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BALANGAO PHONEMES

JO SHETLER

1. Word.
2. Syllable.
3. Phoneme:
   3.1 Interpretation of questionable items and sequences
   3.2 Contrasts and variations of consonants
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1. PHONOLOGICAL WORD

A Balango word is one or more syllables occurring between pauses.

Within words, allophonic variations occur which do not occur across word boundaries. The phoneme /l/ has two allophones, [r] and [l]. Word initially only the [l] allophone occurs. Word medially between non-front vowels, only the [r] allophone occurs. In the following examples both [l] and [r] occur between non-front vowels: in the first example a word boundary separates [l] from the preceding vowel, and in the second example there is no word boundary.

[qə'ʦina lay'tʃin]¹ 'neg-he like', 'He doesn't like it.'
[qə'ram hen 'farat] 'get-you the banana', 'You get the banana.'

All words are distributed in the larger units of phrases, clauses, and/or sentences.

2. SYLLABLE

A syllable consists of an obligatory onset and peak with an optional coda.² The onset and coda are filled by consonants and the peak is filled by a vowel. The consonants (c) and the vowels (v) occur in two basic syllable patterns, CV and CVC. 'qəhɔ 'dog', lu'wɔŋ 'carabao'. Consonants w, y occurring as a syllable onset are lenis following a vowel of the same quality occurring as a syllable peak. u, i.

bu'wɔ 'betel nut', qabuni'yən 'creator'.

¹

²
Consonant clusters are formed word medially by a closed syllable preceding another syllable. When the final consonant of the first syllable is velar and the initial consonant of the second syllable is non-velar, open transition occurs between the two syllables.

qimig'yat 'to be afraid'; 'bokbok'kal 'round'.

Certain restrictions govern syllable formation: neither i and y nor u and w co-occur in the same syllable. Two types of morphophonemic change take place to avoid these formations:

(1) Normal vowel loss does not occur upon affixation. bi'yal + -in > *biy'lin > biya'lin 'goiter'.
(2) i becomes e upon prefixation of qi-. (q becoming y is a morphophonemic change) qi'yAb + qi- > *qiyi'yAb > qiye'yAb 'to fan'. Another restriction is that sequences ey and ow do not occur in the same syllable.

Syllables are distributed in the larger units of words.

3. PHONEME

There are 22 phonemes in Balangao. Consonants are p, t, k, q (glottal stop), b, d, g, h, m, n, ng, s, l, w, y. Vowels are i, e, i, I, a, u, o. Word accent is also a phonemic feature of the dialect.

3.1 Interpretation of questionable items and sequences.

The high vocoids [i] and [u] are interpreted as: (1) vowels i and u when they occur as syllable peaks; and (2) consonants y and w when they occur as syllable onset or coda, thus fitting the two basic non-suspect CV patterns.

dit'qal 'floor', du'mang 'other side', 'yato 'this', la'weng 'bad', hay'duq 'fish net', 'tongaw 'to stay home'.

High vocoids [i] and [u] occurring as syllable onsets are lenis and, in fast speech, phonetically not detectable when following a peak vocoid of the same quality. [si'ɬAm] 'nine', [tsu'uɬ] 'two'. The sequences [-i,i-] and [-u,u-] are interpreted as i,y and u,w (period indicates syllable boundaries) to fit the non-suspect CV patterns. Further evidence in support of this interpretation is seen when morphophonemic changes cause the peak vocoid in question to drop. The onset vocoid is then clearly distinguished. In the following example the morphophonemic change is reduplication of the first syllable and the dropping of the vowel of the resulting second syllable. [si-] plus [si'ɬAm] becomes [sis'yɬm] 'nine each'.


The high vocoid [ʊ] is interpreted as consonant y since it occurs only in the coda position of a syllable following the high vowel u. Vocoid [ɨ] never occurs in this position. 'babuy 'pig'.

The sequences [kʰ] and [tʃ] occur in single C slots and are interpreted as single phonemes to fit the non-suspect CV patterns. ['kʰipan] 'small knife', [tʃu'mang] 'other side'.

All consonants may carry length. They are interpreted as two phonemes to fit the non-suspect CV patterns, and occur only word medially between two peaks, forming the coda for one syllable and the onset for the next syllable. Long consonants contrast with non-lengthened consonants. (See section 3.2.)

All vowels may carry length and are interpreted as a geminate cluster. Therefore, a new syllable pattern is interpreted at this point in which the syllable onset becomes optional; V and VC patterns may occur. Geminate clusters contrast with single vowels (see section 3.3).

3.2 **Contrasts and variations of consonants.** Bilabial consonants b, p, w contrast as follows in syllable initial and syllable final positions: 'baqaw 'corn', 'pqaww 'handle', 'waqaw 'tomorrow'; 'halaw 'to burn', 'qalaww 'a tree', 'qolapw 'night blindness'.

The alveolar consonants t, d, l, s, y, and velar h contrast as follows in syllable initial and syllable final positions: 'talo 'to hide', 'dala 'blood', 'lana 'oil', 'sa'bun 'soap', 'yasa 'nevermind', 'halep 'dance'; ha'ngat 'lunch', ba'ngad 'to return', ba'ngal 'beads', pa'ngas 'naughtiness', teg'qangay 'nearly', 'langah 'camote vine'.

The velar consonants k, g, h, q contrast as follows in syllable initial position: 'kahoy 'a root', 'gahal 'sand', 'halep 'dance', 'qalin 'be affected'. They contrast with each other and with the absence of a consonant as follows in syllable final position: 'tokak 'frog', to'kag 'monkey', qas'sekaq 'filth', 'qagah 'medicine', 'baka 'cow'.

The nasal consonants m, n, ng contrast as follows in syllable initial and syllable final positions: loma'yaw 'to leave', tena'lem 'your bracelet', tonga'lan 'to put the bone'; qa'mam 'your father', la'man 'flesh', du'mang 'other side'.

Long consonants contrast with short consonants as follows: p and pp qa'poq 'my grandfather', qap'poq 'rice bran'; t and tt qu'ten 'body organ', qu'teng 'baby'; k and kk qe'kan 'fish', qok'kon 'puppy'; q and qq ha'qin 'I',
The consonant system consists of two series of stops, a series of nasals, a set of semivowels, a set of fricatives, and a lateral.

The stops in one series are unaspirated, voiceless, and when occurring syllable final, are normally unreleased. They occur at the bilabial, front alveolar, back velar, and glottal points of articulation. \( p \) pa'dug 'seedbed', \( q \) goloap 'night blindness'; \( t \) to'kag 'monkey', \( b \) balat 'banana'; \( k \) ka'sole 'bird', \( g \) gat'ak 'brain'; \( q \) qalo 'pestle', ma taq 'my eye'.

The second series of stops has two sets of allophones, voiced and voiceless. The voiced allophones occur at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar points of articulation. These stops occur only as syllable coda. The voiceless allophones occur as a labiodental fricative, an alveopalatal grooved affricate, and an aspirated front velar stop. They occur only as syllable onset. \( b \) lub'qulA 'ball', \( f \) bangA 'clay pot'; \( d \) mad'qan 'old woman', \( t\boldsymbol{\text{s}} \) daqig 'door hook'; \( g \) gqag'gAm 'sleeping house', \( k\boldsymbol{\text{h}} \) gA'dang 'straight'.

Nasals occur at bilabial, alveolar, and back velar points of articulation. \( m \) ma'noq 'chicken', \( m\text{a}'qum 'to be ripe'; \( n \) no 'if', 'gipan 'small knife'; \( n\text{g} \) nga'yug 'coconut', gi'nang 'to stop'.

Semivowels are voiced and occur at bilabial and alveolar points of articulation. The bilabial semivowel has only one allophone: \( w \) high close back rounded vocoid, \( wA'ng \)'wang river', \( mA'q \)'waw 'to be thirsty'. The alveolar semivowel has two allophones: \( y \) [ü] a high close front rounded vocoid occurring only as syllable coda following \( u \), 'babayu 'pig'; \( y \) a high close front unrounded vocoid occurring in other environments, 'yasa 'nevermind', 'langtay 'bridge'.

Fricative consonants are voiceless. The grooved fricative occurs at the alveolar point of articulation, \( s \) sa'bun 'soap', \( qA'pA' \)as 'envy'. The non-grooved fricative has two allophones: \( h \) [h] a pharyngeal fricative occurring only word
final, 'qagah 'medicine'; [h] a glottal fricative occurring non-final in words, 'halang 'pine', bī'hal 'appearance'.

The lateral consonant is voiced and has two allophones; 1 [l] a lateral continuant which occurs word initially and in alveolar environments. An alveolar environment is defined as: (1) contiguous to a front vowel; (2) a preceding alveolar consonant in a consonant cluster; (3) a front vowel preceding a non-alveolar consonant in a consonant cluster. 'limā 'hand', 'bali 'storm'; pos'lāqet 'flashl', 'flooded', manla'yād 'to be happy', layla'yādna 'his happiness', kallon'tay 'rubber band'; dip'lat 'wall board', meqla'yāw 'to go with'. [r] a mid-central retroflexed vocoid which occurs word medially and finally and in non-alveolar environments: qa'bal 'to weave', 'haplat 'to spank'.

3.3 Contrasts and variations of vowels. High vowels i, ī, u contrast as follows: qiģ'gāy 'did not', qiģ'nān 'hold', qug'ha 'deer'; bi'dong 'bladder', bi'hal 'appearance', bu'yuy 'boil'.

Mid vowels e, ē, o contrast as follows: le'ngat 'sweat', la'nga 'a bean', lo'ngidin 'to bend back'; te'balo 'bamboo pot', ta'laq 'kind of bark', to'bayg 'lime bottle'.

Front vowels i, e contrast as follows: 'qimeng 'whiskers', 'qemot 'bottom'; 'bali 'storm', ta'le 'rope'.

Central vowels ā, ē, a contrast as follows: qa'nān 'to increase', qi'nim 'six', qa'naq 'child of'; qa'nād 'earlier', qi'niq 'door', qa'māh 'to bathe'.

Back vowels u, o contrast as follows: qoto 'louse', 'quto 'to cook'; qut'teng 'baby', qot'tem 'immature rice'.

Lengthened vowels generally occur in one syllable words, which are relatively few. Upon the morphophonemic change of the addition of a suffix, beginning with a central vowel, to a word ending with a central vowel, vowel length of the quality of the suffix occurs. lan'sa + -in > lan'siin 'to nail it'. Contrast of lengthened vowels with non-lengthened vowels is as follows: i and ii bin'hal 'to blacksmith', 'biin 'shame'. e and ee pahet'nin 'to fattten', 'heet 'to sharpen', ī and īi qim'big 'to lie down', 'qiim 'a weed'. ā and ăwah'di 'each one', 'wāh 'trodden grass'. a and aa qa'gahan 'to medicate', qa'gaḥān 'to get grass'. u and uu buq'tan 'to close', 'buuq 'hair'. o and oo qu'popp 'to shut', qu'poop 'bells'.

All vowels are voiced. The high and central vowels have no additional allophones. i high close front unrounded vocoid, ma'qid 'none'; u high close back rounded vocoid,
qu'du 'sky'; i high close central unrounded vocoid, qi'dig 'back'; a mid close central unrounded vocoid, ba'yah 'wine'; a low open central unrounded vocoid, ma'ta 'eye'.

Mid close front unrounded e has two allophones. Mid open [e̞] occurs only preceding ng and k, 'quheng 'charcoal', 'wewek 'dimple'. Mid close [e] occurs in all other environments, teq'gad 'flint stone'.

Mid close back rounded vocoid o has two allophones. Mid close back-central [o̞] occurs only in unaccented open syllables following b, d, g: bo'loqoq 'a fruit', do'pol 'ashes', go'lot 'dirt'. Mid close back [o] occurs in all other environments, 'podot 'warm'.

Phonemes are distributed in the larger units of syllables.

3.4 Accent is contrastive on the word level in the Balangao phonemic system. It is described in detail in the paper, "The Obscuring of Word Accent in Balangao".4
NOTES

1. All examples are written in phonemic script unless bracketed, indicating phonetic script.


3. These words resist normal morphophonemic change and, in neighbouring dialects, a glottal stop separates two like vowels which occur in words where vowel length occurs in Balangao. 'heet would be 'heqet 'to sharpen'. However, in the dialect described in this paper, the glottal stop seldom occurs.


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TAGALOG -um- and mag-
AN INTERIM REPORT
RICHARD PITTMAN

In a 13-page bulletin entitled "Scope and Uses of the Verbal Affixes -um- and mag-" the Filipino Language Section of the Instruction Division of the Philippines Bureau of Public Schools, summarizing the Balara (official grammar) treatment of the subject, has compiled a first-class document of data on a major grammatico-lexical contrast which is but little known to speakers of European languages. This paper, identified as "Bulletin No. 2 of the 1950 series" of the Department of Education's Bureau of Public Schools, contains a collection of contrastively organized evidence and illustrations which would dignify any structural grammar.

It seems desirable to add to the description, however, both a summary of its information and some grammatical notes which, though implicit in the illustrations, are not explicit in the document. These notes will, it is hoped, add a useful supplement to what is already a very valuable paper. It must be added, however, that both the original paper and this summary suffer from incomplete transformation studies. We believe these to be indispensable to a satisfactory treatment of this subject. For that reason we have chosen to call this an "interim report". It will be useful as a suggestive guide to those who do the transform studies later.

Nearly all of the illustrations which follow are from the bulletin. The present author accepts responsibility, however, for the interpretations.

First, a brief summary must be made of the behaviour of -um- and mag-.

1 The author is indebted to Dr Rufino Alejandro for a number of useful suggestions and additions to the present paper. An earlier version of it was read at the 1964 meeting, in Canberra, of the Australia and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science. Special appreciation is due to my wife for alphabetizing and typing the entries, and to Mrs Mabel Pears for typing the manuscript.
-um- is a verbal infix which occurs immediately following the first consonant of a word base. The past tense of the verb and the imperative and infinitive modes consist of this arrangement. bumilí 'bought; buy; to buy' (from bilí 'to trade' plus -um-).

Word-initial glottal stop is not written, so words which appear in the standard orthography as beginning with -um- actually begin with glottal stop (q). Thus qumulan 'it rained' is written umulan. Penultimate stress is unmarked; other stress is marked with an acute accent. Grave accent marks word-final glottal; circumflex is stress plus glottal.

Future tense of -um- verbs consists of the verb stem, without -um-, plus reduplication of the first CV of the word base. bumilí 'to buy'; bibilí 'will buy'; bumagsak 'to drop'; babagsak 'will drop'.

Reduplication with -um- gives present tense. bumibilí 'buys; is buying'.

The present tense of stems beginning with glottal stop is no different from those beginning with other consonants: qumuqulan 'it is raining', but it looks different in standard orthography because both q's are unwritten: umulan.

mag- is ag- plus a nasal consonant which could be represented by a capital letter: Mag-. The reason for this is that a nasal component is always present, but it is n for non-future and m- for non-past and contemporary past.

mag- plus word base gives past tense. nagbilí 'sold'.

Word-base-initial glottal stop is conventionally written with a hyphen when it occurs following g. nag-abót 'handed'.

mag- plus word base gives infinitive, imperative, and "contemporary" tense in subordinate clauses. magbilí ka 'you sell'. Nagalit si Tatay nang ako'y mag-alis ng sapatos 'Father got angry when I removed my shoes'.

mag- plus reduplication of the first CV of the word base gives present, customary, or continuous past. nagbibilí 'is, was selling'.

mag- plus reduplication of the first CV of the word base is future tense. magbibilí 'will sell'.

Some verb bases may occur with -um- but not with mag-, some with mag- but not with -um-, some with either -um- or mag-, a few with both -um- and mag-.

The following outline will summarize the subdivisions. Note, in reading it, that the numbers refer to numbered paragraphs of examples which follow.
I. -um- vs. mag- on identical stems:

| 1.1 | Non-reflexive |
| 1.2 | Reflexive |
| 2.1 | Non-causative |
| 2.2 | Causative |
| 3.1 | Centripetal |
| 3.2 | Centrifugal |
| 4.1 | Non-dual and non-reciprocal |
| 4.2 | Dual or Reciprocal |
| 5.1 | Non-repetitive |
| 5.2 | Repetitive |
| 6.1 | Intrinsic colour change |
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II. -um- vs. mag- on different stems:

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III. mag- plus -um in tandem:

| -um- | Augmentative |

I. -um- vs. mag- on identical stems

1. Of the verbs that may occur with either -um- or mag-, the following are reflexive when occurring with mag-, non-
reflexive when occurring with -um-. Those occurring with -um- are also, in all examples given, nominalized verbs, whereas those occurring with mag- are finite verbs.

1.1 Non-reflexive

gumupít to cut with a pair of scissors
gumamot to treat illness

umalíw to console others
umahit to shave others
sumanay to train others
kumamot to scratch

bumigtí to strangle (transitive)
kumurò to think
umisip to think

1.2 Reflexive

maggupít to do cutting work with a pair of scissors
maggamot to treat one's self for an illness
mag-alíw to enjoy one's self
mag-ahit to shave one's self
magsanay to train one's self
magkamot to scratch one's self (intensively)
magbigtí to commit suicide by hanging
magkurò to reflect
mag-isip to think intensively

2. The following verb bases are causative when occurring with -um-.

2.1 Non-causative

pumanhîk to enter
umalís to leave
bumitíw to free one's hold

tumakas to escape
tumiwalág to leave a group; to sever one's connection

pumasok to enter

lumakad to walk

2.2 Causative

magpanhîk to bring upstairs
mag-alís to remove
magbitíw to resign from office

magtakas to escape with something or someone
magtiwalág to remove from office

magpasok to bring in, to enrol, to help land a job

maglakad to hand-carry (e.g. papers)

3. The action of the following verb bases is centripetal (moving goal toward actor) when occurring with -um-, centrifugal (removing goal from actor) when occurring with mag-.

3.1 Centripetal

bumílí to buy
unabót to reach for
umamot to buy a part or portion of what someone else has bought

3.2 Centrifugal

magbílí to sell
mag-abót to hand over

mag-amot to sell a part or portion of what one has bought
4. The following verb bases have action which is dual or reciprocal (two subjects acting jointly or each on the other) when marked by mag-, non-dual and non-reciprocal transitive when marked by um-.

4.1 Non-dual and non-reciprocal

sumalo to join another
bumati to greet another
kumamáy to shake hands with someone
sumapi to join or be a member of
sumaping to come near somebody
kumita to earn, to have a job

4.2 Dual or reciprocal

magsalo to share
magbatì to greet each other
magkamáy to shake hands with each other
magsapi to join in a partnership in business or any enterprise
magsiping to lie down near each other
magkita to see each other, to meet each other accidentally

5. Some verb bases display repetitive or intensive action when occurring with mag- in contrast to non-repetitive or less intensive action when occurring with um-.

5.1 Non-repetitive

kumain to eat
bumasa to read
sumulat to write

5.2 Repetitive

magkain to eat often
magbasa to study
magsulat to write much

I am indebted to Professor Tomas Aguirre for this set of contrasts.

6. Colour words, when occurring with mag-, mean 'to wear' a given colour. When occurring with um- they mean 'to become' that colour.

6.1 Intrinsic colour change

dumiláw to turn yellow
pumulá to turn red
umitím to turn black

6.2 External colour application

mag-ilaw to wear yellow
magpulá to wear red
mag-itím to wear black

A seventh subset - accidental vs. intentional - should probably be identified, but because only one example - pumatay vs. magpatay 'to kill' is in our material, it has been included in paragraph 10.
II. -um- vs. mag- on different stems

In the much more numerous examples of word bases which occur with either -um- or mag- but not both, comparison is not so simple as it is with those on which -um- and mag- contrast. No doubt transform tests will reveal, in many cases, the relevant patterns. The division followed in this paper, however, has at least the benefit of the considerable quantity of examples from the original paper to support the analysis here proposed.

"Physical" entries are considered to include not only those actions which characterize non-human animals, but also human activity which is viewed as arising from other than rational causes. Impersonal-action verbs are regarded as contrasting with the distinctively human actions listed under "Personal".

The notoriously elusive nature of lexical analysis makes it good that a 3-way check can be kept on this part of the -um-/mag- description:

(1) The contrastive occurrence of -um- and mag- on different verb stems.

(2) A vertical lexical consistency throughout each subset (substitution list) of -um- or mag-, contrasting with

(3) A distinctive lexical consistency throughout each subset of the other side of the -um-/mag- opposition. Some, such as 11, 14, and 17, contrast with their own absence.

7. Some uses of -um- and/or mag- are no doubt derivational. All eight of the impersonal verbs in 7.1, for example, are paralleled by corresponding nouns without -um-. The extent to which this may be true of the rest of the data will need to be determined by transform tests. Note that the -um-/mag- contrast in the following paragraphs is between subsets of verbs rather than single verbs.

7.1 Impersonal actions

-gumabí to grow late (in the afternoon)
-humangin to blow (wind)
-kumidlát to flash (lightning)
-kumulóg to thunder
-lumindol to quake
-tumanghali to grow late (in the morning)

7.2 Personal and occupational actions

-mag-anluwagi to be a carpenter
-mag-artista to be an actor
-magbigás to deal in rice
-mag-embahadór to be an ambassador
-maghenerál to be a general
-maghepe to be a chief
umaraw to shine (sun)
umulán to rain
maghuwés to be a judge
mag-isdâ to deal in fish
magkahoy to deal in lumber
magkalikim to be a secretary
magkutsero to be a rig
driver
magmakatà to be a poet
magpangulo to be a president
magparè to be a priest

MANNER

8.1 Gestural
bumalikwás to spring out of bed
dumilat to open wide the eyes
humalakhák to laugh loudly
kumawág to move hands and legs as in swimming
kumundáy to move the hand
lumuhód to kneel
lumundág to jump
ngumangá to open the mouth
ngumisi to grin
ngumítî to smile
pumayag to agree
pumikít to close the eyes
sumulyáp to glance
tumánáw to look in the distance
tumangó to nod (yes)
tumapak to step (on ground)
tumawa to laugh
tumingalà to look up
tumingín to look at
tumuntóng to step (up)
umibag to jump to avoid
umilag to dodge
umiling to shake the head 'no'
yumukód to bow

9.1 Physical
bumahín to sneeze
dumahák to spit phlegm
dumuwál to retch (vomit)
kumagát to bite

8.2 Verbal
magbadyâ to speak
magbalítâ to furnish
magbantâ to threaten
magbintáng to suspect
maghayág to reveal
maghingâ to unburden
magkailâ to deny
magkánuló to betray
magparatang to accuse
magsabi to tell
magsakdâl to file a complaint
magsalítâ to talk
magsumbóng to tell on a person
magsuplóng to denounce
magtapát to tell the truth
magwikâ to say

9.2 Emotional
magbatá to suffer, bear, endure
magdadám to feel (a remark)
magdusa to grieve, suffer
**QUALITY**

10.1 Impulsive

- lumunók to swallow
- ngunuyá to chew
- sumingá to blow one's nose
- sumuka to vomit
- tumakám to hanker for something
- tumangís to weep
- tumayô to stand
- tumigil to stop
- tumikim to taste
- umamóy to smell
- umiyák to cry
- umubó to cough
- umupô to sit

- magambíng to be foolishly nice or tender
- magtampó to sulk
- magtiís to suffer, bear, endure
- mag-upasalà to vituperate, blame abusively

10.2 Deliberate (Volitional)

- dumamay to aid (a person in sorrow or bereavement)
- gumiliw to love
- lumimot to forget
- sumakliolo to aid (a person in danger or mishap)
- sumalungát to contradict, disagree
- sumamò to plead, entreat
- tumulong to help
- tumanggí to reject, decline
- tumutol to protest
- umasa to hope
- umayon to conform, agree
- umibig to love

- mag-akalà to suspect
- mag-alaala to worry
- mag-aral to study
- magbantáy to study, keep watch
- magbilin to guard, keep watch
- maghatíd to order, request
- maghulib to conduct, convey, escort
- magkutà to entrench
- maglakbáy to tour
- maglayág to sail
- maglibáng to amuse
- maglutò to cook
- magsayáw to dance
- magsikáp to be diligent
- magsimbá to go to church
- magsuri to analyze

Note also -um vs. mag- on patáy:

- pumatáy to kill

- magpatáy to kill (e.g. a chicken for a feast)

Some forms in this class occur primarily in passive (goal-focus with -in) rather than active (actor-focus with -um-) voice:

- alalahanin to remember
- tikisín to spite

- magtanggól to defend
- magwarí to meditate, consider
11. Creative
bumuhay to bring to life
bumuô to create completely, put together
yumari to finish, to construct

12.1 Elementary
bumukál to spring up (water)
bumalông to ooze out
bumahâ to flood
dumilím to grow dark
kumulimlím to be cloudy
lumagô to grow luxuriantly
lumitáw to appear
lumiwanag to brighten up (sky)
lumubog to set, disappear (sun, moon)
sumibol to germinate
sumikat to rise (sun)
sumipóó to appear, show up (at a place)
tumubô to sprout
umagos to flow
umaliwalas to clear up
umuntol to be retarded
umusbông to sprout, bud

13.1 Regressive
dumalang to become sparse, to diminish in frequency
lumipi to become small
numipi to become thin
pumayát to grow thin
umiklî to become short
umimpís to become deflated
kumauntî to decrease

12.2 Secondary
mag-apóy to burn hot
mag-asín to make salt, sell salt, turn into salt
magbató to harden like stone
magdugô to bleed
maglamán to grow flesh
maglupâ to turn into soil
magnaknák to fill with pus
magputik to become muddy
magsugat to develop into a wound
magtubig to turn watery
mag-ugât to grow roots

13.2 Progressive
magbaging to grow vines
magbalát to grow a skin
magbatis to turn into a spring
magbunga to bear fruit
magdahon to grow leaves
mag-ióg to turn into a river
maglawà to turn into a pool
magpalông to grow a cockscomb
magsangá to grow branches
magsungay to grow horns
magtiník to grow thorns
mag-uhay to bear grain
mag-usbông to grow shoots

14. Multiplicational and Inversive
All of these verbs except gumising, tumubô and bumangon have adjective transforms in which a ma- prefix replaces the
-um- infix. The adjective form of gumising is gising; of tumubò it is tubò. The corresponding form of bumangon is nakabangon. Very few of the mag- verbs appear to have adjective transforms.

bumaít to become good
bumangon to get up
bumutì to become good
dumalàs to occur frequently
dumamì to become many
gumalìng to get well
gumaspang to become coarse
gumising to wake up
huminà to become weak
humabā to become long, to stretch (as a rubber band)
kumapál to become thick
lumakás to become strong
lumakí to grow big
lumalà to worsen
lumupít to become cruel
pumaít to become bitter
pumintòg to swell, bulge, become inflated
pumutì to turn gray (hair), to turn white, to bleach
sumamà to become bad
suminsín to become close or compact (as threads in weaving)
tumabā to become fat
tumamìs to become sweet
tumapang to become brave
tumubò to grow
yumaman to become rich

15.1 Destructive
bumaríl to shoot
dumurog to pulverize
gumibā to demolish
pumanà to shoot with bow and arrow
sumuligì to pierce with a dart
sumibát to spear
bumalísóng to strike with a balisong

15.2 Constructive
mag-ani to harvest
magbahay to build a house
magbukid to farm
magginatán to make ginatan
maglagà to boil (transitive)
mapinipig to make pinipig
mapunlà to sow seed
magsaing to cook rice
magsukà to make vinegar
maganím to plant

16.1 Locational
dumini to be here
dumito to be here

16.2 Instrumental
mag-araro to plow
mag-awto to ride in an auto
dumiyán to be there (near)
dumoon to be there (yonder)
gumanitó to be in this position (< gaya nito - like this)
lumapit to approach
lumayóng to go further away
pumaibabaw to be above, to soar, to be on top
pumailanláng to soar
pumakaliwa to turn left
pumakanan to turn right
pumalaot to steer into the open sea
pumanaw to disappear
pumarini to come here
pumarito to come here
pumariyán to go there
pumaroón to go there
sumaatin to be in us
sumakanyá to be in him
sumalángit to be in heaven
sumalahát to be received by all
sumapit to reach a destination
tumabí to step aside
yumao to pass away

This group includes infixed demonstratives (dzi "this", dito "here", diyán "there", doón "there"), and infixed prepositional phrases beginning with pa 'to, on' and sa 'to, at'. pasa Maynila 'to go to Manila; pumasa Maynila 'to go to Manila'.

QUANTITY

17. Numeral

magdawá to be two
mag-ilán to be (no matter) how many
18.1 Partitive
kumarit to cut with a sickle
lumagari to saw wood
pumunit to tear
tumanggal to unfasten, separate
tumastás to detach, disassemble, dismantle

18.2 Distributive
mag-ábó to hand
mag-abuloy to contribute
mag-ambág to contribute
mag-amot to sell a portion of what is bought
magbiyayà to give lavishly as a favour
maghandóg to offer, present
maglakó to offer for sale

III. mag- plus -um- occur together in tandem on a few words

19. Augmentative
hiyaw shout
unat stretch
iyak cry

maghumiyaw to shout at the top of one's voice
mag-umunat to stretch one's self to the limit
mag-umiyak to cry at the top of one's voice

Note, in conclusion, that those of the foregoing categories which are confirmed by transform tests will constitute authentic lexical patterns, structurally determined.
PHRASES IN TAGABILI

VIVIAN FORSBERG

0. Introduction.
1. Kernel Phrase:
   1.1 Marked Phrase
   1.2 Unmarked Phrase.

**Key to Abbreviations and Symbols**

- $Ph_k$: kernel phrase
- $Mkr$: phrase marker
- $H$: head of phrase
- $+$: obligatory tagmeme
- $\pm$: optional tagmeme
- $\underline{\underline{\ldots}}$: tagmeme composed of slot name in first blank with slot filler in second blank following colon
- $V$: verb
- $N_p$: personal noun
- $N$: non-personal noun
- $N.S.$: nominal specifier
- $s-$: subjective orientation
- $st-$: stative orientation
- $o-$: objective orientation
- $d-$: directional orientation
- $i-$: instrumental orientation
- $ca-$: causative
- $se-$: associative action
- $ke-$: nominalizer
- $de-$: nearby
- Sen-$: on the other side of
- $<>$: a filler class of which the item enclosed is a member
- $(- - -) (- - -)$: part of sentence not being illustrated is bracketed by parentheses.

21
0. INTRODUCTION

A phrase in Tagabili is defined as a tagmeme which typically occurs on the clause level or a tagmeme layered within the phrase level. It may be a single word which is potentially expandable, or it may be a sequence of words consisting of a phrase marker \((Mkr)\) plus a potentially expandable head word \((H)\).

Since the filler classes of phrase-head tagmemes are homophonous (except for the personal/non-personal dichotomy), a comparison of the phrase-level tagmemes alone does not always give adequately contrasted types. Phrases are often distinguished, therefore, by a comparison of both the phrase-marker tagmemes and the place the phrases fill as clause-level tagmemes.

1. KERNEL PHRASE

The tagmemic formula of a kernel phrase \((Ph)\) is:

\[
Ph = +Mkr +H
\]

The formula reads that "a kernel phrase consists of an optional marker slot plus an obligatory head slot". The kernel phrase may be divided into two distinct sub-types, marked and unmarked.

1.1 Marked Phrase. A marked phrase and an unmarked phrase contrast as to (1) the occurrence of a phrase-marking tagmeme in the marked phrase, (2) the fillers of the head slot, and, (3) the function.

In the marked phrase, the marker slot is filled by one of the phrase markers \(ke\), bè, bélé, fi, \(<nim>\), mô, or gunû. The head slot may be filled by a word or a phrase.

Marked phrases contrast as to (1) fillers of the phrase-marker slot, (2) fillers of the head slot, and, (3) function.

1.11 ke Phrase. A \(ke\) phrase marker indicates that the phrase it introduces is an uninflected personal phrase which may be the name of a person, a kinship term, or the name of an object which has been personalized in folk stories. A \(ke\) phrase occurs as the filler of a non-topic object slot in a clause.

The tagmatic formula for the \(ke\) phrase is:

\[
ke Ph = +Mkr:ke +H:Np
\]

The formula reads that "a \(ke\) phrase consists of an obligatory marker slot filled by \(ke\) plus an obligatory head slot
filled with a personal noun". Illustrations: (Mit) ke Kasi (Teme Ukol). '(s-bring-he) the-personal Kasi (grandfather short)' 'Short grandfather will bring Kasi.' (Tabahu) ke Kasi (blöwöñ). '(i-call-I) the-personal Kasi (agong)'. 'I'll call Kasi with an agong.' (là newitu) ke Kasi. '(not o-bring-I) the-personal Kasi' 'I didn't bring Kasi.' (Yem kewit me) ke Kasi. ...' '(that-one ke-bring ours-not-yours) the-personal Kasi' 'When we brought Kasi, ...' (Segantang hedeku) ke Bé. '(one-ganta ca-pound-I) the-personal grandmother' 'I had Grandmother pound one ganta.' (Dalang se) ke Alun. ...' '(same also) the-personal Alun' 'It was the same with Alun, ...' (Olo Kyol temondo) ke Ibid. '(only Kyol s-deceive) the-personal Ibid' 'Kyol (type of lizard) was only deceiving Ibid (another type of lizard).'

Only in a double causative clause, when both the object-as-causer and the object-as-actor are specified (which is rare), have two ke phrases as clause-level tagmemes been found to occur in sequence. Illustrations: (Hefféten bè Ting) ke Sanang ke Walan (blökön tum onuk tum Téme Ukol). '(ca-ca-tie-he for-the Ting) the-personal Sanang the-personal Walan (vine that-one chicken that-one grandfather short)' 'Short Grandfather had Sanang get Walan to tie the chicken with a vine for Ting.'

The dou personal pronoun set1 substitutes for the ke phrase. (Mit) kul (Téme Ukol). '(s-bring-he) them (grandfather short)'. 'Short Grandfather will bring them.' (Tabahu) kul (blöwöñ). '(i-call-I) them (agong)'. 'I'll call them with an agong.'

The ke phrase may be the filler of the head slot of the <nim>2 phrase (see 1.14) and the mò phrase (see 1.15). Illustrations: Nim ke Fa (deng matay). 'this-one the-personal Fa (already st-die)' 'The one for Fa has already died.' (Ne monu) mò ke Mà Bong. ...' '(and s-say-I) to the-personal father big' 'And I said to Big Father, ...' Mò ke Bét (yó). to-the for-the-personal Bét (that)'. 'That's for Bét.'

1.12 bè Phrase. The bè phrase marker indicates that the phrase it introduces occurs as the filler of the directional slot of a clause and functions either as a locational or a benefactive.

The tagmatic formula for the bè phrase is:

\[
\text{bè Ph} = +\text{Mkr}: \text{bè} +\text{H:Np}/\text{N}/ <\text{ni}>^3/<\text{nim}> \text{Ph}/\text{dCl}
\]

The formula reads that "a bè phrase consists of an obligatory phrase marker slot filled by bè, plus an obligatory head slot filled by either a personal or a non-personal noun
phrase, a demonstrative of the ni set, a <nim> phrase, or a
dependent clause". Illustrations: (Tebel me) bè Kasi (yem
kudà). '(o-leave we-not-you) the-personal Kasi (that-one
horse)' 'We left the horse with Kasi.' (Tungō le) bè lān.
'(st-sleep they) the-personal path' 'They slept on the
way.' (Tenōbōngem lu) bè kenagi le. '(o-help-you them)
the-personal ke-study their' 'Help them in their studying.'
(Deng sentahen) bè yó, ... '(already sen-up-it) the-
personal that' 'The day after that, ...'

As many as four bè phrases have been found to occur in
sequence although not all are clause-level tagmemes. Il-
lustrations: (Slob me) bè yó bè gunû bè Mutù Benobu bè
seblà Mélê Botu. '(st-stop-by we-not-you) by-the-personal
that-at-the-personal house on-the-personal Mutù Benobu by-
the-personal across-from Mélê Botu' 'We stopped by there at
the house on Mutù Benobu (name of mountain) which is across
from Mélê Botu (another mountain).'

A dependent clause introduced by the subordinating par-
ticle ke 'if' may be the filler of the head slot of a bè
phrase. Illustrations: (Kemamó le) bè ke wen datù. '(s-
report they) to-the-personal if there-is chief' 'They will
report him to a chief if there is one.' (Là bud hyu mili
du) ebè ke wen gunû lomì. 'not again good s-transfer it)
towards-the-personal if there-is house new' 'It would not
be good to again transfer it to a new house.'

A negated derived stem may be the filler of the head
slot of a bè phrase. Illustration: (Henihu) bè là klangagu.
'(ca-ask-for-I) for-the-personal not ke-sad-my' 'I prayed
that I would not be sad.'

A bè phrase may be the filler of the head slot of the ñi
phrase (see 1.13). Illustration: Fi bè gunû onuk (yem
ebekadu). 'Beside-by-the-personal house chicken (that-one
avocado)' 'The avocado tree is right by the chicken house.'

1.12.1 Personal Pronoun Substitute. The -u personal pro-
noun set4 substitutes for the head of the bè phrase. With
pronouns, a variant of the bè marker occurs: bèlé. The
tagmatic formula for the bèlé phrase is:

\[ bèlé \text{ Ph} = +Mkr: bèlé +H:<u> \]

The formula reads that "a bèlé phrase consists of an obli-
gatory phrase marker slot filled by bèlé, plus an obligatory
head slot filled by a pronoun of the -u set". Illustra-
tions: (Mekene) bèlé le. '(s-eat-I) with-the-personal them'
'I ate with them.' Bèlé le (gunû me tungô). 'the-personal
them (please we-not-you st-sleep)' 'With them is the place
where we slept.'
A bè phrase may occur following the bèlè phrase. Illustration: (Nui) bèlè le bè Senolon. 'You live with them at the-personal Senolon.'

1.12.2 Demonstrative Pronoun Substitute. There is a demonstrative pronoun set dini\(^5\) which may substitute for the entire bè phrase. Semantically it indicates a general area in contrast to a specific area indicated by the bè phrase. Illustrations: (Ne uu gena mó hulu) dini. '(and you first make plant) here' 'And you be the first one to plant here.'

_Ditu_ (gunu me tungô). 'there (place we-not-you st-sleep)' 'There is the place where we slept.'

A bè phrase may occur following the demonstrative <dini>. Illustration: (Hotun me) dítu bè mon le "kufit Sual". '(ca-go-up we-not-you) there at-the-personal s-say they flat thorns' 'We went up (into a house) there at the place they call "Flat Thorns".'

The bè phrase with its pronoun substitutes may occur in sequence in the following order: demonstrative substitute, personal pronoun substitute, bè phrase. Illustration: (Nui) dítu bèlè le bè Senolon. 'You live with them at the-personal Senolon.'

1.12.3 Directional Affix with bè, bèlè, <dini>. There is a directional affix e- which indicates "motion towards". It may be prefixed to the phrase markers bè, bèlè and to all the members of the dini set of demonstratives except _ditu_ 'there'. The _tu_ 'there' of the ni set of demonstratives replaces the _ditu_ and occurs with the directional prefix e-. Illustrations: (Mung ye do) ebè Bongu. '(st-accompany you-all me) toward to-the-personal Bangà' 'Come with me to Bangà.' (Mógowi) ebélèú. '(st-go/come-you) towards-me' 'Come to me.' (Mógów ye) edini. '(st-go/come you-all) towards-here' 'You all come here.' (Dengi mögów) etu (kô). '(already-you st-go/come) towards-there t\(_t\)' 'Have you gone there already?'

1.13 fi Phrase. The fi phrase marker indicates that the phrase it introduces occurs as the filler of the directional slot of a clause and functions as a locational.

The tagmatic formula for the fi phrase is:

\[
fi \: Ph = +^Mkr:fi +^H:<dini>/desc \: loc^6/\text{bè} \: Ph
\]

The formula reads that "a fi phrase consists of an obligatory phrase marker slot filled by fi plus an obligatory head slot filled by a demonstrative of the dini set, a
descriptive locative, or a be phrase". Illustrations: (Nû) fi dini (yem kun teniba Mâ, nû) fi ditu (yem ke Bê). 'is direction here (that-one his field father, is) direction there (that-one the-personal grandmother)' 'Father's field is towards here (in this direction), Grandmother's towards there (that way).' Fi leged (kun gunu nû Têmê Ukol). 'direction ascending-direction (his place live grandfather short) 'Short Grandfather lives up yonder (toward the ascending direction). 'Fi bè Kasi (Bêt). 'direction to-the Kasi (Bêt)' 'Bêt is (standing) next to Kasi.' (Tu kem) fi gu dlem (nauy le tum nga libun). 'there plural) direction from nearby-below (o-visit they that-one child girl)' 'Those (folks) from down below, they visited the girl.'

1.14 <nim> Phrase. The <nim> phrase marker indicates that the phrase it introduces is a specific phrase in contrast to a non-specific phrase. The members of nim class of markers are inflected deictic pronouns: nim, yem, tum, and yum.

The tagmatic formula for the <nim> phrase is:

<nim>Ph = +Mkr:<nim> +H:Np /N/V/<ni/>/<dou>/mò Ph/ke Ph/Cl

The formula reads that "a <nim> phrase consists of an obligatory marker slot filled by <nim>, plus an obligatory head slot filled with a personal noun, a non-personal noun, a verb, a demonstrative pronoun of the ni set, a personal pronoun of the dou set, a mò phrase, a ke phrase, or a clause". A name or a kinship term occurs as the head of a <nim> phrase only when it requires a modifier in order to identify it. Illustrations: (nten unge) nim nga ying nii. '(o-bring-she rat) this-one child cat right-here' 'This kitten here brought a rat.' tum Sanang (Yê Bô) 'that-one Sanang (mother Bô)' 'The Sanang of the mother of Bô'; tum Tême Ukol 'that-one grandfather short' 'the grandfather who is short'; (Tonu) yem kewôten. '(o-see-I) that-one ke-leave his' 'I saw when he left.' (Du) yem mògòw. '(he) that-one st-go' 'He's the one who is going.' (Tilôwem) nim nî. '(o-try-you) this-one this' 'Try this one here.' (Ni se) yem dou. '(this ðe) that-one mine' 'This one is mine.' Yem món ke Bê (hitem). 'that-one for-the-personal Bêt (black)' 'The one for Bêt is black.' Yem ke Bê (nû dlem). 'that-one for-the-personal grandmother (st-is below)' 'Grandmother's is down below.' (Tonu) yem tenerngalen. '(o-see-I) that-one o-shoot-he' 'I saw the one he shot.'

As many as three clause-level <nim> phrases have been noted to occur in sequence. Illustration: (Klohen bè Kasi) tum kleb tum suk tum tuha libun. '(i-weed-she for-the-personal Kasi) that-one gabi that-one knife that-one old woman' 'The old woman is weeding the gabi for Kasi with a knife.'
The <nim> phrase may be a filler of the head slot of both the bè phrase (see 1.12) and the mó phrase (see 1.15). Illustrations: (Mógów me) bè tum sol kefnit. '(<st>go we-not-you) to-the-personal that-one hole bat' 'We're going to the cave of the bats.' Mò yem tau fun gunu (yó). 'towards that-one person owner house (that)' 'That's for the owner of the house.'

A <nim> phrase which has a negated inflected stem as the filler of the head slot may be a filler of the head slot of a be phrase. Illustration: (Hendemu) bè yem là kukét me silà fedyan gena. '(<o>think-I) about-the-personal that-one not ke-pick ours-not-yours corn market before' 'I thought about our not picking corn last week.'

1.15 mó Phrase. A mó phrase marker introduces a phrase which functions as an appositional.

The tagmatic formula for the mó phrase is:

\[ mó Ph = +Mkr: mó H: \langle V/dou\rangle/\text{ke} Ph \]

The formula reads that "a mó phrase consists of an obligatory marker slot filled by mó, plus an obligatory head slot filled with a verb, a personal pronoun of the dou set, or a ke phrase". Illustrations: (Ne heni le kudà) mó senakay yem libun. '(<and ca>ask-for they horse) for-the-personal o-ride that-one girl' 'They asked for a horse which the girl might have for riding.' (Tenaba le datù él) mó hekó des yem tau semlaw. '(<o-call they chief river) towards ca-remove sickness that-one person st-sick' 'They called the chief of the river (spirit) to cure the sickness of the person who was sick.' (Na sentulón le) mó keslai le. '(<and se-o-tell they) towards ke-se-in-law their' 'And they discussed how they would carry out the marriage (their becoming in-laws)' Mò dou (yó ko). 'towards mine (that \( p_1 \))' 'Is that one for me?' (Nim lomi) mó ke Fa. '(<this-one new) towards the-personal Fa' 'This new one is for Fa.'

The mó phrase may be the filler of the head slot of the <nim> phrase. Illustration: Yem mó ke Bét (hitem). 'that-one towards the-personal Bét (black)' 'The one for Bét is black.'

1.16 gunú Phrase. A gunú phrase marker introduces a phrase which functions as an appositional.

The tagmatic formula for the gunú phrase is:

\[ gunú Ph = +Mkr: gunú = H: \langle V_s/st \rangle \]

The formula reads that "a gunú phrase consists of an obligatory marker slot filled by gunú, plus an obligatory head
slot filled with a verb inflected for either subjective or stative orientation.

In the gnû phrase, the -u set of pronouns is used as actor of the verb phrase head rather than the expected -e set of pronouns which regularly occurs with stems inflected for subjective and stative orientation. The actor occurs as an enclitic to the phrase marker. Illustrations: (Tólông lowig) gnû le emeted³ kul. '(different shelter) place they direction-s-deliver them' 'It was a different shelter to which they delivered them.' (Yó se) gunuhen gel wen skó bè Teboli. '(that pe) place-it always there-is se-separate in-the Tagabili' 'That's the reason there are always divorces among the Tagabili.' (Mon tum tau) gunuhe temulón du, ... '(s-say that-one person) place-I s-tell it' 'The person to whom I told it said, ...' (Gunuhen mon) gel lenték semolu kemlo. '(place-you s-say) always s-thunder s-face s-weed' 'That's the reason it always thunders before weeding (season for weeding)'.

1.2 Unmarked Phrase. An unmarked phrase is a word without a marker which functions as a clause level tagmem, i.e., a phrase. Such phrases occur in three different clause level slots, and their function in any given clause can be identified only by observation of the substitution class of fillers of which they are members plus the participant role with accompanying grammatical function.

Unmarked phrases are of three subtypes: an unmarked noun phrase, an unmarked verbal phrase, and an unmarked specifier phrase.

1.21 Unmarked Noun Phrase. An unmarked noun phrase is divided into two subtypes, an unmarked personal noun phrase and an unmarked non-personal noun phrase.

1.21.1 Unmarked Personal Noun Phrase. The tagmatic formula for the unmarked personal noun phrase is:

\[ UnmkdNP = N^N_p \]

The formula reads that "an unmarked personal noun phrase consists of an obligatory head slot filled with a personal noun stem". Illustrations: (Newit) Sanang Bé. '(o-bring) Sanang grandmother' 'Sanang brought Grandmother.' Sanang (mit ke Kasi). 'Sanang (s-bring the-personal Kasi)' 'It was Sanang who brought Kasi.' (Mit kudà) Sanang. '(s-bring-he horse) Sanang' 'Sanang brought a horse.'

All four of the personal pronoun sets, the -u, the -e, the ou⁹ and the dou, may substitute for the unmarked un-
inflected personal phrase, which is to say that these phrases substitute for several different clause-level tag-memes, as stated above. Illustrations: *(Eted)-u uu. 'I-o-deliver-I you' "I'll deliver you." *Uu dou *(newit). 'you my (o-bring)' 'It is you whom I will bring." Ou *(mit) kul. 'I (s-bring) them' 'I'll bring them.' *(Mit)-e kudà. '(s-branch)-I horse' 'I'll bring a horse.'

1.21.2 Unmarked Non-Personal Noun Phrase. The tagmatic formula for the unmarked non-personal noun phrase is:

\[ \text{UnmkdNPh} = +H:N \]

The formula reads that "an unmarked non-personal noun phrase consists of an obligatory head slot filled with a non-personal noun stem". Illustrations: *(Newit) ngà ying ungé. 'child cat (s-branch) rat' 'The kitten brought a rat.' *Ngà ying *(mit) ungé. 'child cat (s-branch) rat' 'It was the kitten who brought the rat.' *(Mit) ungé ngà ying. '(s-branch-she) rat child cat' 'The kitten brought a rat.' *(Benlayem mi) kimón. '*.give-you us-not-you) ke-obey' 'Give us obedience.'

Unmarked non-personal noun phrases also include time words and locational. Illustrations: *(Ekimel) kewól le. 'yesterday-afternoon (ke-leave their)' 'They left yesterday afternoon.' *(Nù le) dlem. '(st-live they) below' 'They live below (farther down the mountain).'

The directional prefix which indicates "motion towards" occurs with the locational. Illustration: *(Nit le) edlem. '*.bring they) P_d-below' 'They brought it below (to a place farther down the mountain).'

The 3rd person singular of the -u and the ou sets of personal pronouns (-en and du respectively) and the ni set of demonstrative pronouns substitute for the unmarked non-personal noun phrase. Illustrations: *(Newit)-en ni. 'o-bring-he this' 'He brought this.' Ni *(se mit) du. 'this (pe e s-branch) it' 'It was this one who brought it.'

1.22 Unmarked Verb Phrase. The tagmatic formula for an unmarked verbal phrase is:

\[ \text{UnmkdVbPh} = +H:V^11 \]

The formula reads that "an unmarked verbal phrase consists of an obligatory head tagmemem filled by a verb". The filler of an unmarked verb phrase head is either a ne-verb, a me-verb or a #-verb. Illustrations: *(Silà) nóyó (ngà ying). 'corn o-want child cat)''It's corn the kitten wants.' *Móyó (silà ngà ying). 's-want/like (corn child cat)' 'The kitten likes corn.' *(Tey) óyó (ngà ying silà). 'very) i-
want/like (child cat corn)' 'The kitten likes corn very much.'

As many as three clause-level tagmeme slots, each filled with an inflected verbal stem, have been noted to occur in sequence. Illustrations: (Mén tau bông) móyo demalang semfala (bè udél Teboli)' 'there-is person big) s-want s-learn s-read (in-the-personal word Tagabili)' 'There are adults who want to learn to read in Tagabili.' (Gel) lemték semolu kemlo. '(always) s-thunder s-face s-weed' 'It always thunders before (the season for) weeding.'

1.23 Unmarked Specifier Phrase. The tagmatic formula for the unmarked specifier phrase is:

$$\text{UnmkdSpecPh} = \text{Mod:} \text{number} + \text{H:} \text{prop}l + (\text{N.S.})r : N_p$$

The formula reads that "an unmarked specifier phrase consists of an obligatory modifier slot filled with a number, plus an obligatory head slot filled with a plural personal pronoun, plus an obligatory nominal specifier (which may be repeated) filled with a personal noun phrase". Illustrations: (Lemwót Gung ebè Senolon) lewu le Yadan. '(st-start Gung towards to-the-personal Senolon) two them Yadan' 'Gung and Yadan started out for Senolon.' (Ebuteng kekól le Nib bè ni) telu le Gung Ting. '(last-night arriving their Nib they here) three them Gung Ting' 'Last night Nib, Gung and Ting arrived here.'
1. Members of the dou personal pronoun set are: dou ~ do 'me'; kom 'you'; kun 'him, her, it'; kum 'us-not-you'; Kut 'you and me'; tekuy 'us-all'; Kuy 'you-all'; kul 'them'. (Du, 3rd singular of the ou pronoun set, replaces kun as filler of an object slot.)

2. Members of the nim specific marker set are: nim 'this one (here)'; yem 'that-one (near)'; tum 'that-one (there)'; yum 'that-one (distant)'.

3. Members of the ni demonstrative pronoun set are: ni 'here'; yó 'near'; tu 'there'; yu 'distant'. The vowel may be repeated for emphasis: (ni kem nga) nii '(this plural child) right-here' 'these children right here'; (moni gu) bè yö ' (nearby from) st-the-personal right-there' 'from right there nearby.' Without the bè locational marker, this demonstrative set may also be used to indicate time: (Mò kemò tekuy) ni? '(what doing our) now' 'What shall we all do now?' (Tehe) yu (ekni)... '(remote past) then (distant-this)' 'Once upon a time...'

4. Members of the -u personal pronoun set are: -u ~ -hu 'I'; -em ~ -hem 'you'; -en ~ -hen 'he, she, it'; me 'we-not-you'; te 'you-and-I'; tekuy 'we-all'; ye 'you-all'; le 'they'.

5. Members of the dini demonstrative set are: dini 'here'; dyó 'near'; ditu 'there'; dyu 'distant'.

6. Members of this class of descriptive locationals are: leged 'ascending direction'; bwak 'descending direction'; ta 'up'; laan 'below'.

7. The phrase marker gunù has two allomorphs, gunù and gunu, which are syntactically defined. Gunù occurs when the actor which is attracted to it is a name or a kinship term. Gunu occurs when the actor is an enclitic pronoun.

8. Gunù means 'place where', 'reason why' or 'person to whom'. To avoid ambiguity, 'place where' is identified by the directional prefix e- prefixed to whatever immediately follows the actor which is always attracted to gunù. Illustration: Gunuhem emit du du. 'place-you pd-s-bring it
'Where are you bringing it?' Gunuhem mit du du.

'reason-you s-bring it p_d' 'Why are you bringing it?'

9. Members of the -e personal pronoun set are: -e ~ -he 'I'; -i ~ -hi 'you'; # 'he, she, it'; me 'we-not-you'; te 'you-and-I'; tekuy ~ kuy 'we-all'; ye 'you-all'; le 'they'.

10. Members of the ou personal pronoun set are: ou ~ o 'I'; uu ~ u 'you'; du 'he, she, it'; mi 'we-not-you'; tu 'you-and-I'; tekuy 'we-all'; yu 'you-all'; lu 'they'.

11. A verb is identified as an inflected stem which may occur as the filler of a verbal predicate slot. It is negated by the negative là.
Noun phrase markers in Aborlan Tagbanwa are particles which introduce the phrases and may be considered as port-manteau signals, simultaneously marking three types of function.

First, the particles mark the relationship of noun phrases to the verb centre. This is the case-marking function of the particles.

Secondly, the particles mark their partners in the constituent as nouns.

Thirdly, the particles mark the following contrastive sets of phrase types: (a) Personal versus Impersonal; (b) Singular versus Plural; and (c) Specific versus General.

In this paper we shall deal with the first and third functions of these particles as well as with the demonstrative topic, locative phrase constructions, and included phrases.

1. Case-marking function

There are three noun cases in Tagbanwa: the Topic, the Accessory, and the Directive.

1.1 Topic Case. The clause is divided into two parts, the topic and the comment. A comment minimally consists of a verb centre and optionally expands through other phrase types or substitutes. The topic phrase is marked by an allomorph of the topic marker morpheme <i>.
Magpanaw i bakes.
walk the-monkey
The monkey walks.

Magkatibas mu i kapa it kayu.
able-cut you the-axe tree
With the axe you are able to cut a tree.

1.2 Accessory Case. A second phrase type is the Accessory marked by an allomorph of the accessory marker morpheme <it>. This marks an accessory relationship to the verb or predicate centre. When the accessory phrase is the goal, it usually occurs immediately following the phrase or substantive indicating causer or actor of the action. The accessory phrase also marks the instrument in the action.

Matigbas mu i kayu it kapa kat uma.
cut you the-tree axe in-field
The tree in the field will be cut by you with an axe.

Ipatigbas mu i kapa it kayu kat uma.
cut you the-axe tree in-field
With the axe you cut a tree in the field.

1.3 Directive Case. A third phrase type is the Directive, marked by an allomorph of the directive marker morpheme <kat>. This marks a directive relationship to the verb or predicate centre. The directive phrase occurs in position furthest from the predicate in the construction, and indicates location or referent of the action.

Magbakal aku it babuy kat talun.
spear I pig in-forest
I spear a pig in the forest.

Magapayat si Mudistu kat kayu.
climb-up Modesto in-tree
Modesto climbs up in a tree.

2. CONTRAST

There are three sets of contrastive features of the noun phrase marking particles.

2.1 Personal versus Impersonal. The personal marking particles are si, ni, and ki which contrast respectively with the impersonal marking particles i, it, and kat. The markers si, ni, and ki indicate that the partner in the construction so marked is a personal title or name.
Ipatigbas mu si Biug it kayu.
cause-cut you Biog tree
You cause Biog to cut a tree.

Magapyat si Mudistu it niug ni Dikar.
climb-up Modesto coconut Dikar
Modesto climbs Dikar's coconut tree.

Pabari aku it kayu ki Mudistu.
cause-break I tree Modesto
I cause Modesto to break up wood.

2.2 Singular versus Plural. The phrase markers previously described are analyzed as singular markers.

The particles na, kana, and manga indicate plurality of the head of the phrases. The morpheme na marks both the topic and accessory phrases as being personal and plural. Context gives the clue as to its particular case function at that particular occasion.

Magapyat si Mudistu it niug na Dikar.
climb-up Modesto coconut Dikar (and companions)
Modesto climbs up a coconut tree of Dikar and his friends.

Magtigbas aku it kayu na Imung.
cut I tree Emong (and friends)
I cut Emong and his friends' tree.

The morpheme sequence kana, which breaks down into the morphemes ka- and -na, marks the directive phrase as being personal and plural.

Tigbasan mu i kayu it yugut kana Imung.
cut you the-tree bolo Emong (and companions)
You cut the tree with a bolo for Emong and his friends.

Patinigbas aku kana Imung it kayu.
cause-cut I Emong (and companions) tree
I cause Emong and his friends to cut a tree.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>IMPERSONAL</th>
<th>PERSONAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i manga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessory</td>
<td>it</td>
<td>it manga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directive</td>
<td>kat</td>
<td>kat manga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key to the Table, on page 36.
Key to the Table on page 35:

# is the zero allomorph of si and ni and signals a personalized head of the construction.

ka- is the allomorph of ki and signals a personalized head of the construction.

Although the particle manga is a portmanteau morpheme on the lexical level, we are here dealing with it only in its application as a pluralizer of the noun. (The second lexical function is as an approximator of the head of the construction.)

manga duang elad
about two pesos
About two pesos.

The plurals of the impersonal particles i, it, and kat are formed by the addition of the particle manga to the interior of the noun phrase, immediately following the case-marking particle.

Maganigbas ka it manga kayu kat uma.
cut you plural tree in-field
You cut trees in the field.

Tigbasan mu i manga uma.
cut you the-plural field
You cut the fields.

2.3 Specific versus General. The topic phrase is always specific.

Phrases of the general type are marked by the allomorphs of the accessory case-marking particle <it> and the directive case-marking particle <kat>.

The accessory and directive phrases may have their status changed from general to specific by replacing their respective marking particles <it> or <kat> with <i>.

Tigbasen mu i kayu.
cut you the-tree
You cut the tree.

Tigbasan mu aku it kayu.
cut you I tree
You cut a tree for me.

Magapyat si Mudistu kat kayu.
climb-up Modesto in-tree
Modesto climbs a tree.
3. DEMONSTRATIVE TOPIC CONSTRUCTIONS

The demonstrative pronoun set <ini>, when introducing any noun phrase, substitutes for the impersonal specific marker i and occurs preceding the personal specific marker <si>. The members of the <ini> set are ini 'this (nearest speaker)', itu 'this (near speaker)', ian 'that (near hearer)', and iti 'that (far from both)'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>iti</th>
<th>bakes</th>
<th>iti mana bakes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>that</td>
<td>monkey</td>
<td>that plural monkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>monkey</td>
<td>those monkeys</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>iti si Bakes</th>
<th>iti na Bakes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>that Monkey</td>
<td>that Monkey (and companions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that (is) Monkey</td>
<td>those (are) Monkey and his friends</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. LOCATIVE PHRASE CONSTRUCTION

The locative phrase type construction has as its introducing particle a locative word, such as duun 'there', which is a locative pronoun, and is expanded by the addition of an accessory phrase in apposition to the locative introducer.

duun it balay it aka ya
there house elder he
there (at the) house of his older sibling

5. INCLUDED PHRASES

These topic, accessory, and directive phrases may be included within other phrases to form expansions of the basic phrase types. nga is a ligature which functions as a relater, introducing one type of phrase included within the construction of a phrase on a higher level.

i manga balay it akà mu nga dua
the-plural house elder you two
the houses of your two elder siblings

Panawun mu na i bàì nga asawa ku.
walk you now the-woman wife I
You go now to the woman who is my wife.

Further expansion of the basic phrase types may occur through the addition of the accessory and/or pronoun included phrase types.

i ulu tang nga itu
the-head us this
This our leader
it manga uripen *ya ngaiti*
plural servant he that
those his servants

Within the interior of the phrases, an included phrase, called a Co-ordinative phrase, may also occur.

**punti baw tubu**
banana and sugarcane

**si Don Juan baw si Don Pidru**
Mr John and Mr Peter

The preceding analysis gives the following matrix of noun phrase types. The vertical and horizontal dimensions manifest the following types of contrast: (a) personal versus impersonal; (b) singular versus plural; and (c) specific versus general; and the cells of the vectors are filled with the phrase types.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>IMPERSONAL</th>
<th>PERSONAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Specific</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
<td><em>DetI</em></td>
<td><em>DetI</em>&lt;sub&gt;tp&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td><em>TII</em>&lt;sub&gt;t&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td><em>TII</em>&lt;sub&gt;tp&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>General</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessory</td>
<td><em>AcII</em>&lt;sub&gt;a&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td><em>AcII</em>&lt;sub&gt;ap&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directive</td>
<td><em>DIII</em>&lt;sub&gt;d&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td><em>DIII</em>&lt;sub&gt;dp&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key:** Demonstrative Topic (*Det*), Topic (*T*), Accessory (*Ac*), Directive (*Di*), Impersonal (*I*), Personal (*P*), Pluralizer (*Pl*), Introducers - *i* (*I*<sub>t</sub>), *it* (*I*<sub>a</sub>), *kat* (*I*<sub>d</sub>), *si* (*I*<sub>tp</sub>), *ni* (*I*<sub>ap</sub>), *ki* (*I*<sub>dp</sub>), *na* (*I*<sub>appl</sub>), *kana* (*I*<sub>dppl</sub>).