The Grammar of Matigsalug Manobo

Peter Wang

Robert Hunt

Jeff McGriff

Richard E. Elkins

Summer Institute of Linguistics

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Preface

This study was made under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) during residence in the barrio of Panganan, Kitaotao, Bukidnon from 1982 until 1995. Panganan is a relatively pure Matigsalug barrio located on the Salug River at the eastern edge of the territory administered by the Municipality of Kitaotao.

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Introduction

The Matigsalug language is a member of the Manobo subfamily of Philippine languages. Within the Manobo subfamily of languages, Matigsalug is closely related to Tigwa and Ata (Langilan). It is more distantly related to Western Bukidnon, Ilianen, and Obo.[1] It is spoken by about 30,000 people[2] living along the Salug River and its tributaries on the island of Mindanao. Their territory is centered at the convergence of Davao City and the provinces of Davao del Norte, North Cotabato, and Bukidnon but administered by the province of Bukidnon from the Municipality of Kitaotao.

Except for some phonetic and phonemic data in *1: Spelling and Punctuation*, the data is presented in essentially the standard orthography.

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[1] Elkins, 1978:635.

[2] Reliable and consistent demographic data on minority groups such as the Matigsalug Manobo people are very difficult to obtain due to sociolinguistic and geographical barriers. Population estimates range from a low of 15,000 to a high of 157,000. Gordon, 2005: www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=mbt; Roces, 1986:160.) Recent census data sets the population at about 30,000.

Abbreviations and Conventions

Morphophonemes

A	morphophoneme A : a ~ e
øN	morphophoneme øN : ø ~ m ~ n ~ ng
N	morphophoneme N : m ~ n ~ ng

Reduplication

rdp	reduplicate
C	consonant[3]
V	vowel
CV	first consonant and vowel
CVC	first consonant and vowel and second consonant

Parts of Speech

CONJ	conjunction
LNK	linker

Focus

F	Focus
NF	Non Focus
AgF	Agent Focus
GoF	Goal Focus
LocF	Location Focus
AccF	Accessory Focus

Time

P	Past
NP	Non Past
UnA	UnActualized

Pronouns

1s	first person singular
2s	second person singular
3s	third person singular
1pi	first person plural inclusive
1pe	first person plural exclusive
2p	second person plural
3p	third person plural

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[3] Note that *ng* is considered as one consonant in this notation, and that glottal stop is also considered a consonant, although often not written. (See also sections 1.1 and 1.3.)

Symbols

/	or
( )	optional
=	morpheme break
< >	infix
> <	circumfix
ka$_2$	subscripts differentiate homonyms

Other

cont	continued
e	elicited example
ec	corrected elicited example
lit	literally
APPROX	approximately
ASSOC	associative
CAUS	causative
CMK	case markers
COMP	complementary
CONF	confirmative
DIM	diminutive
DISTR	distributive
EXCL	exclusive
INCOMP	incomplete
INVOL	involuntary
NOM	nominalized
ObJ	object
PERSONAL	personal
PL/pl	plural
PRES	present
QUOT	quotative
RECIP	reciprocal
sg	singular

Map of Matigsalug Language Area

1 Spelling and Pronunciation

1.1 Alphabet

The Matigsalug alphabet consists of eighteen letters *a, b, d, e, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, u, w, y,* plus other letters *c, f, j, o, q, v, x, z* used in the spelling of recently borrowed words and the names of people and places. Punctuation standards follow those of the Philippine national language.

The glottal stop is represented by a hyphen when it occurs word medially, but not where it occurs between vowels.

[manʔeʔ]	*man-e*	'again'
[tiʔang]	*tiang*	'carry on the shoulder'

1.2 Vowels

The four Matigsalug vowels are:[4]

a - a mid central open unrounded syllabic vowel.

e - a low close back unrounded syllabic vowel. It sounds like "caught" (British pronunciation) in most environments.

i - a high front unrounded syllabic vowel.

u - a high back rounded syllabic vowel.

Geminate vowels occur in Matigsalug, although with a relatively low frequency. The orthographic convention is to write the juxtaposed two vowels, e.g., *paan* 'bread'. However, to a nonexpert speaker of the language, this might be ambiguous as *VV* in Matigsalug usually implies an intervening glottal stop. Thus, to assist the reader, long vowels in this document are marked by underlining, e.g., *paan* 'bread'.

1.3 Consonants

The fourteen Matigsalug consonants are:

b - a voiced bilabial stop. Word medially, when following *l* or a vowel and preceding a vowel, *b* has a voiced bilabial fricative allophone.

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4   See Wang (1991) for a detailed description of both the phonology and the morphophonemics of Matigsalug.

d - a voiced alveolar stop with two other allophones. Following a high vowel it is manifested as a voiced alveolar fricative; following a low vowel it is manifested as an alveolar trill. Both of these allophones are represented by the letter *r* when they occur within a word or at the beginning of a pronoun or particle.

g - a voiced velar stop. It has an allophone that occurs intervocalically or between the lateral *l* and before a vowel. This allophone varies with dialect. In one dialect it is a voiced velar fricative, in the other it is a voiceless glottal fricative.[5]

h - a lenis voiceless glottal fricative occurring in syllable initial positions only.

k - a voiceless unaspirated velar stop with an unreleased allophone that occurs in syllable final position.

l - an alveolar lateral.

m - a voiced bilabial nasal.

n - a voiced alveolar nasal.

p - a voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop with an unreleased allophone that occurs in syllable final position.

r - an allophone of voiced alveolar stop *d*.

s - a voiceless alveolar grooved fricative. Preceding the vowels *i* and *e*, it may optionally be manifested as a voiceless alveopalatal fricative.[6]

t - a voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop with an unreleased allophone that occurs in syllable final position.

y - a palatal high front nonsyllabic vocoid that never occurs contiguous to the vowel *i*. However, as an orthographic convention, *y* is written between two vowels if one of them is *i*.

w - a labiovelar high back nonsyllabic vocoid that never occurs contiguous to the vowel *u*. However, as an orthographic convention, *w* is written between two vowels if one of them is *u*.

In addition the following orthographic conventions need to be noted:

ng - the digraph *ng* is used to represent the voiced velar nasal. However, in the rare cases where an *n* occurs before a *g*, they are separated with a hyphen to prevent confusion, e.g., *gen-gen* 'touch'.

glottal stop - the voiceless glottal stop is represented as a hyphen when it occurs between a vowel and a consonant, e.g., *mig-untud* 'rode'. However, the glottal is not represented orthographically when it occurs between two vowels (as in most major Philippine languages), it is implied, e.g., *naamin* 'used

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5   This dialectal variation is not so much geographical but related to the age group of the speaker and the amount of immersion into the wider culture. Younger speakers tend to reject sounds which are not in the major regional languages (Cebuano and English) and thus tend towards the voiced glottal fricative rather than the velar equivalent.

6   Again, because this allophone is not found in the surrounding major languages, it is not in common use amongst younger speakers.

up'. Also, it is not represented when it occurs at the beginning or end of a word. All words written beginning with a vowel can be assumed to begin with a glottal stop, e.g., *uran* 'rain'. Words written ending with a vowel, may or may not in fact end with a glottal stop; the native speaker is able to intuitively provide this information. However, to assist the reader of this document, word-final glottal stops are marked with a grave accent over the vowel, e.g., *seeyè* 'there'.

1.4 Stress

Stress in Matigsalug always occurs on the second-to-last (penultimate) vowel when a word occurs in isolation. Because it is predictable, stress is not marked on written texts. On words ending with a long vowel, the rule still applies. The long vowel is written as two consecutive vowels, and the stress falls on the second-to-last one so, in essence, the stress falls on the long vowel.

Matigsalug does have small one-syllable particles and pronouns that act as clitics, phonologically joining to the previous word thus causing the stress to move to the last vowel of the previous word (which is now the penultimate vowel of the combined unit).

ámey	'father'
améy rin	'his father'

However, in this document, as in normal Matigsalug writing, stress is not marked.

1.5 Phonemic and morphophonemic changes

Most of the sound processes that can occur within words can also occur when a word is influenced by what surrounds it, either affixes or other words. In Matigsalug, the letter *d* may change between vowels to the letter *r* and likewise the letter *g* may change to the letter *h*. This happens both within a word and also at the beginning of a word when the previous word ends in a vowel.

*gimuku**d***	'soul'	→	*eggimuku**r**en*	'to ask for someone's soul'
*egsali**g***	'to trust'	→	*kasali**h**an*	'trustworthy'
***d**atù*	'chief'	→	*me **r**atù*	'chiefs'

Of particular importance to this paper is the vowel harmony that occurs when words take affixes. Some common Matigsalug prefixes are expressed with the morphophoneme *A*. This harmonizing vowel is usually realized as *a* but is realized as *e* when it precedes a vowel which is not *a* or when it precedes an *h* followed by a vowel which is not *a*. The following examples illustrate these conditions.

$$A \quad \rightarrow \quad e \quad / \quad \text{V(not } a\text{)}$$
$$h \text{ V(not } a\text{)}$$

mA = + emis	→	*meemis*	'sweet'
mA = + iyal	→	*meiyal*	'fast'
mA = + upiya	→	*meupiya*	'good'
egkA = + hilew	→	*egkeyilew*[7]	'embarrassed'

The inverse morphophonemic process also occurs, i.e., *e* changes to *a* in certain environments.

| *pitew + =a* | → | *pitawa* | 'look at' |
| *eggimatey + =an* | → | *eggimatayan* | 'kill' |

| *eg> <en= + angey* | → | *eg-angayen* | 'carry' |
| *eg> <en= + busew* | → | *eg-busawen* | 'crazy' |

Note that the first two examples can also be explained by vowel harmony, i.e., the initial vowel changes to harmonize with the following vowel. However, the second two examples seem to be just the opposite, i.e., the vowels are dissimilating. Wang explained this with a complex phonological complementary distribution rule with four conditions, most of which were not phonologically reasonable.[8] It seems better to relegate these observable changes to morphophonemic processes, not phonological. However, more research needs to be done to adequately explain this phenomenon.

The other important morphophoneme in this paper is *N*. This harmonizing nasal takes on the point of articulation of the following consonant.

iN= + tahù	→	*intahù*	'put away'
iN= + behas	→	*imbehas*	'fruited'
iN= + keen	→	*ingkeen*	'ate'
iN= + ulì	→	*in-ulì*	'returned'

It should also be noted that there are a number of stylistic morphophonemic changes that occur in normal Matigsalug speech, but which at any one time are optional.

| *kenè egkaayun* | → | *keneg kaayun* | 'it's not possible' |
| *seini se babuy* | → | *seinis babuy* | 'this pig' |

In the first example, the word-final glottal stop on *kenè* 'not' and the initial glottal and vowel on *egkaayun* 'to be possible' have been dropped, and the phonological pause moved to after the *g*. However, for the sake of simplicity and clarity in this document, all optional morphophonemic changes have been edited out of example texts.

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[7]   Note that the *y* in *egkeyilew* is an orthographic convention only and indicates that there is no glottal stop between the two vowels.

[8]   See Wang (1991) and McGriff (1995).

2 Numbers

2.1 Cardinal numbers

The cardinal numbers are listed in figure 2.1. The regular forms together with their variants are used for quantification as in stating the number of items, e.g., *tatelu ne etew* 'three persons'.

The forms with asterisks (*) are used in counting as in listing the numbers by themselves, e.g., *saa*, *duwa*, *telu*, *hep-at*, *limma*, ... 'one, two, three, four, five, ...'. Not all numbers have a special form for counting, in which case the regular form is used.

The following pairs are free variants, even as affixed forms: *sabeka* and *sabbeka* 'one'; *lalima* and *lalimma*, *lima* and *limma* 'five'; *hen-em* and *henem* 'six'. However, *siyew* and *siyam* 'nine' do not always freely substitute.[9]

In addition to the above, there is another set of numbers borrowed from Cebuano (and which originally came from Spanish). These are used in conjunction with money, especially by the younger generation. They are also used for large numbers, like those for years.

₱10.00	*diyis pisus*	ten pesos
₱ 0.50	*singku sintabus*	five centavos
₱ 1.50	*unu singkuwinta*	one [peso] fifty [centavos]
1989	*mil nuwibisintus utsintay nuwibi*	
1990	*mil nuwibisintus nubinta*	

	Regular Form	(Count)[10]	Spanish[11]	English
1	*sabeka*	*saa**	*unu*	one
2	*daruwa*	*duwa**	*dus*	two
3	*tatelu*	*telu**	*tris*	three
4	*hep-at*		*kuwatru*	four
5	*lalimma*	*limma**	*singku*	five
6	*hen-em*		*sayis*	six
7	*pitu*		*siyiti*	seven
8	*walu*		*utsu*	eight
9	*siyew/siyam*		*nuwibi*	nine
10	*sapulù*		*diyis*	ten

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[9] *Siyew* is used more by the older generation; the younger generation prefer *siyam* (if they're not using the Spanish numbers).

[10] These forms are used for counting. Where no special form is listed, the regular form is also used for counting.

[11] But using the Matigsalug spelling conventions.

11	*sapulù wey sabeka*	*unsi*	eleven
12	*sapulù wey daruwa*	*dusi*	twelve
13	*sapulù wey tatelu*	*trisi*	thirteen
14	*sapulù wey hep-at*	*katursi*	fourteen
15	*sapulù wey lalimma*	*kinsi*	fifteen
16	*sapulù wey hen-em*	*disisayis*	sixteen
17	*sapulù wey pitu*	*disisiyiti*	seventeen
18	*sapulù wey walu*	*disiutsu*	eighteen
19	*sapulù wey siyam*	*disinuwibi*	nineteen

20	*daruwampulù* *daruwa ne pulù*	*buwinti*	twenty
21	*daruwampulù wey sabeka* *daruwa ne pulù wey sabeka*	*buwintiunu*	twenty-one
30	*tatelumpulù* *tatelu ne pulù*	*trinta*	thirty
40	*hep-at ne pulù* *keep-atan ne pulù*	*kuwarinta*	forty
50	*lalimmampulù* *kalimmaan ne pulù*	*singkuwinta*	fifty
60	*hen-em ne pulù* *keen-eman ne pulù*	*sayisinta*	sixty
70	*pitumpulù* *pitu ne pulù* *kapituwan ne pulù*	*siktinta*	seventy
80	*walumpulù* *walu ne pulù* *kawaluwan ne pulù*	*utsinta*	eighty
90	*siyew ne pulù* *siyam ne pulù* *kasiyawan ne pulù* *kasiyaman ne pulù*	*nubinta*	ninety
100	*mahatus*[12] *senge gatus* *sabekanggatus* *sabeka ne gatus*	*sintus*	a hundred one hundred

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[12]   The phoneme /g/ is pronounced and written as |h| intervocalically.

101	*mahatus wey sabeka* *sabeka ne gatus wey sabeka*	*sintuunu*	one hundred and one
110	*mahatus wey sapulù* *sabeka ne gatus wey sapulù*	*sintudiyis*	one hundred and ten
500	*lalimma ne gatus* *lalimmang gatus*	*kiniyintus*	five hundred
1000	*libu* *senge libu* *sabeka ne libu*	*mil*	a thousand one thousand

Figure 2.1 Cardinal numbers

2.2 Ordinal numbers

The ordinal number "first" is expressed by the word *an-anayan*. The remaining ordinal numbers are formed by prefixing the corresponding cardinal numbers[13] with *igkA=* (*igka=* or *igke=*). The ordinal number "second" may be substituted by *igkarangeb* 'next'.

1st	*an-anayan*	'first'
2nd	*igkaruwa, igkarangeb*	'second, next'
3rd	*igkatelu*	'third'
4th	*igkeep-at*	'fourth'
5th	*igkalimma*	'fifth'
6th	*igkeen-em*	'sixth'
7th	*igkapitu*	'seventh'
8th	*igkawalu*	'eighth'
9th	*igkasiyam/igkasiyew*	'ninth'
10th	*igkasapulù*	'tenth'
11th	*igkasapulù wey sabeka …*	'eleventh' ...

2.3 Numbers involving time

2.3.1 Duration

A given amount of time is indicated by a cardinal number linked to a time word by the linker *ne*. Spanish loan words are used for minutes, hours, and weeks. The concept of seconds has yet to be accepted as part of the vocabulary.

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13   Note that when cardinal numbers are affixed, there is a tendency to prefer either the counting forms (as here and for 2.3.2: Relative days) or the quantity forms (as for 2.3.1 Duration; 2.4.2: Frequency and groupings).

sabeka **ne** *minutus*	'one minute'
daruwa **ne** *uras*	'two hours'
tatelu **ne** *aldew*	'three days'
hep-at **ne** *simana*	'four weeks'
lalimma **ne** *bulan*	'five months'
hen-em **ne** *tuid*	'six years'

With reference to traveling, the number of nights (and intervening days) is indicated by affixing the cardinal numbers with the affixes *nA= =an* (*na= =an* or *ne= =an*) and *kA= =an* (*ka= =an* or *ke= =an*) for past and future respectively. When there is only one night, the affixes are attached to the root *simag*.[14]

Past	Future	English
nasimah**an**[15]	**ka**simah**an**	for one night
narar**uan**[16]	**ka**rar**uan**	for two nights
natateluw**an**	**ka**tateluw**an**	for three nights
ne<u>e</u>p-at**an**	**ke**<u>e</u>p-at**an**	for four nights
nalalimma**an**	**ka**lalimma**an**	for five nights
ne<u>e</u>n-em**an**	**ke**<u>e</u>n-em**an**	for six nights
napituw**an**	**ka**pituw**an**	for seven nights
nawaluw**an**	**ka**waluw**an**	for eight nights
nasiyam**an**	**ka**siyam**an**	for nine nights
nasapulu**an**	**ka**sapulu**an**	for ten nights

Figure 2.2 Number of overnights

Napila**an**   *kaa*   *riyè?*
NP-how_many-LocF   you_then   there[17]
How many nights then were you there?

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[14] The root *simag* does not occur unaffixed.

[15] The root here is *simag*. The final *g* undergoes a morphophonemic change when the addition of a suffix causes it to be intervocalic, and this change is indicated in the orthography by writing the *h* variant.

[16] It is not certain why a glottal appears in this word. *Nararuwaan* not *nararuan* would be expected. This does not appear to be a predictable morphophonemic change.

[17] The morpheme glossing of examples is not necessarily consistent throughout this paper; at times more and less details are given according to the point under attention.

Nararu**an**   e   rè   riyè.

NP-how_many-LocF   I   only   there

I was there for only two nights.

Kapila**an**   kaa   riyè?

NP-how_many-LocF   you_then   there

How many nights then will you be there?

Kararu**an**   e   rè   riyè.

NP-how_many-LocF   I   only   there

I will be there for only two nights.

2.3.2 Relative days

The number of days relative to *kuntee* 'today' is expressed by the words *gabii* 'yesterday' and *kaaselem* 'tomorrow' when the count is one. When there is more than one day, it is expressed by affixing $nA==an$ ($na==an$ or $ne==an$) to the cardinal numbers for past time, and $ikA=$ ($ika=$ or $ike=$) for the future. The "past" set is identical in form to the "past" set for 'duration' as described in the previous section, e.g., *nararuan* 'two days ago', *nalalimmaan* 'five days ago'. The context of speech resolves the ambiguity in meaning. The "future" set is similar to the set of ordinal numbers.

ikaruwa	'two days from now / the day after tomorrow'
ikatelu	'three days from now'
ikeep-at	'four days from now'
ikalimma	'five days from now'
ikeen-em	'six days from now'
ikapitu	'seven days from now'
ikawalu	'eight days from now'
ikasiyam	'nine days from now'
ikasapulù	'ten days from now'
ikasapulù wey sabeka	'eleven days from now'

Another way of saying relative days uses the particles *e* 'already' and *pad* 'still'.

tatelu   *e*   *ne*   *aldew*   *kuntee*

three   already   LNK   days   today

three days ago

tatelu   *pad*   *ne*   *aldew*   *kuntee*

three   still   LNK   days   today

in three more days

2.3.3 Time of day

The older people use the cardinal numbers to indicate the hour of day.[18] Spanish time phrases are used by the younger generation. The completive particle *e* 'now, already' is obligatory when giving the current time of day. 'One o'clock' takes the form *ala una,* which becomes *ala une e* when the completive particle *e* is added. The remaining hours from two through twelve follow the word *alas* 'o'clock'. Minutes are expressed in Spanish numbers immediately following the hour. Morning, afternoon, and night are expressed by the phrases *te maselem*, *te ma͟apun,* and *te marusilem* respectively.

Nekey-a	*urasa*	*kuntee?*
what-then	hour-then	now

What time is it now?

Ne	*walu*	*e*	*ne*	*uras.*
LNK	eight	now	LNK	hours

It is eight o'clock now.

Alas utsu e.	'It is eight o'clock now.'
Ala une e.	'It is one o'clock now.'
Alas sayis te maselem.	'At six o'clock in the morning.'
Alas tris te maapun.	'At three o'clock in the afternoon.'
Alas nuwibi te marusilem..	'At nine o'clock at night.'

1:00	*ala una*	'one o'clock'
2:00	*alas dus*	'two o'clock'
3:15	*alas tris kinsi*	'three fifteen'
4:30	*alas kuwatru midya*	'four thirty'
5:45	*alas singku kuwarintay singku*	'five forty-five'

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[18]   Older people do not indicate minutes. They would often indicate the hour of day by the position of the sun in the sky.

Kayid	*e*	*lenged.*	*Matikang*	*e.*
here	now	line-up	high	now

It's up to here already.   It's high.

Pekeuntud	*e.*	*Eglineb*	*e.*
NP-INVOL-be_on_top-AgF	now.	NP-set-AgF	now

It's at the zenith.   It has set.

2.4 Other words involving numbers

2.4.1 Frequency

The number of times an action is repeated is indicated by prefixing the cardinal numbers with *kA=* (*ka=* or *ke=*).

*ka*sabeka	'once'
*ka*raruwa	'twice'
*ka*tatelu	'three times / thrice'
*ke*ep-at	'four times'
*ka*lalimma	'five times'
*ke*en-em	'six times'
*ka*pitu	'seven times'
*ka*walu	'eight times'
*ka*siyam	'nine times'
*ka*sapulù	'ten times'
*ka*sapulù wey sabeka…	'eleven times' ...

*Ka*papila   kaa   migpalakpak?
how-many   you-then   P-clap-AgF
How many times did you clap?

*Ka*lalimma   a   migpalakpak.
five-times   I   P-clap-AgF
I clapped five times.

2.4.2 Groupings

The number of items in each subgroup of a larger group is indicated by prefixing the cardinal numbers with *tig=*.

Tagpilaa   ka   mangga?
how-much-then   the   mango
How much per mango?

Tigwalu   ne   pisus   kada   sabeka.
each-eight   LNK   pesos   each   one
Eight pesos each.

Tagpilaa   ka   impanalad   nu?
how-many-each-then   the   AccF-P-lay-out   you
How many did you place in each group?

Tigdaruwa   ka   impanalad   ku.
each-two   the   AccF-P-lay-out   I.

I placed two in each group.

tig*sabeka*	'in ones / one each'
tig*daruwa*	'in twos / two each'
tig*tatelu*	'in threes / three each'
tig*gep-at*	'in fours / four each'
tig*lalimma*	'in fives / five each'
tig*siyam*	'in nines / nine each'
tig*sapulù*	'in tens / ten each'
tig*daruwampulù*	'in twenties / twenty each'
tig*tatellumpulù*	'in thirties / thirty each'
tig*keep-atan ne pulù*	'in forties / forty each'
tig*kalimmaan ne pulù*	'in fifties / fifty each'
tig*keen-eman ne pulù*	'in sixties / sixty each'
tig*mahatus*	'in hundreds / a hundred each'

2.4.3 Other minor affixes

There are several derivational affixes that add interesting semantic notions to the root.[19]

*sa****lim****beka*	'only a few'
tig*sa****lim****beka*	'one of each'
sal*sa****lim****beka*	'only one or two here and there'
sab*sabeka*	'one and only one'

2.4.4 Fractions

The fraction 'half' is *liwarè* or the Cebuano loan *tenge* or the Spanish loan *midya*, e.g., *sabeka wey liwarè* 'one and a half'.[20] 'One quarter' is *liwarè te liwarè* 'half of half'.[21] 'Three quarters' is *liwarè wey liwarè te liwarè* 'half and half of half'.

---

19   This will be discussed further in 5.3: Derived adjectives.

20   In Cebuano, *ikanapulù* is 'ten days from now'; *ikapulù* is 'one tenth'. There are, apparently, no other fractions in Matigsalug.

21   However, the Cebuano loan *mabew* is now more frequently used for 'one quarter'.

2.5 Approximate

The marker *me* is used before a number or time to indicate the the number or time is only approximate.[22]

me	sapulù	**me**	alas	dus
approx	ten	about	hour	two
approximately ten		about two o'clock		

<div align="right">mbt241001 006[23]</div>

Ne	egkaluhey	seled	te	**me**	tatelu	ne	aldew...
CONJ	be_long_time	inside	of	about	three	LNK	day

And after a long time, less than about three days...

<div align="right">mbt252002 049</div>

Taman	te	**me**	dyis	minutus,	leuyen	e	man-e	ka	sinubba.
after	NF	about	ten	minutes	inspect	PRES	again	the	cooking

After about ten minutes, check again the stuff cooking.

<div align="right">mbt252002 013</div>

Meyì	maapun	e,	basta	kenè	eg-uran	**me**	alas	kwatru
if	afternoon	COMP	if	not	rain	about	hour	four

kenkenen	e	ka	paley	ne	indampil.
bring_in	PRES	the	rice	LNK	drying

If it's later afternoon, if it hasn't rained, at about four o'clock bring in the rice which has been drying.

<div align="right">mbt252002 045</div>

Taman	te	**me**	midya	te	uras	leuyen	e	man-e	riyè.
after	NF	approx	half	of	hour	inspect	PRES	again	there

After about half an hour, check it again.

---

[22]   The same marker is used before a noun or noun phrase to indicate plurality; there is no confusion in meaning because the context in the sentence indicates which meaning is intended.

[23]   Sample sentences numbered like this are taken from natural texts, usually recorded onto cassette and transcribed onto the computer for interlinear analysis. This guarantees that these are natural examples rather than artificially elicited, but has the disadvantage that they may not be the clearest possible example for the point in question. Also, because most of the texts are spontaneous oral texts, they are not free from speaker error as even fluent native speakers of a language err in unrehearsed speech.

The numbering system is based on the *Human Relations Area File (HRAF*; www.yale.edu/hraf/) coding. For example, mbt123004 005: mbt is the Ethnologue three-letter abbreviation for Manobo, Matigsalug (see www.ethnologue.com); 123 is the HRAF code indicating the main subject classification of the text; 004 indicates that this is the fourth text filed under this classification; 005 indicates that this is the fifth sentence in the text.

3 Pronouns

There are four classes of pronouns: personal, demonstrative, locative, and interrogative.[24]

3.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are unaffixed roots marked for person, number and inclusion. There are four sets (see below), two of which have subsets of brief and full forms. Except for the topic set, all of them are also marked by their role in the clause (focus).[25]

Set	Use	Discussed in
Focus (Brief and Full)	Represents the person or thing in focus in a clause.	3.1.1
Non Focus II (Brief and Full)	1) Represents a person or thing not in focus in a clause. 2) Possessive noun phrase.	3.1.2
Non Focus III	1) Represents a person or thing not in focus in a clause. 2) Possessive noun phrase.	3.1.2
Topic	A pronoun that is fronted for emphasis and/or contrast.	3.1.3

3.1.1 Focus personal pronouns

The focus personal pronouns are used to represent the person or thing[26] in focus in the clause, only the affixation and semantics of the verb can determine the role of this person or thing in the clause. The third person singular pronoun is commonly expressed as a null form, that is, no focus pronoun is explicitly given but third person singular is implied. These pronouns are used to substitute for nonfronted focused noun phrases.[27]

The brief focus personal pronouns are the most commonly used, the full set is not complete and is used less frequently. Third person pronouns (sikandin, sikandan) are the only members of the full sets which can

---

[24]   Interrogative pronouns are discussed in 14: Questions.

[25]   It can be argued that the Topic set is the same as the full focus personal pronoun set (3.1.1). In that case there would be only three sets, and the latter mentioned set would have two functions, representing the thing in focus and/or emphasizing. (For further discussion, see 3.1.3: Topic personal pronouns.)

[26]   Although named personal pronouns because that is their most common use, the third person pronouns can also be used to represent an animate being (like a dog), or even an inanimate object that is capable of some action (like a watch).

[27]   Topic personal pronouns are used to substitute for fronted focus noun phrases. See 3.1.3: Topic personal pronouns.

substitute for a brief pronoun occurring by itself.[28] Elsewhere, members of the full sets only occur as the second member of a pair of pronouns.

	Brief	**Full**
1s	a	
2s	ka	sikeykew, sikuna
3s	ø, din	sikandin
1pi	ki	
1pe	key	
2p	kew	sikaniyu
3p	dan	sikandan

Figure 3.1 Focus personal pronouns

Brief focus personal pronoun examples

…egpangguhud	***a***	*meyitenged*	*te*	*miglihad*	*ne*	*Lunis*	*ne*	*rue*	*migpanubad.*
tell_a_story	**I**	concerning	_	last	_	Monday	_	there_was	sacrifice

... I will tell a story concerning this past Monday when there was a sacrifice.

"Pamineg	***ka,***	*ka*	*Kallayag."*
"listen	**you(sg)**	the	a_deity"

"You listen, Kallayag!"

…su eyew	*egkateu*	***rin***	*degma*	*keureme.*
so_that	know_how	**he**	also	in_future

So that he will also know in the future.

Pekeuma	*ø*	*riye*	*te*	*baley,*	*egkahiyan*	*e*	*ø*	*si*	*Ine*	*te …*
arrive	**he**	there	at	house	speak	COMP	**he**	-	mom	QUOT

(When) he arrives there at the house, he says to Mom ...

---

28   In fact, these two members of the full set seem to be greatly preferred over their brief set counterparts, *din* and *dan*.

<div align="right">mbt243001 024</div>

*Migkahi   e   si   Ame   te,   "Uli   **ki**   pad..."*
said   COMP -   dad   -   return_home **we(incl)** yet
Dad said, "Let's return home ..."

<div align="right">mbt720001 009</div>

*Su   mig-inse   sikandan   ke   hendei   **key**   egpabulus.*
so   asked   they   if   where   **we(excl)**   continue
So they asked where we were going.

<div align="right">mbt243001 041</div>

*Kahi,   "Uli   **kew**   e   kayi…"*
say   return_home   **you(pl)**   COMP   here
She said, "Come home ..."

<div align="right">Language Lesson 18</div>

*Kenè   **dan**   egkabantalan.*
Not   **they**   anxious
They are not anxious.

Full focus personal pronoun examples

<div align="right">mbt224001 001</div>

*Pangguhuran   ku   **sikeykew**   Mengeanak.[29]*
tell_story   I   **you(sg)**   nephew
I will tell you a story, Nephew.

<div align="right">mbt243001 004</div>

*Ne   meyi   meupiya   se   limuken   din,   egpabulus   **sikandin**   egkamet.*
now   if   good   the   fruit_dove his   continue   **he**   clear field
Now, if his limuken fruit dove is good, he will continue to clear the field.

<div align="right">mbtRLTR 010</div>

*Wey   ka   meyitenged   te   keddi,   egnangenang   ku   **sikaniyu**[30]…*
and   the   concerning   about   me   inform   I   **you(pl)**
And concerning me, I will inform you ...

---

29   Notice that, as previously stated, *sikeykew* is preceded by another pronoun *ku*.

30   *ibid*

Te	rue	man-e	ne	timpu,	mig-inse	e	man-e	**sikandan.**
when	there	once_more	-	time	asked	COMP	again	**they**

Again at that time, they asked another question.

3.1.2 Non focus personal pronouns[31]

The non focus personal pronouns are used to represent the persons or things participating in the clause but not in focus. In this way they substitute for a non focus agent noun phrase. They are also used in the possessive construction.

The brief non focus II personal pronouns are the most commonly used, the full set is not complete. Third person pronouns (*nikandin*, *nikandan*) are the only members of the full sets which can substitute for a brief pronoun occurring by itself. Elsewhere, members of the full sets only occur as the second member of a pair of pronouns.

	Non Focus II[32]		Non Focus III
	BRIEF	FULL	
1s	*ku*		*keddi, keddiey*
2s	*nu*	*nikeykew, nikuna*	*keykew*
3s	*din*	*nikandin*	*kandin*
1pi	*ta*		*kanta*
1pe	*ney*		*kanami*
2p	*niyu*	*nikaniyu*	*kaniyu*
3p	*dan*	*nikandan*	*kandan*

Figure 3.2 Non focus personal pronouns

It appears that the non focus II and non focus III pronoun sets do not overlap, but their use depends on the semantic role of the person or thing they represent. Specifically, the non focus II pronouns substitute for a noun or noun phrase in the role of agent or experiencer. The non focus III pronouns, on the other hand, substitute for a noun or noun phrase in all other semantic roles (recipient, location, patient, etc.).

---

[31]   Note that these non focus personal pronouns can also be used to indicate possession, as will be discussed in 5.5: Possessive pronominal adjectives.

[32]   The roman number I is reserved for the focus pronouns. Thus the non focus pronoun sets are numbered II and III.

Non focus II brief personal pronoun examples

mbt243001 112

Kahi,	*"Neg*	*leuyeng*	**ku**	*pad."*
say	that	look	**I**	yet

He said, "I'll go and check (the field)."

HOUSE 017

Egtambuen	**nud**	*ka*	*hes-ew…*
put_in_pile	**you(sg)_COMP**	the	rafter

You pile up the rafters ...

mbt243001 027

Migpanenges	**din**	*e*	*kag*	*keenen.*
wrapped_in_leaf	**she**	COMP	the	eat

She wrapped in a leaf the things to eat.

mbt243001 172

"Igtahu	**ta**	*ka*	*beni*	*man-e*	*ne*	*narampil*	*e."*
put_away	**we(incl)**	the	seed	again	that	dried_in_sun	COMP

"We can store the seed again that is already dried."

mbt185001 038

Ne	*sikan*	*ded*	*iya*	*ka*	*egpamitawen*	**ney**	*ka*	*meupiya.*
CONJ	that	just	that	the	look_for	**we**	the	good

And that's just what we are looking for, the good (things).

mbt781001 068

Kè	**niyu**	*iregpak*	*ka*	*asawa*	*ku.*
not	**you**	throw	the	spouse	my

Don't you throw my wife (in the water).

mbt744002 101

...eg-insaan	**dan**	*seeyè*	*se*	*asù*	*ne*	*kenè*	*ne*	*etew.*
ask	**they**	that	LNK	dog	that	not	LNK	person

...they asked that dog who is not a person.[33]

---

[33]   It is a breach of the *anit* taboo to ask a question of an animal as if expecting it to reply like a person.

Mig-angey	**ran**	*e*	*ka*	*tablun*	*ne*	*diyè*	*nakataleu*	*te*	*Lanipew.*
fetched	**they**	PAST	F	timber	LNK	there	stored	at	Lanipew

They fetched the timber that was stored at Lanipew.

Non focus II full personal pronoun examples

<div align="right">mbt788005 017</div>

Manama,	*tabangi*	*key*	**nikeykew**	*seini*	*se*	*egkeenen*
God,	help	us	**you**	this	the	food

God, you bless this food

ne	*nakatahu*	*seini*	*te*	*tangkaan*	*ney.*
that	placed	here	in	front	our

that has been placed here in front of us.

<div align="right">mbt796001 062</div>

Manama	*bulihan*	*key*	**nikuna,**	*behayan*	*key*	**nikuna**	*te*	*panalangin.*
God	help	us	**you**	give	us	**you**	of	blessing

God help us and give us your blessing.

<div align="right">mbt781001 089</div>

Inpangabang	*ki—inpangabangan*	*ki*	**nikandin.**
helped	we—helped	we	**him**

We were helped—we were helped by him.

<div align="right">Elicited</div>

Due	*narineg*	*ku*	*diyè*	*te*	*senge*	*etew*	*ne*	*egbehayan*
there_is	heard	I	there	at	one	person	LNK	NP-give-LocF

e	*kun*	**nikaniyu**	*te*	*seleppì.*
I	it_is_said	**you(pl)**	NF	money

I heard from someone that you had given me some money.

<div align="right">mbt183001 012</div>

...su	*iyam*	*pad*	*eg-ikulen*	**nikandan**	*se*	*batasan*	*te*
because	that	still	imitate	**they**	CMK	custom	of

apu	*dan*	*wey*	*batasan*	*te*	*amey*	*ran,*	*iney*	*ran.*
grandparent	their	and	custom	of	father	their	mother	their

...because they still follow the customs of their grandparents, and the customs of their fathers and mothers.

Non focus III personal pronoun examples

Due	taman	sika	ne	miggusey	sikandan	**keddì**.
there	end	that	CONJ	judged	they	**me**

There it ended now that they had settled my case.

...su	neinuinu	a	ke	nekey	se	ig-insè	**keddì**.
because	amazed	I	if	what	the	will_ask	**me**

...because I was amazed at what he would ask me.

Su	mig-inse-insè	si	suled	**keddiey**	parti	te	baaylihan.
because	asked	CMK	cousin[34]	**me**	about	CMK	disco

Because cousin kept asking me about disco dancing.

Sika	ka	igpanugtul	ku	**keykew**	suled	su eyew...
that	the	will_tell	I	**you**	cousin	so_that

That's what I'll tell you cousin, so that...

Siaken	ka	egpanulù	**kandin**.
I	the	teach	**him**

I am the one who will teach him.

Ne	migbehey	**kanta**	te	kaluwasan.
CONJ	gave	**us**	CMK	meaning

And he gave us the meaning.

Sika	suled	ka	panugtulen	te	me	apu	ney
that	cousin	the	story	of	PL	grandfather	our

kanami	te	egpatey.
us	about	die

That cousin, is the story our grandfathers told to us about dying.

---

34   *Suled* is the term used to address a true sibling or cousin, or a fellow male of about the same generation. Thus, often in recorded texts, *suled* is the term used to refer to the one recording the text.

Su	*seini*	*kuntee*	*ne*	*kaapunan*	*ne*	*rue*	*ignangen*
so	this	now	LNK	afternoon	CONJ	there_is	will_tell

ku	**kaniyu**	*te*	*seini*	*ne*	*kaapunan.*
I	**you**	CMK	this	LNK	afternoon

So this afternoon, there is something that I want to tell you this afternoon.

Impamehey	*e*	*te*	*Mayur*	**kandan**	*ka*	*seleppì.*
gave	COMP	NF	Mayor	**they**	F	money

The mayor distributed the money to them.

3.1.3 Topic personal pronouns

The topic personal pronouns are used to substitute the focus noun phrase when it is fronted in the sentence for emphasis and, sometimes, contrast.

1s	siak, siaken, sikeddì, sikeddiey
2s	sikeykew, sikuna
3s	sikandin
1pi	sikanta
1pe	sikanami
2p	sikaniyu
3p	sikandan

Figure 3.3 Topic personal pronouns

Note that, except for the additions to first person, these are identical in form to the focus personal pronouns in 3.1. These topic personal pronouns can be viewed as having a separate but related function, that of providing emphasis or contrast to the person or thing in focus in the clause.

Siak	*de*	*iya*	*seg*	*pakabulig*	*kandan.*
I	just	really	the	able_to_help	them

Really only I am able to help them.

Siaken   *de*   *iya*   *se*   *migbulig*   *kandin*   *te*   *kural.*
myself just   indeed   -   helped   him   the   fence
I'm the only one who helped him build the fence.

Su   *sikeddi,*   *egbayad*   *a*   *te*   *ballas,*   *diye*   *te*   *kandin.*
so   **as_for_me**   pay   I   -   rice   there   -   him
So as for me, I will pay him for the rice.

Saatupa,   **sikeykew**   *kag*   *angey*   *regma*   *te*   *kandin*   *ne*   *gimukud*   *keureme…*
therefore   **as_for_you**   the   carry   also   -   his   -   soul   in future
Therefore, you will also be the one to bring his soul in the future ...

Su   **sikandin,**   *meupiya*   *ne*   *etew.*
because   **as_for_him**   good   -   person
Because as for him, he is a good person.

…sikanta   *se*   *mig-ugpe*   *kayi*   *te*   *beranggay*   *te*   *Panganan…*
as_for_us   the   lived   here_at   -   barangay   of   Panganan
... as for us who have lived here in the barangay of Panganan, ...

Na   **sikanami,**   *ka*   *iyam*   *ne*   *etew,*   *migbawutismuwan*   *te*   *weyig…*
so   **as_for_us(excl)**   the   new   -   people   was_baptized   in   water
So as for us, the young people, baptized in water ...

"Sikaniyu   *naa*   *kuntee*   *se*   *gimukud*   *ne*   *kene*   *key*   *re*   *gimukura."*
as_for_you   so   today   the   soul   -   won't   we(excl)   just   summoned_
"As for you today, you souls of the departed, we won't be summoned by you".

Su   **sikandan,**   *amana*   *ne*   *meupiya*   *se*   *batasan.*
so   **as_for_them**   very   -   good   the   behavior
Because, as for them, (their) behavior is very good.

3.1.4 Pronoun cooccurrence restrictions

When the focus pronouns and the non focus II pronouns cooccur, one pronoun must be from a brief set and the other from a full set. The brief form always precedes the full form.

When a non focus III pronoun cooccurs with a non focus II pronoun, the non focus II pronoun will always be in its brief form.

Two pronouns marked for the same person (first, second, or third) cannot cooccur.

It is interesting to note that the full pronoun sets do not have forms for the first person because of cooccurrence restrictions. The following two ordering rules explain this phenomenon of full sets lacking forms for the first person:

1) If neither of the pronouns is a non focus III pronoun (therefore one is a focus pronoun and the other is a non focus II pronoun) and if either of the pronouns is 1st person (irregardless of plurality and inclusiveness), then the 1st person pronoun will occur first, and therefore will be in its brief form.

2) Non focus III pronouns always occur last.

The following chart, taken from text examples and from language-lesson data, illustrates these two rules. These are just sentence fragments, so the glosses may not seem complete. The first part of the chart illustrates rule one; the second part illustrates rule two.

Vernacular Example English Gloss	Pronoun Type Person, Plurality	Pronoun Type Person, Plurality
egbehayan kud sikaniyu I will give you	Non Focus II Brief 1s	Focus Full 2p
Nangenan ku re sikeykew I'll just notify you	Non Focus II Brief 1s	Focus Full 2s
Egbehayan e kun nikaniyu You had given me	Focus Brief 1s	Non Focus II Full 2p
Impangabangan ki nikandin We were helped by him	Focus Brief 1pi	Non Focus II Full 3s
bulihan key nikuna you help us	Focus Brief 1pe	Non Focus II Full 2s
tabangi key nikeykew you bless (this) for us	Focus Brief 1pe	Non Focus II Full 2s
kena ad e egsukutan nikandin I will not be foreclosed by him	Focus Brief 1s	Non Focus II Full 3s
nangenan a nikeykew you notify me	Focus Brief 1s	Non Focus II Full 2s
egleuy key keykew we are coming to see you	Focus Brief 1pe	Non Focus III 2s
ignangen ku kaniyu I want to tell you	Non Focus II Brief 1s	Non Focus III 2p
igpanugtul ku keykew I'll tell you	Non Focus II Brief 1s	Non Focus III 2s

igbehey ney keykew	Non Focus II Brief	Non Focus III
we will give to you	1pe	2s
miggusey sikandan keddi	Focus Full	Non Focus III
they judged me	3p	1s
mignangen e sikandin keddì	Focus Full	Non Focus III
then he informed me	3s	1s

Regarding the first rule (first person pronoun comes first), the following is an example of an incorrect cooccurrence sequence that is unacceptable to a native speaker, though it seems semantically and gramatically possible.

Nangenan nu re sikeddi.   Wrong

Nangenan e re nikeykew.   **Right**

You just notify me.

Notice that the first rule is not applied in the wrong example. The first person pronoun *sikeddi* does not come first in the sequence. In the correct example, the first person in its brief form *e* ('a') is used and placed first in the sequence.

These two ordering rules together explain the lack of full forms for the first person personal pronouns.

3.1.5 Plural pronoun referents

When a single role is fulfilled by two (or more) people, one of whom is referred to by a personal pronouns, and one of whom is referred to by a noun, then a plural pronoun is used followed by non focus III.

key	ki	Panyaris		kanami	ki	Linda
we	NFIII	Panyaris		we	NFIII	Linda
Panyaris and I				Linda and me		

3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are used in verbal pointing or reference to represent an object or even a person, that is a participant in the clause. The demonstrative pronouns are marked for focus, and also for relative distance from the speaker.

Demonstrative Pronouns			
Focus		Non Focus	
Seini,[35] *sei*	this (near speaker)	*kayi*	(of) this
sika, seika	that (near hearer)	*due*[36]	(of) that
seeyè	that (far away)		

Figure 3.4 Demonstrative pronouns

Focus demonstrative pronouns ending in a vowel, except for *kayi,* have an *N* suffixed to them when they precede a particle, although it is always written as a *n,*[37] e.g., *Seinin ma...* 'This really...' *Sikan naa...* 'That then...'.

<div align="right">mbt584004 009</div>

*Kenè   egkaayun   ne   egpalekeban   niyu   **seini.***
not   possible   that lock-up   you   this
It's not possible for you to lock up this (woman).

…su   warè   ka   amey.
because   none   the   father
…because the father is not here.

<div align="right">mbt672001 077</div>

*Su   **sika**   ka   keddì   ne   pangguhuren   te   seini   ne   maselem.*
so   that   the   my   LNK   story   CMK   this   LNK   morning
So that's my story this morning.

<div align="right">MU511001 019</div>

Emun   egkahen-genan   e   ka   pamanayen   te   malitan   te
if   touch   COMPL the   shoulder   CMK   woman   CMK
If he touched the shoulder of a woman

rengam   pad   ne   egsalè   e   sika.
long_ago   yet   CONJ sin   COMPL   that
long ago, then that (woman) had been sinned againstI don't yet fully understand the semantics of eg-salè..

---

35   The form *seini* also has a variant *siini.*

36   Not to be confused with its homonym *due* 'there is/exists'.

37   That is, the form *due* can also be pronounced *duen*, *duem*, and *dueng* depending on the first consonant of the following word, but is always written as *duen* in such cases. (See 1.4: Phonemic and morphophonemic changes).

mbt547001 020

Ne	*sika*	*se*	*baaylihan*	*kenè*	*egkeupian*	*si*	*datu*
CONJ	that	LNK	disco	not	desire	CMK	datu

ne	**seika**	*igpabaayli*	*te*	*susiyal*	*hul.*
CONJ	that	dance	CMK	social	hall

And disco dancing, the datu doesn't like that disco dancing in the social hall.

mbt775001 011

...ne	**seeyè**	*degma*	*ka*	*egkasuman-suman*	*ku.*
CONJ	that	also	the	think	I

...and that's also what I think.

mbt776004 073

Iling	**kayi**,	*seini*	*kuntee*	*ugpaan*	*e*	*te*	*Manama.*
like	this	this	now	living_place	COMP	of	God

Like this, this is now the dwelling place of God.

mbt796001 077

Su	*minsan*	*hendei,*	*uya,*	*ne*	*migbehayan*	*te*	*iling*	**due**,...
so	even	where	yes	CONJ	given	CMK	like	that...

So wherever anyone is given anything like that, ...

mbt243001.E 158

Ne	*kahi*	*ni*	*Ame*	*ne,*	*"Kuwi*	*a",*	*kahi,*	*"Te*	*deisek*	**due**.*"*
and_then	say	-	dad	that	give	me	say	-	little	of_that

Then Dad said, "Give me a little of that."

3.3 Locative pronouns

The locative pronouns represent a location in the clause, rather than a person or object, although a person or object may be referred to as a location.

Locative Pronouns	
kayi, dini	here
due	there (within reach)
dutu	there (beyond reach but within sight
diyè	way over there (nonspecific/out of sight)

Figure 3.5 Locative pronouns

The semantics of locative pronouns is subject to a certain relativity. It depends on what locations serve as reference points in the mind of the speaker. *Due* could mean 'there at the star' and *dutu* could mean 'there on the other side of the room'.

mbt231001 013

Miglihad	*ad*	**kayi**	*ne*	*migleus*	*dutu*	*te*	*ribabè.*
passed	I	here	CONJ	went_on	there	CMK	downstream

I passed by here and went on downstream there.

MU781001 112

Su	*kayi*	*rè*	*taman*	*ka*	*keddì*	*ne*	*pangguhuren.*
so	here	just	ends	FOC	my	LNK	story

And my story ends just here.

mbt788005 010

Ka	*mata*	*nu*	*ne*	*ipitew*	*nu*	**dini**	*te*	*egderalu.*
the	eye	your	CONJ	look	you	here	at	sick

Focus your eyes here on the one who is sick. (In a prayer.)

mbt163001 030

Peulì	*nu*	**rini**	*su*	*migpatey*	*e*
call_home	you	here	because	died	COMPL

ka	*mekaamung*	*ni*	*Huwan...*
the	son-in-law	of	Huwan...

Call him home here because the son-in-law of John has died...

mbt626003 074

Warè   pad   bangkù   due.
no   yet   seat   there
There's no seat there yet.

MU362001 006

...su   due   egligkat   diyè   te   Manila   ne   bisita
because   there_are   come_from   there   in   Manila   LNK   visitor

ne   egleuy   due   te   Simud.
LNK   look_around   there   at   Sinuda
...because there are visitors coming there from Manila to inspect there at Sinuda.

mbt252002 048

Ne   egtahu   pad   man-e   rue.
CONJ   store   yet   again   there
And store some more there.

mbt781003 023

...insikep   ka   belad   din   dutu   te   niyug.
put_in   the   arm   his   there   CMK   coconut.
(the monkey)...put his hand there into the coconut.

mbt522001 080

"Dutun   ki",   kahi,   "eg-ugpè   te   marani   te   tulay..."
there   we   said   live   CMK   near   CMK   bridge
"Over there", he said, "we'll live near the bridge..."

mbt183001 004

Si   suled   Elkin   se   Amirikanu   ne   egligkat   diyè
CMK   cousin   Elkin   the   American   that   come_from   there

te   Amirika   ne   mig-ugpè   kayi...
in   America   that   lived   here
Cousin Elkin was the American that came from there in America and lived here...

mbt183001 056

...ke   rue   etew   ne   egpanumbaley   riyè   te   kanami...
if   there_are   people   that   visit   there   at   us
...if there are people that visit there at our house...

Summary

This section explains three classes of Matigsalug pronouns: (1) personal pronouns, (2) demonstrative pronouns, and (3) locative pronouns.

The personal pronouns are marked for person, plurality, and inclusiveness, and are divided into four different sets, two of which have both a brief and full form. These sets are (1) focus (full and brief), (2) non focus II (full and brief), (3) non focus III, and (4) topic pronouns.

The focus set of personal pronouns take the place of a noun or noun phrase that is in focus in the clause. Its case role can be determined only in connection with the verb affixation.

The non focus II and non focus III personal pronouns take the place of a noun or noun phrase that is not in focus. They are also used in possessive constructions described in a later section. Which of these two sets to use seems to depend on the semantic role of the pronoun. Non focus II pronouns are actor/agents and non focus III pronouns are patient/recipients.

The full forms of both the focus set and the non focus II set are an interesting study. The full third person pronouns can substitute freely with brief forms occurring by themselves. The full second person pronouns are only found as the second member of a pronoun sequence. There are no full first person pronouns in these sets due to some ordering rules.

The topic personal pronouns are pronouns that are fronted for emphasis or contrast. They are identical to the full form focus personal pronouns except that they have first person forms.

The demonstrative pronouns are marked for focus and for relative distance from the speaker.

4 Nouns

Matigsalug has both simple and derived noun forms; no compound nouns have yet been discovered.

4.1 Simple nouns

Simple nouns consist of just a single morpheme. They usually denote a specific object which can be seen or touched.

baley	'house'
manuk	'chicken'
etew	'person'
gumawan	'doorway'

4.2 Derived nouns

Derived nouns consist of a root to which one or more affixes have been added.

4.2.1 Abstract nouns

Abstract nouns are formed with the $kA > <an =$ circumfix or the $kA =$ prefix, often on an adjective or verb root or stem. The choice of affix is morpheme conditioned.

taman	finish	→	**ka**taman**an**[38]	'end'
luwas	explain	→	**ka**luwa**san**	'meaning'
uyag	live	→	**ke**uyag	'life'
layat	long	→	**ka**layat	'length'[39]
			kalayat**an**	'length'
babew	shallow	→	**ka**babew	'shallowness'
			kababa**wan**	'shallowness'
malehet	correct	→	**ka**malehet**an**	'truth'
dakel	big	→	**ka**rakel	'bigness'

4.2.2 Nominalization

Verbs or adjectives are often nominalized by adding the $kA > <an =$ circumfix.

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38   As with all suffixed words in Matigsalug, the stress shifts in order to remain on the penultimate syllable.

39   Choice of which affix combination is morpheme conditioned. Some roots can take both. Some roots insert an *n* or a glottal stop after the root.

suhù	'to command'	→	**ka***suhu**an*	'command' (n)
dusilem	'dark'	→	**ka***rusilem**an*	'nighttime'
duma	'other'	→	**ka***rum<u>aan</u>*	'companion'

4.2.3 Extended kin

The suffix =*en* on a relationship indicates a collateral kin or other extended relationship.

iney	'mother'	→	*inay**en***	'aunt'
anak	'child'	→	*anak**en***	'nephew, niece'
anuhang	'parent-in-law'	→	*anuhang**en***	'prospective parent-in-law'
asawa	'spouse'	→	asaween	'spouse-to-be'

4.2.4 Habitual nouns

A *tala*= or *talag*= prefix forms a habitual noun from a verb root.

bunù	'murder'	→	**tala***bunù*	'murderer'
			talag*bunù*	
tibbas	'cut'	→	**tala***tibbas*	'one who lashes out with
			talag*tibbas*	a bolo when angry'
suggal	'gamble'	→	**tala***suggal*	'gambler'
			talag*suggal*	
tameng	'guard'	→	**talag***tameng*	'guardian'

4.2.5 Occupational nouns

The prefix *maN*+*rdpCV*= forms an occupational noun from a verb or noun root.

uyamu	'assist in childbirth'	→	**mang***nguyamu*	'midwife'
ngalap	'fish'	→	**mang***ngengalap*	'fisherman'

No other examples of this prefix could be found. It appears that the prefix does not quite fit either example. Perhaps this is not a valid noun prefix.

4.2.6 Patient nouns

The suffix =*en* on a verb root forms the patient (object) of the verb.

keen	'eat'	→	*keen**en***	'food'
inum	'drink'	→	*inum**en***	'a drink'
ulahing	'sing'	→	*ulahing**en***	'a traditional song'
hilamun	'to weed'	→	*hilamun**en***	'weeds'

4.2.7 Location nouns

The suffix =*an* on a verb root or noun indicates a location.

keen	'eat'	→	*keen**an***	'eating place'
aheley	'corn'	→	*ahelay**an***	'cornfield'
abu	'ash'	→	*abuw**an***	'fireplace'

The suffix *=an* may be affixed onto an already affixed form.

untud	'ride'	→	*untur**an***	'thing ridden'
		→	*untur**anan***	'vehicle'
elat	'center'	→	*elet**anan***	'place in center'

4.2.8 Position nouns

The prefix *di=* indicates a position or direction.

*di**babew*	'top'
*di**ralem*	'bottom'
*di**raya*	'upriver'
*di**babè*	'downriver'

This appears to be a limited set as no other examples have been found.

4.2.9 Relation nouns

The prefix *tala=* on a root expands the relationship indicated by the root, usually mirroring the relationship.

hari	'younger sibling'	→	*tala**ari*	'siblings'
anak	'child'	→	*tala**anak*	'parent and child'
maama	'male sibling or cousin of a female'	→	*tala**maama*	'male first cousin of a female'

4.2.10 Resultant nouns

The *<in>=* and *<in>==an* affixes are applied to a verb root to form the resultant of the action.[40]

pamula	'to plant'	→	*p**in**amula*	'plants'
subba	'cook'	→	*s**in**ubba*	'cooked food'
lalag	'word'	→	*l**in**alah**an***	'language'
dampil	'dry in sun'	→	*d**in**ampil*	'grain that is drying'

4.2.11 Time nouns

A limited number of time noun roots can take the $mA_1=$ prefix to form time nouns.

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[40]   Note, however, that the example *lalag* is not an action.

selem	'early'	→	**ma**selem	'morning'
udtu	'noon'	→	**me**udtu	'noon'
hapun	'afternoon'	→	**ma**_a_pun	'afternoon'
dukilem	'dark'	→	**ma**rukilem	'nighttime'
dusilem	'dark'	→	**ma**rusilem	'nighttime'

4.3 Proper nouns

Proper nouns (names) are made of roots that may or may not be affixed. Some have meaning and are regular nouns. For others, the meaning either never existed or has been forgotten. Nicknames and friendship names,[41] however, frequently have a meaning, often referring to an attribute of the person, or a past event to which they were related.

Names of people:[42]
> *Umising, Umilis, Leyaggan, Tunibay*

Nicknames of people:
> *Asù* (from *asù* 'dog')
> *Mariyù* (from *mariyù* 'far')

Friendship names used by pairs of people:
> *Alukuy ku* (from *alukuy ku* 'my friend')
> *Priti* (from English 'pretty')

Names of deities:
> *Manama, Kallayag, Magbebayè*

Names of places:[43]
> *Panganan, Kiulum, Palabew*

Names of stars:
> *Baga* (from *baga* 'ember')
> *Buaya* (from *buaya* 'crocodile')

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[41] A 'friendship name' *lalud* is a name by which a pair of friends call each other. The name is not used outside of these two people.

[42] Names of people are changing rapidly; many modern Matigsalug names are an adaptation of a foreign word. For example, *Sandri* was born on Sunday; *Fibi* was born in February.

[43] Place names are generally taken from the name of the spring, stream, or river that is near by.

4.4 Verbal nouns

Verbal nouns[44] consist of a verbal form that fills the slot and function of a noun in a clause. Usually they are translated as an English gerund (eg., "We will do the **weeding** together.") or a relative clause (eg., "You keep looking for **what we will feed our workers**"). This is a very common construction in Matigsalug.

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Ti,	*kahi*	*ni*	*Ine*	*ne,*	*"Egparangdang*
DISBELIEF	say	-	mom	that	work_together

ki	*pad*	*ka*	***eggilamun,***	*su eyew*	*mahaan deg*	*keimpusi."*
we(incl)	still	the	weed	so_that	quickly just	finish

Mom said, "We will do together the weeding so that it will be finished quickly."

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Pamitew	*ke*	*pa*	*te*	***igdesen***	*ta*	*te*	***eggilamun.***
look_for	you(sg)	still	-	feed	we(incl)	for	weed

"You keep looking for what we will feed (lit, 'our feeding') for weeding."

Summary

Matigsalug has both simple nouns and derived nouns, but no compound nouns have yet been observed. Most Matigsalug nouns or noun roots can also serve as verb roots.

Derived nouns are affixed roots. There are at least eleven different affixations which produce derived nouns. They are *=en*, *=an*, *ka=*, *ka==an*, *tala=*, *talag=*, *mA=*, *di=*, *<in>=*, *<in>==an*, and *maN+rdpCV=*.

In addition, there are verbal nouns that appear to be verbal in form, but which fill the slot and function of a noun.

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44   Alternately, these verbal nouns could be viewed as a clause embedded in a noun phrase.

5 Adjectives

Adjectives modify nouns. They describe the quality or condition of an object. Some adjectives are simple roots. Others are formed by prefixing the descriptivizer[45] $mA_1=$ ($ma=$ or $me=$) to roots which may be nouns, verbs, or adjectives. Both simple and $mA_1=$ forms can have derivational affixes attached to them. These add another semantic component to the root.

Two kinds of pronouns have members with homonymous adjective counterparts. Some interrogative pronouns have counterparts as non-specific pronominal adjectives. Set 2 and Set 3 personal pronouns have counterparts as possessive pronominal adjectives.

5.1 Simple adjectives

Simple adjectives are unaffixed roots.

dakel	'large, many'
deisek	'small'
daruwa	'two'
walu	'eight'
langun	'all'

5.2 *mA=* forms

Most adjectives occur prefixed with $mA_1=$ ($ma=$ or $me=$), and many of their roots are not found in isolation.

ma= + *layat*	→	*malayat*	'long'
ma= + *deet*	→	*mareet*	'bad'
me= + *upiya*	→	*meupiya*	'good'

5.3 Inflected adjectives

Inflectional affixes add one or more components of meaning to the meaning of the root. The root may be a simple unaffixed root adjective or it may be an adjective with a $mA_1=$ prefix. More than one inflectional affix can be affixed to a root.

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45 Called a descriptivizer here, rather than an adjectivizer, because the same prefix is also used to form adverbs.

These inflectional affixes are listed in figure 5.1 under the semantic component they represent. This is followed by their morphological structure.[46] One or more examples follow each type. These are listed in the following manner:

Semantics			Affix Structure	
Affix + Root	become		Inflected Adjective	English gloss

Approximate[47] *rdpCVC=*
sal= + *salimbeka*   →   *salsalimbeka*   'one or two at a time'

No other examples of this type of adjective affixation could be found.

Comparative[48] *rdpCVC=*
mal= + *malayat*   →   *malmalayat*   'somewhat longer, taller'

Moderative   *rdpROOT=*
buyag= + *buyag*   →   *buyag-buyag*   'somewhat old'

The meaning of *buyag-buyag* above may be more comparative than moderative, i.e., meaning 'older' instead of 'somewhat old'. The common ways for showing comparison are by reduplicating the root of the adjective or by rdpCVC, as shown above. An additional example of a comparative meaning for a reduplicated adjective root is:

dakel= + *dakel*   →   *dakel-dakel*   'bigger'

Iterative[49]   *<liN>=*
<liN>= + *sabeka*   →   *salimbeka*   'one at a time'

No other examples of this type of adjective affixation could be found.

Limitative   *rdpCVC=*
sab= + *sabeka*   →   *sabsabeka*   'only one'

No other examples of this type of adjective affixation could be found.

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[46]   There is skewing between the morphological structures and the semantics. One semantic type can be realized by more than one affix. Conversely, a single affix can represent different semantic notions depending on what root it is attached to.

[47]   The reduplication of the initial CVC of the root can also be applied to other cardinal numbers. The resultant meaning is uncertain. Some speakers say it has a limitative meaning, i.e., *daddaruwa* means 'two only'; others say that it means 'two groups of two'.

[48]   A comparison of inequality. Comparisons of equality are expressed by verbal constructions using the root *iling* 'like, same'.

[49]   The infix *<liN>=* can only be affixed to the numeral *sabeka* 'one'.

Measure[50]	*tig =*			
	tig = + *sabeka*	→	*tigsabeka*	'in ones or one each'
	tig = + *salimbeka*	→	*tigsalimbeka*	'one at a time here and there'

Quantity *rdpC + a =*[51]				
	da = + *duwa*	→	*daruwa*	'two'
	ta = + *telu*	→	*tatelu*	'three'
	la = + *limma*	→	*lalimma*	'five'

Ordinal[52]	*igkA =*			
	igka = + *dangeb*	→	*igkarangeb*	'second'
	igke = + *hep-at*	→	*igkeep-at*[53]	'fourth'

Plural	*<rdpC> =*			
	<b> = + *mabenes*	→	*mabbenes*	'overgrown'
	<d> = + *mareet*	→	*maddeet*[54]	'for many to be bad'
	<d> = + *mariyù*	→	*maddiyù*	'for many to be far from each other'
	<d> = + *marelag*	→	*maddelag*	'spaced far apart'

Plural	*rdpCV =*			
	de = + *dakel*	→	*derakel*	'for many to be big'

Superlative	*kinA =*			
	kina = + *deisek*	→	*kinareisek(an)*	'smallest'
	kina = + *malayat*	→	*kinamalayat(an)*	'longest'

Figure 5.1 Inflected adjectives

5.4 Intensifying adjectives

Adjectives can be intensified with *amana* 'very' and *subla* 'exceedingly'. These intensifiers may precede the adjective, in which case they are linked to the adjective by the linker *ne*, or they may follow the adjective; if so, *amana* 'very' does not take a linker but *subla* 'exceedingly' does.

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[50]   This has either a distributive (e.g., two items for each person), cost (e.g., two pesos for each item), or a grouping notion (e.g., in twos) depending on the context. See also 2.4: Other words involving numbers.

[51]   This affix is only productive for the three roots listed. The roots are used in counting only. The underlying semantic notion of this affix is probably that of quantity. (See 2.1: Cardinal numbers). A similar affix occurs in Tagalog: **da**lawa 'two', **ta**tlo 'three', but not for *lima* 'five'.

[52]   See also 2.2: Ordinal numbers.

[53]   The /h/ is lost when it is intervocalic.

[54]   The adjective *mareet* is made up of the prefix *ma =* (*mA $_1$ =*) and the root *deet* 'bad'. The phoneme /d/ is realized as [r] intervocalically and is written as |r|. The plural derivational affix reduplicates this /d/: *ma + d + deet*. The also applies to *mariyù* 'far'.

amana	*ne*	*meinit*	*meinit*	*amana*
very	LNK	hot	hot	very

very hot very hot

subla	*ne*	*meinit*	*meinit*	*ne*	*subla*
exceedinly	LNK	hot	hot	LNK	exceedingly

exceedingly hot   exceedingly hot

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Kenè	*ta*	*egkalingawan*	*sikandin*	*tenged*	*te*
not	we	forget		him	concerning	CMK

And don't let us forget about him (God) since

sikandin	*meupiya*	**amana**	*ne*	*etew.*
he	good	very	LNK	person

he is a very good person.

mbt844001 019

...su	*malised*	**amana**	*ke*	*warè*	*igbukus.*
because	difficult	very	if	no	NP-wrap_around

...because it's very difficult if we have nothing to wrap around (the baby).

5.5 Nonspecific pronominal adjectives

The three interrogative pronouns *nekey* 'what', *hendei* 'where', and *hentew* 'who' may be used with the conjunctions *minsan*, *ahad* 'even', or *ke* 'if'[55] to act as nonspecific pronominal adjectives. Semantically, these three are respectively identificational, locational, and personal in function. They precede the head noun in a noun phrase and are linked to it by the linker *ne*. The exceptions are *ke hentew* and *ke nekey* which are connected to the head noun by the focus markers *ka* or *se*, not by the linker *ne*.

whatever	*minsan nekey, ahad nekey, ke nekey*
wherever, whichever	*minsan hendei, ahad hendei*
whoever, whichever	*minsan hentew, ahad hentew ke hentew*
however many (times)	*minsan pila*

Figure 5.2 Nonspecific pronominal adjectives

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55   The conjunction may in fact be omitted, although this is much less common.

minsan nekey ne ngalap   'whatever (kind of) fish'
ahad nekey ne kayu   'whatever (kind of) tree'

minsan hendei ne inged   'whichever village'
ahad hendei ne bariyu   'whichever barrio'

minsan hentew ne etew   'whichever person, whoever'

mbt173001 003

Sahing	*ne*	*dakel*	*ne*	*impamugsu,*
banana	LNK	many	LNK	planted,

minsan	*nekey*	*pad*	*ne*	*impamula*	*ne*	*dakel.*
whatever		yet	LNK	planted	LNK	many

Many bananas were planted, plenty of everything else still.

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Egtuman	*ki*	**ke**	**nekey**	*ka*	*suhu*	*din.*
obey	we	if	what	the	command	his

We obey whatever he commands.

mbt183001 038

Ne	**minsan hendei**	*ne*	*inged,*	*inged*	*te*	*Epun,*	*Diyapan,*	*ne*
CONJ	wherever	LNK	place	place	of	Japanese	Japan	then

egkaayun	*ne*	*igpangguhud*	*nu*	*se*	*kanami*	*ne*	*batasan.*
possible	LNK	story	you	the	our	LNK	custom

So whatever place, (even) Japan, the home of the Japanese, then you will be able to tell the story of our custom.

mbt556001 022

Ke	**hentew**	*se*	*rue*	*himu*	*ne*	*egkaayun*	*ne*	*egsambey*	*riyè*	*te*	*keddì.*
if	who	the	has	work	LNK	possible	LNK	borrow	there	from	me

Whoever has work to do can borrow (tools) from me.

mbt584004 003

...**minsan**	**pila**	*ne*	*datu...*
even	how_many	LNK	datu

...however many datus...

mbt185001 036

Su	*minsan*	*pila*	*ka*	*egpamitawen*	*kuntee*	*te*	*etew*
because	even	how_many	ka	search	today	by	people

sabeka	*ne*	*egpamitawen*	*ne*	*ka*	*pegpamula.*
one	the	search	that	that	planting

Because however many times the people are searching today, only one thing they're searching for and that's planting.

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…su eyewg	*katahaan*	*te*	**ahad hentew**	*ne*	*etew.*
so_that	understand	by	whomever	-	person

…so that it will be understood by whomever the person.

5.6 Possessive pronominal specifiers

Two sets of personal pronouns can also be used as possessive pronominal specifiers. These are inflected for person, number, and inclusion.

In the noun phrase construction, the head noun fills the central position. The two sets of possessive pronouns occur before and after the head noun respectively.[56] The prepositional set is linked to the head noun by the linker *ne*. The postpositional set does not require a conjunction. The set occurring before the head noun is emphatic.

ka	*anak*	*ku*		*ka*	*keddì*	*ne*	*anak*
the	child	my		the	my	LNK	child

my child				**my** child (not his)

---

56   The difference in focus that differentiates these sets in a clause is not relevant here. Here the two sets are differentiated by their position relative to the head noun in a noun phrase.

Prepositional	Postpositional	
keddi, keddiey	ku	my
keykew	nu	your (singular)
kandin	din/rin	his, her, its
kanami	ney	our (exclusive)
kanta	ta	our (inclusive)
kaniyu	niyu	your (plural)
kandan	dan/ran	their

Figure 5.3 Possessive pronominal specifiers

Following a prepredicate modal[57] such as *iyan* [emphatic] or *kè* 'not', the monosyllabic members of the postpositional set are moved to a position preceding the Head Noun.

ka	*anak*	*din*		*iyan*	*din*	*anak*
the	child	his	→	EMPH	his	child
his child				his child		

ka	*igkeupii*	*rin*		*kè*	*din*	*igkeupii*
the	liking	his	→	not	his	liking
his liking				not his liking		

5.7 Demonstrative pronominals

The three focus demonstrative pronouns can also act as demonstrative pronominals. They precede the head noun in a noun phrase and are linked to it by the linker *ne* or *se*.

seini ne kayu	'this tree'
seini se babuy	'this pig'

sika ne etew	'that person'
sika se baley	'that house'

---

57   See 12: Verbal clauses for a discussion of prepredicate modals.

seeyè ne inged	'that village over there'
seeyè se biyalè	'that fishing net'

In regular speech, frequently the string *seini se* is abbreviated to *si se* or just *sis*.[58]

5.8 Adjectives in noun phrases

Adjectives usually precede the head noun in a noun phrase and are linked to it by the linker *ne*.

dakel ne kayu	'a big tree'
sabeka ne kayu	'one tree'
mareet ne etew	'a bad person'
tigsabeka ne pisus	'one peso each'
igkeep-at ne aldew	'fourth day'

When the adjective follows the head noun in a noun phrase, the phrase becomes specific. The linker *ne* is still used.

kayu ne rakel	'the big tree'
etew ne mareet	'the bad person'

5.9 Adjectives in classificational clauses

Adjectives precede the noun phrase they modify in a description clause (see 9.2).

Dakel   ka   kayu.
big   the   tree
The tree is big.

Mareet   ka   etew   riyè.
bad   the   person   there
The person there is bad.

5.10 Negating an adjective

Kenè is used to negate an adjective.

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[58]   This is in addition to regular stylistic morphophonemic changes, which might abbreviate *seini se* to *seinis*, *seini ne* to *seinin*, and *seeyè se* to *seeyes*, etc.

Tì!	**kenè**	*ne*	*mabulut*	*si*	*Robert*	*Hunt!*
DISBELIEF	not	LNK	cruel	F_PERS(sg)	Robert	Hunt

What! Robert Hunt is not cruel!

Summary

Matigsalug adjectives are either simple roots (*dakel*, *langun*) or, more commonly, roots prefixed by *mA=* (*masandig*, *malepet*, *meupiya*).

There are also several inflectional affixes that can be added to an adjective to indicate approximateness, moderation, limitation, etc. These commonly involve reduplication, and often are added to numbers.

Adjectives may be intensified by being preceeded or followed by the words *subla* 'exceedingly' or *amana* 'very'.

Nonspecific pronominal adjectives ('whatever', 'wherever', 'whichever', 'whoever') are formed by preceeding question words (*nekey*, *hendei*, *hentew*) with *minsan* or *ahad* (sometimes *ke*).

Two of the four sets of pronouns are also used to indicate possession. The first set (*keddi*, *keykew*, *kandin*, *kanami*, *kanta*, *kaniyu*, *kandan*) precede the head noun and are connected to it with the linker *ne*. The second set (*ku*, *nu*, *din/rin*, *ney*, *ta*, *niyu*, *dan/ran*) follow the head noun with no linker. When the first set is used, it indicates emphasis or contrast.

Adjectives precede the head noun in an unmarked noun phrase. When the adjective follows a head noun, the phrase is marked for emphasis or contrast. In either case, the adjective and head noun are connected by the linker *ne*.

6 Case Markers

6.1 Case markers

Like most Philippine languages, Matigsalug uses case markers to mark the relationship of noun phrase and proper noun participants in the clause to the verb. Case markers indicate focus, personalness, and number of the noun in the noun phrase.

Case Markers(CMK)	Common	Personal	
		Singular	Plural
Focus	*ka₁*,*se*	*si*	**en**si
Non Focus II	*te*	*ni*	**en**ni
Non Focus III	*te*	*ki*	**eng**ki

Figure 6.1 Case markers

As with the non focus II and the non focus III pronouns, choosing between the two sets of non focus markers is determined by the semantic role of the head noun. The non focus II marker set is chosen if the role of the noun is agent or experiencer. The non focus III marker is chosen in all other cases.

Agent

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Keureme	*eggawien*	*e*	***te***	*Manama*	*seini*	*se*	*tane.*
in_future	retrieve	COMP	NFII	God	this	-	land

Then in the future God will retrieve this land.

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Diye	*key*	*e*	*man-e*	*migpeiskuwila*	***te***	*amey*	*ku.*
there	we(excl)	COMP	again	sent_to_school	NFII	father	my

Again we were sent to school there by my father.

*Ne   sapulu   ka   etew   ne   mignangenan   **ni**   Ame.*
now   ten   F   people   who   informed   NFII   dad

Now there are ten people who were informed by Dad.

*Migpanakug   e   **ni**   Ine   se   beni   te   paley…*
scoop_up   COMP   NFII   mom   F   seed   of   rice

Mom scooped out the rice seed ...

Other (location, patient, theme)

*Diyad   es   Ame   **te**   baley   ran.*
there   COMP + F   dad   NFIII   house   their

Dad is there at their house.

*Ne   kahi ni Ame   ne,   "Nuwa   kew   e   **te**   sening   niyu…"*
then   say - dad   that   get   you(pl)   COMP   NFIII   small_bag   your

Then Dad said, "Get your bags ..."

*Ne   si   Ame,   impangimu   e   regma   **te**   lelapeng.*
then   F   dad   built   COMP   also   NFIII   storage_house

Then Dad also built a storage shed.

*Se   Imbullas   ne   impaasawa   **ki**   Aurelio.*
F   replaced   -   cause_to_marry NFIII   Aurelio

This is the replacement that was made to marry Aurelio.

Personal versus Common. There is some overlap in usage. Personal includes proper names and nouns referring to persons. Common includes nouns referring to persons and nonpersons. Kinship terms (common nouns) can take either the personal or the common case-markers depending on whether the relationship or the person is in mind. Deities (proper nouns) can also take either form depending on whether the object associated with the deity (e.g., a star) or the spirit is in mind. Both the object and the guardian spirit have the same name.

*Karineg   nu   kuntee   **ka**   keddì   ne   eglalahen.*
listen   you   now   F   my   LNK   will_say
Listen to what I'm about to say.

*Duen   ku   re   igtaman   **se**   keddì   ne   lalag   kuntee.*
there   I   just   will_stop   F   my   LNK   talk   now
And just there is where I stop my speech.

*In-isip   dan,   ka   Alimugkat,   ne   insuhu   **te**   Manama…*
thought   they   F   spirit   who   commanded   NFII   God
They thought it was Alimugkat whom God appointed ...

*Su   sikeddi   egbayad   a   **te**   ballas,   diye   **te**   kandin.*
so   as_for_me   pay   I   NFIII   rice   there   NFIII   him
So as for me, I paid the rice to him.

*Seini   kuntee   ne   egkeupian   **si**   Ambey   ne   eglalag   keddì.*
this   now   LNK   want   F   daughter-in-law   LNK   speak   I
This is what Daughter-in-law wants—that I will speak.

*...egsilaban   e   **ni**   Huwan   ka   baley   ni   Haddi.*
set_fire   COMP   NFII   John   F   house   of   Haddi
...John set fire to Haddi's house.

*Kuntee   eglalag   a   su   egpanulù   a   **ki**   Suled   te*
Now   speak   I   because teach   I   NFIII   cousin   about

eglalag   diyè   te   sumbunganan   te   me   Matigsalug.
speak   there   at   meeting   of   PL   Matigsalug.
Now I am speaking because I will teach Cousin how to speak at a Matigsalug meeting.

Wey	*migkahi*	**ensi**	*Hiram*	*te,*	*"Hisus,*	*keyid-u*	*ka*	*kanami."*
and	said	F-PL	Hiram	QUOT	Jesus	pity	you	us

And Hiram and his companions said, "Jesus, have pity on us."

Wey	*rutu*	*ne*	*timpu*	*ka*	*me*	*langun*	*ne*	*me*	*ayam*
and	that	LNK	time	F	PL	all	LNK	PL	animal

migseled	*duma*	**engki**	*Nuwi.*
entered	accompany	NFIII-PL	Nuwi

And in that time, all of the animals went in along with Noah and his companions.

6.2 Plural personal referents

When a list of proper names is given as a participant in the clause, the first name takes the normal personal case-marking appropriate to the focus marking on the verb. However, succeeding names in the list revert to the focus personal marker even though they are not, in fact, in focus.

Se	*keddì*	*ne*	*ipanulù*	**ki**	*Inday*	*te*	*eg-iskwila*	*wey*	**si**	*Punsu.*
the	my	LNK	teach	NFIII	Inday	of	schooling	and	F	Punsu

This is what I teach Inday and Punsu about going to school.

kaayun	*ne*	*egnangeng*	*key*	**ki**	*Suled*	*Jeff*	*wey*	**si**	*Suled*	*Robert…*
possible	that	inform	we	NFII	cousin	Jeff	and	F	cousin	Robert

It's possible for us to inform Cousin Jeff and Cousin Robert ...

Summary

Matigsalug has three sets of focus markers to indicate the relationship of noun phrases to the verb, focus, non focus II, and non focus III. Each set is marked for personalness and plurality of the noun in the noun phrase.

Choice between the two sets of non focus markers is made according to the semantic role of the head noun it precedes.

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[59]   Example sentences with a reference in this format are taken from some short Bible stories translated by a Matigsalug pastor.

7 Noun Phrases

A noun phrase fills slots on the clause level.[60] There are two basic types of noun phrases: nominal and pronominal.

7.1 Simple noun phrase

A simple noun phrase consists of a nucleus, which is a noun, optionally modified by a number and/or one or more adjectives linked by *ne*. Normally the modifiers precede the noun; if they follow the noun then often some specificity is implied.

niyug
coconut

dakel	**ne**	*baley*		*baley*	**ne**	*dakel*
big	LNK	house		house	LNK	big

a big house   the big house

daruwa	**ne**	*kuddè*
two	LNK	horse

two horses

On occasions, two adjectives may modify one head noun. In this case, one will often precede the head noun and one will follow.[61]

daruwa	*ne*	*lapis*	*ne*	*malalab*
two	LNK	pencil	LNK	red

two red pencils

7.1.1 Plural Marker

The Matigsalug plural marker is *me*[62]. Placed before a noun or at the front of a simple noun phrase or a possessive noun phrase, it indicates that the noun or noun phrase is plural.

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[60] Much of the material in this section is adapted from Elkins [1985], *MatigSalug noun phrases*.

[61] Phrases with three descriptives may be elicited but are not particularly natural. There is a definite preference for the head noun to follow the first descriptive, particularly if it is a number, but this is not compulsory.

[62] This has already been mentioned in 2.5: Approximate where it also served in front of a numeral or date as an approximation marker.

Warè	*pad*	*guhuren*	*te*	**me**	*buyag.*
none	yet	story	of	PL	elder

The elders have not yet mentioned this.

Pangunduli	*te*	**me**	*kayu.*
stoke_up	NF	PL	wood

Stoke up the fire with wood.

However, the plural marker is not used as frequently as the English plural -*s* and often a plural English translation can be used even though the Matigsalug plural marker was not explicitly used.[63]

Naamin	*napatey*	*ka*	*kayu,*	*ne*	*impamula*	*ne*	*keppi*	*minsan*	*nekey.*
used_up	died	F	tree	CONJ	planted	LNK	coffee	even	what

All the **trees** died, the coffee that had been planted and everything else.

7.2 Possessive noun phrase

A possessive noun phrase consists of a nucleus which is a noun, which is possessed by a possessor which may be a pronoun, or the marker *te* followed by a simple noun phrase, or an embedded possessive noun phrase, or the personal marker *ni* followed by a proper noun.

baley	*rin*	*kandin*
house	his	his

his house

ne	*baley*
LNK	house

his house

baley	*te*	*pastul*
house	of	pastor

pastor's house

baley	*ni*	*Anggam*
house	of	Uncle

Uncle's house

baley	*te*	*amey*	*rin*
house	of	father	his

his father's house

The plural personal marker 'enni' is also used.

---

[63]   The text corpus indicates that the plural particle *me* is used to describe people over 90% of the time, e.g., *me buyag* 'elders', *me apù* 'grandparents', *me batè* 'children', etc.

Meupiya	*red*	*se*	*geyinawa*	**enni**	*Ansarew…*
good	just_COMP	the	breath	NFII	Ansarew

The feelings of Ansarew and company are good ...

7.3 Case-marked noun phrase

A case-marked noun phrase consists of a simple noun phrase or a possessive noun Phrase, preceded by a case marker. The case marker signals which noun phrase takes the role signaled by the verb affix.

7.3.1 Focus noun phrase

The focus noun phrase consists of the personal focus marker *si* followed by a proper noun (or kin term used as a proper noun), or one of the nonpersonal focus markers *ka* or *se* followed by a simple noun phrase or a possessive noun phrase.

si	*Inday*		**si**	*Anggam*
F	Inday		F	Uncle
Inday			Uncle	

ka	*tirè*		**se**	*tirè*
F	sugarcane		F	sugarcane
the sugarcane			the sugarcane	

ka	*geyinawa*	*rin*
F	breath	his
his breath		

7.3.2 Non focus II noun phrase

The non focus II noun phrase consists of the personal non focus II marker *ni* followed by a proper noun (or kin term used as a proper noun), or the nonpersonal non focus marker *te* followed by a simple noun phrase or a possessive noun phrase. This signals an agent role in the clause.

ni	*Punsu*		**ni**	*Mengeanak*
NFII	Punsu		NFII	Nephew
by Punsu			by Nephew	

te	*lukes*
NF(II)	man
by the man	

7.3.3 Non focus III noun phrase

The non focus III noun phrase consists of the personal non focus III marker *ki* followed by a proper noun (or kin term used as a proper noun), or the nonpersonal non focus marker *te* followed by a simple noun phrase or a possessive noun phrase. This signals a non agent role in the clause.

ki	*Punsu*		*ki*	*Mengeanak*
NFIII	Punsu		NFIII	Nephew
to/from Punsu			to/from Nephew	

te	*lukes*
NFIII	man
to/from the man	

7.3.4 Demonstrative noun phrases

A demonstrative focus noun phrase may be formed by using a focus demonstrative pronoun[64] linked to the the head noun by the linker *ne*.

seini	*ne*	*babuy*
this	LNK	pig
this pig		

sika	*ne*	*kayu*		*seeyè*	*ne*	*baley*
that	LNK	tree		that	LNK	house
that (near) tree				that (far away) house		

These phrases can then be made non focus phrases by prepending the non focus marker te. The context determines whether non focus II or non focus III is intended.

te	*seini*	*ne*	*etew*		*te*	*seeyè*	*ne*	*baley*
NF	this	LNK	person		NF	that	LNK	house
by/to/from this person					to/from that house			

Another common form of demonstrative focus noun phrase links the demonstrative with the head noun with *se.* In this case, the *se* is not a focus marker.

---

64   See 3.2: Demonstrative pronouns.

Nekey	*naa*	*te*	*meupiye*	*e*	**seini**	**se**	**inged.**
what	then	-	good	COMP	this	-	village

This village would have been good.

Su	*ware*	*dan*	*nakataha*	*ke*	*nekey*	*ka*	**sika**	**se**	**pegpanubad**	**dan.**
because	didn't	they	understood	if	what	the	that	-	prayer	their

Because they didn't understand their own prayer.

Egdineg	**seeye**	**se**	**Alimugkat.**
Listen	that	-	Alimugkat

Alimugkat will hear.

7.4 Appositional noun phrases

Two noun phrases may be juxtaposed (that is, placed side by side) in order that the second clarifies or adds extra meaning to the other. Usually these two noun phrases are of the same case.

…ka	*amey*	*rin,*	*si*	*Embac*
F(nonpersonal)	father	his	F(personal)	Embac

…his father, Embac

7.5 Locative noun phrase

Locative noun phrases consist of an obligatory locator word, optionally followed by *te* and a simple or possessive noun phrase or a pronoun.

Locator Word
kayi 'here'
dini 'here'
due 'there'
dutu 'there
diyè 'there (far)

Figure 7.1 Locator words

kayi   *diyè*
here   there

kayi   *te*   *Panganan*   *diyè*   *te*   *Nasuli*
here   at   Panganan   there   at   Nasuli
here at Panganan   there at Nasuli

dutu   *te*   *baley*   *rin*   *due*   *ki*   *Anggam*
there   at   house   his   there   NF   Uncle
there at his house   there at Uncle's

diyè   *te*   *keddì*   *due*   *te*   *ki*   *Anggam*
there   at   me   there   at   NF   Uncle
there at my (place)   there at Uncle's

7.6 Temporal phrase

A temporal phrase fills the time slot in a clause. The structure of a temporal phrase is given by the following formula:

Temporal Phrase =   Class One Time Word

       or   *te* + Class Three Time Word

       or   Class One Time Word + *ne* + Class Two or Three Time Word

       or   Temporal Phrase + *te* + Class Three Time Word
                  (optionally followed by *pad* 'just')

where:

Time Words		
Class One	Class Two	Class Three
gabii 'yesterday'	*aldew* 'day'	*maselem* 'morning'
kuntee 'today, now'	*timpu* 'time'	*meudtu* 'noon'
kaaselem 'tomorrow'		*maapun* 'afternoon'
ganna 'earlier today'		*marusilem* 'night'
angkuwa 'later today'		*kaseleman* 'morning time'
dengan 'long ago'		*karusileman* 'nighttime'
keureme 'in the future'		*kaapunan* 'afternoon time'
kangkuwa 'later today'		

Figure 7.2 Time words

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…*rue*   *kein-inuwan*   *ney*   *te*   **ganna**   **ne**   **maselem.**
there_is   wonder   ours(excl)   -   earlier_today   -   morning
... we were totally amazed earlier this morning.

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Na **kuntee**   **ne**   **meudtu,**   *egpangguhud*   *a.*
so   today   -   noon   tell_a_story   I
So at noon today, I will tell a story concerning this past Monday.

HUNTING 025

Meupiya   *ne* *eglabung*   *ki*   **kangkuwa.**
good   -   eat_evening_meal   our(incl)   later_today
Our supper later will be good.

93/02/22 018

Kangkuwa   **te**   **maapun,**   *egpakihulay*   *e*   *pad.*
later_today   -   afternoon   gather_vegetables   I   yet
Later this afternoon, I will yet gather vegetables.

*Pigpeled   ku   kuntee   te   **ganna**   **ne   kaseleman** …*
cutting   my   today   -   earlier_today   -   morning
My cutting earlier this morning ...

*Taman   te   alas   siyiti   -   alas   utsu   **te**   **karusileman** …*
as_far_as   -   o'clock   seven   -   o'clock   eight   while   night
Until seven or eight o'clock at night…

*...ne   wa   pad   etew   ne   migbeli   su   **gabii**   pad*
CONJ   no   yet   people   LNK   buy   because   yesterday   just

miggimuma   ligkat   diyè   te   Kalahangan.
arrived   from   there   at   Calagangan
...and no one has bought any yet because it just came yesterday from Calagangan.

Ne   egkahi   ni   Manadang,   "Egderalu   kun   ma   anggam
CONJ   say   by   Manadang   be_sick   they_say   [assertive]   uncle

gabii   **te**   **marusilem**.*"*
yesterday   CMK   night
And Manadang said, "They say he got sick last night, uncle."

*Na   seini   se   keddì   ne   pangguhuren   **kuntee**   palti   te   me   buyag.*
CONJ   this   the   my   LNK   story   today   about   CMK   PL   elder
Now this is my story today about the old people.

*Iyan   ku   egpangguhuren   **kuntee   ne   meudtu**,   pangguhud   a   te*
that   I   tell_story   now   LNK   noon   tell_story   I   CMK

*sumbunganan   te   me   ratu,   te   **gabii   ne   aldew**.*
meeting   of   PL   datu   CMK   yesterday   LNK   day
That's what I'll tell a story about now at noon, I tell about the meeting of the datus, yesterday.

Kuntee   ne   maapun   egpanguhud   a   ligkat   te   tirè.
today   LNK   afternoon   tell_story   I   from   CMK   sugarcane
This afternoon I will tell a story about sugarcane.

Purisu   panubad   a   te   seini   ne   aldew   kuntee   te   apu   ney.
therefore   sacrifice   I   CMK   this   LNK   day   now   to   grandfather   our
Therefore I will be making a sacrifice today to our ancestors.

Ne   warè   kun   pad   ugpit   dengan   te   dengan   pad.
CONJ   no   they_say   yet   bolo   long_ago   CMK   long_ago   still
And they say that they had no (steel) bolos yet a long, long time ago.

Sika   ka   batasan   te   me   buyag   dengan   ne   timpu.
that   the   custom   of   PL   elder   long_ago   LNK   time
That was the custom of the old people long ago.

Kuntee   ne   maapun   egpangguhud   a   te   likat   te   pangguhuren
today   LNK   afternoon   tell_story   I   CMK   from   CMK   story

ni   Apu   Huwan   dengan   ne   timpu.
of   grandfather   John   long_ago   LNK   time
This afternoon, I am telling a story that comes from a story told by Grandfather John a long time ago.

Sika   ka   guhud   te   me   buyag   te   rengan   ne   timpu.
that   the   story   of   PL   elder   CMK   long_ago   LNK   time
That was the story of the elders a long time ago.

Summary

A simple noun phrase consists of a noun optionally modified by one or more adjectives that are linked by *ne*. The modifier will come first unless some emphasis is intended.

The plural marker *me* is not obligatory in many cases when plurality is assumed by the context. When it does occur, *me* comes immediately prior to the noun it pluralizes.

A possessive noun phrase occurs in the following varieties:

Head Noun + Pronoun(NF II)

Pronoun(NF III) + *ne* + Head Noun

Head Noun + *te* + Noun/Noun Phrase

Head Noun + *ni*/*enni* + Proper Noun

Case-marked noun phrases consist of a focus marker followed by a simple or possessive noun phrase. They may be focus, non focus II, or non focus III. Non focus II noun phrases take the role of agent or experiencer in the clause. Non focus III noun phrases take a non agent role in the clause.

Appositional, or juxtaposed, noun phrases are common in Matigsalug. An appositional phrase occurs when two words or phrases are simply placed next to each other, one making more definite or explicit the meaning of the other, rather than modifying it in the usual sense. They are always of the same focus.

A locative noun phrase consists of a locator word (*kayi, dini, due, dutu, diye*) followed by *te* and then a noun, pronoun, or noun phrase.

8 Particles and Adjuncts

Particles[65] are one- or two-syllable words that add meaning or expression to the clause. In a sense they function a little like adverbs, modifying the meaning of the verb. They have a fixed place in the clause.

Adjuncts is the term used in this paper for miscellanous other words that function on different levels of the hierarchy.

8.1 List of particles

Phonologically, the one-syllable particles are clitics; they phonologically join to the previous word, causing a shift in the stress of the previous word.

Grammatically, the particles have a fixed order with respect to each other, and a fixed place in the clause, usually filling the second slot in the clause (after the verb or negative word), but following any one-syllable pronouns.

Semantically, it is very hard to define in a brief English description the exact range of meaning or expression that can be expressed by any one particle. The natural use of particles only comes with extensive study and use of the language.

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[65]   Sometimes also called adjuncts.

Anxiety/Apology	*ayu*	any chance/sorry
Assertive	*ma*	it is true
Completive	*e*	already[66]
Confirmative	*naa*	then
Contraexpectation	*bes*	Oh![67]
Contrastive	*mulè*	but as for this
Discouragement	*da*[68]	Man! Sigh! (to express weariness or grief)
Embarassment	*ubag*	well.../sorry
Emphatic1	*iya*	(but) it is[69]
Emphatic2	*la*	really, earnestly
Hearsay	*kun*	it is/he said
Incompletive	*p*à	still, yet
Limitative	*dè*	only, just
Optative	*perem*	wish for but not so, unrealized
Uncertainty	*buwa*	maybe, perhaps
Repetitive	*man-e*	again

Figure 8.1 List of particles

When *naa* follows an interrogative pronoun, it is optionally suffixed to it as = -*a*. It can also recur after the following word. This particle is the closest equivalent to an interrogative particle, such as *ba* in Tagalog.

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[66]   This is not an entirely satisfactory gloss of *e*; *e* also carries present and continuous components of meaning, so much so that Wang proposed two separate homonyms.

[67]   Elkins calls this rhetorical question "modal" because questions containing this particle are rhetorical. However, since it also occurs in nonquestions, and since its basic meaning both in questions and nonquestions is that of contraexpectation, it is given that name in this paper.

[68]   *Da* and *dè* can also be written as *ra* and *rè* when they follow words ending in a vowel or semivowel. *Da* often seems to have an extended vowel segment, so maybe it could also be spelt *daa*.

[69]   Perhaps the gloss 'indeed' is more descriptive and accurate.

*Hanew   ta   **ayu**.*

Don't_know we   [anxiety]

I'm sorry I don't know. (Lit, I'm sorry we don't know.)

mbt132001 005

Iyan   kein-inuwan   ney ganna,   mania   te miglibed

that   amazed   us   earlier   why   -   returned

*ka   marusilem   te   maselem   **ma**?*

the   night   in   morning   [assertive]

That's what amazed us earlier, why did the darkness return when it was morning?

mbt245001 002

*Ka tirè,   meyì malayat **e**   ka tirè   eg-abaten   **e**.*

the   sugarcane if   long   COMP the sugarcane pick_it   COMP

The sugarcane, if it is tall, already then pick it.

mbt444001 003

*Sikan **naa** ka   kena ad   egbehey   su   eg-uubat ka   me etew.*

that   then   the   not   I   give   because tell_lies   the   PL people

So that then is why I won't give because the people tell lies.

mbt452001 013

Ne   ka   etew   wa   pad   nakanengneng   te

CONJ the people   not   yet   knew   CMK

*duen   **bes**   tinapa   due.*

there_is surprise   canned_fish   there

And the people did not yet know that to their surprise there was canned fish there.

mbt774003 043

*Ne   meyì kenè   egkeulian,   kenè   key   **mulè**   egbayad.*

and   if   not   get_better   not   we   on_the_other_hand pay

And if we don't get better, we don't even have to pay. (Comparing traditional medicine with modern doctors.)

Warad   e   ra.

no_more COMP [discouragement]

There's no more.

mbt872002 027

*Migpinnuu   ad   **ubag**   diyè   te   an-anayan   ne   bangku.*
sat   I   [embarrassment]   there   on   first   LNK   seat
I sat down on the front seat. (A child's first day at school.)

mbt874001 015

*Ne   kahi   ni   Suled,   "Eleg   dè   **iya**."*
and   said   NFII   Cousin   correct   just   that
And Cousin said, "That's right."

mbt763001 027

*"Angeyan   **pà**   ka   anggam   nu   riyè   ne   eg-abat   te   aheley."*
fetch   yet   the   uncle   your   there   that   pick   NF   corn
"Go and fetch your uncle that's there picking corn."

mbt776002 010

*Sikan   **dè**   ka   keddì   ne   egpangguhuren   ki   mengeanak.*
that   just   the   my   LNK   story   for   nephew
And that's all of my story for nephew.

mbt132001 017

*Ne   egkaliwawas   man-e   **perem**   ne   mà te   egkaayun   ne   egmarusilem?*
and   dawn   again   [wish]   so   why possible   to   become_night
And it was dawn again (we hoped) so why did it become dark?

mbt776004 002

*Su   sikan   **kun**   ka   eg-angey   te   gimukud   ney.*
because   that   [hearsay]   the   carry   CMK   spirit   our
Because, they say, that is what carries away our spirit.

mbt522001 042

*Ambul   e   man-e si   Huwan   taman   **buwa**   te   ilek.*
go_into_water   COMP   again F   Huwan   until   maybe   NF   armpit
John went into the water as far, perhaps, as his armpits.

mbt243001 034

*Migkamange   e   **man-e**   sikandan.*
used_a_sharpening_stone   COMP   again   they
They used the sharpening stone again.

*Neg   kaliwaswas   **man-e**   perem…*
Then   dawn   again   wish
Then a new day dawns again ...

8.2 Relative ordering and cooccurrence restrictions

The particles have a fixed internal ordering, when two or more appear together in a cluster. This string of one or more particles is called the PARTICLE CLUSTER. The following table shows the ordering; particles listed in the same box cannot cooccur with each other, but there are also other cooccurrence restrictions:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
kun	*bes* *buwa* *ma* *naa*	*dè(d)* *pà(d)*	*la(d)* *da*	*e*	*ayu* *mulè*	*ubag*	*iya*	*man-e*	*perem*

Figure 8.2 Particle cluster ordering

The particle = *d* is somewhat confusing. In the case of *pà* vs. *pad*, *pà* only occurs in imperative clauses. *Pad* occurs in all other situations. The particles *la(d)* and *dè(d)* need more investigation.

*Pamitew   ke   **pà**   te   igdesen   ta   teg   gilamun.*
look_for   you(sg) still   -   feed   we(incl)   for   weeding
You keep looking for what we will feed (our workers) for weeding.

*Egmalig-eten   dim   **pad**   te   egkamet.*
make_something_narrow   he   still   -   clear_field
He will clear a narrow strip of the field.

The maximum number of particles found in a particle cluster in natural text is four. No particle can be repeated twice in the cluster. Only one member from the set in a given position can occur at any given time.

Su	*due rue*	*iya*	*se*	*egkatanled*	*ne*	*wa*
because	immediately	indeed	the	sink	that	not

man	*de*	*iya*	*man-e*.
ASSERTIVE	just	indeed	again

Because it sunk immediately and [EMPH] did not reappear again.

In addition, the following cannot cooccur for semantic reasons:

> *kun e ayu*
> *ayu ubag*
> *ayu perem*
> *ubag perem*
> *dè(d) e*

The following particle combinations have abbreviated forms:

> *buwa + dè + e* → *bured*
> *buwa + pad* → *bupad*

The three particles *buwa*, *ma*, and *naa* have the morphophoneme *øN*. It is realized as an assimilating nasal *n ~ m* (*~ ng*) before either *dè* or *pà* (or *ded* or *pad*).[70] The particle *kun* ends in the morphophoneme *N,* which also assimilates to the first segment of the following particles.

It would appear that columns 3 and 4 in figure 8.2 are somewhat interchangeable, but that the order given is the preferred order:

Preferred   **Allowable**

Dutun	*ded*	*la!*
there	just	[EMPH]

It's just there!

Dutun	*le*	*red!*
there	[EMPH]	just

It's just there!

Warè	*ped*	*la!*
none	yet	[EMPH]

There's none yet!

Warè	*le*	*pad!*
none	[EMPH]	yet

There's none yet!

---

70   The orthography however, always writes assimilating nasals when they occur as *n.* (See 1.4: Phonemic and morphophonemic changes). The spoken forms *naan* and *naam* may be optionally reduced to *nan* and *nam,* although it is always written as *naan*.

The following are examples of particle clusters occurring in natural speech:[71]

Hanew	*ta*	*ke*	*igpeinum*	***buwa***	***ayu***.
don't_know	we	if	will_cause_to_drink	maybe	[anxiety]

I don't know if (they) perhaps give it (to you) to drink.

Buutpasabut	*hapit*	***kun***	***e***	*eglibed*	*ka*	*Manama.*
understand	near	[hearsay]	already	return	the	God

So we understand that it is said that it is already close to the returning of God.

Ne	*kahi*	*ni*	*Huwan,*	*"Egderalu*	***kun***	***ma***	*Anggam*	*gabii*
CONJ	say	CMK	John	sick	it_is_said	it_is_true	Uncle	yesterday

te	*marusilem."*
at	night

And John said, "They say and it's true, Uncle, that he got sick last night."

Ne	*warè*	***kun***	***pad***	*ugpit*	*dengan*	*te*	*dengan*	*pad.*
CONJ	no	it_is_said	yet	bolo	long_ago	CMK	long-ago	yet

And it's said that long ago they didn't yet have bolos.

Eyew	*egpakakahi*	*sika*	*se*	*egpamineg*	*si*	*Huwan*	*miglalag*
so_that	able_to_say	that	the	hear	CMK	John	spoke

bes	***ded***	*due*	*ne*	*wà*	*man*	*tulik.*
surprise	just_COMP	there	CONJ	no	it_is_true	obey

So that those who heard will be able to say that John spoke there and no-one obeyed.

Ne	*eg-ehetan*	*e*	***re***	*iya*	*ubag*	*ni*	*Mewulanya.*
and	irritate	I	just	that	[embarrassment]	NFII	Mewulanya.

And I only irritated Mewulanya.

---

71 See *Appendix A: Particle cluster examples* for an extended set of examples.

Hanew   *te*   *la!*
not_know   we(incl)   [EMPH]
I don't know! (This is a common expression.)

Neulug   *e*   *rè*   *la!*
fell   I   just   [EMPH]
I just fell!

Mahaan   *kew*   *lad!*
hurry   you(pl)   [EMPH]
Hurry up!

BOBBYO 032

Masumpit   **bes**   *e*   *amana*   *ka*   *iney*   *ku*   *neg*   *deralu!*
extremely   SURPRISE   COMP   very   the   mother   my   -   be_ill
My mother is extremely sick!

mbtRLTR 011

Katuliku   **man**   **de**   *iya*   *ka*   *dangeb*   *ne*   *simbaan.*
Catholic   ASSERTIVE   just   indeed   the   other   -   church_building
The other church is really just Catholic.

GENERAL2 009

Si   *Mansumina,*   *apu_te_apu*   **naan**   **de**   *dengan.*
F   Mansumina   ancestor   then   just   long_ago
Mansumina, he was just our ancestor a long time ago.

mbt243001 077

Ti,   *nekey*   **naan**   *iya*   *teg*   *silab*   *e*   *si*   *Ame.*
DISBELIEF   what   so/then   indeed   NF   burn   COMP   F_PERS(sg)   dad
Dad is really burning (the field).

mbtRLTR 002

Meupiya   *ne*   *aldew*   *wey*   *ke*   *maapun*   **naan**   *e*   *alang*   *kaniyu.*
good   LNK   sun/day   or   if   afternoon   then   COMP   for   you(pl)
Good day ??? afternoon already for you.

Ti,	*maselem-selem*	**pad**	**iya**	*seini,*	*taggel*	*e*	*si*	*Ine.*
DISBELIEF	early	INCOMP	indeed	this	prepare	COMP	F	Mom

When it was still very early in the morning, Mom was already prepared.

8.3 Adjuncts

Adjuncts are miscellaneous words that occur in Matigsalug and usually function at the clause and/or sentence levels of the hierarchy.[72]

8.3.1 Exclamatory adjuncts

Matigsalug has five exclamatory adjuncts: *ha, te, atuwey, keyey,* and *tì.* It is difficult to give these a precise English gloss and to distinguish their relative uses.

Ha and *te* are usually used in isolation to indicate amazement, e.g., if your neighbor has just bought a watch, or radio, or brought home a wild pig. Perhaps an English gloss might be 'really' or 'wow'. Often it is in reaction to oral news brought from another village.

Ha!	*Mania*	*te*	*tulus*	*napatey*	*se*	*batè*	*mem*	*pad?*
really	why	CMK	suddenly	died	F	child	[assertive]	still

Really! How come he suddenly died while he was still a child?

Te!	*Ma*	*te*	*duen*	*e*	*kasit*	*niyu?*
hey	why	CMK	there_is	COMP	cassette	your

Hey! How come you've got a cassette (recorder).

Atuwey 'wow' could be used most places where *te* is used.

---

[72] Many of these would traditionally be called adverbs (and the exclamatory adjuncts, nouns) in traditional Latin-based grammar.

"Atuwey	*naan*	*dè!"*	*kahi*	*rue*	*te,*	*"Ma*	*te*	*rue*	*regma*	*batu*
wow	only	just	said	there	CMK	why	CMK	there_is	also	stone

due	*te*	*sikyuriti?"*
there	at	security

"Wow!" he said, "How come the security guard also has a stone?"

Tì is used frequently in storytelling as a means of promoting excitement. Sometimes it may be repeated two or three times. Perhaps an English gloss might be 'hey', although it contains an element of disbelief. Often it precedes an emphatic statement/rhetorical question beginning with *Nekey naa*.

Tì!	*Sasindeg*	*ad*	*degma*	*ngarani*	*se*	*ngaran*	*ku.*
hey	stood	I	also	called	F	name	my

Hey! I stood up also because my name was called out.

Tì!	*Nekey*	*naa*	*te*	*insusubba*	*si*	*Huwan.*
hey	what	they	CMK	cooked	F	John

Hey! What then but John had already cooked (something).

Keyey is an expression of pain.

Keyey	*Anggam!*	*Egpatey*	*ad*	*e.*
It_hurts	uncle	die	I	COMP

It hurts, Uncle! I'm dying already.

8.3.2 Also

The adjunct *degma* 'also' is also written as *regma* when it follows a word ending in a vowel. Although not a part of the particle cluster, it does prefer the second slot in the clause, although displaced by one syllable pronouns and the particle cluster[73].

---

[73]   Alternatively, *degma* could be considered part of the particle cluster, in which case it would be at the end of the order.

Si	*Adung*	*warad*	***degma***	*seleppì*	*su*	*nakabehey*	*ki*	*Paul*
F	Adung	no_more	also	money	because	gave		to	Paul

ka	*seleppì.*
F	money

Adung also had no more money because he had given the money to Paul.

Su	*iyan*	*imbullas*	*din*	***degma***	*te*	*mig-ugpe*	*kayi*	*te*	*Panganan.*
so	that	replaced	he	also	NF	live	here	at	Panganan

So he also replaced the ones living here at Panganan.

Ne	*ka*	*Manama*	***regma***	*duem*	*pad*	***degma***	*kayu*	***regma***
LNK	F	God	also	there_is	still	also	tree/wood	also

ne	*puwidi*	*eglampes*	*kanta.*[74]
LNK	able	spank	us

And God also still also has wood and could spank us.

Summary

Particles are one- or two-syllable words that add meaning to a clause. They take the second position in the clause, but are displaced by monosyllabic pronouns.

Monosyllabic particles act as clitics, joining phonologically to the word they follow and so produce a change in the stress of the preceding word.

Particles also have a relative order of cooccurrence. In addition, some particles may not cooccur for semantic or stylistic reasons.

Exclamatory adjuncts *ha*, *te*, *atuwey*, and *ti* are difficult to define, although all seem to contain an aspect of amazement. Each may be used in isolation.

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[74]   *Puwidi* is a Cebuano loan.

9 Nonverbal Clauses

Nonverbal clauses in Matigsalug are used to indicate existence and possession, as well as for description, classification, identification, quantification, and indicating time and location.

As a general rule, Matigsalug nonverbal clauses follow the order

COMMENT   TOPIC

where COMMENT is the unknown or new information about the topic, and TOPIC is a focus noun phrase containing the known or old information. In the case of EXISTENCE and POSSESSION CLAUSES, the Topic is a simple noun phrase.

Other than when indicating existence and/or possession, negatives are usually formed by prepending *kenè* 'not' in front of the comment with the linker *ne*. Frequently the particles *e* 'already' and *pad* 'still, yet' are also used to add a time aspect, in which case the linker *ne* is no longer required. In the case of a long comment, it may be split, thus both preceding and following the topic.

Almost all of the following short examples can also be uttered as questions by using question intonation.[75]

9.1 Existence and Possession

Existence and possession in Matigsalug are signalled by the word *due* 'there is' and is negated by *warè* or *wà* 'there is none' or *warad* 'there is no more'.[76] Normally these words come first in the clause, followed by a simple noun phrase in an existence clause and a possessive noun phrase in a possession clause.

Duem	*pad.*		*Warad*	*e.*
there_is	yet		no_more	already
There's still some left.			There's no more.	

mbt672001 026

"*Duen*	*e*	*man-e*	*seleppi?*"
there_is	COMP	again	money
"Is there any money again?"			

---

75   This will be discussed in 14: Questions.

76   Another common way to indicate nonexistence using a verbal clause is *Naamin e* 'It's all used up'.

"Tì,"   kahi   te   Haddi,   "due   ballas   ku."
oh   said   NF   Haddi   there_is   rice   my
"Oh," said Haddi, "I have some rice."

*Tagse   etew   **due**   kandin   ne   tanè.*
every   person   there_is   his   LNK   land
Every person has his (own) land.

*Ne   emun   egpakabunut   te   **due**   lumiru,   sika   ka*
and   if   draw   CMK   there_is   number   that   the

iggaat   kayi   te   bepul.
look_after   here   in   boat
And if you draw (a piece of paper) that has a number, that (person) will be looked after here in the boat.

*Sika   ka   iggangyu   ku   kaniyu   te   **rue**   babuy,*
that   the   will_ask_of   I   you   that   have   pig

*iggangyu   ku   te   **due**   kalabew.*
will_ask_of   I   that   have   carabao
And that's what I'll ask of you that have pigs, and of you that have water buffalos.

Warè   pad   bangku   due.
none   yet   seat   there
There's no seat there yet.

*Me   sebun   ney   ne   **warè**,   **warè**   igbayad   ney   te   hinipurmi   ney.*
PL   soap   our   LNK   none   no   payment   our   for   uniform   our
We had no soap, we had nothing to buy our uniforms with.

Kandin   ka   sebun.
his   F   soap
The soap is his.

*Si   Paul,   **warad**   seleppì   din.*
F   Paul   no_more   money   his
Paul has no more money.

9.2 Description

A descriptive clause consists of an adjective or adjective phrase which is the comment followed by a focus noun phrase which is the topic.

Masakit   ka   gettek   ku.
sore   F   stomach   my
My stomach is sore.

Kenad   e   ne   masakit   ka   gettek   ku.
no_longer   COMP   LNK   sore   F   stomach   my
My stomach is no longer hurting.

Dakel   e   ka   Salug.
big   COMP   the   Salug_river
The Salug river is already up high.

9.3 Identification and classification

Identificational and classificational clauses consist of a noun or noun phrase which is the comment followed by a focus noun phrase, which is the topic.

Sahing   seini.   *Pastul   sikandin.*
banana   this   pastor   he
This is a banana.   He is a pastor.

9.4 Quantification

A quantificational clause consists of a number, or quantificational adjective usually followed by a focus noun phrase.

Masulug   ka   me   etew   riyè.
many   F   PL   people   there
There are many people over there.

Deisek   naan   dè   ka   asin   ney.
little   CONF   just   F   salt   our
We just have a little bit of salt left.

Daruwa   ka   asawa   ku.
two   the   spouse   my
I have two wives.

However, if the topic of the quantificational clause is a pronoun, surprisingly the non focus II form of the pronoun is used, not the focus form.

Daruwa   key.   Wrong

Daruwa   ney.   **Right**
two   we(NFII)
There are two of us.

9.5 Time

A time clause consists of a time word followed by a focus noun phrase.

Kaaselem   ka   sumbunganan.
tomorrow   the   meeting
The meeting is tomorrow.

Kenè   pad   ka   sumbunganan   kaaselem.
not   yet   F   meeting   tomorrow
The meeting will not yet be tomorrow.

9.6 Location

A location clause consists of a location word comment followed by a focus noun phrase, which is the topic.

Kayi   ka   kuddè.
here   the   horse
The horse is here.

Kayid   e   ka   kuddè.
here   COMP   the   horse
The horse is already here.

kayi   pad   ka   kuddè.
here   still   F   horse
The horse is still here.

Diyad   e   ka   kuddè   te   Kulaman.
there   COMP   F   horse   NF   Kulaman
The horse is already there at Kulaman.

Summary

There are at least six types of nonverbal clauses in Matigsalug; existence, possession, description, identification/classification, quantification, and location. All of these generally follow the order of COMMENT + TOPIC where the COMMENT is the new information and the TOPIC is the known information.

Existence and possession clauses are related in that they both make use of the words *due* 'there is' and *ware* 'there is none'. Normally these words come first in the clause. An existence clause is formed with the word *due* or *ware* followed by a simple noun phrase. A possession clause is formed with the word *due* or *ware* followed by a possessive noun phrase.

The other four types of nonverbal clauses consist of a comment, which is type dependent (adjective phrase, noun phrase, number or quantifier, or time word), plus a focus noun phrase, which is the topic.

10 Verbs

The different morphemes that are affixed onto a root to make up a verb may be divided into five different inflection classes, summarized in the following table. Where there is an unmarked (default) form, this is given first in each category:

FOCUS	Agent/Experiencer	AgF
	Goal	GoF
	Location	LocF
	Accessory	AccF
TIME	Non Past	NP
	Past	P
	Unactualized	UnA
MODE	Intentive	
	Involuntary	INVOL
VOICE	Active	
	Causative	CAUS
	Imperative	
ASPECT	Simple	
	Distributive	DISTR
	Associative	
	Ability	
	Reciprocal	RECIP
	Intensive	
	Diminutive	

Figure 10.1 Verb inflection classes

The actual verb prefixes are given in the following table:

INTENTIONAL	PAST	NON PAST	UNACTUALIZED
Agent	$mig=$ $iN=$[77]	$eg=$	Ø
Goal	$mig=$ $pig=$	$eg= =en$[78]	$=a$
Location	$mig= =an$ $nA= =an$	$eg= =an$	$=i$ $nA= =i$
Accessory	$iN=$	$ig=$	$i=$
INVOLUNTARY	PAST	NON PAST	UNACTUALIZED
Agent	$nAkA=$	$egpAkA=$	$egmAkA=$
Goal	$nA=$	$egkA=$	$mA_2=$
Location	$nA= =an$	$egkA= =an$	$mA_2= =i$
Accessory	$ingkA=$	$igkA=$	$ikA=$
CAUSATIVE	$pA=$		
DISTRIBUTIVE	$migpaN=$	$egpaN=$	
ASSOCIATIVE	$paki=$		
ABILITY	$nAkA=$	$egpAkA=$	
RECIPROCAL	$impA><ey$ $nekeg=$	$egpA><ey$[79] $egpekeg=$	
INTENSE	$rdpCV$, $rdpCVC$, or $rdpROOT$		
DIMINUTIVE	$rdpROOT$		

Figure 10.2 Verb affix forms[80]

The following table shows the order in which the affixes (and for simplicity, portions of affixes) cooccur. The table does not attempt to show cooccurrence restrictions, although only one entry from each column can be chosen:

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[77]   See 1.4: Phonemic and morphophonemic changes for a description of the morphophonemes N and A.

[78]   Although it seems obvious that often the prefix carries the time and the suffix carries the focus, it is not productive to break all of the verb affixes into their constituent morphemes.

[79]   It appears that $egpekeg=$ has a degree of involuntariness (such as outside involvement), whereas $egpA><ey$ is more intentional and deliberate between the two participants.

[80]   This verb affix chart is largely based on Hinchcliffe (1988).

mig=	kA=	paN=	pA=	rdp	ROOT	=a
eg=	pAkA=					=i
iN=	mAkA=					=en
nA=	pekeg=					=an
nAkA=	paki=		pA>			<ey
nekeg=						
i=						
ig=						

Figure 10.3 Verb affix relative ordering

10.1 Focus

The focus affixes indicate the semantic roles of the participants in the clause with respect to the verb. This helps determine whether, e.g., the child kicked the horse or whether the horse kicked the child.[81] Matigsalug can put the agent/experiencer, goal, location, and instrument into direct focus.

In the first example below, *eg=* indicates that the *ka* noun phrase is the agent, the thing that kicked. In the second example, *eg= =en* indicates that the *ka* noun phrase is the goal, the thing kicked.

> **Eg**sipè   ka   kuddè   te   batè.
> NP-kick-AgF   F   horse   NF   child
> The horse kicked the child.

> **Eg**sipe**en**   ka   kuddè   te   batè.
> NP-kick-GoF   F   horse   NF   child
> A child kicked the horse.

---

[81]   Verbs do not necessarily use the focus forms that an English speaker might predict and for this reason must be divided into classes. For instance, the verb *tahu* 'to put away' takes agent focus for the person doing the putting away, takes location focus for the place where something is put away, but uses accessory focus (rather than goal focus) for the thing that is being put away.

Pegkamaapun,	*neimpusan*	*din*	*te*	**mig**-*abat*	*ka*	*aheley,*	**pig**-*uyan*
late_afternoon	finished	he	NF	picked	F	corn	P-carry-GoF

din	*diyè*	*te*	*baley*	*su*	*riyè*	*itahù*	*te*	*baley*	*ka*	*aheley.*
he	there	to	house	because	there	UnA_AccF-put	in	house	the	corn

Late afternoon he had finished picking the corn and he carried it to the house because that's where they store the corn.

Agent focus marking on the verb indicates that the focus noun phrase or pronoun in the clause is the one who instigated or carried out the action (either intentionally or unintentionally); usually the semantic agent if intentional or experiencer if unintentional.

Eg-*angey*	*a*	*te*	*sahing.*
NP-carry	I_F	NF	banana

I(agent) am carrying some bananas.

Eg*deralu*	*a.*
NP-be_sick	I_F

I(experiencer) am ill.

Goal focus marking on the verb indicates that the focus noun phrase or pronoun in the clause is the object being acted upon—usually the semantic PATIENT if the object becomes changed or the THEME if the object merely becomes moved in space or time.

Eg*peler***en**	*ku*	*ka*	*sahing.*
NP-cut_down-GoF	I_NFII	F	banana

I cut down the banana (tree)(patient).

Eg-*angay***en**	*ku*	*ka*	*sahing.*
NP-carry-GoF	I	F	banana

I am carrying the bananas(theme).

Location focus[82] marking on the verb indicates that the focus noun phrase or pronoun in the clause is the location or direction of the action. This category includes the recipient or beneficiary of the action.

Eg*behay***an**	*a*	*nikandin*	*te*	*seleppì.*
NP-give-LocF	I_F	he_NFII	NF	money

He gave me(location reference) some money.

---

[82]   Location focus is sometimes called direction or referential focus.

*Na*keen*an*   e   te   babuy   ka   kasilè   ni   Anggam.
P-eat-LocF   COMP   NF   pig   F   sweet_potato   of   Uncle
The pig ate at Uncle's sweet potato (field)(location reference).

ACCESSORY FOCUS[83] marking on the verb indicates that the focus noun phrase or pronoun in the clause is the accessory/instrument or reason for the action.

*Ing*gimatey   ku   kandin   ka   ugpit   ku.
P_AccF-kill   I_NFII   he_NFIII   F   bolo   my
I killed him with my bolo(instrument).

*Ig*keen   ku   rè   iya   ka   seleppì.
NP_AccF-eat   I_NFII   just   then   F   money
I will just use the money(instrument) then to buy food.

In PAST time, the agent and goal focus verb forms are ambiguous if the *mig =* prefix is used, and the agent and accessory focus verb forms are ambiguous if the *iN =* prefix is used. The ambiguity must be resolved from the context, that is, from the rest of the sentence and sometimes from the setting in which the sentence is used.

Mig-angey   ad   e   te   sahing.
P-carry   I   COMP   NF   banana
I carried some bananas.

Mig-angey   kud   e   ka   sahing.
P-carry-GoF   I   COMP   F   banana
I carried the bananas.

mbt593001 002

Su   kayi   a   *mig*lesut   te   Panganan.
because   here   I   P-born-AgF   at   Panganan
Because I was born here at Panganan.

mbt593001 003

*In*lesut a   te   bulan   te   Agustu   te   pitsa   10, 1966   a   *in*lesut.
P-born-AgF   in   month   of   August   on   date   10 1966   I   P-born-AgF
I was born on the 10th of August, 1966.

---

83   Accessory focus is sometimes called instrument focus.

10.2 Time

The time affixes indicate whether action within time is past or non past. Action that is outside time or where time is not significant uses the UNACTUALIZED affix set, e.g., in future negatives like "he has not finished." Note that Matigsalug also uses particles heavily to indicate completed or continuous action.

Time marking in Matigsalug is relatively simple in form, yet very complex to analyse, and has not yet been fully analysed. If past is used, then it is certain that the action has started, but not certain whether or not it has finished. If NON PAST is used, it is certain that the action has not finished, but it may or may not have started. However, often contextual clues (such as the circumstances or the use of time words) are all that indicate the remaining details of the action. The following set of elicited and natural examples show some of the possibilities.

Migkeen   kud   ka   aheley.
P-eat   I_INCOMP   F   corn
I ate the corn.

Migkeen   kud   e   ka   aheley.
P-eat   I_INCOMP   COMP   F   corn
I already ate the corn.

Migkeen   ku   pad   ka   aheley.
P-eat   I   INCOMP   F   corn
I will just finish eating the corn (and then I'll come).

Egkeenen   ku   ka   aheley.
NP-eat-GoF   I   F   corn
I am eating the corn/I will eat the corn.

Egkeenen   kud   ka   aheley.
NP-eat-GoF   I_INCOMP   F   corn
I am eating the corn/I will eat the corn.

Egkeenen   kud   e   ka   aheley.
NP-eat-GoF   I_INCOMP   COMP   F   corn
I am eating the corn/I will eat the corn.

Egkeenen   ku   pad   ka   aheley.
NP-eat-GoF   I   INCOMP   F   corn
I will just eat the corn (and then continue working, etc.)

mbt163001 006

Mig-ulì		kayi	ne	*mig*bubula	*pad*	te	alas	singku
P-return_home-AgF		here	LNK	P-play_ball-AgF	yet	CMK	hour	five

ka	aldew	kahi	te	Biseye.
the	sun/day	say	NF	Visayan

He returned home here and played basketball until five o'clock as the Visayans say.

mbt241001 014

Ne	egpaka*tuhun*	key,	ke	alas	kuwatru	e	*eg*-ulì	key	*e*
CONJ	plant_to_top_edge	we	if	hour	four	COMP	return_home_AgF	we	COMP

diyè	te	baley	ney,	su	*eg*ngaram*an*	te	*eg*-uwey-uwey	key	*e*.
there	to	house	our	because	called	CMK	rest_AgF		we	COMP

And we plant up towards the top edge and if it's already four o'clock, we return home to our houses because that's called resting.

mbt173001 032

Sika	ka	panugtulen	ku	ki	mengeanak	eyew	katuenan
that	the	story	my	to	nephew	so_that	know

keuremè	ke	*eg*-ulì	diyè	te	Nasilan	sikandin...
in_the_future	if	return	there	to	New	Zealand	he

This is my story to nephew so that he will know (this story) if he returns to New Zealand in the future.

The use of the imcompletive *pà* 'still, yet' can imply a temporary action or short duration.

Sasindeg	kad	e	su	*eg*gipanew	kid	e.
stand	you	COMP	because	walk	we	COMP

Stand up because we're going now.

Sasindeg	ke	*pà*	su	*eg*limas*an*	ku	pad	seini.
stand	you	INCOMP	because	sweep	I	INCOMP	this

Just stand up while I sweep here.

*Eg*keen	e	*pà*	te	aheley.
NP-eat	I	INCOMP	NF	corn

I will just eat the corn (and then continue working, etc.)

10.3 Mode

The mode affixes indicate whether the speaker views the action of the verb as intentional or involuntary.

mig*ley-ang*   *sikandin.* **naka***ley-ang*   *sikandin.*
P-lie_on_back   he/she   P_INVOL-lie_on_back   he/she
He lay down (on his back).   He fell over backwards.

Mig*-ulug*   *a*   *te*   *batu.*
P_AgF-drop   I_F   NF   stone
I dropped(intentionally) a stone.

Mig*-ulug*   *ku*   *ka*   *batu.*
P_GoF-drop   I_NFII   F   stone
I dropped(intentionally) the stone.

Mig*-uluhan*   *ku*   *ka*   *babuy*   *te*   *batu.*
P-drop-LocF   I_NFII   F   pig   NF   stone
I dropped(intentionally) a stone on the pig.

Neke*ulug*   *a*   *te*   *batu.*
P_INVOL_AgF-drop   I_F   NF   stone
I accidentally dropped a stone.

Ne*ulug*   *ku*   *ka*   *batu.*
P_INVOL_GoF-drop   I_NFII   F   stone
I accidentally dropped the stone.

Ne*uluhan*   *ku*   *ka*   *babuy*   *te*   *batu.*
P-drop-LocF   I_NFII   F   pig   NF   stone
I hit the pig when I accidentally dropped a stone.

mbt163001 011

Ne   **egka***lihet*   *e*   *ne*   **egpaka***balbalikid*   *si*   *Huwan.*
And   be_continual   COMP   LNK   rolled_back_and_forwards   F   John
And John continually rolled back and forwards. (Involuntary because he was extremely ill.)

mbt163001 012

Su   *kenè*   *din*   **egka***tehel*   *se*   *masakit.*
because   not   he   able_to_stand   the   pain
Because he wasn't able to stand the pain.

Tenged	*te*	*dakel*	*ka*	*geyinawa*	*ni*	*Hisus*	*te*	*keet-etawan*
since	CMK	big	the	love	of	Jesus	to	people

sikandin	*ka*	**migpaka***matey*	*diyè*	*te*	*krus.*
he	the	died	there	on	cross

Since the love of Jesus was great for the people, he died there on the cross.

10.4 Voice

The voice affixes indicate the relationship of the subject of a verbal clause to the verb stem, whether the subject performed the action of the verb, caused another to perform the action, or is commanding the action.

Egkahi	*key*	*e*	*te,*	*"Mahaan*	*kad*	*e*	*su*	**egkeen**	*kid*	*e."*
say	we	COMP	-	hurry	you	COMP	because	NP-eat	we	COMP

We say, "Hurry up because we're going to eat now."

Se	*kanami*	*ne*	*batasan,*	*suled,*	*emun*	*due*	*eglepew*	*ne*
the	our	LNK	custom	cousin	if	there_is	appear	LNK

etew	*ne*	*kenè*	*egkaayun*	*ne*	*kenè*	*ney*	**egpakeenen**.
people	LNK	not	possible	LNK	not	we	NP-CAUS-eat

It is our custom, cousin, that if people turn up, it's not possible that we wouldn't feed them.

Su	**igpakeen**	*ney*	*te*	*egkamet*	*ne*	*me*	*suled*	*ney…*
because	UnA-CAUS-eat	we	NF	clear_field	LNK	PL	cousin	our

Because we will feed our relatives who are clearing the field…

Kè	*kid*	**egpakataheinep**.
not	we	NP-CAUS-dream

We would not be able to dream (if we had no soul).

10.5 Aspect

Aspect indicates the physical kind of action of the verb.

10.5.1 Distributive

Distributive aspect is where an action is repeated many times to different recipients.

Egbehey   *a*   *kandan*   *te*   *seleppì.*
NF_give_AgF   I_F   them_NFIII   NF   money
I will give them some money.

Egpamehey   *a*   *kandan*   *te*   *seleppì.*
NF_DISTR_give_AgF   I_F   them_NFIII   NF   money
I will give them each some money.

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Pangeunen   *e*   *ka*   *sinubba.*
DISTR_serve_up_GoF   COMP   F   cooking
Serve up all the food.

10.5.2 Associative

Associative aspect is where an action is done in association with someone else.

<div align="right">mbt541001 005</div>

Sein   *naa*   *kuntee*   *ne*   *iyan*   *ngaran*   *ne*   *egpakilelem-ahen*
this   then   now   LNK   that   name   LNK   NF-ASSOC-breakfast
This now then is called 'eating out breakfast'

a   *egpakilelabungen*   *a*   *kayi*   *te*   *keykew*   *ne*   *baranggay.*
I   NF-ASSOC-supper   I   here   at   your   LNK   baranggay
        and 'eating out supper' at your barrio.

10.5.3 Ability

Abilitive aspect indicates, via a prefix, whether the agent has the ability to perform the action of the verb, either in terms of natural or learned ability, or in terms of ability to do something within the circumstances.

<div align="right">mbt185001 007</div>

Kenè   *kew*   **egpaka***kahi*   *te*   *mareet*   *se*   *igdatu*   *ta...*
not   you   able_to_say   that   bad   the   leader   our
So that you won't be able to say that our leaders are bad...

10.5.4 Reciprocal

Reciprocative aspect refers to two or more participants who perform an action on or to each other. There is not yet any distinctive defined to differentiate between the prefix *pekeg-* and the circumfix *pA > <ey*.

Kaaselem	*ne*	*aldew,*	*egbulig*	*a*	*ki*	*Inday*	*te*	*eggilamun.*
tomorrow	LNK	day	NP-help	I	CMK	Inday	CMK	NP-weed

Tomorrow, I will help Inday to weed. (Not reciprocal.)

Sikanami	*se*	*daruwa,*	*egpekegbulig*	*key*	*ka*	*egkamet.*[84]
we(excl)	LNK	two	NP-RECIP-help	we(excl)	F	NP-clear_field

We two, we will help each other to clear (our) field(s).

Pabulihey	*key*	*engki*	*Ine*	*te*	*egpamula*	*te*	*aheley.*
RECIP-help	we(excl)	CMK(pl)	Mom	CMK	NP-plant	CMK	corn

We and Mom and company will help each plant corn.

mbt584003 004

Nataman	*nendiyè*	*key*	*te*	*Palakpakan,*
after_that	went_there	we	to	Palakpakan

diyè	*key*	**nekeg-asawa**...[85]
there	we	P-RECIP-spouse

After that we went to Palakpakan, and there we were married.

mbt584003 005

Ne	*igkeupii*	*ne*	*sikanami*	**egpekeg-asawa**.
And	desire	of	us	NP-RECIP-spouse

And we wanted to get married.

mbt883001 008

Egpekeg-asawa	*ka*	*beyi*	*te*	*lukes*	*ligkat*	*te*	*amey*	*wey*	*iney.*
NP-RECIP-spouse	F	girl	NF	boy	from	CMK	father	and	mother

The girl and boy get married from the initiative of the father and the mother.

---

[84] Note that this clause contains two focused participants : the pronoun *key* and the embedded clause beginning with *ka*. This is acceptable speech, although *te* may be substituted for *ka* and would probably be more formally correct.

[85] Although the verb *asawa* 'to marry' is not an ideal example because it is inherently reciprocal, these examples are included because they are from natural texts.

Tenged   te   deisek   migbantayan   ku   ka   leyì   te
Since   CMK   small   guarded   I   the   custom   of

egpaasaweey   *te   sikanta   se   nakahi   ne   Matigsalug...*
NP-RECIP-spouse   of   we   the   say   LNK   Matigsalug
Since I guarded just a little of the custom of getting married by those who call ourselves Matigsalug...

10.5.5 Intensive

The intensive aspect refers to an action being performed more strongly or intensely than usual.

*Warad   gimukud   ta   su   warad   ma   **egtaheinepen**   ta.*
No_more   soul   we   cause   no_more   [assertive]   dream-GoF   we
We have no more soul because we have nothing left to dream about.

*Ne   kenad   eglipereng   Suled,   ne   kenad   **egpanaheinep**,*
CONJ   no_more   sleep   Cousin   LNK   no_more   NP-INT-dream

su   egpitawen   naan   dè,   wey egpaminehen   naan dè.
because   see   CONF   just   listen   CONF
And we won't sleep, Cousin, and won't dream, just look and listen.

10.5.6 Diminutive

The diminutive form usually consists of full root reduplication and indicates that the activity is not considered authentic.

egbebaley   *egbaley-baley*
NP-build   NP-DIM-build
to build (a house)   (for children) to pretend to build

10.5.7 Reflexive

There is no special affixation for the reflexive aspect. It is not possible to say 'I cut myself' but rather one must either name a body part or use goal focus.

Egtibasen   ku   ka   belad   ku   te   ugpit.
NP_cut_GoF   I_NFII   F   arm   my   NF   bolo
I cut my arm with a bolo.

Natibas   *a*   *te*   *ugpit.*

P_INVOL-cut   I_F   NF   bolo

I cut myself with a bolo. (Lit, I was cut with a bolo.)

11 Adverbs

Adverbs modify verbs. They describe the quality or condition of an event. In general Matigsalug uses adverbs less frequently than English because another verb is often used to modify the main verb.

> *Egpahanadganad*   *eggipanew*   *sikandin.*
> go_in_slow_motion   walk   he
> He walked slowly.

Some adverbs are simple roots. Others are formed by prefixing the descriptivizer mA_1= (*ma*= or *me*=) to roots, which may be nouns, verbs, or adjectives.[86] Both simple and mA_1= forms can have derivational affixes attached to them. These add another semantic component to the root.

11.1 Simple adverbs

Simple adverbs are unaffixed roots that usually immediately precede the verb, but may be linked to the verb by the linker *ne*.

hapit	'close, soon'
diritsu	'directly'
sahuhunè	'immediately, suddenly'
tulus	'suddenly, immediately'
aney-aney	'first'
amana	'very'

mbt781001 039

> *Sikan*   *dè*   *iya,*   **sahuhunè**   *miggisi*   *sikandan*   *te*   *pepil.*
> that   just   that   immediately   tore   they   CMK   paper
> That was that, they immediately tore up some paper.

mbt774003 006

> *Ne*   *meyì*   *egkeumaan*   *ad*   *te*   *sika*   *ne*   *tubtubaren*   **sahuhunè**   *egkatabeleg*   *a.*
> CONJ   if   arrive   I   at   that   LNK   sacrifice   suddenly   intoxicated   I
> And if I arrive during the sacrifice suddenly I become intoxicated.

---

[86]   Because adjectives and adverbs share the same affixation *ma*= and because some words can be used as both adverbs and adjectives, alternatively both could together be called modifiers.

Sahuhunè   ne   pigkuntak   ney   te   langun   ne   me   buyag.
immediately LNK contact   we   CMK all   LNK   PL elder
Immediately we contacted all of the elders.

Buut   pasabut   **hapit**   kun   e   eglibed   ka   Manama.
cause_to_know   -   soon   QUOT   COMP   return   the God
Thus we know, they say, that God will return soon.

Aney-aney egpanleuy   si   Ame.
firstly   go_and_see_something   -   dad
First of all, Dad will go and see if the field is ready to be cleared.

Ware e   pad   **amana**   neulii   te   dalu   ku.
not   I   yet   completely healed   of   sickness   my
I'm not yet completely healed of my sickness.

11.2 mA= forms

Most adverbs occur prefixed with $mA_1=$ ($ma=$ or $me=$).

ma= + gaan (fast)	→	*mahaan*	'hurriedly'
me= + siyapat (fast)	→	*mesiyapat*	'quickly'
me= + hemen (loud)	→	*meemen*	'loudly'
me= + himulung (quiet)	→	*meyimulung*	'quietly'
ma= + delag (rare)	→	*marelag*	'seldom, sometimes'
ma= + lasi	→	*malasi*	'often'

Warè din   napenga   su   **mahaan** din   nekeulì   diyè   te   Nasuli.
not   he   finished   because hurriedly   he   went_home   there to   Nasuli
He didn't finish because he had to hurriedly return to Nasuli.

Mahaan   ta   eggipengei   ka   ruheng   su...
hurriedly   we   finish   the fish-trap because
Let's get the fish trap finished quickly because...

*Ka   laak   **mahaan** egkareeti   su   egbukbuken   ka   laak.*
the   bamboo   quickly   ruins   because gets_borer   the   bamboo

The *laak* bamboo quickly gets ruined because the borer eat it.

*Katilalam   ka   su   **malasi** ka   eggirehè   diyè   te   keddì.*
expect_a_lot you because   often   you stay   there at   me

You expect a lot because you often stay at my place.

*Egbebaley   te   rakel,   ne   egkamet   te   maluag, igkeupii   ne   eyew   **malasi***
build   NF   big   LNK   clear_field NF   wide   desire   LNK   so_that often

egpakakeen te   egkeenen   ka   ginikanan dutu   te   malitan.
cause_to_eat NF   food   F   parent   of   girl

Build a big (house), clear a wide field, it the desire so that he (the son-in-law) will frequently provide food for the girl's parents.

11.3 Adjectives as adverbs

In addition, some adjectives (also consisting of roots or formed with the $mA_1 =$ prefix) can be used as adverbs[87]. In this case they appear before the verb and are linked to the verb with the linker *ne*.

Dakel ne   egpanugtulen te   eg-ulì   diyè   te   kandin ne   inged.
many   LNK   tell_story   CMK   return   there to   his   LNK   place

He will often tell stories when he returns to his country.

*...su   igkeupii   ku   su   **manekal** ne   egbasuk   wey   **maluag***
because   desire   I   because strong   LNK   till   and   wide

*ne   egbebaley   wey   **maluag**   ne   egkamet.*
LNK   build   and   wide   LNK   clear_field

...because I desire him (for a son-in-law) because he's energetic at cultivating, building, and clearing fields.

---

[87]   For this reason, Wang (1990) preferred to treat adjectives and adverbs as one class and call them descriptives.

Summary

Adverbs may be simple roots or they may be roots affixed with *ma=*. Adverbs immediately precede the verb except in cases where the linker *ne* joins them, and in cases where monosyllabic pronouns or particles take second position between them.

12 Verbal Clauses

A VERBAL CLAUSE is a clause which has a verb as its nucleus. In turn the verbal clause may be the nucleus of a sentence, or may be embedded into another construction such as a Noun Phrase. A verbal clause may contain only one focus noun phrase or pronoun and up to three non focus noun phrases or pronouns.

12.1 Ordering of clause constituents

The basic verbal clause consists of a verb and a focus noun phrase. Usually the focus noun phrase will follow the verb, but the order is sometimes reversed for emphasis.

(1) Verb + Focus_Noun_Phrase

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Su   mig-inse   sikandan
so   asked   they
So they asked

If there are further noun phrases in the clause, these usually follow the focus noun phrase:

(2) Verb + Focus_Noun_Phrase + **Non_Focus_Noun_Phrases**

mbt720001 020

*mig-inse   ka   NPA   **kanami***
asked   F   NPA   us(NF)
the NPA asked us something

However, a particle cluster[88] if present usually occupies the second slot in the clause, thus:

(3) Verb + **Particle_Cluster** + Focus_Noun_Phrase + Non_Focus_Noun_Phrases

mbt243001 120

*Migpamitew   **e**   **man-e**   si   Ame   te   ballas*
looked_for   COMP   again   F   dad   NF   rice
Again Dad looked for rice.

---

[88]   A particle cluster is a string of one or more one- or two-syllable particles. The meaning and relative ordering of these particles has just been discussed in 10: Particles.

However, this ordering is adjusted if pronouns occur in the clause. One-syllable pronouns precede the particle cluster and two-syllable pronouns precede the noun phrases:

Verb + **one_syllable_pronoun** + Particle_Cluster + **two_syllable_pronoun(s)**
+ Focus_Noun_Phrase + Non_Focus_Noun_Phrases

In a sense, this string of one-syllable pronoun, particle cluster, and two-syllable pronoun could be regarded as an extended pronoun/particle cluster. This extended pronoun/particle cluster always prefers the second slot in the clause:

Extended Pronoun/Particle Cluster = one_syllable_pronoun
+ Particle_Cluster + two_syllable_pronoun(s)

and so the unmarked order of the clause is:

Verb + **Extended_Pronoun/Particle_Cluster** + Focus_Noun_Phrase
+ Non_Focus_Noun_Phrases

Finally then, a negative usually comes first in the verbal clause. Because the extended pronoun/particle cluster has this definite preference for the second slot, the verb itself must slide back into the third slot.

Negative + Extended_Pronoun/Particle_Cluster + **Verb**
+ Focus_Noun_Phrase + Non_Focus_Noun_Phrase

12.1.1 Fronting the focus noun phrase for emphasis

Emphasis may be placed on the focus noun phrase of the clause by moving it to the front before the verb. Reasons for this can generally only be explained at the discourse level.

mbt243001 076

Su   *ka*   *ukaba,*   *eg-engkeran*   *e.*
so_that   the   chaff   leave_behind   COMP
So that as for the chaff, it will be left behind.

mbtANIT 001

Seini   *se*   ***Anit,***   *pig-asayin*   *te*   *Manama,*
this   the   anit_deity   assigned   by   God
This Anit spirit was assigned by God.

12.2 Composition of a verbal clause

The nucleus of a verbal clause is, of course, the verb.[89] In addition to the verb, there are other components in the clause which are closely related to the verb, e.g., the noun phrases representing the participants in the clause. These are called the inner components of the clause. Other components of the clause are most loosely related to the nucleus, e.g., a time word like *kuntee* 'now/today'. These are called the peripheral components of the clause. In general, there are more restrictions on inner components of the clause than on peripheral components.

12.2.1 Inner components

The minimum verbal clause consists of a verb, followed by a focus noun phrase or focus pronoun.[90]

Mig-ihi   *se*   *batè.*
P-urinate-AgF   F   child
The child urinated.

Lasud   *ka.*
come_in   F-you
Come in.

When a second participant is added to the clause, only one participant can be in focus. The affixation on the verb and/or the context of the clause define the roles of the two participants.[91] Usually the participant in focus comes first in the clause.

Egkeen   *ka*   *malitan*   *te*   *sahing.*
NP-eat-AgF   F   girl   NF   banana
The girl ate a banana.

12.2.1.1 Negating a Verb

A Negative when present, normally comes first in the clause. Because this is an INNER COMPONENT of the clause, it affects the ordering, often displacing the verb so that the extended pronoun/particle cluster can come in the second position. The verb moves to the third position.

---

[89]   Often called the predicate.

[90]   The verbal clause may consist of only a verb if the focus noun is understood to be third person singular which is often not overt. Thus the first example following could be simply *Mig-ihi* if the child had been mentioned in a previous clause. In this sense, only the verb is obligatory to a verbal clause.

[91]   The semantics of the verb is also important in defining these roles.

The form *warè* or *wà* is used with past time affixation on the verb to negate past actions. If the particle *pad* 'still/yet' is used, this implies that the action is still expected to happen.

Si	*se*	*pilas*	*miglesut*	*de*	*due*	*seini*	*riyè*	*te*	*puwalas*
This	LNK	young_monkey	born	just	there	this	there	in	forest

ne	***warè***	***mig****kita*	*sikandin*	*ke*	*nekey*	*ka*	*weyig.*
and	not	saw	he	if	what	the	river

This young monkey had just been born there in the forest, and it had not seen what a river was.

Wà	***pad***	***mig****keen*	*si*	*Huwan.*
not	yet	P-eat	F	John

John had/has not yet eaten.

However, *warè* may precede a word that **appears** to be a non past verb, but which is in reality a verbal noun (see 4: Nouns). In this case, the clause is not a verbal clause, but a nonverbal existential clause.

Ware	***eg****bayaan*	*te*	*weyig.*
no	travel	of	water

There was no place of entry for the water.

The form *kenè* or *kè* is used to negate present, future, or timeless action.

Emun	***kè***	***pad***	***eg****silè*	*ka*	*bulan*	*ne*	***kenè***	*key*	***pad***	***eg****pamula*
if	not	yet	set	the	moon	then	not	we	yet	plant

su	*egkapamulatlatan*	*ne*	*egkeenen*	*te*	*ambew...*
because	plant_incorrectly	and	eaten	by	rat

If the moon has not yet set, then we don't plant yet because that's planting incorrectly and it will be eaten by rats...

12.2.2 Peripheral components

A TIME role, usually filled by a time word, is a PERIPHERAL COMPONENT of a clause. Since it is not an inner component of the clause, it is does not affect the ordering of the clause, i.e., the verb normally comes first, the extended pronoun/particle cluster normally comes second. The normal, unmarked position of the time element of a clause is following the particle cluster.

Bibinayu   *ka*   **kuntee**   *te*   *paley*
pound   you(sg)   today   -   rice
You pound the rice today

Sika   *ka*   *inhimu*   *ran*   **gabii**   *te*   **marusilem**.
that   the   made   they   yesterday   at   night
That is what they made last night.

Kahi   *ne,*   *Getting*   *kad*   *e*   **kaaselem** …
said   that   harvest_rice   you(sg)   COMP   tomorrow
He said, "You harvest the new rice tomorrow ..."

The time may also be fronted before the clause. This fronting of the time is characteristic of the beginning of a text. It can be seen as a discourse-level phenomenon indicating time setting. Both of the following examples are the first sentence of a text.

Kuntee   *ne*   **maapun**   *egpanguhud*   *a*   *ligkat*   *te*   *tirè.*
today   LNK   afternoon   tell_a_story   I   from   CMK   sugarcane
This afternoon I am telling a story about sugarcane.

Gabii   *te*   **maapun**   *uli*   *key*   *su...*
yesterday   in   afternoon   returned_home   we   because
Yesterday afternoon, we returned home because...

Fronting of the time may also occur elsewhere to give emphasis, but is much less common.

Kahi   *ni*   *Ame*   *se,*   "**Kaaselem**,   *egsilab*   *kid*   *e …*"
say   -   dad   the   tomorrow   burn   we(incl)   COMP
Dad said, "Tomorrow we'll burn (the field) ..."

Summary

Unmarked order for a verbal clause is illustrated as follows:

Verb   +/-   Particle Cluster   +/-   Focus Noun Phrase   +/-   Non_Focus Noun Phrases
                                                                    or Pronoun   and/or Pronouns

Note that only the verb is obligatory and that "Non Focus Noun Phrases" is plural.

Emphasis may be placed on the focus noun phrase by fronting it before the verb.

Negating a verbal clause is accomplished through the use of the forms *warè* (for past tense verbs) and *kenè* (for non past tense verbs). Pà or pad indicates that the action is still expected to happen. The formulas are:

warè/wà   +/-   *pa(d)*   +   Verbal Clause (Past tense verb)

kenè/kè   +/-   *pa(d)*   +   Verbal Clause (Non Past tense verb)

A time component may be added to the clause. Its normal slot is after the particle cluster. However, it is often fronted before the verb at the beginning of a text.

13 Commands

Positive commands use the unactualized verb forms and so no affixation is used on the verbs when the agent is in focus. *Kenè* is used for negative commands although the abbreviated form *kè* is used most frequently as this softens the command.

13.1 Positive commands

These are commands for someone to do something.

Hengkayi   ka.
come_here   F-you
Come here.

Hengkayi   nu.
come_here   you_NFII
Bring it here.

Lekei   nu   ka   kuddè.
drop-UnA/AccF   you_NFII   F   horse
Let the horse go. Untie the horse.

Alawa   nu   pà   ka   manuk.
chase_away-UnA-GoF   you_NFII   yet   F   chicken
Chase away the chicken(s).

The following chart illustrates the different unactualized verb forms used and their intended focus (morpheme breaks are shown on the verbs).

Affix	Focus	Example	Gloss
ø	Agent	*Ke eg-ulì ka kuntee suled,* **kuwa** *ka te sebun.*	When you get home now, cousin, get some soap.
=a	Goal/ Patient	*Meyi egbebawì ka,* **kagkahu=a** *nu pà ka bawì*	Whenever you apply the medicine, shake up the medicine.
=i	Patient	**Lampasuw=i** *nu ka seeg*	Polish the floor (with a coconut husk).
i=	Theme	*Meyi warad tahù te butilya ne bawì,* **i=ulì** *nu kayi.*	If the bottle of medicine is empty, return it here.

13.2 Present negative commands

These are commands for someone to stop doing something that they have already started. The prohibition *kenè* 'don't' is followed by *e*.

Kenè kew e egkeen te menì.
don't you(pl)_F PRES eat NF peanuts
Don't keep eating those peanuts.

Kenè nud e alawa ka manuk.
don't you(sg)-NFII PRES chase-UnA-GoF F chicken
Don't keep chasing out the chicken(s).

13.3 Future negative commands

These are commands to stop someone about to do something.

Kenè ka egkeen te menì.
don't you(sg) NP-eat-AgF NF peanuts
Don't eat the peanuts.

Kenè kew egkeen te menì.
don't you(pl) NP-eat-AgF NF peanuts
Don't eat the peanuts.

Summary

Commands most frequently use the unactualized tense but may also use non past. A negative command begins with the word *kenè* or *kè* 'don't'. A command to stop doing something that has already been begun also contains the particle *e*.

14 Questions

14.1 Question words

Question Word∗	English Gloss	Question Type
nekey	what	Identity(inanimate) Time
hendei	where	Place
hentew	who	Identity(animate) Possession
ken-u	when	Time
menu	how, what, why	Means Manner State Quality
manì,ma	why	Cause Purpose
pila	how many	Amount
kapapila	how many times	Extent

Figure 14.1 Question words

∗ Note the absence of a word for 'which'; *hendei* 'where' is usually used.

As in English, question words appear at the beginning of a sentence.

All of the question words may be suffixed with the interrogative clitic *=-a* (there is a glottal before the *a*). If a monosyllabic personal pronoun follows immediately, the clitic is suffixed to the pronoun, e.g., *Hentew-a? Hentew kaa?*

There is also a suffix *=a* that is appended to time words like *aldew* 'day', *bulan* 'month', *tuid* 'year', and *pitsa* 'date' in a question, e.g., *Ken-ua ne aldawa ne eggendiyè ki te Simud?* What date will we go to Simud?

Alternatively, the particle *buwa* 'maybe' can follow the question word to soften the question. In this case, if the clitic *=-a* does occur, it would be on a following word. Also, *mà* is a much softer form than *mania* 'why' and often used in rhetorical questions.

Nekeumas	*Ame*	*seinin*	**ma**	*te*	*duen*	*e*	*hilamunen*
arrived	dad	this	why	-	there_is	COMP	weeds

When Dad arrived, why are there already weeds? (Rhetorical.)

The question word *manì* 'why' is always followed by the case marker *te*. The other interrogative pronouns may be linked to the next word by *ne,* or by the case markers *ka,* or *se.*

Menu 'how, what, why' can be inflected for time and focus, e.g., *Memenu kaa te keureme pad ka peggipanew ta?* 'How will we go in the future?' *Namenu kaa ra te mania te napalian ka?* 'How did you cut yourself?' The root form is used to ask about static things, e.g., *Menua ka pinamula nu?* 'How are your plants.' When inflected for involuntary mode, it carries the idea of a change in condition. *Kamenu pad ka dakel ka manuk nu? Eg-in-inuwat e.* 'How big is your chicken? It's big enough to eat now.'

Question intonation is similar to English: a rising intonation at the end of the sentence. Many questions may be asked just with intonation.

14.2 Yes/No questions

Yes/No questions usually consist of a statement with question intonation superimposed, i.e., there is no grammatical indication that it is a question. "Do you have any..." type questions are often asked by saying (with intonation) "Haven't you got any...".

Note that the answers to what would be in English yes/no type questions are more varied in Matigsalug. The following table shows the bigger range of responses usual in Matigsalug. Also, as in English, it is possible to confirm the answer by restating some of the information that was contained in the question.

Answers to 'Yes/No' Type Questions	
uya	'yes'
kenè	'no'
warè, wà	'none'
warad	'no more'
warè pad, wàpad	'not yet'
due	'there is'
duen e	'there is already'
duen pad	'there still is'

Figure 14.2 Answers to 'yes/no' type questions

Eggendiyè   ka   te   Simud   angkuwa?
go_there   you   to   Simud   later
Are you going to Sinuda later?

Uya.
yes
Yes.

Wà   pad   mig-ulì   si   Marawing?
not   yet   returned   CMK   Marawing
Hasn't Marawing returned yet?

Wà   pad.
not   yet
Not yet.

Warad   asin   niyu?
no_more   salt   your
Don't you have any salt left?

Uya,   warad.
yes   no_more
Yes, it's all gone.

Duen   pad.
there_is   still
We've still got some.

14.3 Identity questions

Identity questions use *nekey* 'what'.

Nekey   seini?
what   this
What is this?

Nekey   ka   igpanugtul   nu?
what   the   will_tell   you
What will you tell about?

Matigsalug uses *hentew* 'who' when asking the name of someone or an animal, whereas English uses "what." However, in asking the name of a tree or nonhuman object such as a spirit, the question word *nekey* 'what' can be used in Matigsalug.

Hentew   ka   apilyidu   rin?
who   the   surname   his
What's his surname?

Hentew-a   ka   migdampas   kayi   te   sinubba   ku?
who   the   stole   here   CMK   cooking   my
Who stole the food that I just cooked?

14.4 Possession questions

A way to say, "Who has the ...?" has not been discovered. Instead a verb must be used.

Hentew-a   rapit   ka   migkuwa   te   buntuk   kayi?
who   there   the   took   CMK   hammer   here
Who took the hammer? (Rather than "Who has the hammer?")

Hentew   kumbalè   kayi?
who   shirt   this
Whose shirt is this?

Frequently the word *kamuney* 'owner' is used.

Hentew-a   ka   kamuney   te   seini   ne   liyang?
who   the   owner   of   this   LNK   back-basket
Who owns this back basket?

14.5 Place questions

Place questions are formed using *hendei* 'where'.

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Ne	*seini*	*se*	*gimukud*	*ney,*	*hendeid*	*eg-ugpè?*
And	this	LNK	spirit	our,	where	live

And this spirit of ours, where does it live?

mbt224001 010

Ne	*hendei*	*kad*	*nekeutel?*
CONJ	where	you	catch

And where were you able to get that (wild game)?

14.6 Time questions

Time questions are created using *kenu* 'when or else *nekey* 'what' linked to a time word by the linker *ne*. Frequently that time word will be suffixed with =*a*.

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Ne	*nekey*	*ne*	*aldawa*	*ne*	*egkasal*	*ki?*
CONJ	what	LNK	day-?	LNK	marry	we

So what day shall we have the wedding?

The word ken-u 'when' is also frequently used for time-related questions.

mbt584002 011

...**ken-u**	*egkeyiket*	*ka*	*kerew*
when	tie	the	traditional_knot_calendar

... when is the traditional knot-calendar tied?

14.7 Means questions

Means questions use the verbal form *menu* 'how'. This is the only question word that takes verbal affixation (bolded below).

*Menu**wen**-a*	*te*	*eg-abat*	*ka*	*tirè?*
how	CMK	pick	F	sugarcane

How do you pick sugarcane?

*Mig*memenu-a   ka   duktur   ne   miggendini?
how   the   doctor   LNK   come_here
How did the doctor get here?

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*Menu***wen**   nu   naa   teg   peuli   se   iyam?
how   you(sg)   then   CMK   cause_to_be_returned   the   young_person
How then could you make the child return?

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…*menu***wen**   te   eggimu   ka   egngaranan   ney   te   timehe
how   -   make   what   call   we   a   lead_sinker
... how to make what we call a lead sinker

14.8 Cause questions

Cause questions use *manì te* 'why'.

Manì   buwa   te   wà   pad   nekeuli   ka   kepitan?
why   perhaps   CMK   not   yet   returned   the   captain
Why hasn't the (barrio) captain returned yet?

14.9 Purpose questions

Purpose questions use *manì te* 'why'.

mbt763001 015

Mania   te   warè   ku   mignangen   kanami,   te   me   ruma   nu?
why   CMK   not   you   inform   us   CMK   PL   companion   your
Why didn't you tell us, tell your companions?

mbt132001 005

Iyan   kein-inuwan   ney   ganna: mania   te   miglibed
that   amazed   us   earlier   why   CMK   returned

ka   marusilem   te   maselem   ma?
the   night   in   morning   [assertive]
That was what amazed us earlier: why did the night return when it was morning?

14.10 Manner questions

Manner questions use the verbal form *menu* 'how'.

Memenu-a   ka   kuddè   ne   eglesutan?
how   the   horse   LNK   give birth
How does a horse give birth?

14.11 Extent questions

Extent questions use *kapapila* 'how many times'.

Kapapila   buwa   ne   libedlibed   seini.
how_many_times   maybe   LNK   keep_returning   this
How many times perhaps did he keep going back and forth?

14.12 State questions

State questions use the verbal form *menu* 'how'.

Nekeuma   ne   kahi   ni   Huwan,   "Menu-a?"
arrive   LNK   say   CMK   John,   what
Arriving there, John asked, "How (is it with the money you owe me)?"

14.13 Amount questions

Amount questions are formed with *pila* 'how many'.

Pila   ne   ratu?
how_many   LNK   datu
How many datus?

Pilaa   ne   gantang   ka   peit   nu?
who_many   LNK   can   the   fish   your
How many cans of fish do you have?

14.14 Quality questions

Quality questions use the verbal form *menu* 'how'.

Memenu	*ka*	*batek*	*te*	*kuddè*	*ni*	*Karing?*
how	the	color	of	horse	of	Karing

What colour is Karing's horse?

14.15 Alternative questions

Alternative questions are formed with *nekey* 'what' or *hendei lenged* 'which'.

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Nekey	*ne*	*panlas?*
what	LNK	tragedy

What tragedy?

Hendei	*lenged*	*ka*	*baley*	*nu*	*kayi?*
where	direction	the	house	your	here

Which house here is yours?

Hendei	*buwa*	*lenged*	*ka*	*maagkap*	*dè*	*kayi?*
where	maybe	direction	the	lightweight	just	here

Which is the lightest one?

14.16 Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions frequently use *nekey naa* 'what then' or *nekey pad* 'what else'.

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Nekey	*naa*	*te*	*egbunsud*	*e*	*sikandan*	*migbunut?*
what	[CONF]	CMK	begin	COMPL	they	draw_lots

What then but they had begun to draw numbers?

mbt781001 076

Nekey	*pad*	*te*	*iyan*	*e*	*igdegpak*	*seini*	*se*	*lukes*	*diyè*	*te*	*dahat?*
what	yet	CMK	that	COMP	throw	this	LNK	man	there	in	sea

What else but that this man will be thrown into the sea?

Mà (short for *mani*) is frequently used to form rhetorical questions.

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…mà	*te*	*duen*	*e*	*guhuren*	*ne*	*migribildi*	*e*	*si*	*Datu*	*Gawilan?*
why	-	there_is	COMP	talk	that	rebelled	COMP	-	chief	Gawilan

... (we wondered) why is there already talk that Chief Gawilan has rebelled?

mbt163001 014

…mig-uli,	*ma*	*te*	*egderalu*	*e?*
returned	why	-	sick	COMP

... so (we wondered), why was he sick when he returned home?

14.17 Answers

Answers to information questions, if they are complete, will front the requested information before the verb.

Q	Hentew-a ka egbuyu diye te Manama?	Who will ask Manama for something?
A	**Sikanta** ka egbuyù diye te Manama.	We (are the ones) who will ask Manama for something.
Q	Nekey-a ka egbuyuen ta diye te Manama?	What will we ask Manama for?
A	**Ka meupiya ne lawa ta** ka egbuyuen ta diye te Manama.	For our bodies to be healthy is what we will ask from Manama.

Summary

Matigsalug has eight question words: *nekey* 'what', *hentew* 'who/whose', *hendei* 'where', *manì* 'why', *menu* 'how', *ken-u* 'when', *pila* 'how many', and *kapapila* 'how many times'. In addition, statements can be expressed as questions using question intonation similar to English.

A question may be softened by adding the particle *buwa*. A "why" question may also be softened by using *ma* instead of *manì*.

Question words are usually followed by the focus marker *ka* or *se*, or by the linker *ne*, except for *mani* 'why', which is always followed by *te*.

Yes/no questions are answered by *uya* 'yes' or *kenè* 'no'. However, yes/no questions regarding existence or possession are answered by *warè* 'none' or *due* 'there is'.

An identity question regarding the name of an animate being uses the word *hentew* instead of *nekey* 'what'.

Rhetorical questions often begin with *nekey naa* 'what then', *nekey pad* 'what else', or *ma* 'why'.

15 Quotations

Matigsalug has the ability to express both direct and indirect quotations. The two forms are usually grammatically distinct. However, when the forms are identical, the choice of pronouns will sometimes distinguish between the two[92], e.g.:

> Direct: He said, "I am going home."
> Indirect: He said that he was going home.

15.1 Direct quotations

Direct quotations may use the verb root *kahi* 'say', the marker *te*, or the linker *ne* to indicate the beginning of a direct quotation. In addition, the verb root *kahi* 'say' may be used in the middle or at the end of the quotation.[93] At times, *kahi* may be abbreviated to *ke*.

A direct quotation consists of a quote formula and the quote itself. The quote formula can be characterized as one or the other of the following:

1.   *kahi*   +/-   speaker   +/-   *ne*

2.   speech verb[94]   +/-   speaker   +   *te*

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Kahi   *ni   Ine,*   *"Uya".*
say   -   mom   yes
Mom said, "OK".

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Kahi   *ni   Ame*   **ne**,   *"Egleuy   e   pad   ke   duen   e   hilamunen."*
say   -   dad   that   inspect   I   yet   if   there_is   COMP   weeds
Dad said, "I'll go and see if there are weeds already."

---

92   In unedited spontaneous oral texts, the speaker may in fact change from one form of quotation to the other in the course of the quotation.

93   When *kahi* is found sentence medially or finally, it is in addition to the quotation introducer that occurs at the beginning of the sentence, or, if it is a long quote that spans several sentences, the quotation introducer will be found in a previous sentence.

94   Speech verbs are words like *kahi* 'speak', *insè* 'ask', *tabak* 'answer', *suhù* 'order', *buyù* 'ask (for something)'.

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Su	**migtabak**	*key*	**te**,	*"Eggendiye*	*key*	*su*
so	answered	we(excl)	quote	go_there	we(excl)	because

So we answered, "We're going there because

alukuy	*ney*	*si*	*Robert*	*Hunt"*
friend	our	-	Robert	Hunt

Robert Hunt is our friend."

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Ne	*kahi*	*ad*	**te**,	*"Siak*	*se*	*rue*	*egpasalamat."*
CONJ	say	I	quote	I	the	has	give_thanks

So I say, "I'm the one who'll give thanks."

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Migkahi	*si*	*Huwan*	**kahi**,	*"Keykew*	*re*	*iras*
said	CMK	John	say	you	just	brother-in-law

se	*egpeendiyè*	*te*	*Masuwi.*
the	go_there	to	Masuwi

John said, "You, brother-in-law, be the one to go to Masuwi."

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"Iyan	*naa"*,	**kahi**[95],	*"se*	*egbalbalawan*	*ta,"*	**kahi**	*te*
that	that	say	the	do instead	we	say	the

kepitan	*te*	*bepul.*
captain	of	boat

"Yes, that's what we'll do instead," said the boat's captain.

mbt781001 049

"Sika",	**kahi**	*te*	*kepitan*	*te*	*bepul,*	*"ka*	*iglalag*	*ku."*
that	say	the	captain	of	boat	the	will_say	I

"That", said the boat's captain, "is what I will say."

---

95   This example shows two examples of the use of *kahi* to indicate that a quote is continuing from a previous sentence. The previous sentence contained the quote introducer.

Kahi	*ni*	*Huwan,*	*"Ne*	*kuntee*	*pamunuwit*	*a,"*	**ke**	*si*	*Huwan.*
say	CMK	John	CONJ	now	fishing	I	say	CMK	John

John said, "And now I'm going fishing." said John.

15.2 Indirect quotations

Indirect quotations are often presented with the particle *kun* '[hearsay]'.[96]

Warad	*kun*	*e.*
no_more	[hearsay]	COMP

He said that there is no more.

Su	*ka*	*Iyakan,*	*inhimu*	**kun**	*te*	*Manama*	*ne*	*impeugpe*	*te*	*bubungan.*
because	the	a_deity	made	[hearsay]	by	God	-	dwell	in	mountains

Because Iyakan, they say, was made by Manama to dwell in the hills.

Indirect quotations (especially longer ones) may also (but less frequently) be indicated with the marker *te* or the linker *ne* preceding the quotation, or the word *kahi* 'said' at the beginning, middle, or end of the indirect quotation.

Kenad	*egbehas*	*se*	*igpamula*	*ney,*	*ne*	*kenad*	*langun*	*ne*	*kenè*
won't	fruit	the	plant	our	and	won't	all	of	won't

egbehas	*ne*	*egpakaruma*	**kahi**	*se*	*eg-aldew.*
fruit	ne	other	say	the	shine

They said that our plants won't produce and everything won't give fruit if the sun shines (for a long time).

Egbuyù	*ki*	**ne**	*meupiya*	*se*	*peg-ugpè*	*ta.*
Ask	we(incl)	that	good	the	living	our

We ask that our living situation will be good.

Ka	*Alimugkat,*	*ne*	*insuhu*	*te*	*Manama*	**ne**	*impeugpe*
the	spirit	who	commanded	-	God	that	dwell

---

96   See 8: Particles for more information and examples on the use of particles in clauses.

te   ulu   te   weyig.
at   head   of   waters
It was Alimugkat whom God commanded that he dwell at the head waters.

Another type of indirect quotation begins with the word *ke* followed by a question word.

Su   mig-inse   sikandan **ke**   *hendei   key   egpabulus*
because/so question/ask 3p_F   if   where   1pe_F   continue
So they asked where we were going.

Ne   mig-inse   sikandan, **ke**   *hentew   ka   ngaran   te   nakasubal*
then   question/ask 3p_F   if   who   F   name   NF   substituted
Then they asked what the name is of the one who was able to substitute

ki   Robert   Hunt.
for   Robert   Hunt
for Robert Hunt.

Eg-inse   key **ke**   *nekey   aldawa   ne   ig-uli   ka   egsambayan.*
ask   we(excl)   if   what   day   -   return   the   borrow
We ask what day to return the thing that is borrowed.

Summary

Matigsalug has the ability to express both direct and indirect quotations. Direct quotations consist of a quote formula and the quote itself. The quote formula always includes a speech verb such as say, ask, answer, etc.

The verb *kahi* 'say' may be used at intervals throughout the extent of a long quote to indicate that the quote is still continuing.

Indirect quotations usually involve the particle *kun* 'hearsay/they said', but may also be similar in form to direct quotations.

16 Nominalization

16.1 Verb nominalization[97]

An action nominalized verb has the meaning "the act of performing the action of the verb." This is similar to the *-ing* gerund (verbal noun) construction in English. In the resulting noun phrase, the original focused item in the clause is no longer in focus, e.g., *Eg-alam a.* 'I choose.' ("I" in focus) becomes *Peg-alam ku.* '(Upon) my choosing.'

Intentional	
AgF	*peg=*
GoF	*peg==a*
LocF	*peg==a*
AccF	*peg==i*
Involuntary	
AgF	*peg=pAkA=*
GoF	*peg=kA=*
LocF	*peg=kA=*
AccF	*peg=kA==i*

Figure 16.1 Action nominalization affixes

AgF	*peg-=alam*	'choosing'
	peg=ka=gisi	'tearing'
	peg=pa=mituen	'star-gazing'
	peg=kegliwarè	'when halfway'
	peg=paka=penga	'when finished'
	peg=pakig=duma	'staying with'
	peg=pa=subla	'pride'
	peg=pa=suway=ey	'divorce'
	peg=pekeg-=apul	'argument'

---

[97] See 4.2 for nominalizing affixes that are not covered here.

GoF/LocF	*peg=baku=a*	'tying (him)'
	Peg=batun=a	'raising (him)'
	Peg=gimuw=a	'what was done'
AccF	*peg=-ampu=i*	'praying that'
	Peg=ka=lingut=i	'gathering around (him)'

mbt132001 027

Ignangen	*kanta*	*ne*	*eyew*	*matuman*	*ta*	*ka*	*meupiya*	*ne*
tell	us	LNK	so_that	obey	we	F	good	LNK

pegpamatasan,	*matuman*	*ta*	*ka*	*meupiya*	*ne*	**pegsabeka**
NOM-custom	obey	we	F	good	LNK	NOM-one

wey	**pegtuman**	*te*	*balaud,*	**pegtuman**	*te*	*lalag*	*te*	*Manama.*
and	NOM-obey	NF	law	NOM-obey	NF	word	of	God

It tells us so that we can follow good customs, be in unity, and obey the law and obey the word of God.

mbt163001 023

Ne	*malehet*	*seeyè*	*ne*	**pegderalu**	*rin*	*su*	*warè*
CONJ	correct	that	LNK	NOM-sick	din	because	not

katahaan	*ney*	*te*	*sikanami.*
understand	we	NF	us

And his sickness was correct because we didn't understand.

mbt782001 030

Su	*ware*	*dan*	*nakataha*	*ke*	*nekey*	*ka*	*sika*	*se*	**pegpanubad**	*dan.*
because	didn't	they	understood	if	what	the	that	-	NOM-pray	their

Because they didn't understand their own praying.

mbt243001 082

Ti,	**pegpitew**	*ni*	*Ame*	*ne*	*napuilan*	*se*	*kamet*	*dan.*
DISBELIEF	NOM-view	of	dad	that	burnt_off	the	field	their

In the sight of Dad, their field is burnt off.

Summary

The *peg-* prefix is used extensively in Matigsalug to nominalize verbs. It is similar to the English gerund "–ing."

17 Conjunctions

17.1 Coordinating conjunctions

17.1.1 Conjoining relations

The three coordinating conjunctions have roles at differing levels of the hierarchy.

Conjunction	Clause	Sentence	Paragraph
ne		+	+[98]
wey	+	+	

Figure 17.1 Roles of coordinating conjunctions

Paragraph level[99] *(joins sentences)*

mbt243001.A 014

Egpangimu	*e*		*teg*	*bitinan*	*te*	*kendiru.*
make(often)	COMP	-		hang_up	-	kettle/pot

She makes the place to hang up the kettle.

mbt243001.A 015

Ne	*egpanlepew*	*e*	*se*	*innakat*	*ni*	*Ame.*
and_then	appear		COMP	the	hired_hands	by	Dad

Then the others employed by Dad appear.

mbt243001.A 016

Ne	*egpekeuma*	*sikandan,*	*ka*	*me*	*etew*	*ne*	*innakat*
and_then	arrive		they	the	-	people	who	hired_hands

ni	*Ame,*	*egpinpinnuu*	*pad,*	*sug*	*panihupan*	*sikandan.*
by	Dad	sit_down_awhile	still	because	smoke_cigarettes	they

And then when they arrive, the people who Dad hired, they will yet sit down awhile because they will smoke cigarettes.

---

98 At the paragraph level, *ne* often carries with it the idea of sequential time.

99 The examples for paragraph level are consecutive sentences from a text.

Ne   *si*   *Ine*   *kalihet*   *e*   *egsusubba*   *te*   *iglem-ag.*
and   -   mom   while   COMP   cook_something   for   breakfast
Meanwhile, Mom is cooking breakfast.

Ne   *sika*   *se*   *innakat*   *ni*   *ame,*   *egpanihupan*   *e*   *sikandan.*
and   that   -   hired_hands   of   dad   smoke_cigarettes   COMP   they
And then those hired hands of father, they're smoking cigarettes.

Sentence level (joins clauses)

Su   *kene*   *egpanlupig,*   ***ne***   *kene*   *ne*   *mabulut,*
because   doesn't   take_advantage_of_others   and   isn't   LNK   cruel

ne   *kene*   *eglemet*   *te*   *Matigsalug*
and   doesn't   ridicule   NF   Matigsalug
Because he doesn't take advantage of others, isn't cruel, and doesn't ridicule the Matigsalugs.

"...su   *dakel*   *ma,"*   *kahi,*   *"ka*   *ballas*   *ni*   *Huwan*   ***ne***
because   lots   [assertive]   said   the   rice   of   John   and

dakel   *ka*   *kepun,*   *babuy,"*   *kahi,*   *"ne*   *malambu."*
big   the   castrated   pig   said   LNK   fat
"...because John has lots of rice and a big fat castrated pig," they said.

Kene   *egpanlupig,*   ***wey***   *kene*   *egpangehet.*
doesn't   take_advantage_of_others   and   doesn't   annoy_others
He doesn't take advantage of others and he doesn't annoy others.

Su eyew   *kun*   *kene*   *egkasuwayan*   ***wey***
so_that   QUOT   don't   become_separated   and

kene   *egkaredeetan*   *seeye*   *se*   *biyale.*
don't   ruin   that   -   net
So that, the net won't get lost and won't be ruined.

mbt511001 014

Su	*antis*	*egkakita*	*ke*	*eggenat*	*te*	*egkeenen*	***wey***
because	only	see	if	pickup	CMK	food	and

egpanakeru	***wey***	*egpangayu.*
fetch_water	and	fetch_firewood

Because (they) only see (her) if she collects food and carries water and gets firewood.

Clause level (joins phrases)

mbt782001 034

Ke	*key*	*egpanubad*	*te*	*Iyakan,*	***wey***[100]	*tahabaliti*
don't	we(excl)	pray/sacrifice	to	a_deity	or	baliti_tree_spirits

wey	*Kallayag*
or	Kallayag

We don't sacrifice to Iyakan, or to the baliti tree spirits, or to Kallayag.

---

[100] Notice that the *wey* here is translated as 'or', not as 'and'. This is simply due to the English surface structure skewing when the clause is negated. Even though *wey* can be used to express alternation 'or', the semantic relationship here is addition, not alternation.

Kepitan,	*kunsiyal,*	**wey**	*Chieftain*	*Datu,*	*langun*	*pad*
Captain,	councillors	and	chieftain	datu	all	yet

ne	*datu*	*ne*	*eggendiyè*	*te*	*Simud.*
LNK	data	LNK	go_there	to	Simud

Barrio Captain, council members, Chieftain Datu, and all the other datus are going to Sinuda.

17.1.2 Alternation relations

As Matigsalug has no separate word for "or" as in "Do you want tea **or** coffee?", then *wey* is also used for this.

Keppi	**wey**	*pepsi?*
coffee	or	coke

Coffee or coke?

For either/or questions, *wey se* or *wey ke* is used.

Egpabulus	*ki*	*pad*	**wey**	*se*	*kenad?*
continue	we	still	or	LNK	not

Shall we continue or not?

Eg-untud	*ka*	**wey**	*ke*	*kenè?*
ride	you	or	if	not

Will you ride (the horse) or not?

Ne	*emun*	*egngisi*	*ki*	*teg*	*Anit*	*ke*	*babuy*	*naa*	**wey**	**ke**	*uled*
-	if	laugh	we(incl)	at	spirit	if	pig	then	or	if	insect

me	*kalabew,*	*kudde*
PLUR	carabao	horse

If we laugh at something that offends the Anit spirit, if at a pig or an insect, water buffalos, or horses ...

17.2 Subordinating conjunctions

Two orders of subordinate conjunctions occur in the sentence.

When only two clauses are combined, two or more subordinate conjunctions can cooccur. Only one member of order A is used. Order B can be repeated.

Both orders are filled when (1) two clauses which are combined in an independent-subordinate construction are further combined with another clause, or when (2) the sentence formed by a combination of two clauses is a dependent sentence and is related to a previous independent sentence by a conjunction, e.g., *su emun* 'because if' [A] plus [B].

Order A		
Contraexpectation	*asal*	however
Contrastive$_1$	*piru*	but
Contrastive$_2$	*dì*	but
Reason[101]	*su*	because

---

[101] *Su* may also occasionally mark purpose or result. Usually when it marks result, it either occurs at the beginning of the sentence and is translated 'so', or is used in conjunction with *tenged te*.

Order B		
Concessive	*ahad, minsan*	although, even
Conditional$_1$	*ke*	if
Conditional$_2$	*meyì*	if
Conditional$_3$	*mesì*	if, perhaps
Conditional$_4$	*emun*	if
Hypothetical	*naguddè ke*	what if
Purpose	*eyew*	so that
Result$_1$	*emun naa*	therefore, so
Result$_2$	*purisu*	therefore
Simultaneous$_1$	*ke*	when
Simultaneous$_2$	*meyì*	when
Simultaneous$_3$	*mesì*	when
Simultaneous$_4$	*emun*	when
Reason	*tenged te*	since
Source	*ligkat te*	due to, from

Figure 17.2 Chart of subordinating conjunctions

Documented examples of the two orders in natural texts:

s*u minsan*	*su ke*
su mesì	*su ahad*
su meyì	*piru ke*
su emun	*piru meyi*
su eyew (very common)	*piru tenged*

mbt584002 002

Asal *egkatuenan   nu   ne   sika   ka   pantun   nu.*
so_that know   you   LNK   that   the   bride-price you
So that you know that that is the bride price you have to pay.

mbt584004 034

Keddì   ne   lalag,   uya   egbehey   e   red   **asal**   *ibehey   niyu*
my   LNK   speak   yes   give   I   just   so_that   give   you

keddì   ka   libumba,   ibehey   niyu   keddì   ka   kambing.
to_me   the   gun   give   you   to_me   the   goat
My speech, yes, I will just give so that you will give me the gun, and you will give me the goat.

mbt511001 029

Piru   *kuntee   warad   seeyè   ne   batasan   su   kenad*
but   now   no_more that   LNK   custom   because no_longer

eg-alukuy   te   lepeng   din   ne   kanakan.
make_friends CMK   peers   his   LNK   bachelor
But now that custom no longer exists because he is no longer friendly with his bachelor friends.

mbt584002 020

Uya   giketen   tad   ka   kerew   **piru**   *nekey   ka   eggimuwen*
yes   tie   we   F   rope_calendar but   what   F   NP-do-GoF

ta   ne   egtikusan   te   kerew?
we   LNK   tie   NF   rope_calendar
Yes, we'll tie a rope calendar but what will we do about tying a rope calendar?

mbt781005 004

Di   *kahi   te   limuken   se,*   "*Nekey   naa   keupii   nu   e?*"
but   said   the   dove   QUOT   what   CONF   desire   you   COMP
But the dove said, "What do you want?"

Migtabak   si   Luis,   "Iyan   impakaawe   su   mahebu   e
answered   CMK   Luis   that   reason_got_free   because   flimsy   COMP

*ka   hiket   **dì**   nabugtus."*
F   tether   but   snapped

Luis answered, "The reason that it got free was because the rope was flimsy, in fact it snapped."

Su   *wà   kud   naamin   ka   guhud   te   me   buyag,   wà   kud*
because   not   I   used_up   the   story   of   PL   elder   not   I

naamin   ka   batasan   te   me   buyag.
used_up   the   custom   of   PL   elder

Because I haven't yet exhausted the stories of the elders, I haven't yet exhausted the customs of the old people.

Su   kayi   rè   taman   ka   keddì   ne   pangguhuren.
so   here   just   end   the   my   LNK   story

So just here ends my story.

Su   malised   ne   egpeiskwila   ki   riyè   te   Simud
because   difficult   LNK   NP-CAUS-school   we   there   at   Simud

su   *mariyù   ki.*
because   far   we

Because it's hard to send (our children) to school there at Sinuda because we (their parents) are far away.

Ahad   *kenè   egbuyù   diyè   te   kanami   ne   ibehey   ney   uya*
even_if   not   request   there   at   our   LNK   give   we   yes

su   *anaken   ney   ma   wey   me   atebey   ney.*
because   nephew   our   [assertive]   and   PL   sister   our

And even if they don't ask us, we give because they are our nephews and our sisters.

*Ne   **meyì**   mulè   diyè   te   duktur   **ke**   due*
CONJ   if   on_the_other_hand   there   at   doctor   if   there

egpabawian	diyè	te	huspital	ne	**ahad**	kenè
get_treated	there	at	hospital	then	even_if	not

egkeulian	ka	pasinti	ne	geid	iya	ne	egpabayaran.
get_better	the	patient	LNK	need	that	LNK	NP_CAUS_pay_LocF

And if, on the other hand, we are there at the doctor, if we are being treated there at the hospital, then even if the patient doesn't get better then we have to pay the bill.

mbt720001 047

Su	**ahad**	ka	kandan	ne	asawa,	meupiya	degma	ka	batasan.
because	even	the	their	-	wife	good	also	the	custom

So even their wives also have good behavior.

BOBBYW 012

Su	**minsan**	deisek	ne	egkeenen,	ne	kene	egpakakeen	sikandin
So	even	little	-	eat	-	not	able_to_eat	he

su	masakit	ka	ulu	rin.
because	painful	F	head	his

So even a little bit of food, he is not able to eat it because his head hurts.

mbt183001 044

Minsan	se	mariyù	ne	etew	**wey**	se	marani	ne	egpanumbaley
even_if	LNK	far	LNK	person	and	LNK	near	LNK	visit

kayi	te	kanami,	ne	egbantayan	ney	ke	egkakitaan
here	at	us	LNK	guard	we	if	NP_INVOL_see_LocF

key	te	batasan	**su**	mareet	se	panugtulen.
we	NF	custom	because	bad	F	story

If people visit us here, whether from near or from far, we are careful to watch our customs lest we are seen (to be bad) because it would make a bad story.

mbt872002 099

Su	**minsan**	mahirap	se	inbayè	ney	nekeimpus	key
because	even_if	difficult	the	path	our	finished	we

red	iya	ubag	te	grade	six.
just	that	[embarrassment]	NF	grade	six

Because even though our pathway was difficult, we did manage to finish grade six.

Su   seini   suled   kenè   egkaayun   ne   egbawahan   ta   langun
because   this   cousin   not   possible   LNK   split_up   we   all

minsan   dakel   ka   tuyù   diyè   te   Masuwì.
even_if   big   the   purpose there   at   Masuwi

Because it's not possible for us all to split up even if we have a lot to do there at Masuwi.

Se   keddì   ne   igkeupii   ne   mahaan   ta   eg-ipengei   *su*
the   my   LNK   desire   LNK   quickly we   finish   because

seini   se   duheng   *ke*   egbagiyuwan,   *ke*   kenè   pad
this   LNK   fish_trap if   flooded   if   not   yet

egkapenga,   wey   wà   pad   balahil   egkatuluy.
finish   and   none   yet   floor   wash_away

I would like for us to get finished quickly, because this fish trap, if flooded by the river, if we haven't finished yet, and it has no floor, it will be washed away.

Wey   rè   kenè   egpekeuyan   ka   kepitan   *ke*   eggendiyè   te   Kitewtew.
and   just   not   able_to_carry the   captain   if   go_there   to   Kitaotao

And the (barrio) captain won't be able to carry it if he goes to Kitaotao.

Meyi   nalutu   e,   egbitbiten   e   ka   kendiru   duma   te   palatu,
when   cooked   COMP   carry   COMP   the   pot   with   the   plate

bulalu,   me   pakawan,   kutsara,   wey   ke   due   gulay.
ladle   PL   cup   spoon   and   if   there_is   vegetable

When it's cooked, carry the pot along with the plates, ladle, cups, spoons, and vegetables if there is any.

Iyan   igmareet   *su*   *mesi*   mabulut   ne
that   reason_for_bad because   as_long_as   aggressive   LNK

mekaamung   ne   eggimatayan   key   ka   anuhang
son_in_law   LNK   kill_LocF   we   the   parent_in_law

ke   eg-id-iranen   ney   ke   kenè   egpakarineg.
if   ridicule_GoF   we   if   not   hear

It's bad if our son-in-law is aggressive and will kill us the parents-in-law if we ridicule him and he doesn't hear (until later).

                                                                                          mbt626002 002

*Suled,   iling   ka   te   lalag   ku,   **mesì**   diyè   ka   te   sumbunganan...*
cousin   copy   you   NF   speech   my   if   there you   at   meeting

Cousin, copy my speech if you are there at a meeting...

                                                                                          mbt781001 036

*Ne   **emun**   egpakabunut   te   due   lumiru,   sika   ka*
and   if   draw   NF   there_is number   that   the

iggaat   kayi   te   bepul.
look_after   here   in   boat

And if you draw (a piece of paper) that has a number (written on it), that one can stay in the (overloaded) boat.

                                                                                          mbt183001 005

*Se   kanami   ne   batasan,   Suled,   **emun**   due   eglepew   ne   etew*
the   our   LNK   custom   Cousin   if   there_is   appear   LNK   person

ne   kenè   egkaayun   ne   kenè   ney   egpakeenen.
CONJ   not   possible   that   not   we   feed

Our custom, Cousin, is that if there are people who turn up, we wouldn't consider not feeding them.

                                                                                          mbt511001 049

*Su   igkeupii   ne   egtulin   key   ne   **eyew**   due*
because   desire   LNK   grow   we   LNK   so_that   there_is

duma   rin   te   egbasuk   se   amey   ney.
companion   his   NF   cultivate   F   father our

Because our fathers want us to grow so that he has help in farming.

                                                                                          mbt782001 016

*Su   eyew   egbantey   te   weyig,   ne   **eyew**   kun*
in_order_to -   look_after   NF   river   -   so_that   hearsay

kene   egkeetiyan   ka   weyig
won't   boil_away   F   water

In order to look after the rivers so that, they say, the rivers won't all boil away.

Su	***emun***	***naa***	*mananey*	*e*	*ig-uli*	*su*	*egkuen*	*din*	*e.*
so	if	then	slow	COMP	return	because	take	he	COMP

He is slow to return it because he has taken it to keep.

Emun	***naa***	*egkaliwaswas*	*e*	*su*	*egsile*	*e*	*se*	*aldew.*
if	then	dawn	COMP	because	rise	COMP	the	sun

Then it became dawn (again) because the sun rose.

Egpamula	*se*	*sabeka*	*ne*	*lunggunan*	***su***	***eyew***	*kenè*
plant	F	one	LNK	family	because	so_that	not

egpakasamuk	*te*	*sabeka*	*ne*	*lunggunan.*
cause_fight	NF	one	LNK	family

Each family plants (their own food) so that it doesn't cause trouble with other families.

Purisu	*kenè*	*ta*	*egpeleren*	*sika*	*se*	*amutag,*	*tebbuwe,*
therefore	not	we	chop_down	that	F	berry_tree	lansones

su	*egkakeen*	*ta.*
because	eat	we

Therefore we don't chop down *amutag* berry trees and lansones trees because we eat (the fruit).

Purisu	*eg-ul-ulahing*	*e*	*sikandin*	*su*	*warad*	*amey*
therefore	sings	COMP	he	because	no_more	father

rin	*ne*	*warad*	*iney*	*rin.*
his	and	no_more	mother	his

Therefore he sings because he no longer has a father or a mother.

Purisu	*egpanubad*	*sikandan,*	*ne*	*iyan*	*dan*	*eg-umawen*
Therefore	pray/sacrifice	they	LNK	that	they	call

ka	*Alimugkat.*
F	Alimugkat

Therefore when they sacrifice, the one they are calling to is Alimugkat.

Su	***tenged***	***te***	*nekegsinug-ung*	*key,*	*ne*	*kenad*	*egkaayun*
so	since	-	met_on_trail	we(excl)	then	not	possible

ne	*egpanalliya*	*key.*
that	avoid_meeting	we

So since we met on the trail, it was not possible then, that we could have avoided meeting.

Tenged	***te***	*ware*	*prublima,*	*su*	*ware*	*ignangen*	*ney,*
since	-	no	problem	so	not	will_inform	we(excl)

Since there is no problem, so there is nothing we will inform (them).

Saatupa	*egkalunglung*	*e*	*ka*	*baley*	*su*	*meemul*	*e*
Therefore	sink_in_mud	COMP	the	house	because	soft	COMP

ka	*tane*	***ligkat***	***te***	*dakel*	*e*	*ka*	*weyig.*
the	ground	from	NF	much	COMP	the	water.

Therefore the house will sink in the mud because the ground is soft due to the great amount of water.

Range	*taman*	until
Range-d1	*peendini*	up to here
Range-d2	*peendue*	up to there
Range-d3	*peendutu*	up to over there
Range-d4	*peendiyè*	up to way over there
Referential	*(meyi)tenged*	concerning
Potential	*kema ke*	in case, lest

Figure 17.3 Referent relating conjunctions

Ne	ma<u>a</u>pun	na	miggeram	**taman**	te	naliwaswas	te
CONJ	afternoon	LNK	felt		unto	NF	dawn	NF

alas	tris	se	aldew	nabigtawan	e.
hour	three	F	day	breathless	COMP

And from afternoon until dawn through until three o'clock, he was breathless.

Su	sikanami	ne	ki	Dikuy,	Umilis,	wey	siaken	**pe<u>e</u>ndiyè**
so	we	LNK	NFIII	Dikuy	Umilis	and	I	up_to

te	atebey	ney,	se	anak	ney,	se	apù	ney...
NF	sister	out	F	child	our	F	grandchild	our

So Dicoy, Umilis, and I through to our sisters, our children, and our grandchildren...

Su	kuntee	ne	egpangguhud	a	**tenged**	te	eggendiyè	te	Simud.
so	now	LNK	tell_story	I	about	NF	go_there	to	Simud

So now I will tell a story about going to Sinuda.

Seini	se	igkatelu	ne	pangguhuren	ku	**meyitenged**	te	tanè.
this	LNK	third	LNK	story	my	about	NF	land

This is my third story and it is about land.

Su	**kema_ke**	mabehat	ka	igdulan	ligkat	diyè	te	Nasulì...
Because	in_case	heavy	the	cargo	from	there	in	Nasuli

Because it's in case the cargo from Nasuli is heavy…

Summary

Matigsalug coordinating conjuctions are *ne* and *wey*. *Ne* coordinates on a sentence and paragraph level while *wey* coordinates on a sentence and clause level. *Ne* always refers to conjoining relationships "and" while *wey* may also be used to indicate alternation "or." The two appear to be interchangeable on the sentence level.

Figure 17.2 shows the subordinating conjunctions along with their semantic relation and a potential gloss. Most common of these are *piru* 'but', *su* 'because', *minsan* 'although', *ke* 'if/when', *meyi* 'if/when', and *eyew* 'so that'.

18 Sentences

A Matigsalug sentence can be as short as one word and as long as several interrelated complex clauses.

18.1 Simple sentence

A simple sentence consists of a single clause that may be as short as a single verb or as long as two verbs and three noun phrases.

Eg-uran   e.
NP-rain   COMP
It is raining.

Migbehayan ad   e   te   seleppì   ki   Huwanitu   diyè   te   baley   rin.
gave   I   COMP   NF   money   to   Huwanito   there   at   house   his
I gave Huwanito some money in his house.

18.2 Temporal relations

Temporal relation sentences consist of two clauses which are joined by some sequence in the time domain.

18.2.1 Sequence

A sequence sentence consists of two events which follow one after the other in time. These may be joined by *human* 'then'.

*Keimpusan   te   egpepalat **human** eggalab key te kalan,*
having_finished CMK railing   then   collect we NF cogon

su   egatepan ney e.
because roof   we   COMP
After having finished the railing, then we collect cogon grass because we will do the roof.

Human is probably a loan word. A more indigenous sequence sentence construction uses a form of the root *impus* 'to finish' to begin the clause that occurred first in time. There is also often a rising intonation on the last syllable of the first clause as well as a pause before beginning the second clause.

Nekeimpus   se   egtetemeg,   kuwe   e   te   sanggatan.
finished   the   build_a_fire   take   COMP   -   hook
After she finished building the fire, she gets the hook.

Nekeimpus   sikandin   seg   kamanga   migbunsud   e   sikandin   migkamet.
finished   they   the   use_sharpening_stone began   COMP   they   cleared-field
After they used the sharpening stone, they began to clear the field.

In fact, the form of the root *impus* is not necessary as long as the context shows the relation. In the example above, the rising intonation and pause become more important. Often the abilitative prefixes *naka=* or *paka=* are used to begin the sentence.

Pakatuhun   si Ame   diye   te   sampad,   eg-uli   e.
reach_destination -   dad   there to   top_of_field return_home   COMP
When Dad was able to reach the top of the field, he returned home.

18.2.2 Simultaneous

A simultaneous sentence consists of two events that occur together in time. *Ne* may be used to indicate simultaneous events.

Language Lesson 14

Hendei   ka   aldew   ne   egbunsud   ki?
Where   the   sun   when   begin   we
How high will the sun be when we begin?

The word *kalihet* 'meanwhile' is also used to express simultaneous events, but is used across sentence boundaries.

*Si   Ine   **kalihet**   e   ne   egsusubba.*
-    mom   meanwhile   COMP LNK   cook_something
Meanwhile, Mom is cooking something.

18.2.3 Cooccurrence

A cooccurrence sentence joins two events in such a way that whenever the first happens, the second cooccurs. The second clause is linked to the first with the linker *ne* and the emphatic particle *iya* creates the semantic link.

Minsan	*nekey*	*aldewa*	*ne*	*egpami-pì*	*si*	*Inday*
even	what	day	LNK	wash_clothes	F	Inday

ne	*egpamanihus*	*iya.*
LNK	bathe	[emphatic]

Whatever day that Inday does the washing, she also bathes (in the river).

18.2.4 Beginning-Postspan

A beginning-postspan sentence indicates a state that has been in existence since a certain beginning. *Ligkat te* 'from' is used to mark the beginning clause; the postspan clause is juxtaposed.

Ligkat	*te*	*neulug*	*si*	*Tanny*	*te*	*kuddè,*	*kenad*	*e*	*egpekeyipanew.*
from	NF	fell	F	Tanny	NF	horse,	not	COMP	able_to_walk

Since Tanny fell off a horse, he has no longer been able to walk.

18.2.5 Prespan-End

A prespan-end concept consists of an activity that continues until some particular end-point is reached. Usually this end-point is marked by a sentence beginning with *wey e*[102]; it does not seem possible to put this concept into one sentence.

Kayi	*ganna*	*masulug*	*ne*	*me*	*batè*	*ne*	*egbubula.*
here	earlier	many	LNK	PL	children	LNK	play_ball

Many children were playing ball here earlier.

Wey e	*migsanggel*	*ne*	*nahepù*	*e*	*ka*	*beyabas.*
future	P-stop	LNK	broken	COMP	F	guava(seedling)

They only stopped when the guava seedling had already been broken.

---

[102] Note that *wey e* may also be manifested as *wey + =d* when there is a single-syllable pronoun ending in a vowel.

Migkamet   si   Udung.   Wey e   migsanggel   ke   miglepew   e
P-clear_field F   Udung   future P-stop   if   P-arrive   COMP

si   Marawing   te   maapun   e.
F   Marawing   NF   afternoon   already
Udung was clearing a field. He stopped when Marawing arrived late afternoon.

18.3 Comparative relations

18.3.1 Addition

Sentences may be added with the linker *wey* 'and' and in some instances with the linker *ne*.

Mabasuk   si   Panyaris   **wey**   *meupiya   ka   batasan   din.*
hard-working   F   Panyaris   and   good   F   custom   his
Panyaris is hard working and has good principles.

                                                                                              mbt173007 033

Nekeuma   ka   mule   diye   te   inhimu   te   Manama   ne   etew.
arrived   F   OPPOSITION   there to   made   by   God   -   person
It arrived at the person made by Manama.

wey   *ingkuwa   si   kukuk   te   lanut…*
and   got   -   kukuk_bird   NF   thread
and the kukuk bird got a thread ...

*Malayat   si   Marawing   **ne**   manekal-nekal   ka   lawa   rin.*
tall   F   Marawing   and   somewhat_strong   F   body   his
Marawing is tall and fairly strong.

                                                                                              mbt720001 039

*Su   kene   egpanlupig,   **ne**   kene   ne   mabulut,*
because   doesn't take_advantage_of_others and   isn't LNK   cruel

ne   *kene   eglemet   te   Matigsalug*
and   doesn't   ridicule   NF   Matigsalug
Because he doesn't take advantage of others, isn't cruel, and doesn't ridicule the Matigsalugs.

18.3.2 Alternation

Alternative proposals may be separated in a question with *wey ke* or *wey se*.

Kayi	*red*	*ka*	*asawa*	*nu*	**wey**	**ke**	*diyè*	*te*	*Lebeng?*
here	just_still	F	spouse	your	or		there	at	Lebeng

Is your husband here still or there at Lebeng?

Panulù	*ke*	*red*	**wey**	**se**	*kenè?*
teach	you	just_still	or		not

Will you teach now or not?

In a statement, one has to be more explicit and thus the alternation concept cannot be expressed in just one sentence.

Igpabeli	*ku*	*keykew*	*te*	*asin.*	*Ne*	*meyì*	*warè*	*asin,*	*sebun*	*e.*
CAUS-buy	I	you	NF	salt	LNK	if	not	salt	soap	COMP

I want you to buy salt or soap.

18.3.3 Contrast

Contrast statements are expressed as two separate sentences, although the second contains the contrast particle *mulè* 'on the other hand'.

Si	*Lison,*	*wà*	*pad*	*baley*	*kayi*	*te*	*bariyu.*	*Si*	*Panyaris,*	*duen*
F	Lison	not	yet	house	here	in	barrio	F	Panyaris	there_is

e	*mulè*	*baley*	*ran*	*kayi*	*te*	*bariyu.*
already	[contrast]	house	their	here	in	barrio

Lison doesn't yet have a house here in the barrio but Panyaris has one already.

Contrast is more frequently expressed by using the Spanish loan conjunction *piru* 'but'.

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Masulug	*degma*	*ne*	*derakel*	*e*	*ne*	*me*	*malitan*	**piru**	*wa*	*pad*	*asawa*	*ran.*
many	also	-	big(pl)	COMP	-	-	woman	but	none	yet	spouse	them

There were also many older girls, but they had no spouses yet.

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Egpabawiam	*bured*	*perem,*	**piru**	*ke*	*ma*	*iya*	*egkeulian.*
take_for_treatment	just_maybe	wish	but	not	DIM	really	recover

They probably would have just liked to have had it treated but it wouldn't have got better.

18.3.4 Comparison of equality

The verbal form *nekeg-iling* 'same as' is used for comparison of equality. This predicate takes one focus noun phrase and one non focus noun phrase, although for equality the second noun phrase can be in focus also.

Ka	*kalayatan*	*ni*	*Pablu,*	*nekeg-iling*	*ka*	*keddì*	*ne*	*kalayatan.*
F	height	of	Pablu	P-like	F	my	LNK	height

Pablo is as tall as me.

The equality can be negated with *warè*.

Ka	*kalayatan*	*ni*	*Pablu*	*warè*	*nekeg-iling*	*te*	*kalayatan*	*ni*	*Antun.*
F	height	of	Pablu	not	P-like	NF	height	of	Antun

Pablo is not the same height as Antun.

18.3.5 Comparison of inequality

Comparison of inequality is expressed simply by two juxtaposed descriptive clauses.

Dakel	*ka*	*aldew,*	*deisek*	*ka*	*bulan.*
big	F	sun	small	F	moon

The sun is bigger than the moon.

Malmalayat	*si*	*Istinu,*	*malmalibutut*	*si*	*Huwanitu.*
taller	F	Istinu	chubbier	F	Huwanitu

Istinu is taller, but Huwanitu is fatter.

18.3.6 Verbal simile

A verbal simile is made by following the first clause with the linker *ne* and then a second clause containing the verb *eg-iling* 'to be like' but no focus noun phrase.

Si	*David*	*egkeen*	**ne**	**eg-iling**	*te*	*ubal.*
F	David	NP-eat	LNK	NP-like	NF	monkey

David eats like a monkey

18.3.7 Verbal comparison

Direct verbal comparisons are not possible in Matigsalug, as in, e.g., English: 'It is better to take medicine than to die.' and 'It is easier for a pig to fly than for John to stop drinking.' Rather, an action-result type sentence structure must be used, although the *meupiya pad* 'better yet' indicates a comparison.

Meupiya pad ke eg-inum ka te bawi su̱eyew egkeulian ka.
good yet if drink you NF medince so̱that get̲better you
It's best if you drink the medicine so that you get better.

18.4 Logical relations

18.4.1 Result-**Reason**

A result-reason sentence consists of an action that is explained by giving the reason for the action. In Matigsalug, *su* 'because' or *tenged te* 'because of' is used to join the two clauses.

Mig-ulì		*si*	*Sandri*	**su**		*nabelù.*
returned̲home	F		Sandri	because		angry (he)

Sandri went home because he was angry.

Warè	*migtuman*	*si*	*Udung*	*ka*	*egbebeli*	*te*	*beni*	*te*	*paley*
not	obeyed	F	Udung	F	buy	NF	seed	of	rice

su	*iyan*	*intumù*	*beliya*	*ka*	*tabakù.*
because	that	instead	buy	F	tobacco

Udung didn't get the rice seed he went to buy because he bought tobacco instead.

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Migkamet	*sikandin*	*diyè*	**tenged̲te**	*egkeupian*	*sikandin*
cleared̲field	he	there	because̲of	desire	he

ne	*egkamet*	*diyè*	*te*	*me*	*puwalasen.*
LNK	clear̲field	there	at	PL	forest

He cleared a field there because he wanted to clear a field there in the forest.

When Matigsalugs want to express result-reason but want to highlight the result, they use the interesting construction of *sika ka* + verb. Notice that there is no overt conjunction to indicate that this is a logical relation.

Language Lesson 25

Sika,	*Anggam,*	**ka**	**miggendini**	*a*	*te*	*baley*	*niyu,*	*eyew*	*re*
that	uncle	the	came	I	to	house	your(pl)	so̲that	just

teg	*pangguhud*	*te*	*lalag*	*te*	*Manama.*
to	tell̲a̲story	about	word	of	God

That Uncle, is the reason I came to your house, just to tell the story of the words of God.

Sika   ka   egpanubad   *sikandan,   su   eyew   kun*
that   the   pray/sacrifice   they   so_that   -   hearsay

egdineg   seeyes   Alimugkat.
hear   that   spirit

That's the reason they sacrifice so that, they say, Alimugkat will hear.

18.4.2 Reason-Result

A reason-result sentence consists of an event which is followed by the result of that event joined by *saatupa* 'therefore'.[103]

Mig-uran   kuntee   **saatupa**   *eg-uugpè   ki.*
rained   now   therefore   stay_home   we

It rained therefore we'll stay at home.

Su can also mark result in a sentence.

Tenged[104]   *te   ware   prublima,*   **su**   *ware   ignangen   ney.*
since   -   no   problem   so   not   will_inform   we(excl)

Since there is no problem, so there is nothing we will inform (them).

Kalihet   e   neg   eetap.   **Su**   *ka   ukaba,   eg-engkeran   e.*
while   COMP   -   winnow   so_that   the   chaff   leave_behind   COMP

Meanwhile, she is winnowing. So that the chaff will be left behind.

18.4.3 Purpose

A purpose sentence consists of an action followed by the purpose of that action. Matigsalug uses *su eyew* 'so that' to link the two concepts.

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[103]   It is not certain whether *saatupa* is a recent Cebuano loan or could be considered to be part of the Matigsalug lexicon. It is commonly used in Matigsalug sentences.

[104]   Notice that *tenged te* is also marking reason here.

[105]   This could be one sentence or two.

Tagsè	*maselem*	*ne*	*eg-itisan*	*ku*	*te*	*weyig*	*ka*	*beyabas*
every	morning	LNK	sprinkle	I	NF	water	F	guava

su_eyew	*mahaan*	*egtulin.*
so_that	qucikly	grow

Every morning I water the guava so that it will grow quickly.

Actually, *eyew* itself is the purpose sentence marker. It may occur preceded by *su* (most common) or by *ne*, or by itself.

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Egkuwa	*te*	*sipit*	***ne***	***eyew***	*igsipit*	*te*	*lata.*
take	-	tongs	-	so_that	grab_with_tongs	-	large_can

He gets (bamboo) tongs to grab the large can.

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Dutun	*ka*	*tengteng*	*te*	*igsulat*	*te*	*meistara*	*niyu*
there	you(sg)	look_at	at	write	by	teacher(female)	your

eyew	*katuenan*	*nu*
so_that	learn	you

Watch there at the teacher's writing so that you learn.

18.4.4 Condition-Consequence

A condition-consequence sentence consists of a future condition followed by the consequence of meeting that condition. The condition is preceded by *ke* 'if'.

Ke	*eglepew*	*si*	*Susan,*	*duen*	*sahing*	*ne*	*eg-uyanen*	*din.*
If	arrives	F	Susan	there_is	banana	LNK	carry	she

If Susan arrives, she will bring some bananas.

Meyi 'if' or *emun* 'if' may also precede the condition in this sentence construction.

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Ne	***meyi***	*meupiya*	*se*	*limuken*	*din,*	*egpabulus*	*sikandin*	*egkamet.*
now	if	good	the	fruit_dove	his	continue	he	clear_field

Now, if his limuken fruit dove is good, he will continue to clear the field.

Emun	*mareet*	*Ka*	*batasan*	*te*	*Melikanu*	*ne*	*mig-ugpe*
if	bad	the	behavior	of	American	who	lived

If the behavior of the American who lives

kayi	*te*	*Panganan,*	*kaayun*	*ne*	*egpaaween.*
here	in	Panganan	possible	-	cause_to_remove

here in Panganan is bad, it's possible to (ask us to) remove him.

A contrafactual condition-consequence sentence consists of a past condition that was not met, followed by the consequence of that contrafactual condition. The condition is expressed by *ke* 'if' and the contrafactuality by *perem* 'wish' and the use of the past tense. The particle *perem* is also used in the consequence clause to indicate that it is hypothetical and did not if fact happen.

Ke	*miglepew*	*perem*	*kuntee*	*si*	*Karing,*	*duen*	*perem*	*seleppì*
if	arrived	wish	today	F	Karing	there_is	wish	money

ne	*eg-uyanen*	*din.*
LNK	carry	he

If Karing had have arrived today, he would have brought some money.

18.4.5 Concession-Contraexpectation

A concession-contraexpectation sentence consists of a past event followed by the unexpected result of that event.[106] The interchangeable synonmyns *ahad* and *minsan* 'even, although, even though' are used to join the two clauses.

Ahad	*miglepew*	*si*	*Ruki*	*geid*	*kenè*	*iya*	*egbehey.*
although	arrived	F	Ruki	??	not	[emphatic]	give

Even though Ruki arrived, he did not give (any money).

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[106] Concession-contraexpectaion sentences do not need to be composed of verbal clauses only, as explained further on in this section.

Migbayaran	*kud*	*e*	*si*	*Inday*	**ahad**	*wà*	*pad*
paid	I	already	F	Inday	even_though	not	yet

nekeimpus	*ka*	*migpami-pì.*
finished	F	washed_clothes

I've paid Inday already even though she has not yet finished washing the clothes.

Su	**minsan**	*mahirap*	*se*	*imbaye*	*ney,*
because	although	difficult	the	way	we(excl)

Because even though the way was very difficult,

nekeimpus	*key*	*red*	*iya*	*ubag*		*te*	*grade*	*six.*
finished	we	just	really	EMBARRASS	-		grade	six

we managed to finish grade six.

The concession-contraexpection sentence does not need to consist of events only (verbal clauses). Rather, it can consist of nonverbal clauses as well.

Minsan	*matikang,*	*ne*	*malepet*	*naan*	*de*	*su*	*napeku*
although	tall	-	short	then	just	because	hunchbacked

Even if he is tall, he'll be just short because

man-e	*ka*	*peka*	*rin*
again	the	back	his

his back is bent over.

A hypothetical concession-contraexpectation sentence has a hypothetical concession portion indicated by *ke* 'if' and the non past tense.

Minsan	*ke*	*egbuyù*	*si*	*Karing,*	*kenè*	*ku*	*iya*
even	if	NP-request	F	Karing	not	a	[emphatic]

egbehayan	*te*	*ballas.*
give	NF	rice

Even if Karing had came here yesterday, I would not have given him rice.

A contrafactual concession-contraexpectation sentence has a past concession that was not met followed by a hypothetical contraexpectation portion. The contrafactual clause is preceded by *ahad* or *minsan* 'even though' and *ke* 'if' and the use of past tense.

Minsan	*ke*	*miggendini*	*si*	*Karing*	*gabii,*	*kenè*	*ku*	*iya*
even	if	came_here	F	Karing	yesterday	not	a	[emphatic]

egbehayan	*te*	*ballas.*
give	NF	rice

Even if Karing had came here yesterday, I would not have given him rice.

18.5 Relative clauses

A relative clauses is a dependent clause that modifies a noun and is linked to the head noun with the linker *ne*. The relative clause cannot have a focus noun phrase or pronoun, as this place is effectively taken by the head noun to which it is linked.

Noun/Noun Phrase   +   *ne*   +   Relative clause

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Ne	*sapulu*	**ka**	**etew**	**ne**	*mignangenan*	*ni*	*Ame.*
now	ten	the	people	who	informed	by	dad

Now there are ten people who were informed by Dad.

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Migpanakug	*e*	*ni*	*Ine*	**se**	**beni**	**te**	**paley**	**ne**	*intahu*	*diye*	*te*	*lukung.*
scoop_up	COMP	by	mom	the	seed	of	rice	that	stored	there	in	vat

Mom scooped out the rice seed that was stored there in the vat.

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Sika	*ka*	*batasan*	**te**	**me**	**buyag**	**ne**	*egpanubad.*
that	the	custom/law	of	-	old_people	who	pray/sacrifice

That is the custom of old people who sacrifice.

Nakita	*kud*	*e*	**ka**	**lukes**	**ne**	*migbeligyè*	*te*	*kuddè.*
saw	I	COMP	F	man	LNK	P_AgF-sell	NF	horse

I saw the man (agent) who sold a horse.

Nakita	*kud*	*e*	**ka**	**kuddè**	**ne**	*imbeligyè*	*te*	*lukes.*
saw	I	COMP	F	horse	LNK	P_GoF-sell	NF	man

I saw the horse (goal) that was sold by a man.

*Nakita   kud   e   **ka   lukes   ne**   migbeligyaan   te   kuddè.*
saw   I   COMP   F   man   LNK   P-sell-LocF   NF   horse
I saw the man (location reference) that a horse was sold to.

*Nakita   kud   e   **ka   lukes   ne**   kamuney   te   kuddè   ne   imbeligyè.*
saw   I   COMP   F   man   LNK   owner   of   horse   LNK   P_ObJ-sell
I saw the man who owned the horse that was sold.

*Nakita   kud   e   **ka   lukes   ne**   migpabeligye   te   kuddè.*
saw   I   COMP   F   man   LNK   P_AgF-CAUS-sell   NF   horse
I saw the man (causative agent) who caused the horse to be sold.

*Nakita   kud   e   **ka   palingkiyan   ne**   migbelegyaan   te   lukes   te   kuddè.*
saw   I   COMP   F   market   LNK   P-sell-LocF   NF   man   NF   horse
I saw the market (location reference) where the man sold a horse.

*Nanengnengan   kud   e   **ka   aldew   ne**   migbelegye   te   lukes   ka   kuddè.*
know   I   COMP   F   day   LNK   sold   NF   man   F   horse
I know the day that man sold the horse.

*Nanengnengan   kud   e   ka   kentidad   **te   kuddè   ne**   imbelegye.*
know   I   COMP   F   price   of   horse   LNK   sold
I know the price of the horse that was sold.
(Not: I know the price for which the horse was sold.)

Nanengnengan   kud   e   ka   ayatan   te   imbelegye   te   lukes   ka   kuddè.
know   I   COMP   F   reason   of   sold   NF   man   F   horse
I know the reason that the man sold the horse.
(Not a relative clause.)

*Nakita   kud   e   **ka   siritsirit   ne**   intimbak   te   kuddè.*
saw   I   COMP   F   gun   LNK   P_AccF-shoot   NF   horse
I saw the gun (instrument) which was used to shoot the horse.

18.6 Cleft sentences

Cleft sentences are usually used to identify a single piece of information that is missing from someone's understanding of a past event. They are begun with the particle *iyan* 'that' followed by the clause with the missing information in focus.

Iyan   *neyimun*   *asin*   *dan*   *se*   *sisiman.*
that   made   salt   their   the   salty_spring
The source of their salt was a salty spring.

Iyan   *impakaawe*   *su*   *mahebu*   *e*   *ka*   *hiket*
that   got_loose   because   weak   COMP   the   rope
It got loose because the tether rope was already weak

Iyan   *migbeligyè*   *te*   *kuddè*   *si*   *Karing.*
that   P_AgF-sell   NF   horse   F   Karing
It was Karing that sold a horse.

Iyan   *imbeligye*   *ni*   *Karing*   *ka*   *kuddè.*
that   P_GoF-sell   NFII   Karing   F   horse
It was a horse that Karing sold.

Iyan   *imbeligyaan*   *ni*   *Karing*   *te*   *kuddè*   *si*   *Panyaris.*
that   P-sell-LocF   NFII   Karing   NF   horse   F   Panyaris
It was Panyaris that Karing sold a horse to.

Iyan   *inggimatey*   *ni*   *Karing*   *te*   *kuddè*   *ka*   *ugpit.*
that   P-AccF-kill   NFII   Karing   NF   horse   F   bolo
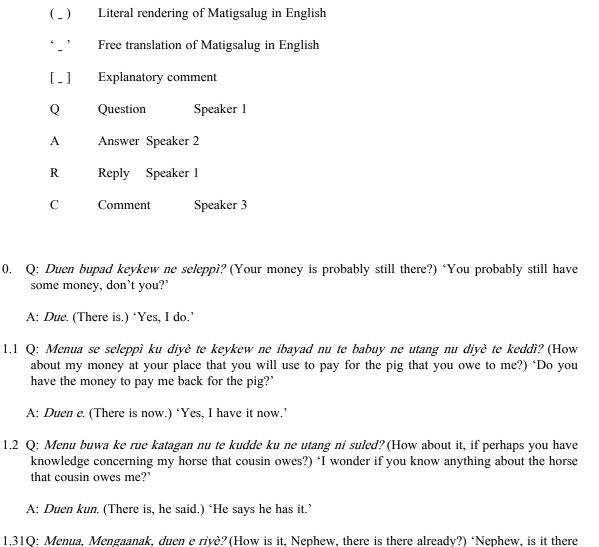It was with a bolo that Karing killed a horse.

Summary

The following chart summarizes the information in this chapter.

Temporal relations	Sequence	A form of the root *impus* begins the clause that came first in time. A verb with the prefix *paka=* or *naka=* begins the clause that came first in time. Rising intonation on last syllable of first clause
	Simultaneous	*Ne* links the two clauses. Across sentence boundaries, *kalihet* is used for the event that is mentioned second.
	Cooccurrence	*Ne* links the two clauses. The emphatic particle *iya* is present in the second clause.
	Beginning-Postspan	The beginning clause starts with *ligkat te*.
	Prespan-End	The end clause usually starts with *wey e.*
Comparative relations	Addition	*Wey* or *ne* link the two clauses.
	Alternation	*Wey ke* or *wey se* links the two possibilities.
	Contrast	*Piru* connects the two clauses. Across sentence boundaries, the particle *mule* 'on the other hand' may be used.
	Comparison (equality)	Two descriptive clauses. The second clause begins with *nekeg-iling* 'the same'.
	Comparison (inequality)	Two descriptive clauses are juxtaposed.
	Verbal Simile	*Ne* connects the two clauses. *Eg-iling* is the verb in the second clause.
Logical relations	Reason-**Result**	*Saatupa* or *su* marks the result clause.
	Result-**Reason**	*Su* or *tenged te* marks the reason clause.
	Result-Reason	*Sika ka* + verb
	Purpose	(*Su/Ne*) *Eyew* marks the purpose clause.
	Condition-Consequence	*Ke*, *emun*, or *meyi* marks the condition clause.
	Concession-Contraexpectation	*Minsan* or *ahad* marks the concession clause.

Appendix: Particle Cluster Examples

The following examples using particles are set in the context of short conversations for better understanding of the different nuances in meaning.

(_) Literal rendering of Matigsalug in English

' _ ' Free translation of Matigsalug in English

[_] Explanatory comment

Q Question Speaker 1

A Answer Speaker 2

R Reply Speaker 1

C Comment Speaker 3

0. Q: *Duen bupad keykew ne seleppì?* (Your money is probably still there?) 'You probably still have some money, don't you?'

   A: *Due.* (There is.) 'Yes, I do.'

1.1 Q: *Menua se seleppì ku diyè te keykew ne ibayad nu te babuy ne utang nu diyè te keddì?* (How about my money at your place that you will use to pay for the pig that you owe to me?) 'Do you have the money to pay me back for the pig?'

   A: *Duen e.* (There is now.) 'Yes, I have it now.'

1.2 Q: *Menu buwa ke rue katagan nu te kudde ku ne utang ni suled?* (How about it, if perhaps you have knowledge concerning my horse that cousin owes?) 'I wonder if you know anything about the horse that cousin owes me?'

   A: *Duen kun.* (There is, he said.) 'He says he has it.'

1.31 Q: *Menua, Mengaanak, duen e riyè?* (How is it, Nephew, there is there already?) 'Nephew, is it there already?'

   A: *Due.* (There is.) 'It is.'

   R: *Duen bes!* (There is. Surprise!) 'Oh really!'

1.32 Q: *Menua, si Mengaanak, se diyè egpuun te Dabbae, mig-uli e diyè te Panganan, duen bured angey ne asin?* (How about it, Nephew, leaving Davao there, he came home to Panganan, there is probably

salt that he brought?) 'My nephew came back to Panganan from Davao. I wonder if he has brought some salt with him?

A: *Duen buwa.* (There is, maybe.) 'Probably there is some.'

1.33Q: *Menua se seleppì ni Umising?* (How about Umising's money?) 'Do you have Umising's money?'

A: *Duen ma.* (There is, really.) 'Yes, I do.'

1.34Q: *Duen naa?* (There is then?) 'Is there any?' [*Eg-inse ke due wey ke warè.* 'He is asking if there is any or not.']

A: *Due.* 'There is.'

1.41Q: *Duen ded nakua nu ne seleppì diyè ki Umilis?* (There is currently money that you got from Umilis?) 'Do you have the money that you got from Umilis?'

A: *Duen ded.* (There is currently.) 'Yes, I do.'

1.42Q: *Mengaanak, duen bupad asin nu?* (Nephew, you probably still have salt?) 'Nephew, you probably have some salt left, don't you?'

A: *Duen pad.* (There is still.) 'Yes, I still have some.'

1.5 Q: *Due ayu asin nu, Mengaanak?* (Hopefully you have salt, nephew?) 'I sure hope you have some salt, Nephew. Do you?' [*su egkeipeng a ke warè asin* 'because I am worried that there isn't any salt left']

A: *Duen pad.* (There is still.) 'Yes, I still have some.'

1.6 Q: *Duen bu pad asin nu?* (You probably still have salt?) 'You probably have some salt left, don't you?'

A: *Due(n) ubag, deisek naan de, kenè ke re egkakua, su kenè kad egkabehayan.* (There is, sorry, little left; you cannot take, because I cannot give to you.) 'Yes, but I'm sorry there is only a little left. Please don't take any because I can't afford to give it to you.' [*ubag = egkeilew* 'sorry = I'm embarrassed']

1.7 Q: *Due(n) ayu asin nu, Mengaanak?* (Hopefully you have salt, Nephew?) 'I sure hope you have some salt, Nephew. Do you?'

A: *Due(n) iya.* (There is really.) 'Yes, I do.'

1.8 Q: *Due ubag asin nu, Mengaanak?* (You, hmm..., have salt, Nephew?) 'Hmm...Do you happen to have any salt, Nephew?'

A: *Due perem, piru warad e.* (There was I wish, but there is none now.) 'I wish I had some, but there is none left unfortunately.'

2.11 Q: *Duen kun bes e kudde ni Aurilie ne ibegay keykew?* (There is, they say, I didn't know before, at present Aurelio's horse that he will give to you?) 'Is it true that you now have the horse that Aurelio wants to give to you?'

2.12 *Duen kun buwad.* 'He said, "There probably is some now." '

2.13 *Duen kun man e.* 'He said, "There really is some now." '

2.14 *Duen kun naan e?* 'He asked, "Is there some now?" '

2.15 *Duen kun bes ded.* 'He said, "Oh, there is some at the moment." '

2.16 *Duen kun bes pad.* 'He said, "Oh, there is some left." '

2.17 *Duen kun bupad.* 'He said, "There probably is some left." '

2.18 *Duen kun man pad.* 'He said, "There really is some left." '

2.19 *Duen kun naan pad?* 'He asked, "Is there some left?" '

2.21 *Duen kun ded.* 'He said there is some at the moment.'

2.22 *Duen kun pad ayu.* 'He said, "I sure hope there is some left." '

2.23 *Duen kun ded ubag.* 'He said, "Well...there is some at the moment." '

2.24 *Duen kun pad ubag.* 'He said, "Well...there is some left." '

2.25 *Duen kun ded iya.* 'He said, "There is really some at the moment." '

2.26 *Duen kun pad iya.* 'He said, "There is really some left." '

2.27 *Duen kun ded perem.* 'He said, "I wish there were some at the moment, but there isn't." '

2.28 *Duen kun pad perem.* 'He said, "I wish there were some left, but there isn't." '

2.3 *Duen kun e perem.* 'He said, "I wish there were some by now, but there isn't." '

2.4 A: *Warè!* 'There are none!'

C: *Duen kun ubag iya.* 'Well...but he said that there really was some.' [*eg-apul* 'to deny']

2.5 *Duen kun iya perem.* 'He said, "I wish there were really some, but there isn't." '

Contrast: *Duen e kun pad.* 'He said, "I'll be there still." '

Contrast: *Duen e kun iya.* 'He said, "I was really there." '

3.11 *Duen bes e.* 'Oh, there is some already.'

3.12 *Duen buwad.* 'There probably is some already.'

3.13 *Duen buwad ayu.* 'There is probably is some already. I sure hope so.'

3.14 Q: *Si Anggam, duen ma gabii sikandin?* 'As for Uncle, was he really there last night?'

A: *Duen e kun ubag...te warè e ma.* 'Well...he said, "I was there"...for I wasn't there, you see.'

3.21 Q: *Mengaanak, ka umpak ku, nalingawang ku.* 'Nephew, I forgot my shirt.' [implying, `Is it still here?']

A: *Duen ded.* 'It's still here.' [Note: use of *ded* [plim] for a present state of affairs. Contrast Tagalog equivalent: *Mayroon pa.* However the question, *Mayroon pa?* is *Duen pad?* Note also that the *=d* is not exactly equivalent to the Tagalog *na.* The Tagalog *na* is completive. The Matigsalug *=d* or *e* covers a larger semantic domain, including both completive and/or present notions.]

Contrast: *Duen e re.* 'I'll just be over there.'

3.22 *Duen pad?* 'Is there any left?'

3.31 *Duen e ayu?* 'Is there any now? I sure hope so!'

3.32 Q: *Duen e ayu ballas?* 'Is there any rice now? I sure hope so!'

A: *Duen e iya.* (There is, really.) 'There is, no kidding.'

3.33 Q: *Duen e ayu ballas?* 'Is there any rice now? I sure hope so!'

A: *Duen e perem, piru warad. Naamin e riyè.* (There is, I wish, but there is none now. (That rice) over there has been consumed now.) 'Sorry! I wish I still had some left, but there isn't any. It's all been eaten.'

Contrast: *Duen e naa?* 'Was I there?'

4.11 *Duen bes de etew ne manekal ne eggimu.* 'It's surprising that there are still people who are diligent at work.'

4.12 *Duen bes ded.* 'Oh, there is still some at the moment.'

4.13 *Duen bes pad.* 'Oh, there is some left.'

4.14 *Duen bes ded ayu. Kua ku rutu, su egbuyuan a te duma ku.* 'Oh, I hope there is some still. I'll go over there so that I can ask my friend for it.'

4.15 *Duen bes de ubag etew ne meupiya.* (There are, oh, still, it's embarrassing to have to say this, good people.) 'Oh, there are still good people around, but unfortunately only a few.'

4.16 *Duen bes ded ubag etew ne meupiya.* 'Oh, there are still good people nowadays, but unfortunately only a few.'

4.17 *Duen bes pad ubag ignangeng ku kuna.* 'Oh, I still have something to tell you, if you don't mind.'

5.1 *Duen kun buwad ayu.* 'He said, "There probably is some still. I sure hope so." '

5.2 *Duen kun buwa.* 'He said, "There probably is some." '

5.3 *Duen kun bes.* 'He said, "Oh, there is some." '

Contrast: *Duen e kun man pad iya.* 'He said, "Really, I was still there." '

Contrast: *Duen e kun man ded iya.* 'He said, "Really, I was there at that time." '

Contrast: *Duen e kun bes pad ayu iya perem.* 'He said, "Really, I was shocked to find myself still there and I wish I wasn't there." '

Contrast: *Duen e kun bes pad iya perem.* 'He said, "Really, I was surprised to find myself still there and I wish I wasn't there." '

Contrast: *Duen e kun bupad.* 'He said, "Really, I was probably still there." '

Contrast: *Duen e man pad iya.* 'Really, I was still there.'

Contrast: *Duen e man ded iya.* 'Really, I was there at that time.'

Contrast: *Duen e man pad.* 'I was still there.'

6.1 *Duen naan ded ke...* 'The only thing left that can be done is for...'

Contrast: *Duen naan de.* 'That there is the only one left.' [*Duen* is loc pronoun.]

Contrast: *Duen naan ded.* 'That there is the only one left at the moment.' [*Duen* is loc pronoun.]

6.21 *Duen naan pad?* 'Is there some left?'

6.22 *Duen nan pad?* 'Is there some left?' [*nan* and *naan* are variants]

7.11 *Duen man de.* 'There is some.'

7.12 *Duen man ded.* 'There is some at the moment.'

7.13 *Duen man pad.* 'There is some left.'

7.2 *Duen ma iya.* 'There really is.'

8.1 *Duen bes pad.* 'Oh, there is some left.'

8.2 *Duen bes pad perem.* 'Oh, there is some left. I wish it was all gone by now.'

8.3 *Duen bes ded.* 'Oh, there is still some at the moment.'

8.4 *Duen bes ded perem.* 'Oh, there is still some at the moment. I wish it weren't so.'

9.   *Due ayu iya perem.* 'I sure hope there would be some, but I don't think there would be any.'

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