Agusan Manobo Noun Phrase

Donna Schumacher
Ron Schumacher
SIL International

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Contents

1. Introduction 1
2. Common NP 2
2.1. Determiners and demonstratives. 4
2.1.1. Agusan Manobo determiners 4
2.1.2. Agusan Manobo demonstratives and locative pronouns 5
2.1.3. Demonstratives followed by a linker. 5
2.1.4. Determiners and demonstratives consisting of *to* + locative. 6
2.1.5. Noun phrases without determiners 9
2.2. Head. 11
2.2.1. A concrete noun 11
2.2.2. An abstract noun 11
2.2.3. A time word 11
2.2.4. A nominalized verb 11
2.2.5. A nominalized adjective 12
2.2.6. Reduction of head noun in descriptive NPs. 12
2.2.7. Reduction of head noun in possessive NPs 12
2.2.8. Reduction of head noun in NPs with number 12
2.2.9. A headless relative clause 13
2.3. Possessor 13
2.3.1. Semantic roles included in possessor 13
2.3.2. Grammatical forms that fill the possessor slot. 14
2.3.3. The position of the possessor in the NP 15
2.4. Quantifier. 16
2.4.1. Quantity 16
2.4.2. Other grammatical forms cooccurring with quantifiers. 21
2.5. Descriptive 25
2.5.1. Single-word descriptives. 25
2.5.2. Descriptive phrases. 27
2.6. Intensifiers 28
2.6.1. Intensifiers that modify a descriptive within a NP 28
2.6.2. Intensifiers that modify the NP head 28
2.7. Negation. 29
2.7.1. Negation of a descriptive or identifier 29
2.7.2. Negation of the NP head. 30
2.8. Orienter 30
2.8.1. Location orienter 30
2.8.2. Time orienter 32
2.9. Appositional phrase 32
2.10. Relative clause 33
3. Pronoun NP 34
3.1. Head. 34
3.2. Modifiers 35
3.2.1. Number 35
3.2.2. Descriptive 36

3.2.3. Orienter 36
3.2.4. Appositional phrase 36
3.2.5. Relative clause 37
4. Personal NP 37
4.1. Determiner 37
4.2. Other modifiers 37
5. Coordination 38
5.1. Coordination of the NP head 39
5.1.1. Composition of coordinate NP heads 39
5.1.2. Modifiers of coordinate NP heads 40
5.2. Coordination of descriptives 42
5.3. Coordination of locatives 43
5.4. Coordination of appositional phrases and relative clauses 43
Appendix A : Determiners in Agusan Manobo text “To Kagi no Pigboli ni Juan” (The Word(s) that Juan Bought) 45
Appendix B : Interlinear text of “The Word(s) that Juan Bought” 49

Tables

Table 1. Agusan Manobo determiners 4
Table 2. Agusan Manobo demonstratives and locative pronouns 5
Table 3. Agusan Manobo pronouns and noun markers 35

Agusan Manobo Noun Phrase

Donna and Ron Schumacher
SIL International

1. Introduction

The Agusan Manobo language is a member of the Manobo language family and it is spoken in the Agusan and Surigao provinces of northeastern Mindanao, Philippines. The number of speakers, though no accurate count exists, is probably around 60,000.

The language has 17 consonants: p, t, k, b, d, g, [glottal stop],[1] m, n, ng, r, s, h, j, l, w, and y.

There are 8 vowels. For those that have a very different orthographic representation, the IPA symbol appears in parentheses: a, ae (/æ/), o (/ɨ/ to /ə/), e (written as *ey* syllable-final), u, ue (/y/), i, and iy (/i:/).[2]

Agusan Manobo morphophonemics are not complicated. The following can be observed in this paper:

- When a vowel-initial suffix is added to a word ending in a vowel (not a glottal stop), an ***h*** is placed before the suffix, as seen in this word from example (49):

  og- + boli + -on = ogbolihon

- When a prefix ending in a nasal (-***N***) is affixed to a word beginning with a stop or sibilant, two processes occur: 1) the **N** assimilates to the point of articulation of the stem-initial consonant, and then 2) that consonant itself may drop out. In this word from example (90), the **N** of the prefix assimilates to the initial bilabial consonant of the stem, and then that initial ***b*** is dropped:

  naN + bingwit = namingwit

The purpose of this paper is to give a basic description of the Agusan Manobo noun phrase for those who would like to learn or study the language. Some knowledge of

1 Orthographically, the glottal stop is represented as a hyphen (-) and is written only in two environments: 1) word-medial when it occurs between a consonant and a vowel or vice versa, and 2) after a single-letter vocalic prefix on a word that begins with a vowel or before a single-letter vocalic suffix on a word that ends with a vowel. When two vowels appear juxtaposed, a glottal stop should be read between them; Agusan Manobo does not have glided vowels.

2 For a complete explanation of the Agusan Manobo vowels and their etymology, see Schumacher, Ron, and Donna Schumacher. 1978. Proto-Manobo *l in Agusan Manobo. *Studies in Philippine Linguistics* 2(1): 183–90, available online www.sil.org/asia/Philippines/sipl/SIPL_2-1_183–190.pdf.

Philippine languages is assumed. The data is taken from oral and written texts by various Agusan Manobo speakers including Mrs. Teofila Bada of Sagunto, La Paz, Agusan del Sur, and which have been collected mostly during the years of 1980–1994.

This paper owes much to the NP analysis of Dibabawon Manobo, by Jeanette Forster, SIL Philippines. The presentation and much of the analysis are the same. However, the languages are separate and each has a number of distinctives.

The NP in Agusan Manobo has two main functions: referential and predicational. The head noun in a phrase may express the following semantic roles: actor, patient, location, beneficiary, and instrument. A NP may contain other NPs. These embedded NPs function to modify the head noun of the main phrase.

The paper is divided into the following sections:

- Common NP (section 2)

This section describes common noun heads and lexical nominalizations, determiners, demonstratives, possessors, quantifiers, descriptives, intensifiers,[3] negation,[4] and embedded appositional phrases and relative clauses.

- Pronoun NP (section 3)

This section describes the use of pronouns as heads of NPs and their modifiers.

- Personal NP (section 4)

This section describes the use of personal names and titles used as names.

- Coordination of the constituents of NPs (section 5)

This section describes coordination of noun heads, descriptives, locatives, appositional phrases, and relative clauses.

Interlinear glosses of pronouns will show referential function, rather than English equivalents. For example, in example (3), 1s2 means “first person singular, 2nd set.” See section 3.1 for the complete explanation. Other abbreviations used in the interlinear glosses are found following appendix B.

2. Common NP

The common noun phrase (NP) consists minimally of a single word (NP head; discussed in section 2.2) and usually one or more of the following: determiner or demonstrative, possessor, quantifier, descriptive, intensifier, negation, orienter, appositional phrase, and relative clause, in that general order. That is also the order in which they will be discussed, including the head, which follows a determiner, if present.

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3 Quantifiers and descriptives function to modify nouns and could both be classified as classes of adjectives. Intensifiers can modify verbs, nouns and adjectives.

4 The scope of the negation can be the noun head or a descriptive.

Examples (1) and (2) demonstrate the minimal NP. Examples (3) and (4) are typical NPs, and examples (5) and (6) demonstrate the maximal NP that can be expanded with as many as two long descriptive embedded phrases, appositional phrases, or relative clauses in addition to the other, shorter constituents. Or a NP may contain a greater number of embedded phrases, such as example (7). However, long NPs are the exception.

Minimal[5]

(1) seini 'this'

(2) saging 'banana'

Typical

(3) seini babuy ku
DET pig 1s2

'this pig of mine'

(4) daduwa no simana
two LK week

'two weeks'

Maximal

(5) to bitamina no ogtumaron to mgo otow no ogpakabogoy
DET vitamin LK OF-take DET PL person LK AF-INV-give

to doson to otow
DET strength DET person

'vitamins that people take that can give people strength'

(6) pitu no mgo daega no migsusuun no mig-ugpa diya to yangit
seven LK PL maiden LK sisters LK AF-live LOC DET sky

'seven maidens, sisters, who lived in the sky'

(7) kuntis to mgo batan-on to tibo mgo kasimbahanan
contest DET PL young-people DET all PL churches

to mgo Protestanti to yainyain no mgo baryu
DET PL Protestant DET various LK PL village

'contest of the young people of all the Protestant churches in various villages'

5 See section 2.1.5 for grammatical constructions in which single-word NPs would occur.

2.1. Determiners and demonstratives

Most NPs have a determiner or demonstrative that precedes the head. (Exceptions are listed in section 2.1.5.) Since the same form ***to*** can be used for all three sets of determiners, as shown in table 1, syntax is very important in understanding what role a NP plays in the clause. (For example, the actor NP will normally precede the patient NP when both are present.)

2.1.1. Agusan Manobo determiners

Table 1. Agusan Manobo determiners

			1st Set	2nd Set	3rd Set
Common NP	**Indefinite**		to	to	
	Definite	**NP may or may not be in sight**	sikan/kan	to to sikan/to kan	
		NP is in sight	seini/sei sujà/sà	to seini/to sei to sujà/to sà	
		NP is not in sight	to kani to duon to dutun to diyà	to kani to duon to dutun to diyà	
Personal	**Singular**		si	ni	ki
	Plural (archaic)		onsi sin	onni nin	onki/ongki

Generally speaking, 1st set determiners (and pronouns) are used with the focused constituent; 2nd set are used with a nonfocused actor or a possessive; 3rd set, with a nonfocused object.[6]

It will be noted that the forms of the 1st set determiners, ***seini/sei***, and ***sujà/sà,*** also appear in table 2 (section 2.1.2; Agusan Manobo demonstratives and locative pronouns). It appears that the forms have a dual function, distinguished by the presence or absence of the linker. Even as determiners, they have a deictic component, particularly the 2nd and 3rd of these forms; ***sikan/kan*** is more the default determiner, and deixis is less implicit in its usage.

There can be no complete understanding of the determiners without analyzing their contexts. Appendix A gives an analysis of determiner use in the first 38 lines of the natural text entitled “The Word(s) that Juan Bought.” Appendix B consists of the complete interlinearized text.

6 In this paper, the “focused NP” in a clause is the one that is cross-referenced by verbal affixation and is marked as definite or specific by certain classes of determiners, demonstratives, or a pronoun set. These are the 1st set determiners in table 1.

2.1.2. Agusan Manobo demonstratives and locative pronouns

There is a close relation between the demonstratives and many of the determiners, and also their locative counterparts. In fact, one might say that the demonstratives and locatives also serve as determiners, their function distinguished by syntax.

For example, when a locative is preceded by ***to,*** as shown in table 1, it serves as a determiner. The forms function as demonstratives when a linker separates them from the NP that follows (see section 2.1.3). They also function as demonstrative pronouns when they stand alone, for example, ***seini*** in (24). As such, they may serve as either the "subject," as in (24), or the predicate of a sentence, as the following:

(8) Seini to kagi.
DEM DET word

'This is the word.'

In table 2, the demonstratives are compared with the locatives with which they correspond in terms of their relative distance from the speaker. When the locatives are used alone, they are adverbial, but when they occur with ***to*** and are followed by a linker, ***no***, they function as demonstratives referring to something not currently visible. Thus, there are two sets of demonstratives, distinguished by whether the referent is visible or not, as table 1 indicates. Both sets may function either as demonstratives in a NP or independently as demonstrative pronouns.

Table 2. Agusan Manobo demonstratives and locative pronouns

	Demonstratives	**Locatives**
This (near speaker)	seini/sei	dini, kani
That (within close range)	sikan/kan	duon
That over there (within sight)	sujà/sà	dutun
That way over there (far distant)		diyà

Demonstratives are not marked for number. The same form is used for both singular and plural NP heads.

2.1.3. Demonstratives followed by a linker

A demonstrative followed by the linker ***no*** functions to clearly identify the referent of the noun head. In 2688 occurrences of the determiners ***seini/sei*** and ***sikan/kan*** in natural text, 8% were followed by the linker, thus functioning as what we will call demonstratives.

a. Certain nouns (NP heads) appear to always take the form with the linker, particularly time and space words.

(9) sikan no aedow 'that day'
(10) seini no kadukiloman 'this night'
(11) to diya no panahon 'that time'
(12) to seini no lugar 'this place'

b. The form with the linker seems to point out more sharply the item being discussed. See also examples (22a)–(22c).

(13) Natukud sikan no bayoy su sapian man si Ana.
AB-build DET LK house because rich PTL PDET1 Ana

'That house was built because Ana is rich.'

(14) Ko kona gobaon sikan no kaju, ogtoyung sikan to tanom.
if NEG OF-fell DET LK tree AF-shade DEM DET plant

'If that tree isn't felled, it will shade the plants.'

c. If the NP includes a relative clause, appositional phrase, or descriptive, the linker is seldom used immediately following the determiner. (Some speakers will never use it in those environments; others will occasionally.) (15) and (16) are examples where the linker does not follow the determiner. This can be explained in that the other constituent, rather than the determiner, serves to specify the NP head.

(15) sikan bayoy no pigpintalan to maputi
DET house LK RF-paint DET white

'that house that was painted white'

(16) sikan anak din no panganoy
DET child his LK eldest

'his eldest child'

2.1.4. Determiners and demonstratives consisting of to + *locative*

The following constructions, which are used less frequently than the others, are composed of ***to*** + locative and are used to refer to something that is presently NOT VISIBLE (that is, separated by space). In addition, the first three (a,b, and c) refer to something that either

- was formerly visible or
- is presently heard or smelled (and never was visible).

Though these constructions normally occur with a NP head, they may also stand alone as pronouns.

(17) Oglikajan ta to diya.
avoid 1p2 DEM

'Let's avoid that.'

For examples of the forms (a–d) used as determiners, see examples (18)–(23).

a. *To kani* 'near or far, more often near'[7]
b. *To duon* 'a little distance away'
c. *To dutun* 'farther away than *duon'*
d. *To diya*

Whereas determiners (a)–(c) mark something removed from the speaker by SPACE, ***to diya*** marks something not presently visible that may be removed by TIME. It also differs from determiners (a)–(c) in that it is frequently used to mark old information which is known to both the speaker and the listener. Another difference is that the object MAY OR MAY NOT have been visible previously, and it is NOT presently being heard or smelled.

In many cases, ***sikan*** can be used interchangeably with ***to diya***. However, when the object is currently visible, ***to diya*** cannot be used, as specified above.

In examples (18a)–(23b), the determiner is underlined.

(18a) Kani to Sagunto <u>to kani</u> ajo ku.[8]
Duon to Sagunto <u>to duon</u> ajo ku.
Dutun to Sagunto <u>to dutun</u> ajo ku.
LOC DET Sagunto DET friend 1s2

'My friend is at Sagunto.' (Same gloss for all.)

The difference in meaning is the distance of the speaker from Sagunto.

(18b) Kani to Sagunto <u>to diya</u> ajo ku.
Duon to Sagunto <u>to diya</u> ajo ku.
Dutun to Sagunto <u>to diya</u> ajo ku.
Diya to Sagunto <u>to diya</u> ajo ku.
LOC DET Sagunto DET friend 1s2

'My friend is at Sagunto.' (Same gloss for all.)

The difference in distance is shown only by the locative word at the beginning of each sentence. The determiner ***to diya*** marks the friend as old information and implies that the friend is not in sight. It does not otherwise refer to the location of the friend; therefore the determiner does not match the locative word.

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7 *<u>to dini</u> never occurs.

8 The location word at the beginning of the sentence matches the one used in the determiner because the determiner relates to spatial location.

(19a)	Nokoy	man	to kani	ogdinogon	ku?
	Nokoy	man	to duon	ogdinogon	ku?
	Nokoy	man	to dutun	ogdinogon	ku?
	what	PTL	DET	hear	1s2

'What is that I hear?' (Same gloss for all.)

Again, the difference between them is the perceived distance of the sound, though in this case the three are virtually interchangeable (that is, ***to kani*** could refer to a faraway distance.) The (19a) constructions are used when the speaker is hearing the sound at the time he speaks.

(19b)	Nokoy	man	to diya	pigdinog	ku?
	what	PTL	DET	heard	1s2

'What is that I heard?' (The comment is removed from the event by time.)

(20a)	Kahomut	to kani	linutu	nu!
	Kahomut	to duon	linutu	nu!
	Kahomut	to dutun	linutu	nu!
	good-smelling	DET	cooking-food	2s2

'How good your cooking smells!' (Same gloss for all.)

(20b)	Mahomut	to diya	linutu	nu.
	good-smelling	DET	cooking-food	2s2

'Your cooking (earlier) smelled good.' (Removed by time.)

(20c)	Kahomut	to sikan	linutu	nu!
	good-smelling	DET	cooking-food	2s2

'How good your cooking smells!'

If the speaker could see the food, (20c) would be used. If not, he would more likely use a ***to*** + locative form.

In example (21), either ***to kani*** or ***to diya*** can be used, and the basic meaning is the same. The implication, however, is different. When ***to kani*** is used, the implication is that the book had been there previously, seen by the speaker though not necessarily known by the listener. When ***to diya*** is used, it implies that the listener knows what book the speaker is referring to. It does not say anything about its location.

(21)	Andei	to kani	libru	ku?
	Andei	to diya	libru	ku?
	where	DET	book	1s2

'Where is my book?'

In examples (22a)–(22c), only the ***to diya*** construction may be used (not ***to kani, to duon***, or ***to dutun***). Further analysis may reveal the reason.

(22a) Mayogdog to diya no[9] libru.
red DET LK book

'The book is/was red.'

(22b) Madamey to diya libru ku.
thick DET book 1s2

'That book of mine is/was thick.'

(22c) Inoyog ku to diya no libru.
cherished 1s2 DET LK book

'I cherished that book.'

In example (23a), it is implied that the listener knows about the book. (23b) implies that the book is a little distance from the speaker, though not visible.

(23a) Ibogoy kanay to diya libru ku no Ininglis.
give 1s3 DET book 1s2 LK English

'Give me my English book (which you and I know about).'

(23b) Ibogoy kanay to duon libru ku no Ininglis.
give 1s3 DET book 1s2 LK English

'Give me my English book (which I had before but can't see now).'

2.1.5. Noun phrases without determiners

The following types of NPs do not take a determiner:

- The NP serves as the comment of an equational clause

(24) Anak ku seini.
offspring my this

'This is my child.'

9 In (22a) and (22c), the linker ***no*** seems to cause ***to diya*** to function as a demonstrative, more sharply specifying what book is being referred to. In (22b), however, the presence of the possessor adequately specifies the book so that a determiner without linker is used.

(25) Mgo maistru sikandan.[10]
PL teacher 3p1

'They are teachers.'

- The NP serves as the complement of an existential

(26) Wada saging kuntoon.
NEG-EXIST banana today

'There are no bananas today.'

(27) Meyduon otow duon to diskansu.
EXIST person LOC DET porch

'There is someone there on the porch.'

- The focused NP is forefronted and nonspecific

(28) Saging da to ogkoonon din.
banana only DET eat 3s2

'Bananas are the only thing he eats.'

(29) Pendag nanda to pigkita din.
flute only DET see 3s2

'A flute is all he saw.'

- A common NP functions appositionally to another NP

(30) to mgo buhi din no babuy dow idu
DET PL domestic-animal 3s2 LK pig CONJ dog

'his domestic animals (which were) pigs and dogs'

- The head is a clause-initial time word that occurs with ***songo*** 'one/a certain'

(31) songo aedow
one day

'one day'

10 The pronoun ***sikandan*** is not related to the determiner/demonstrative ***sikan***, in spite of their apparent similarity.

2.2. Head

The head of a common NP is often, but not necessarily, a noun. It may consist of any of the following, some of which are actually other parts of speech (2.2.1–2.2.8). There are also headless relative clauses in the language that are marked in the same way as noun heads with determiners (2.2.9).[11]

2.2.1. A concrete noun

(32) babuy ‘pig’

(33) sikan kakoy ku
DET older-sibling 1s2

‘that older sibling of-mine’

2.2.2. An abstract noun

(34) sakit ‘disease’

(35) to haedok din
DET fear 3s2

‘his fear’

2.2.3. A time word

(36) aedow ‘day’

(37) songo panahon
one time

‘one time’

2.2.4. A nominalized verb

The agent and/or patient of the verb may be included in the NP. Two of the most common affixes used to nominalize a verb are ***pag-*** and ***-in-***.

(38) to paggabas to sikan kaju
DET NR-saw DET wood/tree

‘the sawing of that wood/tree’

11 In examples (32)–(50), the head is underlined if other NP parts are given.

(39) sikan kinoon din
DET NR-eat 3s2

'that which he had eaten'

2.2.5. A nominalized adjective

Many, but not all, Agusan Manobo adjectives (otherwise called 'descriptives' in this paper) occur with the prefix ***ma-***. When the root is nominalized, the nominal prefix ***ka-*** is substituted.

(40) to kadiyu
DET NR-far

'distance'

(41) to kahagsi to seini wohig
DET NR-cold DET water

'the coldness of this water'

2.2.6. Reduction of head noun in descriptive NPs

(42) sikan mayogdog
DET red

'the red (one)'

(43) seini matikang
DET tall

'this tall (one)'

2.2.7. Reduction of head noun in possessive NPs

(44) to ki Berto
DET PDET2 Berto

'that belonging-to Berto'

2.2.8. Reduction of head noun in NPs with number

(45) seini tatoyu
DET three

'these three'

(46) sikan saboka
DET one

'that one'

2.2.9. A headless relative clause

A headless relative clause may take the form of an existential clause embedded in a subject or object NP.

The function of the existential in examples (47) and (48) is possessive.

(47) sikan wada anak
DET NEG-EXIST child

'the one who has no child'

(48) to diya meyduon babuy
DET EXIST pig

'the one who had a pig'

It may also take the form of a verbal clause containing an optional unfocused subject, or object, and/or other clause constituents.

(49) sikan ogbolihon ku
DET will-buy 1s2

'that which I will buy'

(50) to ogkaliyag ogduma kanay
DET want accompany 1s3

'the (one) who wants to accompany me'

2.3. Possessor

2.3.1. Semantic roles included in possessor

The slot we will call possessor includes the semantic roles of ownership, relationship (kin or status), part of a whole, and actor (when the head is a nominalized verb).

These are all discussed together because the same grammatical structures are used for all of them.

(51) seini bayoy ta (possessor)
DET house 1i2

'our house'

(52) sikan asawa din (relationship)
DET wife 3s2

'his wife'

(53) to talip to saging (part of a whole)
DET peel DET banana

'the peel of the banana'

(54) to pagkinabuhi now (actor of nominalized clause)
DET NR = life 2p2

'your living'

2.3.2. Grammatical forms that fill the possessor slot

The possessor can take one of several forms including the following:

a. A personal pronoun

(55) din 'his/hers/its' (See table 1: Agusan Manobo determiners)

b. A common NP

(56) to sikan bohi 'of the woman'

c. A personal name with a marker

(57) ni Berto 'of Bert'

d. The nonpersonal possessor, *kaning* 'belonging/pertaining to'[12]

(58) kaning gubernu 'belonging to the government'

(59) kaning yukos 'belonging to men'

(60) kaning suun din 'belonging to her sibling'

12 *Kaning* collocates with possessors that are common nouns describing a general class of objects. When it is used the possessor takes no determiner, though the head usually does. *Kaning* can be used with words that designate people but are not personal pronouns or proper names. See also example (64).

2.3.3. The position of the possessor in the NP

2.3.3.1. Postposed possessor

Normally the possessor comes after the NP head. If the postposed possessor is a personal pronoun or proper noun, the second set pronoun (see section 3.1) or personal determiner (see section 4.1) is used. If a ***kaning*** construction is used, it is linked to the foregoing head by the linker ***no***.

(61) sikan sakit to hari
DET sickness DET king

'the king's sickness'

(62) to kaminyoon dan
DET marriage 3p2

'their marriage'

(63) to diya babuy ni Maria
DET pig PDET2 Maria

'Maria's pig'

(64) to pasak no kaning gubernu
DET land LK POSS government

'land belonging to the government'

(65) to bayoy dan no[13] mag-asawa
DET house 3p2 LK couple

'their house, (of) the couple'

2.3.3.2. Preposed possessor

A possessor may precede the NP head to show emphasis or contrast. A pronoun, proper noun, or ***kaning*** construction can be preposed. When a pronoun or proper noun occurs in this position, a third set pronoun (see section 3.1) or personal determiner (see section 4.1) is used.

Proper nouns or pronouns preposed as possessives may optionally be followed by the linker. A possessor consisting of ***kaning*** + common noun must be followed by a linker. (However, common noun possessors that do not collocate with *kaning* cannot be preposed. They must follow the NP head.) The optional linker is in parentheses in these examples:

13 A clarifying phrase can be added following a possessive pronoun (linked to it by the linker ***no***) to further define who is being referred to, as in example (65).

(66) Yain sei ki Ana (no) kindae, maputi, seini ita maitom. (contrast)
different DET 3s3 LK skin white DET 1i3-ours dark

'Ana's skin is different, white, ours is dark.'

(67) Wadad man kanay (no) planu. (emphasis)
NEG-EXIST-now PTL 1s3 LK plan

'I have no other plan.'

(68) Hasta usab to kaning[14] suun din no suhue nahimun usab. (contrast)
and also DET POSS sibling 3s3 LK wages gather also

'And her sister's wages were also saved up.'

An exception to the use of 3rd set pronouns/markers is that when a descriptive or an ordinal number precedes the head, and a possessive pronoun comes between it and the head, the 2nd set pronoun is used. In this case, no special emphasis or contrast is implied. This kind of construction alternates freely with that where the possessive pronoun follows the head, but this one occurs less frequently. The linker is not optional.

(69) to ikaduwa ku no pagkanta
DET second my LK singing

'my second (time of) singing'

(70) to maaslag din no babuy
DET big 3s2 LK pig

'his big pig'

2.4. Quantifier

Denoting quantity will be discussed first, and then the linkers and other features that cooccur with quantifiers will follow.

2.4.1. Quantity

2.4.1.1. General quantity

There are various general quantifiers that differ slightly in how they are used. Each will be described separately.

mahan-in, madogi, pila **'many, much, several'**

These nonnumber words precede the head and are attached to it with the linker ***no***:

mahan-in	'many'
madogi	'many, much'
pila	'few, several'

The pluralizer ***mongo*** (spelled as ***mgo***) may optionally be used with the above words. In the case of *pila* 'few, several', either the pluralizer ***mgo*** or the number linker (NL) ***ka*** may optionally be used.

(71) mahan-in/madogi no (mgo) otow
many LK PL person

'many people'

(72) pila no (mgo/ka) otow
few LK PL NL person

'several/few people'

kada **'every'**

When ***kada*** 'every' is used, it immediately precedes the head with no linker. If the NP comes before the verb (forefronted), no determiner is used. If it follows the verb, the determiner ***to*** is used.

(normal order)
(73) Nagooban to kada bayoy.
flooded DET every house

'Every house was flooded.'

(forefronted)
(74) Kada bayoy nagooban.
every house flooded

'Every house was flooded.'

tibo **'all'**

When ***tibo*** 'all' is used, either it immediately precedes the head, or the pluralizer can optionally come between it and the head. If ***tibo*** follows the verb, the determiner ***to*** must be used. If it comes before the verb (forefronted), the determiner ***to*** may or may not be used.

(NP after predicate)
(75) Pigbontas to tibo mgo otow. (with pluralizer)
hungry DET all PL person

'All the people were hungry.'

The gloss for examples (76)–(80) is the same as (75).

(76) Pigbontas to tibo otow. (no pluralizer)
hungry DET all person

(NP forefronted)
(77) Tibo otow pigbontas. (no determiner or pluralizer)
all person hungry

(78) Tibo mgo otow pigbontas. (pluralizer, no determiner)
all PL person hungry

(79) To tibo mgo otow pigbontas. (pluralizer & determiner)
DET all PL person hungry

(80) To tibo otow pigbontas. (determiner, no pluralizer)
DET all person hungry

The linker ***no*** can optionally be used in most constructions with ***tibo*** 'all' that also contain the pluralizer ***mgo***. (See section 2.4.2.2.)

(81) To tibo no mgo bayoy nagooban.
DET all LK PL house flooded

'All the houses were flooded.'

Not: *To tibo no bayoy nagooban.
DET all LK house flooded

2.4.1.2. Numbers

Cardinal numbers

Cardinal numbers may precede or follow the NP head, attached in either case to the head by the linker ***no***. It is much more common for the number to precede the head. For cardinal numbers only, if the number precedes the head, either the pluralizer ***mgo*** or the number linker ***ka*** may also be used, immediately preceding the head. (See section 2.4.2.1 for exceptions.)

(number follows head)
(82) sikan suun din no daduwa
DET sibling his LK two

'his two siblings'

(number precedes head)

(83) sikan tatoyu no ka bata
DET three LK NL child

'those three children'

(84) sikan tatoyu no mgo bata
DET three LK PL child

'those three children'

From observation, the number tends to precede the head in the following cases:

- The head is a time word

(85) daduwa no buyan
two LK month

'two months'

(86) lima no tuig
five LK year

'five years'

- The number is prominent, central to the point made by the clause

(The NP under discussion is underlined in examples (87)–(96).)

(87) Notoduon, iyan minus no ogduduwoy to tatoyu no ka bohi.
long-ago PTL least LK be-multiple-wives DET three LK NL woman

'Long ago, the least (number of) those who would be multiple wives (of one man) was three women.'

(88) lima no ka mayuris to ogsupurtar kandin
five LK NL mayors DET support 3s3

'five mayors support him'

(89) Una ta oghikotan to daduwa no ka kobong dini dapit to mahudi.
first 1i2 tie DET two LK NL foot LOC DET rear

First we tie (the) two feet at the rear.'

- The NP follows an existential

(90) Meyduon daduwa no ka bata no namingwit.
EXIST two LK NL child LK fish-with-hook-and-line

'There were two children who were fishing with hook and line.'

(91) maaslag no bayoy no meyduon pitu no ka sinabong
big LK house LK EXIST seven LK NL bedroom

'a big house that had seven bedrooms'

In the following cases, the number is more likely to follow the head:

- The number is less prominent

In these cases, it seems that the impact of the clause is not as dependent on the number as it is when the number occurs before the head.

(92) Namatoy to kabaw noy no tatoyu no buuk.
died DET carabao 1e2 LK three LK unit

'Our three carabaos died.'

(93) Pigduma on ni Juan sikan suun din no daduwa.
accompany PTL PDET2 Juan DET sibling 3s2 LK two

'Juan took with him his two brothers.'

(94) Igbogoy nu puli sikan salmun no lima no buuk.
give 2s2 just DET canned-mackerel LK five LK unit

'You just give those five cans of mackerel.'[14]

- The head is a personal pronoun

(95) kandan no tatoyu
3p3 LK three

'the three of them' (or, more literally, 'they three')

14 In the context from which this was taken, someone had arrived on a harvest site, bringing cans of mackerel to trade, and the point being made is that rice would be traded for whatever the trader had brought with him.

(96) Masyadu no koba noy no daduwa.
extreme LK fear 1e2 LK two

'Our (we two, exclusive) fear was extreme.'

Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are formed by adding the prefix ***ika-*** to the cardinal numbers. They normally precede the head, attached only by the linker ***no***, but they may also follow the head.

(number precedes head)
(97) to ikaduwa ku no pagkanta
DET second 1s2 LK singing

'my second (experience of) singing'

(98) sikan ikalima no hadi din
DET fifth LK younger-sibling 3s2

'her fifth younger sibling'

(99) to ikatoyu no bahin
DET third LK part

'one third' (literally, the 'fifth part')

(number follows head)
(100) to anak ku no ikaduwa
DET child 1s2 LK second

'my second child'

2.4.2. Other grammatical forms cooccurring with quantifiers

There are a number of grammatical forms that may occur with a number in a NP.

2.4.2.1. Number linker and pluralizer

When a cardinal number precedes the head, either the number linker ***ka***, which has been mentioned in section 2.4.1.2, OR the pluralizer ***mgo*** may occur immediately between the linker ***no***, which follows number, and the head.

(101) daduwa no mgo bakosan OR daduwa no ka-bakosan
two LK PL python two LK NL-python

'two pythons'

In some environments only ***ka*** (not ***mgo***) may be used, as with money.

(102) sikan lima no ka-pisus
DET five LK NL-pesos

'those five pesos'

One environment in which only ***mgo*** may be used (never ***ka***) is when a descriptive comes between the number and the head.

(103) tatoyu no mangka-aslag no mgo bayoy
three LK PL- big LK PL house

'three big houses'

Not: *tatoyu no mangka-aslag no ka-bayoy
three LK PL- big LK NL-house

Although either the number linker ***ka*** or the pluralizer ***mgo*** usually occurs between a cardinal number and the NP head, neither is obligatory, as example (104) shows:

(104) tatoyu no kandidatu
three LK candidate

'three candidates'

The following are environments where neither the number linker ***ka*** nor the pluralizer ***mgo*** may occur.

- The NP head is a unit of time

(105) to daduwa no buyan
DET two LK month

'two months'

(106) to diya lima no tuig
DET five LK year

'those five years'

- Before a unit classifier (See also section 2.4.2.3.)

(107) to upat no buuk no kamuti
DET four LK unit LK camote

'four (units of) camote' (four camotes)

(108) sampuyu no saku no bogas
ten LK sack LK rice

'ten sacks of rice'

- With the number one (*songo*, *sobuuk*, or *saboka*)[15]

Examples (109)–(112) illustrate these words used in NPs:

(109) songo yogas no ahus
one unit LK garlic

'one clove of garlic'

(110) songo ulitau
a/one umarried-man

'one/a certain unmarried man'

(111) sobuuk no anak no yukos
one LK child LK male

'one male child'

(112) sikan saboka no bata
DET one LK child

'that one child'

Mgo *used in NPs without numbers*

The pluralizer ***mgo*** is also used in NPs that do not contain numbers. In these cases, it is located in ONE OR BOTH of the following places:

- immediately before the NP head
- immediately before a descriptive that precedes the NP head

15 ***Sobuuk*** is a combination of ***so/songo*** 'one' and ***buuk*** 'unit.' ***Saboka*** is similar in derivation. The meaning of the three is the same, but note their usage:

Songo is used only before the NP head, and it does not take a linker of any kind. Also, it can have the sense of 'a certain (something)' in addition to a pure numerical sense.

Saboka and ***sobuuk*** normally do take the common linker ***no***, never the number linker, and they normally precede the NP head. Of these two, ***sobuuk*** is more often used to modify a NP head.

(before NP head)

(113)	seini	mgo	anak	din	
	these	PL	child	her	

'these children of hers'

(before descriptive)

(114)	to	mgo	matikang	no	bayoy
	DET	PL	tall	LK	house

'tall houses'

(both)[16]

(115)	mgo	mangka-diyu		no	mgo	otow
	PL	PL-	far	LK	PL	person

'far-away people'

2.4.2.2. Approximation

When ***mgo*** appears immediately before a cardinal number, it means "approximately." This is not to be confused with the pluralizer ***mgo***, which never immediately precedes a number.

(116)	mgo	songo	simana
	approx	one	week

'approximately one week'

2.4.2.3. Unit classifiers

Another feature that often occurs with numbers is a unit classifier, which was mentioned briefly in section 2.4.2.1. The unit classifier follows the number and is attached to it by the linker. This unit construction (that is, number + unit classifier) may either precede or follow the head, attached with a linker, except in the case of the number one, which is described following examples (117)–(119):

(unit construction precedes head)

(117)	sampuyu	no	saku	no	bogas
	ten	LK	sack	LK	rice

'ten sacks of rice'

16 When the descriptive or head takes a plural prefix, the pluralizer ***mgo*** is optional.

(118) to upat no buuk no (mgo) kamuti[17]
DET four LK unit LK PL camote

'four (units of) camote'

(unit construction follows head)
(119) birhinas no songo punu
eggplant LK one unit

'one (plant) of eggplant'

When the number is one, the form *sobuuk* is used, which is a combination of ***so/songo*** 'one' and ***buuk*** 'unit.' Or ***saboka*** can be used, which is similar in derivation.

(120) sobuuk no pan
one-unit LK bread

'one piece of bread'

2.4.2.4. Tag- ***'each'***

Tag- is used to prefix a number that designates a price. It means 'each.'

(121) tag- manampuyu no ka-sintabus[18]
each- ten LK NL-centavos

'ten centavos each'

(122) tag- daduwa no ka-pisus
each- two LK NL-pesos

'two pesos each'

(123) tag- singku pisus
each- five pesos

'five pesos each'

2.5. Descriptive

2.5.1. Single-word descriptives

A descriptive word can occur either before or following the NP head. In a brief survey of three descriptives, 83% occurred before the NP head. The posthead position seems to be

17 When the NP head is something that can be counted, the pluralizer is optional.
18 When Manobo numbers are used, the linker ***no*** and number linker ***ka*** are used, as in examples (121) and (122), but when Spanish numbers are used, as in example (123), they are not.

marked and slightly more prominent. Also, as stated preceding (133), the descriptive often follows the head when other constituents such as number and/or a second descriptive precede the head. Either way, the descriptive is attached to the head with the linker ***no***.

(124) sobuuk no kaju no maaslag
one LK tree LK big

'one big tree'

(125) seini mahait no kutsilyu
DET sharp LK knife

'this sharp knife'

(126) to wohig no mayobog
DET water LK muddy

'muddy water'

If the head is plural and the descriptive is one of those that normally takes a ***ma-*** prefix, its plural form ***mangka-*** is usually used. When it is, the pluralizer ***mgo*** before the head is optional.

(127) to mangka-intok no (mgo) bata
DET PL- small LK PL child

'small children'

If a cardinal number and a descriptive occur in the same NP, the following sequences are permitted:

(Number + descriptive + head)
(128) daduwa no mangka-aslag no bayoy
two LK PL- big LK house

'two big houses'

The gloss for examples (129)–(132) is the same as (128).

(Number + head + descriptive)
(129) daduwa no bayoy no mangka-aslag
two LK house LK PL- big

(Descriptive + head + number)
(130) mangka-aslag no bayoy no daduwa
PL- big LK house LK two

(Head + number + descriptive)
(131) bayoy no daduwa no mangka-aslag
house LK two LK PL- big

(Head + descriptive + number with unit classifier)[19]
(132) bayoy no mangka-aslag no daduwa no buuk
house LK PL- big LK two LK unit

If two descriptives are present in a single NP, they may both precede or follow the head, or one may precede and the other follow.

(two single-word descriptives precede head)
(133) to mangka-aslag aw mangka-intok no buaja
DET PL- big and PL- small LK crocodile

'big and small crocodiles'

(two single-word descriptives follow head)
(134) sikan kaju no maaslag dow matikang
DET tree LK big CONJ tall

'that big and tall tree'

(one precedes, one follows)
(135) sikan matikang no otow no mabuyut
DET tall LK person LK fierce

'that tall, fierce person'

2.5.2. Descriptive phrases

When the descriptive consists of a phrase or clause of two or more words, it follows the NP head. It may precede or follow a single-word descriptive. Examples (descriptive phrase is underlined):

(descriptive phrase)
(136) mgo otow no <u>mangka-haba to bubue</u>
PL person LK PL- long DET hair

'people with long hair'

(descriptive phrase following one-word descriptive)
(137) to manuk no yumansad no <u>mayogdog to bubue</u>
DET chicken LK male-chicken LK red DET feather

'male chicken with red feathers'

19 If there is no unit classifier, this sequence is not permitted.

(one-word descriptive precedes head, phrase follows)

(138)	to	maaslag	no	manuk	no	mayogdog	to	bubue	
	DET	big	LK	chicken	LK	red	DET	feather	

'a big chicken with red feathers'

(descriptive phrase precedes one-word descriptive)

(139)	sikan	mgo	baktin	no	mangka-rojow	to	yawa,	mangka-taba			
	DET	PL	piglet	LK	PL-	good	DET	body	PL-	fat	

'those fat piglets with good/healthy bodies'

2.6. Intensifiers

Intensifiers are adverbs of degree that can occur within the NP. They modify a descriptive or a head.

2.6.1. Intensifiers that modify a descriptive within a NP

The following words can intensify a descriptive within a NP: ***tigbae, hilabi, gajod***, and ***yagboy***. They may immediately precede or immediately follow the descriptive, except for ***gajod***, which must follow the descriptive. These do not require a linker.

(intensifier precedes descriptive)

(140)	sikan	otow	no	tigbae	hambugeru
	DET	person	LK	INTENS	boastful

'that very boastful person'

(intensifier follows descriptive)

(141)	to	mainiton	gajod	no	pagpangumusta
	DET	warm	INTENS	LK	greeting

'very warm greeting'

(142)	to	masakit	hilabi	no	kamingaw
	DET	painful	INTENS	LK	loneliness

'very painful loneliness'

2.6.2. Intensifiers that modify the NP head

As head modifiers, ***hilabi*** and ***tigbae*** may precede and intensify a head that is usually an ABSTRACT NOUN denoting a state of affairs. (Most often, though, these words occur in the predicate to modify a stative verb or a predicate adjective.)

(143) to tigbae din no dait
DET INTENS 3s2 LK terror

'his intense terror'

(144) to hilabi no kabontas aw kaboyoy
DET INTENS LK hunger and tiredness

'severe hunger and tiredness'

As head modifiers, ***gajod*** and ***yagboy*** usually occur with a NP head that is a CONCRETE NOUN. These heads are words that cannot be intensified because they do not allow for a variation of degree, but these two modifiers give prominence to that head or emphasize its completeness. The range of usage is shown in examples (145)–(148).

(145) Inilukanu gajod to pagwali din.
Ilocano-language INTENS DET preaching 3s2

'His preaching was all in Ilocano.'

(146) Songo kahun yagboy to mgo bayoy no nasangab.
one block INTENS DET PL house LK burned

'One entire block of houses was burned.'

(147) Yagboy mata kud to nakaaha to sikan. (OR Mata kud yagboy…)
INTENS eye 1s2 DET saw DET that

'My very eyes saw it.'

(148) Yagboy inoy din to migbuhi kandin.
INTENS mother 3s2 DET raised 3s3

'Her real mother raised her.'

2.7. Negation

2.7.1. Negation of a descriptive or identifier

The negative ***kona*** can negate a descriptive or identifier within the NP. It precedes the descriptive or identifier, and the linker ***no*** is used. (See section 2.9 for appositives.)

(descriptive negated)
(149) to mgo suun ku no kona no guwapu
DET PL sibling 1s2 LK NEG LK good-looking

'my siblings who are not good-looking'

(identifier negated)
(150) sikan mgo otow no kona no bisita ku
DET PL person LK NEG LK visitor 1s2

'those people who are not my visitors'

2.7.2. Negation of the NP head

The following are examples of negation of the NP head. In this case, the negative word precedes the head as the first element in the NP and is followed by a linker:

(151) Kona no bata to pigkita din.
NEG LK child DET saw 3s2

'It was not a child that she saw.'

(152) Pig-ojowan din sikan kona no mgo suun din.
left 3s2 DET NEG LK PL sibling 3s2

'He left those who were not his siblings.'

2.8. Orienter

An orienter is a word or phrase that shows time or location. Either of these can occur within a NP, modifying the NP head. (They can also function on clause level.)

2.8.1. Location orienter

A location orienter follows the head but may be separated from it by a possessive or a time word. (See table 2 for a list of the locatives with their relative distance from the speaker.)

(locative word only)
(153) to mgo otow kani
DET PL person LOC-near

'the people here'

(phrase)
(154) to panahon diya to Manila
DET weather LOC-removed DET Manila

'the weather in Manila'

(phrase, separated by time word)
(155) to mgo truseru kuntoon dini to Adgawan
DET PL loggers nowadays LOC-near DET Adgawan

'the loggers nowadays along the Adgawan (river)'

(phrase, separated by possessive)

(156) to pagtrabahu ku duon kandan
DET working 1s2 D2 3p3

'my working with them'

More on locative phrases

Locative phrases can be used in NPs (that is, adjectivally) or they can function on clause level (that is, adverbally), though that is beyond the purpose of this paper. Agusan Manobo has few, if any, true prepositions like English does, but the relationship that would be expressed by a preposition is usually implicit from context. Most locative phrases consist of LOC + NP.

(157) dini kanay
LOC 1s3

'here (with) me'

(158) diya to utukan to bubungan
LOC DET peak DET mountain

'(on/at) the peak of the mountain'

Locative phrases may occur in sequence, the second modifying the noun of the first.

(159) diya to ugpaanan dan diya to uma
LOC DET dwelling 3p2 LOC DET farm

'(in) their dwelling (on) the farm'

There is a special class of nouns that are used in locative phrases that might be otherwise ambiguous. Though they can stand alone, they are often followed by another NP that specifies the location. In examples (160)–(163), the underlined words are examples of this class of nouns just described. They may occur either with or without a phrase following, which in these examples is included in parentheses. When the phrase is not present, it can be understood from the context.[20]

(160) dini to babow (to kalibutan)
LOC DET surface DET earth

'here on the surface (of the earth)'

20 In this analysis, the noun (if there is one) that follows the head is analyzed as a genitive—the whole of the part, as exemplified by 'banana' in this example: the peel of the banana. In other words, in example (164), the 'under (part)' is analyzed as a part of the whole 'tree'. An alternate analysis would be to call the first noun a preposition and the second noun the head.

(161) diya to dani (to utukan)
LOC DET near DET peak

'near (the peak)'

(162) diya to didayom (to gotok din)
LOC DET interior DET abdomen 3s2

'inside (her abdomen)'

(163) duon to dibayuy (to dingding)
LOC DET other-side DET wall

'on the other side (of the wall)'

In certain constructions and with certain speakers, the determiner ***to*** can be left out.

(164) duon (to) yongod to kaju
LOC (DET) under DET tree

'under the tree'

(165) diya (to) diatas
LOC (DET) above

'up above'

2.8.2. Time orienter

Occasionally a time orienter will modify a NP head. If the head is a concrete noun, as in examples (155) and (166), the time orienter follows it without a linker. If the head is the name of a day or month, as in example (167), the time orienter will precede it, followed by a linker.

(166) si Adela no asawa din notoduon
PDET1 Adela LK wife 3s2 before

'Adela his former wife'

(167) seini kuntoon no Duminggu
DET now LK Sunday

'this Sunday'

2.9. Appositional phrase

An appositional phrase is either another common NP or a personal NP that follows the head, attached by the linker, and renames it. The appositional phrase may itself be

expanded by one or more of the modifiers described for the NP. More than one appositional phrase may occur in a single NP.

(168) sikan anak din no si Pedro
DET offspring 3s2 LK PDET1 Pedro

'his son Pedro'

(169) to sakit no pukoy
DET disease LK epilepsy

'the disease epilepsy'

(two appositional phrases)
(170) to amoy din no si Potenciano no bantugan no datu
DET father 3s2 LK PDET1 Potenciano LK well-known LK chief

'his father Potenciano, a well-known chieftain'

When both an appositional phrase and a locative occur in the same NP, there is no fixed rule about which should go first.

2.10. Relative clause

A relative clause modifying a NP head occurs at the end of a NP, after other types of modifiers, and it is joined to the other NP components by a linker.

(171) sikan bujag no mig-ugpa diya to guyangan
DET old-woman LK lived LOC DET forest

'the old woman who lived in the forest'

(172) sikan kamuti no intanom ta
DET camote LK planted 1i2

'the camote(s) that we (incl) planted'

More than one relative clause may modify the same NP head.

(173) to bayoy no pig-atopan to sin no pig-ugpaan to mgo sundayu
DET house LK roof DET GI LK live DET PL soldier

'a house roofed with corrugated metal which soldiers lived in'

A noun in one relative clause may be modified by a second relative clause.

(174) seini bata no meyduon idu no nasakit
DET child LK EXIST dog LK got-sick

'this child who has a dog that got sick'

If there is a possibility that the referent of the second relative clause may be ambiguous, as in example (174), (that is, is the child or the dog sick?), the clause will immediately follow its referent, whether the NP head, or the noun of the other relative clause. So in this case, if it were the child who got sick, the positions of the two relative clauses would be reversed.

A common variation of the relative clause is that it can be inverted. First comes what appears to be a headless relative clause (see section 2.2.9), followed by the linker **no**, and then the head. The distribution of this variation is not easily determined, but it seems possible that in the inverted form, the verbal part is more prominent.

(175) to napudut noy no humoy
DET got 1e2 LK rice

'that which we got which was rice (that is, the rice that we got)'

(176) to naanud no trusu ku
DET floated LK log 1s2

'that which floated away (which was) my log (that is, my log that floated away)'

(177) to sikan daya din no buyak
DET carried-thing 3s2 LK flower

'that which she carried (which was) a flower (that is, the flower that she carried)'

3. Pronoun NP

3.1. Head

Table 3 gives the pronoun forms for each person and set. (Abbreviations that are used in interlinear text are included in the table for reference purposes.) The usage of each set is generally as follows:

1st set	the focused participant in the clause, either subject or object
2nd set	a nonfocused subject; postposed possessive
3rd set	a nonfocused object; preposed possessive
4th set	forefronted, emphatic focused participant, either subject or object

For information on pronoun heads conjoined with a proper or common noun, see section 5.1.1.

Table 3. Agusan Manobo pronouns and noun markers†

	1st Set	**2nd Set**	**3rd Set†**	**4th Set**
1st person singular	a (1s1)	ku (1s2)	kanak/kanay (1s3)	siak (1s4)
1st person plural exclusive	koy (1e1)	noy (1e2)	kanami (1e3)	sikami (1e4)
1st person plural inclusive††	ki (1i1)	ta (1i2)	ita (1i3)	sikita (1i4)
1st person group inclusive††	kinow (1g1)	tanow (1g2)	itanow (1g3)	sikitanow (1g4)
2nd person singular	ka (2s1)	nu (2s2)	ikow (2s3)	sikuna (2s4)
2nd person plural	kow (2p1)	now (2p2)	iyu (2p3)	sikiyu/sikuyu (2p4)
3rd person singular	sikandin/kandin (3s1)	din (3s2)	kandin (3s3)	sikandin (3s4)
3rd person plural	sikandan/kandan (3p1)	dan (3p2)	kandan (3p3)	sikandan (3p4)
Personal noun marker	si	ni	ki	—
Common noun marker	demonstrative pronoun	to + demonstrative pronoun		—

† Speakers in many areas substitute 3rd set forms for 4th set pronouns, so that the 3rd set serves two functions.

†† First person plural inclusive pronouns (*ki*, etc.) can refer to two or more persons, including the speaker. When the speaker wants to make it clear that he is including a larger group (three or more, usually more) he may use the first person group inclusive (*kinow*, etc). Therefore, the 'group' pronouns are used less frequently than 'inclusive' pronouns.

3.2. Modifiers

Pronoun NPs may be expanded to include one or more of the following: number, descriptive, orienter, appositional phrase, relative clause. Any of these used with a pronoun will be postposed.

3.2.1. Number

A number can modify a plural pronoun of any set. The number form will follow the pronoun with a linker between the two forms.

(178) sikandan no tatoyu
3p1 (or 3p4) LK three

'they three/the three of them'

(179) to soda noy no daduwa
DET viand 1e2 LK two

'our viand, (belonging to) the two of us'

3.2.2. Descriptive

A descriptive word may be used with 1st, 3rd, and 4th set pronouns (not 2nd). The descriptive word follows the pronoun with a linker between the two forms.

(180) sikiyu no mangka-tikang
2p4 LK PL- tall

'you tall (ones)'

(181) Panilhig kow no mangka-sagkop.
sweep 2p1 LK PL- short

'Sweep, you short (ones).'

3.2.3. Orienter

An orienter (location) may modify 4th set pronouns. (With other sets, the orienter functions on clause level.)

(182) sikuna diya to La Paz
2s4 LOC-far DET La Paz

'you at La Paz'

(183) sikandan duon to mitinganan
3p4 D2 DET meeting-place

'they (who are) in the meeting place'

3.2.4. Appositional phrase

An appositional phrase may modify a pronoun of any set.

(184) angod kanami no mgo pubri
like 1e3 LK PL poor-people

'like us poor people'

(185) Paminog ka no bata.
listen 2s1 LK child

'Listen, you child.'

(186) to libru dan no mgo iskuyla
DET book 3p2 LK PL student

'their book, (belonging to) the students'

3.2.5. Relative clause

A relative clause may modify 1st, 3rd, or 4th set pronouns.

(187) kanami no mey mgo prublima
1e3 LK EXIST PL problem

'we/us who have problems'

(188) Mabibu koy no mig-andiya to pista.
merry 1e1 LK went DET fiesta

'We who went to the fiesta were merry.'

4. Personal NP

4.1. Determiner

The following chart shows the markers for personal nouns (names of people).[21] The usage of sets 1–3 is the same as for the pronouns. The first set is used for left-dislocated NPs as well as for normal topics; there is no 4th set of personal noun markers.

1st set	si
2nd set	ni
3rd set	ki

4.2. Other modifiers

A personal NP may be expanded to include a postposed descriptive identifier, appositional phrase, or relative clause.

(descriptive identifier)
(189) si Lita no mataba[22]
PDET1 Lita LK fat

'the fat Lita'

21 The word ***Diyus*** 'God' takes the common noun marker ***to*** rather than the personal marker.
22 This construction is used only to differentiate her from another Lita.

(appositional phrase)
(190) si Maria no inoy din
PDET1 Maria LK mother 3s2

'Maria her mother'

(191) ki Junior no kapitan dini ita
PDET3 Junior LK captain LOC 1i3

'to/of Junior, the captain in our place'

(relative clause)
(192) ni Utu no bag-u pad abut
PDET2 Utu LK new PTL arrive

'of/by Utu who has just arrived'

(193) si Nena no nasakitan to dayap
PDET1 Nena LK got-sick DET measles

'Nena who got sick with measles'

5. Coordination

5.1. Coordination of the NP head

The NP may have two or more heads. They may be joined by conjunctions such as ***dow, aw***, and ***hasta*** 'and,' or by ***ubin*** 'or,' or they may be simply juxtaposed. If there are more than two heads, a conjunction may appear between each head, between only the last two, or not at all. The conjunctions, if used, may or may not be the same.

(two heads, conjunction used)
(194) to kurtadur ubin hatsa
DET saw CONJ axe

'a saw or axe'

(195) sikandin dow si Maria
3s1 CONJ PDET1 Maria

'he and Maria'

(two heads, no conjunction)
(196) to poit, mgo kagang
DET (kind of fish) PL crab

'(a kind of) fish (and) crabs'

(three or more heads)

(197) to pagpanguma, pagpanginsoda aw to duma no mgo hinang
DET farming hunting/fishing CONJ DET other LK PL work

'farming, hunting/fishing, and other work'

(198) si Tata dow inoy din dow mgo anggam din
PDET1 Tata CONJ mother 3s2 CONJ PL uncle 3s2

'Tata and her mother and her uncles'

(199) to asin, puspuru, gas, sabun
DET salt matches kerosene soap

'salt, matches, kerosene, (and) soap'

(200) si Pabul hasta asawa aw anak din
PDET1 Pabul CONJ wife and offspring 3s2

'Pabul and his wife and child'

5.1.1. Composition of coordinate NP heads

The multiple heads may be any combination of proper names, common nouns, and pronouns. Generally, a pronoun tends to precede a proper name, and a proper name tends to precede a common noun. The latter can be explained, at least partially, in that the common noun is often stated in its relation to the name, as in example (202). No pattern has been observed with pronouns and common nouns.

(201) sikuna dow si Maria
2s4 CONJ PDET1 Maria

'you and Maria'

(202) si Pedro dow to mgo duma din
PDET1 Pedro CONJ DET PL companion 3s2

'Pedro and his companions'

One special type of construction must be noted in which a pronoun and a proper or common noun (referring to a person) are conjoined. This can occur in an NP that is a focused actor, a focused object, or a possessor. The pronoun, which comes first, is plural, referring to two people, and then one of the referents of that pronoun is identified by the proper or common noun which follows. If the pronoun is first person, the speaker is understood as the unnamed referent. If the pronoun is second person, the one addressed is understood as the unnamed referent.

In this construction, if a name follows the pronoun, it often takes the 1st set marker even if the pronoun is not a 1st set form; see examples (204)–(206). If a name is used, the

conjunction may be optional (see following explanations), but if a common noun is used, as in example (203), the conjunction is obligatory.

First set pronouns occur in normal position (not forefronted). With first person, the conjunction is optional, depending on the speaker's preference. With second and third person, it is obligatory.

(203) Mig-andiya koy dow to diya hadi ku.
went 1e1 CONJ DET younger-sibling 1s2

'I and my younger sibling went.'

Second set pronouns occur as possessors in this type of construction, following the head. The conjunction is obligatory.

(204) seini libru now dow si Lita
DET book 2p2 CONJ PDET1 Lita

'this book of yours and Lita's'

Pronouns from the 3rd and 4th sets are used for a focused actor or focused patient if the NP is forefronted. The conjunction is optional, depending on the preference of the speaker.

(205) Kanami (dow) si Derio pigpanumbag.
1e4 CONJ PDET1 Derio box

'I and Derio were boxed/punched.'

(206) Kanami (dow) si Derio mighobong.
1e4 CONJ PDET1 Derio hide

'I and Derio hid.'

5.1.2. Modifiers of coordinate NP heads

Multiple/conjoined heads of a NP may share modifiers (determiners, pluralizer, descriptive, appositional phrase, relative clause, but NOT number), or they may have separate modifiers.

(separate determiners)
(207) sikan bujag dow sikan manigaon
DET old-woman CONJ DET old-man

'the old-man and the old-woman'

(shared determiner and possessive)

(208)	to	mgo	suun	aw	inoy	ku
	DET	PL	sibling	CONJ	mother	1s2

'my siblings and mother'

(shared determiner and descriptive)

(209)	to	maagbot	no	udan	dow	kaemag
	DET	strong	LK	rain	CONJ	wind

'strong rain and wind'

(shared determiner and appositional phrase)

(210)	seini	mgo	manuk	dow	babuy	no	mgo	buhi	ku
	DET	PL	chicken	CONJ	pig	LK	PL	domestic-animal	1s2

'these chickens and pig(s) which are my domestic animals'

(shared determiner, separate number/descriptive)

(211)	to	**sobuuk**	no	manuk	aw	**sinon-ad**	no	humoy
	DET	one	LK	chicken	and	cooked	LK	rice

'one chicken and cooked rice'

(shared determiner, separate possessor)

(212)	to	kakoy	**nu**	aw	mgo	anggam	**nu**
	DET	older-sibling	2s2	and	PL	uncle	2s2

'your older sibling and your uncles'

The following have been observed:

Personal names

Each personal name must have a marker (that is, ***si, ni, ki***), even if conjoined. The markers on conjoined personal names may or may not be identical, depending on the speaker. Some speakers use identical markers on both personal names.

(213)	si	Lena	dow	si	Boy
	PDET1	Lena	CONJ	PDET1	Boy

'Lena and Boy'

(214)	to	anak	ni	Udul	dow	ni	Marta
	DET	offspring	PDET2	Udul	CONJ	PDET2	Marta

'the son/daughter of Udul and Marta'

Other speakers will use the first set marker ***si*** before the second name, regardless of what marker was used before the first name. Some also use the third set marker ***ki*** before the second name if it is used as a possessor.

(215) to kinabuhi ni Adan dow si (OR ki) Eba
DET life PDET2 Adam CONJ PDET1 PDET3 Eve

'the lives of Adam and Eve'

Multiple heads separated by other sentence parts

The multiple heads may be separated by other sentence parts, such as a particle, locative, or verb.

(particle separates heads)
(216) Si Petra nanda dow si Pinang to nabilin.
PDET1 Petra PTL CONJ PDET1 Pinang DET remained

'Only Petra and Pinang remained.'

(locative separates heads)
(217) Wada man kan amoy din duon dow inoy.
NEG-EXIST PTL DET father 3s2 LOC CONJ mother

'His father and mother weren't there.'

(verb separates heads)
(218) To inoy din migyangkob dow si Maria.
DET mother 3s2 lay-prone CONJ PDET1 Maria

'Her mother and Maria lay prone.' (literally, 'Her mother lay prone and (so did) Maria.')

5.2. Coordination of descriptives

Descriptives, whether in a NP or on clause level, can be coordinated.

(NP level)
(219) to tahan dow binag-u no kinabuhi
DET old CONJ modern LK life

'old and modern life'

(220) to mgo amu, mangka-aslag aw mangka-intok
DET PL monkey PL- large and PL- small

'monkeys, large and small'

(clause level)

(221)	Mgo	bootan	sikandan	dow	mahigugmaon.
	PL	kind	3p1	CONJ	loving

'They were kind and loving.'

(222)	Makaemag	aw	udan-udan	to	diya	no	madukilom.
	windy	and	rainy	DET		LK	night

'That night was windy and rainy.'

(descriptive phrases coordinated, NP level)

(223)	to	manuk-manuk	no	maitom	to	bubue	aw	maintok	duon	to uwak
	DET	bird	LK	black	DET	feather	and	small	than	DET crow

'a bird with black feathers and smaller than a crow'

5.3. Coordination of locatives

Multiple locatives can also be coordinated on NP level or clause level.

(NP level)

(224)	to	mgo	otow	diya	to	Valentina	aw	diya	to[23]	Kabakungan
	DET	PL	person	LOC	DET	Valentina	and	LOC	DET	Kabakungan

'the people at Valentina and at Kabakungan'

(clause level)

(225)	Meyduon	mgo	otow	diya	to	yunsud	hasta	diya	to	guyangan.
	EXIST	PL	person	LOC	DET	town	CONJ	LOC	DET	forest

'There are people in town and in the forest.'

5.4. Coordination of appositional phrases and relative clauses

Appositional phrases or relative clauses can also be coordinated, joined by a conjunction. These features occur only within the NP, however, not on clause level.

(appositional phrases coordinated)

(226)	mgo	buhi	noy	no	manuk	dow	babuy
	PL	domestic-animal	2p2	LK	chicken	CONJ	pig

'our domestic animals (which are) chickens and pigs'

23 The second *diya to* could be deleted. This would reduce the construction to one phrase with a coordinated object: 'at Valentina and Kabakungan'.

(relative clauses coordinated)

(227)	mgo	otow	no	wada	pagkoon	dow	wada	mgo	kabo
	PL	person	LK	NEG-EXIST	food	CONJ	NEG-EXIST	PL	clothing

'people who have no food and (who have) no clothing'

In summary, this paper has described the structure and constituents of NPs. An attempt has also been made to describe the function of NP constituents within NP constructions. However, it must be noted that it is not within the scope of this paper to give a full account of the referential use of NPs within the context of discourses.

Appendix A: Determiners in Agusan Manobo text "To Kagi no Pigboli ni Juan" (The Word(s) that Juan Bought)

The following is a rough tally of the common-noun-phrase determiners found in the first 38 sentences of the story, preceded by the sentence number for reference and followed by the gloss of the NP head from the context of the story. Following each list is a brief analysis of the usage and distribution of each determiner.

Notes

- When these forms are used as demonstratives, they are listed only under that category at the end.
- Items not designated as "focused" are nonfocused.
- Items not designated as "indefinite" are definite.

Usage of terms

- "assumed" means that the referent was a commonly known item in the setting of the story or between the narrator and audience, so that it did not need to be mentioned in order to be treated as old information.
- "old information" means that the referent has been mentioned previously in the story. All of these will be "definite" in reference.
- "new information" means that the referent has not been mentioned previously in the story and its presence is not just assumed.
- "focused" refers to the NP that is cross-referenced by the verbal affixation.
- "indefinite" means that the word is not referring to a specific referent but to a class or a general category.
- "definite" means that the referent is old information or specific and may be assumed.

<u>NPs with no determiner</u> (9x)

occur with existential

1 existential (old woman)
2 existential (son)
26 existential (flesh)
33 existential (daughter)

predicating

3 predicating (young-man)
6 predicating (week)

appositional usage

2 appositional (male)
33 appositional (young-lady)

clause-initial time word

4 clause-initial time (day)

to (total: approx 26)

1 assumed (forest)
4 old information (mother)
4 indefinite (rice)
4 assumed (barrio)
6 indefinite (rice)
8 old information, focused participant, main character of the story (young man)
9 assumed (middle of the road/journey)
9 new information (old man)
11 assumed (barrio)
11 assumed (rice)
14 indefinite (two pesos)
15 old information—referent just mentioned is being defined ('These are the words.')
17 old information (two pesos)—focused
18 indefinite (two pesos)—focused
19 old information (mother)
20 assumed (what you bought)
21 indefinite (word) 24 indefinite (crying)
29 old infor (word)—focused
30 new information (bolo)—focused (specified by a relative clause)
33 old information (journey)—focused
33 new information (town) (Also has "one/a-certain")
33 new information (king)
35 new information, nominalized clause (suitors)
36 (same as 35)
38 indefinite, nominalized clause (one who wants…)

Summary of *to*:

Used for both definite and indefinite; for old, new, and assumed information;
Usually used for nonfocused NPs but sometimes for focused NPs!

to sikan (11x)

6 old information (old woman)
10 old information (old man)
14 old information (old man)
18 old information (young man)
20 old information (old woman)
21 old information (old man)[24]
24 old information (old woman)
26 assumed (camote)
29 old information (old man)
36 old information (woman)
38 old information (daughter)

24 Oddly, this is in a sentence addressed to someone who didn't know about the old man! This is material for another study.

Summary of *to sikan*:

Used exclusively for nonfocused NPs; for old or assumed information (never for focused or new information.)

sikan (2x)

37 old information (young man)—focused
38 old information (king)—focused

Summary of *sikan*:

The data here is skimpy, but this bears out other research indicating that it is used exclusively for focused NPs, either old or assumed information.

kan (1x)[25]

17 old information (what I will have you buy)—focused

to seini (2x)

12 presented as new information, definite (two pesos)
25 old information, definite (words)

Summary of *to seini*:

It always marks a definite, nonfocused NP.

seini (2x) 'this'

6 new information ("these" two pesos), first mention in the story, presented in dialogue—focused
14 new information ("these" two words) first mention in the story, presented in dialogue—focused

Summary of *seini*:

Always refers to a definite, focused NP. As a NP marker, it normally would refer to something nearby. As a demonstrative (from other discourse studies), it can have anaphoric or cataphoric reference.

Demonstratives (5x)
By definition, these are all definite. Note that the nonfocused demonstratives are preceded by *to*.

These stand alone as demonstrative pronouns:

15 *seini* (to kagi) 'this is the word'—focused
17 *sikan* (da kan igpaboli ku ikow) 'that is the only thing I will cause you to buy'—focused
24 *to seini* '(what will we do with) this?'—nonfocused

25 The shortening of this form (from *sikan*) probably owes to its being in the same sentence as the full form which occupies another slot (demonstrative standing alone as NP)

These function in NPs:

34 *sikan no hari* ‘that king’–focused
36 *to sikan no bohi* ‘that woman’–nonfocused

Both are second references to characters that had just been introduced previously. In subsequent references, the ‘king’ takes the determiner *to*, and the ‘woman’ is referred to by name.

Appendix B: Interlinear text of “The Word(s) that Juan Bought”

A text written circa 1980 by Serafio Casal, Jr., Kasapa 2, La Paz municipality, province of Agusan del Sur.

1. Meyduon bujag no diya da og-ugpa to guyangan.
   meyduon bujag no diya da og =ugpa to guyangan
   EXIST old-woman LK D3 PTL AB =live DET forest

   There was once an old woman who lived in the forest.

2. Meyduon anak din no yukos no iyan ngadan si Juan.
   meyduon anak din no yukos no iyan ngadan si Juan
   EXIST child 3s2 LK male LK PRON-CLF name PDET1 Juan

   She had a son whose name was Juan.

3. Ulitau on sikandin.
   ulitau on sikandin
   unmarried-man PTL 3s1

   He was of marriageable age.

4. Songo aedow pigsugu si Juan to inoy din to pagboli to
   songo aedow pig =sugu si Juan to inoy din to pag =boli to
   one day OF-AB =send PDET1 Juan DET mother 3s2 DET GER =buy DET

   bogas diya to baryu.
   bogas diya to baryu
   rice D3 DET village

   One day Juan’s mother sent him to the village to buy rice.

5. Migtabak si Juan, “Ogpanow a, inay.”
   mig =tabak si Juan og =panow a inay
   AF-AB =answer PDET1 Juan AB =go 1s1 mother

   Juan answered, “I will go mother.”

6. “Na,” kagi to sikan bujag, “andiya
   na Ø =kagi to sikan bujag andiya
   INTERJ-O.K. IRR-AF =say DET DET old-woman go-there(distant)

   kad aw daeha seini daduwa no ka-pisus aw boli ka
   ka =d aw dae =a seini daduwa no ka =pisus aw boli ka
   2s1 =PTL-now and bring =OF-IRR-AB these two LK LK =pesos and buy 2s1

to	bogas	su	songo	simana	on	to	wada	pigkoon		ta.”
to	bogas	su	songo	simana	on	to	wada	pig	=koon	ta
DET	rice	because	one	week	PTL-already	DET	NEG-EXIST	OF-AB	=eat	1i2

“O.K.,” said the old woman, “go there now and take along two pesos to buy rice because we have gone without food for one week already.”

7. Kagi	ni	Juan,	“Hoo	iyan,	inay,	angod	to	
Ø =kagi	ni	Juan	hoo	iyan	inay	angod	to	
IRR-AF =say	PDET2	Juan	yes	PTL-EMPH	mother	it-is-as-if	DET	

og-alipengan		ad.”
og =alipeng	=an	a =d
ANB =lightheaded	=RF	1s1 =PTL-already

Juan said, “Yes mother, that’s true, I feel lightheaded.”

8. Dajun	panow	to	ulitau.
dajun	panow	to	ulitau
then	AF-IRR-AB =leave	DET	unmarried-man

Then that young man left.

9. Duon	pad	to	tonga-tonga		to	dayan	nakatagbu		sikandin
duon	pad	to	tonga	=RDP-STEM	to	dayan	naka	=tagbu	sikandin
D2	PTL-yet	DET	half	=RDP-STEM	DET	path	AF-INV-AB	=meet	3s1

to	manigaon.
to	manigaon
DET	old-man

When he was only halfway down the road he was met by an old man.

10. Kagi	to	sikan	manigaon,	“Og-andei	ka	man,	utu?”		
Ø =kagi	to	sikan	manigaon	og =andei	ka	man	utu		
IRR-AF =say	DET	DET	old-man	ANB =where	2s1	PTL	young-man		

The old man said, “Where are you going, sonny?”

11. Migtabak	si	Juan,	“Apu,	og-andiya			a	to	
mig =tabak	si	Juan	apu	og =andiya			a	to	
AF-AB =answer	PDET1	Juan	grandfather	ANB =go-there(distant)			1s1	DET	

baryu	su	ogboli	a	to	bogas	su	ogyotoy	on	
baryu	su	og =boli	a	to	bogas	su	og =yotoy	on	
village	because	ANB =buy	1s1	DET	rice	because	ANB =weak	PTL-already	

si	inay.
si	inay
PDET1	mother

Juan answered, “Grandfather, I am going to the village to buy rice because my mother is weak.

12. Migdae a to seini imbilin ni mangamoy kanami no
mig =dae a to seini in =bilin ni mangamoy kanami no
AF-AB=carry 1s1 DET DET OF-AB=leave PDET2 father 1e2 when

mamatoy sikandin.
ma =matoy sikandin
OF-IRR-AB =die 3s1

I am carrying this that father left me when he died.

13. Daduwa no ka-pisus.”
daduwa no ka =pisus
two LK LK =pesos

Two pesos.”

14. “Na,” kagi to sikan manigaon, “utu, boliha
na Ø =kagi to sikan manigaon utu boli =ha
INTERJ-O.K. IRR-AF =say DET DET old-man young-man buy =OF-IMP

to daduwa no ka-pisus seini daduwa no ka-kagi.
to daduwa no ka =pisus seini daduwa no ka =kagi
DET two LK LK =pesos these two LK LK =word

“O.K.,” said the old man, “sonny, buy these two words two pesos.”

15. Seini to kagi: Ko malipodong ka, patoy ka.
seini to kagi ko ma =lipodong ka patoy ka
this DET word if OF-IRR-ANB =sleep 2s2 die 2s2

These are the words: If you sleep you die.

16. Ko mubuyat ka, buhi ka.
ko mu =buyat ka Ø =buhi ka
if AF-IRR-ANB =be-awake 2s2 IRR-AF =live 2s2

If you remain awake, you will live.

17. Sikan da kan igpaboli ku ikow.”
sikan da kan ig =pa =boli ku ikow
that PTL-only DEM IF-ANB=CAUS =buy 1s2 2s3

That’s all that I will sell to you.”

18. Dajun ibogoy to sikan ulitau to daduwa no ka-pisus.
dajun i =bogoy to sikan ulitau to daduwa no ka =pisus
then OF-IRR-AB =give DET DET unmarried-man DET two LK LK =pesos

Then that unmarried man gave the two pesos.

19. Dajun uli si Juan diya to inoy din.
dajun Ø =uli si Juan diya to inoy din
then IRR-AF=return-home PDET1 Juan there(distant) DET mother 2s2

Then Juan returned home to his mother.

20. Kagi to sikan bujag, “Honda, utu, andei man
Ø =kagi to sikan bujag honda utu andei man
IRR-AF=say DET DET old-woman how-about-it young-man where PTL

to naboli nu?”
to na =boli nu
DET OF-INV-AB =buy 2s2

The old woman said, “Well, sonny, where’s what you bought?”

21. Migtabak si Juan, “Inay, imboli ku to kagi to sikan manigaon.
mig =tabak si Juan inay im =boli ku to kagi to sikan manigaon
AF-AB=answer PDET1 Juan mother OF-AB=buy 1s2 DET word DET DET old-man

Juan answered, “Mother, I bought the words of an old man.”

22. Pig-iling din no ko malipodong a kun, patoy a.
pig =iling din no ko ma =lipodong a kun patoy a
OF-AB=say 3s2 LK if OF-IRR-ANB =sleep 1s1 reportedly-said die 1s1

He said that if I go to sleep I will die.

23. Ko buyat a, buhi a.”
ko Ø =buyat a Ø =buhi a
if IRR-AF=be-awake 1s1 IRR-AF=live 1s1

If I remain awake I will live.”

24. Iyan da intabak to sikan bujag to migsinogow.
iyan da in =tabak to sikan bujag to mig =sinogow
PRON-CLF PTL-only IF-AB=answer DET DET old-woman DET AF-AB=cry

The only answer the old woman gave was to cry.

25. “Na, og-amonu kid man, utu, to seini?”
na og =amonu ki =d man utu to seini
PTL ANB =what-to-do 1i1 =PTL-now PTL young-man DET DEM

“So what shall we do now with these, sonny?”

26. “Basi man mey on unud to sikan kamuti no intanom ta.
basi man mey on unud to sikan kamuti no in =tanom ta
maybe PTL EXIST PTL-already flesh DET DET camote that IF-AB =plant 1i2

“Maybe the camotes we planted are bearing fruit already.

27. Pangamuti kad nasi,” kagi ni Juan.
paN =kamuti ka =d nasi Ø =kagi ni Juan
DISTR =camote 2s1 =now instead IRR-AF =say PDET2 Juan

Go out and gather camotes,” said Juan.

28. “Na,” kagi din, “kuntoon, inay, ogpanow a to wada
na Ø =kagi din kuntoon inay og =panow a to wada
INTERJ IRR-AF =say 3s2 now mother ANB =go 1s1 DET NEG-EXIST

ogkotoban no panow.
og =kotob =an no panow
ANB =extent =RF LK journey

"And," he said, "now mother I will go on a journey with no fixed destination.

29. Ogtumanon ku to kagi to sikan manigaon."
og =tuman =on ku to kagi to sikan manigaon
ANB =fulfill =OF 1s2 DET word DET DET old-man

I will carry out the word of that old man."

30. Dajun sikandin kahimos, pigtakos din da to
dajun sikandin ka =himos pig =takos din da to
then 3s1 OF-IRR-INV-AB =pack-up OF-AB=tied-on 3s3 PTL DET

kampilan no imbilin to amoy din.
kampilan no in =bilin to amoy din
warfare-bolo PRON-REL IF-AB =leave DET father 3s3

Then he packed his belongings and tied around his waist the warfare bolo that his father had left him.

31. "Kuntoon, inay, ogpanow ad, puli kad pakadejow."
kuntoon inay og =panow a =d puli ka =d pakadejow
now mother ANB =go 1s1 =now PTL-just 2s1 =PTL-now be-careful

"I'm going now mother, just be careful."

32. Dajun panow si Juan.
dajun Ø =panow si Juan
then IRR-AF=go PDET1 Juan

Then Juan left.

33. Anoy man no nadaduwahan on to pagpanow din,
anoy man no na =daduwa =an on to pag =panow din
after PTL LK OF-INV-AB =two =RF PTL-already DET NR =walk 3s2

mig-abut sikandin duon to songo yunsud no pig-ugpaan to hari.
mig =abut sikandin duon to songo yunsud no pig =ugpa =an to hari
AF-AB=arrive 3s1 D2 DET one town LK RF-AB=live =RF DET king

After two days of traveling he arrived at a certain town in which the king lived.

34. Sikan no hari meyduon anak no daega no iyan
sikan no hari meyduon anak no daega no iyan
that LK king EXIST offspring LK unmarried-woman LK PRON-CLF

ngadan si Maria.
ngadan si Maria
name PDET1 Maria

That king had daughter named Maria.

35. Madogi on to nangasawa no kona
ma =dogi on to naN =asawa no kona
ADJ =many PTL-already DET DISTR-AB =wife LK NEG

ogpakatood su ogkamatoy.
og =paka =tood su og =ka =matoy
ANB =AF-INV =materialize because ANB =OF-INV-AB =die

Many had already tried to marry her unsuccessfully because they had died.

36. Kagi ni Juan, “Nokoy no ogkamatoy man to
Ø =kagi ni Juan nokoy no og =ka =matoy man to
IRR-AF =say PDET2 Juan why LK ANB =OF-INV =die PTL DET

ogpamang-asawa to sikan no bohi?”
og =pamaN =asawa to sikan no bohi
ANB =DISTR-PL =wife DET DET LK woman

Juan said, “Why do those who try to marry that woman die?”

37. Naboyong sikan ulitau.
na =boyong sikan ulitau
OF-INV-AB =surprise that unmarried-man

That young man was surprised.

38. Di sikan hari sigi og-iling to, “Ko hintawa to
di sikan hari sigi og =iling to ko hintawa to
but DET king keep-on ANB =say DET if who DET

ogkaliyag to sikan anak ku, paandiniha.”
og =ka =liyag to sikan anak ku pa =andini =ha
ANB =OF-INV =desire DET DET offspring 1s2 CAUS =come-here =OF-IRR-AB

But the king kept saying, “Whoever wants my daughter should be brought here.”

39. Kagi ni Juan, “Og-anti a pad ogponhik.”
Ø =kagi ni Juan og =anti a pad og =ponhik
IRR-AF =say PDET2 Juan ANB =try 1s1 PTL-yet ANB =enter-a-house

Juan said, “I will try to go inside the house.”

40. Dajun abut si Juan duon to sikan migbantoy to bajaanan.
dajun Ø =abut si Juan duon to sikan mig =bantoy to baja =anan
then IRR-AF =arrive PDET1 Juan D2 DET DET AF-AB =guard DET pass-by =place

Then Juan arrived at the one who was guarding the entranceway.

41. Kagi to sundayu, “Nokoy man?
Ø =kagi to sundayu nokoy man
IRR-AF =say DET soldier what PTL

The soldier said, “What?

42. Ogpangasawa ka to anak to hari?”
og =pangasawa ka to anak to hari
ANB =arrange-marriage 2s1 DET offspring DET king

Are you going to try to marry the king’s daughter?”

43. Kagi ni Juan, “Kona a buwa no angajan
Ø =kagi ni Juan kona a buwa no angay =an
IRR-AF =say PDET2 Juan NEG 1s1 PTL-maybe LK suitable =RF

ogpangasawa.”
og =pangasawa
ANB =arrange-marriage

Juan said, “Perhaps I’m not worthy of marrying her.”

44. Kagi to sikan sundayu, “Inggad hintawa basta
Ø =kagi to sikan sundayu inggad hintawa basta
IRR-AF =say DET DET soldier even who as-long-as

ogpangasawa to anak to hari ogkadawat.
og =pangasawa to anak to hari og =ka =dawat
ANB =arrange-marriage DET offspring DET king ANB =OF-INV =accept

The soldier said, “Whoever tries to marry the daughter of the king will be accepted.

45. Ogdumahan ku ikow.”
og =duma =han ku ikow
ANB =accompany =RF 1s2 2s3

I will accompany you.”

46. Dajun tidow sikandan duon to hari.
dajun Ø =tidow sikandan duon to hari
then IRR-AF =arrive 3p1 D2 DET king

Then they arrived at the king.

47. Kagi to hari, “Ogpangasawa ka to anak ku no prinsisa?”
Ø =kagi to hari og =pangasawa ka to anak ku no prinsisa
IRR-AF =say DET king ANB =arrange-marriage 2s1 DET offspring 1s2 LK princess

The king said, “Do you want to marry my daughter the princess?”

48. Kagi ni Juan, “Hoo, ogpangasawa a.”
Ø =kagi ni Juan hoo og =pangasawa a
IRR-AF =say PDET2 Juan yes ANB =arrange-marriage 1s1

Juan said, “Yes, I would like to marry her.”

49. Pigdawat si Juan to hari aw naasawa ni Juan
pig =dawat si Juan to hari aw na =asawa ni Juan
OF-AB =accept PDET1 Juan DET king and OF-INV-AB =wife PDET2 Juan

si Maria.
si Maria
PDET2 Maria

The king accepted Juan and Juan was married to Maria.

50. Paghuhulid dan to una no kadukiloman, kagi
pag =RDP-CV =hulid dan to una no ka =dukilom =an Ø =kagi
when =RDP-CV =lie-down 3p2 DET first LK NR =night NR IRR-AF =say

ni Maria ki Juan, "Oglipodong kid on, Juan."
ni Maria ki Juan og =lipodong ki =d on Juan
PDET2 Maria PDET3 Juan ANB =sleep 1i1 =PTL-now PTL-now Juan

When they lay down the first night, Maria said to Juan, "Let's sleep now, Juan."

51. Kagi ni Juan, "Lipodong kad su kona a
Ø =kagi ni Juan lipodong ka =d su kona a
IRR-AF =say PDET2 Juan sleep 2s1 =PTL-now because NEG 1s1

pad ogkalipodong."
pad og =ka =lipodong
PTL-yet ANB =OF-INV =sleep

Juan said, "Go ahead and sleep but I'm not sleepy yet."

52. Di si Maria nalipodong on.
di si Maria na =lipodong on
but PDET1 Maria OF-INV-AB =sleep PTL-now

But Maria was already asleep.

53. Kagi ni Juan, "Ko mulipodong a, patoy a.
Ø =kagi ni Juan ko mu =lipodong a Ø =patoy a
IRR-AF =say PDET2 Juan if AF-IRR-ANB =sleep 1s1 IRR-AF =die 1s1

Juan said, "If I sleep, I die.

54. Ko mubuyat a, buhi a."
ko mu =buyat a Ø =buhi a
if AF-IRR-ANB =be-awake 1s1 IRR-AF =live 1s1

If I stay awake, I will live."

55. Wada lipodong si Juan.
Wada lipodong si Juan
NEG-EXIST sleep PDET1 Juan

Juan did not sleep.

56. Kagi din, "Nokoy no ogkamatoy man ko meyduon
Ø =kagi din nokoy no ogka =matoy man ko meyduon
IRR-AF =say 3s2 why LK STAT =die PTL if EXIST

ogpangasawa ki Maria?
og =pangasawa ki Maria
ANB =arrange-marriage PDET3 Maria

He said, “Why is it that whoever marries Maria dies?

57. Kona a gajod oglipodong su ogpaniidan ku dow
kona a gajod og =lipodong su og =paniid =an ku dow
NEG 1s1 certainly ANB =sleep because ANB =observe =RF 1s2 LK

nokoy to ogkoon to ogpangasawa ki Maria.”
nokoy to og =koon to og =pangasawa ki Maria
what DET ANB =eat DET ANB =marry PDET3 Maria

I certainly will not sleep because I will observe what it is that eats whom ever marries Maria.”

58. Anoy man no tonga on to kadukiloman, to
anoy man no tonga on to ka =dukilom =an to
when PTL LK middle PTL-already DET NR =night =NR DET

pagyanghag pa ni Juan iyan nakitaan din to
pag =yanghag pa ni Juan iyan na =kita =an din to
NR =look-upwards PTL-SBJV PDET2 Juan PRON-CLF INV-AB =see =RF 3s2 DET

uyu to maaslag no bakosan.
uyu to ma =aslag no bakosan
head DET ADJ =large LK python

In the middle of the night, Juan looked up and what he saw was the head of a huge python.

59. Aw kagi ni Juan, “Aduy!
aw Ø =kagi ni Juan Aduy
and IRR-AF =say PDET2 Juan INTERJ-surprise

“Yikes!” said Juan.

60. Sei kay naan buwa to ogpangoon.”
sei kay naan buwa to og =paN =koon
DEM PTL PTL-confirmation PTL-maybe DET AF-ANB=DISTR =eat

“So this is what’s been eating them.”

61. Dajun huyabut si Juan to kampilan aw itigbas
dajun Ø =huyabut si Juan to kampilan aw i =tigbas
then IRR-AF =unsheath PDET1 Juan DET warfare-bolo and IF-IRR-AB =slash

din to kampilan, iyan nakitaan to uyu to bakosan no
din to kampilan iyan na =kita =an to uyu to bakosan no
3s2 DET warfare-bolo PRON-CLF INV-AB =see =RF DET head DET python LK

nakawakdas duon to saog.
naka =wakdas duon to saog
AF-INV-AB =throw-to-side D2 DET floor

Then Juan unsheathed his warfare bolo and slashed the python; you could see the head of the python thrown onto the floor.

62. Aw kahugmun to bakosan no puli
aw ka =hugmun to bakosan no puli
and OF-IRR-INV-AB =fall-in-a-heap DET python LK PTL-just

pigyabawan si Juan to nalingon to yawa to bakosan.
pig =yabow =an si Juan to na =lingon to yawa to bakosan
RF-AB =exceed =RF PDET1 Juan DET STAT =coil DET body DET python

And the python fell into a heap that was taller than Juan himself.

63. Dajun din pukawa si Maria.
dajun din pukow =a si Maria
then 3s2 waken =OF-IRR-AB PDET1 Maria

Then he wakened Maria.

64. Pagkabuyat ni Maria, iyan nakitaan din to
pagka =buyat ni Maria iyan na =kita =an din to
when-INV =wake-up PDET2 Maria PRON-CLF INV-AB =see =RF she DET

buhi din no bakosan no patoy on no
buhi din no bakosan no patoy on no
domesticated-animal 3s2 LK python LK dead PTL-already LK

nalingon-lingon duon to dani to hibatan din.
na =lingon =RDP-STEM duon to dani to hibat =an din
STAT =coil =RDP-STEM D2 DET proximity DET lie-down =NR 3s2

When Maria woke up what she saw was her pet python dead, coiled near her bed.

65. Kagi ni Maria, “Sikuna to ogkabana ku su sikuna
Ø =kagi ni Maria sikuna to ogka =bana ku su sikuna
IRR-AF =say PDET2 Maria 2s4 DET STAT =husband 1s2 because 2s4

man to nakamatoy to sikan mamang.
man to naka =matoy to sikan mamang
PTL DET AF-INV-AB =die DET DET beast

Maria said, “You are the one I will have as my husband since you are the one who killed that beast.

66. Mahan-in on to nangasawa kanay, tibo ogkamatoy.
ma =han-in on to naN =asawa kanay tibo ogka =matoy
ADJ =many PTL-already DET DISTR-AB =wife 1s3 all STAT =die

Many have tried to marry me but all have died.

67. Sikan man to ogkoon,” kagi pa ni Maria.
sikan man to og =koon Ø =kagi pa ni Maria
DEM PTL DET AF-ANB=eat IRR-AF=say PTL-SBJV PDET2 Maria

That is what ate them,” said Maria.

68. Anoy man no nabukas on, mig-andiya sikan
anoy man no na =bukas on mig =andiya sikan
when PTL LK STAT =morning PTL-already AF-AB=go-there(distant) DET

hari to hibatan ni Maria.
hari to hibat =an ni Maria
king DET lie-down =NR PDET2 Maria

The next morning, the king went to Maria’s bed.

69. Pag-aha to hari no patoy on sikan buhi dan,
pag =aha to hari no patoy on sikan buhi dan
when =see DET king LK dead PTL-already DET domesticated-animal 3p2

naboyong to hari no iyan nakahimatoy si Juan.
na =boyong to hari no iyan naka =himatoy si Juan
STAT =surprise DET king LK PRON-CLF AF-INV-AB =kill PDET1 Juan

When the king saw that their pet was dead, he was surprised that the one who killed it was Juan.

70. Kagi to hari, “To mgo prinsipe pigpanghimatajan to
Ø =kagi to hari to mgo prinsipe pig =paN =himatoy =an to
IRR-AF=say DET king DET PL prince RF-AB=DISTR =kill =RF DET

sikan di sikuna to nakahimatoy to sikan bakosan.”
sikan di sikuna to naka =himatoy to sikan bakosan
DET but 2s4 DET AF-INV-AB =kill DET DET python

The king said, “The princes were killed by that python but you are the one who was able to kill it.”

71. Kagi to hari, “Kuntoon, Juan, ogpanhukas a to pagkahari.
Ø =kagi to hari kuntoon Juan og =paN =hukas a to pagka =hari
IRR-AF=say DET king now Juan AF-ANB =DISTR=divest 1s1 DET NR-INV =king

The king said, “Now, Juan, I will give up my kingship.

72. Saba man sikuna to nakamatoy to sikan buhi
saba man sikuna to naka =matoy to sikan buhi
since PTL 2s4 DET AF-INV-AB =die DET DET domesticated-animal

ni Maria, migpasabut no sikuna to ogkabana
ni Maria mig =pasabut no sikuna to ogka =bana
PDET2 Maria AF-AB =means-that content-of-orienter 2s4 DET STAT =husband

ni Maria.
ni Maria
PDET2 Maria

Since you are the one who killed Maria's pet, it means that you are the one to be Maria's husband.

73. Kuntoon, Juan, sikuna dow si Maria iyan ogtag-iya to
kuntoon Juan sikuna dow si Maria iyan og =tag-iya to
now Juan 2s4 and PDET1 Maria PRON-CLF AF-ANB =owner DET

pigharian ku su manigaon ad on.
pig =hari =an ku su manigaon a =d on
RF-AB =king =RF 1s2 because old-man 1s1 =PTL-already PTL-already

Now, Juan, you and Maria are the owners of my kingdom because I am an old man already.

74. Kona ad ogpakadaya to pagkahari.
kona a =d ogpaka =daya to pagka =hari
NEG 1s1 =PTL-anymore AF-INV-ANB =carry-on DET NR-INV =king

I am no longer able to cope with being king.

75. Juan, ko meyduon pad ginikanan nu, puduta agun
Juan ko meyduon pad ginikanan nu pudut =a agun
Juan if EXIST PTL-yet parents 2s2 get =OF-IRR-AB so-that

ogkahihimun kinow."
ogka =RDP-CV =himun kinow
OF-INV-ANB =RDP-CV =gather 1g1

Juan, if you still have any parents, get them so that we can all live together."

76. Dajun pigpudut ni Juan to inoy din.
dajun pig =pudut ni Juan to inoy din
then OF-AB =get PDET2 Juan DET mother 3s2

Then Juan got his mother.

77. Mighari on si Juan to pigharian to
mig =hari on si Juan to pig =hari =an to
AF-AB =reign PTL-now PDET1 Juan DET RF-AB =king =RF DET

ugangan din.
ugangan din
parent-in-law his

Juan now reigned over the kingdom of his father-in-law.

78. Madojow on to kabotang ni Juan dow sikan inoy din.
ma =dojow on to kabotang ni Juan dow sikan inoy din
ADJ =good PTL-now DET situation PDET2 Juan and that mother 3s2

The situation of Juan and his mother was now good.

79. Iyan da.
iyan da
it-is PTL-just

That's all.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations conform to the Leipzig Glossing Rules (www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/LGR08_09_12.pdf) with the exception of the following:

AB	Action Begun temporal aspect	NEG-EXIST	the negative existential *wada*
AF	Actor Focus	NL	number linker
ANB	Action Not Begun temp. aspect	NR	nominalizing affix
CONJ	conjunction	OF	Object Focus
D2	deictic, there somewhat far	PDET1	personal determiner, set 1 (*si*)
D3	deictic, there distant	PDET2	personal determiner, set 2 (*ni*)
EMPH	emphatic	PDET3	personal determiner, set 3 (*ki*)
EXIST	the existential *meyduon*	PRON-CLF	pronoun in cleft construction
GER	gerund	PRON-REL	relative pronoun
IF	Instrument Focus	PTL	particle
INTENS	intensifier	RDP-CV	first syllable reduplication
INTERJ	interjection	RDP-STEM	stem reduplication
INV	involuntary mode	RF	Referent Focus
LK	linker/ligature	STAT	stative verb affix
NEG	the negative adverb *kona*		