THE VERB COMPLEX IN BILAAN

Norman Abrams

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

1960
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Background</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Dialect areas</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Phonology</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Practical orthography</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 Morphophonemic alternations</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5.1 External sandhi</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. VERB BASES</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Classes of bases</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.1 Nominals</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.2 Verbals</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.3 Irregular bases</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.4 Summary of categories of bases</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. VERB INFLECTION</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Focus</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.1 Morphophonemics</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.2 Actor focus</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.3 Goal focus</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.4 Referent focus</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.5 Summary of focal categories</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Stative</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.1 Morphophonemics</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>Distribution of stative category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>Relation of statives to intransitives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>Voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.31</td>
<td>Morphophonemics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.32</td>
<td>Causation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>Potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.34</td>
<td>Distributive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.35</td>
<td>Summary of voice categories</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4.</th>
<th>THE VERB COMPLEX</th>
<th>36</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Pronouns</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Adverbs</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Temporal particles</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Verb attributes</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5.</th>
<th>TEXT</th>
<th>41</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Text with interlinear translation</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Free translation</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Text analysis</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 6.      | BIBLIOGRAPHY                                                          | 45   |
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background. Approximately 30,000 Bilaans inhabit the coastal and mountain areas of southeastern Cotabato and southwestern Davao Provinces, Mindanao, Philippines; and the islands of Balut and Sarangani off the southern coast of Cotabato. Their language is classed, along with other Philippine languages, in the Malaysian or Indonesian branch of the Malayo-Polynesian language family.

This thesis is based on material collected over a period of two and one-half years (1955-1958) while I was engaged in linguistic and Bible translation work under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. My principal informants were Termasa Tao and George Young. The former spoke the Sarangani dialect of southeast Cotabato (cf. 1.2); the latter seemed to know equally well the Sarangani dialect and the Koronadal dialect in the north Bilaan area.

Several sources have been consulted for some of the organizational framework of this study.¹

¹References are listed in the bibliography on p. 45. Reference is by the author, or by author and date if there is more than one work by the same author. Three works, by C. F. Hockett, J. A. Loewen, and H. P. McKaughan have been especially helpful.

I am grateful to Drs. Carroll E. Reed and Melville Jacobs of the University of Washington for instruction and encouragement during the time of graduate study and in preparation for this work. I am indebted to Dr. Laurence C. Thompson of the University of Washington for much important advice during the preparation of the analysis.
1.2. Dialect areas. The three dialects I am acquainted with—Koronadal, Davao (in the southeast), and Sarangani—appear to be almost entirely mutually intelligible. Preliminary findings indicate that, with very few adaptations, printed material in one dialect would be adequate for all three areas. A fourth dialect area in Caburan, Davao Province, needs yet to be surveyed.

1.3. Phonology.

Consonants\(^2\) are voiced stops \(/b, d, g/\); voiceless stops \(/t, k, ʔ/\); voiced continuants \(/w, l, y/\); voiceless continuants \(/f, s, h/\); nasals \(/m, n, ŋ/\).

Vowels are high \(/i, e, u/\); mid \(/ɛ, ə/\); low \(/a, ã/\). \(/e/\) is high to mid central; \(/ɛ/\) is upper mid front; \(/ã/\) is low back rounded.

For the purposes of this paper it is sufficient to state that there is a primary stress on the ultimate syllable of all bases (cf. 2). The vowel of this syllable is long.

Each consonant occurs at syllable margins. Syllable initial consonant clusters are frequent. However, glottal stop does not occur in cluster with another consonant in the same syllable.

1.4. Practical orthography. The phonemes as listed in 1.3 represent also the Bilaan practical orthography with the following exceptions: (1) The digraph \(/ng/\) is used for the

---

\(^2\)This is a slightly different classification from the Deans' (James and Gladys Dean, 1956).
velar nasal, following the practice of the Philippine National Language. (2) In syllables without primary stress, the long variety of the low central vowel /a/ is written with length /ā/ where lexemes with minimal contrast have been observed. (3) Lexeme final glottal stop is written with a grave accent /`/ over the preceding vowel. It is not written initially before a vowel or between vowels; although it is usually present in these positions it is sometimes in free variation with its absence.

/kaye:/ kayē 'to like', /ʔaʔot/ aot 'ladder'

(4) ̆ and ₃ indicate ̆ and ₃ with following glottal stop.

Certain conventions are adopted in connection with sandhi forms; these are treated in section 1.5.

1.5. Morphophonemic alternations are of two types: (1) internal sandhi, involving phonemic variations of the shapes of morphemes relative to other morphemes in the same lexeme; and (2) external sandhi, involving variations of the shapes of lexemes relative to other lexemes in the utterance. Internal sandhi will be treated with the description of inflectional morphemes in section 3.

1.51. External sandhi. The following phonemically conditioned alternations are optional.

(1) The 'plural' form dad sometimes occurs in alternant

---

3A lexeme is a morpheme or morpheme combination that occurs only as a grammatical form, and is not an immediate constituent of a larger sequence that also occurs only as a grammatical form (Hockett, p. 170). Lexemes in Bilaan are bases, particles, and bases plus affixes (cf. 2.1 and 4.3).
forms da, or, following i 'nominalizer', as d; in the latter case the combination is written id.

dad flanek or da flanek 'friends'; i dad ngå or id ngå 'children'

(2) Glottal stop is often weakly articulated before extreme initial consonants.

là bitil 'he is not hungry' (weakly articulated)

In at least one sequence glottal stop is lost.

là 'not' with mlo 'to take time' occurs as la mlo 'fast'.

With the loss of the glottal stop, this sequence occurs with only one primary stress and is written lamlo.

(3) The following four forms (with or without initial glottal stop [cf. 1.4] when following a vowel, occur in alternate form without an initial vowel. They are written in the form in which they occur:

ani 'this', i to ni 'this man'; ayé 'that', i to ye 'that man'; agu 'first person singular', meye gu 'I look'; ale 'third person plural' meye le 'they look'

2. VERB BASES

Bilaan bases occurring as verbs (cf. 2.1) are monosyllabic, disyllabic, and rarely trisyllabic. Canonical forms thus far noted are (C)CV(C), (C)CV(C)CV(C), and CV(C)CV(C)CV(C):

se 'to count',4 dfu 'to spit', man 'say', lsak 'to dress',

---

4Where ambiguity might arise, a verb gloss is clarified by use of 'to...' or 'be...' and a noun gloss by use of 'the...'.
fale 'to plant', lyalo 'feel', tundá 'send', dayen 'to praise', klaweh 'clothes', tinggal 'to shoot', dyandil to covenant', falami 'to be new', sangkali 'the chain' bilanggà 'prison'

2.1. Classes of bases. Most Bilaan bases can occur in morphological and syntactical constructions as either nouns or verbs (i.e. noun lexemes or verb lexemes). Bases occurring as verbs can be divided into three classes: Two large classes of bases are grouped according to their distribution when occurring with and without verb affixes \{-m-, -n-, f-, g-, s-, m-\} and nominalizing morphemes;\(^5\) a third small group includes irregular bases.

Class I bases are termed nominals; they occur as verbs only with one or more of the above affixes.

datal 'level plain'; d-m-atal ale 'they level'

These bases without nominalizing morphemes have the same general distribution as any base with nominalizing morphemes.\(^6\)

yé datal-la\(^7\) or yé i datal-la 'that's their plain'; yé i k-datal-la 'that's their levelling (process)'

---

\(^5\)Nominalizing morphemes are affixes \{k(a)-, gu...,(m)-\} and particles \{i, di, dad, ku, kane, e\}. The latter three occur only with kinship designations or proper names.

\(^6\)A small group of lexemes that does not occur in my data with affixation has the same distribution as nominals (cf. 2.11). These are usually proper names, kinship terms and body parts, e.g., tingán 'proper name', yé 'mother', ulu 'head'. The classes (above) are set up according to present information. More research may yield better criteria.

\(^7\)cf. section 4.1 for distribution of pronouns of class -la 'third person plural'. Dashes separate verbal affixes (never suffixed) and clitic pronouns from the verb base.
Class II bases are termed verbals; they occur as verbs with one or more of the verb affixes or without these affixes.  

\[\text{klang 'to cut'; klang-la i kayu 'they cut the tree';}\]
\[\text{k-am-lang i to i kayu 'the man cut the tree'}\]

These bases without nominalizing morphemes do not have the same general distribution as bases with nominalizing morphemes.

\[\text{klang-la ye 'they cut that (thing)'; ye ka-klang-la or ye i ka-klang-la 'that's their cutting'}\]

Class III consists of a small group of irregular bases. These bases never occur in my material without an affix.

\[-laneb; k-laneb 'cleanliness'; m-laneb 'be clean';\]
\[\text{1-n-aneb 'to clean'}\]
\[\text{-dadong; k-dadong 'proximity'; m-dadong 'be near';}\]
\[\text{f-an-dadong 'come near to'}\]
\[\text{-datah; k-datah 'excellence'; m-datah 'be excellent, high'; f-datah 'go higher'}\]
\[\text{-agin; m-agin 'accompany'; f-agin 'cause to accompany'}\]

Nominals and verbals (i.e. class I and class II unaffixed bases) and class III bases only infrequently begin with \text{m-} or \text{n-}. Examples of such occurrences:

\[\text{man 'say', mih 'be sweet', neng 'to be bright', nem 'the taste'}\]

---

8One verbal that has the same general distribution as this class never occurs in my data with affixation: \text{teen 'see', teen-gu i to 'I see the man'}.}
2.11. Nominals. Typical inflections of nominals:

- ibal 'the desire'; m-ibal 'to desire'
- klaweh 'clothes'; k-am-laweh, k-an-laweh 'to clothe'
- fala 'the shovel'; m-ala, f-n-ala 'to shovel'
- dadu 'the plow'; d-m-adu, d-n-adu 'to plow'
- banwe 'the place'; m-anwe 'abide'
- diding 'walling'; d-m-diding, d-n-diding 'to wall'
- bayád 'payment'; m-ayád, b-n-ayád 'to pay'
- kaán 'food'; k-m-aán, k-n-aán 'eat'; f-kaán 'to feed'

Two forms that occur in my data only with a combination of affixal morphemes are bun 'the smell' and nem 'the taste'.

- mang-bun 'to smell', ga-m-nem 'to taste'

2.12. Verbals. Some verbals appear limited in regard to the number of inflections they may occur with. The following verbals are examples of those that seem least limited; all are transitive, i.e. uninflected they occur with a goal or direct object (cf. 3.13). Typical inflections are listed:

- blé 'give'; m-lé, b-an-lé, fa-blé, ga-blé, sa-blé
- bat 'throw'; m-bat, n-bat, f-bat
- dsù 'to sacrifice'; d-am-sù, d-an-sù
- klang 'to cut'; k-am-lang, k-an-lang, fa-klang
- sifit 'carry on side under arm'; s-m-ifit, s-n-ifit

Many verbals only infrequently occur in combination with inflectional affixes. The following examples of verbals, with the exception of the first two entries, are intransitive, i.e. uninflected they do not occur with a direct object:
linge 'to hear', tlo 'to call', fulung 'to understand'
salu 'to go', sudeng 'to sit', tatek 'to fall', kudang
'to sleep', tado1 'to follow', fusuk 'to enter', fye
'be good', biát 'be heavy', bitil 'be hungry'

The last three examples of the above list, fye, biát, and
bitil are in the same form class with bases inflected with
{m-} 'stative' (cf. 3.2).

2.13. Irregular bases. Examples of bases that never oc-
cur in my material without affixation: 8

-datalah; k-datalah 'excellence', m-datalah 'be excellent, high'
-1adal; k-1adal 'slipperiness', m-1adal 'be slippery'
-dadong; k-dadong 'proximity', m-dadong 'be near'
-lungay; k-lungay 'fatigue', m-lungay 'be tired'
-ágů; k-ágů 'journey', m-ágů 'to travel'

All the above bases, with the exception of -ágů occur with
m- as stative verbs.

2.14. Summary of categories of bases. A base, with or
without affixes, if it is preceded by a nominalizing particle
occurs as a noun (cf. footnote 5, p. 5), e.g. i to 'the man',
i k-n-aán 'the food (what is eaten)'. A base not preceded by
a nominalizing particle is a noun if occurring with k(a)- or
gu...(m)- (nominalizing affixes); or a verb if occurring
with one or more of the verb affixes (cf. 2.1), e.g. ka-blé
'the giving', b-an-lé 'give'. 9 Certain unaffixed bases oc-
cur syntactically only as nouns and are termed nominals, e.g.

9cf. footnote 10, p. 9 for other occurrences of nouns.
Nouns are included under the general designation of substau-
tives.
kaán 'food'. Other unaffixed bases occur syntactically only as verbs and are termed verbalbs, e.g. blé 'give'.

3. VERB INFECTION

Verbs are inflected for five categories: focal, causative, potential, distributive, and stative. These categories are listed above in the general order of the frequency of their occurrence, with focal the most frequent. All verbs occur with focus; they may or may not occur in addition with the other categories. It is convenient to group together the causative, potential and distributive categories under the general designation of voice morphemes (cf. 3.3).

3.1. Focus. When {-m-} 'actor focus' or {-n-} 'goal focus' occurs as an inflection of a base, a substantive also

10Substantives are (1) nominals, unaffixed lexemes, and sequences of lexemes that have the same distribution as nominals, and bases occurring with nominalizing affixes (cf. 2.14); e.g. datal 'level plain', ayem 'dog', m-nga lagi 'the father of the boy', ka-blé 'the giving'; (2) the demonstratives ani 'this', ayé 'that (near)', atù 'that (far)' which do not occur in my data as focused referents (cf. 3.14); (3) the interrogative lexeme simto 'who?' (actor focus only [cf. 3.12]); (4) phrases of stative verbal plus transitive verbal (cf. 3.2), e.g. fye 'be good' and tulen 'to speak'; fye telen 'good news'; (5) phrases consisting usually of nominalizing particle plus (a) substantives listed in (1), (2) and (4) in this footnote, (b) verbalbs with or without inflection, (c) one or more lexemes. Examples: (a) i datal 'the plain', i ayem 'the dog', i ka-blé 'the giving'; (b) i blé 'the gift', i fulung 'the one who knows', i k-n-aän 'The thing eaten (food)'; (c) i lwe 'the two', i to k-m-aän 'the one eating', i m-nga lagi 'the father of the boy'.

The pronouns in the three parallel series -la, ale, dale (cf. 4.1), occur, for the most part, in the same positions as substantives and are classed with them. Because of a different distribution in some occurrences, however, they will be treated separately from the substantives described above.
occurs, either as a subject, object (direct goal), or referent (indirect goal) of the verb. The ale pronoun series always occurs as this substantive which will be called the topic.

\textbf{m-bat ale} (subject) 'they throw', \textbf{bat-an ale} (object) 'he throws them', \textbf{n-bat-an ale} (referent) 'he throws to them'

\textbf{n-} occurs as indirect goal or referent focus with transitive verbals only; with other bases it indicates (direct) goal focus (cf. 3.12).

When \textbf{ale} does not occur, a non-pronoun topic substantive occurs, though it must often be determined by the context.

\textbf{Actor focus: m-lé ale }'they give', \textbf{m-lé i to }'the man gives'

\textbf{Goal focus: n-akét ale i ayem }'the dog bites them', \textbf{n-akét i ayem i to }'the dog bites the man'

\textbf{Referent focus: b-an-lé-n ale i kaán }'he gives food to them (gives-he to them food)', \textbf{b-an-lé-n i to i kaán }'he gives food to the man'

In the examples above of focal inflection, to 'man' (or \textbf{ale} 'they') is the substantive that occurs as the subject in actor focus, direct object in goal focus, and indirect object in referent focus. It may occur with or without \textbf{i} 'nominalizer'. As the topic, to 'man' (1) is similar to the topic of topic-comment predicative constructions, with a speaker announcing a topic or theme and then a comment being made;\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{11}Nockett, p. 201.
in this case the topic, or the "thing-spoken-of" is the subject, object, or referent according to the focal morpheme and base it occurs with; (2) is usually present (sometimes in another part of the discourse), though it is sometimes implied,\textsuperscript{12} e.g. m-ték (actor focus) '(subject) gets up'; (3) though often found occurring in a certain order in relation to the verb, is frequently found in varied order to indicate emphasis,\textsuperscript{13} e.g. m-akét i ayem 'the dog bites', i ayem m-akét 'the dog (pointed out) bites'; (4) in varied lexeme order, is often determined by context alone, e.g. k-an-lang-gu kayu balô (the elements are 'cut [referent focus]-I tree bolo knife') may also occur as k-an-lang-gu balô kayu 'I cut the tree with the bolo'; if the topic would otherwise be ambiguous, only subject-object order is found, e.g. in goal focus with two substantives, the object is in second order after the verb: n-ebe lagi libun 'the boy carries the girl (carry boy girl)'; (5) can occur with other substantives, i.e. verbs with actor focus inflection may also occur with an object and a referent, verbs with (direct) goal focus usually occur with a subject and may also occur with a referent, and verbs with referent focus also occur with a subject and may occur with an object. The privileges of occurrence of substantives with

\textsuperscript{12}Though a non-focused (non-topic) goal or referent may be implied or may not occur, the topic will occur or be implied by the verb. Actor focus: m-lé '(a subject) gives'; goal focus: bi-lé-m deg 'you give (object desired) to me'.

\textsuperscript{13}Varied substantive order may also be the result of style differences. A non-topic substantive may occur in varied order (cf. 3.12-14).
bases inflected for actor focus (A), goal focus (G) and referent focus (R) are (plus and minus signs together are for optional occurrence; tò di marks non-topic referent):

A + actor ± goal ± referent
G + actor + goal ± referent
R + actor ± goal + referent

m-bat ale (sabat tò di sol) 'they throw (the trash in the hole)' (A)

bat-la i sabat (tò di sol) 'they throw the trash (in the hole)' (G)

n-bat-la i sol (i sabat) 'they throw in the hole (the trash)' (R)

3.11. Morphophonemics. Focal morphemes {-m-} and {-n-} occur prefixed or infixed to the base. In combination with inflectional morphemes glottal stop initial bases occur with a base alternant without the glottal stop.

Prefixing m- and n-:

With monosyllabic bases beginning with a single consonant.

m-bat, n-bat 'to throw'; n-fas 'to whip'; m-dem 'to loan'

With any base beginning with a vowel or glottal stop.

---

14 bat is a transitive verbal that occurs in the same form class with other bases that are inflected for goal focus.

15 Enclosing focal morpheme {-m-} in hyphens will be sufficient to distinguish it from {m-} 'stative' (cf. 3.2). The complete pattern of affixation could be symbolized {m-/-m-} and {n-/-n-}. 
m-imb, n-imb 'to work'; m-ebe, n-ebe 'to carry'

Prefixed m-:

With polysyllabic bases beginning with b- or f-. A base alternate without the initial consonant occurs with the m-.

bayád 'payment', m-ayád 'to pay'

fantad 'shore', m-antad 'to walk along the shore'

With any base beginning with consonant clusters, the first of which is b- or f-. A base alternate without the initial consonant occurs with the m-.

blé 'to give', m-lé 'to give'

-fngabal, m-ngabal 'to look for'

Infixed -m- and -n-:

-m- is infixed after the initial consonant in polysyllabic bases beginning with a single consonant other than b- or f-. -n- is infixed after the initial consonant in any polysyllabic base beginning with a single consonant.

kaán 'food', k-m-aán 'eat'

bayád 'payment', b-n-ayád, (m-ayád) 'to pay'

bilanggō 'prison', b-n-ilanggō 'imprison'

Infixed -am- and -an- allomorphs:

-am- is infixed after the first consonant in any base beginning with a consonant cluster, the first of which is not b- or f-. -an- is infixed after the first consonant in

16If the unaffixed base does not occur in my material, it will be written with a preceding hyphen.
any base beginning with a consonant cluster.

klang 'to cut', k-am-lang, k-an-lang 'to cut'
dšù 'to sacrifice', d-am-shù, d-an-shù 'to sacrifice'
-fngabal, f-an-ngabal 'to look for'

Infixed -ana- allomorph:

-ana- is infixed after the first consonant in bases beginning with fn-.

fnò 'be full (container)', f-ana-nò 'to fill'

3.12. Actor focus. When -m- 'actor focus' is affixed to nominals and transitive verbals, a topic substantive as subject also occurs.

kaán 'food', k-m-aán ale 'they eat', k-m-aán i to 'the man eats'

bat 'throw', m-bat ale 'they throw', m-bat i to 'the man throws'

The topic is usually present, though it may be implied.

k-m-aán '(he) eats', or '(the man) eats'

Bases with actor focus inflection may occur with an object, accompanied or not by a referent (cf. 3.14 for the scope of a referent).

k-m-aán i to i anok 'the man eats chicken'; k-m-aán i to i anok di gumnè 'the man eats chicken at the house'

The topic usually occurs immediately before or after the verb, though other positions are not uncommon.

m-imò i to gumnè 'the man builds the house';
m-aye nan i libun 'the girl then approves (approve
then the girl; dademe k-am-lud gamo 1fò 'you others grate coconut (other grate you coconut)'; s-m-ukat
lyak lagi 'the boy looks for possessions (look-for possessions boy)'

The pronouns dale and ale and other pronouns in the same form classes occur before the verb as topic; ale also occurs after the verb as topic (usually in first position); dale also occurs after subject-verb as object or after di as referent. dale is a non-topic pronoun (cf. 4.1).

dale (ale) k-m-aán, or k-m-aán ale 'they eat'
i to m-ite dale 'the man sees them'
m-lé ge ani di dale 'give this to them'

Pronoun combinations add emphasis to the topic.

deg agu k-m-aán (first person singular pronouns)
'I am the eater', k-m-aán agu deg 'I eat (whereas some others do not)'

The pronoun -1a has been observed as topic when occurring immediately after an adverb (cf. 4.1-2) and before the verb.

nè-1a ta fulung m-eye uten 'when they know how to find meat (when-they already know [cf. next paragraph for focus of fulung] find meat)'

The third person singular of the -1a series, -an, sometimes occurs as topic with an actor focus inflected base.

m-ayè-an 'he approves (actor focus-approve-third person singular)'

Some verbals (all intransitive) are in the same form class
as both nominals and transitive verbals inflected with -m-

Nominal: k-m-aān ale 'they eat'

Transitive verbal: m-lē ale 'they give'

Intransitive verbals: fulung ale 'they understand', fusuk ale 'they enter', kel ale 'they arrive', salu ale 'they travel'

Some intransitive verbals also occur with -m-, remaining intransitive with a different meaning.

nè 'be where?', m-nè 'be located, abide'
sut 'be born', m-sut 'appear'

Other examples of intransitive verbals occurring in parallel distribution with bases inflected with -m-

sudeng 'sit', tadag 'stand', fanak 'be quiet', faglut 'believe', flinge 'listen', kudang 'sleep', tluyāb 'to yawn', fles 'culminate one's action', katal 'itch', bnen 'to sneeze'.

Though most nominals with focal morphemes are transitive, a few with -m- are intransitive only and therefore do not occur with an object. The nominals dini, déé, ditù occur with ga- and are intransitive.

banwe 'the place', m-anwe 'abide'; tanā 'earth', t-m-anā 'to walk'

gā-dini 'come', ga-déé 'go there (near)', gā-tù 'go there (far)'

Examples of other nominals that occur with focal morphemes -m- and -n-:

diding 'wailing', ībal 'the desire', áful 'lime', dagit
'name', buk 'smoke (of fire)', benge 'fruit', kfung 'dust', dal 'the shaft', dadu 'the plow'

3.13. Goal focus. When -n- 'goal focus' is affixed to nominals and intransitive verbals (including stative verbals [cf. 3.2]) a topic substantive as direct goal or object also occurs.

flinge 'heed, listen', f-an-linge-yu ale 'heed them (heed-you them)'
kaán 'food', k-n-aán i to i anok 'the man eats the chicken'
blát 'be heavy', b-an-lát-am i kudå ayé 'load that horse (heavy-you horse that)'

The topic is usually present, sometimes occurring in another part of the discourse; it is infrequently implied.

lo-gu b-n-uluh 'I only floored (put floor on)' (the object, gumnè 'house', occurs in a preceding part of the discourse)
n-we-am 'you get (it)' (the object desired is implied)

Bases with goal focus inflection may occur with or without a referent.

n-ebe-gu sulat 'I carry the letter'; n-ebe-gu sulat di to 'I carry the letter to the man'

The topic regularly occurs in second position after the verb.17 Other positions of occurrence include immediately before or after the verb, and third position after the verb:

17Any lexeme except a nominalizing particle is counted as one position.
**n-eye-n i to** 'he sees the man'

**ani linge i dad to** 'the men hear this (this hear the men)'

**linge ani i dad to** 'the men hear this'

**n-ebe-la di kasfala i to** 'they took the man to the authorities (carry-they to authorities the man)'

Context is the determining factor in the identification of the topic in some occurrences of goal focus inflection.

**n-ebe-ta ge** 'I carry you (carry-I you)'; **n-ebe-ta ge anok** 'I carry the chicken for you'

With some occurrences regular topic position for goal focus inflection is the determining factor.

**n-ebe lagi libun** 'the boy carries the girl (carry boy girl)'

The pronoun -la and other pronouns in the same form class occur as the subject in first position after the verb, or before the verb if preceded by an adverb (cf. 4.2).

**n-ebe-la i kayu** 'they carry the wood'

**lè-la n-ebe i kayu** 'they don't carry the wood'

The pronouns of the **a** class occur as the topic, usually in second position after the verb. The **-la** pronoun class occurs in first position after the verb as non-topic subject.

**n-ebe-n ale** 'he carries them (carry-he them)'

Some verbalss (all transitive) occur in the same form class as other bases inflected with **-n-.**

Nominal: **k-n-aán-gu kasila** 'I eat sweet potato'

Intransitive verbal: **f-an-linge-la (a)le** 'they heed
them'

Stative verbal: f-n-afë-la i kayu 'they wet the wood'
Transitive verbals: bat-la i kayu 'they throw the wood',
blé-la i kayu 'they give the wood', dîlè-la le 'they recognize them', klang-la i kayu 'they cut the wood',
tlo-la le 'they call them', dek-la le 'they command them'

Some nominals have not been observed with goal focus inflection.

banwe 'place', tanâ 'earth'

Only a few intransitive verbals have appeared in my data with goal focus inflection.

fusuk 'enter', f-n-usuk 'possess'; flinge 'listen',
f-an-linge 'listen to, heed'; stifun 'assemble',
s-an-tifun 'gather'; katal 'itch', k-n-atal ale 'they itch (something made them itch)'; faglut 'believe',
f-n-aglut 'believe'; fis 'culminate one's action',
f-an-les 'culminate'

Stative verbals only rarely occur with goal focus inflection.

likô 'be afraid, be made afraid', likô ale 'they are afraid'; k-an-likô-la kanen 'they make him afraid';
kankal 'be quaking, be made to quake', kankal ale 'they are quaking', k-n-ankal ale 'they are quaking, (something makes them quake)'

Other examples of transitive verbals occurring in the same form class as verbs with goal focus inflection are:
kasë 'tear'; tundâ 'conduct, send'; dâl 'dry (clothes)';
dulak 'hunt'; lyałō 'feel'; linge 'hear'; dayen 'praise';
sifít 'carry on side under arm'; kâh 'put'; kâlus
'scratch'; tulen 'tell'; teen 'see'; man 'say'; umun
'divide'; dshû 'sacrifice'; dfu 'spit'

3.14. Referent focus. When -n- 'goal focus' is affixed
to transitive verbals a topic substantive as indirect goal
or referent also occurs (cf. 3.13).

b-an-lé-m ale 'give (it) to them' (Goal focus: blé-m
di dâle 'give (it) to them')
t-n-undâ-la i to i liblû 'they send the man the book'
(Goal focus: tundâ-la i liblû tù di to 'they send the
book to the man')
d-an-shâ-an i bulul 'he sacrifices on the hill' (Goal
focus: dshû-an i anok [di bulul] 'he sacrifices the
chicken [on the hill]')

The focused referent or topic can be an indirect goal, an
instrument, or a location:

b-an-lé-la kanen i liblû 'they give to him the book'
k-an-lang-la i bansung i kayû 'they cut with a knife
the wood'
d-an-shâ-la i bulul 'they sacrifice on the hill'

Bases with actor and goal focus inflection (and transi-
tive verbals) usually occur with nominalizing morpheme di, or
with tù 'there', or with tù di before the referent.

m-ngabal (look for) ka-kaán di lañaw '(it) looks for
food in the lake'; blé-la bulung di libun ayé 'they
give medicine to that girl'; blé-m di kanen i liblu
'give to him the book' 18

The topic as referent is usually present, but sometimes it is implied.

fisá 'press with fingers'; f-n-isá-la i fan 'they press (with fingers) the bread'

Bases with referent focus inflection may occur with or without an object. -la pronouns occur in first position af-

18 The pronoun topic of referent focus may also occur with di, and the referent in goal focus appears in my data in an occurrence without di. b-an-lé-m di kanen or b-an-lé-m kanen 'give (it) to him'; blé-m dale or blé-m di dale 'give (it) to them'. The unique pronoun dun 'it' (object); him, her (referent) occurs generally equivalent to di kanen, but differs somewhat in its distribution. bat-am dun tè di faltù ayé 'throw it across there (throw-you it across there)'; blé-m di kanen, or blé-m dun 'give (it) to him'; blé-m kanen would mean 'give him (to something or somebody)'; n-ebe-m di kanen i fligo or n-ebe-m dun i fligo 'give him the plate'.

According to the meaning of the verb, and of context, and apparently with any focal morphemes, the dale pronoun series (cf. 4.1), with or without di (dun for third person singular) indicates a beneficiary or another type of referent. In the first two of the following examples the di kanen phrase occurring after the object and indicating a beneficiary contrasts with its occurrence before the object. fni-gu i kukù di kanen 'I ask for the cat for him'; fni-gu di kanen i kukù 'I ask for the cat from him'; fni-gu dun i kukù 'I ask for the cat for him'; beg-am k-an-fe dun (or di kanen) i kukù atù 'please catch the cat there for him (please-you catch for him the cat there)'; b-an-li-gu dun i kukù 'I buy for him the cat'; n-wè-am dun 'get (it) for him'; bat-am dun 'throw (it) to him';

Examples with beneficiary in second order after the verb: klang-gu ge kayu (goal focus) or k-am-lang agu ge i kayu (actor focus) 'I cut the tree for him'; k-am-lang-gu ge i balo i kayu 'I cut for him with the bolo the tree'; k-am-fe ge dun set nalaf 'catch you for him one fish'

The dale series as beneficiary does not appear in my data with di before it. bat-am dun i bula 'throw for him the ball', bat-am deg 'throw (it) for me'; bat-am di deg 'throw (it) to me'. In one actor focus occurrence dun and kanen occur interchangeably: m-agin ge dun (kanen) 'accompany you him'.
ter the verb as non-topic subject. ale topic pronouns are usually in second position after the verb.

b-an-lé-n i to i liblu 'he gives the book to the man'
b-an-lé-la ale 'they give (object understood) to them'

The topic usually occurs in various positions after the verb (except that the pronoun ale may occur before the verb) and often after the subject.

n-bat-la i ayem i tulán 'they throw to the dog the bone'
b-an-lé-la le 'they give (it) to them'
k-an-lang-la kayu balò 'they cut the wood with the bolo'
t-n-imel-an ale 'he answered them...(the object is the actual answer)'

beg-gu le b-an-lé saldīnas 'I'll give to them sardines (in pity-I to-them give sardines)'

Context may be the determining factor in the identification of the topic.

k-an-lang-la kayu balò, or k-an-lang-la balò kayu 'they cut the tree with the bolo'

-la and ale pronouns occur as subject and topic respectively as in goal focus.

b-an-lé-la 'give (it) to them'; f-lit-an gami b-an-lé
'he gave (it) to us regularly (causative-intersperse-he to-us [exclusive] give)'

Some transitive verbals (cf. lists on p. 17ff.) do not occur in my material with referent focus inflection: teen 'see' occurs only in the same form class as bases inflected with goal focus; tlo 'call', and linge 'hear' occur with actor and
goal focus categories only. fbalu 'sell' appears in my data in actor and referent focus categories.

3.15. Summary of focal categories. Summary of the occurrence of nominals and verbals with actor focus (A), goal focus (G) and referent focus (R). Representative bases are kaán 'food', stifun 'assemble', blát 'be heavy', blé 'give'. The realized forms for actor focus are: k-m-ään, stifun, m-lé; for goal focus: k-n-ään, s-an-tifun, b-an-lát, blé; for referent focus: b-an-lé. Absence of a focal morpheme is indicated by Ø; non-occurrence of a base in a focal category is indicated by dashes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominals</td>
<td>(-m-)kaán</td>
<td>(-n-)kaán</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>Ø-stifun</td>
<td>(-n-)stifun</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stative</td>
<td></td>
<td>(-n-)blát</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>(-m-)blé</td>
<td>Ø-blé</td>
<td>(-n-)blé</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2. Stative. The stative morpheme m- contrasts in many occurrences with focal morpheme -m- 'actor focus' in that m- is a prefix while -m- is an infix. In the few occurrences where both morphemes are prefixes with the same vowel initial base or single consonant initial monosyllabic base, the m- contrasts in occurring as allomorphs mg- or mag-. The allomorph mag- may also occur with single consonant initial polysyllabic bases.

stifun 'assemble', A (actor focus): s-an-tifun 'gather'
S (stative): ma-stifun 'be assembled'
A: m-imə 'to make', S: mg-imə 'be made'
A: m-dek 'to command', S: mag-dek 'be commanded'
A: k-m-aán 'eat', S: mag-kaán 'be eaten'

3.21. Morphophonemics. m- 'stative' always occurs as an outer layer prefix (cf. 3.31). Glottal stop initial bases occur with a base alternant without the glottal stop in combination with the stative morpheme. This morpheme often occurs as the allomorphs mg- or mag-.

Prefixined m- or allomorph mg- occurs with bases beginning with a vowel or a single consonant.

alel 'to divide', mg-alel 'be divided'
imə 'the produce', mg-imə 'be made'
yaán 'spouse', m-yaán 'be married'

Prefixined ma- allomorph occurs with bases beginning with a consonant cluster. Prefixined mag- often occurs with bases beginning with a single consonant.

ma-dyoh 'be splattered'
mag-kaán 'be eaten'
mag-dayen 'be honored'

3.22. Distribution of stative category. The meaning of m- is comparable to that of the past participle of the English verb. A state rather than an action is expressed; the topic or focused substantive is the subject of the state expressed by the verb. However, possessor or subject focus, rather than actor focus, might be the more exact description of the focal category:

too mag-kaán sdè '(something) is really eaten by pigs
(very be-eaten pig); ga-m-kaán gami 'we can eat (ga-
'potential', plus -m- 'actor focus')"

A cause for the state that is expressed by the verb some-
times occurs:

ma-dyoh agu i lité sòdè 'I was splattered by the pig's
blood (be-splattered I blood pig)'

The stative morpheme occurs with nominals, intransitive
verbals and transitive verbals.

Nominal: yaán 'spouse', m-yaán 'be married'

Intransitive: dyoh 'bathe' ma-dyoh 'be splattered'

Transitive: dayen 'to praise', mag-dayen 'be honored'

Many uninflected bases expressing a state occur in par-
allel distribution with bases inflected with the stative mor-
pheme. The ale series occurs as topic with these stative ver-
bals, and bases inflected with m-.

m-seey agu 'I am wounded', ma-fdas agu 'I am sick'
bitiil agu 'I am hungry', likò agu 'I am afraid', bso1
agu 'I am full', lehew agu 'I am happy', léét agu 'I
am slow'; bong 'be big', tukay 'be small', bukay 'be
white', fulè 'be red', fye 'be good', sasè 'be bad'
baltik 'be fast', falami 'be new', lâbi 'be old (thing)',
kafag 'be dry', tnò 'be cold', fukal 'be short', tahà
'be long', mih 'be sweet', féét 'be bitter', fital 'be
tight', fasè 'be wet'

Several bases that are inflected with the stative mor-
pheme do not occur in my data in uninflected form.

-lungay, m-lungay 'be tired'; -alnak, m-alnak 'be
soft'; -limáh, m-limáh 'be difficult'; -dadong, m-dadong 'be near'; -abal, m-ab ál 'be fat'; -datáh, m-datáh 'be high'; -ladal, m-ladal 'be slippery', -lbot, ma-lbot 'be angry'; -uná, m-uná 'be first'; -ahál, m-ahál 'be different'.

There is an occurrence of salngad 'be the same' with the stative morpheme without substantially changed meaning.

ma-salngad i kastulen-la 'their talk was the same (agreed)'

Except for m-uná 'be first', numerals occur with g(a)- as stative ordinals.

1we 'two', ga-1we 'be second'; fát 'four', g-fát 'be fourth'.

3.23. Relation of statives to intransitives. Stative verbals (and bases inflected with the stative morpheme) though not indicating an action, have a parallel distribution with intransitive verbals in some of their occurrences.

Intransitive: sudeng 'sit', sudeng ale 'they sit', sudeng i ngâ, sudeng ngâ, or i ngâ sudeng 'the child sits'. Statives: m-lungay 'be tired', m-lungay ale 'they are tired'; mag-dayen 'be honored', mag-dayen i ngâ 'the child is honored'; ma-fdas 'be sick', ma-fdas i ngâ 'the child is sick'; ma-lbot 'be angry', ma-lbot i ngâ 'the child is angry'.

The privileges of occurrence of statives in other syntactical sequences, however, differ from that of intransitives. The stative usually occurs with the nominalizing
morpheme with a substantive subject, e.g. ma-fdas i ngâ, but note sudeng ngâ (above). When the subject precedes the stative, there has occurred before the verb a pause about the length of a CV syllable.\(^9\)

\textit{i to} (pause) \textit{fy\'e 'the man is good'}
\textit{i to sudeng 'the man sits'}

3.3. Voice. Voice morphemes are \{f-\} 'causation', \{g-\} 'potential' and \{s-\} 'distributive'. These morphemes have to do with the relationship between the verb, the topic substantive (or pronoun) and other substantives occurring with the verb.

Bases inflected with voice morphemes, in combination (and sometimes not) with focal morphemes, occur in the focal categories that will be outlined below. These categories are determined on the basis of occurrence of the inflected base with \textit{ale} pronouns (subject \[\text{topic}\] of actor focus), and \textit{-la} pronouns (subject \[\text{non-topic}\] of goal and referent focus), and the occurrence of the inflected base without focal morpheme when in goal focus category, with \textit{-n-}.

Actor focus: \textit{f-eb\'e ale 'they cause to carry'}

Goal focus: \textit{f-ite-la dun i kudâ 'they allow the horse}

\(^{9}\)As attributive to a phrase of nominalizing morpheme plus substantive, statives occur immediately before the substantive. Intransitives occur immediately after the substantive. \textit{i fye to...'the good man...'} \textit{i to sudeng...'the man who sits (who makes it a practice to sit)...'; compare \textit{i to i sudeng...'the man who sits (happens to be sitting)...'}

The intransitive fulung 'understand' occurs in a unique sequence: \textit{fulung to a\'y\'e 'he's an understanding (wise) man'}.\textit{\'e\'e}}
to be seen by him (they show the horse to him)'

Referent focus: f-n-ite-la ge kudâ 'they show to him
the horse'

Voice morphemes occur infrequently in affixal combina-
tions before the base. In such occurrences the inner layer
affix is subordinate to the outer layer affix.

g- 'potential' plus f- 'causative'; ga-f- 'able to
to cause'
b-n-ayâd 'to buy', ga-f-bayâd 'able to cause (someone)
to buy'
m-agsik 'be dirty', ga-m-f-agsik 'able to cause to be
dirty', lâ ga-m-f-agsik-an kanen 'it can't make him
dirty (not able-to-cause-dirty-it him)'
fa-g- 'cause to be able'
tulen 'tell', fa-g-tulen 'cause to be able to tell (re-
mind)'

s- 'distributive' plus g- 'potential'; 'each is able'
n-we 'to take', sa-g-wê ale 'they take each other (each
able-to-take they [they get married])'

3.31. Morphophonemics. Morphophonemics of voice morphemes
f- 'causative', g- 'potential', and s- 'distributive': these
morphemes occur only prefixed to the base. In combination with
inflectional morphemes glottal stop initial bases occur with a
base alternant without the glottal stop.

Prefix f-, g-, s-.

With bases beginning with a vowel or a single consonant.
Before such a base, g- occurs in combination with s-; f- oc-
curs in combination with a focal morpheme:

\textit{f-imò 'cause to make'}
\textit{g-tulen 'able to tell (remember)'}
\textit{g-s-itong 'happen to meet'}
\textit{f-n-ebe 'cause to carry'}

Prefixed \textit{fa-}, \textit{ga-}, and \textit{sa-} allomorphs:

With bases beginning with consonant clusters.\textsuperscript{20}

\textit{fa-klang 'cause to cut'}
\textit{ga-stifun 'able to gather'}
\textit{sa-blé 'give to each other'}

With bases beginning with the same (single) consonant as the prefix:

\textit{fa-fusuk 'cause to enter'}
\textit{fa-fafé 'cause to be wet'}

In combination with a focal morpheme before vowel or glottal stop initial bases, in which case the \textit{s-} is repeated after the focal morpheme:

\textit{sa-n-s-imò 'make (over a period of time)'}

In combination with another voice morpheme or with a focal morpheme before bases beginning with a single consonant. In one occurrence there is a combination of voice plus focal plus voice morphemes.

\textit{fa-g-tulen 'cause to be able to tell (remind)'}
\textit{ga-f-bayád 'cause to be able to buy'}

\textsuperscript{20} \textit{fa-baltik 'cause self to be fast} is an exception.
sa-g-wè 'take each other (be married)'

ga-m-kaán 'able to eat'

fa-n-kaán 'cause to eat'

ga-m-f-ag pills 'able to cause to be dirty'

3.32. Causation. The causative voice is indicated by
the morpheme f-. It occurs prefixed to any class of base.

Nominal: f-kaán 'cause to eat (feed)'

Verbals:

Intransitive: fa-baltik ge 'cause (self) to be fast'

Transitive: f-tabeng 'allow to help'

Stative: fa-fye 'cause to be good (take heed)'

Class III: f-lo 'cause to be slow (take time)'

Intransitive verbals and stative verbals with the causative
morpeme and with ale pronouns as subject are in the same
form class as bases inflected with actor focus. Usually no
object occurs with the verb.

nang gamo f-lidu 'don't worry (don't you allow-sorrow)'

fa-fye ge i k-sakay-am 'ride carefully (make-good you
riding-your)'

f-dohi ge fayah '(come) tomorrow for sure (make-sure
you tomorrow)'

When f- occurs with statives and intransitives (i.e. ver-
bals), usually with an object, and when it occurs with other
classes of bases, the verb is also in the same form class as
bases inflected with goal focus.

Nominal: f-kaán-la gite kalmatl 'they feed us tomatoes
(cause-eat-they us tomato)'

(cause-eat-they us tomato)'
Verbals:

Intransitive: f-tatek-an fnu 'he dropped the turtle (cause-fall-he turtle)'

Transitive: fa-tlo-m agu 'have me called (cause-call-you me)'

Stative: fa-tnd-gu i ulu i ngâ 'I cool the child's head (cause-cold-I head child)'

Class III: f-agin-an i demen 'he takes along a companion (cause-accompany-he companion)'

The range of meaning of the causative morpheme varies according to the meaning of the base to which it is affixed. The basic concept of causation is sometimes best translated into English by 'to let, allow, cause (oneself) to, make to' and in other contexts it is best translated 'to have (action) done, cause (action) to be done'.

f-aflayam 'cause to suffer', f-lidu 'allow sorrow', fa-fafê 'make (self) wet', fa-klang 'have cut', f-ite 'cause to see'

Often with transitive verbals inflected with f- there occurs a secondary object. The primary object is the one caused to do something, and the secondary object is the goal of the action of the verb.

beg-am agu f-tabeng dad ngâ 'please have the children help me (please-you me have-help plural child)'

f-inum-am i to i yéêl 'have the man drink the water (have-drink-you man water)'

Bases occurring with f- and in goal focus category, when
occurring with focal morpheme -n- 'goal (indirect) focus' also occur with a topic substantive as referent.

\[ \text{f-again-am i to 'bring along the man (cause-accompany-you the man)' } \]

\[ \text{f-an-loh-am}^{21} \text{ lwe ani f-n-again-am yeel 'swallow these two (pills) with water (swallow-you two this cause-accompany-you water [instrument])' } \]

\[ \text{f-ite-gu dun i kudâ 'I show you the horse (cause-see-I to-you horse)' } \]

\[ \text{f-n-ite-la ge kudâ 'they show you the horse (cause-see you [indirect goal] horse)' } \]

3.33. Potential. The potential voice is indicated by the morpheme \( g- \) prefixed to any class of base except that of stative verbal.\(^{22} \)

Nominal: \( g\text{-kaânt 'able to eat' } \)

Verbals:

Intransitive: \( g\text{-fles 'able to complete (action)' } \)

Transitive: \( g\text{-tulen 'remember (able to tell)' } \)

Class III: \( g\text{-ebé 'able to carry' } \)

When \( g- \) occurs with intransitives the verb is in the same form class as bases inflected with actor focus.

Nominal: \( g\text{-bayád-am agu 'you can pay me (can-pay-you me)' } \)

Verbals:

\(^{21}\text{flooh 'to swallow' is the base; causative inflection with f- initial bases is indicated by the allomorph fa-.} \)

\(^{22}\text{The allomorph ga- 'potential' is homophonous with the ga- prefix of ga-dini 'come', and ga-lwe 'be second'.} \)
Transitive: là g-tulen-la i man-gu 'they are not able to tell my saying (not can-tell-they saying-my)'
Class III: g-agot-mi i kili 'we can hold the eel (can-hold-we eel)'

When bases that occur with g- in the goal focus category also occur with focal morpheme -m-, they are in the same form class as bases inflected with actor focus. An object usually occurs with this inflection.

dale ga-m-tabeng gami 'they can help us'
là ga-m-sakáy gami tadak 'we can't ride the truck (not can-ride we truck)'

g-a-m-kaán gami 'we can eat'

The meaning of the potential morpheme, though usually that of possibility or ability, is sometimes that of accident or of that which takes place in the course of events.

là g-lulen-am i kudá ayé 'you can't load that horse (not can-load-you horse that)'

ga-floh-gu i bulung 'I accidentally swallowed the medicine (accidentally-swallow-I medicine)'

g-s-itong aie 'they happened to meet'

3.34. Distributive. The distributive voice is indicated by the morpheme s- prefixed to nominals, transitive verbals and intransitive verbals. As with the potential voice, stative verbals do not occur in my data with distributive voice.

---

23 There is a homophonous morpheme s- 'one' from satu 'one'. s-butang 'one night', s-du 'one day'.

---
Nominal: **s-ibal** 'to like each other'

**Verbals:**

**Intransitive:** **sa-n-fatán-la i dademe** 'they wait for the others (distributive-wait-they others)'

**Transitive:** **s-tulen** 'converse (talk to each other)'

**Class III:** **s-ite** 'meet (see each other)'

When bases occur with the **s-** prefix they are in the same form class as bases inflected with actor focus. Usually no object occurs with this inflection.

Nominal: **sa-flanek ate** 'we are brothers'

**Verbals:**

Transitive: **s-tabeng ato** 'we help each other'

Class III: **sa-s-itong ate** 'we meet'

When bases with **s-** occur with **-m-** 'actor focus' they also occur in the same position as bases inflected with actor focus. An object usually occurs in this inflection.

**sa-m-fulé agu** 'I return (come back)'

**sa-m-tundá ale lyak th di gummè** 'they send goods to the house'

**sa-m-site ate i nawa-ta** 'we come to agreement (distributive-meet we-two mind-our)'

When **s-** plus **-n-** 'goal focus' occur in combination before a base, the verb occurs with usual goal focus inflection, with a topic as object.

**sa-n-dadong-am i fainas ayé** 'bring those clothes together (on the line) (distributive-near-you clothes that)'

**sa-n-s-ahál ale gummè** '(they) keep them in separate
houses (distributive-different they house)'

\texttt{sa-n-tulen-la i da lyak} 'they talk over the goods (distributive-talk-they plural goods)'

When the distributive morpheme occurs the action of the verb is to be considered as being distributed, usually among several people, or over a period of time.

\texttt{s-akét ale} 'they bite each other'

\texttt{ftoh i tlu butang sa-n-s-imò-la i fan-la} 'they made their bread over a period of three days (while three day distributive-make-they bread-their)'

3,35. Summary of voice categories, with a sketch of the occurrence of nominals and verbals and class III bases with causation (c), potential (p), and distributive (d) in actor focus (A), goal focus (G) and referent focus (R) categories. Absence of a focal morpheme is indicated by $\emptyset$; non-occurrence of a base in a focal category is shown by dashes.

Bases are listed according to the classes set up in section 2.1. I Nominal, II$^t$ Transitive verbal, II$^i$ Intransitive verbal, II$^s$ Stative verbal, III Bases that do not appear in my material in uninflected form.

Bases used are \texttt{fafê 'be wet'}, \texttt{tatek 'to fall, drop'}, \texttt{ebe 'carry'}, \texttt{kaán 'food'}, \texttt{tnò 'be cold'}, \texttt{fles 'culminate one's action'}, \texttt{tlo 'to call'}, \texttt{tabeng 'to help'}, \texttt{-sakáy 'to ride'}, \texttt{tulen 'tell'}, \texttt{deme 'companion'}, \texttt{fatán 'to wait'}, \texttt{-ite 'to see'}.

Realizations of these bases follow the sketch of their occurrences.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>R</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>f(∅)II^i (tatek)</td>
<td>f(∅)I (kaán)</td>
<td>f(-n-)I (kaán)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f(∅)II^s (fafê)</td>
<td>f(∅)IIt (tlo)</td>
<td>f(-n-)III (-ebe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f(∅)III (-ebe)</td>
<td>f(∅)II^i (fles)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>f(∅)II^s (tnô)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>f(∅)III (-ebe)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>g(-m-)I (kaán)</td>
<td>g(∅)I (kaán)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>g(-m-)IIIt (tabeng)</td>
<td>g(∅)IIIt (tulen)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>g(-m-)III (-sakây)</td>
<td>g(∅)III (-ebe)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>s(∅)I (deme)</td>
<td>s(-n-)I (deme)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s(∅)IIIt (tulen)</td>
<td>s(-n-)IIIt (tulen)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s(∅)III (-ite)</td>
<td>s(-n-)IIIt (fatân)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s(-m-)I (deme)</td>
<td>s(-n-)III (-ite)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s(-m-)IIIt (tulen)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s(-m-)III (-ite)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Realizations for actor focus: f-tatek, fa-fafê, f-ebe, ga-m-kaán, ga-m-tabeng, ga-m-sakây, s-deme, s-tulen, s-ite, sa-m-deme, sa-m-tulen, sa-m-s-ite; for goal focus: f-kaán, fa-tlo, fa-fles, fa-tnô, f-ebe, g-kaán, g-tulen, g-ebe, sa-n-deme, sa-n-tulen, sa-n-fatân, sa-n-s-ite; for referent focus: fa-n-kaán, f-n-ebe.

4. THE VERB COMPLEX

4. The verb complex in Bilaan consists of a verb and its inflections and verb centered constructions.

The base inflected with -m- 'actor focus' can occur as center of constructions with the following attributes: (1) third person singular pronoun (cf. 4.1), (2) adverbs (cf. 4.2), (3) temporal particles (cf. 4.3), (4) singular substantives, and (5) other verbs (cf. 4.4). The adverbs and temporal particles are attributes to a verb centered constitute consisting of a sequence of two verbs, or of a verb plus a sin-
singular substantive or third person singular pronoun.

*k-m-aän kanen* 'he eats'

*le k-m-aän* 'he eats again'

*k-m-aän fayäh* 'he will eat tomorrow'

*k-m-aän i to* 'the man eats'

*m-ayè k-m-aän* 'he wants to eat'

*le k-m-aän i to* 'the man eats again'

*k-m-aän i to fayäh* 'the man will eat tomorrow'

*m-ayè m-ulè fayäh* 'he wants to go home tomorrow'

The last three examples are of verb centered constitutes with an attribute.

4.1. Pronouns. Pronouns are in three parallel form classes. The third person plural form will be used to represent each form class. The *ałe* series always occurs as the topic in focal categories; *dale* before the verb occurs as the topic subject; *-la* never occurs as topic, but as non-topic it is subject in goal and referent focus categories.

Singular

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>dagu (deg)</th>
<th>agu</th>
<th>-gu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>you and I</td>
<td>gite</td>
<td>ate</td>
<td>-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td>ge</td>
<td>ge</td>
<td>-(a)m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he, she, it</td>
<td>kanen (dun)</td>
<td>ø, -(a)n,</td>
<td>-(a)n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24 In actor focus inflection with a plural substantive or pronominal subject (except third person singular), and in goal and referent focus inflection the *verb* occurs in uncentered or exocentric constructions with the focused substantive (topic) or pronoun as a *partner*. *k-m-aän dad* to 'the men eat', *k-m-aän ałe* 'they eat', *n-we-am i liblu* 'take-you the book', *b-an-lè-m ałe* 'give (it) to them'.


Plural

we (speakers)  gāmi  gami  -mi
we (all)  gito  ato (ito)  -to
you  gāmo  gamo  -yu
they  dale  ale  -la

The unique pronoun dun (cf. footnote 18, p. 21) occurs as topic object (inanimate), or as non-topic referent.

The form for 'he, she, it' in the ale series is usually zero. Occasionally the -(a)n form is used, and only infrequently the form kanen.

m-ayè 'he likes', m-ayè-an (usually with an object), m-ayè kanen (serving to point out someone) 'he likes'

The form m-ayè-an is a unique occurrence of -la as subject after the base with actor focus inflection, the usual occurrence of -la being non-topic subject.

blé-la di kanen 'they give (it) to them'

The forms for 'you (sing.)' and 'he' of the -la class occur as -am and -an after consonant final bases, and as -m and -n following vowel final bases. I adopt the convention of suffixing all the -la class to a preceding lexeme, even though they are not affixes. If this is not done for -m and -n in particular they would occur as the only lexemes (non-affixal) of just one consonant in Bilaan.

Preceding ge 'you', -ta 'you and I' occurs instead of -gu 'I'.

n-ebe-ta ge 'I carry you (carry-I you)
dale often occurs with di as a non-topic referent.
blé-m di dale 'give (it) to them'

4.2. Adverbs are those particles that can occur in sequence with 1a and ale pronouns before the verb.

fa-tlo-m agu 'cause me to be called'; lè-am agu fatlo 'cause me to be called again (again-you me cause-call)'

f-tabeng-am agu dad ngá 'have the children help me'

beg-am agu f-tabeng dad ngá 'please have the children help me (please-you me cause-help plural child)'

The adverb also occurs without the pronouns, and when only one pronoun occurs, that pronoun sometimes follows the verb.

là g-águ i tadak 'the truck can't go (not can-go truck)'

lè k-m-aán agu 'again I spoke'

là ke1-an 'he didn't arrive (not arrive-he)'

The only other form that occurs with pronouns before the verb (except the usual occurrence of dale and ale as topic) is another verb (cf. 4.4).

t-an-bu-gu m-Ifal 'I start to cross (river) (start-I cross)'

lè-gu man 'again I spoke'

Adverbs occurring as attributive to a verb center:

too 'very', lè 'again', là 'not', fan 'about to', gal 'persistently', nang 'don't', (a)lo 'only', tlabo 'still', ti and nè 'intensive'

ta fan itu du 'it's about noon (already about noon day)'

and là gal magin i lagi 'the boy doesn't always come' illustrate the occurrence of adverbs as attributive to a centered construction.
4.3. Temporal particles. Particles are lexemes that never occur with affixation and are not nominals, verbals or single lexeme substantives (cf. footnote 10, p. 9). They occur in various positions before or after verb bases, and are often constituents of phrases (a sequence of more than one lexeme). Particles that occur attributive to verb centers indicating time are:

fayáh 'tomorrow', malfábi 'yesterday', kyeh 'long while ago', gine 'little while ago', kadang 'later', malbutang 'last night', fa 'still', ta 'already'

Lexeme phrases occur in the same position as temporal particles:

m-du ni 'today (day now)', lwe ni 'two days hence'

Examples as attributes to verb centered constructions:

malfábi gatù 'he went yesterday', ta k-m-aán 'he has already eaten'

4.4. Verb attributes. One verb can be attributive to another verb in certain sequences of two verbs. The attribute usually occurs before the verb center.

tayo m-ulè 'wait to go home'
m-ayè k-m-aán 'want to eat'
fulung talè 'he knows how to speak'

---

25 Besides nominalizing particles and adverbs there are connectives, which link constituents without being a constituent: na 'and', du 'because', gabay 'but', ku 'if', keng 'lest'; intensives: kaal 'for sure', kē 'indeed', sa and sin 'intensive'; qualifiers: baldunan 'maybe', hae 'yes'; others kun 'quotative', tay 'exclamation of surprise'. The adverb lè occurs also in the same position as na with the meaning 'also, and'.

Several conventions are adopted in the orthography of the text. A comma occurs before semifinal (short) pause; a period occurs before final (long) pause. The first grapheme after long pause is represented by a capital letter. A question mark indicates that a preceding sequence occurs with an intonation morpheme marking it as interrogative.

5.1. Text with interlinear translation. In the following text, morpheme boundaries in verbs are marked and each lexeme given a translation. A free translation follows and then verb complexes in the text are analyzed. Numbering in the text corresponds to the numbers used in the free translation and the analysis.

I Kafi na i Fnu
The Hawk and Turtle

1. Satu du m-ayeng f-danâ i kafi di tah i satu tukay
   One day fly down hawk over a small
   lanaw. 2. Na déén di lanaw teen-an i fnu m-ágú dye,
   lake. And there in lake saw-he turtle going there
   lë màn m-ágú ditù. 3. m-ngabal kakaánan di lanaw én. 4. Na
   again going there search his food in lake that And
   man i kafi di kanen, e fnu , tan i nimoam déén? 5. Man
   said hawk to him oh turtle what your doing there? Said
   i kafi, ta lë ge g-lukás m-nè di tukay lanaw én?
   hawk already not you tired live in small lake there?
   6. Man i fnu , batâ kibôgu, ald ani sa gadê-gu banwe
   Said turtle what now only this indeed know-I place
   gumnègu na ald banwe i dayengu. 7. Landè gadê-gu
   my home and only place I appreciate. None know-I
   lanaw ga-sngad ani. 8. Lë t-m-imel i kafi na man-an
   lake like this Again answer hawk and say-he
9. f-an-valo-gu m-ayè ge m-ilih dith. 10. Lanaw m-abál
think-I like you move there Lake wide
na lë lanaw dee g-kaán teen-am dith.
and also lake much to-eat find-you there.

5.2. Free translation.

1. One day a hawk flew down over a small lake. 2. And there in the lake he saw a turtle going back and forth; 3. he was looking for his food in that lake. 4. And the hawk said to him, "Oh, turtle, what are you doing there?" 5. The hawk said, "Are you not already tired of living in that small lake?"

6. The turtle said, "What now! This is the only place I know as my home, and the only place I appreciate. 7. I don't know of another lake like this." 8. The hawk answered again and said, "Turtle, if you only could see the big lake over there on the other side of the world, 9. I think you would like to move there. 10. It's a wide lake and a lake wherein you can find much to eat."

5.3. Text analysis. The following abbreviations are used:
I=nominal; II=transitive verbal; III=intransitive verbal; IIₕ=stative verbal; III=irregular base; A=actor focus; G=goal focus; c=causation; p=potential; T=topic; s=substantive; Adv=adverb; P=particle. Phrase groups are placed in brackets; discussion is enclosed in parentheses.

1. m-ayeng f-danâ i kafi (m-ayeng is the center of the A-III c-III T constitute consisting of the sequence of two verbs; kafi is attributive to the verb centered constitute).
2. teen-an [i fnu m-águ dye...m-águ ditha] (the S phrase
A-III P
is the topic object of the verb).

3. m-ngabar (subject is implied [fnu])
A-III

4. man i kafi...[e fnu, tan i n-imò-am] (the S phrase
G-II P
is the topic object of the verb; i.e. what is said is the ob-
ject; n-imò-am with i is a S).

5. man i kafi, [ta 1à ge g-lukás m-nè...] (the S phrase
G-II P Adv III A-II
is the topic object of the verb; m-nè is center and g-lukás
attribute of a verb centered constitute; the P and the Adv
are in turn attributive to this constitute).

6. Man i fnu...(the topic object extends to the end of
G-II
7); gadè-gu [banwe...i dayengu] (the phrase is topic object).
G-II S

7. landè [gadè-gu lanaw ga-sngad ani]
P-III

8. 1ê t-m-imel i kafi na man-an [fnu, ku aloam teen
Adv A-III T G-II
i bong lanaw...banwe] (1ê is attributive to the verb cen-
tered constitute of t-m-imel i kafi; the phrase in brackets
is the object of man; lanaw is the topic object of teen).

9. f-an-yalo-gu [m-ayè ge m-ilih ditha] (the S phrase
G-III A-III A-III
is the object of f-an-yalo; m-ilih is center and m-ayè at-
tribute of their constitute).

10. [Lanaw m-abál na 1ê lanaw dee g-kaán] teen-am ditha.
P-I G-II
(the phrase is T object of teen; m-abál is center and lanaw
attributive in their constitute).
6. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dean, James C. "Some Principal Grammatical Relations of Bilaan." Manila, ca. 1955, 5 pp. (mimeographed.)

Dean, James and Dean, Gladys. "Bilaan Vocabulary." Manila, 1956, 71 pp. (Typewritten.)


