

STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS

Volume 7 Number 1 1988

Fe T. Otones and Austin Hale, series eds.

Harland Kerr. "Cotabato Manobo grammar" 1–123



ISSN 0116-0516 ISBN 971-1059-11-8

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Sample Citation Format

Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista. 1977. "The noun phrase in Tagalog—English code switching". *Studies in Philippine Linguistics* 1:1, 1–16. Online. URL: http://www.sil.org/asia/philippines/book_store.html#culture [etc.] + access date.

COTABATO MANOBO GRAMMAR¹

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Abbreviations

0. Introduction

1. Sentence-forming verbal constructions

1.1 Active verbal constructions

1.2 Stative verbal constructions

1.3 Verbal question constructions

1.4 Active pe- constructions (causative constructions)1.5 b and p class verbs

1.6 Reduced verbal constructions

1.7 Commands

1.8 External relationship

2. Sentence-forming equational constructions

2.1 Objectified expression ---> <--- objectified expression

2.2 Objectified expression ---> <--- series 5 possessive pronoun

2.3 Equational constructions with time expression

2.4 Equational constructions with location expression

2.5 Questions

2.6 Verb <--- verb constructions

2.7 Double verb constructions with different actors

2.8 Existential duen

3. Negation

4. Non-sentence-forming constructions

4.1 Attribution of nouns

4.2 Possession

4.3 Subject markers

4.4 Nonsubject markers

4.5 Sentence particles

4.6 Expansions of sentence

4.7 Derivational affixes

4.8 Other derivation for stem formation

4.9 Phrases

Notes

Appendix: Phonology

References

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

ADJ	adjective
CA	causative
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DIST	distributive
DRV	derivative
FA	future, actor focus, basic
FAREP	future, actor focus, repetitive
FO	future, object focus, basic
FOREP	future, object focus, repetitive
FR	future, referent focus, basic
IFA	involuntary, future, actor focus
IFI	involuntary, future, instrument focus
IFO	involuntary, future, object focus
IFR	involuntary, future, referent focus
IMP	imperative
INA	involuntary, neutral, actor focus
INI	involuntary, neutral, instrument focus
INO	involuntary, neutral, object focus
INR	involuntary, neutral, referent focus
IPA	involuntary, past, actor focus
IPI	involuntary, past, instrument focus
IPO	involuntary, past, object focus
IPR	involuntary, past, referent focus
LIG	ligature
LOC	locative particle
NA	neutral, actor focus, basic
NEG	negative
NI	neutral, instrument focus, basic
NO	neutral, object focus, basic
NOREP	neutral, object focus, repetitive
NR	neutral, referent focus, basic
NREC	neutral, reciprocal
NRREP	neutral, referent focus, repetitive
OF	object focus (suffix)
PA	past, actor focus, basic
PI	past, instrument focus, basic
PO	past, object focus, basic
POREP	past, object focus, repetitive
PR	past, referent focus, basic
PREC	past, reciprocal
PRT	particle
RC	reciprocal affix
RF	referent focus (suffix)
RP	reason particle
SRC	search for
=	morpheme break
*	impermissible construction
**	subject is zero third person singular
---	discontinuous morpheme (in gloss lines only)

0. Introduction

In presenting the grammar of Cotabato Manobo, priority is given to the statement of syntactic relationships. This approach is more or less inevitable in a language with so little inflection of verb or noun expressions. It is adopted in part as a reflection of the theory that meaningful utterances (other than those which are syntactically single units) comprise minimum syntactic units, immediate constituents, which enter into binary relationships with other immediate constituents to form constitutes. (A constitute is a combination of two immediate constituents.) An expanded utterance is compounded of layers of immediate constituents added unit by unit each to the most lateral of the central constituents which it presupposes. It is assumed that the relationship uniting the immediate constituents of any given constitute is a primary feature of language. Such relationships are defined as functions. The immediate constituents so united are defined as functives.

This theory has received its greatest impetus from the writings of Hjelmslev, more particularly his Prolegomena to a Theory of Language (1953). He distinguishes three principal relations: a subordinating relation in which a lateral immediate constituent is dependently related to a central immediate constituent which it presupposes; a coordinating relation in which two immediate constituents of equal status are independently related to each other; and a predicating relation in which two immediate constituents of equal status are interdependently related, each presupposing the other. (See also Pittman 1954.)

The various relations postulated by Hjelmslev are indicated formally as:

dependence	---->	(going from the lateral to the central item)
independence	<--- <---	
interdependence	----> <---	

Of these relations that of predication is the most basic, establishing a constitute that is the building block for further expansion either by subordination or coordination. In most utterances the primary division must be made between two most central immediate constituents interdependently related to each other. One of these is the subject, the other the predicate. There is reason to believe that the opposition of subject and predicate is a universal of language.

It is well to remember that speech consists of a series of propositions. There must be something to talk about and something must be said about this subject of discourse once it is selected. This distinction is of such fundamental importance that the vast majority of languages have emphasized it by creating some sort of formal barrier between the two terms of the proposition. [Sapir 1921:119]

Utterances which are no more than a single formal syntactic unit may be subject to the same system of analysis. They do not invalidate the theory that a meaningful utterance is ultimately based on a relationship of interdependence. Even a minimum utterance must by intonation or some other

4 Cotabato Manobo Grammar

feature indicate its relationship to something already said or to be said. Unless it is so related it can have no meaning. Such an utterance may contract interdependent, but more probably it contracts dependent relationship with the other utterance. The formal unit and its intonation contour may, however, comprise a self-contained constitute, for example, exclamations and commands.

The word and the units within the word have meaning only as they function in the context of the various relations operating within the utterance. Priority is therefore given to the analysis of the syntactic relations, and the morphology of the words is dealt with within this analysis.

In terms of relations there are two main groups of words: words which must have meaning and are members of a major distribution class (part of speech), and words which may or may not have meaning but indicate the relationships of words of the other group. The first group contracts function; the second group carries the function. Function may be indicated, however, by position only. Overt forms that indicate function will be referred to as valence-carrying morphs if they have no meaning. Those with meaning will be referred to as valence-carrying morphemes. A morph or morpheme may, however, be part of the word, belonging to a major distribution list.

Bloomfield's analysis of Ilocano (1942) is one of the earliest analyses of a Philippine dialect, and it is a basic reference. I have used his terminology in this analysis since it seems to be as valid for Cotabato Manobo as for Ilocano. For Ilocano, Bloomfield postulated a primary syntactic division according to function in open expressions and object expressions. Words are divided into three main classes: pronouns, which are always object expressions; full words, which by themselves are open but can be objectified by certain proclitic particles; and particles (which are open and can never be objectified).

Bloomfield's recognition of open and object expressions is particularly valuable. It parallels the division of English expressions into verbs and substantives respectively. Open expressions in Cotabato Manobo may also be words that function as descriptive lateral items, corresponding to English adjectives and adverbs.

In Cotabato Manobo there need be no subdivision of types of open expressions, more so since expressions which function as simple descriptives of nouns do not function as simple descriptives of verbs (adverbs) but rather become the nuclear verb of an utterance in which a nondescriptive open expression (true verb in English) is a lateral item. But since there are expressions that function as noun descriptives of object expressions, and since there are also expressions that function as descriptives of open expressions (time and location indicators), descriptive class words will be recognised within open expressions in my analysis.

An open expression, word or phrase, may be objectified by objectifying particles. The objectifying expressions in Cotabato Manobo are referred to as particles, though only one unit of the expression is strictly a particle. This unit, si, elides with the following unit, which may by itself be an object expression, or may function with si as an object expression. si by itself may never be objectified.

Pike's (1958) "slot" concept is employed, referring to "same function." Words or groups of words are said to fill meaningful function slots in the sentence.

The various constitutes, as well as variations of each constitute and other features of the language, will be introduced as far as possible according to the principle laid down by Pittman (1954). The most basic and presupposed constitutes will be dealt with first, leading on to the least presupposed constructions in the language.

1. Sentence-forming verbal constructions

There are two basic sentence-forming patterns in Cotabato Manobo. In the first, referred to as verbal constructions, one of the nuclear immediate constituents (ICs) is an open expression (verb). In the second, referred to as equational constructions (sec. 2), neither of the two central immediate constituents is an open expression; both are objectified expressions, i.e., substantives.

Verbal constructions include two major types: active verbal constructions (sec. 1.1) and stative verbal constructions (sec. 1.2). They are differentiated by the affixes associated with the nuclear open expression. Other types, less important, are described in sections 1.3-8.

1.1 Active verbal constructions

When active verbal constructions are reduced to their most basic elements, two nuclear immediate constituents are identifiable. One is an objectified expression, referred to as the subject. The other is an open expression, referred to as the active verb. These two constituents enter into an interdependent sentence-forming relationship.

There is, however, a strong pressure to add a lateral item to this central constitute. The members substituting in this lateral slot are always particles such as dé, pelà, etc.

mipanaw a² dé 'I will go/I'll move off.'
 lumikù a dé 'I'll be going home now.'
 kumaen ki pelà 'We'll eat now/Let's eat.'

Subclasses of active verbal constructions may be distinguished on the basis of the affixes associated with the open expression. They are designated as actor-subject constructions, non-actor-subject constructions, -en goal-subject constructions, -an constructions, and constructions with i-.

1.1.1 Actor-subject constructions (<-um> constructions)

The actor-subject affixes are:

-um- 'future/desire/mild imperative (with first-person plural)',
 infix before the first vowel of the root
eg- 'present continuous'³
mig- 'definite past'

Examples:

l=um=ikù a dé
go.home=FA=___ I PRT

'I am going home.'

eg=ipanawpanaw a
 NA=walk.about I

'I am just walking
 about.'

m=ael a owong
 FA=make I canoe

'I am making a canoe.'

agulé, d=um=ineg sa kelupenit
 then hear=FA=___ DET small.bat

'Then the small bat
 listened.'

agulé, eg=likù dé kelupenit
 then NA=go.home PRT small.bat

'Then the small bat
 went home.'

t=um=enà ma dé sunggud sa
lay.down=FA=___ also PRT bride.price DET

'The father of
 Dulangan laid down the
 bride price.'

emà i Dulangan
 father DET Dulangan

agulé t=um=udug dé sa hadi
 then sleep=FA=___ PRT DET young.sibling

'Then the young
 brother slept.'

l=um=agbet da pana=en da ubal
look.for=FA=___ they shoot=FO they monkeys

'They looked for
 monkeys to shoot.'

d=um=agpak dé sa busaw
arrive=FA=___ PRT DET evil.spirit

'The evil
 spirit arrived.'

endà dé g=um=emow ké dini
 not PRT come.up=FA=___ we here

'We will not come up
 here (into this
 house).'

k=um=uwa a tamuk, lima
get=FA=___ I trade.items five

'I will get five
 trade items.'

amuk endà si emà eg=haa kenaken
 if not DET father NA=see me

'If father had not
 seen me (I would have
 died).'

Many of these examples are intransitive. This seems to be typical of the actor-subject construction, which does not require an object, in contrast with the non-actor-subject construction. The subject in all cases is the actor.

1.1.2 Non-actor-subject constructions

The non-actor-subject affixes are:

In <-en> Constructions

-en 'future/desire'
eg- -en 'present continuous'
-in- 'definite past', infixes before first vowel of the root

In <-an> Constructions

-an 'future/desire'
eg- -en 'present continuous'
-in- -an 'definite past'

In <i-> Constructions

i- 'present/future'
ig- 'definite past'

The difference between the members within each of the three preceding sets seems to be more one of aspect than time. The last member of each set clearly indicates a completed action. The other members, while they may be used of an action occurring in the past, refer to a continuing action, contemporaneous with other actions in the same context. The completive affixes, however, are used only of actions that have already occurred; they never refer to a future complete action.

The affixes -an and -en may occur with or without eg-. As far as can be determined, the omission of the prefix does not alter the construction, though there are indications that eg- may not occur in certain constructions with -an.

These sets of affixes are referred to as active verbal affixes, but their usage with stative constructions is not excluded.

The construction may be transitive with a second substantive referred to as the object (in line with the terminology of previous investigators of Philippine dialects). This substantive always follows the verb expression. If it is a noun, the objectifying <an> particle is optional. If it is a pronoun, it belongs to pronoun series 4.

Should both subject and object be nouns and both follow the verb, the object must precede the subject. Both subject and object may be pronouns.

Example:

humaa a keniko
look I you

'I want to watch you
(ride bareback).'

Few examples have been recorded in which the subject is a noun or person and the object a series 4 pronoun. Where these two items are present in the same clause or sentence, the construction is usually equational. The following is not permitted:⁴

*mighaa kenagdi si Milug
see him DET Milug

'Milug saw him.'

The concept may, however, be expressed as follows:

si Milug mighaa ya kenagdi
DET Milug see DET him

'Milug is the one who
saw him.'

Objectifying Particles (<sa> Particles)

With few exceptions an objectifying particle, usually class <sa>, must mark a subject following the verb if the subject is a noun or person. In pre-verb position the objectifier is usually omitted, probably because this position is reserved for subject substantives.

If the subject is a pronoun, it belongs to abbreviated series 1. Members of this class are clitic to the verb and follow it immediately, taking precedence over any other class of verb postclitic.

1. si, personal marker, precedes personal names and occasionally series 3 pronouns.
2. si iya > siya > aya > sa 'the'. These last three forms seem to be derived from the full form si iya; sa is used most commonly and seems to have no distance connotation.
3. si ini > sini 'this' indicates something very close to the speaker.
4. si edò > sido 'that' indicates something at a distance from the speaker or actor.
5. sak 'that thing'. The exact function of this particle is not known. It is occasionally used with one of the other particles as its head word, for example, sak siya 'that thing', or at times it substitutes for the usual objectifiers.

<dé> Particles

A member of the postclitic class dé usually follows the verb and the series 1 pronoun. The combination of the verb and both or one of these postclitics is referred to as a verb expression. Class <dé> particles are

dé, pa, and pelà (sometimes expanded to pelawà). These items are mutually exclusive in their distribution.

No particular meaning can be assigned to the various members of this class. Their principal function seems to be the closing off of the verb expression. They may convey a more specific time factor than that conveyed by the verbal affixes, but only a much more thorough knowledge of the language can clear up this point.

Members of this particle class occur much more frequently in actor-subject constructions than they do in non-actor-subject active constructions and stative constructions.

Pronouns

The monosyllabic series 1 pronouns (as well as series 2 pronouns) never stand alone but always follow an open expression or substantive. They are essentially clitics, though they take primary stress in the sentence (see "Intonation" in the Appendix), and so they are written as separate words.

SERIES 1 ABBREVIATED PRONOUNS <a>

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<u>a</u>	<u>ké</u> (excl); <u>ki</u> (incl)
2nd person	<u>ka</u>	<u>yu</u>
3rd person	<u>∅</u> (positive) <u>di</u> (negative)	<u>da</u>

SERIES 4 PRONOUNS <kenaken>

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<u>kenaken</u>	<u>kenami</u> (excl); <u>kenita</u> (incl)
2nd person	<u>keniko</u>	<u>keniyu</u>
3rd person	<u>kenagdi</u>	<u>kenagda</u>

1.1.3 Goal-subject constructions (<-en> constructions)

hau=wen di sa utan 'She saw the utan
see=FO she DET utan (plant).'

agulé d=in=alem i Kenogon sa biahn sa 'Then the young girl
then put=PO=___ DET maiden DET basket DET put the shoot in the
basket.'

tugbung
shoot

agulé pana=en di sa ubal 'Then he shot the
then shoot=FO he DET monkey monkey.'

bangun=en sa kakay sa hadi di 'The elder brother
raise.up=FO DET old.bro DET young.bro his raised his younger
brother up.'

siya wé tigtu etaw, s=in=awa di 'The honest person,
that DEM honest person marry=PO=___ he he married the good
one.'

siya wé me=pion etaw
that DEM ADJ=good person

dineg=en di sa kagi babuy 'He heard the sound
hear=FO he DET voice pig of the pig.'

k=in=uwa di ma sa belagen 'He also got the
get=PO=___ he also DET rattan rattan.'

In the foregoing examples, as with most goal-subject constructions, there are two principal substantives. The principal nuclear substantive, with which the verb enters into the primary interdependent sentence-forming relationship, is identified as the subject. The secondary substantive is referred to, in line with Bloomfield's terminology, as the agent. If the agent is a pronoun, it must be a member of the series 2 <ku> class. This series and series 1 pronouns are mutually exclusive in their distribution and substitute in the same slot immediately following the verb.

SERIES 2 PRONOUNS <ku>

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<u>ku</u>	<u>ké</u> (excl); <u>ta</u> (incl)
2nd person	<u>ko</u>	<u>yu</u>
3rd person	<u>di</u>	<u>da</u>

First-person exclusive and second- and third-person plural pronouns are the same in series 1 and 2.

If the subject and agent are both nouns or persons, the agent immediately follows the verb expression. A person agent further indicates its function by the preposed particle.

A <sa> objectifying particle is optional with agent nouns.

If both subject and agent are pronouns, the subject pronoun is a series 3 form (of the series 3 <aken> pronouns). Example:

endà eg=hau=wen ku duu kagdi 'I cannot see him.'
not NO=see=OF I NP him

SERIES 3 PRONOUNS <aken>

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<u>aken</u>	<u>kami</u> (excl); <u>kita</u> (incl)
2nd person	<u>kuna</u>	<u>kiyu</u>
3rd person	<u>kagdi</u>	<u>kagda</u>

If the agent is other than a pronoun, the subject pronoun reduces to the abbreviated series 1 <a> form, taking a position immediately following the verb. The agent noun or person follows with or without a <sa> objectifying particle.

in=uwit a mangan etaw
PO=bring I spirit

'I have been brought
(here) by an evil
spirit.'

eg=hemued=en ké kilat, ka
NO=bite=OF we lightning as

'We would be struck
by lightning (for such
an act) since they are
our relatives.'

duma ta
relatives our

egke=laep ké sa emâ i Sida
INO=disturb we DET father DET Sida

'We were disturbed by
Sida's Father's
singing.'

eg=duyuy
NA=sing

Nouns and pronouns, subjects and agents, behave the same in all future constructions.

1.1.3.1 Actor-subject constructions

The two substantives in an actor-subject construction have been defined as the actor and object respectively in line with Bloomfield's terminology. In goal-subject constructions the two substantives have been referred to as agent and goal respectively. Many roots may enter into both constructions, the difference being structural rather than semantic. The one construction seems to be the reverse phase of the other, the actor of the former corresponding to the agent of the latter and the object of the former corresponding to the goal of the latter.

t=um=ulù a keniko
teach=FA=___ I you

'I (actor) will teach
you (object).'

eg=tulu=en ku kuna
NO=teach=OF I you

'I (agent) will teach
you (goal).'

There are numerous roots which enter readily into goal-subject constructions but are never or only very rarely found in transitive actor-subject constructions. These roots in actor-subject constructions are primarily intransitive.

It would seem to follow from this that actor-subject constructions are primarily concerned with establishing an active relationship between an actor and the action. If the action carries over to an object this is only of secondary significance. Should the object be an integral part of the concept, the goal-subject construction is preferably used. This is clearly illustrated by the following extract from the story "The First Man":

agulé h=um=aa sa kakay; hau=wen⁵ di 'Then the older
then see=FA= DET old.bro see=FO he brother looked around.
'He saw a monkey.'

sa ubal
DET monkey

agulé pana=en di sa ubal; agulé 'Then he shot the
then shoot=FO he DET monkey then monkey. It fell stone
dead.'

netebà me=nabù dé sa ubal
stone.dead IFO=fall PRT DET monkey

agulé m=anà⁶ ma sa hadi; pana=en 'Then the young
then FO=shoot again DET young.bro shot=FO brother shot with his
bow. He shot a female
monkey.'

di sak kusapeng
he DET female.monkey

The following are examples of expanded actor-subject constructions. Not all roots are intransitive in such constructions; there are numerous examples of transitive actor-subject constructions. A few might be termed bitransitive actor-subject constructions. The roots hated and sugù and a few others have been found in bitransitive sentences. (kayu must precede kenita in such constructions.)

h=um=ated a saging Kaut ta 'I will take some
take=FA= I bananas Kaut DET bananas to Kaut.'

eg=sugù a kayu keniko 'I will send you to
NA=order I wood you get wood.'

saging and kayu may be regarded as objects. Keniko and Kaut may be classed as third parties.

1.1.3.2 Expanded goal-subject constructions

The following are examples of expanded goal-subject constructions:

p=in=enù ku wayeg sa latà 'I filled the tin
fill=PO=___ I water DET tin with water.'

eg=hagtay=en ku museng sa emal 'I keep the loris
 NO=live=OF I charcoal DET loris alive with charcoal.'

si Deké b=in=albal di timbak 'Deké was struck by
 DET Deké strike=PO=___ he rifle him with a rifle.'

The second substantive in these sentences seems to be an additional or supplementary agent.

It is usually not possible to express the foregoing concepts in actor-subject form. With at least one of the roots, hagtay, and probably all others, the second substantive presupposes the pronoun agent and cannot occur without it. The following sentence, for example, is impermissible:

*eghagtayan museng sa emal 'The loris is kept
 live charcoal loris alive with charcoal.'

The extra substantive in these constructions will be referred to as a supplementary agent.

1.1.4 -an constructions

The suffix {-an} comprises three allomorphs: -an, -én, and -on. -én and -on are suffixed to roots in which the vowel of the final syllable is é and o respectively. -an occurs elsewhere.

si Fled eg=tulon=on i Megumpis 'Fred was informed
 DET Fred NR=inform=RF DET Megumpis (of the thing) by
 Megumpis.'

In -an constructions a distinction must be made between roots that combine with the goal-subject affixes <-en> and those that do not. Within the latter group a further distinction must be made between roots that combine with the affix set <l-> and those that do not (see Kerr 1965).

The central sentence structure of each of the above subgroups parallels goal-subject. There is a subject and there is an agent taking the same positions and marked by the same objectifying particles as the equivalent substantives of the goal-subject constructions. In general, however, the semantic relationship between the subject and verb is not the same.

Group 1 roots, which combine with -en

eg=dalem=en ku palay sa latà 'I'll put the rice in
NR=put=RF I rice DET can the can.'

d=in=alem=en di babuy sa apuy 'He placed the pig in
put=PR=___=RF he pig DET fire the fire.'

**endà pa in=inem=en ko duu 'You have not yet
not yet PR=drink=RF you NEG drunk from it.'

With the majority of group 1 roots the subject is unambiguously location. A goal is usually explicit or implied. There are three central substantives: a third party (a location or sometimes a person), a goal, and an agent. Such constructions may be regarded as third-party constructions, the subject filling the role of the third party.

With some roots, however, location may be indicated by the affix -an, but no goal need be implied.

eg=kagbul=en di sa walingwaling 'He climbs for the
NO=climb=OF he DET orchid orchid.'

In the preceding example the goal is the object, or the motive, for his climbing. In the following example there is no motive for climbing; no goal is implied. Such constructions are simple two-party location-subject.

eg=kagbul=en di aken, sa miyong 'The cat, he climbs
NR=climb=RF he me DET cat up onto me.'

With other roots the subject item seems to be more a goal than location, for example:

eg=temeg=en ku sa kayu 'I'll burn the wood.'
NO=burn=OF I DET wood

eg=temeg=en ku sa apuy 'I'll light the fire.'
NR=light=RF I DET fire

In this second example fire is the subject, but it scarcely seems to indicate location. Nor can it be said to be a goal in view of the preceding sentence, unless it is assumed that the meaning of the root is altered by the affix -an.

The root daig 'to burn' seems to pattern the same way:

eg=daig=en ku si Bunged 'I'll burn Bunged
NO=burn=OF I DET Bunged (with a coal).'

eg=daig=en di sa kuden tanà magtu pelâ 'She'll bake the
 NO=burn=OF she DET pot earth new still newly made earthen-
 ware pot.'

b=in=ael=an
make=PR=___=RF

Again the subject of the second sentence can scarcely be a location, nor can it be a goal, unless the meaning of the root is altered by the addition of -an.

The root temeg may, however, be used in an unambiguously third-party location-subject construction:

eg=temeg=an ku apuy sa pesu tued, ani 'I'll set a fire in
 NR=burn=RF I fire DET base stump so.that the stump to kill it.'

egke=matay
 INO=die

Group 2 roots, which do not combine with <-en> or <i->

With group 2 roots, <-an> substitutes for <-en> indicating a simple goal-subject in a two-party construction. The subject is usually a person.

angat=an ku pa kuna 'I'll wait for you.
 wait=FR I still you

eg=bulig=an da aken 'They are helping me.'
 NR=angry=RF they me

b=in=ulit=an ku kagda 'I was angry with
angry=PR=___=RF I them them.'

si Papi, eg=unung=unung=an di kuna 'Puppy is watching
 DET Puppy NR=watch=watch=RF he you you intently.'

eg=telaki=yan ku kagda 'I'll tell them a
 NR=folk.tale=RF I them folktale.'

eg=lenawen=an da kita 'They speak Moro to
 NR=Moro=RF they us us.'

An inanimate subject is indicated with the root bael 'to make/build':

eg=bael=an ké sa dalesan 'We are building a
 NR=make=RF we DET house house.'

This same root with -an, unlike the other roots, may indicate an instrument-subject (see sec. 1.1.5.3).

kopoh, ngingi b=in=ael=an di dalesan 'The spider, it
 spider saliva build=PR=___-RF it house builds a house with
 saliva.'

A group of roots indicating direct address enter into similar goal-subject constructions with <-an> though some of them also combine with <-en> to indicate another form of goal-subject. With -an the subject is a person, the addressee. The tendency of <-an> to indicate location is indicated in the associated question or command.

eg=igsa=an ku sa etaw; miling si Kaldon 'I ask a person, like
 NR=ask=RF I DET person like DET Kaldon Kaldon, if he is going
 anywhere.'

eg=igsa=an ku amuk duen eg=angay=an
 NR=ask=RF I if there.is NR=go=RF

di in=lkagi=yan ku sa etaw, kedu=wan ko 'I asked the man,
 he PR=ask=RF I DET person from=PR you "Where have you come
 from?"'

ya eg=sugu=an ku sidò etaw ani 'I tell the person to
 PRT NR=order=RF I that person so.that come here.'

eg=angay dini
 NA=go here

Group 3 Roots, Which Combine with <i-> But Not with <-en>

A subdivision must be made within group 3 roots according to the function of the affix set <i-> with the particular root.

To the first subdivision belong the roots hated, tugkes, begay, and others. When these roots enter into combination with <i->, the subject is the goal of the sentence. <i-> evidently substitutes for the affix set <-en>, with which these roots do not combine.

duen ma ig=begay ku si Atudan, 'The thing I gave
 there.is also PI=give I DET Atudan Atudan was a T-shirt.'

kamasita
 T-shirt

sini saging i=hated ku si Kaut 'I'll take these
 these banana NI=take I DET Kaut bananas to Kaut.'

i=tagkes ku sa kudà
NI=tether I DET horse

'I'll tether the
horse.'

These and similar roots with <i-> indicate a third-party goal-subject construction in which a definite third party is implied even though it may not be explicitly indicated. The subject is a nonperson.

When these roots combine with -an, the third party becomes the subject (a location or recipient, etc.).

begay=an ku si Atudan sempek
give=FR I DET Atudan shorts

'I'll give Atudan a
pair of shorts.'

eg=hated=an ku saging si Kaut
NR=take=RF I banana DET Kaut

'I'll take the
bananas to Kaut.'

sidò tued eg=tagkes=an ku kudà
that stump NR=tie=RF I horse

'I'll tie the horse
to that stump.'

It should be noted, however, that tagkes may enter into a totally different -an construction:

eg=tagkes=an ku sa palay
NR=tie=RF I DET rice

'I bind the rice.'

The exact translation is not certain but concerns the binding of rice at harvest. The affix -an substitutes for the affix set <-en> to produce a simple goal-subject construction implying no third party.

To the second subdivision of group 3 roots belongs the root bayad 'to pay for goods'. This root does not enter into simple goal-subject constructions with the affix <i->. With -an it commonly enters into third-party goal-subject constructions in which the recipient of the payment may or may not be indicated.

bayad=an ku sa utang ku diyà keniko
pay=FR I DET debt my to you

'I'll pay up my debt
to you.'

eg=bayad=an ku sa manuk diyà si Mundi
NR=pay=RF I DET chick to DET Mundi

'I'll pay Mundi for
his chick.'

eg=bayad=an ku kuna
NR=pay=RF I you

'I'll pay you.'

1.1.4.1 Benefaction

Most roots, irrespective of the particular group to which they belong, enter into beneficiary-subject -an constructions. In these the agent performs an action for the benefit of another party, usually a person, sometimes an animal.

eg=tueges=an ku kuna uton
NR=catch=RF I you fish

'I'll catch fish for you.'

eg=tudak=an da kami katilà
NR=plant=RF they us swt.potato

'They'll plant the sweet potato for us.'

kuwa=an ku tamuk emà ku diyà
get=FR I item father my from

'I'll get trade items for my father from you.'

keniko
you

eg=edup=an di kuna wayeg
NR=heat=RF he you water

'He'll heat the water for you.'

eg=sulu=an ku kuna
NR=light=RF I you

'I'll light the way for you.'

eg=lagbet=an ku me=plon kaenen di sa
NR=look=RF I ADJ=good food his

'I am looking for good food for the horse.'

kudà
horse

With some roots a beneficiary may not occur except as the subject of an -an construction.

eg=tudak=an ku kuna katilà diyà sa
NR=plant=RF I you swt.potato in DET

'I'll plant sweet potato for you in my patch.'

pelusak ku
patch my

eg=tudak=an ku diyà keniko sa pelusak
NR=plant=RF I for you DET patch

'I'll plant the sweet potato patch for you.'

Here -an does not seem to fit the usual usage and must be conditioned by the -an of keduwan.

1.1.4.3 Actor-subject and -an constructions

Most -an constructions can be recast in actor-subject form without any marked change in the meaning of the sentence.

eg=tudak=an ku katilâ sa pelusak ku 'I'll plant sweet
NR=plant=RF I swt.potato DET patch my potato in my patch.'

aken, t=um=udak a pelusak ku 'As for me, I'll plant
I plant=FA=___ I patch my (sweet potato) in my
patch.'

b=in=egay=an ku sempek si Atudan 'I gave Atudan a pair
give=PR=___=RF I shorts DET Atudan of shorts.'

m=egay a kawal si Atudan 'I will give Atudan a
FA=give I shirt DET Atudan shirt.'

eg=sukay=an ku kulta si Gebug 'I'll pay Gebug money
NR=pay=RF I money DET Gebug (if he works for me).'

s=um=ukay a kulta si Gebug 'I will pay Gebug
pay=FA=___ I money DET Gebug money.'

The subject of an -an construction (when it is a location or third-party person) if displaced to a nonsubject slot in actor-subject constructions may optionally be preceded by diyâ.

t=um=udak a diyâ sa pelusak ku 'I'll plant in my
plant=FA=___ I at DET patch my sweet potato patch.'

m=egay a kawal diyâ si Atudan 'I'll give Atudan a
FA=give I shirt to DET Atudan shirt.'

1.1.5 Constructions with <i->

There are three subgroups of i- constructions. (One has already been mentioned in connection with group 3 roots in sec. 1.1.4.).

1.1.5.1 <i-> indicating goal-subject

The following are examples in context of a large group of roots which do not combine with the affix set -en, but indicate goal-subject by the affix set i-:

i=tudak ku <u>sa</u> <u>katilà</u> NI=plant I DET swt.potato	'I'll plant the sweet potato.'
i=begay ku <u>sa</u> <u>kawal</u> diyà keniko NI=give I DET shirt to you	'I'll give you a shirt.'
**i=tagù ku dutu NI=put I there	'I'll put it there.'
<u>dawat</u> ig=tenà ku pen PI=down I	'I put the pen down.'
**agulé ig=hated i kawas dutu kenà di then PI=took swallow to place his	'Then the swallow took her to his house.'
ig=sanggat di <u>sa</u> <u>solok</u> PI=hang he DET basket	'He hung up the basket.'
i=taan di <u>sa</u> <u>bagting</u> NI=push.in he DET arrows	'He shoved the arrow (into the ground).'
i=lidung ku <u>sa</u> <u>kulta</u> NI=hide I DET money	'I'll hide the money.'
<u>kalinguwan</u> i=tagkes diyà kayu kalinguwan NI=tie to wood	'The <u>kalinguwan</u> will be tied on to wood.'
ig=tukid ku keniya <u>sa</u> <u>bunga't</u> <u>kayu</u> PI=distribute I you DET fruit=LIG tree	'I shared the fruit among you all.'

These sentences are not simple goal-subject constructions. A third party (a location or recipient, etc.) is usually implied or explicit. They may best be defined as third-party goal-subject constructions. The subject is generally inanimate or nonperson.

tudak	'to plant sweet potato in the ground'
begay	'to give something to someone'

tagu	'to place something in something'
tenà	'to lay something down on the ground'
hated	'to take something to someone'
sanggat	'to hang something on something'
taan	'to shove something into something'
lidung	'to hide something from someone'
tagkes	'to tie something to something'
tukid	'to give something to everyone'

1.1.5.2 <i-> indicating person subject; <en-> indicating inanimate subject

One group of roots combine with both <en-> and <i-> to indicate goal-subject. In the four examples found to date the subject of the <i-> constructions is inanimate, and the subject of the <en-> constructions is a person. This may not be significant, though in the absence of anything indicating the contrary there is good reason to regard it as significant. The case for such division of function of the affixes is further supported by the use of <i-> to indicate an instrument-subject (see sec. 1.1.5.3), which must always be inanimate. Further confirmation is found in the <pe-> active constructions to be dealt with later (sec. 1.4) where i- indicates inanimate subject and -en most commonly animate, though it may also indicate inanimate subject.

It should be noted that the subject of the verb constructions dealt with in the section on "group 3 roots which combine with <i-> but not <en->" (1.1.4) are usually inanimate or not a person. This is true of the great majority of roots in this class though a few may indicate a person subject. If, as seems to be the case with roots of this group, <i-> is substituting for <en->, it is to be expected that it would behave like <en-> in indicating both person and inanimate subject. The fact, however, that most of the subjects are inanimate even with these roots stresses the bias of <i-> towards inanimate subject.

b=in=uung	di aken	'He threw a stone at
throw=PO=	he me	me.' (He hit me.)

agulé ig=buung i	kenogon sa bukay beleg	'Then the maiden
then PI=throw DET	maiden DET white eel	threw the white eel
		away.'

umow=en da kuna	'They are calling you
call=FO they you	(to come, etc.).'

ngadan iya ig=umow ko	'What thing did you
what that PI=call you	call for?'

sa saging ig=sugù ku si Atudan	'I ordered Atudan to
DET bananas PI=order I DET Atudan	get bananas.'

si Atudan s=in-ugù da 'They ordered Atudan
DET Atudan order-PO=___ they (to get bananas).'

aken, endà duen lenawen ig=tulù ku 'As for me, I did not
I not there.is Moro PI=teach I teach (you) any Moro
dialect.'

eg=tulu=en di kita 'She is teaching us.'
NO=teach=OF she us

1.1.5.3 <i-> indicating instrument-subject

i- combines with many roots to indicate an instrument in subject slot.

sini pinsil i=sulat ku 'I'll write with this
this pencil NI=write I pencil.'

sini manuk i=bayad ku sak in=utang ku diyà 'I'll pay my
this fowl NI=pay I the PO=debt my to indebtedness to you
with a fowl.'

keniko
you

sa kesalaan i Kaldon i=tigtu di 'Kaldon will placate
DET fine DET Kaldon NI=put.right he Mama by his fine.'

si Mama
DET Mama

sidò kayu, p=in=e=tigdeg, ig=kuwa babuy 'That length of wood,
that wood PO=CA=___=stand PI=get pigs erected (over there),
was set up to catch
pigs.'

sini kulta i=sukay ku amuk duen 'I'll give this money
this money NI=pay I if there.is for payment if someone
will work for me.'

eg=galebek diyà kenak
NA=work for me

ngadan iya i=sulù ko 'What will you use to
what that NI=light you spotlight (the deer)?'

i=hiyup apuy sa lebuk
 NI=blow fire DET bamboo

'I use a bamboo cylinder to blow the fire.'

k=in=uwa di ma sa belagen; segulé
get=PO=___ he again DET rattan once

'Once more he got rattan; he split it only once.'

daa t=in=epi
 only split=PO=___

**i=polot di sa lungun busaw
 NI=tie he DET coffin spirit.being

'He tied up the hollow log coffin of the spirit with it.'

**Question: ngadan angay=an sini selagi
 what go=FR this drum

'Where is the drum being taken to?'

**Reply: i=sunggud ku sawa ku
 NI=bride.price I wife my

'I'm taking it to pay for my wife's bride price with it.'

It does not seem possible for an instrument-subject construction to be cast in actor-subject form, but it may be cast in goal-subject form.

Example of instrument-subject:

sini kelu i=tayagpes ku diyà sa me=doo
 this bolo NI=clear I in DET ADJ=many

'I'll use this bolo to clear up the many weeds in my farm clearing.'

mebenes diyà tinibah ku
 weeds in clearing my

Example of goal-subject:

t=in=ayagpes ku tabas sa me=doo mebenes
clear=PO=___ I tabas DET ADJ=many weeds

'I cleared the pile of weeds with a tabas (long bolo).'

1.1.6 bael, a special case

The root bael 'make' does not combine with either <-en> or <i->. Some utterances have been recorded in which instrument seemed to be indicated by -an.

tumbaga b=in=ael=an da selagi
copper make=PR=___=RF they drum

'They used copper to
make the drum.'

ngingi b=in=ael=an di dalesan
saliva make=PR=___=RF he house

'It (spider) made its
house from saliva.'

b=in=ael=an kuden sa tanà
make=PR=___=RF pot DET earth

'The pot was made
from earth.'

1.1.7 Summary of active verbal constructions

There is a major structural division between <-um-> actor-subject constructions on the one hand and non-actor-subject constructions on the other. This difference may be expressed by calling the former constructions a keniko constructions after such typical expression as:

h=um=aa a keniko
see=FA=___ I you

'I would like to watch
you.'

Non-actor-subject constructions are referred to as ku kuna constructions after such typical expressions as:

h=in=aa ku kuna
see=PO=___ I you

'I saw you.'

All roots may occur in <-um-> constructions either intransitively or as transitive a keniko constructions. Actor-subject constructions tend to be single-party intransitive constructions, in which the significant relationship ties the subject to the verb as an actor.

Should the significant relationship be established between the verb and an other-than-actor substantive, the verb root associates with an affix of the non-actor-subject series. All such constructions fall under the heading of non-actor-subject constructions. They are essentially two-party constructions presupposing both a subject and agent.

Within these constructions a distinction is commonly made between persons and nonpersons in subject slot. This distinction is made by a group of roots which combine with both <-en> and <i->, the former indicating person subject, the latter nonperson subject. The same distinction is very commonly made by the same affixes in active pe- constructions, to be dealt with later (sec. 1.4).

There are other roots that combine with both <i-> and <-en> in which this distinction is restricted to the former affix, <i-> indicating an inanimate instrument in subject slot, but <-en> permitting either person or inanimate thing in subject slot.

Should a root not combine with <-en>, the function of <-en> is usually taken over by <i->. This tends to bring a third party into the central sentence structure. The subject is the goal, as with <-en>, and is usually inanimate or a nonperson (e.g., horse). A third party is implied. It may be inanimate and indicate location, or it may be a person who is the recipient of the action, etc. This party is commonly brought into subject slot by the affix <-an>.

-an may also substitute for <-en> in goal-subject constructions, which are generally two party indicating a person subject. It may also indicate a person subject even with those roots which combine with <-en>. In such constructions the person (or sometimes animal) subject is the beneficiary of the action, the recipient of the goal.

1.2 Stative verbal constructions

Stative verbal constructions, which are labelled "involuntary" in the examples following Johnston (1975), are indicated by the affixes meke-, peke-, me-, and ke-. The last three are found in combination with affixes already identified as active verbal affixes, but they neutralize their active component. None of the affixes, however, are found in combination with the goal-subject affix -en.

A time-aspect contrast is made within meke- and me- by the replacement of m by n. This seems to be achieved by the infixation of -in- followed by the reduction of the initial mi (i.e., me- + -in- > mine- > ne-). This time-aspect contrast presumably parallels the contrast already mentioned under active verbal constructions. Time-aspect contrast is indicated in ke- forms by the actor-subject affixes mig- and -um-, though eg- is most commonly associated with ke-.

1.2.1 meke- constructions

A number of roots enter into combination with meke- that have not been found in combination with active verbal affixes. Such roots seem to be semantically stative in themselves, implying a state rather than an action.

neke=lowon <u>sidô</u> diyâ siya diisek IPA=longer that to the little	'That is longer than the short one.'
neke=tigdulas <u>a</u> IPA=skid I	'I skidded (on an object).'
neke=bulug <u>a</u> eg=angay sabun IPA=waste I NA=go soap	'I made a wasted trip for soap.'
neke=sugat sa ebâ ku sa <u>kayu</u> IPA=strike DET mouth my DET wood	'The wood struck my mouth.'

**meke=uma diyà palay
 IFA=reach to rice

'The bodies will be
 kept until rice
 harvest for burial.'

In none of the foregoing sentences is the action premeditated by the subject. Attention is drawn to the state of the subject or to the result of an action. The subject is always passively involved in the action and is never an actor.

With roots that may also enter into combination with active verbal affixes the stative nature of the constructions is not always so obvious.

amuk endà meke=tayagpes ké, bulit=an da 'If we do not clear
 if not IFA=clear we angry=FR they land they'll be angry
 with us.'

kami
 us

**iya pelà meke=gemow
 that just IFA=come.up

'He has just managed
 to get up (a dog
 trying to climb up
 into house).'

si Tom, meke=ipanaw da dé
 DET Tom IFA=travel they PRT

'Tom and the others,
 they are on their
 way.'

In these and similar sentences the emphasis is not so much on the action as the achievement of the action. Attention is drawn to a fact. This may best be indicated in English by the auxiliary has or have in, for example, "he has climbed up" and "they have gone."

A clear contrast between stative and active is made by the root iling 'like'.

Active examples:

eg=iling=an di Papi ya
 NR=imitate=RF she Puppy DET

'She is imitating
 Puppy.'

tugkeling eg=iling etaw
 tugkeling NA=imitate people

'The tugkeling bird
 imitates people.'

Stative examples:

neke=iling bekong keletiloy
 IPA=imitate bekong keletiloy

'The keletiloy is
 like a bekong lizard.'

me=doo etaw meke=iling sa linadu 'Many people have the
ADJ=many people IFA=imitate DET sickness same disease.'

An equally clear distinction is made by the root ledak 'to break down'.

Active example:

eg=ledak=en ku sa katilà 'I'll mash up the
NO=break.down=OF I DET swt.potato sweet potato.'

Stative example:

amuk utuh=en ta sa ihì uled, meke=ledak 'If we step on snake
if step=FR we DET urine snake IFA=rot urine, our feet will
rot.'

lisen ta
feet our

When an action is indicated by the verb, this action is not premeditated by the subject but is the result of some outside agent.

meke=buung sa batu ig=buung ku 'The stone I threw
IFA=throw DET stone PI=throw I ricocheted off.'

While the same root is used in both cases, the first open expression clearly indicates action set off by a party other than the subject.

Unpremeditated action is again indicated in the following use of the root hadek 'to smell'. Used in an active expression it implies a deliberate act of smelling. In the following utterance the action is by no means deliberate, since those who smell the busaw 'evil spirits' are said to die. They are said to smell the evil spirits because the odour envelops them.

meke=hadek ké nadeg busaw, me=matay ké 'If we should smell
IFA=smell we odour spirit IFO=die we the spirit we would
die.'

Ability, inherent quality, or timeless fact is commonly indicated by meke-.

Example of ability:

endà meke=layang di ka pulung tukééy 'It can't fly because
not IFO=fly it as so little it is so little.'

Example of inherent quality:

<u>meke</u> =hilu	<u>sidò dalem di, sobuy</u>	'The inside of the
IFA=intoxicate	that inside it sobuy	<u>sobuy</u> gourd is
		intoxicating.'

Example of timeless fact:

amuk endà duen	ngingi, endà <u>meke</u> =kaen	'If we had no saliva
if not there.is	saliva not IFA=eat	we would not be able
		to eat.'
<u>ki</u>		
we		

meke- is found in both transitive a keniko constructions and intransitive constructions referred to as a+ constructions. It has been found only once in a ku kuna construction. [The meke- affixes are used with both actor/agent/experiencer focus and instrument focus; see Table 2 in Johnston 1975. R.E.]

duen	<u>me</u> =doo	<u>tamuk</u> <u>meke</u> =begay ta sa	'We have to give many
there.is	ADJ=many	<u>tamuk</u> IFI=give we DET	trade items to the
			father of the girl (if
emà	bayi		our son marries).'
father	girl		

1.2.2 peke- constructions

peke- constructions closely parallel meke- constructions. All roots that combine with meke- may also combine with peke-.

Although peke- commonly occurs with eg-, it must be classified with stative affixes. It does not combine with any of the other active verb affixes. Constructions into which it enters are semantically stative rather than active. It seems to indicate ability more often than meke-. This would seem to be its main role. It may, however, indicate ability, achieved fact, inherent quality, or timeless fact.

Examples of ability:

endà egpeke=angay <u>di</u> diatas	'He could not go to
not INA=go he top	the top.'

endà egpeke=enaw <u>di</u> , ka dakel buneg di	'He could not rise
not INA=rise he as big goiter his	because his goiter was
	large.'

endà egpeke=bohol <u>a</u>	'I can't understand
not INA=understand I	it.'

endà dé egpeke=bigkat di 'He cannot walk.' (His
not PRT INA=walk he foot is infected.)

endà egpeke=begay a keniko timus, enù 'I can't give you
not INA=give I you salt because salt as there is
none.'

ka endà dé duen di
RP not PRT there.is it

Examples of achieved fact:

**endà pa egpeke=temeg 'It has not been
not yet INA=light lighted yet.'

endà egpeke=piedigus sini batà 'This child should
not INA=wash this child not be washed (should
he?).'

agulé buyu dé peke=uma sa busaw 'The spirits had
then almost PRT INA=reach DET spirits nearly reached there.'

Example of inherent quality:

endà egpeke=hilu di 'It is not
not INA=intoxicate it intoxicating.'

Examples of timeless fact:

iya maendiya egpeke=haa ké linadu 'That is how we
this reason INA=see we disease become sick.' (That is
how we see the
disease.)

siya wé tugnus peke=buung diyà 'The evening breeze
that DEM evening.breeze INA=throw to hurls itself into the
sea and passes over
(our house).' (Our
house is sheltered
from the wind under
the crest of a hill.)

peke- is found most commonly with intransitive a+ or a keniko transitive constructions. It has been found only twice in a ku kuna construction.

me=malà a keniko endà duen
 IFO=ashamed I you not there.is

'I am ashamed to see
 you, since I have
 given you nothing.'

peke=begay ku keniko
 INI=give I you

egpeke=lapeg ku kuna eg=polot
 INI=together I you NA=tie

'I have tied you up
 together (with the
 post).'

(This last example was said when someone had been accidentally caught up by the rope while it was being wound around a post.)

1.2.3 me- and ke- stative constructions

me- and ke- stative constructions will be treated together since they enter into structurally parallel constructions. Roots that enter into combination with these affixes divide into three fairly clearly defined groups. The one group enters into a keniko constructions, the other into ku kuna constructions, and the third into a+ constructions.

The first group of roots have not been found in active constructions and are inherently stative. The second group of roots commonly occur in active constructions and may be inherently active.

The primary division between a keniko and ku kuna constructions has already been noted for active verbal expressions. Where the same root enters into both, one is usually a simple structural reversal of the other, the semantic difference being a minor feature of the contrast.

This primary division is evidently an important feature of the total language structure, since it appears again in stative constructions with inherently stative roots.

Group 1 Roots

memalà a keniko 'I am ashamed to you'
 egkemalaan ku kuna
 ashamed I you

mebukul a keniko 'I am sad for you'
 mebukulan ku kuna
 sad I you

egkebukul a keniko 'I am sad for you'
 egkebukulan ku kuna
 sad I you

melimedang a keniko 'I am afraid of you'
 afraid I you

egkelimedangan ku kuna 'they were afraid of me'
 nelimedangan da dé aken
 afraid they PRT me

mebugâ a keniko 'I long to see you'
 mebugaan ku kuna
 egkebugaan ku kuna
 miss I you

egkebayat a keniko 'I have to laugh at you'
 egkebayatan ku kuna
 laugh I you

melepaya a keniko 'you are new to me'
 melepayan ku kuna
 new I you

mehidu a keniko 'I love you'
 mehiduwan ku kuna
 love I you

egkelepaya a keniko 'you are new to me'
 egkelepayan ku kuna
 new I you

Judging by native speaker reaction, the a keniko and ku kuna forms with the same root are simple structural variants and semantically identical.

All the above roots refer to the emotions, which tends to confirm the fact that they are inherently stative.

It is interesting to recall that some active roots that enter into two-party goal-subject constructions do not enter into two-party transitive actor-subject constructions but are primarily or exclusively intransitive in actor-subject constructions. This is paralleled by roots which are inherently stative.

The roots lipeng 'to forget' and tiig 'to know' have been found only in stative constructions.

ne=lipeng=an ku sak d=in=ineg ku 'I forgot what I
 IPR=forget=RF I DET hear=PO= I heard.'

kuna me=tiig=an ko dé siya in=ikagi ku 'You know what I said
 you IFR=know=RF you PRT that PO=say I to you last night.'

egoh sigep
 time night

endâ me=tiig=an ké imatay ungeh 'We don't know how to
 not IFR=know=RF we kill rat kill rats.'

These roots do not enter into a keniko constructions, only into constructions bearing a structural similarity to intransitive actor-subject constructions.

me=tiig a doo 'Yes, I understand.'
IFO=know I PRT

ne=lipeng a 'I forgot.'
IPO=forget I

These two expressions may, however, be expanded into a keniko constructions by the addition of a secondary transitive active verb expression.

me=tiig a eg=kuwa't ungeh 'I know how to catch
IFO=know I NA=get rat rats.'

ne=lipeng a eg=uwit manuk 'I forgot to bring
IPO=forget I NA=bring bird the bird.'

It would appear that -an functions with stative roots after the manner of -en with active roots.

The parallel between active and stative a keniko constructions is mostly structural. With active constructions the subject is unambiguously the actor. With stative constructions the subject is passively related to the verb. This is particularly apparent with roots that refer to the emotions. With such roots the nonsubject keniko item is the active party giving rise to the emotion of the subject.

There is an interesting deviation from the norm with a very small group of roots of this class. With other roots, active or stative, -an is invariably associated with ku kuna constructions. With this subgroup -an may associate with a keniko constructions.

egke=mala=an a keniko 'I am ashamed to be
INR=shame=RF I you seen by you.'

egke=limedang=an a keniko 'I am afraid of you.'
INR=afraid=RF I you

ne=magtu=an a keniko 'You are new to me.'
IPR=new=RF I you

egke=magtu=an a keniko 'You are new to me.'
INR=new=RF I you

egke=dilung=an a keniko 'You block my view.'
INR=hide=RF I you

In these the subject is undoubtedly passively related to the verb expression, but some measure of initiative would appear to lie with the subject. This is brought out by the following utterance:

éhé sidò dalesan, amuk me=doo etaw	'For instance, that
e.g. that house if ADJ=many people	house, if there are
	many people there and
dutu amuk endà duen sempek oy	I have no trousers or
there if not there is shorts or	shirt, I would be
	ashamed to be seen by
kawal ku egke=mala=an a kenagda	them.'
shirt my INR=ashamed=RF I them	

In this the embarrassment is a result of the subject's condition, though undoubtedly conditioned by the presence of the second party. This distinguishes it semantically from the more usual stative a keniko constructions not associated with -an, in which the emotions of the subject are presumably stimulated entirely by the activity or condition of the second party.

The expression egkedilungan a keniko has been found in contrast with egkedilungan ku kuna. In this case the contrast is both structural and semantic and indicates the interesting active-yet-passive role of the subject in the a keniko construction, as against the entirely passive nature of the subject in the ku kuna construction.

egke=dilung=an ko aken, iya maen di ya	'You prevent my being
INR=obscure=RF you me the reason its	seen (I have been
	hidden blocked from
**endà eg=hau=wen di duu aken	his sight by you) so
not NO=see=OF he NEG me	he cannot see me.'
egke=dilung=an a keniko iya maen di ya	'You block my view (I
INR=obscure=RF I you that reason it	have been blocked out
	of sight by you) so
**endà eg=hau=wen ku duu	I can't see him.'
not NO=see=OF I NEG	

Group 2 roots

Roots that occur in active constructions have not yet been found in a keniko stative constructions and presumably may not occur in this form. They commonly enter into ku kuna constructions, which are essentially two-party constructions with subject and agent. In active constructions the agent is the active participant or performer of the action. In stative ku kuna constructions the agent, while it undoubtedly performs the action implied by the verb root, is not always the prime mover or controller of the action. Even where the agent is the prime mover, the total construction refers to the state following the action rather than the action itself.

me=haa ta sa linadu
 IFO=see we DET sickness

'We saw the disease.'
 (caught the sickness)

The Manobos believe that certain diseases are supernaturally inflicted. As far as can be determined the person so infected must first have seen something which causes the sickness. It is obvious from this that the agent of the above construction would not be looking for such a thing but would only see it if the thing unavoidably came into view. In a sense, the initiative lies with the subject.

endà egke=bekad ku duu sa sagpeng
 not INO=remove I NEG DET lid

'I can't remove the lid.'

In this utterance the initiative would again appear to lie with the subject. The lid is so firmly fixed that it will not yield. The sentence could better be translated, "The lid will not yield to me."

The essentially stative nature of the construction is indicated by the idiom nekuwa di aken 'He's got me' (I can't answer him).

In active constructions the root kuwa means to 'take/catch':

endà ne=kuwa ku duu
 not IPO=catch I NEG

'I was not able to catch it.' (The bird eluded me.)

In this utterance kuwa carries its active meaning, but the initiative would appear to lie partly with the subject.

me=uma ku sa saging
 IFO=reach I DET banana.tree

'I can reach the the banana tree.' (It is within my reach.)

egke=ambak kelamag sa kayu
 INO=collide wind DET tree

'The tree is jostled by the wind.'

egke=hagtay museng sa emal
 INO=live charcoal DET loris

'The loris can be kept alive by charcoal.'

egke=lagang ki apuy
 INO=scorch we fire

'We would be scorched by the fire.'

endà dé egke=tagped di siya kayu, ka endà
 not PRT INO=cut he the tree as not

'He could not cut the wood up because he had no bolo.'

duen gelay di
there.is bolo his

Most of the above utterances and others of like nature are parallel in structure with active goal-subject constructions and appear to be restricted to simple two-party constructions. There is a difference in meaning illustrated by the following contrasts which probably hold good for most of the other roots.

endà dé egke=tagped di sa kayu 'He could not cut the
not PRT INO=cut he DET wood wood.' (He had no
axe.)

endà t=in=agped di sa kayu 'He did not cut the
not cut=PO=___ he DET wood wood.'

egke=hagtay museng sa emal 'A loris can be kept
INO=live charcoal DET loris alive with charcoal.'
(It can be fed on
charcoal.)

eg=hagtay=en ku museng sa emal 'I am feeding the
NO=live=OF I charcoal DET loris loris with charcoal to
keep it alive.'

*eghagtayen museng sa emal is not permitted since an inanimate thing may not be the agent of an active verbal construction except as a supplementary agent to a person agent. It may be and commonly is the principal agent of stative constructions with me- and ke-.

The roots of this group have also been found in combination with -an in stative ku kuna constructions. The relationship between these and the previous ku kuna constructions is not clear, but they appear to be different, the -an construction approximating active goal-subject constructions more closely than the other.

amuk si Labu me=dapag=an di iya apuy 'When Labu would come
when DET Labu IFR=near=RF he that fire near to the fire (it
would move off).'

egke=salid=an da kagdi 'They left him
INR=leave=RF they him behind.'

egke=sukay=an di aken 'I have been paid by
INR=pay=RF he me him.'

egke=besék=én a
 INR=splash=RF I

'I have been splashed
 on.' (a reduced ku
kuna expression)

egke=tulik=an ku sa i=begay ko kenak
 INR=keep.tally=RF I DET NI=give you me

'I would keep count
 of the things you
 would give me.'

ne=legdaw=an kuleman sa
 IPR=light=RF pressure.lamp DET

'The room has been
 illuminated by the
 pressure lamp.'

luwang
 room.interior

With a few roots such constructions have been found in which the subject is an implied or explicit location, reminiscent of active -an constructions. [The a+ construction represents a clause consisting of the verb and one substantive as the subject (actor or experiencer) but no other substantive with an object or agent role.--R.E.]

egke=uma=an ku sidò kenà i Kumà
 INR=reach=RF I that place DET Kuma

'I got as far as the
 house of Kuma.'

me=telu=wan ké daa agdaw
 IFR=three=RF we only day

'We will stay only
 three days (at that
 place).'

Group 3 roots

Many roots enter into simple a+ constructions with me- and ke- involving a subject but no other substantive corresponding to the object of a keniko constructions or the agent of ku kuna constructions. [The a+ construction represents a clause consisting of the verb and one substantive as the subject (actor or experiencer) but no other substantive with an object or agent role. R.E.]

egke=genaw a
 INO=cold I

'I am cold.'
 (malarial chills)

egke=edup a
 INO=hot I

'I am hot.' (malarial
 fever)

egke=sakit sa pigsà
 INO=pain DET boil

'The boil is painful.'

me=begat sa etaw
 ADJ=heavy DET person

'The man is heavy.'

me=daet iya wé
ADJ=bad that DEM

'That is bad.'

The meaning of the prefixes in these expressions is best illustrated by contrast with the -an forms with the same roots.

ne=genaw=an danà di mig=angay dutu Kulaman 'He caught malaria
IPR=cold=RF by he PA=go to Kulaman from going to
Kulaman.'

egke=edup=an a't agdaw 'I am hot from being
INR=hot=RF I=LIG sun in the sun.'

ne=sakit=an ka, Umpit 'Have you been hurt,
IPR=pain=RF you Umpit Umpit?'

egke=begat=an siya dalesan 'The house was
INR=heavy=RF that house overweighted (and
collapsed).'

egke=daet=en sa kedungon 'The abaca has been
INO=bad=OF DET abaca knocked down.'

In a+ constructions ke- and me- indicate spontaneous or inherent state of activity. A boil is inherently painful, a person with malaria is presumably considered to develop his fevers and chills spontaneously, a person is inherently heavy, and an action may be inherently bad. -an introduces an outside factor responsible for the condition of the subject. A person catches malaria from living in a certain locality; a person becomes hot from being in the sun; a person feels pain if someone treads on his foot or has toothache; a house is overweighted when many people climb into it; a tree or machine becomes bad, useless, broken down when something is done to spoil or smash it.

A similar contrast exists between <-en> goal-subject constructions and a+ me- constructions. me- indicates spontaneous action; -en, the intervention of a person agent.

p=in=adeng ku sa palitaan
put.out=PO=___ I DET lantern

'I put out the lantern.'

ne=padeng sa palitaan
IPO=put.out DET lantern

'The lantern has gone out.'

t=in=epi ku sa kayu
split=PO=___ I DET wood

'I split the timber.'

ne=tepi sa kayu 'The timber is split.'
 IPO=split DET wood

The contrast between me- and <-en> does not always parallel the foregoing, for example:

s=in=agpeng ku sa latà 'I closed down the
 close=PO=___ I DET can lid of the tin.'

ne=sagpeng si Papi 'Puppy has been shut
 IPO=shut DET Puppy out.' (from the house)

But the me- form refers to the result of the action whereas the -en construction stresses the action.

These a+ constructions should not be confused with formally similar constructions which are a reduction of ku kuna constructions by the omission of the agent.

egke=dilek a 'I have been speared.'
 INO=spear, I (by someone, the agent being implied)

There are two forms of the prefix me-: me- and ne-. As far as can be determined the difference between these forms is a time factor, which parallels the time factor involved in the active verbal affixes. ne- indicates a past or achieved state, me- a present or future state.

ke- does not indicate time, but time may be indicated in a+ constructions when ke- combines with the <-um-> affix set:

segepalay pa k=um=e=dakel sini tuyang 'In a year's time this
 one.year yet DRV=PA=___=big this dog dog will become very big.'

mig=pelaguy sa langit egoh di 'The sky fled away at
 PA=flee DET sky time it the time it became very high.'

mig=ke=hagtaw
 PA=DRV=high

a+ constructions are the only constructions in which ke- has been found in combination with -um- and mig-. The stative function of ke- overrules the active function of -um- and mig- to produce a stative utterance.

1.2.4 Expanded ke- constructions

ke- has occasionally been found in constructions more expanded than those so far described. These constructions resemble in their complexity active constructions rather than stative. In one utterance, the only one of its kind recorded, ke- is found in combination with the affix ig- to produce a distinctly third-party construction.

<u>ig</u> =kehidu	ku	keniko	<u>sini</u>	<u>ig</u> =begay	ku		'The thing I gave you
PI=love	I	you	this	PI=give	I		was to show my
							affection for you.'

This example again stresses the essentially third-party role of the affix set <i-> and its consistent indication of nonperson subject.

<u>egke</u> =limun=an	ku	kelatas	<u>sa</u>	<u>dawat</u>			'I have covered the
INR=cover=RF	I	paper	DET	pen			pen with paper.'

This is a further example of an expanded ke- construction involving a supplementary agent.

1.2.5 ku kuna constructions

There are two slots common to all ku kuna constructions, active and stative. These slots have been defined as subject and agent slot respectively. Both slots may be filled by nouns.

<u>sini</u>	<u>atep</u>	me=sambi=an	libi				'This roof will be
this roof	IFR=replace=RF		libi				replaced with <u>libi</u>
							palm.'

<u>egke</u> =hagtay	museng	<u>sa</u>	<u>emal</u>				'The loris is kept
INO=live	charcoal	DET	loris				alive with charcoal.'

<u>egke</u> =ambak	kelamag	<u>sa</u>	<u>kayu</u>				'The tree is being
INO=collide	wind	DET	tree				jostled by the wind.'

dogo buyu	ne=uma't	apuy	<u>siya</u>	<u>dalesan</u>			'The house was very
near almost	IPO=reach	fire	the	house			nearly reached by the
							fire.'

<u>langun</u>	<u>sini</u>	<u>sugudsugud</u>	ne=sangkap	wayeg			'All these plains
all	these	plains	IPO=inundate	water			were inundated with
							water.'

The relationship of the item substituting in agent slot may occasionally be indicated overtly by danà.

ne=pelé	<u>a</u>	danà	keluwen				'I was soaked by the
IPO=wet	I	by	grass				(wet) grass.'

The subject noun may occur before or after the verb; but the agent noun, which must follow the verb, takes priority for position immediately following the verb. If the agent is overtly indicated by danà, it follows the subject.

A combination of a pronoun goal and noun agent in ku kuna constructions bears a formal similarity to a keniko constructions, which can be misleading.

egke=laep ki sa emà i Sida
INO=disturb we DET father DET Sida

'We have been disturbed by the singing of Sida's father.'

eg=duyuy
NA=sing

egke=bekol a agdaw
INO=dry.out I sun

'I have been dried out by the sun.'

eg=ikagi sa langit, egke=sugat a sa
NA=say DET sky INO=struck I DET

'The sky said, "I have been struck by the pounding stick."'

selu
pounding.stick

1.3 Verbal question constructions

Though most questions are expressed in equational form (see sec. 2.5), questions may be verbal constructions. In these the question particles function as close attributes of the open verbal expression, occurring sentence initially and taking as clitics those items normally following the verb.

nengan di m=angay dini
when he FA=go here

'When will he come here?'

nengan ko t=um=ulû kenami
when you teach=FA=___ us

'When will you teach us.'

nengan ko h=in=emued
when you bite=PO=___

'When were you bitten?'

kenà ko t=in=ebek
place you inject=PO=___

'Where were you injected?'

maen ko eg=angay dini
reason you NA=go here

'Why did you come here?'

ngadan has not been found in verbal constructions.

It should be noted that series 1 <a> pronouns never occur as clitics to the question particles. It seems that the series 2 ku pronouns substitute for the series 1 pronouns in this position.

kenà ko tinebek is presumably derived from kenà ka tinebek, ka being the subject of the verbal tinebek.

1.4 Active pe- constructions (causative constructions)

The prefix pe- combines with the four active affix sets already dealt with. In general the use of this prefix implies the intervention of a party who does not perform the action stated in the verb root, but who sets the action in motion.

1.4.1 egpe- Constructions

<u>si</u> <u>ema</u> <u>eg=eked</u> <u>eg=pe=tebek</u>	'Father dislikes being injected.'
DET Father NA=dislike NA=CA=inject	(Father refused to be injected.)

<u>m=eked</u> <u>a</u> <u>eg=pe=sabà</u>	'I dislike being held.' (I avoided being caught.)
FA=dislike I NA=CA=hold	

In these and similar sentences the subject of the major nuclear verb stands in the relation of an object to the minor verb. The actor of the minor verb is an implied second party.

A similar relationship is implied in the following sentences with a single verb. The second party performs the action reflecting back on the subject who initiates the action.

<u>pe=bulung</u> <u>a</u> <u>kenagda</u>	'I will get them to give me medicine.'
CA=medicine I them	(I will get them to medicine me.)

<u>eg=pe=baba</u> <u>a</u> <u>keniko</u>	'I'll get you to carry me.'
NA=CA=carry.on.back I you	

<u>eg=angay</u> <u>a</u> <u>eg=pe=tebek</u> <u>keniko</u>	'I am going to get you to inject me.'
NA=go I NA=CA=inject you	

<u>eg=pe=gudgud</u> <u>a</u> <u>keniko</u>	'I get you to rub me down.'
NA=CA=rub.down I you	

The action, however, does not reflect back in quite this manner in third-party constructions.

eg=pe=uwit a surat keniko
NA=CA=take I letter you

'I get you to take a letter for me.'

pe=kuwa a kayu kenagdi
CA=get I wood him

'I get him to get wood for me.'

In the foregoing sentences the goal obligatorily precedes the performer of the action. The subject initiator becomes the beneficiary of the action. This was confirmed by the language helper, who equated the following two sentences (the second being the command form of a beneficiary -an construction):

pe=kuwa a kayu keniko
CA=get I wood you

'Get wood for me.'

kuwa=i ko pa aken kayu
get=IMP you PRT me wood

'Get wood for me.'

Another construction is involved in the following sentences, in which (especially in the second, third, fifth, and sixth) the subject is clearly the object of its own action. The constructions in these sentences correspond fairly closely to the English reflexive.

**1. eg=pe=belabag diyà sebang
NA=CA=straddle at river.mouth

'It (the crocodile) straddles the river mouth.'

2. takà eg=pe=baluk awang dò sa
constantly NA=CA=throw air LOC DET

'The porpoises constantly throw themselves into the air.'

embung
porpoise

3. eg=pe=hagtaw sa dalit
NA=CA=high DET eagle

'The eagle lifts itself in flight.'

4. eg=pe=belagtay ki diyà me=doo buluh
NA=CA=lie.over we on ADJ=many floor

'We stretch ourselves over the numerous floor bearers.'

5. eg=pe=batung sa emal
NA=CA=lift DET loris

'The loris hauls itself up.'

6. eg-pe-tuntun sa kopoh 'The spider lowers
 NA=CA=lower DET spider himself (by his
 thread).'

In more obscure cases it is assumed that the same interpretation holds:

- si Papi eg=pelaway 'Puppy leapt down.'
 DET Puppy NA=jump (hurled himself after
 another dog)

A somewhat parallel construction is seen in the following expression in which the action of the subject reflects back on the subject and an object indicating the resulting state is added.

- mig-pe=baluy bituen telu sa 'The first man turned
 PA=CA=possible star three DET himself into (became)
 the three stars
muna etaw constellation.'
 first person

egpe- constructions may also be formed with stative roots to indicate a state of the subject actively conditioned by the subject as in the following example, which closely parallels the preceding one.

- amuk aken mig-pe=daet dutu, endà 'If I had been bad
 if I PA=CA=bad there not there, I would not go
 there (for fear of
meke=angay a dutu revenge).'
 IFA=go I there

In all the pe- constructions dealt with so far the reflexive element seems to be a common feature. This is not the case in such expressions as:

- eg-pe=delug a owong 'I slide the canoe
 NA=CA=slide I canoe along.'
eg-pe=sawa a sa anak ku 'I marry my child
 NA=CA=marry I DET child my off.'

In these cases, especially the first, the action in no way reflects back on the subject. The action implied by the verb root is, however, performed by something or someone as a result of intervention by another initiating party, the subject. If the canoe were to slide spontaneously, the expression would be dumelug sa owong.

pe- also enters into constructions with the affix series <-en>, <-an>, and <i->.

With many roots there is a clear distinction of function between the various combinations.

uwit 'bring/take':

eg=pe=uwit=en ku kuna sulat dutu dagat 'I'll get you to take
 NA=CA=take=OF I you letter to sea a letter to the coast
 for me.'
 d0
 LOC

ig=pe=uwit ku keniko sa begas dutu Kaut 'I'll get you to take
 PI=CA=take I you DET rice to Kaut some rice to Kaut.'
 d0
 LOC

si Kaut p=in=e=uwit=an ku sa timus 'I sent salt to Kaut
 DET Kaut CA=PR=___=bring=RF I DET salt by Mundi.'
 diyà si Mundi.
 to DET Mundi

kuwa 'get':

eg=pe=kuwa a kayu keniko 'I want you to get
 NA=CA=get I wood you wood for me.'

eg=pe=kuwa=en ku kuna kayu 'I'll get you to get
 NA=CA=get=OF I you wood wood for me.'

ig=pe=kuwa ku keniko sa felaselait 'I got you to get me
 PI=CA=get I you DET torch the flashlight.'

With these and roots of equal transitivity the performer of the action (as distinct from the agent who requests or initiates the action) is brought into the subject slot by the affix <-en>. The ultimate goal of the action (generally a nonperson) is brought into the subject slot by the affix set <i->. If the action is performed for the benefit of some party other than the initiator of the action, this new party may be brought into the subject role by the affix set -an.

With roots that are transitive in simple actor-subject constructions, <pe- -en> and <ipe-> produce three-party constructions involving an initiating agent, an intermediate third party who performs the action implied by the verb root, and a second party which is the ultimate goal of the action. With -en the intermediate party becomes the subject of a transitive expression. With i- the ultimate goal becomes the subject.

-an used with certain roots produces a four-party construction in which the intermediate party performs an action for the benefit of the fourth party.

1.4.2 pe- constructions with <-en>

With stative roots and roots that are intransitive in actor-subject constructions, <-an> produces a simple two-party construction with no intermediate party. (Stative roots are those which enter into a+ constructions with me-, never into ku kuna constructions with me-, including all those roots which function as simple descriptives of noun, either as free roots or prefixed by me-.) The first-party agent performs the action. The second party, which fills the subject slot, bears the same relationship to the verb that the subject of the equivalent simple actor-subject construction or stative construction bears to its verb. If the verb root of the pe- construction is an active root, the subject functions as the performer of the action. If the verb root of the pe- construction is stative, the subject equates with the quality or state indicated by the root. There is no ultimate goal of the action, which is essentially intransitive. In all cases, however, the subject is the goal of the activity of the first-party agent.

eg=pe=diisek=en ku sa keugpit ku belagen 'I cut the rattan
NA=CA=little=OF I DET pare I rattan down fine.'

diisek sini belagen 'This rattan is
little this rattan small.'

eg=pe=hapun=en da sa manuk 'They are putting the
NA=CA=roost=OF they DET hen hens up to roost.'

h=um=apun dé sa manuk 'The hens will
roost=FA= PRT DET hen roost.'

amuk tali eg=pe=item=en, endà me=bugtus 'If the rope is
if rope NA=CA=black=OF not IFO=break blackened, it will not
break.'

di
it

me=item iya wé tali 'That rope is black.'
ADJ=black that DEM rope

endà eg=pe=susu=wen di sa anak di, ka 'She won't let her
not NA=CA=suck=OF she DET child her as offspring suck since
she has just given
birth (to them).'

magtu pelà eg=anak
new still NA=born

s=um=usu sa anak di
suck=FA=___ DET child her

'Her offspring will
suck.'

eg=pe=angay=en ku dini lima kedoo etaw
NO=CA=go=OF I there five number people

'I'll send five
people here.'

um=angay a dutu dagat dō
FA=go I to sea LOC

'I am going to the
coast.'

eg=pe=delug=en ku sa owong
NO=CA=slide=OF I DET canoe

'I'll slide the canoe
(down to the sea).'

d=um=elug sa owong
slide=FA=___ DET canoe

'The canoe is sliding
(of its own accord).'

<pe- -en> associates most commonly with stative or intransitive active roots to produce simple two-party constructions.

1.4.3 pe- constructions with <i->

<ipe-> is most commonly associated with roots that are transitive in actor-subject constructions. This produces three-party constructions with an initiator, performer of the action, and ultimate goal. The goal always fills subject slot.

ig=pe=ipat di dema dutu sidō
PI=CA=care.for she again to that

'She will hand over
her necklaces to her
young sister.'

hadi di sa betikel
young.sibling her DET necklace

ig=pe=lengon ku eg=pe=kuwa keniko sa
PI=CA=all I NA=CA=get you DET

'I got you to get all
the bamboo (I need-
ed).'

lebuk
bamboo

ig=pe=lomō di kenaken Papi ya
PI=CA=feed he me Puppy DET

'He got me to feed
Puppy (during his
absence).'

ig=pe=gatuk di kenaken
PI=CA=name she me

'She got me to name
it.'

duen me=doo kayu ig=pe=kedan di
there.is ADJ=many wood PI=CA=remove he

'He got me to move a
lot of wood.'

kenaken
me

i=pe=baba di kenaken sa batà, amuk
NI=CA=carry she me DET child if

'She will give me the
baby to carry if we go
walking.'

m=ipanaw ké
FA=walk we

The intermediate performer of the action is not always explicit.

**endà i=pe=sagbay ku i duu
not NI=CA=borrow I PRT NEG

'I will not let anyone
borrow it.'

<ipe-> may combine with stative roots. But whereas <egpe- -en> with stative roots always produces a two-party construction with no intermediate performer, <ipe-> generally produces a three-party construction with an implied or explicit intermediate performer of the action.

i=pe=diisek ku kenagdi sa belagen
NI=CA=little I him DET rattan

'I'll get him to cut
the rattan down fine.'

<ipe-> may, however, combine with a stative root to produce a two-party construction with no intermediate party. Only one example of this type has been found:

endà ig=pe=sugat di diyà sidò ig=sekeg
not PI=CA=strike it to that brace

'It (the nail) was
not driven into the
brace.'

Where <en> combines with a stative root, the subject of the <pe- -en> construction equates with the root. In the preceding <ipe-> example it is the nonsubject which equates with the root, as seen from the following usage of the root sugat:

eg=tilò a, anì endà me=sugat a
NA=dodge I so.that not IFO=strike I

'I dodge so that I
will not be hit.'

<ipe-> has also been found (but only occasionally) with intransitive active roots to produce two-party constructions. A distinction can again be made between <pe- -en> and <ipe-> two-party constructions. In the former the subject becomes the actor with reference to the verb root. With the latter the subject may not function as the actor of the same root used in simple actor-subject constructions.

ig=pe=liyu di sa belad di
PI=CA=behind he DET hands his

'He put his hands
behind his back.'

ig=pe=tugkolò ku diyà iyug i Papi sa
PI=CA=perch you on back DET Puppy DET

'You perched the form
on Puppy's back.'

bauku
form

liyu 'go behind/outside' and tugkolò 'to perch (on a drum, etc.)' require active subjects when used in simple actor-subject constructions.

As with simple active constructions <i-> may be used with pe- to indicate inanimate instrument-subject.

amuk tali eg=pe=item=en endà me=bugtus di
if rope NO=CA=black=OF not IFO=break it

'If the rope is
blackened, it will not
break.'

Question: ngadan ig=pe=item
what PI=CA=black

'What was used to
blacken it?'

Reply: tudi
tree.wax

'Tree wax.'

1.4.4 pe- constructions with -an

While <pe- -an> may enter into constructions indicating beneficiary-subject, it is more commonly found in constructions which appear to be two-party goal-subject with no intermediate actor. The construction may, however, indicate location, either in the subject or by implication in the total sentence structure.

Simple goal-subject

eg=petuyuh=an di kiyu
NR=watch=RF he you

'It (the snake) is
keeping you under
observation.'

eg=pe=duwa=an ku eg=saba sa bubun ku
NR=CA=two=RF I NA=hold DET thigh my

'I am holding my
thigh with both
hands.'

p=in=e=gilu=wan i Malayu Balut ta
CA=PR=___=orphan=RF DET Malayu Balut DET

'Balut was adopted by
Malayu.'

eg=pe=unut=an da siya timul
NR=CA=accompany=RF they the south.wind

'They are following
up the south wind.'
(in the canoe)

Question: kedu=wan ini kudà
from=FR this horse

'Where did this horse
come from?'

Reply: **p=in=e=sunggud=an i
CA=PR=___=bride.price=RF DET

'It was obtained as
a bride price item
by Mama for Gotun
(his daughter).'

Mama diyà si Gotun
Mama for DET Gotun

eg=pe=legdaw=an ku sini luwang
NR=CA=light=RF I this room

'I'll light up the
room.'

Location implied (-an indicating location)

Question: kenà i Palul
place Palul

'Where is Palul?'

Reply: **p=in=e=sugu=an sidò amelikano
**PR=CA=___=order=RF that American

'He has just been
told to come here by
the American.'

Location-subject

sidò Melatunol eg=pe=sawa=an ku sa
that Melatunol NR=CA=marry=RF I DET

'I married my sister
off at Melatunol.'

tebay ku
sister my

<pe- -an> may also combine with stative roots to produce two-party goal-subject constructions.

si Mali, p=in=e=poko=on di sa lisen
DET Marie PR=CA=___=short=RF she DET leg

'Marie shortened the
trouser legs.'

seluwel
trouser

1.4.5 Summary of pe- constructions

pe- functions for the most part to produce three-party constructions but may commonly be used with stative or intransitive roots to produce transitive constructions.

The active affixes with which pe- combines behave in much the same way as they do in simple active constructions. The non-actor-subject affix sets <-en>, <i->, and -an most commonly indicate goal-subject. This parallels the situation in simple active constructions where <-en> most commonly

indicates goal-subject, though <i-> especially, and <-an> less commonly, may substitute for <-en> to indicate goal-subject.

pe- goal-subject constructions with <-en> differ from goal constructions with <i->. This difference again parallels the situation in simple active constructions, where <-en> generally indicates two-party constructions, and <i> (for the most part) three-party goal-subject constructions.

The more specific functions of <-an> and <i-> are again apparent in pe-constructions. In a few cases <-an> may indicate beneficiary-subject or imply a location. <i-> may occasionally indicate instrument-subject.

1.5 b and p class verbs

There is a subclass of active verbs that includes all roots beginning with the three bilabial consonants b, p, and m. Roots with initial p or b when they combine with the infix <-um-> uniformly take the consonant m as their first phoneme. Two explanations are possible. These roots may not inflect the same as the other roots with <-um->, but merely change the first consonant to indicate the inflection, or <-um-> may be infixes as usual and the initial CV of the combination omitted.

maeg, egbaeg 'to wear a G-string'
 migkat, egbigkat 'to walk'
 mitiyala, egbitiyala 'to hold a meeting/discuss a dispute'
 magtang, egbagtang 'to fell (timber, etc.)'
 manà, egpanà 'to shoot an arrow'
 mipi, egpipi 'to wash (clothes)'
 mayad, egbayad 'to pay'

Roots with m initial do not take the infix <-um->:

mamà 'betel nut mixture'
 mamà <-um-> (actor-subject form) 'to chew betel nut'

The b and p forms of the root indicate command and occur with affixes other than <-um->.

mayad <u>a</u>	'I will pay ...'
bayad <u>ka</u>	'Pay up!'
bayadan ku <u>kuna</u>	'I'll pay you.'
ibegay ku <u>sa kawal</u>	'I'll give the shirt.'
egpanaen di <u>sa ubal</u>	'He shot a monkey.'

Roots with initial h may sometimes behave the same way:

angayen ku humaa <u>sa manuk</u>	--->	angayen ku maa sa manuk
go I see	DET	chicken

1.6 Reduced verbal constructions

An agent is always implied in active non-actor-subject and stative constructions, and is usually explicitly indicated. It may, however, be omitted to produce a reduced construction.

h=in=aa dé <u>sa</u> <u>tanà</u> <u>see</u> =PO=___ PRT DET earth	'The earth appeared.' (The earth was seen.)
(mi=iyap <u>a</u> doo) amuk begay= <u>an</u> <u>a</u> IFO=like I PRT if give=FR I	'(Yes, I would like it) if I am given it.'
eg=awang= <u>an</u> <u>sa</u> <u>tanà</u> NR=clear=RF DET land	'The land is being cleared.'
g=in=esaw= <u>an</u> <u>iya</u> <u>dalesan</u> <u>rafter</u> =PR=___=RF that house	'The house has been raftered.' (Rafters have been erected in the house.)
<u>bayi</u> b=in=ulung gona agdaw girl <u>medicines</u> =PO=___ other day	'The girl was treated with medicine the other day.'

Similar abbreviations occur with ke- and me- constructions.

egke=kuwa= <u>an</u> <u>a</u> INR=get=RF I	'I have been taken from.'
---	------------------------------

Certain of the unusual a keniko constructions into which me- and -an open expressions have been found to enter may be derived by reduction from double open expressions. This was suggested by such expressions as the following volunteered by the language helper:

egke=mala= <u>an</u> <u>a</u> eg=haa keniko INR=embarrass=RF I NA=see you	'I am embarrassed at being seen by you.'
egke=bayat <u>a</u> eg=haa keniko INO=laugh I NA=see you	'I am forced to laugh when I watch you.'
egke=lepay <u>a</u> eg=haa keniko INO=see=first I NA=see you	'I have seen you for the first time.' (You are new to me.)

Not all a keniko constructions of the me- and ke- + -an type can be interpreted as reductions, at least as reductions in which the implied second verb is eghaa or one of its forms. Further investigation may show that some other verb is implied.

egke=magtu=an a eg=edà implanu
 INR=new=RF I NA=ride plane

'Flying in a plane
 would be a novel
 experience for me.'
 (while flying on a
 plane)

Should this be so, this would reduce the basic expansions of me- and ke- constructions to two: simple intransitive a+ and ku kuna constructions. It is significant that the stative a keniko constructions are rather uncommon in the language, more the exception than the rule.

1.7 Commands

Three main command forms are distinguished: actor-subject commands, goal-subject commands, and a form which relates to both the -an and <i> non-actor-subject constructions, referred to as <-i> commands. It is characteristic of all these command forms that the second-person pronoun is obligatory to the verb expression. Besides these, the stative root uma gives command forms, and there are also double commands and reduced commands.

1.7.1 Actor-subject commands

Actor-subject commands derived from simple active constructions consist of the verb root and the series 1 second-person pronoun singular or plural.

angay ka dé dahedò
 go you PRT over.there

'Go over there.'

lengag ka
 look.up you

'Look up!'

gaté ka dé
 hurry you PRT

'Hurry up!'

na, likù ka dé
 now, go.home you PRT

'Come on! Go off
 home!'

temeg ka apuy
 light you fire

'Light the fire!'

luwit yu pa siya wé
 bark you PRT those DEM

'Strip those (poles).'

egpe- constructions in command form consist of the root plus pe- and the series 1 second-person pronoun.

pe=siyapat ka dé
 CA=fast you PRT

'Hurry up (with what
 you are doing).'

The following is an example of <me-> a+ constructions in command form with the root téél:

me=téél ka dé 'Hurry up!'
ADJ=fast you PRT

This is identical with the simple narrative construction 'you are fast.' The form tétéél ka! 'hurry up!' was recorded once under circumstances that suggested identity with metéél ka dé.

1.7.2 Goal-subject commands

Commands derived from simple <-en> goal-subject constructions consist of the verb root and a series 2 second-person pronoun.

**kuwa ko 'Get it!'
get you

**bekut ko dé 'Wrap it up!'
wrap.up you PRT

**uwit ko dé 'Bring it!'
bring you PRT

**dini ko 'Bring it here!'
here you

ini dineg ko 'Listen here!'
this listen you

**telisi ko pelà 'Just split it up!'
split.up you still

Commands derived from pe- and se- constructions consist of the verb root prefixed by pe- and se- respectively with a series 2 pronoun following:

pe=liyang ko sa pala 'Turn the spade on
CA=lie.on.back you DET spade its back.'

se=lapeg ko dé 'Take them up in one
RC=include you PRT handful.' (Take them up together.)

1.7.3 <-i> commands

No distinction is made between commands derived from -an and <i-> non-actor-subject constructions.

begay=i ko <u>aken</u> give=IMP you me	'Give (something) to me.'
<u>sini kawal ko</u> , begay=i ko kenaken this shirt your give=IMP you me	'This shirt of yours, give it to me.'

The first of the preceding two sentences is a third-party recipient-subject construction, corresponding to such a construction as the following in narrative:

begay=an ku gatas <u>sa miyong</u> give=FR I milk DET cat	'I'll give milk to the cat.'
--	------------------------------

The second sentence is a goal-subject construction, corresponding to such a narrative sentence as:

Duen ma i=begay ku si Atudan, there.is also NI=give I DET Atudan	'I will give something to Atudan, namely a shirt.'
<u>kamasita</u> shirt	

<igpe-> and egpe- -an narrative constructions also lose their formal identity in command constructions, both becoming pe- -i constructions.

**pe=batas=i ko sa wayeg CA=cross=IMP you DET river	'Carry (it) over the river.'
i=pe=batas ku <u>sa tuyang</u> NI=CA=cross I DET dog	'I will carry the dog over the river.'
eg=pe=uwit=an ku <u>kuna</u> bulung NR=CA=bring=RF I you medicine	'I will send medicine to you.'
pe=uwit=i ko <u>aken</u> bulung diyà si CA=bring=IMP you me medicine to DET	'Send me the medicine by Umpit.'
Umpit	
Umpit	

1.7.4 The root uma in commands

The stative root uma gives interesting command forms:

in= <u>uma</u> ko <u>aken</u> dagat dō PO=reach you me sea LOC	'Catch me up at the sea!'
**in= <u>uma</u> ko kawà PO=reach you reach.out	'Reach up for it.'
**ne= <u>uma</u> ko pa IPO=reach you PRT	'Reach!'
ne= <u>uma</u> ko pa <u>Undia</u> duu, Umpit IPO=reach you PRT Mundi DET Umpit	'Umpit, catch up to Mundi!'

The following two sentences, which were given as a correlated sequence by the language helper, suggest that the ne- prefix may indicate emphasis as much as command. Command and emphasis might even be synonymous with some roots, for example, nenabù ka 'look out, you'll fall'.

Order: ne= <u>uma</u> ko pa <u>Undia</u> Umpit INO=reach you PRT Mundi Umpit	'Umpit, catch up to Mundi.'
Reply: m=ikagi Umpit, ne= <u>uma</u> ku doo FA=say Umpit INO=reach I indeed	'Umpit' will say, "Indeed, I will catch up to him."

1.7.5 Double commands

Double commands are not common, but their existence is confirmed by the following examples:

**uwit ko angay dini bring you go here	'Bring (it) here!'
angay ko temag=i sa <u>apuy</u> go you light=IMP DET fire	'Go and light up the fire.'

1.7.6 Reduced commands

There is a construction which has been identified as a command but that differs from the preceding types of commands. It probably parallels the previously mentioned reduced verbal constructions (sec. 1.6). On the few occasions this command form was recorded it was derived from -an non-actor-subject constructions.

bayad=an a manuk, Umpit
 pay=PR me chicken Umpit

'Pay me with a
 chicken, Umpit.'

angat=an a pelà
 wait=PR me still

'Wait a while for me.'

In the foregoing examples and a few similar command forms, the second-person pronoun is dropped. It is obligatory with the other forms of command.

The usual command forms with these roots are:

bayad=i ko aken manuk, Umpit
 pay=IMP you me chicken Umpit

'Pay me with a chick-
 en, Umpit.'

angat=i ko pelà aken
 wait=IMP you still me

'Wait a while for me.'

The parallel statement forms of the expressions are:

eg=bayad=an ko aken manuk
 NR=pay=PR you me chicken

'You will pay me for
 the chicken.'

angat=an ko pelà aken
 wait=PR you still me

'You will wait awhile
 for me.'

It will be seen that the -an affix of these unusual commands is retained from the statement construction.

1.8 External relationship

A common feature of Cotabato Manobo is a substantive standing outside the main structure of the sentence that specifies more particularly the nature of a substantive within the sentence, or that reinforces or emphasises it. The external substantive is usually separated from the rest of the expression by a slight pause.

ne=ubus a dé, aken i
 IPO=finish I PRT I PRT

'I have finished.'

meke=hilu sidò dalem di, sobuy
 IPA=intoxicate the inside its sobuy

'The flesh of the
 sobuy is intoxi-
 cating.'

endà mi=iyap di eg=pe=tulù, sa sawa ku
 not IFO=want she NA=CA=teach DET wife my

'My wife, she does
 not want to be
 taught.'

duen ma busaw wa daya, bayi
 There is also spirit DET there woman

'There is a female
 spirit there.'

duen ma i=begay ku si Atudan, 'I will give
there.is also NI=give I DET Atudan something to Atudan,
namely, a shirt.'

kamasita
shirt

l=in=ohot di Igid da, sa tuyang 'The dog followed
follow=PO= he Igid DET DET dog Igid.'

aken, endà duen t=um=ulù kenaken 'There is no one to
I not there.is teach=FA= me teach me.'

si Mundi, eg=bayad=an ku sa utang ku 'Mundi, I'll pay up
DET Mundi NR=pay=RF I DET debt my my debt to him.'

diyà kenagdi
to him

A structurally "external" substantive may stand within the sentence:

amuk endà me=legà di, ludeng, 'If the taro is not
if not IFO=cook it taro cooked, it will cause
soreness of the
meke=lapa throat.'
IFA=throat.itch

Descriptive stative words may also contract a similar relationship with a substantive. The relationship between the substantive and the descriptive is not so tight as that existing between the two ICs of a noun-descriptive constitute in which the descriptive stands between the objectifying particle and the following noun head word.

in=uwit di sa kelu di, amayan 'He brought his bolo;
PO=bring he DET bolo his large it was big.' (He
brought his big bolo.)

aken i emà di, Menubù 'I am his Manobo
I DET father his Manobo father.'

A similar form of complementary external relationship occurs with certain pronouns, most commonly the first-person plural pronouns of series 1 and 2. A speaker talking in the first-person plural may specify the other member covered by the pronoun, as follows:

amuk duwa ké, si Sida, mi=iyap a doo 'If there are two of
if two we DET Sida IFO=like I us (Sida and I), I
would like (to go).'

si etom, meke=ipanaw da dé 'They have gone, Tom
DET Tom IFA=travel they PRT among them.'

2. Sentence-Forming Equational Constructions

There is in Cotabato Manobo a construction that corresponds with what in other languages has been identified as an equational construction. In its simplest form an equational construction consists of two objectified immediate constituents (substantives), interdependently related to each other. There is usually a slight pause between the two nuclear ICs of equational utterances.

There is little difficulty in interpreting expressions that consist of two nuclear substantives. Likewise, those expressions in which one of the nuclear ICs is a series 5 possessive pronoun are also readily identifiable as equational expressions.

However, when one of the nuclear immediate constituents is a time or location expression, difficulty arises. If such an expression is interpreted as an open expression, the total construction is verbal. If the time or location expression is identified as an object expression, the construction is equational. (See secs. 2.3 and 2.4 for examples.)

2.1 Objectified expression ---> <--- objectified expression

bébé di, aken grandmother his I	'I am his grand- mother.'
si kuna, épé di DET you master his	'You are his master.'
iya ke=sabà, iya wé that DRV=hold that DEM	'That is the way to hold it.'
épé di tuyang, iya wé master his dog that DEM	'Who is the owner of this dog?'
kesalaan, ini i fine this DEM	'This is the fine (for the crime).'
ini, ke=dineg ku, um=ukit kenà i this DRV=hear my FA=pass.thru place DET	'This is what I heard; it will pass through Ubing's place.'
Ubing Ubing	

2.2 Objectified Expression ---> <--- Series 5 Possessive Pronoun

hagdi iya wé kudà his that DEM horse	'That is his horse.'
--	----------------------

naken ini i 'This is mine.'
mine this DEM

2.3 Equational constructions with time expression

lima agdaw ke=bayad ku sini kawal 'It will take me five
five day DRV=pay I this shirt days to pay for this
shirt.'

pila gebulan sa ke=tebow duma ko 'How many months to
how.many month DET DRV=arrive friend you the arrival of your
friend here?'

dini
here

2.4 Equational constructions with location expression

dahedò dalesan emà ku 'There is the house
there house father my of my father.'

Such words as dahedò 'there (at a distance)', dahiya, daya 'there (no particular distance)', and dahini, dini 'here' seem to function as objectified expressions in such contexts as the preceding. The roots of these words, edò, iya, and ini respectively, when used in typical stative verbal constructions are prefixed by ka- (possibly a variant of ke-). Examples:

kaini a 'I'm here.'
**kaedò é 'There it is.'
kaiya ke 'Here we are.'

However, the expressions dini and daya have been found as the nuclear open expression of verbal utterances.

daya da, Telaki i 'There they were,
there they Telaki DET Telaki among them.'

Simple time expressions have also been found functioning as nuclear open expressions.

sekepadiyan ka dutu kenà ko dō, 'You had been gone
one.week you to place your LOC one week on your way
home when my mother
ne=matay inay ku died.'
IPO=die mother my

It may therefore be best to interpret all expressions with time or location indicators as a central immediate constituent, that is, as verbal expressions rather than as equational.

The subject substantive of equational constructions may precede or follow its complementary nuclear immediate constituent in the clause or sentence. If it is a pronoun, it is usually preceded by si in sentence-initial position. si does not seem to be used if the pronoun occurs sentence finally. The forms ini 'this' or iya 'that' may substitute in subject slot. If they occupy sentence- or clause-final position, they are usually followed by i or wé respectively, for example, ini i iya wé. The complementary nuclear immediate constituent often stands without an objectifying expression, but may sometimes be preceded by the objectifier iya.

iya used as an objectifier with either the subject or nonsubject IC may be expanded to iya wé.

2.5 Questions

Most questions are expressed in equational form. They may also be expressed as verbal constructions (sec. 1.3), but the equational form seems to be the most common.

Questions are introduced by nengan 'when', kenà 'where', ngadan 'what', enù 'how', maen 'why'.

nengan ke=tulù ko kenami eg=sulat
when DRV=teach you us NA=write

'When are you going to start teaching us to write?' (When is your teaching us to write?)

nengan ke=angay yu dutu sidò eg=linadu
when DRV=go you to that NA=sick

'When are you going to the sick person?'

enù ke=kuwa ko uton
how DRV=get you fish

'How do you catch fish?' (How is your catching fish?)

ngadan bael=an ko ya
what do=FR you PRT

'What are you doing?'

agulé um=igsà, maen ko dini, guwaen i
then FA=ask reason you here said DET

'Then he asked, "Why are you here?" said the small bat.'

kelupenit
small.bat

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| 4. ngadan iya wé
what that DEM | 'What is that?' |
| 5. ngadan ki=iyap=an ko ya
what DRV=want=RF you PRT | 'What do you want?' |
| 6. ngadan iya wé ki=iyap=an ko
what that DEM DRV=want=RF you | 'What do you want?' |

The role of ya in the first two of the preceding sentences is different. If they follow the pattern of the other sentences, two nuclear ICs must be identified. Several interpretations may be suggested. angayan ko ya and keduwán ko ya may be regarded as nuclear objectified expressions and the complementary IC a zero implied location, or perhaps the question intonation contour. It seems, however, that the primary break is between ya on the one hand and the rest of the sentence on the other. This would elevate ya to the status of a nuclear IC.

This parallels the interpretation of kenà ko dé in which a normally lateral item, dé, is elevated to nuclear status.

2.6 Verb <--- verb constructions

Manner expansions equivalent to the English I ran quickly do not follow the expected pattern of verb <--- manner descriptive. The construction seems rather to be a double verbal form.

- | | |
|---|--|
| me=téél a eg=pelaguy
ADJ=fast I NA=run | 'I run fast.' |
| me=lugay a eg=dineg bobtail
IFO=long I NA=hear bobtail | 'I have heard "bob-tail" for a long time now.' (Our house boy kept asking us what we meant by the word.) |
| endà iseg ki egpeke=tudug
not very we INA=sleep | 'We are not able to sleep so well.' |
| tibubu da pelà eg=kaen
still they still NA=eat | 'They are still eating.' |
| muna ulu di eg=hulu
first head he NA=climb.down | 'He climbs down head first.' |
| buyu a dé eg=tebow
almost I PRT NA=arrive | 'I have nearly arrived.' |

In verb <--- verb constructions, items which, by analogy with noun <--- descriptive constructions, one would expect to be lateral descriptive items function as the central open expression of the sentence, taking the series 1 subject pronouns as clitics.

Certain of these items, notably endà iseg (which always occurs as a compound expression, iseg never occurring alone), always substitute in what would appear to be major verb slot. Others sometimes follow the verb in what would appear to be a descriptive slot lateral to the verb.

t=um=ebow	<u>ki</u> , buyu	'We have almost
<u>arrive=FA=</u> ___	we almost	arrived.'
l=um=agti	<u>a</u> takà	'I kept on dodging
<u>dodge=FA=</u> ___	I constantly	around (to avoid
		him).'

In such cases, however, there is a slight intonational pause between the final item and the rest of the sentence.

The verb <--- verb construction is also apparent in such an expression as:

ini <u>a</u> pelà eg=tebow	'I have just arrived.'
this I just NA=arrive	

The major open expression must be taken to be ini ... pelà since ini is never found occurring by itself in parallel constructions.

There is another such construction in which a stative verb normally used intransitively becomes the nuclear verb of a transitive construction.

ne=lipeng <u>a</u> eg=uwit manuk	'I forgot to bring
IPO=forget I NA=bring hen	the hen.'
mi=iyap <u>a</u> eg=kuwa timus	'I want to get some
IFO=want I NA=get salt	salt.'
me=tiig <u>ka</u> dé eg=ikagi Menubù	'You know how to
IFO=know you PRT NA=speak Manobo	speak Manobo.'
amuk endà me=gaga ku duu m=itiyalà ...	'if I am not able to
if not IFO=able I NEG FA=dispute	dispute the matter'

It is also common to find two eg- type verbs in the verb-verb relationship. The verb root angay occurs with a particularly high frequency as the first verb of such constructions.

eg=angay=en di eg=balbal <u>sa</u> <u>anak</u> <u>di</u>	'He is going to beat
NO=go=OF he NA=beat DET child his	his child.'

**m=angay t=um=igbokol FA=go <u>lie.in.sun</u> =FA=___ in sun	dutu agdaw	'He is going to lie out in the sun.'
angay=en ta m=aa <u>sa manuk</u> go=FO we FA=see DET hen		'We are going to find the hen.'

With few exceptions the second eg- verb takes the actor-subject affix series -um-.

Where the total construction is non-actor-subject the first verb takes the non-actor-subject inflection and the second takes <-um-> actor-subject inflection.

in=angay ku eg=haa <u>kuna</u> PO=go I NA=see you		'I went to look for you.'
eg=teleseb=en di eg=buung <u>siya manuk</u> NO=flush.out=OF he NA=throw the hen		'He hurled a stone to flush out the hen.'
ig=pe=lengon ku eg=pe=kuwa keniko <u>sa</u> PI=CA=all I NA=CA=get you DET		'I got you to get all the bamboo for me.'
<u>lebuk</u> bamboo		

**legayday=en ké pelà t=um=elalag complete=FO we just <u>roof.cross</u> =FA=___		'We will soon finish off laying the roofing cross pieces.'
--	--	--

The object of the double verb combination most commonly follows the second verb, but it may stand between the two verbs.

eg=taka=an da <u>kita</u> eg=suntut NR=frequent=RF they us NA=strike		'They (the Moros) frequently strike us.'
---	--	---

Sentences have been recorded in which the first verb is stative and the second a non-actor-subject active verb. In most cases such constructions have been intransitive.

me=tegas pelawà eg=hugut=en <u>sa badung</u> ADJ=hard still NO=withdraw=OF DET bolo		'The bolo is still a bit hard to withdraw (from the sheath).'
endà mi=iyap di eg=tulu=en, <u>sa sawa ku</u> not IFO=want she NO=teach=OF DET wife my		'My wife does not want to be taught.'

**me=ubus t=in=adtad, eg=dalem=en kuden 'When it has finished
 IFO=finish cut.up=PO=___ NO=into=OF pot being cut up, it will
 be put in the pot.'

Multiple open expression constructions have been recorded, for example:

endà iseg ka me=siyapat eg=sulat 'You are not so fast
 not very you ADJ=fast NA=write at writing the Manobo
 language.'
 kagi='t Menubù
 language=LIG Manobo

2.7 Double verb constructions with different actors

Verb <--- verb constructions with different actors occur, but they are infrequent.

eg=unung=unung=an ku kuna eg=sulat 'I am watching you
 NR=watch=watch=RF I you NA=write write.'

In many of the examples already cited the subordinate concept in the English becomes the nuclear concept in Manobo. The following are typical examples:

meke=duwa a dé agdaw um=ugpà dini 'I intend to stay
 IFA=two I PRT day FA=stay here here for two days.'

k=um=e=duwa batà l=um=esut 'Two children come
 FA=DRV=___=two child emerge=FA=___ out.' (when there are
 twins)

duwa ké agdaw diyà sa dalan 'We were two days on
 two we day on DET road the road.'

2.8 Existential duen

duen 'there is .../he has ...' is a very commonly used nuclear open expression, which may, though only rarely, take the affixes mig- or -um-. It is characteristic of this expression that the associated nuclear substantive is never marked by a <sa> class objectifying particle. It may occasionally be marked by a reduced form of the objectifying particle ini:

yak duen ini kawal amuk 'There would not be
 not there.is this shirt if this shirt if....'

All Philippine dialects seem to have an equivalent open expression characterized by the same feature.

duen <u>sawa</u> <u>ko</u> there.is wife your	'Do you have a wife?'
duen pa <u>kugit</u> <u>ko</u> wé there.is still matches your PRT	'Do you still have any matches?'
endà dé duen <u>di</u> not PRT there.is it	'There is none.'
d=um=uen dema <u>sulu</u> <u>ku</u> <u>be</u> =FA=___ again nail my	'I'll get another nail again.' (He had lost his thumb nail.)
**mig=duen dema PA=be again	'He got it again.' (a yaws infection)
pengagbet <u>ka</u> duen épé katilâ look.for you there.is ownwer swt.potato	'See if there is anyone with sweet potato.'
duen <u>niko</u> <u>ig=sugù</u> <u>kenaken</u> , angay=en there.is your PI=order me go=FO	'Is there anything you called me about, that you want me to get?'
ku I	

Expressions headed by duen very commonly substitute for simple substantives.

endà duen <u>in=uwit</u> <u>ku</u> <u>me=begat</u> not there.is PO=bring I ADJ=heavy	'I brought nothing heavy.'
ini goh endà pa duen <u>ig=begay</u> <u>di</u> this time not yet there.is PI=give he	'Up to now he has given me nothing.'
<u>kenak</u> me	
amuk duen <u>etaw</u> <u>t=um=igbas</u> , if there.is person <u>slash</u> =FA=___	'If someone chops up (a person) he will be imprisoned.'
me=bilanggu IFO=imprison	
duen <u>me=tiig</u> <u>eg=kuwa't</u> <u>ungéh</u> there.is IFO=know NA=get rat	'There are those who know how to catch rats.'

aken, endà duen	<u>t=um=ulù</u> <u>kenaken</u>	'I have no one to
I not there.is	teach=FA=___ me	teach me.'
duen	<u>in=angay</u> <u>ku</u> dahini	'There was something
there.is PO=go	I there	I came to get here.'

3. Negation

There are three negative expressions in Cotabato Manobo: endà, yak, and beken. A possible fourth is yaka, which may be related to yak.

beken is used as a negative of substantives.

amuk beken <u>kuna</u> ...	'If it had not been
if not you	for you ...'
amuk dakel, beken duu <u>langus</u>	'If it is large, it is
if big not NEG praying.mantis	not a praying mantis.'
beken m=iling <u>sak</u> <u>si</u> <u>Polok</u> <u>lobing</u>	'Not one like Polok's
not FA=like the DET Polok dress	dress.'

endà is a negative of verbal expressions. In the great majority of sentences endà immediately precedes the verb.

endà mi=iyap <u>a</u> eg=ugpà diyà keniko	'I do not want to
not IFO=want I NA=stay with you	stay with you.'
amuk endà umow=en yu duu <u>aken</u> ...	'If you do not call
if not call=FO you NEG me	me ...'
endà meke=layang <u>di</u> ka pulung tukééy	'It cannot fly
not IFA=fly it as very little	because it is very
	small.'

endà sometimes functions as a close attribute of the open verbal expression. In such cases it precedes the verb and is followed by the <dé> particle, which normally follows the open expression. It is not followed by the pronouns clitic to the verb. This is particularly common with the open expression duen 'there is'.

endà dé duen <u>di</u>	'There is none.'
not PRT there.is it	

endà dé g=um=emow ké simag 'We will not come
not PRT come.up=FA=___ we tomorrow upstairs tomorrow.'

ini goh endà pa duen ig=begay di 'Up to now he has
this time not yet there.is PI=give he given me nothing.'

kenak
me

**endà pa inemen=an ko duu 'You have not yet
not yet drink=RF you NEG drunk from it.'

endà is distinguished from all other verb attributes by the unusual deviation from the norm when the subject of the verb expression is the third person singular pronoun. In all other constructions this pronoun is a zero feature. With endà the third person singular form di of series 2 nonsubject pronouns is substituted immediately following the nuclear open expression.

endà pa iseg di me=doo neke=sunggud 'Not so very many
not yet very it ADJ=many IPI=bride.price bride price items were
handed over.'

endà egpeke=hilu di, bugan 'Bugan is not
not INA=potion it bugan poisonous.'

endà dé duen di 'There is none.'
not PRT there.is it

anì endà me=utuh=an di '... so that it will
so.that not IPR=stamp=RF it not be stamped on.'

simag endà pa t=um=udak di katilà 'He will not plant
tomorrow not yet plant=FA=___ he s.potato sweet potato
tomorrow.'

yak is used as a strong negative of verbal expressions. It occupies a position immediately preceding the verb.

amuk endà umow=en yu duu aken, yak 'If you do not call
if not call=FO you NEG me not me, I will not come
here.'

um=angay a dini
FA=go I here

yak duen ini kawal amuk beken kedu 'I would have no
not there.is this shirt if not from shirt but for you.'

keniko
you

yak k=um=e=lani kunul ko ya, amuk 'Your skin would not
not DRV=FA=___=smooth skin your DET if be smooth if you had
skin disease.'

duen bugis
there.is skin.disease

yak t=um=udug sa batà ... 'The child will not
not sleep=FA=___ DET child sleep (because of its
bad fever).'

In at least two of the preceding examples yak functions as a conditional negative.

yak has mostly been found with actor-subject constructions. It has been found once with a non-actor-subject construction:

yak l=in=enga=an i Papi sa usa 'Puppy would not
not release=PR=___=RF DET Puppy DET animal release his hold on
the animal.'

ig=hemued
PI=bite

yaka is often used in isolation as a general negative command, "Don't do it." Also it is often used, in cases of real urgency, in a rapidly repeated expansion, yaka yaka yaka.

With negative commands the full form is typically as follows:

yaka eg=enaw kenak 'Don't wake me up.'
not NA=wake me

yaka pa eg=angay ya dini simag 'Don't come here
not yet NA=go NEG here tomorrow tomorrow.'

In normal speech, however, there is the usual elision between the two contiguous vowels resulting in the following form:

yaka eg-enaw kenak ---> yagenaw kenak

A clitic {ya} is frequently postposed to the verbs of negative commands.

yag=daya ya 'Don't stand there.'
not=there NEG

yag=angay ya dutu not=go NEG there	'Don't go there.'
yag=gemen na not=laugh NEG	'Stop laughing.' (Don't laugh.)
yag=sinegaw wa not=cry NEG	'Don't cry.'

On the basis of a rather limited number of examples it would seem that negations of goal-focus commands are indicated by the negative form yoko. If this is so, it is almost certain that yaka and yoko may be broken down into two units with vowel harmony between the vowel of the negative morpheme ya- and the vowel of the particular pronoun used, ka actor-subject or ko goal-subject.⁷

4. Non-Sentence-Forming Constructions

4.1 Attribution of Nouns

Constitutes consisting of noun head words with lateral attributes that are open expressions are not very common.

There are two principal forms of attribution. In the first the descriptive (usually a me- expression but occasionally a free root such as dakel 'big') precedes the noun. If there is an associated objectifying particle, the descriptive occurs between it and the noun.

um=angay <u>da</u> dé dutu sidò me=diyù FA=go they PRT to that ADJ=distant	'They are going to a distant place.'
tanà land	

There is no contrast between me- and ne- open expressions in this slot. Only me- expressions may function as descriptives of nouns.

A few words, notably langun 'all', may precede the objectifying particle, though it may also substitute in the same slot as me- expressions.

<u>langun</u> <u>sini</u> <u>sugudsugud</u> ne=sangkap wayeg all these plains IPO=inundate water	'All these plains were inundated with water.'
---	---

In the second type of noun attribution, the open expression follows the noun and is separated from it by a slight pause.

k=um=uwa a tamuk, lima
get=FA=___ I items five 'I will get five trade items.'

in=uwit di sa kelu di, amayan
PO=bring he DET bolo his large 'He brought his large bolo.'

Noun expressions attributive to other nouns (other than possessive nouns) may occasionally substitute in the same slot as me- type attributes.

apiya me=bau sak diyà béléng ko
even IFO=healed the on cheek your 'Even if the yaws on your cheeks is healed, come here tomorrow.'

katel m=angay ka doo dahini simag
yaws FA=go you here tomorrow

4.2 Possession

4.2.1 Pronominal possession

Pronominal possession may be indicated by either of two sets of pronouns. The most commonly used set has already been identified as series 2 <ku> pronouns lateral to verbs in non-actor-subject constructions. This clitic pronoun series always immediately follows its substantive head word.

bébé di aken
grandmother his I 'I am his grandmother.'

me=sakit ulu ku
IFO=pain head my 'My head hurts.'

iya kenà pedu ko ya, si Mama
that place gallbladder your DET DET Mama 'Mama is the one to keep guard over you.'

sebaen daa emà da
one only father their 'They have the one father.'

eg=hemued=en ki kilat ka duma ta
NO=bite=OF we lightning as relatives our 'We would be struck by lightning since they are our relatives.' (if we committed incest)

Possession may also be indicated by a series of possessive pronouns referred to as series 5 <naken> pronouns.

SERIES 5 PRONOUNS <naken>

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<u>naken</u>	<u>nita</u> (incl); <u>nami</u> (excl)
2nd person	<u>niko</u>	<u>niyu</u>
3rd person	<u>hagdi</u>	<u>hagda</u>

These pronouns are free roots and occur most commonly with substantives of equational or stative verbal constructions. The possessed IC generally follows the open expression or nonpossessed complementary IC.

labi <u>sak</u> <u>naken</u> <u>ke=sakit</u> half the my DRV=pain	'It only hurts half as much as my pain.'
me=diyù <u>niko</u> <u>dalesan</u> ADJ=distant your house	'Your house is a long way off.'
me=doo <u>naken</u> <u>eg=bael=an</u> ADJ=many my NR=make=RF	'I have made many things.'
Bagobo, <u>hagdi</u> <u>sawa</u> Bagobo his wife	'His wife is a Bago- bo.'
me=diyù <u>hagda</u> <u>in=angay=an</u> ADJ=distant their PR=go=RF	'They went to a distant place.'

The series 5 pronoun invariably precedes the head noun. In most constructions of the above type the possessed expression is not marked by a sa objectifying particle. Examples have been recorded in which the objectifying particle iya or the particle i stands between the possessive pronoun and its head word.

me=diyù <u>naken</u> <u>i</u> <u>kedu=wan</u> ADJ=distant my PRT from=PR	'I come from a distant place.'
angay=en ta <u>nami</u> <u>iya</u> <u>tebay</u> go=FO we our that sister	'We will go and get our sister (if the bride price is not paid).'
me=pion <u>hagdi</u> <u>iya</u> <u>ke=kaen</u> ADJ=good his that DRV=eat	'It (rabbit) makes good eating.'
<u>niko</u> <u>iya</u> <u>kenà</u> , ostelaliya your that place Australia	'Australia is your country.'

4.2.2 Noun possession

Possession of one noun by another is indicated by juxtaposition of the two nouns, the nuclear noun taking first position. Where the lateral possessing noun is a person, the relationship is further indicated by the particle i between the two nouns.

t=in=ebek <u>di</u> <u>sa</u> <u>inay</u> <u>i</u> <u>Limbey</u> <u>inject=PO=</u> she DET mother of Limbey	'She injected Limbey's mother.'
--	------------------------------------

When both are nonperson substantives and the final syllable of the first noun is open, the particle t occurs as a clitic to this noun.

balu't ulu 'hair of head' balu 'hair'
hair head

kutu't miyong 'fleas of the cat' kutu 'flea'
flea cat

The clitic t following a consonant has been observed only once. In this case, it was following l in the expression epol t belad 'tattoo of the arm'. The t is, however, often omitted with this expression.

There is an interesting possessive construction in which personal possession is indicated in a manner very similar to the series 5 pronoun possession. The possessing person occurs between the objectifying particle and the nuclear possessed substantive and takes the personal objectifying particle si:

beken m=iling sak si Polok lobing 'Not one like Polok's
not FA=like the DET Polok dress dress.'

4.2.3 Ligature t

The ligature t is very commonly used between a verb expression (consisting of a verb and a series 1 and 2 pronoun) and a following substantive. Since all series 1 and 2 pronouns are single open syllables, the use of the ligature in this slot parallels its occurrence in noun possession. The phonemic-syntactic conditioning factors can be formulated as follows:

A noun...CV t noun
B verb expression...CV t noun

The final noun of both constructions is never marked by a sa objectifying particle or any other class of objectifying particle.

eg=bael a='t owong 'I am making a canoe.'
NA=make I=LIG canoe

**p=in=enù ku='t wayeg 'I have filled it
fill=PO=___ I=LIG water with water.'

t=um=epi a='t kayu 'I will split the
split=FA=___ I=LIG wood wood down the middle.'

... danà di eg=haa='t legleg '... from his seeing
by he NA=see=LIG light the light (of the
fire).'

m=aluk a='t dalesan ku dō 'I will rush to my
 FA=rush I=LIG house my LOC house.'

t may also occur as a ligature following verb expressions closed by a <dé> particle the members of which are also vowel final.

eg=angay da pa='t Melatunol dō 'They are going to
 NA=go they still=LIG Melatunol LOC Melatunol.'

Noun subordination seems to be the feature common to both uses of the ligature. In A the noun is subordinate to another noun. In B it is subordinate to a nuclear verb.

4.3 Subject markers [glossed as DET in the examples]

4.3.1 sa

Most subject expressions when marked take an objectifying <sa> class particle. But since members of this class may optionally mark nonsubject item, position rather than objectifier usually indicates the subject.

4.3.2 i

Postclitic particles may mark subject expressions. One of the most common is the particle i, a rather versatile item indicating in other constructions person, possession, etc. This particle is postposed to the subject of a+ or a keniko verbal constructions or equational constructions.

m=ipanaw dé kenogon i 'The maiden went off.'
 FA=walk PRT maiden DET

aken i emā di, Menubū 'I am his Manobo
 I DET father his Manobo father.'

kuna i Kunsiyal Kulaman 'You are Councillor
 you DET Councillor Kulaman from Kulaman.'

eg=lenebleneb kemel ta i 'Our hands are
 NA=smear fingers our DET covered with grease.'

ne=ubus a dé, aken i 'I have finished.'
 IPO=finish I PRT I DET

agulé t=um=ebow dé busaw i dutu 'Then the spirit
 then arrive=FA= PRT spirit DET at arrived at the house.'

sidō dalesan
 that house

4.3.3 i duu

The particle i (sec. 4.3.2) may be involved in the compound clitic expression i duu, which seems in general to substitute for an objectifying particle. (See sec. 4.5 on sentence particles.)

i=pe=bulung	ku pelà	<u>pali</u>	<u>ku i</u>	<u>duu</u>	'I am just going to
NI=CA=medicine	I	just	wound	my	have my injury
					treated.'

4.3.4 ya

A particle of the allomorphic series {ya} is often postposed to a subject noun or person equational construction (a+ or ku kuna constructions). The allomorph ya follows expressions ending in a vowel. Substantives ending in closed syllables take a particle whose first consonant reduplicates the final consonant of the substantive. (This form of clitic occurs with all constructions.)

h=in=aa	ku <u>Papi</u>	<u>ya</u>	gina	'I saw Puppy a while
<u>see=PO=</u>	I	Puppy	DET	ago.'
h=in=emegaw=an	i	Labu	<u>Mison na</u>	'Mison was warned off
<u>warn.off=PR=</u>	=RF	DET	Labu Mison	by Labu.'
duen	ma	<u>busaw wa</u>	daya, bayi	'There is a female
there.is	also	spirit	DET	spirit there.'
ngadan	<u>tanà ya</u>	kenà	di eg=lesut	'In what land was he
what	land	DET	place	he
			NA=emerge	born?'
eg=sinegaw	<u>batà ya</u>			'The child is crying.
NA=cry	child	DET		

A similar clitic is used with verbs in commands, presumably to imply particular emphasis:

yaggemen na	'Don't laugh.'			
yagsinegaw wa	'Don't cry.'			
yagdaya ya	'Don't stand there.'			
yaka pa	eg=angay ya	dini	simag	'Don't come here
not	yet	NA=go	PRT	here
				tomorrow.'

4.4 Nonsubject markers

Some nonsubject substantives may be marked by {ya} particles in the same way as subject nouns. (These particles never occur with subject substantives in preverb position, only with substantives in postverb position.) The conditions under which nonsubject items may be marked are so far quite unpredictable as seen from the following:

kuwa a lepò ya 'I will get coconuts.'
get I coconut DET

elê 'kunai grass' may substitute for lepò in this construction, but walingwaling 'very valuable orchid', batâ 'child', kayu 'wood', manuk 'chicken' may not. These words cannot be marked by such a particle in the context kumuwa a... But one of these words, manuk, may be so marked though it is not the subject:

uwiti ko aken manuk ka 'Bring me a chicken.'
bring you me chicken PRT

Whether or not a particular word may be so marked seems to depend on the verb root used and the verb construction. (There is no evidence for the existence of noun classes.)

Similar marking of nonsubject items is seen in the following constructions:

bayad=an a't manuk ka 'Pay me with a hen.'
pay=FR me=LIG hen DET

egke=bekol a't agdaw wa 'I have been dried
INO=dry.out I=LIG sun DET out by the sun.'

In such cases the nonsubject item may receive additional emphasis by its association with the {ya} clitic.

4.5 Sentence particles

4.5.1 duu and doo

No definite meaning can be assigned to either of the particles duu or doo, which are two among many similar sentence particles. They do not seem to relate to any one immediate constituent of the sentence in which they occur but rather to the sentence as a whole. They are treated apart from other particles since they represent a clear contrast in function, the former associating with negative sentences, the latter with positive sentences.

duu is more frequent in its occurrence than doo. They indicate a particular emphasis on the negative and positive aspect of the sentence respectively. They may occur in reduced form: du and dé do respectively.

duu occurs with a wide range of sentence types and takes a position immediately following the verb or the series 2 agent pronoun should one be present.

With beken 'not':

amuk dakel, beken duu langus	'If it is large, it is
if big not NEG praying.mantis	not a praying mantis.'

With yaka 'don't' in commands:

yag=pe=bagel duu	'Don't tense up.'
not=CA=strong NEG	(Don't tense your muscles.)

yag=selepan duu wé	'Don't play about.'
not=play NEG PRT	

With endà 'not':

**endà eg=hau=wen ku duu	'I can't find him.'
not NO=see=OF I NEG	

**amuk endà i=begay da duu diyà kenami ...	'If they do not give
if not NI=give they NEG to us	(our sister) to us'

With inday 'to not know':

inday ta duu ne=matay dé iya	'We don't know
not.know we NEG IPO=dead PRT that	whether our young
	brother is dead.'

egoh di, Hadi ya	
appearance his young.brother DET	

duu has not yet been found with negative actor-subject constructions.

doo associates with positive statements and follows the nuclear open expression:

... um=angay ka doo dini simag	'... you will come
FA=go you indeed here tomorrow	here tomorrow.'

**egke=bekad ku doo	'It yields to me.'
INO=open I indeed	(I opened it.)

**uwit=en da doo take=FO they indeed	'They will take.' (in reply to: 'Will they take the dog with them?')
m=iling doo apus, tamelang FA=like indeed apus tamelang	'Tamelang is like the apus bamboo species.'
palan doo tamuk all indeed trade.items	'They are all trade items.'
duen doo there.is indeed	'There is.' (reply to: 'Is there any salt?')
egpeke=tudug doo <u>Isot ta</u> INA=sleep indeed Isot DET	'Isot is able to sleep all right.'
dutu doo, dalesan ku there indeed house my	'My house is over there.' (in reply to: 'Where is your house?')

duo followed by the particle gaa ('relayed speech') reduces to do as in duen do gaa 'There is, she says'.

4.5.2 duu with positive constructions

duu preceded by another clitic i commonly enters into positive constructions in which the combination i duu seems to substitute for an objectifying particle of class <sa> or for the postclitic objectifying particle {ya}.

angay=an ko (or koya) i duu go=FR you PRT PRT	'Where are you going?'
kenà kawal ko i duu place shirt your PRT PRT	'Where is your shirt?'
katilà i duu swt.potato PRT PRT	'Sweet potato.' (in reply to: 'What does it eat?')
geléh ko pa diyà kenak palay ku i duu pound you PRT for me rice my PRT PRT	'Pound my rice for me, will you?'
i=pe=bulung ku pelà pali ku i duu NI=CA=medicine I still wound my PRT PRT	'I am about to get my wound medicined.'
niko ini duu your this PRT	'This is yours.'

duu has also been found in unusual equational constructions in which it is hard to differentiate two nuclear ICs.

kelu ko ya duu	'Where is your bolo?'
bolo your PRT PRT	(May I have your bolo?)

niko kelu ya duu	'Where is your bolo?'
your bolo PRT PRT	(Let me have it for a while?)

These constructions are questions and parallel the angayan ko ya questions dealt with under equational constructions (sec. 2.5).

In the foregoing sentences duu is probably best interpreted as a predicate item probably in association with the particle ya. Ya may be regarded as pronominal in this context, rather than an objectifying particle.

duu is also found in other minimal sentence constructions with only a single nuclear open expression:

langun dé duu	'They are all (his).'	(In reply to 'Are they all his?')
all PRT PRT		

There is an interesting parallel between duu and endâ. It is common for someone replying to a question to open his reply with the negative particle endâ.

Q. maen ko dini, guwaen i Kelupenit	'“Why are you here?”
reason your here, said DET little.bat	said the little bat.'

R. endâ, guwaen i Kenogon, in=uwit a	'“No,” said the
no said DET maiden PO=bring I	maiden, “I was brought by an evil spirit.”'

mangan etaw
spirit being

Q. ngadan angay=an sini selagi	'Where is this drum
what go=FR this drum	going to?'

R. endâ, i=sunggud ku sawa ku	'I am giving it as
no PI=bride.price I wife my	bride price for my wife.'

In such cases endâ, used elsewhere as a negative, is purely a sentence-opening particle. It may be that sentence-final duu, used in such questions as the following, acts similarly to a sentence-closing particle, though elsewhere it has a negative connotation.

angayan ko i duu	'Where are you going?'
go you PRT PRT	

4.5.3 wé Particle

Like duu and doo the particle wé functions as a clitic, related to the sentence as a whole rather than to any one immediate constituent. It may indicate particular emphasis. In all examples recorded it occurred sentence finally, taking priority over duu, dé, and pa for this position.

yagselapan du wé	'Don't play about!'
angayan yu wé	'Where are you going?'
météél ka dé wé	'Hurry up!'
angayan ko dé wé	'Where are you going?'
hiyupi ko wé	'Blow up (the fire)!'
duen pa <u>kugit</u> ko wé	'Have you any matches?'
there.is PRT matches your PRT	

wé has been found only in command and question constructions.

The objectifying particles siya and iya are often found in the expanded form siya wé and iya wé. No particular meaning can be assigned to wé in either of these cases. It may indicate particular emphasis of the following objectified expression. It is not known whether there is any correlation between this wé and the sentence-final wé already dealt with. (The objectifying particle sidò may expand in a slightly similar fashion to sidòé.)

4.5.4 Distribution of Sentence Particles⁸4.5.4.1 Group 1: dé and pa

dé and pa are mutually exclusive in their distribution and must be classed together. They occur with a wide range of constructions: actor-subject and non-actor-subject, negative and positive.

4.5.4.2 Group 2: duu and doo

duu and doo are mutually exclusive in their distribution. duu associates for the most part with negative constructions. doo associates with positive constructions. They are rather restricted in their distribution and occur immediately following the central open expression of the utterance or the nuclear substantive of the utterance if there is no open expression. The same is true of group 1 (sec. 4.5.4.1). Group 1 may, however, occur following endâ in preverb position; group 2 is never found in this position.

There have been only two recorded utterances in which a member of both groups have occurred together.

**langun dé duu	'They are all his.'
all PRT PRT	(reply to: 'Are they all his cattle?')

**endà dé egke=tuleng=an ta duu enù ka' 'We cannot recall it,
 not PRT INR=recall=RF we NEG as RP because we have
 forgotten.'
 ne=lipeng ké
 IPO=forget we

4.5.4.3 Group 3: pelà and endà

pelà is less restricted in its distribution than groups 1 and 2 and may occur elsewhere than immediately following the central open expression or endà though it occurs most commonly in these positions. It has never been found with pa (to which it seems to be semantically related), but has been found with dé.

m=ikù ki dé pelà 'Let's go home now.'
 FA=return we PRT still
 endà pelawà duen sawa di 'He has no wife yet.'
 not yet there.is spouse his

pelà is commonly associated with iya and ini in compound expressions indicating immediacy:

ini a pelà egtebow 'I have just arrived here.'
 **iya pelà igtebow dini 'He has just arrived here.'
 ini a pelà egdineg 'I have just heard (the news).'
 **iya pelà umangay dini 'She'll come here soon.'

4.5.4.4 Group 4: wé

wé may occur with members of groups 1 and 2. The expanded form pelawà may be the result of the combination pelawé followed by vowel harmony. Neither pelà nor pelawà has ever been found in combination with wé.

4.5.5 Speech Particles gaa and guwaen di

Speech relayed from a speaker to a hearer by yet another person is always closed by the particle gaa. Speech so relayed may be command, statement, or question. gaa 'relayed speech particle' and is used only when the original message is immediately relayed.

**duen dé gaa 'There is, she says.'
 there.is PRT reportedly
 **me=sakit pa gaa 'Does it hurt, she
 ADJ=ache still reportedly says.'

angay ka pa dini gaa 'Come here, she says.'
go you still here reportedly

Speech reported some time after the event is indicated by the verbal expressions guwaen di 'he/she says'. This expression may be defined as reported speech indicator. It is interpolated with a very high frequency in reported speech, unlike gaa which is used only utterance finally, usually with very short utterances. guwaen di may be interpolated several times within the one sentence. (It is of value in defining word boundaries in the language.)

It has been impossible to record free conversation owing to the length of utterances and the speed of articulation. But from general observation it seems that guwaen di may be interpolated between any of the major ICs of a sentence (but not within a verbal expression). In dictated story text material, usage of the expression is greatly reduced. It precedes or follows the speech. Occasionally it occurs within the speech when it is preceded by the sentence-opening expression endâ or some similar expression.

agulé um=igsà, maen ko dini, guwaen 'Then the small bat
then FA=ask reason your here said asked, "Why are you
here?"'

i kelupenit
DET small.bat

endâ, guwaen i Kenogon, in=uwit a "Oh," said the
no said DET maiden PO=bring I maiden, "I have been
brought (here) by an
evil spirit."

mangan etaw
spirit being

4.5.6 Sentence-Final Particle i

Questions are commonly formed by the closing of a statement-type construction with the particle i (sometimes expanded to hih or hai depending on dialectical differences). The particle seems, however, to indicate more commonly a rhetorical query or deference on the part of the speaker.

l=um=ikù a dé i 'Well, I'll be going
go.home=FA=___ I PRT PRT now.'

**hated=i ko kani i 'Take it soon! won't
take=IMP you soon PRT you?' (deferential
command)

k=um=aen ki dé i 'Well, let's eat now,
eat=FO=___ we PRT PRT will we?'

4.6 Expansions of Sentence

4.6.1 Time

Apart from the rather elusive time indication of the verbal affixes time may be more explicitly indicated by separate expressions. These expressions may be single words, phrases, or clauses.

Time Words

h=in=aa ku <u>Papi</u> <u>ya</u> gina see=PO=___ I Puppy DET recently	'I saw Puppy a while ago.'
ne=baluy dema etaw <u>sa</u> <u>bekesan</u> gina IPO=become again man DET shark soon	'The shark soon became a man again.'
agulé um=enaw simag <u>siya wé</u> <u>busaw</u> then FA=get.up tomorrow that DEM spirit	'That spirit got up next day.'
angay <u>ka</u> dini simag go you here tomorrow	'Come here tomorrow.'
agulé um=enaw <u>da</u> dé simag then FA=get.up they PRT tomorrow	'Then they got up next day.'
um=enaw sigep <u>sa</u> <u>ludeng</u> FA=get.up night DET taro	'Then the taro arose at night.'
um=enaw simag <u>sa</u> <u>maama</u> <u>sa</u> <u>bayi</u> FA=get.up tomorrow DET man DET woman	'The brother of the girl got up next morning.'
**mapun dé, tapay doo eg=tudug evening PRT still PRT NA=sleep	'By evening he was still sleeping.'
agulé tapay doo eg=ipanaw <u>sa</u> <u>busaw</u> then still PRT NA=walk DET spirit	'The spirit was still walking.'
agulé iya pelà uka=an da <u>sa</u> <u>pintu</u> then that just open=FR they DET door	'They had just opened the door.'
**i=begay ku dé kani diyà keniko NI=give I PRT soon to you	'I will give it to you shortly.'
senga hau=wen da <u>kami</u> ... whenever see=FO they us	'Whenever they see us'
agulé s=um=igep, tapay doo <u>sa</u> <u>bayi</u> then <u>night</u> =FA=___ still PRT DET girl	'Night came on. Still the girl cried.'
eg=sinegaw NA=cry	

Single-word time indicators, which can presumably be assigned to descriptive class, may occur sentence initially, sentence finally, or following the verb expression sentence medially. There seem to be subclasses of descriptive time indicators. tapay doo generally precedes the verb. sigep, simag, and allied expressions (dema 'again', igkani 'a brief time', etc.) tend to follow immediately after the verb expression. gina tends to take sentence-final position.

Time Phrases

Time phrases are generally introduced by egoh 'time/appearance':

egoh sigep	'at night, last night'
egoh anay	'in the beginning, a long time ago'
gona agdaw	'yesterday'
danà di eg-udan egoh sigep	'as a result of its
by it rain time night	raining last night'
egoh duwa gepadian	'two weeks ago'
time two week	

Time Clauses

Time clauses are usually introduced by egoh:

egoh hau=wen da <u>si</u> <u>Luminawlaw</u> ,	'When they saw
time see=FO they DET Luminawlaw	Luminawlaw, he was
	stretched out on his
	stomach.'
eg=olul	
NA=stretch	

4.6.2 Location

Location may be indicated by single words or phrases.

Location Words

dahedò ---> dadò	'over there, some distance away'
dahini ---> déyni ---> dini	'here'
dahiya ---> daya	'there (not specific)'
dalem	'inside'
dutu	'there'

The objectifying expressions siya and sidò are sometimes used to indicate location:

agulé t=um=ebow	<u>da</u> dé sidò é	'Then they arrived
then arrive=FA=	they PRT there PRT	there.'

The foregoing location indicators follow the verb expression. They take priority over single-word time indicators for position immediately following the verb expression.

m=angay <u>a</u> dini simag FA=go I here tomorrow	'I'll come here tomorrow.'
m=angay <u>ki</u> dutu simag FA=go we there tomorrow	'We'll go there tomorrow.'
angay <u>ka</u> dalem go you inside	'Come inside.'

Location Phrases

tukéy kenogon m=angay m=egeso dutu little maiden FA=go FA=fish to	'The little maiden went fishing to the river.'
sidò lawa='t wayeg that body=LIG water	
hau=wen di sa utan diyà siya wé see=FO she DET utan on that DEM	'She saw the utan on the top of a stump.'
pulu='t tued top=LIG stump	
ne=kelid kenogon i dutu sidò ilis IPO=roll maiden DET to that brink wayeg river	'She rolled into the brink of the river.'
agulé t=um=ebow dé dutu sidò kenogon then <u>arrive</u> =FA=___ PRT at that maiden	'Then he reached the maiden.'
agulé t=um=ebow dé siya kenogon dò then <u>arrive</u> =FA=___ PRT that maiden LOC	'Then he reached the maiden.'
t=um=enà dé tanà <u>go</u> =FA=___ PRT ground	'He went down to the ground.'
agulé ne=nabu sa busaw dutu sidò then IPO=fall DET spirit to that	'Then the spirit fell to the bottom of the waterfall.'

esudan sagpaw
bottom waterfall

agulé t=um=ebow dé busaw i dutu 'Then the spirit
then arrive=FA=___ PRT spirit DET at arrived at the house.'

sidò dalesan
that house

**um=ukit dé dalem kayukayu 'He went through the
FA=pass.thru PRT inside forest forest.'

Dutu with few exceptions requires sidò as the objectifying expression of the following substantive. Since sidò elsewhere means something at a distance, dutu must indicate movement towards something at a distance. This seems to be borne out by the foregoing examples.

Diyà is rarely followed by sidò but is commonly followed by the objectifier sa. Diyà is essentially stationary in its connotation. This confirms the fact that siya and its reduced form sa are simple objectifiers, unlike sidò and sini, which are used when distance is relevant. This would account for the much greater frequency of sa over the other two objectifiers.

There are interesting abbreviations and expansions of the noun phrases associated with dutu and diya. Postclitic particle dò (not to be confused with the sentence particle) often associates with the noun head word of a dutu phrase, for example:

mangay a dutu kenà ku dò 'I am going to my
go I there place my LOC place.'

Dutu is commonly dropped when this particle is used:

**agulé tumbow dé siya kenogon dò 'Then they reached the
then arrive PRT that maiden LOC maiden.'

dò is not used together with the objectifier sidò. The dò of sidò is presumably the same morpheme as the clitic dò.

m=angay da sidò lawi da 'They go to their
FA=go they that lean.to theirs lean-to.'

When the noun head word takes a lateral possessive class 5 pronoun, dò commonly stands between the possessive and its head word:

**eg=likù dé hagdi dò kenà 'Then he went off to
NA=return PRT his LOC place his place.'

The combination diyà sa commonly alternates with da siya, but the combination diyà siya is rare. There is a tendency to neutralise the homophony of the two words.

Although dutu and diyà are frequently used, location may be indicated by a noun or noun phrase without an overt valence.

m=angay a pa kenà i okon 'I will go to the
FA=go I PRT place DET maiden house of the young
girl.'

agulé d=in=alem i kenogon sa biahàn sa 'Then the maiden put
then put=PO=___ DET maiden DET basket DET the shoot in the
basket.'

tugbung
shoot

Other Location Indicators

There are several location words which never occur with an objectifying particle in indicating location, but always occur with dutu or dò or the combination dutu dò.

dagel 'upcountry, upstream'
dibaba 'downcountry, downstream'
dibaluy 'the other side'

atas also probably belongs to this subclass, the expression daatas 'upstairs' (sometimes heard as diatas) probably being an abbreviation of diya atas.

Compound location indicators include the following expressions:

leket-tanà 'underneath'
leket-atas 'on top, above'
mepokò tanà 'down low, close to the earth'

m=angay a dutu dagel 'I am going
FA=go I to upcountry upcountry.'

m=angay a dibaba dò 'I am going
FA=go I downcountry LOC downcountry.'

endà me=tuu di, ka ig=tagù 'It will not be
not IFO=trample it as PI=place trampled on as it has
been placed under-
leket-tanà underneath
underneath

4.6.3 Complex phrases and clauses indicating time, location, and cause

Time and location may be indicated by a subordinate-clause-like expressions. The expressions egoh and kenà respectively stand at the head of these clauses.

m=angay	a	dutu	kenà	ku	eg=tudug	
FA=go	I	to	place	I	NA=sleep	

'I am going to the bedroom (where I sleep).'

Since the expression headed by kenà invariably substitutes for a simple substantive, it may be better to regard it as a noun phrase with kenà the head word, which the verb expression is dependent on. This seems to be supported by the postposing of a class 2 <ku> pronoun to kenà. This pronoun class indicates possession of substantives (and other functions).

Time clauses introduced by egoh are open to a similar choice of interpretations since internally they follow the pattern of kenà expressions though they usually substitute for simple time descriptive class words rather than substantives.

k=um=aen	da	dema,	egoh	da	eg=beli	
eat=FA=	___	they	again	time	they	NA=buy
uton						
fish						

'They will eat again when they buy fish.'

An egoh expression substitutes in the substantive position in the following sentence, but the time element seems to be a subordinate feature.

me=tiig	ka	eg=atuatu	siya	egoh	di	
IPO=know	you	NA=judge	that	time	it	

'You know how to judge when it is full.'

egke=penù	
INO=full	

The time element is more definite in the following:

endà	ne=sugat	di,	sa	ke=bael,	egoh	muna	
not	IPO=right	it	DET	DRV=make	time	first	

'It was not right when it was first made.'

b=in=ael=an	
make=PR=	___=RF

Cause may be indicated by similar constructions introduced by danà 'by':

ne=daig	ka,	danà	ko	eg=sabà	apuy	
IPO=burn	you	by	you	NA=hold	fire	

'You were burnt by holding the fire.'

**ne=genaw=an danà di mig=angay dutu
IPR=cold=RF by he PA=go to

'He caught malaria
from his going to
Kulaman.'

Kulaman
Kulaman

**ne=bilanggu egoh anay danà di eg=tigbas
IPO=imprison when first by he NA=cut.up

'He was imprisoned
for hacking up a
Japanese.'

Apun
Japanese

Unlike kenà and egoh, danà is not an objectified expression. It is not the head word of the expression but is a valence-carrying morpheme linking the verb of the danà expression to the nuclear open expression of the sentence. The danà expression, however, can substitute for a simple substantive like the egoh and kenà expressions.

mine=laeb siya lepò danà apuy
IPO=wilt that coconut by fire

'The coconut tree has
been wilted by the
fire.'

egke=killing sa tanà danà i Nemula
INO=spin DET earth by DET Nemula

'The earth has been
set spinning by God.'

egke=killing i Nemula sa tanà
INO=spin DET God DET earth

'The earth has been
set spinning by God.'

Some subordinate constructions are unambiguously clauses. These clauses are related back to the main clause by such expressions as:

ani 'in order that'
ka, enù ka 'because'
amuk 'if, when'
huenan di 'for this reason'

huenan di stands clause finally preceded by a slight pause. The other expressions stand at the head of the clause.

ani followed by eg- elides to give anig- in normal speech, for example, ani eg-angay dini ---> anigangay dini.

eg=lidung a ka duen batà di,
NA=hide I as there.is child his

'I am hiding because
his child is following
me.'

eg=lohot=en di aken
NO=follow=OF he me

endà peke=ipanaw di ka ne=polot
not INA=walk he as INO=bind

'He can't move about
because he is bound.'

eg=umow=en ku sa sawa ku ani eg=angay
NO=call=OF I DET wife my so.that NA=go

'I am calling my wife
to come here to be
given medicine.'

dini pe=bulung
here CA=medicine

t=in=alun sa manuk ani
release=PO=___ DET hen so.that
egpeke=kaen
INA=eat

'The hen has been
released so that it
can be fed.'

eg=tipak=en ku sa kayu; dakel,
NO=cut.down=OF I DET wood big

'I am paring down the
wood; it is too big.'

huanan di
reason its

**amuk k=um=e=dakel, d=um=uen bulbul di
when DRV=FA=___=big be=FA=___ hair its

'When it becomes big,
it will have hair.'

endà meke=kaen ké, amuk endà duen kayu
not IFA=eat we if not there.is wood

'We can't eat unless
there is wood (for our
fire).'

Single words may substitute in the slots marked by these subordinating words. These single words are usually open verbal expressions with a zero third-person subject and must be given the status of full clauses. Single objectified expressions may, however, substitute in these slots.

eg=hemued=en ki kilat, ka дума ta
NO=bite=OF we lightning as relatives our

'We would be struck
by lightning (for such
an act) as they are
our relations.'

Such substitution of an objectified expression cannot occur in a clause introduced by ani.

4.6.4 Time and location words as major open expressions

Time and location are generally indicated by lateral items. Occasionally, however, such an item may function as the nuclear open expression of the sentence.

simag a pa
tomorrow I still

'I will be back
tomorrow.'

simag a pa t=um=elaki
tomorrow I still folktale=FA-___

'I will tell the
folktale tomorrow.'

dutu dé Mundi a, eg=lagbas dé
there PRT Mundi DET NA=pass.by PRT

'There goes Mundi now
passing.'

sekepadiyan ka dutu kenà ko dō,
one.week you to place your LOC

'You had been gone
one week on your way
home when she died.'

**ne=matay dé
IPO=die PRT

4.7 Derivational affixes

4.7.1 pig-

The prefix pig- can best be translated 'to go about looking for':

eg=pig=bayi Papi ya
NA=SRC=women Puppy DET

'Puppy is out looking
for female dogs.'

p=in=ig=sagé=én ku siya wé ayap
SRC=PO=___=tide.line=OF I that DEM shell

'I went along the
tide line looking for
shells.'

dagat
sea

piglaget 'to look for tobacco leaf'
pigkayu 'to go to collect wood'
pigposot 'look for betel nut'
pigkutu 'look for fleas'

The prefix eg- precedes pig- to indicate the direction of travel.

eg=pig=kulaman a
NA=SRC=Kulaman I

'I am going up to
Kulaman.'

4.7.2 lig-

lig- is found in a number of stems. No meaning can be assigned to it. It is presumably an inactive morph, a historical residue.

ligtuwa	'waterfall'
ligkubung	'to pull dress up over head'
ligpuwak	'to topple off from a height'
egpeligboyot	'to speak slowly and deliberately'

4.7.3 li-

li- is found in a number of verbal expressions, for example:

kumeliwayeg	'to become saturated with water' (from wayeg 'water')
melimeket	'to be sticky' (from peneket 'stick to')
egkelimedang	'to be afraid' (from nemedang)
egkelimahan	'to put to rights/fix up'.

4.7.4 mekepe-

meke- never occurs with <-en>, <-an>, <-um>, or <i> affix sets. It has been found occasionally in combination with the prefix pe-.

endâ pa meke=pe=tebek <u>di</u>	'He has not yet been
not yet IFA=CA=inject he	injected.'
endâ meke=pe=tulad <u>ké</u>	'Aren't we going to
not IFA=CA=photograph we	be photographed?'

The affix pe- transforms the meke- expression into a distinctly passive construction in which the action of some other person or agent reflects back on the subject. (See also sec. 1.4 on causative constructions.)

4.7.5 -umin-

-umin- is not an uncommon infix. The constructions in which it has been found have been actor-subject and intransitive. There is no evidence to suggest, however, that all -umin- constructions must be intransitive. The meaning of the affix is not certain. It has usually been associated with comments concerning some activity immediately after the event.

**l=umin=away eg=legkang diyâ sedep	'(The hen) just flew
<u>fly</u> =PA=___ NA=leave from under house	off from under the
	house.'
**l=umin=ayang kedu dahini	'He (the kitten) just
<u>jump</u> =PA=___ from here	jumped from here.'
t=umin=ayagpes <u>a</u> doo	'I have just been
<u>clear.land</u> =PA=___ I indeed	clearing land.'
me=pion ka t=umin=ebow <u>ka</u>	'It is good that you
ADJ=good because <u>arrive</u> =PA=___ you	have just come.'

tig=lima=way gesaw
DIST=five=RC rafters

'The rafters are to
be arranged in five
groups along the
roof.'

The affix sig- is somewhat related in function referring to only object:

**sig=bagkes=bagkes=ay kenagda 'Each received one
DIST=one.binding=one.binding=RC they bundle.'

ne=sig=baen da 'They were distri-
IPO=DIST=one they buted one to each
parent.'

**eg=sig=baen=baen=en ku sa tablin, endà 'I take the tablets
NO=DIST=one=one=OF I DET tablet not one at a time, not all
at once.'

eg=lengon=en ku duu
NO=all=OF I NEG

4.7.9 se-

se- enters into a rather diverse group of constructions. It is difficult to define its exact function. With many of the constructions, however, it is possible to postulate the role of unity: unity of time, unity of place, unity of action, etc. This would suggest identity with the cardinal numeral ise 'one', which as a descriptive of nouns is sa, valenced to the following noun by the ligature ge-.

se- -ay indicates reciprocal action. This may be regarded as unity of action, both actors being involved in the same activity in the same place at the same time. The construction may be reciprocally intransitive or reciprocally transitive.

eg=se=bulit=ay da
NA=RC=angry=RC they

'They are angry with
each other.'

eg=se=tipon=oy da
NA=RC=gather=RC they

'They are all
gathered together.'

eg=se=tépéd=éy da
NA=RC=sit.beside=RC they

'They are all sitting
side by side.'

It will be noted from these examples that the suffix consists of phonologically conditioned allomorphs: -éy and -oy following stems in which the vowels of the final syllable are é and o respectively, -ay occurring elsewhere.

Additional examples of the intransitive reciprocal type are:

eg=se=ikagi=yay <u>da</u>	'They are speaking to
NA=RC=speak=RC they	each other.'
eg=se=taked=ay <u>da</u> , sa ebos	'The roosters are
NA=RC=heel=RC they DET roosters	fighting.'

In transitive reciprocal constructions a third party (nonsubject) is the object of the reciprocal activity.

eg=se=penakaw=ay <u>da</u> -'t tanà	'They steal the land
NA=RC=steal=RC they=LIG land	from each other.'
eg=se=tabang=ay <u>ki</u> t=um=udak katilà	'We help each other
NA=RC=help=RC we <u>plant</u> =FA=___ swt.potato	plant sweet potato.'
eg=se=tinudu=ay <u>da</u> -'t belad	'They point at each
NA=RC=point=RC they=LIG hands	other.'

se- also enters into combination with the affix sets <-um->, <-en->, and <-an->. It has not yet been found in combination with set <i->.

Only a few sume- constructions have been recorded. Most have been transitively reciprocal, the reciprocity involving the activity of the object, the subject initiating the activity. Such a construction permits a singular subject. (Plurality of subject is essential with se-ay constructions.)

sume=tipon <u>a</u> etaw; t=um=egudon <u>a</u>	'I'll have the people
FAREP=gather I people <u>tell.story</u> =FA=___ I	gather together; I
	intend to tell a
	story.'
sume=buteng <u>ki</u> ='t kudà	'We'll organise a
FAREP=bite we=LIG horse	horse fight.' (We'll
	set the horses
	fighting.)
egse=taked <u>a</u> duwa manuk	'I'll set the two
NOREP=heel I two chicken	chickens to fighting
	(striking) with the
	spur of the heel)'
sume=sugù <u>ké</u> kenagda eg=se=ludeg=ay	'We'll ask them to
FAREP=request we them NA=RC=wrestle=RC	wrestle together.'

In one instance the unity or reciprocity seems to involve a one-for-one correlation between subject and object.

sume=kuyà ki sa kudà
FAREP=pursue we DET horse

'We go after the horses, one person after each horse.'

*sumekuyà a sa kudà is impermissible.

se- -en is the most common of the se- constructions and is essentially goal-subject. Reciprocity is often a feature of such constructions, the reciprocating or reciprocated members being the subject of the construction while another party initiates the activity. This parallels the <pe- -en> construction already dealt with in which some person (not the subject) causes another person or thing (the subject) to perform the action implied by the verb root.

Typical examples of this type are:

egse=limud=en ku pa kagda da Fléd da
NOREP=crowd.in=OF I PRT them to Fred PRT

'I'll get them to gather together to Fred.'

egse=hau=wen da kagda
NOREP=see=OF they they

'They brought them face to face.'

egse=liyu=wen ku sa bangku
NOREP=behind=OF I DET stools

'I'll change the stools around.'

egse=sugu=en ku kiyu eg=se=balbal=ay
NOREP=order=OF I you NA=RC=beat=RC

'I have ordered you to beat each other.'

The reciprocity may, however, obtain between the nonsubject agents of the action.

egse=penakaw=en da sa ungéh diatas
NOREP=snatch=OF they DET rat upstairs

'They (the cats) are playing with the mouse upstairs.'

egse=penakaw=en da sa tanà
NOREP=snatch=OF they DET land

'They snatch the land from each other.'

In the following expression there is no reciprocity between the subject items. The reciprocity may, however, be in the action of one person who buys from another person who initiates or requests the action. It is essentially a closed process involving no outside party. A <pe- -en> construction would involve a first party getting another party to buy from still another party. This se- -en construction is a process involving only two parties, the first party getting the second party to buy from the first party.

egse=beli=yen di siya manuk diyà keniko 'He got you to buy
 NOREP=buy=OF he that chicken to you the chicken from him.'

Uniting action rather than reciprocity is implied in the following:

egse=tepeng=en ku sa elé 'I will even up the
 NOREP=measure=OF I DET kunai kunai (cogon) grass.'

Here the bundles of grass cut for roofing are jostled to bring the stem ends uniformly together. The simple goal-subject expression is:

eg=tepeng=en ku sini unol 'I will measure this
 NO=measure=OF I this snake unol snake.'

Here the snake is measured by placing a measuring rod alongside it.

Contrasting the two sentences with the same root serves to emphasise the unity connotation of se-.

Somewhat the same feature is involved in the following:

egse=tipon ku sa me=doo latà 'I gather the tins
 NOREP=gather I DET ADJ=many tins together (in one spot).'

egse=dapag=en da sa dawat 'They place the pens
 NOREP=near=OF they DET pens close together.'

Unity in these sentences may be defined as "togetherness." Togetherness is also indicated in the following expressions:

egse=lapin=en di sa libi 'He is interlaying
 NOREP=layer=OF he DET libi the libi palm leaves.'

egse=sumpat=en i Piping sa gesaw 'Piping will overlap
 NOREP=overlap=OF DET Piping DET rafters the ends of the rafter poles.'

Negation of togetherness is indicated in the following expressions in which the unitedness refers to the subject items:

egse=talak=en ta sa labit 'We'll place the
 NOREP=place.apart=OF we DET rabbits rabbits in separate compartments.'

The function of se- with other roots is not always clear as in:

amuk duen kelang, m=igsa sa sebaen 'If corn is in,
if there.is corn FA=ask DET another another person may ask
(if there is any).'

etaw
person

**endà, guwaen ta i, sine=kaen ké dé '“No,” we say, “we
no say we POREP=eat we PRT have eaten it.”'

It would seem from the context that all the corn has been eaten. (Unity may be implied in the completeness of the act.) The same interpretation may hold for more ambiguous sentences.

sa miyong, egse=kaen=en di siya me=doo 'The cat is eating a
DET cat NOREP=eat=OF he that ADJ=many lot of paper.'

kelatas
paper

With godoy 'to drag', se- seems to indicate unity, the agent dragging one object, or a group of agents each dragging one thing.

egse=godoy=en ku sa talumpà ku 'I'm dragging my
NOREP=drag=OF I DET sandal my sandal along.'

egse=godoy=en i Mali Papi ya 'Puppy is being
NOREP=drag=OF DET Marie Puppy DET dragged along by
Marie.'

egse=godoy=en ké sa apus 'We dragged the apus
NOREP=drag=OF we DET bamboo bamboo down.'

sine=godoy i Papi sa miyong 'Puppy is dragging
POREP=drag=OF DET Puppy DET cat the cat along.'

With other roots the role of se- is even more difficult to define, its omission having little if any effect on the construction.

egse=ketket=en di sa kayu 'It (the rabbit) is
NOREP=grow=OF he DET wood gnawing at the wood.'

egse=pegeni=yen da diyà keniko sa kulta 'They are asking you
NOREP=beg=OF they to you DET money for money.'

se- -an is an affix combination indicating reciprocal or unified action by agents operating on another party, the subject.

egse=oyong=on da eg=uwit <u>makina</u> <u>da</u> NOREP=carry=OF they NA=bring machine their	'They are carrying the machine between them at each end.'
**egse=bulig=an ta eg=hanet NRREP=help=RF we NA=lift	'We help each other to lift (it).'
egse=limud=an da <u>aken</u> NRREP=crowd=RF they me	'They crowd in upon me.'
**egse=dibaluy=an ta eg=tutuk NRREP=opposite.side=RF we NA=nail	'We nail together from both sides at once.'
egse=ugpu=wan da eg=hemued <u>sa</u> <u>ungéh</u> NRREP=end=RF they NA=bite DET rat	'They are biting at the rat from both ends.'
egse=tagped=an ta <u>sa</u> <u>timun</u> NRREP=cut=RF we DET cucumber	'We cut the cucumber and take half each.'

Another use of se- is in combination with the affixes ke-, me-, and pe-, respectively. The resulting combinations are rarely found with the affix sets <-en>, <-an>, or <i->. Each of the combinations conveys a sense of togetherness and/or reciprocity.

ke-

egkese=tubeltubel <u>da</u> egke=matay NREC=die.in.epidemic they INO=die	'They died one after the other.'
egkese=unut <u>da</u> , <u>sa</u> sayap NREC=accompany they DET hat	'The hats fell down one behind the other.'
egkese=hidu <u>yu</u> NREC=love you	'You love each other.'

me-

nese=tipon <u>ki</u> dalem PREC=gather we inside	'We gathered together inside.'
**nese=tepeng PREC=same	'It is the same, of like nature.'

nese=dugkul ki
PREC=bump we

'We bumped together.'

pe-

amuk etaw duen épél ku,
if person there.is bro-in-law my

'If there is a person, my brother-in-law, I will go (to him).'

eg=angay a dutu
NA=go I there

eg=se=pe=sunggud=ay ké, enù ka tebay
NA=RC=CA=bride.price=RC we, as RP sister

'I will have him exchange bride price items, because my sister is his wife.'

ku duen sawa di
my there.is wife his

egpesesungguday ké is said to mean the same as egpesungguden ku sa épél ku 'I will get my brother-in-law to give me bride price items'.

eg=pe=se=bulig a keniyu
NA=CA=RC=help I you

'I'll get you to help me.'

eg=pe=se=uwit=uwit ké dalem owong endà
NA=CA=RC=bring=bring we in canoe not

'We will be carried along in the canoe; we won't paddle.' (The wind will take us.)

eg=pula ké
NA=paddle we

eg=pe=se=limud ké melaweng etaw
NA=CA=RC=crowd we many people

'We will be crowded in by many people.'

In these pese- constructions the subject is the goal of an action. Togetherness or reciprocity is detectable in most cases.

The following are examples of one of the foregoing combinations in association with a non-actor-subject affix.

**nese=dibaluy-an eg=tutuk
PREC=opposite.side=RF NA=nail

'It has been nailed from both sides.'

éhé siya labit, pe=se=amut=en ku kagda
e.g. that rabbit CA=FOREP=mix=FO I them

'For instance, the rabbits, I will have them put together.'

4.8 Other derivation for stem formation

4.8.1 Substantives

The majority of substantives are free roots. It is characteristic of Cotabato Manobo, as well as all other Filipino dialects, that roots which function in isolation as substantives with few exceptions may become stems for verbal expressions. Even town names may function as verb stems, for example, egpigkulaman 'to go to Kulaman'.

The possessive pronoun hagdi has been found as a verb root:

hagdi=yen di <u>kita</u>	'He'll take us for
his=FO he us	his own.'

Another example of a substantive becoming a verb stem is shown in the following:

gulé	'times, multiple'
segulé	'one, one time'
egseguléen sa duwa	'two taken one at a time'

Substantives may be derived by affixation from roots which are verbal, that is, roots not found in isolation as substantives).

Affixation of ke- to a root produces a substantive which is a nominalised active or stative verb expression:

telu agdaw pa <u>ke=dagpak</u> i <u>emâ</u> <u>ku</u>	'My father will
three day yet DRV=arrival of father my	arrive here in three
	days.'

h=um=aa <u>a</u> hagdi <u>ke=bigkat</u>	'I would like to see
see=FA=___ i his DRV=walk	how they walk.'

**diyâ <u>ke=dakel</u> i Papi	'He is as big as
to DRV=big DET Puppy	Puppy.'

egpeke=sapel <u>sa</u> <u>ke=buung</u> <u>ko</u>	'The thing you threw
INO=rebound DET DRV=throw your	rebounded on you.'

anì me=pion <u>sa</u> <u>ke=lengà</u> <u>di</u>	'... so that it will
so.that ADJ=good DET DRV=release its	be easy to release.'

iya <u>ke=diyù</u> <u>di</u> <u>ya</u>	'That is how far it
that DRV=distant its	is away.'

Affixation of -an to an open expression produces a substantive indicating location or place:

mangay a dagat dō
go I sea LOC

'I am going to the sea.'

angayan ko ya
go you PRT

'Where are you going?'

egdanan a
rest.head I

'I rest my head down on something.'

dananan

'pillow'

kedu a kenà ku dō
from I place my LOC

'I have come from my house.'

keduwan ko ya
from you PRT

'Where are you from?'

Affixation of either of the goal-subject affixes -en and -in- to an open (verbal) root, or to a root which may function without affixes as a simple substantive, commonly produces simple derived substantives:

egkelu 'to cut weeds'

---> kelu 'bolo'

---> keluwen 'weeds'

egtibah 'to clear land'

---> tinibah 'farm clearing'

sigpù 'spear'

---> sinigpù 'arrow with spearlike head'

sagpeng 'lid'

---> sinagpeng 'basket with lid'

eglugab 'to cook in water'

---> linugab 'cooked food'

tusù 'pointed spiral shell'

---> tinusù 'brass belt'

kaen 'eat'

---> kaenen 'food'

egtudug 'to sleep'

---> tinudug 'sleep'

endà duen tinudug ku egoh sigep 'I did not sleep last night.'

Verbal expressions may be objectified by preposing an objectifying <sa> particle:

eglinadu 'to be sick'

sa eglinadu 'a sick person'

egbaba 'to carry on back'

sa egbaba kenak 'someone to carry me'

egbegay 'to give'

sak binegayan ko timus 'the one to whom you gave salt'

beken duu pulow siya egbuong 'It is not an owl that
not NEG owl the throw hurls things.'

Substantives derived by the objectifying of clauses will be referred to as compound substantives.

Simple substantives may also be derived by double affixation:

salà 'sin, wrongdoing, crime'
kesalaan 'payment for crime, fine'

egtulù 'to teach'
sa ketulù 'the act of teaching'
sa kepetulù 'the act of being taught'

unut 'to accompany/to follow/to obey'
keunutan 'leader'

iya ke=unut=an da diyà Kulaman, 'Mamu is their leader
that DRV=accompany=RF they at Kulaman at Kulaman.'

si Mamu
DET Mamu

4.8.2 Reduplication

Reduplication of a root usually implies lesser intensity of quality or purpose in an open expression. [Underlining here shows root reduplication rather than subject as in examples in the rest of the article.-Ed.]

m=ipanaw a dutu dagat dô 'I am going to the
FA=travel I to coast LOC coast.'

eg=ipanaw=panaw a 'I am just walking
NA=travel=travel I about (going nowhere
in particular).'

me=tiig=tiig ka dé eg=ikagi Menubù 'You know a little
IFO=know=know you PRT NA=speak Manobo how to speak Manobo.'

me=tiig a eg=duyuy 'I know how to sing.'
IFO=know I NA=sing

eg=patay=patay sa legleg di 'Its flame is dying
NA=die=die DET flame its slowly.'

ne=matay da doo 'They died.'
IPO=die they PRT

miitem 'black'
diisek 'little'

miitem-item 'slightly black'
diisek-isek 'somewhat small'

Reduplication of an open expression occasionally indicates frequent repetition or prolongation:

egpelepenglepeng
egliguligu
egpegtotpegtot

'pop its head in and out of container'
'to go round and round in circles'
'to hop or canter along bobbing up and down'

Reduplication of objectified expressions usually indicates plurality:

saging 'banana'
libutà 'mud'
sugud 'plain'
katilà 'sweet potato'

sagingsaging 'a plantation of bananas'
libutàbutà 'an expanse of mud'
sugudsugud 'an expanse of plains'
katilàtilà 'a field of sweet potato'

In general plural is not indicated either in the verb expression or the substantive. It is inferred from the context.

4.9 Phrases

4.9.1 Descriptive <--- descriptive

The descriptive <--- descriptive constitute [indicated by underlining in the following examples] is occasionally found:

senga simag duen dema salà di
every morning there.is again evil his

'Every morning he is
wicked over again.'

senga simag
every morning

'every morning'

duen etaw dutu, me=doo temù
there.is people there ADJ=many very

'There are people
there, very many of
them.'

me=doo temù
ADJ=many very

'very many'

4.9.2 Comparative construction

Comparison is usually indicated by the expression diyà.

me=bagel pa kedungon diyà libi
ADJ=strong yet abaca to libi

'Abaca is stronger
than libi palm.'

**diyà ke=dakel kenagdi
to DRV=big him

'It is as big as he.'

uman=uman pa ke=dakel di dahini
 more=more yet DRV=big it here

'It (the tablet) is a
 bit bigger than this
 one here.'

NOTES

1. The material on which this analysis of Cotabato Manobo is based was collected during one year's residence (1956-57) in the community of Datu Mama Undas. It was obtained in the normal course of daily activity from non-English speakers who spoke Cotabato Manobo as their first language. Most of the material was collected from members of the local territorial group and from our houseboys, Mundi, Umpit, and Atudan. A considerable amount of useful material was collected from Datu Mama Undas. In the final six weeks more systematic work was undertaken, especially with our eldest house boy, Umpit. He was a lad of exceptional intelligence who, though illiterate at the time, learned to read and write his own language after two months of training. A number of folktales were collected from him.

Particular thanks are due to the Summer Institute of Linguistics, under whose auspices this work was undertaken, and to its various members in the Philippines (R.E. Elkins, F.B. Dawson, and others) whose studies of related dialects have helped greatly to an understanding of Cotabato Manobo. Special thanks are also due to those members of the organization, Drs. K.L. Pike, R.S. Pittman, and H.P. McKaughan, to whom the author owes his training in linguistics during their terms as Principal at successive sessions of the Summer School of Linguistics held in Australia since 1950.

[Ross Errington, an S.I.L. researcher among the Cotabato Manobo since 1976, suggested the publication of Kerr's "Cotabato Manobo Grammar" and has contributed much editorial help. The initials R.E. at the end of bracketed material in this study indicate that it was contributed by Mr. Errington.--Ed.]

2. In all vernacular examples the subject of a sentence will be underlined. If the subject is a zero third person singular, this will be indicated by a double asterisk.

3. [The present continuous affix is called neutral time aspect in the examples, following the terminology of Johnston (1975).--R.E.]

4. Following the standard convention, impermissible constructions will be indicated by a single asterisk.

5. hauwen is the goal-subject form of the root haa 'to see'.

6. manà is the -um- form of the root panà 'to shoot with a bow'.

7. [Later analysis revealed that yaka is used for a singular negative command, and yoko is used for plural, for example:

yaka eg=ipanaw wa
don't NA=travel NEG

'Don't (singular) go.'

yoko eg=ipanaw wa
don't NA=travel NEG

'Don't (plural) go.'

Negative non-actor-subject commands use the particle duu to mark the goal or referent subject constituent, for example:

yaka eg=bigà duu sa sawa di
don't NO=adultery NEG DET spouse his

'Don't commit adultery with his wife.'
--R.E.]

8. It is interesting to note that single objectified expressions may comprise a nuclear constituent of an utterance with no other overt nuclear IC if one of the sentence particles stands with it:

kuna pa 'You go on. It's your turn.'
kenà di dé 'Where is he?'

APPENDIX: COTABATO MANOBO PHONOLOGY

The phonemes of the Cotabato Manobo language are listed here to show the phonetic, phonemic, and practical orthography. (See also Lyman 1971.) In this appendix, glottal stop is written as ʔ; normally glottal stop is unwritten except at word-final position, in which case it is written with a grave accent mark (`). All phonemes are produced with egressive lung air. All vowel phonemes are voiced.

<u>Phonetic</u>	<u>Phonemic</u>	<u>Practical</u>	<u>Illustration</u>
[a], [ʌ]	/a/	a	alat 'open woven basket'
[b]	/b/	b	bataʔ 'child'
[k], [ḳ]	/k/	k	kayu 'wood'
[d]	/d/	d	dalid 'eagle'
[ɛ]	/ɛ/	e	ebel 'smoke'
[ə] [e]	/ə/	é	épéʔ 'master'
[g]	/g/	g	gatas 'milk'
[h]	/h/	h	habet 'carrying sling'
[i], [ị]	/i/	i	iyug 'back'
[l]	/l/	l	lepoʔ 'coconut'
[m]	/m/	m	mata 'eye'
[n]	/n/	n	nanas 'pineapple'
[ŋ]	/ŋ/	ng	ngipen 'teeth'
[ô], [ộ]	/ô/	o	owong 'canoe'
[p]	/p/	p	paliʔ 'wound'
[s]	/s/	s	sapiʔ 'cow'
[t]	/t/	t	tabuʔ 'cup'
[u], [ụ]	/u/	u	ubal 'monkey'
[w]	/w/	w	wayeg 'water'
[y]	/y/	y	yu 'you (plural)'
[ʔ]	/ʔ/		piʔpiʔ 'to wash'

The following chart shows the position and manner of articulation of phonemes. vl indicates voicelessness and vd voicing. Allophones are in brackets.

CONSONANTS:

Manner of Articulation	Point of Articulation			
	Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stop: vl vd		t d	k g	ʔ
Fricative: vl	p	s		h
Nasal: vd	m	n	ŋ	
Lateral: vd		l		
nonsyllabic vocoids	w	y		

VOWELS:

	Front Unrounded	Mid Unrounded	Back Rounded
High: Close Open	i [i] [ɪ]		u [u] [ʊ]
Mid: Close Open	ɛ [e] [ɛ]	ə [ə] [ʌ]	ô [ô] [ɔ]
Low: Close Open		a [a]	ǔ [ǔ]

Description of Consonants

Stops: There are three voiceless stops, t, k, and ʔ, which are articulated at the alveolar, velar, and glottal points respectively. k has two allophones, [k] and backed voiceless velar [k̠]. [k̠] occurs infrequently (and only with some speakers), contiguous to the vocoid [ǔ], or possibly in association with the vowel sequence [ô] + [ô], [ǔ] + [ǔ], or [ô] + [ǔ]. New literates had no difficulty in writing or reading the phoneme k̠, which added weight to the conclusion that [k] and [k̠] are allophones. Examples:

[k̠ǔǔk̠] /k̠ǔǔk̠/ konok 'white ants'
[siʔǔk̠ǔʔ] /siʔǔk̠ǔʔ/ siʔokoʔ 'wasp'

There are three voiced stops, b, d, and g, articulated at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar points respectively.

Stop Contrasts:

<u>t</u> and <u>d</u>	tana [?] 'earth'	dalit 'hawk, eagle'
	dana [?] 'by'	dalid 'root'
	togo [?] 'stringed instrument'	katal 'noose'
	dogo [?] 'nearly'	dadal 'a slope'
<u>k</u> and <u>ʔ</u>	pilak 'pesos'	talak 'to keep'
	pila [?] 'type of ant'	tala [?] 'to pass by'
	melok 'bird species'	badak 'jack fruit'
	melo [?] 'very'	bada [?] 'to whisper because of laryngitis'
<u>k</u> and <u>g</u>	anak 'offspring'	kelang 'corn'
	anag 'to hit target'	gelang 'stalk of fungus'
	lukot 'waste tissue'	tuduk 'ridge of hill'
	lugot 'to be pursued'	tudug 'to sleep'
<u>ʔ</u> and <u>g</u>	ba [?] u 'sea turtle'	kala [?] 'frying pan'
	bagu 'a small tree'	kalag 'to bite skin without puncturing'
	simag 'tomorrow'	lénég 'slow'
	sima [?] 'small projecting piece on bolo, etc.'	lésé [?] 'to crackle'

Fricatives: There are three voiceless fricatives, p, s and h, articulated at the bilabial, alveolar, and glottal points respectively.

Fricative Contrasts:

<u>h</u> and <u>ʔ</u>	bagah 'glowing coal'	pelah 'back of tongue'
	baga [?] 'lungs'	pela [?] 'underarm'
	bulah 'debris dropping into eye'	luhub 'to pull on clothes'
	bula [?] 'white'	lu [?] eb 'cylinder for storing arrows'

Nasals: There are three voiced nasals, m, n, and ng, which are articulated at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar points respectively.

Nasal Contrasts:

<u>n</u> and <u>ng</u>	dalan 'path'	sambiʔan 'to exchange'
	delang 'tree species'	sambiʔang 'mouth of river'
	nigu 'winnowing basket'	tuntun 'to hand down'
	ngibu 'thousand'	tungsung 'firefly'

Laterals: There is only one lateral, l, which is voiced and articulated at the alveolar point.

Nonsyllabic Vocoids: There are two nonsyllabic vocoids. The voiced high back close rounded w has been interpreted as a bilabial consonant. The voiced high front close unrounded y has been interpreted as an alveolar consonant.

Description of Vowels

Front Vowels (i and é): i has two allophones: high, close, unrounded vocoid [i] and high, open, unrounded vocoid [ɪ]. [ɪ] is restricted in its occurrence to closed syllables, that is, CVC syllables. [i] occurs in positions other than in closed syllables. (In the following examples syllable boundaries are indicated by a period.)

[pɪ.n.tɪt]	/pɪntit/	pɪntit	'a small duck'
[li.pɪt]	/lipit/	lipit	'a peg or clip'
[li.hi]	/lihi/	lihi	'bad luck'
[si.lɪŋ]	/siliŋ/	siling	'spirit beings of the water'

é has two allophones, mid, open, unrounded vocoid [ɛ] and mid, close, unrounded vocoid [e]. [e] occurs only following k in open syllables (CV syllables); [ɛ] occurs elsewhere. Examples:

[bɛ.bɛʔ]	/bɛbɛʔ/	bébéʔ	'grandparent'
[kɛ.gət]	/kɛgət/	kégét	'to squeak'
[kɛ.bɛŋ]	/kɛbɛŋ/	kébéŋ	'lying part in the water'
[kɛ.mɛt]	/kɛmɛt/	kémét	'to hold with thumb and finger'

i and é Contrasts:

ki	'we incl'	betiʔ	'loop'
ké	'we excl'	betéʔ	'to crackle'
legpiʔ	'to fold end to end'	di	'he'
legpéʔ	'to follow contour of hill'	dé	particle
kilkil	'to master'	kuwiʔ	'to quiver (at tip of nose)'
kélkél	'a rasp for wood'	kuwék	'to squeal'

Mid Vowels (e and a): e is a mid, close unrounded vocoid.

e and é Contrasts:

kelet 'close together'	tugek 'to brace, prop'
kelét 'species of bird'	tugék 'to break down'
lebés 'to splash out'	beleté? 'small red ant'
lébéd 'to crawl (insect)'	belésé? 'species of bird'
pengké 'name of woman'	lesék 'to dive under water'
béngké? 'mumps'	lepé? 'to lay ears back (dog)'

a has two allophones: low, open, unrounded, vocoid [a] and mid, open, unrounded vocoid [ʌ]. [ʌ] occurs only preceding glottal stop or h; [a] occurs elsewhere. Examples:

[ba.tʌʔ]	/bataʔ/	bataʔ	'child'
[na.nʌʔ]	/nanaʔ/	nanaʔ	'pus'
[su.wʌh]	/suwah/	suwah	'to vomit'
[la.lʌh]	/lalah/	lalah	'refers to water being hot'

a and e Contrasts:

katal 'loop'	pala 'to shovel'
katel 'yaws'	pela? 'armpit'
liwas 'male monkey'	stud 'to step up on something'
liwes 'to skirt around mountain'	etud 'to stop'
tabu? 'cup'	kalang 'bolo laid sharp edge up'
tebu 'sugar cane'	kelang 'corn'

Back Vowels (u and o): u has two allophones: high, close, rounded vocoid [u] and high, open, rounded vocoid [ʊ]. [ʊ] occurs only in closed syllables (CVC); [u] occurs elsewhere. Examples:

[ki.tʊt]	/kitut/	kitut	'blackened tip of arrow'
[ka.yu]	/kayu/	kayu	'wood'
[hu.di]	/hudi/	hudi	'last'
[u.lu.ʔʊl]	/uluʔul/	uluʔul	'to shave whole head'

o has two allophones: mid, close, rounded vocoid [ɔ̃] and low, close, rounded vocoid [ɔ]. [ɔ̃] occurs only preceding ʔ, h, g, and word initially before k. It occurs contiguous to [k] in the few instances where this phone has been recorded, for example, [lu.kɔ̃tɔ̃k] /lukɔ̃tɔ̃k/ 'to boil'. [ɔ] occurs elsewhere. Examples:

[kə.lɔ̃h]	/kəlɔ̃h/	keloh	'young boy's name'
[tɔ̃.gɔ̃ʔ]	/tɔ̃gɔ̃ʔ/	togoʔ	'stringed musical instrument'
[ɔ̃.kɔ̃n]	/ɔ̃kɔ̃n/	okon	'young girl'

[mə.dʒ.ʔɔ̃] /mədʒʔɔ̃/ medoʔo 'many'

u and o Contrasts:

lebuk 'bamboo species'	bulug 'to do to no purpose'
lebok 'to curve down'	bulog 'white speck in eye'
ku 'I'	kulong 'to hold in hand above shoulder'
ko 'you'	kolong 'string from which fish are hung'
lepuʔ 'to snap, break'	uton 'fish'
lepoʔ 'coconut'	uto 'to place on head'

Because there is a tendency in this language towards vowel harmony within words, the following lists of contrasts have been prepared to show the six vowel phonemes in contrast in bisyllabic words. The four vowels that occur with the highest frequency have been kept constant in the first vowel position of each group of contrasts.

Contrasts using e as the constant vowel:

keling 'species of bamboo'
kelét 'medium-sized parrot'
keleng 'to cut up wood into small pieces'
kelang 'maize, corn'
kelung 'to take shelter from the rain or sun'
kelong 'scab'

Contrasts using a as the constant vowel:

sakit 'pain'
sagéʔ 'shore, rim of sea shelf exposed when tide is out'
saket 'sweet smelling herb'
sabaʔ 'to hold'
taguʔ 'to contain, to place in'
agoh 'time, appearance'

Contrasts using u as the constant vowel:

gulis 'straight stripes'
kuléh 'to push something away with a stick'
kulet 'curly hair'
kudaʔ 'horse'
kulut 'an instrument used to shape out canoe hull'
kulot 'bracket fungus (a mushroom)'

Contrasts using i as the constant vowel:

siling 'spirit beings of the water'
(é does not occur in this position)
sileng 'to squint'
silang 'sun shower' (silang silang)
silung 'to glare with strong light in the dark'
silong 'to be out of luck'

Distribution of the Phonemes within the Roots

The root has been chosen as the basic reference unit in describing the distribution of the phonemes. Most roots may stand in isolation. When roots are affixed, the root may stand either initially or finally in the word according to the affix or affixes used. With one exception the affixes so far discovered do not affect the phonetic or phonemic structure of the root, though a root-initial vowel may affect a root-final vowel of a prefix. (See the last section of this Appendix.)

It is assumed that glottal stop does not occur root initially. The phonetic evidence is strongly in favor of the existence of vowel-initial roots. There are no roots with a distinct initial glottal stop. In consequence there is no contrast between glottal-stop-initial roots and roots that are otherwise identical.

It need not be argued that glottal stop must pattern after the other stops, t, d, k, g, and b, which may occur word or root initially. Its function is not identical with the other stops. It is commonly interpolated nonphonemically between two vowels brought together at word boundaries. It is also sometimes inserted phonemically between a vowel-final root and a following suffix. (See the last section of this Appendix.)

When the commonly used verbal prefix eg- is preceded in an utterance by a vowel-final word, the vowel of the prefix is always reduced. Example:

kena? di egtudug ---> kena? digtudug 'the place where he sleeps'

This strengthens the argument that glottal stop does not occur root or word initially.

Roots comprise one or more syllables. All roots other than particles and series 1 and 2 pronouns (i.e., all roots which may take affixes) comprise at least two syllables.

A syllable is a unit of sound made up of a vowel, or a vowel preceded and/or followed by a consonant. The following are the syllable patterns occurring in Cotabato Manobo (V is vowel; C is consonant):

V	[a.kam]	/akam/	akam	'brown crab'
VC	[ag.daw]	/agdaw/	agdaw	'sun'
CV	[ba.yi]	/bayi/	bayi	'a female person or animal'
CVC	[bak.bak]	/bakkak/	bakkak	'hammer'

These syllables combine to form roots in the following manner and with the restrictions listed below.

V may be followed by a CV or CVC pattern or both. Examples:

V + CV	[i.lu]	/ilu/	ilu	'orphan'
V + CVC	[u.tɔn]	/uton/	uton	'fish'
V + CV + CVC	[i.lə.gʌʔ]	/iləgʌʔ/	ilegʌʔ	'to cook'

VC may be followed by CVC and rarely by CV. Examples:

VC + CVC	[un.suɣ]	/unsuɣ/	unsuɣ	'smoking pipe'
VC + CV	[uɣ.pu]	/uɣpu/	uɣpu	'the end of something'

V and VC occur only root initially.

CVC and CV patterns may combine to produce up to four, and rarely five, syllable roots. Examples:

CV + CV	[ma.ta]		mata	'eye'
CVC + CVC	[tɪɣ.dəɣ]		tigdeg	'to stand up'
CVC + CV	[tɪɣ.bu]		tugbu	'cob of corn'
CVC + CV + CVC	[tɪɣ.ka.gan]		tigkagan	'to squat'
CV + CVC	[hi.law]		hilaw	'sappy, green'
CV + CV + CVC	[gə.gi.lak]		gegilak	'to be ticklish'
CV + CV + CV + CVC	[ka.lɪm.ba.hʊʔ]		kalimbahuʔ	'small knife'
CVC + CV + CV + CV	[gʊm.bə.li.ya]		gumbeliya	'flashlight bulb'
CV + CVC + CV + CV	[kə.stn.si.li.yu]		kesinsiliyu	'short underpants'

CVC + CVC cannot be followed by either CVC or CV as no roots occur containing more than one consonant cluster.

CVC never occurs as a free root but commonly occurs in reduplicated form as a verb root. Examples:

[gɔŋ.gɔŋ]	/gɔŋgɔŋ/	gonggong	'to rock a cradle'
[tay.tay]	/taytay/	taytay	'steps, stairway'

Consonants occurring in this pattern may be homorganic but are never identical. Examples:

[tʊd.tʊd]	/tuɔtuɔ/	tudtud	'to peck around'
[kəɣ.kəɣ]	/kəɣkəɣ/	kegkeg	'to process of hardening'
[bit.bit]	/bitbit/	bitbit	'to hold in one's hand'

Distribution of Consonants

The following analysis is based on a study of about 2,500 roots including all syllable patterns except reduplicated roots of the type $C_1V_1C_2C_1V_1C_2$ as in bakbak 'frog'. All consonants except glottal stop were found to occur root initially, root medially, and root finally. Glottal stop does not occur root initially.

All consonants except h occur in root-medial consonant clusters formed at the juncture of syllables. In the great majority of cases g is the initial member of the cluster. In 268 words in which consonant clusters occur, g occurs 142 times as the first member of the cluster. The consonants occurring in this position with the next highest frequency are m 43 times and ng 39 times. Other clusters are mostly nasals with a following homorganic non-nasal consonant. The following clusters occur:

Clusters with a stop as the first member:

<u>bl</u>	tablin	'tablet'	one occurrence only
<u>dt</u>	mudted	'small river fish'	one occurrence only
<u>ds</u>	tedsék	'cry of a kalagsuy'	one occurrence only
<u>gb</u>	tigbas	'to cut up'	27 occurrences
<u>gt</u>	ligti?	'gold arm band'	17 occurrences
<u>gd</u>	tigdeg	'to stand up'	13 occurrences
<u>gk</u>	bagkes	'bundle of wood'	36 occurrences
<u>gp</u>	degpul	'blunt ended'	28 occurrences
<u>gs</u>	ligseg	'to clip into place'	9 occurrences
<u>gn</u>	tagnu?	'rain drop'	only one occurrence
<u>gw</u>	lugwéhél	'to clang or rattle'	only one occurrence
<u>?s</u>	sela?sa?	'cut open bamboo'	only one occurrence

A number of roots have an initial syllable bel or pel in which the e is very short and in fast speech is often heard as bl or pl. The presence of the vowel is confirmed by the fact that new literates consistently write it. Examples:

belahung	'wood borers'
pelaguy	'to flee'
yaka pela?	'not yet'

Clusters with a lateral as the first member:

<u>lk</u>	balku	'large motor launch'	one occurrence only
<u>ly</u>	balyug	'tree species'	one occurrence only

Clusters with a nasal as the first member:

<u>mb</u>	kambing	'goat'	27 occurrences
<u>mk</u>	ki?umkum	'gilded along axis'	one occurrence only
<u>mp</u>	talumpa?	'shoes'	15 occurrences
<u>nt</u>	antep	'to anticipate'	25 occurrences
<u>nd</u>	sindaw	'to flash or fame up'	24 occurrences
<u>ns</u>	bansa?	'tribe, race'	7 occurrences
<u>ngs</u>	salungsung	'small type of bolo'	one occurrence only
<u>ngk</u>	angka?	'to project beyond'	12 occurrences
<u>ngg</u>	sunggud	'bride price'	26 occurrences

Cluster with w as the first member:

<u>wb</u>	lugowbung	'tree species'	one occurrence only
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Frequency of consonants: The following chart indicates the order of frequency of consonants occurring root initially, medially, and finally, and medially in a consonant cluster. These frequencies were calculated from root patterns CVC, CVCVC, CVCCVC, CVCCV, VCV, VCCVC, and VCVC. Approximately 1,400 roots were checked.

INITIAL	MEDIAL	FINAL	MEDIAL IN A CC	TOTAL
l ... 259	l ... 220	? ... 195	g ... 106	l ... 603
t ... 185	b ... 105	t ... 166	k, b 33	t ... 443
s ... 184	p ... 100	ng .. 152	p 31	k ... 398
b ... 157	n 87	k ... 150	n, ng 27	s ... 360
k ... 141	g 83	l ... 120	t, d 25	b ... 334
p 61	t 77	s 99	m 24	g ... 326
g 58	k 74	g 79	s 10	ng .. 240
d 53	s, m.. 67	n 75	w, y, l, ?	? ... 234
h 32	d 62	y 60	are very	p ... 222
m 23	ng ... 56	d 52	infrequent	n ... 213
n, ng, w	w 50	b 39	h no occur-	d ... 192
very in-	? infre-	y, ?, h	ence	m ... 147
frequent;	quent	are very		y ... 101
y and ? no		infrequent		w 93
occurrence				h 88

Distribution of Vowels

An analysis of the vowel sequences of 1,329 roots conforming to the patterns CVCVC, CVCCVC (not including reduplicated monosyllabic roots of the type C₁V₁C₂.C₁V₁C₂, e.g., ngokngok 'to cry', siksik 'to bite at fleas', which would increase the frequency of vowel harmony considerably), VCCV, CVCCV, VCV, and VCVC indicates a considerable measure of vowel harmony.

The results are tabulated below indicating the total frequency of each vowel, the frequency of occurrence of homophonous vowel sequences actually recorded, and the frequency of occurrence of such sequences estimated for each vowel on the assumption of random (independent) association of all the vowels.

VOWEL	TOTAL FREQUENCY	NUMBER OF HOMOPHONOUS SEQUENCES		PERCENTAGE ABOVE EXPECTED
		OBSERVED	EXPECTED	
a	.319	199	135	148%
u	.234	105	73	144%
e	.200	75	53	141%
i	.134	31	14	221%
o	.080	46	8	575%
é	.036	26	1	2600%

It will be observed that homophonous vowel sequences of each vowel occur much more frequently than expected if the vowels combine randomly in sequences in bisyllabic roots. It is also significant that the bias towards vowel harmony increases inversely with the total frequency of the vowel in the 1,329 roots analysed.

Relative Frequency of the Different Syllable Patterns:

<u>CVCVC</u>	<u>CVCCVC</u>	<u>VCCV and CVCCV</u>	<u>VCV</u>	<u>VCVC</u>
967	136	28	12	186

All vowels except e can occur in any vowel position. (These statements are based on an analysis of about 2,500 roots without restriction of CV structure.)

e never occurs in a root- or word-final open syllable. It is interesting to note that while the other vowels occur with relative frequency in final syllables closed by the nonsyllabic w and y, e is found only twice in this position. In both cases it preceded y in girls' names, which may have been distorted by the practice of familiar addresses. This would suggest that the nonsyllabic w and y do not effect strong closure of a final syllable.

e is also never found preceding w and y in any other position in a word or root, although the other vowels commonly occur before these phonemes in initial or medial position, for example, luwang 'a hollow thing', iya 'the', kelawit 'spear'.

Vowel Distribution with Reference to Other Vowels:

Most of the vowels appear to associate with any other vowel in any sequence. There are, however, a few restrictions on the distribution of vowels in contiguous syllables.

é never precedes a or i and occurs only infrequently before the other vowels, once before u, twice before e, and once before o in a mock word, ngeyow 'the cry of a cat'. It occurs 37 times before another é.

é may follow any vowel except i, but occurs only three times following o and a respectively. It occurs with a high frequency following e and u, 26 times following e and 20 times following u.

o, another rather infrequent vowel, is less restricted in its vowel-to-vowel distribution than é. It may follow any vowel. But it occurs infrequently before other vowels. It occurs twice preceding a, four times preceding i, six times preceding e, and three times preceding e. It occurs ten times before u, and 74 times before another o.

o is much less restricted in its distribution following other vowels. It is found ten times following a, 42 times following i, 49 times following e, 52 times following u, and three times following é.

These figures confirm the strong bias in the language towards vowel harmony with the infrequent vowels é and o, and they indicate the relative restriction of the distribution of these vowels in terms of occurrences of other contiguous vowels.

The sequence a[?]e found in a number of bisyllabic roots of the type CVCVC is generally heard in normal speech as a long vowel a. But in slow speech the two vowels are distinct. Informant reaction in writing clearly confirmed the recording of this sequence as a[?]e. Several

cognate roots in Kalagan, a related language, substitute a single long vowel, a:, for the a[?]e sequence in Manobo. Examples:

- ka[?]en (in Kalagan ka:n) 'eat'
- ga[?]en (in Kalagan ga:n) 'lightweight'

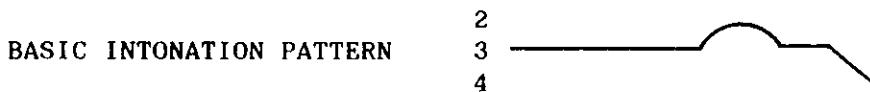
Vowel Distribution in Reference to Contiguous Consonants:

In our early investigations it appeared that there might be a significant interaction between the infrequent vowel e and certain consonants. A check was made of all the roots containing this vowel. The consonants contiguous to e were listed and their frequency compared with the expected on the assumption that there was no significant interaction, only random association. The results suggest that there is no significant interaction, except perhaps with [?]. This could be explained by the fact that both [?] (glottal stop) and e occur more frequently in the final syllable of a root than elsewhere.

CONSONANT	OBSERVED	EXPECTED	CONSONANT	OBSERVED	EXPECTED
l	36	31	p	12	11
t	15	23	n	6	11
k	24	21	d	8	10
s	16	19	m	7	8
b	20	17	y	3	5
g	9	17	w	7	5
ng	15	12	h	5	5
[?]	24	12			

It would appear that in general there is no significant interaction between consonants and vowels.

Intonation



This is the most commonly heard pattern. Each word in the utterance, including nonsyllabic words, takes a primary stress. (Stress is nonphonemic and occurs on the penultimate syllable of all words of more than one syllable.) The intonation contour remains level until the penultimate syllable of the final word. Pitch rises on the penultimate syllable, then falls again on the next syllable to the original level unless it is utterance final, in which case it drops yet another level.

3 3 3 2 4
 mangay a dutu 'I am going there.'
 go I there

3 2 3 3 3 4
 egdalut a daa 'I'll return after a brief stay away.'
 return I particle

3 2 3 3 4 lumikù a dé home I particle	'I'm going home.'
3 2 3 3 4 angayan ko ya go you particle	'Where are you going?'
3 3 3 3 3 3 2 4 hagdi iya wé dalesan his the DP house	'That is his house.'
3 2 3 4 menabù ka fall you	'Look out! you'll fall.'
3 32 3 3 34 egkiiyap a doo like I particle	'Yes, I would like it.'
3 2 3 3 2 4 begayan ku kuna give I you	'I'll give (it) to you.'
3 3 3 2 4 kuwa ka kayu get you wood	'Get the wood!'
3 3 3 2 3 34 angay ko wayeg gaa go you water she.says	'Get the water, she says.'

Morphophonemics

When two vowels are brought together at word boundaries, there may be elision of the final vowel, for example:

anì endà > anindà 'in order that not ...'

kenà di egbeli > kenà digbeli 'where did he buy ...'

This elision helps to confirm the fact that glottal stop is not phonemic in root-initial or word-initial position.

Elision of vowels is mostly restricted to the word endà and the prefix eg-. Vowels brought together at the juxtaposition of other word boundaries do not elide. A nonphonemic glottal stop is interpolated between the two vowels in normal speech as in hauwen di sa utan 'She saw the utan plant.'

There is one exceptional case of syllable elision when endà 'not' and mepion 'good' come together. The resulting expression is usually endapion.

The prefixes ke-, me-, and pe- remain in their basic form when prefixed to roots other than roots that are i initial. When prefixed to a root with i initial, the vowel of the prefix assimilates, becoming i:

-item- > miitem 'black'
-iyap- > egkiiyap 'to like'

This change is very difficult to detect. But evidence for the change is indicated by the reaction of the language assistant.

When the suffix -en is affixed to a vowel-final root, w is interpolated between the root and the affix if the final vowel is a, u, or o. The nonsyllabic y is interpolated in this position if the final vowel is i. (e is never found in a root- or word-final open syllable.)

gebu 'to bark'	gebuwen di 'it is barking at ...'
pula 'paddle'	pulawen di 'he is paddling the ...'
pila 'how many'	mepilawan dé agdaw 'how many days' stay ...'
ikagi 'speak'	egseikagiyay da 'they speak together'

A glottal stop is interpolated between a vowel-final root and a following suffix -en, -an, etc., if the final open syllable of the root is -wa or -ba:

kuwa- + -en	>	kuwaen	'to get'
sugba- + -en	>	sugbaen	'to boil up in water'
sawa- + -en	>	sawaen	'wife, to marry'

A phonemic glottal stop is also interpolated between a vowel-initial root and a vowel-final prefix.

se- + -ikagi- + -ay > egseikagiyay 'to speak to each other'

There is only one instance of change in a root induced by affixation. When the root haa 'to see, look' is affixed by -en or -an, the final a of the root dissimilates to u.

haa + -en	>	hauwen	'to see something'
mehaa- + -an	>	mehauwen	'to see something'

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