MAJOR

GRAMMATICAL

PATTERNS

OF

WESTERN BUKIDNON

MANOBO

MAJOR GRAMMATICAL PATTERNS

OF

WESTERN BUKIDNON MANOBO

MAJOR GRAMMATICAL PATTERNS

OF

WESTERN BUKIDNON MANOBO

by

Richard E. Elkins

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

1. General Background. Western Bukidnon Manobo is the language of
some 8,000 Manobo people in the southwestern portion of the province of
Bukidnon on the Island of Mindanao in the Philippines.[1] These people are
swidden agriculturalists living in isolated homesteads or small settlements
near their fields. They speak one of a number of Manobo languages all of
which belong to the Philippine branch of the Austronesian language family.
Dyen's classification (1965) places Western Bukidnon Manobo[2] in the Bukid-
nic Subfamily of the Sulic Hesion of the Philippine Hesion. The Bukidnic
Subfamily also includes Binukid, the language spoken in the northern half of
the province. In Dyen's study the Bukidnic Subfamily is coordinate with such
groups as the Dibabaic Subfamily, the Kalamian Subfamily, Pampangan, the
Palawanic Subfamily, and the Mesophilippine Hesion (Dyen 1965.30).

2. Theoretical Background. This monograph is a taxonomic approach
to the description of the major grammatical patterns, both syntactic and mor-
phological, of Western Bukidnon Manobo. The analysis utilizes linguistic
insights of two different theoretical frameworks, i.e., the levels of the
grammatical hierarchy as defined by the tagmemicists, and certain notations
and operations developed by the transformationalists.

Longacre maintains "that every language has a grammatical hierarchy
discoverable within the framework of that language and applicable to the lan-
guage as a whole." He further states that "one frequently found arrange-
ment consists of the following five levels (plus further possible levels such
as paragraph and discourse): stem, word, phrase, clause, and sentence."

[1]The research on which this monograph is based was carried out during various periods of
residence from 1955-1964 in Barandias, Pangantocan, Bukidnon, Philippines under the
auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The analysis is based on a collection of
texts which includes both materials written by informants and tape recordings of conversa-
tions and story telling. The written texts include folklore, personal letters, accounts of
current happenings, and descriptions of customs and beliefs. The writer's own knowledge
and speaking ability in Manobo were relied upon for certain of the examples. Use was also
made of a concordance based on 125 pages of text material. The concordance was produced
by an IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma. Its preparation was part of the
Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the
University of Oklahoma Research Institute and sponsored by Grant 95-270 of the National
Science Foundation.

In its original form this monograph was submitted as a dissertation to the graduate
division of the University of Hawaii in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics, August 1967.

[2] Western Bukidnon Manobo is the same as "Central Mindanao Manobo" in Dyen's study.

A construction on one level is typically, but not invariably, made up of constructions on the next lower level. Thus sentences are composed of one or more clauses, clauses are composed of phrases, and phrases, of words (Longacre 1964).

The phrase level in Chapter II is the point of departure for the study of syntactic patterns. The inventory of the phrase types and formulae presented are requisite to the description of higher level units. Thus the treatment of the syntax begins with simple structures on the lowest syntactic level and proceeds to the more complex on higher levels.

Utilizing Harris' notion that certain constructions of a language are more basic than others, a set of kernel clauses is defined in Chapter III (Harris 1957). Manobo kernel clauses are either verbal or nonverbal. The verbal clauses manifest the features, topic and focus,[3] which are typical of other Philippine languages. The nonverbal clause types described are classificational and existential.

The relationships between certain constructions on both the clause level and sentence level are accounted for in Chapter IV by transformational formulae or rules. These follow the transformational concepts of Zellig Harris rather than those of Noam Chomsky. Clause-to-clause transformations show the relation of kernel clauses to interrogative and emphatic clauses. Embedding transformations account for the formation of a number of complex phrase types which are derived from kernel clauses. Combining transformations account for the relation of kernel clauses to complex sentences which are combinations of clauses in coordinate or independent-subordinate relationships.

Chapter V describes the morphological patterns on the word level. Parts of speech are particles, pronouns, and full words. Syntactic criteria further divide full words into adjuncts, descriptives, nouns, and verbs. A major part of this chapter is a treatment of the inflectional categories of the verb with details and examples of allomorphic variation.

3.   Phonology.   The phonemes[4] of Western Bukidnon Manobo are as follows:

Consonants: p, t, k, ', b, d, g, v, z, g, h, m, n, ng, r, l, s, w, y. Glottal stop is ';[5] v is a voiced bilabial fricative; z is a retroflexed voiced alveolar fricative; g is a voiced velar fricative. The digraph ng is the velar nasal. Other consonants have their expected phonetic realization.

Vowels: a, e, i, u. e, a central mid open unrounded vocoid, is slightly lower than the usual Philippine pepet vowel. The other vowels are realized as in other Philippine languages.

4.   Morphophonemics. N and D in the time aspect allomorphs N-,

[3] McKaughan, 1958, introduced the term "topic" for what Bloomfield and others had called "subject". "Focus" began to be used in 1953 by members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in the Philippines to designate the relationship between topic and verb. It first appeared in print in Healey, 1960. McKaughan used "voice" for this relation.
[4] For a phonemic statement of a slightly different dialect, see Elkins, 1953.
[5] In the orthography used here, a word-initial vowel is to be interpreted as being preceded by a glottal stop. Thus a word such as asu 'dog' is phonetically 'asu.

miD-, eD-, and D- and in the distributive allomorphs peN- and eN- are to be interpreted throughout the monograph as follows:

$$D \Longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} b \\ g \\ d \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{in/} - \begin{bmatrix} \text{bilabial} \\ \text{velar} \\ \text{elsewhere} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$N \Longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} m \\ ng \\ n \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{in/} - \begin{bmatrix} \text{bilabial} \\ \text{velar} \\ \text{elsewhere} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} bb \\ gg \\ dd \end{bmatrix} \Longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} b \\ g \\ d \end{bmatrix}$$

A detailed treatment of the morphophonemic alternation between phonemes a and e is given in Elkins, 1963. Allomorphs of individual morphemes are described in the text of the monograph.

5. <u>Abbreviations</u> <u>and</u> <u>Symbols</u>. The abbreviations and symbols used in the monograph are listed here.

Case Markers:

SI	topic
NT	nontopic
NI	nontopic NI case
KI	nontopic KI case
Emph, emph	emphatic

Phrase Types:

P	phrase
NP	noun phrase
Nom	nominal
Pron	pronominal or pronoun
F	full
Br	brief
App	appositional
Sg cent	single-centered
TI P	time phrase
DI NP	locative phrase
Pers, pers	personal
Ref P	referent phrase
Com, com	common
def	definite

Adjunct Types:

Lim, lim	limitation
compl	completive

incompl	incompletive
Emph, emph	emphatic
Qu	question
Repet, repet	repetitive
Cert, cert	certainty
Intens, intens	intensity
Nu	number
Opt, opt	optative
ex	existential
ADJCL	adjunct cluster
neg	negative
Qt	quotative
advis	advisory
opp	opposition
excl	exclamation
Imper, imper	imperative

Verbal Inflections
  Time Aspect:

P	past
NonP	nonpast
UA	unactualized

  Focus:

SF	subject focus
OF	object focus
IF	instrument focus
DF	direction focus

  Mode:

IV	involuntary

  Aspect:

Dist	distributive
con	continuative
dim	diminutive
intens	intensive
R	reciprocal
As	associative

  Voice:

Ca	causative

  Number:

Nu	number

  Derivational:

nom	nominalizing affix
desc	descriptive affix

  Morpheme Types:

Ø	the zero shape of an allomorph
co	a coordinating particle
ad	an additive coordinating particle

att	an attributive coordinating particle
sub	a subordinating particle
coCOMB	a coordinating particle which functions as a clause combiner
subCOMB	a subordinating particle which functions as a clause combiner
Redup	a reduplicative morpheme

Boundaries:

| - | hyphen indicates a morpheme boundary |
| , | comma separates the multiple glosses of a portmanteau morph or unsegmented sequence |

6. Formulaic Notation. (The formulaic notation follows that used by Koutsoudas, 1966.)

⟶	"rewrite as"
+	concatenation
/	"in the following environment"
{ }	alternate choice of the included symbols

( )	Parentheses indicate optional occurrence of the included symbols.
[ ]	Brackets indicate linear correspondence of the enclosed symbols with symbols in one or more additional sets of brackets in the formula. (At least two sets of brackets occur in any one formula where they are used.)
:	"is manifested as" (This usage follows tagmemic notation, e.g., a formula of the form A:B is to be read: A is manifested as B.)
⟹	a transformation or a permutation

CHAPTER II

BASIC PHRASE PATTERNS

The point of departure for the description of the major syntactic patterns
of Western Bukidnon Manobo is the phrase. The inventory of phrase types
and formulae presented in this chapter is requisite to the definition as well
as to the understanding of the clause formulae and the permutational and
transformational operation in subsequent chapters. Basic phrases are noun
phrases. Basic verb phrases do not occur. A verb predicate which con-
tains more than one verb is probably more plausibly described as the nucleus
of a merged sentence rather than a verb phrase.

1. Noun Phrases. Noun phrases may be classified as single-centered
noun phrases, serial noun phrases, case marked noun phrases, referent
phrases, time phrases, and locative phrases.

1.1 Single-Centered Noun Phrases. A single-centered noun phrase
(Sg cent NP) is an endocentric construction in which the noun head has the
general distribution of the various expansions of the phrase (McKaughan
1958.11). This phrase consists of a noun head with an optional preceding
number adjunct (Nu) followed by either an optional personal noun phrase in-
troduced by ni (NI NP) or another optional single-centered noun phrase in-
troduced by the nontopic case marking particle te.[6] A single-centered noun
phrase is represented by the following formula:

$$\text{Sg cent NP} \longrightarrow (\text{Nu}) + \text{noun} + \begin{Bmatrix} (\text{NI NP}) \\ (\text{te} + \text{Sg cent NP}) \end{Bmatrix}$$

Examples:

menge valey ni Huwan plural house NI, pers name 'John's houses '

senge simana one week 'a week'

baley zin house NI, his 'his house '

etew 'person'

1.2 Serial Noun Phrases. In a serial noun phrase (Ser NP) the noun
head is expanded to include more than one noun or noun phrase in a series.
It thus consists of two or more single-centered noun phrases marked by at

---

[6] The inclusion of a Sg cent NP within itself indicates the recursive property necessary to
generate a right-branching possessive phrase.

6

least one additive coordinating particle. The following formula represents
the formation of serial noun phrases:

Ser NP $\longrightarrow$ Sg cent NP^n + (se + Sg cent NP) +

(wey + ($\left\{ \begin{matrix} se \\ ke \end{matrix} \right\}$)) + Sg cent NP

The recursive nature of the initial Sg cent NP in the formula is indicated by
the superscript n (i.e., any number of single-centered noun phrases may
occur in that position). As many as five noun phrases in a series have been
noted. There seems to be no grammatical limit on the number of noun
phrases which may so occur. Serial noun phrases refer to more than one
semantic entity.

Examples:[7]

(kerut), (se pula), (wey menge tinapa he menge vavuy wey selazeng)

yam ad palmheart ad plural smoked-meat att plural pig ad deer

'yams, palmheart, and smoked meat of wild pig and deer '

(layud dan), (keravew), (baka), (se kuda '), (wey langun he zuma he azen)

herd NI, their carabao cow ad horse ad all att other att possession

'their herds, carabaos, cows, horses, and all their other possessions '

    1.3 Case-marked Noun Phrases. A case-marked noun phrase is
either nominal or pronominal. A nominal case-marked phrase is an exocen-
tric relator axis construction in which neither the noun axis nor the relator
has the general distribution of the entire phrase. It consists of a case-
marking particle plus an axis which is a single-centered or serial noun
phrase. Case-marking particles mark noun phrases for topic (SI case), for
nontopic (which includes two subcases, NI and KI), and for emphatic case.
Pronouns may be marked by inflection for these same cases.

    1.31 Topic Case Noun Phrases. The topic or SI case marks a noun
phrase as being the grammatical topic of a clause. SI case noun phrases
(SI NP) are either nominal or pronominal. The nominal noun phrases (SI
Nom NP) are either personal or common. The personal nominal noun phrase
(SI Pers Nom NP) consists of the personal marking particle si followed by
a personal name: si Dumet 'Dumet', si Remun 'Ramon', si Mentugegek
'Mentugegek'. The common nominal noun phrase (SI Com Nom NP) con-
sists of one of the common topic marking particles followed by a single-
centered or a serial noun phrase. These particles are kes, is, and ke.

SI Com Nom NP $\longrightarrow$ $\left\{ \begin{matrix} kes \\ is \\ ke \end{matrix} \right\}$ + $\left\{ \begin{matrix} Sg\ Cent\ Np \\ Ser\ NP \end{matrix} \right\}$

---

[7]Parentheses are used in examples to highlight constructions under consideration.

The semantic components of SI common marking particles are indicated as follows:

	topic	common	definite	emphatic
kes	+	+	+	+
is	+	+	+	-
ke	+	+	-	-

Examples:
  (kes) uval 'the (emphatic) monkey'
  (is) uval 'the monkey'
  (ke) uval 'monkey'
  (kes) kumbala ' wey selu'al SI, com, def, emph shirt ad trousers
  'the shirt and pants '
  (ke) menge valey zin SI, com plural house NI, his 'his houses '

The topic case pronominal noun phrases (SI Pron) are also either personal or common. Personal SI pronouns are brief (SI Br Pers Pron) or full (SI F Pers Pron). The brief set follows:

a	+ speaker, - plural	'I'
ka·	+ spoken to, - plural	'thou'
∅	+ spoken of, - plural	'he, she, it'
ki	+ speaker, + spoken to, - plural	'I and thou'
key	+ speaker, + spoken of	'we not you'
kew	+ spoken to, + plural	'you'
dan	+ spoken of, + plural	'they'
kiyu	+ speaker, + spoken to, + plural	'I and you'

SI full personal pronouns (SI F Pers Pron) are the following:

sikew	+ spoken to, - plural	'thou'
sikandin	+ spoken of, - plural	'he, she, it'
sikiyu	+ spoken to, + plural	'you'
sikandan	+ spoken of, + plural	'they'

Topic-marked common pronouns (SI Com Pron) are inflected for case and for proximity to person. Proximity is in terms of time as well as space.

near speaker	he'ini	'this', 'here'
near spoken to	he'eyan	'that', 'there'
distant	he'eya'	'that', 'there'
far distant	he'aza'	'that', 'there'

Examples:

eha'a nu (he'ini) look, OF NI, thou SI, this 'Look at this.'

(he'eya') is timpu te pista <u>SI, that</u> <u>SI, com</u> time <u>Nt, com</u> <u>fiesta</u>
'That is the time of the fiesta. '

Topic pronouns may occur with topic noun phrases to form an apposi-
tional pronominal noun phrase (SI App Pron NP). Such phrases consist of
an SI pronoun plus an SI personal nominal noun phrase or an SI common
nominal noun phrase which is introduced by the topic case marker is:

$$\text{SI App Pron NP} \longrightarrow \text{SI Pron} + \begin{cases} \text{is + Sg cent NP} \\ \text{SI Pers Nom NP} \end{cases}$$

Examples:

(he'ini) (si Huwan) <u>SI, this</u> <u>SI, pers</u> <u>John</u>, 'this one, John'

(he'aza') (is menge kuda') <u>SI, that</u> <u>SI, com</u> <u>plural</u> <u>horse</u> 'those horses'

(sikandin) (is duma ku) <u>SI, he</u> <u>SI, com</u> <u>companion</u> <u>NI, my</u> 'he, my companion'

    1.32 <u>Nontopic Case Noun Phrases</u>. Nontopic noun phrases (NT NP)
are again either personal or common. The nontopic personal noun phrases
(NT Pers NP) in turn are either NI case or KI case. NI case noun
phrases (NI NP) function on two grammatical levels. An NI noun phrase
on the clause level functions as the subject of a verbal clause which is
marked for object, instrument, or direction focus. An NI phrase on the
phrase level functions as possessor of a noun head. This phrase also func-
tions as the subject of a nominalized verb in a phrase which is a transform
of a verbal clause. These phrases are either nominal or pronominal.
    The NI nominal phrase (NI Nom NP) consists of the personal marking
particle ni plus a proper name: ni Isku 'Isku', ni Huwan 'John', ni
Dumet 'Dumet'.
    NI pronominal phrases are the NI personal pronouns (NI Pron):

ku	+ speaker, - plural	'I'
nu	+ spoken to, - plural	'thou'
din	+ spoken of, - plural	'he, she, it'
ta	+ speaker, + spoken to, - plural	'I and thou'
dey	+ speaker, + spoken of	'we not you'
niyu	+ spoken to, + plural	'you'
dan	+ spoken of, + plural	'they'
tew	+ speaker, + spoken to, + plural	'I and you'

A KI noun phrase (KI NP) may function on the clause level as the in-
direct object of the verb, the object of a subject focus verb, and as the sub-
ject of a verb which is not subject focus. On the phrase level a KI noun
phrase may function as the axis of a director axis phrase. In phrases which
are transforms of clauses, KI noun phrases retain their clause level func-
tion whether possessor, subject, object, direction, or instrument.

Thus a KI niminal phrase (KI Nom NP) consists of the personal marking particle ki plus a proper name: ki Huwan 'John', ki Remun 'Ramon', ki Ayda 'Ida'.

The pronominal phrases are the KI personal pronouns (KI Pron):

kedi' kedi'ey	+ speaker, - plural	'I'
kenikew	+ spoken to, - plural	'thou'
kandin	+ spoken of, - plural	'he, she, it'
kenita	+ speaker, + spoken to, - plural	'I and thou'
kenami	+ speaker, + spoken of	'we not you'
keniyu	+ spoken to, + plural	'you'
kandan	+ spoken of, + plural	'they'
kenitew	+ speaker, + spoken to, + plural	'I and you'

The common nontopic noun phrase (NT Com NP) is commutable for either of the personal nontopic noun phrases, i.e., an NI phrase or a KI phrase. Common nontopic noun phrases again are either nominal or pronominal.

A nontopic nominal common noun phrase (NT Nom Com NP) consists of the nontopic common marking particle te plus a single-centered or serial noun phrase:

$$\text{NT Nom Com NP} \qquad \text{te} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Sg cent NP} \\ \\ \text{Ser NP} \end{array} \right\}$$

Examples:

te + Sg cent NP:

(te) (menge anak din) <u>Nt, com plural child NI, his</u> 'his children'

te + Ser NP:

(te) (pa'it wey se vegas) <u>NT, com fish ad ad rice</u> 'fish and rice'

The pronominal common nontopic noun phrases (NT Com Pron) are the following pronouns which are inflected for proximity of time or space as well as for nontopic case:

kayi	near speaker	'this', 'here'
keniyan	near spoken to	'that', 'there'
du'en	elsewhere	'that', 'there'
keniya'	elsewhere distant	'that', 'there'

Examples:

(kayi) te andew <u>NT, this</u> <u>NT,</u> <u>com</u> <u>day</u> 'this day'

(du'en) te avang <u>NT, that</u> <u>NT,</u> <u>com</u> <u>boat</u> 'that boat'

keniya' <u>NT, there</u> 'there'

A nontopic common pronoun or a KI personal pronoun plus a nontopic nominal common noun phrase together form a nontopic appositional pronominal noun phrase:

$$\text{NT App Pron NP} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NT Com Pron} \\ \text{KI Pers Pron} \end{array} \right\} + \text{NT Com NP}$$

Examples:

(kenami) (te dezuwa) <u>KI, we-not-you</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>two</u> 'we two'

(keniyan) (te epus) <u>KI, that, near-spoken-to</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>ember</u>

'that, an ember (near you)'

(keniya') (te senge valey) <u>KI, that, distant</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>one</u> <u>house</u>

'that, another house'

1.33 <u>Emphatic</u> <u>Case</u> <u>Noun</u> <u>Phrases</u>.   Emphatic case noun phrases (Emph NP) occur in the preverb position in the clause and are marked for emphasis. A certain amount of overlap occurs in the membership of the emphatic case and the SI case. The emphatic case common pronouns and the 'spoken to' and 'spoken of' personal pronouns, as well as noun phrases marked by the emphatic case marking particle, occur as SI case phrases in nonemphasis positions in the clause. SI case personal names also occur as emphatic noun phrases. Emphatic 'speaker' pronouns never occur as SI case phrases.

As with other noun phrases the emphatic phrases (Emph Nom NP) are either personal or common. An emphatic personal nominal noun phrase (Emph Pers Nom NP) consists of an SI case-marked proper name: si Dumet, si Ayda, si Husi.

An emphatic common nominal noun phrase (Emph Com Nom NP) consists of the emphatic marking particle kes plus a single-centered or serial noun phrase:

$$\text{Emph Com Nom NP} \longrightarrow \text{kes} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Sg cent NP} \\ \text{Ser NP} \end{array} \right\}$$

Example:

(kes) (duma ku) ne neke'uma en sikandin <u>emph, com</u> <u>companion</u>

<u>NI, my</u> <u>co</u> <u>arrived, SF</u> <u>compl</u> <u>SI, he</u> 'As for my companion, he has arrived already.'

Emphatic pronominal noun phrases (Emph Pron NP) are the emphatic personal and common pronouns listed below.

Personal (Emph Pers Pron):

si'ak	+ speaker, - plural	'I'.
sikew	+ spoken to, - plural	'thou'
sikandin	+ spoken of, - plural	'he, she, it'
sikita	+ speaker, + spoken to, - plural	'I and thou'
sikami	+ speaker, + spoken of	'we not you'
sikiyu	+ spoken to, + plural	'you'
sikandan	+ spoken of, + plural	'they'
sikitew	+ speaker, + spoken to, + plural	'I and you'

Common (Emph Com Pron):

he'ini	near speaker	'this'
sikan	distant	'that'

An emphatic appositional emphatic noun phrase consists of an emphatic case pronoun plus an SI personal nominal noun phrase or an SI common nominal noun phrase which is introduced by the topic case marker is:

$$\text{Emph App Pron NP} \longrightarrow \text{Emph Pron} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{is + Sg cent NP} \\ \text{SI Pers Nom NP} \end{array} \right\}$$

Examples:

(si'ak) (is anggam nu) ne insa'i a kenikew <u>emph, I</u> <u>SI, com</u> <u>uncle</u>

<u>NI, thy</u> <u>co</u> <u>ask, DF</u> <u>SI, I</u>   'As for me, your uncle, ask me.'

(sikan) (is baley ku) ne nepiley en <u>emph, that</u> <u>SI, com</u> <u>house</u>

<u>NI, my</u> <u>co</u> <u>fell, OF compl</u>   'As for that, my house, it has fallen over.'

1.4 <u>Referent Noun Phrases</u>. A referent noun phrase (Ref P) consists of a referent relator (Ref Rel) plus an axis which is a nontopic common nominal noun phrase or a KI noun phrase. This phrase functions as the referent, instrument, or direction of a verbal clause when these roles are not determined by the syntactic properties of the verb. The functional load of these phrases is relatively light. The referent relators are:

meke'atag	'concerning'
para	'for'
tenged	'because of'
pine'agi	'by means of'

pinesikad   'by means of'

pehendini[8]   'toward here'

pehendutun   'toward there'

pehendiya'   'toward there'

    The following is the formula for referent noun phrases:

$$\text{Ref P} \longrightarrow \text{Ref Rel} + \begin{Bmatrix} \text{NT Com NP} \\ \text{KI NP} \end{Bmatrix}$$

Examples:

 Referent:

(meke'atag) (te bela'ud) <u>concerning</u> <u>NT,com</u> <u>law</u> 'concerning the law'

para kenikew <u>for</u> <u>KI,you</u>   'for you'

 Instrument:

(pine'agi) (te lalag nu) <u>by-means-of</u> <u>NT,com</u> <u>word</u> <u>NI,thy</u> 'by means of what you said'

 Direction:

(pehendiye') (te Medaya') <u>toward</u> <u>NT,com</u> <u>Medaya'</u>   'toward Medaya'

    1.5 <u>Time</u> <u>Noun</u> <u>Phrases</u>. A time phrase (TI P) consists of a non-topic common nominal noun phrase or a time word followed by an optional nontopic common nominal noun phrase. The axis of the nontopic common nominal noun phrase is an embedded clause which has some semantic reference to time. The formula for a time phrase follows:

Ti P ⟶ (time word) + (NT Com Nom NP)
         (choose at least one)

Examples:

gevi'i 'yesterday'.

(gevi'i) (te mehapun) <u>yesterday</u> <u>NT,com</u> <u>afternoon</u> 'yesterday afternoon'

(ke'eselem) (te kebpeke'uma tew) <u>tomorrow</u> <u>NT,com</u> <u>arrival</u>

<u>NI,</u> <u>my-and-your</u> 'tomorrow upon our arrival'

(dengan) (te ked'enaka kedi') <u>long-ago</u> <u>NT,com</u> <u>giving-birth</u>

<u>KI,I</u> 'long ago at my birth (at the bearing of me)'

    1.6 <u>Locative</u> <u>Noun</u> <u>Phrases</u>. A locative or DI noun phrase (DI NP) consists of a locative pronoun (DI Pron) or a nontopic common pronoun (NT Com Pron) plus an optional nontopic nominal common noun phrase.

---

[8] The directional relators pehendini, pehendutun, and pehendiya' also may function as the direction of certain verbs without the noun phrase axis, e.g.,
nekehipanew si Huwan (pehendiya') <u>walked,SF</u> <u>SI,pers</u> John <u>toward-there,</u>
'John walked toward there'.

$$\text{DI NP} \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \text{DI Pron} \\ \text{NT Com Pron} \end{Bmatrix} + (\text{NT Com Nom NP})$$

The locative or DI pronouns are:

dini	near speaker	'here '
diyan	near spoken to	' there '
dutun	distant	' there '
diya'	far distant	' there '

Examples:

(dini) (te valey) <u>DI, here</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>house</u> 'here at the house '

(diyan) (te uvey nu) <u>DI, there</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>vicinity</u> <u>NI, thy</u>
'there in your vicinity '

(kayi) (te Berendiyas) <u>NT, here</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>place-name</u> 'here in Barandias '

(du'en) (te wahig) <u>NT, there</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>water</u> 'there at the water '

CHAPTER III

KERNEL CLAUSE PATTERNS

In Western Bukidnon Manobo a clause typically functions as a sentence-level constituent. Thus the clause may be a complete sentence, it may function as an obligatory constituent on the sentence level with other sentence-level constituents subordinate to it, or it may, by transformation, be embedded in a phrase or combined with other clauses to form more complex sentences.

The clause in this language is a construction consisting of an obligatory predicate plus one or more optional clause-level constituents plus an obligatory topic noun phrase. It is viewed here as a string of constituents which is not subject to multiple binary cutting into immediate constituents (Longacre 1960). McKaughan has suggested that for Philippine languages immediate constituent analysis is useful on the phrase level but not on the clause level.[9]   In harmony with this, Longacre recently indicated that for language in general the phenomenon of nesting or embedding occurs typically on the phrase level, the sentence level, and the discourse level, and atypically on the alternate levels, i.e., the word level, the clause level, and the paragraph level.[10]   For Manobo it can be demonstrated that where embedding does occur it is most often the result of a transformation which reduces a structure on one level to a structure on a lower level.

Jannette Forster's analysis of clauses in Dibabawon (a closely related language) treats the clause as having a dual structure. She states that, "A verbal clause is simultaneously a string constituent construction and a binary immediate constituent construction." She also maintains that both string constituent analysis and immediate constituent analysis are necessary in order to describe the clause adequately (Forster 1964). According to this view the clause consists of two elements, a comment plus a topic, and at the same time, it is a string which includes an obligatory predicate, certain optional clause level constituents, and a topic noun phrase. Forster's analysis is not contradictory to the view presented here, since the definition of a clause given above is that it is a string which is not subject to multiple binary cutting. Forster makes only a single cut, resulting in two immediate constituents, and does not further reduce the clause by immediate constituent analysis.

Harris has indicated that certain clauses or sentences in a language are more basic than others. The most basic he refers to as kernel sentences

[9] Seminar discussion, University of Hawaii, 1966.
[10] Longacre, in his presentation of the paper, "Hierarchy and Methodology," at the 1966 Conference on Linguistic Methods at the University of California at Los Angeles.

which he describes as follows (1957.335): "The kernel is the set of elementary sentences and combiners, such that all sentences of the language are obtained from one or more kernel sentences (with combiners) by means of one or more transformations." The major clause patterns are kernel and form the basis for deriving other more complex clauses and sentences.

These kernel clauses are described in this chapter. The transformations which account for the more complex derived clauses and sentences are described in the next chapter.

Western Bukidnon Manobo kernel clauses are either verbal or nonverbal.

1.   Verbal Clauses.   In a kernel verbal clause, PREDICATE consists of a verb. The relationship to the verb of the topic, an SI case noun phrase, is marked by the verb inflectional category of focus. The topic so marked by the verb affixes may be the subject of the verb, the object, the instrument, or accessory of the verb, or the direction or referent of the verb.

Formulae for clause types given below and following are not comprehensive in that they cannot generate only and all grammatical clauses. They do, however, represent general patterns. In order to write comprehensive generative rules, verb stem classes must be taken into account since the co-occurrence of dramatis personae roles [11] and the order of occurrence of certain of the clause level constituents is determined by the syntactic properties of a particular verb stem. There are also certain optional permutations of the TIME, LOCATION, and REFERENT constituents which are not included in the formulae. An exhaustive presentation of all permutation possibilities would considerably increase the complexity of the formulae. However, such treatment would not contribute significantly to an understanding of major grammatical patterns of the language.

The grammatical terms SUBJECT, OBJECT, DIRECTION, INSTRUMENT, TIME, LOCATION, and REFERENT designate the dramatis personae roles performed by constituents in clauses. SUBJECT is the performer of the action of the verb. OBJECT refers to the goal or the terminus of the action of the verb. INSTRUMENT is the accessory or that which is involved in the action of the verb as it moves toward a goal. DIRECTION refers to the benefactor of the action of the verb or a point toward which or away from which the action of the verb moves. TIME indicated the time of the action. LOCATION designates the place where the action occurs. REFERENT is a broad term designating an instrument, direction, or referent of the verb in clauses where the more specific relations are not defined by the syntactic properties of the verb or verb stem.

Verbal clauses have the following general structure:

Verbal clause ⟶   (MODE) + (ADJUNCT CLUSTER) +

---

[11] The use of "dramatis personae roles" follows a suggestion by Kenneth L. Pike in a Summer Institute of Linguistics seminar in 1963 in the Philippines.

$$\text{PREDICATE} + \text{SUBJECT} + \begin{cases} \text{OBJECT} + \text{DIRECTION} \\ \text{DIRECTION} + \begin{cases} \text{INSTRUMENT} \\ \text{OBJECT} \end{cases} \\ \text{INSTRUMENT} + \text{OBJECT} \end{cases} + \text{(TIME)}$$

+ (LOCATION) + (REFERENT)

The following permutation of LOCATION or TIME is optional:

MODE + ADJCL + PREDICATE + X + TIME + LOCATION + Y

$$\begin{cases} \text{MODE} \\ \text{TIME} \\ \text{LOCATION} \end{cases} + \text{ADJCL} + \text{PREDICATE} + X + Y$$

Where TIME or LOCATION is manifested by a phrase which is more than a single word, the following placement of ADJCL is obligatory:

$$X + \begin{bmatrix} \text{LOCATION:} \begin{cases} \text{DI Pron} \\ \text{NT Com Pron} \end{cases} \\ \\ \text{TIME: Time word} \end{bmatrix} + \text{NT Com Nom NP} + \text{ADJCL} +$$

$$Y \Longrightarrow X + \begin{bmatrix} \begin{cases} \text{DI Pron} \\ \text{NT Com Pron} \end{cases} \\ \text{Time word} \end{bmatrix} + \text{ADJCL} + \text{NT Com Nom NP} + Y$$

ADJCL is permuted to a postpredicate position when MODE, LOCATION, or TIME are absent in the prepredicate position:

ADJCL + PREDICATE + X $\Longrightarrow$ PREDICATE + ADJCL + X

The constituent indicated by MODE is manifested by the modal adjuncts waza' and kene' 'not', nasi' 'unexpected'. and tekew 'unexpected'.

ADJCL is expanded as follows:

$$\text{ADJCL} \longrightarrow \text{(Lim)} + \left(\begin{cases} \text{Emph} \\ \text{Qu} \\ \text{Qt} \\ \text{Opt} \\ \text{Imper} \end{cases} \right) + \text{(Repet)} + \left(\begin{cases} \text{Cert} \\ \text{Intens} \end{cases} \right)$$

ADJCL (adjunct cluster) designates a substring of clause level constituents which occur in a fixed order relative to each other and which are permuted as a unit. Each member of the cluster modifies the clause in some way. The members do not relate to each other in this function but do act in a positional fixed order, thus "clustering." The membership of the categories included in the adjunct cluster is as follows:

1. Lim--one of the limitation adjuncts: en 'completive', pa 'incompletive', ded 'still', and da' 'only'.
2. Emph--the emphatic adjunct man.
3. Qu--one of the question indicators: be 'question', bes 'rhetorical question'.[12]
4. Qt--the quotative adjunct kun.
5. Opt--the optative adjunct pezem.
6. Imper--one of the imperative adjuncts: limba 'strong command (, nasi' 'advisory command', kun 'polite request'.
7. Repet--a repetitive adjunct: da'an 'also', ma'an 'again'.
8. Cert--a degree of certainty adjunct: iyan 'really', or buwa 'maybe'.
9. Intens--a degree of intensity adjunct: utew 'very', malu' 'somewhat'.

Examples:

kene' e (en man da'an) eD-Ke-su'at-∅ du'en neg SI, I compl emph repet

please, OF NT, that 'That (emphatically) also does not please me.'

he'ini (zed buwa) is ubpit SI, here still perhaps SI, com knife

'Perhaps the knife is still here.'

∅-'uli' ke (en limbe) return, SF SI, thou compl imper 'Go home (or else)!'

∅-'uli' ke (en kun da'an) return, SF SI, thou compl Qt also 'You go home

also (someone said).'

miD-me-langkew ke (ves utew) become-tall, SF SI, thou Qu intens 'So

you've become very tall have you?'

In the general formula for verbal clauses the dramatis personae roles SUBJECT, OBJECT, INSTRUMENT, and DIRECTION are indicated as obligatory. Actually all are optional except the one which is realized as the topic. The focus affix in the verb indicates which role the topic has in the clause.

There are four types of verbal clauses: subject focus, object focus, instrument focus, and direction focus.

1.1 Subject Focus Kernel Verbal Clauses. In a subject focus clause the topic or SI noun phrase is marked by the verb as being the subject of the

[14]Qu adjuncts do not occur in kernel clauses but in interrogative clauses.

clause.   The following formula indicates the order of elements in a subject focus clause:

SF Clause ———→ (MODE) + (ADJCL) + PREDICATE:SF VERB +

SUBJECT:SI NP + (OBJECT: $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{KI NP} \\ \text{NT Com NP} \end{array} \right\}$) + (DIRECTION:NT Com NP) +
•

(INSTRUMENT:NT Com NP) + (TIME:TI P) + (LOCATION:DI NP) +

(REFERENT:REF P)

When SI NP is an SI Br Pers Pron the following permutation is obligatory:

$$\underset{1}{X} + \underset{2}{\underline{ADJCL}} + \underset{3}{Y} + \underset{4}{\underline{SI \ Br \ Pers \ Pron}} + \underset{5}{\underline{Z}} \Longrightarrow 1 + 4 + 2 + 3 + 5$$

The examples below illustrate some of the co-occurring <u>dramatis per-</u>sonae roles in subject focus clauses.

MODE + ADJCL + PREDICATE + SUBJECT + OBJECT + TIME + LOCATION:

(waze') (pe za'an) (m-eke-'aha') (si Geli) (te veylan) (gunta'an) (diye' te

Pangi) neg incompl <u>repet</u> <u>see, SF</u> <u>SI, pers name</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>shaman</u> today

DI, there <u>NT, com</u> place-name   'Geli also hasn't yet seen the shaman at

Pangi today. '

MODE + SUBJECT + ADJCL + PREDICATE + OBJECT:

(kene') (ke) (en iyan) (eD-peke-za'ag) (ki Dumet) neg <u>SI, thou</u> <u>compl</u> cert

<u>can-defeat, SK</u> <u>KI, pers</u> <u>name</u>   'You really can't defeat Dumet.'

VERB + SUBJECT + DIRECTION + INSTRUMENT + TIME + LOCATION:

(N-eke-surat) (∅) (te tana') (te tezu' din) (gevi'i) (diya' te lama) <u>wrote, SF</u>

<u>SI, he</u> <u>NT, com</u> ground <u>NT, com</u> finger <u>NI, his</u> yesterday <u>DI, there</u> <u>NT, com</u>

yard   'He wrote on the ground with his finger yesterday there in the yard.'

VERB + SUBJECT + TIME + REFERENT:

(eD-peke-'uli') (a) (gunta'an) (tenged te anak ku) <u>must-go-home, SF</u> <u>SI, I</u>

today <u>because</u> <u>Nt, com</u> child <u>NI, my</u>   'I must go home today because of my

child.'

1.2   <u>Nonsubject Focus Verbal Clauses.</u>   For the sake of simplicity of description it is advantageous to classify together object, instrument, and direction focus verbal clauses as nonsubject focus clauses.   Structural sim- ilarities of these clause types in contrast to subject focus clauses make pos- sible the conflation of their formulae as well as certain statements of co-

occurrence restrictions. The general formula for nonsubject focus verbal clauses is the following:

NSF Verbal Clause $\longrightarrow$ (MODE) + (ADJCL) +

$$
\text{PREDICATE:} \begin{bmatrix} \text{OF Verb} \\ \text{IF Verb} \\ \text{DF Verb} \end{bmatrix} + (\text{SUBJECT:NT NP}) + \begin{bmatrix} \text{OBJECT} \\ \text{INSTRUMENT} \\ \text{DIRECTION} \end{bmatrix}
$$

$$
: \text{SI NP} + \begin{bmatrix} \text{DIRECTION} \\ \text{DIRECTION} \\ \begin{Bmatrix} \text{OBJECT} \\ \text{INSTRUMENT} \end{Bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} : \begin{Bmatrix} \text{NT Com Nom NP} \\ \text{KI NP} \end{Bmatrix} +
$$

(TIME:TI P) + (LOCATION:DI NP) + (REFERENT:REF P)

When SI NP is an SI Br Pers Pron the following permution is obligatory:[13]

$$
\underset{1}{\underline{X}} + \underset{2}{\underline{\text{ADJCL}}} + \underset{3}{\underline{Y}} + \underset{4}{\underline{\text{SI Br Pers Pron}}} + \underset{5}{\underline{Z}} \Longrightarrow 1 + 4 + 2 + 3 + 5
$$

The ordering and occurrence of SUBJECT, TOPIC, and ADJCL in nonsubject focus verbal clauses is governed by the following formulae:

X + (ADJCL) + Y + (SUBJECT) + TOPIC + Z $\Longrightarrow$

Alternate (1):

$$
\begin{Bmatrix} X + \text{ADJCL} + Y + \begin{Bmatrix} (\text{SUBJECT:} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{NT Com NP} \\ \text{NI Pers Nom NP} \end{Bmatrix}) + \begin{Bmatrix} \text{SI Pers Nom NP} \\ \text{SI Com Nom NP} \end{Bmatrix} \\ \text{TOPIC:SI NP} + (\text{NT Com NP}) \end{Bmatrix} \\ (\text{SUBJECT:NI Pron}) + (\text{ADJCL}) + \text{SI NP} \end{Bmatrix}
$$

condition: SI NP $\neq$ SI Br Pers Pron

Alternate (2):
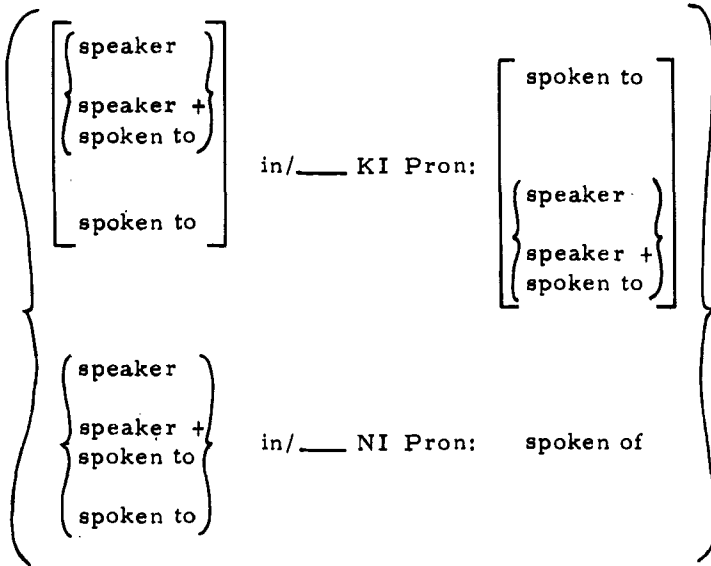
$$
X + \text{TOPIC:SI Br Pers Pron} + \begin{Bmatrix} \text{SUBJECT:(NI Pron)} + (\text{ADJCL}) \\ (\text{ADJCL}) + \text{SUBJECT:} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{NT Com Nom NP} \\ \text{KI Pron} \end{Bmatrix} \end{Bmatrix} + Y + Z
$$

---

[13] This permutation was given earlier for the subject focus verbal clause formula. It is included for both clause types for clarity and intelligibility.

The following indicates co-occurrence restrictions of

$$\text{SI Br Pers Pron} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{KI Pron} \\ \text{NI Pron} \end{array} \right\} \quad :$$

SI Br Pers Pron =

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{speaker} \\ \text{speaker +} \\ \text{spoken to} \end{array} \right\} \\ \\ \text{spoken to} \end{array} \right] \quad \text{in/\_\_\_ KI Pron:} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{spoken to} \\ \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{speaker} \\ \text{speaker +} \\ \text{spoken to} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right] \\ \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{speaker} \\ \text{speaker +} \\ \text{spoken to} \\ \\ \text{spoken to} \end{array} \right\} \quad \text{in/\_\_\_ NI Pron:} \quad \text{spoken of} \end{array} \right\}$$

Where TOPIC = SI Br Pers Pron and/or SUBJECT = NI Pron, the following permutation is obligatory:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{MODE} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{DI Pron} \\ \text{NT Pron} \\ \text{Time Word} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right] \quad + \text{ADJCL} + \quad \left[\text{NT Com Nom NP} \right] \quad +$$
$$\qquad\quad 1 \qqu\qquad\qquad\qquad 2 \qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad 3$$
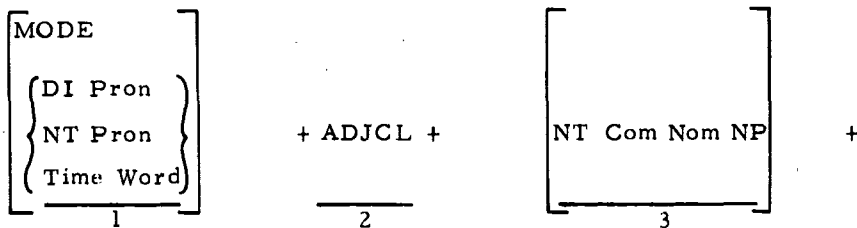
$$\underline{\text{PREDICATE}} + \underline{(\text{SUBJECT})} + \underline{\text{TOPIC}} + \underline{(X)} \implies$$
$$\qquad 4 \qquad\qquad\quad 5 \qquad\qquad 6 \qquad 7$$

1 + 6 + 5 + 2 + 4 + 3 + 7

1.21 Object Focus Verbal Clauses. In an object focus clause the TOPIC or SI case noun phrase is marked by the object focus inflection in the verb as being the object of the verb, the terminus of the action of the verb.

The following are examples of object focus clauses illustrating some of the various co-occurring <u>dramatis personae</u> roles.

VERB + OBJECT + SUBJECT + ADJCL + TIME + LOCATION:

(N-e-'ehe'-∅) (key) (zin) (en ma'an) (gevi'i) (diya' te Pangi) <u>saw, OF</u> <u>SI, we-not-you</u> <u>NI, he</u> <u>compl</u> <u>repet</u> <u>yesterday</u> <u>DI, there</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>place-name</u> 'He saw us again yesterday at Pangi.'

VERB + ADJCL + OBJECT + DIRECTION + TIME + REFERENT:

(eD-ke-hitavu'-∅) (ded man) (he'eyan) (kenitew) (gunta'an) (pine'agi te ke-paglung din). <u>could-happen, OF</u> <u>still</u> <u>emph</u> <u>SI, that</u> <u>KI, I-and-you</u> <u>now</u> <u>by-means-of</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>foolishness</u> <u>NI, his</u> 'That could indeed happen to us now through his foolishness.'

VERB + SUBJECT + ADJCL + OBJECT + LOCATION:

(N-e-tibas-∅) (din) (da'an) (si Geli) (diya' te ulu) <u>happened-to-slash, OF</u> <u>NI, he</u> <u>repet</u> <u>SI, pers</u> <u>name</u> <u>DI, there</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>head</u> 'He also happened to slash Geli in the head.'

1.22   <u>Instrument Focus Verbal Clauses.</u>   In an instrument focus clause the TOPIC or SI case noun phrase is marked by the instrument focus inflection in the verb as being the instrument or accessory of the action of the verb.   The instrument is that which the action of the verb employs or involves in motion upon an object or toward another goal or location.

The following examples illustrate instrument focus clauses:

VERB + INSTRUMENT + SUBJECT + ADJCL + TIME + LOCATION:

(i-D-pesiyu) (key) (zin) (pezem) (gunta'an) (diye' te tiyenggiyan) <u>take-a-walk, IF</u> <u>SI, we-not-you</u> <u>NI, he</u> <u>opt</u> <u>now</u> <u>DI, there</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>market</u> 'He would like to take us for a walk now in the market.'

VERB + SUBJECT + ADJCL + INSTRUMENT + DIRECTION + TIME:

(i-∅-'uli') (nu) (en) (∅) (kandin) (gunta'an) <u>return, IF</u> <u>NI, thou</u> <u>compl</u> <u>SI, it</u> <u>KI, he</u> <u>now</u> 'Return it to him now.'

VERV + ADJCL + SUBJECT + INSTRUMENT + LOCATION + TIME:

(i-N-'anak) (en man) (ni Bayi) (is me'ama) (dini) (gevi'i te me-zukilem) <u>bore-in-childbirth, IF</u> <u>compl</u> <u>emph</u> <u>NI, pers</u> <u>name</u> <u>SI, com</u> <u>male</u> <u>DI, here</u> <u>yesterday</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>night</u> 'Bayi gave birth to a boy here yesterday evening.'

1.23   <u>Direction Focus Verbal Clauses.</u>   In a direction focus clause, the direction focus inflection in the verb marks the TOPIC or SI case noun

phrase as being the direction or referent of the verb. The direction is the goal toward which the action of the verb moves, or the point of reference, or the benefactor of the action of the verb. The following examples illustrate direction focus clauses:

VERB + ADJCL + SUBJECT + DIRECTION + INSTRUMENT:

(N-e-'uli'-an) (da'an) (ni Lena') (kes amey zin) (te daru zin)   cured, DF

repet NI, pers name SI, com, emph father NI, his NT, com sickness NI, his

' Lena ' also cured his father of his sickness. '

VERB + DIRECTION + ADJCL + SUBJECT + INSTRUMENT:

($\emptyset$-suhul-i) (e) (man da'an) (kenikew) (te veritan)   give-in-payment, DF

SI, I emph repet KI, thou NT, com whetstone   'Give me also in payment a

whetstone. '

VERB + DIRECTION + SUBJECT + ADJCL + OBJECT:

(miD-'uwit-an) (kiyu) (zin) (en) (te gasa)   brought, DF SI, I-and-you NI, he

compl NT, com gift   ' He brought us a gift. '

   2.   Nonverbal Clauses.   A nonverbal clause contrasts with a verbal clause in that (a) the predicate of a nonverbal clause is never a verb, and (b) a nonverbal clause never includes an instrument, an object, a subject, or a direction element. A nonverbal clause may optionally include time, location, and referent elements.
   Nonverbal clauses are either classificational or existential.

   2.1   Classificational Clauses.   The predicate of a classificational clause classifies the topic as to description, identity, possessor, or location. A classificational predicate may be a descriptive, a single-centered noun phrase, an emphatic noun phrase, a KI noun phrase, a DI noun phrase, or a time noun phrase. The formula for classificational clauses follows:

Classificational Clause ⟶ (MODE) + (ADJCL) +

$$
\text{PREDICATE:}
\begin{bmatrix}
\begin{Bmatrix}
\text{Desc} \\
\text{Sg cent NP} \\
\text{Emph NP} \\
\text{KI NP}
\end{Bmatrix} \\
\text{DI NP} \\
\text{TI P}
\end{bmatrix}
+
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{(TIME:TI P)} \\
\\
\text{(TIME:TI P)}
\end{bmatrix}
+
$$

TOPIC:SI NP + $\begin{bmatrix} \text{(LOCATION:DI NP)} \\ \\ \\ \\ \end{bmatrix}$ + (REFERENT)

condition: MODE = kene'

The following permutations are obligatory:

(1) ADJCL + PREDICATE + X $\Longrightarrow$ PREDICATE + ADJCL + X

where MODE is absent.

(2) X + ADJCL + TOPIC + Y $\Longrightarrow$ X + TOPIC + ADJCL + Y

where TOPIC = SI Br Pers Pron.

The following permutation is optional:

PREDICATE + X + TOPIC + Y $\Longrightarrow$ TOPIC + PREDICATE + X + Y

where TOPIC ≠ SI Br Pers Pron.

Examples of classificational clauses follow:

Description

MODE + ADJCL + PREDICATE:Desc + TOPIC + LOCATION:

(kene') (pe man) (me-hames) (is tana') (dini) neg incompl emph desc-wet

SI, com ground DI, here   'The ground is not yet wet here.'

PREDICATE:Desc + ADJCL + TIME + TOPIC + REFERENT

(me-za'at) (man da'an) (gunta'an) (is ba'al nu) (tenged te daru nu)

desc-bad emph repet today SI, com work NI, thy because-of NT, com sick-

ness NI, thy 'Your work is bad also today because of your sickness.'

PREDICATE:Desc + TOPIC + ADJCL + TIME + LOCATION

(me-zakel) (kew) (en man) (gunta'an) (diya') desc-many SI, ye compl

emph now there 'Now there are many of you there.'

Identity

PREDICATE:Sg cent NP + TOPIC

(menge anak din) (sikandan) plural child NI, his SI, they

'They are his children.'

MODE + ADJCL + PREDICATE:Sg cent NP + TOPIC

(kene') (pa) (sundaru) (si Haymi) neg incompl soldier SI, pers name

'James is not yet a soldier.'

PREDICATE:Sg Cent NP + TOPIC + LOCATION

(duma ku) (sikew) (dini te inged) companion NI, my SI, thou DI, here

NT, com village   'You are my companion here in the village.'

PREDICATE:Emph NP + TOPIC

(si'ak) (kes datu') emph, I SI, com, emph chief   'I am the chief.'

PREDICATE:Emph NP + ADJCL + TOPIC

(kes Anggam ku) (man) (is beylan) emph, com Uncle NI, my emph SI, com

shaman   'My Uncle is the shaman.'

Possessor

PREDICATE:KI NP + ADJCL + TIME + TOPIC

(kenami) (en man) (gunta'an) (is baley) KI, ours-not-yours compl emph

now SI, com house   'The house is now ours indeed.'

PREDICATE:KI NP + TOPIC + LOCATION

(ki Aya') (is menge luvi) (zini) KI, pers Aunt SI, com plural coconut

DI, here   'The coconuts here belong to Auntie.'

Location

PREDICATE:DI NP + TIME + TOPIC

(dini) (ge'ina) (si Geli) DI, here earlier SI, pers name

'Geli was here a while ago.'

PREDICATE:DI NP + ADJCL + TOPIC

(dutun) (pe vuwa) (is bu'u)   DI, there incompl perhaps

SI, com fish-trap   'Perhaps the fish trap is still there.'

Time

PREDICATE:TI P + TOPIC

(gevi'i te me-hapun) (kes keliga'an) yesterday NT, com afternoon

SI, com, emph ceremony   'The keliga'an ceremony was yesterday afternoon."

PREDICATE:TI P + ADJCL + TOPIC

(ke'engkuwan) (buwa) (is kewingan) later-today perhaps SI, com wedding

'The wedding will be later today perhaps.'

TOPIC + PREDICATE + LOCATION

(he'aza' he timpu) (dekela' he vitil) (dini te Bukidnon)

T, that att time big att famine here NT, com place-name

'That time was a great famine here in Bukidnon.'

    2.2   Existential Clauses.   The predicate of an existential clause is an existential adjunct, either du'en 'there is ', or waza' 'there is not '. The topic of an existential clause is a single-centered or serial noun phrase or an SI personal pronoun or personal noun phrase. The formula for existential clauses is:

Existential Clause ——→ EXISTENTIAL + ADJCL + (TIME) +

$$
\text{TOPIC: }
\begin{cases}
\text{Sg cent NP} \\
\text{SI pers Pron} \\
\text{SI Pers Nom NP}
\end{cases}
+ \text{(LOCATION)} + \text{(REFERENT)}
$$

Optional Permutation:

EXISTENTIAL + X + Noun + NI Pron $\Longrightarrow$ EXISTENTIAL +

NI Pron + X + Noun

Examples:

EXISTENTIAL + ADJCL + TOPIC:Sg cent NP + LOCATION

(du'en) (ded) (baley nu) (diye' te inged) there-is still house NI, my

DI, there NT, com village 'I still have a house in the village.'

EXISTENTIAL + TIME + TOPIC:SI Pers NP + LOCATION

(waza') (gunta'an) (sikandin) (diye' te unayan) there-is-not now SI, he

DI, there NT, com field 'He is not in the field now.'

EXISTENTIAL + ADJCL + TOPIC:SI Pers Nom NP + LOCATION

(waze') (pa) (si Ayda) (diye' te valey) there-is-not incompl SI, pers Ida

DI, there NT, com house 'Ida is not yet in the house.'

EXISTENTIAL + TOPIC + REFERENT

(waze') (sanley ni Pablu) (tenged te bagyu) there-is-not corn NI, pers

Paul because-of NT, com storm 'Paul has no corn because of the storm.'

TRANSFORMATIONAL PATTERNS

We now turn to a description of certain transformations which operate on basic or kernel clauses in order to obtain other clause types and more complex sentences.[14]   Three general types of transformations are necessary: (1) those which transform independent clauses into other independent clauses, (2) those which embed clauses in phrases, and (3) those which combine clauses forming co-ordinate or independent-subordinate sentence structures (Reid 1966).

1.   Clause-to-Clause Transformations.   There are two types of clause-to-clause transformations: kernel-to-interrogative, and kernel-to-emphatic.

1.1   Kernel-to-Interrogative.   The relationship between kernel and interrogative is represented by two types of transformations: those which involve interrogative pronouns and those which do not.

1.11   Pronominal Kernel-to-Interrogative Transformations.   There are four types of interrogative pronoun transformations: temporal, locative, identificational, and explanatory. Pronominal interrogative clauses are 'when' ke'enu, 'where' hende'i, 'who' hente'i, 'what' hengkey, and 'why' ma'an questions.

1.11.1   Temporal and Locative Pronominal Interrogative Clauses.   The formulae for temporal and locative interrogative transformations are conflated. Two formulae are necessary. The first represents transformations of verbal kernel clauses; the second, transformations of classificational kernel clauses.

1.11.11   Temporal or Locative Pronominal Interrogative Transformations of Verbal Kernel Clauses.

PREDICATE:Verb + (ADJCL) + (X) + TOPIC + (Y) +

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{TIME:TI P} \\ \text{LOCATION:DI P} \end{bmatrix} + (Z) \Longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{ke'enu} \\ \text{hende'i} \end{bmatrix} + (ADJCL) +$$

[14] In his recent article, "Transforms Without Kernels?", pp. 484-489, Werner Winter has raised an important question. He gives some convincing examples. In Manobo there are also certain apparently derived structures for which no kernels exist. The noun phrase langun he menge etew All att plural person, 'all people' is by the formula given in this chapter derived from the kernel, langun is menge etew all SI,com plural person, 'the people are all', which does not exist. Rather than reject the transformational pattern which accounts for the vast majority of such phrases, it seems preferable to hypothesize that transforms without kernels whose formation follows that of regular transforms are constructed by analogy to regular transforms.

PREDICATE:Verb + (X) + TOPIC + (Y) + (Z)

The obligatory permutation given earlier for TOPIC and ADJCL where TOPIC is an SI Br Pers Pron is also in effect here and in all other derived clauses:

$$\underset{1}{X} + \underset{2}{\underline{ADJCL}} + \underset{3}{\underline{Y}} + \underset{4}{\underline{SI\ Br\ Pers\ Pron}} + \underset{5}{\underline{Z}} \Longrightarrow 1 + 4 + 2 + 3 + 5$$

Time

(eD-genat) (en da'an) (sikandan) (gunta'an)   left, SF compl also SI, they,

now 'They are also leaving now. '

$\Longrightarrow$ (ke'enu) (en da'an) (eD-genat) (sikandan)   when compl also

left, SF SI, they 'When will they also leave?'

(eD-ke-tapus-∅) (ku) (en) (ke'eselem) (is ba'al ku)   finished, OF NI, I

compl tomorrow SI, com work NI, my 'I can finish my work tomorrow. '

$\Longrightarrow$ (ke'enu) (ku) (en) (eD-ke-tapus-∅) (is ba'al ku)   when NI, I compl

finished, OF SI, com work NI, my   'When can I finish my work? '

Location

(eD-'uli') (kew) (en) (diye' te unayan)   return, SF SI, you compl DI, there

NT, com field   'You are returning to the fields. '

$\Longrightarrow$ (hende'i) (kew) (en) (eD-'uli')   where SI, you compl return, SF

'Where are you returning to?'

(eD-peke-kuwa) (ki) (te selapi') (diye' te valey)   get, SF SI, I-and-thou

NT, com money DI, there NT, com house   'We can get money at the house. '

$\Longrightarrow$ (hende'i) (ki) (eD-peke-kuwa) (te selapi')   where SI, I-and-thou

get, SF NT, com money   'Where can we get money?'

1.11.12   Temporal or Locative Pronominal Interrogative Transformations of Classificational Clauses,

$$\text{PREDICATE:} \begin{bmatrix} \text{DI NP} \\ \text{TI P} \end{bmatrix} + \text{(ADJCL)} + \text{(X)} + \text{TOPIC} + \text{(Y)} +$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{(TIME:TI P)} \\ \text{(LOCATION:DI NP)} \end{bmatrix} + \text{(Z)} \Longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{hende'i} \\ \text{ke'enu} \end{bmatrix} + \text{(ADJCL)} +$$

(X) + TOPIC + (Y) + (Z)

Examples:

Time

(gevi'i) (kes esewe'ey) yesterday SI, com, def, emph wedding

'The wedding was yesterday.'

⟹ (ke'enu) (kes esewe'ey) when SI, com, def, emph wedding

'When is the wedding?'

(dengan) (man) (he'eyan) long-ago emph SI, that 'That was a long

time ago.'

⟹ (ke'enu) (man) (he'eyan) when emph SI, that 'When was that?'

Location

(dini) (ke) (en) here SI, thou compl 'You are here.'

⟹ (hende'i) (ke) (en) where SI, thou compl 'Where are you?'

(dutun te wahig) (is iney nu) DI, there NT, com water SI, com, def

mother NI, thy 'Your mother is there at the water.'

⟹ (hende'i) (is iney nu) where SI, com, def mother NI, thy

'Where is your mother?'

1.11.2 Identificational Pronominal Interrogative Clauses. There are
two types of identificational pronominal interrogative clauses: common,
which ask the question 'what?' and personal, which ask the question
'who?'. The formulae for these two types are conflated in the following:

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\begin{pmatrix}
\text{Sg cent NP} \\
\text{Emph Com Pron} \\
\text{Emph Con Nom NP}
\end{pmatrix} \\
\begin{pmatrix}
\text{Emph Pers Nom NP} \\
\text{Emph Pers Pron}
\end{pmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\quad + (ADJCL) + (X) + TOPIC + (Y)
$$

$$
\Longrightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{hengkey} \\
\text{hente'i}
\end{bmatrix}
\quad + (ADJCL) + (X) + TOPIC + (Y)
$$

Common

(pukapuk) (man) (he'eyan) bird-name emph SI, that

' That is indeed a pukapuk.'

⟹ (hengkey) (man) (he'eyan) What emph SI, that 'What is that?'

(kes begas) (man) (is tuyu' ku) (kayi) emph, com, def rice emph

SI, com, def purpose NI, my NT, here ' Indeed, the rice is my purpose

here.'

⟹ (hengkey) (man) (is tuyu' ku) (kayi) what emph SI, com, def

purpose NI, my NT, here 'What is my purpose here?'

Personal

(si Isku) (is duma zin) (gevi'i) SI, pers name SI, com, def companion

NI, his yesterday 'Isku was his companion yesterday.'

⟹ (hente'i) (is duma zin) (gevi'i) who SI, com, def companion

NI, his yesterday 'Who was his companion yesterday?'

(si'ak) (is beylan) (diye' te Berendiyas) emph, I SI, com, def shaman

DI, there NT, com place-name 'I am the shaman at Barandias.'

⟹ (hente'i) (is beylan) (diye' te Berendiyas) who SI, com, def

shaman DI, there NT, com place-name ' Who is the shaman at Barandias?

1.11.3 Explanatory Pronominal Interrogative Clauses. Explanatory
pronominal interrogative clauses are 'why' questions, which consist of the
interrogative pronoun ma'an 'why' plus a nested major clause marked for
topic by the SI-marking particle is.
    The kernel structure from which these clauses are derived is a sentence
nucleus (S NUCLEUS) with a cause margin (Cau M).[15] The deriving trans-
form embeds the sentence nucleus in the head position of an SI Com Nom NP
which is introduced by the topic case-marking particle is. The cause margin
is replaced by the interrogative pronoun ma'an 'why', which functions as
the predicate of the clause. The following is the formula for deriving an
explanatory pronominal interrogative clause:

S NUCLEUS + Cau M ⟹ ma'an is + S NUCLEUS

Examples:

(N-eke-uli' si Anggam) (su miD-uzan) went-home, SF SI, pers Uncle

because rained, SF ' Uncle went home because it rained.'

---

[15]The terms "sentence nucleus" and "cause margin" were suggested by Robert E.
Longacre in discussions at a linguistic workshop of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in
the Philippines during 1967 and 1968.

$\Longrightarrow$ (maan is) (N-eke-uli' si Anggam) <u>why</u> <u>SI,com</u> <u>went-home</u>

<u>SI,pers</u> <u>Uncle</u>   'Why did Uncle go home?'

(mevavew is menge wahig dini) (su buntud man heini)

<u>shallow</u> <u>SI,com</u> <u>plural</u> <u>water</u> <u>here</u> <u>because</u> <u>mountain</u> <u>emph</u> <u>SI,this</u>

'The creeks are shallow here because this is mountainous country.'

$\Longrightarrow$ (maan is) (mevavew is menge wahig dini) <u>why</u> <u>SI,com</u> <u>shallow</u>

<u>SI,com</u> <u>plural</u> <u>water</u> <u>here</u>   'Why are the creeks shallow here?'

1.12   <u>Nonpronominal</u> <u>Kernel</u> <u>to</u> <u>Interrogative</u> <u>Transformations</u>.   A non-pronominal interrogative clause is marked by an interrogative intonation contour in the final intonation group of the clause[16] and by an optional question indicator be or bes in the constituent cluster. The formula for deriving nonpronominal interrogative clauses is the following:

PREDICATE + (X) + (Y) + TOPIC + (Z) INTON:341 $\Longrightarrow$

$$\text{PREDICATE} + (X) + \left(\begin{Bmatrix} be \\ \\ bes \end{Bmatrix} \right) + (Y) + \text{TOPIC} + (Z) + \text{INTON:} \begin{Bmatrix} 321 \\ 241 \end{Bmatrix}$$

   3   4   1
(eD-'uli') (ke) (en)   <u>return,SF</u> <u>SI,thou</u> <u>compl</u>   '·You are going home.'

         2   4 1
$\Longrightarrow$ (eD-'uli') (ke) (en bes)   <u>return,SF</u> <u>SI,thou</u> <u>compl</u> <u>Qu</u>

'So you are going home are you?'

   3   4 1
(bavuy) (he'eyan)   <u>pig</u> <u>SI,that</u>   'That's a pig.'

         3   2 1
$\Longrightarrow$ (bavuy) (he'eyan)   <u>pig</u> <u>SI,that</u>   'Is that a pig?'

   3   4   1
(i-N-timbag) (din en) (∅)   <u>threw,IF</u> <u>NI,he</u> <u>compl</u> <u>SI,it</u>

'He threw it away.'

           3   2   1
$\Longrightarrow$ (i-N-timbag) (din en) (be) (∅)   <u>threw,IF</u> <u>NI,he</u> <u>compl</u> <u>Qu</u> <u>SI,it</u>

'Did he throw it away?'

---

[16] An intonation group consists of two or more syllables with lowest pitch on the ultima. More than one intonation group may occur in an utterance. The relative pitch level of the ultima of an utterance final intonation group is lower than the relative pitch level of a non-final intonation group. The number 1 represents the lowest relative pitch, and 4 represents the highest relative pitch.

      2   4 1
(kedi'ey) (he'ini)   <u>KI, mine</u> <u>SI, this</u>   'This is mine.'

            3   21
===⟹ (kedi'ey) (bes) (he'ini)   <u>KI, mine</u> <u>Qu</u> <u>SI, this</u>

'So this is mine is it?'

     2   4 1
(waze') (din) (selapi')   <u>Ex, there-is-not</u> <u>NI, his</u> <u>money</u>

'He has no money.'

            3   2 1
===⟹ (waze') (din) (be) (selapi')   <u>Ex, there-is-not</u> <u>NI, his</u> <u>Qu</u> <u>money</u>

'Has he no money?'

    1.2 <u>Unemphatic to Emphatic</u>. An emphatic clause is one in which some constituent is marked for emphasis by its occurrence in a prepredicate position.

    Two separate emphatic clause types are derivable from kernel clauses: emphatic topic clauses and emphatic constituent clauses.

    1.21 <u>Emphatic Topic Clauses</u>. An emphatic topic clause is derived by the following formula:

PREDICATE + (X) + TOPIC + (Y) ===⟹ iyan + TOPIC +

PREDICATE + (X) + (Y)

(N-eke-'uma) (key) (gevi'i)   <u>arrived, SF</u> <u>SI, we-not-you</u> <u>yesterday</u>

'We arrived yesterday.'

===⟹ (iyan) (key) (N-eke-'uma) (gevi'i)   <u>emph</u> <u>SI, we-not-you</u>

<u>arrived, SF</u> <u>yesterday</u>   'We are the ones who arrived yesterday.'

(eD-ke-da'ag-∅) (tew) (sikandan)   <u>can-defeat, OF</u> <u>NI, I-and-you</u> <u>SI, they</u>

'We can defeat them.'

===⟹ (iyan) (sikandan) (eD-ke-da'ag-∅) (tew)   <u>emph</u> <u>SI, they</u>

<u>can-defeat, OF</u> <u>NI, I-and-you</u>   'They are the ones we can defeat.'

Optional Permutation:

iyan + TOPIC + PREDICATE + X + Y   iyan + PREDICATE

+ X + TOPIC + Y where TOPIC ≠ Si Br Pers Pron

(iyan) (si Remun) (datu')   <u>emph</u> <u>SI, pers</u> <u>name</u> <u>chief</u>   'Ramon is the one who is chief.'

⟹ (iyan) (datu') (si Remun)   emph chief SI,pers name

'Ramon is the one who is chief.'

(iyan) (he'eyan) (baley ku)   emph SI,that house NI,my

'That is the one which is my house.'

⟹ (iyan) (baley ku) (he'eyan)   emph house NI,my SI, that

'That is the one which is my house.'

    1.22 Emphatic Constituent Clause. An emphatic constituent clause emphasizes a constituent (either clause level or phrase level) in the clause by reduplication of the constituent as an emphatic case noun phrase in the prepredicate emphasis position. An emphatic constituent clause is derived by the following formula:

    Clause ⟹ Emph NP + Clause

    where the clause contains a pronoun which refers to and is in agreement with Emph NP as to person and number.

N-e-vinsul-an is baley zin   burned,DF SI,com house NI,his

'His house was burned.'

⟹ (sikandin) (N-e-vinsul-an is baley zin)

emph,he burned,DF SI,com house NI,his   'As for him, his house

was burned.'

gunta'an key pa m-eke-'uma   now SI,we-not-you incompl arrived,SF

'We have just arrived.'

⟹ (sikami) (gunta'an key pa m-eke-'uma)   emph,we-not-you now

SI,we-not-you incompl arrived,SF   'As for us, we have just arrived.'

dekele' is selapi' niyu   big SI,com money NI,your

'You have lots of money.'

⟹ (sikiyu) (dekele' is selapi' niyu)   emph,you big SI,com money

NI,your   'As for you, you have lots of money.'

    2. Clause Embedding Transformations. There are three types of transformations which embed kernel clauses in noun phrases of other clauses. [17] The first two operate on the TOPIC of a clause; the third operates on the verb and the TOPIC of a verbal clause. When a clause is

---

[17] A fourth type may be that which embeds clauses which are quotations. This type of embedding is not included in this study, being more appropriate to a study of sentence types which is beyond the scope of this monograph.

embedded, it replaces a single-centered noun phrase.　Embedding of this type occurs only on the phrase level.

2.1　Clause Embedding by TOPIC Deletion.　The formula for clause embedding by TOPIC deletion follows:[18]

PREDICATE + X + TOPIC + Y

PREDICATE' + X' + Sg cent NP + Y'

$\Longrightarrow$

PREDICATE' + X' + PREDICATE + X + Y + Y'

(N-e-'umah-an) (ku) (sikandin) (ge'ina)

met, DF NI, I SI, he a-while-ago

'I met him a while ago.'

(diye') (en is) (etew)

DI, there compl SI, com person

'There now is the person.'

$\Longrightarrow$

(diye') (en is) (N-e-umah-an) (ku) (ge'ina)

DI, there compl SI, com met, DF NI, I a-while-ago

'There now is the one I met a while ago.'

(eD-peN-'eha'-an) (ku) (sikandan)

look-for, OF NI, I SI, they

'I am looking for them.'

(N-e-'ehe'-∅) (nu ves is) (menge yawi)

saw, OF NI, thou Qu SI, com plural key

'So you found the keys, did you?'

$\Longrightarrow$

(N-e-'ehe'-∅) (nu ves is) (eD-peN-eha'-an) (ku)

saw, OF NI, thou Qu SI, com look-for, OF NI, I

'So you found what I am looking for, did you?'

---

[18] The constituents of the embedding clause are distinguished from those of the embedded clause by the use of the superscript (').

(me-tikang) (is baley nu)

desc-tall SI,com house NI,thy

'Your house is tall.'

(deyzey) (pe man kes) (baley nu)

better incompl emph SI,com,emph house NI,thy

'Your house is better.'

$\Longrightarrow$

(deyzey) (pe man kes) (me-tikang)

better incompl emph SI,com,emph desc-tall

'The tall one is better yet indeed.'

(N-eke-'uma) (gevi'i) (is etew)

arrived,SF yesterday SI,com person

'The person arrived yesterday.'

(eD-'eha'-an) (ta is ubpit te) (etew)

see,OF NI,I-and-thou SI,com knife NT,com person

'Let's see the person's knife.'

$\Longrightarrow$

(eD-'eha'-an) (ta is ubpit te) (N-eke-'uma) (gevi'i)

see,OF NI,I-and-thou SI,com knife NT,com arrived,SF yesterday

'Let's see the knife of the one who arrived yesterday.'

    2.2   Clause Embedding by Replacement of an SI Common Marking Particle.   A clause may be embedded in a noun phrase by the replacement of an SI case common marking particle by the attributive coordinating particle he.   The formula for clause embedding by replacement of an SI case common marking particle is the following:

PREDICATE + (X) + SI Com Particle + Sg cent NP

PREDICATE' + (X') + Sg cent NP' + Y'

$\Longrightarrow$

PREDICATE' + (X') + PREDICATE + (X) + he + Sg cent NP + Y'

(me-upiya) (is) (tubew nu)

desc-good SI,com turban NI,thy

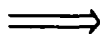'Your turban is good.'

(∅-sembay-i) (a kenikew te) (tubew)

lend,DF SI,I KI,thou NT,com turban

'Lend me a turban.'

$\Longrightarrow$

(∅-sembay-i) (a kenikew te) (me-'upiya) (he) (tubew nu)

lend,DF SI,I KI,thou NT,com desc-good att turban NI,thy

'Lend me your good turban.'

(N-e-'ehe'-∅) (ku) (is) (selazeng)

saw,OF NI,I SI,com deer

'I saw the deer.'

(dutun) (en is) (selazeng)

DI,there compl SI,com deer

'There now is the deer.'

⟹

(dutun) (en is) (N-e-'ehe'-∅) (ku) (he) (selazeng)

DI,there compl SI,com saw,OF NI,I att deer

'There now is the deer which I saw.'

(dekele') (is) (menge valey)

big SI,com plural house

'The houses are big.'

(waze') (baley) (dini)

Ex,there-is-not house DI,here

'There is no house here.'

⟹

(waze') (dekele') (he) (menge valey) (dini)

Ex,there-is-not big att plural house DI,here

'There are no large houses here.'

2.3 Clause Embedding by Verbal Nominalization.   There are two types of verbal nominalization. The first consists of prefixation of the morpheme k- to a nonpast subject focus, object focus, instrument focus, or direction focus verb. A k- nominalized verb has the meaning 'the act of performing the action of the verb'. The nominalized form resulting from a k- nominalization of an instrument focus verb is identical to that of a k- nominalization of an object focus verb.

The second type of verbal nominalization consists of prefixation of the morpheme i- to a nonpast subject focus, object focus, or direction focus verb. An i- nominalization has the meaning 'the reason for doing the action of the verb'. Certain i- nominalized verbs have the same shape as their instrument focus counterparts. This is true because the instrument focus marker morpheme is also i-. No ambiguity exists where an overt focus marker also occurs in the verb. Since focus morphemes are mutually exclusive (no two may co-occur in any verb), an i- prefix which does co-occur with a

focus marker is interpreted as a nominalizer. Ambiguity exists between subject focus i- nominalized verbs and instrument focus nonpast verbs because the subject focus is marked by the absence of a focus marker. Ambiguity also occurs between instrument focus nonpast verbs in the involuntary mode and i- nominalized object focus verbs in the involuntary mode where the object focus allomorph is $\emptyset$.

Verbal nominalization is actually a transformation of the entire clause in which the topic of the clause is transformed to a nontopic noun phrase. The formula for the embedding of clauses by verbal nominalization is in two parts. The first indicates the nominalization of the verb. The second indicates the embedding transformation with the resultant change of the topic to a nontopic noun phrase.

2.31   Formula for Nominalization of the Verb.
k- Nominalization:

$$
k\text{-} + \begin{bmatrix} \text{SF Verb} \\ \begin{Bmatrix} \text{OF Verb} \\ \text{IF Verb} \end{Bmatrix} \\ \text{DF Verb} \end{bmatrix} \Longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} k\text{-eD-X-stem} \\ k\text{-eD-X-stem-a} \\ k\text{-eD-X-stem-i} \end{bmatrix}
$$

i- Nominalization:

$$
i\text{-} + \begin{bmatrix} \text{SF Verb} \\ \text{OF Verb} \\ \text{DF Verb} \end{bmatrix} \Longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} i\text{-D-X-stem} \\ i\text{-D-X-stem-a} \\ i\text{-D-X-stem-i} \end{bmatrix}
$$

Sample Transformational Paradigm

k- Nominalization

Intentive Mode

SF
(eD-badti') a te rasang
break,SF SI,I NT,com twig
'I break the twig.'

OF
(eD-bedti-en) ku is rasang
break,OF NI,I SI,com twig
'I break the twig.'

IF
(i-D-badti') ku is sipit
break,IF NI,I SI,com pliers
'I use the pliers to break it.'

DF
(eD-bedti-an) ku sikew
break,DF NI,I SI,you
'I break it for you.'

$\Longrightarrow$
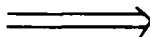
SF
(k-eD-badti') ku te rasang
breaking,SF NI,I NT,com twig
'my breaking the twig'

OF
(k-eD-bedti-a) ku te rasang
breaking,OF NI,I NT,com twig
'my breaking the twig'

IF
(k-eD-bedti-a) ku te sipit
using-to-break, IF NI,I NT,com twig
'my using the pliers to break'

DF
(k-eD-bedti-i) ku kenikew
breaking,DF NI,I KI,you
'my breaking for you'

$\Longrightarrow$

Involuntary Mode

SF   (eD-peke-vadti') a te rasang

        <u>can-break, SF</u> <u>SI, I</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>twig</u>
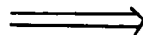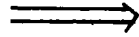
        ' I can break the twig. '

OF   (eD-ke-vadti') ku is rasang

        <u>can-break, OF</u> <u>NI, I</u> <u>SI, com</u> <u>twig</u>

        ' I can break the twig. '

IF   (i-D-ke-vadti') ku is sipit

        <u>can-use-to-break, IF</u> <u>NI, I</u> <u>SI, com</u> <u>pliers</u>

        ' I can use the pliers to break it. '

DF   (eD-ke-vedti-an) ku sikew

        <u>can-break, DF</u> <u>NI, I</u> <u>SI, you</u>

        ' I can break it for you. '

$\Longrightarrow$

SF   (k-eD-peke-vadti') ku te rasang

        <u>being-able-to-break, SF</u> <u>NI, I</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>twig</u>

        'my being able to break the twig'

OF   (k-eD-ke-vadti'-∅) ku te rasang

        <u>being-able-to-break, OF</u> <u>NI, I</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>twig</u>

        'my being able to break the twig'

IF   (k-eD-ke-vadti'-∅) ku te sipit

        <u>being-able-to-use-to-break, IF</u> <u>NI, I</u> <u>NT, com</u> pliers

        'my being able to use the pliers to break'

DF   (k-eD-ke-vedti-i) ku kenikew

        <u>being-able-to-break, DF</u> <u>NI, I</u> <u>KI, you</u>

        'my being able to break it for you'

i- Nominalization

Intentive Mode

SF   (eD-'uwit) a kenikew

carry, SF SI, I KI, thou

'I carry you.'

OF   (eD-'uwit-en) ku sikew

carry, OF NI, I SI, thou

'I carry you.'

DF   (eD-'uwit-an) ku sikew te vegas

carry, DF NI, I SI, thou NT, nom rice

'I carry some rice to you.'

$\implies$

SF   (i-D-'uwit) ku kenikew

reason-for-carrying, SF NI, I KI, thou

'my reason for carrying you'

OF   (i-D-'uwit-a) ku .kenikew

reason-for-carrying, OF NI, I KI, thou

'my reason for carrying you'

DF   (i-D-'uwit-i) ku kenikew te vegas

reason-for-carrying, DF NI, I KI, thou NT, com rice

'my reason for carrying rice to you'

Involuntary Mode

SF   (eD-peke-'uwit) a kenikew

can-carry, SF SI, I KI, thou

'I can carry you.'

OF   (eD-ke-'uwit-∅) ku sikew

can-carry, OF NI, I SI, thou

'I can carry you.'

$\implies$

DF   (eD-ke-'uwit-an) ku sikew te vegas

can-carry, DF NI, I SI, thou NT, com rice

'I can carry rice to you.'

SF ⎡ (i-D-peke-'uwit) ku kenikew

reason-for-being-able-to-carry,SF NI, I KI,thou

'the reason I am able to carry you'

OF (i-D-ke-'uwit-∅) ku kenikew

reason-for-being-able-to-carry,OF NI, I KI,thou

'the reason I am able to carry you'

DF (i-D-ke-'uwit-i) ku kenikew te vegas

reason-for-being-able-to-carry,DF NI, I KI, thou. NT,com rice

⎣ 'the reason I am able to carry rice to you'

2.32 Formula for Embedding by Verb Nominalization.

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{SF Verb} \\ \text{OF Verb} \\ \text{IF Verb} \\ \text{DF Verb} \end{bmatrix} + (Y) + \begin{bmatrix} \text{SUBJECT} \\ \text{OBJECT} \\ \text{INSTRUMENT} \\ \text{DIRECTION} \end{bmatrix} : \text{SI NP} + (Z) \Bigg) \Bigg\} \Longrightarrow$$

(X) + PREDICATE + (Y') + Sg cent NP + (Z')

$$(X) + \text{PREDICATE} + (Y') + \begin{bmatrix} \text{SF Nom Verb} \\ \text{OF Nom Verb} \\ \text{IF Nom Verb} \\ \text{DF Nom Verb} \end{bmatrix} + Y +$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{SUBJECT:} & \begin{Bmatrix} \text{NI NP} \\ \text{NT Com NP} \end{Bmatrix} \\ \\ \text{OBJECT:} & \begin{Bmatrix} \text{KI NP} \\ \text{NT Com NP} \end{Bmatrix} \\ \\ \text{INSTRUMENT:} & \begin{Bmatrix} \text{KI NP} \\ \text{NT Com NP} \end{Bmatrix} \\ \\ \text{DIRECTION:} & \begin{Bmatrix} \text{KI NP} \\ \text{NT Com NP} \end{Bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} + (Z) + (Z')$$

where Nom Verb = either a k- or i- nominalized verb

Examples:

(a) Embedding of Subject Focus Clauses:

(eD-'ubpa'ubpa) (a)

sit-around, SF SI, I

' I am just sitting around. '

(me-linew) (layun is) (ula'ula) (zini)

desc-peaceful always SI, com way-of-life DI, here

' The way of life is always peaceful here. '

(me-linew) (layun is) (k-eD-'ubpa'ubpa') (ku) (zini)

desc-peaceful always SI, com sitting-around, SF NI, I DI, here

' My sitting around here is always peaceful. '

(eD-hendini) (sikandin)

come-here, SF SI, he

' He is coming here. '

(eD-ke-'inu'inu'-∅) (a te) (etew)

surprise, OF SI, I NT, com person

' I am surprised at the person. '

(eD-ke-'inu'inu'-∅) (a te) (i-D-hendini) (zin)

surprise, OF SI, I NT, com reason-for-coming-here, SF NI, he

' I am surprised at his reason for coming here. '

(b) Embedding of Object Focus Clauses:

(eD-ke-'aha'-∅) (din) (is langun)

see, OF NI, he SI, com all

' He sees everything. '

(selakew) (is mata zin)

different SI, com eye NI, his

' His eyes are different. '

(selakew) (is) (k-eD-ke-'eha'-a) (zin) (te langun)

different SI,com seeing,OF NI,his NT,com everything

' His view of everything is different. '

(eD-deway-en) (ku) (is menge vata')

scold,OF NI,I SI,com plural child

' I scold the children. '

(iyan) (ke-tezeng-an ku) (is) (k-eD-me-gusa' dan)

emph reason NI,my SI,com making-noise,SF NI,their

' Their noisiness is my reason.'

(iyan) (i-D-deway-a) (ku) (te menge vata') (is) (k-eD-me-gusa' dan)

emph reason -for-scolding,OF NI,I NT,com plural child SI,com

making-noise,SF NI,their

' The reason I scold the children is their noisiness.'

(c) Embedding of Instrument Focus Clauses:

(i-D-begey) (ku heini) (kenikew)

give,IF NI,I SI,this KI,you

' I give this to you. '

(sugu' te zatu') (kes) (tudtul zin)

command NT,com chief SI,com news NI,his

' His news was the chief's command. '

(sugu' te zatu') (kes) (keD-begay-a) (ku) (kayi) (kenikew)

command NT,com chief SI,com giving,IF NI,I NT,this KI,you

' My giving you this was what the chief commanded. '

(i-N-ke-pauk) (din kedi' kes) (ba'al ku)

reason-for-being-angry NI,he KI,I SI,com work NI,my

' The reason he got angry with me was my work. '

(i-N-pe-awa') (ku geina kes) (bavuy)

caused-to-go-free,IF NI,I earlier SI,com pig

' I let the pig out a while ago. '

(i-N-ke-pauk) (din kedi' kes) (ke-D-pe-ewa-'a) (ku geina te) (vavuy)

reason-for-being-angry <u>NI,he</u> <u>KI,I</u> <u>SI,com</u> causing-to-go-free, IF <u>NI,I</u> <u>earlier</u> <u>NT,com</u> <u>pig</u>

' The reason he was angry with me was my letting the pig out a while ago. '

(d)   Embedding of Direction Focus Clauses:

(miD-himetay-an) (din) (is menge manuk)

<u>killed,DF</u> <u>NI,he</u> <u>SI,com</u> <u>plural</u> <u>chicken</u>

' He killed the chickens. '

(miD-tevang-an) (ku si Geli te) (va'al zin)

<u>helped,DF</u> <u>NI,I</u> <u>SI,pers</u> <u>name</u> <u>NT,com</u> <u>work</u> <u>NI,his</u>

' I helped Geli with his work. '

$$\left.\begin{array}{l}\end{array}\right\} \implies$$

(miD-tevang-an) (ku si Geli te) (k-eD-himetay-i zin) (te menge manuk)

<u>helped,DF</u> <u>NI,I</u> <u>SI,pers</u> <u>name</u> <u>NT,com</u> <u>killing,DF</u>

<u>NI,he</u> <u>NT,com</u> <u>plural</u> <u>chicken</u>

' I helped Geli in his killing of the chickens. '

   3.   <u>Combining Transformations</u>.   A major sentence consists of an ob-
ligatory clause plus one or more optional clauses. Optional clauses are re-
lated to the obligatory clause by co-ordinating or subordinating particles
which function as combiners. Combiners precede an optional clause and
mark it for either a co-ordinate or subordinate relationship to the obligatory
clause. The following is the formula which combines clauses in a major
sentence:

$$\left.\begin{array}{l} \text{X + PREDICATE + Y + TOPIC + Z} \\ \text{X' + PREDICATE' + Y' + TOPIC + Z'} \end{array}\right\} \implies$$

$$\text{X + PREDICATE + Y + TOPIC + Z +} \left\{\begin{array}{l} \text{CoCOMB} \\ \text{(SubCOMB}_1\text{) (SubCOMB}_2\text{)} \end{array}\right\}$$

(choose at least one)

+ X' + PREDECATE' + Y' + TOPIC' + Z'

Optional Permutation:

$$\underbrace{\text{X + PREDICATE + Y + TOPIC + Z}}_{1} + \underbrace{\text{SubCOMB}_2}_{2} +$$

$$\underbrace{\text{X' + PREDICATE' + Y' + TOPIC' + Z'}}_{3} \implies 2 + 3 + 1$$

CoCOMB   = ne 'and', wey 'and', wey ke 'or', etawa 'or'.

SubCOMB$_1$ = iyan 'but', piru 'but', nesi' 'but', asal 'however',
           su 'because'.

SubCOMB$_2$ = he'in 'when', emun 'if', ke 'if', minsan ke 'even
           though', te 'at the time of', wey 'in order that'.

Two orders of subordinating combiners occur in the sentence. Both
are filled when two clauses which are combined in an independent-subordi-
nate construction are further combined with another clause or when the sen-
tence formed by a combination of two clauses is a dependent sentence and is
related to a previous independent sentence by a combiner.

(miD-hen-diye') (key)

went-there, SF SI, we-not-you

'we went there.'

(waze' dey) (m-e-'aha'-∅) (∅)

neg NI, we-not-you saw, OF SI, it

'We didn't see it.'

$\Longrightarrow$

(miD-hen-diye') (key) (piru) (waze' dey) (m-e-'aha'-∅) (∅)

went-there, SF SI, we-not-you but neg NI, we-not-you saw, OF SI, it

'We went there but we didn't see it.'

(eD-ke-'aha'-∅) (ka)

see, OF SI, thou

'(Someone) sees you.'

(eD-himetay-an) (ka)

kill, DF SI, thou

'(Someone) will kill you.'

$\Longrightarrow$

(emun) (eD-ke-'aha'-∅) (ka) (eD-himetay-an) (ka)

if see, OF SI, thou kill, DF SI, thou

'If you are seen you will be killed.'

(emun) (eD-ke-'aha'-∅) (ka) (eD-himetay-an) (ka)

if see, OF SI, thou kill, DF SI, thou

'If you are seen you will be killed.'

(eD-peke-'eles) (ka)

must-hide, SF SI, thou

'You have to hide.'

⟹

(eD-peke-'eles) (ka) (su) (emun) (eD-ke-'aha'-∅) (ka)

(eD-himetay-an) (ka) must-hide, SF SI, thou because if see, OF SI, thou

kill, DF SI, thou 'You have to hide because if you are seen, you will be

killed.'

(N-e-zineg-∅) (dey) (is miD-betu)

heard, OF NI, we-not-you SI, com exploded, SF

'We heard that which exploded.'

(N-eke-pelaguy) (key)

ran-away, SF SI, we-not-you

'We ran away.'

⟹

(he'in) (N-e-zineg-∅) (dey) (is miD-betu) (N-eke-pelaguy) (key)

when heard, OF NI, we-not-you SI, com exploded, SF ran-away, SF

SI, we-not-you   'When we heard the explosion we ran away.'

(dekele') (is selapi' din)

big SI, com money NI, his

'He has plenty of money.'

(layun) (eD-ke-se'eng-∅) (∅)

always saddened, OF SI, he

'He is always sad.'

⟹

(minsan) (ke) (dekele') (is selapi' din) (layun) (eD-ke-se'eng-∅) (∅)

even if big SI, com money NI, his always saddened, OF SI, he

'Even though he has plenty of money he is always sad.'

(eD-peke-gemew) (ki)

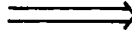can-reach-the-top, SF SI, I-and-thou

'we will reach the top.'

(eD-ke-'udtu-∅) (is andew)

cause-to-reach-the-zenith, OF SI, com sun

'It will be noon.'

$\Longrightarrow$

(eD-peke-gemew) (ki) (teỹ (eD-ke-'udtu-∅) (is andew)

can-reach-the-top, SF SI, I-and-thou NT, com cause-to-reach-the-zenith, OF

SI, com sun   .

'We will reach the top when it is noon.'

CHAPTER V

MORPHOLOGICAL PATTERNS

Morphological patterns in Western Bukidnon Manobo are exhibited in the word. A word in this language is a segment of speech preceded and followed by potential pause and consisting of one or more morphemes one of which is a stem. Words may be classified as particles, pronouns, or full words (McKaughan 1958.7). Particles are unaffixable roots. Pronouns are intersections of semantic relational components which include case, person, number, and proximity. Full words are affixed or affixable roots. Syntactic criteria further subdivide words into marking particles, adjuncts, pronouns, verbs, descriptives, and nouns.

1. Marking Particles. The marking particles signal grammatical relationships. They may be divided further into case-marking particles, co-ordinating particles, and subordinating particles.

1.1 Case Marking Particles. The case-marking particles are kes, is, ke, te, si, ni, and ki. These mark case relations between the verb and its various noun phrase complements in the clause. A detailed treatment of the syntactic function of case-marking particles has been given in Chapter II, Section 1.3.

1.2 Co-ordinating Particles. The co-ordinating particles are of three types: additive, attributive, and emphatic. The additive co-ordinating particles are wey, se, and ne. wey and se occur in serial noun phrases. ne and wey occur as clause combiners. ne also occurs on the clause level linking an emphatic constituent to the rest of the clause: si'ak (ne) N-e-handek a   emph, I co frightened, OF SI, I   'As for me, I was afraid', and on the paragraph level linking a sentence to previous sentences: (ne) N-e-ke-'uma key diye' te wahig   co arrived, SF SI, we-not-you DI, there NT, com water   'So we arrived at the river.'
The attributive co-ordinating particle he occurs in a phrase which is a transform of a clause and marks attribution between the transformed predicate and topic of that phrase: me'upiya (he) asu   good att dog   'good dog'.
The emphatic co-ordinating particle iyan marks an emphatic constituent in a clause and links it to the rest of the clause: kes datu' tew (iyan) si Remun   emph, com chief NI, my-and-your co SI, pers name   'Our chief is Ramon.'

1.3 Subordinating Particles. The subordinating particles are the subordinating clause combiners and certain of the referent relators. The subordinating clause combiners occur in two orders (See Chap. IV, Sec. 3). Order I includes the following: su 'because', piru 'but', iyan 'but',

48

asal 'however', mesi' 'however', minsan 'even though', and umba 'therefore'. Order II combiners are: hein 'when', emun 'if', ke 'if', and wey 'in order that'.

The referent relator particles introduce referent phrases. They are para 'for', meke'atag 'concerning', tenged 'because of', and pinesikad 'by means of'.

2. <u>Adjuncts.</u> Adjuncts are nonrelational particles which are attributive to the construction in which they occur. They signal (1) aspect-like functions such as time, limitation, intensity, repetition, and certainty, or (2) mode-like properties such as quotative, optative, interrogative, negative, imperative, advisory, honorific, and opposition.

Aspectual or modul adjuncts occur either in the adjunct cluster, in the prepredicate modal position, or in a time phrase. The number adjuncts menge 'plural' and senge 'one' modify the head of a single-centered noun phrase. Exclamatory adjuncts are minor sentences: es 'Wow!', etuwey 'Great Scott! '

3. <u>Pronouns.</u> The locative pronouns and the case marked pronouns, both personal and common, have been described in Chapter II. The interrogative pronouns have been introduced in Chapter IV.

4. <u>Verbs.</u> Verbs are stems which are inflected for time aspect and which are not further affixed by a nominalizing derivational affix. Other inflectional categories in verbs are focus, mode, action aspect, voice, and number. [19]

4.1 <u>Time Aspect.</u> Time aspect has three phases: past, nonpast, and unactualized. Action within the time continuum is relegated by speakers to past or nonpast. Action which is outside of time or where time is not significant is relegated to the unactualized phase.

4.11 <u>Past.</u> The past morpheme indicates action which has begun or which has been completed. It is marked by the morpheme miD- with allomorphs miD- and N-.

(1) Allomorph miD- occurs with stems uninflected for mode and instrument focus, but with or without other focus markers.

(miD)-genat dan en kun <u>P-leave(SF)</u> <u>SI,they</u> <u>compl</u> <u>QT</u>

'Someone said that they left already.'

me-za'at is (miD)-'ula'ula-∅ zin   <u>desc-bad</u> <u>SI,com</u> <u>P-do-OF</u> <u>NI,he</u>

'What he did is bad.'

(miD)-begay-an ku si Anuy te vawi' <u>P-give-DF</u> <u>NI,I</u> <u>SI,pers</u> <u>name</u>

<u>NT,com</u> <u>medicine</u> 'I gave the medicine to Anuy.'

Allomorph miD- also occurs with involuntary mode allomorph peke- with stems marked for subject focus.

[19] For a similar analysis followed in part here, see McKaughan, 1958. For an alternate analysis see Shand, 1964.

(miD)-peke-burut a te k-ed-'uli' P-IV-courage(SF) SI,I NT,com

Nom-NonP-return(SF) 'I got up the courage to go home.'

(2) Allomorph N- occurs with stems marked for intentive mode with
the instrument focus marker i- and with the distributive aspect allomorph
eN-; with the involuntary mode allomorphs eke-, ke-, and e-; and with
peke- when the nominalizing affix i- also occurs.

i-(N)-'awa' ni Andris he'ini is tukud IF-P-remove NI,pers name

SI,this SI,com post 'Andris removed this post.'

(N)-eN-akew Ø te ispudu diye' te tindah-an P-Dist-steal(SF) SI,he

NT,com matches DI,there NT,com store-nom 'He stole matches at the

store.'

(N)-eke-'uma zan diye' te hadi' P-IV-arrive(SF') SI,they DI,there

NT,com king 'And they came to the king.'

su waze' en i-(N)-ke-lavung dan because there-is-not compl

IF-P-IV-eat-supper NI,they '... because they had nothing for supper...'

(N)-e-'isip-Ø din buwa is ed-'uli' P-IV-think-OF NI,he perhaps SI,com

NonP-return(SF) 'Perhaps he thought he would go home.'

iyan i-(N)-peke-lepew ku kayi su eD-buyu' a te selapi'

emph nom-P-IV-appear NI,I NT,here because NonP-ask-for(SF) SI,I

NT,com money 'The reason I showed up here is because I am asking for

money.'

4.12 Nonpast. The nonpast morpheme indicates that the action of the
verb is in process, is about to be in process, or will be in process at some
future time. This morpheme, eD-, has the allomorphs eD- and D-.
    (1) Allomorph eD- occurs with stems marked for subject focus, object
focus, or direction focus.

(eD)-genat ki en da'an; eD-telukun ki kandan NonP-leave(SF) SI,we-two

compl also NonP-follow(SF) SI,we-two KI,they

'Let's leave also; we'll follow them.'

ne (eD)-sagad Ø ne (eD)-tibas-en ta co NonP-pass-by(SF) SI,he co

NonP-slash-OF NI,I-and-thou 'So he'll pass by and we'll slash him.'

hente'i kayi ki anak he (eD)-tuktuk-an ku en who NT,this KI,pers

child att NonP-peck-DF NT,I compl 'Whose child is this I am pecking

on?'

(2) Allomorph D- occurs with stems inflected for instrument focus.

su i-(D)-pe-'esawa ku kayi te anak ku he'eyan is raga

because IF-NonP-Ca-marry NI, I Nt, this NT, com child NI, my SI, that

SI, com maiden   'because I'll have that maiden married to my son here'.

4.13 Unactualized. The unactualized phase is timeless. As such it
indicates that the action of the verb has not entered the time continuum.
Although semantically the unactualized time phase is reminiscent of mode
rather than aspect, it occurs in the same inflectional order as past and non-
past. These then are mutually exclusive. The common semantic feature
of the three phases is the element of time, either its presence (past and
nonpast) or its absence or lack of importance (unactualized).

The unactualized phase is marked by the morpheme meD-, which has
the allomorphs meD-, m-, and ∅-.

(1) Allomorph meD- occurs with stems marked for subject focus.

waze' ded ma'an ∅ (meD)-patey su N-e-tembar-an te duktur neg still

again SI, he UA-die(SF) because P-IV-medicine-DF NT, com doctor

'And again he didn't die because he was treated by the doctor.'

(2) Allomorph m- occurs with the distributive aspect allomorph eN-
and with the involuntary mode allomorphs eke- and e-.

waze' key pa (m)-eN-ayu neg SI, we-not-you incompl UA-Dist-wood

'We haven't gathered wood yet.'

ne waze' key (m)-eke-dabpak su ed-'uzan ∅ co neg SI, we

UA-IV-land(SF) because NonP-rain(SF)

'So we couldn't land because it was raining.'

wey nu za'an (m)-e-tu'en-i he tutuu ki he emigu in-order-that NI, you

also UA-Iv-know-DF att true SI, we-two att friend   'So that you might

know also that we are truly friends.'

(3) Allomorph ∅- occurs with stems which are marked for subject focus,
object focus, instrument focus, or for direction focus. It occurs with the
object focus marker and the direction focus marker only in the intentive
mode.

(∅)-'awa' ka   UA-go-away(SF) SI, thou   'Go away!'

(∅)-'ewa'-a nu ∅   UA-go-away-OF NI, you SI, it 'Take it away!'

(∅)-'ewa'-i nu ∅   UA-go-away-DF NI, you SI, it   'Get away from it!'

i-(∅)-'uli' ∅ nu   IF-UA-return NI, you SI, it   'Take it home!'

wey ku i-(∅)-'uli' ∅   so-that NI, I IF-UA-return SI, it   'so that I might take it home'

i-(∅)-ke-hizu nu ∅ wey ∅-tehuz-a nu   IF-UA-IV-pity NI, you SI, him ad UA-respect-OF NI, you   'Pity him, and respect him.'

The polysememic variations of the unactualized time aspect is illustrated by the following examples:

Negative of a past action:

waze' key (m)-eke-'agpas   neg SI, we UA-IV-hurry(SF)

'We weren't able to hurry.'

Contingent action:

i-N-hen-dini zin is limbas wey ku i-(∅)-ke-'uli' diye' te ki Geli

IF-P-come-here NI, he SI, com file in-order-that NI, I IF-UA-IV-return

DI, there NT, com KI, pers name   'He brought the file here so that I might return it to Geli.'

Desirable or advisable action:

deyzey ke (meD)-'uli' ke pa   better if UA-return(SF) SI, you incompl

'It is better if you go home first.'

Potential action:

kele ke (m)-e-vinsul-i ki   lest if UA-IV-burn-OF SI, I-and-thou

'We (our house) might be burned up.'

Imperative action:

(∅)-te-tezem-i key Anggam   UA, con-relate-DF SI, we-not-you Uncle

'Uncle, tell us a story.'

Action in which time is uncertain:

ke'enu ka (m)-eke-'uma   when SI, thou UA-IV-arrive(SF)

'When did you arrive?'

   4.2   Focus.   As has been stated elsewhere, focus in the verb indicates the relationship of a topic noun phrase to that verb.   A topic noun phrase may thus function as the subject, object, instrument, or direction of the verb. Thus the dramatis personae roles of the topic are indicated by focus markers in the verb while these same roles of the nontopic complements are indicated by particles and pronominal inflections.[20]

---

[20] Cf. Kerr, 1965, where "case" and "voice" are equated.   In this study focus is used instead of voice, and the term "case" is applied to topic, nontopic, and emphasis phrases rather than to the dramatis personae roles.

4.21 <u>Subject</u> <u>Focus</u>. Subject focus indicates that the topic noun phrase is the subject of the verb. This focus is marked by the absence of a focus morpheme.

miD-peN-pe-zigu' a <u>P-Dist-Ca-bathe(SF)</u> <u>SI, I</u> 'I bathed myself.'

miD-surat ∅ te tana' te tezu' din <u>P-write(SF)</u> <u>SI, he</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>ground</u>

<u>NT, com</u> <u>finger</u> <u>NI, his</u> 'He wrote on the ground with his finger.'

N-eke-penu' is bulawan te umuy <u>P-IV-fill(SF)</u> <u>SI, com</u> <u>gold</u> <u>NT, com</u>

<u>urn</u>   'The gold filled the urn.'

N-eN-kayu key ge'ina <u>P-Dist-wood(SF)</u> <u>SI, we-not-you</u> <u>a-while-ago</u>

'I went for firewood a while ago.'

ne miD-pena'ug ne mig-kuwa ∅ dutun te selu'al

co <u>P-descend(SF)</u> <u>co</u> <u>P-got(SF)</u> <u>SI, he</u> <u>DI, there</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>trousers</u>

'So he climbed down and took from there some trousers.'

4.22 <u>Object</u> <u>Focus</u>. Object focus indicates that the subject acts on the topic, i.e., the topic noun phrase is acted upon and is the terminal goal of the action. Object focus is marked by the morpheme -en which has the allomorphs -en, -a, and -∅.

(1) Allomorph -en occurs with the nonpast marker eD- in the intentive mode.

eD-betun-(en) din diye' te valey is minsan hengkey he eD-ke-ka'an-∅

<u>NonP-lift-up-OF</u> <u>NI, he</u> <u>DI, there</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>house</u> <u>SI, com</u> <u>even</u> <u>what</u> <u>co</u>

<u>NonP-IV-eat-OF</u> 'He brought up into the house all kinds of food.'

eD-puhag-(en) din is petiyukan <u>NonP-smoke-bees-OF</u> <u>NI, he</u> <u>SI, com</u> <u>bee</u>

'He is going to smoke the bees.'

(2) Allomorph -a occurs with the unactualized time aspect allomorph ∅- in the intentive mode.

∅-hen-diye' ka wey nu ∅-'eha'-(a) is baley ku <u>UA-go-there(SF)</u>

<u>SI, thou</u> <u>in-order-that</u> <u>NI, you</u> <u>UA-see-OF</u> <u>SI, com</u> <u>house</u> <u>NI, my</u>

'Go there so you may see my house.'

∅-tigum-(a) nu is langun he menge etew <u>UA-gather-OF</u> <u>NI, thou</u> <u>SI, com</u>

<u>all</u> <u>att</u> <u>plural</u> <u>person</u> 'Gather together all the people.'

Allomorph -a also occurs with nonpast allomorph eD- when the verb is preceded by a MODE, TIME, or LOCATION constituent in the pre-

predicate position in the clause. This is represented by the following for-
mula:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{MODE} \\ \text{TIME} \\ \text{LOCATION} \end{bmatrix} + \text{X} + \text{eD-} + \text{Y} + \text{stem} + \text{-en} \implies$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{MODE} \\ \text{TIME} \\ \text{LOCATION} \end{bmatrix} + \text{X} + \text{eD-} + \text{Y} + \text{stem} + \text{-a}$$

layun da' eD-bevah-(a) sikandin <u>always</u> <u>only</u> <u>NonP-carry-piggyback-OF</u>

<u>SI, she</u> 'Always someone carries her.'

diye' tew eD-pumpun-(a) is menge etew <u>DI, there</u> <u>NI, I-and-you</u>

<u>NonP-gather-OF</u> <u>SI, com</u> <u>plural</u> <u>person</u> 'We'll all go collect the people

there.'

  Allomorph -a also occurs with both allomorphs, eD- and D-, of the
nonpast time aspect and unactualized allomorph ∅- when preceded by the
nominalizing derivative prefixes k- or i-:

$$\text{NOM OF VERB} \implies \begin{bmatrix} \text{k-} \\ \\ \text{i-} \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} \text{eD-} \\ \begin{Bmatrix} \text{D-} \\ \emptyset \end{Bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} + \text{X} + \text{stem} + \text{-a}$$

ne N-e-pasad-∅ is k-eD-pe-ke-en-(a) te menge etew <u>co</u> <u>P-IV-finish-OF</u>

<u>SI, com</u> <u>Nom-NonP-Ca-eat-OF</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>plural</u> <u>person</u>

'So the feeding of the people was finished.'

iyan i-D-pe-ke'en-(a) ku te menge etew is eD-pe-tavang a te k-eD-'atep

te valey ku <u>emph</u> <u>nom-NonP-Ca-eat-OF</u> <u>NI, I</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>plural</u> <u>person</u>

<u>SI, com</u> <u>NonP-Ca-help(SF)</u> <u>SI, I</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>nom-NonP-roof(SF)</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>house</u>

<u>NI, my</u> 'The reason I am having the people eat is that I am asking for help

in roofing my house.'

ne hengkey ve is kene' dan i-∅-'eha'-(a) te menge sanley

<u>co</u> <u>what</u> <u>Qu</u> <u>SI, com</u> <u>not</u> <u>NI, they</u> <u>nom-UA-see-OF</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>plural</u> <u>corn</u>

'And what do you know if they didn't see some ears of corn! '[21]

[21] A more literal English translation would be, 'And what is their reason for not seeing
some ears of corn?'

(3) Allomorph -∅ occurs in the intentive mode with the past time aspect allomorph miD- and in the involuntary mode with the time aspect allomorphs N- 'past', eD- 'nonpast', and m- 'unactualized'.

miD-dawat-(∅) ni Anggam is ke-tezeng-an ku   P-accept-OF NI,pers

Uncle SI,com nom-straight-nom NI,my   'Uncle accepted my reasons.'

N-eng-e-handek-(∅) key man te rugung P-Nu-IV-frighten-OF

SI,we-not-you emph NT,com thunder   'The thunder really frightened us.'

kene' ku en he'eyan eD-ke-vitbit-(∅)   neg NI,I compl SI,that

NonP-IV-lift-OF   'I can't lift that anymore.'

me'ambe en asal kene' a m-e-vitil-(∅)   no-matter compl as-long-as neg

SI,I UA-IV-cause-to-hunger-OF

'It doesn't matter so long as I don't get hungry.'

4.23 Instrument Focus. Instrument focus indicates that the subject acts with the topic, i.e., the topic of the clause is an instrument or accessory to accomplish an action as it moves toward a goal. This focus is marked by the morpheme i-.

(i)-N-hen-dini ku is esawa ku su (i)-D-pe-vawi' ku IF-P-go-here NI,I

SI,com spouse NI,my because IF-NonP-Ca-medicine NI,I

'I brought my wife here because I will have her treated.'

waze' din m-e-layam-i he (i)-D-baya' din is wahig neg NI,he

UA-IV-accustom-DF att IF-NonP-pass-through NI,he SI,com water

'He wasn't used to going through the water.'

ne (i)-∅-heng-kayi niyu is eD-ke'en-en ku   co IF-UA-go-here NI,you

SI,com NonP-eat-OF NI,my   'Bring what I'm going to eat here.'

(i)-∅-timbag nu he'eyan is uwit-en nu   IF-UA-throw NI,thou SI,that

SI,com carry-nom NI,thy   'Throw away that which you are carrying.'

(i)-D-ke-handek a te menge vata'   IF-NonP-IV-frighten SI,I NT,com

plural child   'I involuntarily frighten children.'

In the example above the subject is absent. Only the instrument (I) and object (children) are present. The topic instrument is that which is involved in the action of frightening. A subject may occur as in the following:

(i)-D-ke-handek e zan te menge vata'

IF-NonP-IV-frighten <u>SI,I</u> <u>NI,they</u> <u>NT,com</u> plural child

'They had to use me to frighten the children.'

    4.24   Direction <u>Focus.</u>   Direction focus indicates that the subject acts
to, for, away from, or in regard to the topic noun, i.e., the topic phrase is
the direction, the benefactor, or the referent of the action.   Direction focus
is marked by the morpheme -an which has the allomorphs -an and -i.

    (1) Allomorph -an occurs with time aspect allomorphs miD-, N-, and
eD-.

miD-begay-(an) key zin te vegas   <u>P-give-DF</u> <u>SI,we</u> <u>NI,he</u> <u>NT,com</u> rice

'He gave us rice.'

N-e-tudtul-(an) kew zan te waze' dan sulu'   <u>P-IV-tell-DF</u> <u>SI,you</u> <u>NI,they</u>

<u>NT,com</u> <u>none</u> <u>NI,their</u> lamp   'They told you that they had no lamp.'

miD-'ewa'-(an) ni Dumet is iney zin   <u>P-leave-DF</u> <u>NI,pers</u> name <u>SI,com</u>

mother <u>NI,his</u>   'Dumet left his mother behind.'

    (2) Allomorph -i occurs with unactualized time aspect allomorphs Ø-
and m-.

ke waze' e man ge'ina Ø-engkez-(i) te esawa ku

if neg <u>SI,I</u> emph earlier <u>UA-divorce-DF</u> <u>NT,com</u> spouse <u>NI,my</u>

'if I hadn't already divorced my spouse'

waze' pa he'ini ke'enu m-e-segaz-i te N-eng-e-huna-Ø he menge etew

neg incompl <u>SI,this</u> ever <u>UA-IV-experience-DF</u> <u>NT,com</u>

<u>P-Nu-IV-first-OF</u> att plural person   'The first people never experienced
this.'

    Allomorph -i also occurs with the nonpast time aspect allomorph eD-
when the verb is preceded by any of the optional clause level particles in
the preverb emphasis or introductory position in the clause.   This is re-
presented by the following formula:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{MODE} \\ \text{TIME} \\ \text{LOCATION} \end{bmatrix} + X + eD- + Y + \text{stem} + -an \implies$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{MODE} \\ \text{TIME} \\ \text{LOCATION} \end{bmatrix} + X + eD- + Y + \text{stem} + -i$$

ne utew ku en ∅ eD-ke-hizuw-(i) te eD-lagkut

<u>co</u> <u>intens</u> <u>NI, I</u> <u>compl</u> <u>SI,</u> he <u>NonP-IV-pity-DF</u> <u>NT,com</u> <u>NonP-whip(SF)</u>

' I pity him too much to whip (him). '

sikan ku pa²² eD-be'el-(i) is iring dutun

<u>that</u> <u>NI, I</u> <u>incompl</u> <u>NonP-make-DF</u> <u>SI, com</u> <u>equal</u> <u>NT, that</u>

' It is the first time I ever made anything like that. '

    Allomorph -i also occurs with nonpast and unactualized time aspect allomorphs eD-, D-, and ∅- when they are preceded by the nominalizing derivational affixes k- or i-.

$$
\text{NOM OF VERB} \Longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} k\text{-} \\ \\ i\text{-} \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} eD\text{-} \\ \\ \left\{ \begin{matrix} D\text{-} \\ \emptyset\text{-} \end{matrix} \right\} \end{bmatrix} + X + \text{stem} + \text{-i}
$$

... su he'aza' is k-eD-himetay-(i) te N-em-eN-ula'ula te pemelihi...

<u>because</u> <u>SI, that</u> <u>SI, com</u> <u>nom-NonP-kill-DF</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>P-Nu-Dist-do(SF)</u>

<u>NT, com</u> <u>transgression</u>   '... for that killing of those who broke the taboo...'

waze' pezem i-∅-ke-regen-(i) dey   <u>neg</u> <u>opt</u> <u>nom-UA-IV-difficulty-DF</u>

<u>NI, we-not-you</u>   'we don't have too much reason to have difficulties.'

    4.3 <u>Mode.</u> The category of mode in Manobo indicates the speaker's interpretation of the action of the verb as to whether it is intentional or involuntary.

    4.31 <u>Intentive</u> <u>Mode.</u> Intentive mode indicates that the speaker views the action of the verb as intentional and deliberate. Intentive mode is marked by the absence of a mode morpheme.

miD-pe-tibas-a' key <u>P-R-slash-R(SF)</u> <u>SI, we-not-you</u>

' We fought each other with knives. '

miD-tibas-∅ ku si Geli <u>P-slash-OF</u> <u>NI, I</u> <u>SI, pers</u> name

' I (intentionally) slashed Geli with a knife. '

    4.32 <u>Involuntary</u> <u>Mode.</u> Involuntary mode indicates that the speaker views the action of the verb as involuntary, compulsive, potential, casual, or as a reflection of ability. The involuntary mode is marked by the morpheme peke- which has the allomorphs peke-, eke-, ke-, and e-.

²²sikan ku pa is an idiom meaning ' the first time ever '.

(1) Allomorph peke- occurs with stems marked for subject focus and nonpast time aspect allomorph eD-.

ne eD-(peke)-'utel sikan te menge pa'it wey sumala' da' co

NonP-IV-catch(SF) SI,that NT,com plural fish ad whatever lim

'That can catch fish or whatever else.'

is bagyu ne eD-(peke)-lavu kun te vepur

SI,com typhoon co NonP-IV-sink(SF) Qt NT,com ship

'The typhoon, they say, is able to sink a ship.'

minsan kene' a eD-(peke)-hipanew eD-(peke)-hipanew a

even-though neg SI,I NonP-IV-go(SF) NonP-IV-go(SF) SI,I

'Even though I can't go, I have to go.'[23]

kene' nu ∅-kevut-a is ubpit su eD-(peke)-pali'

neg NI,thou UA-meddle-with-OF SI,com knife because NonP-IV-wound(SF)

'Don't meddle with the knife because it can hurt.'

Allomorph eke- occurs on stems marked for subject focus with time aspect allomorphs N-'past' or m-'unactualized'.

waze'key m-(eke)-'aha' te kuda' neg SI,we-not-you UA-IV-see(SF)

NT,com horse 'We weren't able to find the horse.'

a zutun ne N-eke-sinegew he'ini is singyuda excl then co P-IV-weep(SF)

SI,this SI,com lady 'Oh! then this lady began to cry.'

(3) Allomorph ke- occurs on a stem marked for instrument focus with time aspect allomorphs N- 'past', D- 'nonpast', and ∅ 'unactualized'.

i-N-(ke)-pe-ka'an ku is begas te menge vata' su N-eng-e-vitil-∅

IF-P-IV-Ca-eat NI,I SI,com rice NT,com plural children because

P-Nu-IV-cause-hunger-OF 'I had to let the children eat the rice because

they were hungry.'

i-D-(ke)-vaya' tew is ketelunan su waze' duma he zalan

IF-NonP-IV-pass-through NI,I-and-you SI,com forest because

there-is-none other att path 'We have to go through the forest because

there is no other trail.'

---

[23] This example illustrates the meanings of 'ability' and 'compulsion'.

i-Ø-(ke)-hizu nu is minsan hengkey he langgam

IF-UA-IV-pity NI,thou SI, com even what att nonhuman-creature

'Be kind to every nonhuman creature.'

Allomorph ke- also occurs with the nonpast allomorph eD- on stems marked for object focus and direction focus.

eD-(ke)-handek-Ø a emun eD-rugung   NonP-IV-frighten-OF SI,I if

NonP-thunder(SF)   'It frightens me when it thunders.'

kene' ku pa eD-(ke)-vinsul-i Ø su waze' pa m-e-gangu-Ø not NI,I

incompl NonP-IV-burn-DF SI,it because neg incompl UA-IV-dry-OF

'I can't burn it yet because it is not yet dried out.'

(4) Allomorph e- occurs with past time aspect allomorph N- and with unactualized time aspect allomorph m- on stems marked for object focus or direction focus.

ne he'in N-(e)-zineg-Ø Ø ni Meriya ne N-(e)-se'eng-Ø Ø

co when P-IV-hear-OF SI,it NI,pers name co P-IV-sadden-OF SI,her

'So when Mary heard it it saddened her.'

ne zuen menge avang wey m-(e)-'untuz-i te menge etew emun

eD-ke-lened-Ø is bepur   co there-are plural boat so-that

UA-IV-get-on-DF NT,com plural person if NonP-IV-sink-OF SI,com

ship   'And there are boats so that people can get on (them) if something

sinks the ship.'

4.4 Action Aspect. Action aspect indicates the physical kind of action of the verb. Cadegories of action aspect are: simple, distributive, reciprocal, associative, continuative, intensive, and diminutive.

4.41 Simple Aspect. Simple aspect is marked by the absence of an aspect morpheme. This aspect indicates that the action of the verb is inflectionally unqualified as to physical kind of action. The verb may be qualified externally by aspectual adjuncts which occur on the clause level.

miD-sekezuw-an ku si Bayi   P-fetch-water-DF NI,I SI,pers name

'I fetched water (once) for Bayi.'

This contrasts with the distributive aspect in the following:

miD-peN-sekezuw-an ku si Bayi   P-Dist-fetch-water-DF NI,I SI,pers

name   'I fetched water repeatedly for Bayi.'

4.42   Distributive Aspect.   Distributive aspect indicates that the action of the verb is distributed over time or space or over both.   It may indicate serial distribution, a series of actions by a single performer, or spatial distribution of an action performed simultaneously by several performers.   It also is used to indicate a single action of a single performer in several places at once, as when a tree bears fruit or blossoms on all its branches at the same time.

Distributive aspect is marked by the morpheme peN-.   The morphophonemic alternation of peN- is represented by the following formulae:

(a)

$$\text{peN-} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{eN-} \\ \\ \text{peN-} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{in} \quad / \begin{bmatrix} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{m-} \\ \text{n-} \end{matrix} \right\} \quad \overline{} \\ \\ \text{elsewhere} \end{bmatrix}$$

(b)

$$\text{(p)eN- plus} \begin{bmatrix} \text{bilabial} \\ \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{t} \\ \text{n} \\ \text{s} \end{matrix} \right\} \\ \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{k} \\ \text{ng} \end{matrix} \right\} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{(p)em-} \\ \\ \text{(p)en-} \\ \\ \\ \text{(p)eng-} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{minus} \begin{bmatrix} \text{bilabial} \\ \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{t} \\ \text{n} \\ \text{s} \end{matrix} \right\} \\ \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{k} \\ \text{ng} \end{matrix} \right\} \end{bmatrix}$$

(c)

$$\text{(p)eN-} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{(p)en-} \\ \\ \\ \\ \text{(p)eng-} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{in} \quad / \underline{} \begin{bmatrix} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{d} \\ \text{l} \\ \text{y} \\ \text{w} \end{matrix} \right\} \\ \\ \text{g} \end{bmatrix}$$

(d)

$$
\text{(p)eN- plus} \left\{ \begin{matrix} h \\ \text{'} \end{matrix} \right\} \longrightarrow \left(\begin{matrix} \text{(p)en- plus} \left\{ \begin{matrix} h \\ \text{'} \end{matrix} \right\} \\ \infty \\ \text{(p)eng- minus} \left\{ \begin{matrix} h \\ \text{'} \end{matrix} \right\} \end{matrix} \right)
$$

In formula (d) above, ∞ indicates that the alternation between (p)en- and (p)eng- before stem initial /h/ or glottal stop is not free but is morphologically rather than phonologically defined. A statement of their alternation in that environment can be made only by listing exhaustively every occurrence.

peN- occurs with the past aspect allomorph miD-, with the nonpast allomorphs eD- and D-, and with the unactualized allomorph meD-. eN- occurs elsewhere. Distributive aspect co-occurs with the morphemes of all other inflectional categories of the verb.

hengkey ve is meD-(peN)-himatey si Kawat te menge manuk

what Qu SI,com UA-Dist-kill(SF) SI,pers name NT,com plural chicken

'Well what do you know, Kawat killed the chickens.'

miD-(peN)-tudtul-an ki zin te eD-ke-hitavu'-∅

P-Dist-tell-OF SI,I-and-thou NI,he NT,com NonP-IV-happen-to-OF

'He told us what was going to happen.'

me-zakel is N-em-(eN)-hen-diya' wey n-em-(eN)-hen-dini

desc-many SI,com P-Nu-Dist-go-here(SF) co P-Nu-Dist-go-there(SF)

'Many were going and coming.'

hengkey ve is wey m-e-(peN)-'ami'-∅ he'ini kayi te uval ne

∅-(peN)-ke'en-a zin mula'   what Qu SI,com co UA-IV-Dist-grab-OF

SI,this NT,this NT,com monkey co UA-Dist-eat-OF NI,he opp

'Well what do you know, the monkey grabbed this and ate it anyway.'

4.43 Reciprocal Aspect. Reciprocal aspect indicates that the action of the verb is performed by two or more actors upon or toward each other. Reciprocal aspect is marked by the morpheme D- which has the allomorphs D- and pe...a' and occurs only on verbs marked for subject focus.

(1) Allomorph D- occurs with the involuntary mode allomorphs peke- and eke- and with the associative aspect morpheme peki-.

N-e-'uget-∅ en he timpu he kene' kiyu eD-peke-(D)-'uma

P-IV-long-time-OF compl att time att neg SI, I-and-you

NonP-IV-R-arrive(SF)   'We have not met for a long time.'

su me-naney se me-ga'an ne m-eke-(D)-'aha' ki gihapun

because desc-slow ad desc-fast co UA-IV-R-see(SF) SI, I-and-thou

anyway   '...because sooner or later we'll see each other anyway'

kene' dan eD-peki(D)-'amur su eD-ke-'epes-∅ dan te me-gurub

neg SI,they NonP-As-R-gather(SF) because NonP-IV-displease-OF

SI,they NT,com desc-noise 'They do not join in to gather together (with

other people) because noisy (things) displease them.'

    (2) Allomorph pe...a' is a discontinuous morph occurring on stems
marked for intentive mode.

is tele-esawa ne kinehanglan he eD-(pe)-'entus-(a') sikandan taman te

taman   SI,com intimate-spouse co necessary att NonP-R-endure-R(SF)

SI,they until NT,com until   'As for the husband and wife, it is necessary

that they put up with each other continuously.'

iring din da'an is lumansad wey upa he eD-(pe)-peN-tiwelay-(a') diye' te

teliwaza' te sa'ag   Likeness NI,its also SI, com rooster ad hen att

NonP-R-Dist-mate-R(SF) there NT,com middle NT, com floor   'Like that

also are the rooster and hen which mate in the center of the floor.'

    4.44   Associative Aspect. Associative aspect indicates that the subject
of the verb invites participation of someone else in some activity. Associa-
tive aspect occurs on stems with subject focus and intentive mode and is
marked by the morpheme peki-, which has the single allomorph peki-.

...su eD-(peki)-tavang a kenikew   because NonP-As-help(SF) SI, I

KI,thou   '...because I am requesting you to help me'

ma'an is kene' kew eD-tavak te eD-(peki)-vitiyara keniyu

why SI,com neg SI,you NonP-answer(SF) Nt,com NonP-As-discuss(SF)

'Why don't you answer those who want to talk to you?'

    4.45   Reduplicative Aspect.   Allomorphs of the reduplicative aspects
as well as reduplicative number are definable in terms of stem shape, sylla-
ble patterns, and the distributive affix peN-. Four types of reduplication
occur in Manobo: reduplication of the entire stem (Redup Stem), redupli-

cation of the initial two phonemes of the stem, i.e., CV (Redup CV), re-
duplication of the initial three phonemes of the stem, i.e., CVC (Redup
CVC), and reduplication of the distributive allomorph peN- (Redup peN-).
Reduplication of the entire stem is limited to stems of two syllables.

Although the reduplicative aspects share the same morph shapes, ambi-
guity is eliminated through the limitation of occurrence of a particular
morph-meaning correlation to a particular stem class. The distribution of
the various reduplicative shapes and their meanings among stems appears to
be mutually exclusive. Stem classes result but are not handled here.

4.45.1 <u>Continuative Aspect.</u>   Continuative aspect indicates two kind
of continuity. Active continuative refers to action which is continuous or
reiterative. The active continuative is marked by a morpheme of redupli-
cation. This morpheme. has the allomorphs Redup stem, Redup CVC, and
Redup peN-.

(1) Allomorph Redup stem occurs with bisyllabic stems which are not
suffixed.

eD-(datu')-datu' sikandin te menge tig-berendiyas

<u>NonP-con-rule-as-chief(SF)</u> <u>SI, he</u> <u>NT, com</u> plural <u>from-place-name</u>

'He rules as chief over the people from Barandias.'

𝜙 -(liku')-liku' kew za'   <u>UA-con-return(SF)</u> <u>SI, you</u> <u>lim</u>

'Just keep coming back.'

(2) Allomorph Redup CVC occurs with suffixed stems or stems of more
than two syllables.

eD-(det)-detu'-an din is menge tig-berendiyas

<u>NonP-con-rule-as-chief-DF</u> <u>NI, he</u> <u>SI, com</u> plural <u>from-place-name</u>

'He rules as chief over the people from Barandias.'

dutun en med-(hip)-hipanew he'ini te edadu

<u>DI, there</u> compl <u>UA-con-walk</u> <u>SI, this</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>plowed-field</u>

'This fellow was already there walking around in the plowed field.'

(3) Allomorph Redup peN- occurs with unsuffixed stems inflected for
distributive aspect.

N-eke-'uma he'ini te luyung ne meD-(peN)-peN-bensag

<u>P-IV-arrive(SF)</u> <u>SI, this</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>base-of-tree</u> <u>co</u> <u>UA-con-Dist-shout(SF)</u>

'This fellow came up to the base of a tree and began shouting.'

iyan ba'al te amey nu is eD-(peN)-peN-tuges 𝜙

<u>emph</u> <u>work</u> <u>NT, com</u> <u>father</u> <u>NI, thy</u> <u>SI, com</u> <u>NonP-con-Dist-snare(SF)</u> <u>SI, he</u>

'The occupation of your father is that he snares wild game.'

The static continuative refers to a continuous state which is the result
of the action of the verb. Static continuative is marked by the morpheme
Redup CV on stems of general physical action and has a single allomorph.

dutun m-eke-(se)-savuk is umuy   DI, there UA-IV-con-set(SF) SI, com

jar   'The jar was sitting there.'

miD-ke-kagat is asu te pa'a te vata' P-con-bite(SF) SI, com dog NT, com

leg NT, com child   'The dog bit the child's leg and hung on.'

4.45.2   Intensive Aspect.   Intensive aspect indicates intensity in the
action of the verb. It is marked by the reduplicative morpheme. This
morpheme has the allomorphs Redup stem, Redup CVC, and Redup CV.

(1) Allomorph Redup stem occurs with bisyllabic stems which are not
suffixed.

N-e-(su'at)-su'at-∅ si Anggam   P-IV-intens-please-OF SI, pers Uncle
'It really pleased Uncle.'

(2) Allomorph Redup CVC occurs with stems of more than two syllables
and with suffixed stems.

eD-(sin)-sinegew en si Ina'   NonP-intens-weep(SF) compl SI, pers mother
'Mother is really crying.'

miD-(sek)-sekezu is menge vata'   P-intens-fetch-water(SF) SI, com plural

child   'The children really worked at fetching water.'

miD-(leb)-levaw-an kew ves te tig-medaya'

P-intens-better-DF SI, you Qu NT, com from-place-name

'So the people from Medaya' did a whole lot better than you did?'

(3) Allomorph Redup CV occurs in free variation with Redup CVC in
(2) above.

eD-(si)-sinegew si Ina'   NonP-intens-weep(SF) SI, pers mother
'Mother is really crying.'

4.45.3   Diminutive Aspect.   Diminutive aspect indicates that the action
or effect of the action of the verb is in some way diminished. Diminutive
aspect is marked by the reduplicative morpheme and has the allomorphs Redup
stem and Redup peN-.

(1) Allomorph Redup stem occurs with stems which are not suffixed or
which have no overt suffix.

N-e-(pulid)-pulid-∅ en is andew   P-IV-dim-cause-to-cross-the-zenith-OF

compl SI,com sun   'The sun is a little bit past the zenith.'

layun eD-('andew)-'andew' ∅ emun bulan te Uktubri

always NonP-dim-sun(SF) SI,it if month NT,com October

'The sun always shines a few days during October.'

   (2) Allomorph Redup CVC occurs with stems which are suffixed.

N-e-(pe')-pe'it-an a te miD-'inum-∅ ku he vawi'

P-IV-dim-bitter-DF SI,I NT,com P-drink-OF NI,I att medicine

'The medicine which I drank was a little bit bitter (bittered me a little bit).'

   (3) Allomorph Redup peN- occurs with stems inflected for distributive aspect.

miD-(peN)-peN-kagi za' sikandin su N-e-'eled-∅ ∅

P-dim-Dist-talk(SF) lim SI,he because P-IV-shame-OF SI,he

'He talked only a little because he was ashamed.'

   4.5   Voice.   Voice indicates the relationship of the subject of a verbal clause to the verb stem.   There are two voices in Bukidnon Manobo: active and causative.

   4.51   Active Voice.   Active voice indicates that the subject of the verb is the actor or performer of the action of the verb stem.   It is marked by the absence of a voice morpheme in the verb.

eD-'enkez-an ku en ∅ su eD-peke-samuk he'eyan te isip ku

NonP-divorce-DF NI,I compl SI,she because NonP-IV-trouble(SF)

SI,that NT,com mind NI,my   'I am divorcing her because she (that one) troubles my thoughts.'

∅-peN-dekep-a niyu kes menge vaka   UA-Dist-catch-Of NI,you SI,com

plural cow   'Catch the cows.'

   4.52   Causative Voice.   Causative voice indicates that the subject of the verb is causer of the action.[24]   This voice brings about a change in the dramatis personae roles of the clause by introducing an AGENT, a CAUSER-SUBJECT, and for subject focus verbs, a CAUSER-SUBJECT-OBJECT or a CAUSER-SUBJECT-DIRECTION.   Although the dramatis personae roles change, the grammatical patterns do not.   The causative inflection acts similarly to the time aspect inflections in that it does not effect a grammatical transformation of the clause.   Causative voice is marked by

[24] With subject focus, the topic functions simultaneously as subject-causer and either object or direction.

the morpheme pe- which has only the one allomorph. This morpheme does
not co-occur with associative or reciprocal aspects.

Examples:

PREDICATE + AGENT + CAUSER-SUBJECT:

(i-D-pe-awa') (a) kenikew   IF-NonP-Ca-leave SI,I KI,thou

'You cause me to leave. '

PREDICATE + CAUSER-SUBJECT-OBJECT + AGENT:

(eD-pe-'alut) (a) (kenikew)   NonP-Ca-cut-hair(SF) SI,I KI,you

'I'll have you cut my hair. '

PREDICATE + CAUSER-SUBJECT-DIRECTION + LOCATION:

(miD-pe-tagak) (ø) (diye' te unayan)   P-Ca-leave-behind(SF) SI,he

DI,there NT,com field   'He stayed behind in the field', or literally,

(He caused (someone) to leave him behind in the field. '

PREDICATE + SUBJECT-CAUSER + DIRECTION + AGENT:

(eD-pe-'ubpe'-an) (ku) (is layud ku) (te menge sulugu'en)

NonP-Ca-dwell-DF NI,I SI,com herd NI,my NT,com plural servants

'I'll have my servants stay with the herd. '

Object focus causative clauses do not occur. This feature is apparently
in accord with the function of object focus in Bukidnon Manobo. An object is
the terminus of the action of the verb. A causative verb is, by this defini-
tion, intransitive from the standpoint of the subject. His action is directed
toward an agent who in turn acts toward an additional goal. 'I hit you' is
transitive, while 'I cause you to hit someone ' is intransitive.

4.6 Number.   The category of number in the verb indicates that the
objects or persons represented by the topic noun phrase are more than sev-
eral in number. Number is marked by the morpheme eng- which has the
allomorphs eng-, em-, Redup stem, Redup CVC, and Redup CV.

(1) Allomorph eng- occurs with stems inflected for involuntary mode
and for either object or direction focus.

N-(eng)-e-handek-ø key utew   P-Nu-IV-frighten-OF SI,we-not-you intens

'We (a number of us) were very frightened. '

ne N-(eng)-e-'uyag-an din is menge selazeng wey bavuy he

N-(eng)-e-'utel-ø zin   co P-Nu-IV-quicken-DF NI,he SI,com plural deer

and pig att P-Nu-IV-caught-OF NI,he   'He restored to life the deer and

pigs which he had caught. '

(2) Allomorph em- occurs with stems inflected for involuntary mode and marked for subject focus. em- also occurs with stems marked for intentive mode and inflected for distributive aspect.

ne N-(em)-eke-engit key zu'en   co P-Nu-IV-laugh(SF) SI,we-not-you

NT,that   'And we all laughed at that. '

ne human eD-p-(em)-en-'uli' kes menge etew

co after-that NonP-Dist-Nu-Dist-return SI,com plural person

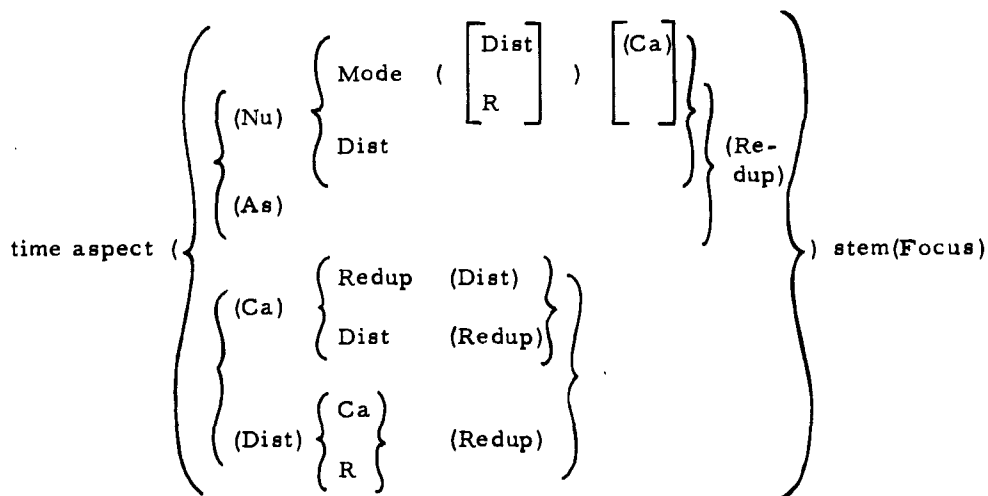'And after that the people all return home. '

(3) The distribution of the reduplicative allomorphs of the number morpheme is morphologically defined according to particular verb stem classes. The following generalization partially indicates this distribution: Redup stem occurs only with stems which are unsuffixed. Redup CVC occurs with suffixed stems and with stems which are more than two syllables in length. Redup CV has been observed both with suffixed stems and with bisyllabic stems.

eD-('ipus)-'ipus key pa te va'al zey NonP-Nu-finish(SF) SI,we-not-you

incompl NT,com work NI,our   'We'll finish our work first. '

eD-('ip)-'ipus-en ku pa is ba'al ku NonP-Nu-finish-OF NI,I incompl

SI,com work NI,my   'I'll finish the things I am working on first.'

eD-(be)-vantey key kenikew   NonP-Nu-watch(SF) SI,we-not-you KI,thou

'We'll all watch you. '

4.7 Inflectional Orders in the Verb. The inflectional orders in the verb are indicated by the following:

$$\text{time aspect } \left(\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (Nu) \\ (As) \end{array} \right. \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Mode} \ \left(\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Dist} \\ R \end{array} \right] \right) \left[(Ca) \right] \\ \text{Dist} \end{array} \right\} (\text{Redup}) \\ \left(\begin{array}{l} (Ca) \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{Redup} & (\text{Dist}) \\ \text{Dist} & (\text{Redup}) \end{array} \right\} \\ (\text{Dist}) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} Ca \\ R \end{array} \right\} (\text{Redup}) \end{array} \right) \end{array} \right\} \right) \text{stem(Focus)}$$

Permutations.

(1) Placement of focus morpheme:

X + stem + Focus $\implies$ Focus + Z + stem

where Focus = IF.

(2) Placement of number morpheme:

$$
Nu + \begin{bmatrix} k\ldots e- \\ p\ldots eke- \\ p\ldots eN- \end{bmatrix} \implies \begin{bmatrix} k\text{-}eng\text{-}e- \\ p\text{-}em\text{-}eke- \\ p\text{-}em\text{-}eN- \end{bmatrix}
$$

where: Mode = $\begin{Bmatrix} p\ldots eke- \\ k\ldots e- \end{Bmatrix}$

Dist = p....eN-

Nu = $\begin{Bmatrix} em- \\ eng- \end{Bmatrix}$

(3) Placement of distributive:

Dist + R + Redup $\implies$ R + $\begin{Bmatrix} Dist \\ Redup \end{Bmatrix}$

4.8 Sample Inflectional Paradigms of the Verb. The following para-
digms, using uwit 'carry' and tibas 'slash with a bolo', display morpheme
combinations described above. They are organized according to focus.
Because of the complications, Redup has not been included in these sample
paradigms. The causative morpheme pe- may be added as indicated in the
formula in the previous section.

4.81 Subject Focus.

Intentive Mode

Simple Aspect	Distributive Aspect
P miD-'uwit	N-eN-'uwit
NP eD-'uwit	eD-peN-'uwit
UA meD-'uwit	m-eN-'uwit

Reciprocal Aspect	Distributive Aspect and Number
P miD-pe-tibas-a'	N-em-eN-'uwit

NP eD-pe-tibas-a'   eD-p-em-eN-'uwit

UA meD-pe-tibas-a'   m-em-eN-'uwit

Involuntary Mode

Simple Aspect   Distributive Aspect

P   n-eke-'uwit   N-eke-peN-'uwit

NP eD-peke-'uwit   eD-peke-peN-'uwit

UA m-eke-'uwit   m-eke-peN-'uwit

Reciprocal Aspect   Distributive Aspect and Number

P   N-eke-D-tibas   N-em-eke-peN-'uwit

NP eD-peke-D-tibas   eD-p-em-eke-peN-'uwit

UA m-eke-D-tibas   m-em-eke-peN-'uwit

4.82 Object Focus.

Intentive Mode

Simple Aspect   Distributive Aspect

P   miD-'uwit-∅   miD-peN-'uwit-∅

NP eD-'uwit-en   eD-peN-'uwit-en

UA ∅-'uwit-a   ∅-peN-'uwit-a

Distributive Aspect and Number

P   miD-p-em-eN-'uwit-∅

NP eD-p-em-eN-'uwit-en

UA ∅-p-em-eN-'uwit-a

Involuntary Mode

Simple Aspect   Distributive Aspect

P   N-e-'uwit-∅   N-e-peN-'uwit-∅

NP eD-ke-'uwit-∅   eD-ke-peN-'uwit-∅

UA m-e-'uwit-∅   m-e-peN-'uwit-∅

Number   Distributive Aspect and Number

P   N-eng-e-'uwit-∅   N-eng-e-peN-'uwit-∅

NP eD-k-eng-e-'uwit-∅   eD-k-eng-e-peN-'uwit-∅

UA m-eng-e-'uwit-∅   m-eng-e-peN-'uwit-∅

4.83   Instrument Focus.

Intentive Mode

Simple Aspect   Distributive Aspect

P   i-N-'uwit   i-N-peN-'uwit

NP   i-D-'uwit   i-D-peN-'uwit

UA   i-∅-'uwit   i-∅-peN-'uwit

Distributive Aspect and Number

P   i-N-p-em-eN-'uwit

NP   i-D-p-em-eN-'uwit

UA   i-∅-p-em-eN-'uwit

Involuntary Mode

Simple Aspect   Distributive Aspect

P   i-N-ke-'uwit   i-N-ke-peN-'uwit

NP   i-D-ke-'uwit   i-D-ke-peN-'uwit

UA   i-∅-ke-'uwit   i-∅-ke-peN-'uwit

Number   Distributive Aspect and Number

P   i-N-k-eng-e-'uwit   i-N-ke-p-em-eN-'uwit

NP   i-D-k-eng-e-'uwit   i-D-ke-p-em-eN-'uwit

UA   i-∅-k-eng-e-'uwit   i-∅-ke-p-em-eN-'uwit

4.84   Direction Focus.

Intentive Mode

Simple Aspect   Distributive Aspect

P   miD-'uwit-an   miD-peN-'uwit-an

NP   eD-'uwit-an   eD-peN-'uwit-an

UA   ∅-'uwit-i   ∅-peN-'uwit-i

Distributive Aspect and Number

P   miD-p-em-eN-'uwit-an

NP   eD-p-em-eN-'uwit-an

UA   ∅-p-em-eN-'uwit-i

Involuntary Mode

Simple Aspect		Distributive Aspect
P	N-e-'uwit-an	N-e-peN-'uwit-an
NP	eD-ke-'uwit-an	eD-ke-peN-'uwit-an
UA	m-e-'uwit-an	m-e-peN-'uwit-an

Number		Distributive Aspect and Number
P	N-eng-e-'uwit-an	N-eng-e-peN-'uwit-an
NP	eD-k-eng-e-'uwit-an	eD-k-eng-e-peN-'uwit-an
UA	m-eng-e-'uwit-an	m-eng-e-peN-'uwit-an

    5. <u>Descriptives.</u> Affixable roots which are not inflected for time aspect are either descriptives or nouns. Descriptives contrast with nouns in that they may be inflected by number, intensity, or diminutive morphemes. Basic nouns are never inflected. A descriptive may also occur as the predicate of a classificational clause in which an intensity adjunct occurs as attribute to the predicate.

(de'isek) utew is selapi' ku   <u>small</u> <u>intens</u> <u>SI,com</u> <u>money</u> <u>NI,my</u>

' I have very little money. '

In general nouns may not occur with intensity adjuncts. [25] Basic descriptives occur both as simple stems and as derived stems.

    5.1   <u>Simple Stem Descriptives.</u>   Simple stem descriptives are roots, e.g., lunsey 'pure', de'isek 'small', berak 'talkative'.

    5.2   <u>Derived Stem Descriptives.</u>   Derived stem descriptives consist of the descriptive derivative prefix me- plus a root. me-za'at 'bad', me-mahu' 'foul smelling', me-naney 'slow'. (Unique in its formation is the descriptive dekel-a' 'large'. It consists of the bound root dakel 'many' plus the suffix -a' which elsewhere means 'place of'. This is the only occurrence of -a' with a descriptive.)

    5.3   <u>Inflected Descriptives.</u> Descriptives may be inflected for number, intensity, or diminutive. Inflected descriptives include forms which have either simple or derived stems.

    5.31   <u>Number.</u>   Number in a descriptive marks the head of a descriptive phrase or the topic of a descriptive topic clause as being more in number than two or three. It is marked by the number allomorph Redup CV.

(me)-me-za'at sikandan he etew   <u>Nu-desc-bad</u> <u>SI,they</u> <u>att</u> <u>person</u>

---

[25] One example of a basic noun occurring with an intensity adjunct has been observed: (bata') pa utew si Dumet   <u>child</u> <u>incompl</u> <u>intens</u> <u>SI,pers</u> <u>name</u>   'Dumet is still very much a child. '

'They (many) are bad people. '

(de)-ze'isek he lemetik <u>Nu-small</u> <u>att</u> <u>ant</u> 'small ants '

    5.32 <u>Intensity.</u> An intensity morpheme in a descriptive indicates that the quality of the descriptive is increased in intensity. It is marked by the intensity allomorph Redup CVC.

(med)-me-za'at <u>intens-desc-bad</u> 'very bad '

(dek)-dekel-e' <u>intense-many-deriv</u> 'very big '

    5.33 <u>Diminutive.</u> A diminutive morpheme in a descriptive marks the quality of a descriptive as being slight or decreased. It is marked by the diminutive aspect allomorph Redup stem.

me-(zakel)-dakel <u>desc-dim-many</u> 'several'

me-(pa'it)-pa'it <u>desc-dim-bitter</u> 'slightly bitter '

    6. <u>Basic Nouns.</u> Basic nouns are affixed or affixable roots which are never inflected. (Complex nouns are nominalized transforms of verbs and as such contain verbal inflections. These transforms are described in Chapter IV.) Basic nouns are either simple or derived.

    6.1 <u>Basic Simple Nouns.</u> Basic simple nouns are unaffixed roots, e.g., atep 'roof', dalan 'trail', elukuy 'playmate', etc.

    6.2 <u>Basic Derived Nouns.</u> Basic derived nouns are either affix-derived or compound-derived.

    6.21 <u>Affix-derived Nouns.</u> Affix-derived nouns consist of a root and a derivative affix. Derivative affixes include the following:

ke- 'nominalizer' occurs with verb roots and descriptive roots.

    (ke)-handek <u>nom-frighten</u> 'fear '

    (ke)-'item <u>nom-black</u> 'blackness '

-in- 'resultant' occurs with verb roots.

    k-(in)-agkag kagkag 'dry' plus the infix -in-, 'dried tobacco '.

    '-(in)-andew 'andew 'day' plus -in-, 'by the day'.

tele- 'indicates two or more persons in an intimate relationship '

    (tele)-'esawa <u>intimate-spouse</u> 'married couple '

    (tele)-'emigu <u>intimate-friend</u> 'close friends '

tere- 'habitual'

    (tere)-munu' <u>habitual-murder</u> 'habitual murderer '

The root of teremunu' is bunu', but the replacement of
/b/ by /m/ is not explained.

(tere)-busew   habitual-demon-who-eats-people   'ghoul'

tig-   'resident of' is prefixed to a place name.

(tig)-medaya'   'from Medaya'

(tig)-berendiyas   'from Barandias'

teg-   'for each' is prefixed to numerals.

(teg)-singku   for-each-five-cents   'five cents each'

(teg)-lelima   for-each-five   'five for each one'

tegi-   'owner of' is affixed to simple nouns.

(tegi)-valey   owner-of-house   'the owner of the house'

(tegi)-'asu   owner-of-dog   'the owner of the dog'

-a'   'place for' is suffixed to verb roots.

penung-(a')   keep-fish-alive-place-for   'basket used to keep fish
      alive in the water'

-an   'place of' is suffixed to verb or noun roots.

tempaz-(an)   trim-off-the-thatch-place-of   'eaves of a thatch roof'

belay-(an)   house-place-of   'sitio' or 'place of houses'

-en   'object of' is suffixed to verb or noun roots.

ikam-(en)   mat-object-of   'material used in a mat'

ke'en-(en)   eat-object-of   'food'

6.22 Compound Derived Nouns.   Compound derived nouns consist of
two roots. The construction is rare. The following exhaust known examples:

batu-berani   stone-(meaning unknown)   'magnet'

batu-hapuy   stone-fire   'flint'

batu-lawa   stone-body   'eloquent term for body'

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The aim of this monograph has been to describe the major grammatical patterns of Western Bukidnon Manobo. The description is taxonomic, with units defined on various linguistic levels. In addition to the notion of linguistic levels, the concept of transformational relationships between grammatical structures has been the means of achieving descriptive simplicity. The description is not, however, a combination of the tagmemic and transformational theories. The transformational relationships defined are not those between deep structure and surface structure. They are Harris-type transforms which are based on the concept of kernel structures from which other constructions can be derived.

The phrase level has provided the most appropriate starting point for the description. Predicate phrases and noun phrase complements are major "building blocks" for the description of the clause. Taxonomic gereralizations of phrase types display grammatical patterns in such a way as to simplify the clause and transformational formulae. The use of transformational operations, which account for the derivation of certain phrase types from kernel clauses, further simplifies the description. By means of the operations utilized, certain phrases are shown to be derived from clauses. Thus a derived phrase which is embedded within a clause has been described by showing its relation to a kernel clause rather than by defining a new phrase type.

A quasi-grammatical entity designated as the "adjunct cluster", has also simplified description. Although the members of the adjunct cluster relate to the predicate and not to each other, they are permuted as a unit. Here, again, transformational operations assist in description.

The use of grammatical levels has made it possible to clearly set forth basic patterns. Transformational operations have, in turn, made it possible to show the relationship between basic and more complex structures and yet retain the simplicity of the taxonomic generalizations.

The author thus concludes that a description utilizing a taxonomic approach which incorporates the derivation of more complex structures from basic or kernel structures is the most useful means of describing the grammatical patterns of a language.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bloomfield, Leonard. 1917. Tagalog Texts with Grammatical Analysis. University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. III, No. 3.

Chomsky, Noam. 1965. Aspects of the Theory of Syntax. Cambridge.

Dyen, Isidore. 1965. A Lexicostatistical Classification of the Austronesian Languages. (Memoir 19 of the International Journal of American Linguistics XXXI).

Elkins, Richard E. 1968. Manobo-English Dictionary. (Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No. 3.)

_____. 1963. "Partial Loss of Contrast Between a and e in Western Bukidnon Manobo," Lingua XII, 205-210.

_____. 1953. "The Phonemes of Southern Bukidnon Manobo," Folklore Studies XII, 108-110.

Forster, Jannette. 1964. "Dual Structure of Dibabawon Verbal Clauses," Oceanic Linguistics III, 26-48.

Harris, Zellig. 1957. "Cooccurrence and Transformation in Linguistic Structure," Language XXXIII, 283-340.

Healey, Phyllis M. 1960. An Agta Grammar. Manila.

Kerr, Harland B. 1965. "The Case-Marking and Classifying Function of Cotabato Manobo Voice Affixes," Oceanic Linguistics IV, 15-47.

Koutsoudas, Andreas. 1966. Writing Transformational Grammars: An Introduction. New York.

Longacre, Robert E. 1960. "String Constituent Analysis," Language XXXVI, 63-88.

_____. Grammar Discovery Procedures. 1964. The Hague.

_____. "Hierarchy and Methodology," Mimeographed paper read at the 1966 Conference on Linguistic Methods at the University of California at Los Angeles.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

McKaughan, Howard P. 1958. The Inflection and Syntax of Maranao Verbs. Manila.

_____. 1962. "Overt Relation Markers in Maranao," Language XXXVIII, 47-51.

Pike, Kenneth L. 1960. Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior. Glendale: Summer Institute of Linguistics, ·Vol. I 1954; Vol. II, 1955; Vol. III, 1960.

_____. "A Syntactic Paradigm, " Language XXXIX, 1963.

Reid, Lawrence. 1966. An Ivatan Syntax. (Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No. 2.)

Shand, Jean. 1964. "Categories and Markers of Tense, Focus, and Mode in Ilianen Manobo," Oceanic Linguistics III, 116-137.

Winter, Werner. 1965. "Transforms Without Kernels?" Language XLI.