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by

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by Dietlinde Behrens

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SOME NOMINAL PHRASES IN YAKAN

Betty Hooker

0. Introduction
1. Common Noun Phrase
2. Personal Noun Phrase
3. Pronoun Phrase
4. Coordinate Noun Phrase
5. Appositive Noun Phrase

0. INTRODUCTION

This description of some nominal phrases in Yakan\(^1\) is presented by means of tagmemic formulas and rules. A prose description and examples follow each formula.

The nominal phrases under consideration are the Common Noun Phrase, the Personal Noun Phrase, the Pronoun Phrase, the Coordinate Noun Phrase, and the Appositive Noun Phrase.

1. COMMON NOUN PHRASE

A Common Noun Phrase manifests the grammatical clause level tagmemes of Subject, Object, and Referent of verbal clauses, Complement of Stative, Descriptive, and Existential nonverbal clauses, both terms of an Equative Clause, and the Emphasis tagmeme\(^2\). It also manifests the Axis of relator-axis phrases, the Appositive Head tagmeme of an Appositive Noun Phrase, and the Possessor tagmeme of a Common Noun Phrase.

The tagmemes of a Common Noun Phrase (CN) are indicated in their preferred order by the following formula:

\[ CN = \text{Quantity} + \text{Plural} + \text{Head} + \text{Possessor} + \text{Modifier}_1 + \text{Modifier}_2 + \text{Definite} \]
These slots with their fillers are shown in this formula:
CN = +Quan: qu/Nb/pnb/nomnb +Pl: me' +H: n₁/n₃ +Poss: Pro/CN/PN
+Mod₁: Aj/CoAj/n +Mod₂: Aj/LN/LRA/DC1 +Def: dm/deic

*enem sapi' pote' mahadje mia'an (six cow white big that)
those six white cows

A Common Noun Phrase consists of (=):
a) An optional Quantity tagmeme (+Quan) manifested by:
   1) Quantity (qu) kee'mon all and some, other
   2) Number Phrase (Nb) me' enem about six
   3) Personal number (pnb), a closed class of numbers including only
dandangan one, alone (people), duangan two (people), and tellungan
three (people)
   4) Nominalized number (nomnb) ke'ennem the six, ketellungan the
three (people)
b) An optional Plural tagmeme (+Pl) manifested by me' plural
c) An obligatory Head tagmeme (+H) manifested by:
   1) Noun₁ (n₁), a large open noun class represented by a'a person,
asu dog
   2) Noun₃ (n₃), a closed class of kinship terms represented by sama
father, sa'i mother
d) An optional Possessor tagmeme (+Poss) manifested by:
   1) A Pronoun Phrase (Pro), with pronoun set ₃ as Head. (See
section 3.)
   2) A Common Noun Phrase (CN) me' manuk hadje ley (plural chicken
big there) of those big chickens
   3) A Personal Noun Phrase (PN) disi Atang ley of Atang and others
there (See section 2.)
e) An optional Modifier₁ tagmeme (+Mod₁) manifested by:
   1) An Adjective Phrase (Aj) hadje manamal (big very) very big
   2) A Coordinate Adjective Phrase (CoAj) hadje duk haap big and good
   3) A noun (n), nouns which can have a semantic function indicating
classification, dende female, Amerikenu American
f) An optional Modifier₂ tagmeme (+Mod₂) manifested by:
   1) An Adjective Phrase (Aj) hadje big
   2) A Location Noun Phrase (LN) diata' punu ley on top of that moun-
tain
   3) A Location Relator-Axis Phrase (LRA) amban diata' from up-country
   4) A dependent clause (DC1) bakas takakannen (past eat-he-dm)
he ate
g) An optional Definite tagmeme (+Def) manifested by:
   1) The definite marker (dm) <-in>, which has three realizations:
      (a) -hin following stems that end with a vowel
(b) -n following monosyllabic possessive pronouns, pronoun set
3 (See section 3.)
(c) -in elsewhere
2) Deictic words (deic) shown in chart 1.

CHART 1
Yakan deictic words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pointable</th>
<th>Not Pointable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Near Speaker</td>
<td>itu'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inin</td>
<td>itu' en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ininen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near Hearer</td>
<td>iu'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ian</td>
<td>iu' en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far from Both</td>
<td>ii'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mia'an</td>
<td>ii' en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Remote</td>
<td>ley</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Restrictions
a) The Quantity tagmeme manifested by Number Phrase is usually phrase initial, but it may follow the Head, Modifier, or Definite tagmemes.
If the Head is possessed, Quantity cannot interrupt the Head and the Possessor tagmeme.

ennem dende mahaap mia'an those six pretty girls
six girl pretty that
dende ennem mahaap mia'an
dende mahaap ennem mia'an
dende mahaap mia'an ennem

b) The Quantity tagmeme manifested by quantity or nominalized number occurs phrase initial or following the Definite tagmeme.

keemon dende mahaap mia'an all those pretty girls
all girl pretty that
dende mahaap mia'an keemon
ke'ennem dende mahaap mia'an those six pretty girls
dende mahaap mia'an ke'ennem

c) Personal number occurs only in reference to people, a noun subclass.

dende duangan two girls

d) When the Head tagmeme is manifested by noun, the Possessor tagmeme is obligatory.
e) When the Possessor tagmeme is manifested by a CN, the CN is usually a shortened form with a maximum of three tagmemes other than the Head.

me' dende mia'an (plural girl that) of those girls, me' dende mahadje
mia'an (plural girl big that) of those big girls

f) If a CN manifests the Possessor tagmeme, any modifiers following the Head of the Possessor phrase are grammatically ambiguous as to which Head tagmeme they modify, that of the embedded Possessor phrase or that of the embedding phrase. luma' kuya' mahadjejin (house monkey big) the big monkey's house or the monkey's big house

g) The optional Definite tagmeme is obligatory when clause level topicalization or emphasis require its use. It is obligatorily absent when a CN manifests the Complement tagmeme of an Existential Clause.

| +Def magbella dende mia'an that girl cooks |
| V-SF S/T cook girl that |
| -Def mia' dende there is a girl |
| Exis Com |

Definite is truly optional when there are two nominal tagmemes in a clause one of which is nontopic.

| -Def kinakan ie we' kenna he was eaten by a fish |
| V-OF O/T S/NT eat he by fish |
| +Def kinakan ie we' kenna mia'an he was eaten by that fish |

2. PERSONAL NOUN PHRASE

A Personal Noun Phrase manifests the clause level tagmemes of Subject, Object, and Referent of verbal clauses, Complement of Stative and Descriptive nonverbal clauses, and both terms of an Equative Clause. It also manifests the Axis of relator-axis phrases, the Appositive Head tagmeme of an Appositive Noun Phrase, and the Possessor tagmeme of a Common Noun Phrase.

The tagmemes of a Personal Noun Phrase (PN) are indicated in their preferred order by the following formula:

PN = +person marker +Head +Definite +Quantity

These slots with their fillers are shown in this formula:

PN = +pm: si/dis +H: pn/n₂ +Def: dm/deic +Quan: qu/pnb/Nb/nomnb

A Personal Noun Phrase consists of (=):

a) An optional person marker (+pm) manifested by:
   1) singular si
   2) plural disi

b) An obligatory Head tagmeme (+H) manifested by:
   1) A personal name (pn), which may consist of one name, tlong, a first and last name, Toto' Diki', or a title and name, Hadji'Sali.
   2) Noun₂ (n₂), close kinship terms of the vocative set, apu' Grandparent, amma' Father, ina' Mother, kaka' Big Sister, toto' Big Brother,
babu 'Aunt, or bapa 'Uncle

c) An optional Definite tagmeme (+Def) manifested by:
   1) The definite marker (dm). (See section 1.)
   2) Deictic words (deic). (See section 1.)

d) An optional Quantity tagmeme (+Quan) manifested by:
   1) Quantity (qu) keemon all
   2) Personal number (pnb). (See section 1.)
   3) Number Phrase (Nb). (See section 1.)
   4) Nominalized number (nomnb). (See section 1.)

Restrictions
a) When the Head tagmeme is manifested by a personal name of more
   than two syllables, personal marker (pm) si is optional. In all other
cases, the personal marker is obligatory.
   si apu' Grandparent
   si Itong ley that Itong
   Hadji' Ummal Hadji Ummal
   disi Ibrahim Abraham and his companions
b) The Definite tagmeme cannot be manifested by the definite marker
   in a Personal Noun Phrase manifesting a verbal clause topic.
   magbella si Tawing Tawing cooks
   V-SF S/T:PN
   *magbella si Tawingin
   pn-dm
   magbella si Tawing mia'an Tawing there cooks
dic
c) The Definite tagmeme manifested by a deictic word usually follows
   the Head tagmeme, but it can also precede the person marker tagmeme.
   disi Itong mia'an that Itong and his companions
   mia'an disi Itong

d) The Quantity tagmeme must agree in number with the person marker
   tagmeme.
   disi Itong mia'an tellungan three of Itong's companions
   *si Itong mia'an tellungan
e) The Quantity tagmeme may also precede the person marker. It
   usually precedes when it is manifested by a Number Phrase.
   ampat disi Tawing four of Tawing's group

3. PRONOUN PHRASE

A Pronoun Phrase manifests the clause level tagmemes of Subject,
Object, and Referent of verbal clauses, Complement of Descriptive and
Stative nonverbal clauses, and both terms of an Equative Clause. It
also manifests the Axis of relator-axis phrases, the Appositive Head
tagmeme of an Appositive Noun Phrase, and the Possessor tagmeme of a
Common Noun Phrase.

The tagmemes of a Pronoun Phrase (Pro) are indicated in their pre-
ferred order by the following formula:
Pro = +Head +Definite +Quantity +Modifier +Specification
These slots with their fillers are the following:
Pro = +H: pro\textsubscript{1}/pro\textsubscript{2}/pro\textsubscript{3} +Def: dm/deic +Quan: qu/Nb/pnb/nomnb
+Mod: LRA/DCl +Spec: Incl

kai we
kai inin (we this) we here
kai inin tellungan (we this three) we three here
kai mapii mangeddeo' sedolahin duk si Maam (we, excl go get I.D.-dm
with pm Maam) we including Maam who are going to get I.D.'s

A Pronoun Phrase consists of (=):
a) An obligatory Head tagmeme (+H) manifested by:
   1) Pronoun set 1 (pro\textsubscript{1})
   2) Pronoun set 2 (pro\textsubscript{2})
   3) Pronoun set 3 (pro\textsubscript{3})
These pronoun sets are shown in chart 2.

CHART 2
Yakan Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set 1</th>
<th>Set 2</th>
<th>Set 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ku</td>
<td>aku</td>
<td>-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kew</td>
<td>ka'\nu</td>
<td>-nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ie</td>
<td>ie</td>
<td>-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kite</td>
<td>kite</td>
<td>-te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kai,</td>
<td>kai,</td>
<td>-kai,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kami</td>
<td>kami</td>
<td>-kami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'am</td>
<td>ka'am</td>
<td>-bi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sie</td>
<td>sie</td>
<td>-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kite bi</td>
<td>kite bi</td>
<td>-te bi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yakan has three sets of pronouns. Set 1 is the topic set. Set 2 is
used for emphasis and nontopic other than subject. Set 3 is the
possessive and the nontopic subject set.
b) An optional Definite tagmeme (+Def). (See section 1.)
c) An optional Quantity tagmeme (+Quan). (See section 2.)
d) An optional Modifier tagmeme (+Mod) manifested by:
   1) A Locative Relator-Axis Phrase (LRA) amban diata' (from up)
   from up-country
2) A dependent clause (DC1) mapii mangeddo sedolahin go fetch I.D.'s
e) An optional Specification tagmeme (+Spec) manifested by an Inclusion
Phrase (Incl), whose participants are included in the meaning of the
pronoun. (kai) ...duk si Maam (we ...with pm Maam) (we) including
Maam

Restrictions
a) If the pronoun refers to other than persons, Quantity cannot be
manifested by a personal number (pn). b) When a pronoun of set 1 manifests the Head, the Definite
tagmeme cannot be manifested by the definite marker (dm).
c) When a pronoun of set 3 manifests the Head, the Modifier tagmeme
is obligatorily absent. takesua'bi duk si Joan (meet-you,pl with pm
Joan) you and Joan meet
d) When Specification occurs, the pronoun manifesting the Head tagmeme
must be plural.

4. COORDINATE NOUN PHRASE

A Coordinate Noun Phrase has Head tagmemes of equal rank. It can
manifest all the tagmemes a Common Noun Phrase can manifest. (See
section 1.)

The tagmemes of a Coordinate Noun Phrase (CoN) are the following:
CoN = +H1; CN/PN/Pro/AppN ±( +Co:ccconj +H2; CN/PN/Pro/Appn)N +Co:
ccconj +Hn; CN/PN/Pro/AppN

andaku, anakku, samaku, duk sa'iku my wife, my child, my father,
and my mother
andaku duk anakku duk samaku duk sa'iku my wife and my child and my
father and my mother

disi Itong duk disi Hamilan Itong and his companions and Hamilan
and his companions

A Coordinate Noun Phrase consists of (=):
a) An obligatory Head1 tagmeme (+H1) manifested by:
1) A Common Noun Phrase (CN). (See section 1.)
2) A Personal Noun Phrase (PN). (See section 2.)
3) A Pronoun Phrase (Pro). (See section 3.)
4) An Appositive Noun Phrase (AppN). (See section 5.) ka'u, Imam
Ahalin (duk Ibrahim) you, Imam Ahalin, (and Abraham)
b) An optional indefinite series ±( )N of a Connector tagmeme and a
Head2 tagmeme. The Connector tagmeme of this series is optional (+Co)
and is manifested by coordinate conjunctions (ccconj) duk and and
atawa or. The obligatory Head2 tagmeme (+H2) of this series is mani-
fested by the same nominal phrases as noted for Head1.
c) An obligatory Connector tagmeme (+Co) manifested by coordinate conjunctions (ccconj) duk and and atawa or.
d) An obligatory Head$_n$ (+H$_n$) manifested by the same nominal phrases as noted for Head$_1$.

Restrictions
If a Pronoun Phrase manifests Head$_1$ and Head$_2$ or Head$_n$, the pronoun of Head$_2$ and Head$_n$ is situationally determined. That is, if one is telling a personal experience he usually uses kai we, excl. But he can use aku duk ie I and she if he is referring anaphorically to someone who is not present and has already been mentioned. Another example of a situationally determined context is one in which a pointing gesture, combined with coordinate pronouns, is used to refer to persons present. ka'u duk ie duk sie (mageddo' bohe') you and he and they get water.

5. APPOSITIVE NOUN PHRASE

An Appositive Noun Phrase is a double-centered phrase with Head tagmemes of equal rank. It can manifest all the clause level tagmemes a Common Noun Phrase can manifest. (See section 1.) It also manifests the Axis of Relator-axis phrases.

The tagmemes of an Appositive Noun Phrase (AppN) are the following:

\[ \text{AppN} = \text{+Item: CN/PN/Pro/CoN} \quad \text{+AppH: CN/PN/Pro/CoN} \]

ka'u, Imam Ahalin you, Imam Ahalin
nakanakin, usuyin child, baby chick
si Jamilan duk Ahalin, metettoo'nen Jamilan and Ahalin, his parents

An Appositive Noun Phrase consists of (=):
a) An obligatory Item (+Item) manifested by:
   1) A Common Noun Phrase (CN). (See section 1.)
   2) A Personal Noun Phrase (PN). (See section 2.)
   3) A Pronoun Phrase (Pro). (See section 3.)
   4) A Coordinate Noun Phrase (CoN). (See section 4.)
b) An obligatory Appositive Head (+AppH) manifested by the same nominal phrases as noted for Item.

Restrictions
a) If the phrases manifesting Item are definite, the phrases manifesting Appositive Head must be definite.
b) A Pro cannot manifest both Item and Appositive Head.
1. Yakan is spoken by an estimated 40,000 to 60,000 speakers, many of whom live on the island of Basilan in the southern Philippines. Some also live around the coast and on some of the offshore islands of the Zamboanga provinces. Yakan belongs to the Sama-Badjaw group of languages within the Malayo-Polynesian family of Austronesian languages.

This description is based on texts gathered by Janet R. Persson and Dietlinde Behrens between 1971 and 1973 and by the author during residence in the municipality of Lamitan, Basilan, from June 1974 to February 1975.

This paper was written during a six week field workshop in March and April 1975 at Nasuli, Malaybalay, Bukidnon, Philippines. I am thankful for the assistance of my language assistants, Tawing Tao from Korestal and Suinj Tao from Libaken in the municipality of Lamitan. I also wish to express my thanks to David Thomas, Joanne Shetler, and Richard Gieser, all of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, for their valuable assistance in the preparation of this paper. I am also thankful to Kemp Palleson and Dietlinde Behrens for helpful comments. A valuable aid for research was a concordance of Yakan morphemes and words made on the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma under the joint Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, a project funded by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation.

The orthography used is phonemic. The phonemes of Yakan are vowels a, e, i, o, u, and consonants p, t, k, b, d, g, m, n, ng, l, s, j, w, y, h, and glottal stop (represented by an apostrophe '). (See Behrens, 'Yakan phonemics and morphophonemics'.)

2. Emphasis is the name of the prepredicate slot to which a postpredicate nominal phrase may be moved in order to emphasize it.
3. Deictic words have not been fully analyzed as yet. 'Pointable' means that one may indicate the object with a finger or the chin. It can be seen. 'Not pointable' is the opposite of 'pointable' and is usually not within sight at the moment.

4. McKaughan (1958) first used the term 'topic' as a name for the particular substantive phrase in a clause that is in focus, as Healey (1958) speaks of it. Austin (1966) discusses focus fully. Persson (1974) states: "In every transitive clause there is concord between the verb and one of the nominals in the clause, and it is that nominal which will be topic." This nominal is marked in Yakan by <-in> or a deictic word.

5. Symbols used in the examples, other than those explained in the text, are the following: Com, Complement; Exis, Existential; O/T, Object as Topic; S/NT, Subject as Nontopic; S/T, Subject as Topic; V-OF, Verb with Object Focus; V-SF, Verb with Subject Focus; *, this form does not exist.
SOME NOMINAL PHRASES IN YAKAN

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YAKAN PHONEMICS AND MORPHOPHONEMICS

Dietlinde Behrens

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1. Phonemics
1.1 Syllable
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2.3 Changes with suffixation

0. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to describe the phonemics and morphophonemics of Yakan, a language of the southern Philippines spoken by an estimated 40,000 to 60,000 people living on Basilan Island, Sakol Island, and in a few places on the Zamboanga Peninsula of south-west Mindanao.

1. PHONEMICS
1.1 SYLLABLE

The syllable in Yakan consists of one vowel as syllable peak and consonants as optional onset and/or coda. The syllable is the minimal phonological unit that can occur in isolation. There are four non-suspect syllable patterns: V, VC, CV, and CVC. Of these patterns, CV and CVC are the most frequent, while V and VC are less frequent,
occurring only after a vowel in word medial or word final positions. Except for this limitation, syllables may potentially occur in any combination.

/lu.maq/\(^2\) \quad \text{house}
/qan.da/ \quad \text{wife}
/sug.ley/ \quad \text{comb}
/me.oŋ/ \quad \text{cat}
/me.pe.a.tin/ \quad \text{the red one}

1.2 PHONOLOGICAL WORD

A phonological word is a sequence of syllables that is marked by the occurrence of primary stress. One-syllable words, such as particles, do not carry primary stress. Phonological words of two, three, four, and five syllables have been observed.

/lu.'maq.ku/ \quad \text{my house}
/ba.a.'ta.kan/ \quad \text{bamboo}
/ma.maq.qa.'ka.hin/ \quad \text{the one who told it}

1.3 STRESS

Stress in Yakan is predictable. There are three degrees of stress: primary, secondary, and weak stress. A polysyllabic word has one primary stress and, if more than three syllables long, has a secondary stress also. Syllables with neither primary nor secondary stress carry weak stress, as do monosyllabic words mentioned above. Suffixation causes stress to shift. (See 2.3.3.)

Primary stress always occurs on the penultimate syllable of a word.

/ba.gay/ \quad \text{friend}
/ba.'gay.kun/ \quad \text{my friend}
/ba.yed/ \quad \text{to pay}
/meg.'ba.yed/ \quad \text{to pay \textit{(actor in focus)}}
/"ba.ye.'dan.ku/ \quad \text{I will pay}

In words with four or five syllables, secondary stress always comes two syllables before the primary stress.

/"ma.za.'ja.dı/ \quad \text{possible}
/"meg.don.'da.ŋan/ \quad \text{to swing}
/meg."pa.pan.'ja.dı/ \quad \text{to create}
/ma."mag.qa.'ka.hin/ \quad \text{the one who told it}
1.4 INTERPRETATION

Interpretation has been made with regard to high vocoids, long vowels and consonants, and affricates.

1.4.1 High vocoids

High vocoids are interpreted as vowels where they occur as syllable peak, and as consonants where they occur as coda or onset. Criteria for this interpretation are non-suspect syllabic patterns, placement of stress, and observed syllability.

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{i/y} & \text{['pi.ʔa]} & /\text{pida}/ \\
& \text{['qa.tei]} & /\text{qatey}/ \\
& \text{['pei.pis]} & /\text{peypis}/ \\
& \text{['su.pa.ia]} & /\text{supayya}/ \\
& \text{['ni.a.ua]} & /\text{niawa}/ \\
\text{u/w} & \text{['pu.nu]} & /\text{punu}/ \\
& \text{['laŋ.keu]} & /\text{laŋkew}/ \\
& \text{['sau.nai]} & /\text{sawnyay}/ \\
& \text{['ua.luq]} & /\text{waluq}/ \\
& \text{['da.uen]} & /\text{dawen}/ \\
\end{array}
\]

bolo
liver
to twist
so that
soul
mountain
tall
a musical instrument
eight
leaf

1.4.2 Long vowels

Long vowels are interpreted as sequences of two vowels. Nonsuspect data show the possibility of such sequences, as in:

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{['pe.a} & /\text{peat}/ & \text{red} \\
\text{['qo.a} & /\text{qoak}/ & \text{crow} \\
\end{array}
\]

There is always a syllable break between vowels in sequence, and stress supports this interpretation. It is supported further by a neighbouring dialect in the southern part of Basilan Island, which retains [i] between two identical vowels in many words.

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{['po.o} & /\text{poon}/ & \text{to shop} \\
\text{[se'd:i:i]} & /\text{seddi:i}/ & \text{different} \\
\text{['la:n]} & /\text{laan}/ & \text{trail} \\
\end{array}
\]

1.4.3 Long consonants

Long consonants are interpreted as a sequence of two identical consonants. The consonant patterns observed in nonsuspect data indicate a syllable break between consonants in sequence, as in:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{['po.o} & /\text{poon}/ & \text{to shop} & \text{(polon)} \\
\text{[se'd:i:i]} & /\text{seddi:i}/ & \text{different} & \text{(seddili)} \\
\text{['la:n]} & /\text{laan}/ & \text{trail} & \text{(lalan)} \\
\end{array}
\]
Examples of long consonants and their interpretation are:

- ['lep:u9] /leppug/ dust
- ['ped:iq] /peddiq/ pain
- ['seg:i'] /seggit/ garbage
- ['pen:ooq] /pennoq/ full
- ['len:en] /lenjen/ arm

All consonants can occur lengthened, except /h, q, y, and j/.

1.4.4 Affricates

Two consonant sequences that may be interpreted as one or two segments are [ts] and [dž]. The first of these, [ts], is interpreted as a sequence of two segments because 1) it occurs only word medial, 2) it is in accordance with nonsuspect patterns, 3) both sounds are phonemes, and 4) these sounds occur in reverse order as well.

- ['batsa] /batsa/ to read
- ['basta] /basta/ if

[dž], on the other hand, is interpreted as a unit because it occurs only syllable initially, and there is no other evidence for syllable initial consonant sequences.

- ['dža:] /jaa/ rice cake
- ['ka.džaŋ] /kajaŋ/ (personal name)

In the case of the phonetic sequence [ddž], the apparent long consonant is interpreted as a sequence of /d/ and /j/, rather than /j/ and /j/, because: 1) phonetically, only the [d] component of the affricate is long, and 2) there is no other evidence for a syllable final affricate.

- ['kad.džaŋ] /kadjaŋ/ nipa roof on outrigger boat

1.5 PHONEMES: CONTRAST AND DESCRIPTION

There are twenty-one phonemes in Yakan: sixteen consonants and five vowels. The consonants are: p, b, t, d, k, g, q, m, n, η, s, j, l, h, w, and y, and the vowels are: i, e, a, o, and u.

1.5.1 Evidence for separation of phonemes

Following are pairs that show the contrast between phonemes.
### 1.5.1.1 Consonants

#### p/b

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Representation</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p/b</td>
<td>/pessi/</td>
<td>fish hook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pes si]</td>
<td>/pessi/</td>
<td>fish hook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bessi]</td>
<td>/bessi/</td>
<td>knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tepian]</td>
<td>/tepian/</td>
<td>shore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tebia]</td>
<td>/tebia/</td>
<td>excuse me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[taleP]</td>
<td>/talep/</td>
<td>to match</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kek:e^b]</td>
<td>/kekkeb/</td>
<td>to bite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### t/d

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Representation</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t/d</td>
<td>/talem/</td>
<td>sharp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[talem]</td>
<td>/talem/</td>
<td>sharp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[dalum]</td>
<td>/dalum/</td>
<td>needle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[qanda]</td>
<td>/qanda/</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[qanta^g]</td>
<td>/qantag/</td>
<td>where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[qaha^t]</td>
<td>/qahat/</td>
<td>a little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[qaha^d]</td>
<td>/qahad/</td>
<td>Sunday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### k/g

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Representation</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k/g</td>
<td>/katas/</td>
<td>paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[katas]</td>
<td>/katas/</td>
<td>paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[gatas]</td>
<td>/gatas/</td>
<td>milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[san^ka]</td>
<td>/san^ka/</td>
<td>to receive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[sanga]</td>
<td>/sanga/</td>
<td>to stop falling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[basak^]</td>
<td>/basak/</td>
<td>wet rice field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[basag^]</td>
<td>/basag/</td>
<td>strong</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### q/k

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Representation</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>q/k</td>
<td>/qaka/</td>
<td>to tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[qaka]</td>
<td>/qaka/</td>
<td>to tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[qaka]</td>
<td>/qaka/</td>
<td>to tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[qaqa]</td>
<td>/qaqa/</td>
<td>people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bataq]</td>
<td>/bataq/</td>
<td>young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[batak^]</td>
<td>/batak/</td>
<td>woven pattern</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### q/#

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Representation</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>q/#</td>
<td>/sawe/</td>
<td>companion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[sawe]</td>
<td>/sawe/</td>
<td>snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[sawe]</td>
<td>/sawe/</td>
<td>snake</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### q/t

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Representation</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>q/t</td>
<td>/talem/</td>
<td>sharp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[talem]</td>
<td>/talem/</td>
<td>sharp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[qaleq]</td>
<td>/qaleq/</td>
<td>charcoal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[lahaq]</td>
<td>/lahaq/</td>
<td>blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[laha^t]</td>
<td>/laha/</td>
<td>place</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### q/h

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Representation</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>q/h</td>
<td>/qunus/</td>
<td>famine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[qunus]</td>
<td>/qunus/</td>
<td>famine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[hunus]</td>
<td>/hunus/</td>
<td>payment in rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[laqa^t]</td>
<td>/laqat/</td>
<td>bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[laha^t]</td>
<td>/laha/</td>
<td>place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbol</td>
<td>Phoneme</td>
<td>Example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m/n</td>
<td>[mapa]</td>
<td>/mapa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[napas]</td>
<td>/napas/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[qumus]</td>
<td>/qumus/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[qunus]</td>
<td>/qunus/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[dalum]</td>
<td>/dalum/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[dublun]</td>
<td>/dublun/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n/ŋ</td>
<td>[napu]</td>
<td>/napu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ŋape]</td>
<td>/ŋape/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[tanaq]</td>
<td>/tanaq/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[taŋan]</td>
<td>/taŋan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[qulan]</td>
<td>/qulan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[qulaŋ]</td>
<td>/qulaŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m/ŋ</td>
<td>[les:em]</td>
<td>/lessem/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[les:en]</td>
<td>/lessen/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n/l</td>
<td>[tanem]</td>
<td>/tanem/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[talem]</td>
<td>/talem/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s/j</td>
<td>[sumu]</td>
<td>/sumu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[jumuq]</td>
<td>/jumuq/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l/d</td>
<td>[palan]</td>
<td>/palan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[paɾan]</td>
<td>/paɾan/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.5.1.2 Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i/e</td>
<td>[qimpen]</td>
<td>/qimpen/</td>
<td>tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[qempen]</td>
<td>/qempen/</td>
<td>a cover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e/a</td>
<td>[tambal]</td>
<td>/tambal/</td>
<td>medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[tambel]</td>
<td>/tambel/</td>
<td>to close</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a/o</td>
<td>[kapan]</td>
<td>/kapan/</td>
<td>floor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[kopaŋ]</td>
<td>/kopaŋ/</td>
<td>a beetle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o/u</td>
<td>[toqo]</td>
<td>/toqo/</td>
<td>true</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[tuqu]</td>
<td>/tuqu/</td>
<td>here</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.5.2 Description of phonemes and their allophones

/p/ is a voiceless bilabial stop, which has two allophones [p] and [p].
[p] is slightly aspirated and occurs only as syllable onset.

[palaye] /paley/ rice
[gapas] /gapas/ kapok

[^P] is unreleased and occurs only as syllable coda.

[ha:PiP] /haap/ good
[pesiPiP] /pesipsip/ to peep

/b/ [b] is a voiced bilabial stop, which occurs as syllable onset and coda. Utterance final it is unreleased.

[boheq] /boheq/ water
[lubid] /lubid/ thread
[qes:e^b] /qesseb/ to remember

/t/ is a voiceless dental/alveolar stop, which has two allophones, [t] and [^t]. [t] is a slightly aspirated alveolar stop, which occurs only as syllable onset.

[tahik] /tahik/ sea
[batu] /batu/ stone

[^t] is an unreleased dental stop, which occurs only as syllable coda.

[kayat] /kayat/ flame
[sipitka:] /sipitkaa/ scorpion

/d/ is a voiced alveolar stop, which has two allophones, [d] and [^r].

[denade] /denade/ woman
[bayed] /bayed/ to pay

[^r] is a voiced alveolar flap, which occurs intervocalically.

[sa:ra^g] /sada:
[ku:raq] /kudaq/ horse

/k/ is a voiceless velar stop, which has two allophones, [k] and [^k].

[kahawa] /kahawa/ coffee
[siku] /siku/ elbow

[^k] is unreleased and occurs only as syllable coda.

[sa:ru^k] /saduk/ hat
[be:ka^k] /bekbak/ frog

/g/ [g] is a voiced velar stop, which occurs as syllable onset and coda. In utterance final position it is unreleased.
/q/ [q] is a glottal stop, which occurs as syllable onset and coda.\(^5\)

[qel:ew] /qellew/ sun
[poteqan] /poteqan/ star
[qupaq] /qupaq/ betel chew

/h/ [h] is a voiceless glottal fricative, which occurs as syllable onset, and as coda in some loanwords. (See third example below.)

[hati] /hati/ meaning
[bohat] /bohat/ heavy
[ʔahmat] /rahmat/ mercy (Arabic)

/m/ [m] is a voiced bilabial nasal. It occurs as onset and coda.

[mamis] /mamis/ sweet
[qolom] /qolom/ house post

/n/ [n] is a voiced alveolar nasal. It occurs as onset and coda.

[nunu\(^k\)] /nunuk/ betel tree
[lem:un] /lemmun/ fever

/ŋ/ [ŋ] is a voiced velar nasal. It occurs as onset and coda.

[ŋape] /ŋape/ to wake up
[laŋew] /laŋew/ fly (insect)
[pisaŋ] /pisaŋ/ pineapple

/s/ [s] is a voiceless alveolar fricative. It occurs as onset and coda.

[saŋu:lu:] /sayul/ vegetable
[pisaŋku:] /pisak/ mud
[panasu:] /panas/ hot

/j/ [j] is a voiced alveopalatal affricate. It occurs only as onset.

[dza:] /ja:/ rice cake
[mandzaɾi] /manjadi/ to become

/l/ [l] is a voiced alveolar lateral. It occurs as onset and coda.

[lalem] /lalem/ deep
[sawal] /sawal/ trousers

/y/ [γ] is a voiced unrounded palatal semivowel. It occurs as syllable onset and coda.
[yaquia] /yaquia/ (personal name)
[kayu] /kayu/ tree
[labey] /labey/ to pass

/w/ [w] is a voiced rounded bilabial semivowel. It occurs as syllable onset and coda.
[waluq] /waluq/ eight
[dawen] /dawen/ leaf
[ka:bew] /kaabew/ carabao

/i/ [i] is a high closed front unrounded vocoid, which occurs as syllable peak in all word positions.
[qibi’d] /qibid/ big lizard
[qasin] /qasin/ salt

/e/ [e] is a mid open front unrounded vocoid, which occurs as syllable peak in all word positions.
[behe] /behe/ mouth
[sed:epan] /seddepan/ west

/a/ [a] is a low half-open central unrounded vocoid. It occurs as syllable peak in all word positions.
[sampayan] /sampayan/ beam
[ba:takan] /baatakan/ bamboo

/o/ [o] is a mid half-open back rounded vocoid. It occurs as syllable peak in all word positions.
[ta:po] /ta:po/ sleeping mat
[kelo:ko] /kelokok/ snail
[pote:qan] /poteqan/ star

/u/ [u] is a high half-open back rounded vocoid. It occurs as syllable peak in all word positions.
[tu:li] /tu:li/ to sleep
[luqu’d] /luqu’d/ dirty

1.6 TEXT

1 ñedoq sepa quyat bu kinupurança bulakin bu pinepuii nampal gemutnen dem loao bulakin. 2 qubus ñahadje ne quyatin. 3 sooñ buaq quyatin. 4 niaq ne pusuqne. 5 tiggel pe qineddoq pusuqnen. 6 bañ qineddoq ne sinayul. 7 ñagad-ñagad ku peggeq gaq pe toge. 8 qubus toge ne quyat miaqan. 9 toge ne timebbaq ne miaqan binoqo ne hap lumaq. 10 tekka
si lumq kinupadan, qinisi dem bandehaw bu pinatantuŋ kahaqin. 11 banŋpanas ne pinepii ne quyat miaqan dem kahaq.

Literal translation

1 Fetch sapling banana and make-hole soil and place direction-of root-it's in hole soil. 2 Then becomes-big now banana. 3 Soon fruit banana. 4 There-is now flower-it's. 5 Long-time yet fetch flower-it's. 6 When fetch now make-into-vegetable. 7 Wait I because not yet ripe. 8 Then ripe now banana that. 9 Ripe now cut-off now that bring now towards house. 10 Arrive at house peel, put in tray and place-on-fire frying pan. 11 When hot now put now banana that in frying pan.

Free translation

1 One fetches a banana sapling, makes a hole in the ground and places the roots of the sapling into the hole. 2 Then the banana grows and 3 soon there will be fruit. 4 There is also it's flower. 5 After a long time one can fetch the flower and 6 use it as a vegetable. 7 I wait because it is not ripe yet. 8 Finally the bananas are ripe. 9 They are cut off and brought to the house, 10 they are peeled and put on a tray. The frying pan is placed on the fire. 11 When the pan is hot one puts the bananas into it.

2. MORPHOPHONEMICS

2.1 CHANGES WITH PREFIXATION

2.1.1 Assimilation and replacement with nasal prefix

The nasal prefix N- actor focus has different realisations depending on the stem initial consonant. (No verb stems with initial j, w, or y have been observed.) nə- before ı and h. (nə- becomes nə- in certain environments; see 2.3.4.)

N- + hali → nəhali to rest
N- + liqan → nəliqan to call
nə- before g.
N- + gasud → nəngasud to yell
N- + gagal → nəngagal to worry
nə- or nəŋ- before d. nə- or nəŋ- are not predictable. With some stems either can occur.

N- + dekdak → nədekdek to launder
N- + dagtuŋ → nədagtuŋ to pull off
N- + daqak → nəndaqak to command
2.1.2 Assimilation with prefix min-

The prefix min- (so many) times has two realisations: mim- before bilabial stops; min- elsewhere.

- min- + pituq → mimpituq seven times
- min- + pie → mimpie how many times
- min- + due → mindue twice
- min- + qampat → minqampat four times
- min- + waluq → minwaluq eight times

2.1.3 Reduction of initial l

If a stem with initial l is prefixed with a CV- prefix, the l may be dropped. (See also 1.4.2 and, for vowel change, 2.3.4.)

- ka- + lessa → keessa to feel
- ta- + lińan → teńan to call
- pa- + lokap → peokap to peel off
- ma- + lasa → maasa to love

2.1.4 Doubling of initial consonants

The prefix bi- from occurs only with the four directional morphemes: luqu there (near by), laqi there (out of sight), tuqu here (general), and naqan here (near by). When this occurs, the first consonant of the directional morpheme is doubled.

- bi- + luqu → billuqu from there
- bi- + laqi → billaqi from there
- bi- + tuqu → bittuqu from here
- bi- + naqan → binnaqan from here
2.2 CHANGES WITH NUMBERS

2.2.1 Between numbers and certain roots\(^6\) an assimilative nasal is added. This applies only to vowel- and glottal-final numbers from one to eight and to the question word pie how many. This change operates according to the following formula:

\[
V \begin{cases} 
V_m & \text{before } b, p \\
V_n & \text{before } d, t, s \\
V_\eta & \text{before } k, l 
\end{cases}
\]

due 2 + baha’i day + duem baha’i
due 2 + tahun year + duen tahun
tellu 3 + kepak piece + telluŋ kepak
lime 5 + lahatan country + limen lahatan
pituq 7 + baha’i day + pitum baha’i
due 2 + puuq unit of ten + duem puuq

2.2.2 The numbers eleven to nineteen and twenty-one to twenty-nine and so on can be considered to be contractions where the last vowel and consonant of puuq unit of ten and the first consonant and vowel of the conjunction duk and are deleted.

duem puuq twenty + duk and + tellu three + duem puk tellu twenty-three

2.3 CHANGES WITH SUFFIXATION

2.3.1 Addition of h with -VC suffixes

If a vowel final root is suffixed with -VC, an h is added. With consonant final roots there is no addition.

kayu + -in + kayuhin the tree
nakanak + -in + nakanakin the child
pamandi + -an + pamandihan place for bathing
pagkawin + -an + pegkewinan place of wedding
pitu + -un + pituhun pass (something)
qeddoq + -un + qeddoqun fetch

2.3.2 The suffix -in is realised as simply -n following vowel final monosyllabic possessive pronouns.

lumaq + ku + -in + lumaqun my house
2.3.3 Stress shift

Stress in Yakan words occurs on the penultimate syllable (see 1.3). 'lumaq house, La'mitan (name of place), qala'baqa Wednesday. If roots are suffixed, the stress is shifted accordingly.

'lumaq + -in + lu'maqin the house
La'mitan + -in + Lemi'tanin Lamitan (in focus)
qala'baqa + -in + qalaba'qahin the particular Wednesday
'qeddoq + -ku + qed'doqku I fetch
'lumaq + -ku + lu'maqku my house

2.3.4 Vowel change

Suffixation causes a to change to e in unstressed syllables preceding the stressed syllable.

'laboq + ne + le'boqne he falls
'qasu + -in + qe'suhin the dog
pa- + 'haget + -un + pehe'getun fix it!
mag- + pa- + 'laboq + -an + megpee'boqan repeatedly jumping off
mag- + 'gantiq + meg'gantiq to change

There is one exception to the above rule: a remains a in open syllables preceding the stressed syllable if the vowel of the newly stressed syllable is also a, and if the vowels of intervening open syllables are also a.

ta- + 'qagad + -ku + taqa'gadku I wait
paka- + 'tabaŋ + -an + -ne + pakataba'nanne she causes somebody to help her
NOTES

1. Yakan belongs to the Austronesian language family, as mentioned in Dyen (1965). Recent surveys by the Summer Institute of Linguistics show that Yakan is closely related to the Sama languages spoken in the Sulu Archipelago.

Data for this paper were gathered on Basilan Island in 1971 and February 1975 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The language assistants, who all live in the municipality of Lamitan, were Miss Diddad Ilahim from Panandakan, Miss Tawing Tao from Korestal, and Miss Suing Tao from Libaken. All are about 18 years old.

This paper was prepared for publication during a workshop held in March and April 1975 at the southern center of the SIL Philippine Branch at Nasuli, Malaybalay, Bukidnon. Sincere thanks are expressed to David Thomas and Richard Gieser for their assistance in writing this paper, and to Kemp Pallesen for many helpful suggestions.

2. Symbols used are the following: [ ] phonetic representation, / / phonemic representation, < > orthographic representation, glosses in *italico*, ' primary stress, " secondary stress, .x.x syllable boundary, q glottal stop, and - (hyphen) separation of reduplicated forms.

3. The letters of the alphabet correspond to the phonemic symbols except that /ŋ/ is written <ng>, /q/ is written <', and the [ɾ] allophone of the phoneme /d/ is written <r>.

4. There are a few loanwords that contain [ɾ] in other positions also.

- [qibrahim] /qibrahim/ (personal name)
- [narka] /narka/ hell
- [libru] /libru/ book
5. /q/ is often dropped in the following environments: 1) word initial in a pause group if the preceding word ends in a consonant, for example, /baŋ qineddoq/ may become /baŋ ineddoq/ if fetched; 2) word medial between identical vowels in roots, as in /daqak/ which may become /daqak/ to command or /toqo/ which may become /toqo/ true; and 3) if a glottal initial root is prefixed, as /magqaka/, which may become /magaka/ to tell. Both forms are acceptable in each of these environments.

6. These roots form a class of nouns all of which have an aspect of measurement. The following roots have been observed so far:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bahangi</td>
<td>day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulan</td>
<td>month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahun</td>
<td>year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kepak</td>
<td>piece (cut lengthwise)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polong</td>
<td>piece (cut crosswise)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buud</td>
<td>one fourth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lahatan</td>
<td>country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa'anakan</td>
<td>family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suledan</td>
<td>household</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>deppe</td>
<td>1.50 m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dangew</td>
<td>span</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paad</td>
<td>hand wide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>too'</td>
<td>string (of fish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>putuk</td>
<td>pile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pusuk</td>
<td>ear of corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pange</td>
<td>branch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puu'</td>
<td>unit of ten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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MILLER, Helen

PALLESEN, Kemp

PALLESEN, Kemp and Anne
This paper describes the functions and meanings of certain particles in Ata Manobo, a language spoken in the northern part of Davao Province, Republic of the Philippines. These particles modify various parts of the clause; also, they often modify each other as well.

Although some consideration has been given to the cooccurrence of these particles, this consideration has by no means been exhaustive. We have, however, attempted to treat as many of their different uses as possible, and to illustrate the varied ways in which many of these particles may be translated when they occur in different contexts. It has been observed that some particles function in more kinds of ways than other particles, and generally speaking the particles with the widest distribution manifest the most varied and greatest number of functions. These also have required a larger variety of English glosses to express the particular semantic flavor of the Ata Manobo.

Many of the modifying particles treated here as occurring within the clause also occur on other grammatical levels, where they function in a very different manner. No attempt, however, has been made in this paper to describe these other functions.

The particles treated in this paper may be grammatically divided into two main groups: (1) those which are first order modifying particles and rarely modify each other, and (2) those which may optionally follow the first order particles and frequently modify each other.
1. ORDERING OF PARTICLES

1.1 The first order particles include most of the qualifiers of extent. Of these, dò and dod are primarily time related particles. Usually they immediately follow the clause tagmeme they modify, except that the enclitic personal pronouns take precedence over them.

1.2 The particles of the second group also follow what they modify, with precedence again given to the enclitic personal pronouns and to the first order particles when they occur. Any of the particles may occur as a modifier without any of the others, or they may occur in strings, modifying one another as well as having a modifying relationship to the first clause tagmeme they follow. This second group of particles includes the qualifiers of intensity: man, na-an, nana-an, ian, bua, and bag, as well as the idioms man dò and na-an dò. Also included in this group is the frustration particle porom and the limiting particle amana (with a negative).

1.3 As has already been mentioned, the particles of the first order normally may not cooccur with each other. Following a negative, however, two combinations have been observed: dò pad (not) quite yet and pad on (not) yet the one/place/time. The on here seems to have a rather specialized meaning:

...kò pad ON so-in.
not yet PLACE this
This ian't the PLACE yet.

Some of the particles, especially the emphatic particle ian, are quite mobile. Not all of the factors conditioning, or influencing the position ian occupies have been discovered. Although no hard and fast rules for ordering the particles have been determined, it does seem that there is a preferred order. This preferred order of clause modifying particles is shown in table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Group</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Second Group</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dò</td>
<td>man</td>
<td></td>
<td>bua</td>
<td>bag</td>
<td>porom</td>
<td>bag</td>
<td>amana</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dod</td>
<td>man dò</td>
<td></td>
<td>man</td>
<td>ian</td>
<td>ian</td>
<td>ian</td>
<td>ian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pà</td>
<td>na-an</td>
<td></td>
<td>ian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pad</td>
<td>na-an dò</td>
<td></td>
<td>ian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on</td>
<td>nana-an</td>
<td>ian</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 1
Relative sequence of clause modifying particles
CLAUSE-MODIFYING PARTICLES IN ATA MANOBO

Items in any column of table 1 may go with any item in another column, with the following restrictions:

(a) The emphatic particle ian indeed, really usually may not occur more than once in the same string.
(b) bag just, quite, somewhat, rather may occur either before or after porom, or it may simultaneously occur in both positions.
(c) na-an dó, when used in their literal sense as really, just, is an exception to the general rule that particles of the second group follow the particles of the first group. man dó and na-an dó in column 2 are particle phrases which function together and are used somewhat idiomatically. (Cf. sections 3.1.2 and 3.2.1.6.)

2. QUALIFIERS OF EXTENT
2.1 LIMITING PARTICLES

All the limiting particles are first order, except amana (when used with a negative) (not) quite, (not) well enough. (Cf. sections 1.1 and 1.2.)

2.1.1 The particle dó just, only may limit size, number, quality, or activity. With an activity it may connote casualness.

2.1.1.1 When the particle dó modifies an adjective, adverb, or a temporal word, it may be translated as only or just.

(a) Malintok DÒ ka ogku-on ku.
small ONLY the take I
I'll ONLY take a small amount.

(b) Taan DÒ ian ka kai no ogman-ampù.
natural JUST indeed the here that pray
It's JUST natural that the (people) here pray.

(c) Ganna DÒ no masolom nighipanow ka otow.
a/while/ago ONLY when morning walked the person
The people left ONLY a while ago when it was (still) morning.

2.1.1.2 With an adjective that is an antonym of one in a preceding suggestion or question, dó may be translated quite or just, and with a negative, dó may simply be translated (not) quite.

(a) Marani DÒ ka Bangkod.
near ONLY the Bangood
The (barrio of) Bangood is QUITE close.
2.1.1.3 When \( d\o \) modifies a noun, pronoun, or number, the word modified, together with \( d\o \) is usually moved into the clause-initial emphatic position. (The noun may be the name of a location, as in example (c).) Then \( d\o \) may be translated \textit{only}.

(a) Homoy \( d\o \) ka ig-orok ta.
\textit{rice \textit{ONLY the sow \textit{we}}}
\textit{Rice is the \textit{ONLY thing \textit{we will sow}}.}

(b) Kanak \( d\o \) ka oghondi\(d\o \) to Malaybalay.
\textit{me \textit{ONLY the go/there to Malaybalay}}
\textit{I'm the \textit{ONLY one going to Malaybalay}.}

(c) Malaybalay \( d\o \) ka oghondia-an.
\textit{Malaybalay \textit{ONLY the go/there-place}}
\textit{Malaybalay is the \textit{ONLY place (they're) going}.}

(d) Darua koy \( d\o \) ka ohipanow.
\textit{two \textit{we \textit{ONLY the walk}}} 
\textit{(There will) \textit{ONLY be the two of \textit{us going}}.}

2.1.1.4 When \( d\o \) modifies a verb, it may often be translated \textit{just}. It may also imply casualness.

(a) Nigduma a \( d\o \).
\textit{go/along I \textit{JUST}}
\textit{I JUST went along (as a companion).}

(b) Ognangonan ta \( d\o \) to kon\(o \) tad ogdumoon.
\textit{tell \textit{we \textit{JUST that not \textit{we take/along}}} 
\textit{We'll \textit{JUST tell (him) that we won't take (him) along}.}

(c) Ul\(i \) ka \( d\o \).
\textit{return you \textit{JUST}}
\textit{JUST come back (the same day).}

2.1.2 The limiting particle \( d\o \) occurs with both positive and negative statements, but with a difference of meaning. When \( d\o \) occurs with a positive statement, it indicates that something is remaining, such as
an object, time, or condition, and may be translated as *still* or *yet*, but when it occurs in a negative statement, *dod* implies that a condition or circumstance has not been attained, but is or was close to being attained.

2.1.2.1 The particle *dod*, meaning *still* or *yet*, may occur in positive statements modifying adjectives, demonstratives, locationals, or demonstratives when they are used as locationals. *dod* may also modify nouns, but less frequently.

(a) *Maroyow DOD ka homoy.*
   *good STILL the rice*
   The rice is *STILL* good.

(b) *Du-on DOD ig-insò nu kanak?*
   *there/is STILL ask you me*
   Do you *STILL* have anything to ask me?

(c) *Diò DOD si Andì. Wà DOD nig-ulì.*
   *there YET friend not YET returned*
   *(Our) friend is still there. She hasn't returned YET.*

(d) *Du-on ka DOD?*
   *there you STILL*
   Are you *STILL* there?

(d) *Woig DOD ian.*
   *water YET indeed*
   *(Yes), it's STILL (pure) water.*

In example (f) the situation involves someone trying to find a clump of bamboo. After several unsuccessful searches he sends a companion to look at something that appears to be bamboo, but is not. The response is:

(f) *Kayu DOD na-an ian.*
   *tree STILL really indeed*
   They are *STILL* trees (which we are finding).

(Note: In this example, *dod* *still* approximates the meaning of *songo too, also* and could be alternately translated as *They are really trees, too.*

2.1.2.2 With a negative, *dod* *(not) quite, (not) yet* means approximately the same as *dò* does when it occurs with a negative. *(Cf. section 2.1.1.2.)* In fact, in some positions at least, these particles seem to be interchangeable with no change in meaning.
(a) Wà koy DOD moko-uma.
not we QUITE arrived
We hadn't QUITE arrived

(Note: The following construction is very similar in meaning to (a):

Wà koy PAD moko-uma.
not we YET arrived
We had not YET arrived.

(b) Wà DÔ mo-ugtu, napongaan on.
not QUITE noon finished already
It was not QUITE noon (and) it was finished already.

(c) Wà DOD bag tunas to kamot ta.
not YET quite leafage in field our
There aren't quite YET any sprouting leaves in our field (but there might be soon).

2.1.3 The limiting particle amana apparently has limited distribution in Ata Manobo. When occurring within the clause as a modifying particle, it has been observed to occur only with a negative. With this negative, it means (not) quite, (not) well enough (as of an ability), (not) so much, (not) too much, (not) too many.

(a) Wà dod AMANA no mo-ugtu.
not quite QUITE noon
It's really not QUITE noon.

(b) Konad AMANA ogkabobonod ka bolad ku.
not SO/MUCH numb the hand my
My hand isn't SO numb now.

(c) Konô pad AMANA ogkato-u.
not yet WELL/ENOUGH know/how
He doesn't know how (to play) WELL ENOUGH yet.

(d) Konô nud AMANA ogmalig-ota su ogsokol a.
not you TOO narrow because squeezed I
Don't make it TOO small because it will be tight on me.

(e) Warô AMANA no bokog no ngalap.
not SO/MANY bone in fish
There aren't SO MANY bones in (this) fish.
2.2 TIME RELATED PARTICLES

2.2.1 The particles pà and pad still, yet, then, for a while are time related particles. Semantically, and often grammatically, they seem to occupy the same domain. There are positions where either may occur with apparently the same meaning. In other positions, one or the other is preferred or perhaps is even obligatory. More analysis needs to be done to determine when these two forms are indeed interchangeable and when they are not. In this paper, these two particles are considered together.

2.2.1.1 pà or pad are sometimes used with verbs to indicate an indefinite span of time. They also imply temporariness and may be translated for a while.

(a) Kagi ni Andî, "Kai kow PÀ og-ugpò. say Friend here you FOR/A/WHILE stay (Our) friend said, "Stay here FOR A WHILE".

(b) Oggaton ku PAD ka anak nu. take/care/of I FOR/A/WHILE the child your I'll take care of your child FOR A WHILE.

(c) Ho-o, su ogpami-pì a PAD. yes because launder I FOR/A/WHILE Yes, (watch my child) because I will launder (clothes) FOR A WHILE.

2.2.1.2 In narration, pà may signify sequence.

(a) Kagi PÀ ni Binansiu, "Hontow ka oggustu say THEN Binansiu who the desire no poimu nu to baloy?" who have/make you the house THEN Binansiu said, "Who is the one you desire to have make (your) house?"

(b) A mo-umo-i PÀ so-i balubatò to alamara dan. ah arrived-at THEN this bachelor raider/band their THEN a band of raiders arrived (there where) this young man (was).

(c) Noko-uma so dalaga diò to kamot songo umawa PAD na-an arrived the maiden there at field also call AS/SOON/AS to dalaga so tinokak to, "Anù, dii kad." the maiden the tarsier Boy here you AS SOON AS the girl arrived at the field she called to the tarsier, "Boy, come here."
When pà occurs in a conditional margin, it indicates that the sentence is counterfactual.\(^7\)

(a) Ko du-on pà tol-ob noy, konà a porom ogkagannow.
   *if there/is YET* blanket our not I would be/cold
   If there *WERE* a blanket for us, then I would not be cold.

(b) Ko dakol pà ka miow, dakol ko ogko-on.
   *if big YET* the cat *big* when eat
   If the cat *WERE* large, it (would) eat a lot.

(Note: An ordinary condition, without pà, is nonsense if said when the condition is clearly counterfactual. For example, you can say:
Ko asu pà ka so-i miow....*/if dog yet this cat/
If this cat WERE a dog....
but to say, Ko asu so-i miow....*/if dog this cat/
If this cat is a dog.... is nonsense.)

(c) Ko maroyow pà so-i anak noy, kò noy igboboy.
   *if pretty YET* this child our not we give
   If our daughter *WERE* pretty, we wouldn’t give (her in marriage.)
   (This is actually the reverse of what the speaker means as her daughter is very pretty. The mother will give her in marriage but she will probably request a large dowry.)

In requests or orders, pà seems to soften. Also note the temporariness of the proposed activity.

(a) Kaginì Andi, "Abli-i nu pà, Buliung, so-i.
   say Friend open you YET* Buliung this
   (Our) friend said, "Buliung, *TAKE A MINUTE and open this (please)".\(^8\)

(b) Pandop-ug ka pà su maligson ki.
   *TAKE A MINUTE* and wash your face because we’re dirty.

When pà occurs with question words, such as who, where, when, and why, it is generally implied that, although the questioner could be expected to know the answer, he has either forgotten the information or has not heard or understood it properly. Of the question words, manìò why is least likely to occur with pà, as a more natural question with manìò would be manìò bua *why maybe/* why do you suppose...? pà may then be translated as nontemporal now.

(a) Hondo-i pà kai ka oggulayon ta?
   where NOW here the make/viand we
   NOW where in here is (the food) we will use for viand?
(b) Hontow PÀ ian ka ngaran dut otow gabi-i?
who NOW indeed the name of person yesterday
NOW what was that person's name (who was here) yesterday? (I forget.)

(c) Nokoy PÀ ka innangon nu kanak ganna?
what NOW the tell you me a/while/ago
NOW what was it you were telling me a while ago?

(d) Pila PÀ ka ogku-on ta no salmun?
how/many NOW the get we of sardinés
NOW how many (tins) of sardinés (were) we (planning) to get?

(e) Kon-u PÀ og-uli?
when NOW return
NOW when will he return? (I've forgotten.)

(f) Manio PÀ ian to oghondiò si Andì to inoy din?
why NOW indeed that go/there Friend to mother her
NOW why was it that (our) friend was going (home) to her mother?

2.2.1.6 When pada occurs with a negative, it may be translated yet.
In this position pada may not alternate with pada.

(a) Wà noy PAD sugutì.
not we YET give/consent
We had not YET given (our) consent.

(b) Wà PAD mo-ugtu.
not YET noon
(It is) not YET noon.

(c) Konà a PAD oghondiò.
not I YET go/there
I'm not going to go there YET.

2.2.2 The particle pada has an especially high distribution in Ata Manobo. Consequently, it has a wide variety of uses and a considerable number of possible glosses.

Some of the functions of the particle pada are carried by completely different particles in other languages, but in Ata Manobo it may function as an inceptive or a completive, or it may express a state of being. 8

Although most examples in Ata Manobo seem fairly easy to categorize in these terms, sometimes one can conceive of a given example as functioning in more than one way. Some definite clues as to when on
is acting as inceptive or as completive may lie in the analysis of verb stem classes.

It appears that on as completive occurs more often in connection with past time, but with present or future time, inception and state of being tend to be implied. However, especially with past tense, there are exceptions. Some of these seem to be associated with certain process verbs, such as sinogow cry, which, with past tense plus on, may be translated started to cry. (See example 2.2.2.7(b).)

2.2.2.1 In positive existential constructions, on is inceptive. That is, it signifies that something exists now which did not exist previously. Then it may be translated as now.

(a) Maniɔ Aran to du-on ON abu nu?
   why Adam that have NOW fireplace your
   Adam, why is it that you NOW have a fireplace (when you didn't before)?

(b) Du-on ON man ig-inso ku kaniu.
   there/is NOW well ask I of/you
   Well, NOW I have something to ask you.

With the negative existential waрад no more or with an adjective, such as тибò all, the effect of on is to emphasize the completeness of the no more or the all concept, so that on may be translated as (no more) at all or (all) without exception.

(c) Warad ON goinawa ku kandin.
   no/tar more AT/ALL breath my for/him
   I don't have any more love AT ALL for him.

(d) Natibò koy ON ian nakasonob.
   all we ALL indeed went/underwater
   ALL of us WITHOUT EXCEPTION got dunked.

2.2.2.2 The particle on is inceptive when it occurs with stative verbs, adjectives, or temporals used in connection with present time, provided that the condition described is continuing or is still in progress, or when it is used with future time. Then it may be translated as is becoming or will be.

(a) Огkoinug ON kunto-on ka homoy.
   ripen BECOME now the rice
   The rice IS BECOMING ripe now.
CLAUSE-MODIFYING PARTICLES IN ATA MANOBO

(b) A, ko-ugtu ON angkuan nò.  
    noon BE after/a/while so!  
    Oh for goodness sakes, it WILL BE noon after a while (and we'll  
    be too late).

(c) Angkuan ON.  
    after/a/while BE  
    (The meeting) WILL BE (held) after a while.

The particle on tends to be completive when used with statives or  
adjectives in connection with past time or with present time where the  
condition or circumstance is conceived as completed. In spite of the  
main emphasis here being completive, the inceptive concept is not  
entirely lost in that the very presence of on suggests that what is now  
was not previously, or vice versa. This seems to be illustrated in  
the possible meanings already, has, now of on in these positions.

(d) Namato ON ka batò.  
    died ALREADY the child  
    The child is dead ALREADY, or the child HAS died.

(e) Maro-ot ON ka mundù.  
    bad ALREADY* the sweet-potatoe  
    The sweet potatoes *HAVE spoiled, or the sweet potatoes are bad  
    NOW (after being good before).

(f) Ogmalabal ON ka homoy ko ogko-inug ON.  
    red BECOME the rice when ripen HAS  
    The rice will BECOME red when it HAS ripened.

(Note: Although the verb ogko-inug ripen has the nonpast prefix og-,  
the on in this conditional margin is completive, anticipating the  
completion of the event or process yet future.)

2.2.2.3 When on is used with a noun or pronoun, the part of the clause  
containing the noun or pronoun is often preposed to the rest of the  
clause, so that it is in the emphatic position. When on is used with  
such a construction, the implication is that that person or thing, and  
not some other one, is to be acted upon or otherwise involved.

(a) Si Buntit ON angkuan ognangonan ta.  
    Buntit BE after/a/while tell we  
    After a while we will tell Buntit (and not someone else).
(b) Nagaat, hondo-i pà koykow ON ka ogpanikop
Nagaat wherever you BE the catch/shrimp
poko-utol ka bag to bukotut.
catch you just the tiny/shrimp
Nagaat, whenever you (rather than someone else) go shrimp-catching,
you manage to catch the tiny ones.

2.2.2.4 When on is used with a command, the implication is that the command should be carried out immediately or as soon as the stated time arrives. It may be translated as now, this time, promptly, right away.

(a) Onow kad ON.
get/up you NOW
Get up NOW.

(b) Kò kad ON.
not you NOW
Don't (go with me) THIS TIME.

(c) Asolom, gimata kow ON woy so topak
tomorrow wake/up you PROMPTLY and the come/down/to/water
kow ON du-on to libuas to pantad.
you PROMPTLY there to open/area of beach
Tomorrow PROMPTLY wake up and PROMPTLY go down to the open area of the beach near the water.

2.2.2.5 The function of on is basically inceptive when it occurs with locatives or with question words, such as what, why, who, or where. It may be translated as end up, end up being, now.

(a) Du-on koy ON mokoirógò su maapun ON gabí-i
there we END/UP slept because afternoon ALREADY yesterday
That's where we ENDED UP sleeping because it was ALREADY afternoon (when we arrived).

(b) Dìò koy ON mapawo-i to bangkà.
there we END/UP be/dawmed in canoe
We ENDED UP being in the canoe until it dawmed.

(c) Nokoy ON ka nakuò?
what END/UP the got
(He went for a horse but) what did he END UP getting?

(d) "Hondo-i ON?" "Du-on ON."
where NOW here NOW
"Where is he NOW?" "He's here NOW."
2.2.2.6 The particle on may be employed in narration to indicate inception or completion of an event which would naturally follow in the sequence of the narrative. When it is used in this way, it may be translated as *then*, even though it is not a grammatical link or conjunction.

(a) Nigpamarigus no niggakap ON.
   bathed and leave/water THEN
   She bathed and THEN she came up out of the water.

(b) Nigparagas ON nig-ulì.
   proceed THEN go/home
   THEN she proceeded to go home.

(c) Nokoy kaman no noko-uma ON so dalaga
   what then and arrive THEN the maiden
   diò to marani to baloy din.
   there to near the house her
   What happened next? THEN the girl arrived at her house.

2.2.2.7 There may be some verbal predications with which on is always inceptive regardless of tense. Analysis of verb stem classes may reveal a group of process verbs behaving like the word sinogow *cry* in the following two examples. Note that with this verb with both past and future time the particle on is inceptive and may be translated as began or start, or begin respectively.
(a) Nò sikan nigsinogow ON ka boi to well that cried BEGAN the girl that og-arasan to goinawa din. frustrate the breath her
Well, with that the girl BEGAN to cry because she was frustrated inside (lit. in her breath).

(b) Kò nu amana su ogsinogow ON.
not you so/much because cry START
Don't (tease) him so much because he'll START to cry.

3. QUALIFIERS OF INTENSITY

3.1 PARTICLE OF MODERATE INTENSITY

3.1.1 man is a particle of expectation, especially when it is used with a positive statement or in the course of a narrative. In either of these contexts it indicates that what is being described is the logical, expected sequence of events.

3.1.1.1 With a positive clause, man means so, of course, naturally.
(a) This example comes from a story of a boy and girl. They are discussing the girl's departure when the narrative continues:
Nokoy kaman no nighihanow on MAN ka dalaga no what then well walked then SO the maiden who ogondio to pagamayan no woig.
go/there to wide river
So, then, the girl left to go to the big river.

(b) Ko ogdumoon ki, ogduma ki MAN.
of taken/along we go/along we OF/COURSE
If we are taken along, OF COURSE we'll go.

3.1.1.2 When man occurs with a negative, it may be translated as really. Although the element of expectation is not completely lost, man increases the intensity of the negation. If the particle man is further modified by the emphasis particle ian indeed, the intensity of the negation is increased further. For example, if someone asked whether one had a certain item to sell, he might receive the reply:

(a) Warò.
one
There isn't any.

(b) Warò MAN.
one REALLY
There REALLY isn't any.
(c) \textit{Warò MAN ian.}
none REALLY indeed
There CERTAINLY isn't any.

Response (c) could be made by a third party to whom the questioner may turn to check on the accuracy of the denial. In that case, response (c) could be translated \textit{It's true, there really isn't any.} But if there still is a shade of doubt in the responder's mind, he may express that doubt by saying:

(d) \textit{Warò MAN ian, bua.}
none REALLY indeed maybe
There probably REALLY isn't any.

(e) \textit{Warò MAN Anggam. Nigpanombaloy ki dò du-on bag.}
not REALLY Uncle visit we just there just
(We have) REALLY not (come to get anything) Uncle. We've just come for a visit, that's all.

(f) \textit{Warad MAN duma ta.}
no/more REALLY companion our
We REALLY don't have any more companions.

When the negative used with \textit{man} is \textit{kò} or \textit{konò} (the forms usually used with present or nonpast tense), the particle \textit{man} may sometimes be translated of course, naturally, or, with ian, obviously.

(g) \textit{Ko ogdumoon ki, ogduma ki MAN. Ko kò ki MAN,}
\textit{if taken/along we go/along we OF/COURSE if not we OF/COURSE}
kò ki MAN ogdumaa.
not we OF/COURSE go/along
\textit{If we are taken along, OF COURSE we'll go. But NATURALLY, if we aren't, OF COURSE we won't go.}

(h) \textit{Kò ki MAN ian ogpakananangon to wà ki MAN nigkuò.}
not we OF/COURSE indeed tell when not we REALLY got
OBVIOUSLY we can't tell (someone that we took something) when we REALLY didn't take it.

3.1.2 The phrase \textit{man dò} is a common idiom which signifies some kind of repetition. When occurring in this phrase, \textit{dò} seems to mean \textit{just} and signifies casualness; \textit{man} may be translated again. Sometimes the whole phrase may be rendered again.

(a) \textit{Nighpanow on \quad MAN DÒ.}
walked (=left) already AGAIN JUST
(She was here but) she JUST left AGAIN.
3.2 PARTICLES OF ACTUALITY

3.2.1 Na-an is a particle of reality, or of actuality. Some of the meanings which na-an may have are really, actually, as soon as, well, so. In certain environments the shade of meaning between man and na-an is very close. This is particularly true when either particle occurs with question words. The meaning of man really when it occurs with a negative is also very close to the meaning of na-an when it occurs in positive statements. (Cf. section 3.2.1.1(a).)

3.2.1.1 In many environments, na-an may be translated as really or actually.

(a) Wà man mogtokod ka datù to lukos
not really recognized the chief that man
NA-AN sika no bantut.
ACTUALLY that the one/posing/as/opposite/sex
The chief really didn't recognize that it ACTUALLY was a man who
was dressed like a woman.

(b) Du-on NA-AN salò din.
there/is ACTUALLY fault his
He ACTUALLY does have a fault (though he denies it).

(c) Nig-un-unawa kid NA-AN dò.
same we REALLY just
We're REALLY just the same (as each other).

(d) Konò kow NA-AN ogkapukow no ogsusugba a.
not you REALLY wake/up when cook I
REALLY, don't wake up when I cook.
(Emphasizing prohibition.)

(e) Moon-ing NA-AN no lunggunan kai to Nasulì.
many REALLY of family here at Nasuli
There REALLY are a lot of families at Nasuli.
(Expressing surprise.)

3.2.1.2 When the emphasis is on immediacy of sequence of events, na-an may be translated as as soon as.
CLAUSE-MODIFYING PARTICLES IN ATA MANOBO

(a) Sugba a nud, Kunsay, oyow NA-AN oglopow
cook I you Kunsay so/that AS/SOON/AS come/in
a hukas ku NA-AN ṃb to ogko-on.
I begin I AS/SOON/AS just to eat
Cook (the meal) for me, Kunsay, so that AS SOON AS I come home
I can just begin to eat.

(b) Noko-uma so dalaga diō to kamot sango umawa pad
arrived the maiden there to field then call yet
NA-AN to dalaga so tinokak to "Anù, dii kad."
AS/SOON/AS the maiden the tarsier Boy here you
AS SOON AS the girl arrived in the field she called to the tarsier,
"Boy, come here."

3.2.1.3 The diminutive bag tends to weaken na-an. Then na-an may be
translated as, actually or O.K.

(a) Nò, hari, oghindian a NA-AN bag asolom.
well younger/sibling go/there I ACTUALLY just tomorrow
Well, younger brother, ACTUALLY, I'll be going there tomorrow.

(b) Oghondian a NA-AN bag to koykow?
go/there I O.K. just to you
I'll just come over to your place, O.K.?

(Note: The intent of the question is to inform the hostess of proposed
visit and get her reaction. Intonation signals that the statement is
a question.)

3.2.1.4 When na-an occurs with a question word, such as what, where,
or why, there is generally something in the context, either linguistic
or extralinguistic, which has stimulated the question. For instance,
if someone has just stated his intention to visit Kapalong, then some-
one might question his purpose for going and include na-an well or so
in the question, as in example (a).

(a) Nokoy NA-AN ka ogku-on ta diō to Kapalong?
what WELL the get we there in Kapalong
WELL, what will we get in Kapalong?

(b) Hondo-i ka NA-AN ogdoog kunto-on?
where you WELL destine now
WELL, where are you going now?

(c) Hontow NA-AN ka ogkuò to mata?
who SO the get the eye
SO who is going to get the eyes (of the pig)?
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(d) Kon-u NA-AN og-ulì?
    when WELL return/home
    WELL, when will he be returning home?

(e) Pila NA-AN ka nalonod no otow?
    how/many SO the drowned of person
    SO, how many people were drowned?

3.2.1.5 In addition to back-reference to a stimulus in the context, na-an also signifies intensity in rhetorical questions that imply negation and in rhetorical why questions that imply a criticism or a question indicating surprise. (See section 3.2.1.6(b).)

(a) Nokoy NA-AN ogbayo-on nu to mariù pad?
    what REALLY* pass you since far yet
    *HOW ON EARTH are you going to get there since it is a long ways away?

(Note: The meaning of this rhetorical question is Don’t go because it is too far.)

(b) Maniò NA-AN to konò ogkakawaron?
    why REALLY* that not hooked
    WELL, *WHY ON EARTH aren’t (the eels) being caught?
    (Expressing surprise.)

(c) Maniò NA-AN to man kò ka og-ulì?
    why REALLY* that really not you return/home
    WELL, *HOW COME you really are not going to return home?
    (Expressing surprise.)

The phrase maniò na-an how come is frequently used in response to an observation or question. If there is an implied criticism of someone’s personal behavior, the phrase, as shown in example (d), may be used defensively as Why do you ask? or So what?

(d) Maniò NA-AN? Kò man no ogku-on ta.
    why REALLY not really take we
    Why (do you ask)? We certainly weren’t taking any.

3.2.1.6 Na-an dò frequently occurs as an idiom meaning more, left, as well. (Na-an dò also occurs in its literal sense of really, just, as in (c) following.)

(a) Hontow NA-AN Dò so moon-ing pad so mongo anak?
    who LEFT the many still the plural child
    Who is there LEFT who still has many children (at home)?
    (Real question.)
CLAUSE-MODIFYING PARTICLES IN ATA MANOBO

(b) Nokoy NA-AN DÒ hanow ta?
what MORE know we
What MORE do we know? (Rhetorical question here means, We haven’t a clue!)

(c) Nig-un-unawa kid NA-AN DÒ. Songo sagboka NA-AN DÒ ka anak ku. same we REALLY JUST also one LEFT the child my We’re REALLY JUST the same (as each other). I also have (just) one child LEFT.

(d) Kinabò ku NA-AN DÒ bag, inò.
blouse my AS/WELL just Mother Just (make) me a blouse AS WELL, Mother (and that’s all I’ll ask).

3.2.2 The particle nana-an actually, surely, after all is also a particle of reality, but it often carries with it an element of surprise that, contrary to expectation, something is true or not true.

If someone forgot about some sardines which had been put away, and people had been told that there were no more sardines for sale, but later the stored sardines were discovered, someone might say:

(a) Du-on NANA-AN salmon.
there/are AFTER/ALL sardines
There are sardines AFTER ALL.

Someone who had never seen a large dog might ask what kind of animal that was in the yard. When he is told that it is a dog, he might reply:

(b) Otuwoy, asu NANA-AN ian.
oh/for/goodness/sake dog AFTER/ALL really
Oh for goodness sake! It really is a dog AFTER ALL.

Someone might check on a noise outside and report:

(c) Si Andì NANA-AN no ogpamano-ug.
Friend ACTUALLY who go/downstairs
It’s ACTUALLY (our) friend who is going downstairs.

(d) Ka-ku-kow! Kamatoj kid NANA-AN to mongo dalu of/my/goodness die we SURELY from plural illness su mananoy pad na-an woy si Andì.
because long/time yet really and Friend
Oh my goodness! We SURELY will die of illnesses because (our) friend and her companions will really take a long time (to return).

3.3 The particle ian functions on the clause level in two ways. It may function as an answer particle to verify some piece of information, or it may function as an emphasis particle, emphasizing that part of the clause which precedes it.
3.3.1 When ian functions as an answer particle it implies, *Yes, you're right.*

If someone asked the simple question, *Is that a dog?*, the answer might be:

(a) *Asu IAN.*

*dog INDEED*  
*(Yes) it's a dog, or INDEED it's a dog.*

If someone asked, *Is that your're mother?*, the person might answer:

(b) *Inoy ku IAN.*

*mother my INDEED*  
*(Yes) she is my mother, or INDEED she is my mother.*

3.3.2 When ian functions as an emphasis particle, it may be translated *really* or *very*.

(a) *Ian nu dò man IAN ogdinogon so*  
*that you only of/course REALLY hear the*  
*batò no ogli-ag dutun to baloy.*  
*child who play there at house*  
*All that you can REALLY hear of course is the child who is*  
*playing at the house.*

(b) *So-in a now dò IAN ogkita-a su amana*  
*this I you only VERY see because unfair*  
*wà kid IAN bogayi to manggad.*  
*not we REALLY given material*  
*This is the VERY last time you will see me because it's not fair*  
*that we REALLY weren't given any material!*

3.3.3 One of the interesting aspects of Ata Manobo modifying particles is the way they may modify one another. Of all the particles, ian probably does this the most. Semantically, the particles man, na-an, and nana-an all tend to strengthen, or intensify, what they modify. These may each be further modified by ian to strengthen their sense even more.

By contrast, the possibility particle bua and the particle of diminution bag tend to weaken, or decrease, the intensity of what they modify. (See section 3.4.) When ian modifies the particle bua *possibly, perhaps, maybe*, it tends to strengthen it to *probably*. Or, bua may modify ian *indeed, really*, and weaken its meaning to *probably*. Thus, ian bua and bua ian, though different analytically, have approximately the same meaning. It is possible that bag and ian would
function in a similar manner, but more information is needed in order to determine this.

The examples following illustrate something of the choice an Ata Manobo speaker has with regard to the degree of intensity he wishes to use in speaking.

(a) Sikan MAN.
   that OF/COURSE
   OF COURSE it is that way.

(b) Sikan IAN.
   that REALLY
   That REALLY is the way it is, or that's it!

(c) Sikan MAN IAN.
   that CERTAINLY
   That CERTAINLY is the way it is.

(d) Sikan MAN IAN BUA.
   that CERTAINLY PROBABLY*
   That CERTAINLY *MUST be the way it is.

(e) Sikan MAN BUA IAN.
   that OF/COURSE PROBABLY REALLY
   That PROBABLY is the way it REALLY is.

(Note: Examples (d) and (e) have very similar meanings.)

(f) Sikan MAN BUA.
   that OF/COURSE PROBABLY
   OF COURSE it's PROBABLY that way.

(Note: In examples (e) and (f) the particle man, like ian, strengthened bua to mean probably.)

(g) Sikan BUA IAN.
   that PROBABLY
   That PROBABLY is the way it is.

(h) Sikan IAN BUA.
   that PROBABLY
   That PROBABLY is the way it is.

3.4 PARTICLES OF LEAST INTENSITY

3.4.1 The particle bua is a particle of possibility or probability. It may modify any clause-level slot.

3.4.1.1 Unmodified, bua may be translated as maybe, perhaps. It may be translated probably when probability is implied by either context or intonation, when it is modified by a particle of greater intensity,
such as man or ian, or when it modified a particle of greater intensity. (See section 3.3.3.) Bua may also be translated probably when it modifies the idiom man na-an meaning O.K. or well in contrafactual sentences.

(a) Og-anak BUA ka dutun no boi no ogkaboros. give/birth MAYBE the there of girl who pregnant MAYBE the pregnant girl over there will give birth.

(b) Ogboli koy porom to kuddò di konò koy BUA ogpoko-utol. buy We would the horse but not we PERHAPS obtain We would (like to) buy horses but PERHAPS we won't be able to obtain any.

(c) Koykow BUA ian atag, du-on you PROBABLY indeed on/the/other/hand have goinawa nu BUA ko ogka-asawa ka. breath you MAYBE if happen/to/get/married you On the other hand, PROBABLY you (would) like to get married.

(Note: To have breath for something is an idiom meaning to like or desire.)

(d) Man na-an BUA ko warad gaata ka miow. O.K. PROBABLY if not-had left/behind the cat The cat PROBABLY would have been O.K. if it had not been left behind.

3.4.1.2 Bua often occurs with question words, such as who, what, or why. If the question is genuine (especially third person), bua may be translated who/what/why do you suppose? Many of these questions, out of context, could be taken as either real or rhetorical questions. However, when they occur as responses to questions or requests, they are rhetorical. If the question is rhetorical and constitutes a negation (especially with first person) the translation would be something like whatever can? or why should? The phrase maniò bua why do you suppose? may introduce a real question, or it may, especially with addition of ian, imply criticism (with third person).

(a) Nokoy BUA ka kai to solib? what DO/YOU/SUPPOSE the here at under/house What DO YOU SUPPOSE is here under the house?

(b) Hontow na-an BUA angkuan who really* DO/YOU/SUPPOSE after/a/while ka dutun to kamot no ogtigbas? the there the field who slash Now who *in the world DO YOU SUPPOSE it will turn out to be there in the field who is slashing (bamboo)?
(c) Maniò BUA to gustu ad to oghipanow?
why SHOULD that desire I to travel
Why SHOULD I want to go (on this errand?)
(Note: The rhetorical question means I don't want to go.)

(d) Maniò BUA ian si Lubia to
why DO/YOU/SUPPOSE indeed* Lubia that
nighihipanow to wà mataga to buyag?
traveled when not know the chief
What *on earth DO YOU SUPPOSE (got into) Lubia that she took off
on a journey without (letting) the chief know? (Notice the
implied criticism.)
(Note: If the speaker had merely said, Maniò bua si Lubia... Why do
you suppose Lubia..., the question might be understood as a real
question. The use of the emphatic ian strengthens the critical aspect
of the question.)

(e) Hontow BUA ka oghondiò? Konà a.
who DO/YOU/SUPPOSE the go/there not I
Who DO YOU SUPPOSE is going to go there? I'm not.
(Note: The sense of the above is negation. But the same question
could be a genuine question used as a polite request. If an individual
hears such a question presented as a request and he desires to reply
negatively, all he has to do is to repeat the question Who DO YOU
SUPPOSE?, meaning I won't.)

(f) Maniò BUA to oggongon a so-i the basket no oglimukonan a?
why SHOULD to hold I this the basket since dove/warn I
Why SHOULD I be here holding this basket since the dove is warning
me?
(Note: The meaning is negative, I shouldn't be holding this basket
since the dove is warning me (not to).)

(g) Nokoy BUA ogngarog kai ngangarog to dulian?
what DO/YOU/SUPPOSE smell here smell of durian/fruit
What DO YOU SUPPOSE (is) here (which) smells like durian?
(Notice that this is a real question.)

(h) Nokoy BUA hanow ta?
WHATEVER know we
WHATEVER do we know? (We don't know anything.)

3.4.1.3 The particle bua may be used to express something politely,
such as to make polite request or politely to correct someone's state-
ment.
(a) Oghondiò ka BUA to Kapalong.
   go/there you PERHAPS to Kapalong get
   PERHAPS you (could) go to Kapalong.

(b) Oghirogò ad BUA.
   sleep* I PERHAPS
   PERHAPS I will *stay overnight.

   A girl thinks that a vehicle she had seen was a truck. Someone suggests:

(c) Buus BUA ka dakol.
   bus MAYBE the big
   MAYBE the big one was a bus.

3.4.2 The particle bag is a particle of diminution. It has several functions related to some kind of reduction. This diminution, or reduction, may concern size, quantity, degree, or, in certain instances, the seriousness of statements made.

3.4.2.1 With adjectives, such as small or low, bag tends to reduce further, and in doing so to emphasize the smallness or lowness of the object modified. When used in this way, bag may be translated as quite or just.

(a) Maintok pad BAG ka batò.
   small still QUITE the child
   The child is still QUITE small. (Meaning: The child is JUST a little thing yet.)

(b) Baratu BAG oyow so dakol di maintok ka imbayad ta.
   cheap QUITE so/that the large but little the payment our
   It was QUITE cheap so that (we got) a lot but (only) paid a little.

(c) Konò ogdagin su malupot BAG so langit.
   not make/noise because low QUITE the sky
   It (wouldn't) make a noise because the sky was QUITE low.

(d) Iam pad BAG.
   new still QUITE
   It is still QUITE new.

3.4.2.2 With adjectives connoting largeness, the function of bag is to diminish. Then it may be translated as rather, somewhat, little.
(a) Mahal BAG ka atolug diò to Malaybalay.
   expensive RATHER the egg there at Malaybalay
   Eggs are RATHER expensive in Malaybalay.

(b) Malu-ag BAG ka kurtina.
   wide SOMEWHAT the curtain
   The curtain is SOMEWHAT wide.

(c) Nigsubla on BAG ka woig.
   too/much has LITTLE the water
   The (cooking pot) has a LITTLE too much water (in it).

3.4.2.3 Without an adjective, bag may connote smallness and may be translated as little, little bit, small. (Cf. section 3.4.2.6(a).)

(a) Miow BAG.
   cat LITTLE
   It's a LITTLE cat.

(b) Woig BAG.
   water SMALL
   It's a SMALL creek.

(c) Homoy BAG.
   rice LITTLE/BIT
   It's a LITTLE BIT of rice.

3.4.2.4 Without an adjective, but with a possession, bag indicates endearment, or it may connote both endearment and smallness. However, bag may be used to express endearment toward things which are neither small nor cute. The exact meaning of bag when it expresses endearment is difficult to express in English, but some of the possible glosses may include dear, darling, sweet, favorite, special.

(a) Anak ku BAG no boi.
   child my DARLING which girl
   (She's) my DARLING daughter.

(b) Miow ku BAG.
   cat my sweet
   (It's) my SWEET (little) kitty, or my kitty!

(c) Babuy ku BAG.
   pig my FAVORITE
   (It's) my FAVORITE pig. (I won't let you buy it!)
3.4.2.5 The particle bag is sometimes used to express sympathy, as in the following comment regarding someone whose father had recently died. Then it may be translated as poor.

\textit{BAG da si Urusula.}
\textit{POOR oh Ursula}
\textit{POOR Ursula!}

3.4.2.6 Bag may be used to praise or to express delight and amazement. Then it may be translated as \textit{very} or \textit{cute}.

(a) \textit{Maroyow BAG ka boi BAG.}
\textit{pretty VERY the girl SMALL}
\textit{The SMALL lady is VERY pretty.}

(b) \textit{Malabiroy BAG no boi.}
\textit{slender VERY of girl}
\textit{She's a VERY slender girl. (Said as a complement.)}

(c) \textit{Mongo batò BAG da!}
\textit{plural child CUTE oh}
\textit{Oh, those CUTE children!}

3.4.2.7 Bag may also be employed to diminish the seriousness of speech. It may serve merely to make the speech lighthearted or casual, even playful, or it may be employed to avoid offense, as when making requests, for example (a) and (b) below. Bag may also be used to make a switch from serious to lighthearted conversation when some delicate matter has come up which could cause offense, for example, (c), or to give a piece of information about something which might inconvenience or leave someone out, for example, (d).

(a) \textit{Bogoy nu BAG kanak.}
\textit{give you JUST to/me}
\textit{JUST give it to me, or (please) give it to me.}

(b) The following request is indirect:
\textit{Patalad a to sika logdak nu BAG.}
\textit{cause/share I the that skirt your JUST}
\textit{I'll JUST (ask you) to share your skirt (with me).}
In the following conversation, a question had come up regarding the reason why certain people were not helping dig sweet potatoes. Someone employs bag, and the conversation shifts immediately to a less serious tone.

(c) "Ka daraud dò BAG ko ogpangali."  
the two only JUST if dig/sweet/potatoes  
"Si Kunsay BAG." "Ho-o BAG." "Alikas BAG."  
Kunsay JUST yes JUST Alikas JUST  
"(Oh) there will only JUST be the two (of them) digging camotes."  
"JUST Kunsay." "(Sure) that's right." "(And) Alikas."

(d) Ian kud BAG hunungan ka nigtalabau BAG.  
that/(one) I JUST employ the worked JUST*  
I'll JUST employ the ones who *HAPPENED to work.  
(Note: Anyone being left out would tend to be humored out of his displeasure by the double use of bag here.)

4. FRUSTRATION PARTICLE porom

The particle porom (sometimes poron) is a frustration particle. It may express potential frustration of desire, or it may express frustration of purpose, condition, responsibility, or event.

4.1 When porom is used to express frustration of purpose or desire, it may be translated as would like with present tense, or would or would have with past tense. (With present, tense, porom here seems to be functioning as a desiderative.)

(a) Og-ulì koy dò POROM asolom.  
return/home we just WOULD/LIKE tomorrow  
We WOULD LIKE to return home tomorrow.

(b) Ko du-on bag koykow no kuddò, ian noy  
if have happen/to your of horse that's/why we  
ian bag POROM oghondì ian to koykow.  
really happen/to WOULD come/here really to you  
If you WOULD happen to have horses, (well,) that's really (the reason) why we've come here (to see) you.

(c) Nighi panow a POROM gabi-i, di warà a makato-od.  
go I WOULD/HAVE yesterday but not I accomplish  
I WOULD HAVE gone yesterday, but I wasn't able to make it.
4.2 When the particle porom expresses frustration of responsibility or expectation, it may be translated should.

(a) Og-ulii a ian POROM, di konà ad man.
    return/home I really SHOULD but not I really
    I really SHOULD return home, but I won't (return).

(Note: Context may determine in what sense porom is being used. The above sentence out of context might even be considered as desiderative. However, in the context, the girl states that she is going to go live in another village because she is always being scolded in her own.)

(b) Tiba-an a now POROM tol-obl.
    all I you/pl. SHOULD covered
    You all SHOULD have covered me up (and not just the youngest).

(c) "Kunto-on POROM," kagi, "Ogtalabau kinow today SHOULD say work we
    POROM to talabau to moisbru."
    SHOULD on work of teacher
    "It SHOULD be today," he says. "We SHOULD work on the teacher's work (today)."

(d) Moon-ing man POROM ka mongo otow.
    many really SHOULD the plural person
    There really SHOULD be a lot of people (here).

4.3 As frustration of event, porom may be translated almost or nearly.

(a) Moirap man su nalonod koy POROM
difficult really because drowned we ALMOST
su dakol so Liboganon.
because big the Liboganon/River
It was really difficult (for us) as we ALMOST drowned because the Liboganon River was so big.

(b) Naallok a POROM su nasilaban a POROM.
afraid I NEARLY because burned/up I ALMOST
I was NEARLY petrified (with fear) because I (and everything else) ALMOST got burned up.

4.4 When porom expresses frustration of condition, it may be translated would or would have.

(a) Ko du-on pad tol-ob noy, maroyow POROM kanami.
    if there/is yet blanket our good WOULD to/us
    If we had had a blanket we WOULD have been fine.
(b) Maroyow POROM ko diò makasabuk ka
good WOULD if there placed the
landingan to dakol no lunsud.
airstrip in big of village
It WOULD HAVE been good if the airstrip had been placed in a
large village.
1. This language is also called Ata of Davao. It is spoken by an estimated 7,000 to 10,000 people who refer to themselves as Ata. For additional information, see Austin 1966:i:ii.

2. These modifying particles have been variously labelled. Healey (1960:63-70) calls them 'adverbs'. Elkins (1968:xiii) uses the term 'adjuncts', and Wolfenden (1961:10) calls them 'adjunctives'. Many have called them 'particles'. For example, de la Cruz and Zorc (1968:199-209) call them 'discourse particles'.

3. The data upon which this paper is based have been gathered under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics during various stays in the villages of Mansalinao and Maambago in Kapalong, Davao del Norte. In addition, considerable use has been made of a concordance of approximately 32,000 Ata Manobo words. Text material for this concordance was prepared by Virginia Morey Austin and was processed by an IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma. This concordance is another prepared in the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, a project sponsored by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation.

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4. The terms 'limiting particles' and 'time related particles' are borrowed from de la Cruz and Zorc (1968:201,203).
5. This is also true in Aklanon (de la Cruz and Zorc 1968:205).

6. Examples are cited in the orthography used in Ata Manobo publications. Intervocalic \( r \) is flapped and is an allophone of /d/. Glottal stop is represented by hyphen within words and a grave accent word finally. Most words having allomorphs conditioned by the following or preceding word are written in a single standard form. Also, capitals are used to highlight the vernacular item under discussion and its translation in both the literal and free renderings.

7. In some instances, the free translation of an Ata Manobo word is a different word or phrase from that given as the literal translation because it is more idiomatic. In such cases, an asterisk (*) is placed after the gloss of the literal translation and preceding the gloss of the free translation, indicating that they both represent the same Ata Manobo word.

8. For example, Tweddell (1958:70-71) describes how in Iraya ?ani is completive, but the inceptive function is expressed by tay, ?atay, or batay.

9. In Ata Manobo, both present and future time is indicated by the tense marker og-. For this reason, some examples may be ambiguously read as either present or future, unless there is a temporal word or something else in the context to distinguish the meaning of og-.

10. See Austin (1966:28-35) for a thorough discussion of the emphatic particle ian.

11. The first ian in this example is functioning as a link on sentence level.

12. Elkins (1970:83) refers to the function of pezem in Western Bukidnon Manobo as expressing 'frustrated inclination' and labels this particle 'the optative modal'.
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