ELKINS, Richard Ewell, 1927-
MAJOR GRAMMATICAL PATTERNS OF
WESTERN BUKIDNON MANOBO.

University of Hawaii, Ph.D., 1967
Language and Literature, linguistics

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan
MAJOR GRAMMATICAL PATTERNS
OF
WESTERN BUKIDNON MANOBO

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN LINGUISTICS
AUGUST 1967

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ABSTRACT

Western Bukidnon Manobo is the language of some 8,000 Manobo people in the southwestern portion of the province of Bukidnon on the island of Mindanao in the Philippines. It is one of a number of Manobo languages all of which belong to the Philippine Branch of the Austronesian language family.

This dissertation is a taxonomic approach to the description of the major grammatical patterns, both syntactic and morphological, of Western Bukidnon Manobo. The analysis utilizes linguistic insights of two different theoretical frameworks, i.e. the linguistic levels of tagmemics and the notation and certain of the operations developed by the transformationalists.

The point of departure for the description of syntactic patterns is the phrase level in Chapter II. The inventory of basic phrase types and formulae presented there are requisite to the formulaic descriptions of clauses and the transformational operations described in subsequent chapters. Since the noun phrases bear a heavy functional load as predicate complements, their description constitutes the major portion of this chapter.

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

A chapter entitled "Transformational Patterns" accounts for structural relationships between constructions on the same and on different linguistic levels. Clause to clause transformations show the relations of kernel clauses to interrogative and emphatic clauses. Embedding transformations accounts for the formation of a number of complex phrase types which are derived from kernel clauses. Combining transformations account for the relations of kernel clauses to complex sentences which are combinations of clauses in coordinate or independent-subordinate relationships.

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

The final chapter briefly summarizes and concludes that a description utilizing a taxonomic approach which

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1 Zellig Harris, "Cooccurrence and Transformation in Linguistic Structure," Language XXXIII (1957) 335.
incorporates the derivation of more complex structures from basic or kernel structures is the most useful means of describing the grammatical patterns of a language.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION
1. General Background .................................................................. 1
2. Theoretical Background ................................................................. 2
3. Phonology ..................................................................................... 4
4. Morphophonemics ........................................................................ 5
5. Abbreviations and Symbols .............................................................. 6
6. Formulaic Notation ....................................................................... 9

CHAPTER II BASIC PHRASE PATTERNS
1. Noun Phrases
   1.1 Single-centered Noun Phrases .................................................. 11
   1.2 Serial Noun Phrases ................................................................. 12
   1.3 Case Marked Noun Phrases ...................................................... 14
   1.4 Referent Noun Phrases .............................................................. 23
   1.5 Time Noun Phrases ................................................................. 24
   1.6 Locative Noun Phrases .............................................................. 25
2. Verb Phrases .................................................................................. 26

CHAPTER III KERNEL CLAUSE PATTERNS
1. Verbal Clauses ............................................................................. 30
   1.1 Subject Focus Kernel Verbal Clauses ...................................... 38
   1.2 Nonsubject Focus Verbal Clauses ............................................ 40
2. Nonverbal Clauses ......................................................................... 47
   2.1 Classificational Clauses .......................................................... 47
   2.2 Existential Clauses ................................................................ 51
CHAPTER IV TRANSFORMATIONAL PATTERNS

1. Clause to Clause Transformations ............... 53
   1.1 Kernel to Interrogative ..................... 54
   1.2 Unemphatic to Emphatic ................... 62
2. Clause Embedding Transformations ............... 65
   2.1 Clause Embedding by Topic Deletion ........ 65
   2.2 Clause Embedding by Replacement of a SI
      Common Marking Particle .................... 68
   2.3 Clause Embedding by Verb Nominalization ... 69
3. Combining Transformations ....................... 79

CHAPTER V MORPHOLOGICAL PATTERNS

1. Marking Particles ............................. 84
   1.1 Case Marking Particles .................... 84
   1.2 Coordinating Particles ................... 85
   1.3 Subordinating Particles .................. 86
2. Adjuncts ..................................... 86
3. Pronouns .................................... 87
4. Verbs ....................................... 87
   4.1 Time Aspect ............................... 87
   4.2 Focus .................................... 94
   4.3 Mode .................................... 102
   4.4 Action Aspect ............................. 106
   4.5 Voice .................................. 117
   4.6 Number .................................. 119
   4.7 Inflectional Orders in the Verb .......... 121
   4.8 Sample Inflectional Paradigms of the Verb . 123
5. Descriptives ........................................ 127
   5.1 Simple Stem Descriptives ..................... 128
   5.2 Derived Stem Descriptives .................... 128
   5.3 Inflected Descriptives ....................... 129
6. Basic Nouns ......................................... 130
   6.1 Basic Simple Nouns ............................. 130
   6.2 Basic Derived Nouns ........................... 130

CHAPTER VI  CONCLUSION
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1. General Background. Western Bukidnon Manobo is the language of some 8,000 Manobo people in the southwestern portion of the province of Bukidnon on the Island of Mindanao in the Philippines. These people are swidden agriculturalists living in isolated homesteads or small settlements near their fields. They speak one of a number of Manobo languages all of which belong to the Philippine branch of the Austronesian language family. Dyen's classification places Western Bukidnon Manobo in the

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


3 Western Bukidnon Manobo is the same as "Central Mindanao Manobo" in Dyen's study.
Bukidnic Subfamily of the Sulic Hesion of the Philippine Hesion. The Bukidnic Subfamily also includes Binukid, the language spoken in the northern half of the province. In Dyen's study the Bukidnic Subfamily is coordinate with such groups as the Dibabaic Subfamily, the Kalamian Subfamily, Pampangan, the Palawanic Subfamily, and the Mesophilippine Hesion.  

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

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

\footnote{Dyen, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 30.}
on one level is made up of constructions on the next lower level. Thus sentences are composed of one or more clauses, clauses are composed of phrases, and phrases, of words.5

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

Utilizing Harris' notion that certain constructions of a language are more basic than others, a set of kernel clauses is defined in Chapter III.6 Manobo kernel clauses are either verbal or nonverbal. The verbal clauses manifest the features, topic and focus,7 which are typical of other Philippine languages. The nonverbal clause types described are classificational and existential.

The relationships between certain constructions on both the clause level and sentence level are accounted for


7 Howard McKaughan in The Inflection and Syntax of Maranao Verbs (Manila, 1958), introduced the term "topic" for what Bloomfield and others had called "subject." "Focus" was introduced by Phyllis Healey in An Agta Grammar (Manila, 1960) to designate the relationship between topic and verb. McKaughan used "voice" for this relation.
in Chapter IV by transformational formulae or rules. These follow the transformational concepts of Zellig Harris rather than those of Noam Chomsky. Clause-to-clause transformations show the relation of kernel clauses to interrogative and emphatic clauses. Embedding transformations account for the formation of a number of complex phrase types which are derived from kernel clauses. Combining transformations account for the relation of kernel clauses to complex sentences which are combinations of clauses in coordinate or independent-subordinate relationships.

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

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

Consonants: p, t, k, ' , b, d, g, v, z, ng, g, h, m, n, ng,

---

r, l, s, w, y. Glottal stop is '; v is a voiced bilabial fricative; z is a retroflexed voiced alveolar fricative; g is a voiced velar fricative. The digraph ng is the velar nasal. Other consonants have their expected phonetic realization.

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

4. Morphophonemics. N and D in the time aspect allomorphs N-, miD-, eD-, and D- and in the distributive allomorphs peN- and eN- are to be interpreted throughout the dissertation as follows:

\[
D \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} b \\ g \\ d \end{bmatrix} \text{ in / } \begin{bmatrix} \text{bilabial} \\ \text{velar} \\ \text{elsewhere} \end{bmatrix}
\]

\[
N \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} m \\ ng \\ n \end{bmatrix} \text{ in / } \begin{bmatrix} \text{bilabial} \\ \text{velar} \\ \text{elsewhere} \end{bmatrix}
\]

9 In the orthography used here, a word-initial vowel is to be interpreted as being preceded by a glottal stop. Thus a word such as asu 'dog' is phonetically 'asu.'

5. Abbreviations and Symbols. The abbreviations and symbols used in the dissertation are listed here.

Case Markers:

- **SI**: topic
- **NT**: nontopic
- **NI**: nontopic NI case
- **KI**: nontopic KI case
- **Emph, emph**: emphatic

Phrase Types:

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

Adjunct Types:
Lim, lim  . limitation
compl  . completive
incompl  . incompletive
Emph, emph  . emphatic
Qu  . question
Repet, repet  . repetitive
Cert, cert  . certainty
Intens, intens  . intensity
Nu  . number
Opt, opt  . optative
ex  . existential
ADJCL  . adjunct cluster
neg  . negative
Qt  . quotative
advis  . advisory
opp  
excl  
Imper, imper  

Verbal Inflections
Time Aspect:
P  
NonP  
UA  

Focus:
SF  
OF  
IF  
DF  

Mode:
IV  

Aspect:
Dist  
con  
dim  
intens  
R  
As  

Voice:
Ca  

opposition
exclamation
imperative
past
nonpast
unactualized
subject focus
object focus
instrument focus
direction focus
involuntary
distributive
continuative
diminutive
intensive
reciprocal
associative
causative
Number:
Nu number

Derivational:
nom nominalizing affix
desc descriptive affix

Morpheme Types:
Ø the zero shape of an allomorph
c o a coordinating particle
ad an additive coordinating particle
att an attributive coordinating particle
sub a subordinating particle
c oCOMB a coordinating particle which functions as a clause combiner
subCOMB a subordinating particle which functions as a clause combiner
Redup a reduplicative morpheme

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

6. **Formulaic Notation.** (The formulaic notation
follows that used by Andreas Koutsoudas.\textsuperscript{10}

\[
\rightarrow \quad "\text{rewrite as}"
\]

+ 
concatenation

/  
"in the following environment"

\{ \}  
alternate choice of the included symbol

\{ \}  
Parentheses indicate optional occurrence of the included symbols.

[ ]  
Brackets indicate linear correspondence of the enclosed symbols with symbols in one or more additional sets of brackets in the formula. (At least two sets of brackets occur in any one formula where they are used.)

\rightarrow 
a transformation or a permutation

:  
"is manifested as" (This usage follows tagmemic notation, e.g. a formula of the form A:B is to be read: A is manifested as B.)

CHAPTER II
BASIC PHRASES

The point of departure for the description of the major syntactic patterns of Western Bukidnon Manobo is the phrase. The inventory of phrase types and formulae presented in this chapter is requisite to the definition as well as to the understanding of the clause formulae and the permutational and transformational operations in subsequent chapters. Both noun phrases and verb phrases occur. Since noun phrases as predicate complements bear the heaviest functional load, their description constitutes the major portion of this chapter.

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

1.1 Single-centered Noun Phrases. A single-centered noun phrase (Sg cent NP) is an endocentric construction in which the noun head has the general distribution of the various expansions of the phrase. This phrase consists of a noun head with an optional preceding number adjunct

1 McKaughan, op. cit., p. 11.
(Nu) followed by either an optional personal noun phrase introduced by ni (NI NP) or another optional single-centered noun phrase introduced by the nontopic case marking particle te. A single-centered noun phrase is represented by the following formula:

\[
\text{Sg cent NP} \rightarrow (\text{Nu}) + \text{noun} + \left\{ (\text{NI NP}) \right\} \left\{ (\text{te} + \text{Sg cent NP}) \right\}
\]

Examples.

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

senge simana (one week) 'a week'

baley zin (house NI,his) 'his house'

etew 'person'

1.2 Serial Noun Phrases. In a serial noun phrase (Ser NP) the noun head is expanded to include more than one noun or noun phrase in a series. It thus consists of two or more single-centered noun phrases marked by at least one additive coordinating particle. The following formula represents the formation of serial noun phrases:

2 The inclusion of a Sg cent NP within itself indicates the recursive property necessary to generate a right-branching possessive phrase.
Ser NP \rightarrow Sg cent NP^n + (se + Sg cent NP) +
\[
(\text{wey} + (\{\text{se}\} + \{\text{ke}\})) + Sg \text{ cent NP}
\]

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

Examples.³
(kerut), (se pula), (wey menge tinapa he menge vavuy wey selazeng) (yam ad palmheart ad plural smoked-meat att plural pig ad deer) 'yams, palmheart and smoked meat of wild pig and deer'

(layud dan), (keravew), (baka), (se kuda'), (wey langun he zuma he azen) (herd NI, their carabao cow ad horse ad all att other att possession) 'Many were their herds, carabaos, cows, horses and all their other possessions.'

³ Parentheses are used in examples to highlight constructions under consideration and to enclose the literal glosses of Manobo sequences.
1.3 Case Marked Noun Phrases. A case marked noun phrase is either nominal or pronominal. A nominal case marked phrase is an exocentric relator axis construction in which neither the noun axis nor the relator has the general distribution of the entire phrase. It consists of a case marking particle plus an axis which is a single-centered or serial noun phrase. Case marking particles mark noun phrases for topic (SI case), for nontopic which includes two subcases, NI and KI, and for emphatic case. Pronouns may be marked by inflection for these same cases.

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

(kes) uval 'the (emphatic) monkey'
(is) uval 'the monkey'
(ke) uval 'monkey'

(kes) kumbala' wey selu'al (SI,com,def,emph shirt and trousers) 'the shirt and pants'

(ke) menge valey zin (SI,com plural house NI,his) 'his house'

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

|   | speaker, - plural |   | speaker, + spoken to, - plural |   | speaker, + spoken of, - plural |   | speaker, + spoken to, - plural |   | speaker, + spoken of, - plural |   | spoken to, + plural |   | spoken of, + plural |   | spoken to, + plural |
|---|------------------|---|-----------------------------|---|------------------|---|-----------------------------|---|------------------|---|--------------------|---|--------------------|
| a |                  | + |                             |   | +                  |   |                             |   | +                  |   |                    |   |                    |
| ka| + spoken to, - plural |   |                             |   | + spoken of, - plural |   |                             |   | + spoken to, - plural |   |                    |   |                    |
| ø | + spoken of, - plural |   |                             |   | + spoken of, - plural |   |                             |   | + spoken to, - plural |   |                    |   |                    |
| ki| + speaker, + spoken to, - plural |   |                             |   | + speaker, + spoken of, - plural |   |                             |   | + speaker, + spoken of, - plural |   |                    |   |                    |
| key| + speaker, + spoken to, - plural |   |                             |   | + speaker, + spoken of, - plural |   |                             |   | + speaker, + spoken of, - plural |   |                    |   |                    |
| kew| + spoken to, + plural |   |                             |   | + spoken of, + plural |   |                             |   | + spoken of, + plural |   |                    |   |                    |
| dan| + spoken of, + plural |   |                             |   | + spoken of, + plural |   |                             |   | + spoken of, + plural |   |                    |   |                    |
| kiyu| + speaker, + spoken to, + plural |   |                             |   | + speaker, + spoken to, + plural |   |                             |   | + speaker, + spoken to, + plural |   |                    |   |                    |
SI full personal pronouns (SI F Pers Pron) are the following:

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

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

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

Examples.

- eha'a nu (he'ini) (look, OF NI, thou SI, this) 'Look at this.'
- (he'eya') is timpu te pista (SI, that SI, com time NT, com fiesta) 'That is the time of the fiesta.'

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

(he'ini) (si Huwan) (SI,this SI,pers John)
'this one, John'

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

(sikandin) (is duma ku) (SI,he SI,com companion NI,my) 'he, my companion'

1.32 Nontopic Case Noun Phrases. Nontopic noun phrases (NT NP) are again either personal or common. The nontopic personal noun phrases (NT Pers NP) in turn are either NI case or KI case. NI case noun phrases (NI NP) function on two grammatical levels. A NI noun phrase on the clause level functions as the subject of a verbal clause which is marked for object, instrument, or direction focus. A NI phrase on the phrase level functions as possessor of a noun head. This phrase also functions as the subject of a nominalized verb in a phrase which is a transform of a verbal clause. These phrases are either nominal or pronominal.

The NI nominal phrase (NI Nom NP) consists of the personal marking particle ni plus a proper name: ni Isku 'Isku', ni Huwan 'John', ni Dumet 'Dumet'.

\[ SI \text{ App Pron NP} \rightarrow SI \text{ Pron} + \{ is + Sg \text{ cent NP} \} \]

\( SI \text{ Pers Nom NP} \)
NI pronominal phrases are the NI personal pronouns (NI Pron):

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

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

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

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

- **kedi'** + speaker, - plural 'I'
- **kedi'ey**
The common nontopic noun phrase (NT Com NP) is commutable for either of the personal nontopic noun phrases, i.e. a NI phrase or a KI phrase. Common nontopic noun phrases again are either nominal or pronominal.

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

\[
\text{NT Nom Com NP} \rightarrow \text{te + \{Sg cent NP\}} \quad \text{\{Ser NP\}}
\]

Examples.

\(\text{te + Sg cent NP:}\)

(te) (menge anak din) (NT,com plural child NI,his) 'his children'

\(\text{te + Ser NP:}\)

(te) (pa'it wey se vegas) (NT,com fish ad ad rice) 'fish and rice'
The pronominal common nontopic noun phrases (NT Com Pron) are the following pronouns which are inflected for proximity of time or space as well as for nontopic case:

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

Examples.

(kayi) te andew (NT, this NT, com day) 'this day'

(du'en) te avang (NT, that NT, com boat) 'that boat'

keniya' (NT, there) 'there'

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

\[
\text{NT App Pron NP} \rightarrow \{ \text{NT Com Pron} \} + \text{NT Com NP} \{ \text{KI Pers Pron} \}
\]

Examples.

(kenami) (te dezuwa) (KI, we-not-you NT, com two) 'we two'

(keniyan) (te epua) (KI, that, near-spoken-to NT, com ember) 'that, an ember (near you)'

(keniya') (te senge valey) (KI, that, distant NT, com one house) 'that, another house'
1.33 Emphatic Case Noun Phrases. Emphatic case noun phrases (Emph NP) occur in the preverb position in the clause and are marked for emphasis. A certain amount of overlap occurs in the membership of the emphatic case and the SI case. The emphatic case common pronouns and the 'spoken to' and 'spoken of' personal pronouns, as well as noun phrases marked by the emphatic case marking particle, occur as SI case phrases in nonemphasis positions in the clause. SI case personal names also occur as emphatic noun phrases. Emphatic 'speaker' pronouns never occur as SI case phrases.

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

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

\[
\text{Emph Com Nom NP} \rightarrow \text{kes} + \begin{cases} \text{Sg cent NP} \\ \text{Ser NP} \end{cases}
\]

Example.

\[(\text{kes}) \ (\text{duma ku}) \ ne \ \text{neke'uma} \ en \ \text{sikandin} \]
\[(\text{emph,com companion NI,my co arrived,SP compl SI,he})\]

'As for my companion, he has arrived already.'
Emphatic pronominal noun phrases (Emph Pron NP) are the emphatic personal and common pronouns listed below.

Personal (Emph Pers Pron):

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

Common (Emph Com Pron):

- **he'ini** near speaker: 'this'
- **sikan** distant: 'that'

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

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

Examples.

\[(si'ak) \ (is \ anggam \ nu) \ ne \ insa'i \ a \ kenikew\]
\[(emph,I \ SI,com \ uncle \ NI,thy \ co \ ask,DF \ SI,I)\]

'As for me, your uncle, ask me.'
(sikan) (is baley ku) ne nepiley en (emph,that SI,com house NI,my co fell,OF compl) 'As for that, my house, it has fallen over.'

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

meke'atag 'concerning'
para 'for'
tenged 'because of'
pine'agi 'by means of'
pinesikad 'by means of'
pehendini 'toward here'
pehendutun 'toward there'
pehendiya' 'toward there'

The following is the formula for referent noun phrases:

\[ \text{Ref P} = \text{Ref Rel} + \text{Axis} \]

4 The directional relators pehendini, pehendutun, and pehendiya' also may function as the direction of certain verbs without the noun phrase axis, e.g.

nekehipanew si Huwan (pehendiya') (walked, SF SI, pers John toward-there) 'John walked toward there.'
1.5 *Time Noun Phrases.* A time phrase (TI P) consists of a nontopic common nominal noun phrase or a time word followed by an optional nontopic common nominal noun phrase. The axis of the nontopic common nominal noun phrase is an embedded clause which has some semantic reference to time. The formula for a time phrase follows:

\[
\text{TI P} \quad \{ \text{(time word)} + (\text{NT Com Nom NP}) \} \\
\{ \quad \text{(choose at least one)} \}
\]
Examples.

gevi'i 'yesterday'

(gevi'i) (te mehapun) (yesterday NT,com afternoon) 'yesterday afternoon'

(ke'eselem) (te kebpeke'uma tew) (tomorrow NT,com arrival NI,my-and-your) 'tomorrow upon our arrival'

(dengan) (te ked'enaka kedi') (long-ago NT,com giving-birth KI,I) 'long ago at my birth (at the bearing of me)'

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

\[
\text{DI NP} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\text{DI Pron} \\
\text{NT Com Pron}
\end{array} \right\} + (\text{NT Com Nom NP}).
\]

The locative or DI pronouns are:

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

(dini) (te valey) (DI,here NT,com house) 'here at the house'

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

(kayi) (te Berendiyas) (NT,here NT,com place-name 'here in Barandias'

(du'en) (te wahig) (NT,there NT,com water) 'there at the water'

2. Verb Phrases. A verb phrase (VP) is a construction in which the action of one verb qualifies as to manner the action of another. The frequency and functional load of verb phrases are small. The data upon which this study is based contain only a few examples. For this reason a complete analysis of verb phrases is not attempted here. The general patterns may be indicated by the following formula:

\[
\text{VP} = \begin{bmatrix}
\text{Past Verb} \\
\text{Nonpast Verb} \\
\text{Unactualized Verb}
\end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix}
\text{Nonpast Verb} \\
\text{Unactualized Verb}
\end{bmatrix}
\]

\[+ X + Y\]

Obligatory permutation:

condition: \(X = \text{a NI Pron or a SI Br Pers Pron}\)
Examples.

Past + Unactualized:

\[(i\text{-}N\text{-}purung) \ ku \ (i\text{-}\pi\text{-}'eles) \ \emptyset \ (IF\text{-}P\text{-}do \ carefully \ NI,I \ IF\text{-}UA\text{-}hide \ SI,\text{it}) \ 'I \ carefully \ hid \ it.'\]

\[(miD\text{-}purung\text{-}an) \ ku \ (\pi\text{-is\text{-}'isip\text{-}a}) \ \text{sikan} \ (P\text{-}do\text{-}carefully\text{-}DF \ NI,I \ UA\text{-}con\text{-}consider\text{-}OF \ SI,\text{that}) \ 'I \ carefully \ considered \ that.'\]

Nonpast + Nonpast:

\[(eD\text{-}sinegew) \ (eD\text{-}tulung) \ \text{si} \ \text{Bayi} \ (NonP\text{-}weep,SF \ NonP\text{-}continue,SF \ SI,pers \ name) \ 'Bayi \ weeps \ continuously.'\]

\[(eD\text{-}tulung\text{-}an) \ \text{din} \ (eD\text{-}bentay\text{-}i) \ \emptyset \ (NonP\text{-}continue\text{-}DF \ NI,he \ NonP\text{-}watch\text{-}DF \ SI,\text{it}) \ 'He \ watches \ it \ continuously.'\]

Unactualized + Unactualized:

\[(\pi\text{-}purung) \ \text{ka} \ (\pi\text{-isip\text{-}'isip}) \ (UA\text{-}do \ carefully,SF \ SI,\text{thou} \ UA\text{-}con\text{-}consider,SF) \ 'consider \ carefully'\]

\[(meD\text{-}purung) \ \text{ka} \ (meD\text{-}suba) \ (UA\text{-}do \ carefully,SF \ SI,\text{thou} \ UA\text{-}cook,SF) \ 'cook \ carefully'\]
CHAPTER III
KERNEL CLAUSE PATTERNS

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

The clause in this language is a construction consisting of an obligatory predicate plus one or more optional clause level constituents plus an obligatory topic noun phrase. It is viewed here as a string of constituents which is not subject to multiple binary cutting into immediate constituents. McKaughan has suggested that for Philippine languages immediate constituent analysis is useful on the phrase level but not on the clause level. In harmony with this, Longacre recently indicated that for language in general the phenomenon of nesting or embedding occurs only on the phrase level, the sentence level, and the discourse level

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2 Seminar discussion, University of Hawaii, 1966.
and never on the alternate levels, i.e. the word level, the clause level, and the paragraph level.³ For Manobo it can be demonstrated that where embedding does occur it is the result of a transformation which reduces a structure on one level to a structure on a lower level.

Jannette Forster's analysis of clauses in Dibabawon (a closely related language) treats the clause as having a dual structure. She states that "A verbal clause is simultaneously a string constituent construction and a binary immediate constituent construction." She also maintains that both string constituent analysis and immediate constituent analysis are necessary in order to describe the clause adequately.⁴ According to this view the clause consists of two elements, a comment plus a topic, and at the same time, it is a string which includes an obligatory predicate, certain optional clause level constituents, and a topic noun phrase. Forster's analysis is not contradictory to the view presented here, since the definition of a clause given above is that it is a string which is not subject to multiple binary cutting. Forster makes only a single cut, resulting in two immediate

³ Robert Longacre, "Hierarchy and Methodology," unpublished manuscript distributed at the 1966 Conference on Linguistic Methods at the University of California at Los Angeles.

constituents, and does not further reduce the clause by immediate constituent analysis.

Harris has indicated that certain clauses or sentences in a language are more basic than others. The most basic he refers to as kernel sentences which he describes as follows: "The kernel is the set of elementary sentences and combiners, such that all sentences of the language are obtained from one or more kernel sentences (with combiners) by means of one or more transformations."\(^5\)

The major clause patterns are kernel and form the basis for deriving other more complex clauses and sentences. These kernel clauses are described in this chapter. The transformations which account for the more complex derived clauses and sentences are described in the next chapter.

Western Bukidnon Manobo kernel clauses are either verbal or nonverbal.

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

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accessory of the verb, or the direction or referent of the verb.

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

The grammatical terms SUBJECT, OBJECT, DIRECTION, INSTRUMENT, TIME, LOCATION, and REFERENT designate the dramatis personae roles performed by constituents in clauses. SUBJECT is the performer of the action of the verb. OBJECT refers to the goal or the terminus of the

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6 The use of "dramatis personae roles" follows a suggestion by Kenneth L. Pike in a Summer Institute of Linguistics seminar in 1963 in the Philippines.
action of the verb. INSTRUMENT is the accessory or that which is involved in the action of the verb as it moves toward a goal. DIRECTION refers to the benefactor of the action of the verb or a point toward which or away from which the action of the verb moves. TIME indicates the time of the action. LOCATION designates the place where the action occurs. REFERENT is a broad term designating an instrument, direction, or referent of the verb in clauses where the more specific relations are not defined by the syntactic properties of the verb or verb stem.

Verbal clauses have the following general structure:

Verbal clause $\rightarrow$ (MODE) + (ADJUNCT CLUSTER) +

OBJECT + DIRECTION

PREDICATE + SUBJECT +

DIRECTION +

INSTRUMENT

OBJECT

INSTRUMENT + OBJECT

+ LOCATION + REFERENT

The following permutation of LOCATION or TIME is optional:

MODE + ADJCL + PREDICATE + X + TIME + LOCATION + Y $\rightarrow$

{ MODE

{ TIME

+ ADJCL + PREDICATE + X + Y

LOCATION

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

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

\[
Y \xrightarrow{\text{ADJCL}} X + \begin{cases}
\text{DI Pron} \\
\text{NT Com Pron}
\end{cases} + \text{ADJCL} + \text{NT Com Nom NP} + Y + \text{Time word}
\]

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

\[
\text{ADJCL} + \text{PREDICATE} + X \xrightarrow{\text{ADJCL}} \text{PREDICATE} + \text{ADJCL} + X
\]

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

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

1. Lim--one of the limitation adjuncts: en 'compleitive' pa 'incompleitive', ded 'still', and da 'only'.
2. Emph--the emphatic adjunct man.
3. Qu--one of the question indicators: be 'question', bes 'rhetorical question'.
4. Qt--the quotative adjunct kun.
5. Opt--the optative adjunct pezem.

Qu adjuncts do not occur in kernel clauses but in interrogative clauses.
6. Imper--one of the imperative adjuncts: limba 'strong command', nasi' 'advisory command', kun 'polite request'.

7. Repet--a repetitive adjunct: da'an 'also', ma'an 'again'.

8. Cert--a degree of certainty adjunct: iyan 'really', or buwa 'maybe'.

9. Intens--a degree of intensity adjunct: utew 'very', malu 'somewhat'.

Examples.

kene' e (en man da'an) eD-Ke-su'at-Ø du'en
(neg SI,I compl emph repet please,OF NT, that)
'That (emphatically) also does not please me.'

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

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

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

miD-me-langkew ke (yes) utew (become-tall,SF SI,thou Qu intens) 'So you've become very tall have you?'

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

The semantic function of the focus-topic relationship in the clause is not completely clear. It has been described as a highlighting or emphasizing mechanism in which, by transformation, the highlighting is shifted from one element to another. For certain verb stems, however, a shift from one focus type to another changes the meaning of the stem. This is not a true transformation. Again, a change of focus in some verb stems changes the rule of permitted dramatis personae roles with the verb. The relationship between focus types is thus apparently not transformational. Even the highlighting or emphatic nature of the focus-topic relation cannot be substantiated.

Certain of the dramatis personae elements, whether topic or nontopic, may be highlighted or emphasized by an emphasis transformation without changing the focus of the verb. These facts indicate that the function of the focus-topic relation is primarily grammatical. The semantic function tends to be related to the polysememic differentiation of verb stems. The following examples illustrate:

(1) A shift from instrument focus to subject focus
which changes the meaning of the verb stem, showing that
the relationship between focus types is not transforma-
tional:

\[ \text{i-N-ke-timbag ku} \text{ is ubpit ku} \] (threw-away,IF NI,I
SI,com knife NI,my) 'I accidently threw my knife away.'

\[ \text{N-eke-timbag a} \] (flew-through-the-air,SF SI,I)
'I flew through the air.'

(2) A shift of emphasis from subject to object
without changing the focus of the verb, showing that focus
is not a mechanism for emphasis:

\[ \text{si'ak ne N-e-'ehe'-} \theta \text{ ku} \text{ is ubpit ku} \] (emph,I co
found,OF NI,I SI,com knife NI,my) 'As for me, I
found my knife.'

\[ \text{kes ubpit ku ne N-e-'ehe'-} \theta \text{ ku} \] (emph,com knife
NI,my co found,OF NI,I) 'As for my knife, I found it.'

(3) A shift of focus from direction to subject
which changes the rules of permitted \textit{dramatis personae}
roles showing

(a) permitted roles with verb stem \textit{uli}' as SUBJECT
+ DIRECTION + LOCATION:

\[ \text{N-e-'uli'-an (ku) (si Huwan) (diya' te Berendiyas)} \]
(cured,DF NI,I SI,pers John DI,there NT,com
place-name) 'I cured John in Barandias.'
(b) permitted roles with verb stem *uli' as
SUBJECT and LOCATION but not DIRECTION:

*N-eke-'uli' (a) (diya' te Berendiyas) (returned, SF
SI, I DI, there NT, com place-name) 'I returned to
Barandias.'

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

1.1 Subject Focus Kernel Verbal Clauses. In a
subject focus clause the topic or SI noun phrase is marked
by the verb as being the subject of the clause. The
following formula indicates the order of elements in a
subject focus clause:

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

+ SUBJECT:SI NP + (OBJECT: \{KI NP \}
\{NT Com NP\}) +

(DIRECTION:NT Com NP) + (INSTRUMENT:NT Com NP) +

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

When SI NP is a SI Br Pers Pron the following
permutation is obligatory:
The examples below illustrate some of the cooccurring *dramatis personae* roles in subject focus clauses.

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

(waze') (pe za'an) (m-eke-'aha') (si Geli) (te veylan)
(gunta'an) (diya' te Pangi) (neg incompl repet
see,SF SI,pers name NT,com shaman today DI,there
NT,com place-name) 'Geli also hasn't yet seen the shaman
at Pangi today.'

**MODE + SUBJECT + ADJCL + PREDICATE + OBJECT:**

(kene') (ke) (en iyan) (eD-peke-za'ag) (ki Dumet)
(neg SI,thou compl cert can-defeat,SF KI,pers name)
'You really can't defeat Dumet.'

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

(N-eke-surat) (g) (te tana') (te tezu' din) (gevi'i)
(diya' te lama) (wrote,SF SI,he NT,com ground
NT,com finger NI,his yesterday DI,there NT,com
yard) 'He wrote on the ground with his finger yesterday
there in the yard.'
1.2 Nonsubject Focus Verbal Clauses. For the sake of simplicity of description it is advantageous to classify together object, instrument, and direction focus verbal clauses as nonsubject focus clauses. Structural similarities of these clause types in contrast to subject focus clauses make possible the conflation of their formulae as well as certain statements of cooccurrence restrictions. The general formula for nonsubject focus verbal clauses is the following:

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

PREDICATE:

- OF Verb
- IF Verb + (SUBJECT:NT NP)
- DF Verb

DIRECTION

: SI NP +

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ & \text{OBJECT} \\
\{ & \text{INSTRUMENT} \\
\{ & \text{TIME:TI P} \\
\{ & \text{LOCATION:DI NP} \\
\{ & \text{REFERENT:REF P} \\
\end{align*}
\]

- (OBJECT)
- (INSTRUMENT)
- (TIME)
When SI NP is a SI Br Pers Pron the following permutation is obligatory:

\[ X + \text{ADJCL} + Y + \frac{\text{SI Br Pers Pron}}{4} + Z \]

\[ 1 + 4 + 2 + 3 + 5 \]

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

\[ 8 \] This permutation was given earlier for the subject focus verbal clause formula. It is included for both clause types for clarity and intelligibility.
Alternate (1):

\[
X + \text{ADJCL} + Y + (\text{SUBJECT}) + \text{TOPIC} + Z
\]

\[
\{ X + \text{ADJCL} + Y + \left\{ \begin{align*}
&\text{SUBJECT:} \{ \text{NT Com NP} \\
&\quad \quad \{ \text{NI Pers Nom NP} \}
\end{align*} \right\} + \{ \text{SI Pers Nom NP} \}
\}
\]

\[
\{ \text{TOPIC:SI NP} + (\text{NT Com NP}) \}
\]

\[
\{ \text{SUBJECT:NI Pron} + (\text{ADJCL}) + \text{SI NP} \}
\]

condition: SI NP ≠ SI Br Pers Pron

Alternate (2):

\[
X + \text{TOPIC:SI Br Pers Pron} + \text{SUBJECT:} \left\{ \begin{align*}
&\{ \text{NI Pron} \} + (\text{ADJCL}) \\
&\{ \text{ADJCL} \} + \left\{ \begin{align*}
&\{ \text{NT Com Nom NP} \}
\end{align*} \right\}
\end{align*} \right\}
\]

\[
+ Y + Z
\]
The following indicates cooccurrence restrictions of

\[ \text{SI Br Pers Pron} + \quad \text{KI Pron} \]

\[ \text{NI Pron} \]

\[ \text{SI Br Pers Pron} = \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{speaker} & \quad \text{spoken to} \\
\text{speaker +} & \quad \text{spoken to} \\
\text{spoken to} & \quad \text{spoken to}
\end{align*}
\]

in / ___ KI Pron:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{spoken to} & \quad \text{spoken to} \\
\text{speaker} & \quad \text{spoken to} \\
\text{speaker +} & \quad \text{spoken to}
\end{align*}
\]

in / ___ NI Pron:

spoken of

Where TOPIC = SI Br Pers Pron and/or SUBJECT = NI Pron, the following permutation is obligatory:
1.21 **Object Focus Verbal Clauses.** In an object focus clause the TOPIC or SI case noun phrase is marked by the object focus inflection in the verb as being the object of the verb, the terminus of the action of the verb.

The following are examples of object focus clauses illustrating some of the various cooccurring dramatis personae roles.

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

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

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

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

VERB + SUBJECT + ADJCL + OBJECT + LOCATION:
(N-e-tibas-ə) (din) (da'an) (si Geli) (diya' te ulu)
(happened-to-slash, OF NI, he repet SI, pers name DI, there NT, com head) 'He also happened to slash Geli in the head.'

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

The following examples illustrate instrument focus clauses.

VERB + INSTRUMENT + SUBJECT + ADJCL + TIME + LOCATION:
(i-D-pesiyu) (key) (zin) (pezem) (gunta'an) (diya' te tiyenggiyan) (take-a-walk, IF SI, we-not-you NI, he opt now DI, there NT, com market) 'He would like to take us for a walk now in the market.'
VERB + SUBJECT + ADJCL + INSTRUMENT + DIRECTION + TIME:
(i-¢-'uli') (nu)(en) (ø) (kandin) (gunt'a'an)
(return,IF NI,thou compl SI, it KI, he now) 'Return it to him now.'

VERB + ADJCL + SUBJECT + INSTRUMENT + LOCATION + TIME:
(i-N-'anak) (en man) (ni Bayi) (is me'ama) (dini)
(gevi'i te me-zukilem) (bore-in-childbirth,IF compl emph NI,pers name SI,com male DI,here yesterday NT,com night) 'Bayi gave birth to a boy here yesterday evening.'

1.23 Direction Focus Verbal Clauses. In a direction focus clause, the direction focus inflection in the verb marks the TOPIC or SI case noun phrase as being the direction or referent of the verb. The direction is the goal toward which the action of the verb moves, or the point of reference, or the benefactor of the action of the verb. The following examples illustrate direction focus clauses:

VERB + ADJCL + SUBJECT + DIRECTION + INSTRUMENT:
(N-e-'uli'-an) (da'an) (ni Lena') (kes amey zin)
(te daru zin) (cured,DF repet NI,pers name SI,com,emph father NI, his NT, com sickness NI, his 'Lena' also cured his father of his sickness.'
VERB + DIRECTION + ADJCL + SUBJECT + INSTRUMENT:
(¢-suhul-i) (¢) (man da'an) (kenikew) (te veritan)
give-in-payment,DF SI,I emph repet KI,thou NT,com whetstone) 'Give me also in payment a whetstone.'

VERB + DIRECTION + SUBJECT + ADJCL + OBJECT:
(miD-'uwit-an) (kiyu) (zin) (en) (te gasa)
brought,DF SI,I-and-you NI,he compl NT,com gift) 'He brought us a gift.'

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

Nonverbal clauses are either classificational or existential.

2.1 Classificational Clauses. The predicate of a classificational clause classifies the topic as to description, identity, possessor, or location. A classificational predicate may be a descriptive, a single-centered noun phrase, an emphatic noun phrase, a KI noun phrase, a DI noun phrase, or a time noun phrase. The formula for classificational clauses follows:
Classificational Clause \[\rightarrow (\text{MODE}) + (\text{ADJCL}) + \]

\[
\text{PREDICATE:} \begin{cases}
\text{Desc} \\
\text{Sg cent NP} \\
\text{Emph NP} \\
\text{XI NP} \\
\text{DI NP} \\
\text{TI P}
\end{cases} + \begin{cases}
\text{TIME:TI P} \\
\text{TIME:TI P}
\end{cases} +
\]

\[
\text{TOPIC:SI NP} + (\text{LOCATION:DI NP}) + (\text{REFERENT})
\]

condition: \[\text{MODE} = \text{kene}^i\]

The following permutations are obligatory:

1. \[\text{ADJCL} + \text{PREDICATE} + X \rightarrow \text{PREDICATE} + \text{ADJCL} + X\]
   where \text{MODE} is absent.

2. \[X + \text{ADJCL} + \text{TOPIC} + Y \rightarrow X + \text{TOPIC} + \text{ADJCL} + Y\]
   where \text{TOPIC} = SI Br Pers Pron.

Examples of classificational clauses follow.

\text{Description}

\text{MODE} + \text{ADJCL} + \text{PREDICATE:Desc} + \text{TOPIC} + \text{LOCATION:}
'The ground is not yet wet here.'

'Some work is bad also today because of your sickness.'

'Now there are many of you there.'

'They are his children.'

'James is not yet a soldier.'

'You are my companion here in the village.'
PREDICATE: Emph NP + TOPIC
(sī'ak) (kes datū) (emph, I SI, com, emph chief)
'I am the chief.'

PREDICATE: Emph NP + ADJCL + TOPIC
(kes Anggam ku) (man) (is beylan) (emph, com Uncle
NI, my emph SI, com shaman) 'My Uncle is the
shaman.'

Possessor
PREDICATE: KI NP + ADJCL + TIME + TOPIC
(kenami) (en man) (gunta'an) (is baley)
(KI, ours-not-yours compl emph now SI, com house)
'The house is now ours indeed.'

PREDICATE: KI NP + TOPIC + LOCATION
(ki Aya') (is menge luvi) (zini) (KI, pers Aunt
SI, com plural coconut DI, here) 'The coconuts here
belong to Auntie.'

Location
PREDICATE: DI NP + TIME + TOPIC
(dini) (ge'ina) (si Gēli) (DI, here earlier SI, pers
name) 'Geli was here a while ago.'

PREDICATE: DI NP + ADJCL + TOPIC
(dutun) (pe vuwa) (is bu'u) (DI, there incompl perhaps
SI, com fish-trap) 'Perhaps the fish trap is still there.'
2.2 **Existential Clauses.** The predicate of an existential clause is an existential adjunct, either du'en 'there is', or waza' 'there is not'. The topic of an existential clause is a single-centered or serial noun phrase or a SI personal pronoun or personal noun phrase. The formula for existential clauses is:

Existential Clause \[\rightarrow\] EXISTENTIAL + ADJCL + (TIME) +

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{TOPIC:} & \quad \{ \text{Sg cent NP} \} \\
& \quad \{ \text{SI Pers Pron} \} \\
& \quad \{ \text{SI Pers Nom NP} \}
\end{aligned}
\]

Optional Permutation:

EXISTENTIAL + X + Noun + NI Pron \[\rightarrow\] EXISTENTIAL + NI Pron + X + Noun
Examples.

EXISTENTIAL + ADJCL + TOPIC:Sg cent NP + LOCATION
(du'en) (ded) (baley nu) (diya' te inged)
(there-is still house NI,my DI,there NT,com village)
'I still have a house in the village.'

EXISTENTIAL + TIME + TOPIC:SI Pers NP + LOCATION
(waza') (gunta'an) (sikandin) (diya' te unayan)
(there-is-not now SI,he DI,there NT,com field)
'He is not in the field now.'

EXISTENTIAL + ADJCL + TOPIC:SI Pers Nom NP + LOCATION
(waza') (pa) (si Ayda) (diya' te valey)
(there-is-not incompl SI,pers Ida DI,there NT,com house) 'Ida is not yet in the house.'

EXISTENTIAL + TOPIC + REFERENT
(waza') (sanley ni Pablu) (tenged te bagyu)
(there-is-not corn NI,pers Paul because-of NI,com storm) 'Paul has no corn because of the storm.'
We now turn to a description of certain transformations which operate on basic or kernel clauses in order to obtain other clause types and more complex sentences. Three general types of transformations are necessary: (1) those which transform independent clauses into other independent clauses, (2) those which embed clauses in phrases, and (3) those which combine clauses forming coordinate or independent-subordinate sentence structures.

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

---

1 In his recent article, "Transforms Without Kernels?" in Language XLI (1965) 484-489, Werner Winter has raised an important question. He gives some convincing examples. In Manobo there are also certain apparently derived structures for which no kernels exist. The noun phrase langun he menge etew (all att plural person) 'all people' is by the formula given in this chapter derived from the kernel, langun is menge etew (all SI,com plural person) 'the people are all', which does not exist. Rather than reject the transformational pattern which accounts for the vast majority of such phrases it seems preferable to hypothesize that transforms without kernels whose formation follows that of regular transforms, are constructed by analogy to regular transforms.

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

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

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

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

\[
\text{PREDICATE: Verb} + (\text{ADJCL}) + (X) + \text{TOPIC} + (Y) + \\
\left[ \text{TIME: TI} \begin{array}{c} P \\ \text{LOCATION: DI} P \end{array} + (Z) \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} \text{ke'enu} \\ \text{hende'i} \end{array} \right] + \\
(\text{ADJCL}) + \text{PREDICATE: Verb} + (X) + \text{TOPIC} + (Y) + (Z)
\]
The obligatory permutation given earlier for TOPIC and ADJCL where TOPIC is a SI Br Pers Pron is also in effect here and in all other derived clauses:

\[
\begin{align*}
X + \text{ADJCL} + Y + \text{SI Br Pers Pron} + Z \rightarrow \\
1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5
\end{align*}
\]

Time
(eD-genat) (en da'an) (sikandan) (gunta'an) (left, SF compl also SI, they now) 'They are also leaving now.'

\[
\rightarrow (ke'enu) (en da'an) (eD-genat) (sikandan)
\]

(when compl also left, SF SI, they) 'When will they also leave?'

(eD-ke-tapus-∅) (ku) (en) (ke'eselem) (is ba'al ku)

(finished, OF NI, I compl tomorrow SI, com work NI, my)

'I can finish my work tomorrow.'

\[
\rightarrow (ke'enu) (ku) (en) (eD-ke-tapus-∅) (is ba'al ku)
\]

(when NI, I compl finished, OF SI, com work NI, my)

'When can I finish my work?'

Location
(eD-'uli') (kew) (en) (diya' te unayan) (return, SF SI, you compl DI, there NT, com field) 'You are returning to the fields.'
Where are you returning to?

We can get money at the house.

Where can we get money?

1.11.12 Temporal or Locative Pronominal Interrogative Transforms of Classificational Clauses.

Examples.

Time

The wedding was yesterday.

When is the wedding?
(dengan) (man) (he'eyan) (long-ago emph SI,that) 'That was a long time ago.'

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

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

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

(dutun te wahig) (is iney nu) (DI,there NT,com water SI,com,def mother NI,thy) 'Your mother is there at the water.'

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

1.11.2 Identificational Pronominal Interrogative Clauses. There are two types of identificational pronominal interrogative clauses: common, which ask the question 'what?' and personal, which ask the question 'who?' The formulae for these two types are conflated in the following:
(pukapuk) (man) (he'eyan) (bird-name emph SI,that)
'That is indeed a pukapuk.'

(kes begas) (man) (is tuyu' ku) (kayi) (emph,com,def rice emph SI,com,def purpose NI,my NT,here)
'Indeed, the rice is my purpose here.'

Personal
(si Isku) (is duma zin) (gevi'i) (SI,pers name SI,com,def companion NI,his yesterday) 'Isku was his
companion yesterday.'

( şek'ı) (is duma zin) (gevi'ı) (who SI,com,def companion NI,his yesterday) 'Who was his companion yesterday?'

(si'ak) (is beylan) (diya' te Berendiyas) (emph,I SI,com,def shaman DI,there NT,com place-name) 'I am the shaman at Barandias.'

( şek'ı) (is beylan) (diya' te Berendiyas) (who SI,com,def shaman DI,there NT,com place-name) 'Who is the shaman at Barandias?'

1.11.3 Explanatory Pronominal Interrogative Clauses.

Explanatory pronominal interrogative clauses are 'why' questions, which consist of the interrogative pronoun ma'an 'why' plus a nested major clause marked for topic by the SI marking particle is. The resultant structure has the form of a transform of a classificational clause to an interrogative clause by replacing the classificational predicate by the pronoun ma'an. However there appear to be no classificational clauses from which ma'an clauses can be derived without semantic distortion. The ma'an clauses appear to be constructed by analogy to other pronominal interrogative clauses which are derived from
classificational clauses. The derivational formula given below may be ad hoc but it does formalize the structure of the clause. Clauses such as ma'an sikan (why SI,that) 'Why is that?' are in turn derived from other ma'an clauses through commutability of the SI marked nested clause with the SI case pronoun sikan 'that'.

The formula for deriving an explanatory interrogative clause is the following:

\[
\text{PREDICATE} + (X) + \text{TOPIC} + (Y) \rightarrow \text{ma'an} + \text{is} + \\
\text{PREDICATE} + (X) + \text{TOPIC} + (Y)
\]

\[
\text{(N-eke-hipanew) (si Anggam) (ge'ina) (went-away, SF SI, pers Uncle a-while-ago) 'Uncle went away a while ago.'}
\]

\[
\rightarrow (\text{ma'an}) (\text{is}) (\text{N-eke-hipanew}) (\text{si Anggam}) (\text{ge'ina}) (\text{why SI, com, def went-away, SF SI, pers Uncle a-while-ago}) 'Why did Uncle go away a while ago?'
\]

\[
(\text{me-vavew}) (\text{is menge wahig}) (\text{dini}) (\text{desc-shallow SI, com plural water DI, here}) 'The creeks are shallow here.'
\]

\[
\rightarrow (\text{ma'an}) (\text{is}) (\text{me-vavew is menge wahig}) (\text{dini}) (\text{why SI, com desc-shallow SI, com plural water}
\]

3 See footnote 1, this chapter.
DI, here) 'Why are the creeks shallow here?'

1.12 Nonpronominal Kernel to Interrogative Transformations. A nonpronominal interrogative clause is marked by an interrogative intonation contour in the final intonation group of the clause and by an optional question indicator be or bes in the constituent cluster. The formula for deriving nonpronominal interrogative clauses is the following:

\[
PREDICATE + (X) + (Y) + TOPIC + (Z) + INTON:341 \rightarrow
\]

\[
PREDICATE + (X) + \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
be \\
bes
\end{array} \right\} + (Y) + TOPIC + (Z) + INTON:\{321\}; 241
\]

\(3^3 \ 4^4 \ 1\) (eD-'uli') (ke) (en) (return, SF SI, thou compl) 'You are going home.'

\[
2^2 \ 4^4 \ 1 \ (eD-'uli') (ke) (en \ bes) (return, SF SI, thou compl Qu) 'So you are going home are you?'
\]

\(3^3 \ 4^4 \ 1\) (bavuy) (he'eyan) (pig SI, that) 'That's a pig.'

---

An intonation group consists of two or more syllables with lowest pitch on the ultima. More than one intonation group may occur in an utterance. The relative pitch level of the ultima of an utterance final intonation group is lower than the relative pitch level of a nonfinal intonation group. The number 1 represents the lowest relative pitch, and 4 represents the highest relative pitch.
1.2 Unemphatic to Emphatic. An emphatic clause is one in which some constituent is marked for emphasis by its occurrence in a prepredicate position.

Two separate emphatic clause types are derivable from kernel clauses: emphatic topic clauses and emphatic constituent clauses.
1.21 **Emphatic Topic Clauses.** An emphatic topic clause is derived by the following formula:

\[ \text{PREDICATE} + (X) + \text{TOPIC} + (Y) \rightarrow \text{iy'an} + \text{TOPIC} + \text{PREDICATE} + (X) + (Y) \]

\((\text{N-eke-'uma}) (\text{key}) (\text{gevi'i}) \) (arrived, SF SI, we-not-you yesterday) 'We arrived yesterday.'

\[ \rightarrow \text{(iy'an) (key) (N-eke-'uma) (gevi'i) (emph SI, we-not-you arrived, SF yesterday)} \] 'We are the ones who arrived yesterday.'

\((\text{eD-ke-da'ag-¢}) (\text{tew}) (\text{sikandan}) \) (can-defeat, OF NI, I-and-you SI, they) 'We can defeat them.'

\[ \rightarrow \text{(iy'an) (sikandan) (eD-ke-da'ag-¢) (tew)} \] (emph SI, they can-defeat, OF NI, I-and-you) 'They are the ones we can defeat.'

Optional Permutation:

\[ \text{iy'an} + \text{TOPIC} + \text{PREDICATE} + X + Y \rightarrow \text{iy'an} + \text{PREDICATE} + X + \text{TOPIC} + Y \] where TOPIC ≠ Si Br Pers Pron

\((\text{iy'an} \) \(\text{(si Remun) (datu')} \) (emph SI, pers name chief) 'Ramon is the one who is chief.'
1.22 **Emphatic Constituent Clause.** An emphatic constituent clause emphasizes a constituent (either clause level or phrase level) in the clause by reduplication of the constituent as an emphatic case noun phrase in the prepredicate emphasis position. An emphatic constituent clause is derived by the following formula:

\[
\text{Clause} \rightarrow \text{Emph NP + Clause}
\]

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

\[
\text{N-e-vinsul-an is baley zin (burned,DF SI,com house NI,his) 'His house was burned.'}
\]

\[
\rightarrow (\text{sikandin}) (\text{N-e-vinsul-an is baley zin})
\]

(emph,he burned,DF SI,com house NI,his) 'As for him, his house was burned.'
2. Clause Embedding Transformations. There are three types of transformations which embed kernel clauses in noun phrases of other clauses. The first two operate on the TOPIC of a clause; the third operates on the verb and the TOPIC of a verbal clause. When a clause is embedded, it replaces a single-centered noun phrase. Embedding of this type occurs only on the phrase level.

2.1 Clause Embedding by TOPIC Deletion.

5 A fourth type may be that which embeds clauses which are quotations. This type of embedding is not included in this study. It presents problems which are apparently related to those raised in footnote 1 in this same chapter. It is also related to an analysis of verb stem classes.
The formula for clause embedding by TOPIC deletion follows: 6

\[
PREDICATE + X + TOPIC + Y \rightarrow \{ \} \rightarrow \\}
\]

\[
PREDICATE' + X' + \text{Sg cent NP} + Y'
\]

\[
(\text{N-e-'umah-an}) (\text{ku}) (\text{sikandin}) (\text{ge'ina})
\]

\[
(\text{met, DF NI, I SI, he a-while-ago})
\]

'I met him a while ago.'

\[(\text{diye')} (\text{en is}) (\text{etew})\]

\[(\text{DI, there compl SI, com person})\]

'There now is the person.'

\[(\text{diye')} (\text{en is}) (\text{N-e-'umah-an}) (\text{ku}) (\text{ge'ina})\]

\[(\text{DI, there compl SI, com met, DF NI, I a-while-ago})\]

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

\[(\text{eD-peN-'eha'-an}) (\text{ku}) (\text{sikandan})\]

\[(\text{look-for, OF NI, I SI, they})\]

'I am looking for them.'

\[(\text{N-e-'eha'-g}) (\text{nu ves is}) (\text{menge yawi})\]

\[(\text{saw, OF NI, thou Qu SI, com plural key})\]

---

6 The constituents of the embedding clause are distinguished from those of the embedded clause by the use of the superscript (').
'So you found the keys did you?'

(N-e-'ehe'-g) (nu ves is) (eD-peN-eha'-an) (ku)
(saw,OF NI,thou Qu SI,com look-for,OF NI,th)
'So you found what I am looking for did you?'

(me-tikang) (is baley nu)
(desc-tall SI,com house NI,thy)
'Your house is tall.'

(deyzey) (pe man kes) (baley nu)
(better incompl emph SI,com,emph
desc-tall SI,com house NI,thy)

(deyzey) (pe man kes) (me-tikang)
(better incompl emph SI,com,emph
desc-tall)
'The tall one is better yet indeed.'

(N-eke-'uma) (gevi'i) (is etew)
(arrived,SF yesterday SI,com person)
'The person arrived yesterday.'

(eD-'eha'-an) (ta is ubpit te) (etew)
(see,OF NI,thou SI,com knife NT,com person)
'Let's see the person's knife.'

(eD-'eha'-an) (ta is ubpit te) (N-eke-'uma) (gevi'i)
(see,OF NI,thou SI,com knife NT,com arrived,SF yesterday)
'Let's see the knife of the one who arrived yesterday.'

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PREDICATE} + (X) + \text{SI Com Particle} + \text{Sg cent NP} \\
\text{PREDICATE'} + (X') + \text{Sg cent NP'} + Y'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\text{PREDICATE'} + (X') + \text{PREDICATE} + (X) + \text{he} + \text{Sg cent NP} + Y'
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(me-'upiya)} (\text{is}) (\text{tubew nu}) \\
\text{(desc-good SI,com turban NI,thy)}
\end{align*}
\]

'Your turban is good.'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(ø-sembay-i)} (\text{a kenikew te}) (\text{tubew}) \\
\text{(lend,DF SI,1 KI,thou NT,com turban)}
\end{align*}
\]

'Lend me a turban.'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(ø-sembay-i)} (\text{a kenikew te}) (\text{me-'upiya}) (\text{he}) (\text{tubew nu}) \\
\text{(lend,DF SI,1 KI,thou NT,com desc-good att turban NI,thy)}
\end{align*}
\]

'Lend me your good turban.'
(N-e-'ehe'-ŋ) (ku) (is) (selazeng)  
(saw, OF NI, I SI, com deer)  
'I saw the deer.'  

(dutun) (en is) (selazeng)  
(DI, there compl SI, com deer)  
'There now is the deer.'  

(dutun) (en is) (N-e-'ehe'-ŋ) (ku) (he) (selazeng)  
(DI, there compl SI, com saw, OF NI, I att deer)  
'There now is the deer which I saw.'  

(dekele' ) (is) (menge valey)  
(big SI, com plural house)  
'The houses are big.'  

(waza') (baley) (dini)  
(Ex, there-is-not house DI, here)  
'There is no house here.'  

(waza') (dekele') (he) (menge valey) (dini)  
(Ex, there-is-not big att plural house DI, here)  
'There are no large houses here.'

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

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

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

### 2.31 Formula for Nominalization of the Verb.

**k- Nominalization:**

\[
\begin{align*}
SF \text{ Verb} & \rightarrow [k-eD-X-stem] \\
OF \text{ Verb} & \rightarrow [k-eD-X-stem-a] \\
DF \text{ Verb} & \rightarrow [k-eD-X-stem-i]
\end{align*}
\]

**i- Nominalization**

\[
\begin{align*}
SF \text{ Verb} & \rightarrow [i-D-X-stem] \\
OF \text{ Verb} & \rightarrow [i-D-X-stem-a] \\
DF \text{ Verb} & \rightarrow [i-D-X-stem-i]
\end{align*}
\]
Sample Transformational Paradigm

k- Nominalization

Intentive Mode

SF  
(\text{eD-'uwit}) \text{ a kenikew} \\
\text{(carry, SF SI, I KI, thou)} \\
'I carry you.'

OF  
(\text{eD-'uwit-en}) \text{ ku sikew} \\
\text{(carry, OF NI, I SI, thou)} \\
'I carry you.'

DF  
(\text{eD-'uwit-an}) \text{ ku sikew te vegas} \\
\text{(carry, DF NI, I SI, thou NT, com rice)} \\
'I carry to you some rice.'

SF  
(\text{k-eD-'uwit}) \text{ ku kenikew} \\
\text{(carrying, SF NI, I KI, thou)} \\
'my carrying you'

OF  
(\text{k-eD-'uwit-a}) \text{ ku kenikew} \\
\text{(carrying, OF NI, I KI, thou)} \\
'my carrying you'

DF  
(\text{k-eD-'uwit-i}) \text{ ku kenikew te vegas} \\
\text{(carrying, DF NI, I KI, thou NT, com rice)} \\
'my carrying to you some rice'
Involuntary Mode

SF  (eD-peke-'uwit) a kenikew
    (can-carry, SF SI, I KI, thou)
    'I can carry you.'

OF  (eD-ke-'uwit-¢) ku sikew
    (can-carry, OF NI, I SI, thou)
    'I can carry you.'

DF  (eD-ke-'uwit-an) ku sikew te vegas
    (can-carry, DF NI, I SI, thou NT, com rice)
    'I can carry some rice to you.'

SF  (k-eD-peke-'uwit) ku kenikew
    (being-able-to-carry, SF NI, I KI, thou)
    'my being able to carry you'

OF  (k-eD-ke-'uwit-¢) ku kenikew
    (being-able-to-carry, OF NI, I KI, thou)
    'my being able to carry you'

DF  (k-eD-ke-'uwit-1) ku kenikew te Vegas
    (being-able-to-carry, DF NI, I KI, thou NT, com rice)
    'my being able to carry rice to you'
i- Nominalization

Intentive Mode

SF  [(eD-'uwit) a  kenikew]
     (carry, SF  SI, I  KI, thou)
     'I carry you.'

OF  [(eD-'uwit-en) ku sikew]
     (carry, OF  NI, I  SI, thou)
     'I carry you.'

DF  [(eD-'uwit-an) ku sikew te vegas]
     (carry, DF  NI, I  SI, thou  NT, nom rice)
     'I carry some rice to you.'

SF  [(i-D-'uwit) ku kenikew]
     (reason-for-carrying, SF  NI, I  KI, thou)
     'my reason for carrying you'

OF  [(i-D-'uwit-a) ku kenikew]
     (reason-for-carrying, OF  NI, I  KI, thou)
     'my reason for carrying you'

DF  [(i-D-'uwit-i) ku kenikew te vegas]
     (reason-for-carrying, DF  NI, I  KI, thou  NT, com rice)
     'my reason for carrying rice to you'
Involuntary Mode

SF  
(eD-peke-'uwit) a kenikew  
(can-carry, SF SI, I KI, thou)  
'I can carry you.'

OF  
(eD-ke-'uwit-Ø) ku sikew  
(can-carry, OF NI, I SI, thou)  
'I can carry you.'

DF  
(eD-ke-'uwit-an) ku sikew te vegas  
(can-carry, DF NI, I SI, thou NT, com rice)  
'I can carry rice to you.'

SF  
(i-D-peke-'uwit) ku kenikew  
(reason-for-being-able-to-carry, SF NI, I KI, thou)  
'the reason I am able to carry you'

OF  
(i-D-ke-'uwit-Ø) ku kenikew  
(reason-for-being-able-to-carry, OF NI, I KI, thou)  
'the reason I am able to carry you'

DF  
(i-D-ke-'uwit-i) ku kenikew te vegas  
(reason-for-being-able-to-carry, DF NI, I KI, thou NT, com rice)  
'the reason I am able to carry rice to you'
2.32 Formula for Embedding by Verb Nominalization.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{SF Verb} & \quad + \text{SUBJECT} \\
\text{OF Verb} & \quad + (Y) + \text{OBJECT} \\
\text{DF Verb} & \quad + \text{DIRECTION} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
(X) + \text{PREDICATE} + (Y') + \text{Sg cent NP} + (Z')
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{SF Nom Verb} & \quad + \text{SUBJECT} \\
\text{OF Nom Verb} & \quad + Y + \\
\text{DF Nom Verb} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{SUBJECT:} & \quad \{\text{NI NP} \} \\
& \quad \{\text{NT Com NP} \} \\
\text{OBJECT:} & \quad \{\text{KI NP} \} \\
& \quad \{\text{NT Com NP} \} \\
\text{DIRECTION:} & \quad \{\text{KI NP} \} \\
& \quad \{\text{NT Com NP} \} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

(a) Embedding of Subject Focus Clauses:

\[(eD-'ubpa'ubpa) (a)\]
\[(sit-around,SF SI,I)\]
'I am just sitting around.'

\[(me-linew) (layun is) (ula'ula) (zini)\]
\[(desc-peaceful always SI,com way-of-life DI,here)\]
'The way of life is always peaceful here.'

\[(me-linew) (layun is) (k-eD-'ubpa'ubpa') (ku) (zini)\]
\[(desc-peaceful always SI,com sitting-around,SF NI,I DI,here)\] 'My sitting around here is always peaceful.'

\[(eD-hendini) (sikandin)\]
\[(come-here,SF SI,he)\]
'He is coming here.'

\[(eD-ke-'inu'inu'-q) (a te) (etew)\]
\[(surprise,OF SI,I NT,com person)\]
'I am surprised at the person.'

\[(eD-ke-'inu'inu'-q) (a te) (i-D-hendini) (zin)\]
\[(surprise,OF SI,I NT,com reason-for-coming-here,SF NI,he)\] 'I am surprised at his reason for coming here.'
(b) Embedding of Object Focus Clauses:

(eD-ke-'aha'-∅) (din) (is langun)
(see,OF NI,he SI,com all)
'He sees everything.'

(selakew) (is mata zin)
(different SI,com eye NI,his)
'His eyes are different.'

(selakew) (is) (k-eD-ke-'eha'-a) (zin) (te langun)
(different SI,com seeing,OF NI,his NT,com everything)
'His view of everything is different.'

(eD-deway-en) (ku) (is menge vata')
(scold,OF NI,I SI,com plural child)
'I scold the children.'

(iyan) (ke-tezeng-an ku) (is) (k-eD-me-gusa' dan)
(emph reason NI,my SI,com making-noise,SF
NI,their) 'Their noisiness is my reason.'

(iyan) (i-D-deway-a) (ku) (te menge vata') (is)
(k-eD-me-gusa' dan) (emph reason-for-scolding,OF
NI,I NT,com plural child SI,com making-noise,SF
NI,their) 'The reason I scold the children is their
noisiness.'
3. Combining Transformations. A major sentence consists of an obligatory clause plus one or more optional clauses. Optional clauses are related to the obligatory clause by coordinating or subordinating particles which function as combiners. Combiners precede an optional clause and mark it for either a coordinate or subordinate relationship to the obligatory clause. The following is the formula which combines clauses in a major sentence:
\[
X + \text{PREDICATE} + Y + \text{TOPIC} + Z
\]
\[
X' + \text{PREDICATE'} + Y' + \text{TOPIC'} + Z'
\]
\[
X + \text{PREDICATE} + Y + \text{TOPIC} + Z + \begin{cases} \text{CoCOMB} \\ \text{(SubCOMB}_1 \text{)} \text{ (SubCOMB}_2 \text{)} \end{cases}
\]
\[
(\text{choose at least one})
\]
\[
+ X' + \text{PREDICATE'} + Y' + \text{TOPIC'} + Z'
\]

Optional Permutation:

\[
\begin{align*}
X + \text{PREDICATE} + Y + \text{TOPIC} + Z + \text{SubCOMB}_2 + \\
\text{SubCOMB}_1 + \text{SubCOMB}_2
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\frac{1}{2} + \frac{2}{3} \longrightarrow 2 + 3 + 1
\]

\[
\text{CoCOMB} = \text{ne} \ 'and', \ \text{wey} \ 'and', \ \text{wey ke} \ 'or', \ \text{etawa} \ 'or'.
\]
\[
\text{SubCOMB}_1 = \text{iyan} \ 'but', \ \text{piru} \ 'but', \ \text{mesi} \ 'but', \ \text{asal} \ 'however', \ \text{su} \ 'because'.
\]
\[
\text{SubCOMB}_2 = \text{he'in} \ 'when', \ \text{emun} \ 'if', \ \text{ke} \ 'if', \ \text{minsan ke} \ 'even though', \ \text{te} \ 'at the time of', \ \text{wey} \ 'in order that'.
\]

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

(mid-hen-diya') (key)
(went-there, SF, SI, we-not-you)
'We went there.'

(waza' dey) (m-e-'aha'-∅) (∅)
(neg NI, we-not-you saw, OF SI, it)
'We didn't see it.'

(mid-hen-diya') (key) (piru) (waza' dey) (m-e-'aha'-∅) (∅)
(went-there, SF, SI, we-not-you but neg NI, we-not-you saw, OF SI, it)
'We went there but we didn't see it.'

(eD-ke-'aha'-∅) (ka)
(see, OF SI, thou)
'(Someone) sees you.'

(eD-himetay-an) (ka)
(kill, DF SI, thou)
'(Someone) will kill you.'

(emun) (eD-ke-'aha'-∅) (ka) (eD-himetay-an) (ka)
(if see, OF SI, thou kill, DF SI, thou)
'If you are seen you will be killed.'
If you are seen you will be killed.

You have to hide.

You have to hide because if you are seen, you will be killed.

We heard that which exploded.

We ran away.

When we heard the explosion we ran away.
'He has plenty of money.'

'He is always sad.'

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

'We will reach the top.'

'It will be noon.'

'We will reach the top when it is noon.'
Morphological patterns in Western Bukidnon Manobo are exhibited in the word. A word in this language is a segment of speech preceded and followed by potential pause and consisting of one or more morphemes one of which is a stem. Words may be classified as particles, pronouns, or full words.\(^1\) Particles are unaffixable roots. Pronouns are intersections of semantic relational components which include case, person, number, and proximity. Full words are affixed or affixable roots. Syntactic criteria further subdivide words into marking particles, adjuncts, pronouns, verbs, descriptives, and nouns.

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

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

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\(^1\) McKaughan, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
given in Chapter II, section 1.3.

1.2 Coordinating Particles. The coordinating particles are of three types: additive, attributive, and emphatic. The additive coordinating particles are wey, se, and ne. wey and se occur in serial noun phrases. ne and wey occur as clause combiners. ne also occurs on the clause level linking an emphatic constituent to the rest of the clause: si'ak (ne) N-e-handek a (emph,I co frightened,OF SI,I) 'As for me, I was afraid', and on the paragraph level linking a sentence to previous sentences: (ne) N-e-ke-'uma key diya' te wahig (co arrived,SP SI,we-not-you DI,there NT,com water) 'So we arrived at the river.'

The attributive coordinating particle he occurs in a phrase which is a transform of a clause and marks attribution between the transformed predicate and topic of that phrase: me'upiya (he) asu (good att dog) 'good dog'.

The emphatic coordinating particle iyan marks an emphatic constituent in a clause and links it to the rest of the clause: kes datu' tew (iyan) si Remun (emph,com chief NI,my-and-your co SI,pers name) 'Our chief is Ramon.'
1.3 Subordinating Particles. The subordinating particles are the subordinating clause combiners and certain of the referent relators. The subordinating clause combiners occur in two orders.\(^2\) Order I includes the following: su 'because', piru 'but', iyan 'but', asal 'however', mesi 'however', minsan 'even though', and umba 'therefore'. Order II combiners are: hein 'when', emun 'if', ke 'if', and wey 'in order that'.

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

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

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

\(^2\) See Chapter IV, section 3.
3. Pronouns. The locative pronouns and the case marked pronouns, both personal and common, have been described in Chapter II. The interrogative pronouns have been introduced in Chapter IV.

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

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

4.11 Past. The past morpheme indicates action which has begun or which has been completed. It is marked by

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3 For a similar analysis followed in part here, see Howard McKaughan, op. cit. For an alternate analysis see Jean Shand's article, "Categories and Markers of Tense, Focus, and Mode in Ilianen Manobo," Oceanic Linguistics, III (1964), 116-137.
the morpheme miD- with allomorphs miD- and N-.

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

(miD)-genat dan en kun (P-leave(SF) SI,they compl QT) 'Someone said that they left already.'

me-z’a'at is (miD)'ula'ula-Ø zin (desc-bad SI,com P-do-OF NI,he) 'What he did is bad.'

(miD)-begay-an ku si Anuy te vawi' (P-give-DF NI,I SI,pers name NT,com medicine) 'I gave the medicine to Anuy.'

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

(miD)-peke-burut a te k-ed-'uli' (P-IV-courage(SF) SI,I NT,com Nom-NonP-return(SF)) 'I got up the courage to go home.'

(2) Allomorph N- occurs with stems marked for intensive mode with the instrument focus marker i- and with the distributive aspect allomorph eN-; with the involuntary mode allomorphs eke-, ke-, and e-; and with peke- when the nominalizing affix i- also occurs.
i-(N)-'awa' ni Andris he'ini is tukud
(IF-P-remove NI,pers name SI,this SI,com post)
'Andris removed this post.'

(N)-eN-akew ə te ispudu diye' te tindah-an
(P-Dist-steal(SF) SI,he NT,com matches DI,there
NT,com store-nom) 'He stole matches at the store.'

(N)-eke-'uma zan diya' te hadi' (P-IV-arrive(SF)
SI,they DI,there NT,com king) 'And they came to the
king.'

su waza' en i-(N)-ke-lavung dan
(because there-is-not compl IF-P-IV-eat-supper NI,they)
'...because they had nothing for supper...'

(N)-e-'isip-ə din buwa is ed-'uli'
(P-IV-think-OF NI,he perhaps SI,com NonP-return(SF))
'Perhaps he thought he would go home.'

iyan i-(N)-peke-lepew ku kayi su ed-buyu' a te
selapi' (emph nom-P-IV-appear NI,I NT,here because
NonP-ask-for(SF) SI,I NT,com money) 'The reason I
showed up here is because I am asking for money.'

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

(eD)-genat ki en da'an; eD-telukun ki kandan
(NonP-leave(SF) SI,we-two compl also NonP-follow(SF) SI,we-two KI,they) 'Let's leave also; we'll follow them.'

ne (eD)-sagad ~ ne (eD)-tibas-en ta (co NonP-pass-by(SF) SI,he co NonP-slash-OF NI, I-and-thou)
'So he'll pass by and we'll slash him.'

hente'i kayi ki anak he (eD)-tuktuk-an ku en
(who NT, this KI, pers child att NonP-peck-DF NT, I compl) 'Whose child is this I am pecking on?'

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

su i-(D)-pe-'esawa ku kayi te anak ku he'eyan is raga (because IF-NonP-Ca-marry NI, I NT, this NT, com child NI, my SI, that SI, com maiden) 'because I'll have that maiden married to my son here'

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

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

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

waza' ded ma'an ø (meD)-patey su N-e-tembar-an te duktur (neg still again SI,he UA-die(SF) because P-IV-medicine-DF NT,com doctor) 'And again he didn't die because he was treated by the doctor.'

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

waza' key pa (m)-eN-ayu (neg SI,we-not-you incompl UA-Dist-wood) 'We haven't gathered wood yet.'

ne waze' key (m)-eke-dabpak su ed-'uzan ø (co neg SI,we UA-IV-land(SF) because NonP-rain(SF)) 'So we couldn't land because it was raining.'
wey nu za'an (m)-e-tu'en-i he tutuu ki he emigu
(in-order-that NI,you also UA-IV-know-DF att true
SI,we-two att friend) 'so that you might know also that
we are truly friends'

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

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

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

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

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

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

i-(ø)-ke-hizu nu ø wey ø-tehuz-a nu (IF-UA-IV-pity
NI,you SI,him ad UA-respect-OF NI,you)
'Pity him and respect him.'
The polysememic variations of the unactualized time aspect is illustrated by the following examples:

Negative of a past action:

\textit{waze' key (m)-eke-'agpas (neg SI,\text{we} UA-IV-hurry(SF))}

'We weren't able to hurry.'

Contingent action:

\textit{i-N-hen-dini zin is limbas wey ku i-(\emptyset)-ke-'uli'

diye' te ki Geli (IF-P-come-here NI,\text{he} SI,\text{com file in-order-that NI,I} IF-UA-IV-return DI,\text{there NT,com KI,pers name}) 'He brought the file here so that I might return it to Geli.'

Desirable or advisable action:

\textit{deyzey ke (meD)-'uli' ke pa (better if UA-return(SF) SI,you incompl) 'It is better if you go home first.'}

Potential action:

\textit{kele ke (m)-e-vinsul-i ki (lest if UA-IV-burn-OF SI,I-and-thou) 'We (our house) might be burned up.'}

Imperative action:

\textit{(\emptyset)-te-tezem-i key Anggam (UA-con-relate-DF SI,\text{we-not-you Uncle}) 'Uncle, tell us a story.'}

Action in which time is uncertain:

\textit{ke'enu ka (m)-eke-'uma (when SI,\text{thou} UA-IV-arrive(SF)) 'When did you arrive?'}
4.2 Focus. As has been stated elsewhere, focus in the verb indicates the relationship of a topic noun phrase to that verb. A topic noun phrase may thus function as the subject, object, instrument, or direction of the verb. Thus the dramatis personae roles of the topic are indicated by focus markers in the verb while these same roles of the nontopic complements are indicated by particles and pronominal inflections. 4

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

\textit{miD-peN-pe-zigu' a} \textit{(P-Dist-Ca-bathe(SF) SI,I)}
'I bathed myself.'

\textit{miD-surat \(\theta\) te tana' te tezu' din} \textit{(P-write(SF) SI,he NT,com ground NT,com finger NI,his)} 'He wrote on the ground with his finger.'

\textit{N-eke-penu' is bulawan te umuy} \textit{(P-IV-fill(SF) SI,com gold NT,com urn)} 'The gold filled the urn.'

\footnote{4 Cf. Harland B. Kerr: "The Case-Marking and Classifying Function of Cotabato Manobo Voice Affixes," \textit{Oceanic Linguistics}, \textbf{IV} (1965) 15-47, where "case" and "voice" are equated. In this study focus is used instead of voice, and the term "case" is applied to topic, nontopic, and emphasis phrases rather than to the dramatis personae roles.}
N-eN-kayu key ge'ina (P-Dist-wood(SF) SI, we-not-you a-while-ago) 'I went for firewood a while ago.'

ne miD-pena'ug ne mig-kuwa ø dutun te selu'al (co P-descend(SF) co P-got(SF) SI, he DI, there NT, com trousers) 'So he climbed down and took from there some trousers.'

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

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

eD-betun-(en) din diya' te valey is minsan hengkey he eD-ke-ka'an-ø (NonP-lift-up-OF NI, he DI, there NT, com house SI, com even what co NonP-IV-eat-OF) 'He brought up into the house all kinds of food.'

eD-puhag-(en) din is petiyukan (NonP-smoke-bees-OF NI, he SI, com bee) 'He is going to smoke the bees.'

(2) Allomorph -a occurs with the unactualized time aspect allomorph ø- in the intensive mode.
\[ \text{\textit{\&-hen-diye'}} \text{ ka wey nu \textit{\&-'eha'-(a) is baley ku}} \]

\( (\text{UA-go-there(SF) SI,thou in-order-that NI,you} \)

\( \text{UA-see-OF SI,com house NI,my) 'Go there so you may} \)

\( \text{see my house.'} \)

\[ \text{\textit{\&-tigum-(a) nu is langun he menge etew}} \]

\( (\text{UA-gather-OF NI,thou SI,com all att plural person)} \)

\( '\text{Gather together all the people.'} \)

Allomorph \(-a\) also occurs with nonpast allomorph

\( \text{eD-} \) when the verb is preceded by a MODE, TIME, or

\( \text{LOCATION constituent in the prepredicate position in the} \)

\( \text{clause. This is represented by the following formula:} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{MODE} \\
\text{TIME} \\
\text{LOCATION} \\
+ X + \text{eD-} + Y + \text{stem} + \text{-en} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{MODE} \\
\text{TIME} \\
\text{LOCATION} \\
+ X + \text{eD-} + Y + \text{stem} + \text{-a} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[ \text{layun da' eD-bevah-(a) sikandin (always only} \]

\( \text{NonP-carry-piggyback-OF SI, she) 'Always someone carries} \)

\( \text{her.'} \)

\[ \text{diya' tew eD-pumpun-(a) is menge etew (DI,there} \]

\( \text{NI, I-and-you NonP-gather-OF SI,com plural person)} \)

\( '\text{We'll all go collect the people there.'} \)
Allomorph -a also occurs with both allomorphs, eD- and D-, of the nonpast time aspect and unactualized allomorph e- when preceded by the nominalizing derivative prefixes k- or i-:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{NOM OF VERB} & \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix}
\text{k-} \\
\text{i-}
\end{bmatrix}
+ \begin{bmatrix}
\text{eD-} \\
\text{D-} \\
\text{e-}
\end{bmatrix}
+ X + \text{stem} + -a
\end{align*}
\]

ne N-e-pasad-e is k-eD-pe-ke'en-(a) te menge etew
(co P-IV-finish-OF SI,com Nom-NonP-Ca-eat-OF NT,com plural person) 'So the feeding of the people was finished.'

iyan i-D-pe-ke'en-(a) ku te menge etew is
eD-pe-tavang a te k-eD-'atep te valey ku
(emph nom-NonP-Ca-eat-OF NI,I NT,com plural person SI,com NonP-Ca-help(SF) SI,I NT,com nom-NonP-roof(SF) NT,com house NI,my) 'The reason I am having the people eat is that I am asking for help in roofing my house.'

ne hengkey ve is kene' dan i-e-'eha'-(a) te menge sanley
(co what Qu SI,com not NI,they nom-UA-see-OF NT,com plural corn) 'And what do you know if they didn't see some ears of corn?'

\[5\] A more literal English translation would be: "And what is their reason for not seeing some ears of corn?"
(3) Allomorph -∅ occurs in the intensive mode with the past time aspect allomorph miD- and in the involuntary mode with the time aspect allomorphs N- 'past', eD- 'nonpast', and m- 'unactualized'.

miD-dawat-(∅) ni Anggam is ke-tezeng-an ku
(P-accept-OF NI,pers Uncle SI,com nom-straight-nom NI,my) 'Uncle accepted my reasons.'

N-eng-e-handek-(∅) key man te rugung
(P-Nu-IV-frighten-OF SI,we-not-you emph NT,com thunder) 'The thunder really frightened us.'

kene' ku en he'eyan eD-ke-vitbit-(∅)
(neg NI,I compl SI,that NonP-IV-lift-OF) 'I can't lift that anymore.'

me'ambe en asal kene' a m-e-vitil-(∅)
(no-matter compl as-long-as neg SI,I UA-IV-cause-to-hunger-OF) 'It doesn't matter so long as I don't get hungry.'

4.23 Instrument Focus. Instrument focus indicates that the subject acts with the topic, i.e. the topic of the clause is an instrument or accessory to accomplish an action as it moves toward a goal. This focus is marked by the morpheme i-.
"(i)-N-hen-dini ku is esawa ku su (i)-D-pe-vawi' ku
(IF-P-go-here NI,I SI,com spouse NI,my because
IF-NonP-Ca-medicine NI,I) 'I brought my wife here
because I will have her treated.'

waza' din m-e-layam-i he (i)-D-baya' din is wahig
(neg NI,he UA-IV-accustom-DF att IF-NonP-pass-through
NI,he SI,com water) 'He wasn't used to going through
the water.'

ne (i)-g-heng-kayi niyu is eD-ke'en-en ku
(co IF-UA-go-here NI,you SI,com NonP-eat-OF NI,my)
'Bring what I'm going to eat here.'

(i)-g-timbag nu he'eyan is uwit-en nu (IF-UA-throw
NI,thou SI,that SI,com carry-nom NI,thy) 'Throw
away that which you are carrying.'

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

In the example above the subject is absent. Only
the instrument (I) and object (children) are present.
The topic instrument is that which is involved in the
action of frightening. A subject may occur as in the
following:
100

(1)-D-ke-handek e zan te menge vata'
(IF-NonP-IV-frighten SI,I NI,they NT,com plural child) 'They had to use me to frighten the children.'

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

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

miD-begay-(an) key zin te vegas (P-give-DF SI,we NI,he NT,com rice) 'He gave us rice.'

N-e-tudtul-(an) kew zan te waza' dan sulu' (P-IV-tell-DF SI,you NI,they NT,com none NI,their lamp) 'They told you that they had no lamp.'

miD-'ewa'-(an) ni Dumet is iney zin (P-leave-DF NI,pers name SI,com mother NI,his) 'Dumet left his mother behind.'

(2) Allomorph -i occurs with unactualized time aspect allomorphs ₶- and m-.
ke waza' e man ge'ina ø-engkez-(i) te esawa ku (if neg SI,I emph earlier UA-divorce-DF NT,com spouse NI,my) 'if I hadn't already divorced my spouse'

waza' pa he'ini ke'enu m-e-segaz-i te
N-eng-e-huna-ø he menge etew (neg incompl SI,this ever UA-IV-experience-DF NT,com P-Nu-IV-first-OF att plural person) 'The first people never experienced this.'

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{MODE} & \quad + X + eD- + Y + \text{stem} + -an \\
\text{TIME} & \quad \rightarrow \\
\text{LOCATION} & \quad \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{MODE} & \quad + X + eD- + Y + \text{stem} + -i \\
\text{TIME} & \quad \rightarrow \\
\text{LOCATION} & \quad \\
\end{align*}
\]

ne utew ku en ø eD-ke-hizu-(i) te eD-lagkut (co intens NI,I compl SI,he NonP-IV-pity-DF NT,com NonP-whip(SF)) 'I pity him too much to whip (him).'
sikan ku pa⁶ eD-be'el-(i) is iring dutun
(that NI,I incompl NonP-make-DF SI,com equal NT,that)
'It is the first time I ever made anything like that.'

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

\[
\text{NOM OF VERB} \rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{c} k- \\ i- \\ \end{array} \right] + \left[ \begin{array}{c} eD- \\ D- \\ \end{array} \right] + X + \text{stem} + -i
\]

...su he'aza' is k-eD-himatay-(i) te N-em-eN-ula'ula
te pemelihi... (because SI,that SI,com
nom-NonP-kill-DF NT,com P-Nu-Dist-do(SF) NT,com
transgression) '...for that killing of those who broke
the taboo...'

waza' pezem i-ø-ke-regen-(i) dey (neg opt
nom-UA-IV-difficulty-DF NI,we-not-you) 'We don't have
too much reason to have difficulties.'

4.3 Mode. The category of mode in Manobo indicates
the speaker's interpretation of the action of the verb

---

⁶ sikan ku pa is an idiom meaning 'the first time
ever'.
as to whether it is intentional or involuntary.

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

miD-pe-tibas-a' key (P-slash-R(SF) SI,we-not-you) 'We fought each other with knives.'

miD-tibas-Ø ku si Geli (P-slash-OF NI,I SI,pers name) 'I (intentionally) slashed Geli with a knife.'

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

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

ne eD-(peke)-'utel sikan te menge pa'it wey sumala' da' (co NonP-IV-catch(SF) SI,that NT,com plural fish ad whatever lim) 'That can catch fish or whatever else.'
is bagyu ne eD-(peke)-lavu kun te vepur (SI,com typhoon co NonP-IV-sink(SF) Qt NT,com ship) 'The typhoon, they say, is able to sink a ship.'

minsan kene' a eD-(peke)-hipanew eD-(peke)-hipanew a (even-though neg SI,I NonP-IV-go(SF) NonP-IV-go(SF) SI,I) 'Even though I can't go, I have to go.'

kene' nu ø-kevut-a is ubpit su eD-(peke)-pali' (neg NI,thou UA-meddle-with-OF SI,com knife because NonP-IV-wound(SF)) 'Don't meddle with the knife because it can hurt.'

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

waza' key m-(eke)-'aha' te kuda' (neg SI,we-not-you UA-IV-see(SF) NT,com horse) 'We weren't able to find the horse.'

a zutun ne N-eke-sinegew he'ini is singyuda (excl then co P-IV-weep(SF) SI,this SI,com lady) 'Oh! then this lady began to cry.'

(3) Allomorph ke- occurs on a stem marked for

7 This example illustrates the meanings of 'ability' and 'compulsion'.
instrument focus with time aspect allomorphs N- 'past', D- 'nonpast', and ø- 'unactualized'.

i-N-(ke)-pe-ka'an 'ku is begas te menge vata' su
N-eng-e-vitil-ø (IF-P-IV-Ca-eat NI,I SI,com rice
NT,com plural children because P-Nu-IV-cause-hunger-OF
'I had to let the children eat the rice because they were
hungry.'

i-D-(ke)-vaya' tew is ketelunan su waza' duma 'he
zalan (IF-NonP-IV-pass-through NI,I-and-you SI,com
forest because there-is-none other att path)
'We have to go through the forest because there is no
other trail.'

i-ø-(ke)-hizu 'nu is minsan hengkey 'he langgam
(IF-UA-IV-pity NI,thou SI,com even what att non-human-
creature)
'Be kind to every nonhuman creature.'

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

ed-(ke)-handek-ø a emun ed-rugung (NonP-IV-frighten-OF
SI,I if NonP-thunder(SF)) 'It frightens me when it
thunders.'

kene' ku pa ed-(ke)-vinsul-ø su waze' pa
m-e-ganguø (not NI,I incompl NonP-IV-burn-DF SI,it
because neg incompl UA-IV-dry-OF) 'I can't burn it yet because it is not yet dried out.'

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

ne he'in N-(e)-zineg-Ø ni Meriya ne N-(e)-se'eng-Ø (co when P-IV-hear-OF SI, it NI, pers name co P-IV-sadden-OF SI, her) 'So when Mary heard it it saddened her.'

ne zuen menge avang wey m-(e)-'untuz-i te menge etew emun eD-ke-lened-Ø is bepur (co there-are plural boat so-that UA-IV-get-on-DF NT, com plural person if NonP-IV-sink-OF SI, com ship) 'And there are boats so that people can get on (them) if something sinks the ship.'

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

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

\[ \text{miD-sekezuw-an ku si Bayi} \quad (\text{P-fetch-water-DF NI,SI,pers name}) \quad 'I fetched water (once) for Bayi.' \]

This contrasts with the distributive aspect in the following:

\[ \text{miD-pen-sekezuw-an ku si Bayi} \quad (\text{P-Dist-fetch-water-DF NI,SI,pers name}) \quad 'I fetched water repeatedly for Bayi.' \]

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

Distributive aspect is marked by the morpheme \text{pen-}. The morphophonemic alternation of \text{pen-} is represented by the following formulae:
(a) $peN- \rightarrow \{eN-\}$ in / __ $\{m-\}$ $\{n-\}$ elsewhere

(b) bilabial | (p)em- | bilabial
(p)en- plus $\{t\}$ $\{n\}$ $\{s\}$ in /
\{k\} \{ng\} $\rightarrow$ (p)en- minus $\{t\}$ $\{n\}$ $\{s\}$
\{k\} \{ng\}

(c) (p)en- | $\{d\}$ in /
\{l\} \{v\} \{w\}

(p)en- $\rightarrow$ (p)en- plus (h)
\{l\} $\rightarrow$ $\infty$
\{w\}

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

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

hengkey ve is meD-(peN)-himatey si Kawat te menge
manuk (what Qu SI,com UA-Dist-kill(SF) SI,pers
name NT,com plural chicken) 'Well what do you know, Kawat killed the chickens.'

miD-(peN)-tudtul-an ki zin 'te ed-ke-hitavu'-∅
(P-Dist-tell-OF SI,I-and-thou NI,he NT,com
NonP-IV-happen-to-OF) 'He told us what was going to happen.'

me-zakel is N-em-(em-(eN)-hen-diya' wey n-em-(eN)-hen-dini
(desc-many SI,com P-Nu-Dist-go-here(SF) co
P-Nu-Dist-go-there(SF)) 'Many were going and coming.'

hengkey ve is wey m-e-(peN)-'ami'∅ he'ini kayi te
uval ne ∅-(peN)-ke'en-a zin mula' (what Qu SI,com
co UA-IV-Dist-grab-OF SI this NT, this NT,com monkey
Well what do you know, the monkey grabbed this and ate it anyway.'

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

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

N-e-'uget-Ø en he timpu he kene' kiyu eD-peke-(D)-'uma (P-IV-long-time-OF compl att time att neg SI,I-and-you NonP-IV-R-arrive(SF)) 'We have not met for a long time.'

su me-naney se me-ga'an ne m-eke-(D)-'aha' kigihapun (because desc-slow ad desc-fast co UA-IV-R-see(SF) SI,I-and-thou anyway) '...because sooner or later we'll see each other anyway.'

kene' dan eD-peki-(D)-'amur su eD-ke-'epes-Ø dan te me-gurub (neg SI,they NonP-As-R-gather(SF) because NonP-IV-displease-OF SI,they NT,com desc-noise) 'They do not join in to gather together (with other people)
because noisy (things) displease them.'

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

is tele-esawa ne kinehanglan he eD-(pe)-'entus-(a')
sikandan taman te taman (SI, com intimate-spouse co necessary att NonP-R-endure-R(SF) SI, they until NT, com until) 'As for the husband and wife, it is necessary that they put up with each other continuously.'

iring din da'an is lumansad wey upa he
eD-(pe)-peN-tiwelay-(a') diya' te teliwaza' te sa'ag (likeness NI, its also SI, com rooster ad hen att NonP-R-Dist-mate-R(SF) there NT, com middle NT, com floor) 'Like that also are the rooster and hen which mate in the center of the floor.'

4.44 Associative Aspect. Associative aspect indicates that the subject of the verb invites participation of someone else in some activity. Associative aspect occurs on stems with subject focus and intentive mode and is marked by the morpheme peki-, which has the single allomorph peki-.

...su eD-(peki)-tavang a kenikew (because
NonP-As-help(SF) SI, I XI, thou) '...because I am requesting you to help me.'
ma'an is kene' kew eD-tavak te eD-(peki)-vitiyara keniyu (why SI,com neg SI,you NonP-answer(SF) NT,com NonP-As-discuss(SF)) 'Why don't you answer those who want to talk to you?'

4.45 Reduplicative Aspect. Allomorphs of the reduplicative aspects as well as reduplicative number are definable in terms of stem shape, syllable patterns, and the distributive affix peN-. Four types of reduplication occur in Manobo: reduplication of the entire stem (Redup Stem), reduplication of the initial two phonemes of the stem, i.e. CV (Redup CV), reduplication of the initial three phonemes of the stem, i.e. CVC (Redup CVC), and reduplication of the distributive allomorph peN- (Redup peN-). Reduplication of the entire stem is limited to stems of two syllables.

Although the reduplicative aspects share the same morph shapes, ambiguity is eliminated through the limitation of occurrence of a particular morph-meaning correlation to a particular stem class. The distribution of the various reduplicative shapes and their meanings among stems appears to be mutually exclusive. Stem classes result but are not handled here.

4.45.1 Continuative Aspect. Continuative aspect indicates two kinds of continuity. Active continuative
refers to action which is continuous or reiterative. The active continuative is marked by a morpheme of reduplication. This morpheme has the allomorphs Redup stem, Redup CVC, and Redup peN-.

(1) Allomorph Redup stem occurs with bisyllabic stems which are not suffixed.

eD-(datu')-datu' sikandin te menge tig-berendiyas
(NonP-con-rule-as-chief(SF) SI,he NT,com plural from-place-name) 'He rules as chief over the people from Barandias.'

¢-(liku·')-liku' kew za' (UA-con-return(SF) SI,you lim) 'Just keep coming back.'

(2) Allomorph Redup CVC occurs with suffixed stems or stems of more than two syllables.

eD-(det)-detu'-an din is menge tig-berendiyas
(NonP-con-rule-as-chief-DF NI,he SI,com plural from-place-name) 'He rules as chief over the people from Barandias.'

dutun en med-(hip)-hipanew he'ini te edadu
(DI,there compl UA-con-walk SI,this NT,com plowed-field) 'This fellow was already there walking around in the plowed field.'
4.45.2 Intensive Aspect. Intensive aspect indicates intensity in the action of the verb. It is marked by the
reduplicative morpheme. This morpheme has the allomorphs Redup stem, Redup CVC, and Redup CV.

(1) Allomorph Redup stem occurs with bisyllabic stems which are not suffixed.

N-e-(su'at)-su'at-Ø si Anggam (P-IV-intens-please-OF SI,pers Uncle) 'It really pleased Uncle.'

(2) Allomorph Redup CVC occurs with stems of more than two syllables and with suffixed stems.

eD-(sin)-sinegew en si Ina' (NonP-intens-weep(SF) compl SI,pers mother) 'Mother is really crying.'

miD-(sek)-sekezu is menge vata'
(P-intens-fetch-water(SF) SI,com plural child) 'The children really worked at fetching water.'

miD-(leb)-levaw-an kew ves te tig-medaya'
(P-intens-better-DF SI,you Qu NT,com from-place-name) 'So the people from Medaya' did a whole lot better than you did?'

(3) Allomorph Redup CV occurs in free variation with Redup CVC in (2) above.

eD-(si)-sinegew si Ina' (NonP-intens-weep(SF) SI,pers mother) 'Mother is really crying.'
4.45.3 **Diminutive Aspect:** Diminutive aspect indicates that the action or effect of the action of the verb is in some way diminished. Diminutive aspect is marked by the reduplicative morpheme and has the allomorphs Redup stem and Redup peN-.

(1) Allomorph Redup stem occurs with stems which are not suffixed or which have no overt suffix.

\[ N-e-(\text{pulid})-\text{pulid-} \phi \text{ en is andew} \]
\[(P-IV-dim-cause-to-cross-the-zenith-OF compl SI,com sun) 'The sun is a little bit past the zenith.' \]

\[ \text{layun eD-('andew)-'andew } \phi \text{ emun bulan te Uktubri} \]
\[(always NonP-dim-sun(SF) SI,it if month NT,com October) 'The sun always shines a few days during October.' \]

(2) Allomorph Redup CVC occurs with stems which are suffixed.

\[ N-e-(\text{pe'})-\text{pe'}it-an a \text{ te mid-'}\text{inum-} \phi \text{ ku he vawi'} \]
\[(P-IV-dim-better-DF SI,I NT,com P-drink-OF NI,I att medicine) 'The medicine which I drank was a little bit bitter (bittered me a little bit).' \]

(3) Allomorph Redup peN- occurs with stems inflected for distributive aspect.
miD-(peN)-peN-kagi za' sikandin su N-e-'eled-Ø Ø
(P-dim-Dist-talk(SF) lim SI, he because
P-IV-shame-OF SI, he) 'He talked only a little because
he was ashamed.'

4.5 Voice. Voice indicates the relationship of the
subject of a verbal clause to the verb stem. There are
two voices in Bukidnon Manobo: active and causative.

4.51 Active Voice. Active voice indicates that the
subject of the verb is the actor or performer of the
action of the verb stem. It is marked by the absence of
a voice morpheme in the verb.

eD-'enkez-an ku en Ø su eD-peke-samuk he'eyan te
isip ku (NonP-divorce-DF NI, I compl SI, she because
NonP-IV-trouble(SF) SI, that NT, com mind NI, my)
'I am divorcing her because she (that one) troubles my
thoughts.'

Ø-peN-dekep-a niyu kes menge vaka (UA-Dist-catch-OF
NI, you SI, com plural cow) 'Catch the cows.'

4.52 Causative Voice. Causative voice indicates
that the subject of the verb is causer of the action.

With subject focus, the topic functions simultaneous-
ly as subject-causer and either object or direction.
This voice brings about a change in the *dramatis personae* roles of the clause by introducing an AGENT, a CAUSER-SUBJECT, and for subject focus verbs, a CAUSER-SUBJECT-OBJECT or a CAUSER-SUBJECT-DIRECTION. Although the *dramatis personae* roles change, the grammatical patterns do not. The causative inflection acts similarly to the time aspect inflections in that it does not effect a grammatical transformation of the clause. Causative voice is marked by the morpheme *pe-* which has only the one allomorph. This morpheme does not cooccur with associative or reciprocal aspects.

Examples.

**PREDICATE + AGENT-DIRECTION + CAUSER-SUBJECT:**

(i-D-pe-awa') (a) (kenikew) (IF-NonP-Ca-leave SI,I KI,thou) 'You cause me to leave.'

**PREDICATE + CAUSER-SUBJECT-OBJECT + AGENT:**

(eD-pe-'alut) (a) (kenikew) (NonP-Ca-cut-hair(SF) SI,I KI,you) 'I'll have you cut my hair.'

**(PREDICATE) + (CAUSER-SUBJECT-DIRECTION) + (LOCATION):**

(miD-pe-tagak) (Ø) (diya' te unayan) (P-Ca-leave-behind(SF) SI,he DI,there NT,com field) 'He stayed behind in the field', or literally, 'He caused (someone) to leave him behind in the field.'
PREDICATE + SUBJECT-CAUSER + DIRECTION + AGENT:
(eD-pe-'ubpe'-an) (ku) (is layud ku) (te menge sulugu'en) (NonP-Ca-dwell-DF NI,I SI,com herd NI,my NT,com plural servants) 'I'll have my servants stay with the herd.'

Object focus causative clauses do not occur. This feature is apparently in accord with the function of object focus in Bukidnon Manobo. An object is the terminus of the action of the verb. A causative verb is, by this definition, intransitive from the standpoint of the subject. His action is directed toward an agent who in turn acts toward an additional goal. 'I hit you' is transitive, while 'I cause you to hit someone' is intransitive.

4.6 Number. The category of number in the verb indicates that the objects or persons represented by the topic noun phrase are more than several in number. Number is marked by the morpheme eng- which has the allomorphs eng-, em-, Redup stem, Redup CVC, and Redup CV.

(1) Allomorph eng- occurs with stems inflected for involuntary mode and for either object or direction focus.
(2) Allomorph em- occurs with stems inflected for involuntary mode and marked for subject focus. em- also occurs with stems marked for intentive mode and inflected for distributive aspect.

(3) The distribution of the reduplicative allomorphs of the number morpheme is morphologically defined according to particular verb stem classes. The following generalization partially indicates this distribution: Redup stem occurs only with stems which
are unsuffixed. Redup CVC occurs with suffixed stems and with stems which are more than two syllables in length. Redup CV has been observed both with suffixed stems and with bisyllabic stems.

eD-('ipus)-'ipus key pa te va'al zey
(NonP-Nu-finish(SF) SI,we-not-you incompl NT,com work NI,our) 'We'll finish our work first.'

eD-('ip)-'ipus-en ku pa is ba'al ku
(NonP-Nu-finish-OF NI,I incompl SI,com work NI,my) 'I'll finish the things I am working on first.'

eD-(be)-vantey key kenikew (NonP-Nu-watch(SF) SI,we-not-you KI,thou) 'We'll all watch you.'

4.7 Inflectional Orders in the Verb. The inflectional orders in the verb are indicated by the following:
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{time aspect} & \quad \left\{ 
\begin{array}{l}
(Nu) \quad \{ \text{Mode} \left( \begin{array}{c}
\text{Dist} \\
\text{R}
\end{array} \right), \quad \text{[Ca]} \} \\
(As) \quad \{ \text{Dist} \}
\end{array} \right\} \ (\text{Redup}) \\
(\text{As}) \quad \{ \text{Redup} \quad \{ \text{Dist} \} \} \\
(\text{Ca}) \quad \{ \text{Dist} \quad \{ \text{Redup} \} \} \\
(\text{Dist}) \quad \{ \text{Ca} \quad \{ \text{Redup} \} \}
\end{align*}
\]
\]
Permutations.

(1) Placement of focus morpheme:

\[ X + \text{stem} + \text{Focus} \rightarrow \text{Focus} + X + \text{stem} \]

where Focus = IF.

(2) Placement of number morpheme:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nu} + & \quad \begin{cases} 
\text{k} \ldots \text{e} - \\
\text{p} \ldots \text{eke} \\
\text{p} \ldots \text{eN} - 
\end{cases} & \quad \begin{cases} 
\text{k-\text{eng-e}} - \\
\text{p-\text{em-eke}} \\
\text{p-\text{em-eN}} - 
\end{cases}
\end{align*}
\]

where: Mode = \( \begin{cases} 
\text{p} \ldots \text{eke} - \\
\text{k} \ldots \text{e} - 
\end{cases} \)

Dist = \( \text{p} \ldots \text{eN} - \)

Nu = \( \begin{cases} 
\text{em} - \\
\text{eng} - 
\end{cases} \)

(3) Placement of distributive:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Dist} + \text{R} + \text{Redup} & \quad \begin{cases} 
\text{Dist} \\
\text{R} + \text{Redup} 
\end{cases}
\end{align*}
\]

4.8 **Sample Inflectional Paradigms of the Verb.**

The following paradigms, using \textit{uwit 'carry'} and \textit{tibas 'slash with a bolo'}, display morpheme combinations described above. They are organized according to focus. Because of the complications, Redup has not been included in these sample paradigms. The causative morpheme \textit{pe-} may be added as indicated in the formula in the previous section.
### 4.81 Subject Focus.

#### Intentive Mode

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple Aspect</th>
<th>Distributive Aspect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P  <code>miD-'uwit</code></td>
<td>N-eN-'uwit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP <code>eD-'uwit</code></td>
<td>eD-peN-'uwit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UA <code>meD-'uwit</code></td>
<td>m-eN-'uwit</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reciprocal Aspect</th>
<th>Distributive Aspect and Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P <code>miD-pe-tibas-a'</code></td>
<td>N-em-eN-'uwit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP <code>eD-pe-tibas-a'</code></td>
<td>eD-p-em-eN-'uwit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UA <code>meD-pe-tibas-a'</code></td>
<td>m-em-eN-'uwit</td>
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#### Involuntary Mode

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<tr>
<th>Simple Aspect</th>
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<td>P <code>N-eke-'uwit</code></td>
<td>N-eke-peN-'uwit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP <code>eD-peke-'uwit</code></td>
<td>eD-peke-peN-'uwit</td>
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<td>UA <code>m-eke-'uwit</code></td>
<td>m-eke-peN-'uwit</td>
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<th>Distributive Aspect and Number</th>
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<td>N-em-eke-peN-'uwit</td>
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<tr>
<td>NP <code>eD-peke-D-tibas</code></td>
<td>eD-p-em-eke-peN-'uwit</td>
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<td>UA <code>m-eke-D-tibas</code></td>
<td>m-em-eke-peN-'uwit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.82 Object Focus.

**Intentive Mode**

**Simple Aspect**
- P miD-'uwit-∅
- NP eD-'uwit-en
- UA ə-'uwit-a

**Distributive Aspect**
- P miD-peN-'uwit-∅
- NP eD-peN-'uwit-en
- UA ə-peN-'uwit-a

**Distributive Aspect and Number**
- P miD-p-em-eN-'uwit-∅
- NP eD-p-em-eN-'uwit-en
- UA ə-p-em-eN-'uwit-a

**Involuntary Mode**

**Simple Aspect**
- P N-e-'uwit-∅
- NP eD-ke-'uwit-∅
- UA m-e-'uwit-∅

**Distributive Aspect**
- P N-e-peN-'uwit-∅
- NP eD-ke-peN-'uwit-∅
- UA m-e-peN-'uwit-∅

**Number**

**Distributive Aspect and Number**
- P N-eng-e-'uwit-∅
- NP eD-k-eng-e-'uwit-∅
- UA m-eng-e-'uwit-∅
4.83 **Instrument Focus.**

**Intentive Mode**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple Aspect</th>
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<tr>
<td>P i-N-'uwit</td>
<td>i-N-peN-'uwit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP i-D-'uwit</td>
<td>i-D-peN-'uwit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UA i-Ø-'uwit</td>
<td>i-Ø-peN-'uwit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Distributive Aspect and Number**

| P i-N-p-em-eN-'uwit | i-N-p-em-eN-'uwit |
| NP i-D-p-em-eN-'uwit| i-D-p-em-eN-'uwit |
| UA i-Ø-p-em-eN-'uwit| i-Ø-p-em-eN-'uwit |

**Involuntary Mode**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple Aspect</th>
<th>Distributive Aspect</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P i-N-ke-'uwit</td>
<td>i-N-ke-peN-'uwit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP i-D-ke-'uwit</td>
<td>i-D-ke-peN-'uwit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UA i-Ø-ke-'uwit</td>
<td>i-Ø-ke-peN-'uwit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Number**

| P i-N-k-eng-e-'uwit | i-N-k-eng-e-'uwit |
| NP i-D-k-eng-e-'uwit| i-D-k-eng-e-'uwit |
| UA i-Ø-k-eng-e-'uwit| i-Ø-k-eng-e-'uwit |
4.84 **Direction Focus.**

**Intentive Mode**

<table>
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<td>miD-peN-'uwit-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP eD-'uwit-an</td>
<td>eD-peN-'uwit-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UA ə-'uwit-i</td>
<td>ə-peN-'uwit-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Distributive Aspect and Number**

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>UA ə-p-em-eN-'uwit-i</td>
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**Involuntary Mode**

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P N-e-'uwit-an</td>
<td>N-e-peN-'uwit-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP eD-ke-'uwit-an</td>
<td>eD-ke-peN-'uwit-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UA m-e-'uwit-an</td>
<td>m-e-peN-'uwit-an</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Distributive Aspect and Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P N-eng-e-'uwit-an</td>
<td>N-eng-e-peN-'uwit-an</td>
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<tr>
<td>NP eD-k-eng-e-'uwit-an</td>
<td>eD-k-eng-e-peN-'uwit-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UA m-eng-e-'uwit-an</td>
<td>m-eng-e-peN-'uwit-an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. **Descriptives.** Affixable roots which are not inflected for time aspect are either descriptives or nouns. Descriptives contrast with nouns in that they may be inflected by number, intensity, or diminutive morphemes.
Basic nouns are never inflected. A descriptive may also occur as the predicate of a classificational clause in which an intensity adjunct occurs as attribute to the predicate.

(de'isek) utew is selapi' ku (small intens SI,com money NI,my) 'I have very little money.'

In general nouns may not occur with intensity adjuncts. Basic descriptives occur both as simple stems and as derived stems.

5.1 Simple Stem Descriptives. Simple stem descriptives are roots, e.g. lunsey 'pure', de'isek 'small', berak 'talkative'.

5.2 Derived Stem Descriptives. Derived stem descriptives consist of the descriptive derivative prefix me- plus a root. me-za'at 'bad', me-mahu' 'foul smelling', me-naney 'slow'. (Unique in its formation is the descriptive dekel-a' 'large'. It consists of the bound root dakel 'many' plus the suffix -a' which elsewhere

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9 One example of a basic noun occurring with an intensity adjunct has been observed:

(bata') pa utew si Dumet (child incompl intens SI,pers name) 'Dumet is still very much a child.'
means 'place of'. This is the only occurrence of -a' with a descriptive.)

5.3 Inflected Descriptives. Descriptives may be inflected for number, intensity, or diminutive. Inflected descriptives include forms which have either simple or derived stems.

5.31 Number. Number in a descriptive marks the head of a descriptive phrase or the topic of a descriptive topic clause as being more in number than two or three. It is marked by the number allomorph Redup CV.

(me)-me-za'at sikandan he etew (Nu-desc-bad SI,they att person) 'They (many) are bad people.'

(de)-ze'isek he lemetik (Nu-small att ant) 'small ants'

5.32 Intensity. An intensity morpheme in a descriptive indicates that the quality of the descriptive is increased in intensity. It is marked by the intensity allomorph Redup CVC.

(med)-me-za'at (intens-desc-bad) 'very bad'

(dek)-dekel-e' (intens-many-deriv) 'very big'
5.33 **Diminutive.** A diminutive morpheme in a descriptive marks the quality of a descriptive as being slight or decreased. It is marked by the diminutive aspect allomorph Redup stem.

me-(zakel)-dakel (desc-dim-many) 'several'

me-(pa'it)-pa'it (desc-dim-bitter) 'slightly bitter'

6. **Basic Nouns.** Basic nouns are affixed or affixable roots which are never inflected. (Complex nouns are nominalized transforms of verbs and as such contain verbal inflections. These transforms are described in Chapter IV). Basic nouns are either simple or derived.

6.1 **Basic Simple Nouns.** Basic simple nouns are unaffixed roots, e.g.: atep 'roof', dalan 'trail', elukuy 'playmate', etc.

6.2 **Basic Derived Nouns.** Basic derived nouns are either affix-derived or compound-derived.

6.21 **Affix-derived Nouns.** Affix-derived nouns consist of a root and a derivative affix. Derivative affixes include the following:
ke- 'nominalizer' occurs with verb roots and descriptive roots.

(ke)-handek (nom-frighten) 'fear'
(ke)-'item (nom-black) 'blackness'

-in- 'resultant' occurs with verb roots.

k-(in)-agkag (kagkag 'dry' plus the infix -in-) 'dried tobacco'
'-(in)-andew ('andew 'day' plus -in-) 'by the day'

tele- 'indicates two or more persons in an intimate relationship'

(tele)-'esawa (intimate-spouse) 'married couple'
(tele)-'emigu (intimate-friend) 'close friends'

tere- 'habitual'

(tere)-munu' (habitual-murder) 'habitual murderer'
The root of teremunu' is bunu', but the replacement of /b/ by /m/ is not explained.

(tere)-busew (habitual-demon-who-eats-people) 'ghoul'

tig- 'resident of' is prefixed to a place name.

(tig)-medaya' 'from Medaya'
(tig)-berendiyas 'from Barandias'

teg- 'for each' is prefixed to numerals.

(teg)-singku (for-each-five-cents) 'five cents each'
(teg)-lelima (for-each-five) 'five for each one'
tegi- 'owner of' is affixed to simple nouns.
  (tegi)-valey (owner-of-house) 'the owner of the house'
  (tegi)-'asu (owner-of-dog) 'the owner of the dog'

-a' 'place for' is suffixed to verb roots.
  (penung-(a') (keep-fish-alive-place-for) 'basket used to keep fish alive in the water'

-an 'place of' is suffixed to verb or noun roots.
  tempaz-(an) (trim-off-the-thatch-place-of) 'eaves of a thatch roof'
  belay-(an) (house-place-of) 'sitio' or 'place of houses'

-en 'object of' is suffixed to verb or noun roots.
  ikam-(en) (mat-object-of) 'material used in a mat'
  ke'en-(en) (eat-object-of) 'food'

6.22 Compound Derived Nouns. Compound derived nouns consist of two roots. The construction is rare. The following exhaust known examples.

batu-berani (stone-(meaning unknown) 'magnet'
batu-hapuy (stone-fire) 'flint'
batu-lawa (stone-body) 'eloquent term for body'
CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSION

The aim of this dissertation has been to describe the major grammatical patterns of Western Bukidnon Manobo. The description is taxonomic with units defined on various linguistic levels. In addition to the notion of linguistic levels, the concept of transformational relationships between grammatical structures has been the means of achieving descriptive simplicity. The description is not, however, a combination of the tagmemic and transformational theories. The transformational relationships defined are not those between deep structure and surface structure. They are Harris-type transforms which are based on the concept of kernel structures from which other constructions can be derived.

The phrase level has provided the most appropriate starting point for the description. Predicate phrases and noun phrase complements are major "building blocks" for the description of the clause. Taxonomic generalizations of phrase types display grammatical patterns in such a way as to simplify the clause and transformational formulae. The use of transformational operations, which account for the derivation of certain phrase types from kernel clauses, further simplifies the description. By means of the operations utilized, certain phrases are shown to be derived from clauses. Thus a derived phrase which is
embedded within a clause has been described by showing its relation to a kernel clause rather than by defining a new phrase type.

A quasi-grammatical entity designated as the "adjunct cluster," has also simplified description. Although the members of the adjunct cluster relate to the predicate and not to each other, they are permuted as a unit. Here, again, transformational operations assist in description.

The use of grammatical levels has made it possible to clearly set forth basic patterns. Transformational operations have, in turn, made it possible to show the relationship between basic and more complex structures and yet retain the simplicity of the taxonomic generalizations.

The author thus concludes that a description utilizing a taxonomic approach which incorporates the derivation of more complex structures from basic or kernel structures is the most useful means of describing the grammatical patterns of a language.
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