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THE CONSONANTS OF CHAMORRO

JEANNETTE WITUCKI

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper completes the presentation of my analysis of Chamorro phonology. Vowel phonology was described in considerable detail in a recent paper (1975); previous views and controversies about Chamorro vowels were discussed in an earlier paper (1973).

The dialect of Chamorro being described is that of Guam, specifically of the area of the capital city, Agaña [ha.gáʔ.ña].¹ This description focuses on the Casual style of speech, which is one of four styles which can be conveniently recognized in the repertoire of most speakers.² My terms for these four styles of speech are: Pedantic, Careful, Casual, and Fast. Both Pedantic and Fast speech involve frequent distortions of speech norms, and are better left for special descriptive treatment. Careful speech is the most understandable to a novice, but lacks many natural changes. Casual is a relatively well-balanced style, in terms of communicative efficiency, for both native and novice. It is low in distortions which make for misunderstanding; it is not overly fast or slow; and it is the natural style for relaxed conversation. By way of contrast, Fast speech is difficult at times for even a native to understand, due to speed and slurring, and the informative function is further diluted by tension and the emotional connotation (as in speaking under stress of excitement, anger, or anxiety). Pedantic speech, on the other hand, is excessively slow, and features being demonstrated are over-emphasized. This often results in placing stress on a normally unstressed syllable, to show the normatively correct pronunciation of its segments (at the expense of mispronouncing the whole word or phrase). For these reasons. Casual speech provides the best illustration of the norms of Chamorro pronunciation.

2. THE CONSONANT PHONEMES

2.1. CONSONANT CHART

The consonant phonemes are given below:

CHART 1
Consonant phonemes.

p	t	k	ʔ
b	d	g	
		gw	
	ts		
	dz		
f	s		h
m	n	ɲ	ŋ
	l		

Three multi-segment consonant phonemes /ts dz gw/ are given here in their phonetic forms, as opposed to the use of /t ʒ g/, so that their relationships with their single-segmented allophones will be more obvious.

From Spanish, and occurring only in Spanish loan words, Chamorro now has the following additional consonants :³

/r/	flo.ʔis	< flores,	flower
/tr/	troŋ.kun hã.dzɥ	tree	< tronko, tree-trunk
/bl/	lɛp¹.bɪɥ	< libro,	book
/nw/	nʷɛ¹.bu	< nuevo,	new

Of uncertain historical or derivational origin is [pʷ], occurring in at least one native word [pʷɛŋ.ŋi] *night*, as well as in Spanish loan [pʷɛs] *then*. See Section 4.4. for further discussion.

2.2. CONSONANT FREQUENCIES

Consonant frequencies are of considerable importance, as they indicate and document certain preferential trends in consonant phonology. These trends, in turn, can often be related to known or probable historical sound changes. For example, /b/ is very rare in Chamorro, and it is known that /b/ in Indonesian cognate languages (Tagalog, for one) appears as /p/ in Chamorro in a high percentage of cases. One might then expect /p/ to be a very common Chamorro consonant. However, a tendency in Chamorro to replace Indonesian /p/ with /f/ keeps the

frequency of /p/ down to an average percentage.

A consonant frequency chart follows:

CHART 2

Consonant phoneme frequencies. Average occurrence = 6%

Consonant	Initial	Medial	Final	Totals	%
p	18	20	2	40	5
b	4	5	0	9	1
t	41	46	10	97	12
d	14	24	0	38	5
k	16	24	18	58	7
g	26	32	0	58	7
ʔ	0	46	49	95	12
gw	16	8	0	24	3
ts	20	17	0	37	5
dz	9	6	0	15	2
f	17	15	10	42	5
s	25	12	10	47	6
h	43	39	0	82	10
m	25	21	5	51	6
n	22	29	9	60	7
ɲ	1	8	0	9	1
ŋ	2	9	3	14	2
	<u>321</u>	<u>389</u>	<u>114</u>	<u>823</u>	<u>100</u>

2.3. CONSONANT SOUND SHIFTS.

The consonant phoneme frequency chart indicates some trends in Chamorro phonology which have been documented elsewhere. A number of consonant sound shifts have been mentioned by Safford (1903), Conant (1911), Witucki (1974a), and others. The most important of these changes are given below, with examples taken from recent publications, except in two cases when informants were used. The change rules given, in the form /x/ → /y/, indicate that the phoneme /x/ in the related languages is found as /y/ in Chamorro. Languages cited are those most closely related to Chamorro; such languages are found in the Philippines (Tagalog, Bisayan, Dayak, etc.) and in Sumatra, Java, the Celebes, and near islands.

Abbreviations and sources:

Cham.	=	Chamorro (Guam): See Note 1.			
Tag.	=	Tagalog (Luzon): Ramos 1971.			
Man.	=	Manobo (Mindanao): Elkins 1968.			
Ind.	=	Indonesian (Jakarta informant).			
Tond.	=	Tondano (Celebes): Sneddon 1970.			
Rat.	=	Ratahan (Celebes): Sneddon 1970.			
Cham.		Tag.	Man.	Ind.	Tond.

/p/ → /f/:

<i>fire</i>	gwafi	apóy	hapuy	api	api
<i>tooth</i>	nifin	ŋipin	ŋipen		
<i>what?</i>	hafa	anú		apa	sapa

(This change would work to reduce the frequency of Chamorro /p/; however, the shift next listed maintains its frequency at an average level, and also explains the rarity of /b/ in native Chamorro words.)

/b/ → /p/:

<i>ashes</i>	apu	abó		abu	awu
<i>moon</i>	pulan	buwan	bulan	bulan	wulan (Rat.)
<i>new</i>	pa?gu	bágo	begu	baru	wəru
<i>star</i>	puti?un	bituwín	bitu?en	bintaŋ	tambulelen (Rat.)

The consonant /h/ is one of the most frequent in Chamorro; this is partly explained by the following shift.

/k/ → /h/:

<i>I</i>	gwahu	akó?	si?ak		aku
<i>man/male</i>	lahi	laláki		oraŋ laki	
<i>louse</i>	huto	kúto?		kutu	kutu
<i>thou</i>	hago	kayó	ka	kamu	ko

The frequency of /h/ is further augmented by the following shift:

/r | d/ → /h/:

<i>blood</i>	haga?	dugó?		darah	raa?
<i>leaf</i>	hagun	dáhon	dahun	daun	lalaina
<i>sleep</i>	matuhuk	matúlug		tidur	-təkəl

A similar shift contributes to the high frequency of /ʔ/:

/r | d/ → /ʔ/:

<i>name</i>	na?ani	paŋálan	nazan	nama	ŋaran
<i>nose</i>	gwi?iŋ	ilóŋ	izun	hidun	irun (Rat.)

Some of the frequency of /ʔ/ is also probably due to the reduction of stops occurring syllable-final before C, where it is difficult to distinguish /p t k/ from /ʔ/.

Another of the most frequent Chamorro consonants is /t/. I do not know of any historical shift which helps to explain this; however, the present tendency is to change /r l d/ in loan words to /t/, whenever these consonants occur syllable-final before C, and word-final:

Spanish			Chamorro
color	(color)	→	kolótʔ
español	(Spaniard)	→	ʔəspanyótʔ
papel	(paper)	→	papitʔ
carne	(meat)	→	katʔni
verde	(green)	→	betʔdi

(In all Chamorro examples, stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise indicated.)

3. GENERAL FEATURES OF CHAMORRO PHONOLOGY

Certain features of Chamorro phonology affect the production of both vowels and consonants; others affect consonants only, applying equally to all consonants of a given type in each case. Section 3 deals with these phenomena.

3.1. LENGTH

Length is not phonemic. In both vowels and consonants, length is a reflex of relative stress and speed. Length usually increases with strength of stress, and decreases with greater speed. Length-specifying rules for Chamorro are rather complex, due to the intimate connection between length and the ideals for shape of stressed syllables. These ideals vary for specific sound components; i.e., syllable shape depends in part upon features of the vowels or consonants involved. Furthermore, how one produces a proper syllable under stress is partly determined by factors external to the syllable in question. For example, the shape of a stressed syllable is sometimes determined by the nature of the C₁ of the following syllable. In short, rules for length are rules for syllabic norms, given varying stresses and varying segmental components. These rules will be described in the next section.

3.2. STRESS

Stress is not phonemic, except in a very few cases. These are rare exceptions, similar to optional English *pérmit*, *permít*, but the stress-meaning shift is obligatory in Chamorro:³

/tsatɪʔiʔ/	<i>to hate</i>
/tsátɪiʔiʔ/	<i>poor eye-sight</i>
/apási/	<i>to pay (for)</i>
/ápasì/	<i>pay (noun)</i>
/atúŋuʔ si hosé/	<i>He knows Jose.</i>
/átuŋùʔ/	<i>friend</i>

In each of the above pairs, the form with stress on the initial syllable may be regarded as a substantive; this usage violates the norm (given below) for placement of primary stress in Chamorro.

Stress levels often can be referred to as simply high stress versus low stress, but these general categories each comprise two specific stress levels. The two general and four specific stress levels are symbolized and defined as follows:

High stress:

- " Double stress; most stressed syllable in a breath-group.⁴
- ' Primary word stress.

Low stress:

- Secondary word stress.
- Minimal or no stress (unmarked).

High stress levels are accompanied by low pitch, which generally rises thereafter by even steps to the end of the word-unit.

The use of these four stress levels is illustrated in the following Chamorro sentence:

#tsǎḡkʰtsakʰ	ʔún.nu	na si.bódʰ.dzas	ni	dǎŋ.ku.lù#
<i>Chop</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>onion</i>		<i>which (is) large.</i>

The basic stress rule for Chamorro decrees that primary word stress falls on the penultimate syllable of every 'free' form with two or more syllables. It rather often happens that short phrases are treated as such 'word' units; a major stress on a minor word is then reduced:

...pà.rʌ . l.gwǎḡ.fl#	...for the fire.
-----------------------	------------------

(The separate word /para/, *for*, lacks a primary stressed syllable.)

The penultimate syllable stress rule does not hold in the following cases:

Words with reduplication of the final syllable (rare):

dí.kì.kìʔ	<i>little, small</i>
-----------	----------------------

Expletives:

ʔái dǎḡx	(Scaring away pig in garden)
xʰíi ʔʌ déi	(Chasing cats off the porch.)

Loan words:

/kolót/	<i>color</i> (Spanish color)
/lugwát/	<i>place</i> (Spanish lugar)
/tsàpənís/	<i>Japanese</i>

Most loan words are Spanish, and since Spanish also has a strong preference for penultimate syllable stress, many such loan words retain the Spanish stress placement at the same time that they adhere to the Chamorro stress rule:

/flóris/	<i>flowers</i> (Spanish flores)
But: /florís-hu/	<i>my flowers</i>

The regular stress rules follow; all of the high stress rules are specifications for the high stressed syllable plus the following syllable. In 95% of Chamorro words, these are the penultimate and ultimate syllables.

3.2.1. Double Stress

Rule 1: CV. + CV.. / ____ .CV(C)⁵

Both moras of the lengthened vowel are voiced before a voiced consonant, and before /h/ and /ʔ/. The first mora has greater stress and length; this is especially evident in the diphthong vowels, where the second mora has a different articulation and is quite short:

gáa ⁱ .gi	<i>it is (located)</i>
máa ^u .lik ^ʔ	<i>good</i>
háa.dzy	<i>wood</i>
ma.líi.ŋ	<i>lost</i>
gwáa.ha	<i>there is, are (existing)</i>
tsúu.!!?	<i>bring!</i>

Before a voiceless consonant (except /h/ and /ʔ/), the second mora fades into voicelessness before the especially distinct syllable break:

ba.láq.ti?	<i>sea slugs</i>
gi tákq.si	<i>in the sea</i>
ʔa.fíj.tu	<i>fray!</i>

Rule 2: CVC. + CVC.. / ____ .CV(C)

This rule states that before C₂.C₃, the double-stressed vowel is usually not lengthened; C₂ is lengthened:

dáŋ.ku.lù	<i>large</i>
-----------	--------------

A stop is always unreleased in this environment; the lengthening is of the holding time:

tæt ^ʔ .lu	<i>again</i>
----------------------	--------------

3.2.2. Primary Stress

Under primary word stress, vowels are short (with exceptions noted below). The norm for the final two syllables of any word of two or more syllables is $CVC.CV(C)$.

Rule 1: $CV. \rightarrow CVC_2. / \text{---}.C_2V(C) : V_1 \neq /ai, ao/.$

$/ma.tu/$ to arrive $\rightarrow$ $mát.tu$ arrived
 $/gu.ma?/$ house $\rightarrow$ $gi.gfm.mə?$ in the house

If the following C_2 is complex, only the first segment doubles (to provide a closing consonant for the first syllable):

$lók.kwi?$ also
 $?i ?ót.třy$ the other (one)

Exceptions: A primary stressed vowel lengthens before $/g/$, $/h/$, and $/b/$ -- except before $/bl/$ (Spanish *br*), which becomes $[p^l.bl]$:

$/g/$: $ga?.lá.gu$ dog
 $/h/$: $gwá.ha$ there is, are
 $/b/$: $hó.bın$ young (Spanish *joven*)
 $/bl/$: $lép.blv$ book (Spanish *libro*)
 $póp.bli$ poor (Spanish *pobre*)

Before fricatives $/s, f/$, there is free variation between double stress and primary stress rules for open syllable:

$táq.si \sim tás.si$ sea
 $gwáq.fi \sim gwáf.fi$ fire

$CV.V(C)$ follows Rule 1, as $V + V$ are automatically separated with $[?]$ before the second V . The consonantal feature $[?]$ is doubled when the first V is under primary stress:

$/putiun/$ star $\rightarrow$ $putí? ?un$

With $CVC.CV(C)$ there is no change; neither vowel nor consonant is lengthened, as realization of preferred (primary stressed) syllable shape (CVC) is inherent:

$mai.gó?.ñ\lambda$ his sleep
 $tát.lıu$ again

Diphthongs serve as long vowels, so primary stressed *Cai*, *Cao* also undergo no change:

$/maigu?/$ sleep $\rightarrow$ $mái.go?$ sleep

Rule 2: $CVC_2.V(C) \rightarrow CVC_2.C_2V(C)$

The rule states that before a vowel-initial syllable, the final C of the stressed syllable doubles to provide an initial C for the next syllable:

/dadalak/ *tail*, plus /-i/ benefactive
 → dʌ.dʌ.lákʰ.ki *he followed (after someone)*

3.2.3. Low Stress

Syllables retain underlying CV or CVC shape with low stress condition (secondary or no stress):

gi tʌg̊.si *to the sea*
 gi.nən ha.gátʰ.ñʌ *from Agaña*
 mǎʰ.ʊ.líkʰ nʌ táu.toʰ *The man is good.*

A CVC.V(C) series becomes CV.CV(C):

/ha| + um/ → hà.lum *inside*

3.2.4. Reduplicated Series Stress

Reduplicated series of syllables fall under the low stress length rule, no matter what the stress; there is no lengthening of vowels or consonants, as the whole series of two or three syllables is uttered in the time-beat of one syllable. The reduplicated syllable is normally the (underlying form of the) stressed syllable, and the stress is also reduplicated, up to the primary stress level. However, in a final syllable, the next lesser stress level generally occurs:

/ma.tsúʔ.tsúʔ.tsùʔ/ *They were working.*
 /mà.naʔ.íʔ.íʔ.stu/ *They were getting ready.*

3.3. FORCE

The pronunciation of Chamorro is much more forceful than is that of (American) English. Two features result from this: First, Chamorro pronunciation is much more sharp and distinct, so that even final, least-stressed syllables are clearly enunciated. Second, breath expenditure is much greater, especially on emphasized syllables with voiceless segments:

/makahna/ → ma.kǎʰ.na *a mountain on Guam*
 /tuhni/ → ʔi.tǔʰ.nɪn *the support poles of (the window)*

[H] = a very forceful aspirated sound, without oral obstruction.

Before sentence or discourse pause, a final vowel usually ends with an aspirated off-glide:

... gi ʔun bʌn.dʌʰ# *...on one side.*

In the same environment, a vowel-final syllable (which does not start with a voiced stop) may become totally voiceless, and strongly aspirated:

...ʔi ʔótʰ .tru ^h #	...the other (one).
...bi.dá .mu ^h #	...your doing.

3.4. GLOTTAL BREAKS

The glottal stop is a separate consonant phoneme in Chamorro, but it also occurs as a regular non-phonemic feature of pronunciation in the environments #__V and V__V:

#__V:	ʔá .ga	ripe banana
	ʔun-	you sg., subject pronoun
V__V:	/putl/ flash + /-un/	able to
	+ pu.tíʔ.ʔun	star
	Spanish dios → si dzú .	

Note that between vowels, [ʔ
under primary stress.

4. SPECIFIC CONSONANT REALIZATIONS

The descriptions of 'phonetic norms', which are given in this section, refer to the consciously preferred pronunciation of the consonant phonemes, as they are produced in Casual speech (conversational speed and stress).

Rule symbols:	!!	= obligatory rule
	!	= preferred rule
	no symbol	= optional rule
Stress:	"	= phrase (double) stress
	'	= primary
	`	= secondary
	—	= low or no stress

Allophonic variations described in specific rules will not include those alterations explained previously as features of Chamorro phonology in general, nor those to be explained hereafter as features common to a whole class of consonants (e.g., stops).

4.1. STOPS

With the exception of /b/ and /g/, all stop consonants, including the stop segment of an affricate, double after primary stress when they stand alone at a syllable boundary (see 3.2.2., Rules 1 and 2). Discussion of doubling will not be repeated in comments on allophonic variation in the sections to follow.

All stops occurring either word or syllable final are single segments; affricates and /gw bl tr ñ/ are not permitted before any juncture.

Stops are always voiceless and unreleased when word-final. With a few exceptions, this rule also applies in syllable-final position.

Phonetically similar stop phonemes contrast only in syllable-initial position. Examples are given below.

Contrasts between voiceless stops and voiced stops:

/t d/:	/tagu?/	to send	/dagu/	yam
	/mata/	eye	/tsada?/	egg
/ts dz/:	/tsalan/	road	/dzamak/	to mash
	/matsalik/	to laugh	/tadza?/	never
/p b/:	/pukpuk/	swelling	/bukbuk/	uproot
	/tupu?/	well	/tuba/	coconut wine
/k g/:	/kanu?/	to eat	/gagu/	to ask for
	/pu?kat/	to walk	/pugas/	raw rice

Contrasts between simple stops and affricates:

/t ts/:	/tsalan/	road	/ta?lu/	again
	/tautau/	person	/tsu?tsu?/	to do
/d dz/:	/dagi/	to tell a lie	/dza/	to like
	/tsada?/	egg	/tadza?/	never

Contrasts between /g/ and /gw/:

/g gw/:	/gimin/	to drink	/gwihan/	fish, n.
	/pugas/	raw rice	/pugwa?/	betelnut

Contrasts between /ʔ/ and /p t k/:

/ʔ p/:	/tsada?/	egg	/nigap/	yesterday
/ʔ t/:	/pu?kat/	to walk	/tsada?/	egg
/ʔ k/:	/li?i?/	to see	/maulik/	good

NORMS AND VARIATIONS OF INDIVIDUAL STOPS:

/p/: The norm is unaspirated, lenis. Initial /p/ before a stressed vowel varies from aspirated through unaspirated to a fortis, almost glottalized [p̚]. The fortis realization is infrequent before most vowels, but preferred before /u/.

Rule 1: /p/ → [p=] ~ [p^h] ~ [p̚] /#___^ˈ.
 páʔ.gy ~ p^háʔ.gy ~ p̚áʔ.gy now

Rule 2: /p/ → [p̥] /#__ú.
 p̥ú·gwa? *betelnut*
 p̥ú·gas *raw rice*

/b/: The norm is as in English. /b/ is rare in Chamorro; it most often occurs in definite loan words from Spanish or Philippine languages.

Rule 1: /b/ → [p=] /#__ (phrase or sentence-initial)
 # ?l.bu.tís.mu ~ # pu.tís·.mu *your baptism*
 # bài hu hán.no^u ~ # pàⁱ.u.há .no^u *I will go.*

/t/: The norm is dental, unaspirated. It is the most common consonant in Chamorro.

Rule 1: /t/ → [t^h] /#__
 # tá·.si ~ # t^há: si *sea*

Rule 2: /t/ → [d] /V.__V
 tsét^l.nut^l *sore* → tsét^l *wounded*

/d/: The norm is as in English. /d/ is of average frequency in Chamorro. /d/ often appears to have doubled after primary stress in lone medial position; e.g., [sá^d.duk^l] underlying /saduk/. However, as neither /b/ nor /g/ tend to double in the same position, it is likely that the phonemic form for *river* may be /sa[?]duk/. This can be deduced from numerous instances where carefully pronounced [ʔ.d] → [d^l.d] in casual and fast speech. For example:

/su[?]da/ *to meet* → ?un.só[?].da ~ ?un.só^d.da *you meet*

/k/: The norm is unaspirated, but otherwise as in English or Spanish. It has no allophones other than being doubled and unreleased as described elsewhere as changes undergone by all voiceless stops.

/g/: The norm is as in English; it is of average frequency relative to the other consonants. As usual for simple voiced stops, /g/ does not double in lone medial position, but like /d/, it occasionally appears to do so. Topping (1973:38) gives an example of this in [mé^g.geⁱ] *many*. However, this and similar cases are better interpreted differently; that is, [mé^g.geⁱ] *many* is not from phonemic /miga^l/, but from phonemic /mi[?]ga^l/. /mi[?]/ has the meaning of *lots of*, as in /mi[?]mi[?]/ *to urinate*; /mi[?]salap^l/ *lots of money*. /ga^l/ refers to something with specific time-space existence, as in /ga^lga^l/ *there is, are* (physical entity located somewhere). When /mi[?]/ is unstressed, the ending glottal is usually lost. In a stressed syllable, it assimilates to a following stop, as in /mi[?]ga^l/. The stressed /i/ in a closed syllable becomes [ɛ], giving [mé^g.gaⁱ ~ mé^g.geⁱ]. (See Witucki 1975 for allophonic variations of vowels.)

/gw/: The norm is as Spanish /gu/ in /guapo/, *handsome*. It is of low frequency, and is probably a relatively recent historical development. Only in Chamorro do we find /gw/ where related languages usually have /w/, /h/, or /ʔ/. Similarly, in English loan words initial /w/ usually becomes /gw/: Watkin (name) → gwát^h.kin.

Rule 1: /gw/ !! → [g] /___u (usually occurring as part of the infix /-um-/)

/gwaidza/ to love → gu.mái.dza dzù?
I loved (ongoing process)

Rule 2: /gw/ !! → [kw] /Vʔ.____

(At the same time, the preceding [ʔ] assimilates to the following stop.)

/luʔgwiʔ/ also → lóʔ.kwiʔ ~ lók^h.kwiʔ
/hiʔgwaʔ/ "I don't know" (idiom without literal meaning)
→ hék^h.kwa

/gw/ is explained by Topping (1973:25, 34) as /g/ plus semi-vowel /w/. However, [w] as a possible semi-vowel in Chamorro words regularly occurs only after [g] and [a]. I interpret these occurrences as /gw/ and /au/, respectively, since such limited distribution argues strongly against independent phonemic status for [w]. Furthermore, consonant clusters are not permitted in word- or syllable-initial position, in native Chamorro words. Hence /gw/, which is a relatively frequent initial consonant, is better seen as a complex stop like /ts/ and /dz/.

/ʔ/: The glottal stop is as highly frequent as is /t/, and is difficult to differentiate from /t/ in the word-final position, and syllable-final before an alveolar consonant, as /ʔ/ tends to assimilate to the alveolar position.

Rule 1: /ʔ/: ! → [t] /____.C_{alv}.

/hagaʔña/ Agaña → hagát^h.ñ^h
/gaʔlagu/ dog → gat^h.
/tsuʔtsuʔ/ to eat → tsót^h.tsuʔ

Rule 2: /ʔ/ → [Ø] in low-stressed syllable.

/miʔsalapi/ much money → mì.s^h.láp^h.pì
/luʔgwiʔ/ also → lò.kwiʔ ~ lò.kwì

/ts/: The norm is as in English *sits* (alveolar), but optionally /ts/ may be slightly palatalized (alveolar-palatal), in which case the pronunciation is closer to [ç] in English *chin*. In addition to the contrasts noted earlier, /ts/ is also distinct from /s/:

/tsalan/ road /saga/ to stay
/tsuliʔ/ to bring /suha/ to come out

However, in fast or careless speech, optionally, /ts/ → [s]:

ʔì.tsi.tsóʔ.ñʌ	~	ʔì.tsi.sóʔ.ñʌ	<i>his doing</i>
tsóʔ.da	~	sóʔ.da	<i>banana plant</i>
tsá.daʔ	~	sá.daʔ	<i>egg</i>

/dz/: The norm is alveolar, with optional slight palatalization approximating but not identical to /j/. Like /ts/, /dz/ reduces to its fricative in fast or careless speech, optionally:

tá.dzaʔ	~	tá.za	<i>never</i>
ha.dzú.tiʔ	~	ha.zú.ti	<i>he threw away</i>
dzá.hu	~	zá.hu	<i>I like</i>
dza ~ za		(tì.u.má.no ^u)	<i>And (I did not go)</i>

4.2. FRICATIVES

Chamorro fricatives are /f s h/. They contrast with similar phonemes as follows:

/f p/:	/fiʔun/	<i>near,</i>	/piʔut/	<i>beach plum</i>
	/fatsi/	<i>dirty,</i>	/paʔgun/	<i>child</i>
/s ts/:	/suha/	<i>to come away,</i>	/tsuiiʔ/	<i>to bring</i>
	/saga/	<i>to stay,</i>	/tsalan/	<i>road</i>
/s f/:	/siha/	<i>they,</i>	/fihu/	<i>all the time</i>
	/siña/	<i>to be able,</i>	/finaʔ-/	<i>made of</i>
/h ʔ/:	/haga/	<i>daughter,</i>	/ʔagaʔ/	<i>banana, ripe</i>
	/mahlus/	<i>smooth,</i>	/maʔpus/	<i>departed</i>

/f/: The norm is as in English.

Rule 1: /f/ → [s] / ____ · $\begin{bmatrix} b \\ p \\ m \end{bmatrix}$ (dissimilation)

gòf ~ gòs	mái.pi	<i>very hot</i>
gòf ~ gòs	mʌm.pus	<i>very intense</i>
gès	pí.ka.rù	<i>very mischievous</i>
gòs	bá.ba	<i>very bad</i>
gòs	ʔápʌm.nʌ tyém.pu	<i>very long ago</i>

Rule 2: /f/ (→ [s]) → [z] / ____ .d

gòf ~ gòs ~ gòz	dáŋ.ku.lù	<i>very large</i>
-----------------	-----------	-------------------

/s/: The norm is as in English.

Rule 1: /s/ → [z] / ____d

ka.páz.di? capacity < Spanish capacidad
gòz.dán

Similarly, /s/ before voiced consonant will become [z] in any loan word. On the other hand, /z/ in a voiceless environment will become [s] in loan words:

English	Chamorro
news	nú·s
zipper	sfp̣.p̣ṛ
reason	rf̣·sʌn

Also in loan words, /s/ → [ʃ] / ____iV, preferentially. (This sequence never occurs in native Chamorro words, and so there is no native occurrence of [ʃ].)

Spanish		Chamorro
maldición	curse	mʌṭ.di.ʃyó·n
siete	seven	ʃyéṭ.ti

/h/: The norm is as English /h/ in initial position; e.g., in *head*, *hole*, *hat*. /h/ occurs syllable final, but not word-final.

Rule 1: /h/ → !! [H] /V̆ ____CV(C)

That is, under double stress, /h/ becomes [H], a very forceful aspiration without oral stricture.

/tuhni/ support → t'óH.ni
/mahlau/ shame → m'áH.io^u

Rule 2: /h/ → [ʔ] /# ____V

ha.gáʔ.ñʌ ~ ʔa.gáʔ.ñʌ Agaña
hũ·luʔ ~ ʔú up

Rule 3: /h/ → $\begin{bmatrix} y \\ w \end{bmatrix}$ / $\begin{bmatrix} i \\ u \end{bmatrix}$ ____V

/siha/ they → sf̣·ha ~ sf̣·yʌ
/suha/ to come away → sú·ha ~ sú^u.wa

Rule 4: /h/ → [∅] /V ____CV̆(C) (No stress.)

/tuhni/ support → ʔ̣̣.tu.nfn.ñʌ his support (poles)

Rule 5: /h/ → [C₁] /C₁ ____V̆, V̆ ____C₁

That is, in a syllable under primary stress, /h/ preferentially assimilates to a preceding or following consonant.

/tuhni/ support → tón.nin supports of
 /tuhlai/ bridge → tól.lai
 /lihgwa?/ to stir → léǵ.gwa?

4.3. RESONANTS

Resonants are the nasals /m n ñ ŋ/, plus lateral /l/, with norms as in English. Nasals occasionally dissimilate, when the same nasal is repeated either adjacent to or in the same syllable as the first. Nasals almost always assimilate to stops, both within words and within close-knit phrases. This change is relatively more likely in fast speech and within words. Contrasts follow.

/m/:	/mangl/	to write	/mam/	our	/halum/	inside
/n/:	/na?l/	to give	/gwini/	here	/hanun/	to burn
/ñ/:	/ñalhun/	enough	/siña/	to be able	-----	
/ŋ/:	/ŋaŋa/	duck (n.)	/tuŋu?/	to know	/matslŋ/	monkey
/l/:	/lasas/	skin (n.)	/tsalan/	road	-----	

/m/:

Rule 1: /m/ → [n] / ____^g.C_{alv.}, C_{alv.} ____

gál.lun.tǎ.nu? in the jungle (fast speech)

< /gi halum tanu?/

pit^l.n^f.si permission < Spanish permisión

há.n.zu you (pl.) < /hamdzu/

Rule 2: /m/ → [n] between bilabials (dissimilation).

Spanish compadre, godfather → /kumpall/ + /-um-/

→ dós na kù.mun.pá.i.li two compadres (reciprocal)

Rule 3: /m/ → [n^ŋ] / ____^g.m (dissimilation).

/tinanum/ plants + /-mu/ your → tì.næ.nǒn.mu

~ tì.næ.nóŋ.mu your plants

/n/:

Rule 1: /n/ → [ŋ] / ____^g.k

tì.ʔi.nǎ.tan.gwì? he had not looked at him

< /tì inatan gwì?/

ʔù.paŋ.gú they will have a party

< /u+pan+guput/

Rule 2: /n/ → [ŋ] / ____^g.h

ǵì.fi.ʔúŋ.hu near me < /fiʔun+hu/

Rule 3: /n/ → [m] / ____^p.b

ʔim.pam.pɛs.kʌ we are going fishing

< /ln+pan+peska/

ʔúm.byǎ.heⁱ one time < Spanish un viaje

Rule 4: /n/ → [∅] /V____# ([Vn#] → [Ṽ#])

ñái.hun ~ ñái.hũ enough

/ñ/:

Rule 1: /ñ/ → [n] /C.____a (in unstressed final syllable)

ʔì.sʌ.gán.ñʌ ~ ʔì.sʌ.gán.nʌ < /i saga+ña/ its place

ʔì.gi.mǎʔ.ña ~ ʔì.gi.mǎʔ.nʌ < /i gumaʔ+ña/ his house

/ŋ/:

Rule 1: /ŋ/ → [n] /____.ñ

ʔì.gǎʔ.tsón.ñʌ his companion < /i gaʔtsuŋ+ña/

gì.tɛʔ.lán.ñʌ to his bone < /gi tuʔlaŋ+ña/

/l/: The /l r/ range of sounds in Chamorro varies from English /l/ and /r/, to Spanish flap /ɾ/, to a voiced palatal fricative rather like an aspirated English /r/. Whether native or loan, these /l r/ sounds occur only syllable-initial, or as the second consonant of a borrowed cluster (e.g., fló^r.ʔis < Spanish flores). When syllable-final, borrowed /l r/ become [tʰ]:

lu.gwá.tʰ place < lugar (Spanish)

kátʰ meat < carne "

bótʰ pocket < bolsa "

The norm for /l/ in Chamorro words is quite close to English /l/; this pronunciation occurs in the following:

máu.líkʰ good lás.sʌs skin (n.)

tsál.lʌn road lʔʔ.ʔʔ to see

lútʰ.tsʌn west (from Agaña) tǎʔ.lu again

The more fricative sound (here written as [rʰ]) tends to occur between vowels where [u] is the second and unstressed vowel:

tsʌ.mó^r.rʰu Chamorro

tɛn.dé^r.rʰu store keeper

[rʰ] also occurs in place of Spanish /ɾ/:

rʰa.rʰái.na queen < Spanish la reina

In Spanish loans, elsewhere, both /ɾ/ and /l/ retain the Spanish pronunciation if syllable-initial, but Spanish /ɾ/ becomes [l] as the second consonant of a borrowed cluster:

	libro	<i>book</i>	→	lɛpˈl.blu	<i>book</i>
	madrina	<i>godmother</i>	→	ʔi.mʌtˈl.ɪfˈ.na	<i>the godmother</i>
But:	siempre	<i>always</i>	→	sɛm.pɾi	<i>future-certain</i>
	tronko	<i>trunk</i>	→	tɾɔŋ.ku	<i>tree</i>

CONSONANTS OF CHAMORRO

N O T E S

1. My analysis of Chamorro is based on speech data from four informants, all of whom derive from the same general geographical area, the environs of Agaña, the capital city of Guam. Two of these informants, Ruperta Blas and Robert Underwood, were Chamorro-speakers temporarily living in Los Angeles. The other two were Rosario Sablan and Remedios Perez, who generously aided me during a summer (1971) of field work on Guam.
2. The division of one language dialect into four styles of speech was suggested by James Harris' treatment of Spanish in his *Spanish Phonology*, 1969.
3. All Chamorro forms are given in this paper in phonetic notation, unless specifically placed in phonemic slants. Phonetic symbols have commonly assigned values, with the following exceptions: [y] represents the usual [ʊ], but with the additional feature of being produced with the lips rounded as for [u]. [ɸ] represents an unaspirated, fortis variant which often sounds almost glottalized. A syllable break is indicated by a period between segments, thusly: [CVC.CV].
4. A breath-group usually consists of a clause composed of one or two phrases.
5. Chamorro has vowel-initial words, but this lack of initial phonemic C is not reflected in the formulas, as it would entail functionless repetition. Phonetically, all words are C-initial, since initial vowels are always preceded by consonantal feature [?].

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CASE IN GA'DANG VERBAL CLAUSES

MICHAEL R. WALROD

PROLOGUE

This paper will show the use of case in Ga'dang verbal clauses, and show how it relates to the phenomenon often called 'focus' or 'topic-alization' in other descriptions of Philippine languages.¹ It is my belief that this analysis could be applied to many, perhaps all, other Philippine languages, because of the high degree of similarity.²

Before giving the analysis, an explanation is necessary of the view of language upon which it is based. Also, the terminology must be defined, since it is used in slightly different ways by different authors.

The view of language employed here is primarily a stratificational view.³ However, I do not believe that it is necessary to hold this view in order to apply the following analysis to another language. With minor modifications, this analysis could be used in a tagmemic or a transformational-generative description.

VIEW OF LANGUAGE

A language is a code or system. Gleason wrote, 'A language can be viewed as an apparatus for the transduction of information from one form to another.'⁴

Language is autonomous and self-contained, but 'while cleanly delimited, it is not isolated. Rather, a language has essential contacts across at least two regions of its boundary, one with sound and one with the vast range of phenomena which can be labelled broadly as experience.'⁵ Gleason calls the two regions of contact with extralinguistic phenomena 'interfaces'. The way one envisions the two interfaces of a language is unimportant. A convention among grammarians of the stratificational species has been to diagram a language with the boundary facing experience at the top and the boundary facing speech or sound at the bottom (see fig.1).

Just inside the language system next to the boundary facing experience is the component, or stratum, of the language labelled **semology**. And at the other end is the stratum labelled **phonology**.⁶ This much is fairly standardized, but there is a noticeable lack of agreement among proponents of the theory as to the number and nature of strata between.

My own feeling is that real languages reflect just one stratum between semology and phonology.⁷ I am calling this stratum - grammar. The minimal units of this stratum are morphemes.⁸ But the grammatical stratum includes grammar even at the discourse level.⁹ The system of this stratum performs such tasks as linear ordering of the elements, affixation, etc.

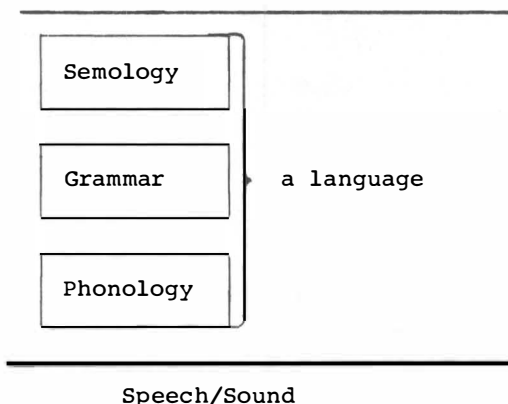
In the semological component, there are networks of relationships, with no linear ordering.

Figure 1 is a very simplified representation, not intended to add to or alter anyone's theory, but only to show the concept employed in the following analysis.

FIGURE 1

Diagram of theoretical concept used here.

Experience/Real World



1. INTRODUCTION

1.0. TERMINOLOGY

The traditional terms 'subject' and 'case', and the more recent term 'situational role' are crucial to the understanding of the analysis in this paper. Different linguists have used these terms to mean quite different things, especially in writings about Philippine languages. Therefore, I will define the terms as they are used in this paper.

1.1. THE TERM 'SUBJECT'

In descriptions of Philippine grammars during the past two decades, the terms 'focus' and 'topic' have been used to refer to that unique 'focus-activity relation' characteristic of Philippine languages.¹⁰ However, in a recent article entitled 'Subject versus Topic', Howard McKaughan has renounced his earlier choice of the term 'topic' in favour of the term 'subject'.¹¹ The term 'subject' was traditional before the 'focus, topic' era. Most writers in recent years have followed Alan Healey's usage of 'focus' to refer to the focus-activity relation, and McKaughan's former usage of 'topic' to refer to the nominal complement which is in focus in any clause. But some linguists have persisted in using the traditional term 'subject' in describing Philippine grammars.¹²

McKaughan observed that recent developments in linguistic theory have emphasized the universality of certain case relationships between verbs and their nominal complements.¹³ During the 'focus, topic' era, topics of clauses were sometimes called subject, sometimes object, sometimes other things depending on whether their roles were actor, patient, or something else. McKaughan now views these as different case relationships. Therefore he has now chosen 'to recognize as subject of the sentence that complement which corresponds to the grammatical subject, rather than limiting the term to the logical 'subject.' The idea of 'logical subject' is from Halliday, who suggested that the 'logical subject is the actor', and it is distinct from the grammatical subject.¹⁴

Perhaps it was the notion that actor is the logical subject that has prompted analysts of Philippine grammars to label certain clauses 'subject-focus' when it is the actor that is the 'topic', 'object-focus' when a patient is 'topic', and so on. In this paper the term 'topic' will not be used, and 'subject' will always refer to the grammatical subject.

Examples from Ga'dang:

Inang ino eroplano se Bananao.

Went THE AIRPLANE to Bananao.

In this example the airplane is the grammatical subject and it is the actor.

Ga'bungan ku ino ifut na uwaw.

I'll cut off THE TAIL OF THE MONKEY.

In this clause the tail is the grammatical subject, and it is the patient, the thing affected.

1.2. THE TERMS 'SITUATIONAL ROLE' AND 'CASE'

This paper will demonstrate an analysis that McKaughan suggested in the penultimate paragraph of 'Subject versus Topic'. There he said 'I am not prepared yet to go all the way and talk of active and passive for Philippine languages, since I believe the case system marked in the verb for the subject-verb underlying relations covers this aspect of the language'.¹⁵ This paper will describe the case system marked by verbal affixes which show the subject-verb underlying relations in Ga'dang. It will also describe how the case system is marked in other ways to show the underlying relations between the verb and nominal complements other than subject.

It was probably dissatisfaction with the 'active' and 'passive' classifications of subjects of clauses that led to the widespread usage of 'focus' and 'topic'. The 'active, passive' dichotomy is not as satisfactory in describing a Philippine grammar as it is for English grammar. So I believe analysts were not wrong to drop the traditional terms 'active' and 'passive' in favour of more descriptive terms.

McKaughan said, 'I am prepared now to discuss the affixes in the verb with the name 'case''.¹⁶ In the past four years, several authors have used 'case' and 'situational roles' in analysing clauses in Philippine languages.¹⁷ However, most of these authors attempt different areas of analysis, and there is a great deal of overlap and ambiguity in the use of the terms 'semantics', 'semantic role', 'situational role', and 'case'.

I would like to use the terms 'situational role' and 'case' defined as follows.

The dramatis personae and any other elements of a real world event or situation have SITUATIONAL ROLES. These situational roles are etic data, not a part of any language.¹⁸ The elements of an event have these roles whether or not the event is observed or commented about by a human.

It is only as some features of the event are abstracted by a human observer that the elements of the event come to be in a CASE relationship to each other. Whether or not that human vocalizes what he has consciously observed, the semological component of his language apparatus will put the abstracted features into an emic arrangement.

There is a great number of real world situational roles. Some authors have grouped many similar ones under several generic labels. A universal feature of languages is that they group these roles into a small set of case relationships. These groupings are sememes.¹⁹ The case sememes are not the same in all languages. We may expect much similarity because each language has only a small set of case sememes, and all

possible situational roles will be encoded by one of the cases.

Each case sememe is a semological unit, the etic variants of which are real world situational roles. (See examples under 3.2.) There can be overlap of the etic variants (i.e. two nouns may be marked respectively by an Accusative case marker and a Dative case marker, but both appear to have the same situational role of 'patient'), but probably there is less overlap than a linguist would initially suspect as he begins to analyse a grammar. Much of the seeming overlap of situational roles is probably the result of the investigator mistakenly examining the data 'through the spectacles of' the case sememes of his native language.

Different authors have given us a number of possible labels for roles (Langendoen, 1970 and Grimes, 1972). Others have used some of the same labels for what they call 'case relationships' (Chafe, 1970b). I believe it is important that we use these labels to refer only to situational roles. Further, we should bear in mind that these are arbitrary labels for groups of roles sharing some components. One should not try to apply these labels to a language being analysed, but rather should observe the case system of the language itself to see how that system groups the many situational roles. For example, if one expects the role of 'patient' (i.e. person or thing affected by an action; may be changed or moved) to correspond to one case in the language being analysed, then one may be confused by three different morphemes which seem to mark case, but occur respectively with three different nouns, all of which seem to be 'patients' in the real world events being spoken of.²⁰ In Ga'dang, the 'patient' role of the above definition could be Accusative, Dative, or Positional case. Conversely, 'actor' and 'experiencer' roles can both be nominative case in Ga'dang. (See 3.2.1.-3.2.4.).

2. IDENTIFYING CASE SEMEMES

Fillmore has suggested that, given the surface structure of the inflection system of a language, 'the descriptive task is to identify the surface case forms that are distinct from each other in the language and to associate "case functions" with each of these.'²¹

I propose the following paraphrase. 'The descriptive task is to identify the case sememes by observing their grammatical realizations, and associate their etic variants (i.e. various situational roles) with each of them.' The grammatical realizations of the case sememes may be case-marking morphemes, ordering of the elements of a clause, or whatever other device the grammar uses to encode the case sememes.

Fillmore is aware of the fact that a case relationship emic to a specific language has etic variants, although he does not view it through the etic-emic concept. In the same paragraph as the above quote he says 'the various "functions" of the "ablative/abessive" suffix -m are not interpreted as giving evidence that several distinct cases merely happen to be homophonous'.²² Observing the same phenomena through a different theoretical model, one would say that the various 'functions' of the 'ablative/abessive' suffix -m (or, to substitute a common Philippine example, the 'positional' prefix i-) show that the case sememe which is realized by that affix has several etic variants in the real world.

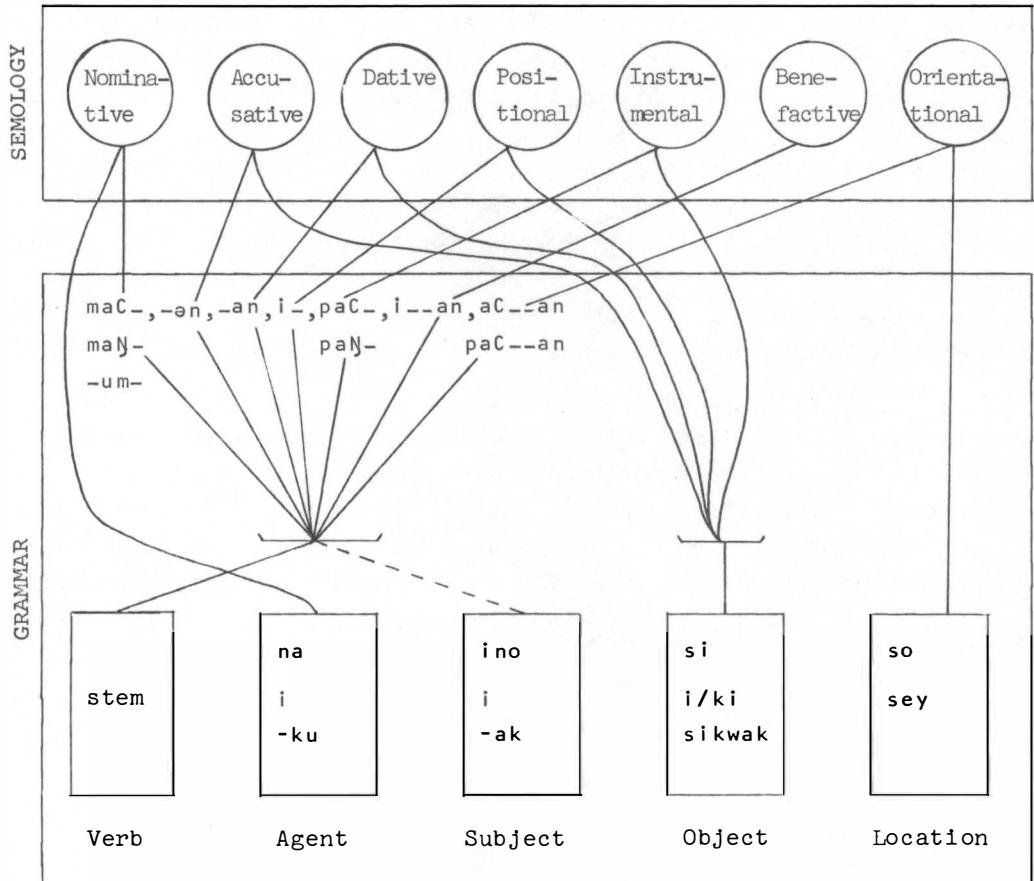
3. CASE IN GA'DANG

3.0. There are seven cases identifiable in Ga'dang verbal clauses.²³ The cases of all nominal complements are overtly marked, except in the grammatical object slot, where the four cases which can occur are neutrally marked. Each case occurs only once in a simple verbal clause.²⁴

Figure 2 shows the seven case sememes and their morphemic realizations. The morphemes listed are not the only ones; they represent sets of morphemes.²⁵

FIGURE 2

The morphemic realizations of Ga'dang case sememes.²⁶



3.1. The most common shape of verbal clauses in Ga'dang is 'Verb + Subject'. If the subject is something other than agent, the usual shape is 'Verb + Agent + Subject'.

The grammatical slots 'Object' and 'Location' are relatively infrequent. Often if a noun in Accusative, Dative, Positional, Instrumental, or Orientational case is important enough to be mentioned, it is made the Subject of the clause. (For example, this would be a noun signalling some item in a real world event, an item with a situational role such as patient, range, direction, instrument, or location.)

3.2. In this section the seven case sememes are exemplified. Only in the Subject grammatical slot are all seven cases realized. The subject slot is introduced by ino set, which gives no indication regarding the

case. It is the case-marking affix on the verb which shows the case of the Subject, as in many, if not all Philippine languages (McKaughan, 1973: 212).

'Agent' and 'Location' grammatical slots are introduced by *na* set and *so* set, respectively (see 3.2.1. and 3.2.7.). These two sets simultaneously introduce grammatical slots and realize case sememes. *Na* realizes (i.e. marks) nominative case, and *so* realizes orientational case.

The *si* set also has this dual function. *Si* set introduces the grammatical object, and neutrally realizes four case sememes, Accusative, Dative, Positional, and Instrumental. (Section 4 explains this neutralization)

The case-marking affixation on the verb does not give any clue about the cases of nouns other than those in the Subject slot.

3.2.1. The NOMINATIVE case sememe has the etic variants of 'actor' or 'experiencer' situational roles. The nominative case sememe is alternately realized by three morphemes, *maC-*, *maŋ-*, *-um-*. Informant responses indicate that there are some selectional restrictions, but I have not as yet been able to define them for Ga'dang. One observation is that *-um-* is used often when one wishes to give a polite response, and signals a role of actor-of-an-action-which-partially-affects-a-patient.

Examples of nouns in nominative case filling the Subject grammatical slot.

Malletratuwak si lakay.

MaC- photograph -ak the old-man.

I'll take a picture of the old man. (Subj. is actor).

Matturuwak so tangnganaw.

MaC- sleep -ak at midday.

I'll sleep at noon. (Subject is experiencer)

Manalipak na to tangnganaw.

Maŋ- dance -ak future this noon.

I'll dance this noon.

Mango'lakak si ayog.

Maŋ- split -ak the coconut.

I'll split the coconut.

Dumalingkunak abbu busang.

-um- tidy -ak please little.

Just let me tidy up a little.

Bumasak abbu busang, kaseta na manaw.
 -um- read -ak please little, then we future depart.
I'll just read a little, and then we'll go.

Examples of Agent grammatical slot, which is always nominative case.

Sinabassan na tolay ino umara.
 Mowed-an na person ino field-theirs.
The man mowed his field. (Field is the Subject)

Aragadiyangku ino kayuna.
 Saw-an I ino wood-his.
I'll saw his wood. (Wood is the Subject)

3.2.2. In the ACCUSATIVE case, the noun is related to the verb as some kind of patient.

(a) patient-that-gets-changed-in-shape

Bëkkënnu ino gafa.
 Break-ən you ino jar.
*Break THE JAR.*²⁷

Dari'dipënnu ino danggu.
 Slice -ən you ino onion.
Slice THE ONION.

(b) patient-that-gets-moved-by-the-action

Bëssinënnu ino abat.
 Hang -ən you ino bananas.
Hang up THE BANANAS.

Dëssënnu ino atap.
 Lower-ən you ino roof.
Lower THE ROOF. (i.e. lift it down to the ground)

(c) patient-that-is-prevented-from-moving

Tëngngëllënnu ino daffug.
 Hold -ən you ino carabao.
Hold THE CARABAO. (i.e. hold its tether-rope)

Dë'dëkkënnu ino papel.
 Weight-ən you ino paper.
Weight down THE PAPER.

(d) patient-that-gets-travelled-over

Kaltayënnu ino awëg.
 Cross-ən you ino brook.
Cross THE BROOK.

Dammangənnu ino danum.

Cross-an you ino water.,

Go over to the far side of THE RIVER.

There are many other kinds of patients which are also in the accusative case, such as something swallowed, something harvested, something believed, someone startled, or someone spoken to.

3.2.3. In the DATIVE case, the noun is related to the verb as range where the action takes place or as something to which the action is done but which remains virtually unaffected.²⁸

(a) range or site

Mulannu ino gardin mi si gassilang.

Plant-an you ino garden ours si yams.

Plant OUR GARDEN with yams.

Tabəssannu ino umam.

Mow -an you ino field-yours.

Mow YOUR FIELD.

(b) patient-that-does-not-get-changed-or-moved

Si'gutannu ino bafuy.

Tie -an you ino pig.

Tie up THE PIG.

(c) partially-affected-patient. If a Ga'dang speaker wishes to make a contrast regarding the degree of effect that an action has on a thing, he will use Accusative case for anything extensively affected, and Dative case for anything minimally affected.

Aragadiyannu ino kayu.

Saw -an you ino wood.

Saw THE WOOD. (i.e. saw off just a little bit)

Inumannu ino kafena.

Drink-an you ino coffee-his.

Drink HIS COFFEE. (i.e. just sip at it)

3.2.4. In the positional case, the noun is related to the verb as something positioned, moved, re-directed, something that accompanies or is used in the course of an action.²⁹

(a) one thing positioned to another (i.e. moved toward)

Iyekwam ino aggik so miyaw.

i-put you ino rice so winnower.

Put THE RICE in the winnowing basket.

Ammem ipotun ino batu so i'lug.
Not-you i-set on ino stone so eggs.
Don't put THE STONE on the eggs.

- (b) something that accompanies

Ibulunnu na i Toby.
i-accompany you i Toby.
Go with TOBY.

Itolim ino sinakom.
i-return you ino stole you.
Take back WHAT YOU STOLE.

- (c) one thing moved away from another

Idassangngu ino kargok so tarak.
i- lower you ino cargo-mine so truck.
Lower MY CARGO from the truck.

The i- prefix at times signals a situational role of patient, with no hint of a 'positioning' meaning. This and a few other rare usages are idiomatic and not predictable. Positional case is the one used for most idiomatic or unusual comments, or unique combinations of situational roles that do not fit neatly in the regular case sememes.

- (d) patient

Iyufukku ino lapisku.
i- use up I ino pencil-mine.
I'll use up MY PENCIL.

Iletwannu ino ari?
i- topple you ino post?
Did you push over THE POST?

- (e) instrument

Itabasnu ino tabasna.
i- scythe you ino scythe-his.
Cut grass with HIS GRASS KNIFE.

Igabbak ino palatom si kayu.
i- fall I ino bolo-yours si tree.
I'll cut down the tree with YOUR BOLO.

3.2.5. In the INSTRUMENTAL case, the noun is related to the verb as the instrument or implement used to perform the action.

Palletratuk ino kamera sikwam.
paC- photograph I ino camera you.
I'll use THE CAMERA to take a picture of you.

Palla'gakku ino gansa si tolayira.
 paC- *startle I* ino gong si people.
I'll use THE GONG to startle people.

Paffurituk ino mantika si laman.
 paC- *fry I* ino oil si meat.
I'll use THE OIL to fry the meat.

3.2.6. In the BENEFACTIVE case, the noun is related to the verb as the the one-for-whom-the-action-is-performed by the agent. The beneficiary must be animate, usually a human being.

Ibasannu i Toby si leburu.
 i-read-an you i Toby si book.
Read the book to TOBY.

Illetratuwangku i Juami.
 i-photograph-an I i Juami.
I'll take pictures for JUAMI.

Imulannu ino bakat si gassilang.
 i-plant-an you ino old lady si yams.
Plant yams for the OLD LADY.

3.2.7. In the ORIENTATIONAL case, the noun is related to the verb as location, either spatial or temporal. The morphemes realizing this case are paC--an and aC--an (sometimes interchangeable) when the noun is in the Subject slot, or so when the noun is in Location slot.

Examples in Subject slot.

(a) spatial location

Palletratuwangku ino kwarto.
 paC-photograph-an I ino room.
I take pictures in THE ROOM.

Palla'gatanku ino dalan si abbing.
 paC-startle-an I ino road si children.
I startle children at THE TRAIL.

(b) temporal location

Mangalintatu ino alletratuwangku.
 Noon ino aC-photograph-an I.
NOON is when I take pictures.

Affurituwannu ino gigi'bat.
 aC-fry-an you ino early morning.
EARLY MORNING is when you fry (something).

Examples in Location slot.

(a) spatial location

Mabbasak so kosina.

maC-read I so kitchen.

I'll read in the kitchen.

Massinnunak se balera ina.

maC-cloth I se house-theirs mother.

I'll weave at mother's house.

(b) temporal location

Nakkangku ino uwaw so da'bu

I ate ino monkey so while ago.

I ate the moneky a while ago.

Nansekkamman so gafi.

Nominative-fit-you-again so night.

You took a fit again last night.

3.3. There is one other case relationship which functions differently from the seven exemplified under 3.2. It is 'causative', realized by the prefix *pa-*, but it cannot appear except with another case. It is best viewed as a complex predicate, which 'does not change the case relationship of the base, it simply adds a case element of its own, i.e. instigating cause' (Lou Hohulin, 1971: 25).

3.4. The real world event of tying a pig yields nice examples of six of the seven possible cases as Subject.

NOMINATIVE: Mani'gutak si bafuy.

maN-tie I si pig.

I tie up the pig. 'I' is the Subject and the actor.

The roles of other items are not specified.

ACCUSATIVE: The verb *si'gut* yields no clause with an Accusative Subject, probably because nothing is changed in shape or similarly affected by the action of tying.

DATIVE: Si'gutannu ino bafuy.

Tie-an you ino pig.

Tie the pig. 'Pig' is Subject, 'you' is Agent. The use of dative case specifies that the actor is tying something (rope, chain, piece of rattan) onto the pig. The pig is the range where the action takes place.

POSITIONAL: Isi'gu'nu ino bafuy so ari.
 i-tie you ino pig so post.
 Tie the pig to the post.

'Pig' is the Subject, 'post' is the Location, 'you' is the Agent. Positional case specifies that the pig is being positioned to the post. The pig already has a rope on, which the actor will tie to the post.

INSTRUMENTAL: Pani'gu'nu ino lufid.
 paN-tie you ino rope.
 Use the rope to tie.

'Rope' is the Subject, 'you' is the Agent. Other participants are unspecified.

BENEFACTIVE: Isi'gutannu ino lakay si bafuy.
 i-tie-an you ino old-man si pig.
 Tie the pig for the OLD MAN.

Participants:	you	old man	pig
Case:	nominative	benefactive	dative
Gram. slot:	Agent	Subject	Object
Sit. role:	actor	beneficiary	range

ORIENTATIONAL: Passi'gutanku ino ari.
 paC-tie-an I ino post.
 THE POST is where I'll tie (something).

'I' is the Agent, 'post' is the Subject. Two other participants are implied, a patient (probably an animal), and an implement (probably a rope), but it would be unnatural in Ga'dang to overtly specify either of these in an Orientational-Subject clause.

The above ordering of the case sememes (identical to the left-to-right ordering in Figure 2) is, as nearly as I can determine, the order of frequency of use in Ga'dang. Nominative-Subject clauses are the most frequent, Accusative-Subject clauses are next, and they are about twice as frequent as Dative-Subject clauses. Positional-Subject and Dative-Subject are very close. The last three on the list are extremely rare.

4. THE NEUTRALIZATION OF FOUR CASES IN OBJECT SLOT.

4.0. The evidence showing that four case sememes are neutralized morphemically (i.e. four contrastive semological units realized by one morpheme; the contrast is neutralized) is that nouns occurring in the Object slot, when subjectivalized (McKaughan, 1973), may be in either Accusative, Dative, Positional, or Instrumental case.

The following pairs of transforms show that *si* realizes four cases. The first clause of each pair has a noun introduced by *si*. The second clause of each pair has been transformed so that the noun is in the Subject slot, introduced by *ino*. The case marking affix on the verb then shows the case of the noun.

4.1. ACCUSATIVE CASE

- (a) Mallutuwak *si* uwaw.
 maC-cook I *si* monkey.
 I'll cook the monkey

 Lutungku *ino* uwaw.
 Cook-an I *ino* monkey.
 I'll cook THE MONKEY.

- (b) Mattabasak *si* kəddət.
 maC-mow I *si* grass.
 I'll mow the grass.

 Tabasəngku *ino* kəddət.
 Mow-an I *ino* grass.
 I'll mow THE GRASS.

4.2. DATIVE CASE

- (a) Mabbukkatak *si* sardinat.
 maC-open I *si* sardines.
 I'll open the sardines.

 Bukkatangku *ino* sardinat.
 Open-an I *ino* sardines.
 I'll open THE SARDINES.

- (b) Massiratak *si* da'lap.
 maC-sweep I *si* floor.
 I'll sweep the floor.

 Siratangku *ino* da'lap.
 Sweep-an I *ino* floor.
 I'll sweep THE FLOOR.

4.3. POSITIONAL CASE

- (a) Mabbukkatak *si* sawang.
 maC-open I *si* window.
 I'll open the window.

lbukkakku ino sawang.
 i-open I ino window.
 I'll open THE WINDOW.

- (b) Mattallarak si tudda.
 maC-boil I si rice.
 I'll boil the rice.

Itallaggu ino tudda.
 i-boil I ino rice.
 I'll boil THE RICE. (i.e. by putting it on the fire)

4.4. INSTRUMENTAL CASE

- (a) Massiratak si akaw.
 maC-sweep I si straw.
 I'll sweep with the straw.

Passirakku ino akaw.
 paC-sweep I ino straw.
 I'll use THE STRAW to sweep.

- (b) Bukkatannu ino sardinat si ilap.
 Open-an you ino sardines si knife.
 Open THE SARDINES with the knife.
 Pabbukka'nu ino ilap si sardinat.
 paC-open you ino knife si sardines.
 Use THE KNIFE to open the sardines.

4.5. The implement is allowed as grammatical Object when the Subject is Dative or Accusative. If the Subject is Nominative case, it seems awkward to a Ga'dang to have the implement as the Object. A patient or range of the action is a more natural Object. However, once patient or range has been mentioned, si can be used a second time to introduce an implement.

If the noun is obviously the implement, not possibly the patient or range, then it is permissible to have it as the only Object, even in a Nominative-Subject clause.

e.g. Maggadwak si tapaya si palataw.
 I'll cut-in-half the papaya with the bolo.

When both the patient and implement occur as Objects, patient is first. However, in this case, the patient may be omitted, since bolo is obviously the implement, not possibly a patient of the action of cutting-in-half.

e.g. Maggadwak si palataw.

I'll cut-in-half (something) with the bolo.

5. CONCLUSION

It is apparent and reasonable that the meaning of the verb stem will limit the possible situational roles of the participants of that action. For example, if the stem means 'to slice', then the patient will of course be changed in shape. And if the stem means 'to lower' or 'to hang up', then the patient will be changed in position.

This observation points out that the case-markers affixed to verbs have no meaning in themselves, except to show the case relationship of the Subject to the verb (likewise the case-markers which are not affixed to verbs).

An attempt to attribute meanings to the case-marking verbal affixes leads the investigator to examining the verb stems that occur with that affix, sorting the stems into semantic sets, and extracting the common component of meaning of each set of stems. This component of meaning would then be erroneously attributed to the verbal affix. The incapable conclusion is that at least some of the case-marking affixes have several meanings.

It is better to posit that each case sememe signals just one kind of relationship. The meanings of certain verb stems can restrict the possible case relationships between participants (i.e. their grammatical realizations - nouns) and the verb. Some verbs disqualify certain case relationships (as in 3.4, Accusative case) because the meaning of the verb stem and the relationship signalled by the case-marking affix are not compatible. Other verbs restrict the decoding (i.e. interpretation) of a case sememe to a particular one of its real world variants.

For example, 'sleep' in Ga'dang can have a Subject which is Nominative case, but not Accusative or Instrumental. And the Nominative will have the variant of EXPERIENCER situational role, rather than actor.

A verb-stem-classification analysis may not lead one to the emic cases. It points out the etic situational roles, but the same 'situational role' (or ones that have been labelled the same by the investigator) may appear with verbs having different affixes.

For example, 'coffee' might be labelled a patient by an analyst making up a 'role frame' for the verb 'to drink'. Then the analyst would likely say that either -ən or -an can denote patient, but be forced to point out that to 'drink-ən the coffee' means to drink it all, and to 'drink-an the coffee' means drink part of it.

A case-analysis approach would have shown that *-en* signals the Accusative case (i.e. the noun is some kind of patient of the action), and *-an* the Dative case (i.e. the noun is the range). So 'drink-en the coffee' means drink the coffee, and 'drink-an the coffee' means drink at the coffee (i.e. sip at it).

A verb-stem classification based on 'role frames' will give considerable insight into the system of the language, but will not give a learner of the language a very good system of predicting which affixes are used with which stem, unless he learns all the classes of verb stems, and most of their members (probably an impossible task).

On the other hand, getting a good grasp of the case sememes will enable the learner to predict the correct affix to a verb stem in most instances. There are idiomatic usages which are unpredictable and must be learned individually.

N O T E S

1. Ga'dang is the language spoken by about 6,000 people in and around the municipality of Paracelis, Mountain Province, Philippines. Ga'dang is a member of the Ibanagic group of languages of Northeastern Luzon.

The data for this paper were gathered under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics between 1973 and 1975, while the author and family lived in Bananao, a part of Paracelis. The principal language assistant was Mr. Juan Domingo of Bananao, for whose help I am very grateful. I am indebted to Lester and Madeline Troyer, also members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, who lived in the same area between 1957 and 1965, and who recorded and analysed much of the Ga'dang grammar and lexicon.

Special thanks are due to G. Richard Roe for sharing his valuable insights regarding Philippine grammars.

The phonemes of Ga'dang are i, e, ə, a, o, u, p, t, k, b, d, g, f, s, m, n, ng, l, r, w, y, and glottal stop written '. Glottal stop always begins words if no other initial consonant is present, but it is unwritten in that position.

2. All Philippine languages share many grammatical and phonological features. Two recent analyses of verbal affixes which share some features with this analysis are Anne West's (1973) on Ifugao and D. Lee Ballard's (1974) on Inibaloi.

3. For an introduction to stratificational grammar, see H.A. Gleason Jr. (1964), or Sydney Lamb (1966).

4. H.A. Gleason Jr. (1964:75).

5. H.A. Gleason Jr. (1964:76). In footnote 2 Gleason suggests there is a third contact point for some languages, namely with writing. This seems less important to me in that it represents the sound system.
6. Semology is the stratum pertaining to units of meaning and their arrangements in a language; phonology pertains to units of sound and their arrangements.
7. A three-stratal view is more compatible with other popular linguistic theories, such as tagmemics with its 'tri-modal structure', and somewhat similarly, transformational-generative with its 'deep structure, surface structure', and something akin to phonology of stratificational theory.
8. Some proponents of stratificational theory have suggested that there are no units within the system, only networks and relationships. But this is difficult to defend. It is easier to talk about languages if we posit different kinds of units in the different strata.
9. The size of the construction does not determine the stratum to which it belongs.
10. Lawrence A. Reid, (1966). See pages 9-11, including footnotes, for the origins of these terms.
11. Howard McKaughan. (1973).
12. Lawrence A. Reid. (1966:11, footnote 27).
13. McKaughan is referring particularly to Fillmore (1966, 1968).
14. Howard McKaughan. (1973:208).
15. Howard McKaughan. (1973:212). McKaughan refers to Bloomfield's (1942) use of 'active, passive' on page 206. There he expresses dissatisfaction with the terms as applied to Philippine languages.
16. Howard McKaughan. (1973:211).
17. Such as Ashley (1973), Ballard (1974), Draper (1972), Hohulin (1971), and West (1973).

18. K.L. Pike. (1967:246, note 14) speaking about discourse analysis, says, 'We are now (see Pike 1964d) trying to follow the flow of *dramatis personae*, and of other situational roles in the real world (action, time, location, etc.) through a discourse'. And, further, 'From the viewpoint of the tale as a whole... the *dramatis personae* remain invariant,' even though they might appear in different grammatical slots in the discourse.
19. H.A. Gleason Jr. (1964:82). He suggests that 'sememes are often the semologic units which can be thought of as standing behind "words".' But he also expects to find other kinds of sememes: 'We can expect, in due course, to identify a variety of units and understand the hierarchy that exists among them.'
20. This definition of 'patient' is a paraphrase of Grimes (1972:148). Chafe (1970b) gives a similar definition of 'patient': 'that to which it (i.e. some action) is done'.
21. Charles J. Fillmore. (1968:9)
22. Charles J. Fillmore. (1968:8,9). This example is taken from Redden's (1966) work on Walapai.
23. The cases observed so far in Ga'dang non-verbal clauses are possessive, equative, and attributive. I have not given examples of these in this paper, since the primary emphasis is on the case-markers affixed to verbs. In fact, I am still ambivalent about whether the non-verbal clauses really distinguish cases.
24. Charles J. Fillmore. (1968:21) suggests that apart from 'compound instances of a single case (through noun phrase conjunction), each case relationship occurs only once in a simple sentence.'
25. The case-marking verbal affixes are all non-past tense. The members of the pronoun sets listed (-ku, -ak, sikwak) are first-person-singular.
26. The morphemes above the grammatical slot boxes in figure 2 represent sets of case-marking verbal affixes. Each case is realized by just one of the sets. The solid line going from the Verb grammatical slot shows that these morphemes are affixed to the verb; the broken line going from the Subject grammatical slot show that the morphemes mark the case of the Subject.

c in a prefix means lengthen the first consonant of the stem to which it is affixed. N represents a velar nasal which assimilates with the first consonant of a stem in several predictable ways.

The 'unordered upward or' notations (Lamb, 1966:9) above the Subject and Object slots indicate that only one of the above may be selected in a given clause.

Figure 2 fails to illustrate two things. One, that any case sememe selected for Subject slot cannot be realized in any other slot in the same clause. Two, that there can be more than one Object in a clause, but they cannot be the same case (see 4.5.). Not more than two Objects have been observed in any clause. Note that Benefactive case sememe is the only one realized only in Subject slot.

The morpheme i introduces proper names, which may occur in the Agent, Subject, or Object grammatical slots. Context disambiguates the case relationship between the person names and the verb.

27. I have translated this Ga'dang clause with an English active clause. But translating as active in English gives the impression that the actor fills the Subject slot, so the Subject is given in capitals in this and the following examples.

To translate into English active or passive would result in all Ga'dang clauses except those with Nominative -Subject being expressed as passives in English. It is better to think of them as Nominative-Subject clause, etc., rather than active and passive.

The English passive is perhaps an acceptable construction to translate Ga'dang Instrumental-, Benefactive-, or Orientational-Subject clauses because they are somehow less verbal or active than the others. An area of similarity between these three and the English passive is the unnaturalness of adding any of the optional nominal complements to the clause. Verb + Agent + Subject is the norm for these three in Ga'dang; Subject + Verb + Agent is the norm for the English passive.

28. 'Range' was the term selected by Anne West (1973:115) to describe the situational role of the noun (in Subject slot) when -an was suffixed to the verb. Her comments also show how the meanings of verb stems interplay with the case-markers to produce some unusual usages.

29. Anne West (1973:113) and D. Lee Ballard (1974:192) have defined i- constructions similarly. Ballard observed that the 'common denominator' of i- constructions 'is the positioning of one thing to another thing, one event to another event, or one thing to an event.'

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ILIANEN MANOBO SENTENCE STRUCTURE

JEAN SHAND

0. INTRODUCTION

Ilianen Manobo¹ has sixteen independent sentence types, and one dependent sentence type which is an exponent of sentence margins.

0.1. The independent sentences enter a sentence system with five orders (addition, equivalence, opposition, quotation and cross reference) and three series (loose, tight, and balanced). The Simple Sentence (1) which has an Independent Clause as base is in addition to this system.

CHART 1

INDEPENDENT SENTENCE TYPES

	Addition	Equivalence	Opposition	Introduced	Cross Referenced
Loose	Juxtaposed	Equiv.	Antithetical	Dir. Quote	Neg. Conditional
Tight	Sequence	Merged	Interdependent Conditional	Ind. Quote	Merged Goal
Balanced	Coordinate	Quasi-Clausal Equiv.	Alternative	Ind. Reference	Reason

0.2. There is one dependent sentence, a Relator-axis Sentence (RAS), which will not be discussed in detail in this paper. It has the following subtypes: condition (RAS_{cond}), concession (RAS_{conc}), circumstance

(RAS_{cir}), cause (RAS_{caus}), and time (RAS_{time}). These structures are considered to be Relator-axis Sentences rather than Relator-axis Clauses in that they may involve structures clearly extending beyond that of the clause, i.e. (a) a periphery occurs on the Independent Sentence (IndS) which expounds the axis; (b) some other sentence types than Simple Sentence (SimS) expound the axis; and (c) in a Relator-axis Clause the relator draws the clitic pronoun actor of the clause which expounds the axis.

Certain relators such as *ahey so that* and *misa/misan even* occur both as relator of RAS and relator of RACl. The contrast between the two structures is clear in that the relator of RACl draws the pronoun of the clause which expounds the axis. There is also a slight shift of meaning depending on its distribution: *wey* as relator of RACl means *when* or *later* and as coordinating conjunction means *and*.

The relator complex of both RAS and RACl includes clitic adverbs and adverbs of time. e.g., *wey embe when now indeed*, *embiya ve guntaani if indeed now*.

1. PERIPHERY

The independent sentences have an optional periphery represented by Chart 2.

CHART 2

SENTENCE PERIPHERY: LINEAR ORDER AND EXPONENTS

± inj	± excl	± aff.	± voc.	± conj seq	± conj man	± TM	± prog	± ST	± ConM	± CirM	± Conc M	+ (N)	± CauM
hane take note	etuwey surprise	uya yes wey hesitant yes	pn	wey su and so then	engkey pe' be te what next should happen but	ComP IndCl IndS RAS _t RACl _t	netaman finally	TopP	RAS conc	RAS Cir	RAS conc		RAS cause

ILIANEN MANOBO SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Rules:

1. The inj, exc, aff, voc and conjunction_{seq} tagmemes do not occur in a sentence which is exponent of a base 2.
2. The progression tagmeme may permute to a position preceding the TM. In the permuted position it functions on a higher than sentence level, as discourse or paragraph linkage.
3. The voc tagmeme occurs in any position in the periphery or within the nucleus between clause or sentence tagmemes except preceding clitics.
4. CondM, CirM and ConcM may permute to post nucleus position.
5. ne links all tagmemes except those preceding TM to the following tagmeme.

1.1. The interjection tagmeme hane initiates a narrative discourse and indicates the resumption of narrative (1), a shift from narration to dialogue (3) or a shift from speaker to speaker.

- (1) HANE, nekeipus ka se ebmamà ne ebpememetien nu ne meritan.
 (inj) *finished you the chew then wonder you the woman*
Note, when you finished chewing, you, the woman, wonder what to expect.
- (2) HANE, riyà te pè ma te pelaas.
 (inj) *there you yet indeed the lizard*
Note, once upon a time there was a lizard.
- (3) HANE, midlalag ke iney ni Ukap te "Iyan tumù ne
 (inj) *said the mother of Ukap (rel) that best (lk)*
ed-uyahen te red ke menge etew."
revive we yet the (pl) people
Note, the mother of Ukap said, "It's best that we revive the people."

1.2. The exclamation tagmeme is represented by the class <etuwey>. Included in the class are such items as *etuwey surprise*, *babeba surprise and emphasis* (6), *i apprehension* (5), *a rejection* (4), and *etu look* (7).

- (4) A, kenà, su leheren iya.
rej don't because selfish really
UGH, don't, because he is really selfish.
- (5) I, i, ki Ukap, kenà ed-urung-urung se ebpenuva kayi
oh oh (rel) Ukap not take-thought that poison here
te irehaan dey.
the sleeping-quarters our
EE, EE, Ukap, he doesn't take thought that he will poison our sleeping quarters.
- (6) BABEBA, kayi taman te irek nu ke wayig.
surprise here until the armpit your the water
WOW, the water was up to your armpits.
- (7) "ETU", ke se kenakan, "baley ves en kayi."
excl. said the young-man house indeed now here
"LOOK!" said the young man, "here indeed is a house!"

1.3. The affirmation tagmeme consists of *uya yes* (9), *wey hesitant affirmation* (10), *wey uya well, yes* (8). It indicates an affirmative

reply or an expression of courteous agreement or consent.

- (8) WEY, UYA, ed-imeley ki pà tumù.
 aff. aff. rest we yet best
 WELL, YES, it's best that we rest yet.
- (9) UYA, edlevundus ki en.
 yes proceed we now
 ALL RIGHT, let's go.
- (10) WEY, embiya arà se igkesuati nu kediey.
 aff. if that the want you me
 YES (hesitant) if that's what you want for me.

1.4. The Vocative tagmeme consists of a personal noun or phrase which is used as a direct address (11). In calling style the vocative tagmeme is expounded by a 3rd person relator-axis phrase which even though it is 3rd person is actually a form of direct address (12). The vocative tagmeme in direct address between husband and wife is expounded by a 3rd person noun phrase; i.e., iney rin *his/her mother* is the direct address of a husband to a wife, meaning *mother-of-my-child*, or *wife*. amey rin *his/her father* is used by a wife to her husband, meaning *father-of-my-child*, or *husband* (13). In narrative discourse the narrator may address a character in his own story or a personification of one of the significant items of the tale. (For a fuller description of this see Wrigglesworth (1971).) In the first sentence of a paragraph or with the first mention of a character that character's name is used but subsequent references within the paragraph may switch to either 3rd person (as in Western literature) or very frequently to 2nd person direct address and this is an example of the vocative tagmeme (14). This is common not only to story telling but also to narration of recent events where it is less frequent and occurs where attention is on the action rather than on the identity of the actor.

- (11) Ne keeselem ne andew, INÀ, ne ebpenhumale e rà ded duen.
 now tomorrow when day Mother then make-a-try I only yet there
 Tomorrow, MOTHER, I will make a try there.
- (12) Ey, KI BAYI, ne behu pè bes ne nekeuma.
 Oh at Sister who new yet only (1k) arrived
 Look, SISTER, only now you arrive.

- (13) Hune ve su netaman keniya ne migkahi ini se
when indeed because finally there then said this the
 lipetuan, ke sikandin ne iyan kayi te kedì ne INEY RIN
datu' said he (1k) what here with me (1k) mother his
 se ebpemunuwit e pà.
that go-fishing I yet
Then finally indeed this datu' spoke, said he, "That which I
want to do, WIFE (literally his mother) is that I will go fishing."
- (14) Ne nekepurut ke en, UKAP, te rasang, ne midtiang nu
then gathered you now Ukap the sticks and carried you
 en te ed-ulì
now the return-home
YOU gathered small branches, UKAP, and you carried them
on your shoulder to go home.

1.5. The sequence conjunction tagmeme <wey su> and so (16) includes phrases such as dayi su *good that*, su *so, because* (17) and dayi ma su *good indeed* (15). It indicates a sequence relationship chronological or logical to that which precedes the sentence.

- (15) "DAYI MA", ke se ratu', "SU ruen senge vatil ne
good indeed said the datu' because there one basket of
 ringkut ne id-epan te takep wey vuu, SU ibpesayu an
flour which baiting the weir and trap because make-use there
 se ringkut ne nevurun.
the flour which collected
"GOOD INDEED," said the datu', "BECAUSE there is a basketful
of rice flour to bait the takep-weir and the vuu-traps,
BECAUSE that will take advantage of the rice flour which has
collected."
- (16) WEY SU nepawà en ne mibpengulì ke menge etew.
and so dawned now and went-home the (pl) people
AND SO when it was dawn the people returned home.
- (17) SU ini pà ne nekekuwa ki ini; nekeserungar te iring kayi.
so here yet (1k) got we this looked-toward the like this
SO only now have we got this; looked toward something like this.

1.6. The manner conjunction tagmeme <engkey pè be> *what but* (18), includes such phrases as ubpat te *but* (19), takin te *simultaneous with* (20), abpeg te *including* (21). The manner conjunction tagmeme indicates

specific manner in which the sentence is related to that which precedes it. In distribution *takin te* and *abpeg te* occur only in the periphery of a sentence which is embedded in base 2 of another sentence.

- (18) ENGKEY PÈ BE *te* *gune su* *netaman ne* *mibevelegkas*
 what yet indeed but when because until then got-dressed
 en ini se raha.
 now this the girl
 WHAT YET BUT then finally the young lady got dressed.
- (19) UBPAT TE *midlalag en si* *Ukap te* "Kenà a mulà
 but (rel) spoke now (rel) Ukap (rel) not I anyway
 ebpendiyà, su netuenan ku en se iyan ebuyuen dut
 go because know I now that what beg there
 datù ke kati ku ini.
 datu' the wild-cock my here
 BUT Ukap said now, "I will not go because I know already
 that the datu' will beg for this my wild cock."
- (20) Ne *gune ne* *nevulung ini se vatà ne* *midwaleng ini*
 then when (lk) satisfied this the child then got-busy this
 se meritan ne kua rin ini se lembung din ne iseluub ne
 the woman then took she this the dress her and put-on and
 TAKIN TE *migkahi ini se meritan te* "Beletamey
 simultaneously (rel) said this the woman (rel) Beletamey
 ne up-upiya ke rè be su ebpekebelag ki.
 (lk) take-care you only indeed because divorce we
 Then when the child was satisfied the woman got busy and took
 her dress and put it on and AT THE SAME TIME she said "Beletamey,
 you just be good because we are going to be divorced."
- (21) Wey embe *medwaleng ini se kelesanen ne mibpemehìpì*
 and indeed got-busy this the rooster and flapped-wings
 dutun ne ABPEG TE mid-ukara maa sikandin, ne langun te
 there then also (rel) crowed again he and all the
 gugut dan malung wey kumbalà, menge kulambu, ne
 things their wraps and shirts (pl) sleeping-nets (lk)
 rutun en.
 there now
 And the rooster got busy and flapped his wings then he ALSO crowed
 and all of their things their wraps and shirts, sleeping nets,
 appeared there now.

1.7. The time margin tagmeme states the time of the activity indicated by the sentence nucleus. The exponents of this tagmeme are a comment phrase (22), an independent clause (23, 24), a relator-axis clause (RAC1) (25), a simple sentence (SimS) (27), or an RAS_{time} (28, 29). The relator of the RAC1 is *wey when*. *Wey* occurs elsewhere as coordinating particle of coordinate constructions in which case it means *and* also as affirmation tagmeme in which case it means hesitant affirmation. The relators of the RAS_{time} are *hune/gune su then when*, *ne then* and *embiya when*. *Embiya* occurs elsewhere as relator of RAS_{cond} in which case it means *if*. A sequence of two time margins may occur in the same sentence (26).

- (22) MESELEM EN ne intulid en ni Mensupiya se emakan diya
morning now then unrolled now by Mensupiya the mat there
 te luuk te lama.
the middle of yard
 WHEN IT WAS MORNING, Mensupiya unrolled the mat the in the
 middle of the yard.
- (23) NERINEG DUT TE LANGUN NE MENGE ETEW ne keseveka
heard by the all of (pl) people (lk) as-one
 ne mid-itindeg.
then stood-up
 WHEN THE PEOPLE HEARD they stood up as one.
- (24) EGKUKU KE KELIYAWA ne mibpenirew ran kayi te takep dan.
calls the callaw and investigated they here the trap their
 AT THE CALLING OF THE CALLAW they investigated their traps.
- (25) WEY KE VE NEKEIRAT DUEN ne mebpakituvad ka
when you indeed boiled-off there then got-veg. you
 ne meritan.
who woman
 WHEN YOU HAD BOILED OFF THE WATER, you the woman got vegetables.
- (26) Hane NEKEUMA SI UKAP KAYI TE WAYIG ne WEY NU SENDENGA
 (inj) arrived (rel) Ukup here the water then when you looked-at
 UKAP SE TAKEP NU ne neneparinparin en.
Ukup the trap your and changed (pl) now
 NOTE, THEN WHEN UKAP ARRIVED AT THE WATER and WHEN YOU HAD
 LOOKED AT YOUR TRAP, UKAP, it had changed.

- (27) Engkey pà te EBPELINGGUMA EN SI UKAP KAYI TE PATAG TE
what yet but come-in-view now (rel) Ukap here the front of
 MENGE KENAKAN SU NEUNA RAN TE ED-ULÌ ne nepemulinggitan
(pl) young-men because first they in returning and caught-sight
 kayi te menge kenakan ini se kati nu.
here the (pl) young-men here the wild-cock your
What next but WHEN UKAP ARRIVED IN FRONT OF THE YOUNG MEN
BECAUSE THEY HAD RETURNED FIRST they caught sight of your
wild cock.
- (28) EMBIYA EBPEKETUEN KEY TE RAHA ne egkuwa key te sengetiman
when find we the girl then get we the one-piece
 ne ahung.
of gong
WHEN WE FIND A GIRL we will get one gong.
- (29) Gune su neuhet ne egenat en maa si Beletamey
then-when so long-time then depart now again (rel) Beletamey
 se ebpengati.
in hunting-cocks
THEN WHEN IT HAD BEEN A LONG TIME Beletamey set out to
hunt wild cocks.
- 1.8. The progression tagmeme indicates the general progress of the theme of the discourse whether temporal or logical. The <netaman> class of phrases included such phrases as *ikeruwa rin secondly* (32), *etawa rin its alternative* (33), *upama rin its example* (34) and *netaman din its result*, *netaman finally* (30), *add netaman guntaani finally now* (31).
- (30) Ne NETAMAN ne mid-engked ini se vatà.
 (lk) *finally then stopped this the child*
FINALLY this one, the child, stopped.
- (31) Hane NETAMAN GUNTEAN ne merukilem pà ne ebpekehimerat kew.
 (inj) *finally now then night yet and woke-up you*
Note, FINALLY NOW, it was still night and you woke up.
- (32) "IKERUWA RIN", ke si Ukap, ne "egkelilingey a ki Inà."
second its said (rel) Ukap (lk) worried I about Mother
"SECONDLY", said Ukap, "I am worried about my mother."

- (33) Neipusan be te ebpekaras su sika pengengewiran ne
finished indeed the harrowing because that field then
 meawang en ne egutuk te hewii te kebuwuri wey
clean now then set the day the rice-planting and
 ETAWA RIN be ke ed-uran
or its indeed the rains
When the harrowing is finished because the field is clear then
next the day is set for planting or AN ALTERNATIVE is they will
see if it rains.

- (34) UPAMA RIN liyu te kendulì ebuwis
example its apart-from the prayer-ceremony offer
 key te manuk.
we the chicken.
FOR EXAMPLE, apart from the prayer ceremony we give a wave
offering of the chicken.

1.9. The sentence topic tagmeme is expounded by a relator-axis phrase (RAP) with either the ke² class relators (35) or relators such as *misa even* (38), *embiya if* (39), or *mekeatag te relative to* (40). The relator is optionally omitted when paragraph linkage makes it clear that the phrase is a sentence topic (41) or when the axis is a comment phrase (42). The sentence topic is cross referenced in the nucleus of the sentence by a pronoun except when the sentence topic represents a process in which case it is cross referenced by an expanded paraphrase.

- (35) KE KINEBULANG KU DIYÀ TE KILAVEW ne warà mepesà
at New Year ceremony my there at Kilavew then not break
 ke etelug.
the egg
AT MY NEW YEAR CEREMONY THERE AT KILAVEW the egg did not
break (there).
- (36) INI SE INEY NU, ne mibpenahù en te kendidu wey
this the mother your put-away now the pots and
 kuvung.
coconut-shell
YOUR MOTHER HERE, she put away the pots and dipper.

- (37) HEINI VE ne sengekuwan en maa ne kedlalag ku ini
this indeed now different now again of speech my here
 rut te langun dut sikita.
to the all of us
THIS, this is a different speech of mine to all of us.
- (38) MISA SIKUNA ARA SE TENDAYAG, ne egkeketen ke rà an
even you there the serpent (lk) killed you only there
 ke ebpekeinum ka kayi te wayig.
if drink you here the water
EVEN YOU THERE THE SERPENT, you will be killed there if you
drink the water.
- (39) EMBIYA SI BELETAMEY ne ebmerungkug en.
if (rel) Beletamey then sad now
IF BELETAMEY, he was sad now.
- (40) MEKEATAG DÀ MA RUEN TE EDLELEHEN nu ne kenà
relative only indeed there to words your now don't
 ka ebpenganun-anun.
you complain
RELATIVE TO THAT WHICH YOU ARE SAYING, don't complain.
- (41) MEKEAMUNG DUT TE LUKES ne edtavang su engketà
son-in-law there of parent (lk) help because like-that
 imbe se ukit kayi.
indeed the custom here
THE SON-IN-LAW OF THE PARENT, he will help because that
indeed is the custom here.
- (42) DEISEK, DEKELÀ NE SERÀ NE rutun nu en mekita, Ukap.
small big of fish then there you now saw Ukap
LITTLE AND BIG FISH, you saw them there now, Ukap.

1.10 The condition margin tagmeme imposes a condition upon the activity indicated by the sentence nucleus and is expounded by RAS_{cond}. The relator is optionally omitted (54) when another margin occurs between condition margin and the sentence nucleus. The relator complex of RAS_{cond} includes the following: *ke relator* (45, 46) (seldom pre-nucleus), *embiya if* (43), *ke embiya if* (44), *misa ke even if* (47). The axis of the RAS_{cond} is expounded by a comment phrase (48, 49), an IndCl, IndS (50, 51, 52) or an RAS_{cause} (53). The condition margin may be permuted to post nucleus (45).

- (43) EMBIYA KUN DUEN IGKETAHÙ DUT TE ITUNGAN NU
if he-said there-is planned there the mind your
 ne ipanew ke en.
then go you now
IF YOU HAVE A PLAN IN MIND then go ahead, he says.
- (44) Ipanew ke en kun KE EMBIYA DUEN IGKETAHÙ DUT
to you now he-said (rel) if there-is planned there
 TE ITUNGAN NU.
the mind your
"Go ahead," he says, "IF YOU HAVE A PLAN IN MIND."
- (45) Misa imbe sikuna a se tendayag, ne egkeketen ke
even indeed you there the serpent then killed you
 rà an KE EBPEKEINUM KA TE WAYIG.
only there if drink you the water
Even you there the serpent, you will be killed IF YOU DRINK THE WATER.
- (46) KE MEUPIYA KE VE KANDAN ne ebpekekahi te "Id-awà
if good you indeed them then can-say (rel) remove
 a se sunggud; kenà ebpesungguren su metulanged bes."
that the fine don't fine-him because generous indeed
IF YOU ARE GOOD TO THEM they will be able to say, "Remove the fine; don't fine him because he is generous."
- (47) MISA KE MIDTENGE EN ne mibpuntilan pà.
even if wrapped now then put-inside yet
EVEN IF THEY WRAPPED IT they would have put it inside a bottle.
- (48) EMBIYA KENÀ INI SE LEMBUNG ne kenà ebpekelesed diyà
if not this the dress then not able-to-fly there
 te divavew.
to sky
IF NOT FOR THE DRESS she cannot fly up to the sky.
- (49) EMBIYA ARUS DÀ NE EBPUSEKAAN A NIKUNA ne asì
if fitting only that owned I by-you then see
 dè be ke ibehey a nikuna.
only indeed you give I by-you
IF IT IS FITTING THAT I WILL BE OWNED BY YOU see that you don't give me away.

- (50) EMBIYA KENÀ DIN EGKEULÌ SU WARÀ TAMUK DIN ne ed-imetayi.
if not he return-it because not wealth his then killed
 IF HE CANNOT RETURN IT BECAUSE HE HAS NO MEANS he will be killed.
- (51) EMBIYA DUMA NE KUKUMAN NE EBPETIBASEY KE ELIN MEAMA
if another of case and slash-one-another the both men
 ne minatey ke seveka ne edwaleng ke ratù ne egkukumen din.
then dead the one then get-busy the datu' and settle he
 IF IT IS ANOTHER KIND OF CASE WHERE TWO MEN SLASH EACH OTHER
 AND ONE IS DEAD, the datu' will get busy and settle it.
- (52) Embiya iyan nu rà ebpulungan te merukilem meandew se
if that you only do at night day the
 ebaal ka te tikes ...
make you the knee-bracelets
 If the only thing you do night and day is to make knee-bracelets...
- (53) EMBIYA VE SU KENÀ ED-URIPENEN DIYÀ TE DATÙ ne
if indeed because not enslaved there the datu' then
 ruma pà se egketemanan din.
other yet the fate her
 IF IT IS BECAUSE SHE WILL NOT BE ENSLAVED BY THE DATU' there
 will be another fate for her.
- (54) EDUPANG DEMA KE ESAWA NU ne apey rà kenà ka ebpengelikud
misbehave also the wife your and even only not you jealous
 ne egketuenan nu rema
then will-know you also
 IF YOUR WIFE MISBEHAVES even if you are not jealous, you will
 know about it.

1.11. The circumstance margin tagmeme defines a circumstance pertinent to the activity indicated by the sentence nucleus and is expounded by RAS_{cir}. The relator complex includes the following: *te relator* (55) (whose most frequent distribution is post-nucleus following a question), *tehaad te since* (56), *geina te since* (57).

- (55) Ebmenmenuwen ki embe sikuna ini TE KENÀ IYA EGKEPAKEY
how-about-it we indeed you here since not really possible
 NE EDSUKUVEN KU SIKUNA KAYI TE LEMBUNG KU.
that get-inside I you here the dress my
 What will we do about you SINCE IT IS NOT POSSIBLE FOR ME
 TO GET YOU INSIDE MY DRESS.

- (56) TEHAAD TE KENÀ KA EDUMA ne kenà a rema ebpendiyà.
since (rel) not you accompany then not I also go
SINCE YOU WILL NOT GO WITH ME I also will not go.
- (57) GEINA VE TE NEUYAG E RED, Ukap, ne iyan ke en
since indeed (rel) revived I yet Ukap then that you know
ratù; siaken ke ratù ne kenà ad ederatù.
datu' I the datu' then not I datu'
SINCE YOU HAVE REVIVED ME, Ukap, you are now the datu'; I
the datu' will not rule.

1.12. The Concessive margin tagmeme states a concession in relation to the assertion indicated by the sentence nucleus. It is expounded by RAS_{conc} with the following included as part of the relator complex: *misa/misan even though* (58), *misa se/misan se even since* (59), *epiya even though* (60), *epiya se even since*, *apey ke even if* (63), *apey te even since* (64), *endei se wherever* (61), *engkey se whatever* (62), *se/te relator*. *se* and *te* occur most frequently in post nucleus position following a question. The axis is expounded by a comment phrase, *IndCl* or *IndS*.

apey even as relator of RAS_{conc} contrasts with its distribution as relator of an *RACl* in that the relator of an *RACl* draws the clitic pronoun actor of the clause which expounds the axis.

- (58) MISA KENÀ NU IGKESUAT ne idtehel ku iya keykew
even-though not you want (lk) force I really you
EVEN THOUGH YOU DON'T WANT IT I will force it on you.
- (59) MISAN SE NEKESAHAD EN ne edtentenuran nu pad.
even-though (rel) passed-by now then remember you yet
EVEN THOUGH IT HAS PASSED BY try to remember yet.
- (60) EPIYA ENGKEY NE SAKIT ne ebpekegaga en.
even whatever of sickness then sufficient now
WHATEVER IS THE KIND OF THE SICKNESS, it is adequate.
- (61) Ini se menge raha ne ENDEI SE EBPEKEUMA KAYI
this (rel) (pl) young-ladies then where the arrive here
TE PELIGÌ ne edluungen din en se lembung din ne
the pool then remove she now (rel) dress her (lk)
ebpemihù en.
bathe now
These young ladies, WHEREVER THEY ARRIVE HERE AT THE POOL, they
remove their dresses and bathe.

- (62) ENGKEY SE EDLELAHEN DUT TE INEY NU ne asì dà ke
what (rel) say there the mother your then see-only-that
 kenà ka edtavak.
not you answer

WHATEVER YOUR MOTHER SAYS see that you do not answer.

- (63) APEY KE ED-IPANEW a ne kayi red ke itungan ku te keykew.
even if go I then here yet the mind my with you
EVEN IF I GO my thoughts are here with you.

- (64) APEY GUNTEAN TE MIBPIPINTU' INI SE RAHA ne kenà ma
even now since closed-up this the girl (lk) not indeed
 ebpekelipereng.
sleep

EVEN NOW SINCE THE GIRL HAD CLOSED THE DOOR she could not sleep.

1.13. The cause margin tagmeme states a reason, cause, intention or result of the activity or situation indicated by the sentence nucleus and is expounded by RAS_{caus}. The relator is *su because, evidenced by*. The axis is a comment phrase (65), RAC1 (67, 68, 69), IndC1 (66) or IndS (70, 71, 72). The fact that the cause margin indicates result as well as cause is seen in the following examples which give essentially the same information regardless of which item occurs in the nucleus. Nekesinehew a te merukilem su egkelimengawan a. *I cried at night because I am lonely.* Egkelimengawan a su nekesinehew a te merukilem. *I am lonely as evidenced by the fact that I cried at night.*

- (65) Kenà edlaus sikandin SU KE ANAK DIN NE EDREDETAN.
not proceed he because the child his who fevered
He will not go ahead BECAUSE OF HIS CHILD WHO IS ILL.
- (66) Nekelutù ne ebpemendiyà en ke langun te perevenian SU
cooked then go now the all to seed-box because
 EDSAKUP TE KEBPENAWAGTAWAG TE WELIAN.
attend the praying the shaman
When it is cooked everyone will go to the seedbox BECAUSE THEY WILL ATTEND THE PRAYING OF THE SHAMAN.
- (67) Lùlù ke en SU EMU KA MEKEKAAN EN.
rinse you now because so you eat now
Rinse your hands SO THAT YOU CAN EAT NOW.

- (68) Merungkug SU WEY RIN EBPENUHURA SE LANGUNLANGUN
sad because when he recollects the all
 NE EGKEGAGA RIN.
of wealth his
He is sad (BECAUSE) WHEN HE RECOLLECTS ALL OF HIS WEALTH.
- (69) Engked kew en bayi ke ebpelahuy SU MATAG KEW
stop you now sister the running because only you
 RÀ EGKERUUHI.
yet tired
Stop running, Sister, BECAUSE YOU WILL ONLY JUST GET TIRED.
- (70) Liveri nu, Beletamey, arà se upi SU (Ind. Ref. S. as axis)
return you Beletamey that the case because
 KALU KE DUEN TAHÙ DIN MAA.
perhaps (rel) there-is contents it yet
Return to the case, Beletamey, BECAUSE PERHAPS THERE IS SOMETHING IN IT.
- (71) Embiya meselem ne sengkiyew ka te bulù ne mebpengemanga
when morning then grasp you the bolo and sharpen
 se egkamet, SU (Quasi Cl. Equiv. S. as axis) ARÀ DÀ
to clear-field because that only
 IMBE SE KEUPIYANAN TA SE EBPENGENGAWID.
indeed the welfare our the farming
When it is morning grasp your bolo and sharpen it to make a field BECAUSE THAT'S OUR ONLY WELFARE, FARMING.
- (72) Iyan igkebuku ni Ukap ne neawà ke kati SU MIDTIDTU
that problem of Ukap (lk) went the wild-cock because that
 RUT TE KEMUNEY KE AYAM DIN SU ARÀ SE KATI NE
there the owner the pet its because that the wild-cock (lk)
 IYAN KEMUNEY KETA SE RAHA TE ELIMUGKAT.
that owner that the young-lady of Elimugkat
The problem of Ukap is that his wild cock left BECAUSE IT WENT RIGHT TO ITS OWNER BECAUSE THE OWNER OF THAT WILD-COCK IS THE YOUNG LADY OF ELIMUGKAT.

2. SENTENCE TYPES

2.1. The Simple Sentence contrasts with the other sentence types in that it has only one base, it is not introduced by a formula, and its exponent is an independent clause. It is represented by the following bidimensional array:

CHART 3

SIMPLE SENTENCE

(± Per1)	+ Base(simple)
	IndCl

In the following examples the sentence Base is shown in upper case.

- (73) Hane nekuwa rà ni Ukap ini se rekelà en se tahù kayi
 (inj) took only by Ukap this the large now the contents here
 te sakù din NE MID-ULÌ EN KAYI TE INEY RIN.
 of sack his and returned now here to mother his
*Note, when Ukap got the great amount that was put in the sack
 HE WENT HOME TO HIS MOTHER.*
- (74) Wey LEVUNDUS KE EN su edlevundus ad dema su warà
 well proceed you now because proceed I also because not
 duma nu ayan te ed-ipanew.
 companion your there to go
*Well, GO AHEAD because I will go also because you have no
 companion to go with.*
- (75) ENGKEY SE NERINEG NU NE LALAG DUT TE APÙ NU?
 what the heard you of words there the grandfather your
 WHAT DID YOU HEAR YOUR GRANDFATHER SAY?
- (76) Apey rà sika meama ne warà meakat ke migemew te arà
 even only those men who not invited-to-help if come-out to that
 ne kinepepeamung NE EGKETE EVANGAN su iyan din uleula arà
 (lk) helping then helped because that he do that
 ne mid-iket sikandin su apey merakel ke ebpeketavang kandin.
 (lk) tied he because so many the must-help him
*Even those men who were not invited to help if they come out to
 that work group THEY WILL BE HELPED because what he has done is
 to tie them so that many will have to help him in return.*

2.2. The Juxtaposed Sentence is an addition type sentence. It contrasts with the other addition sentences (Sequence Sentence and Coordinate Sentence) in that (1) its bases are not joined by a coordinating conjunction but by juxtaposition, and (2) its base 2 amplifies or paraphrases the action or state of base 1. It is represented by the following bidimensional array.

CHART 4

JUXTAPOSED SENTENCE

(±Peri)	+Base ₁ (statement)	+Base ₂ (amplification)...	±(Base(ampli.))
	IndCl SimS	IndCl SimS	IndCl SimS

- (77) (Base 1) *Langun dut te minge weliyan din ne mibpinuu en*
all there of (pl) shaman his then sat now
diyà te emakan;
there the mat
- (Base 2) *si Anggam Pedro mibpinuu en, si Ansihem mibpinuu*
(rel) uncle Pedro sat now (rel) Ansihem sat
en dutun wey senge etew ne langkat ne nekeamut dutun.
now there and (sing.) person of sect (lk) joined there
All of his shamans sat down on the bamboo mat;
- (Base 2) *Uncle Pedro sat down, Ansihem sat down, and a member of the langkat sect joined them.*
- (78) *Pemevavas kew; (Base 2) pemengusu kew dut te lengesa dut*
get-anointed you rub you there the blood of
te manuk su bavas kew
the chicken because get-anointed you
Get anointed; (Base 2) rub on the blood of the chicken because you will get anointed.
- (79) *Embiya leheren ka ne ebpekekahi ke etew te "A, kenà*
if selfish you then can-say the people (rel) ugh don't
su leheren iya; (Base 2 of D.Q.) kenà ebehey; (Base 3 of
because selfish really not give
D.Q.) kenà edtavang te ruma rin ne egkerasey: kenà edtavang
not help the companion his who troubled not help

dut te ruma ne egkeuru.

there the companion who worried

If you are selfish people will say "Ugh, don't because he is really selfish; (Base 2 of D.Q.) he doesn't give; (Base 3 of D.Q.) he doesn't help his companions who are in difficulties; (Base 4 of D.Q.) he doesn't help his companions who are worried."

- (80) Endei be ke ibpeangey ku keniyu: (Base 2) meambe ke warà
where indeed the sent-for I you who the not
 meduma si Ukap?
come-with (rel) Ukap

Where is the one I sent you for; (Base 2) why didn't Ukap come?

- (81) Helevek kew en ne menge kenakan, (Base 2) pilaya niyu
work you now who (pl) young-men fell you
 en ke memaan.
now the betel-palm

Work, men; (Base 2) cut down the betel palm.

- (82) Nelened en; (Base 2) diyan en te dilarem en te wayig
submerged now there now the bottom now the water
 si Ukap.
 (rel) Ukap

Now he is submerged; (Base 2) now Ukap is down under the water.

- (83) ...su mibpengirehà a ini; (Base₂) mid-abpet a mibpenuva
because camped-out I here came-for I poison-fish
 ...because I camped out here; (Base 2) I came to poison fish.

2.3. The Sequence Sentence is an addition type sentence which contrasts to other sentence types in the following ways: (1) Its bases are joined by coordinating conjunction *ne then*; (2) The actions or states indicated by the bases must occur in the same event in the chronological or logical order given. A Sequence Sentence whose Base₁ (antecedent) is expounded by IndCl (84) may at first glance resemble a Simple Sentence whose Time Margin is expounded by IndCl. They clearly contrast, however, in that a Time Margin functions in paragraph linkage, i.e., it repeats part of the previous sentence and provides the time setting for the action indicated by the sentence nucleus. Base₁ (antecedent) of the Sequence Sentence is not exploited for paragraph linkage. It does not present a time setting but rather an antecedent action which is followed in sequence by a consequent action or actions. Thus in

example (23) of section 1.7. *The people heard it*, is the time setting for the action *and stood up as one*. In example (24) of the same section *At the calling of the callaw* is the time setting for the action *they investigated their traps*. In both cases the time setting is an IndC1 which in itself has no tense or mode restriction which would contrast it from the IndC1 expounding a Base₁ (antecedent). The contrast is made clear, however, in such examples as (87) below where *she snatched up a cooking pot* is clearly the antecedent action (not time setting) for *she filled it*.

The Sequence Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array.

CHART 5

SEQUENCE SENTENCE

(±Peri)	+Base ₁ (anteced.)	+lk	+Base ₂ (conseq.)...±	(+lk	+Base ₂ (conseq.))
	IndC1	ne	IndC1	ne	IndC1
	IndS	then	IndS	then	IndS

- (84) (TM) Nepawè en ne (Base₁) midwaleng si Ukap ne
dawned now (lk) got-busy (rel) Ukap (lk)
 (Base₂) kuwaa rin se malung din (Base₂) ne tuus te egkeayuayu
took he the wrap his (lk) sign that poor
 nevenar si Ukap su iyan din midtehuan kayi te lutù
really (rel) Ukap because that he put-in here the lunch
 din ne malung din.
his which wrap his
 (TM) When it had dawned (Base₁) Ukap got busy (Base₂) and he
 took his wrap (Base₂) and it is a sign that Ukap is really poor
 because that which he took in his lunch is his wrap.
- (85) (TM) Ne nerineg dut te minge etew (Base₁) ne nevurun
then heard there the (pl) people (lk) gathered
 en diyà te valey ne egkeenan (Base₂) ne mibpehenda en ke
now there the house of eating (lk) served now the
 langun ne meritan (Base₂) ne langun dut te minge meama ne
all of women (lk) all there the (pl) men then
 edtundug en dema se egkemkem te idserà (Base₂) ne langun
followed now also the holding the viand (lk) all

dut te etew ne nekekaan en.
there the people then ate now

(TM) *When all the people heard it then (Base₁) they gathered there in the eating house and (Base₂) all the women served and (Base₂) all of the men followed holding the dishes of viand and (Base₂) all of the people ate.*

- (86) (Base₁) Embiya egkeamin ini se egkeenen dey ki Inà ne
if consumed this the food our with Mother then
 warà en keduwa ku te ebpetayan te lukes ku ne (Base₂)
not now alternative I to death of parent my (lk)
 sebseveka ne ed-uyehen ku ne kenà ku egkegaga.
one of provide-living I and not I sufficient
 (Base₁) *If this food of ours, mine and Mother's, is consumed, I have no choice but to be the death of my parent and (Base₂) even though I am making a living for only one, I am not sufficient.*

- (87) (TM) Hune ve su nekita te iney ni Ukap ke mid-ulì
then-when indeed so saw by mother of Ukap that returned
 en ke anak din ne (Base₁) edsengkiyew en te kendidu, ne
now the child her (lk) snatched-up now the pot (lk)
 (Base₂) midtikuren ini se meritan.
filled-it this the woman

(TM) *Then when the mother of Ukap saw that her child had returned, (Base₁) she snatched up a cooking pot and (Base₂) the woman filled it.*

- (88) (TM) Nekepasek ini se menge kenakan ini te pelaus ne
erected this the (pl) young-men here the post (lk)
 (Base₁) intangen en se hinarang, ne (Base₂) ke ruma ne
added now the floor-poles (lk) the other of
 kenakan ne migaad en te vangal wey hasew, menge
young-men (lk) got now the rafters and roof-poles (pl)
 atep; midtimpad te atep.
roofing cut the roofing

(TM) *When the young men had erected the corner posts (Base₁) they added the floor-poles and (Base₂) some of the young men got the rafters and the roof poles, roofing, they cut roofing.*

- (89) Hane (TM) nekeuma si Ukap kayi te iney rin ne (Base₁)
 (inj) *arrived (rel) Ukap here the mother his (lk)*

inrenà nu en se pentiyari nu ketuhasan din duen ne
set-down you now the catch your gain his there (lk)

(Base₂) impelantap nu se kati nu te pepasan.
placed you the wild-cock your on blank

*Note, (TM) when Ukap arrive here at his mother's house (Base₁)
 you set down your gain, his catch (YOUR and HIS both refer
 to Ukap) then (Base₂) you placed your wild cock on the plank.*

2.4. The Coordinate Sentence is an addition type sentence which contrasts to other sentence types in the following ways: (1) Its bases are joined by the coordinating conjunction *wey and*; (2) The actions indicated in the bases need not be presented in chronological sequence and may be permuted in order (91); (3) The actions indicated are not necessarily related and may be somewhat heterogenous (90). *wey and* in its distribution as a coordinating conjunction does not draw the pronoun as it does when it occurs as relator of an RAC1. When there are more than two bases *wey*'s other than the last one may be dropped. It is represented in the following bidimensional array.

CHART 6

COORDINATE SENTENCE

(±Per1)	+Base ₁ (head)	+ lk	+Base ₂ (head...±)	(+lk	+Base ₂ (head))
	IndC1	<i>wey</i>	IndC1	<i>wey</i>	IndC1
	IndS	<i>and</i>	IndS	<i>and</i>	IndS

(90) (Base₁) Kenà a ebpekepedian su warà kurata ku *wey* (Base₂)
not I can-market because not money my and

keduwa rin ne warà ebpekepevantay kayi te valey.
secondly its then not able-to-watch here the house

*I cannot go to market because (Base₁) I have no money and (Base₂)
 secondly there is no one who watch the house here. (The Coordinate
 Sentence is axis of the RAS_{caus})*

(91) (Base₁) Inrenà ke manuk ne deruwa ne midsivurakan te
set-down the chicken of two and sprinkled with

kasag (Base₂) wey seveka se etelug ne in-antug.
popped-rice and one the egg (lk) is-cast

*(Base₁) When the two chickens are set down, popped rice is
 sprinkled (Base₂) and one egg is tossed down.*

- (92) (Base₁) Ruen en se mevavà (Base₂) ruen en se
there-are now the short there-are now the
 mepatag wey (Base₂) ruen pà manen metikang pà dut langun.
level and there-are yet also tallest yet there all
 (Base₁) *There are those which are short, (Base₂) there are those*
which are level, and (Base₂) there are those which are tallest
of all.

2.5. The Equivalent Sentence³ is one of three equivalence type sentences whose bases are all joined by *se equals* or *simultaneous with*. It contrasts to other sentence types in that the exponent of Base₁ (statement) is an RACl which states *that which...* and the exponent of Base₂ (equivalent) is an IndCl (95,96,97) or IndS (93,98) which completes the equation. It is represented in the following bidimensional array.

CHART 7

EQUIVALENT SENTENCE

(±Perl)	+Base ₁ (statement)	+ marker	+Base ₂ (equivalent)
	RACl _{nom}	se equals or simultaneous with	IndCl IndS

- (93) (Base₁) Iyan nu rà edtentenuran se (Base₂) egkeveladnà
that you only remember (mk) low
 ke andew ne ed-ipanew ke en.
the sun and go you now
 (Base₁) *That which you remember is (Base₂) that when the sun*
is low you will go.
- (94) (Base₁) Iyan nu kebpenirew, Ukap se (Base₂) langun dut
that your investigation Ukap (mk) all there
 takep ne id-awè en dut wayig.
traps (lk) removed now there water
 (Base₁) *What you are investigating, Ukap (Base₂) is all of the*
traps which are being taken out of the water.

- (95) (Base₁) Engkey pè be te iyan en pulungan ni Ukap se
what yet but (rel) that now go of Ukap (mk)
 (Base₂) edsinehew diyà te rilarem te wayig.
cry there at bottom of water
 (Base₁) *What then, but that which Ukap did (Base₂) was to*
cry at the bottom of the river.
- (96) (Base₁) Iyan nu en ebpulungan te merukilem meandew se
that you now do at night day (mk)
 (Base₂) ebpemukpuk ka.
clap-hands you
 (Base₁) *That which you did night and day (Base₂) was to clap*
your hands.
- (97) (Base₁) Iyan din neumaan se (Base₂) minatey ke anak din.
that he arrived-at (mk) dead the child his
 (Base₁) *That which he found on arriving (Base₂) was that his*
child was dead.
- (98) (Base₁) Iyan ku rà impengkayi se (Base₂) midsuhù a
that I only reason-to-come (mk) sent I
 ni Amà ke edlaus ke red ke ebpengirehà su eduma
by Father if proceed you only to camp-out because accompany
 si Amà keykew.
 (rel) *Father you*
 (Base₁) *That which is my reason for coming (Base₂) is that I am*
sent by Father to see if you will still proceed to camp out
because Father will go with you.

2.6. The Merged Sentence is an equivalence sentence. It contrasts to other sentence types in that a single shared noun phrase expounds the topic tagmeme of the clauses of both bases. The verb which occurs in the IndCl which expounds the Base(action) is from a restricted list of action verbs which includes such verbs as *itindeg stand up*, *edlaus proceed*, *pemenaug go down*, *ipaneu go*, *rembiyur disturb*, etc.

The Merged Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array.

CHART 8

MERGED SENTENCE

(±Per1)	+Base ₁ (action)	+ marker	+Base ₂ (Simultaneous action)
	IndCl with <laus> verb stems	se equals or simultaneous with	IndCl

Note: The shared topic tagmeme need not have the same grammatical relationship to the verb of Base₁(action) as it has to the verb of the Base₂(simultaneous action). Most frequent in occurrence is a topic which is actor of both verbs (99-103) but there are also Merged Sentences where the shared topic is actor of one verb and goal of the other verb (104-107).

- (99) Nekeipus dema si UKAP INI se ebmamà ne senggeleya
finished also (rel) Ukap here (mk) chew then tucked-under-arm
 nu en ini se kati ne mid-itindeg ke en.
you now this the wild-cock and stood you now
When UKAP HERE finished chewing, tucking his wild-cock under
his arm he stood up.
- (100) Ne kenà AD INI edlaus se pengirehà su warà
then not I here proceed (mk) camp-out because not
 duma ku.
companion my
I will not proceed to camp out because I have no companion.
- (101) Nerineg dà ni Ukap ne ed-ip-ipanew en se elilikuvung
heard only by Ukap then go now (mk) carrying-on-head
 te sakù. (Actor topic is 3rd person zero pronoun)
the sack
When Ukap heard that he went now carrying a sack on his head.
- (102) Mibpemenaug KE en se ebpemengà te kayu.
went-down you now (mk) look-for the wood
YOU went down to look for wood.
- (103) Hane nerineg dà ni Ukap, ne mid-itindeg KE en se
 (inj) *heard only by Ukap and stood you now (mk)*

edubpù te senar nu.
draw-near to place your

Note, when Ukap heard that YOU stood up to draw near to your place.

- (104) Egkerembiyur Kl en se ebpeeneng-eneng.
disturbed we now (mk) resting
WE are disturbed now from resting.

- (105) Egkevangen A se ebpenulam.
prevented I (mk) embroidering
I am being prevented from embroidering.

- (106) Ebpengelaga Kl en se ebpengehaten. (Topic is goal of both verbs)
jinxed we now (mk) bitten
WE are jinxed and will be bitten.

- (107) ...su nerasey AD dema se ed-anak
because afflicted I also (mk) giving-birth
...because it is made difficult for ME also in giving birth.

2.7. The Quasi-clausal Sentence resembles a clause in that the sequence of + marker + Base₂(equivalent) is similar to a topic noun phrase on the clause level. The Quasi-clausal Sentence contrasts with a clause in that in a clause (1) a topic noun phrase is introduced by the relator *ke* rather than the marker *se* and (2) a noun phrase introduced by *ke* does not permit the degree of recursion in the head slot which is permitted following the marker *se*. The exponents of Base₂ are IndC1 (109,110) or IndS (108,111,112). It is represented by the following bidimensional array.

CHART 9

QUASI-CLAUSAL SENTENCE

(±Peri)	+Base ₁ (statement)	+ Marker	+Base ₂ (equivalent)
	IndC1 (-topic)	<i>se</i> <i>equals</i>	IndC1 IndS

- (108) ...ne (Base₁) egketendaan dan se (Base₂) itung
 then witnesses they (mk) (excl)
 mibped-esawa ke anak dan.
 got-married the child their
 ...(Base₁) they are witnesses (Base₂) that really their child
 got married.
- (109) (Base₁) Kenà egked-uleula ni Anggam se (Base₂) kenà din
 not custom of uncle (mk) not he
 ebpekeenen ke anak din.
 feed the child his
 (Base₁) It is not the custom of Uncle (Base₂) that he does
 not feed his children.
- (110) (Base₁) Angin be perem te hinawa ku se (Base₂)
 have indeed hope the feelings I (mk)
 egkesuat a ne eduma...
 want I (1k) go
 (Base₁) I have the feelings (Base₂) that I want to go...
- (111) ...(Base₁) netuenan ke en se (Base₂) iyan ebuyuen dut
 know you now (mk) that beg there
 datù ke kati ku ini.
 datu' the wild-cock of-mine here
 ...(Base₁) you know now (Base₂) that that which the datu' will
 beg for is my wild cock.
- (112) ...(Base₁) su nepespesaran se (Base₂) eduma ke
 because agreement (mk) accompany the
 apù nu kedì te kebpengirehà
 grandfather your me in camp-out
 ...(Base₁) because it was the agreement (Base₂) that your
 grandfather would accompany me in camping out.

2.8. The Antithetical Sentence is one of three opposition sentences. It contrasts to other sentence types in that its two bases (1) are not permutable, (2) are joined by an antithetical marker,⁴ (3) Base₂(anti-thesis) may be expounded by a single negative (114). It is represented by the following bidimensional array.

CHART 10

ANTITHETICAL SENTENCE

(±Per ₁)	+Base ₁ (thesis)	+Antithetical Marker	+Base ₂ (antithesis)
	IndC1	ugaïd however mesi se instead	IndC1 IndS Negative

- (113) (Base₁) Ebpekeutang ka UGAID (Base₂) duen dà iseg din.
can-charge you however there-is yet increase its

(Base₁) *You can charge it BUT* (Base₂) *there is an increase in price.*

- (114) (Base₁) Kunaan ku ke mibpengkayi UGAID (Base₂) warà.
thought I that came however not

(Base₁) *I thought that he had come HOWEVER* (Base₂) *he hadn't.*

- (115) (Base₁) Mibitiyaraan din si Ansihem te edteveken ke
took-counsel he (rel) Ansihem to inject the

lukes UGAID (Base₂) kenà sikandin egkiyug.
old-one however not he permit

(Base₁) *He counselled with Ansihem about injecting the old man HOWEVER* (Base₂) *he would not permit it.*

- (116) (Base₁) Iyan ku itungan se edtelavuk a kayi te keniyu
that my thought (mk) attend I here at you

UGAID (Base₂) dut te warà med-engked ke uran ne warà
however there at not stop the rain then not

a medlaus.

I continue

(Base₁) *My thought was that I would come here to see you, HOWEVER,* (Base₂) *since the rain did not stop I did not continue.*

- (117) Enta ke warà ka migkulayì ne (Base₁) kenà ki red perem
only if not you yelled then not we only hopefully

egketuntulan MESÌ BE (Base₂) se migkulayì ka.
found instead indeed (rel) yelled you

If only you hadn't yelled (Base₁) we would not have been found out, BUT INSTEAD, you yelled.

- (118) (Base₁) *Iyan embe ke meupiya ne egkeenen, MESI BE*
that indeed the good of food instead indeed

(Base₂) *se iyan niyu egkeenen se ukap.*
 (rel) *that you eat the chaff*

(Base₁) *That's the good food, BUT INSTEAD (Base₂) you eat chaff.*

- (119) (Base₁) *Warà ded mevinsuli ke valey ke riyà ke red,*
not only burn the house if there you only

MESI SE (Base₂) *midtelukun ka.*
instead (rel) followed you

(Base₁) *The house would not have burned had you been there*
BUT INSTEAD (Base₂) you came along.

- (120) (Base₁) *Kenà en maa perem edetengen UGAID (Base₂)*
not now again hopefully fevered however

nekehasà din dà.
got-thin he yet

(Base₁) *He is not fevered, HOWEVER, (Base₂) he has become thin.*

2.9. The Interdependent Conditional Sentence⁵ is also an opposition sentence contrasting to all other sentence types in that neither base is expounded by an independent clause. Base 1 is expounded by a relator axis clause and base 2 by RAS_{cond}. RACl_{time} gives a negative implication to base 1 and RACl_{conc} expounding base 1 gives a negative implication to the whole nucleus. Misa/misan *even* and apey *even* in the examples given here (121,122,123) contrast to their distribution as relators of RAS in that here, as relators of RACl, they draw the clitic pronoun actor from the clause which expounds the axis.

The Interdependent Conditional Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array.

CHART 11

INTERDEPENDENT CONDITIONAL SENTENCE

(±Peri)	+ Base ₁ (condition 1)	+ Base ₂ (condition 2)
	RACl _{time}	RAS _{cond}
	RACl _{conc}	

- (121) (Base₁) Misa enir, Ukap, te takep nu (Base₂) ke ruen pad
even scale Ukap of trap your if there-is yet
 iya edsahad.
really entered
 (Base₁) A fish scale, Ukap, (Base₂) not even that had entered.
- (122) (Base₁) Misan kew ukasi (Base₂) ke egkevulung kew en neraan.
even you killed if satisfied you now already
 (Base₁) Don't go to be killed (Base₂) without getting full first.
- (123) (Base₁) Apey rà idsapà (Base₂) ke egkaan a te etew.
even only cursed if eat I the people
 (Base₁) I would not eat people (Base₂) even if I were to
 be cursed.
- (124) (Base₁) Wey ad buwa ebpekelived kayi (Base₂) ke meputì
when I perhaps return here if white
 en ke uwak.
now the crow
 (Base₁) I won't return here (Base₂) until the crow turns white.
- (125) (Base₁) Wey ad ed-ilutù (Base₂) ke egkevitiì a.
when I cook if hungry I
 (Base₁) When I cook, (Base₂) it won't be until I am hungry.

2.10. The Alternative Sentence is an opposition sentence which contrasts to all other sentence types in the following ways: (1) Its two bases are joined by an alternative marker *etawa or*; (2) Base₁ and Base₂(alternative) may permute in which case the permuted Base₁ may delete (a) all of a negative clause except the negative, (b) all of the RACl_{time} except the relator complex which includes adverb clitics. It is represented by the following bidimensional array.

CHART 12

ALTERNATIVE SENTENCE

(± Per ₁)	+ Base ₁	+ Alternative Marker	+ Base ₂ (alternative)
	IndCl	<i>etawa</i>	IndCl
	NegCl	<i>or</i>	
	RACl _{time}		

- (126) (Base₁) Edlevundus ki en etawa (Base₂(alternative)) ed-eles
proceed we now or hide

ki pà?

we yet

(Base₁) *Will we proceed now or (Base₂) will we hide yet?*

permuted

(Base₂) Ed-eles ki pà etawa (Base₁) edlevundus ki en?
hide we yet or proceed we now

(Base₂) *Will we hide yet or (Base₁) will we proceed now?*

- (127) Belehad ke (Base₁) kenà a ed-apug etawa (Base₂) ed-apug a.
nevermind if not I chew or chew I

Nevermind if (Base₁) I don't take a chew or (Base₂) if I chew.

permuted

Belehad ke (Base₂) ed-apug a etawa (Base₁) kenà.
nevermind if chew I or not

Nevermind if (Base₂) I chew or (Base₁) not.

- (128) (Base₁) Kenà eduma ke amey nu keykew etawa (Base₂)
not accompany the father your you or

eduma? (actor is 3rd person zero pronoun)

accompany

(Base₁) *Will your father not go with you or (Base₂) will he go?*

permuted

(Base₂) Eduma ke amey nu keykew etawa (Base₁) kenà?
accompany the father your you or not

(Base₂) *Will your father go with you or (Base₁) not?*

- (129) (Base₁) Wey ki en egkaan etawa (Base₂) egkaan ki
later-when we now eat or eat we

pà neraan?

yet beforehand

permuted

(Base₂) Egkaan ki pà neraan etawa (Base₁) wey en?
eat we yet beforehand or later-when now

(Base₂) *Will we eat beforehand or (Base₁) later on?*

2.11. The Direct Quote Sentence is one of three introduced sentences. It contrasts with all other sentence types in the following ways: (1) It has a direct quote base which is expounded by an IndCl (130-134), and IndS (135-138), a paragraph, a discourse (139). (2) It is introduced by a sequence of two formulae one of which is obligatory. Formula 1 is seen in examples (130-133 and 136-140). Formula 2 is seen in examples (134,135 and 141). It is represented by the following bidimensional array.

CHART 13

DIRECT QUOTE SENTENCE

(±Per1)	Quote ±Formula 1	Quote ±Formula 2	+ marker	+Base(direct quote)
	IndCl	quote phrase	<i>ne then</i> <i>se equals</i> <i>te relator</i> <i># relator</i>	IndCl IndS paragraph discourse

Note: The quote phrase which expounds Quote Formula 2 is a relator-axis phrase whose relator is *ke topic marker* and whose axis is a pronoun of the emphasis set or a personal noun phrase.

- Rules:** (1) Quote Formula 2 may permute to within the base following any clause level tagmeme except preceding clitics.
- (2) A negative, time, location or relator_{time} tagmeme plus a clitic pronoun actor may stand for the entire IndCl of the base.
- (3) *ne* is the preferred marker following Quote Formula 2.

- (130) (Formula₁) Midlalag en ke meritan se, (Base) "Engkey se
 said now the woman (mk) what the
 nerulang nu ne bitiyara?"
 find you of counsel
 (Formula₁) The woman said now, (Base) "What counsel did you get?"
- (131) (Formula₁) Iyan lalag ni Ukap ne, (Base) "Egkeayuayu ki ves
 that words of Ukap (mk) poor we indeed
 iya ini Inà."
 really here Mother

(Formula₁) *That which Ukap said was,* (Base) *"We are really poor here, Mother."*

- (132) (Formula₁) *Ne mid-insà en ini se ratù te* (Base)
then asked now here the datu' (mk)

"Endei be ke ibpeangey ku keniyu?"
where indeed the fetched I you

(Formula₁) *Then the datu' asked,* (Base) *"Where is the one I sent you to fetch?"*

- (133) (Formula₁) *Ne midlalag en ke tutugker,* (Formula₂) *ke*
then spoke now the tutugker (rel)

se tutugker ne (Base) *"Engkey se ebpekeiveleng te*
the tutugker (mk) what the swallow the
telikusuy te vanug?"
wing-bone of eagle

(Formula₁) *Then the tutugker said,* (Formula₂) *said the tutugker,*
 (Base) *"Who can swallow the wing bone of an eagle?"*

- (134) (Base) *"Keremà,"* (Formula₂) *ke se tutugker,* (Base continued)
tomorrow (rel) the tutugker

ne "iyan niyu helevek se egkuya."
 (mk) *that your work the race*

(Base) *"Tomorrow,"* (Formula₂) *said the tutugker,* (Base continued)
"that which you are assigned to do is to race."

- (135) (Formula 2) *Ke se bayuk kayi te kelesanen te* (Base) *"Kenà*
said the chant here of rooster (mk) not

a ivehey nikuna, Ukap, ke ebpesuhuan ke en dut datù.
I given by-you Ukap if ordered you now there datu'

(Formula₂) *Said the chant of the rooster,* (Base) *"Don't give me away, Ukap, if you are ordered by the datu' there."*

- (136) (Formula₁) *Midlalag en ke menge kenakan te* (Base) *"Siaken*
said now the (pl) young-man (mk) I

se edtuganur rut te kati nu su kenà nu patut
the keeper there the wild-cock your because not you fit
an, su sikuna, ne mereatey ka.
there because you (lk) bad you

(Formula₁) *The young men said,* (Base) *"I will take care of your wild cock because you are not fit because you are worthless."*

- (137) Hane (Formula₁) midlalag en ma se suwat, (Base) "Belehad,"
 (inj) said now indeed the comb nevermind
 ke se suwat, "ke kenà ka ebpemineg, Bayi."
 (rel) the comb if not you listen Sister
Note, (Formula₁) the comb said now, (Base) "Nevermind,"
said the comb, "if you don't listen sister."
- (138) Hane (Formula₁) midlalag ini se datù (Formula₂) ke se
 (inj) said here the datu' (rel) the
 ratù ne (Base) "Kayi ke rà ebpemineg te kedì su siak
 datu' (mk) here you only listen to me because I
 ne timbang amey nu," ke se ratù.
 (lk) same-as father your (rel) the datu'
Note, (Formula₂) the datu' said, said the datu', (Base) "You
look to me, because I am the same as your father," said the datu'.
- (139) (Formula₁) Iyan lalag dut te menge lukes dey dengan ne
 that words of the (pl) elders our of-old (lk)
 (Formula₂) ke se menge lukes ne (Base) "...
 (rel) the (pl) elders (mk)
 (Formula₁) That which our elders said of old, (Formula₂) said
 the elders (Base) "..."
- (140) Ne (Formula₁) migkahi en ke maya (# mk) (Base) "Apey
 then said now the rice-bird even
 ve maa ke egkaan a te egkeenen te umat ne ..."
 indeed again if eat I the food of mortals then...
 Then (Formula₁) the maya said, (# mk) (Base) "Even if I eat
 the food of humans..."
- (141) (Formula₂) Ke se tutugker, (# mk) (Base) "Ivelenga nu
 (rel) the tutugker swallow you
 ini ne keliyawa su... "
 this who keliyawa because
 Then, (Formula₂) the tutugker said, (# mk) (Base) "Swallow this,
 Keliyawa, because ..."

2.12. The Indirect Quote Sentence is an introduced sentence which contrasts with all other sentence types in the following ways: (1) It has an indirect quote base which is expounded by an IndC1, or an IndS; (2) It has two formulae one of which is obligatory. The Formula 2 of

the Direct Quote Sentence does not occur with the Indirect Quote Sentence. The Indirect Quote Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array.

CHART 14

INDIRECT QUOTE SENTENCE

(±Peri)	Ind.Quote ±Formula ₁	+ Marker	+Base(indirect quote)	Ind.Quote ±Formula ₂
	IndCk <kahi> say	ke <i>relator</i> te <i>relator</i> ne <i>then</i>	IndCl IndS	kun <i>it is said</i>

Rules: (1) Either Formula 1 or IndQuote Formula is obligatory but both may occur.

(2) Ind.Quote Formula may permute to a position within the exponent of the base following any clause level tagmeme except preceding clitics.

(142) Pehaney (Formula₁) ne mid-insaan din ne Kerangag (mk) ke
first then asked he of Kerangag (mk)

(Base) engkey se egkeenen din.
what the food his

First (Formula₁) he asked the Kerangag (Base) what his food would be.

(143) ...su petakas e pà diyà te ki Anggam (Formula₁) ed-insà
because go I yet there to (rel) uncle ask

(mk) ke (Base) engkey se kandin ne bitiyara kayi te tanà.
(mk) what the his which counsel here the land

...because I will go yet to Uncle's house (Formula₁) to ask (Base) what his counsel is regarding the land.

(144) (Formula₁) Ikahi nu rà te amey nu, Bayi, (mk) te
tell you yet the father your sister that

(Base) kenà e pà edlaus.
not I yet proceed

(Formula₁) You tell your father, Sister, (Base) that I will not yet proceed.

- (145) (Formula₁) Ini mulà ke lalag ni Apù te atag
this anyway the words of Grandfather in relation
 dut te kebpengirehà nu (mk) ne (Base) kenà edlaus
there to camp-out your (mk) not proceed
 sikandin su egkelilingey rut te anak ne edretan.
he because distracted there by child who serious
 (Formula₁) This is what Grandfather said relative to your
 camping out (Base) that he would not proceed because he is
 distracted by his child who is seriously ill.
- (146) (Base) Kenà (Formula₂) kun (Base, cont.) ebehey.
not they-say give
 (Base) He will not give, (Formula₂) he said.
- (147) (Base) Netuenan din en (Formula₂) kun (Base, cont.)
knows he now they-say
 se lalag nu ne ebuyen nu kun ke kelesanen din.
the word your (lk) beg you please the rooster his
 (Base) He knows, (Formula₂) he said, (Base, cont.) what will
 you say, that you will beg his rooster, please.
- (148) (Base) Piya (Formula₂) kun (Base, cont.) mebpematey ke
even they-say die the
 amey nu ne egkekita ke pà.
father your (mk) see you yet
 (Base) "Even," (Formula₂) he says, (Base, cont.) "though your
 father will die, you will have seen him," he says.
- (149) (Base) Elehà (Formula₂) kun (Base, cont.) te timus din.
price they-say of salt his
 It is the price, they say, of his salt.

2.13. The Indirect Reference Sentence is an introduced sentence which contrasts with all other sentence types in the following ways: (1) It is introduced by an Indirect Reference Formula which is expounded by the <kema ke> *perhaps* class of phrases; (2) Its base is expounded by an IndCl or an IndS. It is represented by the following bidimensional array.

CHART 15

INDIRECT REFERENCE SENTENCE

(±Peri)	+ Indef. Formula	+ Base
	<kema ke > <i>perhaps</i>	IndCl IndS

Rules: (1) A negative, time, location or relator_{time} tagmeme may stand for the entire IndCl of the Base.

(2) The <kema ke> *perhaps* class phrases include the following: *asi de be ke see that you don't* (150) *kalu ke probably* (151,152) *pegitung ka ke consider that* (153) *meambe ke why* (154) *kunaan ku ke I mistakenly thought that* (155).

(150) ASI DE BE KE ibehey a nikuna te iring nu, su
see only indeed that give I you to like you because
 ini ne aney kew nekeuma kayi te wayig ne edsipaten
this (lk) before you arrived here the water then chose
 ku sikuna.
I you

SEE THAT YOU DON'T give me away to those like you for this reason, before you arrived here at the water I chose you.

(151) ...KALU KE kenà ebehey.
probably that not give
 ...PROBABLY they won't give.

(152) ...KALU KE ruen nekita rin ne ebpekekaid
perhaps that there-is saw he that apt-to-harm
 ...PERHAPS (rel) there-is something he saw that seemed dangerous.

(153) PEGITUNG ka, Kerangag, KE endei ki ebpekeulì su
consider you Kerangag that where we can-return because
 netarin ki ini.
lost we here
CONSIDER, Kerangag, where our path home might be because we are lost here.

- (154) MEAMBE KE mibasal ka te ahung ni Belensahan?
why that ring you the gong of Belensahan
WHY did you ring the gong of Woodpecker?
- (155) KUNAAN NU RÀ BE, Anù, KE edlegleheran key nikuna.
thought you only indeed Anu' that selfish we you
YOU MISTAKENLY THOUGHT, Anu', THAT you could be selfish with us.

2.14. The Negative Conditional Sentence is one of three Cross Referenced Sentences. It contrasts with all other sentence types in the following ways: (1) Each base is expounded by a negative statement; (2) The beta values of both protasis and apodosis are reversed so that both statements are contrary to fact; (3) Marker plus protasis may permute to precede the apodosis (158). It is represented in the following bidimensional array.

CHART 16

NEGATIVE CONDITIONAL SENTENCE

(±Peri)	+ Base(apodosis)	+ Marker	+ Base(protasis)
	IndC1	ke if	IndC1

- (156) WARÀ ned-uleula ini se kebpees-eseweey ke KENÀ nepegumpungan
not happen this the marriage if not agreed
ke langun ne sikami ne menge lukes niyu.
the all of us of (pl) elders you
This marriage would NOT have happened if it had NOT been
agreed upon by all of us your elders.
- (157) WARÀ ded mevinsuli ke valey ke WARÀ ka nekeruma.
not yet burned the house if not you accompany
The house would NOT have burned if you had NOT come along.
- (158) Enta ke WARÀ ka migkulayi ne KENÀ ki red perem
only if not you yelled then not we yet hopefully
egketuntulan ...
found-out
If only you hadn'T yelled we would NOT have been found out, ...

- (159) WARÀ a nekepehimbenar ke WARÀ a nekekita.
not I believed of not I saw
I would NOT have believed it if I had NOT seen it.
- (160) KENÀ ebpekepengadì ke anak din ke KENÀ egkeevunawan.
not able-to-study the child his if not helped-by-others
His child would NOT be able to study if he is NOT helped by others.

2.15. The Merged Goal Sentence is included with the Cross Referenced sentences since the actions of the bases are interdependent. It contrasts to all other sentence types in the following ways: (1) It is a merged sentence in which a single noun phrase expounds the actor tagmeme of the clauses of both bases (161-167). The actor tagmemes need not be topic and the verbs of the two clauses need not focus on the same topic (168-169). (2) The action of Base 2 is the goal of the action of Base 1. It is represented in the following bidimensional array.

CHART 17

MERGED GOAL SENTENCE

(±Per1)	+ Base ₁ (action)	+ Base ₂ (goal)
	IndCl	IndCl

Shared actor tagmeme is topic of both clauses.

- (161) Eguru si Ayà ebasa.
learn (rel) Aunt read
Aunt is learning to read.
- (162) ebpekegaga sikandin ebevaley.
has-ability he build
He is able to build.
- (163) Mid-uney mibaa1.
did-alone made
He independently made it.

- (164) Ed-abpet sikandin egkukuhu
 to he make-clearing
He goes there to make a clearing.
- (165) Edsuvar a ebpenavit
 take-turns I gathering
I will take my turn in gathering.
- (166) Peralandalan ke en ed-ebpet kayi te senar.
 meander you now go here to place
You meander now to go to your place.
- (167) Engkey pà te medsuvar si Ukap mibpenirew te kandin.
 what yet but took-turn (rel) Ukap investigated the his
What next but Ukap took his turn and investigated his.

In the following examples the shared tagmeme is actor of both verbs but topic of neither. In (167) the a suffix of Kua took indicates that the goal se kebilà is topic of that verb. The i suffix of the second verb ediri prepare indicates that the referent si Beletamey personal name is topic of that verb. In (168) the i suffix of geweri indicates that the topic of the verb is the referent not made explicit in the sentence and translated by *it*. The i prefix of itahù put-away indicates that ke menge belegkas the clothes are the instrument and the topic of that verb. The pronoun rin he is actor of both verbs which focus on different topics.

- (168) Kua RIN se kebilà embe ediri si Beletamey.
 took she the betel-basket reason prepare (rel) Beletamey
SHE took the betel-basket in order to prepare a chew for Beletamey.
- (169) Geweri RIN itahù ke menge belegkas.
 hold he put-away the (pl) clothes
HE takes hold of it to put away the clothes.

2.16. The Reason Sentence contrasts to all other sentences in the following ways: (1) The bases are interdependent and the Base₂(cross referenced) presents the reason, result or evidence relative to the preceding Base₁; (2) The marker preceding the initial Base₁ cross references to the Base₂(cross referenced). It is represented by the following bidimensional array.

CHART 18

REASON SENTENCE

(±Per1)	+Cross Reference Marker	+ Base ₁	+ Base ₂ (cross referenced)
	sabap <i>therefore,</i> <i>that's why</i> (172-173) tembù <i>that's why</i> (170-171)	IndC1	RAS _{caus}

- (170) (mk) Tembù ma Base₁ mibpengadì key diyà te Nasulì
that's-why indeed studied we there at Nasulì
 (Base₂) su apey meupiya ne untul ke kedagal dey.
because so-that good (lk) very the speech our
 (mk) *That's why (Base₁) we studied there at Nasulì, (Base₂) so*
that our speech would become very good.
- (171) "(mk) Tembù ma," (Base₁) ke se kelesanen, "Kayi a
that's-why indeed said the rooster here I
 medсахad te takep nu (Base₂) su mid-uluhan ku sikuna
entered the trap your because dropped I you
 te daat te nanam su merakel ke idsan nu ne nekuwa
the bad of name because many the like you who got
 ran en mula ke ed-ingewean dan."
they now anyway the desires their
 "(mk) *That's why (Base₁) indeed," said the rooster, "I entered*
your trap (Base₂) because I really felt sorry for you because
many of the others got what they wanted."
- (172) (mk) Sabap (Base₁) nevilanggù ka (Base₂) su ke
therefore jailed you because the
 uleula nu ne meraat.
custom your which had
 (mk) *That's why (Base₁) you were jailed (Base₂) because of*
your bad actions.
- (173) (mk) Sabap (Base₁) kurang ke sakit (Base₂) su
that's-why lessened the sickness because
 nesuhāt te kendulì.
hit by ceremony

(mk) *That's why (Base₁) the sickness lessened, (Base₂) it was taken care of by the ceremony.*

(174) (mk) *Tuus te (Base₁) egkeayuayu nevenar si Ukap,*
sign that poor really (rel) Ukap

(Base₂) *su iyan din midtehuan kayi te lutù din ne*
because that he put-in here the lunch his the
malung din.
wrap his

(mk) *It is evident that (Base₁) Ukap is really poor (Base₂) because that which he put in his lunch was his wrap.*

N O T E S

1. Ilianen Manobo is one of the several Manobo languages of Mindanao, Philippines. It is spoken in northern Cotabato province by about 5000 speakers. This paper was based on data collected during the previous eight years of intermittent residence among the Ilianen Manobo people. Use was made of a concordance of approximately 36,000 words of text in Ilianen Manobo made on the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, and sponsored by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation. Dr. Robert E. Longacre's consultant help was invaluable in arriving at a satisfactory analysis of Ilianen sentences.

There are twenty one phonemes in Ilianen Manobo. The consonants are p, t, k, ʔ, b, d, g, ɸ, r, h, l, m, n, ŋ, s, w, y. The vowels are a, e, u, and ə. Shewa is written as e. y and w are written intervocalically next to i or u respectively; this is done in response to pressure from the National Language. ɸ is written as v. For a fuller description of the Phonological features of Ilianen Manobo, see Brichoux, Robert & Felicia, (1963).

2. The ke class relators are *si personal name marker*, *ke the*, *ini this*, *arà that*, *eyan that near speaker*, *eyè that near hearer*, *duen here*, *dutun there*, *ayan there*, *far*.

3. The Equivalent Sentence has a parallel on the clause level in the Equivalent Clause whose comment tagmeme is expounded by the same $RACl_{nom}$ or by RAP_{nom} both with *ian that* as relator. In the Equivalent Clause the second half of the equation is expounded by a substantive phrase.

Example: *ian din kemuney se raha te Elimugkat.*
that it owner (mk) your-lady of Elimugkat
His owner is the young lady of Elimugkat.

4. Another possible antithetical marker, *luwal te apart from* does not pattern as the other antithetical markers since it cannot be followed by a base consisting of a single negative. Analysis is not complete as to how this marker fits into the sentence system.

Example: Wara ded maa impeded-uleula rey kenian te selareng
 not yet indeed harm we there the deer

LUWAL TE si Megasa se neketavang kenami.
 apart from (rel) Megasa' the helped us

*We did not do anything to harm the deer meat EXCEPT THAT
 Megasa' was allowed to help us.*

5. Two of the sentence types in this paper are referred to by a different name by Hazel Wrigglesworth in a paper on Ilianen Manobo Discourse Structure. The Interdependent Conditional Sentence and the Merged Goal Sentence are called by her the Elliptical Conditional and the Merged Purpose Sentences.

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