A TBOLI GRAMMAR

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Summer Institute of Linguistics

Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Abbreviations

Acces	Accessory
Adv	Adversative
Ag	Agent
Alter	Alternative
Ans	Answer
Ap	Aperture
Att mrk	Attention marker
Benef	Beneficiary
BU	Build Up
ca	causative
cl	clause
Com NP	Common Noun Phrase
cond cl	conditional clause
Dé	denouement
dem	demonstrative
desc	descriptive
Der NP	Derived Noun Phrase
Dial	dialogue
Disc	discourse
Dur	Duration
DQ	Direct Quote
emp	emphasis
EP	episode
(ex)	exclusive
exc	exclamation
exch	exchange
Ex or Expl	Explanatory
Exis	Existential
Expo	Exposition
Freq	Frequency
habit	habitual
hort	hortatory
IDQ	Indirect Quote
(inc)	inclusive
indep	independent
init	initiator
int	intensifier
inter part	interrogative particle

inter sub	interrogative substitute
Intro	Introduction
inv	involuntary mode
lim	limiter
lit	literal
loc	locative
loca	location
Loc Ph Sub	Locative Phrase Substitute
nt PNP	nontopic Personal Noun Phrase
narr	narrative
neg	negative
nom	nominalizer
num	number
pm	person marker
Parens	parenthesis
Pat	patient
P or para	paragraph
past	past tense
pl	plural
poss	possessor
pred	predicate
Prelim	preliminary
pro	pronoun
proc	procedure
prop	proposition
Pt	point
pur	purpose
Pur P	purpose particle
Purp cl	Purpose clause
Ques	Question
rel	relator
Rem	remark
Resp	response
sect	section
sent	sentence
sett	setting
sim	simple
spec	specifier
st	step
sub	substitute
temp	temporal
term	terminus
Top	Topic

v or vb   verb
warn   warning

Subscripts

cr   cross referent
crT   cross referent Topic
crnt   cross referent nontopic
nt   nontopic
T   Topic

Symbols

hyphen   (-) indicates a bound morpheme
slash   (/) indicates more than one word is needed
                 to translate a single word
indicates a zero morpheme

Helps in Reading a Chart

+ = obligatory occurrence
± = optional occurrence

The tagmemes (functional slots) are written horizontally with
the items which may occur in those slots listed vertically
beneath each tagmeme.

INTRODUCTION

0.1 Background and Language Classification.

Tboli is the language of some 50-60,000 people spread
over a wide area in the province of South Cotabato,
southern Mindanao, Philippines. They are bordered to the
east by Blaan (Bilaan) and to the west and north by Cotabato
Manobo. There are groups of Blaan and Maguindanao who share
the southern coastline with the Tboli, from Maitum to General
Santos.

Tboli is an Austronesian language classified by Dyen
(1965) in the Bilic Subfamily of the Sulic Hesion of the
Philippine Hesion. The two members of the Bilic Subfamily
are Tboli and Blaan (called Tagabili and Bilaan respectively
in Dyen's classification).

A few phonological variations have been noted in the
Tboli language dependent on geographical area. These have
to do with shifts in vowel quality and interchanging of the
phonemes h and f.

The people to the north and west of Lake Sebu,
municipality of Suralah, refer to themselves and are
referred to by other Tboli as Ubu. However, they are Tboli
and not of the Manobo family although there is intermingling
at the borders with the Cotabato Manobo people.

0.2 Objective.

The aim of this grammar is to make available to scholars
of the linguistic world and to anyone else interested, data
and a suggested analysis for a little known language of the
world.

0.3 Theoretical Approach.

The theoretical model upon which this grammar is based
is tagmemics as proposed by Pike (1954, 1955, 1960).

A tagmeme may be defined as the correlation between a
functional slot (e.g. actor, predicate, location) and the
class of items which expound it ,e.g. noun, verb, etc.).
Each unit must be described according to its internal
structure and external distribution. Internal structure
includes the identifying features which contrast it with
other units, and the variant forms in which it may occur
with the conditioning factors which control these variants.
External distribution describes where the unit may occur,
presumably on the next higher level in the grammar. However,
embedding may occur which allows a unit to occur on levels
other than the next highest.

0.4   Acknowledgements.

The data for this analysis is based on information
gathered intermittenly during the years from 1963-1974 in
and around barrio Tboli (previously barrio Edwards),
municipality of Suralah under the auspices of the Summer
Institute of Linguistics. The author is indebted to a goodly
number of Tboli for providing text material and for patiently
answering questions regarding their language. Those who
perhaps spent the longest hours helping me are Gadu Ugal,
Selanting Tohol, and Walan Tuan.

Appreciation also goes to my co-workers in the language,
Vivian Forsberg, Lillian Underwood and Marjory Moran, for
sharing ideas and helping to gather information.

The present volume is based on a number of papers
previously written.[1] Papers on morphophonemics and phrase
and clause level grammar were written by Vivian Forsberg but
have·been almost completely revised in this volume.
Morphology, paragraph, and discourse level papers were
written by the present author, and a sentence paper was
co-authored with Nancy Howison, also a member of the Summer
Institute of Linguistics. The sentence paper has been
completely revised; the others remain basically the same.

FOOTNOTES

INTRODUCTION

[1] Published papers are:

Forsberg, Phrases in Tagabili, 1966, Linguistic Circle of
Canberra Publications Series A, No. 8, Canberra

Lindquist, Forsberg, and Healey, The Phonemes of Tagabili,
1959, National Institute of Science and Technology,
Manila Vol. 88, No. 2

Unpublished papers which are on file at the Summer
Institute of Linguistics, Manila, are:

Forsberg, Tagabili Morphophonemics

_____, Tboli Nonverbal Clauses

_____, Tboli Verbal Clauses

Howison, Porter, Sentences in Tboli

Porter, Tboli Morphology

_____, Tboli Paragraph and Discourse Structure

CHAPTER 1

MORPHOPHONEMICS

1.0 Syllable Description.

Phonemic[1] syllables of 4 patterns occur in Tboli stems;
they are CV, CVC, CCV, and CCVC. Syllables with consonant
clusters have a limited distribution in that they occur only
stem or word initial.

Examples: CV   bé   'grandmother'
           CVC   ton   'see'
           CV.CVC   makan   'large mat'
           CVC.CVC   kumbing   'musical instrument'
           CCV.CV   twogu   'older sibling'
           CCVC.CVC   klintang   'musical instrument'
           CVC.CV.CVC lenggaman   'harvesting knife'
           CCV.CVC   byabas   'guava'

1.1 CC~CeC Variation.

A transition vocoid with the phonetic quality of the
mid-central vowel is often heard between consonants in stems
with initial consonant clusters. In slow speech the
transition vocoid appears to become syllabic; and new
literates often write CC as CeC. But the fact that it is
not a full phonemic vowel is evident in that it makes no
difference to the new reader whether the transition form is
written or not. Also, as he gains fluency in reading and
writing he will most often drop the use of the transition
form and write consonant clusters.

In reverse, phonemic e is often lost in affixation. All
affixes in Tboli are either CeC, e, Ce, or eC. When affixed
in positions which permit a CC pattern, the vowel is lost and
a consonant cluster with the phonetic transition vocoid
results.

1.11   In Prefixes.

     Prefixes of CV pattern have an allomorphic variant
consisting of the consonant only. The occurrence of Ce-
versus C- may be phonologically defined as follows:

(a) e is weakened (heard as transition) when prefixed to
stems with an initial CV if C is not a glottal stop.

he- + lingun ⟶ hlingun 'an illustration, example'
ke- + lan ⟶ klan 'going a certain way' (literally
                                          'pathing')
ge- + limu ⟶ glimu 'fifth'
se- + linti ⟶ slinti 'engaged, betrothed'
ke- + ngà ⟶ kngà 'bearing a child'

(b) e is dropped (not heard as transition) when prefixed
to stems of more than one syllable whose initial consonant
is glottal stop. (See 1.4 for loss of glottal stop.) For
purpose of illustration the glottal stop is written /q/ in
the following examples. Since initial and inter-vocalic
glottal stop is predictable it does not appear in the
orthography of Tboli in that position.

ke- + qeted ⟶ keted 'delivering'
ge- + qafas ⟶ gafas 'able to hold'
he- + qili ⟶ hili 'cause to move to another place'
se- + qubuq ⟶ subuq 'urge each other'
me- + qólól ⟶ mólól 'to divide up into shares'

(c) e is retained on single syllable stems whose initial
consonant is a glottal stop.

me- + qél ⟶ meqél 'to liquify'
me- + qis ⟶ meqis 'to sic a dog on someone'

(d) e is retained when prefixed to stems with an initial
consonant cluster.

he- + blat ⟶ heblat 'cause to be heavy'
de- + bwak ⟶ debwak 'downstream nearby'
ke- + btang ⟶ kebtang 'falling'

1.12 In Infixes.

     There are two voice marking affixes occurring as
infixes: {-em-} and {-en-}. These same affixes also occur
as prefixes. When occurring as prefixes their phonemic
shape is reversed and the pattern is me- and ne-. The
prefixes occur on stems whose initial consonant is w, y, or
glottal stop, and on single syllable CV or CVC pattern stems.
The infixes occur on stems of more than one syllable whose
initial consonant is other than w, y, or glottal stop, and on
single syllable CCVC pattern stems. When occurring as a
prefix, the shape of the morpheme (whether it is CV- or C-)
is determined by the same rules as for other prefixes.
(See 1.11.)

     The infixes -em- and -en- occur in the initial syllable
only and have variants in which the e may be weakened and
heard as transition only.

-em- + tóbóng ──→ tmóbóng   'to help or aid'
-em- + hilet──→ hmilet   'to wear a belt'
-en- + kuli──→ knuli   'to laugh at'
-en- + fala──→ fnala   'to shovel'

     The e may not be dropped when infixed in syllables with
consonant clusters.

-em- + blay──→ bemlay   'to give'
-em- + dket──→ demket   'to stick to'
-en- + tngón ──→ tenngón   'the one to whom knowledge is
                                         directed'
-en- + tnù──→ tennù 'the thing added to'

1.13 Affix Sequences.

     When sequences of two or three prefixes are added to the
stem, the mid-central vowel in the prefix contiguous to the
stem is lost unless the stem is one in which CC occurs
initially, in which case the vowels of the prefixes are all
retained.

ke- + se- + sotu ⟶ kessotu   'oneness'
me- + ge- + tolok ⟶ megtolok   'well taught'
se- + ge- + lius ⟶ seglius   'misunderstand each other'
ke- + he- + blat ⟶ keheblat   'causing to be heavy' ✓
ge- + he- + klingu ⟶ geheklingu   'happen to hear'
ke- + ge- + kyaf ⟶ kegekyaf   'accidentally being branded'

When the prefix sequences occur with a glottal initial
stem, the first and second prefixes contiguous to the stem
drop the e.

ke- + se- + ge- + qafil ⟶ kesgafil   'fanning each other'
se- + ge- + qalu ⟶ sgalu   'accidentally capture each other'
ke- + he- + ge- + qalab ⟶ kehgalab   'being caused to just
                                      have happened to cut
                                      cogon grass'

When a prefix is used in combination with voice markers
-en- or -em- (which then occurs after the first CV syllable
of a word whether that is a stem syllable or an affix), the
vowel of the prefix is fused with the vowel of the infix.

he- + -em- + sidek ⟶ hemsidek   'to harm'
ge- + -em- + tulon ⟶ gemtulón   'to remind'   — being forced to
se- + -en- + bool ⟶ senbool   'mix together'
ke- + -en- + hulung ⟶ kenhulung   'ability'

1.2 h ⟶ f.

1.21 Stem initial h becomes f when the stem is prefixed with
me-, se-, or he- whether these are contiguous to the stem or
not.

me- + hlayam ⟶ meflayam   'to be in trouble'
se- + hlos ⟶ seflos   'continue'
he- + hyu ⟶ hefyu   'cause to be repaired'
me- + ge- + hesek ⟶ megfesek   'to be enslaved'
se- + -en- + hlos ⟶ senflos   'cause something to continue'
he- + -em- + hyu ⟶ hemfyu   'cause someone to repair
                            something'

1.22 Prefix he- when preceded by another he- or by se-
becomes fe-.

he- + he- + qatay⟶hefatay 'cause someone to be killed'
se- + he- + qatay⟶sfatay 'to fight each other'

1.3 Loss of Stem Initial b.

1.31 A sequence of b plus m reduces to m. This occurs when
the voice marker -em- is infixed to a stem with an initial b
under conditions in which the infix vowel is lost.

-em- + bungu ⟶ bmungu ⟶ mungu 'to bear fruit'
-em- + bonok ⟶ bmonok ⟶ monok 'to murder'
-em- + betek ⟶ bmetek ⟶ metek 'to design'

    Note that b is retained if the infix is -en-.

-en- + bonok ⟶ bnonok 'to murder someone'
-en- + betek ⟶ bnetek 'to design something'

1.32 When the second consonant of a consonant cluster is l,
the previous rule (1.31) does not apply. On monosyllabic
roots b may be either retained or dropped when infixed with
-em-.

-em- + blay ⟶ bemlay or mlay 'to give'
-em- + bli ⟶ bemli or mli 'to buy'

    On polysyllabic roots m replaces b when the first vowel
of the root is a back vowel.[2]

-em- + blotik ⟶ mlotik 'to be starry'
-em- + blutut ⟶ mlutut 'to be pregnant'

    If the first vowel of the root is not a back vowel, l is
lost. (See also 1.52.)

-em- + blékê ⟶ bemékê 'to turn inside out'
-em- + blékés ⟶ bemékés 'to have double skin disease'

1.4 Loss of Initial Glottal Stop.

When glottal stop occurs initially on stems of more than one syllable, it is lost when prefixed. (See 1.11 in regard to loss of e.)

ke- + qeted ⟶ keted   'delivering'
ge- + qafas ⟶ gafas   'to accidentally hold back'
se- + qubug ⟶ subug   'to urge each other'
me- + qólól ⟶ mólól   'to divide into shares'

1.5 Loss of l.

1.51 Initial l followed by e in stems of more than one syllable is lost when prefixed.

ke- + lebol ⟶ kebol   'being muddied'
se- + lebut ⟶ sebut   'angry with each other'
ke- + lenus ⟶ kenus   'dying from starvation'
he- + legen ⟶ hegen   'cause to be a long time'
he- + lenek ⟶ henek   'to make into small pieces'

1.52 In stems of more than one syllable when l is C_2 of a consonant cluster, l is lost when infixed.

-em- + tlomò ⟶ tmomò   'to feed, be responsible to feed'
-em- + klintang ⟶ kmintang 'to play the klintang'
-en- + hlowon ⟶ hnowon   'to tease someone'

1.6 Contractions.

Nontopic pronoun clitics (1st, 2nd, and 3rd person singular) have the following allomorphs:

-u ~ -hu   'I, my'
-em ~ -hem 'you, your'
-en ~ -hen 'he, she, it, his, hers, its'

Column one members occur on consonant final stems;
column two occur on vowel final stems.

igam 'mat' igamu 'my mat'
bigu 'winnowing basket' biguhu 'my winnowing basket'

In fast speech the following contractions occur with
members of column two. These have become commonly written
forms with native speakers of the language.

nawahu ⟶ nawaw 'my breath'
nawahem ⟶ nawam 'your breath'
nawahen ⟶ nawan 'his breath'

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER 1

MORPHOPHONEMICS

[1] The phonemes of Tboli and their orthographic symbolization are as follows:

Vowels: /a/ a, /i/ i, /ə/ e, /o/ ó, /u/ u, /ɛ/ é, /ɔ/ o.

Consonants: /b/ b, /k/ k, /d/ d, /f/ f, /g/ g, /h/ h, /l/ l, /m/ m, /n/ n, /ŋ/ ng, /s/ s, /t/ t, /w/ w, /y/ y, /?/ ` .

For a complete statement regarding Tboli phonemes see Lindquist, Forsberg, and Healey, The Phonemes of Tagabili, June, 1959, National Institute of Science and Technology, Manila Philippines Vol. 88 No. 2.

/?/ is only written when it occurs word finally symbolized by ` over the final vowel.

[2] This seems to be a true statement although it has not been checked out for all roots.

CHAPTER 2

MORPHOLOGY

2.0 Introduction.

     The morphemes of Tboli may be divided into three major
divisions: 1) affixes, 2) particles, and 3) roots. Affixes
are bound morphemes, while particles and roots are free. A
particle is defined here as an uninflectable[1] monomorphemic
word. Roots are inflectable monomorphemic words. A word
then may be internally defined as a construction which is a
particle, a root, or a root plus affixation. Externally
defined, a word is a segment of speech bounded by points of
potential pause which functions as the filler of a higher
level tagmeme (normally a phrase).

     This chapter on Tboli morphology defines morpheme
classes by means of their function and describes word
morphology in terms of the distribution of these morpheme
classes on the word level.

2.1 Morpheme Classification.

2.11 Affixes.

     Affixes in Tboli are bound morphemes which are subclassed
as (1) derivational, (2) inflectional and (3) inflectional-
derivational.[2] Those that are inflectional-derivational are
inflectional with one root class, derivational with another
root class or as is the case when affixed to nouns, they may
derive and inflect at the same time. Inflectional and
derivational affixes have limited occurrence. Inflectional-
derivational affixes are widely used. There are three
derivational affixes, four inflectional affixes and five
inflectional-derivational affixes.

2.11.1 Derivational Affixes.

     The derivational affixes are me-$_2$, te-$_1$, and ke-.

me-$_2$ derives statives from verbs or nouns. This form is
very limited in occurrence. Less than ten examples of forms
containing this prefix have been found to date.

klos	'whittle'	meklos	'to be steep'
btik	'awaken'	mebtik	'fast'
btes	'measure'	mebtes	'expensive'
begel	'a support'	mebegel	'strong, sturdy'
fasang	'power'	mfasang	'powerful'

te-$_1$ derives accessory oriented verbs from certain
nonverbal roots.

gna	'first'	tegna	'to put first'
gel	'strength'	tegel	'to make strong'

ke- derives gerund nouns from verbs, nouns and statives.
Gerund nouns differ from natural nouns in that they are
obligatorily possessed, and there are optional patient,
location, and/or time tagmemes satellite to it.

Verb: blay 'give' keblay-en 'his giving'

     Ton-u keblay-en du du.
     see I giving his it him
     'I saw his giving of it to him.'

Noun: lan 'path' klan-en 'his pathing'

     Ton-u klan   -en bè yó.
     see I pathing his at that
     'I saw his going there.'

Stative   sidek 'bad' ksidek-en 'his badness'

     Tey ksidek -en.
     int badness its 'It was very bad.'

2.11.2 Inflectional Affixes.

The inflectional affixes are e-, sen-, de-, and te-$_2$
which are all locatives.

e- adds meaning of 'motion toward' to the form it
inflects. It occurs with verbs inflected with me-1 and
preceded by gunu 'where' (see 2.12.11 and 2.12.53). It may
occur with location markers or the locational substitute
dini class. It also occurs on a limited number of roots
which when inflected with e-, fill a temporal slot in a
clause. In such cases e- takes on the additional meaning of
'before'.

Gunu -hem e-mit du du?
place you take it ques 'Where are you taking it?'

Mógów le   e-bè Walan.
go   they loc Walan   'They went to Walan.'

Mógów-i   e-dini.
go   you here   'Come here.'

E-kimel   kewot -en.
afternoon leaving his 'He left yesterday.'

    sen- 'next to' is a positional marking affix occurring
with locative phrase marking particles of the lem class or
dini class demonstratives. (For membership of lem class see
2.12.12. For membership of dini class see 2.13.11.2.)

sen-dini   'just on this side of'
sen-tu   'just on the other side of'
sen-ta   'just on top of'
sen-eged   'next to the lower side of the ascending place'

    de- is a position marking affix occurring with locative
phrase markers of the lem class. It adds the meaning of
'near'.

ta   'above'   dta 'above nearby'
lem 'down'   dlem 'below nearby'

    te-2 is a position marking affix occurring with locative
phrase markers of the lem class. It adds the meaning of
'far'.

ta   'above'   tta   'far above'
lem   'down'   tlem   'far down, far below'

2.11.3 Inflectional-Derivational Affixes.

    The inflectional-derivational affixes are he-, se-, ge-,
me-₁ and ne-.[3]

    he- 'causative' when affixed to verbal roots,is
inflectional. This inflection introduces a second actor.
One actor is the initiator of the action, and the other
actor is the performer of the action.

Blay Kasi bulung   bè Gadu. ↙
give Kasi medicine to Gadu
'Kasi gave the medicine to Gadu.'

He-blay Kasi ke Fludi bulung   bè Gadu. ✓
ca give Kasi pm Fludi medicine to Gadu
'Kasi had Fludi give the medicine to Gadu.'

    When he- is affixed to nonverbal roots, it is
derivational. Nonverbal roots become verbal stems.

tahà   'tall'   htahà   'to make tall'
bungu   'fruit'   hbungu   'bear fruit'

    se- 'association or reciprocation'. It inflects verbs
and statives and derives statives from nouns.

Verb: blay 'give' Se-blay le   kimu   Kasi ne Gadu.
                    give they property Kasi and Gadu
                    'Kasi and Gadu exchange property.'

Stative: lehen 'thin' Se-lehen le   Gadu ne   Kasi.
                        thin   they Gadu and Kasi
                        'Gadu and Kasi are of the same
                        thinness.'

Noun: lan 'path' S-lan le   Gadu ne   Kasi.
                   path they Gadu and Kasi
                   'Gadu and Kasi pathed the same path.'

ge- 'involuntary mode'. Depending on context it adds
meaning of abilitative or unintentional action to the root.
It inflects verbs and statives and derives statives from
nouns.

Verb: blay 'give'   Ge-blay Kasi bulung   bè Gadu.
                        give Kasi medicine to Gadu
                        'Kasi unintentionally gave the medicine
                        to Gadu.'

Stative: tahà 'tall'   G-tahà Kasi.
                          tall Kasi   'Kasi just happens to be
                                        tall.'

Noun: lan 'path'   G-lan Kasi bè yó.
                      path Kasi at that
                      'Kasi accidentally went (pathed) there.'

In a limited number of cases ge- has been found in
passive like constructions. In such cases the involuntary
mode aspect is evidenced by the topic being acted upon
through no volition of its own.

sindil 'temptation'   gsindil 'to be tempted'
sulat   'instrument used for writing'   gsulat 'to be written'
buni   'hide'   gbuni 'to be hidden'

me-$_1$ 'subjective focus'. me-$_1$ inflects verbs and is
derivational with nouns. It does not normally occur with
stative roots. Nouns affixed with me-$_1$ become statives.

Verb: blay 'give'   B-em-lay Kasi bulung   bè Gadu.
                        give   Kasi medicine to Gadu
                        'Kasi gave some medicine to Gadu.'

Noun: benwu 'country'   m-enwu 'to be living in a certain
                                    country'

        lowil 'life'   l-em-owil 'to be living'

There is a small subclass of nouns which cannot be affixed
with me-$_1$. Statives are derived from these nouns stems by
ne-. (See ne- below.)

ne- 'patient or beneficiary focus'. Patient oriented
roots inflected with ne- become beneficiary focus.
Accessory oriented roots inflected with ne- become patient
focus.

Patient oriented verb: Blay Kasi bulung   bè Gadu。
                         give Kasi medicine to Gadu
                         'Kasi gave the medicine to Gadu.'

                         B-en-lay Kasi Gadu bulung.
                         give   Kasi Gadu medicine
                         'Kasi gave some medicine to Gadu.'

Access oriented verb: Ṭaba Ḳasi ke Ĝadu blówón.
                         call Kasi pm Gadu agong
                         'Kasi called Gadu with the agong.'

                         Ṭ-n-aba Kasi Gadu blówȯn.
                         call   Kasi Gadu agong
                         'Kasi called Gadu with an agong.'

Those nouns which cannot take me-$_1$ are affixed with ne-
to form statives。

lekef   'cough'   l-en-ekef   'to have a cough/cold'
inget   'perspiration'   n-inget   'to perspire'
hali   'cut/sore'   h-n-ali   'to have a cut or sore'

2.11.4 Idiomatic Affixation.

On a limited number of roots affixes of 2.11.3 have
different meanings than those described。

se- when occurring on a limited number of nouns has the
meaning 'once'.

halay   'year'   sfalay   'one year'
ulek   'a repetition'   sulek   'one time'
botủ   'piece'   sbotủ   'one piece'

ge- has a different function on numerals than it does on
other statives. The cardinal numbers are changed to ordinal

numbers when inflected with ge-. The only exception is sotu
'one' which has another word tanay 'first'.

lewu 'two'   glewu 'second'
tlu   'three'   getlu 'third'

    me-$_1$ can inflect a few natural statives to give a
variant meaning to the root.

lehen 'thin'   l-em-ehen 'slender'
tahà 'tall'   t-em-ahà 'oblong'

    ne- may be affixed to a few statives to form a derived
noun. Ne- derived nouns are obligatorily possessed.

tungò 'to sleep'   t-en-ungó-en 'the reason for his
                                    sleeping'
gbek 'to be able'   g-en-bek-en 'the thing he is able to
                                    do'

    On a very limited number of statives ne- acts in
combination with ke- to make a derived noun.

hulung 'to know how'   ken-hulung 'ability, skillfulness'
likò 'to be afraid'   ken-ikò 'the thing feared'

    Other idiomatic uses of ne- are: ulek 'repetition'
nulek 'the reason for returning'; liteg 'tiredness'
l-en-iteg 'that which makes one tired'; ógów 'that used to
make something move' n-ógów 'reason for going'; yak 'shame'
kem-yak 'that which someone is ashamed of'.

2.11.5 Affix Sequence.

    Those affixes which may occur in sequences are
derivational affixes me-$_2$, te-$_1$ and ke-, and inflectional-
derivational affixes he-, se-, ge-, me-$_1$ and ne-. Te-$_1$ and
me-$_2$ have very limited co-occurrence ability. The others
have very free co-occurrence potential, but with restrictions
in order.

2.11.51 te-$_1$ may co-occur with me-$_1$ and ne- and only on a limited number of stems.

te-$_1$ + -em- gena 'first'

   Kasi temgena   ke Gadu.   _[handwritten: ? = To offensively decide ahead for someone else.]_
   Kasi put/first pm Gadu 'Kasi had Gadu go first.'

te-$_1$ + -en- + gena 'first'

   Tengena   Kasi   Gadu.
   that/put/first by/Kasi Gadu   'The one put first by Kasi
                                    is Gadu.'

   me-$_2$ may precede ge- on a limited number of stems.

meg-tolok 'to be well taught'
meg-teef 'to be well winnowed'
meg-tafak 'to be thoroughly punished'

2.11.52 ke-, he-, se-, and ge- may occur on any stem, except that semantic restrictions limit the occurrence of se- and ge-. All four may occur in sequence in the order listed. The order ke- as first and he- as second in a sequence is fixed. se- and ge- often reverse positions whether occurring as 3rd and 4th prefix in a sequence or 1st and 2nd, or 2nd and 3rd. Four affixes occurring in a sequence is rare. Three in a sequence is quite common and two in a sequence is very common.

   fét 'rope', gefét 'involuntarily tied', segefét 'reciprocally involuntarily tied, hesegefét 'caused to be reciprocally involuntarily tied, kehesegefét 'having been caused to be reciprocally involuntarily tied.'

   tagak 'to leave behind', stagak 'to leave each other', gestagak 'to involuntarily leave each other' segtagak, 'to involuntarily leave each other', ketagak-en 'his having left something behind', hetagak, 'cause to be left behind' hegtagak 'cause to involuntarily leave something behind'.

2.11.53 <u>me-</u>₁ may occur with other affixes associated with
verbal stems and with nouns. It may occur in affix
sequences with <u>te-</u>₁, <u>he-</u>, <u>se-</u> and <u>ge-</u>. It may not co-occur
with <u>ke-</u> or <u>ne-</u>. When co-occurring with other affixes, <u>me-</u>₁
takes it variant form <u>-em-</u> and always occurs in the first
syllable.

    <u>gel</u> 'strength' <u>temgel</u> 'to make strong'.

    <u>tulón</u> 'the thing told', <u>tmulón</u> 'the one to tell',
<u>hemtulón</u> 'the one who causes something to be told', <u>gemtulón</u>
'to accidentally talk about something', <u>semtulón</u> 'to be the
ones to talk together about something'.

2.11.54 <u>ne-</u> occurs with verbals and a very few nouns. It
may co-occur with other affixes <u>te-</u>₁, <u>he-</u>, <u>se-</u>, <u>ge-</u>, and with
<u>ke-</u> on a very limited number of stems. When co-occurring
with other affixes, it takes its variant form <u>-en-</u> and always
occurs in the first syllable.

    <u>gel</u> 'strength', <u>tengel</u> 'the thing made strong'.

    <u>tulón</u> 'the thing told', <u>tnulón</u> 'the one or thing talked
about', <u>hentulón</u> 'the thing caused to be told', <u>sentulón</u> 'the
thing reciprocally discussed'.

    <u>hulung</u> 'to know how (to do something)' <u>kenhulung</u>
'ability'.

2.12 Particles.

    Particles in Tboli are syntactic particles, adjuncts,
exclamations, pronouns, and interrogative substitutes. They
are closed classes.

2.12.1 Syntactic Particles.

    Syntactic particles mark syntactical relationships.
They have the following functions: (1) phrase marking,
(2) subordination, and (3) coordination.

2.12.11 Noun Phrase Marking Syntactic Particles.

    The following particles are markers of noun phrases as
indicated.

(a) ke introduces a nontopic personal noun phrase. (For
full development see 3.22.) In the following examples, the
illustrated unit is in parentheses.

Angay Kasi (ke Gadu) kudà.
fetch Kasi pm Gadu horse 'Kasi fetched Gadu with a horse.'

Blay Walan (ke Bina) bulung.
give Walan pm Bina medicine 'Walan gave Bina the medicine.'

(b) nim is a class of nominalizers which mark a noun phrase
which has been derived from a clause or sentence. Nim carries
demonstrative meanings. Members of the class are:

    nim   'this one'
    yem   'that one'
    tum   'that one' (distant)
    yum   'that one' (very distant)

Nwit Kasi (nim blay Bedung).
take Kasi   nom give Bedung   'Kasi took what Bedung gave.'

Ton Alun (yem mógów eginu).
see Alun   nom go   earlier   'Alun saw the one who went
                                  earlier.'

(c) gunu is a nominalizer which marks a noun phrase which has
been derived from a clause or sentence. The lexical content of
gunu is 'the place where'. Whereas actor/agent normally occurs
following the predicate, gunu attracts the actor of the
nominalized clause so that actor occurs preceding the predicate
(i.e., following gunu).

Mayuk # gunu le   mit   du。
far   it place they bring him 'The place to which they bring
                                 him is far.'

Là ton -u du gunu le   mò du。
not see I it place they do it   'I didn't see the place where
                                  they did it.'

2.12.12 Locative Phrase Marking Syntactic Particles.

The locative phrase marking particles are bè, bélê and lem class. They mark a nontopic location. Lexically bè and bélê convey locative meanings such as 'to', 'toward', 'at', 'with', etc. Members of the class lem are: lem 'in', ta 'on', laan 'below/under', klohok 'beside', fatu 'other side of', leged 'upstream', bwak 'downstream'. (For a full development see Sec. 3.27.)

Tebel Kasi (bè lan) kudà.
leave Kasi at path horse 'Kasi left the horse at the path.'

Nù le   (lem gunù) kem tau.
stay they in house pl person 'The people are in the
                                   house.'

Ton-u (ta lemisa) kem bok.
see I on table   pl book 'I saw the books on the table.'

Bélê substitutes for bè when the head of the locative phrase is a pronoun.

Sù   Yê   Bong filak (bè Walan).
place mother big   money   at Walan
'Big Mother placed the money with Walan.'

Sù   Yê   Bong filak (bélé-en).
place mother Big   money   at   him
'Big Mother placed the money with him.'

2.12.13 Subordinating Particles.

Subordinating particles mark a dependent clause. Any independent clause may become a dependent clause by the addition of a subordinating particle. Subordinating particles are subclassed on the basis of those which attract the topicalized actor (tikóng class and igò class) and those which do not (ke class). A further division may be made in the class which attracts the topicalized actor since topicalized pronominal actor only occurs with tikóng class. Both noun and pronoun topicalized actor are attracted to igò class. Only nontopic pronouns may occur with the igò class

even though the predicate is inflected for topicalized
actor.

Members of <u>tikóng</u> class are: <u>tikóng</u>, <u>timbów</u> 'when
                                    (accomplished time).   May be
                                    used interchangeably.
                                    <u>ke</u>, <u>sok</u>, <u>kesok</u> 'when' (projected
                                    time)
                                    <u>efet</u> 'until'

Members of the class <u>igò</u> are: <u>igò</u> 'while'
                                    <u>klawi</u> 'as long as' (for the
                                    length of time)
                                    <u>gu laan</u> 'before'

Members of the class <u>ke</u> are: <u>ke</u> 'if'
                                    <u>balù</u>, <u>baluen ke</u>, <u>anien ke</u>
                                    'even if'
                                    <u>syan</u> 'as long as'

    The illustrated unit is in parentheses in the following
examples.

<u>(Tikóng   kól   Kasi)</u> demadu le.
 as/soon/as arrive Kasi   plow   they
'When Kasi arrived, they plowed.'

<u>(Timbów - e lemwót)</u> lemwót le   se   kul.
 when   I leave   leave   they also them
'When I left, as for them they also left.'

<u>(Kesok ye mógów)</u> mebel   ye do hayung.
 when   you go   look/for you me umbrella
'When you go, look for an umbrella for me.'

<u>Hol hen-tilob -em   sok -i   mulu silà.</u>
 int ca   pretty you when you plant corn
'Do a good job when you plant corn.'

<u>Ngang   -en mógów (efet kól   bè yem gunù bong).</u>
 continue he go   until arrive at spec house big
'He continued going until he arrived at the big house.'

(<u>Igò   Kasi dmadu) kól   Walan.</u>
while Kasi plow   arrive Walan
'Walan arrived while Kasi was plowing.'

(<u>Klawi   -hu là knù keni) tey dê gendeng le.</u>
 as/long/as I not stay here int lot finish they
'During the time I wasn't here what a lot they accomplished.'

(<u>Gu/laan Gadu là tmóbóng do) tey mgel mò du nmo -u.</u>
 before Gadu not help   me int hard do it work my
'Before Gadu helped me, it was hard to do my work.'

<u>Senfala ye (ke móyô ye semfala du).</u>
read   you if want you read   it
'Read it if you want to.'

(<u>Balù   ni   olo me ngà) okóm là kô me likò.</u>
 even if this only we child but not int we afraid
'Even if we are only children, we surely aren't afraid.'

(<u>Baluen ke gel   nimón-u lu) okóm wen   se   gunu -w</u>
 even   if always obey I them but   there/is also place I

<u>là mimón.</u>
not obey
'Even if I always obey them, there are still places I don't
obey.'

<u>Hangat-u uu likót   (syan   hol -i hedohò).</u>
wait   I you short/time so/long/as int you certain
'I'll wait for you for a while so long as you are sure to
come.'

2.12.14 Coordinating Particles.

     Coordinating particles serve to relate units of equal
rank such as independent clauses, phrases or words. <u>Okóm</u>
class particles coordinate clauses. Members of the class are
as follows and they coordinate clauses according to the
relationships indicated:

     Antithetical <u>bede, okóm</u>[4] 'but'
     Reason   <u>abay</u>[5] 'because', <u>yakà</u> 'since'
     Cause   <u>lan</u> 'by way of'
     Purpose   <u>ani</u> 'so that'

Negative Contrast   <u>mom</u> 'on the contrary'
                     <u>anì monem</u> 'rather in fact'
Result   <u>baling</u> 'as a result'
                     <u>kô</u> 'perhaps'
                     <u>botong</u> 'extent'

<u>bede</u> <u>Tey lamang yem   silà tniba-hu bede là   mosò le.</u>
      int wide   spec corn plant I but not full they
      'I planted a very big field of corn but the ears were
      not filled out (well developed).'

<u>okóm</u> <u>Deng nù lem gunù okóm là   gungol-en du.</u>
      past be in house but not hear   he it
      'He was in the house, but he didn't hear it.'

<u>abay</u> <u>Là dog   -e hegen   abay   wen   nmo -u kedeng.</u>
      not bother I long/time because there/is work my later
      'I didn't spend a long time because I had work to do
      later.'

<u>yakà</u> <u>Hyu ke là mógów-en kun yakà   du fun   -en nmò bè ni.</u>
      good if not go   he him since he owner it work at this
      'It's good if he doesn't go since he is the one who has
      the work here.'

<u>lan</u>   <u>Tódô tembek lem tonok tukô lunay lan   Bong Busaw</u>
      just stick in ground point lunay by/way/of Big Spirit

      <u>he -gel.</u>
      ca hard
      'The tip of the lunay tree just stuck in the ground by
      way of Bong Busaw trying so hard.'

<u>anì</u>   <u>Hol-i   mnagì anì   bong guta-hem.</u>
      int you study so/that big get you
      'You should really study hard so that you will learn a
      lot.'

<u>anì monem</u>   <u>Kmon-u ke   tahu yem mon le   Ting mò do</u>
            say I that true spec say they Ting to me

            <u>ekimel   anì monem   odoy le.</u>
            yesterday when/in/fact lie they
            'I thought what Ting and the others told me
            yesterday was true, when in fact they were lying.'

<u>mom</u> T̂ờ_____ hógów-u ebè Lembol mom_____1à
      would/fain send I to Lembol but/on/the/contrary not

      dog-en móyô.
      neg he desire (it)
      'I wanted to send him to Lembol, but he **really** didn't
      want to go.'

<u>baling</u> Hotu____ le___nawa___le___bè tau____<u>baling klifót</u>
        give/all they breath their to people result forget

        le___kul___knù.
        they their bodies
        'They give everything they've got to people; as a
        result, they forget themselves.'

<u>botong</u> <u>Deng mngà_____sdô tehe___blay ye do botong</u>
        past give/birth pig before give you me to/the/extent

        wolu___nga___-en.
        eight child it
        'The pig you gave me gave birth, to the extent she had
        eight piglets.'

    The <u>ne</u>₁ class of particles coordinate phrases and words
as well as clauses according to the relationships indicated.
Members of the class are:

coordinating - <u>ne</u> 'and'
alternative - <u>duhen ke</u>, <u>duhen</u>, <u>ke</u> 'or'
sequential   - <u>omin</u> 'and then'
additive   - <u>dalang</u> 'also'

<u>ne</u> <u>Ton-u Kasi ne Ting ne Fa bè Bongu ekimel.</u>
    see I Kasi and Ting and Fa at Bongu yesterday
    'I saw Kasi and Ting and Fa in Bongu yesterday.'

<u>duhen ke</u> <u>Kihu_____bélé-u ke mógów-i___duhen ke tagak -i.</u>
          either/way for me if go   you or   if stay   you
          'It doesn't matter to me if you go or if you stay.'

<u>omin</u> <u>Hentifes le___yem___nwit le___omin___le___lemwót.</u>
      prepare they spec take they and/then they left
      'They got the things they were going to take, and then
      they left.'

dalang <u>Là bud   ton te ke Mà   Bedung ni kmoen ni,</u>
       not again see we pm father Bedung nowadays

       <u>dalang Mà   Dì   Ukol, là bud   ton te du.</u>
       also   father little short not again see we him
       'We haven't been seeing the father of Bedung lately;
       also Short Uncle, we haven't been seeing him either.'

2.12.2 Adjuncts.

     Adjuncts are particles which act as modifiers in the
construction in which they occur. They may be grouped
according to the following classifications.

2.12.21 Aspectual.

     Aspectual adjuncts modify verbs and statives. They
relate to time and include the following:

2.12.21.1 Tense.

     <u>tehe</u> class occurs in verb and stative phrases as
modifier of the head。

     Members of <u>tehe</u> class are:

<u>tehe</u>   remote past 'before'
<u>lomi</u>   near past 'just before'
<u>deng</u>   completed action - no reference to degree
<u>móyòn</u>   incomplete relative to time of action 'almost'
<u>eles</u>   pluperfect 'beforehand'
<u>tolo</u>   present continuative 'still'
<u>angat</u>   future 'will, shall'

     The verb phrase is in parentheses.

<u>tehe</u>   <u>Ni   se   yem kgal (tehe   blay-em) do.</u>
        This emp spec shirt   before give you me
        'This is the shirt you gave to me a long time ago.'

móyón (Móyón kól)   Kasi.
          almost arrive Kasi
      'Kasi is almost to arrive.'

eles   (Eles   snulat) -em.
          beforehand write   you
      'Write it beforehand.'

tolo   (Tolo nmo) -en yem tniba-hen.
          still do   he spec field his
      'He is still working on his field.'

     The koni class forms manifest time tagmeme on the clause
level. Members are:

koni   'just now'   ni/ne 'now'
eginu 'earlier'   kedeng 'later'

koni   Ton-u Gadu (koni).
       see I Gadu just/now 'I just saw Gadu.'

eginu Deng le   lemwót mógów mool   (eginu).
       past they leave go   downstream earlier
       'They have already left earlier to go downstream.'

kedeng Kól   le   (kedeng).
       arrive they later   'They will arrive later.'

     The following is a sentence level aspectual adjunct.

he 'yet' Là tngón -en du (he).
           not know   he it yet   'He doesn't know yet.'

2.12.21.2 Duration.

     The tódô class forms modify the head of a verb or stative
phrase. Members of the class tódô are:

tódô   punctiliar
tendo continual, progressive
gel, sal habitual, customary
sana, kendel instantaneous
hanà inceptive

In the following examples, the illustrated phrase is in parentheses.

<u>tódô</u> Ton-en yem ohu ne (<u>tódô # mlóy</u>).
      see he spec dog and   just he run
      'He saw the dog and he just ran.'

<u>gel</u>   (<u>Gel   mógów</u>) Fa.
       always go   Fa   'Fa is always going.'

<u>sana</u> <u>Nbut -en ekimel   ne ni (deng sana   deng</u>).
       Begin he yesterday and now   past already finished
       'He started it yesterday and now it is already finished.'

<u>hanâ</u> (<u>Hanâ ni</u>) kton-u du.
       just now see I it   'I just now saw it.'

<u>hlun</u> 'temporary' (<u>Hlun   nmô</u>) Fa yem nmô Gadu.
                     temporarily do   Fa spec work Gadu
                     'Fa is temporarily doing Gadu's work.'

2.12.21.3 Frequency.

The <u>bud</u> class of aspectual adjuncts modify heads of verb
or stative phrases marking frequency. Members are:

<u>bud</u>   'again' recurrative
<u>sulék</u> 'once'
<u>kiwól</u> 'again and again' repetitive

<u>bud</u> (<u>Angat bud   ton</u>) -u yem tau   yó.
      future again see   I spec person that
      'I will see that person again.'

<u>kiwól</u> (<u>Ket   kiwól   -u mógów.</u>)
             Each repeat I go   'I am repeatedly going.'

There is an adjunct <u>nê</u> 'also' which marks repetition on
the sentence level. This form most commonly occurs with the
reciprocal prefix <u>se-</u> and nontopic 3rd person pronoun <u>-en</u>
'it', thus appearing as <u>snéen</u>[6] 'also'.

Illustration: Mógów-e snéen dou.
                go   I also me
              'As for me, I will go also.'

2.12.22 Limitative.

     Limitative adjuncts occur on the phrase level as
described in the following:

tek 'just, only' (implying not enough). Tek modifies verbs
and statives and also occurs in noun phrases as modifier of
són or numerals.

olo 'just, only' (implying sufficiency). Olo modifies in
the same way as tek but it attracts nontopic subject pronouns.

ket 'every, each'. Ket modifies nouns

són 'only, merely'. Són modifies nouns but has a limited
distribution in that it occurs only in nonverbal clauses.

malù 'somewhat'. Malù modifies statives.

(Tek són Kasi) mógów.
only just Kasi went   'Kasi is the only one who went.'

(Tek limu tau) mógów.
only five person went   'Only five people went.'

(Olo -n udì) blay-em do.
only it little give you me   'Give me only a little.'

(Ket tau)   angat benlay le.
each person future give   they
'They will give to each person.'

(Són gunù mà)   là hugon   -en.
only house father not blow/over it
'It was only father's house that didn't blow over.'

(Malù   mélél) yem soging.
somewhat yellow spec banana
'The banana was somewhat ripe.'

2.12.23 Emphasizing.

     The class gi are emphasizing adjuncts which occur
immediately following the word they emphasize. They are
free as to the word type they emphasize. The adjuncts are:

gi   'indeed'
se   (emphasis)
dé   (emphasis)

gi   Là gi, là kó -e móyô tagak.
     no emp not int I want stay/behind
     'Certainly not, I surely don't want to stay behind.'

se   Kama-en se.
     pity it emp 'What a pity!'

dé   Yó   dé hyu.
     that emp good 'That's very good.'

2.12.24 Intensifying.

     tey class adjuncts occur on the phrase level. They
intensify the form which they immediately precede. Members
of the class tey are:

tey intensifies a noun or stative
hol intensifies a verb or a stative, most commonly
     occurring with verbs
alì intensifies a verb or a stative, most commonly
     occurring with statives
ya   intensifies tey
kô   intensifies the negation tagmeme là
abay intensifies the negation tagmeme bê
dog intensifies the negation tagmeme bê or là (not as strong
     as kô and abay).
kat intensifies a verb or alì
feng, tlek intensifies a verb and carries an element of
            negation

ya tey Ya tey sidek kegnóm-u du.
        int int bad   feel I it
        'How terrible I felt about it.'

hol   Hol-i   bemlay.
          int you give   'You should really give a lot.'

tlek   Tlek hlala   nim   uu.
         int   bother spec you
         'You are disturbing (someone) when you shouldn't be.'

abay   Bé   -i   abay mógów.
         don't you int   go   'Don't go!'

2.12.25   Modal.

     Modal adjuncts are modifiers on the phrase level.   They
may be subdivided into the following types.

(1) Optative   Modify the head of verb and stative phrases.

     tô   'would fain'
     kô   'might'   *certainty (with là)*
     dô   'probably, perhaps'
     deke   'possibly, maybe'
     yake   'it would be good if'

     tô   Tó   -e mógów haya.
         would/fain I go   tomorrow
        'I would like to go tomorrow.'

     deke   Deke kól   kedeng Kasi.
         maybe arrive later   Kasi
        'Maybe Kasi will arrive later.'

(2) Imperative   Modifies the head of verb and stative phrases.

     olô   'should'   Olô   nmo -em   yem kóm nmò.
                 should do   you spec your work
                'You should do your own work.'

(3) Quotative

     kun 'it is said'   'he said that...'

     Deng lemwót Kasi kun.
     past leave   Kasi it/is/said
    'He said that Kasi had already left.'

(4) <u>Negative</u>   These are phrase level modifiers.

   (a) <u>là</u> 'no, not' (Most common use is with verbs and
                 statives but may negate a noun.)

     <u>Là   mógów-e.</u>
     not go   I   'I'm not going.'

   (b) <u>sundu</u> 'not' (Used with nouns or noun substitutes
               only.)

     <u>Sundu Kasi du.</u>
     not   Kasi he   'That's not Kasi.'

   (c) <u>bê</u> 'don't' (Used with verbs only.)

     <u>Bé -i   btang.</u>
     don't you fall   'Don't fall!'

(5) <u>Affirmative</u>   These may be spoken as a full sentence but
                 differ from exclamations in that they are
                 in the context of a question and occur as
                 an answer to that question.

  <u>e</u> 'yes'
  <u>igò</u> 'yes, of course' (sometimes shortened to <u>gò</u>)

(6) <u>Interrogative</u>

   <u>kô</u> indicates that the questioner wants a yes or no
     answer.

   <u>Deng lemwót Kasi kô?</u>
   past leave Kasi ques 'Has Kasi left yet?

   <u>du</u>, <u>de</u> indicates that the questioner wants information,
     and is used in combination with interrogative
     substitutes.

   <u>Moen ke   là mit   du du?</u>
   why that not bring it ques 'Why didn't he bring it?'

   <u>kóó</u> indicates that the questioner wants an affirmative
     answer.

   <u>Mung   -i   kum kóó?</u>
   accompany you us aren't/you
   'You are going with us, aren't you?'

2.12.26 Number.

The following modify nouns on the phrase level.

a) Pluralizer <u>kem</u> <u>Tungô le   (kem   ngà)</u>.
                  sleep they   plural child
                  'The children are sleeping.'

b) Specific numerals <u>Ton -u (tlu   ulal) bè lan</u>.
                         see I   three snake on path
                         'I saw three snakes on the path.'

c) Nonspecific numerals

   <u>dê</u> 'many' <u>Ton -u (yó   kem tey dê   tau)</u>.
                      see I   spec pl int many person
                      'I saw a lot of people.'

   <u>kdê</u> 'all' <u>(Kdê tau)   mógów</u>.
                       all person go   'All the people are
                                               going.'

d) Ordinals <u>Ni   se (yem getlu-hen tau)   sut</u>.
                this emp spec third it   person arrive
                'This is the third person to arrive.'

2.12.27 There is a specifying class of modifiers occurring
in noun phrases. It is the class <u>nim</u> which is semantically
related to demonstrative class <u>ni</u>. (See Sec. 2.13.11.1.)
Members are: <u>nim</u> 'this one', <u>yem</u> 'that one', <u>tum</u> 'that one'
(distant), <u>yum</u> 'that one' (very distant).

<u>Nim</u> class has a dual function in that it is a specifier
when occurring with nouns and a nominalizer when occurring
with verbs.

Examples as specifier:

<u>Ton -u (yem kudà Kasi) ekimel</u>.
see I   spec horse Kasi   yesterday
'I saw Kasi's horse yesterday.'

<u>Benlay le   (tum libun bolu)</u>.
give   they spec woman widow
'They gave to the widow woman.'

If the noun is pluralized, the class <u>nim</u> is replaced by the class <u>ni.</u>

<u>Ton</u> -u (yó   kem kudà Kasi) ekimel.
see I   spec pl horse Kasi   yesterday
'I saw Kasi's horses yesterday.'

2.12.3 Exclamations.

Each of these forms is spoken as a complete sentence.

<u>a</u>   'dislike'
<u>na</u>   'surprise, pleasure, certainty'
<u>kiyà</u>   'disdain'
<u>kyò</u>   'fear'
<u>étey</u>   'surprise'
<u>ihi</u>   'I told you so'
<u>kune</u>   'let me see it'
<u>è kun</u>   'give it to me'
<u>ngunte</u>   'I don't know'
<u>yéy</u>   'I'd hate to be in your shoes'
<u>wóyón</u>   'good for you'
<u>woyò</u>   'whoops'
<u>wóyoy</u>   'that's terrible'
<u>déy</u>   'how awful'
<u>edè</u>   'ouch'
<u>èhé</u>   'excuse me'
<u>omin</u> he, <u>kunen</u> ne 'never mind', 'it doesn't matter'
<u>walà</u> 'just look at that, isn't that something' (first
        syllable is lengthened)

2.12.4 Pronouns.

Pronouns substitute for nouns. There are four sets of pronouns in Tboli and they are marked for case, person and number. They are as follows:

        <u>Topic</u>

I <u>ou</u> class   II-<u>e</u> class

<u>ou/o</u>   -e   'I'
<u>uu/u</u>   -i   'you'

#	#	'he, she, it'
du		'he, she, it'(emphasis only)
tekuy	tekuy	'we'(inclusive)
mi	me	'we'(exclusive)
tu	te	'we'(dual)
yu	ye	'you' plural
lu	le	'they'

Nontopic

III-u class   IV dou class

-u	dou/do	'I'
-em	kôm	'you'
-en	du	'he, she, it'
	kun	'he, she, it'(emphasis only)
tekuy	tekuy	'we'(inclusive)
me	kum	'we'(exclusive)
te	kut	'we'(dual)
ye	kuy	'you' plural
le	kul	'they'

Set I fills topicalized patient, beneficiary, or emphasized topicalized agent slots on the clause level.

Set II fills topicalized agent slot only.

Set III fills nontopic agent slot on the clause level and post-substantive possessor slot on the phrase level.

Set IV fills the nontopic beneficiary and patient slot on the clause level and presubstantive possessor slot in the phrase.

Note that there are two members of 3rd person singular in Set I and Set IV. The second member (du of Set I and kun of Set IV) fill only emphasized topicalized agent and presubstantive possessor slots respectively. The first member (# of Set I and du of Set IV) fill the other slots as described above.

2.12.5 Interrogative Substitutes.

Interrogative substitutes always occur clause initial.
They may be grouped into noun phrase substitutes, numeral
substitute, locational substitutes, clause substitutes, and
stative substitutes.

2.12.51 Noun Phrase Substitutes.

tedu 'what' - substitutes for a nonpersonal noun phrase.

Ton Kasi gunù bong.
see Kasi house big   'Kasi saw a big house.'

Tedu ton Kasi?
what see Kasi   'What did Kasi see?'

tau du 'who' - substitutes for a personal noun phrase.

Benlay Kasi Gadu bulung.
give   Kasi Gadu medicine 'Kasi gave Gadu medicine.'

Tau du benlay Kasi bulung?
who   give   Kasi medicine
'To whom did Kasi give the medicine.'

kilón 'when' - substitutes for a noun phrase whose head
is a temporal. It occurs in nonverbal clauses only.

Lemwót Yê   ne Mà   lewu ni.
leave Mother and Father two now
'Mother and Father will leave two days from now.'

Kilón kewót Yê   ne Mà?
when leave Mother and Father
'When will mother and father leave?'

mahi 'which' - substitutes for a personal or nonpersonal
noun phrase. One of two pronouns always co-occurs with mahi.
If the head of the noun phrase for which it substitutes is
singular, the pronoun is du 'he, she, it' from set IV. If
the head of the noun phrase is plural, the pronoun with
which it co-occurs is kul 'they' from set IV.

Nélék -en yem kudà udì.
choose   he spec horse small   'He chose the small horse.'

Mahi   du nélék   -en.
which it choose   he   'Which did he choose?'

Tuha Yê   Gadu bè   Yê   Dusin.
old mother Gadu from mother Dusin
'Gadu's mother is older than Dusin's mother.'

Mahi   kul   tuha?
which them old   'Which of them is the older?'

2.12.52 Numeral Substitute.

     The numeral substitute is <u>hilu</u> 'how many'.

Benli Gadu hitu   sakù halay.
buy   Gadu seven sack rice/grain
'Gadu bought seven sacks of rice grain.'

Hilu   sakù halay   benli Gadu?
how/many sack rice/grain buy   Gadu
'How many sacks of rice did Gadu buy?'

Kenfô   le   sfolò tau.
capture they ten   men   'They captured ten men.'

Hilu   tau kenfô   le?
how/many men capture they   'How many men did they capture?'

2.12.53 Locative Phrase Substitutes.

     <u>gunu</u> 'where'. <u>gunu</u> attracts the agent of the clause.

Nit -en bè gunu   -en.
bring he to house his   'He brought it to his house.'

Gunu -hen mit   du?
where he bring it   'Where did he bring it?'

Ton -en bè él.
see he at water   'He saw him at the river.'

<u>Gunu -hen mton du.</u>
where he   see   him   'Where did he see him?'

2.12.54 Clause Substitute.

     <u>moen ke</u> 'why' - substitutes for reason clause.

<u>Moen/ke mógów?</u>
why   go   'Why did he go?'

<u>Mógów abay/se wen   benli-hen.</u>
go   because there/is buy   he
'He went because he had something to buy.'

2.12.55 Stative Substitute.

     <u>kmoen</u> 'how' - substitutes for a stative predicate.

<u>Dmunuk él.</u>
flooded water   'The river is flooded.'

<u>Kmoen él?</u>
how   water   'How is the river?'

<u>Kmoen kógów-en.</u>
how   going his   'How was his trip?'

<u>Hyu kógów-en.</u>
good going his   'His trip was fine.'

<u>Kmoen kton -en du?</u>
how   seeing his him   'How did he look to him?'

<u>Sidek kton -en du.</u>
bad   seeing his him   'He didn't look good to him.'

2.13 Roots.

     Roots are inflectable forms. Roots may be divided into
closed and open classes. Demonstratives and locationals
are closed classes. They are limited in two ways, first by
the number of members in the class and secondly by the
affixation potential. Open classes are patient oriented
verb roots, accessory oriented verb roots, nouns and statives.

2.13.1 Closed Classes.

2.13.11 Demonstratives.

2.13.11.1 ni class.

    Demonstratives of the ni set are:

ni 'this'
yŏ 'that' (near to speaker)
tu 'that' (far from speaker)
yu 'that' (out of sight)

    Ni class replaces nonpersonal nouns on the clause level
and nonpersonal nouns or statives on the phrase level. It
also replaces specifier class nim when the noun modified by
nim is plural, and also occurs as a post head specifier in
a noun phrase.

Ni   kun gunů.
this his house   'This is his house.'

Ton -u tu.
saw I that   'I saw that.'

Heyu bungu ni.
good fruit this   'This fruit is good.'

    Ni class demonstratives may have the vowel reduplicated
to make the deictic effect more specific.

Nii   kun gunů.
this/one his house   'This one is his house.'

Snŏlŏk-em bě tau   tuu.
ask   you at person there (that one)
'Ask that person there.'

2.13.11.2 dini class.

    Demonstratives of the dini set are:

dini/keni   'here'
dyó   'there' (near to speaker)
ditu   'there' (far from speaker)
dyu   'there' (out of sight)

e dini
i dyo

    The class <u>dini</u> substitutes for a locative phrase. The illustrated unit is in parentheses in the following examples.

<u>Mlan   Kasi</u> (bè gunù Mà   Dien).
pathed Kasi   at house uncle his   'Kasi went by way of his
                                       uncle's house.'

<u>Mlan   Kasi</u> (ditu).
pathed Kasi   there   'Kasi went by way of there.'

    The final vowel may be reduplicated for specificity.

<u>Snólók-u</u> (dituu) kedeng.
ask   I   there   later   'I'll ask right there later.'

    <u>dini</u> class may be inflected with prefix e- which is a directional motion marker meaning 'toward'.

<u>Mógów-i</u>   (e-dini).
go   you to/me/here   'Come here to me.'

2.13.12 Locational Substitutes.

    There is a small class of substitutes which may be inflected only with directional affixes meaning 'nearness' or 'farness'. This class replaces a locative phrase. They are:

bwak 'down' (in the sense of downstream)
leged 'up' (in the sense of upstream)
fatu 'across'
mool 'downstream'
subò
<u>Deng lemwót Kasi</u> mógów (bè Sinolon).
past leave Kasi go   to Sinolon
'Kasi has left to go to Sinolon.'

Deng lemwót Kasi mógów (bwak).
past leave Kasi go   downstream
'Kasi has left to go downstream.'

Ton-u yem kudà deng lana (bè Hlilan).
see I the horse past lost   at Hlilan
'I saw the lost horse at Hlilan.'

Ton-u yem kudà deng lana (fatu).
see I the horse past lost   across (the river)
'I saw the lost horse across the river.'

2.13.2 Open Classes.

     Open classes make up the major morpheme classes in
Tboli. They are subdivided into verbal roots and nonverbal
roots. Verbal roots are patient oriented verbs and
accessory oriented verbs. Nonverbal roots are nouns and
statives.

     The classification of verbal versus nonverbal roots is
based on the following criteria:

(1) Differences that appear when roots are prefixed with the
causative voice marker he-. He- plus a verbal root results
in the introduction of a second actor.

Blay Kasi kuda -en.
give Kasi horse his   'Kasi sold his horse.'

He-   blay Kasi ke Gadu kuda -en.
cause give Kasi of Gadu horse his
'Kasi had Gadu sell his horse.'

He- plus a nonverbal root results in a verbal stem. The
topic of the nonverbal clause becomes the agent in a verbal
clause.

Mabù Kasi.
fat Kasi   'Kasi is fat.'

H-   abù Kasi sdó-en.
cause fat Kasi pig his   'Kasi fattened his pig.'

(2) Differences in the occurrence of voice marking affix
ne-. Ne- occurs on verbs marking either patient or
beneficiary tagmemes as topic of the clause.   It marks
patient tagmeme as topic on accessory oriented verbs.

N- angay Gadu onuk   -en.
    fetch Gadu chicken-his
'Gadu went to get his chicken.'

It marks beneficiary tagmeme as topic on patient oriented
verbs.

B -en- lay Kasi Gadu bulung.
        give Kasi Gadu medicine
'Kasi gave medicine to Gadu.'

ne= does not occur with nonverbal stems except with a very
limited class of nouns.   In such cases it has the same
function as me-, which is the affix commonly used to derive
statives from nouns.

(3) Differences in function of uninflected forms.   This
feature is not as definitive as differences (1) and (2)
since there is overlap in regard to some verbs occurring
in substantive slots. Typically, verbs occur as head of the
verb phrase expounding predicate tagmemes of verbal clauses.
Statives typically occur as head of the comment tagmeme of
nonverbal clauses or in the descriptive slot in noun or verb
phrases.   Nouns expound the head tagmeme of noun phrases.

2.13.21   Verbal Roots.

2.13.21.1   Patient Oriented Verbs.

      Patient oriented verbs occur as fillers of the predicate
slot of an Objective Verbal Clause.   Only the topic tagmeme
may permute to prepredicate position.   In the following
examples the topic is in parentheses.

Blay Kasi (kahĭ) bè kudà.
give Kasi   salt   to horse
'Kasi gave the salt to the horse.'

<u>Eted</u>   Gadu (soging) bè Walan.
deliver Gadu   bananas to Walan
'Gadu delivered the bananas to Walan.'

<u>Ken</u> Tunyu (soging).
eat Tunyu   bananas   'Tunyu ate the bananas.'

<u>Sù</u> Yê   Bong (filak) béléu.
put mother big   money to/me
'Big Mother placed the money in my charge.'

Patient oriented verbs occur affixed with ne-[8] as filler of the predicate slot of Beneficiary Verbal Clauses. It is at this point that subclassification of patient oriented verbs becomes evident.

Subclass I forms a beneficiary focus by the affixation of ne-[8] to the stem.

<u>B-en-lay</u> Kasi (kudà) kahĭ.
give   Kasi   horse salt
'Kasi gave the horse some salt.'

<u>N-eted</u>   Gadu (Walan) soging.
deliver Gadu   Walan   bananas
'Gadu delivered some bananas to Walan.'

Subclass II forms a beneficiary focus by the affixation of ne- plus the obligatory addition of the causative voice marker he-.

<u>Henken</u> Tunyu (Igi) soging.
feed   Tunyu   Igi   bananas
'Tunyu fed Igi some bananas.'

<u>Hensù</u> Yê   Bong (ou) filak.
put   mother big   me   money
'Big Mother gave me the money.'

2.13.21.2 Accessory Oriented Verbs.

This is the largest morpheme class in Tboli. Accessory oriented verbs occur as fillers of the predicate slot in an Instrument Verbal Clause.

Angay Kasi ke kudà   (fét).
fetch Kasi to horse   rope
'Kasi fetched the horse with a rope.'

Ofok Walan du (asay).
cut Walan it ax   'Walan cut it with an ax.'

Kleng Tunyu ikóng ungé (suk).
cut   Tunyu tail rat   knife
'Tunyu cut the rat's tail with a knife.'

A large number of accessory oriented verbs fill
substantive slots as well as the predicate slot of an
Instrument Verbal Clause.

As verb: (Bulung) -em du bulung   kinì.
          medicine you him medicine hot
          'Medicine him with aspirin.'

As noun: Benlay-em (bulung).
          give   you   medicine 'Give medicine (to him).'

As verb: (Solok) -em du lunay.
          light   you it pitch
          'Use pitch to make a light.'

As noun: Ton-u yem (solok) téwéng bè yó.
          see I spec light   hang   there
          'I saw the light hanging there.'

Accessory oriented verbs inflected with ne[8] occur as the
filler of the predicate in an Objective Verbal Clause.

N-angay Kasi (kudà).
fetch   Kasi horse   'Kasi fetched the horse.'

N-ofok Walan (koyu).
chop   Walan wood   'Walan chopped the wood.'

K-en-leng Tunyu (ikóng ungé).
cut   Tunyu tail   rat   'Tunyu cut the rat's tail.'

2.13.22   Nonverbal Roots。

2.13.22.1   Nouns.

Nouns in Tboli are roots that occur in substantive slots (i。e。, head of a noun or locative phrase). They differ from accessory oriented roots that occur in substantive slots according to the differences mentioned in sec。 2.13.2.

Nouns may be possessed by personal nouns or by the addition of pronoun set III in the first post-substantive position or pronoun set IV in the first presubstantive position. Both possessive slots may be filled in 3rd person when the post-substantive possessor is a personal noun.

The noun phrase is in parentheses in the following examples。

<u>Tey mlóy</u> (kuḍa - u).
int run   horse   my   'My horse can really run。'

<u>Tey mlóy</u> (dou kudà).
int run   my   horse   'My horse can really run.'

<u>Tey mlóy</u> (kun kudà   Ting).
int run   his horse Ting   'Ting's horse can really run.'

Nouns are affixed with <u>me-</u>$_1$ to form statives。

kudà 'horse'	<u>kmudà</u> 'to ride a horse'
<u>fak</u> 'frog'	<u>mfak</u> 'to be well supplied with frogs'
<u>koyu</u> 'tree'	<u>kmoyu</u> 'to be wooded'
<u>udin</u> 'civil law'	<u>mudin</u> 'to have a lot of laws'
<u>lowil</u> 'life'	<u>mowil</u> 'to be alive'

A few noun stems are inflected with <u>ne-</u>[8] to form statives.

<u>benes</u> 'grass'	<u>bennes</u> 'to be grassy'
<u>halì</u> 'a cut or sore'	<u>hnalì</u> 'to have a cut or sore'
<u>lekef</u> 'cough'	<u>lenekef</u> 'to have a cold'
<u>using</u> 'dirt'	<u>nusing</u> 'to be dirty'
<u>inget</u> 'perspiration'	<u>ninget</u> 'to perspire'

Nouns are subclassed according to the topic orientation of the resulting form when it occurs in combination with causative affix <u>he-</u>.

Subclass I: <u>he-</u> + stem = Patient Oriented verb

<u>Husing   Tò kgal -en.</u>
cause/to/be/dirty Tò shirt his   'Tò got his shirt dirty.'

Subclass II: <u>he-</u> + stem = Accessory Oriented verb

<u>Hekudà   Gadu ke Ting kudà Kasi.</u>
cause/to/ride/a/horse Gadu to Ting horse Kasi
'That which Gadu had Ting ride was Kasi's horse.'

2.13.22.2 Statives.

Statives are roots that occur as the predicate of a nonverbal clause or in modifying slots. They differ from nouns in that they may not be possessed and they may not be inflected with <u>me</u>$_1$ except for a very small subclass.

The statives are in parentheses in the following examples.

<u>(Hulò) kudà Kasi.</u>
red   horse Kasi   'Kasi's horse is red.'

<u>Hbalù Kasi kudà (hulò).</u>
sell Kasi horse red   'Kasi sold the red horse.'

<u>Tey (tahà) fét ni.</u>
int long   rope this 'This rope is very long.'

<u>Nwa -hem yem fét (tahà).</u>
take you spec rope   long   'Take the long rope.'

<u>Tey (tungò) tau   ni.</u>
int sleep person this
'This person is one who likes to sleep a lot.'

<u>Bentik -em   tau   (tungò).</u>
wake/up you person sleep   'Wake up the sleeping person.'

Statives are subclassed as nouns are; that is, on the basis of the topic orientation of the resulting form when occurring in combination with causative affix he-.

In the following examples the topic is in parentheses.

Subclass I: he- + root = Patient Oriented verb

He-kinı̇̀ Gadu (ken) bè Kasi.
ca hot Gadu food for Kasi
'Gadu heated the food for Kasi.'

Subclass II: he- + root = Accessory Oriented verb

He-tilob Gadu du lemisa (bulók).
ca pretty Gadu it table   flower
'Gadu made the table pretty with flowers.'

There is a very small subclass of stative roots that may take the me-₁ voice marking affix with a slight change in meaning resulting.

taha̍   'tall'   tmaha̍   'oblong'
lehen   'thin'   lemehen   'slender'

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER 2

MORPHOLOGY

[1] There are a few morphemes which have membership in two classes and thus have a dual function. They are: <u>lomi</u> 'new', <u>deng</u> 'finished', <u>tódŏ</u> 'correct', <u>bud</u> 'again', <u>sulĕk</u> 'once', <u>són</u> 'only', and <u>ket</u> 'each' which function as both particles and as roots. Numerals also function as both particles (adjuncts) and as roots (statives). When these function as roots rather than particles, they are inflectable.

[2] Inflectional affixes are those affixes which add meaning to the root to which they are affixed, but do not cause the root to change morpheme classes. Derivational affixes cause the root to change morpheme classes. Inflectional-derivational affixes do both.

[3] See sec. 1.1 for loss of <u>e</u> in the examples cited.

[4] The differences between <u>bede</u> and <u>okóm</u> and between <u>abay</u> and <u>yakà</u> have not been studied. <u>Okóm</u> and <u>abay</u> are the most commonly used forms, but interchange of forms seems to be allowed in almost every case. A superficial hypothesis is that the less commonly used forms <u>bede</u> and <u>yakà</u> indicate a stronger contrast between the constructions which they are relating.

[5] <u>abay</u> 'because' often occurs in conjunction with <u>se</u> 'also' as <u>abay se</u>.

[6] The meaning of the base form <u>nê</u> has not been clearly determined. The form has been heard to occur as <u>néen</u> 'also' but this is infrequent. The most common form is <u>snêen</u>, and although this is an inflected form it still seems best to list this as a modifier, thus classified as a root.

7   There are occurrences in Tboli where members of the same
class may co-occur.   (See 3.28, rule 4.)

8   See 1.12 on variant forms of ne-.

CHAPTER 3

PHRASES

3.1 Definition.

A phrase in Tboli may be defined distributionally as a
construction which typically expounds tagmemes on the clause
level. It may also occur on the phrase level as an embedded
phrase or within an embedded clause. Defined by its internal
features, the phrase in Tboli is a unit of modification,
conjunction, or apposition whose head tagmeme is manifested
by a member of one of the major word classes. The head may
be a noun, verb, stative, a noun phrase, or a nominalized
clause or sentence.

3.2 Phrase Types.

Nine phrase types are posited for Tboli. They are
Common Noun Phrase, nontopic Personal Noun Phrase, nim class
derived Noun Phrase, gunu derived Noun Phrase, ke- derived
Noun Phrase, Temporal Phrase, Locative Phrase, Verb Phrase,
and Stative Phrase. These phrase types differ as to classes
of fillers of the head of the phrase and as to possible
expansions. They differ in distribution also.

3.21 Common Noun Phrase.

The common noun phrase functions as filler of the agent,
patient, topicalized beneficiary and accessory tagmemes in
the clause. The construction of the common noun phrase is
shown in Chart 1.

Chart 1
Common Noun Phrase
Periphery

± Neg	± Spec$_1$	± Limiter	± Number
sundu 'not'	a) nim class b) ni class	a) ket 'each' b) són 'only'	a) kem 'plural' b) tey 'int' c) Specific No. (Numeral, ordinal) d) Nonspecific No. dê 'many' kdê 'all' tehe, gna 'the one before'

Nuclear Units				Periphery
± Emp. Poss	+ Head	± Poss	± Desc	± Spec$_2$
dou class of pronoun	noun	a) -u class of pronoun b) noun	a) stative b) clause c) gunu derived noun phrase	ni class

.   Members of the classes indicated in Chart 1 may be
found in Appendix.

Rules which limit the possible phrase formations
derivable from Chart 1 are as follows:

(1) Order as indicated is rigid except for Limiter slot and
Possessor (see (6) below). Limiters may occur before or
after specifier$_1$ and must occur following number slot if <u>ni</u>
class expounds specifier$_1$ and <u>kem</u> 'plural' expounds number.

(2) When the negative <u>sundu</u> occurs, the noun phrase has a
limited distribution in that it can only occur in nonverbal
clauses.

(3) Specifier$_1$ is expounded by <u>ni</u> class only when <u>kem</u> occurs
manifesting number slot. It is expounded by <u>nim</u> class
otherwise.

(4) <u>Kem</u> 'plural' as exponent of number tagmeme may precede
all other exponents of number except for numerals and
ordinals, making a complex filler of number slot. <u>Tehe</u> and
<u>gna</u> 'the one before' also co-occur in the sequence <u>tehe gna.</u>.

(5) Emphasized possessor and possessor may co-occur only
when emphasized possessor is manifested by 3rd person
singular or plural (<u>kun</u> or <u>kul</u>) and possessor is manifested
by a noun.

(6) Possessor may permute to post-descriptive position.

(7) As many as three descriptives of the stative stem class
have been found to occur in sequence. However, a sequence
of two descriptives is far more common.

Illustrations:

<u>tau   bong kwasa</u>
person big   rich   'a big, rich person'

<u>libun kogò   nubón</u>
woman bent/over gray/haired   'a bent-over, gray haired
                               woman'

There are a very few exponents of descriptive slot that
may occur either post or prehead. The descriptive plus noun
sequence might be described as a compound word. They are
tuha 'old', dumu 'companion', tahu 'true' and dù 'left over'.
Tuha 'old' may precede only logi 'man' or libun 'woman',
and the resulting meaning is husband or wife as tuha logi
'husband', tuha libun 'wife'. Dumu 'companion' when
preceding nouns means 'other' as yem dumu ngà, 'the other
child'; dumu lan 'other path'. When following nouns it
means 'companion' and is always possessed as yem ngà dumuhu
'my child companion'. Tahu 'true' may precede or follow the
noun it modifies with no change of meaning as tahu lan 'true
path', lan tahu 'true path'. Dù may not occur post head
unless the pronoun -en 'it' is added, as in the following:
Ton-u yó kem dù tau. 'I saw the people left over.' Ton-u
yó kem tau du-en. 'I saw the people left over.'

Following are examples of the common noun phrase.

Negative	Specifier₁	Head	Specifier₂	
sundu	nim	kudà	ni	
not	spec	horse	this	'not this horse here'

Specifier₁	Number	Descriptive	Head	Descriptive
yó	kem	dumu	tau	wen
spec	pl	other	person	there/is

glal	le.		
authority	their	'the other people who have authority'	

Specifier₁	Head	Descriptive	
yem	ken	blay le kum	
spec	food	give they us	'the food they gave us'

Specifier₁	Head	Descriptive	
yem	sogu	tukó gna	
spec	foot/print	edge first	'footprint at the very front'

Emp. Possessor	Head	Possessor	
kun	tniba	Mà	
his	field	father	'father's field'

Limiter	Head	Possessor	Descriptive
ket	suk	-u	udì
each	knife	my	little

'each of my little knives'

Number	Head	Possessor	
gna	sulat	-u	
before	letter	my	

'my first letter'

Head	Descriptive	Possessor
sning	silol	-en
pocket	reed	his

'his reed purse'

Specifier$_1$	Number	Head	Possessor
yó	kem tey dê tehe	dumu	le
spec	pl int many before	companions	theirs

'their very many companions of before'

3.22 Nontopic Personal Noun Phrase.

The nontopic personal noun phrase differs internally from other noun phrases in the obligatory occurrence of <u>ke</u> (nontopic personal marker) in combination with a limited class of fillers of the head. It differs distributionally in that, except for a very limited occurrence as exponent of topicalized agent tagmeme of a clause, it occurs only expounding nontopic tagmemes of a clause.

The construction of the nontopic Personal Noun Phrase (nt PNP) is shown in Chart 2.

Chart 2
Nontopic Personal Noun Phrase

+ Personal Mrk	$\pm$ Spec$_1$	$\pm$ Limiter	$\pm$ Num	$\pm$ Emp. Poss
ke	Same as Com NP	Same as Com NP	Same as Com NP	Same as Com NP

+ Head	$\pm$ Poss	$\pm$ Desc	$\pm$ Spec$_2$
Personal noun	Same as Com NP	Same as Com NP	Same as Com NP

3.23.1 Following are illustrations of the nt PNP expounding nontopic tagmemes. The illustrated unit is in parentheses and the tagmeme slots are identified.

(1) nt PNP filling nontopic patient slot.

```
                              pm| Head
Yó   se   sotu gunu  le   dmóyón (ke| Dwata).
that also one  place they praise   pm God
'That is another thing for which they praise God.'
```

```
               pm| Num| Head| Poss
Móyô Kasi mton (ke| kem| tuha| -hen).
want Kasi see   pm pl   old    his
'Kasi wants to see his parents.'
```

```
                         pm| Head
Tey kegen      Bong Busaw  mubug (ke| Tuha Logi).
int long/time Big  Spirit beg        pm old   man
'What a long time Big Spirit begged Old Man.'
```

```
                              pm Head
Lemwót Mai ne e mtuk (ke Mà).
leave  Mai pur dun    pm father
'Mai left to dun father.'
```

```
                     pm Head
Bogul Mtutung (ke Mélê Botu) blilu.       meaning shuttle
beat  Mtutung  pm tilt rock  club
'Mtutung beat Tilted Rock with a club.'
```

```
                        pm Head  Poss
Là lolò   Tunyu (ke ma   -en).
not follow Tunyu  pm father  his
'His father was not the one followed by Tunyu' or 'Tunyu
didn't follow his father.'
```

```
                     pm Spec Num Head Desc
Là  tebel Gadu (ke yem  sotu ngà  udì).
not leave Gadu  pm spec one  child little
'Gadu didn't leave (behind) the one small child.'
```

(2) nt PNP filling nontopic beneficiary slot.

```
                            pm Head          Poss Desc
Tólóng    suk   blay-en (ke fóg          -en udì).
different knife give he  pm brother/in/law his little
'He gave a different knife to his little brother-in-law.'
```

```
                     pm Head
Mung      Kasi (ke Ting).
accompany Kasi pm Ting       'Kasi accompanied Ting.'
```

```
                  pm Head
Tulón Gadu (ke Igi) yem  tutul.
tell Gadu  pm Igi  spec story     'Gadu told Igi the story.'
```

```
                  pm Head
Mon-u mò (ke Dyuni), "Hol-i  mlóy."
say I to  pm Dyuni     int you run
'I said to Dyuni, "Run fast."'
```

```
                     pm Head
Là  neted   Kasi (ke Walan) kudà.
not deliver Kasi  pm Walan  horse
'Kasi didn't deliver the horse to Walan.'
```

The locative marker bè may be substituted for personal
marker ke when the ke phrase occurs in the beneficiary
tagmeme of the clause; however, ke is preferred.

Examples: (Compare with first two examples 3.22.1(2)

Tólóng   suk   blay-en (bè fóg   -en udì).
different knife give he to brother/in/law his little
'He gave a different knife to his little brother-in-law.'

Mung   Kasi (bè   Ting).
accompany Kasi with Ting   'Kasi accompanied Ting.'

(3) The nt PNP also occurs in causative constructions when
the agent-performer is different from the agent-initiator.
The performing agent slot is then filled by a ke marked
noun phrase.

```
                   pm| Head
He-tngel ye    (ke| Walan).
ca see    you   pm Walan        'You have Walan look at (it).'
```

```
                   pm| Head
H -wit -em   do (ke| Mai) suk  -u  udì.
ca take you me   pm Mai   knife my little
'You have Mai bring my little knife for me.'
```

```
                   pm| Head
He-segyok        -u (ke| Kasi) yem  bew.
ca take/care/of I   pm Kasi    spec carabao
'I had Kasi take care of the carabao.'
```

```
                   pm| Head
H -mo    -u (ke| Inek) yem   lieg.
ca make   I  pm Inek   spec necklace
'I had Inek make the necklace.'
```

(4) The head of the ke phrase may be a personalized object as
well as an actual person. Domestic animals that are given
names often occur as head. Also inaminate objects that are
personalized in mythology may occur as head of the nontopic
personal noun phrase.

```
                  pm  Head
Blay  -em    (ke  Ying)                    yem   gatas.
give  you    pm   Ying (name of cat)       spec  milk
'You give the milk to Ying.'
```

```
                                      pm  Head
Fen       Mtutung                     mogul (ke Méle Botu).
The/one   Mtutung (name of a mountain) beat  pm Méle Botu
                                               (name mt.)
'It was Mtutung who was the one to beat Méle Botu.'
```

3.22.2 A few constructions have been found in which the nt
PNP is a topicalized agent (i.e., filler of agent slot in a
Subjective Verbal Clause). It appears that there are
co-occurrence restrictions. However, a thorough investigation
could prove otherwise. The restriction noted is that the
verb lemwót 'to leave' must occur; and in this construction
lemwót changes in meaning from a literal 'to leave a place' to
the meaning of 'to begin an action'. In these constructions,
the ke may be dropped without any change in meaning. The whole
construction is filling a sentence topic slot on a higher level.

```
Lemwót ke Mtutung, bnogul-en  Méle Botu.
start  pm Mtutung  beat    she Méle Botu
'As for Mtutung, she started beating Méle Botu.'
```

```
Lemwót ke Mai, là  bud    -en mulék.
start  pm Mai  not again  he return
'As for Mai, he didn't return again.'
```

      The other construction in which the nt PNP occurs as
topic of the clause is a Subjective Verbal clause in which
the stem fen 'to be the one' occurs.

```
Fen              gna   ebè gunù  (ke Ting).
to/be/the/one    first to  house  pm Ting
'Ting was the first one to the house.'
```

```
Fen            mfas        lefò    (ke Lewadin).
to/be/the/one  cut/grass   coconut  pm Lewadin
'Lewadin was the one to cut grass among the coconut plants.'
```

If the subject is permuted to pre-predicate emphasis position, __ke__ is lost and a common noun phrase results.

(__Ting__) fen   gna   ebè gunù.
 Ting to/be/the/one first to   house
'It was Ting who was the first one to the house.'

(__Lewadin__) fen   mfas   lefò.
 Lewadin   to/be/the/one cut/grass coconut
ᵠLewadin was the one to cut the grass among the coconut plants.'

3.23 __Nim__ Derived Noun Phrase.

A clause nominalized by __nim__ class (cf 2.12.11) results in a derived noun phrase which may function in any clause level tagmeme but location. The members of this class are __nim__, __yem__, __tum__, and __yum__. They indicate relative distance both spacially and temporally, __nim__ being the closest and __yum__ the farthest away. __Nim__ substitutes for the topic of the nominalized clause. The construction of the __nim__ derived noun phrase is shown in Chart 3.

Chart 3
__Nim__ Derived Noun Phrase

+ Nominalizer	± Limiter	± Number	± Emp. Poss.	+ Head	± Specifier
nim class ni class	Same as Com NP	Same as Com NP	Same as Com NP	Clause with- out Topic	ni class

Rules for Chart 3:

1. __Ni__ class expounds nominalizer slot when number is expounded by __kem__ 'plural'. Otherwise, __nim__ class occurs.

2. Rules regarding Limiter and Number tagmemes are the same as that for Common Noun Phrase.

Nim derived noun phrase as topic of nonverbal clause.

Lim	Nom		Head
Kmodok (ket	yem tnógó	Tuha Logi)。
boil each	nom cook	Old Man

'Each thing Old Man was cooking boiled.'

	Nom	Head
Tey tilob (yem	deng benli Fining)。
int pretty nom	past buy Fining

'What Fining bought is very pretty。'

Nim derived noun phrase as agent.

	Nom	Head	
Mugem le anì mon (tum	matay) ugem sdô。
grunt they so/that say nom	die grunt pig

'They grunt so that the dead person will say, It's the grunt
of a pig。'

	Nom	Head
Angat tnóbóng (tum	mogot benwu) kdé-en tau.
future help nom	rule land all it person

'All the people will be helped by the one who rules the land。'

Nim derived noun phrase as patient.

	Nom	Head
Benli-hen (yem	deng bentes Alun).
buy he nom	past measure Alun

'He bought what Alun had already measured.'

Lim	Nom	Head
Tulón-u(són	yem	deng gel gungol-u bè Yê Lomi
tell I only	nom	past habitually hear I from Mother New

Spec
yó).
there   'I told only what I was always hearing from New
         Mother there.'

Nim derived noun phrase as beneficiary.

	Nom	Num	Head
Tennù -en (yó	kem	tnógó-hen).
add/to he nom	pl	cook he

'He added something to what he was cooking.'

<u>Nim</u> derived noun phrase as accessory.

			Nom	Head			
Klo	-hen	du	(tum	lomi	guta	Tò).	
thing/used/to/weed	he	it	nom	new	received	Tò	

'What he used to weed it was what Tò had recently received.'

						Nom	Head			
Yake	tehe	-he	eles	lemwòt	(yem	deng	tlu	fedyan-en
good/if	before	I	already	leave		nom	past	three	week	it

<u>ni</u>).
now   'It would be good if I had already left three weeks
         ago.'

3.24   <u>Gunu</u> Derived Noun Phrase.   (cf 2.12.11)

    The construction of the <u>gunu</u> derived noun phrase is
shown in Chart 4.

<div align="center">Chart 4
<u>Gunu</u> Derived Noun Phrase</div>

± Spec	± Limiter	± Number	+ Nominalizer	+ Head
Same as Com NP	Same as Com NP	Same as Com NP	<u>gunu</u>	a) clause b) purpose sentence

    The lexical content of <u>gunu</u> is a location, therefore, a
<u>gunu</u> phrase is always lexically a location. The <u>gunu</u>
particle attracts the agent.

    When the predicate head of the clause is filled by a
stative, then the <u>gunu</u> phrase functions as topic of that
clause.

```
                        Spec Nom  │Head: cl.
Mayuk bè     gunu   (yem│ gunu  │le   gel    lemowig tau)
far    from house  spec place  they always shelter person
```
abay/se moo.
because smell
'The place where they shelter the (dead) person is far from
the house because he smells.'

```
           Nom  │Head: cl.
Ngelem (gunu│ le   myón kem fak).
deep     place they sit  pl  frog
```
'The place where the frog nests is deep.'

```
                   Nom │Head: Purpose Sentence
Ne  tólóng    se   (gunu│ le   ma  mò  blay le   bè tau).
and different also  place they get pur give they to person
```
'And the place they get from in order to give to people is
different too.'

```
           Nom │Head: cl.
Sotu (gunu│ le   hemtahu kem Tboli) imò.
one    place they believe pl  Tboli   charm
```
'Another thing the Tboli believe in is charms.'

When the predicate head of the clause is filled by a
verb, then the gunu phrase functions as patient of that
clause. The patient may be topicalized or nontopicalized.

```
               Nom │Head
Bud   le   mebel   (gunu│ le   maba).
again they look/for  place they make/field
```
'They look again for a place to make a field.'

```
            Spec Nom  │Head
Gotu ton me (yem│ gunu│ le   gel   mò   klatas).
all   see we  spec place they always make paper
```
'We thoroughly saw the place where they make paper.'

```
              Spec Nom │Head
Hol hendem tekuy   (yem│ gunu│ le   hligal kem dumu   tau
int think  we(inc)  spec place they happy  pl  other person
```
snéen).
also   'Let's all really think about what makes others
           happy also.'

When the <u>gunu</u> phrase occurs immediately following a
noun, it then becomes a modifying noun phrase. That is, it
acts as filler of the descriptive slot in the noun phrase.

```
                                  Nom   │Head
Kól    le   bè tum  numa   (gunu │le   menwu) bud    wen
arrive they at spec forest  place they live    again there/is
```

```
bulung    nmò  le.
medicine make they
```
'When they arrive at the forest where they will live, they
again make some medicine (for a religious rite).'

```
                                                 Nom │
Ke logi yem  ngà   hmò              le   yem   tau   (gunu│
if boy   spec child cause/to/make they spec person   place
```

```
Head
le    hlawa            du) boho -hen.
they cause/to/visit him bow    his
```
'If the child is a boy, they have the man who they have
taken the child to visit make a bow (for the child).'

3.25 <u>ke-</u> Derived Noun Phrase.

The construction of the <u>ke-</u> derived noun phrase is
shown in Chart 5.

<div align="center">

Chart 5
<u>Ke-</u> Derived Noun Phrase

</div>

+ Spec	+ Limiter	+ Number	+ Emp. Possessor	+ Nom	+ Head
Same as Com NP	Same as Com NP	Same as Com NP	Same as Com NP	ke-	a) clause b) purpose sentence

The derived noun phrase nominalized by <u>ke-</u> may function as filler of either patient slot of a verbal clause or topic slot of a nonverbal clause.

Examples as topic of nonverbal clause: (The illustrated unit is in parentheses and the tagmemes are labeled.)

```
                             Emp
                  Spec  Lim  Poss  Nom  Head: cl.
Tey tilob  (yem   ket   kun   k-   mò Kasi du).
int pretty  spec each   his  nom  do Kasi it
'Kasi's each doing of it was very nice.'
```

```
                  Nom  Head: cl.
Alì sidek (ke-  kbê     Yadan du  yem   nmo   -en).
int bad    nom  reject Yadan it spec work   his
'Yadan's rejecting of what he did was very severe.'
```

```
                       Spec  Nom  Head: cl.
Sana      deng   (yem   ke-  klo  -hen tniba-hen).
already finish    spec  nom weed   he   field his
'His weeding of his field is already finished.'
```

Examples as patient of a verbal clause:

```
                  Spec  Num  Nom  Head: cl.
Hnéneg -u (yem    tey   ke-  blay le    kul).
watch   I   spec  int   nom give they them
'I watched their intensive giving to them.'
```

```
                    Nom  Head: cl.
Hatan     le   (ke-  kó    le    du yem   botu).
wait/for they   nom remove they   it spec rock
'They waited for the removal of the rock.'
```

```
                  Nom  Head: cl.
Gungol le  (ke-  hetê  Mà     Walan ke Adù).
hear    they  nom shout father Walan pm Adu
'What they heard was the father of Walan shouting at Adu.'
```

```
                  Nom  Head: Sentence
Nangat le   (k-  êkéng yem   nes      le    anì      lemwót
wait    they  nom dry   spec clothes their so/that leave
```

```
le).
they  'What they were waiting for was the drying of their
       clothes so that they could leave.'
```

There are two observations that should be noted
regarding the ke- derived phrase. One is that the agent of
the prederived clause becomes possessor in the derived form.
The other is that the topicalized patient of the clause in
its prederived form becomes nontopic in the ke- derived
phrase.

Prederived clause.

Pred	Agent		Patient
Hentê	Mà	Walan	Adù.$_T$
shout/at	father	Walan	Adu

Derived phrase.

	Nom	Head	Possessor		Patient
Gungol le	(ke-	hetê	Mà	Walan	ke Adù)._{nt}
hear they	nom	shout	father	Walan	pm Adu

3.26   Temporal Phrase.

The temporal phrase functions as filler of the Time
tagmeme in a clause. The construction of the temporal phrase
is shown in Chart 6.

Chart 6
Temporal Phrase

± Neg	± Spec	± Limiter	± Head^1	± Modifier
sundu 'not'	nim class	ket 'each'	haya class	koni class
		són 'only'	hlafus class	haya class
			kemdaw class	ni 'this'
				gna 'before'
				huli 'after'
				descriptive nonverbal clause

Membership of the classes in Chart 6 are:

koni: koni 'very recently'
        ni ne 'now'
        kedeng 'later'
        he 'yet'
        eginu 'earlier'

haya: haya 'tomorrow'
        ebuteng 'last night'
        ekimel/ekuloy 'yesterday'

hlafus: hlafus 'morning'
         kimel 'afternoon'
         kifu 'night'
         bulŏn 'moon, month'
         halay 'year'
         fedyan 'market, week'
         kdaw 'sun', 'day'

kemdaw: kemdaw 'day, noon'
         numeral (as two, three, four, etc.)

     Rules which limit the possible phrase formations
derivable from the array in Chart 6 are:

(1) When haya class expounds Head, the modifier is optional.
The choice of the modifier is dependent on semantic
plausibility. Haya class cannot occur with itself; that is,
as both Head and Modifier.

(2) When hlafus class expounds Head read Modifier or Limiter
as obligatory, but not both. The choice of the modifier is
dependent on plausible semantic collocation.

(3) kemdaw class requires ni as Modifier in order to indicate
time, as lewu ni 'two days from now', fat ni 'four days from
now', kemdaw ni 'today'.

(4) Fillers of Modifier slot may co-occur restricted only by
semantic plausibility.

	Head
Klifót-u hemwit ke Fludi yem filak bè gunting	(ekimel).
forget I send   pm Fludi spec money loc haircut   yesterday

'What I forgot to send with Fludi yesterday is the money for
the haircut.'

	Head	Mod
Dnalang me mlóy (hlafus	ekimel).
learn   we run   morning yesterday

'We learned to run yesterday morning.'

	Lim	Head
Henwit me sulat (ket	fedyan) Inggù.
sent   we letter   each week   Inggù

'We sent a letter each week to Inggù.'

	Head	Mod
Bud -ì mnagi (halay	huli he).
again   you study   year   after yet

'You study again next year yet.'

When the temporal phrase whose head is expounded by
haya class is permuted to the prepredicate emphasis
position, the resulting construction is an equational
nonverbal clause.

Ton   -u Kasi (ekimel).
one seen   I Kasi   yesterday
'The one I saw yesterday was Kasi.'

(Ekimel)   k-   ton-u ke Kasi.
 yesterday nom see I pm Kasi
'My seeing of Kasi was yesterday.'

3.27 Locative Phrase.

The Locative Phrase functions as a filler of the
nontopic beneficiary and location tagmemes in the clause.
The occurrence of an obligatory locative particle plus
other optional position or direction marking particles
distinguishes locative phrase from the common noun phrase.

The construction of the Locative Phrase is shown in
Chart 7.

Chart 7
Locative Phrase

+ Motion	+ Position	+ Proximity	+ Locative	+ Head
e- 'motion toward'	fi 'adjacent to'	sen- class	a) bè 'at, in, to, etc.' b) bélê same as bè c) lem class 'in'	a) any noun phrase but nt personal and ke- derived b) pronoun -u class

Membership of the classes listed in Chart 7 is as follows:

(a) For membership of -u class, see Chapter 2, Sec. 2.12.4.

(b) Class sen- includes: sen-   'near' *in proximity to*
                           de-   'distant'
                           te-   'very distant'

(c) Class lem includes: lem   'inside' 'down'
                           ta   'up' 'above'
                           laan   'under'
                           klohok 'beside'
                           fatu   'on the other side of'
                           leged   'upstream'
                           bwak   'downstream'
                                   talak

Note: ta, laan, fatu, leged, mool, and bwak often occur without an overt head, acting as locational substitutes. The noun phrase manifesting head is understood from context. The same is true of lem when prefixed with de- or te- in which case it means 'below'.

There are co-occurrence rules which limit the possible formations derivable from Chart 7. They are as follows:

(1) sen- class may only occur affixed to locative manifested by the class lem. There is a semantic restriction regarding klohok as a member of this class which does not allow it to co-occur with the class sen-.

(2) Motion tagmemes manifested by prefix e- 'motion toward' may occur only with proximity and locative tagmemes.

(3) Head manifested by -u class may only occur with Location Marker bélê.

Clauses may have two direction-like tagmemes: beneficiary and location. The location tagmeme is related to either agent or patient of the clause as the location of such. When the beneficiary tagmeme occurs, there is an obligatory patient in the clause. The beneficiary tagmeme is then related to that patient as the recipient of said patient. The Locative Phrase fills either of these tagmemes.

Examples of Locative Phrase as filler of location tagmeme are as follows: (Illustrated unit is in parentheses.)

					Loc	Head		
Deng	lewu	fedyan-u	nù	(bè	wè		Lewadin).	
past	two	week	I stay	loc	friend	Lewadin		

'I stayed two weeks with my friend Lewadin.'

				Prox	Loc	Loc	Head
Mlóy	Kasi	gu	ditu	(de	-ta)	(lem	bulul).
run	Kasi	from	there	far	up	in	mountain

'Kasi ran from way up there in the mountains.'

							Loc	Head	
Bong	stólóng	gemnóm	du ke là	nù	-i	(bè	kóm	gunù).	
big	different	feel	it if not	stay	you	loc	your	house	

'You really feel different if you are not in your own house.'

		Position	Loc	Head	
Gotu	smigi	sila-u	(fi	bè	kilil él).
all	tasseled	corn my	next/to	loc	edge water

'My corn at the edge of the water is all tasseled.'

    Illustrations of the Locative Phrase as filler of
beneficiary tagmeme are as follows:

```
              Loc│Head               Loc│Head
Tulón ye  (bè │kem fes/lówó-hu) (lem│bulul)      yem kógów-u.
tell  you  loc pl  family   my   loc mountain   spec going my
'Tell my family in the mountains the news of my going.'
```

```
            Loc│Head
Sù  ye  (bè │Tami) yem  filak.
put you  loc Tami   spec money
'Place the money with Tami.'
```

    Locative phrases may occur in sequence manifesting the
following types of constructions.

(1) Apposition:

```
              Loc│Head │  Loc│Head
Slob     me (bè │yó)  │ (bè │gunù  Kasi).
stop/by we  loc there  loc house Kasi
'We stopped by there at the house of Kasi.'
```

```
                   Loc. Ph. Sub.│Loc│Head
Ton-u yem  kudà  (ditu)          │(lem│silà).
see I spec horse    there         loc corn
'I saw the horse there in the corn.'
```

(2) Amplification:

```
                     Loc│Head        Loc│Head
Deng eted      Walan safì (lem│bulul)  (bè │gunù  mà      -en).
past deliver Walan cow    loc mountain  loc house father  his
'Walan delivered the cow to the mountains to the house of
his father.'
```

(3) Modification:

```
              Loc│Head       Loc│Head
Nit -em  (bè │gunù  le)  (lem│bulul)   sulat.
take you  loc house their  loc mountain letter
'Take the letter to their house in the mountains.'
```

3.28   Verb Phrase.

The Verb Phrase in Tboli expounds the predicate of the
verbal clause. It consists of peripheral and nuclear units.

The construction of the verb phrase is shown in Chart 8.

Chart 8
Verb Phrase

Periphery

± Mood	± Negative	± Intensifier$_2$	± Intensifier$_1$
mood markers (see Sec. 3.28.1 A)	bê 'don't' là 'not'	abay, kò, dog (see Sec. 3.28.1 C)	tey, alì, hol (see Sec. 3.28.1 C)

Periphery			Nucleus	
Durational ± Aspect	Tense ± Aspect	Frequency ± Aspect	± Descriptive	+ Head
tódô class (see Sec. 3.28.1 D)	tehe class (see Sec. 3.28.1 E)	bud class (see Sec. 3.28.1 F)	verb stative	verb

Rules which limit the possible formations derivable
from Chart 8 are:

(1) Intensifier$_2$ occurs only with negatives.

(2) Preferred order is as follows: 1) imperative negative
bê 'don't' + intensifier$_2$, 2) mood markers, 3) negative là
'not'. Aspectual adjuncts of duration, tense and frequency,
and intensifier$_1$ are very free as to position and
co-occurrence. Mood markers tò 'would fain', and olò
'should' are more free than other mood markers.

(3) Imperative negative bê 'don't' does not occur preceding
mood markers dô 'probably', kô 'might', déke 'maybe', or
yake 'good if'.

(4) Members of the same class of adjuncts often co-occur.
The only restrictions are: (a) negatives bê 'don't' and
là 'not' can only occur with bê preceding là and the result
is then a positive statement.

Illustration: Bé   -i   là môgôw kedeng.
                    don't you not go   later
                'Be sure and go later.'

(b) The mood markers which may co-occur are: olò kô
'should might', dô kô 'probably might' dô yake 'probably
good if', déke yake 'maybe good if'. The reversal of these
forms do not occur.

     The head is the obligatory item in the phrase and is
filled by a verb.

Examples:

(Ofok)-en du asay-en   efet   (hotok).
 chop   he it ax   his until   break
'He chopped at it with his ax until it broke off.'

Kôl   ta Tuha Logi omin   -en (tmôgô) du.
arrive up Old Man and/then he cook   it
'Old Man arrived up (in the house) and then he cooked it.'

Ke (bnogul)-em tôdô ket -en bulul   (hnotun) -en.
if   strike you just each it mountain go over it
'If you strike it, (the sound) of it will carry over each
mountain.'

3.28.1 The periphery of the verb phrase consists of a
number of optional adjuncts. As many as ten of these
modifying units may occur in sequence, although the
occurrence of more than five is not frequent. The adjuncts
which may occur and their functions are as follows:

A. Mood markers (describe the mood of the action)

    olò   'should'   kô   'might'
    tò   'would like'   deke 'maybe'
    dò   'probably'   yake 'good if'

B. Negative (negates the action)

    là   'not'
    bè   'don't'

C. Intensifiers

    Class$_1$ intensifies whatever it immediately precedes.
It is adverbial in nature, often best translated as 'very'.
Class$_1$ intensifiers are: tey, alì, hol.

    When modifying the head, tey most often occurs with
statives but may occur with verbs.

Tey móyò mógów tau tu.
int want go   man that
'That man really likes to go.'

Tey hulung   semfala ngà   Kasi.
int know/how read   child Kasi
'Kasi's child really knows how to read.'

    Alì most often occurs with verbal stems and carries the
meaning of 'much'.

Alì móyò mógów.
int want go   'He really likes to go.'

Alì bemlay tau tu.
int give   man that   'That man gives a lot.'

    Hol may modify both verbs and statives with the meaning
of 'very', but is most commonly used with the negative là.

Là   hol-en móyò.
not int he want   'He didn't like it very much.'

Là   hol-en bongₒ
not int it big   'It is not very big.'

Class₂ intensifiers intensify negatives only, and
carry the meaning 'certainly'. The intensifiers are:

kô - intensifies là
abay - intensifies bê
dog - intensifies both là and bê but to a lesser degree
     than kô and abay.

Là   kó -en mógów kedeng.
not int he go   later
'He certainly isn't going later.'

Bé   -i   abay mken du.
don't you int   eat   it   'Certainly don't eat it.'

Là   dog-en móyô.
not int he like   'He surely didn't like it.'

Bé   -i   dog mógówₒ
don't you int go   'Don't bother to goₒ'

D. Durational Aspect (indicates duration of the action)

Members of the modifying class tódô are:

tódô - punctiliar   hlun - temporary
gel - habitual, customary   sana - instantaneous
sal - habitual, customary   kendel - immediate
tendo - continual, progressive hanà - inceptive

E. Tense Aspect (indicates the time of the action)

Members of the modifying class tehe are:

tehe - remote past
deng - nonspecific past (completed action)
lomi - near past
tolo - present continuative
móyôn - near future
angat - future, nonspecific (incomplete action)
eles - pluperfect

F. Frequency Aspect (indicates number of times of the action)

     Members of the modifying class <u>bud</u> are:

<u>bud</u> - iterative 'again'
<u>ket kiwól</u> - repetitive 'often'
<u>dulék</u> - 'times' must occur with a numeral either specific
          or general

Illustrations of the periphery in the verb phrase:

Tense	Inten₁	Dur	Freq			
(Tehe	tey alì	gel	ket kiwól) le	mógów.		
remote int	int	habitual	each time	they go		

'They used to really, often always go.'

Tense	Inten₁	Dur			
(Eles	hol	tódô) sengifà	ye kem ógóf.		
beforehand int	just	take/care/of	you pl animal		

'Just really take care of the animals beforehand.'

Dur	Tense	Freq	Mood		
(Tódô	deng lomi	bud	tô)	mulék Kasi.	
just	past recently	again	would/like	return Kasi	

'Just recently Kasi again wants to return.'

Mood	Dur	Inten₁	Duration		
(Olò)	ye (tódô	hol	gel tendo) mauy dou.		
should you	just	int	habitual always visit me		

'You should really just keep on visiting me.'

Neg	Inten₂	Inten₁	Freq	Mood	Int₁	
(Là	dog	hol	bud	tô	alì) hnódó le do.	
not int	int	again	would/like	int	welcome they me	

'They surely don't any longer want very much to welcome me.'

Int₁	Dur				
(Hol	tódô tendo gel)	hninggel ye kmò ye.			
int	just always habitual	make/nice you actions your			

'Just really always continually behave well.'

3.28.2 The nucleus of the verb phrase is an optional
descriptive occurring immediately prehead. The descriptive
may be a verb or a stative and modifies the head in a tight

construction being more closely tied lexically to the head
than the modifying units of the periphery. Agent of the
clause is the only tagmeme that may interrupt the
descriptive plus head sequence.

Desc	Ag	Head		Desc	Ag	Head
(Hentlasik	le	mò/nmò) anì		(gehél	le	mehek).
hurry	they	work	so/that	hurry	they	plant

'They hurriedly work so that they can quickly plant.'

		Desc	Head	
Olo	le	(beyen	semtulón)	du.
just	they	satisfied	talk/about it	

'They were satisfied to just talk about it.'

			Desc	Head			
Són	mò	me	(hemklingu	mógów)	là	dog	me mudél.
only	continue	we	listen	go	not	int	we talk

'We went listening continually, we didn't even speak.'

							Desc
Wen	tólóng	tau	lemwót	bè	tólóng	gunù	(gbot
there/is	different	man	leave	loc	different	house	join

Head		
mken)	bélè	me.
eat	loc	us

'There was a different man from a different house who ate
together with us.'

	Desc	Head		
Deng	(hulung	semfala)	yehen	Lewadin.
past	know/how	read	wife	Lewadin

'Lewadin's wife knows how to read.'

				Desc	Head		
Wen	se	libun	bè	Tboli (hulung	tmóbóng)	bè	ksut
there/are	also	women	loc	Tboli	know/how	help	loc birth

| ngà. |
| child |

'There are women among the Tboli who know how to help with
childbirth.'

```
                              Desc│Head
Ke mnóng kdaw alì le     (móyò│smolok)              kem Tboli.
if shine sun   int they   want hunt/with/a/light pl  Tboli
```
'During dry season the Tboli really like to go night hunting
(using a torch).'

```
Desc  │ Ag │Head
(Gna  │-hi │mkaf) etu    sen.
first   you climb there  emp    'You climb up there first.'
```

3.29 Stative Phrase.

The distinguishing features between the verb phrase and
the stative phrase are differences in fillers of the head
slot and differences in distribution on the clause level.
Verbs occur as head in the verb phrase and statives occur as
head in the stative phrase. Stative phrases occur in
nonverbal clauses while verb phrases occur in verbal clauses.

The construction of the stative phrase is like that of
the verb phrase in all respects except that fillers of Head
tagmeme must be a stative. (See Sec. 3.28.)

There is a co-occurrence restriction in the nuclear
units of the stative phrase in that Descriptive tagmeme may
only co-occur with derived statives stems as filler of Head.
Derived stative stems are nouns affixed with voice marking
prefix $\underline{me}-_1$ (see Sec. 2.13.22.1).

The illustrated unit is in parentheses and the tagmemes
are labeled in the following examples.

```
Dur  │Tense    │ Freq │ Head
(Tódò│lomi     │ bud  │ menek)  yem  ówóng.
just  recently  again  at/rest spec boat
```
'The boat just recently again came to rest.'

```
Inten, │ Head
(Tey alì│ tahà) tum   libun tu.
int int  tall  spec  girl  that
```
'That girl there is very, very tall.'

ɔ

Mood	Neg	Dur		Head			
(Déke	là	tódó-en kendel		sidek)	yem	gunù	lomi
maybe	not	just it immediately		bad	spec	house	recently

benli-hen.
buy   he

'Maybe the house he just bought won't immediately become
worn out.'

Tense		Head			
(Deng tehe		kól)	yem	tuha	logi.
past before		arrive	spec	old	man

'The old man had already arrived.'

Int	Desc	Head			
(Tey₁	hulung	mlóy) #.			
int	know/how	run	he		

'He really knows how to run.'

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER 3

PHRASES

[1] There are idiomatic time expressions which have been found to occur as filler of Head slot. They are expressions such as <u>ni kmoen ni</u> 'nowadays', and <u>suloyen buteng</u> 'all night'.

CHAPTER 4

NONVERBAL CLAUSES

4.0 Definition.

Distributionally defined, a clause in Tboli is a construction which typically manifests tagmemes on the sentence level. They may be verbal or nonverbal. Verbal clauses are described in Chapter 5.

A nonverbal clause in Tboli is a clause in which the predicate is filled by a nonverbal root or stem and the only obligatory tagmemes are Predicate and Topic. There is an obligatory absence of accessory, patient and beneficiary tagmemes.

4.1 Nonverbal Clause Types.

There are five contrastive nonverbal clauses in Tboli. They are Descriptive, Equational, Possession, Locative, and Existential. These clauses are emically distinct on the basis of different fillers of the predicate head and as to what other tagmemes may occur in the clause.

4.11 Descriptive Nonverbal Clause.

The construction of the Descriptive Nonverbal Clause is shown in Chart 9.

Chart 9
Descriptive Nonverbal Clause

+ Descriptive Pred	+ Described Topic	+ Location	+ Time

Stative Phrase	a) Common NP
	
	b) Nim der NP
	
	c) Gunu der NP
	
	d) ke- der NP
	
	e) Pron. Sub
	   -e class or
	   ou class
	
	f) Demon Sub
	   ni class
		Locative
		Phr
			a) Tem-
			poral
			Phrase
			
			b) Tem-
			poral
			Word
			koni
			class

(See Appendix for membership of classes listed in Chart.)

Rules which limit the possible derivable formations from Chart 9 are:

(1) Predicate and topic are nuclear units. That is they may not be separated by any other tagmemes. Peripheral unit of time and location may permute freely following topic. Either or both may permute to pre-predicate position for emphasis.

(2) There are two stative forms which when filling the predicate tagmeme require location tagmeme to be read as obligatory. They are nù 'to be staying' and gu 'to be from'.

(3) When topic is manifested by ou class, it must occur in the pre-predicate position.

Examples: (The tagmemes are labeled.)

Pred	Topic
Tey hyu	nawa me.

int good breath our   'We were very happy.'

Pred	Topic
Mom milud he	kun kligal iwas.

rather more   yet his joy   monkey
'Rather the monkey was even happier.'

Pred	Topic
Mabu	-e.

fat   I   'I am fat.'

Pred	Top	Loca
Nù	le	bè gunù.

stay they loc house   'They are at the house.'

Topic	Pred
Ou	mabù.

I   fat   'I am the one who is fat.'

Pred	Topic
Alì tahà	yem yó.

int   long spec that   'That one is very long.'

Pred	Topic
Là menek	-en kbenwu Tboli.

not peaceful   it living Tboli
'The Tboli's manner of living was not peaceful.'

Pred	Topic
Tehe tey dé	dumu nmò me.

before int many other work our
'It used to be we had a lot of other work.'

Pred	Topic
Sal gel mahil	yem kógów me.

continually always easy   spec going our
'Our going (traveling) is always easy.'

Examples with time and location tagmemes: tagmemes are labeled.

Time	Pred	Topic	Location
Ni kmoen ni	tey dè	dou nmò	bè Sinolon.

this time   now int many my   work loc Sinolon
'At this time I really have a lot of work in Sinolon.'

Pred	Topic	Time	Location
Tey alì bong	kulón	nim bulón ni	bè klamang Cotabato.

int int big   rain   this month now loc width   Cotabato
'There is really a lot of rain this month in all of Cotabato.'

Pred	Topic	Location	Time
Mgel	yem nmò me	bè ni	koni.

hard spec work our loc here just/now
'Our work here just now was hard.'

Pred	Topic	Time	Location
Tey angat sidek	kliteg le	haya	bè Lembol.

int future bad   tiredness their tomorrow loc Lembol
'They are really going to be tired tomorrow in Lembol.'

There is a common construction in which the predicate head is filled by the intensifying adjunct <u>tey</u>. Rather than classify <u>tey</u> as a stative stem because it is acting like a nonverbal predicate, it seems preferable to regard the predicate as deleting the stative stem <u>bong</u> 'big'. <u>Tey</u> is lexically similar to <u>bong</u>, and in every occurrence the word <u>bong</u> 'big' may be added to the predicate as head filler without any change in meaning of the clause.

<u>Tey kgis   -en yem sowu.</u>
int strength   his spec python

OR <u>Tey bong kgis   -en yem sowu.</u>
int big   strength   his spec python
'The python has great strength.'

<u>Tey kdes lem ti   -hu ne   lem kwang-u.</u>
int pain loc feet   my and loc back   my

OR <u>Tey bong kdes lem ti   -hu ne   lem kwang-u.</u>
int big   pain loc feet   my and loc pain   my
'The pain in my feet and my back was very great.'

<u>Tey alì ketnga   -hu du.</u>
int int surprise   my it

OR <u>Tey alì bong ketnga   -hu du.</u>
int int big   surprise   my it
'I was greatly surprised about it.'

4.12 Equational Nonverbal Clause.

The construction of the Equational Nonverbal Clause is shown in Chart 10.

Chart 10
Equational Nonverbal Clause

+ Predicate Identity	+ Topic Identity
a) Com NP	a) Com NP
b) <u>nim</u> der NP	b) <u>ke-</u> der NP
c) Temporal phrase	c) <u>nim</u> der NP
d) Demon Sub <u>ni</u> class	d) Pronominal sub -<u>e</u> class or <u>ou</u> class

Rules which limit the possible formations derivable from Chart 10 are:

(1) If pronominal substitute <u>ou</u> class occurs as filler of Topic Identity with noun phrase as filler of Predicate Identity, Topic must permute to pre-predicate position.

(2) Predicate Identity and Topic Identity expounded by noun phrase may permute freely.

Examples:

```
Pred                        | Topic
Boluy nim   nmo   -en   ni  | bulung    bolos.
name   spec work   his this   medicine fox
```
'The name of what he is doing is fox medicine.'

```
Pred         | Topic
Yó     se    | botong ktud            yem   ulof.
that  emp.     extent effectiveness spec kind/of/charm
```
'That is the extent of the ulof's effectiveness.'

```
Pred              | Topic
Yem   dou nit     | yem   sowu.
spec my   bring     spec python
```
'What I brought was the python.'

```
Pred| Topic
Yó  | bungu-hen.
that  fruit its      'That is its fruit.'
```

```
Topic  | Pred
Son-en | ni.
end its   this      'This is its end.'
```

```
Topic| Pred
Kasi | boluy-en.
Kasi   name   his    'His name is Kasi.'
```

```
Pred            | Topic
Son  udél le    | nuhul.
only word their   whistle    'Their only words are whistles.'
```

```
Pred         | Topic
Ekimel       | kkól     -en.
yesterday arrival   his
```
'Yesterday was the time of his arrival.'

```
Pred                | Topic
Legen       udì     | yem   tendo        kni    Mà.
long/time little      spec continual prayer Father
```
'It was for quite a long time that Father kept on praying.'

```
Pred                | Topic
Kifu  ni   kedeng | kógów yem   tau    mò   ulof.
night this later    going spec person make a/kind/of/charm
```
'The time that the man who makes ulof goes is later tonight.'

4.13 Possession Nonverbal Clause.

The Possession Nonverbal Clause is shown in Chart 11.

Chart 11
Possession Nonverbal Clause

+ Purpose Particle	+ Possessor Predicate	+ Possessed Topic
mò	a) Nontopic Personal Noun Phrase b) Pronominal Substitute dou class	a) Com NP b) nim der NP c) Demon Sub ni class

Examples: (Tagmemes are labeled.)

Pred Topic
Dou yó.
mine that   'That is mine.'

Pred   Topic
Ke Ting sewel   yó.
pm Ting trousers that   'Those trousers are Ting's.'

Pur P Pred   Topic
Mò   ke   yem ngà   wen   des   -en nim bulung
pur   pm   spec child there/is sickness   her spec medicine

ni.
here   'This medicine here is for the child who is sick.'

Possessed topic may permute to pre-predicate position.

Examples:

```
Topic                Pur P Pred
Yem  bew      logi mò   ke Kasi。
spec carabao male pur    pm Kasi
'The male carabao is for Kasi。'
```

```
Topic          Pred
Lieg     ni   ke Inek。
necklace this pm Inek    'This necklace is Inek's.'
```

4.14 Locative Nonverbal Clause.

The Locative Nonverbal Clause is shown in Chart 12.

Chart 12
Locative Nonverbal Clause

+ Locative Predicate	+ Locative Topic
Locative Phrase	Gunu Derived Noun Phrase

The predicate and topic may not be permuted.

Examples:

```
Loc Pred Loc    Topic
Bè  Ting gunu  ⁼hem mit    du.
loc Ting place  you bring it
'The place you are to bring it is to Ting.'
```

```
Loc Pred  Loc    Topic
Lem kahun gunu  ⁼hen nù.
loc box   place  it  is    'Where it is in the box。'
```

ɑ Loc Pred | Loc   Topic
    Bè   gunù | gunu   Kasi mton ke Gadu.
    loc house place Kasi saw   pm Gadu
    'The place where Kasi saw Gadu was in the house.'

    Loc Pred | Loc   Topic
    Ta   lemisa| gunu   Tunyu hemsù du eginu.
    loc table   place Tunyu place it earlier
    'The place where Tunyu put it earlier was on the table.'

    When the head of the Locative Phrase is a personal
noun, then locative particle bélè may occur with -u set
pronouns.

Examples:

    Loc Pred| Loc   Topic
    Bélé-en | gunu   -hem mit   du.
    loc   him place   he bring it
    'To him is the place for him to bring it.'

ɛ Loc Pred| Loc Topic
    Bélé-u | gunu   -hen mton du yem   bok.
    loc   me place   he see   it spec book
    'He saw the book with me.'

4.15 Existential Nonverbal Clause.

    The Existential nonverbal clause is shown in Chart 13.

Chart 13
Existential Nonverbal Clause

+ Existential Predicate	+ Existential Topic	+ Location	+ Time
wen 'there is'	a) Com NP b) Gunu derived noun phrase c) Demon. subs. ni class d) Clause	Locative Phrase	a) Temporal Phrase b) Temporal Word koni class c) Clause

Examples:

Exis Pred	Exis Topic	
Wen	soging.	
there/is	banana	'There are bananas.'

Exis Pred	Exis Topic	
Wen	dou tonok.	
there/is	my land	'I have land.'

Exis Pred	Exis Topic		
Wen	tey tafak	le.	
there/is	int punishment	their	'They were really punished.'

Exis Pred	Exis Topic	
Wen	yem ni.	
there/is	spec this	'There is this.'

    The Existential Predicate may be expanded in the same
manner as a stative phrase. (See 3.29.)

Examples: (Predicate is in parentheses)

Tense｜Inten｜
(Tehe｜ tey¹｜wen)   onuk   le.
 before int   there/is chicken their
'They used to have a lot of chickens.'

Dur   ｜Head   ｜
(Sal   ｜gel   ｜ wen)   tau   bè yó.
 continual habitual there/is person loc that
'There are always people there.'

Tense   ｜Mood ｜ Head ｜
(Deng tehe ｜tô ｜ wen)   gefa-u.
 past before nearly there/is trouble my
'Before I very nearly had a disaster.'

Mood   ｜ Dur   ｜ Head ｜
(Dô   ｜ kendel   ｜ wen)   ngà   mlóy.
 probably immediately there/is child run
'Probably there were children who immediately ran.'

        There are two ways in which the Existential Predicate
may be negated. One is simply by the addition of the
negative là with resulting là wen 'there isn't'. A more
common method is by substituting 3rd person singular nontopic
clitic pronoun -en 'it' for wen. The result is la-en 'there
isn't'.

Exis Pred｜ Exis Topic
La -en   ｜ hemen   le.
not it   trouble their   'They have no troubles.'

Exis Pred｜ Exis Topic｜ Loc
La -en   ｜ kum tenduk｜ bè   ni.
not it   our pain   loc here   'We here have no sickness here.'

Exis Pred｜ Exis Topic
La -en   ｜ tebel le.
not it   leave they   'They left nothing behind.'

The topic of the Existential nonverbal Clause may be filled by a clause.

Examples:

Exis Pred	Exis Topic	Time
Wen	benli le	ekimel.
there/is	buy they	yesterday

'There are some they bought yesterday.'

Exis Pred	Exis Topic
Wen	tebel le.
there/is	leave they

'There are some they leave behind.'

Exis Pred	Exis Topic
La -en	lebeng le.
not it	bury they

'There are none they bury.'

4.2 Clause Variation.

Nonverbal clauses may be modified by interrogation and by negation.

4.21 Variation by Interrogation.

Nonverbal clauses may have an interrogative variation in the same way as verbal clauses; that is, by the addition of interrogative particle kô when a 'yes' or 'no' answer is required, or by the substitution of an interrogative substitute for one of the tagmemes of the clause, wi'' an optional addition of interrogative particle du.

Examples with kô: Position of kô freely varies following predicate.

Predicate	Topic	Interrogative particle
Deng lemwôt	Kasi	kô?
past leave	Kasi	ques

'Has Kasi already left?'

Predicate	Interr. part.	Topic
Ni	kô	yem nwit-em?
this	ques	spec take you

'Is this what you are taking?'

Predicate	Topic	Interr. part.	Topic	redundant
Mógów	-i	kô	kóm?	
go	you	ques	you	

'As for you, are you going?'

When more information is required than a 'yes' or 'no' answer, interrogative substitutes occur which replace one of the tagmemes in the clause. The substitutes are as follows:

tau du   'who' replaces topic
mahi du   'which' replaces topic
te du   'what' replaces topic
gunu   'where' replaces location
kilón   'when' replaces time
kmó   'how' replaces descriptive predicate

At the same time an optional interrogative particle du may occur with all interrogative substitutes except for gunu 'where'. Du occurs preceding Time or if Time does not occur, du occurs at the end of the clause. It may also occur immediately following the interrogative substitute in which case it takes its variant form de.

Examples:

Non interrogative clause:

Desc. Pred	Desc. Topic	Location	Time
Mógów	Kasi	mool	kedeng.
go	Kasi	downstream	later

'Kasi is going downstream later.'

Interrogative variation:

Interr. Sub	Pred	Location	Time
Tau du	mógów	mool	kedeng?
who	go	downstream	later

'Who is going downstream later?'

Interr. Sub.	Topic	Predicate	Time
Gunu	Kasi	mógów	kedeng?
where	Kasi	go	later

'Where is Kasi going later?'

Interr. Sub.	Interr. part.	Topic	Location
Kilón	de	kógów Kasi	mool?
when	ques	going Kasi	downstream

'When is Kasi going downstream?'

Interr. Sub.	Topic	Location	Interr. part.
Kmə̀	kə́gə́w Kasi	mool	du?
how	going Kasi	downstream	ques

'How was Kasi's trip downstream?'

Note that when kilə́n 'when' and kmə̀ 'how' occur, they function as exponents of the predicate tagmeme and the topic becomes a ke- derived noun phrase. Kilə́n and kmə̀ have not been found to occur in any other type of construction.

4.22 Variation by Negation.

When the predicate of a nonverbal clause is manifested by a stative phrase containing the negation tagmeme là, 3rd person topic tagmemes of the clause are affected. A 3rd person singular topic pronoun which one would expect to expound a topic tagmeme will change to a 3rd person singular nontopic pronoun.

Examples: Pred | Top
             Tilob | #   # is a topic pronoun
             pretty she
             'She is pretty.'

             Pred | Top
             Là tilob | -en.   -en is a nontopic pronoun
             not pretty   she
             'She is not pretty.'

When the topic occurring in pre-predicate emphasis position is negated, nontopic pronouns will occur in conjunction with it.

Examples: Topic | Pred
             Ou | tahà   ou is a topic pronoun
             I   tall
             'I am the one who is tall.'

```
Topic     Pred
Sundu ou du tahà.     du is a nontopic pronoun
not   I  it tall
```
'I am not the one who is tall.'

```
Top   Pred
Kasi yem  mabù.
Kasi spec fat
```
'Kasi is the fat one.'

```
Top           Pred
Sundu Kasi du yem  mabù.   du is a nontopic
not   Kasi it spec fat     pronoun
```
'It is not Kasi who is the fat one.'

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER 4

NONVERBAL CLAUSES

[1]   The fact that noun phrases expounding predicate identity
and topic identity may freely permute causes structural
ambiguity as to which is predicate and which is topic. The
semantically more specific of the two nouns is the topic.
For example, in the clause Yem dou nit yem sowu. 'What I
brought is the python', yem sowu 'the python' is topic since
it is a specific naming of yem dou nit 'what I brought'
which is unspecific.

CHAPTER 5

VERBAL CLAUSES

5.1 Definition。

Defined in terms of its constituents, a Tboli verbal clause is a construction where units typically manifested by phrases fill out situational roles such as agent, patient, beneficiary, accessory, location and time in relation to a predication. At the same time either patient, agent, beneficiary or accessory is in a special relationship to the predicate。 The unit in a special relationship is called topic.

5.2 Classification。

Verbal clauses in Tboli may be classified into four contrastive types: Subjective, ·Objective, Beneficiary and Instrument。 The clauses are named in relation to the tagmeme which occurs as topic of the clause。

The major grammatical diagnostic features distinguishing clause types are voice marking affixes occurring in the verb and differences in obligatory clause level tagmemes. In addition, verbal clauses differ as to the tagmeme which can permute to a prepredicate position. Only clause topic may permute without changing the predicate form。

5.3 Order of Clause Level Tagmemes。

The order of tagmemes in a verbal clause is + Predicate + Agent + Patient + Beneficiary + Accessory + Location + Time. Any changes in the order of tagmemes as listed is restricted by the following rules:

1) Patient, Beneficiary and Accessory tagmemes exchange positions according to which is topic. The topicalized tagmeme follows Agent unless Agent is topic.

2) Tagmemes following the topicalized tagmeme are free as
   to position.

3) A topicalized tagmeme may permute to prepredicate
   position.

   Clause tagmeme order is obscured because the language
prefers that expanded phrases occur clause final. A cross
referent pronoun (Subscript$_{cr}$) then represents that tagmeme
in its regular position. Note the following:

Nwit   le   kudà   le   yó   kem tau   lemwót gu   leged.
bring they horse their that pl   person come   from upstream
'They brought their horse, those people from upstream.'

   The plural agent is represented by a pronoun in its
regular slot while the expanded phrase elucidating the
pronoun occurs clause final.

   The obscurity occurs when the pronoun is 3rd person
singular because the morpheme is marked by zero.

Mit   # kudà   yem   sotu tau   lemwót gu   leged.
bring he horse that one   person come   from upstream
'He brought a horse, that person from upstream.'

   Third personal singular agent is marked by zero in its
regular position and the elucidating noun phrase occurs
clause final. This makes it appear on the surface that the
agent tagmeme is ambivalent, not having a fixed position.

   If two pronouns occur, one topic and one not, the
elucidating noun phrase occurring clause final always refers
to the topic pronoun.

Pred | Ag | Pat$_{Tcr}$| Pat$_T$
Eted | le | lu | yó   kem ngà   lemnek.
deliver they them   spec pl   child small
'They delivered them, the little children.'
'The little children' refers to 'them'.

If two elucidating phrases occur, agent must be final.

```
red    |Ag  |Pat     |       Pat          |Ag
ted    |le cr|lu Tcr |yó   kem Tngà  lemnek|yó   kem tau
eliver they  them     spec pl  child small  spec pl  person
```

emwót gu   leged.
ome   from upstream
They, the people from upstream delivered them, the small
hildren.'

;.4 Clause Description.

Chart 14 shows Tboli verbal clause construction.

Chart 14
Verbal Clause Construction

| + Complement = | Topic | | |
| ⊦Pred | | | |
+ Action	(+Agent	+Patient	+Benef

Verb Phrase	a) Com NP
	b) Pronoun
	c) <u>nim</u> class
	   derived NP
	d) nt PNP
		a) Com NP
		b) Loc Phr
		c) Pronoun
		d) nt PNP
		e) <u>nim</u> class
		   der NP
		f) <u>ke-</u> der
		   NP
			a) Loc
			   Phr
			b) Pronoun
			c) Com NP

| Topic | | |
+Acces)	+Loca	+Time

a) Com NP
b) <u>nim</u> class
   der NP
	a) Loc Phr	a) Temp. Phr.
		b) <u>nim</u> class
		   der NP
		c) Temp. Word
		   <u>koni</u> class

In Chart 14, one of the four participants in the
parentheses must be topicalized.

The predicate in Tboli includes semantically both an
action and a general reference to one of the participants
in that action.[1]   The action component is normally carried
by the verb root; the general reference to one of the
participants is normally carried by the verb affix.   This
general reference to a particular participant I have termed
complement and the participant referred to is the topic of
the clause.   Thus, I am saying that the complement is in an
equational relationship to the topic.[2]

5.41   Subjective Verbal Clause.

The Subjective Verbal Clause consists of a predicate
tagmeme inflected for equative orientation to the agent.   A
verb of either patient orientation class or accessory
orientation class inflected with voice marker me-/-em occurs
as filler of the predicate tagmeme.

The formula for the Subjective Verbal Clause is depicted
in Chart 15.

VERBAL CLAUSES

Subjec

+ Predicate	
+ Action	+ Agent Complement
verb root	me- affix

+ Acces	+ Loca
Com NP	Loc. Phr.
nim class der NP	

Rules which limit the possible derivable clause formations from Chart 15 are:

(1) Accessory tagmeme may not occur when patient oriented verbs occur in the predicate and do not commonly occur with accessory oriented verbs. Its occurrence is allowable with accessory oriented verbs according to native speakers but the preference is to use an instrument verbal clause when accessory is named in the clause.

(2) dou class of pronouns, derived noun phrases and nt PNP may occur as filler of patient only when agent is in emphasized position.

(3) nt PNP occurring as filler of agent is limited to certain constructions. See Phrases nt PNP (Sec. 3.22.2).

(4) Pronoun class ou occurs as emphasized agent. Pronoun class -e occurs as nonemphasized agent.

(5) For tagmeme order and occurrence of cross reference, see 5.3.

In all examples to follow a literal translation and a free translation are given. The literal translation brings out the complement component of the predicate, the free translation brings out the action component of the predicate.

Examples:

Pred	Ag crT	Pat	Loca	Ag T	Time
Mangay	le	él	lem klungan	kem ngà	eginu.
fetch	they	water	at klungan	pl child	earlier

Lit: 'The ones to fetch water at Klungan earlier were they, the children.'
Free: 'The children fetched water at Klungan earlier.'

Pred	Ag T	Pat	Benef (Loc)	Time
Mit	Min	bulung	bè Kasi	ekimel.
bring	Min	medicine	to Kasi	yesterday

Lit: 'The one to bring medicine to Kasi yesterday was Min.'
Free: 'Min brought some medicine to Kasi yesterday.'

Pred	Ag$_T$	Benef	Patient
Ma	le	dou	soging.
get	they	for/me	banana

Lit: 'The ones to get some bananas for me were they.'
Free: 'They got some bananas for me.'

Pred	Ag$_{crT}$	Pat	Benef						Ag$_T$	
Tmulón	#	tutul	bélê	le	bè	kem	ngà	lemnek	yem	sotu
tell	she	story	to	them	to	pl	child	small	spec	one

mesetlu.
teacher

Lit: 'The one to tell a story to them, the little children,
        was the one teacher.'
Free: 'One of the teachers told a story to them, the little
        children.'

Pred	Ag$_T$	Pat	Benef				
Bemlay	Gadu	filak	bè	kem	ngà	mnagì.	
give	Gadu	money	to	pl	child	study	

Lit: 'The one to give money to the children who are
        studying (going to school) is Gadu.'
Free: 'Gadu gives money to the school children.'

Object tagmeme may not always be overt in this clause
type. However, it is always implied and it may be supplied.

Examples:

Pred	Ag$_{crT}$	Loca			Time	Ag$_T$	
Mken	le	bè	gunu	-u	koni	le	Kas.
eat	they	at	house	my	recently	they	Kas

Lit: 'The ones to eat at my house just recently was them,
        Kas and the others.' (It is understood that they
        ate something.)
Free: 'Kas and the others ate at my house recently.'

Pred	Ag$_{crT}$	Ag$_T$			
Semlón	le	yó	kem	ngà	yóó.
complain	they	spec	pl	child	spec

Lit: 'The ones to complain are they, those children there.'
Free: 'Those children there are complainers.' (It is
        understood they complain about something.)

5.42 Objective Verbal Clause.

     The Objective Verbal Clause consists of a predicate
tagmeme inflected for equative orientation to the patient.
An uninflected verbal stem of the patient oriented verb
class or a stem of the accessory oriented verb class
inflected with voice marker ne- occurs as filler of the
predicate tagmeme₀

     The formula for the Objective Verbal Clause is depicted
in Chart 16.

<div align="center">

Chart 16
Objective Verbal Clause

</div>

+ Predicate		+ Agent	+ Pat	+ Benef
+ Action	+ Patient Complement			
vb rt pat oriented	# affix	Com NP Nim class der NP Pronoun -u class	Any NP but nt PNP Pronoun ou class	Loc. Phr₀ Pronoun dou class
vb rt acces oriented	ne- affix			

+ Acces	+ Loca	+ Time
Com NP Nim class der NP	Loc. Phr.	Temp. Phr. Temp. Word koni class Nim class der NP

Instrument is the tagmeme of least common occurrence in an Objective Verbal Clause. Beneficiary, Location, and/or Time occur commonly.

Examples:

```
Pred   | Agent Pat     | Benef  | Pat
Eted   | Kas   #   crT | bè Ting| yem   bayad   bè kahì.
deliver Kas    it      to Ting  spec payment for salt
Lit:    'What Kas delivered to Ting was the payment for the
        salt.'
Free:   'Kas delivered the payment for the salt to Ting.'
```

```
Pred  | Agent Pat     | Loca       | Patient
Nwit  | Ting  #   crT | mool       | kudà  Mày.
take   Ting   it       downstream horse May
Lit:   'What Ting took downstream was May's horse.'
Free:  'Ting took May's horse downstream.'
```

```
Pred    | Agent |   Patient        | Location
Nangay  | Sam   | filak kdungon-en | bè Boy.
fetch    Sam     money abaca   his  at Boy
Lit:    'What was fetched by Sam from Boy was his hemp money.'
Free:   'Sam fetched his hemp money from Boy.'
```

```
Pred   | Agent Pat     | Benef| Loca    |    Patient
Tulón  | ye   #   crT  | do   | ke May  | yem là kógòw fóg
tell    you   it        me     pm May  spec not going brother/in/
    -en.
law his
Lit:   'What will be told by you for me to May is that his
       brother-in-law is not going.'
Free:  'You tell May for me that his brother-in-law is not
       going.'
```

```
Pred    | Agent  cr  Pat | Agent            | Location
Nangay  | le    silà T le | Man ne   Sam    | bè dnadu Duming.
fetch    they    corn they Man and  Sam      at field Duming
Lit:    'What was fetched by them, Man and Sam, at Duming's
        field was the corn.'
Free:   'Sam and Man fetched the corn at Duming's field.'
```

5.43 Beneficiary Verbal Clause.

     The Beneficiary Verbal Clause consists of a predicate
tagmeme inflected for equative orientation to the
beneficiary. A stem of the patient orientation class
inflected with voice marker ne- occur as filler of the
predicate tagmeme. The formula for the Beneficiary Verbal
Clause is depicted in Chart 17.

Chart 17
Beneficiary Verbal Clause

| + Predicate | | + Agent | + Benef | + Patient |
+ Action	+ Benef Complement			
vb rt pat oriented	ne- affix	Com NP Nim class der NP Pronoun -u class	Com NP Nim class der NP Pronoun ou class	Any NP Loc₀ Phr.

+ Loca	+ Time
Loc. Phr.	Temp. Phr. Temp. Word koni class Nim class der NP

Examples:

Pred	Agent	Benef		Pat	Benef		Location
Neted	Kal	#	crT	silà	Sam	T	lem bulul。
deliver	Kal	him		corn	Sam		in mountain

Lit: 'The one to whom corn was delivered in the mountain by Kal was Sam.'

Free: 'Kal delivered corn to Sam in the mountain.'

Pred	Agent	Benef		Pat
Benlay	Ben	ou	T	snafang.
give	Ben	me		gun

Lit: 'The one to whom a gun was given by Ben was me.'

Free: 'Ben gave me a gun.'

Pred	Agent	Benef		Patient
Tnulón	-em	ma	T -em	bè nim gfà ni.
tell	you	father	your	of spec trouble spec

Lit: 'The one to whom the problem is told by you is your Father.'

Free: 'Tell your father about this problem.'.

Pred		Agent	Benef		Patient		Benef	
Olò	tenngón	-em	#	crT	kenes -en		yem ńga -em
should know		you	him		clothes his		spec child your

yó.
spec

Lit: 'The one who you should be concerned about regarding his clothes is your child there.'

Free: 'You should be concerned about your child's clothes。'

Pred	Agent		Benef		Patient		Benef	
Neted	fê		#	crT	lubed		Yê	T Bong.
deliver	sister/in/law		her		boiled/cake		Mother	Big

Lit: 'The one to whom boiled cake was delivered by sister-in-law was Big Mother.'

Free: 'Sister-in-law delivered boiled cake to Big Mother。'

5.44 Instrumental Verbal Clause。

The Instrumental Verbal Clause consists of a predicate tagmeme inflected for equative orientation to the accessory. An uninflected stem from accessory oriented stem class occurs

as filler of the Predicate tagmeme. The formula for the
Instrumental Verbal Clause is depicted in Chart 18.

Chart 18
Instrumental Verbal Clause

+ Predicate		+ Agent	+ Acces	+ Patient
+ Action	+ Acces Complement			
vb root acces oriented	#	Com NP Nim class der NP Pronoun -u class	Com NP Nim class der NP Dem ni class	Any NP Pronoun dou class

+ Loca	+ Time
Loc. Phr.	Temp. Phr. Temp. Word koni class Nim class der NP

Examples:

```
Pred   Agent  Acces       Patient  Accessory
Bogul  Tóg    #       crT  ke Was   ehek.      T
beat   Tóg    it           pm Was   planting/stick
```
Lit: 'What Tóg used to beat Was with was a planting stick.'
Free: 'Tóg beat Was with a planting stick.'

Pred	Ag	Acces $_{Tcr}$	Patient	Acces $_T$
Tem	Mà	#	tniba-hen	solok law.
burn	Father it		field his	torch law (type of grass)

Lit: 'What Father used to burn his field with was a law
          torch.'
Free: 'Father used a law torch to burn his field.'

Pred	Ag	Acces $_T$	Pat
Angay	Kasi	kudà	ke Ting.
fetch	Kasi	horse	pm Ting

Lit: 'What Kasi used to fetch Ting with was a horse。'
Free: 'Kasi fetched Ting with a horse.'

Pred	Agent	Acces $_{crT}$	Patient	Acces $_T$
Ukét	Yè	#	ubi/koyu	suk udì。
peel	Mother it		cassava	knife little

Lit: 'What Mother used to peel the cassava was the small
          knife.'
Free: 'Mother peeled the cassava with a small knife.'

5.5   Topic Permutation.

     When the topic permutes for emphasis to first position
in the clause (topic is the only tagmeme that may do so),
the English structure allows the equative relationship of
topic and complement to be more clearly demonstrated.

Examples:

Objective Verb Clause.

Pat $_T$	Pred	Agent	Location	Time
Silà	eted	Kas	bè Ting	ekimel.
corn	thing/delivered	Kas	loc Ting	yesterday

'The corn was what was delivered by Kas to Ting yesterday.'

Subjective Verb Clause.

Agent $_T$	Pred	Pat	Loca	Time
Kas	meted	silà	bè Ting	ekimel.
Kas	·one/to/deliver	corn	loc Ting	yesterday

'Kas was the one to deliver corn to Ting yesterday.'

Instrument Verb Clause.

Acces_T	Pred	Ag	Pat	Loca	Time
Ketef	bli	-hu	bakù	bè tindà	ekimel.
dime	buy	I	tobacco	at store	yesterday

'A dime is what I bought tobacco with at the store yesterday.'

5.6   Variation of Clauses.

     A clause may be modified by interrogation, negation,
causation, and reflexion.

5.61   Clause Variation by Interrogation.

     There are two types of interrogative clause variation.
Type I is used when a yes or no answer is required.   Type II
is used when information is required.

5.61.1   Interrogative Type I.

5.61.11   Interrogation by Intonation.

     A clause may be modified by the addition of
interrogative intonation resulting in an interrogation by
intonation variation of the clause.   This type of
interrogation occurs on unexpanded clauses only.

Illustrations:

Statement: There is a downglide at the end of the clause.

Deng   hnatay Kasi yem ulal.
already kill   Kasi the snake
'Kasi killed the snake.'

Question: There is an upglide clause final.

Deng   hnatay Kasi yem ulal.
already kill   Kasi the snake
'Did Kasi kill the snake?'

¢   Statement:

Mung   Gadu.
accompany Gadu   'Gadu will accompany (us).'

Question:

Mung   Gadu.
accompany Gadu
'Is Gadu the one to accompany (us)?'

5.61.12   Interrogation by Addition of Interrogative Particle.

        A clause may be modified by adding interrogative
particle kô plus interrogative intonation. Kô may occur
following any of the clause level tagmemes except for
predicate. However, its preferred position is following
the topicalized tagmeme. Interrogative intonation consists
of a rising intonation on the accented syllable of the word
immediately preceding the interrogative particle kô, with a
slight pause after the interrogative particle. If the
interrogative particle occurs other than clause final, there
is a rising intonation on the final accented syllable of the
clause. This interrogative type is used when a yes or no
answer is required.

Examples:

Predicate	Agent	cr	Pat T	Interr	Agent		
Nwit	-en		Kasi	kô	tum	Têmê	Ukol?
bring	he		Kasi	ques	spec	grandfather	short

'Did Short Grandfather bring Kasi?'

Predicate	Agent	Pat	Acces T	Interr
Bogul	Mà	ke Kasi	dek	kô?
beat	father	pm Kasi	pestle	ques

'Did father beat Kasi with a pestle?'

5.61.2   Interrogative Type II. (See also 4.21.)

        Interrogative type II replaces any of the clause level
tagmemes with an interrogative substitute plus introducing
an interrogative particle du. There are three substitutes

that replace topic tagmemes and two substitutes that replace
nontopic tagmemes. The substitutes occur as follows:

Those that replace topic tagmemes:

tau du 'who'
mahi du 'which'
te du 'what'

Those that replace nontopic tagmemes:

kilón 'when' - replaces time tagmeme
gunu 'where' - replaces location tagmeme

A formula for interrogative type II may be set up as
shown in Chart 20.

Chart 20
Interrogative Type II

± Interrogative Substitute	+ Nucleus	± Interrogative Particle
tau du 'who' mahi du 'which' te du 'what' kilon 'when' gunu 'where'	clause minus tagmeme replaced by interrogative substitute	du

Rules restricting the derivable formations of Chart 20
are as follows:

(1) Both interrogative substitute and interrogative particle
cannot be minus but both can be plus.

(2) Interrogative particle du occurs clause final if there
is no time tagmeme in the clause. If time tagmeme occurs,
du is in the position just before time. Du may permute to

position following interrogative substitute in which case it
takes variant form <u>de</u>.

(3) Interrogative substitutes occur clause initial only.

Examples of topic tagmeme substitutes:

Inter. Sub.	Inter. Part.	Predicate	Pat	Beneficiary	Time
Tau du	de	meted	silà	bè Kasi	ekimel.
who	ques	deliver	corn	loc Kasi	yesterday

'Who was the one to deliver corn to Kasi yesterday?'

Inter. Sub.	Predicate	Agent	Beneficiary	Inter. Part.	Time
Te du	nwit	Kasi	bè Gadu	du	hlafus
what	bring	Kasi	loc Gadu	ques	morning

eginu.
earlier   'What did Kasi bring to Gadu earlier this morning?'

Inter. Sub.	Inter. Part.	Predicate	Agent	Benef
Mahi du	de	eted	le	bè le yè
which	ques	deliver	they	loc them mother

Time
Udì kedeng.

little later
'Which will they deliver to Little Mother and the others
later?'

Inter. Sub.	Predicate	Agent	Pat
Tau du	neted	Témè	kudà.
who	deliver	Grandfather	horse

'Who did Grandfather deliver the horse to?'

Inter. Sub.	Predicate	Agent	Pat	Inter. Part.
Te du	bogul	Min	ke Kasi	du.
what	beat	Min	pm Kasi	ques

'What did Min use to beat Kasi?'

Nontopic Tagmeme Substitutes.

Because interrogative substitutes occur only clause
initial, which is the position of an emphasized topic, there
is a change in the construction of the clause when an
interrogative substitute replaces a nontopic tagmeme.   When

kilón 'when' occurs, the resulting construction is a nonverbal
clause. This is described under nonverbal clauses (see Sec.
4.21). When <u>gunu</u> 'where' occurs, it replaces the location
tagmeme. There are no topic tagmemes in this clause type.
The complement tagmeme is inflected for agent topic
orientation but the agent is manifested by a nontopic filler.
<u>Gunu</u> attracts the agent so that the agent position is
immediately following <u>gunu</u>. If agent is manifested by a
multiple word phrase, a pronoun substitute for agent occurs
following <u>gunu</u> and the multiple word phrase occurs clause
final. Interrogative substitute <u>du</u> is restricted to post
predicate positions.

Illustrations:

Interr.	Sub.	Agent	Predicate		Pat	Pat	
Gunu		-hu	tô mò	du	ken	ni.
where		I	would/fain make it		food	this

'Where shall I make this food?'

Inter.	Sub.	Agent	Predicate	Pat	Inter.	Part.	Pat
Gunu		Man	hemsù	du cr	du		suk.
where		Man	put	it	ques		knife

'Where did Man put the knife?'

5.62 Clause Variation by Negation.

A verb phrase negated by <u>là</u> affects the topic tagmeme
of the clause. The nontopic variant of the topic slot filler
occurs rather than the expected topic variant. This is true
of all verbal clause types.

Examples: Compare the following contrasts between (a) and
            (b). The illustrated unit is in parentheses.

	Pred	Ag	Pat	Loca	
(a)	Nwit	Kasi	(ou) T	elem bulul.	
	take	Kasi	me	to mountain	<u>ou</u> is a topic pronoun

'Kasi took me to the mountains.'

(b)
Pred	Ag	Pat	Loca
(Là) nwit	Kasi	(dou)	elem bulul.
not take	Kasi	me	to mountain

'Kasi didn't take me to the mountains.'   dou is a nontopic pronoun

(a)
Pred	Ag	Pat	Loca	Time
Ton	-u	(#)	bè yó	koni.
see	I	it	at that	just/now

'I saw it there just now.'   # is a topic pronoun

(b)
Pred	Ag	Pat	Loca	Time
(Là) ton	-u	(du)	bè yó	koni.
not see	I	it	at that	just/now

'I didn't see it there just now.'   du is a nontopic pronoun

There is an irregularity in subjective clauses where only the 3rd person singular agent is affected.

Examples:

3rd person   (a)
Pred	Ag	Pat	Ag
Mangay	#	él	Min.
fetch	he	water	Min

'Min fetched water.'   # is a topic pronoun

(b)
Pred	Ag	Pat	Ag
(Là) mangay	(-én)	él	Min.
not fetch	he	water	Min

'Min didn't fetch water.'   -en is a nontopic pronoun

non-third person   (a)
Pred	Ag	Pat
Mangay	-e	él.
fetch	I	water

'I fetched water.'   -e is a topic pronoun

(b)
Pred	Ag	Pat
(Là) mangay	-e	él.
not fetch	I	water

'I didn't fetch water.'

When sundu negates a topic noun, that noun is moved to prepredicate position, and the nontopic pronoun du is added to the clause.

Agent	Pred	Pat	Beneficiary
Kasi ^T	bemlay	filak	bè Tami.

Kasi   one/to/give money to Tami
'Kasi was the one to give money to Tami.'

Agent		Pred	Pat	Beneficiary
Sundu ^{nt}Kasi	du bemlay		filak	bè Tami.

not   Kasi it one/to/give money to Tami
'It was not Kasi who gave money to Tami.'

5.63   Clause Variation by Causation.

5.63.1   Single Causative.

     A further clause variation possibility is by the
addition of he-/h-� , causative, to the verb. This addition
introduces an initiator tagmeme. Naming of agent is not
obligatory since an agent is understood. Note the following
contrasts₀

	Pred	Ag	Pat	Loca
(a)	Tódô nwa	-hen	# ^T	bè yem halay-u.

     just take   he   it   at spec rice   my
     Lit: 'What he just took from my rice was it (rice).'
     Free: 'He just took it (the rice) from my rice₀'

	Pred	Init	Pat	Loca
(b)	Tódô h- wa	-hen	# ^T	bè yem halay-u.

     just ca take   he   it   at spec rice   my
     Lit: 'What he just had taken from my rice was it₀'
     Free: 'He just had (someone) take it from my rice.'

	Pred	Ag	Pat	
(a)	Bnogul	-en	nim ^T	blówón lenabi.

     strike   he spec gong   ver/old
     Lit: 'What he struck was the very old gong.'
     Free: 'He struck the very old gong.'

	Pred	Init	Ag	Pat	
(b)	He-bogul	-en	du	nim ^T	blówón lenabi.

     ca strike   he   him spec gong   very/old
     Lit: 'What he had him strike was the very old gong.'
     Free: 'He had him strike the very old gong.'

The verb affixes signaling topic are lost when verbs are prefixed with the causative he-/h-. Context must give the clues as to what is the topic of the clause.

Further examples of clauses varied by causation are:

Cond Cl	Pred	Init	Pat	$_T$	Ag
Ke bong	he-bli	le	#		kóm.
if big	ca buy	they	it		you

Lit: 'If it is a lot, what they have you buy is it.'
Free: 'If it is a lot, they will have you buy it.'

Pred		Init		Pat	$_{crT}$	Ag	Pat$_T$		
Hlun	he-segyok	Yê	Lomi	#		do	yem	kuda	-en.
temporarily	ca care/for	mother	new	it		me	spec	horse	her

Lit: 'What New Mother temporarily had me take care of was her horse.'
Free: 'New Mother had me temporarily take care of her horse.'

Pred	Init	Ag$_T$			Purp. Cl.			
He-sukey	me	yó	kem	ngâ	anî	hyón	le	lu.
ca pay	we	spec	pl	child	so/that	have/sit	they	them

Lit: 'The ones we had pay were the children so that ones they had sit was them.'
Free: 'We had the children pay so that they could have a seat.'

Pred			Init	Pat$_T$		
Tódô bud	he-tles		-en	yem	he-tebé	-hen.
just again	ca change	he	spec	what/had/sewed	he	

Lit: 'The thing he had changed again was what he had sewed.'
Free: 'He had (someone) change what he had sewed again.'

Pred	Init	Pat$_T$	Ag
He-tngel	ye	#	ke May.
ca look/at	you	it	by May

Lit: 'What you should have May watch is it.'
Free: 'Have May watch it.'

Pred	Init	Pat		Benef	Ag	Pat$_T$		
He-wit	ye	#	crT	do	ke May	suk^T -u	udi.	
ca take	you	it		me	by May	knife my	little	

Lit: 'What you should send to me by May is my little knife.'
Free: 'Have May bring my little knife to me.'

5.63.2 Double Causative.

The causative prefix has been found to occur reduplicated on a verb resulting in a double causative. There is a morphophonemic rule that applies here which is <u>he-</u> + <u>he-</u> becomes <u>he-</u> + <u>fe.</u>

	Pred	Init-1	Init-2	Ag	Pat$_T$
Examples:	He-fe blay	Kasi	ke Sanang	ke Bedung	yem
	ca ca give	Kasi	pm Sanang	pm Bedung	spec

onuk   -en.
chicken his

Free: 'Kasi had Sanang have Bedung give his chicken (to someone).'

Pred	Init-1	Init-2	Ag	Pat$_T$	
He-f-eted	Ting	ke Min	ke Dusin	yem^T kuda	-en.
ca ca deliver	Ting	pm Min	pm Dusin	spec horse	his

Free: 'Ting had Min have Dusin deliver his horse.'

This double use of <u>he-</u> is not to be confused with a reduplicated <u>he-</u> on derived verbs where the <u>he-</u> adjacent to the root acts as a verbalizer. The initial <u>he-</u> represents the initiator tagmeme.

	Pred	Init	Ag	Pat$_T$	
Examples:	He-f- taha	Min	ke To	yem^T fet safi.	
	ca vb tall	Min	pm To	spec rope cow	

Lit: 'What Min had To make longer was the cow's rope.'
Free: 'Min had To make the cow's rope longer.'

```
Pred          |Init  |Ag   |Pat
He-f- tungô|Fining|ke Li|ngà^T  Bun.
ca vb sleep Fining pm Li child Bun
```
Lit: 'The one Fining had Li put to sleep was the child
        Bun.'
Free: 'Fining had Li put the child Bun to sleep.'

5.64 Variation by Reflexion.

     There is a modification that may occur with a limited
number of verbs in which the agent and patient are collapsed
into one tagmeme with agent representing both. The action
is then reflexive with agent acting upon himself. In such a
case agent is topicalized without the corresponding agent
complement (me-) in the verb. This is more easily seen by
use of pronouns since pronouns group into topic and nontopic
sets. Note the following.

Examples: Patient oriented verb   Pred | Ag| Pat_T |
           zero marked and agent   Tebel|-u| kahûn yô|
           represented by   leave I box   that
           nontopic pronoun.
                                    Loca
                                    bè gunù.
                                    at house
           Lit: 'What I left at the house was that box.'
           Free: 'I left that box at the house.'

           Patient oriented verb   Pred | Ag_T & Pat_T| Loca
           zero marked and agent   Tebel|-e^T | bè gunù.
           represented by topic   leave I, me   at house
           pronoun.
           Lit: 'The one I left at the house is me.'
           Free: 'I stayed behind at the house.'

           Accessory oriented verb Pred| Ag | Pat| Acces_T
           zero marked and agent   Dyo |-hu| du | sabun.
           represented by   bathe I him soap
           nontopic pronoun.
           Lit: 'What I used to bathe him was soap.'
           Free: 'I bathed him with soap.'

```
Accessory oriented verb    Pred │Ag_T Pat_T
zero marked and agent      Dyo  │-hĕ.
represented by topic       bathe  I, me
pronoun.
Lit:    'What I bathed was myself.'
Free:   'I took a bath.'
```

Only a very limited number of verbs have been found to have reflexive possibilities in their basic patient or accessory oriented forms. A few other examples are betik 'thing used to waken', géhél 'thing hurried' and slob 'thing stopped by for'.

However, quite a number of verbs may be reflexive with the addition of causative prefix he-. The initiator and patient tagmemes are then collapsed into one represented by the initiator. The initiator then has something done to himself.

Examples showing contrasts:

```
       Pred        │Init│ Ag      │Pat_T
(a)    He-gunting  │-u  │ ke Kasi │ngà    yó.
       ca haircut   I    pm Kasi child that
       Lit:    'The one I have Kasi give a haircut to is that
               child.'
       Free:   'I have Kasi give that child a haircut.'

       Pred        │Init & Pat_T │Ag
(b)    He-gunting  │-e           │ke Kasi.
       ca haircut   I, me         pm Kasi
       Lit:    'The one I have Kasi give a haircut to is me.'
       Free:   'I have Kasi give me a haircut.'

       Pred        │Init│ Ag      │Pat_T
(a)    He-tebek    │-u  │ bélĕem  │nga    -u.
       ca inject    I    you      child   my
       Lit:    'The one I have you inject is my child.'
       Free:   'I have you give my child an injection.'
```

```
        Pred     | Init & Pat   |Ag
 (b)    He-tebek | -e         T |béléem.
        ca inject   I, me          you
        Lit:    'The one I have you inject is me.'
        Free:   'I have you inject me.'
```

```
        Pred      | Init| Pat
 (a)    He-tolok  | -u  | #.    T
        ca teach    I    him
        Lit:    'The one I have (someone) teach is him.'
        Free:   'I have (someone) teach him.'
```

```
        Pred      |Init & Pat
 (b)    He-tolok  |-e.        T
        ca teach    I, me
        Lit:    'The one I have taught is myself.'
        Free:   'I have myself taught.'
```

5.7   Agent Position.

There are a number of adjuncts in the verb phrase which attract pronouns manifesting agent. Most of these attract topic pronouns only. One has been found which attracts nontopic pronouns only. The result is that a clause level tagmeme (agent) is embedded in the verb phrase. For a detailed description, see Verb Phrases in Chapter 3. (See 3.28.)

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER 5

VERBAL CLAUSES

[1] Jannette Forster (1961) refers to a dual structure of
verbal clauses in Dibabawon. I am assigning a somewhat
similar dual structure to the verb. This interpretation is
described in greater detail in an unpublished paper entitled,
Focus in Tboli Verbal Clauses. Porter, File SIL Manila.

[2] In a grammar of Agta, Phyllis Healey (1961) describes
clauses as essentially equational in a topic-comment type of
construction.

[3] he- becomes h- before stems whose initial syllable is CV
or CVC. See Chapter 1, Sec. 1.11.

CHAPTER 6

SENTENCES

6.0   Introduction.

A sentence in Tboli may be internally defined as an obligatory nucleus with optional occurrence of sentence level peripheral elements. Whereas a clause is a predicate centered construction with clause constituents participating in roles related to the predicate, a sentence is a clause centered construction with sentence level constituents participating in roles related to a proposition or propositions.

The distinction between periphery and nucleus needs clarification. Periphery is here defined as elements of the sentence which are not clausal (propositional) in nature and which do not provide contrastive features for sentence types. They may occur indiscriminately with different types of nuclei, the constraints being on a higher level, i.e., paragraph and discourse. Nuclear elements (except for the simple sentence) express interclausal relationships which provide contrastive sentence types.

The sentence formula is pictured in Chart 21.

Chart 21
Sentence Construction

	Vocative		
± Excl	± Attn Mrk	+ Head	± Sentence Conjunction

weyò
class
	E	a) Personal
		   Name
		
		b) Kinship
		   Term
		
		c) wè 'friend'
		   ± personal
		   name
			Relators yakà class
			
			Links ne$_2$ class

± Sent Topic	+ Nucleus	± Disclaimer of Responsibility	± Echo Ques
Loc. Phr. Noun Phr.	Single Clause Related Clauses	Kun 'it is said'	kóó 'echo question'

Rule: Vocative may also occur sentence final in which case
       attention marker (Attn Mrk) is obligatorily absent.

This chapter will describe the elements of sentence periphery, demonstrate contrastive sentence nuclei, and then conclude with a brief discussion of sentence recursion in which sentences may be embedded within sentences.

6.1   Sentence Periphery.

The peripheral elements of a sentence in Tboli have been divided into inner and outer. There are five tagmemes of the outer periphery and one of the inner periphery.

6.11   Outer Periphery.

Those tagmemes occurring as outer periphery in order of linear occurrence are exclamation, vocative, sentence conjunction, which are prenuclear in position, and disclaimer of responsibility and echo question which are post nuclear in position. Exclamation, vocative, and echo question may be present in direct quotative material and as such are most commonly found in narrative or dialogue paragraphs.

6.11.1   Exclamation.

Exclamation tagmeme is expounded by a class of exclamations which include expressions of dislike, pain, surprise, pity, etc. (For a complete listing, see Chapter 2, Sec. 2.12.3.)

<u>Weyò   deng btù   #.</u>
whoops past break it   'Whoops, it broke.'

<u>Adê   des   yó.</u>
ouch pain that   'Ouch, that hurts.'

6.11.2   Vocative.

Vocative tagmeme is expounded by personal names or kinship terms used in direct address.

E Sol bé   -em gel   fét laan lefò   yem kudà.
<u>Sol don't you always tie under coconut that horse</u>
'Hey Sol, don't be always tying the horse under the coconut
tree.'

Hol   hentilob   -em Wè   Gà.
<u>very make/pretty you friend Gà</u>
'Make it really pretty, Friend Gà.'

6.11.3 Sentence Conjunction.

Most relators and links which occur within sentence
nuclei may occur prenuclear as sentence conjunctions. This
happens when a flow of speech is interrupted and must be
picked up again. The conjunction refers to something in the
previous context.

<u>Relators</u> are defined as subordinating conjunctions
which introduce dependent clauses. They are of the class
<u>yakà</u> which includes:

    <u>botong</u> 'extent'
    <u>yakà</u> 'since'
    <u>abay</u> 'because'
    <u>balù</u>, <u>baluen</u>, <u>anien</u> 'even', 'even if'

<u>Links</u> are defined as coordinating conjunctions which
link independent clauses. They are of the class <u>ne</u>$_2$ which
includes:

    <u>okóm</u>, <u>bede</u>   'but'[1]
    <u>mom</u>   'on the contrary'
    <u>anì monem</u>   'when in fact'
    <u>ne</u>   'and'
    <u>dalang</u>   'also' (occurs only when sentence topic
                         tagmeme occurs)
    <u>duhen ke</u>   'or' (occurs only when sentence topic
                         tagmeme occurs)
    <u>omin</u>   'and then'

Examples:

Yakà gel   tnondo -hen ke dumu   -hen.
since always cheat   he pm companion   his
'Since he is always cheating his companions.'

Mom   yó   nmo-en gotu ken-en.
rather that did he all   eat he
'Rather what he did he ate it all.'

Dalang ke Fining mung   snéen kun.
also   pm Fining accompany also   her
'Fining also accompanied as for her.'

6.11.4 Disclaimer of Responsibility.

    The disclaimer of responsibility tagmeme is expounded
by kun 'it is said' and is used whenever the speaker does
not wish to take responsibility for a statement made coming
from another source.

Examples:

Tey   metlasik kun.
very fast   it/is/said   'It is very fast, it is said.'

Là móyó -en mógów kun.
neg want   he go   it/is/said
'He doesn't want to go, it is said.'

6.11.5 Echo Question.

    Echo question tagmeme is expounded by kóó which indicates
the questioner expects an answer in the positive.

Examples:

Tahu snéen kóó?
true also   'It's true, isn't it?'

Mung   -i   kóó?
accompany you   'You will accompany, won't you?'

Ton -em kóó?
see you   'You see, don't you?'

6.12   Inner Periphery.

     Sentence topic is the tagmeme of the inner periphery.
This tagmeme is set apart as inner periphery because of a
closer semantic tie to the nucleus than the outer periphery.
It may indicate circumstance/time or subject to be discussed
in the nucleus. It is expounded by either a locative phrase
or a noun phrase. Sentence topic and clause topic are not
necessarily related.

Examples: Locative phrase expounding sentence topic.

(The illustrated unit is in parentheses.)

Circumstance/time:

(Bè yem   tehe   knagi -u) wen   ngà   tngón -u boluy-en
  at that before study my there/was child know   I name   his

Abusama.
Abusama   'At my studying before I knew a child whose name
            was Abusama.'

(Bè yem   kton   -u du) tey -e likò.
  at that seeing I it very I fear
'At my seeing it I was very afraid.'

Subject:

(Bè Tboli) là   hol   -en mdengen kul   kbenwu.
  at Tboli neg really   it settled their living
'As for the Tboli, their living isn't really settled.'

Examples: Noun phrase expounding sentence topic.

(Kem fak) sok kmulón là hol   le   nù   lem él.
  pl frog when rains neg really they stay in water
'As for frogs, when it rains, they don't stay in the water.'

(Tau   leged)   gel   wen   libun miwol du.
  person industrious always there/is woman yearn him
'An industrious man, he always has women yearning for him.'

(Nim   ulof   ni) sotu all kniko kem Tboli.
this one medicine here one   very fear pl Tboli
'This one medicine, it's one the Tboli are very afraid of.'

6.2 Sentence Nuclei.

    The nucleus of a sentence may be expounded either by a
single clause (a simple sentence) or two or more clauses
with only one primary relationship expressed. More than
two clauses in the nucleus will be discussed under sentence
recursion. The deep structure interclausal relationships
(semantic) along with their surface structure (grammatical)
encoding form the basis upon which the contrastive sentence
types are here presented.

    Clauses are linked according to different logical
relationships between propositions. These relationships may
be grouped into seven different classifications. They are:
(1) temporal, (2) amplification, (3) conjunction, (4)
implication, (5) equational, (6) cause-effect, and (7)
quotation.

    There are several sentence types under each classification.
Following is a description of Tboli sentence types.

6.21 Simple Sentence.

    The Simple Sentence is a nucleus expounded by an
independent clause with optional occurrence of periphery.
For construction of the Simple Sentence, see 6.0; for examples,
see 6.1.

6.22 Temporal Relationship Sentences.

    There are eight contrastive sentences whose propositions
are related by subordinating temporal particles. The temporal
relationship of two events or states may be overlap,
simultaneity or succession.

6.22.1   Temporal Overlap Sentence.

     The construction of the Temporal Overlap Sentence is
shown in Chart 22.

Chart 22
Temporal Overlap Sentence

+ Base 1	+ Base 2
Dep. cl. whose rel. is <u>igò</u> 'while'	a) Indep. cl. b) Sentence

     In the Temporal Overlap Sentence the timing of the
event or state of the independent clause overlaps at some
point with the event or state of the dependent clause.
Bases may freely exchange positions.

<u>Igo   -u dmadu kól   Kasi ne   lemwót Alun.</u>
while   I plowed arrive Kasi and   leave   Alun
'While I plowed, Kasi arrived and Alun left.'

<u>Igo   -en meket du dê   snólók -en.</u>
while   he count it many ask   he
'While he counted it, he asked many things.'

<u>Kendel   nwit le   elaan igo   -en hanâ   heslaf.</u>
immediately take they down   while   he still verge/of/death
'Immediately they take him down, while he still is on the
verge of death.'

<u>Tódô ndek   -en # igo   -en kini.</u>
just pound   he it while   it hot
'He just pounded it while it was hot.'

6.22.2   Temporal Simultaneity.

     There are two sentence types whose propositions are
related by temporal simultaneity. One is continuous and the
other is punctiliar.

6.22.21 Continuous Simultaneous Sentence.

    The construction of the Continuous Simultaneous Sentence
is shown in Chart 23.

Chart 23
Continuous Simultaneous Sentence

+ Base 1	+ Base 2
Dep. cl. whose rel. is igò 'while'	Dep. cl. whose rel. is igò 'while'

    The events or states in the two bases of the Continuous
Simultaneous Sentence are simultaneous and continuing over a
period of time. The bases may be reversed with no change in
meaning.

Igo   -u mógów igo   -u mken.
while I go   while I eat
'I ate while I went along the way.'

Igò   le   dmadu igò   le   semngal.
while they plow   while they sing
'They sang while they plowed.'

Igo   -en meket du igo   -en smólók du.
while he count it while he ask   it
'He asked while he counted it.'

6.22.22 The construction of the Punctiliar Simultaneous
Sentence is shown in Chart 24.

Chart 24
Punctiliar Simultaneous Sentence

+ Base 1	+ Base 2
Dep. cl. whose relator is <u>uni</u> 'the minute'	a) Dep. cl. whose relator is <u>uni</u> 'the minute' b) Independent clause c) Sentence

The events of the two bases are simultaneous and punctiliar.

Uni   −hen lemwót uni   −hen mton du.
the/minute he leave the/minute he see it
'The minute he leaves he sees it.'

Uni   −hem mluf uni   −hem hemsù du lem él
the/minute   you burn the/minute you place it in   water

tnaw.
cold   'The minute you burn it put it in cold water.'

Uni   −hen temngel tódô ton −en tey ulal lembang.
the/minute he look   just see he very snake large
'The minute he looked he just saw a large snake.'

Uni   −hen mungol du tódô kendel   mlóy abay se likò.
the/minute he hear   it just immediately run because fear
'The minute he heard it he just immediately ran because he was afraid.'

6.22.3 Temporal Succession.

Sentences expressing temporal succession relationships may be grouped into projected time succession and accomplished

time succession. These in turn are subgrouped into prior
and subsequent succession. Projected time refers to an
event or state that is nonspecific as to whether it has
taken place or not. It is a general, recurring happening.
Accomplished time refers to a single event or state that has
already taken place.

6.22.31 Projected Time Prior Succession Sentence.

    The construction of the Projected Time Prior Succession
Sentence is shown in Chart 25.

Chart 25
Projected Time Prior Succession Sentence

+ Base 1	+ Base 2
Dep. cl. whose relator is kesok 'when'	a) Indep. Clause b) Sentence

    The occurrence of the two events (or states) are
nonspecific as to when they take place but the event of the
dependent clause is prior to the event of the independent
clause. The bases freely exchange positions.

Kesok deng kken le   gotu bnos le   hunges ken le.
when   past eat   they all hide they wrapper food their
'When they finish eating, they hide the wrappers from their
food.'

Kendel   me gel   mlóy elaan   gunù kesok gel
immediately we always run underneath house when always

ton me yó   kem ówóng   abay se gel   -e likb bè yem
see we that pl airplane because always I fear at that

luk.
sound
'Immediately we always ran under the house whenever we saw
the airplanes because I was afraid of the sound.'

Tlu   benwu   gunu -n e-mógów kesok wen   tau matay bè
three country place he   go   when there/is man die   of

Tboli.
Tboli   'There are three places he can go when a Tboli dies.'

Kesok bnonok   des -en yem tau bè kayung gunu -n e-mulék.
when   murdered pain his that man to kayung place he   return
'When a man is murdered, kayung is the place he returns.'

     In an unexpanded clause where the subject of the two
bases is the same, there is a construction which may occur
where the particle kesok may be deleted. In this case, the
dependent clause must follow the independent clause.

Slob -u kól   kedeng.
go/by I arrive later   'I'll pick it up when I come back
                          later.'

Ma -he mkaf   kedeng.
get I climb later   'I'll get some when I climb later.'

Tnaba -hu lemwót kedeng.
call   I leave later   'I'll call him when I leave later.'

Nwit -en mulék kedeng.
bring he return later
                          'He will bring it when he returns
                          later.'

6.22.32 Projected Time Subsequent Succession Sentence.

     The construction of the Projected Time Subsequent
Succession Sentence is shown in Chart 26.

Chart 26
Projected Time Subsequent Succession Sentence

+ Base 1	+ Base 2
Dep. cl. whose relator is <u>gu laan</u> 'before'	a) Indep. Clause b) Sentence

The occurrence of the two events (or states) are nonspecific as to time but the event of the dependent clause is subsequent to the event of the independent clause. The two bases freely exchange positions.

<u>Okóm gu laan le   là deng lemwót na   le   bentù yem</u>
but   before they neg past leave first they break that

<u>kuleng.</u>
cooking/pot   'But before they leave, they break the cooking
                pot.'

<u>Gu laan le   là deng mehek yó   nmò le   natul le   ken</u>
before   they neg past plant they do   they idea   they food

<u>le   mehek.</u>
their plant
'Before they start planting, they plan their food for the
planting.'

<u>Gu laan yem   gida là menek   -en kbenwu Tboli.</u>
before   that war neg peaceful   it living Tboli
'Before the war, Tboli living wasn't peaceful.'

<u>Ne   le   nit mógów lemibut aut   gu laan le   là deng</u>
first they take go   around ladder before   they neg past

<u>mit   mayuk yem ngà.</u>
take far   that child
'First they take (the child) around the ladder-up-in-the-
house before they take the child to a far place.'

6.22.33 Accomplished Time Prior Succession Sentence.

    The construction of the Accomplished Time Prior
Succession Sentence is depicted in Chart 27.

Chart 27
Accomplished Time Prior Succession Sentence

+ Base 1	± Sequence Marker	+ Base 2
Dep. cl. whose relator is timbów class 'when'	omin 'then'	a) Independent clause b) Sentence

Members of timbów are: timbów   'when'
                         tikóng   'when'

There is no apparent difference in meaning between timbów
and tikóng.

    The event of the dependent clause in the Accomplished
Time Prior Succession Sentence comes immediately prior to
the event of the independent clause. The order of the two
bases is fixed.

Timbów me   btik   bè yó   omin me bud   lemwót.
when   we(ex) wake/up at there then we again leave
'When we woke up, then we left again.'

Timbów deng móyón   talak   kemdaw omin me mógów ebè yem
when   past almost middle/of day   then we go   to that

gunù   mnagì.
house study
'When it was already almost mid-day, then we went to school.'

Timbów deng tô   tahà udÌ   yem halay mà   ne
when   past would/fain tall small that rice   father now

msut tlangas.
come locusts
'When the rice of father was already somewhat grown, the
locusts came.'

    Sometimes the subordinating particle is deleted but
there is no change in meaning.

Deng haya   -hen bè yó   ne nauy me gunÌ mnagi bè
past next/day it   at there now visit we house study at

Edwards.
Edwards   'When it was the next day, we visited the school at
           Edwards.'

Deng móyón   talak   kemdaw omin me mógów ebè yem   gunÌ
past almost middle/of day   then we go   to that house

mnagÌ.
study
'When it was almost mid-day, then we went to school.'

Deng mwas   bè yó   són hendem-u géhél kehlós ebè KenalÌ.
past daybreak at there all think I hurry proceed to Kenalu
'When it was daybreak, all I could think about was quickly
proceeding to Kenalu.'

6.22.34 Accomplished Time Subsequent Succession Sentence.

    The construction of the Accomplished Time Subsequent
Succession Sentence is shown in Chart 28.

Chart 28
Accomplished Time Subsequent Succession Sentence

+ Base 1	+ Base 2
Dep. cl. whose relator is of the class <u>song</u>	Indep. cl. whose pred. is marked for past tense or contains <u>tek</u> 'only when'

The class <u>song</u> includes:

<u>song</u>   'only when'
<u>hatan</u>   'not until'

     The event of the dependent clause is subsequent to the
event of the independent clause and carries the additional
meaning that the event of the independent clause had to
happen before the dependent clause could. The order of the
clauses is fixed.

<u>Song</u>   gefet me bè <u>Manila</u> deng mwas.
only/when reach we to Manila past daybreak
'We only reached Manila when it was daybreak.'

Ne <u>song</u>   mkó   yem des -u tek   tenbek Mr. Rogue
now only/when remove that pain my only/when inject Mr. Rogue

ou.
me 'My sickness was cured only when Mr. Rogue injected me.'

<u>Song</u>   gtungó-e tek   bud   mdóm sotu kumù   Ye
only/when sleep I only/when again loan one blanket mother

Udì.
little
'I was able to sleep only when Little Mother loaned me a
blanket.'

6.22.35 Discontinued Succession Sentence.

The construction of the Discontinued Succession
Sentence is shown in Chart 29.

Chart 29
Discontinued Succession Sentence

+ Base 1 (Continued Action)	+ Base 2 (Discontinued Action)
a) Independent Clause b) Sentence	efet 'until' dependent clause or sentence

In the Discontinued Succession Sentence the act of the
first base is discontinued at the action of the second base.

Bud   -i   hidong   efet gungol -em yem mudél ebélé-em.
again you close/eyes until hear   you that speak to   you
'You close your eyes again until you hear someone speaking
to you.'

Ngang   le mógów efet le   sut   bè yem tey koyu bong.
continue they go   until they arrive at that very tree big
'They continued going until they arrived at the very big
tree.'

Là   tagad -en temngel efet gungol -en uni   tók   -en.
neg wait   he look   until hear   he sound knife his
'He waited to look until he heard the sound of his knife.'

6.23 Amplification Relationship Sentences.

There are four sentence types in which the second of
two juxtaposed clauses adds information to amplify the first
clause.

6.23.1 Generic-Specific Sentence.

     The construction of the Generic-Specific Sentence is
shown in Chart 30.

Chart 30
Generic-Specific Sentence

+ Generic Statement	+ Specific Statement^n
Independent Clause	Independent Clause

Superscript ^{n} means specific statement can be repeated a num-
ber of times. As many as three repetitions have been found.

     In the Generic-Specific Sentence the second clause
amplifies the first by adding specific information to the
generic information of the first.

Ne   bong dê   tau   molò   bè yó   boluy le   tau   molò
now big many person follow to there name   they person follow

modung.
death/watch
'Now many people follow along there, they are called the
people following to the death-watch.'

Mò kul le   Témê   Ukol gunù le   deng bud   tmiba?
do them they grandfather short place they past again make/a/

field?   'What about Short Grandfather and the others, where
         have they again made a field?'

Deng le   kól   kem ngà hitu le   tehe   mung   kul.
past they arrive pl child seven they before accompany them
ᵠThey already arrived, the seven children who had
accompanied them.'

Tey hyu kmò le   kóm nekay   le   u   bigu.
very good do they you present they you winnowing/tray
ᵠIt was nice what they did to you, they presented you with a
winnowing trayₒ' (with food on it)

Examples with more than one amplification:

Là nu   -en bélé -en lóyóf -en nù   bè tu   kem
neg dwell it with he spirit his dwell to there pl

dumu   -hen gna   matay nù   bè Mugul ngali le   ditu.
companion his ahead die   dwell in Mugul keep they there
'His spirit isn't dwelling in him, it's dwelling there in
Mugul with his companions who died before, they are keeping
it thereₒ'

Tódò mlo   kulit -en kéng/tô kulit ngà   lomi sut laen dù
just smooth skin his like   skin child new born not any

bud   lekes ton -en.
more scar see he
'His skin is smooth, just like the skin of a new born child,
he doesn't see any more scars.'

6.23.2 Illustration Sentenceₒ

     The construction of the Illustration Sentence is depicted
in Chart 31.

Chart 31
Illustration Sentence

+ Statement	+ Illustration
Independent Clause	Lumun independent clause

In the Illustration Sentence the second clause amplifies
the first clause by a clause which illustrates by giving
examples regarding information in the first clause.

Alì   móyô mken yó   kem bungu mesóm lumun # bisol nihan
really like eat   that pl fruit sour like   it bisol nihan

ne   kem dumu.
and pl   companion
'She really likes to eat sour fruit, like bisol, nihan, and
others.'

Kihu   nmò yem logi lumun # dilan   iluy   dun ke
whatever work that man   like it rat/trap rat/trap or

blatik   ne tey dê   duen.
pig/trap and very many remain
'Whatever kind of work a man does, like rat traps, pig trap,
and very many others.'

Hol gunu -hen nù tdak lumun # kulu le   gulom.
int place it be truck like it trail they ant
'It's the place there are many trucks, like the trailing of
ants.'

Dê   se   kul   muni   sok le   hligal lumun # heglung
many also their noisemakers when they happy like   it guitar

lewu fét   -en.
two string it
'They also have many noisemakers when they are happy like the
two-string guitar.'

6.23.3 Additive Sentence.

     The construction of the Additive Sentence is depicted in
Chart 32.

Chart 32
Additive Sentence

+ Statement	+ Added Statement
Independent Clause	lel independent clause

In the Additive Sentence more information is given in
the second clause regarding the statement made in the first
clause. It is linked to the first clause by <u>lel</u> 'besides'.

<u>Omin le   hamak   yó kem tau   mulu   lel</u>
they they chew/betel that pl   person attend/wedding besides

<u>le   smagi.</u>
they pound/agongs
'Then the people attending the wedding chew betel nut, besides
they pound the agongs.'

<u>Mom   bléké kun kakim -en lel   long   -en.</u>
instead aside his jaw   his besides snore his
'Instead his jaw was hanging-open-aside, besides he snored.'

<u>Tey dé   nmò bè ni   lel   safî laen dù semgyok   du.</u>
int many work at here beside cow   not any look/after it
'There is lots of work here, besides the cow doesn't have
anyone looking after it.'

<u>Tey dé   ówóng   lemnek lel   ówóng   lembang.</u>
int many airplane small beside airplane big
'There were lots of small planes, besides big planes.'

6.23.4 Comparative Sentence.

    The construction of the Comparative Sentence is shown in
Chart 33.

Chart 33
Comparative Sentence

+ Base 1 (Statement)	+ Base 2 (Comparison)
lumun 'like' + ke- derived noun phrase	lumun 'like + independent clause

In the comparative sentence base two expands base one by
making a comparison.

Lumun kton   le   ke Tuha Logi lumun tô   mà   le.
like seeing their pm Old Man like almost father their
Lit: 'It was like their seeing Old Man, it was like their
          father.'
Free: 'The way they saw Old Man was as if it was their
          father.'

Hol lumun kton   -u yem mohin lumun tô   mlel.
int like seeing my spec sea   like almost flow
Lit: 'It was really like my seeing of the sea, it was like
          it was flowing.'
Free: 'The way I saw the sea was as if it were flowing.'

6.24 Conjunctive Relationship Sentences.

The conjunctive relationships between Tboli clauses may
be classed into coordination, opposition, and alternation.
There are four contrastive sentence types that fit into these
groupings. In each case a grammatical link is used to
indicate the relationship expressed.

6.24.1 Coordinate Sentence.

The construction of the Coordinate Sentence is shown in
Chart 34.

Chart 34
Coordinate Sentence

+ Base 1	+ Coord Link	+ Base 2	± (+ Link	+ Base 3)
a) Indep. Clause b) Sent.	ne 'and' dalang 'also'	a) Indep. Clause b) Sent.	ne 'and' dalang 'also'	a) Indep. Clause b) Sent.

Coordinate sentence consists of a number of coordinate bases each connected by coordinate link. Chronology of the bases is nonexistent or irrelevant.

Deng kól   dini Yê   Bong ne gotu me hligal.
past arrive here mother big and all we happy
'Big Mother has arrived and we are all happy.'

Lenogom le   ne hnù le   talak.
harvest they and put they middle
'They harvest the rice and they put it in the middle (of the field).'

Fen   mafas dumu   yem tau   matay ne fen   nwa
the/one hold companion that person die   and the/one get

yó   kem tuón   -en ne kem fay
those pl parents/in/law his and pl brothers/and/sisters/in/

    -en.
law his.
'The companions of the deceased are the ones to hold on to him, and the parents-in-law and brothers and sisters-in-law are the ones to take him.'

Hlun   he-segyok   Yê   Lomi do ne fen   he-segyok
temporarily ca care/for Mother New me and the/one ca care/for

-u Kasi yem bew   logi.
 I Kasi that carabao male

'New Mother temporarily made me care for it, and I made Kasi be the one to take care of the male carabao.'

When link is expounded by <u>dalang</u> 'also' base two is expounded by a sentence with Sentence Topic tagmeme.

<u>Lemwót kun namak   tum libun blay-en yem logi dalang</u>
leave her betel/nut that girl   give she that boy   also

<u>se   yem logi ogu -hen tum libun tum kun namak.</u>
emp that boy hand he   that girl that his betel/nut
'The girl's betel nut, she gives to the boy, also the boy, he hands his betel nut to the girl.'

The sentence of base two may be elliptical rather than overt.

<u>Là hol le   hligal kem ngà   dalang se   dou.</u>
neg int they happy pl child also   emp me
'The children aren't very happy, also me, (I'm not very happy either).'

<u>Yake   hol ye mni bélê me dalang se   kuy.</u>
good/if int you pray for   us also   emp you/all
'Good if you really pray for us, also you all (we'll pray for you).'

<u>Là hol-e móyô hlós   dalang se   Alun.</u>
neg int I want proceed also   emp Alun
'I didn't want to go on further, also Alun (he didn't want to go on either).'

Coordinate link <u>ne</u> 'and' can be deleted when there is some kind of similarity between the two clause constructions。

Both clauses contain sentence topic.

<u>Yem safì tey lóbô   yem bew   tey móyô mken.</u>
that cow int fierce that carabao int want eat
'The cow he is really fierce, the carabao he really wants to eat.'

Both clauses contain existential.

Wen   geblă   wen   se   mima.
there/is adequate there/is also long/time
'There are some that are adequate, there are some that are a
long time.'

Both clauses contain <u>fen</u>.

Logi fen   mehek   libun fen   mla.
man   the/one make/hole woman the/one drop/seed
'The man is the one to make the holes, the woman is the one
to drop the seeds.'

6.24.2 Opposition.

There are two sentence types in which opposing relations
are expressed between clauses. They are antithetical sentence
and contra-expectancy sentence.

6.24.21 Antithetical Sentence.

The construction of the Antithetical Sentence is
depicted in Chart 35.

Chart 35
Antithetical Sentence

+ Thesis	+ Adversative Link	+ Antithesis

a) Independent
    Clause
 	
b) Sentence
	okóm[1] 'but'
	
	bede 'but'
		a) Independent
		    Clause
		
		b) Sentence

In the antithetical sentence the antithesis tagmeme adds
information that is in some way contrastive to the thesis
tagmeme.

Ne   sotu fedyan le   dini bede gel   likò Dyim.
and one   week   they here but always fear Jim
'And they were here for a week, but Jim was always afraid.'

Là bitil -en ógóf   bè/yó Lem Là okóm bitil   kem tau.
neg hungry it animal there Lem La but hungry pl person
'The animals aren't hungry in Lem La, but the people are
hungry.'

Tô   hnu-en bè sfolò sotu doli okóm hni-hu bè sfolò.
fain put it at ten   one half but ask I   at ten
'He would have put the price at ₱ 11.50, but I bargained for
₱ 10.00.'

Wen   yem kgal   menut   -u okóm alì udì.
there/is that shirt stretch my but   int small
'I have a sweatshirt, but it is very small.'

6.24.22 Contra-Expectancy Sentence.

     The construction of the Contra-Expectancy Sentence is
shown in Chart 36.

Chart 36
Contra-Expectancy Sentence

+ Statement	+ Contrastive Link	+ Contra-Expectancy Statement
a) Independent Clause b) Sentence	mom^2 'rather' 'instead' ewenem 'even so' anĭ monem 'when in fact'	a) Independent Clause b) Sentence

In the contra-expectancy sentence the event or state of the second base is in opposition to base one in that it is against what is expected. This sentence is not to be confused with the contra-expected concessive sentence (6.25.3).

Examples with mom 'rather'.

Là setnŭ le kum   mom   sentólóng le   mi.
neg join they us (ex) instead separate   they us
'They didn't put us together, rather they separated us.'

Tô   mon-en ekta   mom   mon-en etlem.
fain say he toward/top instead say he toward/bottom
'He would have said far up, instead he said far down.'

Tey sbong ngelem mom   tô   mdà   wek   datal kulu -en.
int gully deep   rather fain stand hair flat   head his
'The gully was very deep, so deep it made the hair stand up on his head.'

Nam   e hungol ke Mà   Bong ni   du bala   =en mom
first   hear pm Father Big here it answer his instead

temnŭ kun kdóyón   se kun.
add/to his praising emp as/for/him

'When this Big Father heard his answer, he praised/bragged
all the more.' (Culturally, this is an unexpected
response.)

Examples with <u>ewenem</u> 'even so'.

<u>Tey gel   ktondo   le   du ewenem tódô kem hegbayà</u>
int always tormenting they him even/so just   ignore

<u>bélê le.</u>
of   them
'They were always tormenting him, even so he was able to
just ignore them.'

<u>Balù yem deng kkukub le   kul   ewenem   sana   tey kdê</u>
even that past jailed they them even/so already int all

tau   hmungol yem deng tulón le   ne hentahu le.
person hear   spec past tell they and believe they
'Even though they had been put in jail, even so already
there were many people who heard what they told and they
believed it.'

Examples with <u>anì monem</u> 'when in fact'.

<u>Tey dê   tulón-en bè   yem angat kógów le   anì monem</u>
int many tell   he about spec future going their when/in/fact

<u>kéng-en.</u>
lie   he
'What a lot of things he told about their future trip, when
in fact he was lying.'

<u>Kmon-u deng hulung   semfala anì monem   là.</u>
say I past know/how read   when/in/fact not
'I thought he already knew how to read when in fact he didn't.'

6.24.3 Alternative Sentence.

     The construction of the Alternative Sentence is depicted
in Chart 37.

Chart 37
Alternative Sentence

+ Observation Formula	+ Mrkr	+ Prop 1	±(+Alter	+ Prop 2)
Class tngón[3] clause	ke 'whether'	Independent clause	duhen ke[4] 'or'	Indep. clause

Even though the alternative is not obligatorily overt, it is always understood.

The members of tngón[5] class in Chart 37 are: tngón 'know', hendem 'think', tulón 'tell', mon 'say', ungol 'hear', sólók 'ask', ton 'see', ngunte 'I don't know', hyu 'good'.

Tau   fun tniba là tngón-en du kun   ke angat hyu
person own field neg know   he it himself if future good

halay-en   dun là.
rice   his or   not
'The person who owns the field, he doesn't know himself whether his rice will be good or not.'

Là   bud   hendem-u du ke   bud   mowil ke là.
neg again think I it whether again live   or neg
'I didn't stop to think again whether she might live or not (live).'

Là tulón le   du do ke   móyð Dyusif duhen ke là.
neg tell they it me whether want Joseph or   not
'They didn't tell me whether Joseph wants it or not.'

In a direct address question the observation formula and marker are obligatorily dropped.

Mógów-i   bè fedyan kô   ke tagak-i?
<u>go   you to market ques or stay   you</u>
'Are you going to the market or are you staying (back)?'

Nu   -i   lem bulul   duhen ke nu   -i   bè datal?
<u>stay   you in   mountain or   stay   you on plain</u>
'Do you live in the mountains or do you live in the plains?'

6.25   Implication Relationship Sentences.

There are three sentence types whose interclausal
relations are based on implication. That is, the event or
state of one clause does (or does not) happen with (or
without) the event or state in the second clause.

The three sentences whose propositions are related by
implication are conditional, concessive, and contra-expected
concessive.

6.25.1   Conditional Sentence.

The construction of the Conditional Sentence is shown in
Chart 38.

Chart 38
Conditional Sentence

+ Protasis	+ Apodosis
Dep. Cl. whose relator is <u>ke</u> 'if' or <u>syan</u> 'as long as'	Independent Clause Sentence

Rule: If relator is <u>syan</u> 'as long as', the Protasis must
        permute to post apodosis position. It may permute if
        relator is <u>ke</u> 'if'.

In the Conditional Sentence the Protasis forms a condition necessary to the completion of the Apodosis.

Ke bong he-bli le   kóm.
if big ca buy they you
'If it is big, they make you buy it.'

Ke bong mu   -hen logi là hol-en bong kimu   blay-en.
if big purpose he man neg int it big   property give he
'If he is a good catch, he doesn't pay a large bride price.'

Hmatay le   ke alì le   lembut.
kill   they if int they angry
'They kill if they are very angry.'

Mung   -e syan   dohò   te mulék.
accompany I as/long/as certain we return
'I'll go with you just as long as we are sure to return.'

Ken -u # syan   là sidek-en.
eat I it as/long/as not bad   it
'I'll eat it as long as it is not bad (to eat).'

If the protasis is marked for completed action, the condition may imply contrafaction. In that the condition is not met, the apodosis is contrafacted.

Ke deng-i   mayad là kô ntuk le   kóm.
if past you pay   not emp dun they you
'If you had paid, they certainly wouldn't be dunning you.'
The fact is he didn't pay so they are dunning him.

Ke deng ton-em # deng benli-hem # ne.
if past saw you it past buy   you it now
'If you had seen it, you would have bought it.'
The fact is he hadn't seen it so he didn't buy it.

Deng bong ne dnalang   -en ke deng # hulung
past big now things/learned she if past she know/how

semfala.
read   'She would have learned a lot now if she knew how to
           read.'
          The fact is she doesn't know how to read so she
          hasn't learned a lot.

6.25.2 Concessive Sentence.

     The construction of the Concessive Sentence is shown in
Chart 40.

Chart 40
Concessive Sentence

+ Concessive Mrk	+ Thesis	+ Antithesis
anien ke[6] 'even if' baluen ke 'even if' tibas 'even though'	a) Independent Clause b) Sentence	a) Independent Clause b) Sentence

     Concessive marker plus thesis of Chart 40 must permute
to post antithesis when tibas 'even though' is the concessive
marker. Otherwise, permutation is optional. Concessive
marker plus thesis form a dependent clause.

     In the concessive sentence the event or state of the
antithesis takes place in spite of the event or state of the
thesis.

Són yó   all danda/dók le   tibas   là hol gbek-en du.
all that int command   they even/though not int able he it
'All they did was command him even though he wasn't able to
do it.'

Ge-tngel Ngà   Hikit tibas   là deng-en mail ngà
inv look child Hikit even/though neg past it howl child

ohu-hen.
dog his
'Nga Hikit couldn't resist looking even though his dog hadn't
howled.'

Anien ke wen   gunừ la -en dừ   ken le.
even if there/is house not it left/over food their
'Even if there is a house, they don't have any food.'

Baluen ke hlós le   kul le   Alun tódô hyu nawa   =w
even   if go   they them they Alun just good spirit my

mulék.
return
'Even if Alun and the rest go ahead, I'll be just as happy
to go back.'

Baluen ke kinì tódô henlel   le   mò nmò.
even   if hot just continue they do work
'Even if it is hot, they just keep on working.'

Baluen ke mungkul yem gunừ ne deng le   nừ ta-hen bud
even   if blessed that house and past they stay up it   again

hnénég le   du bè sdô guta le   ta-hen.
see   they it at pig get they up it
'Even if the house is blessed and they have already moved
into it, they test it again through a pig they might get
while they are living in it.'

6.25.3 Contra-Expected Concessive Sentence.

    The construction of the Contra-Expected Concessive
Sentence is shown in Chart 41.

Chart 41
Contra-Expected Concessive Sentence

+ Base 1 (Thesis)	+ Base 2 (Contra-Thesis)
Dep. Cl. whose relator is <u>igò</u> 'even though'	Dep. Cl. whose relator is <u>igò</u> 'even so'

The surface structure of the Contra-Expected Concessive Sentence is almost identical with the Continuous Simultaneity Sentence. There are two distinguishing features. (1) The bases may not be reversed without a change in the construction. If base two (contra-thesis) is permuted to prethesis position igò must be dropped, and there is an accompanying change in actor position. (2) One or both of the bases may express a punctiliar action in the Contra-Expected Concessive Sentence. Both actions must be continuous in the Continuous Simultaneity Sentence.

The Contra-Expected Concessive Sentence contrasts semantically with the Concessive Sentence in that the contra-thesis is an unexpected action or state.

Igo	-en sem wen	kudà igò	me se tódô
even/though	it emp there/is horse	even/so	we emp just

tmonok.	
walk	'Even though there was a horse, even so we walked.'

Igo	-en tek sotu dou nes	igo	-en ma du.
even/though	it only one my dress	even/so	she take it
'Even though I had just one dress, even so she took it.'

Igo	-en mlóy yem bus	igo	-en menek.
even/though	it ran that bus	even/so	it quiet
'Even though the bus went fast, even so it didn't bounce around.'

Permutation of above examples:

Menek	igoen	mlóy yem bus.
quiet	even/though	run that bus
'It didn't bounce around even though the bus went fast.'

Tódô me se tmonok	igo	-en sem wen	kudà.
just we emp walk	even/though	it emp there/was	horse
'We just walked even though there was a horse.'

Nwa -hen	igo	-en tek sotu dou nes.
take it	even/though	it only one my dress
'She took it even though I had just one dress.'

6.26 Equational Relationship Sentences.

There are three contrastive sentence types in which the relationship between two clauses is equational: descriptive, correlative, and equational reason sentence.

6.26.1 Descriptive Equational Sentence.

The construction of the Descriptive Equational Sentence is shown in Chart 42.

Chart 42
Descriptive Equational Sentence

+ Base 1 (Statement)	+ Base 2 (Des. Statement)
a) Class ni 'that' marked Independent Clause b) Sentence containing class ni marked Independent Clause	a) Indpendent Clause b) Sentence

The class ni of Chart 42 includes:

ni	'this'
yó	'that'
tu	'that' (far)
yu	'that' (out of sight)

In a descriptive equational sentence, statement tagmeme introduces the subject and descriptive statement tagmeme describes the subject. Except for the obligatory occurrence of the demonstrative ni class forms, the descriptive equational sentence is not unlike the Generic-Specific Sentence described earlier (see 6.23.1).

Yó nmò le   ne   le   maba.
that do   they first they make/a/test/field
'What they do, first they make a test field.'

Yó   nmò blotik metlasik kógów -en.
that do star   fast   going it
'That's what the star does, it goes fast.'

Tu kmò   le   yó   kem hunges ken benos le   lu   laan
that doing they those pl wrapper food hide   they them under

tiba.
field
'That's what happens to the food wrappers, they hide them
under the field.'

Ni   des   -en nolos.
this sickness   it foxed
'That's its sickness, its been foxed.' (contaminated by a
fox)

6.26.2 Correlative Sentence.

     The construction of the Correlative Sentence is shown
in Chart 43.

Chart 43
Correlative Sentence

+ Base 1 (Statement)	+ Base 2 (Correlation)
Class ni 'that' marked independent clause	Class ni 'that' marked independent clause

     Whatever number of the class ni appears in Base 1,
     also appears in Base 2.

In the correlative sentence the two bases are related by comparing equivalents.

Yó   kwen ké   -en yó   kwen sigang halay le.
that many droppings it that many stacks rice their
'As many droppings as there are, so many will be their stacks of rice.'

Ni   se   kdaw kmò le   ken ni   se   kdaw kwit   le
this also day make their food this also day taking their

kul.
them   'This feast day, this is also the taking day.' (to be married)

Tu   kwen hulu -hem tu   kwen angat   tmowok.
that many plant you that many future grow
'As many as you plant, that's how many will grow.'

Tu   se   gunu le tmiba   tu   se   angat   gunu le
that also place they make/field that also future place they

nù.
live
'The place where they make a field, that's also the place where they will live.'

6.26.3 Equational Reason Sentence.

The construction of the Equational Reason Sentence is shown in Chart 44.

Chart 44
Equational Reason Sentence

+ Base 1 (Result)	+ Relator	+ Base 2 (Reason)
Equational Clause whose Topic Head is filled by mu 'purpose' or gunu der NP	ani 'so that' abay se 'because'	Independent Clause Sentence

Yó   mu   yem bwas   anì   bkó   yem
that purpose that chicken/sacrifice so/that release that

blatik.
pig/trap
'The purpose of the chicken sacrifice is so that the pig trap
will spring (and catch a pig).

Yó   gunu   le   tembol ne lemanu anì   likò ke wen
the reason they beat   and chant so/that fear if there/is

busaw.
demon
'The reason they beat and chant is so that if there is a demon
he will be afraid.'

Yó   mu   Yê   Udì   mogow anì   tnóbóng-en yó   kem
that purpose mother little go   so/that help   she that pl

tau   bè Manila.
person in Manila
'The purpose Little Mother is going is to help the people in
Manila.'

Yó   sotu gunu   -hu hógów kuy anì   là   bned ye.
that one   reason I   send you so/that neg bored you
'That's one reason I send you out so that you won't be bored.'

Ni   mu   -hen yem kubang   le   du abay se kenbê le
this purpose   it   that rejecting their him because reject they

nmo   -en.
work   his
'This is the purpose for rejecting him it's because they
don't like what he does.'

Yó   gunu   le   mò   hdul abay se mahil mugod   yem koyu.
the reason they make brace because easy fall/over spec tree
'The reason they make the brace is because the tree falls
over easily.'

     When Base two is expounded by or contains an existential
clause, the relator is commonly deleted. It is not an
obligatory deletion, however.

Yó   mu   -hen yem kauy   le bè Yê   Bong le,
that purpose it the visiting they to Mother Big   their

wen   tey ngà   nged Dina.
there/is very child doll Reyna
'That is the purpose of their visiting their Big Mother,
Reyna has lots of dolls.'

Yô   sotu gunu   -hu là tmolok Akad   gna   wen   alì
that one   reason I not teach Sunday before there/is very

sidek kdes   -en Linda.
bad   sickness her Linda
'That's one reason why I didn't teach last Sunday, Linda
had a bad sickness.'

6.27   Cause-Effect Relationship Sentences.

There are three contrastive sentence types in which the
relationship between propositions is cause-effect. They may
be grouped as result-reason, cause-result, and means-purpose.
A reason-result relation is manifested as Reason Sentence. A
cause-result relation is manifested as Result Sentence, and
a means-purpose relation as a Purpose Sentence.

6.27.1   Reason Sentence.

The construction of the Reason Sentence is shown in
Chart 45.

Chart 45
Reason Sentence

+ Base 1 (Result)	+ Reason Mrk	+ Base 2 (Reason)
a) Indep Cl b) Sentence	abay 'because' yakà 'since' 'for' lan 'by way of'	a) Indep Cl b) Sentence

Examples:

Là deng bnala -u du he abay   mgel nim snólók   ni.
not past answer I it yet because hard spec question this
'I didn't answer it yet because this question is hard.'

La -en dù duk   -u abay   bong óyó   -u mnagì.
not it any laziness I because big desire my study
'I'm not lazy because I really want to study.'

Tódó snulat-u nim mon-u ni   abay   alì legen   yem angat
just write I spec say I this because int long/time spec future

keston   te.
seeing/each/other we (dual)
'I'll just write this which I have to say to you because it
will be a long time before we see each other.'

Là tagad le   hligal yakà tolo -hen lemobun.
not yet   they happy since still it cloudy
'They aren't happy yet since it's still cloudy.'

Là hol-en tahà sulat -u yakà moo/ktuk-u.
not int it long letter my since sleepy   I
'My letter isn't long since I'm sleepy.'

Wen	kô	bulung	-en	yem	mitô	ilung	yakà	dê	dulék
there/is	ques	medicine		it	spec	bleed	nose	since	many times

-u	gembunù	du.
I	experience	it

'Is there medicine for nose bleed since I experience it a
lot?'

Tódô	tembek	lem	tonok	tukô	lunay	lan		Bong	Busaw
just	stab	in	ground	point	lunay/tree	by/way/of		Big	Spirit

he-gel.
ca hard

'The point of the lunay tree just stuck in the ground by way
of the strength of Bong Busaw.'

Botong	msut	tenahi	-hen	lan		le	alî	hmayam	du.
extent	come/out	intestine	his	by/way/of		they	int	harm	him

'To the extent his intestines came out by way of their
harming him.'

Ya	bè	lówó-hen	tódô	tefeng	halî	lan		nuhag	mékét.
exc	at	body his	just	covered	sore	by/way/of		bee	sting

'Wow, his body was just covered with sores by way of the bee
stings!'

6.27.2 Result Sentence.

The construction of the Result Sentence is shown in
Chart 47.

Chart 47
Result Sentence

+ Base 1 (Cause)	+ Result Mk	+ Base 2 (Result)
a) Indep Cl b) Sentence	kô 'perhaps' baling 'become' botong 'to the extent'	a) Indep Cl b) Sentence
± (+ Link	+ Result Mk	+ Base 2)*
ne 'and'	kô 'perhaps' baling 'become' botong 'to the extent'	Indep Cl Sentence

* Result Mk and Base 2 may be repeated a number of times
  if preceded by ne 'and'.

Examples with kô 'perhaps':

Bé   -i   mlan lem fedyan kô   wen   gfa   -em.
don't you path in market perhaps there/is trouble your
'Don't go through the market, perhaps you'll have trouble.'

Liko   -e kudà hanà kegen-u udì   kô   mékét #.
afraid I horse still time I little perhaps bite   it
'I've been afraid of horses since I was little, perhaps it
will bite.'

Hol nmo -em iló -en kô   bud   nulé   le.
int make you mark it perhaps again overstep they
'You really make a mark on it, perhaps they will again
overstep.'

Example with Base 2 repeated:

Nan són ni   he ksulat -u kô   miteg ye   semfala du
now end this yet writing   my perhaps tired you read   it

ne   kô   meglala ye.
and perhaps pestered you
'Now this is the end of my writing, perhaps you are tired of
reading it and perhaps I've pestered you.'

Examples with <u>baling</u> 'become':

Ne tudà le   huli du sla   baling ikong-en.
and throw they after him stirring/spoon become tail his
'And they threw after him a stirring spoon, it became his
tail.'

Hotu   le   nawa   le   bè tau   baling klifót le   kul
give/all they breath their to people become forget they their

knù.
self
'They gave all their breath to people, become forgetting
themselves.' or
'They became concerned for others resulting in forgetting
their own selves.'

Tudà le   huli du kuleng udì   baling kulu-hen.
throw they after him kettle small become head his
'They threw after him a small kettle, it became his head.'

Examples with <u>botong</u> 'to the extent':

Tey nelem # botong   -e kmifus.
int deep it to/the/extent I go/over/head
'It was really deep, to the extent I was over my head.'

Geblekel # lem lihol ko   botong   gekwak
crosswise it in throat hornbill to/the/extent spit/out

ko.
hornbill
'It was crosswise in the throat of hornbill, to the extent
hornbill spit it out.'

Tódô gel   mni bè Dwata botong mkó   des   yem nga
just always pray to God   extent remove sickness that child

-en.
his
'He just always prayed to God, to the extent the sickness of
his child was cured.'

Tey tahà yem henneged yó   botong-e meeng   du.
int long that climb   that extent I thirsty it
'That was really a long climb, to the extent I'm thirsty
from it.'

6.27.3 Purpose Sentence.

     The construction of the Purpose Sentence is shown in
Chart 48.

<div align="center">Chart 48
Purpose Sentence</div>

+ Base 1 (Ground Means)	+ Purpose Mrk	+ Base 2 (Purpose)
a) Indep Clause	ani 'so that'	a) Indep Clause
b) Sentence	mò 'for purpose of'	b) Sentence

     Mò 'for purpose of' and ani 'so that' are submembers of
a purpose class of relators. Ani is used in reference to the
purpose of an action or state (predicates). Mò is used in
reference to the purpose of an object or thing (nouns).

Examples of ani 'so that':

Tódô h- ninggel   -u semgyok   du ani   bud   mabù.
just ca beautiful I look/after it so/that again fat
'I'm looking after it well so it will again be fat.'

Ne   tnaba le   fun   bulul   anì   gmuta le   utón.
and call   they owner mountain so/that obtain they game
'And they call on the owner of the mountain so that they
will obtain game.'

Tódô h- wen   le   anì   glukas.
just ca many they so/that extra
'They just made alot so that there would be extra.'

Hen-tlasik le   mò nmò anì   géhél le   mehek.
ca   fast   they do work so/that quick they plant/rice
'They worked fast so that they could quickly plant rice.'

Examples of mò 'for purpose of':

Aya   fak   yem   gunu   -en myón lem él   mò   #   angat
nest frog that place   it sit   in   water for/purpose it future

gunu   -n mngà.
place   it lay/eggs
'The frog nest is the sitting place in the water for the
purpose of laying eggs.'

Tolo   me   tô   mebel   safì mò   #   benli me。
still we (ex) perhaps look/for cow   for/purpose it buy   we
'We will still probably look for a cow to buy。'

Eles   tódô h- nok   -u sotu sdô mò   #   angat
before just ca grow   I one   pig for/purpose it future

tnimbang -u。
weight/up I
'Beforehand I'll just raise one pig for the purpose of
selling。'

6.28 Quotation Relationship Sentences.

      There are three sentence types expressing a speech
relationship. One clause contains a verb of speech or
mental process with indication of speaker and the second
clause quotes the utterance of the speaker either directly
or indirectly. The three sentence types are Direct Quote,
Indirect Quote, and Equational Quote.

6.28.1 Direct Quote Sentence.

     The construction of the Direct Quote Sentence is shown
in Chart 49.

Chart 49
Direct Quote Sentence

+ Quote Formula$_1$	± Quote Formula$_2$	+ Direct Quote
Clause with <u>mon</u> class occurring in Pred slot	Obligatorily possessed <u>udél</u> class	Independent Clause Sentence

     Members of mon[7] of Chart 49 are verb forms. They are:
mon 'say', mudél 'speak', malà 'answer', tulón 'tell', snólók
'inquire', mólów 'rebuke', meni 'request'.

     Members of udél of Chart 49 are noun forms. They are:
udél 'word', mon 'saying', balà 'answer', sólók 'question'.

Mon Blina mò/ke Yè   Hligal-en Tau   du dumu   -hem
say Blina to   Mother Happy her person it companion your

kesok me lemwót?
when we leave
'Blina said to Happy Mother, Who will be your companion when
we leave?'

Mudél sotu ngà   udél-en Tey bong sdò nbô   Mà   gi.
speak one child word his int big pig carry Father exc
'One of the children spoke, his word, What a big pig Father
is carrying!'

Bnalà yem   tau mon-en Ungel   yó.
answer that man say he foolish that
'The man answered, his saying, That's foolishness.'

Tulón-u du mon-u Bé   -i   hlikò ke matay-i   abay se
tell I her say I don't you afraid if die   you because

wen   tey benwu   tilob.
there/is very country beautiful
'I told her, my saying, Don't be afraid if you die because
there is a very beautiful country.'

Snólók Fining ditu udél-en wen   kô   tau   hemsidek
ask   Fining there word her there/is ques person harm

kóm?
you
'Fining asked there, her words, Was there anyone who hurt
you?'

6.28.2 Indirect Quote Sentence.

     The construction of the Indirect Quote Sentence is
depicted in Chart 50.

Chart 50
Indirect Quote Sentence

+ Quote Formula 1	+ Ind. Quote
mon class clause	a) Independent Clause b) Sentence

     The tagmemes manifesting the Indirect Quote Sentence are
obligatory occurrence of quote formula$_1$ filled by a mon class
clause either patient or agent focused plus an Indirect Quote
filled by a sentence or an independent clause.

Tulón le   do deng nù   bè Mtutung Yè.
tell they me past stay at Mtutung Mother
'They told me that Mother is at Mt. Mtutum.'

Mon-en mò Fila yake   du fen   tmógó ken kun.
say she to Pilar good/if she the/one cook food it/is/said
'She said to Pilar that she should be the one to cook food,
it is said.'

Ofo   do ke tð   là legen-e bè ni bè Nasuli okóm
thought I that would/fain not long I here at Nasuli but

mon le là tagad-e mulék he kun.
say they not wait I return yet it/is/said
'I thought that I wouldn't be long here at Nasuli but they
say that I won't be able to return for awhile yet.'

     The following are contrastive features not revealed by
the formulas in regard to Direct and Indirect Quote Sentences.

(1) There are some stems occurring in the quotation formula of
an indirect quote that do not occur in the direct quote
formula. They are: ofo 'to think mistakenly' and móyó 'to
desire'. Usually these stems occur with the morpheme ke
'that' but ke is not obligatory.

Examples:

Ofo   do (ke) là gefet-en bè tu.
thought I that not reach he there
'I thought he didn't reach there.'

Móyó-e (ke) bong lamang sila-u.
want I that big wide   corn my
'I want my corn to be very wide.'

(2) Indirect quote may not be manifested by a question. A
direct quote question transformed to an indirect quote results
in an Alternative Sentence.

Examples:

Direct Quote.

Snólók le   mon le   Mógów-i   mool   kedeng kô?
ask   they say they go   you downstream later   ques
'They asked, their saying, Are you going downstream later?'

Alternative Sentence.

Snólók le   ke mógów-i   mool   kedeng ke là.
ask   they if go   you downstream later   or not
'They asked if you were going downstream later or not.'

(3) Pronouns offer information as to whether a quote is
direct or indirect. In a direct quote the pronouns are
determined from the standpoint of the person quoted. In an
indirect quote the pronouns used are determined from the
standpoint of the quoter.

Examples:

Direct Quote.

Mon-en mò ke Fila   yake   uu   fen   tmógó ken.
say he to pm Pilar good/if you the/one cook   food
'He said to Pilar, You should be the one to cook the food.'

Indirect Quote.

Mon-en mò ke Fila   yake   du   fen   tmógó ken.
say he to pm Pilar good/if she the/one cook   food
'He said to Pilar that she should be the one to cook the
food.'

     Unless the pronouns give the indication, there is an
area of ambiguity between Direct Quote and Indirect Quote
sentences. To disambiguate an Indirect Quote choose a verb
occurring with ke 'that' (i.e. móyó 'to desire', ofo 'to
think mistakenly') or shift to Alternative Sentence and use
ke 'whether'.

(4) Direct quote sentence may occur without quotation formula
in narrative text if the speaker is clear from the context.

Indirect quote may not so occur.

Examples:

Sok   me ston   wè   Sembilà kedeng, tuha libun,
when we see/each/other friend Sembila later   old woman

sfatay me, mon Bong Busaw mò ke yehen-en. Hen-sidek -en
fight   we   say Big Spirit to pm wife his ca harm he

ketau -hu tau tu.   Mu   du   nihi sotu tau   ke nofok?
person my man that purpose ques tooth one   person if broke
'When my friend and I see each other later, old woman, we
are going to fight, said Big Spirit to his wife. That man
is harming my person. What's the purpose of a person's
tooth if it is broken off?'

(5) Intonation offers further clues as to whether a quote is
direct or indirect. A phonological break usually occurs
between the quotation formula and direct quote that does not
occur between the quotation formula and indirect quote.

6.28.3 Equational Quote Sentence.

     Either the Direct Quote Sentence or the Indirect Quote
Sentence may be made into an Equational Quote Sentence by
the addition of equational marker of the class ni.
Demonstrative ni class fills the comment slot of a nonverbal
clause and the topic is filled by a noun form of the class
mon. The nonverbal comment-topic construction then fills the
equational quote formula slot. See the following
bidimensional array in Chart 51.

Chart 51
Equational Quote Sentence

+ Equational Quote Formula	+ Quote Formula	+ Quote
ni class plus possessed noun form of class of mon	udél class possessed	a) Direct Quote b) Indirect Quote

Noun forms of the class <u>mon</u> of Chart 51 are: <u>mon</u> 'saying', <u>udél</u> 'word', <u>balà</u> 'answer', <u>tulón</u> 'message', <u>snólók</u> 'inquiry', <u>heni</u> 'thing requested', <u>hendem</u> 'thought'.

Examples:

<u>Yó   hendem -u   mon   -u   bud   -e mulék ebè Snólón</u>
that thought my saying my again I return to Sinolon

<u>ne.</u>
now 'What my thought was, my saying, I'll return to Sinolon
      again.'

<u>Yó   snólók -u   wen   gunù meni   ken kedeng kô?</u>
that inquiry my there/is place ask/for food later   ques
'That was my inquiry, is there a place to ask for food later
on?'

<u>Yó   tulón   -u   là gógów-en Tò.</u>
that message my not go   he Tò
'That was my message that Tò couldn't go.'

6.3 Sentence Recursion.

Sentence recursion is defined as the layering or
embedding of sentences within sentences. As already stated
in the introduction to sentence nuclei description, there is
only one primary relationship expressed in any combination of
clauses. When more than two clauses occur in a sentence
construction, it must be determined what units are paired in
propositional relationships. That is if a string of three
clauses occurs, one of those clauses may be paired to just
one of the other clauses thus leaving only two bases. The
relationship between the two bases is what determines the
sentence type.

It seems to be a safe assumption that each base of a sentence
can be expounded by a sentence. However, available recorded
data does not provide the basis for making this a positive
statement. It is probable that bases would have semantic
restrictions controlling the type of sentence level units
that may co-occur.

Following are numerous examples of sentence recursion,
with a statement of which unit is the embedded element.

Temporal type sentences with embedded units. (Embedded
unit is in parentheses. If double embedding occurs, the
larger unit is in brackets.)

Antithetical Sentence embedded in Temporal Overlap Sentence:

Igo   -u dmadu, (kól   Kasi okóm là nwit -en du yem
while I plow   arrive Kasi but not bring he it that

tinok   -u bélé-en).
request I of   him
'While I plowed, Kasi arrived but he didn't bring what I had
requested of him.'

Conditional Sentence embedded in Reason Sentence and Reason
Sentence embedded in Temporal Overlap Sentence:

Igo   -en hanà heslaf   [kendel   nwit le   elaan
while he still verge/of/death immediately take they down

abay se (là móyò le   ke golu   yem kimu   le)].
because not want they if contaminate that property their
'While he is still on the verge of death, they take him down
because they don't like it if their property is contaminated.'

Reason Sentence embedded in Base 1 and Result Sentence
embedded in Base 2 of Continuous Simultaneous Sentence:

(Igò   me sem bitil lan   me klifót mit ken) (igò
 while we emp hungry by/way/of our forget take food   while

me tódò heflóng anì   géhél me gefet.)
we just hurried so/that quick we reach
'While we were really hungry because we forgot to take food,
we just hurried so that we would quickly reach there.'

Coordinate Sentence embedded in Specific Prior Succession
Sentence:

Tikóng kól   Yê   (là ton-en do ne són mo-en smólók
when   arrive Mother not see she me and all do she ask

dou).
me

'When Mother arrived, she didn't see me and all she did was ask for me.'

Conjunctive type Sentence with embedded units.
Conditional Sentence in both bases of Coordinate Sentence:

(Ke milóng, ulal) ne (ke minog, sowu).
 if rough   snake and if soft   python
'If it's rough, it's a snake and if it's soft, it's a python.'

Simple Sentence embedded in Antithetical Sentence and Antithetical Sentence embedded in Coordinate Sentence:

Ne kdê me gotu nù   bè kem Lekanu, ne [bud   -e mulék,
and all we all   stay at pl Ilocano and again I return

okóm (yó   kem nes   -u là bud   blay le   du dou)].
but   that pl clothes my not again give they it me
'And we were all staying with the Ilocanos, and I went back again, but they didn't give me back my own clothes.'

Concessive Sentence embedded in Coordinate Sentence:

Là hyu gbót mken, ne (baluen ke olon mauy, là hyu -hen).
neg good join eat   and even   if only visit neg good it
'It's not good to join in eating, and even if you only visit, it isn't good.'

Antithetical Sentence embedded in Antithetical Sentence:

Deng me gel   kmó snêen, okóm (gel   le likò yó kem
past we always jump also   but   always they afraid that pl

dumu,   okom dou deng-e gel   kmó.)
companion but me past I always jump
'We always dove also, but the others were always afraid, but me, I was always diving.'

Coordinate Sentence embedded in thesis and Concessive Sentence embedded in antithesis of an Antithetical Sentence:

(Wen se   kdaw-en lemobun, ne wen se   là) okóm (balù ke
 there/is day it cloudy   and there/is not but   even if

lemobun tolo   tngón-u tey któbóng Dwata do bè ni).
cloudy   still know   I int help   God   me at here
'Some days are discouraging and some aren't but even if
there are discouraging days, I know God really helps me
here.'

Quotation Sentence embedded in Contra-expectancy Sentence:

Gel   gungol-en yem   mon le   etlem, mom   (bud   mon-en
always hear   he that say they below   rather   again say he

yem kenu   -en dini, mulék   -e etlem.)
that staying   he here   return   I below
'He always heard what they said about below, rather he said
again while he was staying here, I'll return below.'

Antithetical Sentence embedded in statement and Quotation
Sentence embedded in Contra-expectancy statement of
Contra-expectancy Sentence:

(Són mò le   koso   mulék okóm là kun) mom   (mon-en, balù
 all do they hurry return but neg him   rather   say he   even

nù   kegen   -u dini).
stay long/time   I here
'They were continually in a hurry to return but not him,
rather he said even if my staying here is a long time (it's
all right).'

Implication type sentences with embedded units.
Coordinate Sentence embedded in Apodosis of Conditional
Sentence:

Ke minà kê   yem   nam, (angat   tey bong halay le
if soft droppings that worm   future int big   rice   their

ne   angat   bolok dumu   -hen halay.)
and future rot   other   it   rice
'If the worm's droppings are soft, they will have lots of
rice and some of it will rot.'

Reason Sentence embedded in Protasis of Conditional Sentence:

(Ke deng-i   tehe   mayad abay se tngón-em yó   se hyu),
 if past you before pay   because know you that emp good

là kô   ntuk le   kóm.
neg certain dun   they you
'If you already paid because you know that is good, they
certainly wouldn't have dunned you.'

Antithetical Sentence embedded in thesis of Concessive
Sentence:

(Baluen ke móyó-i   kóm okóm là   móyô kem tuha-hem) là
 even   if want you you but   neg want pl old   your neg

kô   guta   -hem du.
certain obtain   you it
'Even if you want something but if your parents don't want
it, you certainly won't get it.'

Coordinate Sentence embedded in Antitheses of Concessive
Sentence:

Anien ke bong filak-em, (là kó   -en legen gotu ne   són
even if big   money your   neg just   it long   gone and all

ketngón   -em   du.)
experience   your it
'Even if you have lots of money, it isn't long until it's
gone, and that is all you know about it.'

Quotation Sentence embedded in thesis of Contra-expected
Concessive Sentence:

(Igo   -en mon du mò ke Mà   là h- bayad -u du kóm) igo
 while he say it to pm Father neg ca pay   I it you while

-en ne e   ntuk ke Mà.
 he pur. p. dun   pm Father
'While he said to Father I won't make you pay me he was
dunning Father.'

Equation type sentences with embedded units.
Coordinate Sentence embedded in descriptive statement of
Descriptive Equation Sentence:

Yó nmò le yem kifu (snged   le   ne
that do they that night tell/each/other/riddles they and

lemingun le).
sing   they
'That's what they did that night, they told each other
riddles and they sang.

Coordinate Sentence embedded in specific statement of
Generic-specific Sentence:

Yó   des   -en ⌈nolos, (là lembang-en ne là hol-en hyu
that sickness it foxed   neg big   it and neg int it good

mken du)⌋.
eat it
'What its sickness is, it has been contaminated by a fox, it
won't be big and it won't be very good to eat.'

Cause-effect type sentences with embedded units.
Coordinate Sentence embedded in result of Reason Sentence:

(Wen   nes   -u ne wen   ken -u) abay se laen dù
 there/is clothes my and there/is food my because not   any

duk -u.
lazy I
'I have clothes and I have food because I'm not lazy.'

Concessive Sentence embedded in purpose of a Purpose
Sentence:

Hol-i mung   kum (ani   ton le   uu baluen ke kenbê
int you accompany us   so/that see they you even   if reject

le.)
they
'You come with us so that they see you even if they don't
want to.'

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER 6

SENTENCES

[1] The distinction between adversative links okóm and bede has not been completely analyzed. Native speaker reaction is that they are interchangeable in most constructions, but okóm is much more commonly used among the Tboli of the area in which the author has lived and gathered data. It is the author's guess that bede shows stronger contrast than okóm.

[2] Mom occurs on phrase level as well as where it modifies a verb or state.

[3] tngón 'know' is the root form. It may appear with the m voice marking infix.

[4] duhen ke 'or' is often shortened to duhen, dun, or ke.

[5] The membership listed of the tngón class is probably not exhaustive. These are at least the most commonly used.

[6] There is no apparent distinction between anien ke 'even if' and baluen ke 'even if'. They may be used interchangeably in all data checked.

[7] Members listed may not be complete. Verbs of speech occur here.

CHAPTER 7

PARAGRAPH

7.0 Introduction.

    Paragraph, a grammatical level between sentence and
discourse is posited for Tboli. It is a grouping of
sentences linked by some cohesive device. The device used
differs according to paragraph types and will be discussed in
detail in following sections of this chapter.

    A paragraph may also be defined according to its external
distribution. It is distributed in discourse as exponent of
discourse level tagmemes.

    Paragraph may embed within a paragraph as background or
supplementary information not crucial to the central purpose
of the paragraph. This means that the exponents of a
paragraph level tagmeme may be a paragraph as well as a
sentence.

7.1 Some Background Definitions.

    Before getting into a discussion of paragraph types, it
will be helpful to define some of the terms used such as
figure, ground[1], periphery, and nucleus.

Figure may be defined as that part of a sentence which
        introduces the new material. It is most often
        manifested by independent clauses.

Ground may be preposed or postposed to figure. Preposed
        ground is defined as that part of a sentence which
        picks up and repeats in some way a part of the figure
        of the preceding sentence. It is that part of the
        sentence in which the linkage devices for narrative
        and procedure paragraphs are found. Postposed ground
        adds information to the immediately preceding figure
        by giving reason, purpose, or result in regard to that

figure. Postposed ground is exploited in explanatory
and hortatory paragraph linkage and is most often
manifested by dependent clauses.

<u>Periphery</u> is those paragraph tagmemes which do not link to
the sentence before or after it in the way that
sentences are linked in any particular type.
Peripheral tagmemes link in a loose way to the
whole of the paragraph rather than to an adjacent
sentence.

<u>Nucleus</u> is that part of the paragraph which contain the
linked material and is diagnostic as to paragraph type
according to the type of linkage used.

7.2 Paragraph Types.

There are five paragraph types posited for Tboli[2]. They
are (1) Narrative, (2) Procedure, (3) Dialogue, (4)
Explanatory and (5) Hortatory. Narrative and Procedure
paragraphs are alike in that sentence linkage within the
paragraph is by means of temporal relations. Explanatory
and Hortatory paragraphs are alike in that sentence linkage
in the paragraph is by means of logical relations. Dialogue
paragraph sentences are linked by means of repartee, i.e. a
verbal activity requiring another verbal activity in response
to the first.

7.21 Narrative Paragraph.

The purpose of the narrative paragraph is to relate the
events of a happening. Usually the events are consecutive
but a few occurrences of an event related out of sequence
have been found.

The construction of the narrative paragraph is shown in
Chart 52.

Chart 52
Narrative Paragraph

Periphery	Nucleus		Periphery
$\pm$ Sett	$\pm$ BU^n	+ BU$_n$	$\pm$ Term
Sentence	Sentence Explanatory Paragraph	Sentence Explanatory Paragraph	Sentence

Tagmeme definitions of Chart 52.

Sett = Setting. When this tagmeme occurs, it must be
initial in the paragraph. It introduces the events of the
paragraph but is not linked by time sequence to the paragraph.
This introduction may establish locale, dramatis personae
and/or subject of the paragraph. Sett is expounded by a
sentence.

BU^n = Build up $^{any\ number}$. Build ups mark the events of
the narration. They are numbered BU$_1$ (first event), BU$_2$
(second event), etc. A build up may be expounded by a sentence
or an explanatory paragraph.

BU$_n$ = Build up $_{nucleus}$. This tagmeme is the last in the
series of events and marks the climax of the events of the
paragraph. It is expounded by a sentence or an explanatory
paragraph.

Term = Terminus. This tagmeme may remark on the events
of the paragraph as a whole or it may foreshadow the events
in the following paragraph to be introduced by a Sett. It
occurs paragraph final and is expounded by a sentence.

7.21.1   Narrative Paragraph Linkage.

As has already been stated, linkage in narrative
paragraphs is by means of temporal relations.   Each sentence
which may be linked to the previous sentence by a temporal
construction indicating consecutive sequence forms a part
of the paragraph.

The linking of sentences within a narrative paragraph
is accomplished by means of some sort of back reference in a
temporal construction to the event of the preceding sentence.
The back reference forms the ground for the succeeding event
expressed in the immediately following figure.   The event of
the figure is again picked up in the ground of the next
sentence.   This process continues until the end of the
paragraph.   It may, however, be interrupted by embedding of
an explanatory paragraph, or by a parenthesis (Parens) in
which the speaker interjects a nonconnected thought.

Back reference in the ground to the previous figure is
done in one of three ways: (1) The verb of the figure in
sentence$_1$ may be repeated in the ground of sentence$_2$.   In
such a case the resulting construction is something like
that exemplified in Chart 53 (arrows indicate direction of
linkage).

Chart 53
Narrative Paragraph Linkage

Ground	Figure
	Her father <u>chopped</u> down the tree.
After he had <u>chopped</u> down the tree	he told the men to drag it away.

(2) The verb in the figure of sentence$_1$ may be reciprocal to
the verb in the ground of sentence$_2$. Reciprocal verbs result
in constructions such as exemplified in Chart 54.

Chart 54
Narrative Paragraph Linkage

Ground	Figure
	I <u>said</u>, "I'm going to school."
Having <u>heard</u> about it	she became angry.

(3) The verb in the figure of sentence$_1$ may be referred to
in the ground of sentence$_2$ in some sort of a continuing form.
Continuing relationships result in constructions such as is
exemplified in Chart 55a and 55b.

Chart 55a
Narrative Paragraph Linkage

Ground	Figure
	The old man <u>left</u> to visit his friend.
When he <u>arrived</u> at his friend's house	his friend was not at home.

Chart 55b
Narrative Paragraph Linkage

Ground	Figure
	The old man sat down
and then	he told his story.

The types of constructions which occur in the ground are temporal dependent clauses, a conjunction implying consecutive sequence, or a time phrase. The relators of the temporal dependent clauses are igò 'while', uni 'at that moment', timbów/tikóng 'when' and efet 'until'. Timbów/tikóng 'when' and efet 'until' are the most commonly used. The conjunction which occurs is omin 'and then'.

The following paragraph exemplifies dependent clauses whose relator is timbów 'when' in BU_1 and BU_2, and a time phrase in BU_n. Back Reference is by continuance in BU_2 and reciprocation in BU_n.

Ground	Figure	
Ne timbów sotu kdaw and when one day bè yó there ⁹And when it was one day there	snukat -u Yê, mon-u, Na deceive I Mother say I now mógów etlem he, Yê bè go down yet Mother to Nang bè Kolon Legiling₀ Nang to Kolon Legiling I deceived mother, I said, I⁹m going down below, Mother, to Nang at Kolon Legiling₀ ⁹	BU_1
Ne timbów-e kól bè and when I arrive at Kolon Legiling Kolon Legiling ⁹And when I arrived there at Kolon Legiling	ne bud snukat-u Nang, and again cheat I Nang Mnagi-e ne₀ study I now I deceived Nang also, I'm going to study now₀⁹	BU_2
Yem kungol -en du the hearing her it teta yem knagi-u up that study I 'Having heard about my studying up there	tey kik Yê₀ int cry Mother how Mother cried₀⁹	BU_n

    The following paragraph exemplifies dependent clauses
whose relator is efet 'until' in BU_1 and BU_n, and sentence
conjunction in BU_2. BU_n exemplifies back reference by
repetition₀ Grammatically efet is joined to the figure but
semantically it relates to ground.

Ground	Figure	
<u>Ngang -en mógów</u> continue he go 'He continued going	<u>efet temngel eta ne ton-en</u> until look up and see he <u>hinal。</u> ray/of/light until he looked up and saw a ray of light.'	BU_1
<u>Ominen</u> and then	<u>milot sudeng-en ne</u> draw/out knife his and <u>keniluk-en tum gunun hinal</u> twist he the place ray <u>ta ne tódô gfan longit.</u> up and just show heaven	BU_2
'And then	he drew out his knife and twisted it around in the place where the ray of light was and the sky was revealed。'	
<u>Ngang -en kemiluk</u> continue he twist <u>du efet</u> it until 'He continued twisting the knife until	<u>bong sol -en ne omin-en</u> big hole it and then he <u>hewâ eta ne duhen bè</u> go/out up and that/it at <u>tum bè Sobù.</u> the at Sobu the hole was big and then he climbed out and there he was at Sobu.'	BU_n
<u>Ne tek sotu bélê le gewâ yó kem tau koni</u> and just one of them get/out that pl person just/ <u> okóm tu kem dumu gotu hlo sowu lu,</u> earlier but that pl other all swallow python them <u>nékét ulal lu.</u> bite snake them 'And he was the only one of those men who escaped but the rest of the men were swallowed by the pythons or bitten by the snakes.'		TERM

The temporal link is not always overt but in any case it may easily be supplied. In the following examples the supplied temporal links are in parentheses. Examples of a temporal clause with <u>igò</u> 'while' as relator is found in BU_2 of both examples。

Example 1

	Ground	Figure	
	<u>Timbów deng móyón</u> when past almost <u>talak kemdaw omin-u</u> middle day then I 'When it was almost the middle of the morning	<u>mulék ne slob-e mken agit</u> return and stop I eat young/ <u> bè lan。</u> coconut on path I returned and stopped by to eat some young coconut on the path.'	BU_1
	<u>Igo -u tolo mken</u> while I still eat <u>yem agit</u> the young/coconut 'While I was still eating the young coconut	<u>tódò ton-u Awéy gu</u> just see I Awéy from <u>bwak slé</u> downstream carry/on/shoulder <u>-hen sning.</u> his small/bag I just saw Awéy coming from downstream carrying a small bag over his shoulder。'	BU_2
	(Omin-en) then he '(Then he)	<u>slob bélé-u bè gunu -hu</u> stop by me at place I <u>mken agit.</u> eat young/coconut stopped by me at the place I was eating young coconut.'	BU_3

(From BU_3)

<u>Omin-en</u> then he 'Then he	<u>ma yem bok Blaan nwit -en.</u> take the book Blaan bring he took the Blaan book he brought.'	BU_4
(Timbów deng <u>kwa</u> when past take <u>-hen du)</u> he it '(When he had taken it)	<u>he-tolok do ne wen</u> ca teach me and there/is <u>tódô kenboluy-en.</u> correct named he he had me teach him and some of what he named was correct.'	BU_5
<u>Omin me</u> then we 'Then we	<u>hlós ne mken me.</u> proceed and eat we proceeded to eat.'	BU_6
<u>Timbów deng (kken</u> when past eating <u>me) omin-u</u> we then I 'When we were done eating, then I	<u>ma yem nwit -u ne tolok</u> take that bring I and teach <u>-u du.</u> I him took that which I brought with me and I taught him.'	BU_n

Example 2

Ground	Figure	
K$\acute{o}$l ta Tuha Logi arrive up Old Man omin-en then he 'Old man arrived up in the house and then	tm$\acute{o}$g$\acute{o}$ du, tn$\acute{o}$g$\acute{o}$-en lem tey cook it cook he in int kuleng bong. kettle bong he cooked it, he cooked it in a very big kettle.'	BU$_1$
Yem igo -en kmodok the while it boil yem tn$\acute{o}$g$\acute{o}$ Tuha Logi the cook Old Man 'While what Old Man was cooking was boiling	mon sotu ng$\grave{a}$ Bong Busaw, say one child Big Spirit Yey, lumun t$\hat{o}$ h$\acute{o}$l$\acute{o}$l ti Hey like bottom feet M$\grave{a}$ gi. Father exc one of Big Spirit's children said, Hey, that looks like Father's feet.'	BU$_2$
	Mon Tuha Logi, Moen sidek say Old Man why bad kud$\acute{e}$l-en ng$\grave{a}$ nii, word his child this tegeedem hemsidek kebek$\acute{o}$ bad/luck harm springing blatik -u. pig/trap my 'Old Man said, What kind of bad talk is that, you're bringing bad luck to my pig trap.'	BU$_n$

    It is not uncommon for the relator to be deleted resultin
in apparent independent clauses. In all cases relator may be
supplied. Following are two examples of this. In addition,
back reference by means of continuance is also illustrated in
BU$_2$ of the second example.

Example 1

Ground	Figure	
Bud hilu buteng-en again many nights it bè yó there 'Again many nights later	wen bud telegram msut there/is again telegram come bélé-en, tinok yem mayor to him request the mayor ditu. there there was a telegram that came to him, the Mayor there requested him to come.'	BU$_1$
Ne (timbów) kól and when arrive ditu yem ngà there the child yó there 'And when the child arrived there,	wen tau mentey du there/is person guard him ani là bud -en hewà, so/that not again he escape kò mlóy. maybe run there was someone guarding him so that he couldn't escape, he might run away.'	BU$_n$

Example 2

Ground	Figure	
	Lemwót Tuha Logi nit -en leave Old Man take he asay-en. ax his 'The Old Man left taking his ax.'	BU$_1$

(From BU₁)

Kól bè gunù Bong	tolo le hlong tungò	BU₂
arrive at house Big	still they snore sleep	
Busaw Tuha Logi	Bong Busaw.	
Spirit Old Man	Big Spirit	
'When Old Man arrived at the house of Big Spirit,	Big Spirit was still asleep snoring.'	

Sentence conjunction **omin** 'and then' is often used as link in combination with **timbów** 'when'. This is exemplified in the following two examples.

Example 1

Ground	Figure	
Deng nbut -en sóól	kól me bè yem gunù	BU₁
past begin it half	arrive we at the house	
mneged kdaw	tanay gunu me mefet.	
climb sun	first place we reach	
'When the sun had climbed half way up in the sky,	we arrived at the first place where we were going.'	
Omin le	hemken kum.	BU₂
then they	feed us	
'And then they	fed us.'	
Timbów deng kken	Dick mit do	BUₙ
when past eating	Dick take me	
me omin		
our then		
'When we had finished eating, then	Dick took me (with him).'	

Example 2

Ground	Figure	
Deng yó̂ omin me past that then we 'When that was finished, then we	mulé̂k ebè̂ gunù ne mken me。 return to house and eat we returned to the house and ate.'	BU_1
Deng kken me omin past eating we then me we 'Having finished eating, then we	lemwó̂t tungô. leave sleep went to sleep.'	BU_2
Timbô̂w me btik bè̂ yó̂ when we wake there omin me then we 'When we woke up there, then we	bud lemwó̂t. again leave again left.'	BU_n

There are temporal expressions occurring in the narrative paragraph that are not part of paragraph linkage but rather part of the discourse linkage (8.11.2). They occur only paragraph initial and indicate a new time horizon in the discourse.

	Ground	Figure
Para. 1.	Yem hlafus bè yó the morning there 'One morning there	btik 4:00 o'clock myón wake 4:00 o'clock sit elaan yem koyu. under the tree he woke at 4:00 o'clock and sat under a tree.'
Para. 2.	Sotu kdaw one day 'One day	wen gunu me solu. there/is place we go we were going someplace.'
Para. 3.	Ne deng dê and past many buteng-en bè yó night it at that 'Now many days passed there	bud wen sulat sut again there/is letter come bélé-en. to him he received a letter again.'
Para. 4.	Bud hilu again how/many kdaw day 'Again how many days later	bud tinok ma -en again request father his ne bud mógów etu. and again go there his father again asked for him and he went there again.'

7.21.2 Recursion.

Any of the BU's of a narrative paragraph may be expounded
by an embedded explanatory paragraph.

PARAGRAPH

Example 1

Ground	Figure
Bud hilu kdaw-en again how/many day it bè yó there 'Again how many days later	bud tinok ma -en again request father his ne bud mógów etu. and again go there his father again asked for him to come.'
Kól ditu arrive there 'He arrived there	nefét le ne wen tie they and there/is mentey du okóm yem guard him but the témé -en móyón grandfather his almost matay ne móyô die and want témé -en ke bud grandfather his if again ton-en Abusama. see he Abusama they tied him up and someone guarded him but his grand- father who was about to die wanted to see Abusama.'
	Wen tulón-en du. there/is tell he him 'He had something to tell him.'
	Nim témé -en ni this grandfather his here tey bong kendengenen ne datù int big belongings and chief 'This grandfather was a very rich chief.'

(From BU$_2$: Expl Para Text)

	Ne mógów ditu Abusama.	
	and go there Abusama	BU$_n$
	'And Abusama went there.'	

Example 2

Ground	Figure	
Tehe knagi -u	wen ngà tngón-u boluy-ᴄⁿ	
before studying I	there/is boy know I name h⸱ᵕ	BU
bè high school	Abusama.	
in high school	Abusama	
yem halay 1965-66		
that year 1965-66	there waᵕ a boy J knew named	
'When I was studying	Abusama.'	
in high school in		
1965-66,		
Bè ketngón -u du	móyó-e swè bélé-en.	
In knowing I him	want I be/friends with him	BU$_2$
'From knowᵢₙₐ hⁱⸯ	I wanted to make friends with	
	him.'	
ᵤ '·gen-en	deng me sana swè.	BU$_n$:
neg long it	past we already friendly	Expl
'It wasn't long	we were already friends.'	Para
		Text
	Gel me slomong	
	always we went/together	Expo
	gel me là mdengen.	
	always we played	
	'We always went along together,	
	we played together.'	
	Tey keswè me.	
	int being friends we	Expo
	'We were very good	
	friends.'	

7.22 Procedure Paragraphs.

The purpose of a procedure paragraph is to explain a
sequence of steps in a process.

The construction of the procedure paragraph is shown in
Chart 56.

Chart 56

Procedure Paragraph

Periphery	Nucleus		Periphery
$\pm$ Sett	$+$ Step^n	$\pm$ Alter Step	$\pm$ Term
Sentence	Sentence Explana- tory Para.	Sentence (Conditional) Explanatory Paragraph	Sentence

Rule.   Alternative step is always an alternative to the
        immediately preceding step.

Tagmeme definitions for Chart 56:

Sett = Setting. This tagmeme may occur only initially
to the paragraph. It is an introduction to the procedure
about to be described but not one of the steps in the process.
It is expounded by a sentence.

Step^n = Step$^{any\ number}$. The step tagmeme is a procedure
in a sequence of procedures describing a process. They are
not limited as to number that may occur in a paragraph although
few examples of more than five steps have been found in the
available data. Its exponent is a sentence or an explanatory
paragraph.

Alter Step^n = Alternative Step$^{any\ number}$. This tagmeme
is not consecutive in a sequence but rather is co-occurrent
in time with the step tagmeme preceding it. It indicates an
alternative; that is, if the preceding step is not carried
out, then the alternative takes its place in the process.
Conceivably there may be as many alternatives as there are
steps but no examples have been found of this. Alternative
Step is expounded by a Conditional Sentence or an Explanatory
paragraph.

Term = Terminus. See Narrative paragraph (7.21).

7.22.1 Procedure Paragraph Linkage.

Procedure paragraph linkage is the same as that of a
narrative paragraph; that is, by means of temporal relations
between sentences. Sequence is manifested by using temporal
dependent clauses, or sentence conjunction omin 'and then'.
Relators in the dependent clauses common to procedure
paragraphs are kesok 'when'^{4} and igò 'while', kesok being the
most common. The relators timbów/tikóng 'when' and efet
'until' are allowable but do not commonly occur.

A temporal construction may not always be overt but can
always be supplied. Following are examples of Procedure
Paragraph Linkage.

Example 1

Ground	Figure	
Ke deng/deng tiba -hen	ne hekeng yem tiba	Step$_1$
when finished field his	first dry the field	
ke wen tniba,	-hen.	
if there/is field	his	
'When they have finished	first they let the field	
slashing the field, if	dry.'	
there is a field,		

(From Step$_1$)

		Step$_2$:
Omin le then they	lemdof du ke wen cut/tree it if there/is	Expl
		Para
	lendof -en.	Text
	tree/to/cut it	
'And then	they chop down the big trees if there are big trees to chop down.'	
	Ke yó nmò le lemdof tódô if that work their cut/tree just	Expo
	sendaw le. one/day they	
	'If that's their work to chop down the big trees, they take all day to do it.'	
Deng kedof past cut/tree	mlós du. trim/branch it	Step$_3$
le omin le they then they 'Having finished chopping down the big trees, then they	cut off all the branches.'	
Deng klós done trim/	són nangat le kékéng ne only wait they drying and	Step$_4$
le branch they	kdaw-en ketem le du. day it burn they it	
du it 'Having finished cutting off all the branches,	they wait for it to get dry and for the day to burn it.'	

Example 2

Ground	Figure
	Ne le gna kemusu now they first tread yem halay. the rice 'First they tread the grain.'
Timbów deng kekusu le when done tread they du omin it then 'When they have finished treading it, then	mkó kewoten ne són remove stems and only usok ne dù tagak. grains now left behind they take out the stems and only the grains are left.'
Omin le then they 'And then they	lembeng lem -en yem bury inside it the bulung he-nok halay. medicine ca grow rice bury the rice medicine inside.'
(Deng kebeng le du) past bury they it '(When they have buried it)	ne le tebel likót. and they leave short/time they leave it there awhile.'
Omin le then they 'Then they	bud· mogut edu. again carry there take it there (grainery).'
Omin le then they 'Then they	lemata du. measure/can/by/can it measure it by 5 gallon cans.'

Continued

(From Step[6])

(Deng klata le du) past canning they it	ne he-tólóng le se now ca different they also	Step[7]: Expl Para Text
	gunu le ma mò ken place they take make food	
	ne he-tólóng le se and ca different they also	
	mò benék ne he-tólóng make seed and ca different	
	le se gunu le ma mò they also place they take to	
	blay le bè tau ne give they to person and	
	tólóng se gunu le different also place they	
	ma mò angat ken mehek take make future food plant	
'(After measuring it by the can)	ne ken tmiba. and food make/field they separate the seed rice and the rice for food and they separate what they will give away and the food to feed the planters when they plant again is different also.'	
	Ke wen tau alì bitil if there/is person int hungry	Expo
	halay yó but -en ke rice that beginning it if	
	laen alì bemlay halay. not int give rice 'If someone is really hungry for rice, that's the beginning of not giving away much rice.'	

Example 3

Ground	Figure	
Ke deng masà ne when past lay now lŏb omin-en burned/area then he 'When what has been burned is down then he	meket libut-en ni logi count/out rice it this man gunu -n temngón du hyu place he know it good kehek-en. plant he counts out rice, this man, so he will know when it's good to plant.'	Step₁: Expl Para Text
	Yŏ se kdaw keket libut-en that day counting rice he yŏ se kehek-en. that plant he 'That day when the rice count comes out even is the day of planting.'	Expo
Igò -en meket while he count/out libut-en rice he 'While he counts out the rice,	snólók-en bè yem halay ke ask he to the rice if angat là wen des. future neg there/is sickness he asks of the rice if it will be without sickness.'	Step₂

Procedure paragraphs may have one or more alternative steps manifested by a conditional sentence. When an alternative step is introduced, succession of steps is suspended until the next sequential step occurs.

Examples of alternative step tagmemes:

Ground	Figure	
	Abay se bè Tboli, ke because in Tboli if wen matay dê kmò there/is die many do le du, wen se they it there/is also lebeng le, wen se lulun bury they there/is wrap le ne wen se tebel they and there/is leave le bè gunù. they in house 'Because in Tboli when someone dies there are many things they do, some they bury, some they wrap, and some they leave in a house.'	Sett
Sok tau wen when person there/is boluy -en name he 'When it is a person with a big name	wen se lenowig le there/is shelter they ne lenungun le. and coffin they some they put in a shelter and some they put in a coffin.'	Step$_1$: Expl Para Text

Continued

(From Step₁: Expl Para Text)

	Tau ali̖ de̖ kembong/nawa̖	Expo:
	person int much love	Proc
	du lenungun le ani̖	Para
	him coffin they so/that	Step₁
	nauy kem dumu -n.	
	visit pl companion his	
	'A well loved person they put	
	in a coffin so that his	
	relatives can visit him.'	
Ke nawan taha̖	nu̖ ta yem lenungun lewu	
if breath tall	stay up that coffin two	Step₂
buteng-en	folo̖ syóm buteng -en.	
night it	ten nine night it	
'If they desire to	the coffin stays in the house	
make it long,	29 days.'	
Ke h- ukol le	olon hitu ani̖ nauy kem	
if ca short they	only seven so/that visit pl	Alter
	tau kembong/nawa du.	Step
	person love him	
'If they make it	it is only seven so that those	
short,	who loved him can visit him.'	

7.22.2 Recursion in Procedure Paragraphs.

    Step and alternate step may be expounded by explanatory
paragraphs.

Ground	Figure	
	Bè kmò kbenwu kem Tboli là in doing living pl Tboli neg hol-en mdengen. int it settled 'Concerning the life of the Tboli it isn't very settled.'	Sett
	Wen se gunù le là there/is also house they neg hol-en legen sana sidek. int it long already bad 'There are some houses it isn't long they are already worn out.'	Step$_1$: Expl Para Text
	Wen se lewu halay-en, there/is also two year it wen tlu fat, ne limu there/is three four and five halay-en. year it 'Some last two years, some three, four or five years.'	Expo
Sok sidek when bad 'When they are worn out,	bud le mebel dumu gunu again they look/for other place le nù. they stay they look for another place to build.'	Step$_2$: Expl Para Text

Continued

(From Step₂: Expl Para, Text)

	Mebel le gunŭ le tmiba, look/for they place they field gunun hyu numa yó gunu place good forest that place le bud menwu, okóm na le they again dwell but now they nungkul. omen/check 'They look for a place to make a field where the forest is good but first they check to see if the ground is cursed.'	Expo: Proc Para Step₁
(Sok nungkul when omen/ le) check they '(When they check it)	wen tukung nfét le, sóól there/is bowl tie they half él nŭ lem -en. water put inside it they tie up a bowl, it is half full of water.'	Step₂
Omin le then they 'Then they	demwél du. swing/back/and/forth it swing it back and forth.'	Step₃
Sok là mkok when neg spill yem él, that water balŭ udì even little 'When not even a little water spills,	mon le mungkul yem tonok say they blessed that ground bè yó. there they say the ground is blessed there.'	Step₄

Continued

(From Step$_3$)

Ke wen if there/is temsik bè yem spill of that él water 'If some of that water spills,	sidek gmunù bè yó. bad build/house there it is bad to build a house there.'	Alter Step: Expl Para Text
Ke bong temsik du if big spill it 'If a lot spills,	bong tau angat matay. big person future die an adult will die.'	Warn
Ke udì if little 'If a little,	ngà angat matay du. child future die it a child will die.'	Warn

7.23 Dialogue Paragraphs.

The purpose of a dialogue paragraph is to report the
speech of one or more persons. If only one person is
involved in a conversation, it is a monologue.

The construction of the dialogue paragraph is shown in
Chart 57.

Chart 57
Dialogue Paragraph

Periphery		Nucleus					Periphery
$\pm$ Sett	$\pm$ BU^n	$\pm$ Sp$_0$	+ Sp$_1$	+ Sp$_2$	$\pm$ Sp$_3$	$\pm$ Sp$_4$	$\pm$ Term
Sent. (not quote)	Sent. (not quote) Expl. Para.	D.Q. Sent. I.D.Q. Sent. Expl. Para.	Same	Same	Any Sent. Expl. Para.	Any Sent.	Sent. (not quote)

Tagmeme definitions:

   Sett = Setting. See Narrative paragraph.

   BU^n = Build Up$^{any\ number}$. See Narrative paragraph.
These BU's differ in that they are peripheral in dialogue
paragraphs and nuclear in narrative paragraphs.

   Sp$_0$ = Speech$_0$. Speech tagmemes zero to four constitute
the nucleus of a dialogue paragraph. Speech tagmeme, zero
rank (Sp$_0$), is peripheral within the nucleus. It may occur
preceding Sp$_1$ or following Sp$_4$. Lexically it is a remark
expounded by a Direct Quote Sentence, an Indirect Quote
Sentence or an Explanatory paragraph.

   Sp$_1$ = Speech$_1$. Sp$_1$ is the first inner nuclear tagmeme
of a dialogue paragraph. Lexically it is a proposal (Prop),
question (Q) or a remark (Rem). The proposal may be in the
form of a command, request, suggestion, plan, etc. A
proposal calls for a response. The question may require
information or a yes or no answer. The remark calls for an
evaluation. Sp$_1$ is expounded by a Direct Quote Sentence,
Indirect Quote Sentence or an Explanatory paragraph.

Sp_2 = Speech$_2$. Sp_2 is the second inner nuclear tagmeme of a dialogue paragraph. Lexically it is a counter-proposal (P̄r̄o̅p̄), counter-question (Q̄), or a counter-remark (R̄e̅m̄). The purpose of Sp_2 is to avoid a direct reply to what is requested by Sp_1 by introducing your own proposal, question or remark. When Sp_2 tagmeme occurs, the result is a Complex Dialogue Paragraph.

Sp_3 = Speech$_3$. Speech$_3$ is the third inner nuclear tagmeme of a dialogue paragraph if Sp_2 occurs. Otherwise, it is the second. Lexically it is a response (Res) to a proposal or counter-proposal, an Answer (A) to a question or counter-question, or an evaluation (Eval) of a remark or counter-remark. Sp_3 tagmeme resolves the dialogue. A Simple Resolved Dialogue Paragraph consists of Sp_1 and Sp_3. Absence of Sp_3 marks an Unresolved Dialogue Paragraph. Sp_3 is expounded by a Direct Quote Sentence, Indirect Quote Sentence, any other sentence which is a nonverbal reply or an Explanatory paragraph.

Sp_4 = Speech$_4$. Speech$_4$ is the terminating utterance of a dialogue paragraph. Lexically it expresses consent to or rejection of a Sp_3 and therefore cannot occur without a previous Sp_3. Sp_4 is expounded by any sentence. If it is a quotation sentence, the response is verbal; if not a quotation sentence, it is nonverbal.

Term = Terminus. See Narrative paragraph.

7.23.1 Dialogue Paragraph Linkage.

Dialogue paragraph linkage is dependent upon the fact that one verbal activity calls for another verbal activity. A proposal, question or remark calls for a response, answer or evaluation. There may be any number of counter-proposals, counter-questions or counter-remarks between speakers. The lexical variants of Sp_2 are not necessarily matched to those of Sp_1. In the same way when a sequence of Sp_2 occurs, there is no required sequence. Any variant may follow any other. Eventually, however, one speaker generally gives in to the other by a Sp_3 utterance resolving the dialogue. If not, an unresolved dialogue is the result. While narrative linkage

occurs within a dialogue paragraph, it is secondary to the
dialogue linkage. BU's in a dialogue paragraph are linked
the same as BU's in a narrative paragraph. This linkage
may also occur between the last BU of the periphery and
the first speech tagmeme of the nucleus.

It should also be noted that linkage may be interrupted
by a parenthesis (Parens). Any construction which interrupts
the flow of the paragraph; that is, it cannot be linked in
any way, is considered a parenthesis. An example of a
Parens may be found in the illustrative paragraph of 7.23.3.

Following are three examples of Simple Resolved
Dialogue paragraphs.

Example 1

Mon-u, Tey bong klifót-u ni kedeng ke là say I int big forget I this later if neg sensogot -u mnagi. follow/one/after/another I study 'I said, What a lot I'll forget now if I don't keep on studying.'	Rem
Ne mon le mò do, Là he yó. and say they to me neg yet that 'And they said to me, No, not yet.·	Eval
Ne hegnu-e sotu halay. and rest I one year 'And I rested for one year.'	Term

Example 2

Ne timbów deng suloy and when past one/night me, we 'And when we had been there one night,	dók le mi molob command they us wash ubi lem él sweet/potato in water they sent us down to the river to wash sweet potatoes.'	BU₁
	Ne nolob wè Yadan and wash friend Yadan yem ubi. the sweet/potato 'Yadan was washing the sweet potatoes.'	BU₂
Ne snólók wè Ting, mon-en, Mu le du and ask friend Ting say he purpose their it ubi ni, wè Yadan. sweet potato this friend Yadan 'And Ting asked, he said, What's their purpose for these sweet potatoes, friend Yadan?'		Q
Mon wè Yadan, Nmó le mambang ni ubi say friend Yadan Make they bread this sweet/ ni. potato here 'Friend Yadan said, They make bread from these sweet potatoes here.'		A

Example 3

Ne mon wè Ting, 'Nauy te Mlikan Bukay and say friend Ting visit we American white leged hnénég kmò le.' south look way their 'And Ting said, Let's visit the Americans south, let's see what they are like.'	Prop
Ne tódô mon wè Yadan, Slomong tekuy. and just say friend Yadan go/together we (inc) 'And Yadan just said, Let's all go.'	Res

Following are two examples of Resolved Complex Dialogue paragraphs.

Example 1

Ston le lem benes Tuha Logi Bong Busaw. see they in grass Old Man Big Spirit 'Old Man and Big Spirit saw each other out in the woods.'	Sett
Mon Tuha Logi mò ke Bong Busaw, Wen dou say Old Man to Big Spirit There/is my blówón, we Sembilà, tey blówón muni. gong friend Sembilà int gong noise 'Old Man said to Big Spirit, I have gong, friend, Sembilà, it really makes a noise.'	Rem
Ke bnogul-em tódò keten bulul henotun-en. if beat you just each mountain go/over it 'If you beat it, it will pass over each mountain.'	Rem
Mon Bong Busaw, H- bogul-em do dé wè say Big Spirit ca beat ycu me emp friend Sembilà. Sembila 'Big Spirit said, Let me beat it, Friend, Sembila.'	Prop
Là mon Tuha Logi, Là h- bogul-u du kóm, wè neg say Old Man Neg ca beat I it you friend Sembilà, ngali -hu. Sembila hold/back I 'No, said Old Man, I'm not going to let you beat it, friend Sembila, I'm keeping it for myself.'	Res

Example 2   (See illustrative text 8.21.1, <u>Abusama</u> para. 14
            embedded in BU .)

	I asked him about his work there and his return here and about his life.	BU$_1$
∅	He told me many things about his parents and about his people also.	BU$_2$
	He said to me, "Don't forget to pray for me," he said, "because what a lot of work I have," he said, "ruling 5,000 people and my grandfather's property."	Prop
	And I said, "If you return, you'll forget all about God."	⎯⎯⎯ Rem
	But he said, "It will grow," he said, "my knowledge of God."	Eval

        Following are two examples of Unresolved Complex
Dialogue paragraphs.

Example 1   (See illustrative text 8.21.1, <u>Abusama</u> para. 6.)

Even though his father didn't want it, his mother still loved him and she would go to Kings (a school) to bring him money.	BU$_1$
But his mother would always say to him, "Be careful because your father doesn't like your faith."	Prop
But the boy said, "Pity you, you don't know the true God."	⎯⎯⎯ Rem

Example 2   (See illustrative text 8.21.3, <u>Tutul Ko lewu le</u>
            <u>Tukol</u> para. 1.)

In the beginning Wren and Hornbill had a contest.	Sett
Hornbill said, "I am the first person."	Rem
But Wren said, "I am the first person."	R̄ēm̄

7.23.2 Compound Dialogue Paragraph.

        A Compound Dialogue Paragraph is composed of a series
of exchanges. Each exchange is expounded by a simple or
complex dialogue paragraph. Linkage between exchanges lies
in the fact that the series of dialogue paragraphs are on
the same subject. The question, proposition or response
initiating Exchange$_2$ grows out of the terminating utterance
of Exchange$_1$. A shift of locale, dramatis personae or time
introduces a new paragraph.

        Following are three examples of Compound Dialogue
Paragraphs. Example 2 and 3 are adjoining paragraphs in a
narrative and is a good example of a time shift that
introduces a new paragraph.

Example 1   (See illustrative text 8.21.1, <u>Abusama</u> para. 2.)

	One day we were going somewhere.	Sett
Exch$_1$:	I asked him about his faith and where he came from.	Q
Sim Dial P	He said, "I come from Libak, I am a Mohammedan."	A
Exch$_2$:	But I said, "Where did you go to school before?"	Q
Sim Dial P	And he said, "One year in Libak, one year in Cotabato and there was a school I knew about," he said, "named King's Institute and now I am studying here."	A
Exch$_3$:	I said, "Who is your companion?"	Q
Sim Dial P	He said, "None, I just came here alone."	A

Example 2   (See illustrative text 8.21.1, <u>Abusama</u> para. 4.)

Exch$_1$:	But I said "What about your parents?"	Q
Sim Dial P	He said, "They don't know God."	A
Exch$_2$:	I said, "Won't they harm you?"	Q
Complex Dial P	He said, "My parents certainly won't like it if I believe in another God."	Rem

Example 3   (See illustrative text 8.21.1, <u>Abusama</u> para. 5.)

	Now one day this boy's father came to know about his faith in another God.	Sett
	His father requested him to come home.	BU$_1$
Exch$_1$: Sim Dial P	Arriving there his father said to him, "Is this new faith of yours true?"	Q
	He said, "It's true."	A
Exch$_2$:	His father said, "If you want to live leave here, if you want to die, come here."	Prop
Sim Dial P	But this boy went out and he returned to Kings.	Res
	They didn't give him any more money.	Term

7.23.3   Recursion in Dialogue Paragraphs.

Speech tagmemes may contain an embedded Explanatory paragraph. (See illustrative text 8.21.1, <u>Abusama</u> para. 9 embedded in BU$_n$)

His grandfather said, "Now that you have arrived I have something to ask of you."	Rem
And he said, "I am about to die but I will make you chief over my 5,000 people."	Prop: Ex P Text
His purpose for him was to make him chief. ↓	Expo
"And I will give you all my riches and my 5,000 people."	Prop
But Abusama said, "You have given me everything but I don't want to be chief."	Res
"Just give me what I want."	Prop: Ex P Text
This grandfather was his grandfather on his mother's side, the father of his mother.	Parens
The reason he said, "Give me what I want so that I can do what I would like," he was thinking he would make a church and teach the people God's word, that is what he was thinking.	Reason
But his grandfather liked his idea and he said, "O.K."	Res
And his grandfather died and that is where the boy stayed.	Term

7.24   Explanatory Paragraphs.

The purpose of the Explanatory Paragraph is to explain a subject by means of exposition on a certain text.

Explanatory paragraphs are of three types.   They are Simple, Coordinate, and Antithetical.

7.24.1 Simple Explanatory Paragraphs.

The Simple Explanatory Paragraph is represented in Chart 58.

Chart 58
Simple Explanatory Paragraphs

Periphery	Nucleus					Periphery
± Prelim	+ Text	± Expo^n	± Reas	± Result	± Warn	± Term
Sent.	Sent.	Sent. Expl. Para. Hort. Para. Proc. Para.	Same as Expo	Same as Expo	Same as Expo	Sent. Expl. Para.

Rule: Expo, Reason, Result and Warning tagmemes have no
       fixed position.

Tagmeme definitions of Chart 58:

Prelim = Preliminary. This tagmeme is an introductory
sentence setting the stage for what follows in the paragraph
but not linked to the paragraph in the way that nuclear
tagmemes are linked. It often indicates a change of time,
location or dramatis personae in the flow of the discourse.
It is expounded by a sentence.

Text. Text tagmeme is the initial nuclear tagmeme of an Explanatory paragraph. It introduces the subject which is to be explained in the paragraph. The verb used is noncommand form. The person is subject oriented third person.

$Expo^n$ = $Exposition^{any\ number}$. This tagmeme adds information relating to the text or is a paraphrase of the text in a parallel form. The person remains the same as the text tagmeme.

Reas = Reason. The reason tagmeme exploits or paraphrases in the Figure of $Sentence_2$ the Reason or Purpose clause occurring in postposed Ground of $Sentence_1$ or if $Sentence_1$ has no such clause, it could easily become the purpose or reason clause of that sentence. In Tboli the Reason tagmeme is quite often expounded by a Reason Sentence but it may be expounded by any sentence or an explanatory, hortatory or procedure paragraph.

Illustration:

	Figure	Ground
S_1	That's the reason they make the coffin	so that all his companions may see him.
S_2	(Purpose Clause Paraphrased) His inlaws and aunts and uncles visiting of him is made possible.	

OR

	Figure	Ground
S_1	That's the reason they make the coffin	(could become purpose clause)
S_2	His inlaws and aunts and uncles visiting of him is made possible.	

Result. The result tagmeme is opposite of reason tagmeme in that it exploits or paraphrases in Reason or Purpose clause of Sentence$_2$ the Figure of Sentence$_1$ or if Sentence$_2$ has no Reason or Purpose clause, then the Figure of Sentence$_1$ could become the Reason or Purpose clause of Sentence$_2$. If it is a Purpose clause that is exploited, it may have a reverse positive-negative value.

Illustration:

	Ground	Figure	Ground
S$_1$		There are some babies that take a long time to be born.	
S$_2$	If the child isn't quickly born	there are those who tell the medicine to use	so that the child will be born quickly.

Warn = Warning. The figure of sentence$_1$ is rephrased in the preposed ground of sentence$_2$ in a Conditional clause. This clause quite often has an opposed positive-negative value from the figure from which it is taken. If a postposed Reason clause occurs in sentence$_2$, it is similar to the Conditional clause.

Illustration:

	Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$
S$_1$	When the woman's pregnancy shows	it is not good if her husband goes out to work without first rubbing his wife's stomach.	
S$_2$	If he doesn't rub his wife's stomach	that is a basis for a difficult birth	because he didn't rub his wife's stomach.

Term = Terminus.   See Narrative paragraph (7.21).

Simple Explanatory Paragraph Linkage.

The most common type of linkage in explanatory paragraphs is by means of flow through the figure of the sentences. This is done by means of Text and Expo tagmemes, where the Text tagmeme introduces the subject and the Expo tagmeme(s) expound on that subject. The following three examples illustrate this type of linkage.

Example 1   (See illustrative text 8.23, Tboli Customs para. 1.)

Figure	Ground	
The place where the Tboli live, south of Cotabato, to Sinolon until you reach Kiamba.		Text
They live mostly in the mountains	because that is where they make their fields in order to make a living.	Expo
There are maybe about 70,000 of these people.		Term

Example 2 (See illustrative text 8.23, Tboli Customs
           para. 26)

<div align="center">Figure</div>

There are many types of weapons among the Tboli, like knives.	Text
Some they buy from the Moslems, some they just make themselves.	Expo
Léwét is one kind of an arrow that when you shoot it, even if it just makes a scratch, the target will die.	Expo
Bow and arrows are used a lot on their enemies and there are many other things also.	Expo

Example 3

Sóól udas me bè lan. half hour we on way 'We spent a half hour on the way (to where we were going).'	Prelim
Tey hyu yem lan hlò smintu. int good the way completely cement 'The road was very good, completely cement.'	Text
Tódó menek igo -en mlóy yem bus. just peaceful while it going the bus 'It was quiet even while the bus was going.'	Expo

Preposed and postposed Grounds are also used in explanatory paragraph linkage. Result, Reason and Warning tagmemes use figure to ground or ground to figure linkage. (See definitions of Reason, Result and Warning tagmemes.)

Following are five examples illustrating this type of linkage.

Example 1   (See illustrative text 8.23, Tboli Customs para.
            14, 15.)

Figure	Ground$_2$	
The place where they get this <u>ulof</u> 'charm' I was speaking of is from a dead person they have put in a shelter.		Intro
If a person wants to make <u>ulof</u> he just waits until they put a dead person in a shelter but it's not good if anyone knows what he is doing.	∅ ↗	Text
It is taboo it is said.		Reas
The place they put the dead person is far from the house because it smells.		Term

Example 2

Figure	Ground$_2$	
Lemwót me smakay tdak, mon le smakay me leave we ride truck say they ride we kafal. ship 'We started out riding a truck, they said we were going to ride on a boat.'		Text
Maya mon deng gel keton -u du du kafal that say past always seeing I it it ship okóm là deng-e gel smakay du. but neg past I always ride it 'Truly I had seen a boat many times but I had never ridden one.'		Expo
Yó se sotu gunun wen kedólól that also one reason there/is fearful nawa -w. breath my 'That's another reason why my breath was fearful.'	↘ ∅	Result

Example 3

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
Kesok deng kken when done eating le they 'When they finish eating	yó nmǒ le gotu that do they all bnos le hunges hide they wrapper ken le. food their what they do, they hide the food wrappers.'	Ø	Text
	Mon le, Wen say they there/is blotik kǒ ton star might see -en. it 'They say, There's the star, it might see it.'		Reas
Ke ton blotik if see star hunges ken wrapper food talak tniba middle field 'If the star sees the food wrappers in the field	mon-en, Tu deng say it There past ken le ken le eat they food their mehek. plant it says, There, they've already eaten what they've planted.'		Warn: Ex P Text

(From Warn: Ex P Text)

		∅	Result
	Yó nmò blotik, that do star metlasik kógów-en. fast going it 'What the star does, it goes fast.'		
	Yó kmò le yó that do they that kem hunges ken bnos pl wrapper food hide le lu laan tiba. they them under field 'What they do with the food wrappers, they hide them under ground in the field.'		Expo

Example 4

Ground₁	Figure	Ground₂	
	Yó gunu le mò that reason they make lungunun ke wen coffin if there/is matay ne gunù le die and reason they modung du, mon death/watch it say le, ani ton kdê they so/that see all dumu -hen. companion his 'The reason they make a coffin and have the		Text

(From Text)

	death watch when a person dies, they say, so that all the family can see him.'		
Ke wen dumu if there/is companion -hen mayuk alì his far int kembong/nawa du, love him duhen tuón -en ke or in/law his if kem dumu ma -en pl other father his ne yé -en, and mother his 'If there are relatives far away who really loved him, or in laws or other mothers and fathers,	 modung death/watch le they they have the death watch	 anì so/that hyu good kauy visit le du. they him so that they can all visit him.'	Result

	(From Result)		
Kesok le sut when they come	gel le tô always they try		Expo
	kemleng mugul ta slash wrist top		
	-hen ne gel it and always		
	le tmoyok ke they suicide when		
	móyón nwa le almost take they		
	ebè tonok. to earth		
'When they come	they always try to slash wrists or threaten suicide when they are about to take the body away.'		

Example 5

Ground₁	Figure	Ground₂	
Ke deng dilô when past show	là hyun ke dê nmô not good if many do	Ø	Text
blutut yem stomach the	yem yehen -en ke là the husband her if not		
libun, woman	nen/ne lo du bè first rub it at		
	blutut yehen -en. stomach wife his		
'When the pregnancy begins to show	it's not good if the husband does his work if he doesn't first rub his wife's stomach.		

(From Reason) Continued

(From Text)

	Mon le déke mima ksut say they maybe long birth yem ngà. the child 'They say maybe the birth of the child will be difficult.'		Reas
	Kihu nmò yem logi lumun whatever do the man like dilan, iluy, blatik, rat/trap rat/trap pig/trap lemeket gunù, kmalud, put/post house strip/hemp mò tébéd ne tey dê duen。 make rope and int many left 'Whatever the man's work is like making rat traps, pig traps, putting up house posts, stripping hemp, making rope or many other kinds of work.'		Expo
Ke wen if there/is nmò yem logi do the man là lo -hen du neg rub he it bè blutut yehen at stomach wife -en his 'If the husband has work and he doesn't first rub his wife's stomach	Yó sotu but -en ke that one beginning it if angat mima ksut yem ngà. future long birth the child that's one of the reasons for a difficult birth.'		Warn

7.24.2 Coordinate Explanatory Paragraphs.

The construction of the Coordinate Explanatory
Paragraph is shown in Chart 59.

Chart 59
Coordinate Explanatory Paragraph

Periphery	Nucleus			Periphery
$\pm$ Prelim	+ Section I	+ Section II	$\pm$ Section^n	$\pm$ Term
Sentence	Simple Explanatory Paragraph	Expl. Para. Hort. Para. Proc. Para.	Same	Sentence

Rules: 1) The Prelim and Term tagmemes function for all
            sections.

        2) Coordinate explanatory paragraphs must have at
            least Section I and Section II but it is supposed
            that any number of sections are possible.

Coordinate Explanatory Paragraph Linkage. Coordinate
Explanatory paragraph linkage is the same as that of Simple
Explanatory paragraphs.

Following are three examples of Coordinate Explanatory
Paragraphs. Supplied links are in parenthesis.

Example 1   (See illustrative text 8.23 Tboli Customs, para.
            19.)

Ground₁	Figure		
Before the war	there was no peace among the Tboli.	Text	Section I: Simple Expl. Para.
	There was always fighting even over tiny matters.	Expo	
	They would put curses on people at night.	Expo	
	They would capture children.	Expo	
	Bows and arrows is what they used to fight.	Term	
Other Tboli, even today	they are always fighting.	Prelim	Section II: Hort. Para.
If they don't know you	don't go among them.	Exhor	
(If you do)	they will cut off your head.	Warn	

Figure	Ground 2		
<u>gel benlay-en</u> always give he	(anì so/that	Text	Section I: Ex Para
<u>yem libun des</u> the woman sick	<u>géhél</u> hurry		
<u>blutut -en</u> stomach her	<u>msut yem</u> born the		
<u>kihu tising,</u> whatever ring	<u>ngà.</u> child		
<u>tloyong, dun</u> bell or			
<u>kihu nóyô</u> whatever want			
<u>blay-en.</u> give he they always give the pregnant woman either a ring, or bell, or anything else they want to give	(so that the child will hurry and be born).		
<u>mon le yó</u> say they that	<u>abay se</u> because	Reas	
<u>gunun là géhél</u> place not hurry	<u>myak</u> ashamed		
<u>sut yem ngà</u> born the child	<u>bè tau</u> at person		
they say that's why the child doesn't hurry and be born	<u>mauy.</u> visit because he's em- barrassed before the visitor.		

Continued

Duhen ke deng or if past sut yem ngà born the child 'Or if the child has already been born	bud benlay -en again give he mon le anì say they so/that lemnok. grow they also give, they say so that he will grow big.'		Text	Section II: Ex Para
Ke là benlay if not give -en he 'If they don't give to him	lii kun. taboo it/is/said it is said it is taboo.'		Warn	

Example 3   (See illustrative text 8.23 Tboli Customs, para.
            35.)

Another place where dead people go, if he dies from being murdered, he goes to Kayung.	Text	Section I: Simple Expl. Para.
Also a person who has been shot.	Expo	
It's a place where everything is red.	Expo	
When there is a rainbow, they say it is the steps for a murdered person because Kayung is up above.	Term	
They treat you well there.	Text	Section II: Simple Expl. Para.
When you arrive they welcome you, they play the klintang (graduated gongs) and they feed you well.	Expo	
When there is a rumble from above, they say a person has been murdered.	Term: Ex P Text	
When it rains and the clouds look yellow they say it is a sign under the feet of a murdered person, especially if there is a rainbow.	Expo	

7.24.3   Antithetical Explanatory Paragraphs.

The construction of the Antithetical Explanatory
Paragraph is shown in Chart 60.

Chart 60
Antithetical Explanatory Paragraphs

Periphery	Nucleus		Periphery
+ Prelim	+ Section	+ Counter Section	+ Term
Sentence	Sentence Simple Explanatory Paragraph	Sentence Simple Explanatory Paragraph Hortatory Paragraph	Sentence

Rules: (1) The adversative particle 'but' either introduces the first sentence of the Counter Section (section) or it may be supplied without any change to the lexical content of the whole paragraph.

(2) Either Section or Section must be expounded by a paragraph.

Antithetical Explanatory Paragraph Linkage. Antithetical Explanatory paragraph linkage is the same as that of Simple Explanatory paragraphs. Following are two examples of Antithetical Explanatory paragraphs.

Example 1   (See illustrative text 8.23 Tboli Customs, para.
             19, Sec.

A long time ago the Tboli would even trade people	Text	Section: Ex Para
My grandfather, he bought many people and he sold many too.	Expo	
But these days they don't do that anymore.	Text	Section: Ex Para
The bad things they used to do like, murder, trading people, putting curses, kidnapping, stealing, they don't do anymore because of the law.	Expo	
There isn't much murder among the Tboli anymore.	Expo	

Example 2   (See illustrative text 8.23 Tboli Customs, para.
            22, 23)

Child marriages, there are those among the Tboli.	Prelim
Marriage doesn't start with the children, only with the parents.	Text
If the parents want it, even if the child doesn't they just go ahead with it.	Expo
They aren't interested in the looks of the boy or the girl either.	Expo: Anti-Ex Para Section: Sentence
They look at industriousness, good character, generosity and if they love their in-laws.	Section: Ex Para Text
An industrious person among the Tboli, even if he doesn't go around looking for a girl, one will just find him.	Result: Ex Para Text
A pretty girl will just come to you if you are a good person because that's what the in-laws want, a boy they can depend on to take care of them.	Expo

7.25 Hortatory Paragraphs.

     The purpose of the Hortatory Paragraph is to advise,
exhort, command, or suggest an action directed toward the
accomplishment of a certain goal.

     Hortatory paragraphs are of three types. They are
Simple, Coordinate and Antithetical.

7.25.1 Simple Hortatory Paragraphs.

     The Simple Hortatory Paragraph is shown in Chart 61.

Chart 61
Simple Hortatory Paragraphs

Periphery	Nucleus					Periphery
+Prelim	(+Exhor	+Reinf^n	+Reas	+ Result	+Warn)	+Term
Sent.	Sent.	Sent. Expl. Para. Hort. Para. Proc. Para.	Same as Reinf	Same as Reinf	Same as Reinf	Sent.

Rule: Nuclear tagmemes following Exhor have no fixed
        position.

Tagmeme definitions for Chart 61:

    Prelim.   See Explanatory Paragraphs (7.24.1).

    Exhor = Exhortation.   The Exhor tagmeme is expounded by
a command or strong suggestion actor being 2nd person or 1st
person plural (inclusive).   Exhor tagmeme exponent may be in
the form of a rhetorical question but actor remains the same,
i.e., 2nd person or 1st person plural inclusive.

    Reinf = Reinforcement.   Reinforcement tagmeme relates to
the Exhor tagmeme in the same way that Expo tagmeme relates
to Text tagmeme in explanatory paragraphs.   Reinforcement is
expounded by a command in the same form as the Exhor tagmeme
or it may be easily transformed to such.   Person is the same
in Reinf tagmeme as it is in Exhor tagmeme.   Reinf quite often
has an opposing negative-positive value to the Exhor tagmeme
but this opposing value is not obligatory.   An embedded

explanatory, hortatory or procedure paragraph may also be
exponent of Reinf.

   Reas = Reason.   See explanatory paragraph (7.24.1).

   Result = See explanatory paragraph (7.24.1).

   Warn = Warning.   See explanatory paragraph (7.24.1).

   Term = Terminus.   See explanatory paragraph (7.24.1).

Hortatory Paragraph Linkage. Hortatory paragraph linkage is
the same as that in explanatory paragraphs. That is, it may
be through the figure by means of Exhor and Reinf tagmemes or
it may be through the grounds, preposed ground for Warn
tagmeme and postposed ground for Reas and Result tagmemes.
The most common type of linkage in Tboli Hortatory Paragraphs
is a combination of the figure flow and ground flow.

   Following are four examples of Simple Hortatory
Paragraphs.

Example 1 (See illustrative text 8.24, para. 14).

Figure

One thing I am thinking of if you talk to an older person, don't scold him like a child so that he will obey you.	Exhor
Be careful that you don't crush the spirit of your companions.	Reinf

Example 2

Figure	
Ni se kem dumu =w setwoli, hol ye tódô this also pl companion my brother int you just hefihol du ne yem kuy tonok ne bê ye abay stay it now the your land and don't you int tnagak baluen ke wen tau tô hdó kuy leave even if there/is person try drive you ta -hen。 top it 'Listen to this my brothers, really stay put on your land and don't leave it even if someone tries to drive you off。'	Exhor
Bê ye abay kó ne tô mdó du don't you int remove now would/fain get/off it abay se kesok tnagak ye là kô ne e bud kuy because when leave you not int now again you du fun -en。 it owner it 'Don't you dare leave it because if you do you are no longer the owners。'	Reinf

Example 3

<div style="text-align:center">Figure</div>

Ni se yem tulón-u kuy yem dumu setwoli deng this also the tell I you the other brother past tô hulung mfun tonok. would/fain know/how own land 'This is what I have to tell you, my brothers who would fain claim land.	Prelim
Bê ye olo tô mfun tonok hkawang ke là don't you just try own land just/any if not hen-tilob hengifat ye du. ca pretty clean you it 'Don't try to just claim land if you haven't cleared it off well.'	Exhor

Bê -em olo mon du, Ni dou don't you just say it, this my tonok ni, tu són-en ditu tuu, dumun land here that end it there that or ke mon-em, Tu bulul tu son-en ke if say you That mountain that end it if là hengifat-em du. not clean you it 'Don't just say, This is my land here, that's the boundary there, or you say, That mountain is the boundary, if you haven't cleared it off.'	Ground₂ ∅	Reinf
Laen dù mu -hen mfun du. not any purpose it own it 'There is no basis for your claim.'		Reas

(From Reas)

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
Gunum mon du nim	botong bud	abay se	Warn:
place say it these	extent again	because	Ex Para
			Text
kmoen ni balu-en	nwa le	là hen-	
days now even it	take they	neg ca	
he yem tau ke	bélé-em yem	gifat-en du.	
yet the person if	from you the	clean it it	
tò mon-en, Ni	tonok		
try say he this	land		
dou tonok ni,			
my land here			
'That's why we say	they can still	because he	
these days even if	take it away	hasn't	
a person will say,	from him	cleared it	
This is my land,		off.'	
Mon le, Sundu kóm du fun -en.			
say they Not you it owner it		Ø	Expo
'They'll say, You don't own it.'			
Laen dù hulu -hen, ne hlò kem teblow ne hlò			Reas
not any plant it and all pl grass and all			
dlag/koyu.			
forest			
'There is nothing planted on it, it's all grass			
and forest.'			

Continued

	Term
<u>Abay se yó ilố -en yem tau ke du mfun du yem</u> because that sign it the person if he own it the <u>tonok wen kem lan-en tmiba du ne dumun</u> land there/is pl way he make/field it and also <u>ke wen lan-en dmadu du ne dê kem hulu-hen</u> if there/is way he plow it and many pl plant it <u>nủ du ne mdengen kgunuen du₀</u> on it and permanent house it 'Because the sign that a person owns a piece of land is he has cleared it or plowed it and planted on it and has his permanent home there also₀'	

Example 4

	Exhor
<u>Yố kem dumu -w bê ye hduk ke móyố</u> now pl companion my don't you lazy if want <u>ye wen tonok ye.</u> you there/is land your 'My brothers, don't be lazy if you want to have land.'	
<u>Balủ bulul ke kốm fun -en, syan hol</u> even mountain if you owner it as/long/as int <u>hengifat-em.</u> clean you 'Even if it's a mountain if you are the owner, as long as you really clear it₀'	Reinf

Bê ye abay mkél bè yem tau mon du, Ni don't you int be/like to the person say it this dou tonok ni, okóm là dog hengifat-en du, my land here but not bother clean he it balù lem blong hehek-en sana towoken du even in between posts his still grow it teblow. grass 'Don't be like the person who says, this is my land here, but he doesn't bother to clear it, even between the house posts there are still weeds growing.'	Reinf

(Ke là hengifat-em if not clean you du) it	ne e msut sotu tau deng and come one person past hulung mfun tonok ne deng know/how own land and past hulung mò nmò ne tódô know/how do work and just nled-en bélê le yem tonok take he from them the land le yó ne mon-en mò their that and say he to kul, Sundu kuy tonok du them not your land it ni abay se là hengifat this because not clean ye du. you it	Warn
'(If you haven't cleared it)	and a man comes along who knows how to own land and how to work and he just takes the land away from them and says to them, This is not your land because you haven't cleared it.'	

	Term
Hol ye teneb abay se deng wen mon-en bè	
int you faithful because past there/is say it in	
udin yem tau wen tonok-en ne ke wen	
law the person there/is land his and if there/is	
huluhen du ne ke son moen tódô henek du yem	
plants it and if only just just rest it the	
tonok-en yó, ne tendo nunungen yó kem	
land his that and always take/care that pl	
huluhen baluen ke là deng wen sulat -en	
plants even if not past there/is letter it	
yem tonok-en kun funen yem tonok abay se tendo	
the land his he owner the land because always	
menek du.	
rest it	
'Be faithful because it says in the law if a man has land and he has crops on it and that is where he lives and always cares for his crops even though he has no title to the land, he is the owner because that is his continual habitat.'	

7.25.2 Coordinate Hortatory Paragraphs.

Coordinate Hortatory Paragraph construction is shown i
Chart 62.

Chart 62
Coordinate Hortatory Paragraph

Periphery	Nucleus			Periphery
$\pm$ Prelim	+ Section I	+ Section II	$\pm$ Section^n	$\pm$ Term
Sentence	Simple Hortatory Paragraph	Explanatory Paragraph Hortatory Paragraph Procedure Paragraph	Same as Section II	Sentence

Rules: (1) The Prelim and Term tagmemes function for all
             sections.

        (2) Coordinate hortatory paragraphs must have at
             least Section I and Section II but it is
             supposed that any number of sections are
             possible.

Coordinate Hortatory paragraphs link in the same way as
Simple Hortatory paragraphs.

     Following are two examples of Coordinate Hortatory
Paragraphs.

Example 1   (See illustrative text 8.24, para. 13.)

	Figure	Ground₂		
Oh Alun, you are the one I trust there at Afus (name of a place).		Prelim	Section I: Simple Hort. Para.	
Tell all the people there to hurry and clear the land below Afus.		Exhor		
They are to make their own houses.	⤢ Ø	Reinf		
When I come again, I don't want to see more than one family in one house.		Reas		
They are to make their own houses, clear their own fields and plant their own crops.		Exhor	Section II: Sim Hort Para	
They are not to ask food from each other.	Ø	Reinf		
It makes it too hard for one person.		Reas		

Example 2   (See illustrative text 8.24, para. 15.)

If you can have people help you clear the bamboo below Afus.	Exhor	Sec. I: Sim Hort Para
If Rivera comes, don't pay any attention to him.	Reinf	
Have people help you who don't run easily.	Exhor	Sec. II: Sim Hort Para
If he starts trouble, fight back.	Reinf	
Clobber him.	Reinf	

7.25.3 Antithetical Hortatory Paragraphs.

The construction of the Antithetical Hortatory Paragraph
is shown in Chart 63.

Chart 63
Antithetical Hortatory Paragraph

Periphery	Nucleus		Periphery
+ Prelim	+ Section	+ Counter Section	+ Term
Sentence	Simple Hortatory Paragraph	Same as Section	Sentence

Rules: The adversative particle 'but' either introduces the
        first sentence of the Counter Section (section) or it
        may be supplied without any change to the lexical
        content of the whole paragraph.

 Antithetical Hortatory paragraphs link in the same way as
Simple Hortatory paragraphs.

Example   (See illustrative text 8.24, para. 5.)

Figure	Ground$_2$		
How many of us are always going to General Santos.	∅	Exhor	Section: Simple Hort. P.
We have wasted enough money besides we aren't even the ones who own the money.		Reas	
We can wait for help or not just as long as we take a firm stand here.		Exhor	Section: Simple Hort. P.
Ground$_1$ If we wait for help it is a long time in coming.		Warn	
We can do it also if we stand besides there is a God to lead us.		Reinf	
Another thing, we have every right to hold back our own land.		Term	

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER 7

PARAGRAPH

[1] Figure and Ground are terms used by Robert E. Longacre in a research project he conducted in the Philippines from September 1967 to May 1968 in which field workers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics did studies in upper level analysis in Philippine languages.

[2] Subtypes of the five major types could probably be found with further study.

[3] No example of uni 'at that moment' was found in a narrative paragraph of recorded text. It is allowable according to native speakers.

[4] Kesok 'when' is often found in its shortened form of either ke or sok.

CHAPTER 8

DISCOURSE

8.0 Introduction.

Discourse is that level of grammar in which a message is
conveyed in its total according to an organized pattern.
Different types of messages require different types of
patterns. In Tboli, discourse may be classified into four
types of genres. It is probable that there are contrastive
subtypes in at least some of these genre but I have not
carried the study that far.

In addition, no attempt has been made to include some
of the detail in regard to discourse features such as how an
element is highlighted, how participants are introduced and
kept track of, anaphora, cataphora, etc. This chapter will
cover only those contrastive features which have been found
to be most evident after a rather cursory study.

8.1 Discourse Types.

Tboli discourse may be classified into four contrastive
types. They are (1) narrative, (2) procedural, (3) expository,
and (4) hortatory. The major contrastive features of these
four types are exhibited in the following matrix.

	Completed Time	Projected Time
Linked by chronological relationships	1st or 2nd person Narrative	2nd or 3rd person Procedural
Linked by logical relationships	1st or 3rd person Expository	2nd or 1st pl incl person Hortatory

8.11   Narrative Discourse.   (See illustrative texts, Sec.
                                8.21.)

When the message to be conveyed is a relating of past
events in sequence, the resulting structure is a narrative
discourse. The chronological framework into which the story
fits along with person being first or third marks the
discourse as narrative.

8.11.1   Structure.

Narrative Discourse construction is shown in Chart 64.

Chart 64
Narrative Discourse

$\pm$ Ap	$+(\pm$ Ep$_1$......EP$_n$	$\pm$ Dé)	$\pm$ Closure
Expl. Para.	Any Paragraph Narrative Discourse Explanatory Discourse	Same	Sentence **Ex**planatory Paragraph Hortatory Paragraph Narrative Paragraph

Tagmeme definitions for Chart 64 are:

Ap = Aperture. Aperture tagmeme is an explanatory
paragraph or expository discourse which begins the story. It
introduces the dramatis personnae and sets the stage for the
story.

Ep = Episode. This tagmeme may be expounded by any
paragraph or a narrative or expository discourse.
Narrative and dialogue paragraphs occur most commonly.
Episodes may be of any number and mark the chronological
events of the discourse. Temporal clauses marking episodes
differ from those marking BU's on the paragraph level.
They do not link to the verb in the previous sentence (see
linkage in narrative paragraph, Ch. 7, Sec. 7.21.1) but
rather mark a new time horizon. If verb linkage is present,
it links either to the previous paragraph as a whole in a
type of recapitulation or specifically to the initial
sentence of that paragraph.

De = Dénouement. Dé may be compared to BU_n on the
paragraph level. It marks a climax in a sequence of
episodes. Its exponents are the same as those which may
expound Ep. Quite often Dé is marked by a piling up of
events (BU's) with no embedding of explanatory material.

Closure = Closure is most often expounded by an
explanatory paragraph but it may also be expounded by a
hortatory paragraph or a narrative discourse. It may
summarize the story or repeat what was given in Aperture
tagmeme.

8.11.2 Linkage.

Linkage within a narrative discourse is carried by the
continuing thread of events (the narrative theme) and by the
progressive temporal markers at the beginning of paragraphs
(consecutive time horizons).

The narrative theme relates the events of the story in
sequential accomplished time. Digressions may occur giving
parenthetical or background material but the thread that ties
the story together is the sequence of events.

Temporal markers consist of a temporal phrase or clause.
They are not always overt but may be supplied with no change
to the lexical content of the paragraph.

Temporal markers are most frequently absent in cases of consecutive dialogue paragraphs. This may be because dialogue paragraphs link in relation to what is said by one speaker being responded to by another speaker (repartee). A change of locale, dramatis personae, or subject for discussion, as well as a change of time mark the initial tagmeme of a new dialogue paragraph.

In the case of a narrative in which the events occur in a short span of time, the time horizons may not be obvious. A change of locale or participants may be the only means of indicating an elapse of time.

Temporal markers may be of two types.

(1) Temporal expressions. These are of the type described in Sec. 7.21.1 on narrative paragraphs. They are expressions like <u>sotu kdaw</u> 'one day', <u>deng legen udî</u> 'after a little while', <u>deng lewu butengen</u> 'after two days', <u>bud hilu butengen bè yô</u> 'again how many days later', etc.

(2) Temporal clauses. These are dependent clauses used in sentences expressing temporal relationships between propositions. Temporal dependent clauses are commonly used to link sentences internal to the paragraph (see 7.21.1). However, they may link discourse level tagmemes as well. In the fairly small corpus of data analyzed to date a temporal construction in sentence$_1$ of paragraph$_2$ may link to sentence$_1$ of paragraph$_1$, to paragraph$_1$ as a whole or to sentence final$_1$ of paragraph$_1$.

This is done by means of back reference in the temporal construction to a preceding event.

Examples: (Linking words are in parentheses)

Sentence$_1$ paragraph$_2$ links to sentence$_1$ paragraph$_1$.

Para. 1.	Nee	tmakas	Hnu,	ket	gel		(ktebelen)	ke
Sent. 1.	now	weary	Hnu	each	habit/action		leaving	pm
Setting	yé	--en	ket	gel		kekleyek	Bong	Busaw
	mother	his	each	habit/action		bothering	Big	Spirit

du.
'Now Hnu became wear, every time he (left) his
Mother, Big Spirit would bother her.'

Para. 2.   <u>Timbów deng bud   (monol)   kun kwang Hnu, bud</u>
Sent. 1.   when   past again   go/away   his back Hnu   again

BU₁   <u>yó   Bong Busaw   menehel   gu   dlem.</u>
       that Big   Spirit spirit/speaking from below
       'When Hnu's (back was turned) again, there was
       Big Spirit again coming up from below saying his
       spirit talk.'

        Sentence₁ paragraph₂ links to paragraph₁ as a whole.

Para. 1.   <u>Tikóng gafit le   Hnu,   mon le   mò du, nam (sut)</u>
Sent. 1.   when   catch they turtle say they to him now   go

       <u>bè Datù.</u>
       to Chief
       'When they caught up to turtle, they said to him,
       "You are to (go) to the Chief."'

Sent. 2.   <u>Mon Hnu,   moen ke   tô   naw ne (mógów) bè Datù?</u>
       say turtle why   that fain now I   go   to Chief
       'Turtle said, "Why should I (go) to the Chief?"'

Sent. 3.   <u>Là, mon yó   kem fulis, tngón-em   (ditu   he) boluy</u>
       no   say spec pl   police know   you   there yet name

       <u>tedu yem   gunun (h- angay) kóm.</u>
       what spec reason ca fetch   you
       '"Never mind," said the police, "you'll find out
       (when you get there) why he (sent) for you."'

Para. 2.

Sent. 1.   <u>Ne   tikóng (kól)   bè Datù Fak Hnu,   ne</u>
       and when   arrive at Chief Frog Turtle first

       <u>tulón Datù   du   yem ktungó   -en.</u>
       tell   Chief   him spec sleeping his
       'And when turtle (arrived) at Chief Frog, the Chief
       first told him about his sleeping.'

Sentence$_1$ paragraph$_2$ links to sentence final paragraph$_1$.

Note: In data to date, this linkage has only been found to
occur when the second paragraph is a dialogue paragraph.
The fact that a new dialogue begins sets the section off as
a new paragraph. Otherwise, no paragraph boundary would
occur.

Para$_1$

Sent.   <u>Tahu se, gtindal le   Gósón mool   él,</u>
Final   true emp run   they Goson downstream river

           <u>(ktes) le   Hnu.</u>
            chase they turtle
           'It's true, Goson and his companion run
           downstream (chasing) turtle.'

Para$_2$

Sent. 1   <u>Tikóng (gafit) le   Hnu,   mon le   mò du, Nam</u>
          when   catch   they turtle say they to him now

          <u>sut bè Datù kun.</u>
          go to Chief it/is/said
          'When they (caught) turtle, they said to him,
          "Hurry and go to the Chief he says."'

8.12 Procedural Discourse.   (See illustrative text Sec.
                       8.22.)

     When the message to be conveyed is a relating of steps
in a process aimed at telling how something is done, the
resulting structure is a procedural discourse. Sequence is
as important in procedural discourse as it is in narrative
discourse. The difference, however, is that time is
projected. The time when the whole process is done is
irrelevant.

     The use of 3rd person plural is common as shown in the
following excerpt.

When it is night, they go out to bury (the body).

When they get tired, they rest and build a fire.

And they chant and beat drums and sing funeral songs.

When they arrive near to the burial place, they wait

for the dawn.

When dawn barely breaks, they put the body in the

crotch of a tree or bamboo.

Although it would seem that second person forms would be common in procedural discourse, out of eight texts examined no second person forms were found. However, second person has been heard in oral instructions.

We might try to make a psycho-linguistic inference at this point and speculate that because of the importance of smooth interpersonal relationships the second person command like form is rejected. Or it may be that the texts are telling how something is done by the Tboli and not meant to instruct a 2nd person component.

8.12.1 Structure.

Procedural Discourse construction is shown in Chart 65.

Chart 65
Procedural Discourse

± Ap	+ Proc$_1$......Proc$_n$	± Alter Proc$_n$	± Closure
Expl. Para.	Expl. Para. Proc. Para. Expo. Disc. Proc. Disc.	Same as Proc.	Expl. Para. Sent.

Tagmeme definitions for Chart 65 are:

Ap = Aperture. See narrative discourse. Ap introduces
the process about to be described.

Proc = Procedure. Just as episodes of a narrative
discourse mark events in a story, Proc in a procedural
discourse mark the steps of a process. Any number of Proc's
may occur. In texts examined to date, Proc may be
expounded by either an explanatory or procedure paragraph
or expository or procedural discourse.

Alter Proc = Alternative Procedure. This tagmeme may
be compared to Alter Step (see procedure paragraph, Sec.
7.22). As many as three Alter Proc have been found. Each
Alter Proc is an alternative to the immediately preceding
discourse tagmeme on the same level. Alter Proc may be
expounded by an explanatory or procedure paragraph or an
expository or procedural discourse.

Closure. This tagmeme is expounded by an explanatory
paragraph.

8.12.2 Linkage.

A procedural discourse employs essentially the same type
of linkage as narrative discourse, that is, consecutive time
horizons. In procedural discourse these time horizons mark
progression of procedures in a total process. The use of
overt temporal constructions is more common in procedural
discourse than in narrative discourse.

The temporal phrases that are used are constructions
like <u>yem hol tanay nmò le</u> 'the first thing they do', <u>yó hegna
nmò le</u> 'that which they cause to be first', <u>ne yó bud nmò le</u>
'and what they do now'.

When temporal dependent clauses provide the link,
sentence initial of paragraph$_2$ is linked to sentence initial
of paragraph$_1$ or to paragraph$_1$ as a whole. Note the link
indicating sequence in the following initial sentences of
consecutive paragraphs of a procedural discourse.

The linking verbs are in parentheses.

Para 1   <u>Ne timbów deng   gotu   deng   któgó</u>
now when   finished completely finished cooking

<u>le   du yem kdungon hitem ne   omin le   yó</u>
they it spec hemp   black and then they that

<u>bud   (tmógó) yem mò   huló-en.</u>
again   cook   spec make red it
'And when they completely finish cooking the black
hemp, then they also now cook that which makes it
red.'

Para 2   <u>Ne sok deng   yem gotu   (któgó) le   du</u>
and when finish spec completely cook   their it

<u>yó   kem kdungon omin le   yó   he hol tahu mbut</u>
that pl hemp   then they that yet int true start

<u>du bè yem (kewel) le.</u>
it at spec weaving their
'And when they have finished cooking the hemp, then
they truly begin the weaving of it.'

Para 3   <u>Tey legen ominen   deng   yem (newel) le.</u>
emp long   and then finished spec   weaving their

<u>Ne sok deng   kdéen yem (newel) le   omin</u>
and when finished all   spec   weaving their then

<u>le   yó bud   (semtebé) du.</u>
they that also sew   it
'It's a long time before the weaving is finished.
And when the weaving is completely finished, then
they sew it together.'

Para 4   <u>Ne timbów deng   yem (ketebé) le   yó   bud</u>
and when   finished spec sewing   their that also

<u>kmò le   du, knohù le   (#).</u>
do they it ash   they it
'And when they have finished sewing it together, what
they do next is to rub ashes on it.'

8.13 Expository Discourse. (See illustrative text Sec.
                              8.23)

     When the message to be conveyed is information of an
explanatory nature on a given subject, the resulting
structure is an expository discourse. Expository discourses
are third person oriented and chronological time is
nonexistent or irrelevant. It is the absence of
chronological time that distinguishes expository discourse
from procedural discourse.

8.13.1 Structure.

     Expository Discourse construction is shown in Chart 66.

Chart 66
Expository Discourse

+ Intro	+ Pt_1......Pt_n	$\pm$ Closure
Sent. Expl. Para.	Expl. Para. Proc. Para. Hort. Para. Expo. Para. Proc. Para.	Sent. Expl. Para.

Tagmeme definitions for Chart 66 are:

     Intro = Introduction. In data analyzed thus far
introduction tagmeme may be expounded by a sentence or an
explanatory paragraph. It introduces the subject of the
discourse. It may be compared to Text tagmeme on the
paragraph level.

Pt = Point. The purpose of this tagmeme is to expound on the subject announced in the Intro. Point may be compared to Expo on the paragraph level. There may be any number of Pt's in a discourse. Points are expounded by explanatory, procedure or hortatory paragraphs or expository or procedural discourses.

Closure. Closure may be expounded by a sentence or an explanatory paragraph. An interesting feature of Closure is that it ties in lexically to the Intro tagmeme, repeating in some form the subject expressed in Intro.

8.13.2 Linkage.

Paragraphs in an expository discourse are linked by means of a subject set forth in the Intro tagmeme and exposition of that subject in the following Pt tagmemes. Linkage on the discourse level is based mainly on parallelism of the Pt tagmemes by means of lexical repetition.

The following embedded discourse excerpted from a larger text (Tboli Customs, Sec. 8.23) illustrates this linkage. The paragraphs are not complete but enough is excerpted to show the linkage.

Para 1: Sent	There are child <u>marriages</u> among the Tboli.	Intro
Para 2: Expl Para	<u>Marriage</u> doesn't start with the children, it starts with the parents. If the parents want it, even if the child rejects it, they go ahead with it anyway......	Pt$_1$
Para 3: Expl Para	If a boy and girl like each other, it's not the Tboli custom for them to talk to each other. If that is what they do, they'll be punished. If a boy wants to <u>marry</u>, he tells his father so that he can make the arrangements.	Pt$_2$
Para 4: Expl Para	The Tboli like to arrange <u>engagements.</u> If the boy is valuable, he doesn't have to give a lot of property......	Pt$_3$

8.14 Hortatory Discourse[1]. (See illustrative text, Sec. 8.24.)

When the message to be conveyed is purposed to motivat(
action toward accomplishment of a stated objective, the
resulting structure is a hortatory discourse. Hortatory
discourse is typically in second person but also contains
first person plural inclusive forms and sometimes dual pers(
which is often used for polite command. Chronological time
is nonexistent or irrelevant.

8.14.1 Structure.

   Hortatory Discourse construction is shown in Chart 67.

Chart 67
Hortatory Discourse

+ Intro	+ Pt^h_1......Pt^h_n	$\pm$ Closure
Expl Para Expo Disc	Expl Para Hort Para Expo Disc Hort Disc	Sentence Expl Para

Tagmeme definitions for Chart 67 are:

   Intro = Introduction. Introduction tagmeme may be expounded by an explanatory paragraph or expository discourse. It introduces the objective toward which the speaker wishes to motivate his hearers.

   Pt^h = Point^{hortatory}. Pt^h differs from Pt in Expository Discourse in that Pt^h has a second person component that does not occur in Pt. Pt^h is unlimited in number and may be expounded by an explanatory or hortatory paragraph or an expository or hortatory discourse. Essentially, the purpose of Pt^h is to motivate mostly by means of exhortation toward activity aimed at achieving the objective stated in the Intro.

   Closure. Closure may be expounded by a sentence or an explanatory paragraph. It may summarize the objective stated in Intro or just be a terminating remark relevant to the whole discourse.

8.14.2 Linkage.

 Hortatory discourse is similar to expository discourse
in its cohesive devices. That is, the objective stated in
the Intro tagmeme is picked up in a series of exhortations
or explanations related to the objective in following
paragraphs.

 In the illustrative text (8.24) the objective is
stated in the counter section of the first paragraph. It
is in the phrase <u>mò któbóng kem dumu kuy Tboli</u> 'how to help
our fellow Tboli'. Each succeeding paragraph contains
either explanatory material or an exhortation which ties in
with help to the Tboli.

8.2 Illustrative Texts.

 Helps for reading a text:

(1) Discourse level tagmemes are in <u>CAPS AND UNDERLINED</u>.

(2) The first layer of embedded discourse tagmemes are in
    CAPS.

(3) The second layer of embedded discourse tagmemes are
    <u>Underlined</u>.

(4) The paragraph level tagmemes are in parentheses ( ).

(5) Layers of embedding within the paragraph are shown by
    underlining. The first layer of embedding is <u>one line</u>,
    the second layer is <u>two lines</u>, etc.

(6) The paragraphs are numbered.

8.21 Illustrative Texts - Narrative Discourse Types.

8.21.1 Abusama.

APERTURE: EXPL. P.

1. (Prelim) Tehe   knagi-u bè High School yem
               before study my at High School the

halay 1965-66 wen   ngà   tngón-u boluy-en Abusama.
year 1965-66 there/is child know I name his Abusama
'Before, when I was studying in high school in the year
1965-66, there was a boy I knew named Abusama.'

(Text) Bè   ketngón-u du móyó-e swè   bélé-en.
         from knowing I him want I be/friends with him
'From knowing him, I wanted to make friends with him.'

(Expo) Là legen-en deng   me sana   swè.
         not long it already we already friends
'It wasn't long before we were already friends.'

(Expo) Gel   me slomong   gel   me là mdengen.
         always we go/together always we play
'We always went along together, we always played together.'

(Expo) Tey   keswè   me.
         great friendship ours
'We were very good friends.'

EPISODE 1: NARR DISC
EPISODE 1: COMPOUND DIALOGUE P.

2. (Sett) Sotu kdaw wen   gunu me solu.
             one day there/is place we face
'One day we were going some place.'

(Exch$_1$ Sim Dial P Ques) Snólók-u béléen yem kun gunù
                             ask   I him   the his place

hemtahu ne   gunu -n lemwót.
believe and place he come/from
'I asked him about his religious beliefs and where he came
from.'

(Ans)   <u>Mon-en "Lemwót   =e bè   Libak," Mohammedan se</u>
             say he   come/from I from Libak   Mohammedan emp

<u>kun.</u>
he
'He said, "I come from Libak," he was a Mohammedan.'

(Exch$_2$ Sim Dial P Ques)   <u>Okóm mon=u, "Gunu =hem tehe</u>
                                  but   say I   where you before

<u>mnagì?"</u>
study
'But I said, "Where did you study before?"'

(Ans)   <u>Ne mon-en "Sotu halay bè Libak, sotu halay bè</u>
             and say he one year at Libak one   year at

<u>Cotabato ne   wen   gunu mnagì tngón=u mon=en "boluy-en</u>
Cotabato and there/is school   know I say he   name   it

<u>King's Institute ne ni knagi-u bè ni.º"</u>
King's Institute and now study my loc here
'And he said, "One year in Libak, one year in Cotabato and I
heard about a school," he said, "named King's Institute and
now I am studying here."'

(Exch$_3$ Sim Dial P Ques)   <u>Mon=u, Dumu   =hem du?</u>
                                  say I Companion your ques
'And I said, "Who is your companion?"'

(Ans)   <u>Mon=en "Là, tódó són   ou mógów edini."</u>
             say he No just only I go   here
'He said, "I have none, it's just me who came here."'

     EPISODE 2: COMPOUND DIALOGUE P.

     3. (Exch$_1$ Sim Dial P Ques)   <u>Ne mon-u mò du, "Deng</u>
                                           and say I to him   already

<u>henmóyó-em Jesus Christ kó   mò hewà kóm lem salà?"</u>
desire   you Jesus Christ ques to free you in   sin
'And I asked him, "Have you believed in Jesus Christ, the one
who can free you from your sins?"'

(Ans)   Ne   temngel ebélé-u, h- bongen knawa -n   ne   bong
        and look   at   me ca big   breath his and   big

mata-n   mon-en, "Deng."
eye his say he   I/have
'And he looked at me puffed out his chest and made his eyes
big and said, "I have."'

(Exch₂ Complex Dial P)   (Ques)   Mon-u "Moen ke henmóyó-em.
                                  say I why   desire you
'I said, "Why did you believe in him?"'

(Ques)   Mon-en "Là   deng   -i   hemtahu se kô   kóm?"
         say he not already you believe   ques you
'He said, "Haven't you believed?"'

(Ans)   "Deng   legen   ne," mon-u.
        already long/time now   say I
'"I have been for a long time," I said.'

(Exch₃ Complex Dial P Ques)   Ne   mon-en "Moen ke   smólók
                              and say he why   that ask

-i   lumun yó?"
 you like   that
'And he said, "Why did you ask a question like that?"'

(Ques)   "Là, ani   móyó-e temngón du se   yem kbut
          no so/that want I know   it also the beginning

kóm   kehtahu."
your belief
'"No reason, I just wanted to know how you became a believer."'

(Ans: Anti-Expl P, Sect: Expl P Text)   Ne   mon-en "Lemwót
                                        and say he   come

bè   kehedem -u.
from thinking my
'And he said, "It started in my thinking."'

(Expo)   Hendem-u yem dou Dwata abay se wen   test okóm
         think I spec my   God   because there/is test but

laen dù tóbóng-en do yem dou Dwata mom   he-blat -en
not any help   his me spec my   God   rather ca heavy he

nawa   -hu.
breath   my

ᵗ"I thought of my God because there was this test but my God
doesn't help me, rather he makes me sad."ᵗ

(Reason) Yó   gunu -hu hemdem dô   là mowil-en yem dou
          that reason I   think maybe not live   he spec my

Dwata ne là kemgis-en.
God   and not strong he
ᵗ"That's the reason I thought that maybe my God doesn't live
and isn't strong."ᵗ

(Sect: Narr P Sett) "Okóm wen   gel   hennagì me," mon
                     but there/is always study we say

-en "yem Character Education."
 he the Character Education
ᵗ"But there is one of our studies," he said, "Character
Education."ᵗ

(BU₁) "Dê   kdaw-u gel   hemdem du ne yem tahu Dwata
        many days I always think it now the true God

abay se benlay-en kligal nawa   ne kenek   nawa."
because give   he happy breath and peaceful breath
ᵗ"For many days I thought about the true God because he gives
joy and peace."ᵗ

(BUₙ) "Lemwót bè   yó," mon-en, "Denge   baling kun ngà
        come   from that say he   already become his child

Dwata."
God
ᵗ"It comes from that," he said, "I became a child of God."ᵗ

        EPISODE 3: COMPOUND DIAL P

    4. (Exch₁ Sim Dial P Ques) Okom mon-u "Kmò   kem
                                 but say I doing pl

tuha   -hem?"
parent your   ᵗBut I said, "What about your parents?"ᵗ

(Ans) Mon-en "Là tngón le   du gi Dwata."
       say he not know they him emp God
ᵗHe said, "They don't know God."ᵗ

(Exch₂ Complex Dial P Ques)   <u>Mon-u "Là   hensidek le   kóm</u>
                                          say I   not hurt   they you

<u>du?"</u>
ques   'I said, "Won't they hurt you?"'

(<u>Rem</u>)   <u>Mon-en, "Là   kóen   móyô kem tuha   -hu ke hentahu-hu</u>
            say he   not surely want pl parent   my if believe I

<u>dumu   Dwata."</u>
other God
'He said, "They certainly won't like it if I believe in a
God other than theirs."'

EPISODE II: COMPOUND DIAL P
    5.   (Sett)   <u>Ne   sotu kdaw nim ngà   ni   deng   tngón</u>
                   and one   day this child here already know

<u>ma-   en kehtahu-hen bè dumu   Dwata.</u>
father his belief his in other God
'Now one day this boy's father heard about his believing in
another God.'

(BU)   <u>Tinok   ma   -en.</u>
       request father   his
'His father requested him to come home.'

(Exch₁ Sim Dial P Ques)   <u>Mon ma   -en mò du yem kkól</u>
                                      say father his to him spec arriving

<u>-en ditu, "Tahu kehtahu-hem kô?"</u>
 his there   true belief   your ques
'His father said to him when he arrived there, "Is it true
about your belief?"'

(Ans)   <u>Mon-en, "Tahu."</u>
        say he   true   'He said, "It's true."'

(Exch₂ Sim Dial P Prop)   <u>Mon ma   -en "Ke móyó -i   mowil</u>
                                      say father his if want you live

<u>hewa   -i, ke móyó-i   matay husek   -i.</u>
go/out   you if want you die   come/in you
'His father said, "If you want to live get out of here, if
you want to die, come here."'

(Nonverbal Resp) <u>Okóm hewà   nim ngà   ni,   ne   bud</u>
                 but   go/out this child here and again

mulék bè Kings.
return to Kings
'But this boy left and returned to Kings again.'

(Term) <u>Là bud   benlay le   du   filak₀</u>
        not again give   they him money
'They didn't give him any more money.'

EPISODE III: SIMPLE DIALOGUE P

    6. (BU) <u>Balù yem   là kóyó   -en du kun okóm</u>
              even though not wanting her it she but

tolo bong nawa yé-en du ne gel   mógów bè Kings
still big breath mother him and always go   to Kings

yé   -en gel   neted   -en gastu.
mother his always deliver she payment
'Even though his mother didn't like it, she still loved him
and she would always go to Kings to bring him money.'

(Prop) <u>Okom gel   mon yé   -en, "Hol tengama -hem abay se</u>
        but always say mother his int careful you because

là móyó-en du ma   -em yem gunu -hem hemtahu ni.
not want he it father your the place you believe now
'But his mother said, "Be careful because your father doesn't
like this belief of yours."'

(Rem) <u>Okóm mon nim ngà   ni, "Kodu ye là tngón ye du</u>
       but say this child here Pity you not know you him

yem tahu Dwata."
the true God
'But this boy would say, "Pity you, you don't know the true
God."'

EPISODE IV: COMPLEX DIALOGUE P

    7. (BU₁) <u>Ne deng   dẽ butengen bè yó bud</u>
               and already many nights   there again

wen   sulat sut bélé-en, bud tinok ma   -en.
there/is letter arrive to   him again request father his

'After many days had passed there another letter came to him, his father again requested him to come home.'

(BU$_2$) <u>Kól   ditu   hentilob ma   -en stulón bélé -en.</u>
          arrive there nice   father his talk   to   him
'When he arrived there, his father talked to him very nicely.'

(Prop) <u>Mon ma   -en "Ke lolo   -em o kihu   kenóyó-em</u>
          say father   his if follow   you me whatever wish   you

<u>blay-u kóm ne h-   ogot-u kóm kdê kem kendengen-u ne</u>
give I you and cause hold I you all pl riches   my and

<u>nmo -u u   tau   geta huling kdaw ke nimón-em o, okóm ke</u>
make I you person high later day if obey   you me but if

<u>là móyó-i   du yem dou kóyó bélé -em laen dù kóm du bè</u>
not want you it the my wish for   you not any your it of

<u>yó   kem dou kimu   ne là bud   -i baling do ngâ   ne.</u>"
that pl my property and not again you become my child now
'His father said, "If you follow me whatever you want I'll give to you and I'll put into your hands all my property and I'll make you a chief one day if you obey me, but if you don't, I will give you none of my property and you will no longer be my child."'

(Prop: Expl P Text) <u>Ne hendem nim ngâ   tey   tilob</u>
                      and think this child very pretty

<u>benwu   he bè longit.</u>
country yet in heaven
'And the boy thought of what a beautiful country heaven will be.'

(Expo) <u>Laen dù són-en ne tey kligal-en du senta nim</u>
          not any end it and very joy   his it above this

<u>kimu   tonok.</u>
property earth
'There is no end of that and the joy there is far above that on the earth.'

(Term) <u>Ne tódô bud   mulék bè Kings nim ngâ   ni.</u>
          and just again return to Kings this child here
'And this boy here just again returned to Kings.'

EPISODE V: NARRATIVE P

8. (BU$_1$) <u>Bud   hilu   butengen bè yó ne dê</u>
                   again how many nights   there and many

<u>kdawen ne, wen   bud   telegram msut bélé-en   tinok</u>
days   now there/is again telegram come to   him request

<u>yem Mayor ditu.</u>
the Mayor there
'Again how many nights there, many days now, again another
telegram came to him, the Mayor requested him to come.'

(BU$_n$: Expl P Prelim) <u>Ne kól   ditu yem ngà   yó,</u>
                              and arrive there this child here

<u>wen   tau   mentey du anì   là bud   -en hewà</u>
there/is person guard him so/that not again he go/out

<u>kô   mlóy.</u>
might run
'And he arrived there, there were people who guarded him so
he couldn't leave in case he would run away.'

    (Text) <u>Okóm nim ngà   ni   tey   tikaw ketngón-en ke</u>
                 but this child here very clear knowing his to

<u>Dwata.</u>
God   'But this boy had a very clear knowledge of God.'

(Expo) <u>Gel   mni bè Dwata.</u>
            always pray to God   'He always prayed to God.'

(Expo) <u>Nim ngà   ni   sok wen   udas-en gel   tulón</u>
            this child here when there/is hour his always tell

<u>-en bè yó kem dumu tau   yem udél Dwata.</u>
 he to that pl other person the word God
'This boy, when he had an opportunity would always tell his
companions about God's word.'

(Term) <u>Okóm bud   lenwà   Dwata lan-en bud   mulék ebè</u>
            but again set/free God   way he again return to

<u>Kings.</u>
Kings   'And again God made a way for him to return to Kings.'

EPISODE VI: NARRATIVE P

9. (BU$_1$) <u>Bud   hilu   kdaw bud   tinok   ma   -en</u>
again how/many days again request father his

<u>ne   bud   mógów etu.</u>
and again go   there
'Again how many days, again his father requested him and
again he went there.'

(BU$_2$: Expl P Text) <u>Kól   ditu   nefét le   ne   wen</u>
arrive there tie   they and there/is

<u>mentey du   okóm yem témé   -en móyón matay ne móyô</u>
guard him but the grandfather his almost die   and want

<u>témé   -en ke   ton -en Abusama.</u>
grandfather his that see he Abusama
'He arrived there, they tied him up and someone guarded him
but his grandfather was almost to die and he wanted to see
Abusama.'

(Reason) <u>Wen   tulón-en du.</u>
there/is tell   he him
'He had something to tell him.'

(Term) <u>Nim témé   -en ni   tey bong kendengen -en</u>
this grandfather his here very big   riches   his

<u>ne datù.</u>
and chief
'This grandfather of his was a rich man and a chief.'

(BU$_3$) <u>Ne mógów ditu Abusama.</u>
and go   there Abusama
'And Abusama went there (to him).'

(BU$_n$: Complex Dial P Rem) <u>Mon témé   -en "Ni   deng</u>
say grandfather his   now already

<u>-i   kól   bè ni wen   tinok -u kóm.</u>
you arrive here there/is request I you
'His grandfather said, "Now you have arrived here and I have
a request to make of you."'

(Prop: Expl P Text) Ne mon-en "Matay-e ne ni okóm nmo
                     and say he   die   I now   but make

-u u   tau   geta bè yó   kem tau   -hu limu libu.
 I you person high of that pl person my five thousand
'And he said, "I am about to die but I will make you the
chief over my people, five thousand of them."'

(Parens) Tau   fen   geta tô   muhen du.
          person the/one high would/fain purpose him
'His purpose for him was to make him chief.'

(Expo) "Ne blay-u kóm yó   kem kdê kendengen-u ne yó
         and give I you that pl all riches   my and that

kem tau   -hu limu libu."
pl person my five thousand
'"And I will give you all my riches and my five thousand
people."'

(Resp) Okóm mon nim Abusama mon-en "Deng   blay-em dou
        but say this Abusama say he   already give you me

kdé-en okóm là móyó-e tau   geta.
all it but   not want I person high
'But Abusama said, "You have given me everything but I don't
want to be chief."'

(Prop: Expl P Text) Tódô blay-em dou yem dou kóyô.
                     just give you me the my wish
'"Just give to me what I would like."'

(Parens) Nim témé   -en ni témé   -en bè
          this grandfather his this grandfather his from

yé   -en mà   yé   -en.
mother his father mother his
'This grandfather was his grandfather on his mother's side,
his mother's father.'

(Reason) Yem gunu   -n mon du "Blay-em dou dou kenóyô
          the reason he say it give you me my wish

anì   tô   wen   nmo -u" yem hendem   nmo-en
so/that would/fain there/is work my the thinking do he

hendem   gunu Dwata ne tmolok kem tau   yem udél Dwata,
thinking house God and teach pl person the word God

yó   hendem-en.
that think   he
'The reason he said, "Give me my wishes because I have
something I want to do," what he was thinking of doing he
was thinking of a church and to teach the people God's
word, that's what he was thinking.'

(Resp)   Okóm móyô se   témé   -en ne "Yó ne," mon
         but   want also grandfather his and O.K.   say

témé   -en.
grandfather his
'But his grandfather desired this also and he said, "O.K."'

(Term)   Ne matay témé   -en ditu gunu -n nù   nim
         and die   grandfather his there place he stay this

ngà   ni.
child here
'And his grandfather died and there was where this boy
stayed.'

EPISODE VII: NARRATIVE P

    10. (BU$_1$)   Yem knu   -en ditu   gel   sentifun -en
                    the staying his there always gather   he

yó kem tau   wen ne   30-50 tau.
that pl person there/is 30-50 person
'While he was there, he would always gather the people
together, from 30-50 people.'

(BU$_2$)   Tulón-en kul   yem udél hyu.
           tell   he them the word good
'He would tell the good word.'

(BU$_n$)   Mulék yó   kem tau   tey le   hligal ne wen
           return that pl person very they happy and there/is

dnalang le.
learn   they
'The people would return happy and they learned a lot.'

EPISODE VIII: NARRATIVE DISC

APERTURE: EXPL P

    11.   (Text)   <u>Tey   legen   nim   nga   ni   là   bud</u>
                    very   long/time   this   child   here   not   again

<u>ton me du   bè Kings.</u>
see we him at Kings
ⁱIt was a long time we didn't see this boy at Kings.ⁱ

(Expo)   <u>Mukas   sbulón   absent bè   gunù   mnagì.</u>
            more/than month   absent from house study
'He was absent from school for more than a month.ⁱ

(Term)   <u>Okóm yem nmo -en   ditu   là   móyô le   du yó   kem</u>
         but   the work his   there   not want they it that pl

<u>dumu   tau   wen   glal   le.</u>
other   person there/is authority their
'But the other people who had authority where he was didn't
like what he was doing.'

EPISODE 1:   EXPL P

    12.   (Text)   <u>Okóm sotu kdaw tódô bud   sut   bè Lembol.</u>
              but   one   day   just again arrive at Marbel
'But one day he just again arrived in Marbel.'

(Reason)   <u>Yem nógów-en   nen e   mangay kem nwit   -en   ne</u>
            the going his   purpose fetch   pl   taking his and

<u>mulék   ne   kun.</u>
return now he
'His purpose was to collect his things and then return.'

(Expo)   <u>Suloyen   bè yó.</u>
        one/night there   'He was there one night.'

EPISODE 2:   EXPL P

    13.   (Text)   <u>Yem hlafus   bè yó btik   4:00 o'clock myón</u>
              the morning there awake 4:00 o'clock sit

<u>elaan yem koyu mni   bè Dwata.</u>
under the tree pray to God
'That morning there he woke up at 4:00 o'clock, he sat under
a tree and prayed to God.'

(Expo) <u>Bo te du kmo-en ne   deng   bè yó hedem。</u>
         what it do he now already there thought
'What was he going to do was what he was thinking there.'

EPISODE 3:   NARRATIVE P

   14.   (BU_1) <u>Okóm yem dou kebtik-u   wen   dô   5:30</u>
                   but   the my   waking my there/is maybe 5:30

ne mógów-e bè klosit   okóm ton-u yó   ngà yó   myón bè yó
and go   I to outhouse but see I that boy that sit   there

<u>laan   koyu.</u>
under tree
'But when I woke up maybe about 5:30 and I was going to the
outhouse, but I saw that boy sitting under a tree.'

(BU_2) <u>Hyu   kegnóm -u du abay se tey   legen   là bud</u>
          good feeling my it because very long/time not again

<u>me ston。</u>
we see/each/other
'I felt good because we hadn't seen each other for a long
time.'

(BU_n: Complex Dial P Sett) <u>Là   dog   -e gógów ebè yem</u>
                                 not bother I go   to   the

<u>gunu -hu esolu   tek   kum stulón.</u>
place I facing only our talk
'I didn't bother to go where I was heading for because of
our talking.'

(BU_1) <u>Snólók-u bélé-en   yem nmo -en bè yó ne kkól   bè ni</u>
          ask   I to   him the work his there and arrival here

ne   yem kun klowil.
and the his life
'I asked him what he was doing in his place and when he
arrived and about his life.'

(BU_2) <u>Tey dê   tulón-en do lemwót bè   kem tuha   -hen ne</u>
          very many tell he me come   from pl parent his and

<u>bè   yó   kem tau   snéen.</u>
from that pl person also
'What a lot of things he told me concerning his parents and
the other people as well。'

(Prop) <u>Mon-en mò do, "Bé   -em klifót mni bélé -u</u>
        say he to me   don't you forget pray for   me

<u>mon-en "abay se tey   nmo -u mon-en "dou nogot   kem tau</u>
say he   because very work my say he   my holding pl   person

limu libu   ne yó   kem kimu   témê.
five thousand and that pl property grandfather
'He said to me, "Don't forget to pray for me," he said,
"because what a lot of work," he said, "my holding 5,000
people and the property of my grandfather."

(<u>Rem</u>) <u>Ne   mon-u mò du, "Ke mulék -i   deng   klifót -em</u>
         and say I to him if return you already forget you

<u>Dwata ne yó.</u>
God   now that
'And I said to him, "If you return, you'll forget God."'

(Eval) Okóm mon-en, "Mom   temnù ne," mon-en "yem ketngón
        but say he   rather added now say he the knowing

-u ke Dwata."
 my pm God
'But he said, "It will rather be added to," he said, "my
knowing God."'

DÉ: SIM DIAL P

     15. (Sett) <u>Tey kegen   me stulón tódô klifót-u</u>
                  very long/time we talk   just forget I

gunu -hu esolu ne tey wen   dou tulón   yem udél Dwata.
place I facing and very there/is my telling the word God
'What a long time we talked, I just forgot where I was
heading and I told him a lot of things from God's Word.'

(Prop) <u>Mon-u "Kihu   nmò le   bélé-em   kesok deng</u>
        say I no/matter do they to   you when already

tngón-em Dwata, Dwata semgyok   kóm.
know you God   God   take/care you
'I said, "Whatever they do to you, when you know God, He will
take care of you."'

CLOSURE: NARR P

16.   (BU₁)   <u>Ne   deng   bè yó mulék   ebè gunù   gunu</u>
              and finish there return to   house place

<u>-n gel   nù bè Mr. Barriesis, principal.</u>
 he always stay at Mr. Barriesis, principal
'And when we finished there, he returned to the house where
he stayed, the place of Mr. Barriesis, the principal.'

(BUₙ)   <u>Ne deng   7:00 o'clock mulék ne kun ebè Libak</u>
        and already 7:00 o'clock return now he to Libak

<u>okóm bud -e mógów etu   anÌ   ton-u kewóten yem ngà   ni</u>
but   again I go   there so/that see I leaving the child this

<u>hanà tolo 17 halay-en ne là deng-en hol bong ne</u>
still still 17 year   he and not yet he very big   and

<u>tó   mogot kem tau   ne hanà/tolo ngà   bè halay</u>
would/fain rule pl person and still   child in year

<u>tlu   grad -en.</u>
three grade his
'And when it was 7:00 o'clock, he returned to Libak but
I went to see him again so that I could see the leaving of
this boy only 17 years old and not very big yet and he would
fain rule people and only in the third year of high school.'

CLOSURE: NARRATIVE DISC

APERTURE: SIM DIAL P

17.   (BU₁)   <u>Ne hilu   butengen bè/yó wen   sulat</u>
              and how/many nights   there there/is letter

<u>msut   bè Mr. Barriesis yem tau   tehe   gunu -n nù。</u>
arrive to Mr. Barriesis the person before place he stay
'Now how many days there, there was a letter that came to
Mr. Barriesis the man where he used to stay.'

(BU₂)   <u>Tulón-en du yem tey hlayam -en bè   yem knu</u>
        tell it him the very trouble his from spec staying

<u>-en ditu bè là kóyó le   yem tó   nmo-en bè kem</u>
 his there from not want they the would/fain do he for pl

<u>kun tau.</u>
his person

'It told him the trouble he was having while living there
coming from the people rejecting what he was doing for his
people.'

(Prop) <u>Mon le   mò du, "Ke là kó   -hem du yó   angat-i</u>
        say they to him if not remove you it that will you

<u>matay.</u>
die
'They said to him, "If you don't stop what you are doing, you
will die."'

(Resp) <u>Mom   kmuli, "Salamat bélê ye.</u>"
        rather laugh   thanks to   you
'Instead he laughed, "Thank you to you."'

(Term) <u>Yem gulaan-en là deng matay nen/ne smulat bè</u>
        the before he not past die   first   write   to

<u>Mr. Barriesis mon-en, "Hol ye mni bè twogu   -hu anì</u>
Mr. Barriesis say he   int you pray for brother my so/that

<u>hemtahu se   kun.</u>
believe also he
'Before he died, he first wrote to Mr. Barriesis, he said,
"Pray for my older brother so that he will believe."'

EPISODE 1: NARR P

     18. (Sett) <u>Nim atul ni   lemwót bè   kem tuha   -hen</u>
                  this idea here come   from pl parent his

<u>ne bè   kem twogu   -hen.</u>
and from pl older/brother his
'This idea came from his parents and from his older brothers.'

(BU₁) <u>Yem sotu hlafus bè/yó nwit le   ebè yem   gunu -n</u>
       the one morning there take they to spec place it

<u>tinof.</u>
quiet   'One morning they took him to a quiet place.'

(Exch₁: Sim Dial P Ques) <u>Mon le   "Tahu yem kehtahu -hem</u>
                           say they true the belief   your

<u>bè tólóng   Dwata?"</u>
in different God
'They said, "Is it true your belief in a different God.?"'

(Ans)   <u>Mon-en "Tahu."</u>
         say he   true   'He said, "It's true."'

(Exch$_2$: Sim Dial P Ques)   <u>Ne mon le, "Là gekó -hem du</u>
                               and say they not remove you it

<u>yem gunu -m   hemtahu?"</u>
the place you believe
'And they said, "You won't let go of your belief?"'

(Ans)   "Yó,"   mon-en "Là kô gekó -hu du yem dou
         that's right say he   not int remove I him the my

<u>Dwata, bong nawa   -hu du.</u>
God   big breath my him
'"That's right," he said, "I can't remove my God, I love
Him."'

(Exch$_3$: Sim Dial P Prop)   <u>Mon le, "Ke là kô   -hem du</u>
                               say they if not remove you him

<u>là bud -i   mowil.</u>
not again you live
'They said, "If you don't remove him, you won't live."'

(Resp)   <u>Mon-en "Salamat."</u>
         say he   thank you   'He said, "Thank you."'

(BU$_2$) <u>Hekini le   él.</u>
          heat   they water   'They heated water.'

(BU$_3$) <u>Ne deng   kini yem él   mon le, "Tahu là mimón</u>
          and already hot the water say they true not obey

<u>-i?"</u>
you   'When the water was hot, they said, "Is it true you
      won't obey us?"'

(BU$_4$) <u>Mon-en "Là kó   -hu du yem dou Dwata gunu -hu</u>
          say he   not remove I him the my   God   place I

<u>hemtahu.</u>
believe 'He said, "I can't remove the God I have come to
          believe in."'

(BU$_n$) <u>Ne tódò lasut le   ebélé-en yem él   kini ne</u>
          and just splash they to   him the water hot and

tey mluf bè lówó-hen.
int burn on body his
'And they just splashed the hot water on him and what a lot
of burns on his body.'

EPISODE 2: COMPLEX DIAL P

   19. (BU) <u>Efet   kimel   kluf-en lemwót hlafus</u>
             until afternoon burn his come   morning

<u>efet   kimel   laen dù ken -en, là benlay le   du.</u>
until afternoon not   any food his not give   they him
'Until the afternoon he was burned, from the morning to the
afternoon he had no food, they didn't give him any.'

(Ques) <u>Tey ksólók   le   du ke kó   -hen gunu -n</u>
       int question they him if remove   he   place he

<u>hemtahu okóm là kóen liko bélê le.</u>
believe but   not int afraid of   them
'How they questioned him if he would remove his belief, but
he wasn't afraid of them.'

(R̄em) <u>Mon-en, "Móyó-e matay, deng   -e hetifes ne   ebè</u>
      say he   want I die   already I prepare now for

<u>longit okóm nangat-u yu   ditu.</u>
heaven but   wait   I you there
'He said, "I desire to die, I am already prepared for heaven
but I will wait for you there."'

EPISODE 3: COMPOUND DIAL P

   20. (Exch$_1$: Sim Dial P Many-to-one-Ques) <u>Ne   deng</u>
                               and already

<u>kimel   ne   mon le, "Tahu là mimón-i?"</u>
afternoon and say they true not obey you
'It was afternoon and they said, "Is it true you won't obey?"'

(Many-to-one-Ques) "Móyó-i   tningal?"
                want you shot   '"Do you want to be
                          shot?"'

(Ans) <u>Ne   mon-en "Salamat bélê ye   he."</u>
     and say he   thanks to   you yet
'And he said, "Thank you if you do."'

(Exch$_2$: Sim Dial P Rem) <u>Mon le, "Megel kulu=hem tô</u>
                         say they hard   head your would/

<u>   h= lolô   me kôm hyu okôm là môyó-i   du."</u>
fain ca follow we you good but   not want you it
'They said, "You're hard headed, we would have you follow
what is good but you don't want it."'

(Ques) <u>Bud   snólók le   mon le, "Tahu kô, tahu -hi môyô</u>
          again ask   they say they true ques true   you want

<u>matay?"</u>
die
'Again they asked, "Is it true you want to die?"'

(Ans) <u>Mon=en "Géhél ye   ne."</u>
        say he   hurry you now
'He said, "Hurry and get it over with."'

DÉNOUEMENT: NARR P

21. (BU$_n$) <u>Ne   tningal le   ne   deng   matay ne</u>
             and shoot   they and already die   now

<u>Abusama lemwót bè   kehmóyó=en ke Jesus.</u>
Abusama come   from belief   his in Jesus
'And they shot him and Abusama died coming from his belief
in Jesus.'

(Term) <u>Okôm smulat le   kem twogu   =hen ebè Mr.</u>
       but   write   they pl older/brother   his to   Mr.

<u>Barriesis anì   tngón Mr. Barriesis abay se bneles   le</u>
Barriesis so/that know Mr. Barriesis because revenge they

<u>kun   yem ngà   deng   matay, là kôen hemtahu ke là Mr.</u>
he/said the child already die   not int believe if not Mr.

<u>Barriesis.</u>
Barriesis
'But his older brothers wrote to Mr. Barriesis so that Mr.
Barriesis would know they were going to pay him back for
their dead brother, he wouldn't have believed if it weren't
for Mr. Barriesis.'

8.21.2 Tutul Mélê Botu Ne Mtutung.

'The Story of Two Mountains Named Mélê Botu and Mtutung'

APERTURE: EXPL P

1. (Prelim) Tehe   benwu   gnahen tehe   le   sloni
              before country first before they close/

              Mélê Botu Mtutung.
to/each/other Mélê Botu Mtutung
'A long time ago Mélê Botu and Mtutum were close to each other.'

(Text) Okóm sotu kdaw wen   gunu le   segled.
        but   one day there/is place they disagree
'But one day they had a disagreement.'

(Expo) Là tngón-u du but   -en tu   du gunu   le
        not know I it beginning it there it reason they

segled.
disagree
'I don't know what the beginning of their disagreement was.'

EPISODE I: NARR P

2. (BU$_1$: Expl P Text) Lemwót ke Mtutung bnogul -en
                            start   pm Mtutum beat   she

Mélê Botu.
Mélê Botu   'Mtutum started to beat Mélê Botu.'

(Expo) Bogul-en ke Mélê Botu blilu.
        beat   she pm Mélê Botu weaving/shuttle
'She beat Mélê Botu with a weaving shuttle.'

(BU$_n$) Ne duhen tu   deng dmanà   te tfusù Mélê Botu.
          and that's there past imprint at peak Mélê Botu
'And that's why there is an imprint at the peak of Mélê Botu.'

EPISODE II: NARR P

3. (BU$_1$: Expl P Text) Ne lemwót se   ke Mélê Botu bud
                            and start   also pm Mélê Botu again

bnogul-en Mtutung.
---
beat   he Mtutum   'And Mélê Botu started to beat Mtutum.'

(Expo)   Bogul-en du dek.
---
          beat   he her pestle   'He beat her with a pestle.'

(BU$_n$)   Ne tu   se   dmanà   te tfusù Mtutung se   kun.
---
          and that also imprint at peak Mtutum   also as/for/her
'And that also made an imprint on the peak of Mtutum.'

EPISODE III: DIAL P
---

   4. (Prop)   Ne mon Mélê Botu mò ke Mtutung, Balù
   ----
                and say Mélê Botu to pm Mtutum,   even

slayuk   te,   nólól -em kut   kima
---
far/from/each/other we (dual) divide you us (dual) seashell

nù ta-hem.
---
on top you
'And Mélê Botu said to Mtutum, even though we are far apart
you divide for us the sea shell on top of you.'

(Resp: Expl P Text)   Ne   duhen se   ni kmoen ni   lemwót
                       ----
                       and that's also at this   time start

doli tu   kima   nù te Mtutung, ne lemwót doli-hen nù te
---
half that sea/shell on top Mtutum   and start half it on top

Mélê Botu.

Mélê Botu
'And that's how it is to this time, half of the sea shell is
on top of Mtutum and half is on top of Mélê Botu.'

(Reas) Tehe   sensólól   le   yem but   deng keskó
        ----
        before divide/between they spec begin past separating

le.
---
they 'They divided it between them before they separated.'

CLOSURE: SENTENCE
---

   5. (Term)   Tek són ni   se yem tutul Mélê Botu.
                ----
                only just this emp the story Mélê Botu
'That's all of the story of Mélê Botu.'

8.21.3   Tutul Ko Lewu Le Tukol.

    'The Story of the Hornbill and the Wren'

APERTURE: DIAL P

    1. (Sett) <u>Tehe   benwu   gnahen satũ   le   Tukol</u>
                before country first   contest they Wren

<u>Ko</u>ₒ
Hornbill   'A long time ago the Wren and the Hornbill had a
          contest.'

(Rem) <u>Mon Ko,   ou gna   tau.</u>
        say Hornbill I first person
'The Hornbill said, "I'm the first person."'

(R̄ēm̄) <u>Okốm mon Tukol, ou gna   tau.</u>
        but   say Wren   I first person
'But the Wren said, "I'm the first person."'

EPISODE I: DIAL P

    2. (Proposal: Expl P Text) <u>Ne legen bè/yố mon Tukol,</u>
                        and long   there say Wren

<u>wen   nmồ te   sen, gunồ temngel du mahi   du bêlê</u>
there/is work we (dual) emp place see   it which it of

<u>te   gna   tau.</u>
us (dual) first person
'And after awhile the Wren said, "There is something we can
do where we'll see which of us is the first person."'

(Expo) <u>Seflo   te   bul.</u>
        swallow we (dual) feather
'We'll swallow each other's feathers.'

(Response) <u>Yố, mon Ko.</u>
           that say Hornbill "OₒK.," said the Hornbill.'

(Prop) <u>Ne ke ge -hlo   -hu kốm bul,   ou gna   tau.</u>
        and if inv swallow I your feather I first person
'And if I'm able to swallow your feather, I'm the first
person.'

(Prop) <u>Okǭm ke là</u> <u>ge -hlo</u>   <u>-hu du,</u> <u>ne</u> <u>ke beklen -e,</u>
       but   if not inv swallow I it and if choke   I

<u>sundu o gna   tau.</u>
not   I first person
'But if I can't swallow it, if I choke, I'm not the first person.'

(Response: Narr P BU$_1$) <u>Tahu se, sotu kendut Tukol bè</u>
                            true emp one   pluck Wren from

<u>ikong-en ne hlo   Ko.</u>
tail his and swallow Hornbill
'True, the Wren pulled a feather from his tail and the Hornbill swallowed (it).'

(BU$_2$) <u>Ne timbǭw hlo   Ko,   ne ge -blekel   lem</u>
       and when   swallow Hornbill and inv crosswise in

<u>lihol Ko,   botong gekwak Ko.</u>
throat Hornbill extent gag   Hornbill
'Now as soon as the hornbill swallowed, it accidently got crosswise in his throat and the hornbill gagged.'

(BU$_n$) <u>Ihi,   mon Tukol, Sundu u gna   tau.</u>
       see that say Wren   not   you first person
'See that," said the wren, "you're not the first person."'

DÉ: NARR P

     3. (BU$_1$) <u>Ne omin Ko   kemdut sotu bè   ikong-en</u>
                and then Hornbill pluck one from tail his

<u>ne hlo   Tukol.</u>
and swallow Wren
'And then the hornbill pulled one from his tail and wren swallowed (it).'

(BU$_2$) <u>Deng kehlo   Tukol du, smufà   bè   skế -en ne</u>
       done swallowing Wren it stick/out from end his and

<u>smufà   lem bak -en, ne là dogen beklen Tukol.</u>
stick/out in mouth his and not emp   choke Wren
'When the Wren finished swallowing it, some was sticking out of his mouth and some was sticking out of his other end, but the Wren didn't choke.'

(BU$_n$) <u>Mon Tukol, Ihi kun, ou gna   tau.</u>
          say Wren   see that I first person
'The Wren said, "See that, I'm the first person."'

(Term) <u>Ne Tukol matù, ne du gna   tau.</u>
        and Wren win   and he first person
'And the Wren won and he was the first person.'

CLOSURE: EXPL P

    4. (Text) <u>Okóm yó   kmò   Tukol du yem ikong Ko,</u>
                but that doing Wren it spec tail Hornbill

<u>tódô su -en laan hafak-en   snufit-en hafak kmoen du,</u>
just put be under wing his hold   he wing doing it

(Expo) <u>Yó   kmoen du h -sufa   -en eta ne elaan.</u>
        that doing he ca stick out it top and bottom
'But what the Wren did to the tail (feather) of the Hornbill
he just held it under his wing, one end stuck out at the top
and the other at the bottom.'

(Expo) <u>Bede lusà du gunu Tukol e-smolu anì   là dilô</u>
        but many it place Wren   face so/that not recognize

<u>Ko   du yem kmò   Tukol du.</u>
Hornbill it spec doing Wren   it
'But the Wren kept changing his position so that the Hornbill
didn't see what the Wren was doing.'

8.22 Illustrative Texts - Procedural Discourse Types.

8.22.1 Burial Customs.

AP: EXPL P

    1. (Text) <u>Bélê me bè Tboli ke wen   tau   móyón</u>
                to   us to Tboli if there/is person almost

<u>heto te gunù sal   henaul   me kem kimu   me ta gunù,</u>
die in house always bring/down we pl property our up house

<u>mon me anì   likò lóyóf tum tau   semlaw.</u>
say we so/that afraid spirit the person sick

'To us the Tboli, if a person is about to die, we always
carry the property (household effects) out of the house, we
say so that the spirit of the sick person will be afraid.'

(Expo)   Ke deng mógów tum lóyóf   ne   ton-en tu   kem kimu
         if past go   the spirit and see he the pl   property

henaul   le   likò   ne bud   mulék.
bring/down they afraid and again return
'If the spirit (of the sick person) has left, he will see
the property taken out of the house and he will be afraid
and return.'

(Warn: Expl P Text)   Ke nù   ta gunù   kimu   -hem igoen
                       if stay up house property   your while

heto ke   wen   tau   là hyu -hen là bud   hyu mili
die   when there/is person not good it not again good transfer

du ebè ke wen   gunù lomi mon me golu.
it to   if there/is house new say we cursed
'If the property stays up in the house when a person dies, it
isn't good, it's no longer good to transfer it to a new
house, we say it is cursed.'

(Expo)   Golu   ke wen   tau   matay igoen nù   du kimu
         cursed if there/is person die   while stay it property

-hen.
his 'It is cursed while a person dies with his property still
     in the house.'

(Expo)   Tum kimu   mon me golu, deng mungef boo   bolok,
         the property say we cursed past smell   odor decay

là bud   -en hyu.
not again it good
'We say that the property is cursed, it has smelled the odor
of decay, it is no longer good.'

(Result: Expl P Text)   Yake   tódó blay le   bè tu kem dumu
                         good/if just give they to the pl other

tau   bè yem tau   mò   lungun.
person to the person make coffin
'They ought to just give it to some other person, to the
person who makes the coffin.'

(Reason)   <u>Là   hyu   kwa -hen du tau   hekawang.</u>
           not good take it   it person just/anyone
'It's not good if just anyone takes it.'

(Result)   <u>Okóm ke tngón le   kegolu-hen là kǒ henyu   le</u>
           but   if know they cursed it   not int put/away they

<u>du se   kul.</u>
it also them
'But if they know about its being cursed, they certainly
won't keep it themselves.'

PROC I: PROC DISCOURSE

PROC I: PROC P

    2. (Step₁: Expl P, Text) <u>Yó   gunu le   mǒ</u>
                                 that place they make

<u>lungunen ke wen   tau   matay ne gunu le   modung</u>
coffin   if there/is person die   and place they death/watch

<u>du mon le   anì   ton kdě dumu   -hen.</u>
it say they so/that see all companion his
'The reason they make the coffin and have the death watch,
they say so that all his companions can see him.'

(Result)   <u>Ke wen   dumu   -hen mayuk alì kembong nawa</u>
           if there/is companion his far   int big   breath

<u>du   duhen tuonen ke kem dumu   ma   -en ne yé   -en</u>
him or   in/law or pl companion father his and mother his

<u>modung   le anì   hyu kauy le   du.</u>
death/watch they so/that good visit they him
'If there are friends who live far away who loved him or if
there are inlaws or other fathers or mothers of his, they
have the death watch so that they can visit him.'

(Step₂)   <u>Sok le   sut   gel   le   tô   kemleng mugul</u>
          when they arrive always they fain slash   wrists

<u>ta   -hen ne gel   le   temoyok   ke móyón nwa</u>
above him and always they threaten/suicide when almost take

<u>le ebě tonok.</u>
they to ground

'When they arrive, they always attempt to slash their wrists
and threaten suicide when they are about to take the body
to the ground.'

(Alter Step: Ex Para Text) Ke là dengen kól   bè/yó
                             if not already arrive there

ke wen   tau   hangat le   là kô tagad newa le   du.
if there/is person wait   they not int wait   take they it
'If the people they are waiting for haven't arrived yet,
they don't take the body down.'

(Warn) Ke kendel   newa le   gulaanen là deng   sut
        if immediately take they before   not already arrive

yem tau   hangat le   duhen yem tau   hemget du bud
the person wait   they or   the person tie/up it again

gunu le   segdà.
place they angry
'If they take the body down before the person they are
waiting for has arrived or before the body is tied up, it's
the reason for fights.'

(Step$_3$: Expl P, Text) Kesok kól   yem tau   hangat le
                          when   arrive the person wait   they

baluen ke hanà nù bè tonok là kô hangat le   kotunen
even/if if still stay on ground not int wait   they ascend

ta, tódô kendel   sensewa le.
up just immediately exchange they
'When the person they are waiting for arrives, they don't
even wait for him to come up into the house, even while he
is still on the ground they immediately try to take the
body.'

(Expo) Ne tólóng   fen   semsefen du ne tólóng   se
        and different the/one hold/back it and different also

fen   kemówê   ne demwél   kem dumu ne kemteng kem
the/one take/away and pry/along pl other and pull   pl

dumu.
other
'Different ones try to hold the coffin back and different
ones take it and others pry the coffin along and others pull
it.'

PROC II: PROC P

   3. (Step₁) <u>Ke   wen   tau   móyón heto kdê</u>
               when there/is person almost die   all

<u>tau   gotu menaul elaan, olo ~hen sotu duhen lewu olo</u>
person all go/down below only it one or   two   only

<u>munung yem tau   semlaw.</u>
watch   the person sick
'When a person is about to die, everyone goes down out of
the house, only one or two stay to take care of the sick
person.'

(Step₂: Expl P, Text) <u>Ke   deng   heto bud   le   mulék</u>
                   when already die again they return

<u>eta he okóm yó kem kimu   henaul   le là bud</u>
up yet but that pl property take/down they not again

<u>hulék le kul eta.</u>
return they them up
'When the person has died, they return up to the house but
the property that they took down they don't take back up.'

(Expo) <u>Tólóng   gunù duhen lowig   gunu le e ~meted</u>
      different house or   shelter place they deliver

<u>kul.</u>
them   'They take it to a different house or to a shelter.'

PROC III: PROC P

   4. (Step₁) <u>Ke   deng   heto ne yem tau   semlaw,</u>
               when already die now the person sick

<u>ke yó kmò le du, lenungun le   na   le/na tódó hasà</u>
if that do they it coffin   they first they just leave

<u>bà/yó hlun   le   na   mangay yem tau   hulung</u>
there temporarily they first fetch the person know/how

<u>hemget du.</u>
tie   it
'When the sick person has died now, if what they are going
to do is put it in a coffin, they just temporarily leave the
body there and they fetch the person who knows how to prepare
the body.'

(Step₂: Anti-Expl P - Sect: Expl P, Text) Ke là dengen
                                                if not already

kól   bè/yó yem tau   hemget du là kô le   tagad lemanu。
arrive there the person prepare it not int they wait   chant
'If the person who prepares the body hasn't arrived there yet,
they don't chant yet.'

(Sect: Expl P, Text) Baluen ke deng   kól   bè/yó ke là
                         even   if already arrive there if not

deng   henget -en du, là kô le   tagad lemanu.
already prepare he it not int they wait   chant
'Even if the person who prepares the body has arrived, if
he hasn't prepared the body yet, they don't yet chant.'

(Reas) Gulaan le   là deng   hemget du tendo tô   nangat
          before they not already prepare it always fain wait

le   ke bud   betik.
they if again wake-up
'Before they prepare it, they always wait to see if he will
come back to life.'

PROC IV: EXPL P

    5. (Text) Ke   henget -en yem tau   hemget du bekes
                      when prepare he the person prepare it tie

-en du luos   duhen kedungon.
 he it rattan or   hemp
'When the person preparing the body prepares it, he ties it
with rattan or hemp.'

(Expo) Ke   wen   tau   hemget matay bemkes kedungon
              when there/is person prepare dead tie   hemp

tek hitu ke syóm butengen okom hnù le   laan.
only seven or nine nights   but put they under
'When a person preparing the dead ties with hemp, it is only
seven or nine nights (before the burial) but they put the
body out of the house.'

(Expo) Ke luos   bekes-en sfolò limu ke lewu folò limu ke
             if rattan tie   he ten   five or two ten   five or

sfoló syóm butengen kegen-en nù   bè gunù.
ten   nine nights   time   it stay in house
'If he uses rattan to tie the body, it is fifteen or
twenty-five or nineteen nights the time that the body stays
in the house.'

PROC V: PROC P

6. (Sett) Ke   henget -en kihu   nù bél&-en
            when prepare he whatever is with him

kedungon ke luos   okóm nii mò   kebkes-en du.
hemp   or rattan but this how tie   he it
'When he prepares the body whatever he has whether hemp or
rattan, but this is how he does it.'

(Step$_1$) Gena benkes-en lewu tebakal ti -hen omin   yem
            first tie   he two big/toe feet his and/then spec

lewu tebakal-en.
two   thumbs his
'First he ties the two big toes and then he ties the two
thumbs.'

(Step$_2$) Ne omin-en sembekes   tihen sebl&   bè bukol-en
            and then he tie/together legs position at knees his

ne bè hunuken homong bekes lewu sigel-en ne   sotu lem
and at thigh   include tie   two arm   his and one at

abalen.
shoulder
'Then he ties the two legs together at the knees and at the
thighs including the two arms and one tie at the shoulder.'

PROC VI: EXPL P

7. (Text) Ke laan   angat   gunù hemnù lungunen
            if under future place place coffin

senagal   le.
put/between/two/poles they
'If they are going to leave the body below the house, they
put it between two poles.'

(Expo) <u>Lewu kling sendu bekes le   sbalà</u>   <u>lówó</u>
       two   bamboo split tie   they in/either/side body

<u>-hen</u>₀
 his   'They tie two pieces of split bamboo on either side of
       the body.'

(Term) <u>Hatan senagal</u>   <u>le   he   ke   deng/deng</u>
       wait put/between poles they yet when finished

<u>kehunges le   du</u>₀
wrapping they it
'They don't put the body between two poles until they have
wrapped it.'

PROC VII: PROC P

   8. (Step₁) <u>Ke   deng kebekes lewu tebakal-en   ne</u>
               when past tie   two   thumbs his and

<u>lewu tebakal   tihen omin le   yó   hemunges du kumù.</u>
two big/toes feet then they that wrap   it blanket
'When they have finished tying the thumbs and the big toes,
then they wrap the body in a blanket.'

(Step₂: Expl P, Text) <u>Deng   kehunges-en   du yem tau</u>
                       finish tying   his it the person

<u>hemget   du ominen ma   kling ke lasak   ne   smulat-en bè</u>
prepare it then   take bamboo or bamboo and mark   he at

<u>gunu   -n sóól anì   muni.</u>
place   it half so/that noise
'When the person who prepares the body has finished
wrapping it, then he takes a piece of <u>kling</u> bamboo or <u>lasak</u>
bamboo and removes some from the middle (core) so that it
will make a noise.'

(Expo) <u>Yó   boluy le   du gunù tembol kenabang.</u>
       that name   they it place beat   (a kind of rhythm)
'They call it the drum for a certain kind of rhythm.'

(Step₃) <u>Yem tau   hemget   du gena tembol ne   du se   gena</u>
        the person prepare it first beat   and he also first

<u>lemanu omin le   yó   gbót yó   kem dumu.</u>
chant   then they then join that pl other

'The person who prepares the body is the first to beat and
to chant and then the others join in.'

PROC VIII: EXPO DISC

<u>Intro: Sent</u>

    9. (Intro) <u>Ne bong dê   tau   molð   bè/yó boluy</u>
              and big   many person gather there name

<u>le   tau   molð   modung.</u>
they person gather death/watch
'And many people gather there, they are called the people of
the death watch!'

<u>Pt₁: Proc P</u>

    10. (Step₁: Expl P, Text) <u>Ke   lemwót le   bè   gunù</u>
                      when leave   they from house

<u>le   là kô mon le   du, "Mógów-e ebè gunù modung."</u>
their not int say they it   go   I to house death/watch
'When they leave their house, they certainly don't say, "I'm
going to the death watch."'

(Expo) <u>Tódô gel   hlana kun gel   kewót   yem tau   molð</u>
        just always lost his always leaving spec person gather

<u>modung.</u>
death/watch
'The person going to the death watch just leaves quietly.'

(Step₂) <u>Ke   mógów le   ebè gunù   modung   ke   móyónen</u>
          when go   they to   house death/watch when almost

<u>moni yem gunù modung   sana   le   lemanu okóm ke</u>
near the house death/watch already they chant but if

<u>wen   tolo dumu gunù mius le, là kô le   tagad</u>
there/is still other house pass they not int they wait

<u>lemanu.</u>
chant
'When they go to the death watch when they get near the house,
they begin to chant but if there are still houses to pass,
they don't chant yet.'

Pt$_2$: Expl P

11. (Prelim) <u>Bong le hligal yó kem tau</u>
            big they happy those pl person

<u>modung ke wen molò kul dumu tau mò dumu</u>
death/watch if there/is gather them other person make other

<u>le kifu.</u>
their night
'The people at the death watch are happy if others gather
with them to make their companions at night.'

(Text) <u>Ke kifu són mò le tembol ne lemanu ne là</u>
        when night only make they beat and chant and not

<u>kó le hol tungó.</u>
int they int sleep
'When it is night, they just keep on beating and chanting
and they don't sleep much.'

(Reason) <u>Likò le busaw.</u>
        afraid they demon   'They are afraid of the demons.'

(Result) <u>Yem mu yem tembol ne lanu anì likò</u>
        the purpose the beating and chant so/that afraid

<u>ke wen busaw.</u>
if there/is demon
'The purpose of the beating and chanting is so that the
demons will be afraid.'

PROC IX: PROC P

12. (Sett) <u>Ke sfolò limu butengen, sfolò fat butengen</u>
         if ten five nights ten four nights

<u>nù ta sotu butengen bè kebeng le du.</u>
stay up one night to bury they it
'If it is fifteen nights the body stays in the house for
fourteen nights and one night to bury it.'

(Step$_1$) <u>Yem butengen gulaan yem sfolò fat tey tau lumun</u>
        the night before the ten four int person like

tɔ̀   tau   mulu ne tey kmɔ̀ le   ken senéen.
as/if person feast and int make they food also
'The night before the fourteenth night what a lot of people,
like people going to a feast and they make a lot of food
also.'

(Step₂: Expl P, Text)   Hlafus bè yem sfolò fat newa le
                         morning of the ten   four take they

elaan yem matay; fen   mafas   dumu yem tau   matay ne
below the dead   ones hold/back other the person die   and

fen newa yɔ́   kem tuɔ́nen   ne kem fayen.
ones take those pl parents/in/law and pl sisters/and/

brothers/in/law
'On the morning of the fourteenth day they take the body out
of the house; the relatives are the ones to hold the body
back and the inlaws are the ones to take it.'

(Expo)   Wen   se   là hol gewa le   du ke alì kemgis
         there/are also not int get   they it if int strong

yɔ́   kem mafas   ne wen   se   alì kemgis tau   ma
that pl hold/back and there/is also int strong person take

là legenen sana   kɔ́l   bè tonok.
not long   already arrive at ground
'Sometimes it is hard to get the body if those holding it
back are really strong and sometimes the ones taking the body
are strong and it isn't long the body has gotten to the
ground.'

(Warn)   Ke là segbek   le   yɔ́   gunu le   gel
         if not well/matched   they that place they always

segdà ne gel   le   sfatay.
angry and always they fight
'If they aren't well matched, that is the time they get angry
with each other and they always fight.'

(Step₃ Expl P, Text)   Sok deng   kɔ́l   bè tonok   yem
                       when already arrive on ground the

lungun omin le   mɔ̀   duluhen ne sentihang le   hilol gunù,
coffin then they make poles   and carry   they around house

mlóy le   ke henganag le   gunu le   setilów gel   mahi
run they or go slow they place they try   always which

du kemgis.
it strong
'When the coffin gets to the ground, they make poles and
carry it around on their shoulders around the house; they
run or they go slowly, it's the time they see who is the
strongest.'

(Warn) Ke là kemgisen wen   tau   gel   masà okóm là
        if not strong   there/is person always fall but not

hol le   segdà du abay se lumun tô   sefelwa.
int they angry it because like as/if game
'If a person isn't strong, he might fall but they don't get
angry about it because it is like a game.'

PROC X: PROC P

    13. (Step$_1$) Kesok deng   móyón kimel   bè kebeng
                     when   already almost afternoon of bury

le   du h- layuk le bè   gunà ne yem matay.
they it ca far   they from house now spec dead/person
'When it is almost afternoon of the burial day, they take
the body far from the house.'

(Step$_2$: Expl P, Text) Yó   ne hol són kkik le   du yó
                           that now int only cry they it that

kem dumuhen.
pl other
'That's when the relatives have their last cry.'

(Reason) Mon le   deng tahu ketagak=en kul ne.
          say they past true leaving his them now
'They say he has truly left them now.'

(Expo) Gel   wen   yem tahu hol dumu   yem matay
        always there/are the true int companion the dead

gel   tà hfu ke deng alì sidek kegnóm   le   du.
always fain end if past int bad   experience they it
'There are always close relatives who want to end their lives
if they really feel bad.'

PROC XI: PROC P

    14. (Sett)   <u>Wen   se   tau   tagak bè gunù boluy</u>
                  there/is also person stay   at house name

<u>le   Hatan Kabil.</u>
they wait   call
'There are people who stay at the house called, "Waiters for
the Call."'

(Step₁: Expl P, Text)   <u>Ke   deng   legen udì   kifu omin</u>
                        when already long   little night then

<u>le   yó   he   tahu lemwót lembeng bede eles   le   mit</u>
they then yet true leave bury   but beforehand they make

<u>ofi.</u>
fire
'Just after dark they leave to bury the body but they take a
torch.'

(Expo)   <u>Ke   bud   le   miteg bud   le   hegnù ne bud   le</u>
         when again they tired again they rest and again they

<u>hembong ofi.</u>
big   fire
'When they are tired, they rest and make a fire.'

(Expo)   <u>Ne són mò   le   mudél, lemawit, tembol,   mò</u>
         and only make they speak   chant   beat drum make

<u>lemin kem dumu.</u>
songs pl   other
'And they just keep on talking, chanting, beating drums and
others sing funeral songs.'

(Expo)   <u>Là kò le   hol lemolò lan   són mama.</u>
         not int they int follow trail only make/their/own/

trail
'And they don't follow a trail, they just make their own path.'

(Step₂: Expl P, Text)   <u>Ke   deng   moni bè yem gunù lembeng</u>
                        when already near to the place bury

<u>du omin le   yó   hol tahu hegnù efet   minal/mwas.</u>
it then they that int true rest   until day break
'When they are near the burial spot, then they truly rest
until the first rays of daybreak.'

(Expo) <u>Tólóng   se   fen   hem-bong ofi   ne   son   mò</u>
        different also ones ca   big   fire and only make

<u>le   hebnes abay se són   kehligal le.</u>
they noise because last happy   they
'Different ones build up the fire and they make a lot of
noise because this is their last chance to be happy。'

(Term) <u>Tu kem tau   tagak bè gunù là kô le   bud</u>
        the pl person stay at house not int they again

<u>lemanu ne là bud   le   hol mudél, mon le   wen   busaw.</u>
chant and not again they int talk   say they there/is demon
'The people left at the house don't chant or talk anymore,
they say there is a demon。'

(Step₃) <u>Ke   deng   minal/mwas omin le   yó   hógów du ebè</u>
         when already daybreak   then they that send it to

<u>yem koyu duhen kling mò   gunu le   semuféng   yem</u>
the tree or   bamboo make place they put/in/crotch spec

<u>matay.</u>
dead/person
'When it is daybreak, then they put the coffin in the crotch
of a tree or of bamboo。'

(Step₄) <u>Ne yó alì klanu le   ne alì keklélé</u>
         and that int chant their and int clicking/tongue

<u>le   ne són -en yó   ne klanu.</u>
their and last it that now chant
'And then they really chant and make noises with their
tongue and that is the last of the chanting。'

(Step₅) <u>Ne kdê tau   mò   sulô   laan yem lungun</u>
         and all person make pointed/stick under the coffin

<u>mon le   anì   likò kemó ke bawik.</u>
say they so/that afraid jump if wake/up
'And everyone makes a pointed stick that they put under the
coffin they say so that he will be afraid to jump out if he
wakes up。'

(Step₆) <u>Omin le   mken, utón le   onuk   heklafak。</u>
         then they eat   meat their chicken roasted
'And then they eat, their meat is roasted chicken。'

(Step₇)   <u>Ke   deng kken le   omin le   lemwót, mugem le</u>
                    when past eat   their then they leave   grunt they

<u>là kô le   mudél, mon le   anî   mon tum matay ugem</u>
not int they talk   say they so/that say the dead   grunt

<u>sdô.</u>
pig
'When they have finished eating, they leave, they grunt like
a pig, they surely don't talk, they say so that the dead
person will think it is a pig.'

(Step₈)   <u>Okóm gulaan le   là deng   lemwót na   le   bentù</u>
                    but   before they not already leave   first they break

<u>yem kuleng, kdê tau   balù ngà   gbót bentù yem kuleng.</u>
the kettle all person even child join break the kettle
'But before they leave first they break the cooking pot, all
the people even children join in to break the cooking pot.'

(Step₉)   <u>Ke   deng le   kól   bè gunù yó   kem lembeng omin</u>
                    when past they arrive at house that pl buriers then

<u>le   yó   se   metem tum gunù.</u>
they that emp burn   the house
'When the buriers arrive back at the house, then they burn
the house down.'

(Step₁₀) <u>Netem le   yem gunù omin le   mò   bulung bè</u>
                    burn   they the house then they make medicine on

<u>lan.</u>
trail
'They burn the house down and then they make medicine on the
trail.'

(Step₁₁) <u>Gotu kenilang yó   kem kdê tau   mon le   anî</u>
                    all   step/over that pl all person say they so/that

<u>là lemek lówó le,   là mahil wen   des   le.</u>
not weak   body their not easy   there/is sickness their
'All of the people step over the medicine they say so that
their bodies won't be weak, they won't get sick easily.'

PROC XII: PROC P

15. (Step₁) <u>Ke   kɔ́l   le   bè tum gunù   gunu   le</u>
             when arrive they at the house place they

<u>mili   bud   wen   bulung   netem tum tau   nù   bè</u>
transfer again there/is medicine burn the person stay at

<u>gunù   mɔ̀   nungef le   sok   motun yɔ́   kem tau   kɔ́l.</u>
house make smell   they when ascend that pl   person arrive
'When they arrive at the house where they move to the person
there also burns medicine for those coming to smell when
they come up into the house.'

(Step₂) <u>Là   tagad le   hligal yakà   tolo   -hen lemobun</u>
         not wait   they happy since still it   cloudy

<u>kun.</u>
it/is/said
'They don't act joyful yet because they say it is still
cloudy.'

• (Step₃) <u>Hyu kehligal le   he   ke   deng gefet sotu fedyan</u>
           good joy   their yet when past reach one   week

<u>-en, okɔ́m nan/na wen   bud   bulung   ne mɔ̀   le   ken.</u>
 it   but first there/is again medicine and make they food
'They can be happy when a week has gone by but first they
again make some medicine and they make a feast.'

<u>ALTER PROC I: EXPLANATORY P</u>

16. (Text) <u>Okɔ́m ke yɔ́   kmɔ̀ le   du, là   lenungun du,</u>
             but if that do   they it   not coffin   it

<u>ke lenowig le   eles   nbɔ̀ le   ebè lowigen gulaan-en</u>
if shelter they beforehand carry they to shelter before he

<u>là   deng heto.</u>
not past die
'But if what they do, they don't put the body in a coffin,
if they put it in a shelter, they carry the person to the
shelter before he has died.'

c (Expo) <u>Wen   se   kem dumu tau   tɔ́dɔ́ tebel le   bè</u>
          there/is also pl   other person just leave they at

lowigen baluen ke là deng-en heto.
shelter even   if not past he die
'There are some people who just leave the person in the
shelter even if he hasn't died yet.'

(Expo) Olo le   temebel bélé-en ken -en.
        only they leave   with him food his
'They just leave some food with him.'

(Expo) Olo le   gel   mauy du okóm là kô kdéen tau
        only they always visit him but not int all   person

gel   mò du mni du.
always do it this it
'They just always visit him but it isn't everybody who does
this.'

(Term) Wen   se   tau   deng tebel le   tódô bud   gel
        there/is also person past leave they just again always

mulék eta ke   deng hyu kegnóm-en du.
return up when past good feel   he it
'There are people they have left in the shelter who just come
back up into the house when they feel better.'

ALTER PROC II: PROC DISC

PROC I: PROC P

    17. (Step$_1$) Ke yó kmò le   du, là dog   lenowig du
                     if that do they it   not bother shelter it

ne là dog   lenungun le   du, ke lebeng le   là kô he=fto
and not bother coffin   they it if bury   they not int ca die

le   du ta.
they him up
'If what they do, they don't put the body in a shelter and
they don't have a coffin burial, if they bury him, they don't
let him die in the house.'

(Step$_2$) Igoen hanà heslaf   tódô kendel   nwit le
            while still seriously/ill just immediately take they

elaan.
below
'While he is breathing his last, they just immediately take
him down out of the house.'

(Step₃: Expl P, Text) <u>Henuyù sentihang le   ebè tum gunu</u>
                                      sling   carry   they to the place

<u>le e-lembeng du ne gel   nbô   le   snéen.</u>
they   bury   him and always carry they also
'They carry him in a sling tied to a pole which they carry on
their shoulders to the place where they are going to bury him
and they sometimes carry him by a head strap.'

(Expo) <u>Wen   se   tau   tôdô heto te kwang ke wen</u>
            there/are also person just die on back if there/is

<u>tau   mbô   du.</u>
person carry him
'Some people die on the back of the person carrying him.'

(Expo) <u>Wen   tau   lembeng mduk là holen nelem kokol</u>
            there/is person bury   lazy not very   deep digging

<u>-en sol, wen   se   nelem.</u>
 his hole there/are some deep
'There are people who bury who are lazy and they don't make
the hole very deep, some people make it deep.'

(Step₄: Expl P Text) <u>Ke   mulék le là Kô le   salaw</u>
                                    when return they not int they argue

<u>gena.</u>
first
'When they return, they surely don't argue who is to be first.'

(Expo) <u>Yem tau   tehe   huli bud   gna.</u>
            the person before after again first
'The one who came last goes first.'

(Expo) <u>Yem gena, bud   tles   huli.</u>
            the first again change last
'The one who was first, he becomes last.'

(Step₅: Expl P, Text) <u>Ke   kól   bè gunù là kóen hyu ke</u>
                                     when arrive at house not int good if

<u>wen   tau   mengak kul, tôdô le   neb.</u>
there/is person welcome them just they quiet
'When they arrive at the house, it is not good if anyone
welcomes them, they are just completely quiet.'

(Expo)   L<u>à kô le   mudél ke là lenungun du.</u>
         not int they speak if not coffin   it
'If they don't have a coffin funeral, they don't speak.'

(Reason) <u>Mon le   tolo lemobun.</u>
          say they still cloudy
'They say it is still cloudy.'

PROC II: PROC P

   18. (Step₁) <u>Ke   deng   fat buteng duhen limu</u>
                 when already four night or   five

<u>buteng-en mò le   ken ne temétê le   onuk   ne wen</u>
nights it make they food and roast they chicken and there/is

<u>bulung nmò le.</u>
medicine make they
'After four or five nights they have a feast, they roast
chicken and there is a medicine they make.'

(Step₂: Expl P, Text) <u>Yó mò   le   ken, dmutung le   sabù.</u>
                       that make they food burn   they sabu
'When they make the food, they burn the sabu (a kind of
medicine).'

(Warn) <u>Ke mò   le   sabù là hyuhen ke wen   tólóng</u>
        if make they sabu not good   if there/is different

<u>tau   lemwót bè   tólóng   gunù gbót mken bélê le   ne</u>
person come   from different house join eat with them and

<u>là hyu -hen gbót mken ne baluen ke olon mauy là hyu -hen.</u>
not good it join eat and even   if only visit not good it
'If they make the sabu medicine, it isn't good if someone
from a different house eats with them, even if someone visits
it isn't good.'

CLOSURE: EXPL P

   19. (Text) <u>Yó   he alì kehligal le   mogul le   blówón.</u>
               that yet int happy   they beat they gongs
'That is when they can be happy, they beat the gongs.'

(Expo) Ke   deng   sentahen bè/yó baluen ke mensag le
        when already past   there even   if shout   they

duhen lemingun le   là bud   =en sidek。
or   sing   they no again it bad
'Afterwards, even if they shout or sing, it is no longer
bad。'

(Expo) Okóm gulaanen là tagad hyu hligal tolo lemobun.
        but before   not wait good happy still cloudy
'Before that it isn't good to be happy, it is still cloudy.'

(Expo) Ke   deng   sentahen mon le   deng mwas   deng
        when already past   say they past daybreak past

tikaw.
clear   'Afterwards they say it is daybreak it is clear.'

(Expo) Gulaanen mon le   tolo kemifu ne là kó le   mdó
        before   say they still night and not int they leave

tahen yem gunù.
up   the house
'Before that they say it is still night and they won't even
go out of the house.'

ALTER PROC III: PROC P

     20。 (Step$_1$) Okóm ke yó   kmò le   du ke tódó lebeng
                      but if that do they it if just bury

le   laan yem gunù là kó netem le   du, olo le   tódó
they under the house not int burn they it only they just

gembà   du eta=hen.
break/down it top it
'But if what they do, they just bury it under the house, they
don't burn the house down they just break it down over the
grave。'

(Alter Step) Ke hnù le   ta gunù là se   genbà le   du olo
              if put they up house not also break they it only

le   hemget beng ne kó   le   auten omin le   tmagak du.
they tighten door and remove they steps then they leave it
'If they just leave the body in the house, they don't break it
down, they just close the door tightly and take away the steps
and then they leave it.'

(Step₂: Expl P, Text) <u>Senged senéen là tagad le   hligal</u>
                        same   also   not wait they happy

<u>ke là deng   le   mò   sabù.</u>
if not already they make sabu medicine
'It's the same also, they don't act happy if they haven't
made the sabu medicine.'

(Reason) <u>Yem mu   yem sabù anì   là lemek lówó le.</u>
          the purpose the sabu so/that not weak body their
'The purpose of the sabu medicine is so that they won't be
weak.'

(Expo) <u>Tey dê   boluy bulung   newa le ke   mò   le</u>
        int many name   medicine take they when make they

<u>sabù.</u>
sabu
'There are many kinds of medicine they use to make the sabu.'

(Expo) <u>Yó   olo tngón-u medulà ne kukóy</u>
        that only know I medula and kukoy
'I only know medula and kukoy.'   (Two kinds of trees.)

8.22.2 Yem Kmò Sloung Naf

     'How to make a Straw Hat'

PROCEDURE I: PROC P

    1. (Step₁) <u>Sok le   gel   mò   sloung naf   yó</u>
                 when they always make hat   bamboo spec

<u>kem Tboli na   le   hegna mofok   naf,   syóm banay   yem</u>
pl Tboli first they first cut/down bamboo nine section for

<u>tefi ta   ne bud   syóm banay   se   yem tefi laan.</u>
at   top and again nine section also for at   under
'When the Tboli make a bamboo hat, the first thing they do is
cut down the certain kind of bamboo, nine sections for the
top side and nine sections also for the under side.'

(Step₂) <u>Ne sok deng yem kofok   le   omin le   mit du</u>
         and when done spec cutting they then they take it

mulék ebè gunù le   yem naf.
return to house their spec bamboo
'And when they finish cutting, then they take that bamboo
and return to their house.'

(Step$_3$)   Ne sok le   kól   ta yó   hol tanay nmò le
         and when they arrive up that int first work they

sendu yem   naf.
split spec bamboo
'When they arrive up in their house, the first thing they
do is split it.'

(Step$_4$)   Ne sok deng kesdu   le   du omin le   gotu
         and when done splitting they it then they completely

semfék   du.
peel/off/in/layers it
'And when they are done splitting it, then they peel it off
in layers.'

(Step$_5$)   Ne sok deng kesfék   le   du omin
         and when done peeling/off/in/layers they it then

le   gotu   munê du.
they completely bend it
'And when they finish peeling it off in layers, then they
bend it over.'   (to make it pliable)

(Step$_6$: Expl P Text) Ne sok deng kunê   le   du omin
                      and when done bending they it then

le   gotu   mki   du.
they completely scrape it
'When they finish bending it, then they scrape it.'

(Expo) Okóm tey lemnek yem   sdu   -en là kóen hyu ke
     but   int small   spec place it not emp good if

lembang yem sdu   yem naf.
big   the place the bamboo
'But they make the pieces small, it's not good if the pieces
of bamboo are big.'

(Step$_n$)   Ne sok deng yem kki   le   du omin le   yó
         and when done the scraping they it then they that

mbut   munum du yem sloung naf.
begin weave it the hat   bamboo
'And when they are done scraping, then they begin to weave
the hat.'

PROCEDURE II: PROC P

2. (Step₁: Expl P Text) <u>Yó   hol tanay kmò   le</u>
                           that int first doing they

<u>du nunum le   seblà gu   bè butu-en.</u>
it weave they place from at knob it
'They first start to weave from the place where the knob is.'

(Reason) <u>Yó   se   gunu   le   hegna munum du gu   bè butu</u>
          that emp reason they first weave it from at knob

<u>-en abay se tek   sotu butu-en yem sloung naf.</u>
 it because only one   knob it the hat   bamboo
'The reason they start there is because there is just one
knob on a hat.'

(Step₂) <u>Ne yó   bud   kmò   le   du tendo   tennù le</u>
         and that again doing they it continue add/to they

<u>yem naf   anì   baling angat lamang yem sloung nmò le.</u>
the bamboo so/that become future wide   the hat   make they
'And what they do is keep adding to the bamboo so it becomes
a wide hat.'

PROCEDURE III: PROC P

3. (Step₁) <u>Ne sok deng yem kunum   le   du omin le</u>
             and when done the weaving they it then they

<u>lemufit   du yem sfatà kilil-en.</u>
fold/over   it the ends   edge   it
'Now when they finish weaving, then they fold over the ends
at the edge.'

(Step₂: Expl P Text) <u>Ne sok deng yem klufit   le</u>
                       and when done the folding/over they

<u>du omin le   yó bemtes du.</u>
it then they that measure it
'And when they are finished folding it over, then they
measure it.'

(Reason) <u>Yǒ   gunu   le   bemtes du anì   là béhéng</u>
          that reason they measure it so/that not lop/sided

<u>-en.</u>
it   'The reason they measure it is so it isn't lop sided.'

(Expo) <u>Okǒm yǒ   gunu le   mbut   bemtes du lemwǒt le</u>
        but   that place they begin measure it start   they

<u>gu   ta   bè yem butu-en.</u>
from top of the knob it
'The place they measure starts from the top of the knob.'

(Step₃) <u>Ne sok deng yem kebtes   le   du omin le   yǒ</u>
         and when done the measuring they it then they that

<u>mebed du yem litok.</u>
wrap it the black/vine
'And when they finish measuring it, then they wrap/stitch
the black vine (at the edge).'

(Step₄) <u>Ne   sok deng kebed   le   du yem litok   omin</u>
         and when done wrapping they it the black/vine then

<u>le   bud   gotu   msil du bè yem lǒwǒ-hen.</u>
they again completely weave it on the body it
'And when they finish wrapping it over (at the edge), then
they weave it (black vine) on the body.'

(Step₅) <u>Ne homong nsil le   sneen yem butù yem sloung</u>
         and include weave they also the knob the hat

<u>naf   deng nunum le.</u>
bamboo done weave they
'And included also in the weaving (of the black vine) is the
knob of the bamboo hat they have woven.'

(Step₆: Expl P Text) <u>Ne sok deng ksil   le   du yem</u>
                      and when done weaving they it the

<u>litok   omin le mǒ   yem kamang   -en ne bud</u>
black/vine then they make the inner/lining it and again

<u>lemwǒt bè litok   snéen yem kamang   -en.</u>
come   of black/vine also the inner/lining it
'And when they finish weaving the black vine, then they make
the inner lining and again this comes from the black vine.'

(Reason) <u>Yó   mu   le   du yem nmò le   yo   anì</u>
         that purpose they it the work they that so/that

<u>là des kulu le   sok deng sloung le.</u>
neg pain head they when past hat   they
'The purpose in making that (lining) is so that they don't
have a headache when they wear the hat.'

<u>CLOSURE: SENTENCE</u>

    4. <u>Yó se yem hol són nmò le   du yem sloung naf</u>
        that's the emp end work they it the hat   bamboo

<u>gel   nmò le.</u>
always make they
'That's all that they do when they make a bamboo hat.'

8.23 Illustrative Text - Expository Discourse - Tboli Customs.

<u>INTRODUCTION: EXPL P</u>

    1. (Text) <u>Kul   gunù seblà nù   kem Tboli bè seneged</u>
                their place where stay pl Tboli at south

<u>Cotabato bè Snólon, Sbù efet kól   ebè Kiamba.</u>
Cotabato at Sinolon Sebu until arrive at Kiamba
'The place where the Tboli live is south of Cotabato to
Sinolon, Sebu until you get to Kiamba.'

(Expo) <u>Lem bulul   gunù le   alì nù   abay/se yó   gunu</u>
       in mountain place they int stay because that place

<u>le   tmiba   lan le   mebel   klowil.</u>
they make/field way they look/for living
'They live mostly in the mountains because that's where they
make their fields looking for their livelihood.'

(Term) <u>Wen   dô   tlu   folò libu   kwen le   ni</u>
       there/are maybe three ten   thousand many they this

<u>kem tau   ni.</u>
pl person here
'There are maybe thirty thousand of these people.'

POINT I: EXPO DISC

INTRO: SENTENCE

    2. (Intro)   Wen   yem bulón kebut le   tmiba.
                     there/is the month begin they make/fields
'There is a month when they begin to make their fields.'

POINT I: EXPL P

    3. (Text)   Kem tuha me   temngón du sok   deng   bulón
                    pl old   our know   it when already month

móyón tmiba   gel   tenngel le   blotik.
almost make/field always look   they star
'Our parents know when it is the month near the time to begin
making our fields, they look at the stars.'

(Expo)   Nim blotik gel   tenngel le   ni   sundu yem blotik
         this star   always look   they this not   the star

alì wen   ton tekuy hmung   kifu dun sóól buteng.
int there/is see we   along/with night or   half night
'These stars they look at here are not the stars we always
see just after dark or in the middle of the night.'

(Expo: Proc P, Sett)   Limu kwen le   ni   kem blotik
                   five many them these pl   star

tmiba   ni.
make/field this
'There are five of these stars that tell when to start making
fields.'

(Step₁)   Gel   le   btik hanà minal/mwas abay   yó   gel
          always they wake still daybreak   because that always

ksut   yó   kem limu blotik.
arrive that pl   five star
'They always get up at the first ray of dawn because that is
when those five stars come out.'

(Step₂: Proc P, Sett)   Gel   le   mógów ebè tonok tendo
                   always they go   to   ground always

hnénég le   yem blotik abay/se bè/yó gunu le   temngón du ke
look   they the star   because there place they know   it if

angat kmulón dun mnóng kdaw.
will rain   or shine sun
'They always go down to the ground to look at the stars
because that is how they know if it will rain or shine.'

(Step₁) Ke alì klet udof yem blotik mon le   angat tey
          if int close blink the star say they will   int

mnóng kdaw.
shine sun
'If the blinking of the star is close together, they say the
sun will really shine.'

(Alter Step: Expl P Text) Là ke là holen klet   mon le
                            not if not very close say they

angat senbool-en kulón.
will mixed   it rain
'Not so if the blinking is not close, they say there will
still be rain.'

(Expo) Ke alì batul angat laen dù tem le.
          if int spaced will   not any burn they
'If the blinking is spaced, they won't be able to burn the
fields.'

(Term: Expl P, Text) Ne gel   tahu myó.
                       and always true that
'And that is always true.'

(Expo) Tngón le   se   ke kmulón bè bulón glewun duhen mnóng
          know they also if rain   at month second or   shine

bè bulón getlun dun gefaten.
at month third   or fourth
'They know if it will rain the second month or if it will
shine the third or fourth month.'

(Reason) Yó   gunu le   temngón du bè mò kekdol yem blotik.
          that place they know   it at how move   the star
'They can tell from the movement of the stars.'

POINT II: PROC DISC

<u>Aperture: Expl P</u>

    4. (Text) <u>Sotu   gunu le   temngón du ke angat</u>
               another place they know   it if will

<u>wen   tem le   dun là hnénég le   aya   fak.</u>
there/is burn they or   not look   they nest frog
'Another way they know if they are going to be able to burn
or not, they look at the nest of the frog.'

(Expo)   <u>Aya   fak yem gunun myón lem él   mò   angat gunun</u>
           nest frog the place sit in water make will   place

<u>mngà.</u>
give/birth
'The nest of the frog is the place she sits in the water to
be the place where she will lay her eggs.'

(Expo: Expl P Text) <u>Ke là   ngelem aya -hen angat mnóng</u>
                    if not deep   nest her will   shine

<u>kdaw okóm ke ngelem angat kmulón.</u>
sun but if deep   will   rain
'If the nest isn't deep, the sun will shine but if it is
deep, it will rain.'

(Reason) <u>Yó   gunun h- ngelem du ngalin   bè   dunuk.</u>
          that place ca deep   it hold/back from flood
'The reason that she makes it deep is that she is protecting
it from the floods.'

<u>Procedure$_1$: Proc P</u>

    5. (Sett) <u>Kem fak sok kmulón là hol le   nù   lem</u>
            pl frog when rain   not int they stay in

<u>él, gel   le   nù   lem sol.</u>
water always they stay in   hole
'When it rains, the frogs don't stay in the water, they stay
in their holes.'

(Step$_1$) <u>Ke là mnóng kdaw là kô le   gel   smolok kem</u>
           if not shine sun not int they always hunt   the

Tboli abay/se mon le   là myón le   kem fak.
Tboli because say they not sit   they pl frog
'If the sun doesn't shine, the Tboli don't like to hunt
frogs because they say the frogs aren't sitting (in the
water).'

(Alter Step) Ke gel   mnóng kdaw alì le   móyô smolok ne
              if always shine sun   int they want hunt   and

tey bong guta le.
int big get they
'If the sun shines, they really like to hunt and they
always get a lot.'

(Term) Yô   se   kul   ketngón du sok   ngelem gunu   le
        that also their knowing it when deep   place they

myón kem fak   mon le   alì móyô myón abay/se dô   tngón
sit pl frog say they int want sit   because perhaps know

kem fak   ke angat mnóng kdaw dun là.
pl frog if will   shine sun or not
'That is what they know, when the place where the frogs sit
is deep, they say they want to sit because they know if the
sun is going to shine or not.'

POINT III: EXPL P

   6. (Text) Sotu gunù temngel du mô   ketiba
               other place look   it about making/field

le   bè yem koyu boluy-en Klotô ne Dôf.
their at the tree name   it Kloto and Dof
'Another place they look regarding time to make their fields
are the trees Kloto and Dof.'

(Expo) Sok móyón bulón tmiba   gel   tbô doun
        when almost month make/field always shed leaves

le   ni kem koyu ni.
their this pl tree this
'When it is almost the month to make their fields, these
trees shed their leaves.'

(Expo) Bè Klotô sok alì tminô   angat mnóng kdaw okôm ke
        for Kloto when int blossom will shine sun but if

là angat là   holen mnóng.
not will   not very   shine
'For the Kloto, if it has a lot of blossoms, the sun will
shine, but if not, it won't shine much.'

(Expo: Proc P, Step₁) Bè Dóf sok deng   ketbó   dounen
                        for Dof when already dropped leaves

nebuten mulók.
begin   blossom
'For the Dof, when it has dropped its leaves, it begins to
blossom.'

(Step₂) Sok all mfól bulóken mnóng kdaw.
         when int thick flower   shine sun
'When the flowers are thick, the sun will shine.'

CLOSURE: EXPL P

    7. (Text) Ke sbool ni kem ilô ni   hentlasik le
               if mixed pl this sign this hurry   they

mò/nmò ani   géhél le   mehek.
work   so/that hurry they plant
'If these signs are mixed, they hurry and do the work so
that they can hurry and plant.'

(Term) Tey dê   dumu ilô le   du bè mò knóng kdaw ne
        very many other sign their it at how shine sun   and

bè mò kkulónen okóm són ni   tulón-u mò   gunum temngón du
at how rain   but only this tell I make place know   it

kul   kmò kem Tboli.
their way the Tboli
'There are many other signs concerning whether it will rain
or shine, but I tell you these so that you will know something
about the way of the Tboli.'

POINT II: PROC P

    8. (Sett) Bè   kmò kebenwu kem Tboli là holen
               about way live   pl Tboli not very

mdengen.
at/rest 'The life of the Tboli isn't very settled.'

(Step₁: Expl P, Text) <u>Wen   se   gunù le   là holen</u>
                           there/are also house their not very

<u>legen sana   sidek.</u>
long   already bad
'There are houses of theirs, it's not long they are already
worn out.'

(Expo) <u>Wen   se   lewu halay-en, wen   tlu, fat</u>
           there/are also two year it there/is three four

<u>ne limu halay-en.</u>
and five year   it
'Some last two years, some three, four or five years.'

(Step₂: Expl P, Text) <u>Sok sidek yó   bud   le   mebel</u>
                          when bad   that again they look/for

<u>dumu gunu le   nù.</u>
other place they stay
'When it is worn out, they look for another place to stay.'

(Expo: Thesis) <u>Mebel   le   gunu le   tmiba,   gunun</u>
                    look/for they place they make/field place

<u>hyu numa   yó   gunu le   bud   menwu.</u>
good forest that place they again stay
'They look for a place to make their fields, a place where
the forest is good, that's where they again live...'

(Adv) <u>okóm</u>
          but   'but'...

(Antithesis: Proc P, Sett) ... <u>na   le   nungkul.</u>
                                  first they bless
'first they check to see if the place is blessed.'

(Step₁) <u>Wen   tukung nefét le, sóól él   nù   lemen.</u>
            there/is bowl   tie   they half water stay inside
'They tie up a bowl that is half full of water.'

(Step₂) <u>Omin le   demwél du.</u>
            then they swing it
'And then they swing it back and forth.'

(Step₃) <u>Sok là   mkok yem él, balù udì   mon le   mungkul</u>
            when not spill the water even little say they blessed

yem tonok bè yб.
the ground there
'If not even a little of the water spills, they say the
ground is blessed there.'

(Alter Step: Proc P, Step$_1$) <u>Ke wen   temsik bè   yem</u>
                                 if there/is drop   from the

él   sidek gemunù   bè/yб.
water bad   make/house there
'If some of the water spills, it is not good to make your
house there.'

(Alter Step$_1$) <u>Ke bong temsik du bong tau   angat matay.</u>
                  if big   spill it big person will   die
'If a lot spills, an adult will die.'

(Alter Step$_2$) <u>Ke udì   ngà   angat matay du.</u>
                  if little child will   die   it
'If it's a little, a child will die there.'

(Step$_3$: Expl P, Prelim) <u>Baluen ke mungkul yem gunù   ne</u>
                            even   if blessed the house and

<u>deng   le   nù   ta-hen yб   bud   hnéneg le   du bè sdб</u>
already they live on it   that again look   they it at pig

<u>guta le   ta-hen.</u>
get   they on it
'Even if the house is blessed and they already live in it,
they look again at the pig they get after they have lived
there.'

(Text) <u>Là hyu -hen ke wen   slбn   yem sdб.</u>
        not good it if there/is defect the pig
'It isn't good if the pig has a defect.'

(Expo) <u>Ke semdб   le   lumun yб anien ke lomi yem gunù</u>
        if get/pig they like that even if new the house

<u>tnagak le.</u>
leave   they
'If they get a pig like that even if the house is brand new,
they leave it.'

POINT III: EXPO DISC

INTRO: SENTENCE

9. (Intro) <u>Sotu   gunu le   hemtahu kem Tboli imǒ,</u>
             another place they believe the Tboli charms

<u>gel   hem-des tau.</u>
always ca   sick person
'Another thing the Tboli believe in is charms, they always
make people sick.' (harm people)

POINT I: COOR EXPL P

10. (Sect I: Expl P Text) <u>Kambong gel   hkǒ   kulǒn</u>
                             kambong always remove rain

<u>ne   hemsidek wek   libun.</u>
and harm   hair woman
'Kambong always drives away rain and harms a woman's hair.'

(Expo: Proc P, Sett) <u>Yǒ   gunun alǐ mebtes   libun ke bong</u>
                       that place int expensive girl if big

<u>wek -en.</u>
hair her 'A woman is valuable if she has thick hair.'

(Step$_1$) <u>Ke wen   logi miwol du ne lǎ mǒyǒ kem tuha</u>
            if there/is boy desire her and not want pl old

<u>-hen yǒ   nmǒ yem sawang logi, kenambongen   yem libun.</u>
 her that do the young man   curses/with/kambong the girl
'If a boy likes a girl but her parents don't want him, what
the young man does he puts a curse on the girl's hair.'

(Step$_2$) <u>Nbut -en kdut   wek yem libun ngangen tek udǐ</u>
            begin it pull/out hair the girl   until   just little

<u>duen.</u>
left
'The girl's hair begins to fall out until there is just a
little left.'

(Step$_3$) <u>Ke lǎ buden mwek   yem libun laen dǔ betesen.</u>
            if not again grow/hair the girl not any value
'If the girl's hair doesn't grow in again, she has no value.'

(Sect II: Expl P Text) Sotu   mu   kambong gel
                         another purpose kambong always

hkó   kulón.
remove rain
'Another purpose of the kambong is to remove rain.'

POINT II: PROC DISC

Aperture: Expl P

    11. (Text) Sotu   gel   nmò le   ulof.
                 another always do   they ulof
'Another thing they always make is ulof.'

(Expo) Ke wen   hohon le   nim ulof ni   sotu alì
        if there/is enemy their this ulof here one   int

knikò   kem Tboli.
afraid pl Tboli
'If the Tboli has an enemy, this ulof is one thing he really
fears.'

(Expo: Expl P Text) Nim ulof ni   tey dê   buten   okóm
                      this ulof here very many beginning but

là gotu tngón-u du.
not all know I it
'There are many ways to make ulof but I don't know them all.'

(Expo) Sotu olo tngón-u yem gel   nmò le   ulof dilak
        one only know I the always do   they ulof tongue

tau   matay.
person die
'I only know one, the one they make from the tongue of a dead
person.'

Proc$_1$: Proc P

    12. (Sett) Abay se bè Tboli ke wen   matay dê   kmò
                 because to Tboli if there/is die   many do

le   du.
they it
'Because to the Tboli, if someone dies, there are many things
they do.'

(Step₁)   Wen   se   lebeng le, wen   se   lulun
          there/are some bury   they there/are some wrap

le   ne wen   se   tebel le   te gunu.
they and there/are also leave they in house
'There are some they bury, some they wrap and some they leave
in the house.'

(Alter Step: Expl P, Text) Sok tau   wen   boluyen
                             when person there/is name

wen   se   lenowig le   ne lenungun le.
there/are also shelter they and coffin   they
'If it is a person with a big name, some they put in a
shelter and some they put in a coffin.'

(Expo: Proc P, Step₁) Tau   ali dé   kembong nawa   du
                        person int many big   breath him

lenungun le   ani   nauy kem dumu -n.
coffin   they so/that visit pl other   his
'They put the person that many loved in a coffin so that they
can visit him.'

(Step₂) Ke nawan   taha butengen nu   ta yem lenungun lewu
         if breath long night   stay up the coffin   two

folo syóm butengen.
ten nine night
'If they want to make it long, the body stays up in the house
in the coffin for 29 days.'

(Alter Step) Ke hukol   le   olon hitu ani   nauy kem
              if shorten they only seven so/that visit pl

tau   kembong nawa   du.
person big   breath him
'If they make it short, they only make it seven days so that
those who loved him can visit him.'

Proc₂: Proc P
_____

      13. (Step₁) Ke/sok segeng buteng kebeng mo   le   ken
                    when   same   night bury   make they food

bong yem kdaw yó   mon le   henken le   yem tau   matay
big   the day   that say they feed   they the person die

abay/se són -en keken -en.
because last it eating his
'When it is the same day of the burial, they have a big
feast on that day they say they are feeding the dead person
because this is his last time to eat.'

(Step$_2$)   <u>Kifu   kebeng le.</u>
              night bury   they   'They bury him at night.'

(Step$_3$)   <u>Lemwót le   hmung   kifu kól   le   mwas omin</u>
              leave   they along/with night arrive they dawn then

le   metem yem gunū.
they burn   the house
'They leave just after dark and arrive back at dawn and then
they burn the house.'

POINT III: EXPO DISC

<u>Introduction: Sentence</u>

       14. (Intro) <u>Nim gunu   le   ma   nim   ulof ni   koni</u>
                      the place they get this ulof here just/

                      <u>bè tum tau   matay lenowig.</u>
mentioned at the person die   shelter
'The place that they get the ulof that I just mentioned is
from the person they have put in a shelter.'

<u>Point$_1$: Expl P</u>

       15. (Text)   <u>Ke móyó mó   ulof yem tau   tódó ningat-en</u>
                      if want make ulof the person just wait   he

ke wen   tau   matay lenowig okóm lā hyu   -hen ke wen
if there/is person die   shelter but not good it   if there/

    dumu   tau   temngón du yem nmó   yem tau   yó.
is other person know   it the work the person that
'If a person wants to make ulof, he just waits for a person
who has died to be put in a shelter but it isn't good if
there is any other person who knows what he is doing.'

(Reason) <u>Lii   kun.</u>
          taboo it/is/said   'It is said that it is taboo.'

(Term) <u>Mayuk bè   gunù yem gunu le   gel   lenowig tau</u>
        far   from house the place they always shelter person

<u>abay/se moo.</u>
because smell
'The shelter where they put the dead person is always far
from the house because it smells.'

Point$_2$: Proc P
──────────────

    16. (Sett) <u>Sok wen   tau   matay deng eted</u>
                 when there/is person die   past deliver

<u>le   bè lowigen nim   kemdaw ni.</u>
they to shelter this day   here
'When a person dies, they take him to his shelter on this
day.'

(Step$_1$: Expl P, Text) <u>Kifu ni   kedeng kógów yem tau</u>
                           night this later   going the person

<u>ma   ulof.</u>
get ulof
'That night is the time the person goes to get the ulof.'

(Expo) <u>Yó   nmo -en tódô mógów edu   yem kifu là   mit   -en</u>
        what does he just go   there the night not take   he

<u>dumu, là tulón-en du, là mit -en solok.</u>
other not tell he it not take he light
'What he does he just goes there that night not taking any
companion, he doesn't tell anyone, he doesn't take a light.'

(Expo) <u>Tódô mógów kifu ebè tum tau   lenowig.</u>
        just go   night to the person shelter
'He just goes at night to the person in the shelter.'

(Step$_2$: Expl P Text) <u>Sok kól   ditu abay/se tau</u>
                          when arrive there because person

<u>matay gel   miwal   dilaken lemwót nim tau   ne néket-en</u>
dead always hang/out tongue leave this person and bite he

<u>dilak   tum tau   matay.</u>
tongue the person dead
'When he arrives there, because a dead person's tongue
always hangs out, this person just bites the tongue of the
dead person.'

(Expo)   <u>Là hyu -hen ke kenleng-en abay/se là mtuden.</u>
         not good it if cut   he because not effective
'It's not good if he cuts it off because it won't be
effective.'

(Step₃: Expl P, Text)   <u>Sok   deng   gwa-hen tum tukô dilaken</u>
                        when already get he   the tip tongue

<u>tódô nen/ne hnù lem baken efet kól   bè gunù.</u>
just first put in mouth until arrive at house
'After he has got the tip of the tongue, he just first keeps
it in his mouth until he arrives at his house.'

(Reason)   <u>Là hyu -hen ke kulong-en kô   nwa busaw.</u>
           not good it if carry he maybe get demon
'It isn't good if he carries it in his hand, a spirit might
get it.'

(Term)   <u>Ni   se   ulof alì mtud   gel   mò kem Tboli.</u>
         this also ulof int effective always do pl Tboli
'This is the ulof that is really effective that the Tboli
always make.'

Point₃: Proc P
<u>   </u>

        17. (Step₁)   <u>Nim mu   nim ni sok wen   hohon</u>
                       the purpose this here when there/is enemy

<u>le   mógów le   ebè gunù yem hohon le   kifu.</u>
their go   they to house the enemy their night
'The purpose of the ulof is when they have an enemy they go
to the enemy's house when it is night.'

(Step₂)   <u>Sok neél   le   tum ulof sohul   le   ete gunù</u>
          when liquify they the ulof sprinkle they at house

<u>yem élen.</u>
the water
'When they have made water from the ulof, they sprinkle the
water on the house.'

(Step₃: Expl P, Text) Tódô gotu tungô kem tau   lem gunù.
                         just all sleep pl person in house
'All the people in the house just go to sleep.'

(Expo) Kihu   gunun myón sotu tau   lem gunù yó   tódô
         wherever place sit one person in house that just

tungô kem tau   lem gunù.
sleep pl person in house
'No matter where a person is sitting in that house, all the
people just fall asleep.'

(Step₄: Proc P, Step₁) Omin le   motun kem tau
                          then they ascend pl person

mengayaw   yó   newa le   kihu   nóyô le.
go/at/night/to/do/harm that take they whatever want they
'Then those people going at night to do evil just go up
into the house and take whatever they want.'

(Alter Step) Ke alì le   lembut hmatay le.
               if int they angry kill   they
'If they are really angry, they kill.'

Point₄: Expl P
_____

    18. (Text) Fakay stulón le   bè yem tau   tungô.
                  able talk   they to the person sleep
'You can talk to the person sleeping.'

(Expo) Ke wen   nebel   le   mon le mò yem tau
         if there/is look/for they say they to the person

tungô, "Nù   kimu   -hem?"
sleep   where property your
'If they are looking for something they say to the sleeping
person, "Where is your property?"'

(Expo) Tódô mudél igo   -en tungô ne tulón-en gunu -n
         just talk while he sleep and tell he place it

nù kimu   -hen, okóm là kò tngón-en du yem kudél -en
stay property his but not int know he it the words his

yó.
that
'He just talks while he is sleeping and tells where his
property is but he doesn't know what he is saying.'

(Term) Yó   se   botong ktud   yem ulof.
        that emp extent effective the ulof
'That is the extent of the effectiveness of the ulof.'

POINT IV: COOR EXPL P

    19. (Sect I: Expl P, Text) Gulaan yem   gida là
                                  before spec war   not

meneken   kebenwu Tboli.
peaceful life   Tboli
'Before the war (World War II) the life of the Tboli was not
peaceful.'

(Expo) Tendo wen   sfatay baluen ke tek udi   but
        always there/is fight   even   if just little beginning

=en.
it
'There are always someone fighting even over little matters.'

(Expo) Mengayaw   le   kifu.
        go/to/do/harm they night
'They would go out at night for evil purposes.'

(Expo) Kemfó   le   ngà.
        capture they child
'They would capture children.'

(Expo) Boho kul   alì sfatay.
        bow their int fight
'They used bows and arrows mostly in their fights.'

(Sect II: Hort P, Prelim) Kem dumu Tboli kmoen ni   tolo
                            pl other Tboli now   this still

le   tendo sfatay.
they always fight
'Other Tboli these days are still always fighting.'

(Exhor) Ke là   deng tngón le   kóm bé =i   mógów bélé le.
         if not past know they you don't you go   to   them
'If they don't already know you, don't go among them.'

(Warn) Kenleng le   lihol=em.
        cut/off they neck your
'They will cut off your head.'

(Sect III: Anti-Expl P - Sect: Expl P, Text) <u>Tehe/yu/ekni</u>
                                                              before

<u>balŭ tau   gel   senswa kem Tboli.</u>
even person always trade pl Tboli
'A long time ago the Tboli would even trade people.'

(Expo) <u>Témé   -u tey dê   tau   benli~hen ne dê</u>
             grandfather my int many person buy   he   and many

<u>se   deng blay-en.</u>
also past sell he
'My grandfather, how many people he bought and he sold
plenty too.'

(<u>Sect: Expl P, Text) Okóm ni   kmoen ni là bud   nmò</u>
                        but   these days now not again do

<u>le   du.</u>
they it
'But they don't do that anymore these days.'

(Expo) <u>Yó   kem sidek deng tehe   gel   nmò le   lumun</u>
             that pl bad   past before always do   they like

<u>monok, semswa tau,   mulof,   kemfô ngà,   kemfô kimu,</u>
murder trade   person make/ulof capture child steal property

<u>là bud   nmò le   du abay/se wen   udin.</u>
not again do   they it because there/is law
'The bad things they used to always do like murder, trading
people, making <u>ulof</u>, capturing children, capturing property,
they don't do any more because of the law.'

(Expo) <u>Laen hol bud   monok bè Tboli kmoen ni.</u>
             not int again murder at Tboli these days
'There isn't much murder among the Tboli these days.'

POINT V: COOR EXPL P

    20. (Sect I: Expl P, Text) <u>Bè kdéen tau   ngunte</u>
                                    of all   person don't/know

<u>kà Tboli alì hulung   hmódó.</u>
if Tboli int know/how show/hospitality
'Of all people I don't know if maybe the Tboli are the ones
who really know how to show hospitality.'

(Result) Kihu   tau   mógów ebè   kem Tboli laen dù
          whoever person go   among pl Tboli not any

kenunu nawam.
worry   breath
'Whoever goes among the Tboli you don't have to worry.'

(Expo) Hotu le   nawa   le   kóm.
        all   they breath their you
'They'll completely give themselves to you.'

(Expo) Ke laen hol ken   gebek le   là mken ngà   le
        if not int food able they not feed child their

duhen kul   knù olo le   mefluda kken   tau   mauy.
or   their self only they neglect feeding person visit
'If there isn't much food, their children are able to go
without eating or they themselves just as long as they don't
neglect the visitor.'

(Expo) Kihu   gunum sut   bè Tboli ke/sok -i   hyu
        wherever place arrive at Tboli if   you good

tau   hotu le bélé -em són kenobong   le,   tenéte
person all they to   you last bit/of/rice their roast

le   són mlon.
they last hen
'Wherever you go among the Tboli if you are a good person,
they will give you their last bit of rice, they'll roast
their last hen.'

(Expo) Balù hilu   butengem bè   Tboli là tmakas le
        even how/many nights   with Tboli not tire   they

kóm.
you
'No matter how many days you stay with the Tboli, they won't
get tired of you.'

(Expo) Alì le   móyò ke wen   tau   nù bélé le.
        int they want if there/is person stay with them
'They like it when people stay with them.'

(Term) Yó   sotu but   gunu le   élél bè Tboli abay/se
        that one beginning place they lack at Tboli because

hotu   le   nawa   le   bè tau   baling klifót le   kul
give/all they breath their to person extent forget they

knù。
themselves
'That is one of the reasons the Tboli lack because they give
everything they have to people to the extent that they forget
themselves。'

(Sect II: Expl P, Text: Proc P, Step$_1$) Bè Tboli ke bemli
                                             to Tboli if buy

-hi ke tek udì   tódô blay le   kóm.
 you if just little just give they you
'To the Tboli if you want to buy, if it is just a little,
they will just give it to you.'

(Alter Step) Ke bong he-bli le   kóm.
              if big ca buy they you
'If it is a lot, they will have you buy it.'

(Expo) Ke yó   nógów-em   ne/e mni lewu lata efet   sotu
        if that going your to ask two can until one

sakù tódô blay le   kóm.
sack just give they you
'If your purpose for going is to ask for two five gallon
cans up to one sack (of rice), they will just give it to
you。'

(Term) Tilów-i   mógów ebè kem Tboli hnénég-em ke kéng
        try   you go   to pl Tboli see   you if lie

ni。
this
'Try it, go among the Tboli, see if this is a lie.'

POINT VI: COOR EXPL P

    21。 (Sect I: Expl P, Text) Wen   se datù bè
                                 there/are also chief at

Tboli gunu le   mogot kem tau.
Tboli place they hold pl person

'There are also chiefs among the Tboli that the people are under.'

(Result) <u>Là   deng hol tngón le   du udin kem Tboli abay/se</u>
         not past int know   they it law   pl Tboli because

<u>wen   datù gunù gseng.</u>
there/is chief place blocked
'The Tboli don't know much about the law because the chiefs are in the way.'

(Sect II: Expl P, Text) <u>Laen dù datù bè Tboli ke tek</u>
                           not   any chief at Tboli if only

<u>sotu yehen-en.</u>
one wife his
'There are no chiefs among the Tboli who have only one wife.'

(Expo) <u>Wen   datù sfoló dun mukas yehen.</u>
       there/are chief ten   or   more wife
'Some chiefs have ten or more wives.'

(Term) <u>Okóm là se   kdê le   du lumun yó.</u>
       but   not also all they it like that
'But they are not all like that.'

<u>POINT VII: EXPO DISC</u>

INTRODUCTION: SENTENCE

     22. (Intro) <u>Syehen hanà ngà   wen   bè   Tboli.</u>
                    marriage still child there/is among Tboli
'There are child marriages among the Tboli.'

POINT I: EXPL P

     23. (Text) <u>Là mbut -en bè kem ngà   syehen, són</u>
                   not start it at pl child marriage only

<u>tuha.</u>
old
'Marriage doesn't start with the children, it starts with the parents.'

(Expo) <u>Kesok kóyô tuha baluen ke bê   yem ngà   yó   tódô</u>
        when want old   even   if reject the child that just

hendeng le.
finish they
'When the parents want it, even if the child rejects it,
they just go ahead with it.'

(Expo: Anti-Expl P, Sect: Sent) <u>Là tenngel le   du bê</u>
                                  not look   they it at

ketiloben libun duhen logi.
looks   girl or   boy
'They don't look at the looks of the girl or the boy.'

(Sẽct: Expl P, Text) <u>Són tenngel le   bélé=en bê</u>
                       only look   they at   him at

kegeden   ne bê kehyu nawan, masa   ne   kenbong
industriousness and at good breath generosity and big

nawan tuónen.
breath in/laws
'They just look at his industriousness and at good character,
generosity and if he loves his in-laws.'

(Result: Expl P, Text) <u>Tau   leged   bê Tboli anien</u>
                         person industrious to Tboli even

ke là fengen mógów miwol   libun tódô wen   mton du.
if not just   go   desiring girl just there is see him
'And industrious person among the Tboli even if he doesn't
go around looking for a girl, one will just find him.'

(Expo) <u>Libun tilob tódô sut   bélé=em sok-i   hyu kmoem</u>
        girl pretty just arrive to   you if you good work

abay/se yó   nóyô kem tuha logi mò   gunun gléd nawa   le.
because that want pl old boy make place lean breath their
'A pretty girl will just come to you if you are good because
that is what the parents want, a boy they can depend on to
take care of them.'

POINT II: ANTI-EXPL P

    24. (Sect: Expl P, Text) <u>Sundu adat   bê Tboli ke</u>
                                not   custom to Tboli that

stulón bè libun yem logi ke siwol   le.
_____   ____   ___   __
talk   to girl   the boy   if like/each/other they
�It is not the Tboli custom for a boy and girl to talk to
each other if they like each other.'

(Warn) Ke yó   nmo-en tau   hensalà le.
        __ __
        if that do   he person condemn they
'If that is what a person does, they will condemn them.ᵠ

(Sect: Sent) Ke móyó myehen sawang logi tódó tulón-en ke
               _____
               if want marry young man just tell he to

ma   -en anì   du mit   stulón bè tum tuha tum ngà
___   _____   _
father his so/that he bring talk   to the old   the child

libun.
_____
girl
'If a young man wants to marry, he just tells his father so
that he will talk with the parents of the young girlₒ'

POINT III: EXPL P

     25. (Prelim) Tey le   móyô slai   se   kem
                    _____
                    int they want make/engagements also pl

Tboli.
_____
Tboli   'The Tboli really like to make engagements.'

(Text) Ke bong muhen   logi là holen bong kimu   blay-en
        _____
        if big   purpose boy not int   big   property give he

okóm se   ke wen   genbek -en tódó du h- bong kimu
____   _____   _____
but   emp if there/is ability his just he ca big   property

blay-en mò   gunu -n h- ton du kun gbek.
_____   ____
give he make place he ca see it his ability
'If the boy is valuable, he doesn't give a lot of property
but if he is able, he just gives a lot to show what he can
do.ᵠ

(Term) Okóm yó   kóyô   yó   kem tuha ke   tódô nù   bélê
        _____
        but   that desire that pl   old   that just stay with

le   yem logi efet katay le   anì   wen   tmóbóng
     _____   _____
them the boy   until death their so/that there/is help

kul.
___
them

'But what the parents want is that the boy just stay with
them until they die so that there will be someone to help
them.'

POINT VIII: EXPL P

    26. (Text) Dê   se   kul   suk   sfatay kem Tboli
                   many also their weapons fight pl Tboli

lumun sudeng.
like knife
'The Tboli have many kind of weapons for fighting like knives.'

(Expo) Wen   se   benli le   bê   Newen, wen   se
        there/are also buy   they from Moslem there/is also

tódô kul   lenbù   nmô.
just their make/up/themselves do
'Some they buy from the Moslems, some they just make
themselves.'

(Expo) Léwét sotu kay hanak sok wen   gunu –m gemtî
        lewet one kind arrow when there/is place you shoot

du anien ke olon meglé   sana   katay-en.
it even if only scratch already die   it
'Lewet is one kind of arrow when you shoot something with it,
even if it only scratches it, it will die.'

(Expo) Boho alì nwit le   sok wen   hohon le   ne dê
        bow int take they when there/is enemy their and many

dumu.
other
'They use the bow and arrow a lot on their enemies and there
are many other (weapons).'

POINT IX: EXPO DISC

INTRODUCTION: SENTENCE

    27. (Intro) Wen   tau   demwata senéen sotu
                 there/are person spirit also   one

kengel nawa   le.
lean   breath their
'There are medicine men also that they (Tboli) depend on.'

POINT I: EXPL P

    28. (Text) <u>Nim tau   demwata gel   tulón-en yem</u>
                      this person spirit always tell he the

<u>angat   sut   ke hyu dun là.</u>
future arrive if good or   not
'This medicine man always tells the future whether it will
be good or not.'

(Result) <u>Ke sidek angat   sut   gel   le   hkodu bélé -en</u>
          if bad   future arrive always they ask   from   him

<u>yó   kem tau,   anì   henyu   -hen.</u>
that pl person so/that make/good he
'If the future is bad, they always ask mercy from him so
that he will make it good.'

POINT II: EXPL P

    29. (Text) <u>Nim tau   demwata ni   gel   wen</u>
                      this person spirit   here always there/is

<u>sut   bélé-en kifu.</u>
arrive to   him night
'There is always one who comes to this medicine man at
night.'

(Expo) <u>Lumun/tó tau   okóm udél le   muhul.</u>
        like   person but word their whistle
'They are something like people but their speech is a
whistle.'

(Expo: Proc P, Step$_1$) <u>Sok deng   tungó yem tau</u>
                     when already asleep the person

<u>demwata yó   gel   ksut   le.</u>
spirit   that always arrival their
'Their arrival is after the medicine man has gone to sleep.'

(Step$_2$) <u>Kihu   tau   lem gunù stulón kul sok le</u>
         whoever person in house talk   them when they

<u>sut.</u>
arrive
'Whoever is in the house can talk with them after they
arrive.'

POINT III: EXPL P

    30.   (Text)   <u>Sok   wen   tau   gemnóm   des</u>
                    when there/is person experience sickness

<u>gel   nwit le   ebè nim tau   ni.</u>
always take they to   this person here
'When someone gets sick, they always take them to this
person here.'

(Parens)   <u>Sok   gemnóm   des   yem tau   yó   gel</u>
           when experience sickness spec person that always

<u>kmoen kun   là   nu   ⊸en bélé-en lóyóf -en nù   bè</u>
make   they/say not stay it with him spirit his stay at

<u>tu   kem dumu -n   deng gna   matay, nù   bè mugul, ngali</u>
that pl other his past first die   stay at hades   hold/back

<u>le   ditu.</u>
they there
'When a person is sick, what they say happens, is that his
spirit has left him it is with his companions who have
already died, it is in hades, they are holding it back there.'

(Expo)   <u>Són ni   kem ngà   gel   mógów ebè nim tau</u>
        only this pl   child always go   to   this person

<u>demwata ni   gembek nee mangay du.</u>
spirit this able   to fetch him
'Only the familiar spirits who go to the medicine man are
able to fetch him.'

POINT IV: EXPL P

    31.   (Prelim)   <u>Sok   busaw des   -en yem tau   gel</u>
               when demon sickness his the person always

<u>hnatay le   yem busaw.</u>
kill   they the demon
'When the sickness is caused by a demon, they always kill
the demon.'

(Text)   <u>Dè   dulék⊸u deng mton du hmatay busaw.</u>
        many time I past see it kill   demon
'I have seen a demon killed many times.'

(Expo) L<u>à   ton-u du yó   dum busaw olo ⇒w mungol ngawóy</u>
     not see I it that it   demon just I hear   moan

<u>-en   ne   ton-u litô bè bak   suk   yem tau   demwata ne</u>
 his and see I blood on blade knife the person spirit   and

<u>wek   senéen.</u>
hair also
ⁱI didn't see the demon, but I heard his moans and I saw
blood on the blade of the medicine man's knife and hair
also.ⁱ

(Term) L<u>à   hol   tngón⇒u du hol   kmo-en yó.</u>
     not really know   I it real do   it that
ⁱI don't really understand about that.ⁱ

<u>CLOSURE: EXPL P</u>

    32. (Prelim) <u>Lewu folò limu ke tlu   folò libu</u>
               two   ten five or three ten   thousand

<u>kwen le   kem Tboli.</u>
many they pl   Tboli
'There are twenty-five to thirty thousand Tboli.'

(Text) <u>Nim   kem tau   ni   tolo tey wen   bélê le</u>
     this pl   person here still many there/is of   them

<u>là   dengen temngón.</u>
not past   know
'There are still plenty of these people who have had no
education.ⁱ

(Result) <u>Ni   se   hol henkodu me ke wen   gendeng</u>
      this emp int ask/pity we if there/is finish

<u>knagien hyu   ke wen   mógów ebè kem Tboli.</u>
study   good if there/is go   to pl Tboli
'Here we ask mercy if there is someone who has finished his
education, it would be good if he would go to the Tboli.ⁱ

(Reason: Expl P, Text) <u>Laen dù kniko⇒em   bè Tboli.</u>
                   not it fear   your at Tboli
'You have nothing to fear among the Tboli.ⁱ

(Expo)   Ke nu   -i   lem/blóng le   gbek le   tódô gmastu
         if stay you among   them able they just take/care

kóm bè   kihu   ken ken leₒ
you with whatever food eat they
'If you live among them, they can feed you with whatever food
they haveₒ'

(Term)   Ke hol   tulón-u kul   kmò kem Tboli laen dù són-en.
         if really tell I their way pl Tboli not any end it
'If I told everything about the Tboli, there would be no
end.'

POST POINT: EXPO DISC

INTRODUCTION: EXPL P

    33ₒ (Prelim) Wen   udì   duen.
                   there/is little left
'There is a little bit left.'

(Text)   Tlu   benwu gunu -n e - mógow kesok wen   tau
         three places place he   go   when there/is person

matay bè Tboli.
die   of Tboli
'There are three places the Tboli may go when they dieₒ'

POINT I: EXPL P

    34. (Prelim) Tau   tódô matay hkawang bè   des
                   person just die   naturally from sick

mulék ebè mugul.
return to hades
'A person who just dies a natural death from sickness goes
to Mugul (Hades).'

(Text)   Sidek kmò le   kem tau   bè mugul.
         bad   way their pl person at Hades
'The people in Ilades are badₒ' (Have bad ways)

(Expo)   Ke lomi-hi kól   ditu tey hyu kmò le   kóm,
         if new you arrive there very good way their you

nekay le   u   bigu, okóm sok deng legen   baling knihu
<u>carry they you food   but   when past long/time become neglect</u>

le   uu.
<u>they you</u>
'When you first get there, they treat you well, they feed
you a lot of food but after a long time they don't feed you.'

(Result: Expl P, Text) <u>Yó   gunu -n alî sidek kegnóm</u>
                              that place it int bad   feeling

le   du sok wen   ngà matay abay/se sidek kmò le
<u>they it when there/is child die   because bad   way their</u>

du sok kól   bè mugul.
<u>him when arrive at Hades</u>
'That is why they feel so badly when a child dies because
they treat them badly at Hades.'

(Expo) <u>Wen   se libun matay nga   -en gel   tô</u>
             there/are also women die   child   her always would/

       <u>hnatay-en kun knù mon-en "Balù   sidek kmò le</u>
fain kill   she her body say she even/if bad   do   they

kum ke lewu me."
<u>us if two us</u>
'There are women whose child dies who want to kill themselves
she says, "Even if they treat us badly as long as there are
two of us."'

POINT II: COOR EXPL P

    35. (Sect I: Expl P, Text) <u>Sotu   gunun e-mógów</u>
                                   another place   go

tau   matay kesok bnonok   desen   yem tau   bè Kayung
<u>person die   when   murdered sickness the person to Kayung</u>

gun   e-mulék.
<u>place   return</u>
'Another place people go after they die when he has been
murdered, the person goes to Kayung.'

(Expo) <u>Tau   tninggal senéen.</u>
             person shot   also
'A person shot by a gun will also go there.'

(Expo)   Benwu   kdê ton-em   hlð   hulô.
         country all see you completely red
'It is a place where everything you see is red.'

(Term)   Sok   wen   léwés   mon le   aut   tau   bnonok
         when there/is rainbow say they step person murdered

abay se ta gunu ʌn nù   tum Kayung.
because up place it stay the Kayung
'When there is a rainbow, they say it is the steps for a
person who has been murdered because Kayung is up above.'

(Sect II: Expl P, Text)   Tey hyu kmð le   kóm ditu.
                           very good way they you there
'They treat you very well there.'

(Expo)   Sok ʌi   kól   ditu hnódó   le   u,   kmintang
         when you arrive there welcome they you play/gong

le, medek le   dól.
they pound they mortar
'When you arrive there, they welcome you, they play the gongs,
they pound the mortar.'

(Term: Expl P, Text)   Kesok mluk   ta   mon le   wen
                        when sound above say they there/is

tau   bnonok.
person murdered
'When there is a rumble from above, they say that a person
has been murdered.'

(Expo)   Sok kmulón nbol   lobun mélél mon le   ilô laan
         when rain   spread cloud yellow say they sign under

ti   tau   bnonok, honéen   ke wen   léwés.
feet person murdered especially if there/is rainbow
'When it rains and the clouds are yellow, they say it is the
sign under the feet of a murdered person, especially if
there is a rainbow.'

POINT III: EXPL P

     36. (Text)   Sotu   gunun e-mulék tau   matay bè
                   another place return person die   to

<u>Bulul   Kmowing.</u>
Mountain Swinging
'Another place people go to when they die is to the Swinging
Mountain.'

(Expo)   <u>Sok mówól lihol desen   yem tau   lumun bè libun</u>
          when hang neck sickness the person like to girl

<u>gel   le   mówól lihol sok wen   ali gfà   le   tu</u>
always they hang neck when there/is int trouble their that

<u>se   gunu le   emulék bè Bulul   Kmowing.</u>
also place they return to Mountain Swinging
'When a person dies from hanging himself, like women who
hang themselves when they have trouble, that is the place
they go to, the Swinging Mountain.'

8.24   Illustrative Text ⇔ Hortatory Discourse

<u>INTRODUCTION: EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE</u>

INTRO: ANTI EXPL P

    1. (Prelim)   <u>Dô   sengan fedyan kguta   ye du nim</u>
                   perhaps same   week   receive you it this

<u>sulat ukol nii.</u>
letter short this
'You will probably receive this letter on Market day.'
(idiom for <u>fedyan</u>)

(Sect: Expl P, Text)   <u>Hendem-u hyu kuy, gel   ye   stifun.</u>
                        think   I good you   always you gather
'I think, it's easy for you, you always get together.'

(Expo)   <u>Gel   ye stulón   ne   sensatul   ye ke</u>
          always you talk/together and plan/ideas you if

<u>wen   hendem ye.</u>
there/is think you
'You always talk and make your ideas together if there is
something you are thinking about.'

(<u>Sect</u>: Conditional Sent)   <u>Okóm dou dini tek   sotu hemdem</u>
                            but me here only one   think

du ke wen   hendem angat nmɔ̀ bè   mɔ̀ ktɔ́bong kem
it if there/is think future do about how help   pl

dumu   kuy Tboli.
companion our Tboli
'But as for me here, there is only one of me to think about
it if there is something that we will do to help our fellow
Tboli.'

PT₁: EXPL P

  2. (Text) Klawiw   mulɛ́k gu   dyɔ́   deng tɔ́dɔ̂
                every/time return from there past just

hnok   lem lɔ́wɔ́-w botong atul.
filled in body my extent idea
'Every time I return from there my body is completely full
of ideas.'

(Result) Wen   se   kifu -w meyolo, wen   se   gunu
            there/is also night I insomnia there/is also place

-w là gemtngón mnagì.
 I not know   study
'Some nights I can't sleep, sometimes I'm not able to study.'

(Reason) Là mkɔ́   nawa   -w du yem tey labat deng nmɔ̀
            not remove breath my it the int fence past make

Rivera.
Rivera   'I can't get that fence Rivera has made out of my
          mind.'

CLOSURE: EXPL P

  3. (Text) Okɔ́m senged snéen, omin/he   ke nu   -e
                but same   also never/mind if stay I

dyɔ́   bélê ye.
there with you
'But it is just the same, never mind if I'm not there with
you.'

(Reason) Tngón ye se   kuy yem hyu bè kem dumu   tekuy
            know you also you the good for pl companion our

ne   gel   natul ye snéen kuy.
and always idea you also you
'You know what is good for our fellow Tboli and you also
make plans.'

PT^h I: HORT P

    4. (Prelim) Ngunte   kà són du mi lewu me Alun
                  don't/know if only it we two us Alun

tngón Rivera mngali   yem tonok lem bulul.
know Rivera hold/back the land in mountain
'I don't know if maybe Rivera thinks it is only Alun and
I that are holding back the land in the mountains.'

(Exhor) Olo hilu   he gel   lówó tau?
          only how/many yet always body person
'But just how many people are there anyway?'

(Reinf) Mò   kmò   ke May, Kasi, Fludi, Gadu, Mà   Dyim,
          what about pm May Kasi Fludi Gadu father Jim

Mà   Bina, Mà   Fila ne Mà   Fahung?
father Bina father Fila and father Fahung
'What about May, Kasi, Fludi, Gadu, father of Jim, father of
Bina, father of Fila and father of Fahung?'

(Reinf: Hort P Exhor) Ke gel   ye mius bè gunù Rivera
                  if always you pass at house Rivera

dun wen   dumu gunu ye gel   mton du, deng tulón ye
or there/is other place you always see him past tell   you

du kò   "Là hlus   me du kem Afus?"
him ques not let/go we it pl bamboo
                  (name of a place)
'When you go by Rivera's house or if you see him any other
place, do you always tell him, "We're not letting go of
Afus?"'

(Reason) Kewót-en bè/yó bè Afus kól   Data Teblow tekuy
          begin it there at Afus arrive Data   Teblow we

mkem du bè yó kem dumu   tekuy laen   tngón-en.
hold it for those pl companion ours not/any know it
'From Afus to Data Teblow we are the ones to hold it for our
uneducated companions.'

(Reinf)   <u>Sensotu tekuy nawa   tekuy fen   mngali</u>
          make/one we   breath our   be/the/ones hold/back

<u>du</u>。
it   'Let's be of one spirit to hold on to this land.'

(Reinf)   <u>Bé -en wen   béle̊ tekuy temsu   edyó.</u>
          not it there/is among us   run/off there
'Let's not have any of us shirk responsibility.'

PT^h II: ANTI HORT P

     5. (Sect: Hort P, Exhor) <u>Deng hilu   gel   tekuy</u>
                                  past how/many always us

<u>tendo   mógów ebè Dadiangas?</u>
always go   to Dadiangas
'How many of us are always going to Dadiangas?'

(Reason) <u>Deng bong wen   ne filak gamà tekuy, lelen</u>
          past big there/is now money waste we   besides

<u>là tekuy du he fun   gastu   tekuy.</u>
not we   it yet owner expense ours
'We have already wasted plenty of money besides we didn't
even foot the bill.'

(Sect: Hort P, Exhor) <u>Tódo̊ nangat tekuy ke wen   tóbóng</u>
                        just wait   we   if there/is help

<u>dun là syan   hol tekuy he kgis   dini</u>。
or not as/long/as int we   ca strong here
'We can wait for help or not just as long as we stand firm
here。'

(Warn)   <u>Ke nawa   -n wen   tóbóng mima   he ksut</u>
          if breath it there/is help   long/time yet arrive

<u>-en.</u>
it   'Even if there is help, it is a long time in coming.'

(Reinf)   <u>Gbek tekuy snéen ke hol tekuy h- gel   igoen</u>
          able we   also if int we   ca hard besides

<u>wen   Dwata malak tekuy.</u>
there/is God   lead   us
'We can do it also if we stand firm, besides there is a God
to lead us.'

(Term) Sotun   wen   kwalis   tekuy mngali   du kut
        another there/is authority ours hold/back it our

benwu.
land   ꞌAnother thing we have a right to hang on to our own
        land.ꞌ

PT^h III: EXPL P

     6. (Text)   Ke gwa tekuy Afus là kô   són du mi Alun
              if get we   Afus not just only it we Alun

funen.
owner
ꞌIf we get Afus, it isn't only Alun and I that are the
owners.ꞌ

(Expo) Kuéen funen yó.
        all   own   that   ꞌWe will all be the owners.ꞌ

(Reason) Són sem yó ngóm   moni bè datal.
          only emp that material near to plain
ꞌThatꞌs the only house building material that is near the
plain.ꞌ

(Result: Hort P Exhor) Yó/gunum/mon kihu   bélê tekuy mlan
                   therefore   whoever of   us   be

bè/yó bè Rivera bê   tekuy mkél   ke Mà   Bong Peter,
there at Rivera don't we   be/like pm father Big   Peter

fen   hnayahen kun knû.
the/one protect   his body
ꞌThatꞌs why I say that no matter who goes by Riveraꞌs place,
let's not be like Peter, the one who made excuses for
himself.ꞌ

(Reinf) Hol ntud   ye kut yem deng kestulón me Rivera
        int effective you us the past talking our Rivera

ne yem deng sulat -u ebélé-en anî   tngón -en yu snéen
and the past letter my to   him so/that know   he you also

gotu dou kwen.
all my family
ꞌMake what I have said and what I have written to Rivera
effective so that he will know that you are all behind me.ꞌ

(Result) <u>Mon ye mǒ du, "Bě   -i   henfu labat-em.</u>
          say you to him don't you finish fence your
'Tell him not to finish his fence.'

(Term) <u>Kun   dě   ke wen   hen-gnóm le   des běle̋ tekuy</u>
          never mind if there/is ca feel they pain of   us

<u>mǒ   gunǔ tekuy lemwót mdǎ   du.</u>
make place we   begin   stand it
'Never mind if one of us experiences pain, let it make the
place we begin to take our stand.'

PT^h IV: HORT P

    7. (Exhor) <u>Sotu   bê   ye tagad nmǒ bé -en</u>
                   another don't you yet   do not it

<u>wen   boyu ye bě ógóf   le.</u>
there/is kwan you of animal their
'One thing you shouldn't do yet, don't harm their animals.'

(Reinf) <u>Tagad he yó   du.</u>
           wait yet that it   'Don't do that yet.'

PT^h V: HORT P

    8. (Exhor) <u>Hol h- éle̋s   tekuy nawa   tekuy abay/se</u>
                   int ca jealous we   breath our   because

<u>balǔ bě kem kut dumu   sana/gel kwen   mon du, "Kut</u>
even of pl our companion always   there/is say it   ours

<u>he kem ngǎ   yó   du.</u>
yet pl children that it
'Let's struggle to be successful because even among our
companions there are those who say, "Those are our boys."'

(Reinf) <u>Sundu ke gunǔ tekuy hegmón okóm mdǎ   tekuy yem</u>
           not   if place we   proud but stand we   the

<u>ktahu-n.</u>
truth it
'It's not to make us proud but let's stand on the truth of
it.'

PT^h VI: EXPL P

    9.   (Text)   Sotu olo   he-tngón-u kuy, kem dumu
                  one   only ca know   I you   pl   companion

setwoli, baluen ke deng   knagi -u là kendel   getngón
brothers even   if finish study my not immediately know

-u du tmolok ke là dengen menek   yem kebenwu kem dumu
  I it teach if not past   peaceful the country pl   companion

tekuy.
ours
'One thing I want you to know, my brothers, even if my
schooling is finished, I won't be able to immediately teach
if our companions (fellow Tboli) are not at rest.'

(Expo)   Mom   hyu   nawa   -u matay olo ke gewà ebélê tekuy
         rather good breath my die   only if free from us

safì Rivera.
cows Rivera
'I would just as soon die if only we can get rid of those
cows of Rivera's.'

PT^h VII: EXPL P

    10.   (Text)   Wen   dumu hendem-u bè/ni okóm là
                   there/is other think   I here   but not

kendel   tulón-u du kuy wen   lenos kô   nwit-en
immediately tell   I it you there/is wind   might take it

wen   lifet kô   tmulón.
there/is gnats might tell
'There is something else I am thinking but I'll not tell you
yet, there is the wind it might take it, there are gnats
they might tell.'

(Expo)   Ni   se mò   inaben   kihu   ke ou tenbogò
         this emp make ray/of/light no/matter if me hurt

le   dun ou wen   tenbogo -en bélê le.
they or me there/is hurt   it to   them
'This is to make a ray of light, it doesn't matter if I am
the one they hurt or if I hurt them.'

PT^h VIII: HORT P

11. (Exhor) Hol tulón ye ke Rivera yem smintu
              int tell   you to Rivera the monument

tonok-en   yem bè wen   loyufen.
land   his the at there/is loyuf (a kind of tree)
'Tell Rivera about the cement marking post, the one by the
loyuf trees.'

(Reason) Déke là bud   dilóen   du lemwót bè   yem
          maybe not again recognize it come   from the

kesbi-en.
greed his
'Maybe he doesn't recognize it any more as a result of his
greed.'

PT^h IX: HORT P

12. (Exhor) Ke wen   labat nmó le   bè Afus genbà
              if there/is fence make they at Afus break

ye.
you   'If they make a fence at Afus, break it down.'

(Reinf) Ke likò   ye mon ye, "Dók   Selanting."
         if afraid you say you   Command Selanting
'If you are afraid say, "Selanting has commanded it."'

PT^h X: HORT DISC

PT$_1$:   COOR HORT P

13. (Section I: Hort P, Prelim) Wè   Alun, uu
                                   friend Alun   you

henged snalig-u bè/yó bè Afus.
same   trust I there at Afus
'Friend Alun, you are the one I'm trusting (depending on)
there at Afus.'

(Exhor) <u>Tulón-em kem tau   bè/yó géhél le   tmiba bè/yó</u>
         tell   you pl person there hurry they clear there

<u>senlem Afus.</u>
below Afus
'Tell the people to hurry and clear the land below Afus.'

(Reinf) <u>Mò   le kul   gunù.</u>
         make they their house   'Make their own houses.'

(Reason) <u>Ke   bud ⸗e sut dyó là hole móyô hemgnóm</u>
          when again I come there not int want experience

<u>du ke tolo alì wen   tau   setnù   lem gunù.</u>
it if still very there/is person live/together in house
'When I come again, I won't like it if there are still more
than one family in a house.'

(Section II: Hort P, Exhor) <u>Mò   le   kul   gunù, mò</u>
                              make they their house make

<u>le kul   tniba ne mò   le kul   hulu.</u>
they their field and make they their plants
'They are to make their own houses, their own fields and
their own gardens.'

(Reinf) <u>Bê   le alì sefni ken.</u>
         don't they int beg   food
'They shouldn't ask food off of each other.'

(Reason) <u>Hilu   gel   sotu tau.</u>
          how/much strength one   person
'It makes it too difficult for one person.'

PT$_2$: HORT P

     14. (Exhor) <u>Okóm sotu hendem⸗em, ke mudél-i   bè yem</u>
                   but one think you if speak you to the

<u>tuha tau, béen lumun kesfakem du ngà   anì   nimón le</u>
old person don't like punish   it child so/that obey they

<u>u.</u>
you
'But one thing you should think of, if you speak to a person
older than you, don't make it as if you were scolding a child
so that they will obey you.'

(Reinf)   <u>Tenngel-em   se   gunu -m   là   hednu lóyóf   ke</u>
          watch   you also place you not harm   spirit of

dumu   -m.
companions   your
'Be careful that you don't hurt the feelings of your fellow
men.'

PT$_3$:   COOR HORT P

    15. (Sect I: Hort P, Exhor)   <u>Ke wen   lan-em</u>
                                     if there/is way your

h- tóbóng-i   tau   tniba ye yem kling bong senlem Afus。
ca help   you person clear you the bamboo big   below   Afus
'If you can, have people help you clear off the big bamboo
just below Afus.'

(Reinf)   <u>Ke sut   Rivera bê   ye henkmón.</u>
          if arrive Rivera don't you pay attention
'If Rivera comes, don't pay any attention。'

(Sect II: Hort P, Exhor)   <u>H= tóbóng-em   yem   tau   là</u>
                            ca help   you spec person not

mahil-en mlóy.
easy   he run
'Have people help you who don't run easily.'

(Reinf)   <u>Ke mò sidek bélê ye, feng mò.</u>
          if do bad   to you fight back
'If he harms you, fight back。'

(Reinf)   <u>Boyu ye.</u>
          kwan you   'Clobber him。'

<u>CLOSURE: EXPL P</u>

    16。 (Text)   <u>Kem dumu   setwoli, deng dê   gulén</u>
                  pl   companion brother past many go/over

sfakul   nim tulón-u kuy。
proprieties this tell   I you
'My brothers, I have already gone over the proprieties in
many places in what I have told you。'

(Result)   <u>Lensón-u bè/ni ne   tulón-u.</u>
           end   I here   now tell   I
'I'll make an end to what I am telling you now.'

(Term)   <u>Tódô kuy   hendem   ke wen   tngón ye hyu du</u>
         just your thought if there/is know   you good it

<u>nim   tulón-u nwa ye, ke wen   sidek tebel ye, syan</u>
this tell   I take you if there/is bad   leave you as/long/as

<u>olo   ye   semtengón du dou hendem.</u>
only you know   it my   thinking
'You just be the ones to think about it if there is something
good from what I have said, take it, if there is bad, leave
it, just as long as you all know what I am thinking.'

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER 8

DISCOURSE

[1] The analysis of Hortatory Discourse is based on only two samples of text material。 Therefore, the conclusions are tentative。

APPENDIX

Word classes referred to in the text are as follows:

bud class includes: bud 'again', sulék 'once', kiwól 'again and again'

dini class includes: dini, keni 'here', dyó 'there' ditu 'there' (far from speaker), dyu 'there' (very far from speaker)

gi class includes: gi 'indeed', se 'emphasis', dé 'emphasis'

haya class includes: haya 'tomorrow', ebuteng 'last night', ekimel, ekuloy 'yesterday'

hlafus class includes: hlafus 'morning', kimel 'afternoon', kifu 'night', bulón 'month', halay 'year', fedyan 'week', kdaw 'day'

igò class includes: igò 'while', klawi 'as long as', gu laan 'before'

ke class includes: ke 'if', balŭ, baluen ke, anien ke 'even if', syan 'as long as'

kemdaw class includes: kemdaw 'day, noon', numerals

koni class includes: koni 'recently', eginu 'earlier', ni ne 'now', kedeng 'later', he 'yet'

lem class includes: lem 'in', ta 'on', laan 'below', klohok 'beside', fatu 'other side of', leged 'upstream', bwak 'downstream'

mon class includes: mon 'say', mudél 'speak' malà 'answer', tulón 'tell', snólók 'inquire', mólów 'rebuke', meni 'request'

ne₁ class includes: ne 'and', duhen ke 'or', omin 'and then', dalang 'also'

ne₂ class includes: ne 'and', dalang 'also', duhen ke 'or',
    omin 'and then', okóm, bede 'but', mom 'instead', ani
    monem 'when in fact'

ni class includes: ni 'this', yó 'that', tu 'that' (far
    from speaker), yu 'that' (very far from speaker)

nim class includes: nim 'this one', yem 'that one', tum
    'that one' (distant), yum 'that one' (very distant)

okóm class includes: bede, okóm 'but', abay 'because', yakà
    'since', lan 'by way of', ani 'so that', mom 'on the
    contrary', ani monem 'when in fact', baling 'as a
    result', kó 'perhaps', botong 'extent'

sen= class includes: sen= 'near', de= 'distant', te= 'very
    distant'

tehe class includes: tehe 'remote past', lomi 'near past',
    deng 'completed action', móyón 'almost', eles 'before=
    hand', tolo 'still', angat 'future'

tey class includes: tey, hol, ali, ya, kó, abay, dog, kat,
    feng. (Tey class particles intensify whatever they
    precede.)

tikóng class includes: tikóng, timbów 'when' (accomplished
    time), ke, sok, kesok 'when' (projected time), efet
    'until'

tódô class includes: tódô 'punctiliar', tendo 'continual'
    gel, sal 'habitual', sana, kendel 'instantaneous',
    hanà 'inceptive'

udél class includes: udél 'word', mon 'saying', balà
    'answer', sólók 'question'

yakà class includes: botong 'extent', yakà 'since', abay
    'because', balù, baluen ke, anien ke 'even if'