Focus and Aspect in Iraya Mangyan Verbs

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This paper aims to contribute to the scarce literature describing the grammar of Iraya Mangyan — a language primarily spoken on the island of Mindoro — by providing a description of how focus and aspect are expressed in the language. Similar to most known Philippine languages, Iraya makes use of affixes that attach to verbs to mark focus. In terms of expressing aspect, the language uses both synthetic and analytic means, and is closely linked to the type of focus affixes that verbs may combine with. When compared to previous descriptions of the verb morphology of the language, the current data seem to indicate that a shift has been occurring in Iraya's verb focus and aspect paradigms. Differences in the features described might be due to dialectal variations; however, they could also be indicative of attrition in the language as the number of its speakers continue to shrink. A description of the language situation in the area where fieldwork for this study was conducted is also provided.

1. INTRODUCTION. Iraya is one of the indigenous languages spoken on the island of Mindoro, off the southwestern coast of Luzon. The speakers, their languages, and their cultures are collectively referred to as *Mangyan*. The other Mangyan groups of Mindoro, as listed by the Mangyan Heritage Center (Mangyan groups, n.d.), are the Alangan, Tadyawan, Tau-buid, Bangon,[1] Buhid, Hanunuo, and Ratagnon.[2] Comparative studies done by Zorc (1974) and Barbian (1977) show that these Mangyan groups can be divided into two linguistic subgroups based on shared linguistic features that indicate closer genetic relationship among members within each subgroup. The Northern Mangyan group includes Iraya, Alangan, and Tadyawan, while the Southern Mangyan group includes Hanunuo, Buhid, and Bangon.[3] Of the two subgroups, the Southern Mangyan languages have been classified as part of the Greater Central Philippine subgroup, while the Northern Mangyan languages have been deemed to be more closely related to the Central Luzon subgroup of Philippine languages (Blust, 1991).

The word *Iraya* means 'person' in the language. The term is derived from the reconstructed Proto-Malayo-Polynesian morphemes *ʔi-* 'person from' + *daya* 'upriver, upland or interior' (Blust & Trussel, 2020). The speakers also use this term to distinguish themselves from people outside of their ethnolinguistic group.

There are very few studies on the Iraya Mangyan language. There have been a handful of diachronic studies which refer to this language in order 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 the larger Philippine group of languages or within the Austronesian language family (see Dyen, 1963 and Reid, 2017). As for synchronic studies that aim to describe the grammar of the language, there is Reid (2017) who provides the most recent study on the language in which he also discusses some of the language's distinctive

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[1] Also referred to as *Batangan* by Barbian (1977) and Tweddell (1958, 1970)

[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 in the island of Cuyo, Palawan (Tweddell, 1970, p.190). Barbian (1977), however, includes Ratagnon under the Southern Mangyan subgroup.

[3] Of the two comparative studies, only Barbian (1977) included data from Bangon. Both studies do not include data from Tau-buid.

morphosyntactic features. To date, the most comprehensive description of the language's grammatical system can be found in the dissertation written by Tweddell in 1958, which focuses on Iraya phonology and morphology, but also includes a few notes on Iraya sentence structure.

Tweddell left behind an important legacy as he was able to record a large amount of data on the language in his dissertation. However, due to the lack of morpheme-to-morpheme glossing of the examples that he presented in his work, and a more comprehensive explanation of some of the terms that he used to describe some of the features of the language that he identified, the reader is usually left to conjecture particularly the meaning and function of morphemes in the language. Reanalyzing and verifying the data will surely yield new insights on the language.

The main objective of this paper is to describe how focus and aspect are expressed or marked in Iraya. A brief description of the current linguistic situation of the Iraya Mangyans in Oriental Mindoro is provided in the following section. In section 3, the methods and materials used for data collection are discussed. Notes on Iraya sentence structure and a description of case marking in nouns and pronouns are provided in section 4 in order to clarify how focus and aspect are expressed in the language. Focus affixes that attach to Iraya verbs are presented in section 5, and how aspect is expressed in Iraya is discussed in section 6. A summary and some recommendations for further studies are provided in the final section of this paper.

2. THE CURRENT LINGUISTIC SITUATION OF THE IRAYA MANGYANS.

The data used in the present study were 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, which is located in Caagutayan, a barangay in the municipality of San Teodoro. These two sites were chosen because available language consultants were identified in these areas. Descriptions of the usage of Iraya and its level of vitality are limited to what had been observed in these two communities.

Baras is a larger community compared to the more isolated Suyong. 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 it is also closer to the downtown area of Baco where most commercial activities are conducted and where many of the local residents are non-Mangyans. 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 below the age of 60 can still speak Iraya. We were told that the children no longer learn Iraya as their mother tongue in this community. The children instead learn Tagalog as their first language.

Suyong is a small community made up of very few households. It is located further up the mountain from Baras. It takes less than half an hour by motorcycle to get to Suyong from 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.

Iraya is listed in the Ethnologue as a *developing language* (Eberhard, Simons, & Fennig, 2021). This is a label bestowed upon 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" (Eberhard, Simons, & Fennig, 2021). Fieldwork observation and interviews with people in Oriental Mindoro 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 or 60 years old could still speak the language with some degree of fluency. Some Iraya Mangyans that we spoke to, who were between 30 to 50 years old, reported that they can only understand a few expressions and are not able to engage in conversation completely in Iraya.

Tagalog is the dominant language used in the domains of education, commerce, media, and governance in Mindoro, therefore there is a strong motivation for many Iraya Mangyans to shift to Tagalog. Intermarriages with members from outside the Iraya Mangyan community also serve as a motivating factor for shifting to a common language, which is most often Tagalog, as the language used in the household. Thus there are more children in these communities who are learning Tagalog as their first language instead of Iraya.

3. METHODS AND MATERIALS USED IN DATA COLLECTION. The data for this study was collected first-hand by way of direct elicitation in April 2014, and was phonetically transcribed by the researcher and two other collaborators, Mr. Ivan Paul Bondoc and Mr. Janus Cabazares. 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 fieldwork period to verify the data that were gathered from the consultants in Baras. Additional data were gathered during the verification process 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[4] at the time, have lived in these two sites since birth. There are no significant differences in the language used by the consultants from these two areas, aside from their preferences in the use of certain nominal markers.

The elicitation materials used were a modified Swadesh word list made up of over 500 lexical items and a sentence list made up of 500 items. The word list is written in both English and Tagalog, and the words are grouped according to semantic domains. The sentence list is written in Tagalog. Both lists were developed by the University of the Philippines Department of Linguistics.

The items in the elicitation materials were 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 done on January 30 to February 1, 2017, in consultation with another Iraya speaker from Baras who visited Manila during that time. Additional data provided by the speaker 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.

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[4] One of the language consultants could not give her exact age as she did not know the year she was born, nor did she have a copy of her birth certificate.

4. IRAYA WORD ORDER AND CASE DISTINCTIONS. Like the majority of Philippine languages, Iraya is a dominantly agglutinating language. However, we also see some distinct features in the language that sets it apart from other Philippine languages. In this paper, we focus on the expression of focus and aspect in Iraya. To fully understand these features, a brief discussion is provided in this section on the basic constituent order of Iraya sentences and the forms that nominal and pronominal arguments take.

4.1. Basic Constituent Order of Iraya Sentences. Iraya has a relatively rigid word order. When core arguments[5] in the sentence are noun phrases (NP), the canonical word order is predicate initial as shown in the following examples.

(2) a. **pa-tɪndəg**   lakɪ   pɛdrɔ
      AF-stand   MASC   Pedro
      'Pedro stood.'
      'Tumayo si Pedro.'

    b. **ma-maŋan** da   ʔʊŋa da   maŋga
       AF-eat   CORE   child CORE   mango
       'The child ate the mango.'
       'Kumain ang bata ng mangga.'

Nouns, adjectives, and prepositional phrases also stand as predicate heads in Iraya sentences, and they similarly take the initial position in sentences:

(3) a. **ʔabʊgadɔ** da   kʊnɪn   kaka
       lawyer   CORE   3SG.GEN   older.sibling
       'His/Her older sibling is a lawyer.'
       'Abugado ang kanyang kapatid.'

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[5] I follow Dixon's (1994) definition for core argument as the noun phrase that is 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. The term oblique argument, on the other hand, typically refers to the noun phrase referring to the instrument, accompaniment, recipient, beneficiary, time, place, or manner in the sentence (Aikhenvald, 2015). As in other Philippine-type languages, however, these arguments may be focused and become privileged core arguments depending on the focus affix that attaches to the head of the predicate.

b. **maʔasıŋ**   da   maŋga
    sour   CORE mango
    'The mango is sour.'
    'Maasim ang mangga.'

c. **para sa daraga**   tıja   pag   bʊtakan
    for   OBL young.woman PROX.DEM   CORE flower
    'This flower is for the young woman.'
    'Para sa dalaga itong bulaklak.'

The predicate-initial word order of sentences is usually not followed when the actor argument takes the form of a personal pronoun. In this case, the actor pronoun takes the sentence-initial position:

(4) a. **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. **kʊmʊ**   bataj   ʔa-kıta-an jamən
      kʊmʊ   bataj   ʔakıtan   jamən
      2SG.GEN CONT   PF-see-PF 1PL.EXCL
      'You will see us.'
      'Makikita mo kami.'

Iraya also has a monosyllabic function word *ba*, which, at first glance, seems to be similar to the Tagalog inversion marker *ay* as it can also be found between a fronted argument and the predicate head. Below are some examples.

(5) a. lakı   hısʊs **ba** mag-kalək
      MASC   Jesus ba AF-sleep
      'Jesus slept.'
      'Si Jesus ay natulog.'

b. ʔɪja   **ba** pʊlaw-an   dapʊ
   3SG.NOM   ba wake-AF   still
   'S/He is still awake.'
   'Siya ay gising pa.'

Tweddell (1958) and Reid (2017) both suggest that the Iraya *ba* has a wider function than the Tagalog *ay* as they both observe that this particle often appears in various "syntactical juncture points" (Tweddell, 1958, p. 67) such as after a fronted locative or time expression, in between conjoined sentences and clauses, in between a quotation formula, a direct quote, etc.[6] Because of this, Reid describes the function of *ba* as a "pause marker at syntactic boundaries" (p. 41).

4.2. Case Marking of Nouns and Pronouns. There are nominal markers in Iraya that distinguish between core arguments and oblique arguments within the sentence; however, these do not clearly mark case. The marker *da* and its free variant *pag* mark core arguments, while the marker *sa* and *kay* mark oblique arguments. They may be used for both common nouns (6a) and personal nouns (6b).

(6) a. pa-tɪndəg   **da**   **ʔʊŋa**
    AF-stand   CORE   child
    'The child stood up.'
    'Tumayo ang bata.'

b. pa-tɪndəg   **da**   **lakɪ**[7]   **pɛdrɔ** daʔ   bajɪ   sɛlja
   AF-stand   CORE   MASC   Pedro and   FEM   Celia
   'Pedro and Celia stood up.'
   'Tumayo si Pedro at si Celia.'

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[6] See Reid (2017), pp. 33 – 34 for the full list and sample data.

[7] As Reid (2017) has also noted, Iraya distinguishes between feminine and masculine proper nouns referring to people with the gender markers *bajɪ* and *lakɪ* respectively. Unlike Tagalog which has personal noun markers distinguished by case, the gender markers in Iraya truly only mark gender. They may be preceded by the markers *da*, *pag* and *kaj* or the third person plural pronoun *kura*. See Reid (2017), pp. 29-30 for further discussion.

Both Tweddell (1958) and Reid (2017) document *ʔag* and not *pag* as the other nominal marker which introduces a core argument. This is most likely an instance of dialectal variation. Tweddell has previously noted that there are some dialectal differences in the language spoken by Iraya Mangyans on the western side and on the eastern side of Mindoro.

Tweddell writes that the difference between the marker *da* and *ʔag* is that the former marks noun phrases with general referents, while the latter is more specific. The speakers, who were consulted for this study, do not distinguish between *da* and *pag*, and insist that they are interchangeable as in the following examples where the meanings of the two sentences are said to be the same.

(7) a. tɪja   **da**   **naʔaj**   **balaj**
     PROX.DEM   CORE   1SG.GEN   house
     'This is my house.'
     'Ito ang aking bahay.'

   b. tɪja   **pag**   **naʔaj**   **balaj**
     PROX.DEM   CORE   1SG.GEN   house
     'This is my house.'
     'Ito ang aking bahay.'

These nominal markers do not seem to indicate the case of NP arguments as core NP arguments in Iraya sentences that can be marked by the same nominal marker as we can see in the example below. This was also observed by Reid (2017) who adds that other Mangyan languages also have varying degrees of loss of case marking similar to Iraya.

(8) ma-maŋan   **da**   ʔʊŋa   **da**   bʊkar
    AF-eat   CORE   child   CORE   fruit
    'The child ate the fruit.'
    'Kumain ang bata ng prutas.'

The case of an NP argument seems to be instead determined by its position within the sentence, which is in turn influenced by the semantic role it plays, and its relationship with the verb predicate head as marked by the focus affix attached to the verb. In sentence (8) above, for example, the actor focus affix *ma-* bestows

focus on the agent NP *da ʔʊŋa* 'child'. If the positions of the NP arguments are switched, the sentence would be interpreted as 'The fruit ate the child', which the language consultants of this study found semantically anomalous. The general pattern observed for the order of arguments is as follows:

PREDICATE + AGENT + PATIENT + GOAL / RECIPIENT + LOCATION

FIG. 1. Basic constituent order in Iraya.

All elements of this pattern can be seen in the following example:

(9) PREDICATE   AGENT   PATIENT   RECIPIENT   LOCATION
    t<ɪn>abʊj-an da   ʔʊŋa bʊŋkalʊ da   ʔɪdɔ   sa   balaj
    <GF>give-GF CORE   child   bone   CORE dog   OBL   house
    'The child gave the dog a bone in the house.'
    'Binigyan ng bata ng buto ang aso sa bahay.'

We can also see in the example above that the core argument markers *da* and *pag* become optional for non-focused, indefinite nouns (*bʊŋkalʊ* 'bone' in the example above).

As for Iraya personal pronouns, case distinctions are only present in singular personal pronouns, which are divided into two categories according to case: nominative and genitive. Unlike most other Philippine languages, genitive pronouns do not have enclitic forms in Iraya.

TABLE 1. Iraya singular personal pronouns.

	Nominative	Genitive
1ˢᵗ Person	ʔakʊ	naʔaj ~ naj
2ⁿᵈ Person	kawʊ	kʊmʊ
3ʳᵈ Person	ʔɪja	kʊnɪn

Also unlike other Philippine languages, case distinctions are lost in dual and plural personal pronouns.

TABLE 2. Iraya dual and plural personal pronouns.

| | 1st Person | | 2nd Person | 3rd Person |
	Inclusive	Exclusive		
Dual	kɪta	kɪdawa	kandawa	sɪdawa
Plural	tamʊ	jamən	kʊjʊ	kʊra

The loss of case marking in Iraya explains why the language has a more rigid word order compared to other Philippine languages. It also presents a challenge to the study of its focus system, which is discussed in the following section.

5. FOCUS. One of the defining characteristics of Philippine-type languages is their so-called *focus system*[8], 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, 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 bears 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 predicate head.

Iraya does not have overt morphological case markers for NP arguments. The language only has markers that distinguish between core and oblique arguments within a sentence. As illustrated in the previous section, this results to having core arguments which are undistinguished from one another in transitive sentences (see sentence (8) above), and so there is no overt morphological marker which distinguishes the NP argument that receives focus.

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[8] Also known as *voice system* in other studies on the morphosyntax of Philippine languages.

One way to identify the focus assigned by verb affixes is with the use of singular personal pronouns, which do retain case distinctions in Iraya. By modifying and testing different verb forms as we can see in the following sentences, we are able to see the changing forms of singular pronouns and changes in the marking of arguments in correlation with the form of the verb predicate head. The focused argument in each sentence is underlined.

(10) a. <u>Actor Focus (AF)</u>

      <u>ʔakʊ</u>   **mag-tabʊj** da   bʊtakan sa   daŋasən
      1SG.NOM AF-give   CORE   flower OBL young.woman
      'I gave the flower to the young woman.'
      'Nagbigay ako ng bulaklak sa dalaga.'

  b. <u>Patient Focus (PF)</u>

      naʔaj   **nag-tabʊj** <u>da   bʊtakan</u> sa   daŋasən
      1SG.GEN PF-give   CORE   flower   OBL young.woman
      'I gave the flower to the young woman.'
      'Aking ibinigay ang bulaklak sa dalaga.'

  c. <u>Goal Focus (GF)</u>

      naʔaj   **t\<ɪn>abʊj-an** (da)   bʊtakan <u>da   daŋasən</u>
      1SG.GEN \<GF.PFV>give-GF CORE flower CORE young.woman
      'I gave the flower to the young woman.'
      'Aking binigyan ng bulaklak ang dalaga.'

All three sentences in (10) 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, the form of the pronouns used, as well as the markers that precede the nominal arguments. In (10a), the first-person pronoun *ʔakʊ* occupies the initial position of the sentence that is reserved for the pronominal actor argument in the sentence. The pronoun is also in the nominative form. In (10b & c), the first-person agent pronoun takes the genitive form. Based on this, we can say that the actor is not the focused argument in the latter two sentences. In sentence (10b), only the object *bʊtakan* 'flower', which has the semantic role of patient, is marked by the core argument 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 sentence (10c) above, the previously oblique dative argument *daŋasən*

'young woman', which is the recipient of the action, is marked with *da*. As discussed in the previous section, the core argument nominal marker is optional for non-focused indefinite NP arguments. Based on this, we can identify *da daŋgasən* as the focused argument and that *-ɪn-…-an* marks goal/recipient focus.

TABLE 3 below shows the categorization of verbal affixes according to the focus that they mark.[9]

TABLE 3. Verbal focus affixes in Iraya.

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

Each category of focus affixes will be discussed in turn, and example sentences will be provided in the following sub-sections.

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[9] It will be noticed that this study does not mention verbal affixes that mark beneficiary focus in Iraya as we are unable to conclusively establish that there is a distinct affix that marks beneficiary focus based on the data gathered so far. It may be that the beneficiary focus affix is similar in form with the goal/locative focus based on the following sentence which was provided by one consultant. Further data is needed to establish this analysis.

a. ʔɪja   ba   kʊmʊ   garʊ(w)-an   kɛndɪ
     3SG.NOM   INV   2SG.GEN   get-BF   candy
     'You get candy for him/her.'
     'Siya ay iyong kuhanan ng kendi.'

5.1. Actor Focus. The following verb affixes mark actor[10] 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. This means that certain verbs and affixes go together, while some do not. For example, the verb *maŋan* 'to eat' may only combine with the AF affix *ma-*, and not the AF affix *mag-* or *-ʊm-*. TABLE 4 below shows some Iraya verbs and the AF affixes that they may combine with.

There are also verbs, such as *ʔʊlɪ* 'to go back' and *garʊ* 'to get', that may take more than one AF affix which 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 combine with *mag-* may be interpreted as being in the perfective or imperfective aspect depending on the context of the utterance. The sample sentences below illustrate this. Verbs that may combine with both *-ʊm-* or *mag-* usually take *-ʊm-* to express perfective aspect while their *mag-* forms are more often interpreted as expressing imperfective aspect.[11]

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[10] 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.

[11] 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* 'to jump' only takes the affix *-um-* for actor focus marking.

	laba 'to wash (clothes)'	*talon* 'to jump'
Perfective	naglaba	tumalon
Imperfective	naglalaba	tumatalon
Contemplative	maglalaba	tatalon

However, some Southern Tagalog dialects, such as the Tagalog spoken in Mindoro, place the two affixes in the same aspectual paradigm. For example, for the verb *kain* 'to 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:

(11) a. Ɂɪja   **t<ʊm>abʊj**   baɁaw.paraj   sa   naɁaj
     3SG.NOM   <AF.PFV>give   rice   OBL   1SG.GEN

   naɁapʊn
   yesterday
   'S/he gave me rice yesterday.'
   'Nagbigay siya ng kanin sa akin kahapon.'

b. Ɂɪja   **mag-tabʊj** baɁaw.paraj   sa   naɁaj   aldaw-aldaw
   3SG.NOM AF-give   rice   OBL   1SG.GEN   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 also verbs which do take the AF affix *mag-*, but do not take the AF affix *-ʊm-*. For example, the verbs *kalək* 'to sleep' and *rəmrəm* 'to think' cannot be attached with the AF affix *-ʊm-*. These may only be marked as AF by the affix *mag-*.

The following table shows some Iraya verbs and the actor focus affixes that they may combine with based on the current data on hand.

TABLE 4. Selected list of Iraya verbs and the AF affixes that they may combine with.

AF Affixes	ma-	maN-	mag-/Ɂag-	ʊm	m-	pa-	-an
1. *maŋan* 'eat'	✓						
2. *karŋəj* 'listen'	✓						
3. *Ɂadar* 'learn'		✓					
4. *kadaŋ* 'walk; go'		✓					

(a) *Kumain ng isda si Pedro.*
    'Pedro ate fish.'
(b) *Nakain ng isda si Pedro.*
    'Pedro eats fish.'

AF Affixes	ma-	maN-	mag-/ʔag-	ʊm	m-	pa-	-an
5. *pataw* 'live; reside; stay'		✔					
6. *rəmrəm* 'think'			✔				
7. *kalək* 'sleep'			✔				✔
8. *ʔaŋgat* 'bring with'			✔	✔			
9. *banʔaw* 'look; watch'			✔	✔			
10. *gəgən* 'hold'			✔	✔			
11. *bɪjag* 'live (vs die)'			✔	✔			✔
12. *pʊlaw* 'wake up'			✔	✔			✔
13. *panawən* 'do; work'			✔	✔			
14. *paraʔʊj* 'go'			✔	✔			
15. *ʔʊlɪ* 'go back'			✔	✔			
16. *tʊkaw* 'talk'			✔	✔			
17. *garʊ* 'get'			✔	✔			
18. *tabʊj* 'give'			✔	✔			

AF Affixes	ma-	maN-	mag-/ʔag-	ʊm	m-	pa-	-an
19. *ʔɪnawa* 'breathe; sigh'			✓		✓		
20. *ʔɪnəm* 'drink'			✓		✓		
21. *tɪndəg* 'stand'						✓	✓
22. *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 be combined with. The focused noun phrase argument in each sentence is underlined.

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

    a. **ma-maŋan** <u>da   ʔʊŋa</u> bʊkar
       AF-eat   CORE child fruit
       'The child ate the fruit.'
       'Kumain ang bata ng prutas.'

    b. nawed   <u>kʊjʊ</u> **ma-karŋəj** sa   naʔaj
       NEG.INDIC 2PL AF-listen   OBL 1SG.GEN
       'You (pl.) did not listen to me.'
       'Hindi kayo nakinig sa akin.'

(13) Verbs with AF affix *maN-*[12]

    a. **maN-ʔadar** <u>da   ʔʊŋa</u> sa   balaj
       maŋadar   da   ʔʊŋa   sa   balaj
       AF-study   CORE child   OBL house
       'The child studied at home.'
       'Nag-aral ang bata sa bahay.'

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[12] 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.

b. **maN-kadaŋ**   <u>pag</u>   <u>daŋgasən</u>
   maŋadag   pag   daŋgasən
   AF-walk   CORE   young.woman
   'The young woman left.' / 'The young woman walked.'
   'Umalis ang dalaga.' / 'Naglakad ang dalaga.'

c. <u>bajɪ   marɪja</u> ba   **maN-pataw**   sa   balaj   bajɪ   sɛlja
   bajɪ   marɪja ba   **mamataw**   sa   balaj   bajɪ   sɛlja
   FEM Maria ba   AF-stay   OBL house FEM   Celia
   'Maria stayed/lived in Celia's house.'
   'Si Maria ay tumira sa bahay ni Celia.'

(14) <u>Verbs with AF affix *mag-* or *ʔag-*</u>

The affix *mag-* also has a variant form *ʔag-*. There is no discernible 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. <u>kawʊ</u>   **mag-kalək/ʔag-kalək**
   2SG.NOM   AF-sleep
   '(You) slept.'
   'Natulog ka.'

b. <u>ʔɪja</u>   lajən   **mag-panawen/ʔag-panawen** pɪja
   3PL.NOM   always   AF-do   good
   'S/He always does good (deeds).'
   'Palagi siyang gumagawa ng mabuti.'

c. <u>ʔakʊ</u>   **mag-panɪwala/ʔag-panɪwala**   sa   kʊmʊ
   1SG.NOM   AF-believe   OBL 2SG.GEN
   'I believe in you.'
   'Naniniwala ako sa iyo.'

(15) <u>Verbs with AF affix *-ʊm-*</u>

a. **g<ʊm>arʊ**   <u>da</u>   ʔʊŋa kɛndɪ sa   naʔaj
   <AF.PFV>get   CORE   child candy OBL 1SG.GEN
   'The child got candy from me.'
   'Kumuha ang bata ng kendi sa akin.'

b. **p<ʊm>araʔʊj** <u>da</u> <u>daŋgasən</u>   sa   ʔadajɔ
   <AF.PFV>go   CORE   young.woman   OBL   far
   'The young woman went to a far (place).'
   'Pumunta ang dalaga sa malayo(ng lugar).'

c. <u>ʔɪja</u>   da   **t<ʊm>abʊj**   kʊnɪn   bɪjag
   3SG.NOM   CORE   <AF.PFV>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.'

(16) <u>Verbs with the AF affix *m-*</u>

    Not many samples were found in the data that use the AF affix *m-* except for the verb *ʔɪnəm* 'to drink' and *ʔɪnawa* 'to breathe; to sigh'. The language consultants also use 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 vowel in the initial syllable. However, further data is needed to verify this. Because of this indeterminacy, the affix *m-* is, in the meantime, listed as a separate affix from *-ʊm-*.

a. ʔalabət   **m-ɪnəm**   <u>da</u>   ʔʊŋa   pag   sapa
   want   AF.PFV-drink   CORE   child   CORE   water
   'The child wants to drink water.'
   'Gustong uminom ng tubig ang bata.'

b. **m-ɪnawa**   <u>da</u>   bɪnata
   AF.PFV-sigh   CORE   young.man
   'The young man sighed.'
   'Nagbuntong hininga ang binata.'

(17) <u>Verbs with the AF affix *pa-*</u>

a. <u>ʔɪja</u>   da   **pa-balɪ**   sa   tamʊ
   3SG.NOM   CORE   AF-approach   OBL   1PL.EXCL
   'S/He approached us.'
   'Lumapit siya sa amin.'

    b. **pa-tɪndəg**   <u>da</u>   ʔʊŋa
       AF-stand   CORE   child
       'The child stood.'
       'Tumayo ang bata.'

(18) <u>Verbs with the AF affix *-an*</u>

    The AF suffix *-an* creates stative verbs, i.e. verbs that denote an entity's or object's state of being as opposed to dynamic verbs that denote actions or processes that change over time (Timberlake, 2007).

    a. **bɪjag-an**   <u>ʔɪja</u>
      live-AF.STV 3SG.NOM
      'S/He is alive.'
      'Buhay siya.'

    b. <u>naba</u>   <u>pag</u>   <u>ʔɪraja</u>   **pʊlaw-an** dapʊ
      MED.DEM CORE   person   wake-AF.STV still
      'That person is still awake.'
      'Gising pa ang iyang tao.'

    Other actor focus affixes not listed above include *mal-* and *magpa-*. These were not included in the discussion as they also encode modality, a semantic category that includes a wide range of meanings, including the speaker's attitude towards the possibility, probability, and/or ability to perform a certain action or event (Aikhenvald, 2015). They can also encode other meanings such as the intentionality of the actor, or the number of actors involved (Malicsi, 2013). Modal affixes are not discussed in this paper.

5.2 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, 2008; Bussmann, 1996). Malicsi (2013) also describes it as the entity that undergoes change, either by being constructed or destroyed as a result of the action of the actor in a certain event (e.g., *Sinunog ko ang papel* 'I burned the paper', wherein *ang papel* 'the paper' is the patient).[13]

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[13] As with the actor role, the label of patient role is also 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 theme, which Malicsi (2013) describes as the entity that is

TABLE 5 below shows the list of affixes that mark patient focus (PF) in Iraya and some of the verbs that they may combine with. We again see that some of the verbs listed below may take two PF affixes, which are usually *nag-* and *-ɪn-* / *-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* affixes are generally interpreted as encoding perfective aspect. Meanwhile, verbs with the affix *nag-*, similar to verbs combined with the AF affix *mag-*, may be interpreted as perfective or imperfective depending on the context.

Finally, the suffix *-ən* is never interpreted as expressing the perfective aspect; verbs with this affix are always interpreted as expressing the imperfective aspect. Verbs combined with the PF suffix *-ən* are usually used in imperative clauses. However, based on the data on hand, it seems that not all verbs may combine with this suffix.

TABLE 5. Selected list of Iraya verbs and the PF affixes that they may combine with.

PF Affixes	na-	naN-	nag-/	-m-	-ən-	-ɪn-...-an	ʔa-...-an
1. *maŋan* 'eat'	✔						
2. *garʊ* 'get'	✔			✔			
3. *ʔadar* 'learn'		✔			✔		
4. *bəŋlaj* 'throw'				✔	✔		

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.

PF Affixes	na-	naN-	nag-/	-m-	-ən-	-ɪn-...-an	ʔa-...-an
5. *ʔɪnəm* 'drink'			✔	✔			
6. *sarak* 'find'			✔	✔	✔		
7. *rəmrəm* 'think'			✔	✔			
8. *panawən* 'do; work'			✔	✔			
9. *tabʊj* 'give'			✔	✔			
10. *gəgən* 'hold'			✔	✔			
11. *pʊtɔl* 'cut'			✔	✔			
12. *bʊnʊʔ* 'kill'			✔	✔			
13. *ʔʊjas* 'wash'			✔			✔	
14. *ʔaŋgat* 'accompany; bring with'			✔			✔	
15. *banʔaw* 'look; watch'			✔		✔	✔	
16. *kɪta* 'see'							✔

PF Affixes	na-	naN-	nag-/	-m-	-ən-	-ɪn-...-an	ʔa-...-an
17. *mataŋ* 'know'							✔
18. *pʊlaw* 'wake up'							✔
19. *karnəj* 'listen'						✔	✔

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

(19) <u>Verbs with the PF affix *na-*</u>

    a. kʊra   da   **na-maŋan** <u>da   bəgas</u>
       3PL   CORE PF-eat   CORE rice
       'They ate the rice.'
       'Kinain nila ang bigas.'

    b. kʊnɪn **na-garu** <u>da   tɪja   gʊlanɪt</u>
       3SG.GEN PF-get   CORE PROX.DEM clothes
       ʔɪbat   sa   majnɪla
       from   OBL Manila
       'S/He got this dress in Manila.'
       'Kanyang nakuha ang damit na ito mula sa Maynila.'

(20) <u>Verbs with the PF affix *naN-*</u>

    a. sɪdawa **naN-ʔadar** sata   <u>da   maŋa   rɪbrʊ</u>
       sɪdawa **naŋadar** sata   <u>da   maŋa   rɪbrʊ</u>
       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** <u>da</u>   maɲa daʔət
       kʊra **naməŋlaj** <u>da</u>   maɲa daʔət
       3PL PF-throw.away CORE PL   bad
       'They threw away the bad [ones].'
       'Tinapon nila ang mga masasama/pangit.'

(21) <u>Verbs with the PF affix *nag-*</u>

    a. naʔaj   da   **nag-tabʊj** <u>da</u>   maɲa 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** <u>da</u>   sapa
       3PL PF-drink   CORE   water
       'They drank the water.'
       'Ininom nila ang tubig.'

    c. kʊnɪn   **nag-pʊtʊl** <u>da</u>   tajma saŋa
       3SG.GEN PF-cut   CORE   every branch
       'He cut every branch.'
       'Pinutol niya ang bawat sanga.'

(22) <u>Verbs with the PF affix *-ɪn-*</u>

    a. kʊnɪn   **t<ɪn>abʊj** <u>da   maɲa kɛndɪ</u> sa   daŋasən
       3SG.GEN <PF.PFV>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**   maɲa ʔɪraja <u>da   masadap ka   ʔɪnəmən</u>
       <PF.PFV>drink PL   person CORE delicious LNK beverage
       'The people drank the delicious beverage.'
       'Ininom ng mga tao ang masarap na inumin.'

c. <u>da tajma pʊʔɔn kajo</u> ba **p\<ɪn\>ʊtʊl**
 <u>da tajma pʊʔɔn kajo</u> ba **p\<ɪn\>tʊl**[14]
 CORE every tree wood ba \<PF.PFV\>cut
 'Every tree was cut.'
 'Bawat punong kahoy ay pinutol.'

(23) <u>Verbs with the PF affix -ən</u>

In (23a) below, /h/ is inserted before the suffix when the stem it attaches to ends in a vowel.

a. <u>ʔɪja</u>   ba naʔaj **samba-ən**
 <u>ʔɪja</u>   ba naʔaj **sambahən**[15]
 3SG.NOM ba 1SG.GEN worship-PF.IMP
 'I worship him/her.'
 'Sinasamba ko siya.'

b. kʊmʊ **bəŋlaj-ən** <u>da   batʊ</u>
 2SG.GEN throw-PF.IMP CORE rock
 '(You) throw the rock.'
 'Ihagis mo ang bato.'

c. kʊmʊ **sarak-ən**   <u>da   ʔʊŋa</u>
 2SG.GEN search-PF.IMP CORE child
 '(You) search for the child.'
 'Hanapin mo ang bata.'

(24) <u>Verbs with the PF affix -ɪn-…-an</u>

a. kʊmʊ bataj **ʔ\<ɪn\>ʊjas-an** <u>da   naʔaj maŋa paʔa</u>
 2SG.GEN CONT \<PF\>wash-PF CORE 1SG.GEN PL foot
 'You will wash my feet.'
 'Huhugasan mo ang aking mga paa.'

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[14] The /ʊ/ in the first syllable of /pʊtʊl/ is regularly dropped when the infix /-ɪn-/ is attached to this word.

[15] The phonemic inventory of Iraya does not include /h/. It only appears in borrowed words.

  b. ʔɪja   ba **ʔ\<ɪn>aŋgata-an** <u>da kʊnɪn ʔabɪjan</u>
    3SG.NOM ba \<PF>accompany-PF CORE 3SG.GEN friend
    'S/He was accompanied by his friend.'
    'Sinamahan siya ng kanyang kaibigan.'

  c. kʊnɪn   **b\<ɪn>anʔaw-an** <u>ʔakʊ</u>
    3SG.GEN \<PF>look-PF 1SG.NOM
    'S/He looked at me.'
    'Tiningnan niya ako.'

(25) <u>Verbs with the PF affix *ʔa-…-an*</u>

  a. naʔaj **ʔa-kɪta-an** <u>da   lakɪ   pɛdrɔ</u>
    naʔaj **ʔakɪtan** <u>da   lakɪ   pɛdrɔ</u>
    1SG.GEN PF-see-PF CORE MASC Pedro
    'I saw Pedro.'
    'Nakita ko si Pedro.'

  b. <u>ʔɪja</u>   ba **ʔa-pʊlaw-an** da   kʊnɪn ʔadaŋ
    3SG.NOM ba 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** <u>da ʔawɪtan pag</u>
    NEG.INDIC 3SG.GEN PF-know-PF CORE name CORE

    <u>daŋgasen</u>
    young.woman
    'He does not know the name of the young woman.'
    'Hindi niya alam ang pangalan ng dalaga.'

5.3. Goal or Locative Focus. The goal argument indicates the end point or final destination of a movement expressed by the verb. The locative argument, 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*. Note 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* 'to follow; to accompany' generally only requires two arguments: the entity that performs 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 (26b) below is considered ungrammatical.

(26) 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.'

TABLE 6 shows some Iraya verbs that may combine with GF/LF affixes.

TABLE 6. Some verbs that may combine with GF/LF afffixes.

	-an	**-ɪn-…-an**
1. *tabʊj* 'give'	✓	✓
2. *kadaŋ* 'walk'	✓	✓
3. *paraʔʊj* 'go'	✓	✓
4. *patɪndəg* 'stand'	✓	✓
5. *tʊŋka* 'sit'	✓	✓

	-an	**-ɪn-...-an**
6. *sʊrat* 'write'	✓	✓
7. *dalan* 'cross; pass'	✓	✓

Most verbs that may be affixed with the GF/LF affix may take both *-an* and *-ɪn-…-an*. Verbs with *-an* are often used in imperative (27a) or infinitive (27b & c) constructions.

(27) <u>Verbs with GF/LF affix *–an*</u>

    a.   (Imperative construction)

kʊmʊ	**tabʊj-an**	ʔɪja	pamaŋnən
2SG.GEN	give-GF.IMP	3SG.NOM	food

        'Give him/her food.'
        'Iyong bigyan siya ng pagkain.'

    b.   (Infinitive construction)

ʔɪja	ba	jamən	dɪsɪn	ʔalabət	**sʊrat-an**
3SG.NOM	ba	1PL	hope	want	write-GF

        'We want to write to him/her.'
        'Siya ay gusto sana naming sulatan'

    c.

naʔaj	t<ɪn>abʊj	<u>da tʊŋkaʔan</u>	sa	kʊmʊ	para
1SG.GEN	<PF>give	CORE chair	OBL	2SG.GEN	for

tʊŋka-an	nawəd	para	**tɪndəg-an**
sit-LF	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).'

Verbs that are combined with *-ɪn-…-an* are considered finite and are often interpreted as having perfective aspect, unless used in a specific context or if temporal adverbs signify otherwise.

(28) 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.'

5.4. Instrument Focus. Only one affix, *pɪnaN-*[16], was found in the data that is used to indicate instrument focus. The instrument refers to the object used to perform the action denoted by the verb. Below are some sentences showing verbs with the instrument focus affix.

(29) a. **pɪnaN-sʊrat**   pag   ʔʊŋa da   naʔaj   lapɪs
       pɪnansʊrat   pag   ʔʊŋa da   naʔaj   lapɪs
       IF-write   CORE   child CORE   1SG.GEN   pencil
       'My pen was used by the child to write.'
       'Ipinansulat ng bata ang aking lapis.'

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[16] While language consultants regularly use this form to convey instrument focus constructions for both perfective and imperfective clauses, it may be possible that *-ɪn-* actually marks perfective aspect. This would make it similar to perfective Tagalog instrument focus constructions. However, additional data and further study are needed to establish this claim.

b. naʔaj   **pɪnaN-pʊtʊl** da   kajʊ   da   kʊnin
    naʔaj   **pɪnampʊtʊl** da   kajʊ   da   kʊnin
    1SG.GEN IF-cut   CORE   wood   CORE   3SG.GEN

    pɪsaw
    pɪsaw
    bolo.knife
    'I used his/her bolo knife to cut the wood.'
    'Aking ipinamputol ng kahoy ang itak.'

6. ASPECT. Verb aspect is defined by Aikhenvald (2015) as "the grammatical representation of the internal structure and composition of activity" (p. 136). The most basic 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, through reduplication. Three aspectual categories are usually discussed in Philippine languages. These include 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 and contemplative aspectual forms 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. Contemplative aspect is marked with the addition of the adverbial particle *bataj*, which is placed before the verb. On the other hand, the form of the verb in imperfective aspect is usually distinct from the perfective and contemplative verb forms. The following examples provided by Reid (2017) show this pattern. In this example, 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*.

(30) a. <u>Imperfective Aspect</u>

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. <u>Perfective Aspect</u>

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. <u>Contemplative Aspect</u>

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.'[17]

(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 aspect. These affixes are (1) -ʊ̄m-, (2) -ɪn-, and (3) -pa-. The first two affixes are consistently used to express perfective aspect, while the last expresses imperfective aspect.

Aside from marking the aspect feature on the verb, these affixes also encode focus. As shown in section 5, 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 the other focus affixes indicate aspect.

For the 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 in §6.4 where analytic aspect marking in Iraya will be discussed.

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[17] The Tagalog translations in this set of sentences were provided by the present author.

6.1. Perfective Aspect. The affixes *-ʊm-* and *-ɪn-* both mark perfective aspect while at the same time marking actor focus and patient focus respectively. Below are some sample sentences.

(31) <u>Perfective Actor Focus affix *-ʊm-*</u>

    a. **g<ʊm>arʊ**   da   ʔʊŋa kɛndɪ sa   naʔaj
        <AF.PFV>get   CORE   child candy OBL 1SG.GEN
        'The child got candy from me.'
        'Kumuha ang bata ng kendi mula sa akin.'

    b. **p<ʊm>araʔʊj** da   daŋgasən   sa   ʔadajɔ
        <AF.PFV>go   CORE   young.woman   OBL   far
        'The young woman went to a far (place).'
        'Pumunta ang dalaga sa malayo.'

(32) <u>Perfective Patient Focus affix *-ɪn-*</u>

    a. kʊnɪn   **t<ɪn>abʊj**   da   maŋa kɛndɪ sa   daŋgasən
        3SG.GEN <PF.PFV>give CORE PL   candy OBL young.woman
        'S/He gave the candies to the young woman.'
        'Kanyang ibinigay ang mga kendi sa dalaga.'

    b. **ʔ<ɪn>ɪnəm**   maŋa ʔɪraja   da   masadap ka   ʔɪnəmən
        <PF.PFV>drink PL   person CORE   delicious LNK   beverage
        'The people drank the delicious beverage.'
        'Ininom ng mga tao ang masarap na inumin.'

    Not all verbs can combine with these focus affixes which also encode perfective aspect. How completed action is expressed with such verbs is discussed further in §6.4.

6.2 Imperfective Aspect. The infix *-pa-*, is used to mark imperfective aspect in some verbs. Below are some sample sentences where verbs attached with these affixes are used.

(33) a. ʔaldaw-ʔaldaw ʔɪja   **mag-pa-maŋan**   bʊkar
        every.day   3SG.NOM AF-IPFV-eat   fruit
        'S/He eats fruits every day.'
        'Araw-araw siyang kumakain ng prutas.'

b. **nag-pa-maŋan** ʔʊŋa da bʊkar
   PF-IPFV-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-IPFV-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 33a & c above) or the patient focus *nag-* (33b). It may not be used on its own. This observation is consistent with that of Tweddell's (1958), who found that there are affixes in Iraya that may only be used together with other affixes.[18]

The distribution of these affixes also seems to be limited in terms of the verbs that they may combine with. The imperfective affix *-pa-* also shares the same form as the causative affix. The following are examples of causative sentences in the language.

(34) 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** sapa
      CORE young.woman ba 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.'

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[18] Tweddell (1958) 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).

6.3. 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 (35a & b) below, or the verb may not have a distinct perfective form, as with the verb in (35c & d) below.

(35) a. **bataj   p<ʊm>araʔʊj** da   daŋasən   sa   ʔadajɔ
          CONT   <AF.PFV>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   daŋasən
          CONT   <PF.PFV>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   ba 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.'

6.4. 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 §6.3, as it involves the placement of the contemplative marker *bataj* before the verb.

In §6.1 and §6.2, 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 context. Below are examples of sentences that may be

interpreted as perfective or imperfective. The affixes attached to the verbs in these sentences do not mark aspect.

(36) a. **pa-tɪndəg**   lakɪ   pɛdrɔ
         AF-stand   MASC   Pedro
         'Pedro stood.' / 'Pedro stands.'
         '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.

Temporal adverbs may be used to clearly indicate when the action occurred. The temporal adverbs used in the sentences below are in bold.

(37) 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　　daŋasən
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. Synthetic aspect marking is available to verbs that may combine with affixes that encode aspect. 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.

7. 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 see 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 through analytic means by using temporal markers or adverbs. Aspect may also be interpreted through consideration of factors within the context in which the sentence is uttered. The capacity of verbs to combine with affixes that mark aspect is closely tied with which focus affixes they may combine with.

Both Tweddell's (1958) and Reid's (2017) descriptions of the language show features, which, especially when contrasted with other Philippine languages, seem to indicate that the language has undergone a creolization process particularly with its loss of case marking and its strict word order. If compared to Tweddell's description of the language in the 1950s, the current data seems to show that a shift is happening in the language's verb focus and aspect paradigms. The discrepancies between the findings of the current paper and Tweddell's description of the language as used in the 1950s might be worth exploring further, as these observed differences could be the result of dialectal variation, or they may be indicative of the

language's current terminal stage in the area where the fieldwork for this study was conducted since many of the Iraya Mangyans in this area have already shifted to Tagalog. As Lehmann (cited in Dorian, 1973, p. 415) wrote, "Thorough documentation of the stages leading to [the extinction of languages] would be of great interest to historical linguistics. For many languages of which we know are now extinct; the steps to their extinction may be understood more clearly if we have thorough descriptions of languages now on the way to extinction." Indeed, further studies on the Iraya Mangyan language are still required.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person		INV	inversion marker
2	second person		IPFV	imperfective aspect
3	third person		LF	locative focus
AF	actor focus		LNK	linker
BF	beneficiary focus		LOC	locative
CAUS	causative		MASC	masculine
CONT	contemplative		MED	medial
CORE	core argument		NEG	negation
DEM	demonstrative		NOM	nominative
DIST	distal		OBL	oblique argument
DL	dual		PF	patient focus
EXCL	exclusive		PL	plural
FEM	feminine		PFV	perfective aspect
GEN	genitive		PROX	proximal
GF	goal focus		RECIP	reciprocal
IF	instrumental focus		SG	singular
IMP	imperative		STV	stative
INDIC	indicative			

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