaw (standard Maranaw greeting)

19. Maranaw to Maranaw (standard Maranaw greeting)

20. Maranaw to Maranaw (standard Maranaw greeting)

21. Maranaw to Maranaw (standard Maranaw greeting)

22. Maranaw to Maranaw (standard Maranaw greeting)

23. Maranaw to Maranaw (standard Maranaw greeting)

24. Maranaw to Maranaw (standard Maranaw greeting)

25. Maranaw to Maranaw (standard Maranaw greeting)

26. Maranaw to Maranaw (standard Maranaw greeting)

27. Maranaw to Maranaw (standard Maranaw greeting)

28. Maranaw to Maranaw (standard Maranaw greeting)



MARANAW: Collected Data (from Mapandi Maliwao, Ozamis)

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Saken na pemasa sa sda'. (I)  
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Sektano we all  
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Siran they
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sad  
bud  
ta  
la  
ain  
ga  
pa  
kep  
kup  
la  
nim  
ran  
waw  
hu'  
namalip  
andia  
ia

# Semantic Components of Pronoun

## Systems:

### Maranao ————— HOWARD P. MCKAUGHAN

The following translations indicate the persons expressed by Maranao<sup>1</sup> pronouns (spoken by some 250,000 persons in Lanao, Philippines): *ako* 'I', *ka* 'thou', *sekanian* 'he, she, it', *kami* 'we-not-you', *tano* 'we-all', *ta* 'we-two', *kano* 'you', and *siran* 'they'. These pronouns are chosen as representative since there are four different sets, each set indicating different grammatical relations but the same persons. The semantic content of these pronouns may be indicated by showing the presence or absence of the components *speaker*, *hearer*, and *plurality*. The following chart indicates the semantic content of each pronoun.

	- hearer	+ hearer	
	<i>kami</i>	<i>tano</i>	
	+ plural		
	- plural		
	<i>ako</i>	<i>ta</i>	
+ speaker			+ speaker
- speaker	<i>sekanian</i>	<i>ka</i>	- speaker
	- plural		
	+ plural		
	<i>siran</i>	<i>kano</i>	
	- hearer	+ hearer	

It will be noted that *ta* 'we-two' indicates the speaker and hearer as both present, but in this system is minus plurality since both speaker and hearer are single individuals.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. P. McKaughan, *The Inflection and Syntax of Maranao Verbs*, Publications of the Institute of National Language, Manila, 1958.

This analysis differs somewhat from Thomas's for Ilocano pronouns<sup>2</sup> in that he found two types: True Pronouns and Number Pronouns. His suggested semantic components include for the True Pronouns: speaker, hearer, simple, and plus; and for the Number Pronouns: singular and plural. We include in one system even those pronouns that indicate neither speaker nor hearer (3rd person) since for Maranao the differences suggested by Thomas for Ilocano do not occur.

<sup>2</sup> *Word* XI (1955), 204-208.

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VERB STEM CLASSES IN MARANAO TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

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- 0. Introduction
- 1. Verbal clause structure
- 2. Active voice transitive clauses
- 3. Causative voice transitive clauses

In Philippine languages an event is reported with observer attention oriented toward one or another of several possible participants in the event. The grammatical function, such as subject or object, of the focused participant — the topic — is shown by verbal inflection. In highlighting the distinctive feature of verb focus and making extensive use of it in classifying verbal constructions, there has been a tendency to overlook the importance of verb stem classes, particularly in identifying clause types. The purpose of the present paper is to demonstrate the relevance of stem classes to the description of transitive clauses in Maranao.<sup>1</sup> While four initial divisions of transitive clauses are made on the basis of contrastive focus, subtypes corresponding to the stem class of the verb are distinguished within each of the focus types.<sup>2</sup>

Before proceeding to a description of the transitive clauses, a brief discussion of Maranao verbal clause structure is in order. The analysis and presentation follow a tagmemic model.

1.1. Verbal clauses are either active or causative. They contrast in the occurrence in a causative clause, vs. the absence in an active clause, of (1) a causative voice affix in the verb manifesting the predicate and (2) an agent tagmeme.

1.2. Verbal clauses are either basic, consisting of only nuclear tagmemes, or expanded by the addition of peripheral tagmemes. A basic verbal clause has a minimum of two nuclear tagmemes, one of which is the verbal predicate and the second of which is simultaneously the topic of the clause. Occurrences of nuclear tagmemes in addition to the predicate and topic vary according to the clause type. Each of the nuclear tagmemes other than the predicate — including the one which is simultaneously topic — has a grammatical role relative to the predicate and a situational role relative to the event.<sup>3</sup> In Maranao transitive clauses these co-occurring roles are (1) subject, with the situational role of actor in an active clause and causer in a causative clause, (2) object, with the situational role of goal, (3) referent, with the situational role of goal, direction, or beneficiary, (4) instrument, with the situational role of goal, accessory, cause, or

beneficiary, and (5) agent, with the situational role of actor in a causative clause.

The focus affix of the verb indicates the grammatical role of the topic,<sup>4</sup> except as noted in 1.4 when the agent is topic of a causative clause. The identity of the topic without reference to its grammatical role, and the identity of the subject, object, referent, instrument, and agent when not occurring as topic, are indicated by relation marking particles or by pronoun sets.<sup>5</sup>

1.3. Verbal clauses include transitive, in which a nuclear tagmeme with the situational role of goal is obligatory, and intransitive, in which the goal is obligatorily absent. The situational goal is often translated by an English direct object, but in Maranao the grammatical role of the goal is either object, referent, or instrument, depending upon the stem class of the verb manifesting the predicate. The fact that situational roles other than goal also occur with the grammatical role of object in some intransitive clauses, and of referent and instrument in both transitive and intransitive clauses, tends to obscure the distinction between transitive and intransitive as well as the differences between verb stem classes.<sup>6</sup> It might be assumed, for example, that all clauses in which the topic has the grammatical role of referent are instances of the same clause type, whether the situational role of the referent is goal (as his child in *awidan o mama' so wata' ian the man carried his child*), beneficiary (as the princess in *sombali'an ian sa karabao so potri he butchered a water buffalo for the princess*), or direction (as the dog in *lebadan aken so aso sa ator I will throw a rock at the dog*). Without some formal difference to establish the relevance of contrastive situational roles, it would be difficult to demonstrate that these examples represent three separate clause types. The necessary formal differences are found (1) in active clause transforms of causative clauses and (2) in causative clauses with topic as agent.

1.4. The focus affixes in causative voice verbs (Chart 1b) have the same distribution as those in active voice verbs (Chart 1a), with one exception, and with all focuses *paki-* is isolable as the causative voice affix (with morphophonemic change *-om- + paki- → maki-*). In Chart 1b, at the intersection of the instrument-goal row and the instrument column, *paki-en* occurs instead of the expected *\*ipaki-*. That *paki-en* with an instrument-goal verb is distinct from *paki-en* with an object-goal verb can be demonstrated by transformation to an active clause of a causative clause in which a verb with *paki-en* manifests the predicate, retaining the same tagmeme as topic of the clause. In the active voice transform, an object-goal verb will occur with the affix *-en* whereas an instrument-goal verb will occur with the affix *i-*, as shown in Chart 1a. Compare also the formulas and examples in 2.2 and 2.4.3 with those in 3.2.1. and 3.4.3.

Stem Class	Subject	Object	Referent	Instrument
Object-goal	-om-	-en	-an	i-
Referent-goal	-om-		-an	i-
Instrument-goal	-om-		-an	i-

Chart 1a. Focus affixes occurring in active voice transitive verbs. Rows are divided according to three verb stem classes, columns are divided according to the grammatical role of the topic.

Stem Class	Subject	Object	Referent	Instrument
Object-goal	maki-	paki-en	paki-an	-ipaki-
Referent-goal	maki-		paki-an	-ipaki-
Instrument-goal	maki-		paki-an	paki-en

Chart 1b. Voice and focus affix combinations occurring in causative voice transitive verbs, with rows divided according to three verb stem classes and columns divided according to the grammatical role of the topic.

Stem Class	Agent
Object-goal	paka-en
Referent-goal	paka-an
Instrument-goal	paka-en

Chart 1c. Voice and focus combinations occurring in causative voice transitive verbs with agent as topic in the clause.

Chart 1c is presented separately from Chart 1b in order to call attention to the difference of form and function of the voice and focus affixes occurring in the verb when the topic of the clause is agent. *paka-* occurs here, rather than *paki-*, and it signals both causative voice and orientation of attention toward the agent as topic. The affixes *-en* and *-an* do not indicate the grammatical role of the topic but are the same as those occurring in Chart 1b when the topic has the situational role of goal (i.e. at the intersection of object-goal with object, referent-goal with referent, and instrument-goal with instrument) and thus reflect the stem class of the verb. *paka-an* occurs only with a verb of the referent-goal stem class, distinguishing that class from the two that occur with *paka-en*.

The transitive clauses of Maranao are presented in the following sections according to the voice, focus, and stem class of the verb manifesting the predicate of the clause.

2.0. The nonpredicate nuclear tagmemes of Maranao active voice transitive clauses are indicated in Chart 2. The three rows show which tagmemes are permitted with each stem class, and the four columns identify the grammatical role of each tagmeme as subject, object, referent, or instrument. + indicates that the situational role of the tagmeme is obligatory to the context in which the clause occurs, although the tagmeme need not have an overt manifestation in the clause itself.<sup>7</sup> + indicates that the situational role of the tagmeme is optional to the context and that the tagmeme is optional in the clause. Subscript *g* indicates that the situational role of the tagmeme is goal. - indicates that the tagmeme is obligatorily absent. Each of the permitted tagmemes, when overtly manifested in the clause, can occur as topic. By comparing Chart 2 with Chart 1a, the focus affix of the verb when a given tagmeme is topic can be found — e.g. at the intersection of instrument-goal row and referent column, with a referent occurring as topic the verb will have the focus affix *-an*.

Stem Class	Subject	Object	Referent	Instrument
Object-goal	+	+g	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>
Referent-goal	+	-	+g	<u>+</u>
Instrument-goal	+	-	<u>+</u>	+g

Chart 2. Nuclear tagmemes occurring in active voice transitive clauses. Rows are divided according to stem class of the verb manifesting the predicate of the clause, columns are divided according to the grammatical role of the nonpredicate nuclear tagmemes occurring in the clause.

In the following sections the active clauses are described and illustrated according to focus and stem class of the verb manifesting the predicate of the clause.

2.1.0. The predicate of an active voice, subject focus clause is manifested by a verb having a subject focus affix indicating that the tagmeme marked as topic of the clause is the grammatical subject. In an active clause the situational role of the subject is actor. There are three subtypes of active voice, subject focus, transitive clauses corresponding to the stem class of the verb manifesting the predicate.

2.1.1. An active voice, subject focus, object-goal clause in its basic form is represented by the formula  $+ P_{aso} + T|S_a + O_g \pm R_{d/b} \pm I_{a/c}$  in which  $+$  = obligatory occurrence of the tagmeme following,  $\pm$  = optional occurrence of the tagmeme following,  $P_{aso}$  = active voice, subject focus, object-goal predicate,  $T|S_a$  = topic, with the grammatical role of subject and situational role of actor,  $O_g$  = object with the situational role of goal,  $R_{d/b}$  = referent with the situational role of either direction or beneficiary (actually two separate tagmemes), and  $I_{a/c}$  = instrument with the situational role of either accessory or cause (also representing two different tagmemes).

tomiabas sekanian sa karatas ko gonting he cut the paper with the scissors ( $P_{aso}$ :tomiabas cut;  $T|S_a$ :sekanian he;  $O_g$ :sa karatas the paper;  $I_a$ :ko gonting the scissors).

gamit so mama' sa tali ko wata; ian the man will pull the rope for his child ( $P_{aso}$ :gamit will pull;  $T|S_a$ :so mama' the man;  $O_g$ :sa tali the rope;  $R_b$ :ko wata' ian the child his).

2.1.2. An active voice, subject focus, referent-goal clause in its basic form is represented by the formula  $+ P_{asr} + T|S_a + R_g \pm I_{a/c}$  in which  $P_{asr}$  = active voice, subject focus, referent-goal predicate and  $R_g$  = referent with situational role of goal.

tomialo siran ko babai they called the woman ( $P_{asr}$ : tomialo called;  $T|S_a$ :siran they;  $R_g$ :ko babai the woman).

mawid ako ron ko kuit I will carry it with a stick ( $P_{asr}$ :mawid will carry;  $T|S_a$ :ako I;  $R_g$ :ron it;  $I_a$ :ko kuit the stick).

2.1.3. An active voice, subject focus, instrument-goal verbal clause in its basic form is represented by the formula  $+ P_{asi} + T|S_a \pm R_{d/b} \pm I_g$  in which  $P_{asi}$  = active voice, subject focus, instrument-goal predicate and  $I_g$  = instrument with situational role of goal.



migai ako rekanian sa ribro I gave him the book (P<sub>asi</sub>:migai gave;  
T | S<sub>a</sub>:ako I; R<sub>d</sub>:rekanian him; I<sub>g</sub>:sa ribro the book).

miakalebad sekanian on ko ator he threw the stone at it (P<sub>asi</sub>:miakalebad  
threw; T | S<sub>a</sub>:sekanian he; R<sub>d</sub>:on it; I<sub>g</sub>:ko ator the stone).

2.2. The predicate of an active voice, object focus clause is manifested by a verb having an object focus affix indicating that the tagmeme marked as topic of the clause is the grammatical object. An object tagmeme occurs only in a clause having an object-goal verb manifesting the predicate and the situational role of the object is goal. There is only one type of active voice, object focus, transitive clause, represented in its basic form by the formula + P<sub>aoo</sub> + S<sub>a</sub> + T | O<sub>g</sub> ± R<sub>d/b</sub> ± I<sub>a/c</sub> in which P<sub>aoo</sub> = active voice, object focus, object-goal predicate, S<sub>a</sub> = subject with situational role of actor, and T | O<sub>g</sub> = topic, with grammatical role of object and situational role of goal.

tabasen aken so karatas ko ama' ko gelat I will cut the paper for father with a knife (P<sub>aoo</sub>:tabasen will cut; S<sub>a</sub>:aken I; T | O<sub>g</sub>:so karatas the paper;  
R<sub>b</sub>:ko ama' the father; I<sub>a</sub>:ko gelat the knife).

siabot ian on he understood it (P<sub>aoo</sub>:siabot understood; S<sub>a</sub>:ian he;  
T | O<sub>g</sub>:on it).

teron aken on reka I will tell it to you (P<sub>aoo</sub>:teron will tell; S<sub>a</sub>:aken  
I; T | O<sub>g</sub>:on it; R<sub>d</sub>:reka you).

biono o mama' so wata' ko gelat ian the man killed the child with his knife (P<sub>aoo</sub>:biono killed; S<sub>a</sub>:o mama' the man; T | O<sub>g</sub>:so wata' the child;  
I<sub>a</sub>:ko gelat ian the knife his).

2.3.0. The predicate of an active voice, referent focus clause is manifested by a verb having a referent focus affix indicating that the tagmeme marked as topic of the clause is the grammatical referent. The situational role of the referent is either direction or beneficiary in a clause with an object-goal verb manifesting the predicate, goal in a clause with a referent-goal verb manifesting the predicate, and direction in a clause with an instrument-goal verb manifesting the predicate. There are three subtypes of active voice, referent focus, transitive clauses corresponding to the stem class of the verb manifesting the predicate.

2.3.1. An active voice, referent focus, object-goal clause in its basic form is represented by the formula + P<sub>aro</sub> + S<sub>a</sub> + O<sub>g</sub> + T | R<sub>d/b</sub> ± I<sub>a/c</sub> in which P<sub>aro</sub> = active voice, referent focus, object-goal predicate and T | R<sub>d/b</sub> = topic, with the grammatical role of referent and the situational role of either direction or beneficiary.

tiago'an aken on so kaban I put it in the box (P<sub>aro</sub>: tiago'an insert;  
S<sub>a</sub>:aken I; O<sub>g</sub>:on it; T | R<sub>d</sub>:so kaban the box).

sombali'an ian sa karabao so potri ko gelat ian he butchered a water buffalo for the princess with his knife (P<sub>aro</sub>:sombali'an butchered; S<sub>a</sub>:ian he;  
O<sub>g</sub>:sa karabao a water buffalo; T | R<sub>b</sub>:so potri the princess; I<sub>a</sub>:ko gelat ian the knife his).

2.3.2. An active voice, referent focus, referent-goal clause in its basic form is represented by the formula + P<sub>arr</sub> + S<sub>a</sub> + T/R<sub>g</sub> ± I<sub>a/c</sub> in which P<sub>arr</sub> = active voice, referent focus, referent-goal predicate and T/R<sub>g</sub> = topic, with grammatical role of referent and situational role of goal.

bialasan o wata' so lokes ian ko kinikarasain iran rekanian the child repaid his parents because of their suffering on his account (P<sub>arr</sub>:bialasan repaid; S<sub>a</sub>:o wata' the child; T/R<sub>g</sub>:so lokes ian the parents his; I<sub>c</sub>:ko kinikarasain iran rekanian the suffering their him).

awidan o mama' so kiapali'an a wata' ian the man will carry his wounded child (P<sub>arr</sub>:awidan will carry; S<sub>a</sub>:o mama' the man; T/R<sub>g</sub>:so kiapali'an a wata' ian the wounded child his).

2.3.3. An active voice, referent focus, instrument-goal clause in its basic form is represented by the formula + P<sub>ara</sub> + S<sub>a</sub> + T/R<sub>d</sub> + I<sub>g</sub> in which P<sub>ara</sub> = active voice, referent focus, instrument-goal predicate and T/R<sub>d</sub> = topic, with the grammatical role of referent and situational role of direction.

bigan aken sekanian sa ribro I gave him the book (P<sub>ara</sub>:bigan gave; S<sub>a</sub>:aken I; T/R<sub>d</sub>:sekanian him; I<sub>g</sub>:sa ribro the book).

lebadan aken so aso sa ator I will throw the stone at the dog (P<sub>ara</sub>:lebadan will throw; S<sub>a</sub>:aken I; T/R<sub>d</sub>:so aso the dog; I<sub>g</sub>:sa ator the stone).

2.4.0. The predicate of an active voice, instrument focus clause is manifested by a verb having an instrument focus affix indicating that the tagmeme marked as topic of the clause is the grammatical instrument. The situational role of the instrument is either accessory, cause, or beneficiary in a clause with an object-goal or a referent-goal verb manifesting the predicate, and goal in a clause with an instrument-goal verb manifesting the predicate. There are three subtypes of active voice instrument focus transitive clauses corresponding to the stem class of the verb manifesting the predicate.

2.4.1. An active voice, instrument focus, object-goal clause in its basic form is represented by the formula + P<sub>aio</sub> + S<sub>a</sub> + O<sub>g</sub> ± R<sub>d/b</sub> + T/I<sub>a/c/b</sub> in which P<sub>aio</sub> = active voice, instrument focus, object-goal predicate and T/I<sub>a/c/b</sub> = topic, with the grammatical role of instrument and the situational role of accessory, cause, or beneficiary. R<sub>b</sub> and T/I<sub>b</sub> do not co-occur.

initabas aken sa karatas ko wata' so gonting I cut the paper for the child with the scissors (P<sub>aio</sub>:initabas cut; S<sub>a</sub>:aken I; O<sub>g</sub>:sa karatas the paper; R<sub>b</sub>:ko wata' the child; T/I<sub>a</sub>:so gonting the scissors).

inibono aken on so sakit ian I killed it because of its sickness (P<sub>aio</sub>:inibono killed; S<sub>a</sub>:aken I; O<sub>g</sub>:on it; T/I<sub>c</sub>:so sakit ian the sickness its).

inipamasa ko ron seka I bought it for you (P<sub>aio</sub>:inipamasa bought; S<sub>a</sub>:ko I; O<sub>g</sub>:ron it; T/I<sub>b</sub>:seka you).

2.4.2. An active voice, instrument focus, referent-goal clause in its basic form is represented by the formula + P<sub>air</sub> + S<sub>a</sub> + R<sub>g</sub> + T/I<sub>a/c/b</sub> in which P<sub>air</sub> = active voice, instrument focus, referent-goal predicate.

inilekeb aken on sekanian I closed it for him (P<sub>air</sub>:inilekeb closed; S<sub>a</sub>:aken I; R<sub>g</sub>:on it; T/I<sub>b</sub>:sekanian him).

initalo aken rekanian so piligro a masosoa I called him because of the dangerous situation (P<sub>air</sub>:initalo called; S<sub>a</sub>:aken I; R<sub>g</sub>:rekanian him; T | I<sub>c</sub>:so piligro a masosoa the dangerous situation).

2.4.3. An active voice, instrument focus, instrument-goal clause in its basic form is represented by the formula + P<sub>aii</sub> + S<sub>a</sub> + R<sub>d/b</sub> + T | I<sub>g</sub> in which P<sub>aii</sub> = active voice, instrument focus, instrument-goal predicate and T | I<sub>g</sub> = topic, with the grammatical role of instrument and the situational role of goal.

inilebeng iran so miatai a wata' they buried the dead child (P<sub>aii</sub>:inilebeng buried; S<sub>a</sub>:iran they; T | I<sub>g</sub>:so miatai a wata' the dead child).

inilebad ian on so ator he threw the stone at it (P<sub>aii</sub>:inilebad threw; S<sub>a</sub>:ian he; R<sub>d</sub>:on it; T | I<sub>g</sub>:so ator the stone).

initinda' ian so manok he cooked the chicken (P<sub>aii</sub>:initinda' cooked; S<sub>a</sub>:ian he; T | I<sub>g</sub>:so manok the chicken).

3.0. The nonpredicate nuclear tagmemes of causative voice transitive clauses are indicated in Chart 3. As in Chart 2, the three rows show the tagmemes permitted with each stem class and the five columns identify the grammatical role of each tagmeme as subject, agent, object, referent, or instrument. The symbols +, +, and -, and the subscript g, are used with the same values as in Chart 2. The voice and focus affixes of the verb when a given tagmeme is topic can be found by comparison of Chart 3 with Charts 1b and 1c. In the following sections the causative voice transitive clauses are described and illustrated according to focus, stem class, and causative affix of the verb manifesting the predicate tagmeme.

Stem Class	Subject	Agent	Object	Referent	Instrument
Object-goal	+	+	<u>+</u> <sub>g</sub>	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u>
Referent-goal	+	+	-	<u>+</u> <sub>g</sub>	<u>+</u>
Instrument-goal	+	+	-	<u>+</u>	<u>+</u> <sub>g</sub>

Chart 3. Nuclear tagmemes occurring in causative voice transitive clauses. Rows are divided according to stem class of the verb manifesting the predicate of the clause, columns are divided according to the grammatical role of the nonpredicate nuclear tagmemes occurring in the clause.

3.1.0. The predicate of a causative voice, subject focus clause is manifested by a verb affixed for causative voice and subject focus, indicating that the tagmeme marked as topic is the grammatical subject of the clause. In a causative voice clause the situational role of the subject is causer. There are three subtypes of causative voice, subject focus, transitive clauses corresponding to the stem class of the verb manifesting the predicate.

3.1.1. A causative voice, subject focus, object-goal clause in its basic form is represented by the formula + P<sub>CSO</sub> + T | S<sub>c</sub> + A<sub>a</sub> + O<sub>g</sub> + R<sub>d/b</sub> + + I<sub>a/c</sub> in which P<sub>CSO</sub> = causative voice, subject focus, object-goal predicate, T | S<sub>c</sub> = topic, with the grammatical role of subject and the

situational role of causer, and  $A_a$  = agent with the situational role of actor.

miakitabas ako ron sa karatas reka ko gonting I had him cut the paper for you with the scissors ( $P_{CSO}$ :miakitabas caused to cut;  $T|S_c$ :ako I;  $A_a$ :ron him;  $O_g$ :sa karatas the paper;  $R_b$ :reka you;  $I_a$ :ko gonting the scissors).

3.1.2. A causative voice, subject focus, referent-goal clause in its basic form is represented by the formula  $+ P_{CSR} + T|S_c + A_a + R_g \pm I_a/c$  in which  $P_{CSR}$  = causative voice, subject focus, referent-goal predicate.

miakitalo ako rekanian ko wata' I had him call the child ( $P_{CSR}$ :miakitalo caused to call;  $T|S_c$ :ako I;  $A_a$ :rekanian him;  $R_g$ :ko wata' the child).

pekileka siran rekanian sa pinto they want him to open the door ( $P_{CSR}$ :pekileka will cause to open;  $T|S_c$ :siran they;  $A_a$ :rekanian him;  $R_g$ :sa pinto the door).

3.1.3. A causative voice, subject focus, instrument-goal clause in its basic form is represented by the formula  $+ P_{CSI} + T|S_c + A_a \pm R_d/b + I_g$  in which  $P_{CSI}$  = causative voice, subject focus, instrument-goal predicate.

miakilebad ako rekanian sa ator I had him throw the stone ( $P_{CSI}$ :miakilebad caused to throw;  $T|S_c$ :ako I;  $A_a$ :rekanian him;  $I_g$ :sa ator the stone).

3.2.0. The predicate of a causative voice, object focus clause is manifested by a verb affixed for causative voice and object focus. With the causative affix paki- in the verb, the tagmeme marked as topic of the clause has the grammatical role of object; with the affix paka- the topic has the grammatical role of agent. As in the active voice clauses, an object tagmeme occurs only with object-goal class verbs and has the situational role of goal. There are two subtypes of causative voice object focus transitive clauses, corresponding to the form of the causative affix.

3.2.1. A causative voice, object focus, object-goal clause with topic as object is represented in its basic form by the formula  $+ P_{COO} + S_c + A_a + T|O_g \pm R_d/b \pm I_a/c$  in which  $P_{COO}$  = causative voice, object focus, object-goal predicate and  $S_c$  = subject with the situational role of causer.

pakitabasen aken rekanian so karatas ko ama' ko gonting I will have him cut the paper for father with the scissors ( $P_{COO}$ :pakitabasen will cause to cut;  $S_c$ :aken I;  $A_a$ :rekanian him;  $T|O_g$ :so karatas the paper;  $R_b$ :ko ama' the father;  $I_a$ :ko gonting the scissors).

paki'ilain aken ki ama' so toladan I will let father see the picture ( $P_{COO}$ :paki'ilain will cause to see;  $S_c$ :aken I;  $A_a$ :ki ama' father;  $T|O_g$ :so toladan the picture).

pakibono'on ian on so rido'ai ian he had him kill his enemy ( $P_{COO}$ :pakibono'on caused to kill;  $S_c$ :ian he;  $A_a$ :on him;  $T|O_g$ :so rido'ai ian the enemy his).

3.2.2. A causative voice, object focus, object-goal clause with topic as agent is represented in its basic form by the formula  $+ P_{COO2} + S_c + T|A_a + O_g \pm R_d/b \pm I_a/c$  in which  $P_{COO2}$  = causative voice, object focus, object-goal, agent oriented predicate and  $T|A_a$  = topic, with the grammatical role of agent and the situational role of actor.

pakatabasen aken sekanian sa karatas I will have him cut the paper  
 (P<sub>COO2</sub>:pakatabasen will cause to cut; S<sub>C</sub>:aken I; T | A<sub>A</sub>:sekanian him; O<sub>G</sub>:sa  
 karatas the paper).

paka'ilain aken sekanian sa toladan I will let him see the picture  
 (P<sub>COO2</sub>:paka'ilain will cause to see; S<sub>C</sub>:aken I; T | A<sub>A</sub>:sekanian him; O<sub>G</sub>:sa  
 toladan the picture).

pakabono'on aken sekanian sa rido'ai I will have him kill the enemy  
 (P<sub>COO2</sub>:pakabono'on will cause to kill; S<sub>C</sub>:aken I; T | A<sub>A</sub>:sekanian him; O<sub>G</sub>:sa  
 rido'ai the enemy).

3.3.0. The predicate of a causative voice, referent focus clause is manifested by a verb affixed for causative voice and referent focus. With the causative affix paki- in the verb, the tagmeme marked as topic has the grammatical role of referent; with the affix paka- the topic has the grammatical role of agent. The situational role of the referent is direction or beneficiary in a clause with an object-goal verb manifesting the predicate, goal in a clause with a referent-goal verb, and direction in a clause with an instrument-goal verb. There are four subtypes of causative voice referent focus transitive clauses corresponding to the three stem classes of verb manifesting the predicate and within the referent-goal class corresponding to the form of the causative affix.

3.3.1. A causative voice, referent focus, object-goal clause in its basic form is represented by the formula + P<sub>CRO</sub> + S<sub>C</sub> + A<sub>A</sub> + O<sub>G</sub> + T | R<sub>D</sub>/b ± I<sub>A</sub>/c in which P<sub>CRO</sub> = causative voice, referent focus, object-goal predicate.

pakipotolan aken rekanian sa lig so mama' I will have him sever the neck from the man or I will have him behead the man (P<sub>CRO</sub>:pakipotolan cause to sever; S<sub>C</sub>:aken I; A<sub>A</sub>:rekanian him; O<sub>G</sub>:sa lig the neck; T | R<sub>D</sub>:so mama' the man).

pakitago'an aken rekanian on so kaban I will have him put it in the box  
 (P<sub>CRO</sub>:pakitago'an will cause to insert; S<sub>C</sub>:aken I; A<sub>A</sub>:rekanian him; O<sub>G</sub>:on it; T | R<sub>D</sub>:so kaban the box).

3.3.2. A causative voice, referent focus, referent-goal clause with topic as referent is represented in its basic form by the formula + P<sub>CRR</sub> + S<sub>C</sub> + A<sub>A</sub> + T | R<sub>G</sub> ± I<sub>A</sub>/c in which P<sub>CRR</sub> = causative voice, referent focus, referent-goal predicate.

pakitaloan aken rekanian so wata' I will have him call the child  
 (P<sub>CRR</sub>:pakitaloan will cause to call; S<sub>C</sub>:aken I; A<sub>A</sub>:rekanian him; T | R<sub>G</sub>:so wata' the child).

paki'awidan aken rekanian so kayo I will have him carry the wood  
 (P<sub>CRR</sub>:paki'awidan will cause to carry; S<sub>C</sub>:aken I; A<sub>A</sub>:rekanian him; T | R<sub>G</sub>:so kayo the wood).

3.3.3. A causative voice, referent focus, referent-goal clause with topic as agent is represented in its basic form by the formula + P<sub>CRR2</sub> + S<sub>C</sub> + T | A<sub>A</sub> + R<sub>G</sub> ± I<sub>A</sub>/c in which P<sub>CRR2</sub> = causative voice, referent focus, referent-goal, agent oriented predicate.

pakataloan aken sekanian ko wata' I will have him call the child  
(P<sub>crr2</sub>:pakataloan will cause to call; S<sub>c</sub>:aken I; T | A<sub>a</sub>:sekanian him;  
R<sub>g</sub>:ko wata' the child).

paka'awidan aken sekanian sa kayo I will have him carry the wood  
(P<sub>crr2</sub>:paka'awidan will cause to carry; S<sub>c</sub>:aken I; T | A<sub>a</sub>:sekanian him;  
R<sub>g</sub>:sa kayo the wood).

3.3.4. A causative voice, referent focus, instrument-goal clause in its basic form is represented by the formula + P<sub>cri</sub> + S<sub>c</sub> + A<sub>a</sub> + T | R<sub>d</sub> + I<sub>g</sub> in which P<sub>cri</sub> = causative voice, referent focus, instrument-goal predicate.

pakibegain aken on sekanian sa ribro I will have him give the book to him  
(P<sub>cri</sub>:pakibegain will cause to give; S<sub>c</sub>:aken I; A<sub>a</sub>:on him; T | R<sub>d</sub>:sekanian him; I<sub>g</sub>:sa ribro the book).

pakilebadan aken on so manok ko ator I will have him throw the stone at the chicken  
(P<sub>cri</sub>:pakilebadan will cause to throw; S<sub>c</sub>:aken I; A<sub>a</sub>:on him; T | R<sub>d</sub>:so manok the chicken; I<sub>g</sub>:ko ator the stone).

3.4.0. The predicate of a causative voice instrument focus clause is manifested by a verb affixed for causative voice and instrument focus. With verb stems of the object-goal or referent-goal classes, instrument focus is marked by the affix i-; with verbs of the instrument-goal class instrument focus is marked by the affix -en (cf. 1.4.).

With the causative affix paki- in the verb, the tagmeme marked as topic has the grammatical role of instrument; with the affix paka- the topic has the grammatical role of agent. The situational role of the instrument is accessory or cause with object-goal and referent-goal class verbs, and goal with instrument-goal class verbs. There are four subtypes of causative voice instrument focus transitive clauses corresponding to the three stem classes and within the instrument-goal class corresponding to the form of the causative affix.

3.4.1. A causative voice, instrument focus, object-goal clause in its basic form is represented by the formula + P<sub>cio</sub> + S<sub>c</sub> + A<sub>a</sub> + O<sub>g</sub> + T | I<sub>a/c</sub> in which P<sub>cio</sub> = causative voice, instrument focus, object-goal predicate.

kipakitabas aken on sa karatas so gonting I will have him cut the paper with the scissors  
(P<sub>cio</sub>:kipakitabas will cause to cut; S<sub>c</sub>:aken I; A<sub>a</sub>:on him; O<sub>g</sub>:sa karatas the paper; T | I<sub>a</sub>: so gonting the scissors).

3.4.2. A causative voice, instrument focus, referent-goal clause in its basic form is represented by the formula + P<sub>cir</sub> + S<sub>c</sub> + A<sub>a</sub> + R<sub>g</sub> + T | I<sub>a/c</sub> in which P<sub>cir</sub> = causative voice, instrument focus, referent-goal predicate.

kipaki'awid aken on rekanian a'i I will have him carry her with this  
(P<sub>cir</sub>:kipaki'awid will cause to carry; S<sub>c</sub>:aken I; A<sub>a</sub>:on him; R<sub>g</sub>:rekanian her; T | I<sub>a</sub>:a'i this).

3.4.3. A causative voice, instrument focus, instrument-goal clause with topic as instrument is represented in its basic form by the formula + P<sub>cii</sub> + S<sub>c</sub> + A<sub>a</sub> + T | I<sub>g</sub> in which P<sub>cii</sub> = causative voice, instrument focus, instrument-goal predicate.

pekilebaden iran ko wata' so ator ko aso they will have the child throw the stone at the dog (P<sub>cii</sub>:pekilebaden will cause to throw; S<sub>c</sub>:iran they; A<sub>a</sub>:ko wata' the child; T | I<sub>g</sub>:so ator the stone; R<sub>d</sub>:ko aso the dog).

pekilebengen ian ko mama' so miatai he will have the man bury the dead person (P<sub>cii</sub>:pekilebengen will cause to bury; S<sub>c</sub>:ian he; A<sub>a</sub>:ko mama; the man; T | I<sub>g</sub>:so miatai the dead).

3.4.4. A causative voice, instrument focus, instrument-goal clause with topic as agent is represented in its basic form by the formula + P<sub>cii2</sub> + S<sub>c</sub> + T | A<sub>a</sub> + R<sub>d</sub> + I<sub>g</sub> in which P<sub>cii2</sub> = causative voice, instrument focus, instrument-goal, agent oriented predicate.

pekalebaden iran sa ator so wata' ko aso they will have the child throw the stone at the dog (P<sub>cii2</sub>:pekalebaden will cause to throw; S<sub>c</sub>:iran they; I<sub>g</sub>:sa ator the stone; T | A<sub>a</sub>:so wata' the child; R<sub>d</sub>:ko aso the dog).

pekalebengen ian so mama' sa miatai he will have the man bury the dead person (P<sub>cii2</sub>:pekalebengen will cause to bury; S<sub>c</sub>:ian he; T | A<sub>a</sub>:so mama' the man; I<sub>g</sub>:sa miatai the dead).

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## NOTES

1. Maranao is spoken by some 400,000 persons living in the province of Lanao del Sur on the island of Mindanao, Philippines. Informant work for the major part of this paper was done by Ward with Lawa Kalaoto of Tugaya, Lanao del Sur. In the study, extensive use was made of a concordance of Maranao texts materials made on the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, sponsored by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation. The basic analysis presented in the paper was done by Ward at a linguistic workshop of the Summer Institute of Linguistics conducted by Forster at the Institute's Philippine headquarters in May-July 1965, and appears in Ward's unpublished manuscript Maranao Verbal Clause Structure. The present paper is the result of revision and editing by Forster of Ward's longer paper, for the purpose of highlighting the material on transitive verb stem classes.

2. An alternate presentation would make the initial division on the basis of verb stem classes and the subdivisions according to the contrastive focus.

3. This presentation assumes that the real-world function — situational role — of a tagmeme is one of its contrastive-identificational features, e.g. that a subject with the real-world function of actor in an English active voice construction is not the same tagmeme as a subject with the real-world function of goal in a passive construction. For further discussion of this see Kenneth L. Pike, Discourse Analysis and Tagmeme Matrices, Oceanic Linguistics 3.5-25 (1964), and Forster, Dual Structure of Dibabawon Verbal Clauses in the same volume, 1.2 and footnote 7. The taxonomic labels applied to the grammatical roles reflect meaning differences observed when the four focuses

contrast in occurrence with a given stem. By referring to subject, object, etc., as grammatical roles we do not mean to say that topic is not also a grammatical role. However, the topic appears to be related primarily to something other than the predicate of an individual clause, perhaps to some as yet unanalyzed unit of discourse.

4. For a detailed discussion of Maranao focus marking affixes (there called voice marking affixes) see Howard P. McKaughan, *The Inflection and Syntax of Maranao Verbs* (Publications of the Institute of National Language; Manila, 1958). The focus affixes in general are -om- subject focus, -en object focus, -an referent focus, and i- instrument focus, but see McKaughan for tense, mode, and aspect allomorphs.

5. McKaughan, *op. cit.*, and McKaughan, *Overt Relation Markers in Maranao*, Lg. 38.47-51 (1962). The relation marking particles in their usual distribution are so topic, o subject, sa and ko referent, instrument, and agent, with ko used to mark something specific in nature and sa used to mark something more general. si, i, and ki are personal markers corresponding to so, o, and ko. First person singular pronouns representative of the pronoun sets used in the examples in the paper are ako topic, aken ~ ko subject, and raken referent, instrument, and agent. The uninflected substitute on ~ ron can occur except as subject.

6. Jeanne Miller, in *The Role of Verb Stems in the Mamanwa Kernel Verbal Clauses*, *Oceanic Linguistics* 3.87-100 (1964), recognizes eight verb stem classes in Mamanwa on the basis of the occurrence of the verb with one or more of the four possible focus affixes. In her analysis, for all clauses having a predicate manifested by a verb with a given focus marker, situational variants of the tagmeme marked as topic are considered noncontrastive. Thus, e.g. "The Accessory focus was broadened to include not only the instrument used to perform the action, but also the person or benefactor involved in the action, and the item or associate involved in the action" (89). An indication that this does not adequately distinguish stem classes appears in Miller's footnote 10, "Some verb stems require an obligatory object slot and accessory instrument slot while others may only have these as optional slots," as well as in her use of different labels for accessory-as-associate and accessory-as-instrument (94).

See also however *Word Base Classes in Bilaan*, *Lingua* 10.391-402 (1961), by Norm Abrams, who distinguishes goal pre-focus, instrument pre-focus, and actor pre-focus verb classes on the basis of the occurrence of the unaffixed verb in a clause in which the topic has the [situational] role of goal, instrument, and actor respectively. Abrams indicates restrictions of clause level constituents with each pre-focus base.

Elmer Wolfenden, in *Tagalog Root Classes*, a paper read at the 1963 meeting of the Mindanao Visayas Chapter of the Philippine Sociological Society, observed in Tagalog "several instances of change in grammatical relations between verb and topic when a change in verb roots was made . . . one class of roots can signal either an object or instrument focus relation with affix i-; object focus, with -in; and location focus, with -an. . . another class of roots signals an object focus relation with i- and location focus with i- and location focus with -an, but it does not occur with -in. . . a third class



of root signals object focus relation with -in, and location focus with -an, but does not occur with i-... a fourth class of roots signals object focus relation with -an but does not occur with i- or -in..."

In Rules for a Segment of Tagalog Grammar (NDEA Tagalog Project, UCLA, duplicated 1962), twenty-nine verb base classes are generated by the IC rules on the basis (in terms of the present paper) of correlations between the situational roles of nuclear tagmemes and the focus affixes in the verbs.

7. That is, in a well defined linguistic or cultural context, the participant in the event does not have to be specified in a given clause provided it is clearly understood otherwise. Clauses occurring in isolation, as the citation forms in this paper, will have all obligatory tagmemes overtly manifested.

## OVERT RELATION MARKERS IN MARANAO

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Maranao is a member of the Tagalog family of Philippine languages; these, together with the Visayan languages, are members in turn of the Malayo-polynesian family. These languages are characterized by verbal inflection to indicate not only time, kind of action, and psychological point of view of the speaker, but also certain grammatical relations between the verb and the topic of the sentence. When a substantive phrase is not the topic, its grammatical relation to the verb is indicated either by particles or by certain pronoun forms.<sup>1</sup> In some of these languages, position in the sentence signals such relations, but in Maranao position carries little functional load.

The grammatical relations of actor, direct object, indirect object, and instrument are marked in Maranao by the particles *o*, *sa*, and *ko*. Cutting across the grammatical relations marked by these particles is another, indicating that a certain substantive is the topic of the sentence, or has a primary relation to the verb. In Maranao this primary relation is indicated by the particle *so* (or substitutes for *so* phrases).<sup>2</sup> Wherever *so* introduces a phrase related to the verb, that phrase is the topic of the sentence. The topic in turn may have various relations to the verb, depending on what is required by certain verbal affixes: one affix indicates that the topic is the actor; another affix indicates a direct object; a third indicates an indirect object or referent; and a fourth indicates that which is used to bring about the action, or that which causes the action. These verbal affixes have been called voice markers.<sup>3</sup> They were treated in the monograph already mentioned.<sup>4</sup>

Verbal affixes thus mark grammatical relations between verb and topic which intersect the relations marked by particles used with other than topic substantives. Thus, when the actor is not the topic, it is indicated by the particle *o*; when the direct object is not the topic, it is indicated by the particle *sa*; and so on. We turn now to the particles that mark these grammatical relations.

The particle *so* not only marks the topic, but also may introduce a phrase in a position of special emphasis before the verb. Such a phrase has the same referent as a pronoun which occupies the position normally filled by the phrase. Note the following example: (*So mama'*) *na kataoan (ian) so kokoman*<sup>5</sup> (the man

<sup>1</sup> Howard McKaughan, *The inflection and syntax of Maranao verbs* 8 (Manila, 1958).

<sup>2</sup> Maranao particle *so* corresponds to Tagalog and Cebuano *ang*. Ilocano *ti* has a broader function, in that phrases *so* introduced occur in primary and nonprimary relations. Most Philippine languages have three sets of pronouns, marking (1) primary relation, (2) source, and (3) nonprimary, nonsource.

<sup>3</sup> The verbal affixes marking voice relations in Maranao, in general, are *-om-* subjective, *-en* objective, *-an* referential, and *i-* instrumental.

<sup>4</sup> Op.cit. (in fn. 1) 17-24, § 3.

<sup>5</sup> /'/ indicates glottal stop, /e/ a high central unrounded vowel, /o/ a high to mid back rounded vowel, /ng/ the velar nasal. /o/ and /i/ are nonsyllabic when not contiguous to a consonant. Other symbols have their usual phonetic value.

coordinating-particle knows he the law) 'The man is the one who knows about law'. The items in parentheses have the same referent. The particle *so* along with the position before the verb and the following coordinating particle *na* indicate that there is special emphasis on this phrase, though it is not the topic of the sentence. The pronoun *ian* is taken from a set of nontopic pronouns.

Any phrase (or pronoun) may be emphasized as above either by indicating the referent by a substantive phrase with introductory *so* and placing it first in the sentence, or by using in this position a form from the topic set of pronouns. However, if such a phrase is the topic of the sentence (marked by particle *so*), it need not be referred to a second time by a pronoun. In the above example, the phrase *so kokoman* 'the law' may be given special emphasis by placing it first, followed by the connector *na*: *So kokoman na kataoan o mama* 'The law is the very thing the man understands'. Double reference in this case is optional, since attention is focused on the topic of the sentence.

In the following example, the first *so* phrase broadens the range of the actor *o mama* 'the man': *Roranen (o mama) ago (so bisaia' ian) so sapi' ian ko kapal* (load the man and the slave his the cow his the boat) 'The man and his slave will load his cow on the boat'. Any phrase occurring after *ago* 'and', no matter how the preceding phrase is marked, is introduced by *so*. This may be considered a relation of special emphasis to the preceding phrase, or a relation of amplification.

The particle *so*, as I have indicated, marks the topic of the sentence. Note the following examples: as actor, *Sombali' so mama' sa karabao* (butchers the man the carabao) 'The man butchers the carabao'; as direct object, *Sombali'in o mama' so karabao* 'The carabao is the thing that the man butchers'; as indirect object, *Sombali'an o mama' so maior sa karabao* 'It is for the mayor that the man butchers the carabao'; as instrument, *Isombali' o mama' so gelat ko karabao* 'It is with the knife that the man butchers the carabao'.

The relation of special emphasis, amplification, or topic may be called primary, since nontopic relations and verb vary depending upon the 'voice' of the topic. If the voice is subjective, making the topic the actor, then no phrase introduced by *o* marking nontopic actor will occur. If the voice is objective, making the topic the direct object, then no nontopic direct-object phrase marked by the nontopic direct-object particle *sa* will occur. All relations marked by particles other than *so* are nonprimary.

The particle *o* marks source whether of an action or of an object. When a phrase introduced by this particle is related to a verb, it usually corresponds to an English actor expression, since we do not have a way to indicate attribution to a verb to show source of action. If it occurs within a larger phrase, so that the *o*-phrase is related to a substantive, the English equivalent indicates possession. In the examples above, the *o* phrases are all related to the verb as the source of the action. One might translate as follows: 'The man's butchering has reference to carabao'; 'The man's butchering the carabao is for the mayor'; 'The man's butchering the carabao is with the knife'.<sup>6</sup> Note the following, where the *o* phrase

<sup>6</sup> Using an English *-ing* form in the translation is not meant to convey the idea that such forms in Maranao are nominal.

names the source of an object: *so sapi' o solotan* 'the cow of the sultan'; *so manga palad o lima o oata* 'the (pl.) palms of the hand of the child'.

I want to emphasize that the relation marked by the particle *o* is the same whether that relation is between substantives or between substantive and verb. When working with Ilocano, Miss Forster and I described a similar situation as follows:<sup>7</sup>

*Relation of attributive enclitic pronouns to full words:* The relation of this set of pronouns to full words is one of attribution. When occurring with a full word used in a nominal function, the attributive pronoun refers to the possessor: *naganco* 'my name'. When occurring with a full word used in a verbal function, the pronoun refers to the agent of the action: *naawatac* 'it was understood by me' or 'I understood it'.

Because this relation may occur with substantives or verbals, some workers have felt that the word modified must be called a noun or nominal.<sup>8</sup> This is not the case: in Maranao, at least, each of the relation-marking particles may occur with both verbs and substantives. Though the translations are different when the relations expressed are between substantives and when they are between verb and substantive, each particle marks only one kind of relation. We have seen that *so* marks a primary relation, and *o* a relation of source.

The particle *sa* also marks a relation either between substantives or between verb and substantive. Examples of *sa* with substantives: *so solotan sa mandaian* 'the Sultan of Mandaya' or 'the Mandayan Sultan'; *so pirak sa banko* (the money the bank) 'the bank money';<sup>9</sup> *so manga torko sa bolgaria* 'the Turks of Bulgaria' or 'the Bulgarian Turks'. In each of these instances, the *sa* phrase has a close relation to the preceding substantive, characterizing it in some way.

When related to the verb, a *sa* phrase indicates a closer relation than a *ko* phrase. Neither *sa* nor *ko* indicates a primary relation or source. Note the following examples of *sa* phrases: as direct object, *Komoa so mama' sa karabao* (get the man the carabao) 'The man will get a carabao', *Bekari o mama' so oata' sa limanian* (opened the man the child the hand his) 'It was for the child that the man opened his hand', *Inikoa o mama' so ba'i sa karabao* (got the man the princess the carabao) 'It was because of the princess that the man got the carabao'; as indirect object (where the topic is the direct object, a *sa* phrase may indicate the location or instrument if this is indefinite, or if it is the location in contrast to the instrument), *Linimod o mama' so karabao sa torogan ko koit* (gathered the man the carabao the palace the stick) 'The carabao were gathered by the man into the/a palace with the stick'.

<sup>7</sup> McKaughan and Forster, *Ilocano: An intensive language course* 4, Lesson 6 (Grand Forks, North Dakota: 1957).

<sup>8</sup> A. Capell of Sydney University, in a MS he is preparing for publication, contends that because attributive pronouns (and phrases introduced by particles such as *o* in Maranao) occur with substantives to mark possession, the same relation exists when these occur attributive to verb-like words, and that therefore the verb-like words should be considered nominal. I do not agree that verbs should be called nouns simply because they occur with such attributives. Verbs in Philippine languages are those words which contain certain affixes indicating voice relations as well as tense, aspect, and mode.

<sup>9</sup> *So pirak o banko* would be 'money of the bank' or 'money belonging to the bank'. *Sa banko* characterizes the money as of a certain type.

The particle *ko* marks a grammatical relation to verb or substantive which is not as close as that marked by *sa*. Again, the relation may be between substantives or between substantive and verb. In the examples just above, of *sa* phrases related to a verb, a *ko* phrase could also occur. Where *sa* marks the direct object, *ko* would indicate the indirect object: *Komoa so mama' sa karabao ko koit* 'The man will get carabao with a stick'. The phrase introduced by *sa*<sup>10</sup> restrictively limits the action to carabao, indicating that the action is wholly directed to the object. But the *ko* phrase does not so limit the action, only partially involving the stick therein. The action is not performed directly upon the stick.

In sentences containing a verb in the instrumental voice, *sa* and *ko* indicate the same grammatical relation, but distinguish between indefinite and definite substantive. Note the following: *Kisombali' o mama' so gelat sa karabao* (can-kill the man the knife the carabao) 'The knife can be used by the man to kill carabao' : *Kisombali' o mama' so gelat ko karabao* 'The knife can be used by the man to kill the carabao (with specific carabao in mind)'.

Here are examples of *ko* phrases included in larger phrases: *so ator ko balintad* (the stone the valley) 'the stone in the valley'; *so ba'i a mia'ilai ran ko sambaiang iran* (the princess connector saw they the prayer their) 'the princess that they saw in their prayer'. Here are examples of *ko* phrases related to the verb: *Somombali' so mama' sa karabao ko maior* 'The man will butcher carabao for the mayor'; *Sombali'an o mama' sa karabao so ba'i ko torogan* (butcher the man the carabao the princess the palace) 'It is for the princess that the man will butcher carabao in the palace'.

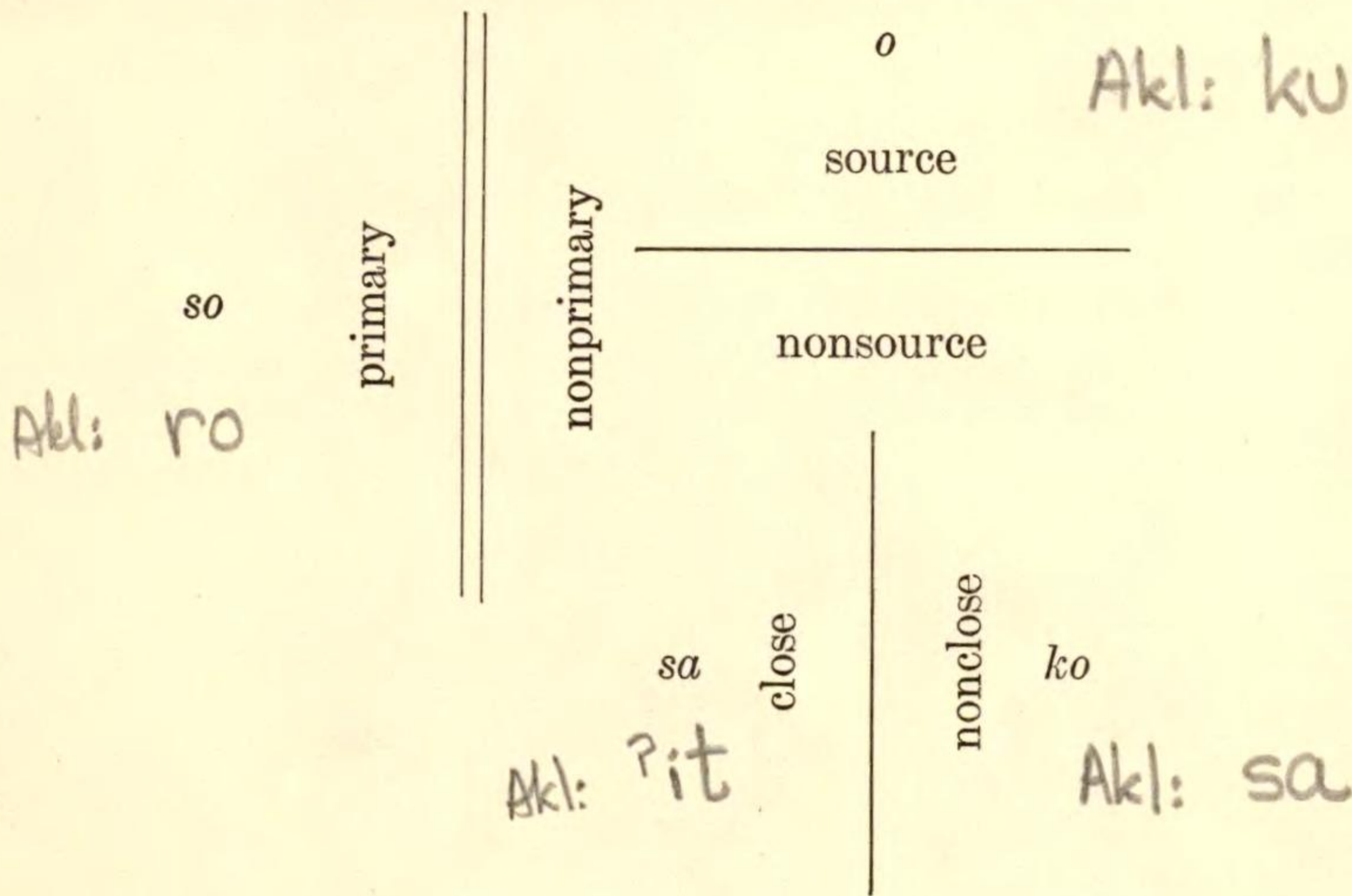
Thus the particle *sa* characterizes the action of a verb or calls attention in some way to a substantive to which it may relate another substantive. The particle *ko*, on the other hand, draws attention away from the substantive or verb by showing location or by indicating an indirect object.

The substantive-to-substantive relations indicated by the particles here discussed are illustrated in the following contrasts: *so tao ago so donia* 'the people and the world' : *so tao o donia* 'the people of the world' : *so tao sa donia* 'the people on earth' or 'earthly people' : *so tao ko donia* 'the people in the world'. Substantive-to-verb relations are summarized in the following: *Pekisising o bebai so bok ian sa lana ko koit* (wipes the woman the hair her the oil the stick) 'The woman uses her hair to wipe the oil off the stick' (*o bebai* names the source of the action; *so bok ian* the topic, which in this instance is the instrument used; *sa lana* the direct object; and *ko koit* the indirect object, only partially involved in the action) : *Begaken so mama'* 'The man (topic) will be left' : *Begaken o mama'* 'The man (source) will leave' : *Begaken ko mama'* 'He will leave it with the man (indirect object)'.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Each of the phrases introduced by the particles under discussion may be expanded indefinitely, using both verbs and substantives, e.g. *sa karabao a domedeke' ko kilid o lama'* (the carabao connector rest the edge the lawn) 'the carabao resting on the edge of the lawn'.

<sup>11</sup> *Begaken sa mama'*: such an expression would be possible only under strained conditions and would mean 'He left it at Man'. *Begaken sa Marawi* 'He left it at Marawi' would be more probable, but rare even so.

The following oppositions indicate the relations we have discussed, whether between substantives or between substantive and verb: primary (topic or emphasis) vs. nonprimary (nontopic or nonemphasis), source (agent or possessor) vs. nonsource (nonagent or nonpossessor), close (direct) vs. nonclose (indirect). These oppositions are summarized in the following diagram.



**END OF FOLDER**