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BILAAN MORPHOLOGY

NORMAN ABRAMS

1. Introduction
2. Focus affixes
3. Parts of speech
4. Aspect affixes
5. Nominalizing affixes
6. Adjective affix
7. Summary of affixes

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In a published article I have discussed word bases in Bilaan¹ in relation to the category of focus. The parts of speech described in that paper were prefocus (that is, unaffixed) subject, object and instrument verbal bases; and noun and adjective bases. This paper will briefly summarize the presentation on focus affixes. It will then deal, in more detail, with parts of speech, verbal aspect affixes, nominalizing affixes, and adjective affixes.

2.0 FOCUS AFFIXES

In addition to verbal bases occurring unaffixed in the three focal constructions of subject, object and instrument, the object prefocus base occurs with -n- 'non-subject focus'² as direction focus; the instrument prefocus base with -n- occurs as object focus; and the object and instrument prefocus bases with -m- 'subject focus' occur as subject focus verbs. The following table will illustrate the basic focal constructions.

TABLE 1

Prefocus Bases and Focus Inflections

Columns are focus constructions; rows are prefocus bases: S for subject prefocus, O for object prefocus, I for instrument prefocus. # indicates absence of inflection, i.e. the occurrence of a prefocus base; space indicates non-occurrence or infrequent occurrence. Inflection of noun and adjective bases is not represented (see my Word Base Classes in Bilaan, *Lingua* 10:391-402).

	Subject	Object	Instrument	Direction
S	#			
O	-m-	#		-n-
I	-m-	-n-	#	

Examples: (Topic is in capitals.)³

Subject Prefocus Base: fusuk 'enter'.

fusuk AGU di gumnè 'I enter the house'.

Object Prefocus Base: bat 'throw out'.

m-bat AGU bula 'I throw the ball'.

bat-gu BULA 'I throw the BALL'.

n-bat-gu bula DIDING 'I throw the ball at the WALL'.

Instrument Prefocus Base: klang 'cut'.

k-am-lang AGU kayu 'I cut the tree'.

k-an-lang-gu KAYU 'I cut the TREE'.

klang-gu kayu FALAKOL 'I cut the tree with the HATCHET'.

Subject prefocus bases, in addition to their uninflected occurrence in subject focus constructions, occur rarely in my data with -m- 'subject focus' and with -n- 'non-subject focus' in subject focus and object focus constructions respectively. In each of these constructions an object is obligatory.

Examples:

stifun ale ASSEMBLE THEY, 'They assemble'.

s-am-tifun ale dad to 'They assemble the people'.

s-an-tifun-la dad to 'They assemble the people'.

It will be noted in Table 1 that an instrument prefocus base in uninflected form is the only predicate for an instrument focus construction, and that an object prefocus base inflected with -n- is the

only predicate for a direction focus construction. Both of these constructions require in the linguistic context or imply in the nonlinguistic context a subject and object in addition to the topic element.

3.0 PARTS OF SPEECH

In addition to the five parts of speech (or syntactic classes) listed in the introduction there are in Bilaan the additional syntactic classes of (1) pronouns, (2) adverbs, (3) prepositions, (4) specialized words, and (5) a large class of particles. All syntactic classes, except adjectives and prepositions, are determined by uninflected occurrence in the utterance not following nominalizing particles or the potential occurrence of a nominalizing particle (see below under particles).

Bases that can occur unaffixed as predication heads are termed verbals. In their actual occurrences in utterances (with and without inflections) they are called verbs. Numbers are classed with adjectives. Cardinal numbers may occur with g(a)- as ordinals: *lwe* 'two', *ga-lwe* to 'second man'. Bases, prepositions, and to a lesser extent, locative and temporal words are the syntactic classes involved in affixation in Bilaan. When the term 'base' is used in this paper it will include all these classes involved in affixation. The five syntactic classes listed above will now be dealt with in detail.

3.1 PRONOUNS

Pronouns occur in three parallel sets (see my Word Base Classes in Bilaan, *Lingua* 10:394). The third person plural of each set will be used to represent any member of that set: ALE represents the topic set, -LA the clitic non-topic set, and DALE the set that can occur as (a) pre-verb emphatic topic, or (b) post verb nonemphasized non-topic.

3.2 ADVERBS

These are particles that can occur in sequence with the -LA pronoun followed by the ALE pronoun, all in pre-verb position. The -LA will be non-topic subject and the ALE pronoun will be topic. Example with adverb *LÊ* 'again'; *fa-tlo-la ale dad ngà CAUSE-CALL-THEY THEM PLURAL CHILD*, 'They have them call the children'; *lê-la ale fatlo dad ngà* 'They have them call the children again'. Other adverbs are: *LÂ* 'not', *FAN* 'about to', *GAL* 'habitual', *NANG* 'don't!', (A)LO 'only', TI 'intensive', T00 'very'.

3.3 PREPOSITIONS

Certain items that can occur following DI 'directional; non-topic phrase marker' and before nouns, denote specific location. These will be termed prepositions. Each of the following prepositions may occur with verbal inflection except TAH 'on top of': LWÀ 'outside', LAM 'inside', BLENG 'between', TAH 'on top of', DUNGAN 'under', TALÀ 'within the border of', SAFÉD 'beside'.

Example:

kmaan agu di lwà gumnè 'I will eat outside the house'.

3.4 SPECIALIZED WORDS

The term 'word' is used to designate three syntactic classes: locative words, temporal words, and sentence words. Members of the first two classes are occasionally inflected; uninflected, they may occur singly or with expansions as locative and time phrases respectively. Locative words include: DINI 'here', DÉÉ or DYE 'there (near)', DITŪ, TŪ 'there (far)'.

Example:

mimò agu dini 'I will work here'.

Temporal words include: FLAFUS 'morning', FAYAH 'tomorrow', GINE 'earlier today', KADANG 'later'.

Example:

mdà agu fayah GO I TOMORROW 'I will go tomorrow'.

Temporal words and TA 'completive' are the chief markers of tense in a Bilaan discourse. There are no tense affixes in Bilaan. One utterance may depend on another utterance in a discourse for its temporal setting.

Sentence words may occur singly as sentences and include responses or exclamations such as HAE 'yes', EYEY (fear), OHO (pleasure), ADÊ (pain), ETIS (concern for others in imminent danger).

3.5 PARTICLES

Particles do not, except in rare instances, occur with inflection. They can be further divided into the following sub-classes (representative examples follow below):

- (1) Demonstrative particles: ANI 'this', AYÉ or AYE 'that (near)', ATŪ 'that (far)'.

- (ii) Interrogative/relational particles: DÉT 'what', SIMTO 'who', KILEN 'when', KAN 'why'. These occur (1) as terminals in non-verbal predications: DÉT i nimoam ayé 'What are you doing?' (2) in a non-interrogative sense: ga-dean ku dét knayean KNOWS-HE (KU) WHAT WANTS HE, 'He knows what he wants'.
- (iii) Coordinating particles: NA 'and', GABAY or KABAY 'but'.
- (iv) Subordinating particles: KU 'if', DU 'because'.
- (v) Relational (nominalizing) particles: DI 'non-personal directional', KU or KANE 'personal oblique (directional)'.
- (vi) Sentence qualifiers: KÈ, KADÌ, DÉ, SA (all are intensives).
- (vii) General particles: DAD 'plural, nominalizer', TA 'completive', I 'specifier, nominalizer'.

Excluding particles, syntactic classes with representative members are listed in the following table.

TABLE 2

Bases:	Subject pre-focus verbal	fanak	'stop, be quiet'
	Object pre-focus verbal	blé	'give'
	Instrument pre-focus verbal	klang	'cut'
	Noun	ulu	'head'
	Adjective	fye	'good'
General:	Pronoun	ale dale -la	'3rd pers. plural'
	Adverb	lê	'again'
	Preposition	lwà	'outside'
Words:	Locative word	dini	'here'
	Temporal word	flafus	'morning'
	Sentence word	hae	'yes'

4.0 ASPECT AFFIXES

Aspect morphemes dealt with in this section are all verbal. They consist of: F- 'causative' (4.1.1), S- 'distributive' (4.1.2), G- 'non-volitional' (4.1.3), MA- or M(A)G(A)- 'intensive-repetitive' (4.2), K- 'perfective' (4.3), T(G)- 'pre-emptive' (4.4), and -L- 'simultaneous' (in combination with F- 'diversitive') (4.5).

The morphemes of section 4 will be dealt with as sole inflections before bases, in combination with focal morphemes, and less extensively, in combination with other aspect morphemes before bases.

An immediate constituent approach will be followed. The sequence analyzed in this study of inflection consists of a stretch of speech that can stand in isolation, and that is not a response. It will be called the utterance, or the sentence.

Whereas focal inflection portrays attention or highlight placed on an item of a verbal predication, e.g. actor or goal, setting it forth among other possible alternatives, e.g. *I not you; HORSE not dog*; aspect inflection portrays modification of the predicate, e.g. from that of voluntary to non-voluntary action.

In verbal predications in Bilaan the grammatical category of aspect, which is always overtly marked (see however section 4.5.3 for homophonous morpheme of two aspects) always occurs with the category of focus which is often not overtly marked.

4.1 F- 'CAUSATIVE', S- 'DISTRIBUTIVE', G- 'NON-VOLITIONAL'

These inflections will first be considered together in relation to their similar distribution with bases in two focus constructions. They will then be separately treated in the focal constructions in which they occur. Finally they will be discussed in their distribution in combination with each other as prefix combinations with bases. For a statement of morphophonemic alternations of these affixes, see my *The Verb Complex in Bilaan*, Interdepartmental Linguistics, University of Washington (1966), pp. 28 ff.

Bases inflected only with aspect morphemes F-, S-, or G- may occur in either subject focus or object focus constructions without overt focal inflection. In the following construction the unit is the topic pronoun or the substantive for which it may substitute in its role in the sentence, and not such focus signals as pre-focus base or focal inflections -M- and -N-. Examples with BAT (object prefocus) '*throw out*':

1. f-bat ale deg ditù di yéél CAUSATIVE-THROW THEY BY-ME THERE INTO WATER, 'They have me throw them there into the water'. ALE (topic pronoun) is actor in this subject focus construction.

2. f-bat-la deg batu ani CAUSATIVE-THROW-THEY BY-ME STONE THIS, 'They have me throw this rock'. ALE may substitute for batu 'rock, stone', if plural, as the goal of this construction, identifying it as object focus.

3. s-bat ale batu DISTRIBUTIVE-THROW THEY ROCK, 'They are throwing rocks at each other'.

4. s-bat-la batu na kayu DISTRIBUTIVE-THROW-THEY ROCKS AND WOOD, 'They were throwing (during the same period of time) the rocks and wood'.

5. g-bat ale tising di mahin NON-VOLITIONAL-THROW THEY RING INTO-THE OCEAN, 'They (out of fear) threw the ring into the ocean'.

6. g-bat-la yaw di yéél NON-VOLITIONAL-THROW-THEY CAT INTO-THE WATER, 'They were obliged to throw the cat into the water'.

Sentences 1, 3, and 5 above are subject focus constructions, with ALE as actor. Sentences 2, 4, and 6 are object focus, with the substantive (which may be substituted for by ALE) occurring as goal of the construction.

Examples with KLANG 'cut', an instrument prefocus base, follow. Again, as in the preceding examples, the focus of the construction must be demonstrated by some element outside the predicate. This element can be (1) the pronoun set ALE, or a substantive in the same form class, and the role expressed by it, or (2) the substantive that can occur preverb and its role in the construction.

The prefocus property of the base, essential to its description in the focal constructions without aspect morphemes, is neutralized when the base occurs with aspect morphemes.

1. fa-klang ale deg kayu CAUSATIVE-CUT THEY BY-ME WOOD, 'They have me cut the wood'.

2. fa-klang-la deg kayu ani CAUSATIVE-CUT-THEY BY-ME WOOD THIS, 'They have me cut this wood'.

3. sa-klang ale sufè DISTRIBUTIVE-CUT THEY BAMBOO, 'They cut one another's bamboo'.

4. sa-klang-la kayu na sufè DISTRIBUTIVE-CUT-THEY WOOD AND BAMBOO, 'They cut the wood and the bamboo'.

5. ga-klang ale sufè NON-VOLUNTARY-CUT THEY BAMBOO, 'They were obliged to cut the bamboo'.

6. ga-klang-la manggà NON-VOLUNTARY-CUT-THEY MANGO, 'They were obliged to cut the mango tree'.

The following utterances with SUDENG 'sit', a subject prefocus base, display subject focus in sentences 1, 3, and 5; and object focus in 2, 4, 6:

1. f-sudeng ale deg ngà CAUSATIVE-SIT THEY ME CHILD, 'They have me seat the child'.

2. f-sudeng-la deg ngà CAUSATIVE-SIT-THEY ME CHILD, 'They have me seat the child'.

3. sa-sudeng ale bli DISTRICTIVE-SIT THEY FEET, 'They sat on each other's feet'.

4. sa-sudeng-la lata na kahun DISTRIBUTIVE-SIT-THEY CAN AND BOX, 'They sat on the can and box'.

5. g-sudeng ale di fitak NON-VOLITIONAL-SIT THEY IN-THE MUD, 'They sat in the mud (they slipped)'.

6. g-sudeng-la fitak NON-VOLITIONAL-SIT-THEY MUD, 'They happened to sit in the mud'.

The affixes F-, S-, and G- may occur in additional focal constructions and these will be dealt with later in this section. Only the basic distribution uniting them as alike in occurrence has been thus far described. These three affixes will now be considered separately in the various constructions in which they occur in relation to focus.

4.1.1 F- 'Causative'

In 4.1.0 subject and object focus constructions with causative prefix plus base have been illustrated. These two constructions will be further treated and two more construction types with causative presented.

The causative affix expresses action willed or ordered by someone, or in a weaker sense, action tolerated by someone. In the first sense, that of action willed or ordered, the causative affix appears to be the opposite of G- 'non-volitional', which represents action unwilled (see 4.1.3). Illustrations:

(1) Action willed or ordered:

f-tam-gu dale salò CAUSATIVE-LIGHT-I THEM LAMP,
'I have them light the lamp'.

(2) Action tolerated:

f-kef agu di dad ngà CAUSATIVE-CLIMB ME PLURAL CHILD,
'I let the children climb me'.

4.1.1.1 Subject Focus with Causative

In subject focus with causative (1) the subject is both causer and goal if there is no goal occurring separately in the utterance, or (2) the subject is causer only, if a separate goal occurs.

Examples:

Subject focus construction without object:

f-alob ale ku yê CAUSATIVE-WASH THEY BY MOTHER,
'They have mother wash them'.

Subject focus construction with object:

f-alob ale ngà ku yê CAUSATIVE-WASH THEY CHILD BY MOTHER,
'They have mother wash the child'.

In subject focus with causative, the agent (the one caused to perform an action) is not obligatory.

Example:

f-alob ale CAUSATIVE-WASH THEY, 'They have themselves washed'.

There are in my data subject focus utterances with causative plus -M- 'subject focus' in combination with the base. (This combination could not be elicited with a number of bases.)

Example:

dale f-am-kef dad ngà manggà THEY CAUSATIVE-SUBJECT FOCUS-
CLIMB PLURAL CHILD MANGO 'They have the children get mangoes'.

The DALE is emphatic topic and subject as causer. With ALE as non-emphatic (post-verb) topic replacing DALE in the above construction, one informant allowed the -M- affix with the verb, though the usual occurrence with post-verb ALE is the verb plus causative affix alone.

Example:

f-am-kef ale dad ngà manggà, or f-kef ale dad ngà manggà
'They have the children get mangoes'.

Other examples of causative in subject focus with co-occurring object:

fa-blé ale ge sdè CAUSATIVE-GIVE THEY YOU PIG, 'They will
have you give a pig'.

f-imò ale deg alat CAUSATIVE-MAKE THEY ME BASKET, 'They have me make a basket (for them)'.

f-eye ale deg fuli di mahin CAUSATIVE-FIND THEY ME SEA SHELL IN-THE OCEAN, 'They have me find a sea shell for them in the ocean'.

f-ebe ale deg sfalò fisis CAUSATIVE-BRING THEY ME TEN PESOS, 'They have me bring ten pesos'.

Examples of causative in subject focus without goal (AGU 'I' is both subject as causer, and goal in each of the following):

fa-klang agu dale 'I let them cut me'.

f-bat agu dale tù gumngalaman 'I let them throw me into deep water'.

f-akét agu di kudà 'I let the horse bite me'.

f-kef agu di dad ngà 'I let the children climb me'.

4.1.1.2 Object Focus with Causative

In causative sentences with object focus, as in causative sentences with subject focus, elements unique to causative constructions again occur: (1) subject (non-topic in this case) as causer, and (2) agent, or the person or thing caused to perform an action.

In such a sentence as f-alob-la deg fligo 'They have me wash dishes', the DEG 'me' is the agent. The agent is the primary object, while the FLIGO 'dishes' is a secondary object (in non-causative sentences this item would be the direct object). If the agent is the topic, e.g. the pronoun AGU (falobla agu fligo 'They have me wash dishes') the utterance will be called agent focus (see 4.1.1.3). If the topic pronoun or a substantive in the same form class is the secondary object, the utterance will be termed object focus. In this case the agent will be the oblique pronoun (or its substitute) as the following examples show. In object focus the agent and the goal are both obligatory.

Examples:

f-alob-gu dale fligo CAUSATIVE-WASH-I THEY (agent) DISHES (object), 'I have them wash dishes'.

f-ebe-la deg mseh CAUSATIVE-BRING-THEY ME RICE, 'They have me bring the rice'.

f-tam-gu dale salò CAUSATIVE-LIGHT-I THEM LAMP, 'I have them light the lamp'.

f-agot-am dale tali CAUSATIVE-HOLD YOU THEM ROPE, 'You have them hold the rope'.

Depending on the context, what occurs as the non-topic agent (represented by DEG or DALE in the sentences above) may also occur as the prime causer. That is, the form class filled by the DEG pronoun or its substantive substitute, may denote those who cause others to cause an action to be performed.

Example:

f-ebe-la deg kayu CAUSATIVE-BRING THEY ME WOOD, 'They have me bring the wood' or 'I have them send the wood (by someone else)'.

In the second translation of the preceding Bilaan sentence, the DEG occurs as 'for me' or benefactive, not the agent. In the first translation the DEG occurs as an alternate of DI DEG 'by me' or agentive.

4.1.1.3 Agent Focus with Causative

Object focus sentences (with non-topic agent) contrast with agent focus sentences (with topic agent) in that the former must have an object and the latter need not have an object. The focussed agent may function as the object in addition to its function as agent, similar to the occurrence of the topic in subject focus sentences with causative, and no separate object. This occurrence, however, appears to be rare.

Examples:

Object focus (incomplete):

f-alob-la deg CAUSATIVE-WASH-THEY ME (as prime causer), 'I cause them to wash ...'. This sentence is incomplete; an object is expected.

Agent focus without separate object:

f-alob-la agu CAUSATIVE-WASH THEY ME (topic), 'They have me wash (myself)'. AGU is both agent and object. A separate object may also occur:

Agent focus with object:

f-alob-la agu fligo CAUSATIVE-WASH-THEY ME DISHES, 'They have me wash dishes'.

Other examples with focussed agent:

f-ebe-la agu bong blat kayu CAUSATIVE-BRING-THEY ME BIG HEAVY WOOD, 'They have me bring a very heavy (piece of) wood'.

f-eye-la agu i ngà ani CAUSATIVE-WATCH-THEY ME (i)
CHILD THIS, 'They have me watch this child'.

fayah f-imò-la agu lamisa TOMORROW CAUSATIVE-MAKE
THEY ME TABLE, 'Tomorrow they'll have me make a
table'.

fa-fusuk-la agu di fulis CAUSATIVE-ENTER-THEY ME INTO
POLICE, 'They let me enter the police force'.

4.1.1.4 Direction Focus with Causative

The fourth focus construction with causative, direction focus, occurs with a topic that may or may not be the recipient of the action, depending on the semantic components of the base that occurs as verb.⁴ -N- 'non-subject focus' occurs with the causative affix to mark direction focus in this construction. Such bases as EBE 'bring', BAT 'throw out', AGIN 'accompany', and KEL 'arrive' can occur with the topic expressing the direction or recipient idea, i.e. the idea of 'to', 'at', or 'with'.

Examples:

f-n-ebe-la agu satu kudà CAUSATIVE-DIRECTION FOCUS-BRING-
THEY TO-ME ONE HORSE, 'They have a horse brought to me'.

fa-n-bat-la deg lifoh i bali ayé CAUSATIVE-DIRECTION-FOCUS-
THROW-THEY ME FIRE THE HOUSE THAT, 'They had me set fire to
that house'.

f-n-ulé-la agu satu to CAUSATIVE-DIRECTION FOCUS-LAUGH-THEY
AT-ME ONE MAN, 'They made the man laugh at me'.

Some bases with causative and -N- do not carry the idea of direction, but their focus complements assume the role of agent or goal.

Examples:

f-n-imò-la agu i malimah nimò CAUSATIVE-OBJECT/DIRECTION
FOCUS-MAKE-THEY ME THE HARD WORK, 'They have me do the
hard job'.

fa-n-bek-la agu bong kayu du malweh agu CAUSATIVE-OBJECT/
DIRECTION FOCUS-FELL-THEY ME BIG THREE BECAUSE LAZY I,
'They have me fell the big tree because I'm lazy'.

f-n-imò-la ale mlahil nimò du landè alîla gagan nimò
CAUSATIVE-OBJECT/DIRECTION FOCUS-MAKE-THEY THEM EASY WORK
BECAUSE NONE ALWAYS-THEY ABLE WORK, 'They let them do the
easy job, because they can't do much work'.

In direction focus the non-focus agent may be expressed. In the following examples the agent is in capitals:

f-n-agin-am agu ngà ku maam ku ta mulê agu CAUSATIVE-DIRECTION FOCUS-ACCOMPANY-YOU ME CHILD THE FATHER WHEN ALREADY GO-HOME I, 'Have YOUR FATHER have the child go with me when I go home'.

fa-n-tuda-an ale kayu di dad to CAUSATIVE-DIRECTION FOCUS-THROW-HE AT-THEM WOOD BY PLURAL MAN, 'He has the MEN throw wood at them'.

The non-topic (oblique) pronoun is second post-verb position, as in object focus, and can occur as prime causer or agent in direction focus.

Example:

f-n-ebe-la deg dad ngà fali CAUSATIVE-DIRECTION FOCUS-BRING THEY ME PLURAL CHILD RICE, 'I have them send rice to the children', or 'They send rice to the children for me'. This sentence cannot mean 'They send rice to the children by me'.

4.1.1.5 Double Occurrence of Causative Affix

Some bases that are intrinsically intransitive occur with a doubling of the causative morpheme in constructions in which transitive bases will occur with the single F-. Examples with TADAG 'stand', and AYENG 'fly':

faf-tadag-am dun saal CAUSATIVE-STAND-YOU HIM THE FLOOR, 'You cause him to stand the flooring up (for drying)'.

faf-ayeng-am to ayé i anuk CAUSATIVE-FLY-YOU MAN THAT THE BIRD, 'You have that man make the bird fly away'.

When there is a doubling of the causative morpheme with basically transitive bases (e.g. BAT 'throw', TAM 'to light') there also occurs three obligatory elements: (1) prime causer, (2) either a secondary causer, or an agent, and (3) a goal.

Examples:

Subject focus:

faf-bat ale dad ngà tù di mahén CAUSATIVE-THROW THEY PLURAL CHILD THERE IN OCEAN, 'They have the children get (someone) to throw them into the ocean'. Subject as causer is also goal (see 4.1.1.1).

faf-bat ale dad ngà sabat CAUSATIVE-THROW THEY PLURAL
CHILD REFUSE, 'They (prime causer) have someone get
the children (agent) to throw out the refuse (goal)'.

Agent focus (with prime causer, agent, object):

faf-bat-gu ale batu CAUSATIVE-THROW-I THEY ROCK, 'I have
someone get them to throw the rock'.

Object focus (a) (prime causer, secondary causer, goal):

faf-bat-gu (di) dale batu CAUSATIVE-THROW I (BY) THEM
ROCK, 'I (prime causer) have them (secondary causer)
get someone to throw the rock (object)'.

Object focus (b) (prime causer, agent, object):

faf-bat-gu dale batu 'I have someone get them (agent)
to throw the rock'.

The sequence DI DALE, with optional DI, can occur only in object focus (a). This sequence occurs as the secondary causer with the unexpressed, though understood, element (represented by 'someone' in the examples of this section) occurring as the agent which performs the action.

If DI cannot occur with DALE, as in object focus (b), the DALE represents the actual performer or agent, with the secondary causer understood.

Direction focus:

fanf-ebe-gu le lime kudà CAUSATIVE-DIRECTION FOCUS-
BRING-I THEM FIVE HORSE, 'I will have sent with them
five horses'.

The utterance f-bat-la deg batu 'I cause them to throw (or find a thrower for) the rock' differs from the utterance in agent focus above, in that in the former utterance the prime causer is actually directing the action, while in the latter the causer is not present at the scene of action (see 4.1.1.2).

4.1.1.6 Summary of Causative Utterances

Obligatory sentence elements and the optional occurrence of a potential topic element are outlined in Table 3 below. Pronouns representing sentence elements are -LA 'non-topic subject'; ALE 'topic', and DALE 'oblique'.⁵ These pronouns portray obligatory sentence elements. Expansions in the illustrations below and in succeeding tables usually, though not always, consist of the addition of one or more sentence elements.

TABLE 3

Focus	Verb affix	Subject	Agent	Object	Direction
Subject	f-	ale	±	±	
Object	f-	-la	dale	ale	
Agent	f-	-la	ale	±	
Direction	f-n-	-la	±	+	ale

Subject focus: (topic will be in capitals)

Minimal: falob ALE *"THEY have themselves washed"*.

Expanded: fimò ALE deg alat *'THEY have me make a basket for them'*.

Object focus:

Minimal: falobgu dale FLIGO *'I have them wash DISHES'*.

Expanded: fbatla deg BYALA di gumngalaman ayé *'They have me throw the NET into the deep water'*.

Agent focus:

Minimal: falobla AGU *'They have ME wash (myself)'*.

Expanded: Falobla AGU fligo *'They have ME wash dishes'*.

Direction focus:

Minimal: fnebela AGU kudà *'They have a horse brought TO ME'*.

Expanded: fantudaan ALE kayu di dad to *'He has the men throw wood AT THEM'*.

4.1.2 s- 'Distributive'

In 4.1 two types of constructions with the distributive affix were illustrated.⁶ These two types will be further described and two more construction types presented.

The distributive morpheme expresses the idea of distribution of the action of the verb in relation to (1) the actor(s), (2) the goal(s), and (3) the duration of action. When action is distributed among several actors, all of them participate and some help each other; when the action is distributed among several goals, all are acted on; when duration is expressed the action is considered to continue until it is completed (if actor is singular), or the action occurs repeatedly. At

least one of the above three semantic components of the distributive signal must be present in the utterance. More than one of these three components may be present simultaneously.

These three components of the distributive affix will now be briefly illustrated without reference to the particular focus involved in the distributive utterance.

Examples:

(1) Distributive of actors:

san-klang-la bateng kayu DISTRIBUTIVE-CUT-they
LOG TREE, 'They (all of them took part) cut the
log'. Compare k-an-lang-la bateng kayu 'They
cut the log'. A group is involved, but not
necessarily each one.

s-fatan ale DISTRIBUTIVE-WAIT THEY, 'They (two
people, or two groups involved in reciprocal action)
wait for each other'.

sams-akét ale kudà DISTRIBUTIVE-BITE THEY HORSE⁷
'They (at least two owners are involved) bring
their horses to fight'.

(2) Distributive of goals:

s-imò-la lnigo na lawig DISTRIBUTIVE-MAKE-THEY
FARM AND TEMPORARY-HOUSE 'They make (alternately
until both are finished) the farm and the small
house'.

malbut agu du san-bat-la deg i dad kalyakgu dini
ANGRY I BECAUSE DISTRIBUTIVE-THROW-THEY MY THE
PLURAL POSSESSIONS-MY HERE, 'I was angry because
they (all participate) threw away my possessions
here (all are thrown away)'.

(3) Distributive of time:

(a) Duration of time:

sans-imò-an gumnè DISTRIBUTIVE-MAKE-HE HOUSE 'He
makes a house (he worked until it was finished)'.

i fnu kanen sans-ebe-n i balin THE TURTLE HE
DISTRIBUTIVE-CARRY-HE THE HOUSE, 'The turtle
(always) takes along his house'.

(b) Repetitive action:

sans-uluk-la i bateng DISTRIBUTIVE-PUSH-THEY THE LOG,
'They push the log (from one to another)'.

sams-ifà bkuku tek i kay kudà DISTRIBUTIVE-KICK CAGE
IRON THE SMALL HORSE, 'The small horse kicked and
kicked the iron cage'.

4.1.2.1 Subject Focus with Distributive

There are two subject focus constructions with distributive. One, with distributive morpheme and base denotes reciprocal action and can occur without direct object. The other, with distributive morpheme and -M- 'subject focus' portrays distribution of action that is not reciprocal and occurs with an obligatory direct object. This section will deal with the reciprocal action construction.

The base with distributive morpheme, S-, with or without object indicates reciprocal action. The topic is subject and it must be plural.

Examples without object:

s-bat ale ditù di yéél DISTRIBUTIVE-THROW THEY THERE INTO
RIVER, 'They throw each other into the river'.

s-eye ale du man slame ale dad mgal to DISTRIBUTIVE-WATCH
THEY BECAUSE EACH ALIKE THEY PLURAL STRONG MAN, 'They are
testing each other's strength because they are all strong
men'.

s-kitek ale DISTRIBUTIVE-TICKLE THEY, 'They are tickling
each other'.

s-fatan ale DISTRIBUTIVE-WAIT THEY, 'They are waiting for
each other'.

sas-itong ale DISTRIBUTIVE-MEET THEY, 'They meet each other'.

Examples with object:

s-ibal ale knun DISTRIBUTIVE-LIKE THEY POSSESSION, 'They
covet each other's things'.

s-tabeng ate mdak DISTRIBUTIVE-HELP WE POUND, 'We'll help
each other pound rice'.

too sa-kdo i dad to ayé du gal ale sa-blé knaan VERY DIS-
TRIBUTIVE-PITY THE PLURAL MAN THAT BECAUSE CUSTOMARY THEY
DISTRIBUTIVE-GIVE FOOD, 'Those people are very kind because
they usually give food to one another'.

s-agot ale lyak DISTRIBUTIVE-HOLD THEY THINGS, 'They care for each other's things'.

s-fusuk ale gumnè DISTRIBUTIVE-ENTER HOUSE, 'They enter each other's houses'.⁸

4.1.2.2 Subject Focus and Distributive with Obligatory Object

In this construction S- plus -M- occur prefixed to the base.

sam-tunda ale lyak tù di gumnè DISTRIBUTIVE-CONDUCT THEY THINGS, 'They take the things to the house (many separate trips are involved)'.

sams-agot ale lyak DISTRIBUTIVE-HOLD THEY THINGS, 'They (two) cared for the things'.

kanen sa sam-bat i dad batu di bà dalan ani HE INDEED DISTRIBUTIVE-THROW THE PLURAL ROCK ON WAY PATH THIS, 'He is the thrower of rocks on this path (repetitive and distributive of goals)'.

agu sa samsa-klang i dad kafi ani du dee i dad salangan I INDEED DISTRIBUTIVE-CUT THE PLURAL COFFEE THIS BECAUSE MANY THE PLURAL ANT-IT, 'I cut these coffee trees because they had many ants on them (repetitive action on many objects)'.

dad to ani sa gatu sam-wè i benge manggà ito ani PLURAL MAN THIS INDEED ALWAYS DISTRIBUTIVE-GET THE FRUIT MANGO OURS THIS, 'It was these people who always get the fruit of this mango tree of ours'.

4.1.2.3 Object Focus with Distributive

The highlight of this construction is diversity of goals. Two or more different goals, or two or more different groups of goals make up the focus complement (topic). The distributive morpheme with the base and non-topic subject occur as sentence elements with this focussed complex goal.⁹

Examples:

s-bayad-la mlunu na saging DISTRIBUTIVE-PAY-THEY GREENS AND BANANAS, 'They bought vegetables and bananas'.

s-kaan-la i dad knaan DISTRIBUTIVE-EAT-THEY THE PLURAL RICE, 'They eat different types of rice'.

s-tam-la lnigo na kanlo DISTRIBUTIVE-LIGHT-THEY FARMLAND AND WEEDS, 'They lit (burned) the farm and the weeded area'.

s-tugad-la tali na lamli DISTRIBUTIVE-JOIN-THEY ROPE AND WIRE, 'They join together the rope and the wire'.

s-timbak-la i angok, sladang, sdè DISTRIBUTIVE-SHOOT-THEY THE MONKEY, DEER, PIG, 'They shoot the monkey, deer and pig'.

4.1.2.4 Direction/Object Focus with Distributive

This construction occurs with the S- morpheme plus -N- 'non-subject focus' as either direction focus or as object focus. As with causative, some bases with direction focus marker co-occur with a topic that is not directional. In one instance, the same base with S-N- has been found to occur alternately as direction focus and as object focus. Thus, with this occurrence of S-N- plus base in object focus constructions there is a contrast between object focus with at least two diverse groups or items as the goal (4.1.2.3), and object focus construction with distribution of action over many items of one homogeneous group as goal. Examples of base with direction focus and object focus constructions with S-N-:

Direction focus:

san-bat-la agu falak DISTRIBUTIVE-DIRECTION FOCUS-THROW-THEY AT-ME SAND, 'They (repeatedly) throw sand at me'.

Object focus:

nè flayangu du san-bat-la agu di mahin WHAT SUFFERING-MY BECAUSE DISTRIBUTIVE-OBJECT FOCUS-THROW ME INTO OCEAN, 'How I suffered when they continually threw me into the ocean'.

In the object focus example above the only element that can occur as topic is AGU 'me' which occurs as topic goal. In the direction focus example above, besides the AGU there is a second potential topic item, FALAK 'sand'. This distribution is similar to that of the minimal direction focus utterance without aspect morphemes; it too has two potential topic elements outside the predicate and subject, e.g. n-bat-la batu gumnè DIRECTION FOCUS-THROW-THEY ROCK HOUSE 'They throw a rock at the house'.

Examples of distributive direction-object focus (topic will be in capitals in Bilaan and in the free translation):

i dad ayam tila sans-akét deg i dad AGAFGU ani THE PLURAL DOG INDEED-THEY DISTRIBUTIVE-BITE MY THE PLURAL PET-MY THIS, 'These dogs bit all of MY PETS (goal is topic)'.

sans-kel-la ale dini du dini gumnèla DISTRIBUTIVE-ARRIVE-THEY TO-THEM HERE BECAUSE HERE HOUSE-THEIR, 'They come TO THEM here because their house is here (direction is topic)'.

The concluding illustrations occur with topic as goal.

Examples:

là san-laloam AGU NOT DISTRIBUTIVE-FOLLOW-YOU ME, 'You don't follow ME (to the end)'.
 sans-ebe-la bong BLAT DISTRIBUTIVE-BRING-THEY BIG HEAVY, 'They (unite to) carry the very HEAVY OBJECT'.

san-kaan-la KNAAN DISTRIBUTIVE-EAT-THEY FOOD, 'They (all) eat the FOOD (until it is finished)'.
 san-bat-la deg i DAD BATU di Inigogu ayé DISTRIBUTIVE-THROW-THEY FOR-ME ROCK ON FARM-MY THERE, 'They (all take part) throw (to a pile) THE ROCKS on my farm'.

4.1.2.5 Summary of Distributive Utterances

Obligatory sentence elements, and the optional occurrence of a potential topic item are outlined in table 4. Topic will be in capitals in Bilaan and the gloss. Pronouns representing sentence elements are: -LA 'non-topic subject'; ALE 'topic', and DALE 'oblique'.

TABLE 4

Focus	Verb Affix	Subject	Object	Direction
Subject (Reciprocal)	s-	ale	±	
Subject (Non-reciprocal)	s-m-	ale	+	
Object	s-	-la	ale(dual)	
Direction/ Object	s-n-	-la	ale(non-dual)	ale

Subject focus (reciprocal):

Minimal: saklang ALE 'THEY cut each other'.

Expanded: nang GAMO simò nimò ku là GAMO sakdo 'Don't YOU do one another's work unless YOU like each other'.

Subject focus (distributive):

Minimal: samsagot ALE lyak, 'THEY (two) cared for the things'.

Expanded: GAMO i gatu samsudeng i saku ani duenan kasê,
'YOU always sit on this sack; that's why it's torn'.

Object focus:

Minimal: simòla LNIGO NA LAWIG, *'They make the FARM AND the HOUSE'.*

Expanded: serem i KNAAN na serem i IGEMAM na DADEME DAD KDEEN fa, *'You are bringing the FOOD, the MAT and also the OTHER THINGS'.*

Direction/object focus:

Minimal: sansbatla batu BALI, *'They throw the rock AT THE HOUSE (direction focus)'.*

Minimal: sansbatla BATU di bali, *'They throw the ROCK at the house (object focus)'.*

Expanded: sanskella ALE dini du dini gumnèla, *'They come TO THEM here because their house is here (direction focus)'.*

Expanded: begyu sansaklang deg fa i DAD KAYU di saféd baligu ani, *'Please cut for me these TREES near my house (object focus)'.*

4.1.3 G- 'Non-volitional'¹⁰

The signal of prefix G- covers a wide range of behaviour which will be given the general term of non-volitional. Four types of constructions with this morpheme are described in this section.

The non-volitional affix expresses action more or less unwilling or uncontrolled by the actor. In the various focal constructions in which it occurs this morpheme describes (1) compulsion, (2) unintentional action, or (3) circumstantial action, i.e. action the outcome of which is dependent on the circumstances that take place. Illustrations of these three categories:

(1) The compulsion expressed may be from within the actor of the sentence or from without.

From within:

g-dalong agu du sè katduk ulugu NON-VOLITIONAL-GROAN I
BECAUSE BAD PAIN HEAD-MY, *'I groaned because of my bad headache'.*

too malbang lwek yé duenla g-bat tising di mahin fye
manak, *VERY BIG WAVE THAT REASON-THEIR NON-VOLITIONAL-*

THROW RING INTO OCEAN SO CALM, 'The waves were so big that they were obliged (from fear) to throw the ring into the ocean, so it would be calm'.

From without:

g-bat-la deg i byala di gumngalaman du gnagagu le
NON-VOLITIONAL-THROW-THEY FOR-ME THE NET INTO DEEP
BECAUSE FORCE-I THEM, 'They were forced by me to
throw the net into the deeper (area)'.

ga-blé-la deg i falimakla bong NON-VOLITIONAL-GIVE-THEY
TO-ME THE GONG-THEIR BIG, 'They were persuaded to give
me their big gong'.

- (2) The unintentional action is accidental (or happenstance):

gam-kaan lnawan sdè NON-VOLITIONAL-EAT MUSLIM PIG, 'The
muslim accidentally ate pork'.

g-ilè-la i mati bkong di dungan igem NON-VOLITIONAL-
LIE-THEY THE DEAD LIZARD (DI) UNDER MAT, 'They lay
(unknowing) on a dead lizard under the mat'.

- (3) The circumstantial action may indicate, from the positive point of view, a possibility, or from the negative point of view, a restraint.

Possibility:

nun uten ito ani ku gam-bat agu byala di fisfanla ayé
HAVE VIAND WE NOW IF NON-VOLITIONAL-THROW I NET IN FISH
POND THAT, 'We'll have viand now if I can throw the net
in their fishpond'.

nang gamo magu di to sasè du ayé i gam-g-ebe gamo di sasè¹¹
DON'T YOU GO WITH MAN BAD BECAUSE THAT-ONE THE LEAD YOU
INTO EVIL, 'Don't go with the wicked man because he can
lead you to evil'.

Restraint:

ku knè kabtas kayu ani là agu gang-imò bali di lam i fali ni
IF THIS PRICE WOOD THIS NOT I NON-VOLITIONAL-MAKE HOUSE
(DI) WHILE THE YEAR THIS, 'If this is the price of wood I
can't make a house this year'.

là gam-klang agu deg sufè du dee سوالان NOT NON-VOLITIONAL-
CUT I FOR-MYSELF BAMBOO BECAUSE MANY THORNS-IT, 'I can't
cut bamboo for myself because it has a lot of thorns'.

4.1.3.1 Subject Focus with Non-volitional

The non-volitional prefix occurs in two types of subject focus constructions. When the G- is prefixed directly to the base the goal is optional, though it usually occurs; when G- is prefixed in conjunction with -M- 'subject focus', a goal is obligatory. The construction with non-obligatory goal will be illustrated first.

Examples:

g-kele ale di dale du gami ttabeng dale NON-VOLITIONAL-ARRIVE THEY TO THEM BECAUSE WE HELP THEM, 'They reached them because we helped them'.

silang g-agin ge ku funam mbal di ku maam UNLESS NON-VOLITIONAL-ACCOMPANY YOU IF FIRST ASK (DI KU) FATHER-YOUR, 'You can't go unless you ask permission from your father'.

g-imò ale deg knaan NON-VOLITIONAL-MAKE THEY FOR-ME FOOD, 'They were obliged to make food for me'.

là ito g-lalò i kdee tdoan ayé, malimah NOT WE NON-VOLITIONAL-FOLLOW THE ALL TEACHING-HIS THAT, HARD, 'We can't follow all his teachings; they are difficult'.

4.1.3.2 Subject Focus and Non-volitional with Obligatory Goal

When G- co-occurs with -M- as the verbal prefix combination, a goal is obligatory; the pre-verb emphatic subject topic usually occurs with this affix combination, though there are a few examples in my data of pre-verb topic occurring with G- plus base.

Examples:

nè i to gam-fatan yé alo gam-wè i dad mseh bléla ani WHICH THE MAN NON-VOLITIONAL-SUBJECT FOCUS-WAIT THAT ONLY NON-VOLITIONAL-SUBJECT FOCUS-GET THE PLURAL RICE GIVE-THEY, 'He who waits will get the rice they give'.

gamg-ebe dunuk sufè du tukay NON-VOLITIONAL-SUBJECT FOCUS-CARRY FLOOD BAMBOO BECAUSE LITTLE, 'The flood carried away the bamboo because it was small'.

gam-sakay ale atù du fye sa i mahin NON-VOLITIONAL-SUBJECT FOCUS-RIDE THEY THAT BECAUSE GOOD INDEED THE OCEAN, 'They can ride that because the sea is calm'.

4.1.3.3 Object Focus with Non-volitional

In object focus the G- is prefixed directly to the base, and non-topic subject and topic object co-occur.

Examples:

g-sakay-la i kudà ayé du funala nebe di gumngalam i yéél
NON-VOLITIONAL-RIDE-THEY THE HORSE THAT BECAUSE FIRST-
THEY BRING INTO DEEP THE WATER, 'They were able to ride
that horse, because they first brought it into the deep
water'.

g-wè-la bong sdè di bulul ayé NON-VOLITIONAL-GET THEY BIG
PIG ON HILL THAT, 'They happened to get a big pig on that
hill'.

g-dadu-la i bong datal ayé ku ta minit i du NON-VOLITIONAL-
PLOW-THEY THE BIG PLAIN THAT IF ALREADY HOT THE DAY, 'They'll
be able to plow that big plain when the dry season comes'.

g-agot-la agu malbutang di blìgu NON-VOLITIONAL-HOLD-THEY
ME LAST-NIGHT BY FOOT-MY, 'They happened to get ahold of
me by my foot last night'.

4.1.3.4 Direction Focus with Non-volitional

This construction appears only a very few times in my data. The non-volitional morpheme combines with -N- 'non-subject focus' with the base. -LA or its substantive substitute is subject; the topic is the direction of the action of the utterance.

Examples:

gan-kel-la ale tabeng dini du man dee to dini NON-VOLITIONAL-
DIRECTION FOCUS-ARRIVE-THEY TO-THEM HELP HERE BECAUSE (MAN)
MANY PERSON HERE, 'They came here to them with help, because
there were many people here'.

gan-bat-la agu fan du too agu mni NON-VOLITIONAL-DIRECTION
FOCUS-THROW-THEY TO-ME BREAD BECAUSE VERY I REQUEST, 'They
were constrained to throw bread to me, because I asked so
much'.

4.1.3.5 Summary of Non-volitional Constructions

Obligatory sentence elements and optional elements that contrast in distribution in closely related utterances are outlined in table 5. Topic will be in capitals in Bilaan and the gloss. Pronouns representing sentence elements are: -LA 'non-topic subject'; ALE 'topic', and DALE 'oblique'. The -LA and ALE pronouns occur as obligatory sentence elements:

TABLE 5

Focus	Verb affix	Subject	Object	Direction
Subject (Optional goal)	g-	ale	±	
Subject (Obligatory goal)	g-m-	ale	+	
Object	g-	-la	ale	
Direction	g-n-	-la	+	ale

Subject focus (optional goal):

Minimal: gkel ALE kadang, '*THEY were obliged to come later*'.

Expanded: malfabi gaklang ALE kayu di tah bulul, '*Yesterday THEY were able to cut wood on the hill*'.

Subject focus (obligatory goal):

Minimal: gangimò GAMO knaan, '*YOU were able to cook food*'.

Expanded: gamtinggal AGU to landè salà, '*I happened to shoot the innocent man*'.

Object focus:

Minimal: gtulenla SALÀ, '*They were obliged to confess their SINS*'.

Expanded: gablégu kanen SAULGU du too landè saulan, '*I was obliged to give him MY SHIRT because he didn't have even one*'.

Direction focus:

Minimal: ganbatla saul MARÀ, '*They give a shirt TO MARÀ*'.

Expanded: ganbatla deg dalmita i BONG MNGALAM AYÉ, du nun bong kili déé gal makét to, '*They were obliged to throw dynamite for me INTO THAT DEEP PART there, because there is a big eel there that bites people*'.

4.1.4 Combinations of F-, S-, and G- with the Base

Prefix combinations of three morphemes are rare. When two of the aspect morphemes, F-, S-, or G- occur together prefixed to the base the inner layer affix is subordinate to the outer layer affix.

Examples:

ga-f-tunda-la agu knaan di ge du lingela na landè
 knaanam sdu ani NON-VOLITIONAL-CAUSATIVE-TAKE-THEY
 ME FOOD TO YOU BECAUSE HEAR-THEY THAT NO FOOD-YOUR
 ONE-DAY THIS, 'They were constrained to have me take
 food to you because they heard that you haven't had
 food the whole day!

fa-g-kaan-am knaan ayé CAUSATIVE-NON-VOLITIONAL-EAT-
 YOU FOOD THAT, 'You eat very much (though no appetite)'.
 The prefix combination FAG- often has the connotation
 of expenditure of effort.

g-s-akét-la dad kudàla balù mulen NON-VOLITIONAL-
 DISTRIBUTIVE-BITE-THEY PLURAL HORSE-THEIR EVEN RAIN,
 'They were constrained (out of interest) to have the
 horses fight, even though it rained'.

sa-g-bat-la falnas na filak DISTRIBUTIVE-NON-VOLITIONAL-
 THEY CLOTHES AND MONEY, 'They accidentally threw out
 clothes and the money'.

f-s-alob-am i dad ngà ani tnalòla CAUSATIVE-DISTRIBUTIVE-
 WASH-YOU THE PLURAL CHILD THIS HAND-THEIR, 'You have these
 children wash each others hands'.

sa-f-kaan-la ngà na bong to DISTRIBUTIVE-CAUSATIVE-EAT-
 THEY CHILD AND BIG PERSON, 'They feed the child and the
 adult'.

The above six examples are in object focus. The same combinations
 of affixes also occur in subject focus. Example of causative plus dis-
 tributive in subject focus:

fa-sa-klang ale di ge tali CAUSATIVE-DISTRIBUTIVE-CUT THEY
 FOR YOU ROPE, 'They have the rope cut in many pieces (dis-
 tributive idea) for you'.

There are in my data some examples of combinations of two of the
 aspect morphemes, F-, S-, or G-, with an overt focal morpheme with the
 base.

Examples:

alo satu to ga-m-f-imò kanen knaan dini, senan maan ONLY
 ONE PERSON NON-VOLITIONAL-SUBJECT FOCUS-CAUSATIVE-MAKE HER
 FOOD HERE, ONLY FATHER-HER, 'There is only one man that can
 make her cook, her father'.

ge fa-m-g-eye i dad ngà ani du ge sa i tuala dini *YOU CAUSATIVE-SUBJECT FOCUS-NON-VOLITIONAL-LOOK THE PLURAL CHILD THIS BECAUSE YOU INDEED THE PARENT-THEIR HERE, 'You should look after these children because you are their parent!'*

lami ga-n-s-bat dun du blat *NOT-WE NON-VOLITIONAL-OBJECT FOCUS-DISTRIBUTIVE-THROW IT BECAUSE HEAVY, 'We can't throw it back and forth because it is heavy'.*

4.2 MA- OR M(A)G(A)- 'INTENSIVE-REPETITIVE'

This prefix will first be discussed in its distribution with bases without other co-occurring aspect morphemes. Then combinations of this morpheme with other affixes will be considered.

Morphophonemic alternations of the intensive-repetitive morpheme are as follows: MA- and MAGA- occur before bases beginning with two consonants; MG- occurs before vowel-initial bases, and MAG- occurs before bases beginning with a single consonant. Examples (see 4.2.2 for special distribution of MA- and MAGA-):

ma-fwes; ma-klang, maga-fwes; maga-klang
 mg-imo; mg-idul; mg-alob
 mag-kaan; mag-bat; mag-kef

The ma- allomorph contrasts in distribution with -M- 'subject focus' in that MA- is prefixed to bases beginning with two consonants while -M- is infixes with bases beginning with two consonants:

klang 'cut'; ma-klang; k-am-lang (see section 6.1 for restrictions on affixation of -M-).

4.2.1 The Intensive-repetitive Idea in Bilaan

The affix MA- and its allomorphs MG-, MAG-, and MAGA- express (a) vehemence or strength of action and (b) repetitive action. Sometimes only one of these semantic components is evident, but expansions of the sentence may bring the second component into view. Examples portraying intensity (Intensive-repetitive will be written Int/Rep):

fye ku mag-wè i katduk ulugu ani *GOOD IF Int/Rep-TAKE-AWAY THE ACHING HEAD-MY THIS, 'It would be good if this headache of mine were (completely) relieved'.*

lwe bulen là mag-wè i katduk ulugu ani *TWO MONTH NOT Int/Rep-TAKE-AWAY ACHING HEAD-MY THIS, 'For two months my headache hasn't left me completely'.*

Examples of repetitive action:

deg kalabaw ani i too mag-dem i dad to MY CARABAO THIS THE VERY Int/Rep-BORROW THE PLURAL MAN, 'The men often borrow my carabao'. Intensifying forms, such as TOO 'very' (see preceding example) often occur with the Int/Rep morpheme, though not in every case.

mag-sifà kay kuda bkuku tek Int/Rep-KICK SMALL HORSE CAGE IRON, 'The small horse kicked the iron cage again and again'.

Example of both intensive and repetitive action portrayed by the base plus Int/Rep affix:

ku toomi mag-kit i sdè dluh ayem ta gwè IF VERY WE Int/Rep-SHOUT THE PIG CHASED DOG ALREADY GET, 'If we had shouted loudly at the pig chased by the dog it would have been caught'.

Either intensive or repetitive action or both may be involved in the following sentences with FAS 'whip', DAK 'pound (as rice)' and WÈ 'get'.

Examples:

mag-fas yê dad ngaan 'The mother whips the children (many times or hard or both of these ideas). Compare n-fas yê ngaan 'The mother whips the children', the general act of whipping being in view.

ku too mag-dak i fali ani fye neman IF VERY Int/Rep-POUND THE RICE THIS GOOD TASTING-IT, 'If this rice is well pounded it will taste good'.

ta mag-wè dad to benge manggà ani ALREADY Int/Rep-GET PLURAL PERSON FRUIT MANGO-TREE THIS, 'The people have taken a lot of the fruit of this mango tree'. This sentence portrays the taking of a lot of fruit (not all) and possibly the taking of the fruit more than once, i.e. when the fruit again matures.

4.2.2 Special Distribution of MA- and MAGA-

If the base beginning with two consonants can occur with either MA- or MAGA- (see 4.2.0), the ideas of intensive action and repetitive action are separated, with the allomorph MA- denoting intensive action and the allomorph maga- denoting repetitive action.

Examples:

ma-klang-gu kafi ani du dee salangan Int/Rep-CUT-1 COFFEE-TREE THIS BECAUSE MANY ANTS-IT, 'I cut (with force) the coffee tree because it had many ants'.

maga-klang-gu kafi ani du dee salangan, 'I cut down the coffee tree (and cut it again when new branches sprouted) because it had many ants'.

ma-fwes nus safyu satu mà Int/Rep-TAKE-OFF WIND HAT OTHER FATHER, 'The wind blew off uncle's hat (with force)'.

maga-fwes nus safyu satu mà, 'The wind blew off (and blew off again) uncle's hat'.

4.2.3 Focus and Topic in Intensive-repetitive Constructions

The Int/Rep morpheme, if it is the only affix on a base, occurs in object focus constructions only. The usual order of post-verb elements is subject-object as in object focus constructions. If the ALE pronoun is topic goal it usually occurs first. The non-topic actor is frequently omitted.

Examples:

mag-kef dad to i lfò ani Int/Rep-CLIMB PLURAL PERSON THE COCONUT-TREE THIS, 'The men fairly thoroughly picked the coconuts from this tree'.

mg-akét agu ayam Int/Rep-BITE ME DOG, 'The dog severely bit me', or 'I was severely bitten by the dog'.

The non-topic subject may be omitted.

Examples:

mag-kef i lfò ani Int/Rep-CLIMB THE COCONUT-TREE THIS, 'This coconut tree has been well picked over'.

mag-wè benge manggà ayé Int/Rep-TAKE FRUIT MANGO-TREE THIS, 'The fruit of this mango tree has been fairly thoroughly picked'.¹²

The topic goal may occur in first post verb position.

Example:

mag-kef i lfò ani dad to (see first sentence in this section).

The topic goal may be transposed to pre-verb emphasis position with or without co-occurring post-verb goal.

Example:

benge manggà ayé mag-wè(1a) *FRUIT MANGO-TREE THAT Int/Rep-TAKE(THEY)*, 'They have fairly thoroughly picked the fruit of that mango tree'.

If the subject is not expressed, the state of the focussed goal is in view: mg-alob dad fligo ani Int/Rep-WASH PLURAL PLATE THIS, 'These plates have been thoroughly washed'. If non-topic subject is expressed the action of the actors on the goal is in view: mg-alob-1a dad fligo Int/Rep-WASH-THEY PLURAL PLATE, 'They thoroughly washed the plates'.

4.2.4 Comparison of Int/Rep Affix with Related Affixes

Affixes related to the intensive-repetitive prefix include the following morpheme combinations: SAN- (see 4.1.2.4), FAG- (see 4.1.4), and SAL (see 4.5). See 4.3 for 'perfective' morpheme which is also allied to these affixes in the shared idea of 'intensity'.

mag-wè dad to benge manggà ani Int/Rep-TAKE PLURAL PERSON *FRUIT MANGO-TREE THIS*, 'The people fairly thoroughly picked the fruit of this mango tree'.

san-wè dad to benge manggà ani, 'All the people thoroughly pick the fruit from this mango tree'.

fag-wè dad to benge manggà ani, 'The people pick more thoroughly (because of outside pressure) the fruit of this mango tree'.

sal wè dad to manggà kadet, 'The people always get mangoes with a picking stick (long stick with a hook on the end)'.

The Int/Rep, MAG-WÈ, expresses the taking of a lot of fruit, not necessarily all of it, and, if the viewer is present or has knowledge of it, the taking of the next crop that matures.

The distributive affix combination, SAN-, portrays each member of the actor group being involved in taking fruit, and their picking of it until it is completely harvested.

FAG-WÈ, in this context, expresses a good job of picking the fruit. It implies earlier failure or inadequacy.

SAL WÈ specifies the picking stick that is commonly used to get the fruit.

Examples will now be cited of these related affixes with ALOB 'WASH', and TAM 'ignite':

mg-alobla dad fligo ani, 'They washed the dishes well'.

sans-alobla fligo, 'They all (helping one another) wash dishes'.

fg-alobla dad fligo ani, 'They washed the dishes well (under pressure)'.

sal alob dad to éél lam lata, 'They always use water in the can for washing'.

mag-tamla saldò, 'They lit the lamp (many times, before it burned)'.

san-tamla saldò, 'They help each other in lighting the lamp'.

fag-tam dad to saldò, 'The men lit the lamp well (under pressure)'.

sal tam dad to kugit, 'They always use matches to light the lamp'.

4.2.5 Negatives with the Intensive-repetitive Affix

The negative with the intensive-repetitive morpheme ranges in meaning from (a) the partial negation of repetitive action, i.e. a very few times, to (b) a complete negation, i.e. no action at all.

Examples:

(a) Partial negation:

satu bong batu ani là mg-igefgu fa ONE BIG ROCK THIS NOT Int/Rep-SEARCH-I STILL, 'I haven't searched (for seafood) around this big rock completely yet'.

là mag-kef dad to lfò ani NOT Int/Rep-CLIMB PLURAL PERSON COCONUT-PALM THIS, 'The people haven't taken much fruit from this coconut palm'.

(b) Complete negation:

lwe fali là mag-kef i lfò ani TWO YEAR NOT Int/Rep-CLIMB THE COCONUT-PALM THIS, 'For two years no one has taken fruit from this coconut palm'.

4.2.6 Intensive-repetitive Combined with Other Aspect Morphemes

Whereas MAG- indicates the complex idea of intensive-repetitive with no clear idea of non-volitional (G-), MA-F- and MA-S- indicate respectively intensive-repetitive plus causative (F-), and intensive-repetitive plus distributive (S-).

Examples:

ma-f-kaan-la dad ngà bangbang Int/Rep-CAUSATIVE-EAT-
THEY PLURAL CHILD COOKIE, 'They fed and fed the
children (even though full) the cookies'. This con-
struction is in object focus. Those that follow in
this section are in subject focus:

gal ma-s-kaan i dad kayu ku mingok duenan tfò CON-
TINUALLY Int/Rep-DISTRIBUTIVE-EAT THE PLURAL WOOD IF
RUB THAT-IS-WHY BREAK, 'These pieces of wood broke
because by rubbing against each other they wore each
other out'.

Examples of intensive-repetitive affix in combination with two other
aspect morphemes:

ma-sa-f-kaan ale di ta lime fali i klon Int/Rep-
DISTRIBUTIVE-CAUSATIVE-EAT THEY AT ALREADY FIVE YEAR
THE DURATION, 'They feasted each other over a period
of five years'.

ma-sa-g-kaan ale bnatu Int/Rep-DISTRIBUTIVE-NON-
VOLITIONAL-EAT THEY PROVISIONS, 'They accidentally
ate each other's provisions (several times)'.

4.2.7 Summary of the Intensive-repetitive Utterance

In the following table obligatory sentence elements and the optional
occurrence of a potential topic element are outlined. The topic in
Bilaan and its English gloss will be in capitals. ALE represents an
obligatory sentence element.

TABLE 6

Focus	Verb Affix	Subject	Object
Object	ma-/m(a)g(a)-	± -la	ale

Object focus:

Minimal: mg-alob DAD FLIGO 'The DISHES are quite thoroughly
washed'.

Expanded: mg-alobla DAD FLIGO 'They quite thoroughly wash
THE DISHES'.

4.3 K- 'PERFECTIVE'

The prefix combinations K-AM- 'perfective-subject focus' and K-AN- 'perfective-object focus' represent the complete distribution of the perfective morpheme. This affix always occurs with focal morphemes; K- 'time/manner' morpheme never occurs in combination with focal morphemes (see 5.0).

4.3.1 The Perfective Idea in Bilaan

The perfective morpheme occurs with certain bases indicating states of emotion, to express an intensity of feeling; it occurs with FULUNG 'understand' to express a high degree of competence.

Examples with BAYAN 'be interested', and FULUNG 'understand':

bayan Dulan i tulenla INTEREST DULAN THE STORY-THEIR,
'Dulan is interested in their story'.

kan-bayan Dulan i tulenla, 'Dulan has a sustained interest
(to the end) in their story'.

fulung to ayé mimò been UNDERSTAND MAN THAT MAKE BASKET,
'That man knows how to make baskets (a certain type)'.

kam-fulung to ayé mimò been PERFECTIVE-SUBJECT FOCUS-
UNDERSTAND MAN THAT MAKE BASKET, 'That man is skilled
(all processes involved) in making baskets (including
other types of baskets)'.

kan-fulung to ayé manem been PERFECTIVE-OBJECT FOCUS-
UNDERSTAND MAN THAT WEAVE BASKET, 'That man is skilled
in weaving baskets (weaving other objects also)'.

4.3.2 Comparison of Perfective Affix with Related Affixes

The affix combinations KAM-/KAN- share the idea of intensity of feeling with the affix combinations FAG- and with the intensive-repetitive affix MA-/M(A)G(A)-. The distributive morpheme, SAN- (with object focus), mentioned along with FAG- and MA- in section 4.2.3 has other ideas associated with it (see 4.1.2) and will not be dealt with in this section.

With the base LEHEW 'happy' the perfective morpheme expresses a pervading joy, FAG- expresses a shorter period of rejoicing and MAG- expresses a happiness that comes and goes depending on the presence or absence of its source.

Examples:

kan-lehew (or kalnehew) dad to gamdawat bong filak
**PERFECTIVE-OBJECT FOCUS-HAPPY PLURAL PERSON RECEIVE
 BIG MONEY**, 'The men who receive a lot of money are
 happy (happiness pervades until the money is used up)'.

fag-lehew dad to gamdawat bong filak, 'The people are
 happy when they receive a lot of money (the reception
 of the money is in view)'.

mag-lehew dad to gamdawat bong filak, 'The people are
 happy when they receive a lot of money (but sad until
 they get money again when the first is used up)'.

Examples of these affixes with YÀ 'be ashamed, bashful':

kan-yàla dademe di nimòla **PERFECTIVE-OBJECT FOCUS-
 ASHAMED-THEY COMPANIONS AT DEEDS-THEIR**, 'They are
 hurt (for a period of time) at the deeds of their
 companions (their companions have rebuked them)'.

fag-yàla dademe di nimòla, 'They bring shame on
 their companions by their deeds (e.g. they falsely
 accuse their companions)'.

mag-yàla dademe di nimòla, 'They bring shame on their
 companions by their deeds (again and again their actions
 bring shame to their companions)'.

With the base TEEN 'see, find', the perfective morpheme denotes 'to
 have a vision, or a premonition'.

Examples:

kam-teen to ayé to di gukudangan **PERFECTIVE-SUBJECT FOCUS-
 SEE MAN THAT MAN AT TIME-OF-SLEEPING**, 'That man had a
 vision of a person while he slept'.

kan-teengu là mayè ge du là sa gafles ate swè **PERFECTIVE-
 OBJECT FOCUS-I NOT LIKE YOU BECAUSE NOT INDEED PROCEED WE-
 TWO MARRY**, 'I had a premonition that I should not love you;
 you see how things turned out to prevent our marriage'.

4.3.3 Summary of Perfective Utterances

In the following table topic will be underlined in Bilaan and the
 gloss. -LA and ALE pronouns represent obligatory sentence elements.

TABLE 7

Focus	Verb affix	Subject	Object
Subject	kam-	ale	+
Object	kan-	-la	ale

Subject focus:

Minimal: kam-yà AGU mimò sasè nimò, 'I am ashamed of the bad deeds done'.

Expanded: I TO KU KAMYÀ sasè kastulen Datù to ayé, 'THE MAN WHO IS ASHAMED of evil words is like a chieftain'.

Object focus:

Minimal: kanyaan TALÙ BLAAN, 'He is ashamed to TALK BILAAAN'.

Expanded: kanyàla WIS, duerla là kmaan, 'They are shy in the presence of the JUDGE, that is why they don't eat'.

4.4 T(G)- 'PRE-EMPTIVE'

This morpheme will be treated in its occurrences with and without focal morphemes -M- 'subject focus', and -N- 'object focus'. Without focus morphemes T(G)- occurs in an instrument focus construction.

Before bases beginning with a consonant the pre-emptive morpheme is simply T-; before bases beginning with a vowel the morpheme occurs as TG- or as T...G- if focal morphemes co-occur. The base UNA 'be first' occurs with either of the allomorphs of the pre-emptive morpheme.

Examples:

Base	Base with Pre-emptive
kifuh 'darkness'	t-kifuh
gumah 'overtake'	t-gumah
ilah 'run'	tg-ilah
una 'be first'	tg-una or t-una

4.4.1 The Pre-emptive Idea in Bilaan

The pre-emptive affix in Bilaan expresses the doing of an action sometime before a desired goal is reached (the actor's desired goal or another's), or the doing of an action before another operation is commenced. For example, a person can have as a goal the reaching of a

certain destination or the actual time that person will depart to reach that destination. With the pre-emptive affix, GUMAH 'overtake' will express the action of someone (a) overtaking this person or joining him on his journey before the destination is reached, or (b) joining him before the actual time of departure has arrived. Illustrations of these concepts:

- (a) E leg, tam-gumah ge do dad to fadyan mlius falami ani
gine OH FRIEND, PRE-EMPTIVE-SUBJECT FOCUS-OVERTAKE
YOU FOR-ME PLURAL MAN MARKET PASS-BY NEW NOW A-WHILE-
AGO, 'Oh friend, overtake for me, before they reach
the market, the men who passed here just a little
while ago'.
- (b) tan-gumaham agu fayah laman falà kel i du tah bulul
PRE-EMPTIVE-OBJECT FOCUS-OVERTAKE-YOU I TOMORROW WHILE
NOT-YET ARRIVE THE SUN ON-TOP-OF HILL, 'Join me to-
morrow before seven o'clock (for our trip)'. (In the
speaker's locality it is about seven when the sun
'sits' on top of a prominent hill).

An operation (before which an action is done) can be, for example, work done by hired hands. With the pre-emptive morpheme, ILAH 'run' will express the action of a hired hand in taking off before work begins.

Example:

t-an-g-ilahan nun nimò¹³ PRE-EMPTIVE-OBJECT FOCUS-RUN-HE
THERE-IS WORK, 'He takes off before the work begins'.

If a desired goal is getting the harvest in, for instance, the base AFAT 'reach' with the pre-emptive affix will express the action of a person harvesting the crop before the owner gets to it.

Example:

t-an-g-afatan nwè do fale PRE-EMPTIVE-OBJECT FOCUS-
REACH-HE GET MY PLANTING, 'He harvests my crop before I do'.

If the goal is to have a certain desired possession, IMEN 'obey, desire' with the pre-emptive affix will express the anticipating of the acquisition of this possession.

Example:

t-am-g-imen ale mimò bong fye gumnè PRE-EMPTIVE-SUBJECT
FOCUS-DESIRE THEY MAKE BIG GOOD HOUSE, 'They anticipate
(hopefully) the building of a beautiful house'.

The base IMEN 'obey, desire' with pre-emptive can mean the recounting of evil deeds done before the actor turned good, or the description of evil deeds already done, as if in anticipation of their being done for the first time.

Example:

t-an-g-imen to ayé ksasè nimoan kyeh PRE-EMPTIVE-OBJECT
FOCUS-DESIRE MAN THAT EVIL DEED-HIS BEFORE, 'He recounted
his past evil deeds (done before he turned good, or he
takes the listeners to the time before they were done)'.

4.4.2 Focus with the Pre-emptive Affix

The pre-emptive morpheme occurs in constructions with the focusses of subject, object and instrument.

Subject focus:

maflayam agu t-am-g-afat mwè kanen fali SUFFER I PRE-
EMPTIVE-SUBJECT FOCUS-REACH GET HIS RICE, 'I sacrifice to
harvest his rice before he does'.

Object focus:

t-an-kifuhan falmawi agul PRE-EMPTIVE-OBJECT FOCUS-DARK-
HE DRY CORN, 'He spreads out the corn to dry before the
sun rises (while still dark)'.

Instrument focus:

tg-unagu dun kudàgu ayé di kaskuyami PRE-EMPTIVE-BE-FIRST-I
IT HORSE-MY THAT AT RACE-OURS, 'I use my horse to pass him
up (and win) in the race'.

Aspect markers F- 'causative', S- 'distributive', and G- 'non-volitional' may occur before the pre-emptive morpheme in combination with bases. The following illustration of non-volitional with pre-emptive morpheme is in object focus:

ga-t-gumahgu kanen du fan mati yéan di kakubuhan NON-
VOLITIONAL-PRE-EMPTIVE-OVERTAKE-I HIM BECAUSE ABOUT
DEAD MOTHER-HIS ON LEAVING-HIS, 'I was obliged to go
after him after he left because his mother was about to
die'.

4.4.3 Comparison of the Pre-emptive Affix with Phonetically Similar Sequences

The particle TA 'completive' and the adverb TANA (synonym of TAGNÈ) 'former state of affairs' enter into certain combinations with verbs

that phonetically resemble or duplicate the pre-emptive affix plus verb combination. The verbs involved all begin with vowels.

Examples:

TANA compared with T-AN-G- before ilah 'run':
 tana gilahlà mà kyeh gabay ani ta là *FORMER-STATE*
NON-VOLITIONAL-RUN-THEY FATHER BEFORE BUT NOW
ALREADY NOT, 'Formerly they could run away from
 father, but now they can't'.

t-an-g-ilahlà nun nimò *PRE-EMPTIVE-OBJECT FOCUS-RUN-*
THEY HAVE WORK, 'They take off before the work begins'.

TA compared with t-am-g- before inum 'drink':
 ta mg-inumgu kdee éél *ALREADY INTENSIVE-REPETITIVE-*
DRINK-I ALL WATER, 'I drink all the water'.

t-am-g-inum di falà kel i dad to *PRE-EMPTIVE-SUBJECT*
FOCUS-DRINK I ON NOT-YET ARRIVE THE PLURAL PERSON,
 'I drank before the people arrived'.

Though those contrastive pairs are distinguishable from each other, especially in the context of the utterance, there are certain significant distribution differences relating to them which it is helpful to display.

The adverb TANA may occur in sequence with following pronoun subject and pronoun object before the verb. The pre-emptive affix is inseparable from the verb.

Example:

tana-m agu gilahlà (or tan-am gilahlà agu, or tana gilahlam agu)
 kyeh bay ani ta là, 'Formerly you could escape from me, but
 now you can't'.

With KILEN 'when?' TANA GILAH occurs as: kilen tana kgilahlà?
 TANGILAH occurs with KILEN as: kilen katgilahlà?

The base with pre-emptive morpheme can itself be preceded by TA 'completive'.

Example:

ta t-am-g-inum agu, 'I already drank before...'
 ta mginumgu, 'I already drank (intensive)...'

4.4.4 Summary of Pre-emptive Utterances

In the following table topic will be in capitals Bilaan and the gloss. -LA and ALE pronouns represent obligatory sentence elements. ALE is topic; -LA is non-topic subject.

Table 8

Focus	Verb affix	Subject	Object	Instrument
Subject	t-am-(g)-	ale	+	
Object	t-an-(g)-	-la	ale	
Instrument	t(g)-	-la	+	ale

Subject focus:

Minimal: tangumah ALE to muna, '*THEY are catching up with the leader (before destination is reached)*'.

Expanded: tangumah GE do dad to fadyan magu ni fayah, '*YOU please join the men who are going to market tomorrow somewhere along the way*'.

Object focus:

Minimal: flaan ge, tangumaham ALE, '*Hurry, catch up with THEM*'.

Expanded: tangumaham AGU fayah lamgu là mdà, '*Catch up with ME tomorrow before I start off*'.

Instrument focus:

Minimal: tgumahgu dale i bong FALIMAK, '*I get a big GONG to them (before they need it)*'.

Expanded: tgumahta ge FILAK fayah flafus laman là mdà magu, '*I will have given MONEY to you tomorrow morning before you leave*'.

4.5 -L- 'SIMULTANEOUS' AND F- 'DIVERSITIVE'

Two sequences will be discussed in this section: (1) the adverb SAL which expresses simultaneous concordance and (2) the affix cluster FAL- which expresses simultaneous diversity.

The adverb SAL contains the components of S- 'distributive' (see 4.1.2) and -L- 'simultaneous' (see 4.5.1). The distributive idea in this case is that of all possible actors or all possible goals in the construction being involved in the action. The SAL sequence, though probably historically an affix cluster, now occurs as an adverb with its own accent and with the alternate co-occurrence of -LA and ALE pronouns in pre-verb position (see 3.2). The affix cluster FAL- is a combination of F- 'diversitive' and -L- 'simultaneous'. The diversitive morpheme is homophonous with F- 'causative', but it occurs only in combination with the -L- morpheme.

SAL can occur in sequence with verbs inflected with any of the affixes dealt with in this paper except that of KA- 'time/manner'. Before vowel initial bases the sequence FAL- occurs with empty morph -G- as FALG-. FAL- can occur with following S- 'distributive' with certain bases. With this combination before vowel initial bases the -G- empty morph is dropped. Examples of occurrences with UTENG 'debt', and SALEK 'question':

sal m-uteng, sal s-uteng, sal uteng, sal s-n-alek, sal f-salek.

falg-uteng, fal-s-uteng, fal-salek.

4.5.1 The Simultaneous and Diversitive Ideas in Bilaan

The -L- morpheme represents simultaneous action. In combination with S- 'distributive' one or more actors or groups of actors or goals are involved in an action at the same time, or at the same general period of time. In combination with F- 'diversitive' there is a simultaneous situation in which some do the action while others abstain, or in which two diverse goals are in view. Both of these situations may be present in the same construction if the subject is plural.

Examples:

sal kudang ale, *'All of them are sleeping at the same time'*.

falkudang ale, *'Some of them sleep (at the same time); others do not'*.

fal-salekla i ktulengu ktatek flanu DIVERSITATIVE-SIMULTANEOUS-QUESTION-THEY THE TALE-MY FALLING PLANE, *'Some ask varied questions (some don't) about my report of the plane that crashed'*.

With FAL- there is minimally present the idea of two diverse groups (actors or goals) involved in an action; if actors, one group can be conspicuous non-participants as is illustrated in the examples above.

Other examples:

falg-una ale di dad kudà bukay DIVERSITATIVE-SIMULTANEOUS-BE-FIRST THEY OF PLURAL HORSE WHITE, *'Some non-white horses are ahead of the white ones, and some non-white horses are behind the white ones'*.

fal-kaan dad to myak DIVERSITATIVE-SIMULTANEOUS-EAT PLURAL MAN CLIMB-UP, *'Some of the men who climb into the house eat, (others don't), or 'Those who climb eat (those who do not go up into the house do not eat)'*.

fal-salek agu di dale di kalmo Mgangeh DIVERSITIVE-SIMULTANEOUS-QUESTION I TO THEM ABOUT DESTRUCTION DADIANGAS, 'I ask them different types of questions about the destruction at Dadiangas (some of them are questioned, some not)'.

With SAL all actors or goals are involved at the same time in the same type of action. A singular actor can repeat an action during a certain given period of time.

sal smalek ale di dale DISTRIBUTIVE-SIMULTANEOUS QUESTION THEY TO THEM, 'Each of them asks the same question to each of them (hearers)'.

sal smalek agu di kanen DISTRIBUTIVE-SIMULTANEOUS QUESTION I TO HIM, 'I ask him again and again the same question'.

4.5.2 Focuses with SAL and FAL-

Constructions with SAL take their focus from that of the verb with which SAL occurs.

Examples:

sal ale k-m-aholg SAL THEY SUBJECT FOCUS-SWIM, 'They are all swimming'; this construction is subject focus.

sal kahongla blila SAL SWIM-THEY FEET-THEIR, 'They all swim with their feet'; unaffixed KAHONG 'swim' is instrument prefocus, so the construction is instrument focus.

sal f-salekan agu di dad to ayé SAL CAUSATIVE-ASK-HE ME TO PLURAL MAN THAT, 'He incessantly causes me to question those people'; the construction is agent focus with causative.

FAL- does not occur in constructions with overt focal morphemes. However, FAL- plus base can occur in all the focus constructions that the particular base can occur in, including that of the prefocus base as predicate. As with some constructions with other aspect markers constructions with FAL- display focus in sentence elements outside the predicate.

When FAL- occurs in an object focus construction with an agent expressed, the causative idea is also present. In this case the single F- of FAL- occurs as a portmanteau morpheme with both the causative and diversitive ideas. Illustrations of constructions:

Subject focus:

falg-una ale di dad kudà bukay FALG-BE FIRST THEY TO PLURAL HORSE WHITE, 'Some non-white horses were ahead (and some behind) the white horses'.

Object focus:

fal-salekla i ktulengu ktatek flanu FAL-QUESTION-THEY THE TALE-MY FALLING PLANE, 'Some ask varied questions (some don't) about my report of the plane that crashed'.

Direction focus:

fal-tudàla agu dad batu FAL-THROW-THEY ME PLURAL ROCK, 'Some throw (some don't) the rocks at me'.

Object focus with causative:

- (a) fal-salekla do i ktulengu ktatek flanu FAL-QUESTION-THEY ME THE TALE-MY FALLING PLANE, 'I have some ask questions (some do not) about my tale of the airplane that crashed'.
- (b) fal-salekla di do i flanu tatek FAL-QUESTION-THEY TO ME THE PLANE FALL, 'I have them ask me about the plane that crashed'. This can also be a non-causative utterance: 'They asked questions of me about the plane that crashed'.

Distributive S- with FAL-:

fal-s-uteng dad to FAL-DISTRIBUTIVE-DEBT PLURAL MAN, 'Some loan to each other (some don't). This is subject focus; FAL- plus S- also occur in object focus and with causative in object focus.

4.5.3 Comparison with Other Affixes

In the following examples the base TUDÀ 'throw' will be used to portray the differences among several affixes that bear some relationship to SAL and FAL-.

sal ge, 'It's all yours'.

sal tudàla batu, 'All of them throw all the rocks there'.

fal-tudàla batu, 'Some throw rocks (some don't)'.

san-tudàla batu (Distributive), 'They all throw the rocks (helping each other)'.

mag-tudala batu (Intensive-repetitive), '*They accidentally (with force) bump the rocks (while doing something else)*'.

fag-tudàla batu (Repetitive/non-intensive), '*They repeatedly (in order to complete the task) throw the rocks*'.

In the above examples the plural marker, DAD, may vary with its absence; hence, the gloss '*rocks*', even though the DAD is not present as DAD BATU.

4.5.4 Summary of Utterances with FAL-

Topic in Bilaan and the gloss is in capitals. -LA and ALE pronouns represent obligatory sentence elements. Optional direction element can not always occur and is therefore not represented in the table.

TABLE 9

Focus	Verb affix	Subject	Object	Direction
Subject	fal(g)-	ale	±	
Object	fal(g)-	-la	+	
Direction	fal(g)-	-la	±	

Subject focus:

Minimal: falsalek DAD TO MAGU, '*THE MEN WALKING are asking questions (some are not)*'.

Expanded: falsalek DAD TO MAGU di dale i kalmo déé, '*THE MEN WALKING ask them (some don't ask) about the calamity there*'.

Object focus:

Minimal: falsalekla i KTULENGU ktatek flanu, '*Some ask (some don't) varied questions about MY TALE of the plane crash*'.

Expanded: falsalekla kane Jan i KTULENGU ktatek flanu, '*Some ask John (some don't) about MY TALE of the plane crash*'.

Object focus with causative:

Minimal: falsalekla do i FLANU TATEK, '*I have them ask questions about the PLANE CRASH*'. falsalekla di do i

FLANU TATEK, 'I have them ask me about the PLANE CRASH'; or 'They ask me (some don't) varied questions about the PLANE CRASH'. (Non-causative)

Expanded: falsalekla do di dad to i FLANU TATEK,
'I have them ask the men about the PLANE CRASH'.

Direction focus:

Minimal: falsalekan ALE, 'He asks some of THEM (not all)'.

Expanded: falsalekan ALE di ktatek flanu, 'He asks some of THEM about the plane crash'.

5.0 NOMINALIZING AFFIXES

Nominalizing affixes in Bilaan are: K(A)- 'time/manner' (see 5.1) and GU- 'location/recipient' (see 5.2).

The two nominalizing morphemes have extensive distribution prefixed to bases that are heads of item or comment phrases in non-verbal predications. They also occur prefixed to bases that occur as heads of noun phrases in verbal predications.

These two affixes never occur together before a base. They may occur as the sole affix with bases or in combination with other affixes, but always occur first in a string of affixes. K(A)- never occurs in combination with focus affixes -M- and -N-, nor with the perfective morpheme (4.3), nor with MAG- or FAL- affixes. GU- never occurs with the focus affix -N-, nor with the perfective morpheme. When GU- occurs with a verbal without aspect inflection, the verbal occurs with -M- 'subject focus', unless it is subject prefocus. Examples of inflections with nominalizing morphemes occurring with verbals: GUMAH 'overtake', KAAH 'eat', KUDANG 'sleep', BAT 'throw', FWES 'take off', UNA 'be first', KAHUNG 'swim'.

ka-kaan	gu-kudang
ka-s-kaan	gu-k-m-aan
ka-t-gumah	gu-sa-g-bat
ka-sa-f-kaan	gu-ma-fwes
ka-ga-t-gumah	gu-tam-g-una
ka-ga-sa-f-kaan	gu-fal-kahung

K(A)- and GU- can also occur with noun and adjective bases, as well as with prepositions and locative words. GU- can occur with adverbs and temporal words. Examples: BATU 'rock' (noun), FYE 'good' (adjective)

tive), LWÀ 'outside' (preposition), DÉÉ 'there' (locative word), LÀ 'not' (adverb), FLABI 'afternoon' (temporal word) (see footnote 14 for K(A)- with temporal words):

k-batu	gu-batu
ka-fye	gu-fye
ka-lwà	gu-lwà
k-déé	gu-déé
	gu-là
	gu-flabi

In questions, K(A)- occurs prefixed to bases following particles KILEN 'when' and DÉT KIBÒ 'how'. These occurrences summarize the 'time/manner' elements of the affix in its basic occurrences in all types of constructions.

Examples:

kilen k-ulé-an, 'When did he go home?'

dét kibò k-ulé-an, 'How did he go home?'

There is a third occurrence of K(A)- showing 'process' or 'circumstance'.

Example:

là mayè maan i ka-blé-la do falimak, *NOT LIKE FATHER-HIS THE PROCESS-GIVE-THEIR ME GONG*, 'The father did not like the fact that they gave a gong to me'. This contrasts with là mayè maan i blé-la (their gift) do falimak, 'His father did not like the (type of) gong they gave me'.

In questions, GU- can occur prefixed to bases following particles NÈ 'where' and SIMTO 'who'. These occurrences bear out the 'location/recipient' idea of the prefix.

Examples:

nè gu-k-m-aan-an, 'Where is his place of eating?'

simto gu-m-lé-n, 'To whom did he give (it)?'

Various inflections other than GU- with the base may follow occurrences of NÈ and SIMTO. These provide contrast with the occurrence of GU- following these particles. Examples with TULEN 'tell', and BLÉ 'give' (in the examples NÈ TO 'which person' often substitutes for simto 'who'):

nè (to), or simto gu-t-m-ulen-am, 'Who are you talking about?'

nè gutmulenam, 'What place are you talking about?' or 'Where did you talk?'

nè, or simto t-n-ulen-am, 'What (particular) person are you talking about?'

nè tulen-am, 'Which report did you give?'

simto tulenam, 'Whom did you report about?'

nè (to), or simto gu-m-lé-m, 'To whom (generally) did you give it?' (see 5.2.1).

nè gumlén, 'Where did you give (it)', or 'From which (of several sources) did you get it (to give)?'

nè, or simto b-an-lé-m, 'What person (particular, i.e. the owner) did you give it to?'

nè blé-m, 'Which thing did you give?'

simto blém, 'What person did you give?' This is unlikely, but is included to complete the paradigm.

5.1.1 K(A)- 'Time/manner', in Non-verbal Predications

Bases with K(A)- prefix occur as the item or as the comment. Either time or manner can be expressed by the affix. If a temporal word or phrase occurs as the item, time is highlighted with K(A)- plus base in the comment. If an adjective occurs as the item, manner is highlighted with K(A)- plus base in the comment of the construction. Time or manner forms in verbal predications do not occur as the highlight. Examples (hereafter T will represent 'time' and M will represent 'manner'):

fayah k-tamgu salò TOMORROW T-LIGHT-I LAMP, 'Tomorrow I will light the lamp'. Time is the highlight in this example.

sasè ka-fnila kahî BAD M-ASK-THEY SALT, 'They ask for salt in a bad way'. The manner of asking is the highlight in this example. The glosses given the base with K(A)- have been verbal. A literal translation of the preceding sentence could be: 'Bad is their manner of asking for salt'.

There are three variations of the preceding construction when either time or manner is expressed.

Examples: (The particle *l* may occur before the KA- plus base.)

sasè *l* kafnila kahî (this adds emphasis to the manner).

l kafnila kahî, sasè (with a slight pause before SASÈ; the expression has the same emphasis as the previous one).

kafnìla kahì sasè (with a pause before SASÈ); the expression is the same as the first citation in the preceding paragraph with the same gloss: 'sasè kafnìla kahì'.

Both time and manner can be expressed in the same construction:

sasè malbutang kafnìgu kahì, *'My manner of asking for salt last night was bad'*.

The complete construction with time or manner highlight described in this section may occur as the item only, with the comment complementing either the time or the manner idea of the item phrase. The particle, DI, may optionally precede the base inflected with K(A)-.

Examples with the comment in capitals in the Bilaan:

(di) ka-fnìgu kahì malfabi KTALUAN DI DEG (DI) T-ASK-I
SALT YESTERDAY T-TALK-HE TO ME, *'While I asked for salt yesterday, he was talking to me'*.

(di) ka-fnìgu kahì sasè DUENLA LÀ MLÉ (DI) M-ASK-I SALT
BAD REASON-WHY-THEY NOT GIVE, *'They did not give salt because I asked in a bad manner'*.

5.1.2 K(A)- in Verbal Predications

Bases with K(A)- prefix occur as heads of noun phrases in verbal predications.

Example of K(A)- time phrase:

ta mdà agu kafnìgu kahì malbutang ALREADY GO I T-ASK-I
SALT YESTERDAY, *'I left after asking for salt yesterday'*.

Example of K(A)- noun phrase: (Here the phrase is topic goal.)

teengu k-alobla dad fligo gine SEE-I T-WASH-THEY PLURAL
DISH WHILE-AGO, *'I saw their washing of the dishes a while ago'*.

5.1.3 Summary of Utterances with K(A)- 'T/M'

Table 10 summarizes distribution in non-verbal predications and in verbal predications. In the table below the -LA or a phrase substitutable for it occurs as possessor. NPh is for a phrase consisting of a noun as head with optional expansions. The DALE pronoun set can occur as this phrase or KA- + base + -LA can potentially occur as the head of this phrase. Adjective is Adj.; temporal word is TW. Item will be in capitals.

TABLE 10

Non-verbal Predications

- 1) + TW + k(a)- + base + -la + NPh
- 2) + Adj. + k(a)- + base + -la + NPh
- 3) ± di + k(a)- + base + -la + NPh + TW + comment
- 4) ± di + k(a)- + base + -la + NPh + Adj. + comment

Verbal Predications

- 5) Predi-
cation + k(a)- + base + -la + TW (Time Phrase)
- 6) Predi-
cate + k(a)- + base + -la + TW (NPh - Time)

Non-verbal predications:

- 1) Minimal: fayah ktamgu salò, *'Tomorrow I will light the lamp'*.
Expanded: fayah flabi ktamgu salò dale, *'Tomorrow afternoon I will light the lamp for them'*.
- 2) Minimal: sasè kafnigu kahì, *'My manner of asking for salt is bad'*.
Expanded: beg sasè kafnigu kahì di dale, *'My manner of asking for salt from them is quite bad'*.
- 3) Minimal: kafnigu kahì ktaluan di deg, *'When I asked for salt he was talking to me'*.
Expanded: di kafnigu kahì malfabi ktaluan di deg, *'When I asked for salt yesterday he was talking to me'*.
- 4) Minimal: kafnila kahì sasè duenla là mlé dale, *'The reason they didn't give salt was that they asked in a bad manner'*.
Expanded: di kafnila kahì sasè duenla là mlé, *'The reason they didn't give the salt to them was that they asked in a bad manner'*.

Verbal predications:

- 5) Minimal: ta mdà agu kafnigu malbutang, *'I left last night while making a request'*.
Expanded: ta mdà agu kafnigu kahì malbutang, *'I left while requesting salt last night'*.

- 6) Minimal: teengu kalobla gine, 'I saw their washing (of the dishes) a little while ago'.

The three basic sentence types of Table 10 are numbers 1, 3, and 5.

5.2.1 GU- 'Location/recipient' in Non-verbal Predications

The occurrence of GU- in non-verbal predications closely parallels that of K(A)-. Bases with GU- may occur as the item or as the comment in such predications. Either location or recipient may be expressed by the GU- inflection. If a locative word or phrase occurs as the item, location is highlighted; if a personal noun or personal noun phrase occurs as the item, a recipient is highlighted.

Location and recipient cannot be highlighted in verbal predications except by use of direction focus which is signalled by -N- on object pefocus verbals. Verbals that are not object pefocus must use non-verbal predications for location and recipient highlight. When -N- 'direction focus' constructions and GU- highlight closely contrast, the direction focus portrays a particular person or thing, while GU- with base portrays a person or thing in general.

Examples:

blé 'give'; b-an-lé 'a particular person, e.g. one well-liked'. gu-m-lé 'any person; or place of giving'.

bat 'throw'; n-bat 'an intended destination'; gu-m-bat 'an object (person) not intended; a place of throwing'.

dsù 'sacrifice'; d-an-sù 'thing sacrificed to'; gu-d-am-sù 'place of sacrifice'.

Examples of bases with GU- in non-verbal predications (L will represent location; R will represent recipient):

déé gu-k-m-aangu anuk THERE L-EAT-I CHICKEN, 'I will eat chicken there'. As was noted with K(A)- constructions a gloss can be given which translates the GU- form as a noun: 'There is my place of eating chicken'.

yé gu-m-legu liblu THAT (ONE) R-GIVE-I BOOK, 'I give the book to that one'.

Alternate forms for this construction are:

yé gu-m-légu liblu
 yé i gumlégu liblu
 i gumlégu liblu yé
 gumlégu liblu yé

The last two examples occur with a slight pause before *YÉ* 'that (one)'. The examples with particle *l*, give more emphasis to the recipient, *YÉ*.

Both location and recipient can be expressed in the same construction:

Example:

déé gu-m-légu to ayé THERE R-GIVE-I MAN THAT, 'There is that man whom I gave (something to)'.

The construction with location or recipient highlight described in this section can itself occur as the item, with the comment phrase complementing either the location or the recipient idea of the item phrase. The particle, *DI*, may optionally introduce the item phrase.

Examples:

(di) *gu-m-tamgu salò gumdàgu kudang (DI) L-LIGHT-I LAMP PLACE-BEGIN-I SLEEP*, 'Where I lit the lamp is where I'm going to sleep'.

(di) *gu-m-légu to ayé yé to fagingu (DI) R-GIVE-I MAN THAT THAT MAN BRING-ALONG-I*, 'That man I gave (something to) is the man I bring along'.

5.2.2 GU- in Verbal Predications

Bases with *GU-* prefix can occur as heads of noun phrases in verbal predications.

Example of location phrase:

kmaan agu déé di gumtamgu salò EAT I THERE AT PLACE-LIGHT-I LAMP, 'I eat there where I lit lamp'.

Example of *GU-* noun phrase (a potential topic):

teengu i gu-m-léla anuk SEE-I THE R-GIVE-THEY CHICKEN, 'I see the one to whom they gave the chicken'.

5.2.3 Summary of Utterances with *GU-* 'L/R'

Table II summarizes distribution in non-verbal predications and in verbal predications. In table 10 variant phrases were summarized in order to display the highlights of *K(A)-*. In that table sentences 1, 3, and 5 are basic types, and sentences 2, 4, and 6 are variants, with sentence 6 containing a repetition of the *K(A)-* phrase, but this time as topic or potential topic.

In Table 11, only the basic sentence types will be portrayed. For locative word (LW), personal noun can be substituted. -LA or a phrase substitutable for it occurs as possessor in the table below. NPh is for a phrase consisting of a noun as head with optional expansions. The DALE pronoun set can occur as this phrase or GU- + base + -LA can potentially occur as the head of this phrase. Item will be in capitals.

TABLE 11

Non-verbal Predications

- 1) + LW + gu- + base + -la + NPh
- 2) ± di + gu- + base + -la + NPh ± LW + comment

Verbal Predications

- 3) Predicate + gu- + base + -la

Non-verbal predications:

- 1) Minimal: déé gukmaangu anuk *'There is where I eat chicken'*.

Expanded: déé di gumnè gukmaangu anuk safédla *'There at the house is where I'll eat chicken with them'*.

- 2) Minimal: gumtamgu salò gumdàgu kudang *'Where I lit the lamp is where I'm going to sleep'*.

Expanded: di gumtamgu salò déé gumilègu gumdàgu kudang *'The bedroom where I lit the lamp is where I'm going to sleep'*.

Verbal predication:

- 3) Minimal: teengu i gukmaanla *'I see their eating place'*.

Expanded: teengu i gukmaanla felbalét tulan *'I see their eating place scattered with bones'*.

6.0 THE ADJECTIVE AFFIX

There is an adjective morpheme, M(A)- that occurs with certain bases and is homonymous with verbal affixes -M- 'subject focus' (see 2.0) and MA- 'intensive-repetitive' (see 4.2). It differs however, from these two affixes in its occurrence relative to the base (see 6.1).

Certain non-adjectival bases, when affixed with the morpheme M(A)- occur as adjectives and not as verbs.

Examples of adjectives (adjective base, and adjective by inflection):

fye (adjective base) 'good'.

fye agu 'I am good'.

teenan i fye dad ngà *SEE-HE THE GOOD PLURAL CHILD*, 'He sees the good children'.

lungay (instrument pefocus verbal) 'tired'

m-lungay agu *ADJECTIVE-TIRED I*, 'I am tired'.

teenan i mlungay dad ngà 'He sees the tired children'.

Example of M- 'subject focus' contrasting with adjective affix (see 4.2 for contrast between subject focus affix and intensive-repetitive affix):

m-alob agu *SUBJECT FOCUS-WASH I*, 'I wash myself'.

teenan i dad ngà malob, 'He sees the children washing'.

If the position of the verb MALOB coincides with that of MLUNGAY in the example above--teenan i mlungay...--the MALOB will then not modify the following noun, as does MLUNGAY, but occur as a substantive.

Example:

teenan i malob dad ngà *SEE-I THE SUBJECT-FOCUS-WASH PLURAL CHILD*, 'I see the one who washes the children'.

6.1 DISTRIBUTION OF THE ADJECTIVE AFFIX WITH BASES

In my data only one base has been observed that can occur with adjectives, subject focus, or intensive-repetitive affixes: BTAS 'cost, measure'; adjective: MA-BTAS 'costly, precious'; subject focus: M-TAS 'to measure'; intensive-repetitive: MAGA-BTAS 'to measure again and again'.

Of these three affixes just referred to above (and not considering the uninflected occurrence of adjective and subject focus bases), (a) some bases occur with only the adjective affix: M-ANGFEL 'thick'; M-NGIFIH 'thin'; (b) others occur with either the adjective or the intensive-repetitive affix (the intensive-repetitive morpheme will have the MAG- or MAGA- allomorphs): M-LUNU 'green'; MAG-LUNU 'make really green'; (c) the majority of bases can occur with either subject focus, or the intensive-repetitive affix, but without the adjective affix (except for BTAS 'measure', adjective and subject focus affixes are mutually exclusive on the same base): M-ALOB 'wash'; MG-ALOB 'thoroughly wash'.

The subject focus marker differs from both the adjective affix and the intensive-repetitive affix in the method of affixation before bisyllabic bases beginning with a single consonant that is not b, f, l, or n. The subject focus marker is infixes after the first consonant of the base, while the other two affixes are prefixed to the base: subject focus: K-M-AAN 'eat'; intensive-repetitive: MAG-KAAN 'thoroughly eat'; adjective: M-DADONG 'near'. (For subject focus affixation with bases of other canonical forms see my *The Verb Complex in Bilaan*. Interdepartmental Linguistics, University of Washington, pp. 12-14.)

Other examples of adjective distribution:

m-dadong i gumnean ADJECTIVE-NEAR THE HOUSE-HIS, 'His house is near'.

m-awag i gumnean, 'His house is far away'.

ma-lbal i éél ADJECTIVE-TURBID THE WATER, 'The water is turbid'.

teengu i mawag gumnè, 'I see the house that is far away'.

Other examples of subject focus distribution:

k-m-aan i to EAT-SUBJECT FOCUS THE MAN, 'The man is eating'.

teengu i to kmaan, 'I see the man who is eating'.

6.2 INTENSITY WITH ADJECTIVES

There is a morpheme K(A)- that occurs prefixed to adjective bases, or to bases that can occur with M(A)- as adjectives, that expresses an intensification of the idea of the adjective root.¹⁴

Examples:

fye 'good'; ka-fye 'very good'.

ka-fye fali ayé, 'How good is that rice'.

sasè 'bad'; k-sasè 'very bad'.

k-sasè kakaan to ayé, 'How bad are the eating habits of that man'.

This K(A)- 'adjective-intensitive' is homophonous with nominalizing affix K(A)- 'time/manner' (see 5.0), and may occur alternately with this affix on the same root. However, occurrence with bases in the same form class with adjectives as the descriptive item in a non-verbal predication identifies K(A)- as adjectival and not nominal.

Examples:

baltik i tatak ayé *FAST THE TRUCK THAT*, 'That truck is fast'.

ka-baltik i tatak ayé *INTENSIVE-FAST THE TRUCK THAT*, 'That truck is very fast'. (Non-verbal predication.)

fye i kudà ayé *GOOD THE HORSE THAT*, 'That horse is good'.

ka-fye i kudà ayé, 'That horse is very good'.

ka-fye kmaan to ayé *INTENSIVE-GOOD EAT MAN THAT*, 'How very good that man eats'. In this example immediately preceding, the KA-FYE is part of the verb phrase.

Adjective bases, or bases that occur as adjectives with M(A)-, when affixed with K(A)- and occurring in noun phrases of verbal predications, do not occur as descriptives, but as nouns.

Examples with BALTİK 'fast':

teengu i baltik tatak ayé, 'I see the fast truck'.

teengu i ka-baltik tatak ayé, 'I see the speed (noun) of that truck', not 'I see the very fast truck'. This nominal occurrence of BALTİK is as 'nominal-process' not as 'time/manner' (see 5.0).

Adjectives with K(A)- have about the same area of meaning as the basic adjective with an intensifying form such as TAY 'very' or TOO 'very'.

Examples:

tay fye, or ka-fye 'very good'.

too baltik, or ka-baltik 'very fast'.

Adjectives with K(A)- often occur with TAY 'very', FYE 'good' and SÈ or SASÈ 'bad' to indicate great intensity.

Examples:

sè ka-baltik kmaan to ayé *BAD Adj.-INTENSIVE-FAST EAT MAN THAT*, 'How very fast that man eats'.

sè k-ngalam éél ayé *BAD Adj.-INTENSIVE-DEEP WATER THAT*, 'How very deep is that water'.

sè ka-baltik ka-kaan to ayé *BAD Adj.-INTENSIVE-FAST MANNER-EAT MAN THAT*, 'How very fast is the manner of eating of that man'.

6.3 SUMMARY OF ADJECTIVAL DISTRIBUTION

In noun phrases, immediately before the phrase head and after particles *i*, or *DAD* (which may vary with their absence) or after particle *DI* (see particles in section 3) there can occur adjective bases or other types of bases inflected with the adjective morpheme *M(A)-*. Intensive forms, e.g. *TOO 'very'* may optionally precede the adjective. Adjectives can also occur as descriptives in the predicate of non-verbal predications with or without intensive forms or the intensive morpheme *K(A)-*.

TABLE 12

Adjectives in Substantive Phrases		
Particle	Adjective	Substantive
± <i>i</i> , <i>di</i> , <i>dad</i>	base or base + <i>m(a)-</i>	+
Non-verbal Predications		
Descriptive in predicate (item)	Particle	Comment
± <i>k(a)-</i> + Adj.	± <i>i</i>	+

Adjectives in substantive phrases:

Minimal: *fye to 'good man'*; *m-laneb fligo 'clean plate'*.

Expanded: *i fye to 'the good man'*; *dad fye to 'good men'*;
too fye to 'very good man'.

Non-verbal predications:

Minimal: *fye i to atù*, or, *fye to atù*, '*That man is good*'.

Expanded: *ka-fye i to atù*, '*That man is very good*'.

7.0 SUMMARY OF OCCURRENCES OF ASPECT AND FOCAL MORPHEMES

The following table illustrates occurrences of aspect morphemes with overt and covert focal morphemes. The first row in table 13 shows focus morphemes without aspect morphemes. All focusses except direction can be represented by prefocus verbals. (Direction focus is marked by *-N-* affixed to object prefocus verbals.) On the other hand, each focus except instrument can be expressed by focal morphemes *-M-* and *-N-*. Instrument focus is marked by instrument prefocus bases.

In table 13, in the focus only row, # represents the prefocus occurrence of a verbal. In other cells it represents an occurrence in a focal category with no overt focal signal. In the two cells for subject focus only, optional and obligatory occurrence of a goal is differentiated. Subject prefocus verbals never occur with a goal; many subject prefocus verbals may occur with -M-, in which case they require a goal; other parts of speech occurring as subject focus only, occur with -M- and may or may not have obligatory goal, depending on the form that is so inflected.

In focus constructions without aspect markers, no one verbal base can occur in more than three of four possible focusses, and one of these focusses will be that of the uninflected verbal base as a prefocus.

Verbals have extensive occurrence with aspect markers. Noun bases have limited occurrences as verbs with focal morphemes and with aspect morphemes. Adjective bases have no occurrence with focal morphemes only, but have extensive distribution with aspect morphemes in various focal categories. Similar to some constructions of aspect morphemes with verbal bases, so with some constructions of aspect morphemes with adjective and other types of bases: focal categories which are not marked overtly in the verb will be determined by the presence of, and role assumed by, the sentence topic.

Prepositions frequently occur with focal and aspect morphemes, while temporal and locative words sometimes occur with focal and aspect morphemes.

Uninflected prefocus verbals and bases inflected for focus only have by far the largest distribution in predications in Bilaan.

K(A)- 'time/manner/circumstance' and GU- 'location/recipient' affixes are nominal affixes and not represented on this chart. Adjective bases (uninflected) and bases with the adjective morphemes occur only as attributes to phrase heads, or as predicates in non-verbal predications.

In table 13 the basic idea of the affix plus base is stated in the cells. FAL- in object focus can also occur as causative-object focus with the same diversitive idea (see 4.5.2).

TABLE 13

	Subject ± goal	Subject + goal	Agent	Object	Direction	Instrument
Focus only	Volun- tary -m-; #	Volun- tary -m-		Volun- tary -n-; #	Voluntary -n-	Voluntary #
Causative f-	Caus. #		Caus. #	Caus. #	Causative -n-	
Distrib- utive s-	Recip- rocal #	Distrib- utive -m-		Distrib- utive #	Distrib. Dir/Obj -n-	
Non- volitional g-	Non-vol. #	Non-vol. -m-		Non-vol. #	Non-vol. -n-	
Intensive/ Repetitive ma-/ m(a)g(a)-				Int/Rep #		
Perfective ka...-		Perfect. -m-		Perfect. -n-		
Pre-emptive t-/tg -		Pre-empt. -m-		Pre-empt. -n-		Pre-empt. #
Simultan- eous/ Diversitive fal-	Simul. #			Simul. #	Simul. #	

N O T E S

1. Norman Abrams. 1961. 'Word Base Classes in Bilaan.' *Lingua* 10:391-402.

The Bilaan orthography is as follows: consonants B, K, D, F, G, H, L, M, N, NG, S, T, W, Y, and ` (glottal stop--represented only before space); vowels A, É, I, O, U, E. É is front mid; E is central, mid to high. É plus glottal becomes Ê.

Informants for this work were Termasa Tao and Ricardo Baro, both of whom had a fair grasp of English and of one of the Visayan dialects, in addition to their native Bilaan. The article on word bases, in addition to classifying these bases, deals with the subjects of focus and topic and the use of the pronoun sets in various constructions. In that article instrument and direction focus categories are grouped under the title of indirect object focus. In the present paper they are not so grouped.

Other subjects are presented in an unpublished thesis: Norman Abrams. 1960. 'The Verb Complex in Bilaan.' Interdepartmental Linguistics, University of Washington. This work deals with canonical forms of word bases (p. 5), some aspect markers (pp. 23-35), adverbs (p. 39), some particles (p. 40), and includes a short text.

2. Hyphens will be used in the paper to indicate relevant morpheme boundaries in the citations. Focus markers will be represented as infixes (-m- and -n-) though they also occur prefixed to non-syllabic bases beginning with a single consonant. A complete definition for -n- is object/direction focus marker, for in focus constructions without aspect markers it can occur as a marker of object focus or of direction focus depending on the prefocus of the base. In constructions with aspect morphemes it can indicate direction or object focus in certain cases, regardless of the prefocus of the base. It will be given the gloss appropriate to each example.

3. The item of a verbal predication that can occur as the focussed subject, object, instrument or direction is called the topic or focus complement. In Bilaan, if a pronoun is topic, it is the ALE set; if the pronoun occurs pre-verb it may be the DALE set also. The topic pronoun constitutes a topic phrase or may occur with expansions in such a phrase: m-tam ale salò **SUBJECT FOCUS-LIGHT THEY LAMP**, 'They light the lamp'; m-tam ale Lat salò, 'Lat and his companions light the lamp'. ALE and LAT occur as topic subject in these subject focus constructions.

Any item or sequence following nominalizing particles I, or DAD, or that can be expanded to so occur, can potentially substitute for the ALE pronoun and therefore occur as topic. Items that, without preceding I, or DAD can substitute for the ALE (topic) pronoun, are syntactic classes of nouns and demonstrative particles, and any form occurring with nominalizing affixation (see section 5.0). Bases, with or without further verbal inflection, can occur with nominalizing affixation. All these items, in their occurrence as potential topic will be termed substantives. If they do not complement the focus category of the verb, i.e. do not occur in the same distribution as the ALE pronoun, they occur as non-topic substantives in the predication.

Examples of substitutions for ALE:

b-an-lé-n ale liblu **GIVE-HE THEM BOOK**, 'He gives the book to them'.

banlén i dekan liblu, 'He gives the book to his servant' (DEKAN 'his servant' is topic).

banlen to ayé liblu, 'He gives the book to that man' (TO 'man', is topic).

Items that are potential topic sequences (the subject, object, instrument, or direction of an occurrence) that occur pre-verb or can be transposed to this position in a verbal predication, occur as topic.

Example of instrument topic changed to pre-verb position:

tam ngà salò kugit **LIGHT CHILD LAMP MATCH** (instrument), 'The child lit the lamp with a match'. kugit tam ngà salò 'The child lit the lamp with a match'. In the last example the meaning is basically the same, but the instrument as topic, KUGIT 'match' when transposed to pre-verb position receives more emphasis in the utterance.

4. Of the bases that follow in this paragraph, none, except BAT can occur in direction focus without co-occurring causative affix and -n-. This suggests that certain semantic properties of bases can come to the forefront in certain constructions. Here, direction can occur for certain bases when causative also occurs.

5. Two sentence types are not represented in table 3: causative subject focus utterances with -m-, and double-causative-marked constructions. Both require more research. It is possible that these have variants among individual speakers.

In the illustrations of this and following tables, expansions represent only some of the possibilities.

6. The distributive affix is homophonous with S(A)- 'one'. The latter affix is a contraction of SATU 'one'.

Example:

kam 'handful'; s-kam 'one handful'.

7. Bases beginning with vowels (i.e. glottal plus vowel) prefix an additional -s- when occurring with S- plus focus marker.

Example:

S-N- + IMŌ occurs as SANSIMŌ. In addition there are examples in my data in which S(A)M-, SASAM, and SAMS-; or S(A)N-, SASAN-, and SANS carry no meaning difference as prefix combinations before vowel or consonant initial bases, but share the meaning of S-M- and S-N- respectively.

SAS(A)- and S(A)- appear to be variants. However, with reciprocal utterances, one informant differentiated some bases with S(A)- prefix from those with SAS(A)-.

Example:

sasa-blé ale saging DISTRIBUTIVE-GIVE THEY BANANA, 'They give bananas to each other'. sa-blé ale saging, 'They (one party) receive bananas from the other party (false reciprocal)'.

8. The expressions thus far in this section have portrayed both parties of a plural subject complex actively involved in a reciprocal action. There are variations of the reciprocal idea, as suggested in part in note 7 under the designation of 'false reciprocal'.

A close relationship between two parties may be in view though (1) one party may be actively participating in the event and the other not, (2) both parties may be passively involved, with the relationship taking prominence or (3) both parties may be involved.

Examples in this order:

- (1) kibò gami s-uhag sugen ani, i gal fitam lawehgu *HOW WE DISTRIBUTIVE-SMOKE BEE THIS, THE CUSTOMARY BLACK CLOTHES-MY, 'I always get my clothes black when I smoke out the bees'. In this sentence the plural subject GAMI 'we', includes the idea of both man and bees in relationship to each other. kibò gami s-basa liblu, là mlo ta fnge HOW WE DISTRIBUTIVE-READ BOOK, NOT LONG ALREADY FINISHED, 'I read the book so fast it was finished in no time'.*
- (2) sa-flanek ale *DISTRIBUTIVE-FRIEND THEY, 'They are friendly (in relation) to each other'. sa-kdo ale DISTRIBUTIVE-PITY THEY, 'They are loving to each other'.*
- (3) s-tabò i fali na i bnas *DISTRIBUTIVE-GROW THE RICE AND THE WEEDS, 'The rice and the weeds grow together'.*

9. Two actions, instead of two goals may be expressed in this construction.

Example:

s-akol-an kasilà na s-tagah-an dun *DISTRIBUTIVE-DIG-HE SWEET POTATOES AND DISTRIBUTIVE-COOK-HE IT, 'He dug up sweet potatoes and cooked them'.*

10. Location words can occur with the GA- prefix to indicate voluntary action.

Examples:

dini 'here'; gadini ale (or dini ale) 'They come'; ditù, or tù 'there (far)'; gatù ale 'They go there'.

When ordinals occur with prefix G(A)- they occur as cardinals.

Example:

lwe 'two'; galwe 'second'.

11. Bases beginning with vowels prefix an additional -G- when occurring with G- plus focus markers.

12. As with constructions without the Int/Rep morpheme, the non-topic subject may be omitted. The resultant utterance is a variant that can be given a passive gloss.

Example:

n-fas-la ayam BEAT-THEY DOG, *'They beat the dog'*; n-fas
ayem *'The dog was beaten'*.

13. Another informant uses SANGILAHAN as predicate for what appears to be the same construction as this one.

14. There are in my data examples of intensification of the idea of a temporal word, when it occurs with the K(A)- prefix.

Example:

tay ka-flafusan meye nalaf VERY INTENSIVE-MORNING LOOK-FOR
FISH, *'How very early in the morning he looks for fish'*.

MORPHOPHONEMIC CHANGES IN DIBABAWON¹

JANNETTE FORSTER

0. Introduction

1. Changes within words

2. Changes between words

0. INTRODUCTION

Regular changes in the phonemic shape of morphemes of Dibabawon are presented in this paper by means of ordered rules, illustrated with examples from the language. The description accounts for changes in two dialects of Dibabawon, and also for differences between them. Dialect A is spoken in the municipality of Monkayo, dialect B is spoken farther to the west. Actual usage by individual speakers of the language falls somewhere between the two 'norms'.

Transformational symbols are used as follows:

$X \text{ -m-} \rightarrow Y$ = rewrite X as Y

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} X \\ Y \end{array} \right\}$ = either X or Y

$\{X, Y\}$ = either X or Y

$\left[\begin{array}{c} X \\ Y \end{array} \right] \text{ -m-} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} A \\ B \end{array} \right]$ = if X, rewrite as A; if Y, rewrite as B

in the environment $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{---}X \\ Y\text{---} \end{array} \right\}$ = preceding X or following Y

(X) = with or without X

Other symbols and notations will be defined where they are introduced.

1. CHANGES WITHIN WORDS

Rewrite rules M1 through M9, account for morphophonemic changes occurring within words.

M1. Reduction of initial L.

$$\#l \text{ -m-} \rightarrow \text{null in the environment } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (ka) \\ (ma) \\ (na) \end{array} \right\} _$$

= word boundary

e.g. ma + lɨgdɨg 'flame' -m-→ maɨgdɨg 'red'
 ka + lisɨd -m-→ kaisɨd 'difficulty'
 na + lutuq -m-→ nautuq 'cooked'
 ma + lakwat -m-→ *maakwat² 'spaced'

L in the environment V__V (between vowels) within morphemes is reduced in the idiolect of some speakers as well, and there is considerable variation of the extent to which this change operates in the two dialects under investigation. Comparison with cognate forms in related Manobo languages shows that many Dibabawon vowel clusters³ are the result of reduction of intervocalic l at an earlier stage of the language, and there is evidence that this shift is continuing to spread.

M2. Introduction of H.

$$-V(C) \text{ -m-} \rightarrow -hV(C) \text{ in the environment } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} CV \\ \#CV_1V_1 \end{array} \right\} \# _$$

V = any vowel, C = any consonant

e.g. bɨli + an -m-→ bɨlihan 'market'
 daa + a -m-→ *daaha 'carry (it)',⁴

No change:

bunaa + i → *bunaaɨ 'hit (it)',⁴

M3. Merger of ɛ with A.

$$\dot{\left[\begin{array}{c} y \\ w \end{array} \right]} \# + -V(C) \text{ -m-} \rightarrow a \left[\begin{array}{c} y \\ w \end{array} \right] V(C)$$

e.g. biɣiɣ + an -m-> biɣayan 'give (to someone)'
 baiɣ + an -m-> *baayan 'house site'
 buɣiw + i -m-> buɣawi 'drive (it)'
 dibabiw 'upland' + in -m-> dibabawin 'uplander'

M4. Merger of H and Q in Dialect A.⁵

h -m-> q

e.g. bɪlihan -m-> bɪliqan 'market'
 qahu -m-> qaqu 'pestle'
 himatɪɣ -m-> qimatɪɣ

M5. Split of ɛ in Dialect B.⁵

(a) Contiguous with another vowel.

ɪ remains ɪ in the environment $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} i _ \\ u _ \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} w \\ y \end{array} \right\}$

ɪ -m-> e in the environment $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} _ v \\ v _ \end{array} \right\}$

e.g. maɪɣdiɣ -m-> maediɣ 'red'
 ɣupaa + in -m-> *ɣupaaen 'out (it) up'
 siɪd -m-> seed 'inside'
 biad -m-> bead 'dry'
 quiɪd -m-> qued 'snake'
 biuɣ -m-> beuɣ 'anger'

No change:

buɪw 'fight' suiɣ 'diverge'
 piɪŋ 'blink' tiɪŋ 'earthquake'

(b) Preceding a shifted vowel in the following syllable.

ɪ -m-> e in the environment $_Ce$

e.g. biɪ + bead -m-> bebead 'dry' .
 *qɪbee -m-> qebee 'smoke'

M6. *Shift of stress with suffixation.*

$$\begin{bmatrix} \hat{V}(C)(C)V(C) \\ V(C)(C)\hat{V}(C) \end{bmatrix} + -V(C) -m \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} V(C)(C)V(C)V(C) \\ V(C)(C)V(C)\hat{V}(C) \end{bmatrix}$$

e.g. búgîw + i -m-→ bugáwi 'drive (it)'

kaisîd + an -m-→ kaisîdán 'hard up'

bunáa + i -m-→ *bunaái 'hit (it)'

Acute accent over V or vowel indicates placement of primary stress.

M7. *Reduction of geminate vowels in syllables preceding the final.*⁶

$$(C)V_1V_1(C)(C)V(C) -m \rightarrow (C)V_1(C)(C)V(C)$$

e.g. *baayan -m-→ bayan 'house site'

*bunaai -m-→ bunai 'hit (it)'

*kaseeman -m-→ kaseman 'morning'⁷

M8. *Assimilation of N of the prefix QIN-.*

$$qin -m \rightarrow \begin{cases} qim \text{ in the environment } \underline{\{p,b\}} \\ qin \text{ in the environment } \underline{\{k,g\}} \end{cases}$$

e.g. qin + bigîy -m-→ qimbîgîy 'gave (it)'

qin + ka + tanîm -m-→ qinqatanîm 'planted (it)'

No change:

qin + qulîq → qinqulîq 'returned (it)'

qin + hîbîŋ → qinhîbîŋ 'hid (it)'

M9. *Assimilation with and without reduction of N of the prefix CAN-.*

(a) Can -m-→ Caŋ in the environment {g,h}

e.g. pan + himatîy -m-→ paŋhimatîy 'go killing'

nan + gimîw -m-→ naŋgimîw 'climbed a slope'

$$(b) \quad Can + \begin{bmatrix} p,b \\ t,s \\ k,q \end{bmatrix} -m \rightarrow Ca \begin{bmatrix} m \\ n \\ ŋ \end{bmatrix}$$

e.g. pan + pista -m-> pamista 'attend a fiesta'
 man + bigtaw + ay -m-> mamigtaway 'witch'
 pan + tawag -m-> panawag 'call'
 nan + kayu -m-> nanayu 'gathered firewood'
 pan + qimatay -m-> panimatay 'go killing'

No change:

pan + dakip -> pandakip 'catch'
 nan + laguy -> nanlaguy 'ran away'

2. CHANGES BETWEEN WORDS

Rewrite rules M10 through M13 account for morphophonemic changes occurring between words.

M10. Assimilation of final N of MAN, KAN, SIKAN, QIYAN.

$$n \text{ -m-> } \begin{cases} m \text{ in the environment } _\#\{p,b,m\} \\ \eta \text{ in the environment } _\#\{k,g,\eta\} \end{cases}$$

e.g. kan bataq -m-> kam bataq 'the child'
 kan kukuq -m-> kaŋ kukuq 'the cat'

No change:

kan lanit 'the sky'

M11. Reduction of final glottal stop of certain particles and reduction of initial Q⁺ of the verbal prefix Q⁺G-.

$$\begin{bmatrix} k\dot{\eta}naq \\ diq \\ k\dot{\eta} \\ su \\ n\dot{\eta} \\ t\dot{\eta} \end{bmatrix} + q\dot{\eta}g- \text{ -m-> } \begin{bmatrix} k\dot{\eta}nag- \\ dig- \\ k\dot{\eta}g- \\ sug- \\ n\dot{\eta}g- \\ t\dot{\eta}g- \end{bmatrix}$$

e.g. su q⁺gkamat⁺ ki -m-> sugkamat⁺ ki 'because we will die'
 k⁺naq q⁺gquliq -m-> k⁺nagquliq 'won't return'
 bataq t⁺ q⁺ghipan⁺aw -m-> bataq t⁺ghipan⁺aw 'the one who went was the child'

M12. Reduction of final Q of certain particles preceding clitic -D.

$$\begin{bmatrix} wadaq \\ k\dot{\eta}naq \\ suyaq \\ diaq \end{bmatrix} + -d \text{ -m-> } \begin{bmatrix} wada \\ k\dot{\eta}na \\ suya \\ dia \end{bmatrix} d$$

e.g. wadaq-d duqin -m-> wadad duqin 'no more there'
 kinaq-d qigquliq -m-> kinad qigquliq '(he) won't
 return now'

M13. Reduction of final Q of DIAQ and vowel of Tt.

diaq + t† -m-> diat

e.g. diaq t† ba+y -m-> diat ba+y 'at/to the house'

N O T E S

1. Dibabawon is a Manobo language spoken in the province of Davao del Norte, Mindanao, Philippines.

2. Asterisk (*) indicates forms which do not actually occur in either dialect, but undergo further modification according to later rules.

3. Word final geminate vowels in Dibabawon morphemes of the form CVV are the result of reduction of intervocalic L, in morphemes of the form CVCVV they are the result of reduction of a final L plus gemination of the vowel, e.g. *daLa > daa 'carry'; *bunaL > bunaa 'hit'.

4. If the reconstructed forms *daLa 'carry' and *bunaL 'hit' were taken as the starting point for the description of this morphophonemic change, M2 could be stated as

-V(C) -m-> hV(C) in the environment V__

A further rule would then be required,

$$L -m-> \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{null in the environment } V_V \\ 1 \text{ elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}$$

5. Rules M4 and M5 deal with changes not generally regarded as morphophonemic, that is, alternation of phonemes between two dialects of the same language. Note that I am assuming a fictitious base for both of these rules, i.e. one in which H and Q both occur (as in Dialect B) and in which † is consistently a central vowel (as in Dialect A). This assumption is valid within the transformational grammar approach used here.

6. See Daniel and Marilou Weaver, 'The Phonology of Agusan Manobo (with special reference to æ)', *Papers on Philippine Languages* 1, 1-6 (Manila, 1963). This paper states that Agusan Manobo æ corresponds to

Dibabawon Manobo geminate A, and a list of cognate forms is given. It has since been found that the forms given in the paper are in fact Ata Manobo not Dibabawon, since in Dibabawon geminate vowels are reduced according to rule M7.

7. A number of words occur in which ++ > EE and the consequent reduction of the geminate vowel cluster has resulted in phonemic contrast between + and E, e.g. *b+i+iqig > *beeqig -m-> beqig '*method of trapping wild pigs*', compare b+i+it '*decide*'; *s+i+ibuq > *seebuq -m-> sebuq '*the only one*', compare s+ibu '*boil*'.

SINDANGAN SUBANUN PHONEMICS

ROBERT BRICHOUX

0. Introduction
1. Syllable patterns
2. Consonants
3. Vowels
4. Loan influences
5. Illustrative text

0. INTRODUCTION

Double stops,¹ implosives, and prenasalized stops are characteristic of Sindangan Subanun.² Pattern congruity and simplicity of description are the primary principles utilized in analyzing these phenomena. This analysis demonstrates the following segmental phonemes: consonants p, t, k, b, d, g, m, n, ŋ, w, l, y, s, h and q (glottal catch); and vowels i, e, ī, a, ɔ, and u. Prosodic features per se do not affect the analysis of the segmental phonemes of Sidangan Subanun. Length is a feature of the vowels and the voiced alveolar stop, however, and so will be discussed in this paper.

1. SYLLABLE PATTERNS

For Subanun the syllable is defined as a vowel nucleus which may have a periphery of one or two consonants preceding it, the onset, and/or one consonant following it, the coda. The following patterns have been observed in the data:³ V (a.lap 'get'), CV and VC (bu.id 'up river'), CCV and CVC (kla.pan 'to smooth wood'), and CCVC (dlin.ta.kaq 'homemade gun'). The restrictions which have been observed in the juxtaposition of these patterns are (1) no more than four nuclei occur contiguous to one another, (2) no more than two nuclei occur contiguous to one another following pause, (3) except in clusters of geminate

vowels either *i* or *u* occurs between the other nuclei in a multinuclear cluster, and (4) in any stream of speech between pauses when a single consonant is the only periphery between two nuclei, it is always the onset of the second nucleus.

In reviewing restrictions (2) and (3) one might assume that one of the members of a V.V cluster is really a consonant, namely *v* or *w*.

1.1 The interpretation of high vowels as consonants when immediately preceding or immediately following another vowel is rejected because syllabicity and nonsyllabicity contrast. Note *di.aq* 'there' and *dya.ga* 'word'; *m̄.k̄.gu.aq* 'to be able to pass' and *b̄.g.wa.kan* 'to open a path for water'.

Considering similar phonetic data, other analysts have chosen to interpret the high vowel in multinuclear clusters as vowel *plus* semi-vowel, for example *di.aq* as **diyaq* 'there' and *bu.id* as **buwid* 'up river'.⁴ This interpretation is unsatisfactory for Subanun because (1) syllabicity and nonsyllabicity contrast in multinuclear clusters such as *p̄.m̄.ta.wi.an* 'to button' versus *m̄.dl̄.li.u.ay* 'to go out together'. (2) In effect to interpret syllabic high vocoids which occur phonetically contiguous to one another as vowel plus semivowel would be to postulate a zero allophone of both /y/ and /w/. Such an interpretation is considered to be unsatisfactory.

For Subanun all syllabic high vocoids are interpreted as vowels and all nonsyllabic vocoids as consonants.

1.2 The occurrence of double stops in Sindangan Subanun suggests the possible occurrence of complex unit phonemes. And there are linguistic criteria by which to interpret the preponderance of Subanun onset clusters as complex unit phonemes.⁵ Nevertheless, it will be seen that to interpret such clusters as sequences of consonants is preferable. The occurrence of two nonsuspect consonant clusters, *kl* as in *kla.pan* 'to smooth wood' and *pl* as in *plum* 'again' is the basis for setting up the CC onset pattern by which all of the suspect sequences may be interpreted as sequences of two consonants. This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that most of the suspect sequences are formed by the occurrence of single consonant prefixes on consonant initial stems. The substantive marker <g> forms clusters of various shapes with other consonants: *kp*, *kt*, *gb*, *gw*, *dd*, *dl*, *ɲn* and *ɲm* when the <g> follows immediately after a vowel, as in *su kpat̄d* 'the sibling', *su ktapis* 'the skirt', *su gbaga* 'the shoulder', *su gwalu* 'the eight', *su ddoon* 'the leaves', *su dlibun* 'the woman', *se ɲnab̄k* 'the waves', and *su*

ngmanuk 'the chicken'. When the <g> follows pause, however, it clusters only with l and w as in dlibun 'woman', and gwalu 'eight'. After pause with the voiceless stops it occurs as a simultaneous velar articulation [^kp] as in [^kpat+d] 'sibling' and [^kt] as in [^ktapis] 'skirt', forming double stops. Following pause <g> does not occur preceding voiced stops nor nasal continuants.

In the verb morphology there is likewise a prefix <m-> which forms prenasalized stops as follows: mb as in mb+lui 'escape' and mp as in mpanas 'fever'. A different verbal prefix <ŋ-> forms prenasalized stop ŋk as in ŋkag+n 'to dry out'. Emphasis marker n- occurs similarly on negatives forming prenasalized stop nd as in ndiq 'absolutely not!'

One other type of suspect sequence which is also interpreted as a consonant cluster is a voiced stop plus palatalization or labialization as in dyaga 'word' and gwalu 'eight'.

2. CONSONANTS

2.1 The oral stops, p, t, k, b, d, and g are unreleased when occurring immediately before pause or another stop. Immediately following pause the voiceless series is slightly aspirated. In intervocalic position the velar stops have fricative variants and the voiced alveolar stop has a flap variant. Note the contrasts: p/t/k paliq 'scar', tali 'rope', kaliq 'then'; b/d/g balan 'something being worked on', dalan 'trail', galad 'fence'; p/b paga 'drying over fire', бага 'shoulder'; t/d tali 'rope', daliq 'quickly'; k/g mik+tt 'filled up', mig+tt 'tight'.

The voiced bilabial and alveolar stops have implosive variants which occur as a single consonant onset following pause or another stop as in [b^ɓalay] /balay/ 'house', [pat^ɓb^ɓu^ɓk^ɓ] /pat buk/ 'four pieces', and [d^ɓak^ɓd^ɓak^ɓ] /d+kdak/ 'laundry'. The exception to this statement is that when the stop which precedes d is also d, the second d does not have the implosive articulation. Whether this is true for a sequence of b plus b is not known since no such sequence has been recorded during this investigation.

There are a few words in which the stop and flap allophones of the voiced alveolar stop phoneme seem to contrast, for example [t+d:uq]⁷ 'drop of liquid' and [d^ɓu^ɓuq] 'breast'; [m+d:ŋ+g] 'listen' and [m+r+ŋ+g] 'hear', but it can be seen in the phonetic representation in both cases that it is a phonetically long stop which contrasts with the flap. Such long stops are interpreted as geminate clusters interrupted by syllable boundary on the basis of nonsuspect consonant

clusters and for economy in the phoneme inventory. [t̪d:uq] is interpreted as [t̪d.duq] /t̪dduq/ 'drop' and [m̪d:ŋ̪g] as [m̪dd̪ŋ̪g] /m̪ddd̪ŋ̪g/ 'listen', while the sequences with [ʀ] are written with /d/.

2.2 Two series of continuants, voiced nasal and voiced oral, occur in Sindangan Subanun: m/n/ŋ kimit 'hand', k̪n̪t 'pleat', and gaŋ̪t 'root'; m/b maan 'to eat', m̪gbaan 'sneeze'; n/d s̪puluq na 'there are already ten', s̪puluq da 'there are only ten'; ŋ/g paŋa 'branch', paga 'dry over fire'; w/l/y tawag 'call', galad 'fence', and m̪gabayad 'to pay'.

2.3 There are three other consonants in Sindangan Subanun, s, h and q (glottal catch). The sibilant contrasts with its voiceless stop counterpart t as in g̪mbasaq 'wet' and g̪mbataq 'child'. The only limitation observed in the distribution of s is that it does not occur as a member of an onset cluster, although it may occur in clusters across syllable boundaries: sabaŋ 'mouth of stream', m̪s̪ik̪m̪id 'a gray day', m̪buus 'later', buskay 'sea shell', m̪ksuntuk 'fisticuffs'.

The voiceless glottal fricative h occurs in only a few lexical items, every one of which appears to be a loan, for example dahus 'garlic' from Cebuano ahos and earlier Spanish ajos 'garlic' and dayahan 'wealthy' from Lapuyan-Sibuguey Subanun dayahan 'wealthy'.

The glottal catch has a very limited distribution, although not so limited as h. Glottal catch q occurs as syllable coda and also as a single consonant onset but the latter only when following an open syllable. So, in marked contrast with q in other Philippine languages, q in Sindangan Subanun does not precede vowels following pause: alap 'get', ugut̪n̪ 'pull toward oneself', ŋ̪n̪m̪ 'six', ŋ̪k̪it̪ 'bite off', and iup̪n̪ 'blow'. Glottal catch contrasts with glottal fricative: q/h baqul 'trunk', dahus 'garlic'; with voiceless stops: q/k/p batiq 'male's brother-in-law', batik 'to feel', and gat̪p̪ 'roof'; q/t dluqaŋ 'mahogany' and dluatan 'bride price'; and with its absence: git̪uq 'dog' and git̪u 'mudfish'.

3. VOWELS

There are six vowel phonemes in Singangan Subanun which occur as syllable nuclei. Each of these vowels occurs short or long phonetically. The long vowels are interpreted as geminate clusters, since the syllable patterns support such an interpretation and it is more economical than other possible analyses, for example, postulating six vowels and a phoneme of length. There are minimal pairs in contrast, such as m̪.g̪.ŋ̪t̪ 'tight' and m̪.g̪t̪ 'attempt suicide'.

The vowels contrast with one another: i/ε pĩmĩniqan 'rice seed tube', pĩmĩnεqan 'to be sewed'; i/i mĩgĩt 'attempted suicide', mĩgĩt 'attempt suicide'; ε/i gεεt 'raft', mĩgĩtt 'tight'; ε/a bεŋkĩn 'fore-arm', baŋan 'help'; i/a salĩg 'floor', salag 'nest'; i/ɔ bĩd 'dumb', bɔɔd 'log jam'; i/u mĩgbĩd 'to bundle', mĩgbud 'to plant rice'; a/ɔ matĩŋ 'arrive', mɔtĩŋ 'sharp'; ɔ/u milĩpɔq 'toothless', milĩpuq 'out of joint'.

4. LOAN INFLUENCES

Aside from adding the phoneme h the influence of loans has been slight in Subanun phonology. The status of [d] and [ʃ] as allophones of /d/ is beginning to be influenced by the phonemic system of Cebuano, the trade language widely used on the Zamboanga peninsula. There are a number of Spanish loans which have been borrowed by Subanun speakers from Cebuano containing a flap contiguous to consonants as in [kaʃni] 'meat', and a single voiced alveolar stop between vowels as in [kada] 'each'. Such loans are being interpreted presently as [kaʃni] /kadĩni/ 'meat' and [kad:a] /kadda/ 'each', since many speakers, but not all, actually pronounce them that way. Some pronounce them in ways other than those indicated above, and this fluctuation indicates that they have not yet been fully assimilated.

5. ILLUSTRATIVE TEXT

su	gbulan	ginidu	mipanaw	ami	nĩ	pitsa
The	month	January	(past)-go	we,		date
sĩpuluq	ĩndaw	minañay	ami	dia	ŋnasuliq	
the	day.	(past)-Go	we	to	Nasuli.	
na	ditu	nami	ŋmadĩkitĩŋ	mĩlɔɔn	gupia	
Now	there	now-we	the-market	many	very	
dduma	nami	suŋa	gamaqu	suŋa		
companion	our	the-(pl.)	father-my,	the-(pl.)		
ŋudaŋku	na	Ansibay	mĩlɔɔn	ilan	ditu	
brother-my,	(pl.)	Ansibay	many	they	there,	
sĩŋa	sĩnad	mĩgbantay	ilan	suminakay		
the-(pl.)	Senad.	(pres.)-Watch	they	(past)-ride		
ami	di	gadiplanu	sampay	na	dinami	dditas
we	in	the-airplane.	While	now	here-we	high

p+m+ganag ilan p+gb+ntayan ami nilan
 (pres.)-head-up they (pres.)-watch we they,
 kiitu na loŋ ilan t+luq+in nilan itu mukaq
 there now say they say they that. And
 minat+ŋ nami dini nasuliq baa danan
 (past)-arrive now-we here Nasuli bah as-for-me
 m+lat gupia ginoo mp+nglau mbugaqu
 bad very feelings-my lonely-I homesick-I
 tantu naaq tinig+lu na lak i gbugaqan+ku
 truly. (past)-Endure-I now only the-homesick-
 puq mibulugan mpanaw m+layuq na.
 my because (past)-go-right-on go far now.

5.1 FREE TRANSLATION

We left on the tenth of January to go to Nasuli. (On our way to the airstrip) many accompanied us as far as the market: my father, my brothers, Ansibay, Senad and friends of ours. They saw us riding in the plane. As they looked up at us they probably said: 'There they are!'

When we arrived at Nasuli, did I ever feel bad, was I ever homesick, really lonesome. I have to put up with my homesickness, though, because now we have gone even farther away from home.

N O T E S

1. 'A sound during which the air stream is completely interrupted and during which there are at least two full articulatory closures.'
Kenneth L. Pike, *Phonemics* 34, 237 (Ann Arbor, 1947).
2. Also written Subanon. The language described in this paper is spoken by approximately 25,000 Subanuns inhabiting roughly the northern half of the area of Frake's Eastern Subanon. See Charles O. Frake, 'The Eastern Subanon of Mindanao', *Social Structure in Southeast Asia* 51-64, George Peter Murdock, ed. (Chicago, 1960). The informants for this study were Entong Anulay and his brother, Timbangan, young adults of Barrio Engin and Barrio Titik, Zamboanga del Norte, Philippines.
3. V indicates vowel, C consonant, and (.) syllable division.
4. Alice Lindquist, Vivian Forsberg and Alan Healey, 'The phonemes of Tagabill', *Philippine Journal of Science* 88.232 (1959). See Norman Abrams, 'Vowel quality in Mansaka', *Philippine Journal of Science* 92.200-3 (1963), in which sequences such as iyV and uwV are left unclear as to syllable division.
5. Pike op. cit. 131 'Segment sequence types which are suspicious because they might prove to be one or two phonemes: any stop...plus voiced rounded or unrounded high vocoid:...[gw]...or plus homorganic nasal:...[mb], [nd]; alveolar stop plus lateral:...[dʲ]; ...velar stop plus labial stop: [kɸ], [gb].' Although Pike speaks specifically of labio-velar double stops on page 131, he leaves room for [kʰt] when he says 'One of the oral closures may be at the lips and another at the velum.' Pike 34.
6. The raised equal sign = indicates unreleased feature of stops.
7. The colon : indicates phonetic length on the segment it follows.

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...

...the ... of ...