Tboli is a language spoken by people living in southwestern Mindanao, Philippines, in the province of South Cotabato. The pedagogical grammar of Tboli has been written to help non-Tboli interested in learning to speak Tboli. A discussion of spelling and pronunciation includes the alphabet and spelling rules. Other forms of grammar described are nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and personal and demonstrative pronouns. Phrases and nonverbal and verbal sentences are discussed, with emphasis on the focus system. Location, time words, negatives, and questions are also described. Two particular difficulties with Tboli are pronunciation and the focus system. (Contains 2 references.) (JP)
A Pedagogical Grammar of Tboli

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Figure 5. Object focus sentence

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Abbreviations and symbols

DIR
DU
EMPI
EX
FT
ID
IN
INT
LOC
NEG
NF
NP
PL
PRP
PT
QU
SG
SP
ß
·
·
·
()

zero allomorph
morpheme boundary
obligatory
unknown
indicates boundary between comment and topic
semantic/grammatical components
alternate related meanings
encloses implied information as well as words in free translation which facilitate reading
compound gloss or compound vernacular phrase
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General abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>AFS</td>
<td>actor focus sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFS</td>
<td>experiencer focus sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GFS</td>
<td>goal focus sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFS</td>
<td>instrument focus sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFS</td>
<td>object focus sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.e.</td>
<td>that is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lit.</td>
<td>literal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nat.</td>
<td>natural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sec.</td>
<td>section</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

0. Introduction

Tboli is a language spoken by approximately 80,000 people living in the mountains of southwestern Mindanao, Philippines, in the province of South Cotabato.

A pedagogical grammar is a tool for learning. This pedagogical grammar of Tboli has been written to help non-Tboli who would like to learn to speak Tboli. It has been written specifically for those who have had no linguistic training to help them in this most exacting task.

Explanations as to how the grammar of Tboli functions are as brief as possible. But a great many examples have been given so that the learner can actually see how it functions. Memorizing these examples will help develop patterns which can then be used to formulate new sentences. All the examples have been taken from text material authored by Tboli themselves and compiled in a concordance done at the University of Oklahoma Computer Laboratory (1966).

There is a great deal of repetition from one section to another. This has been done deliberately, since repetition is another aid in the learning process.

This work is not intended to be a comprehensive grammar of Tboli. Rather it is meant to be an introduction to the basic areas that need to be learned. From these lessons a serious student can proceed on his/her own to add what yet remains to be learned in order to become a fluent speaker.

These 'bare bones' do not in any way show the beautiful figurative language that Tboli delight in using to express themselves in even the most everyday matters. But it is hoped that once the student has digested these basic facts, then listening with understanding will become possible, and that is the key to learning how things are expressed figuratively.

A great help in compiling this material has been Doris Porter's A Tboli Grammar (1977) which was written with linguists in mind.

1. Spelling and pronunciation

1.1 Alphabet

There are seven vowels in the Tboli alphabet and fifteen consonants.

1.1.1 Vowels

Since Tboli has two more vowels than are symbolized in the English alphabet, it is necessary to mark these two with an acute accent to make the seven distinctions: é and ô.

In the table below, the first column lists the sounds that occur in Tboli written with the special phonetic symbols linguists use. The second column lists the way these sounds are written in Tboli, followed with an example of each sound both in English and Tboli:
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1.1.2 Consonants

The consonants in Tboli are much the same as those in Pilipino or English: b, d, f, g, h, k, l, m, n, ng, s, t, w, y, and the glottal stop, which is written with a grave accent mark (') over the final vowel in a word where it occurs. Otherwise it is not written.

English speakers may have difficulty with the 'ng' sound. It is familiar when it occurs either in the middle of a word or at the end as in the English word ‘singing’. But it is not familiar when it occurs at the beginning of a word, as it often does in Tboli ngâ ‘child’ or nged ‘riddle’.

Glottal stop (') is familiar to English speakers when it occurs at the beginning of words as in 'âche, 'cat’, or in the middle of words as in the exclamation ‘oh?oh’. But it is not familiar when it occurs at the end of a word as it often does in Tboli ma? ‘father’ or gunu? ‘house’.

When the glottal occurs with a word ending either with é orò, the symbol for the glottal (') is simply added to the symbol already there: yê ‘mother’ or yó ‘daughter-in-law (term of address)’.

1.2 Spelling rules

1.2.1 Glottal stop

There are two positions where the glottal stop is predictable, therefore it is not written.

(1) When the word does not begin with another consonant, there is always an initial glottal stop:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tboli</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eted</td>
<td>eted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owong</td>
<td>owong</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) When two vowels occur next to each other within a word, there is always a glottal stop between them:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tboli</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>li?i</td>
<td>lii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se?el</td>
<td>seel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The glottal stop is not predictable when it occurs at the end of a word, therefore it is always written when it occurs in that position:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tboli</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gawi?</td>
<td>gawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nga?</td>
<td>nga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As has already been noted in section 1.1.2, when it occurs with either the ó or the è in word final position, the two accent marks are joined to become the circumflex:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tboli</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>be?</td>
<td>be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sdó?</td>
<td>sdó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2.2 Double consonants at the beginning of words

There are a great many words in Tboli which have two consonants at the beginning of a word. When these words are pronounced, there is a short vowel sound hard between the two consonants which is similar to the sound of the vowel in the English word ‘the’. This sound is written by linguists with the symbol a. Because the sound is so short when it occurs between the two consonants, it is written above the line: btang ‘to fall’ and kfung ‘dust’. This is done to distinguish it from the vowel of normal length of the same sound: lagad ‘industrious’ and nan ‘omen’.
The fact that it is not the same as the regular vowel of the same sound is evident in that it makes no difference to the new reader whether it is written in a word or not. They can read the word just as easily without it being written. As new literates, they often write this short vowel sound since they pronounce it in slow speech. But as they gain fluency in writing, they drop it.

When translating songs where the aim is to have one syllable correspond to one note, there was a very strong negative reaction by Tboli speakers to make this short vowel and a consonant form a syllable, e.g., *Dəwata* 'God' and *damóyón* 'to praise'. The fact that it was soundly rejected as a syllable is further proof that Tboli speakers distinguish it from the other vowel of regular length.

So for consistency in all published materials, the short vowel sound *a* heard between two consonants at the beginning of words is not written:

- *Ptang* written as *btang* 'to fall'
- *lYwata* written as *Dwata* 'God'
- *efung* written as *kfung* 'dust'
- *m2mring* written as *ming* 'to shine'
- *Pboli* written as *Moll* 'Tboli'

### 1.2.3 Prefixes

Tboli has very few prefixes compared to many other Philippine languages. The pattern for all the prefixes is the same: *he-, ke-, se-, ge-, de-, te-, me- and ne-.* Since a prefix is attached directly to the beginning of a root word, it is written with a hyphen to show this: *me- and ne-.*

The vowel in these prefixes is the short *a* described in section 1.2.2. When prefixed to a root word, there are only a few specific instances where the vowel is retained. In all other cases it is dropped, forming words with the preferred pattern of a double consonant at the beginning of the word.

#### 1.2.3.1 The vowel of the prefix is retained

1. When prefixed to a root word beginning with a double consonant pattern:

- **ge-** + *blekel* becomes *geblekel* 'to accidentally go crosswise'
- **he-** + *kfung* becomes *hekfung* 'cause to be dusty'
- **ke-** + *biang* becomes *kebiang* 'falling'

   If the initial consonant is an *h*, it becomes an *f* when prefixed with *he-, me- or se-:

- **he-** + *hyu* becomes *hefyu* 'to (have someone) repair'
- **me-** + *hlayam* becomes *meflayam* 'to be in trouble'
- **se-** + *hlós* becomes *seflós* 'to continue'

2. When prefixed to a single syllable root word whose initial consonant is a glottal stop (which is retained). The two examples given are the only members of this class:

- **me-** + *n' ét* becomes *meét* 'to liquify'
- **me-** + *n' is* becomes *meís* 'to sic a dog (on someone)'

#### 1.2.3.2 The vowel of the prefix is dropped

In all other cases the vowel of the prefix is dropped, forming the preferred pattern of a double consonant at the beginning of a word.

1. When prefixed to words which permit a double consonant pattern:

- **ke-** + *sidek* becomes *ksidek* 'badness'
- **me-** + *ton* becomes *mton* 'to see/find'
- **ne-** + *fét* becomes *nfét* 'to tie up (someone, something)'
- **se-** + *linti* becomes *slinti* 'engaged'
There is a variation in the above pattern when the first syllable of the stem is le-, as the l is always dropped:

- **he-** + lenek becomes henek ‘to cut into small pieces’
- **se-** + lebut becomes sebut ‘to become quiet’

(2) When prefixed to stems of two syllables whose initial consonant is a glottal stop (which is dropped when the prefix is added):

- **se-** + lebut becomes sebut ‘to be angry with each other’

1.2.4 Infixes

In the above list of prefixes (see sec. 1.2.3), there are two that function as focus markers (see sec. 8): me- and ne-. In certain instances these occur as infixes, i.e., instead of being attached to the beginning of the root word, they are inserted into the word itself, hence they are called infixes. An infix is always inserted following the initial consonant of the word. To show that they are inserted within a word, they are written with a double hyphen: -em-, -en-, -m- and -n-.

As with the prefixes, there are certain instances when the vowel of the infix is retained, but there are many more instances when it is dropped.

1.2.4.1 The vowel of the infix is retained

(1) When infixed between double consonants at the beginning of a one-syllable word, the vowel is retained:

- blay + -em- becomes bemlay ‘to give’
- dket + -em- becomes demket ‘to stick’
- hyu + -en- becomes henyu ‘to repair’
- syat + -en- becomes senyat ‘to turn aside’

(2) When infixed into a two-syllable word with le- as the first syllable the vowel is retained, but the first vowel of the word is dropped:

- lebut + -en- becomes lenbut ‘angry’
- lemek + -en- becomes lemnek ‘weak’
- lenaw + -em- becomes lemnaw ‘green’
- lenos + -em- becomes lemnos ‘windy’

1.2.4.2 The vowel of the infix is dropped

(1) When infixed into a two-syllable word with a consonant and vowel pattern in the first syllable:

- kuli + -en- becomes knuli ‘to laugh (at something)’
- wóbóng + -em- becomes tmóbóng ‘to help’

The only variation to this pattern is when the -em- is infixed to a word with the initial consonant b. Because the m and the b are made in the same place in the mouth, the two sounds tend to blend, and the m replaces the b:

- betek + -em- becomes metek ‘to design’ (not bmetek)
- bonok + -em- becomes monok ‘to murder’ (not bmonok)
But the regular pattern is retained with the -en-:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{betck} + \text{-en-} & \rightarrow \text{bnetek} & \text{`to design (something)'} \\
\text{bonok} + \text{-en-} & \rightarrow \text{bnonok} & \text{`to murder (someone)'}
\end{align*}
\]

(2) When infixed into a two-syllable word with a double consonant pattern at the beginning, if the second consonant is an \( l \), it is dropped:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hlowon} + \text{-en-} & \rightarrow \text{hnowon} & \text{`to tease (someone)'} \\
\text{klintang} + \text{-em-} & \rightarrow \text{kmintang} & \text{`to play the klintang instrument'}
\end{align*}
\]

When the first of the two consonants is a \( b \), the same blending of the -em- and \( b \) occurs as described above:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bloik} + \text{-em-} & \rightarrow \text{mlotik} & \text{`to be starry'} & \text{(not bemlotik)} \\
\text{blutut} + \text{-em-} & \rightarrow \text{m/utut} & \text{`to be pregnant'} & \text{(not bemlutut)}
\end{align*}
\]

With the -en-, the \( b \) is retained but the \( l \) is still dropped:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bloik} + \text{-en-} & \rightarrow \text{bnotik} & \text{`for the stars to be many'} & \text{(not benlotik)} \\
\text{blutut} + \text{-en-} & \rightarrow \text{bautut} & \text{`for the stomach to be large'} & \text{(not benlutut)}
\end{align*}
\]

1.3 Pronunciation

1.3.1 Preference for two-syllable words

As can be seen from the above patterns, there is one basic principle which runs throughout the language: Tboli prefer two-syllable words, so they shorten their words to fit this pattern by regularly dropping two things: (1) The short vowel sound which occurs between a double consonant pattern at the beginning of the words and in all the prefixes, and (2) The light sound of the consonant \( l \) (described in the previous section).

1.3.2 Stress

Stress is on the final syllable of the root word, and it does not shift even when a pronoun suffix is attached to the word. A pronoun is never stressed. In the following examples, the stressed syllable is in bold print:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{eted} & & \text{`to deliver (someone or something)'} \\
\text{Etedu yenn ngà.} & \text{I’ll deliver the child.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mung} & & \text{`to go along with (someone or something)'} \\
\text{Mungi do.} & \text{You come along with me.}
\end{align*}
\]

The only exception to this rule are four words which have the \( e \) vowel at the end of the word. In these words, the stress is on the first syllable. The examples given are the only members of this class:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bede} & & \text{`but'} \\
\text{déke} & & \text{`possibly/likely'} \\
\text{ngunte} & & \text{`I don't know'} \\
\text{yake} & & \text{`good if'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[1\] Whenever an \( l \) is the final sound in an utterance, it is often dropped. But if a pronoun or another word follows, the \( l \) can be heard again.
2. Nouns

There are two types of nouns in Tboli, regular and derived. The regular nouns are the root words which have no affix at all. The derived nouns are those formed by adding the prefix ke-/k- to either a verb or an adjective to form a noun.

2.1 Regular nouns

Regular nouns are the unaffixed root words used to name a person, place or thing. They may be either a common noun or a proper noun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gunù 'house'</td>
<td>kem gunù 'houses'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kudà 'horse'</td>
<td>kem kudà 'horses'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>libun 'girl'</td>
<td>kem libun 'girls'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mà Flidu 'father of Flidu (term of address)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutung 'Matutum mountain'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is another class of root words which is not so easily recognized as the above examples. These are words that can function either as a noun or a verb, but are most frequently used as verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ogot 'to hold (something)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ogot 'that which is used to hold (something)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ogotem du yem ogot mbeget. Hold it with that sturdy holder.
β-hold.you,SG it that holder sturdy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ofok 'to chop down (something)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ofok 'that which is used to chop down (something)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ofokem du yem ofok Mà Bong. Chop it down with Big Father's chopper.
β-chop.down.you,SG it that chopper Father Big

2.1.1 Pluralization of common nouns

Some common nouns are understood to be basically singular, others to be basically plural.

2.1.1.1 Singular nouns

To pluralize a singular noun, the word kem is added just before the noun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gunù 'a house'</td>
<td>kem gunù 'houses'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kudà 'a horse'</td>
<td>kem kudà 'horses'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>libun 'a girl'</td>
<td>kem libun 'girls'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.1.2 Collective nouns

Collective nouns are considered to be basically plural, so it is incorrect to use kem with them. Since they can also be used as singular, this type of noun will be noted as being both singular and plural in the dictionary:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>blotik 'star/stars'</td>
<td>golum 'ant/ants'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doun 'leaf/leaves'</td>
<td>soging 'banana/bananas'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.2 Pluralization of personal names

A personal name may be pluralized in order to include those in close association with the individual named. To do so, the third person plural pronoun le 'they' is added before the name (see sec. 4.1.1):
And then Big Mother and her companions went ahead.

There is Mother and the rest of the family.

There is an interesting feature in Tboli when more than one personal name is used as either actor (see sec. 8.2) or experiencer (see sec. 8.1). They do not use ‘and’ to connect the two names as is done in English. Instead the appropriate number and plural pronoun is used just before the name:

lit., We two Kasi are the owners.

nat., Kasi and I are the owners.

lit., Very bad our hunger we two Alun.

nat., Alun and I were really very hungry.

Where is the true boundary between you and Dimas?

If two or more individuals are named, it results in a long noun phrase which they do not like to use in the actor position following the verb. Rather, the plural pronoun le ‘they’ is used in this position, but the specific individuals are named at the end of the sentence with the appropriate number and plural pronoun included before the names:

lit., They picked corn Gadu they two Fludi.

nat., Both Gadu and Fludi picked corn.

lit., Once they came here, Fining, they three Timud, Nga Bun.

nat., Once Fining, Timud and Nga Bun came here.

lit., They went...they two her husband, they three their child.

nat., The woman, her husband and their child went.

2.1.3 Possessives

Possession, ownership or relationship are indicated by either a possessive pronoun or by the relative position of the possessed noun and the possessor.

2.1.3.1 Possessive pronouns

There are two sets of pronouns which are used to show possession, the -u set and the dou set (see Figure 1). The -u set occurs right after the noun it possesses, with the singular pronouns attached to the noun and the plurals written as separate words:

'your house'

gunuem

house,your,sg
When the pronoun from the *dou* set is used as the possessive, it always occurs before the noun it possesses, and its function is to emphasize the ownership by implying a negative contrast with another individual, 'my sister (not his)'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>dou</em></th>
<th><em>libunu</em></th>
<th><em>my sister</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>my</em></td>
<td><em>sister</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When a noun is used as the possessor, it always occurs after the noun being possessed. There is no marker equivalent to the Tagalog *ni* or *ng* before the possessive noun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>gunu</em></th>
<th><em>Mâ</em></th>
<th>'Father’s house'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>house</em></td>
<td><em>(of)Father</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When speaking of one’s own mother or father, the possessive pronoun ‘my’ is implied; it is redundant to include it.

2.1.4 Diminutive

A diminutive is formed by the noun *ngâ* ‘child’ occurring before another noun. It diminishes the meaning of the word it modifies:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>ngâ</em></th>
<th><em>benwu</em></th>
<th>'a little country'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>child</em></td>
<td><em>country</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2 Derived nouns

Derived nouns are verbs or adjectives that have become nouns by adding the prefix ke-lk- to them. There are also certain nouns which occur with this prefix. These derived nouns always occur with a possessive:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{k- + des } & \quad + \quad -u \quad = \quad \text{kdesu} \\
\text{pain} & \quad + \quad -\text{my} \quad = \quad \text{my.painfulness} \\
\text{k- + des mata } & \quad + \quad -hu \quad = \quad \text{kdes matahu} \\
\text{pain eye} & \quad + \quad -\text{my} \quad \text{the.painfulness.of.my.eyes}
\end{align*}
\]

There are two kinds of derived nouns: (1) Those derived from adjectives become abstract nouns, and they express the quality of the adjective from which it is derived. (An English example of an abstract noun is the word 'goodness' which has been derived by adding 'ness' to the adjective 'good'.) (2) Those derived from verbs or nouns become gerunds, which are words that are used as nouns in a sentence, but have the basic meaning of an action. (An English example of a gerund is the word 'going' which has been derived by adding 'ing' to the verb 'go'.)

2.2.1 Abstract nouns

An abstract noun differs from a regular noun in that a regular noun indicates something which can be touched. An abstract noun cannot be touched. Rather it indicates the quality of something or someone. It is formed by adding the ke-lk- prefix to an adjective:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{k- + des } & \quad + \quad -\text{en} \quad = \quad \text{kdesen} \\
\text{painful} & \quad + \quad -\text{his/her/it} \quad = \quad \text{painfulness.it} \\
\text{k- + gel } & \quad + \quad -\text{en} \quad = \quad \text{kgelon} \\
\text{hard} & \quad + \quad -\text{his/her/it} \quad = \quad \text{hardness.it} \\
\text{ke- + hyu } & \quad + \quad -\text{hen} \quad = \quad \text{kehyuhon} \\
\text{good} & \quad + \quad -\text{his/her/it} \quad = \quad \text{goodness.his/her}
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{Deng ton me ne yem kehyuhon.} \quad \text{Already we have seen its goodness.}\]

\[\text{Gel mtón ket ne udi yem kdes matahu.} \quad \text{The painfulness of my eyes is decreasing little by little.}\]

2.2.2 Gerunds

A gerund is formed by adding the ke-lk- prefix to a verb or a noun.

2.2.2.1 Ke-lk- + verb

The gerund functions as a noun in the sentence, but its meaning is always the action of the verb from which it is derived:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{k- + fuk } & \quad + \quad \text{me} \quad = \quad \text{kfuk me} \\
\text{wash.clothes} & \quad \text{our,EX} \quad \text{washing.clothes} & \quad \text{our,EX} \quad \text{our washing clothes}
\end{align*}
\]
In the above examples of gerunds, a derived noun with a possessive pronoun is the subject of the sentence. The literal English translation is not very clear. In a more natural English translation, the possessive pronoun functions as the actor of the sentence, and the derived noun functions as a verb:

lit., Our bathing was for a long time every day.
nat., We bathed/swam for a long time every day.

lit., Our washing clothes wasn't all done.
nat., We didn't get all our clothes washed.

2.2.2.2 Ke-/k- + noun

Deng deng kadu me.
PT PT k-plow our,EX

Tey sidek keknómu du yem khaliu.
INT bad ke-feel.my it that k-wound.my

so that good ke-morning their DIR.LOC -n-ricefield

3. Modifiers

There are two types of modifiers in Tboli, adjectives and adverbs.

3.1 Adjectives

Adjectives are words used to describe a person, place or thing, hence they are often called descriptives. Just as there are two types of nouns in Tboli, so there are two types of adjectives, regular and derived. The regular adjectives are root words which have no affix at all. The derived adjectives are those formed by adding an affix from the me- set to certain root words.
3.1.1 Regular adjectives

Most adjectives in Tboli are unaffixed root words:

- bong ‘big’
- gna ‘before’
- huli ‘after’
- hyu ‘good’
- ket ‘each’
- kini ‘hot’
- lehen ‘skinny’
- lomi ‘new’
- sidek ‘bad’
- són ‘only’
- tahu ‘true’
- tuha ‘old’
- udi ‘little’
- ukol ‘short’
- hut ‘after’
- sidek ‘bad’
- són ‘only’
- tahu ‘true’
- tuha ‘old’
- udi ‘little’
- ukol ‘short’

3.1.2 Derived adjectives

Derived adjectives are root words which have become adjectives by adding an affix from the me- set (me-, m-, -em- and -m-).

3.1.2.1 Me- set affix used with nouns

- m- + abú = mabú ‘fat’
  fatness
- m- + begel = mbegel ‘sturdy’
  support
- m- + gel = mgel ‘difficult/hard’
  hardness
- m- + yak = myak ‘shy/timid’
  shyness
- me- + btes = mebtes ‘expensive’
  measure

3.1.2.2 Me- set affix used with verbs

- me- + bik = mebik ‘quick’
  Ø-get.up
- me- + ktieng = mktieng ‘direct’
  Ø-pull

3.1.2.3 Me- set affix used with adjectives

- -em- + lehen = lemehen ‘slender’
  thin
- -m- + tahá = tmahá ‘oblong’
  tall

Certain adjectives never occur without the m- prefix, i.e., they cannot be separated into m- + ayuk or m- + oni:

- mayuk ‘far’
- moni ‘nearby’

3.1.3 Distribution of adjectives

Adjectives may occur in two basic positions, either following the noun or preceding it.

(1) Those that occur following the noun

The majority of the adjectives are descriptives and occur after the noun they modify:
Those that occur preceding the noun

The following adjectives occur before the noun they modify and function to limit it:

dé  ngà  'many children'
many  child

dumutau  tau  'other people'
other  people

kdë  ngà  'all the children'
all  children

ket  tau  'each person'
each  person

lomi  tau  'young person'
new  person

son  tau  'only person'
only  person

tehe  funen  'previous owner'
previous  owner

Those that occur either before or after the noun

There are a few adjectives that may occur either before or after the noun with no apparent change of meaning:

bong tau/tau bong  'big person'
gna tau/tau gna  'former people/person'
tahu lan/lan tahu  'true path'

There are other adjectives that may occur in both positions, but with a change of meaning:

libun  tuha  'old woman'
female  old  female

logi  tuha  'old man'
male  old  male

libun  tuha  'wife'
old  female

logi  tuha  'husband'
old  male

(term of address)
(term of address)
3.1.4 Number of adjectives used in sequence

Usually only one adjective occurs following a noun, but there are a few cases where two adjectives may occur in sequence:

*libun kogó nubón*  
woman bent.over white.haired

*t au bong kwasa*  
person big rich

A more natural combination is to have one adjective from the class that occurs before the noun used to modify a noun phrase:

*ngó kafal udi*  
child ship little

*sin tau Tboli*  
only person Tboli

*tche benwu gnahen*  
former country before.it

3.1.5 A further function of bong and udi

The two words *bong* 'big' and *udi* 'little' may be used to modify an adjective. The word *bong* is used to increase the meaning of the adjective being modified and occurs preceding it:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bong</th>
<th>hyu</th>
<th>'very good'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>big</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oong</td>
<td>lamang</td>
<td>'a very wide area'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bong</td>
<td>legen</td>
<td>'a very long time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bong</td>
<td>mayuk</td>
<td>'very far'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bong</td>
<td>sidek</td>
<td>'very bad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word *udi* is used to diminish the actual meaning of the adjective being modified and occurs following it:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bong</th>
<th>udi</th>
<th>'a little bit big'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>big</td>
<td>little</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamang</td>
<td>udi</td>
<td>'a little bit wide'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wide</td>
<td>little</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legen</td>
<td>udi</td>
<td>'a little bit long'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long.time</td>
<td>little</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2 Adverbs

Adverbs modify verbs, adjectives and other adverbs. In Tbo li there are a large number of words included in this category. Some indicate tense. Others indicate the duration or frequency of the action. Others express a desire or wish in connection with the action. Still others limit the action or emphasize it or intensify it.

These words can also be divided into two classes, those that occur before the word they modify, and those that occur following it.

3.2.1 Those occurring before the word they modify

The majority of the adverbs modify verbs, and they occur before the verb. Whenever the verb uses a pronoun from the -e set as either actor or experiencer of the sentence, the adverb always attracts the pronoun away from its normal position following the verb:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Biul} & \quad + \quad -e. \\
\text{Pt} & \quad -1 \\
\text{Deng} & \quad + \quad -e & \text{Denge biul.} & \text{I'm already hungry.}
\end{align*}
\]

3.2.1.1 Tense markers

There is a class of adverbs functioning as tense markers which occur before the verb. These also attract the -e set of pronouns functioning as either a focused actor or experiencer:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Angat} & \quad \text{distant future} \\
\text{Deng} & \quad \text{past tense} \\
\text{clos} & \quad \text{action completed} \\
\text{meyon} & \quad \text{near future} \\
\text{tehe} & \quad \text{remote past} \\
\text{tolo} & \quad \text{present continuative}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Klo le inoken.} & \quad \text{They are still eating.} \\
\text{Angat le kini.} & \quad \text{They will be hot.}
\end{align*}
\]

The past tense deng may be used with the appropriate tense markers to add the sense of a time or action completed. When this occurs, the -e set of pronouns used as a focused actor or experiencer is attracted to deng:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Deng deng.} & \quad \text{It's already finished.} \\
\text{Pt $\&$ finish} & \quad \text{It's already almost noon.} \\
\text{Deng meyon guang.} & \quad \text{He/she already left just recently.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Pt $\&$ almost noon} & \quad \text{He/she already left just recently.}
\end{align*}
\]
Deng le  tche  lemWôt.
PT  they previous  -em-leave

They already left long ago.

Deng eles  niten.
PT  in.advance  -n-bring.he

He/she has already in advance brought it along.

3.2.1.2 Time of action

There is another class of adverbs which indicate the time the action took place. These always attract the -u set of pronouns which function as nonfocused actor:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gu laan</td>
<td>'before'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igô</td>
<td>'while'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klawi</td>
<td>'as long as'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kogol</td>
<td>'after'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lel</td>
<td>'at the same time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luk</td>
<td>'besides that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omin</td>
<td>'then'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sónmò</td>
<td>'always'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uni</td>
<td>'immediately'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While I was still eating, I immediately saw (it).

I'm still plowing.

I'm always continually plowing.

3.2.1.3 Duration of action

There is another class of adverbs indicating the duration of the action of the verb. These also attract the -e set of pronouns which function as either a focused actor or experiencer:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bud</td>
<td>'again'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gel</td>
<td>'usually/always'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hanà</td>
<td>'still'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hlun</td>
<td>'temporarily'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kendel</td>
<td>'quickly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sal</td>
<td>'always'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sana</td>
<td>'already'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tendo</td>
<td>'continually'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tôdô</td>
<td>'immediately'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Immediately I ran.

Again I ran.

The adverb gel 'usually/always' can be modified by a wide range of adverbs from all the various classes:

Previously they always did that.

He immediately always becomes quiet it is said.
3.2.1.4 Intensity

There is another commonly used class of adverbs which intensify the verb or adjective they modify (teyali 'very' and hol 'really'):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tey</th>
<th>I'm always very happy.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mLóy</td>
<td>Run fast!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT,you m-run</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mLóy</td>
<td>He ran very fast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT,m-run</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ali</td>
<td>His/her words were very bad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sidek udelen.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT,bad word,his/her</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hol</td>
<td>His/her words are really true.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahu udelen.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT,true word,his/her</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tey is the adverb most widely used to modify verbs, adjectives, other adverbs and even nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tey</th>
<th>I'm always thinking very much about you.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bong.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT,big</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tey</td>
<td>It's very big.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gel hendemu u.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT,always -en-think.I you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tey</td>
<td>It's a very high mountain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulul.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT,mountain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.1.5 Wish or desire

There is another class of adverbs which express a wish or desire in connection with the action. (Tô is the only one that attracts the pronoun actor away from its normal position following the verb.)

| déke | 'likely/probably' |
| dô | 'approximately/about' |
| kô | 'maybe/perhaps' |
| tô | 'would like/about to' |
| yake | 'good if' |

| Tô | I'd like to go down with them. |
| mung kul mosol. | would.like.I m-go.along them downhill |
| Dêke | It's likely he has already arrived here. |
| deng kôl dini. | likely PT,m-arrive here |
| Kô | Perhaps you will get lost. |
| lanahi. | perhaps m-lost.you,SG |
3.2.1.6 Limitation

There is a class of adverbs which modify adjectives. They add a sense of limitation to the adjective being modified:

- olo ‘merely/only’
- malù ‘somewhat’
- olô ‘at least/only’
- tek ‘just/only’

Tek són Yê mögów.
Only just Mother m-go

Malù mgel udi.
somewhat hard little

Olon udi blayem do.
only.it little Ò-give.you,SG me

Malù méléi yem soging.
somewhat yellow that banana

3.2.2 Those occurring after the word they modify

(1) Indicating time

There is another class of adverbs indicating time which occur after the verb:

- eginu ‘DIR,early’
- (of the same day)
- he ‘yet’
- kedeng ‘by and by/later’
- koni ‘just a moment ago/just now’
- nihe ‘now’

Deng me mken koni.
We just now finished eating.

PT we,EX m-food just.now

Kól le kedeng.
They will arrive by and by.

(2) Indicating emphasis

There are three particles used for emphasis, gi, se, and dé. They occur following the word they emphasize, and there seems to be almost no limitation as to what they can emphasize:

Là gi, là kòe mòyo tágak.
NEG EMPH NEG definite.I m-like/want stay.behind

Kamaen se.
waste.it EMPH

Yó dé hyu.
that EMPH good

Not I definitely do not want to stay behind.

What a waste!

That one is good!
4. Noun substitutes: personal pronouns

There are four pronoun sets in Tboli, each set with its own specific functions. The -e set and the ou set function only as substitutes for the noun participants that are in focus in the sentence; the -u set and the dou set function only as substitutes for the noun participants that are not in focus. So the four sets can be divided into two groups, focused and nonfocused pronouns. Figure 1 displays these four pronoun sets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focused Pronouns</th>
<th>Nonfocused Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>-E set</strong></td>
<td><strong>-U set</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-el/-he</td>
<td>-u/hu/-wo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I’</td>
<td>‘I/my/mine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i/-hi</td>
<td>-em/-hem/-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘you,SG’</td>
<td>‘you,SG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘your,SG’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>-en/-hen/-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘he/she/it’</td>
<td>‘he/she/it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘his/her/its’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tekuy</td>
<td>tekuy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘we all,IN’</td>
<td>‘we all,IN’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘our,IN’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘we not you,EX’</td>
<td>‘we not you,EX’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ours not yours,EX’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te</td>
<td>te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘we two,DU’</td>
<td>‘we two,DU’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘our,DU’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘you,PL’</td>
<td>‘you,PL’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘your,PL’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le</td>
<td>le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘they’</td>
<td>‘they/their’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ou set</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dou set</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oulo</td>
<td>dou/do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I/me’</td>
<td>‘me/my/mine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uu/lu</td>
<td>kom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘you,SG’</td>
<td>‘you/your’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘your,SG’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du</td>
<td>kun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘he/she/it’</td>
<td>‘his/her/its’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘him/her/its’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tekuy</td>
<td>tekuy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘we all,IN’</td>
<td>‘us all,IN’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘our,IN’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi</td>
<td>kum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘we not you,EX’</td>
<td>‘us not you,EX’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ours not yours,EX’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lu</td>
<td>kut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘we two,DU’</td>
<td>‘us two,DU’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘our,DU’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye</td>
<td>kuy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘you,PL’</td>
<td>‘you,PL’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘your,PL’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le</td>
<td>kul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘they/them’</td>
<td>‘them/their’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 1. Personal pronouns*
4.1 Focused pronoun sets

4.1.1 The -e set

As can be seen from Figure 1, the singular pronouns from the focused -e set are a single vowel (-e or -i). In writing these, they are attached to the verb itself.

Since 'he/she/it' is indicated by an absence of a pronoun, this is marked with a 0 on the chart and in the glosses. Whenever the negative là occurs with verbs which ordinarily would use this pronoun, the -en from the nonfocused -u set is used instead:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular Pronoun Set</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mken.</td>
<td>mkenen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lâ neg</td>
<td>m-food.he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hnali.</td>
<td>n-food.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lâ neg</td>
<td>n-wound.he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gna. ß-ahead</td>
<td>n-wound.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the singular pronouns -e or -i are attached to a root word ending with a vowel, they become -he or -hi:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular Pronoun Set</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ma</td>
<td>'to get some'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâhe</td>
<td>'I'll get some...'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâhi</td>
<td>'You,SG get some...'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plural pronouns all begin with a consonant, making them seem more like separate words. Since they can be used in more than one position in a sentence (see sec. 2.1.2), all the plural pronouns are written as separate words.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural Pronoun Set</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mken tekuy ne.</td>
<td>Let us all eat now.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.1.1 Focused experiencer or actor

The -e set of focused pronouns functions either as focused experiencer or focused actor. As an experiencer, the pronoun substitutes for the one experiencing the state or condition expressed by the verb. As an actor, it substitutes for the one doing the action of the verb.

As an experiencer, it occurs with stative verbs using an affix from either the me- set or the ne- set, but often it occurs with verbs using no affix at all. As an actor, it occurs only with verbs using an affix from the me- set.

---

3 The functions of pronouns cannot be described without mentioning the focus of the sentence in which they are used. So in this chapter the five types of focus are briefly mentioned, but a full description is given in section 8.
(1) Focused experiencer

Gnahi.
\( \beta \)-ahead,you,SG

You go ahead.

Myak.
\( m \)-embarrass-\( \beta \)

He/she is embarrassed.

Hnalie.
\( -n \)-wound,1

I have cut myself.

(2) Focused actor

Mkeni belè me.
m-food,you,SG PREP us,EX

You eat with us.

Mken tekuy ne.
m-food we,IN now

Let us all eat now.

In a sentence where certain adverbs modify the verb, these adverbs attract the pronoun experiencer or actor to itself from the normal position following the verb:

Dengi gna.
already,you,SG \( \beta \)-ahead

You are already ahead.

Tolo myak.
still-\( \beta \)
\( m \)-embarrass

He is still embarrassed.

Lomihe hnali.
recent,1 \( n \)-wound

I recently cut myself.

4.1.2 The ou set

The ou set may occur in the position before the verb (which implies a contrast with some other person or thing), or it may occur in the position following the actor. In the preverb position it functions as experiencer, actor, goal or object. In the postverb position it functions as either goal or object.

4.1.2.1 Contrasted experiencer in preverb position

As the contrasted experiencer in the preverb position, the ou set of pronouns is used with stative verbs. Stative verbs are often found with no affix at all, or they may use an affix from either the me- set (see sec. 9.3.1) or the ne- set (see sec. 9.3.2):

\[ Uu \text{ huli.} \]
you \( \beta \)-last

You (not someone else) be the one to be last.

\[ Lu \text{ mauì.} \]
they \( m \)-win

They (not someone else) are the ones who won

\[ Du \text{ lenekef.} \]
he -en-to.have.a.cold

He (not someone else) is the one who has a cold.

4.1.2.2 Contrasted actor in preverb position

As the contrasted actor in preverb position, the ou set of pronouns is used with verbs marked with an affix from the me- set indicating an AFS (see sec. 8.2):

\[ Ou \text{ see mìon kóm koni.} \]
1 EMPH m-see you just.now

I'm the one who saw you just now.
Du mit yem snafang.
he m-bring that gun

He's the one who brought the gun.

4.1.2.3 Focused object
As the focused object, the ou set of pronouns function as the one directly involved in the action of the verb. It usually occurs following a nonfocused goal, but if a goal does not occur in the sentence, it follows the actor. It may also occur in the position before the verb.

As a focused object, it occurs with verbs marked with an affix from the ne- set or with those with no affix at all.

(1) Object focus signalled by ne- set affix
Gel nbô Mâ ou.
always n-carry.on.back Father me
Ou se gel nbô Mâ.
I EMPH always n-carry.on.back Father

(2) Object focus with no affix
Tonu uu koni.
0-see I you just.now
Uu se tonu koni.
you EMPH 0-see I just.now

4.1.2.4 Focused goal
As a focused goal, the ou set of pronouns function as the one to whom the action of the verb is directed. It occurs either in the position following the actor or in the preverb position. It always occurs with verbs marked with an affix from the ne- set (see sec. 8.4):

Nkay le u bigu.
n-serve they you winnowing.tray

Uu nkay le bigu.
you n-serve they winnowing.tray

4.2 Nonfocused pronoun sets
The -u set and the dou set are the nonfocused pronoun sets. As can be seen from the chart at the beginning of this chapter, the nonfocused -u set and the focused -e set are very similar. The plural pronouns are identical, written as separate words in both sets. The singular pronouns of the -e set are vowels; the singular pronouns of the -u set all begin with a vowel, so the singular pronouns from both sets are attached directly to the verb when writing them. When the verb ends in a vowel, these singular pronouns from both sets add the consonant h before the vowel of the pronoun. The following are examples of this from the -u set. Note further that when this occurs the pronouns may be abbreviated to a single final consonant:

nawa
nawahu/nawaw
nawahem/nawam
nawahen/nawan

'n'breath'
'my breath'
'your breath'
'his/her breath'
4.2.1 The -u set

The -u set of pronouns function as a nonfocused actor, a nonfocused goal with the preposition bèlè or as a possessive pronoun.

4.2.1.1 Nonfocused actor

As a nonfocused actor, the position of the -u set of pronouns always follow the verb. It occurs with all the verbs used for OFS, GFS or IFS, whether these verbs are marked with an affix from the ne- set or whether they occur with no affix at all.

(1) With an object focus verb

\[\text{Gel } nwitu \ yem kudà lem bulul.\]
always a-bring.I that horse in mountain

\[\text{Eteden } Blinun \ lem bulul.\]
φ-deliver.he Blinun in mountain

(2) With a goal focus verb

\[\text{Yake } benlay \ ye \ o \ bulón huli.\]
good.if -en-give you,PL me month after

(3) With an instrument focus verb

\[\text{Toolem du } niikel \ yem mimetem.\]
φ-string.you,SG it thread that necklace,your,SG

4.2.1.2 Nonfocused goal

The -u set of pronouns is always used with the preposition bèlè when it functions as a nonfocused goal. bèlè has a wide range of meaning. In English it would be expressed by using the prepositions from, with, by, to, at, among, etc. In Tboli it occurs with verbs signalling experiencer focus, actor focus and object focus.

As a nonfocused goal, the preposition and its pronoun usually occur immediately following the experiencer or actor in a sentence, but if these are in preverb position, they occur following the verb.

(1) With an experiencer focus verb

\[\text{Tu } hungeons \ ken \ nù \ bèlèm.}\]
three bundle food φ-to.be PREP,him

\[\text{Slōb \ bèlèu \ bè \ gunuhu \ dmadu.}\]
φ-stop.by-φ PREP,me LOC place.my m-plow

(2) With an actor focus verb

\[\text{Mdōmi } bèlè \ le \ haya.}\]
m-borrow,you,SG PREP them tomorrow

\[\text{Hemyuhi } bèlè \ le \ sfolô.}\]
-em-good,you,SG PREP them ten

\[\text{Laen } dù \ kmahi \ bèlè \ le.}\]
NEG,IT left -m-salt PREP them

I always bring that horse (up) into the mountains.

He delivered Blinun (up) into the mountains.

Good if you give me next month (off).

You string your necklace with thread.

Three bundles of food are with him.

He stopped by me where I was plowing.

Borrow from them tomorrow.

You put ten away for them.

None among them has salt to use.
4.2.1.3 Nonemphasized possessive

The -u set also functions as a nonemphasized possessive following nouns, either regular or derived:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kógówen</td>
<td>'his going'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-go.his</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kudau</td>
<td>'my horse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horse.my</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyak</td>
<td>'their embarrassment'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-embarrassment</td>
<td>their</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silaem</td>
<td>'your corn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corn.your,SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.2 The dou set

The dou set of pronouns functions as a nonfocused goal, a nonfocused object, an emphatic possessive or as a reiteration of an experiencer, an actor or an object at the end of a sentence for emphasis.

4.2.2.1 Nonfocused object

A pronoun from the dou set functions as a nonfocused object with verbs signalling either actor focus or instrument focus. It only occurs in an AFS when the actor is in preverb position.

(1) With an actor focus verb

*Dwata semgyok kuy.*

May God take care of you all.

God -em-care.for you,PL

(2) With an instrument focus verb

*Bulungu* du⁴ yem bulung Ye.

I treated her with Mother's medicine.

β-treat.with.medicine.I her that medicine Mother

A possible reason for not using the pronoun kun is that there is also a particle kun indicating reported speech with which it could be confused. This particle indicates that the speaker is not a witness of the event he is talking about or the originator of the opinion he is expressing, but that he has heard it from someone else and is simply reporting what he heard:

*Lii kün. It is said to be taboo.*

*When kun 'he/she/it' from the dou set is needed, the equivalent pronoun du is used from the focused ou set (see Figure 1).*
It is said that in the previous world, there were eight people.

4.2.2.2 Nonfocused goal

As a nonfocused goal, the dou set of pronouns functions as the one for whom the action is done, the one who will benefit from the action. It occurs with verbs signalling either actor focus or object focus.

The dual form kut 'us two' functions to add an element of politeness to a request.

(1) With an actor focus verb

Hemyahi kut sfoló.
-em-good.you,SG us,DU,(polite) ten
You put ten away for us, please.

(2) With an object focus verb

Henken ye do ni kem ngà.
-en-food you,PL me this PL child
Sfunges ken bloy le kum.
-s-wrapper food give they us,EX
You feed these children for me.

They gave us one wrapped (bundle) of food.

4.2.2.3 Nonfocused object with a negative

A pronoun from the ou set is always used as a focused object in an OFS. But whenever a negative is added to the sentence, a pronoun from the nonfocused dou set replaces the pronoun from the focused ou set:

Hnebelu uu.
-n-look.for.I you,SG
I looked for you.

La hnebelu kóm.
NEG -n-look.for.I you,SG
I didn't look for you.

Nafasu lu.
n-hold.back.I them
I held them back.

La nafasu kul.
NEG n-hold.back.I them
I didn't hold them back.

4.2.2.4 Emphasized experiencer, actor or object

An added emphasis is given to an actor, an experiencer or an object by reiterating it at the end of the sentence with a pronoun from the dou set. Oftentimes the emphasis particle se occurs immediately preceding the pronoun.

(1) With an experiencer focus verb

Tódó biang se kun.
just-EMPH fall him
Nungei le se kul.
n-foolish they EMPH as.for.them
He just fell as for him.

They are foolish as for them.
(3) With an actor focus verb

*Mkene* soging *dou.*

I'm eating a banana as for me.

m-food.I banana me

(3) With an object focus verb

*Là kô henyu le du se kul.*

They certainly did not put it away as for them.

NEG certain -en-good they it EMPH them

*Là kô tulônu du dou.*

I certainly did not tell it as for me.

NEG certain -tell.I it as.for.me

4.2.2.5 Contrasted possessive

The pronoun from the *dou* set always occurs before the noun it possesses, whether it is a regular noun or a derived noun. In this position it implies a negated contrast with another individual for clarification, 'mine (not his)'

*Gel hinum ye kem do onuk.*

Always give my chickens water to drink.

always h-give.a.drink you,PL PL my chicken

*Deng hnagi yu kul kmô.*

I have already studied their doings.

PT h-study.I their k-to.do

4.3 Display of pronoun functions

Figure 2 shows the different functions of the four sets of pronouns in Tboli as described in this section:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun set</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Verb affix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Focused sets</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e</td>
<td>actor</td>
<td>following verb</td>
<td>me-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>experiencer</td>
<td>following verb</td>
<td>me-, ne-, Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ou</td>
<td>actor</td>
<td>before verb</td>
<td>me-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>experiencer</td>
<td>before verb</td>
<td>me-, ne-, Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>object</td>
<td>before verb, or</td>
<td>ne-, Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>goal</td>
<td>following goal*</td>
<td>ne-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>following actor</td>
<td>ne-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-focused sets</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-u</td>
<td>actor</td>
<td>following verb</td>
<td>ne-, Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>goal (with bèlè)</td>
<td>following actor</td>
<td>me-, ne-, Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>possessive</td>
<td>following noun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dou</td>
<td>emphasis:</td>
<td>end of sentence</td>
<td>me-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>actor</td>
<td></td>
<td>me-, ne-, Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>experiencer</td>
<td></td>
<td>ne-, Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>object</td>
<td>following goal*</td>
<td>me-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>following actor</td>
<td>ne-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>goal</td>
<td>following actor</td>
<td>me-, ne-, Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>possessive</td>
<td>before noun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(emphatic)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*If the goal does not occur in the sentence, the object follows the actor.

5. Noun substitutes: demonstrative pronouns

There are three sets of demonstrative pronouns in Tboli, the ni set, the nim set and the dini set. Each set has four demonstratives which indicate relative distance of the items spoken about to the participants in a conversation. The distance may be in terms of space, time or thought.

1. The ni set
   ni  ‘this’
   yó  ‘that (near)’
   tu  ‘that (far)’
   yu  ‘that (very far)’

2. The nim set
   nim/nikem  ‘this/these’
   yemíyó kem  ‘that/those (near)’
   tum/tukem  ‘that/those (far)’
   yumíyu kem  ‘that/those (very far)’

3. The dini set
   dini  ‘here’
   dyó  ‘there (near)’
   diu  ‘there (far)’
   dyu  ‘there (very far)’
‘This’ is close to the speaker, usually closer than to the hearer. ‘That (near)’ is a short distance from the speaker, often nearer to the hearer. ‘That (far)’ is far from both the speaker and hearer. ‘That (very far)’ is even farther from both of them.

A demonstrative plus a noun forms a noun phrase that functions to specify or single out a certain person, thing, place or time already referred to, or it may substitute for it (see sec. 6.2.4).

5.1 The ni set

The ni set of demonstrative pronouns functions as a substitute for a specific participant which is in focus in a sentence. It may also substitute for location or time.

5.1.1 As a substitute for a focused participant in a sentence

As can be seen in the examples that follow, the demonstrative refers to something already mentioned in the immediate situation, something already known to both the speaker and the hearer.

(1) Object

\[
\text{Yó nitem kutil.} \\
\text{that n-bring.you,SG us,DU(polite)}
\]

\[
\text{Ke yó nmoen, hensalà le.} \\
\text{if that n-do,he h-en-sin they}
\]

\[
\text{Deng dsù Må du yó koni.} \\
\text{PT B-offer Father it that just.now}
\]

(2) Comment of nonverbal clause

\[
\text{Ni ngaen.} \\
\text{this child.her}
\]

\[
\text{Yó desen, nolos.} \\
\text{that sickness.its n-to.wither}
\]

\[
\text{Ni se kul bulung btil.} \\
\text{this EMPH their medicine hungry}
\]

5.1.2 As a substitute for a location

When used as a substitute for a location, the ni set usually occurs with the preposition bè functioning as a location marker, but it can occur without it.

(1) With bè

\[
\text{Deng kmoen se silà dndadu bè tu?} \\
\text{PT k-do.it EMPH corn -n-plow LOC there}
\]

\[
\text{Mahil miwöl libun bè yà.} \\
\text{easy m-to.court girl LOC that}
\]

(2) Without bè

\[
\text{Ne yó angat gunuhu uniba kδeng.} \\
\text{And that PT place.my -m-ricefield later}
\]

\[
\text{And that is where I will make a ricefield later.}
\]
5.1.3 As a substitute for a time word

When substituting for a certain time, a *ni* set demonstrative may be used alone, with the preposition *bè*, or with a specific time word.

(1) Used alone

*Deng mukas sotu fedyan le ni ne.*

They are already more than one week now at this time.

*Omin le yô mbut kemlo du.*

And then at that time, they began to weed it.

(2) Used with *bè*

*Ne ke mnóng kwat bè yô, omenen mem du.*

And if the sun shines at that time, then he burns it.

(3) Used with a time word

*Bude mögów ebè Afus kemdaw ni kedeng.*

I'm going to Afus again later today.

*Ne eles tnógó ni ke kifu.*

And cook it tonight ahead of time.

Although time is not one of the focused participants signalled by an affix on the verb, it may occur before the verb if it is necessary to contrast it with some other time for clarification:

*Akad huli tu bude mögów.*

Sunday after next I'm going again.

*Kifu ni kedeng kógów le.*

Later tonight they will be going.

5.1.4 Used with a noun for specificity

To be even more specific about a certain time or place or a certain participant, a *ni* set demonstrative may occur both preceding and following the noun:

*Okóm ni kemdaw ni egini, kem.*

But earlier today we weeded in the ricefield.

*me bè tniba.*

we,EX LOC -n-ricefield

*Ni kmoen ni, sotuкуe fen tebel bè guni.*

At this time I am the only one left in the house.

*Són ni kifu ni, là tnawe.*

It is only this night that I'm not cold.


5.2 The *nim* set

The *nim* set of demonstratives is a very hard worked set of demonstratives. Its function is to refer back to a participant that has already been spoken of in the immediate situation, a participant already known to both speaker and hearer. It occurs with both focused and nonfocused participants, so there is hardly a sentence where a demonstrative from this set is not used.

This set has both a singular and a plural form. When the focused participant is singular, the *nim* form is used, e.g. *nim ngà* ‘this child’. When it is plural, the demonstrative occurs with the plural marker *kem*, e.g. *ni kem ngà* ‘these children’.

5.2.1 The *nim* set used with focused participants

The *nim* set of demonstratives is used to specify a certain person, place or thing functioning as the focused participant of a sentence. It may be a focused actor, goal, object or instrument. It also occurs with the topic of a nonverbal clause.

(1) Actor

`ne mudél nim Mà Bong, monen`

And m-word this Father Big said.he

`okóm kul ni kem iwas, gel mon le`

But them this PL monkey always said they

`Móyó le nà lem bulul yó kem Tbolì`

m-like they Ø-to.be in mountain that PL Tbolì

‘and Big Father (already mentioned) spoke, he said’

‘but as for them the monkeys (already mentioned), they always said’

Tbolì like to live in the mountains.
Father gave an offering (to the spirits) for the big balete (tree) right below (us).

Did you know about my marriage?

Mother caused the medicine to smoke (toward) the child who is sick.

I will medicine you with that medicine I saved.

That distant mountain is very heavily forested.

That house above (us) is already leaning.

It is almost time now (for) their burning/for them to burn (their field).

The perspiration of a horse smells bad.

But when the speaker and the hearer are in a familiar situation, the demonstratives are seldom used with the focused participants. They are considered unnecessary for understanding.

5.2.2 The nim set used with nonfocused participants

The nim set of demonstratives is also used with nouns functioning as nonfocused participants, whether they are actor, object, goal, location or time.

(1) Unfocused actor

The boa constrictor hid its head.
(2) Unfocused object

Lu bemli du yem kuleng bong.

They were the ones to buy the large cooking pot.

(3) Location

sok le kól bè yem gunù

‘when they arrive at that house (already mentioned)’

Kól me bè yem benwu mon le Sarangani.

We arrived at the country they call Sarangani.

(4) Time

Ni se nmò me bè nim bekasøyun ni.

This EMPH n-do we,EX LOC this vacation this

Bè yem halay yo, là deng me mnagi he.

LOC that year that NEG PT we,EX m-study yet

Examples have also been found of the demonstrative occurring before the location marker:

Là mayaken yem bè le Mà Kusin yó.

It’s not far to that (place) of the Father of Kusin (and his family).

Nuket le sila yem bè tehe gunun mdef

They picked corn in that place where the plane used to land.

ówong.

airplane

Dnadu me yem bè tehe gunù Gendulot.

We plowed that area where Gendulot’s house used to be.

5.2.2.1 Used in ‘of’ phrases/genitive phrases

A genitive phrase in English is when two nouns are linked with an ‘of’ as in the phrase ‘field of corn’. But in Tboli there is no such link between the two nouns that form a genitive phrase. These phrases may indicate kinship, possession, or a part-whole relationship.

(1) Kinship

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ngà</th>
<th>Ting</th>
<th>‘child of Ting’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>Ting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| yehen | Mà     | Dina           | ‘wife of the Father of Dina’ |
|--------|--------|----------------|
| spouse | Father | Dina           |

(2) Possession

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gunù</th>
<th>Mà</th>
<th>‘house of (my) Father’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>suè</th>
<th>Tômé</th>
<th>‘knife of (my) Grandfather’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>knife</td>
<td>Grandfather</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(3) Part-whole

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>but</th>
<th>koyu</th>
<th>‘foot of the tree’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kulu</td>
<td>ēl</td>
<td>‘head of the river’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>river</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But in situations that are less familiar, where there is a need to be more specific to be understood, demonstratives of the nim set are used along with the nouns in the genitive phrase:

\[ yem \text{ mà} yem libun \]
\[ \text{that Father that girl} \]

\[ yem gunù yem fun \text{ tniba} \]
\[ \text{that house that owner -n-ricefield} \]

\[ Hensalà yem mà yem libun yem logi. \]
\[ \text{The father of the girl fines the boy.} \]

\[ Bnasahem kem taha yem libun. \]
\[ \text{You give gifts to the parents of the girl.} \]

### 5.2.2.2 Used to introduce a dependent clause functioning as time

\[ yem deng kgefeen be gunù le \]
\[ \text{that PT k-reach.his LOC house their} \]

\[ yem hanà kegenen du datù ekni \]
\[ \text{that still k-length.of.time.his it leader DIR,k-this} \]

\[ yem igò le tolo mken \]
\[ \text{that while they still m-food} \]

### 5.2.3 The nim set used to indicate known information

Once a participant has been introduced, there is a special form of the demonstrative used when the participant is referred to again as known information: nim...ni ‘this one...this’. This form indicating known information is used with focused participants, with location and with time. It is used to keep the elements in the story all properly linked together. An example of this can be seen in the following sentences taken from a story:

\[ Deng bulôn mOyOn ktiba, gel tenngel le \]
\[ \text{PT month almost k-ricefield always -en-look.at they} \]
\[ blotik. \]
\[ \text{star} \]

\[ Nim blotik gel tenngel le ni, sundu yem blotik \]
\[ \text{this star always -en-look.at they this NEG that star} \]
\[ gel ton tekuy kifu. \]
\[ \text{always B-see we,IN night} \]

\[ These certain stars they always look at, it’s not the stars we all always see at night. \]
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Limu kwen le ni kem blotik tmiba ni. There are five of them these stars for making a ricefield.

When the participant being referred to is visible to both the speaker and the hearer or is known to both, this combination nim ni ‘this one’ may be used as a substitute for the participant:

Nim mu nim ni, sok wen hohon le the purpose of this one here, if they there is enemy their

Wen se tau là gemfu du ni kem ni. There are people who don’t finish these things.

5.3 The dini set

The dini set of demonstrative pronouns substitutes for a certain location:

Tey tnow dini. INT-Ø Ø-cold here

Ne diiu gunù me tungó. It was there the place where we slept.

and there place our,EX Ø-sleep

There is directional marker e- used with the dini set of demonstrative pronouns. It indicates a direction towards the place indicated by the demonstrative:

Mógów-i edini. m-go.you,SG DIR,here

Hwitu edyó lukas filak. I’ll send the leftover money there (to you).

h-send.I DIR,there leftover money

This directional marker is used only with the tu ‘far distant’ of the ni set:

Bud me mulék etu bè Maitum. Again we returned there to Maitum.

again we,EX m-return DIR,there LOC Maitum

5.4 Ways of being more specific with demonstratives

Tboli have two ways of adding a further element of specificity to the demonstratives: (1) by repeating the final vowel of the ni set and the dini set, and (2) by using the particles sii and dii with the ni set.

5.4.1 Repeating the final vowel of the demonstrative

The final vowel in either the ni set or the dini set may be repeated, making the demonstrative even more specific:

Tey hulung amadu safi nii. This here steer really knows how to plow.

really know.how -m-plow steer this,SP

Kegenem de diniit? How long will you be staying here at this place?

k-length.of.time.you,SG QU this,SP

Snólóku diiuu kedeng. I’ll ask about it later there at that place.

-n-ask.I there,SP later

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5.4.2 Using sii and dii particles

The sii and dii particles are used with the ni set of demonstratives. Their function is to add a strong degree of specificity or exactness:

Ni  sii yem filak.
this SP that money

Yó  sii.
that SP

Ni  sii kbuten.
This SP k-begin.its

Olohem  hmung  do  tu  dii.
just.you,SG h-accompany me that SP

Yó  dii nemyu,
that SP n-want.I

6. Noun phrases

A noun phrase is a noun plus a particle or a modifier or a combination of these. The particle is the nonfocus particle ke used with personal nouns, the only particle used in the Tboli focus system. The modifier may be a possessive pronoun, an adjective, a demonstrative or a verbal clause.

6.1 Personal nouns with the nonfocus particle ke

A noun phrase is formed whenever the nonfocus particle ke occurs with a personal noun. This particle signals that the personal noun is not the participant in focus in the sentence:

Munge  ke  Wé  Ting  elem  bulul.
m-accompany.I  NF  Friend  Ting  DIR,in  mountain

Hwitem  do  ke  Alun  suk  udiu.
h-send.you,SG me  NF  Alun  knife  little.my

Wen  se  tulónu  ke  Mà.
there.is  EMPH  Ø-tell.I  NF  Father

Fen  mfas  lefò  ke  Lewadin.
ID  m-cut.grass  coconut  NF  Lewadin

6.2 Nouns with a modifier

There are several classes of modifiers that may occur with a noun to form a noun phrase. It may be another noun or pronoun functioning as a possessive or it may be an adjective, a demonstrative or a verbal clause.
6.2.1 Nouns modified by a possessive

A noun phrase is formed whenever a noun is modified by a possessive. The possessive may be either a noun or a pronoun. It may occur after the noun it modifies or before it.

There are two sets of possessive pronouns: the -u set (see sec. 4.2.1) which occurs after the noun and is the most frequently used, and the dou set (see sec. 4.2.2) which occurs before the noun. In this position, there is an implied contrast with someone or something else for clarification:

- Yó kudaen. That's his horse.
- Kun kudà yó. That horse is his (not someone else's).

If a personal name is used as a possessive following the noun, it is unmarked. But if it occurs before the noun, the nonfocus particle ke is used with it:

- Yó kudá Walan. That's Walan's horse.
- Ke Walan yem kudá yó. It's Walan (who owns) that horse (not someone else).

6.2.2 Nouns modified by an adjective

A noun phrase is formed whenever a noun is modified by an adjective. Certain adjectives occur before the noun they modify, others occur after it, and still others may occur either before or after the noun they modify (see sec. 3.1.3).

6.2.2.1 Noun phrase with the adjective preceding the noun

- Ket tau se benlay le tonok. It was to each person they gave land.
- Nuken tehe kimu tóbóngen ke Fining. He was collecting the former property he had used to help Fining.
- Son usoken ne dú tagak. Only the rice grains are now left behind.

6.2.2.2 Noun phrase with the adjective after the noun

- Wen kó bud dumu lan mahi? Is there another easy path?
- Nofok le kem koyu lembang. They chopped down the large trees.

6.2.2.3 Noun phrase where the same adjective may occur either before or after the noun

- Deng lomi hwitu se eginu gma sulatu. I recently sent my first letter.
6.2.2.4 Number of adjectives in a sequence

Usually only one adjective occurs following a noun (see sec. 3.1.4). Two may occur, but this is not common:

- *Wen bew logi kemgis.*
  - There is a strong, male carabao.

A more natural combination is to have one adjective from the class of adjectives that occurs before the noun used to modify a noun phrase:

- *Wen bud dumu lan mahil.*
  - There is another path that is easier.

- *Wen tehe tutul gnahen kun.*
  - According to him, there is a former story from the past.

- *Deng smakad silau bê tehe simbahan gna.*
  - My corn is already tasseled (that was planted where) the former church stood in the past.

6.2.3 Nouns modified by a plural marker

A noun phrase is formed whenever a noun occurs with a plural marker. There are two plural markers in Tboli, *kem* (see sec. 2.1.1) used with common nouns, and *le* (see sec. 2.1.2) used with personal names.

6.2.3.1 Kem used with common nouns

- *Ton me kem kafal bê kilil mohin.*
  - We saw the ships at the edge of the ocean.

- *Nogot me kem kahun me.*
  - We held on to our boxes.

- *Kem kuleng le, gotu nwu le.*
  - Their cooking pots, they brought them all along with them.

- *Tô nêkêt le o kem kudà.*
  - The horses were about to bite me.
6.2.3.2 Le used with personal names

We arrived at (the place of) Grandfather Kóg and his household.

They went there to (the place of) Grandmother and her household.

How is the ricefield of Father and Grandmother?

6.2.4 Nouns modified by a demonstrative

6.2.4.1 With a ni set demonstrative

A noun phrase is formed when a noun occurs with a demonstrative from the ni set (see sec. 5.1). This demonstrative usually occurs following the noun, but it may also occur preceding it:

(1) Following the noun

Mó dóhe bë benwu ni dou.

m-leave.I LOC country this me

Angat metlasik nga kudà ni.

FT me-quick child horse this

I'm leaving this country as for me.

This little colt is going to be a fast (runner).
Hensideken kauhu tai tau.
hen-bad.he k-person.my person that

*Ken te ne ken yó koni.*
Ø-food we,DU now food that just.now

(2) Preceding the noun

Là hbayaden du kóm tum kimu.
NEG h-pay.he it you,SG that possessions

Môyón tifik ne ni udélù ebélùm.
almost stop now this word.my DIR,PREP,you,SG

Ne yó bok gunuhu temngón du yem mò and that book place.I -em-know it that PREP
ktahuhen.
k-true.tr

(3) Both preceding and following the noun for specificity

*Nmò le mambang ni ubi ni.*
n-make they bread this sweet.potato this

*Ni kemdaw ni eginu, kemlo me.*
this -em-day this DIR,early -em-weeding.tool we,EX

*Okón laen dà kimuhen yó kyónen yó.*
but NEG, it left property.his that k-sit.his that

*Són ktonu du tu ngau tu, nbuén only k-see.my him that child.my there n-begin.he
htabag ne.
h-leave.home now

This *ni* set of demonstratives also occurs with the plural marker *kem*, i.e., *ni kem* 'these'. It occurs with or without a *ni* set demonstrative following the noun:

*Get tbó doun le ni kem koyu ni.*
always Ø-drop.off leaf their this PL tree this

*Du gna mung bè yó kem dumu tau.*
he first m-accompany LOC that PL other person

*Yake ródó blay le bè tu kem dumu tau.*
good.if just Ø-give they LOC that PL other person

That person disgraced me.

Let's you and I eat that food now that we just got.

He won't make you pay for that property.

These words of mine to you are about to stop.

And it was from that book I learned the truth.

They will make bread from this sweet potato here.

Earlier today we weeded.

But when he was sitting there, he had no property left.

When I last saw that child of mine, he was already beginning to leave home/stray.

The leaves of these trees always drop off.

He was the first to accompany those other people.

Good if they would just give it to those other people.
6.2.4.2 Nouns with a nim set demonstrative

When it is necessary to refer back specifically to something already introduced in the immediate context, a demonstrative from the nim set is always used preceding the noun, with the equivalent demonstrative from the ni set following the noun, i.e., nim...ni:

*We slept with them that night (already mentioned).*

*I know how to hold/shoot this gun (already mentioned).*

*That wild palm tree (already mentioned) has a liquid, and it's very sweet.*

6.2.5 Nouns modified by a verbal clause

A noun phrase modified by a verbal clause forms another type of noun phrase (indicated in bold print). The verbal clause (underlined in the examples) is a complete statement in itself, with a verb and an actor with or without other participants such as goal, object, location, etc. (Verbal clauses will be considered in sec. 8.)

*I saw the wild fruit lying by the edge of the path.*

*There is Ting's carabao who is strong to work.*

*There are many other women who would like to study.*

*And I remembered that white horse that dragged the bamboo.*

*We arrived at the house the man had told us about earlier.*

*This is the boat you had told us about in your letter.*

*He was collecting the property he had used to help Fininz.*

*I looked at the corn that we had planted.*
7. Nonverbal sentences

Sentences in Tboli may be divided into two types: nonverbal, i.e., those sentences that do not use a regular verb, and verbal, i.e., those sentences that use a regular verb plus participants such as actor, object, goal, etc. Since the nonverbal are easier to learn than the verbal, these will be considered first.

All nonverbal sentences consist of two parts: there is the topic, which is the person or thing being spoken about, and there is the comment, the information given about the topic. The comment is usually new information and occurs first in the sentence.

There are five types of nonverbal sentences in Tboli: existential, descriptive, equational, possession and location.

7.1 Existential

There are words called existentials which indicate the existence or nonexistence of items. In Tboli the existential word is wen 'there is/there exists'. This is considered to be the comment about the topic being spoken about. The topic may be either a noun phrase or a verbal clause. In the examples below, comment and topic will be separated by a \.

1. Existential with a noun

Wen \ desu.  
lit., There is my sickness.  
nat., I'm sick.

Yakem wen \ dumuhu.  
lit., Good if there was my companion  
nat., Good if I had a companion (but I don't).

2. Existential with a noun phrase

Wen \ des yem ngà udi le.  
lit., There is the sickness of their youngest child.  
nat., Their youngest child is sick.

Wen \ yem slungan.  
lit., There is that wooden trunk.  
nat., The wooden trunk is there.

3. Existential with a verbal clause

Wen \ kem tau nù du.  
lit., There are people living in it.  
nat., There are debts he is still carrying.

Wen \ kem bôya ndôen he.  
Wen \ Dwata tmôbông du.  
lit., There is God who will help her.
There is something he is looking for.

There is a medicine they have made.

There is a gong he gave to the child.

There is his chicken that has already laid eggs.

**7.1.1 Negated with **là**

The existential is negated with là. The negative with the existential means 'there is no':

There were no coconuts that we broke open.

There has been no letter from you.

There is nothing Father has had me do.

When the negative laen dù 'there is no/none' is used with the existential, it has the meaning that there is nothing left at all:

There is none left of their unhulled rice.

Their youngest child isn't sick.

I have no companion to talk with.

Wherever the pronoun -en 'he/she/it' is used with wen, it always means 'it', and the existential has the meaning of 'not many/not much':

There isn't much of it.

They do not have much food.

They are not having many people (help them) make a ricefield.
7.1.2 Optional constituents

There are two other participants that may occur with a nonverbal existential: location and time.

(1) With location

Location may be indicated with either the be location marker or a location word. Location always occurs at the end of the sentence:

\[
\text{Wen} \quad \text{dinalang tekuy be yem Udël Dwata.} \\
\text{there is} \quad \text{-n-learn we,IN LOC that Word God}
\]

There is that which we learn from the Word of God.

\[
\text{Wen} \quad \text{sidek du bê yem ilô kdawu.} \\
\text{there is} \quad \text{bad it LOC that sign sun.my}
\]

There is something wrong with my watch.

\[
\text{Wen} \quad \text{desen bê kini.} \\
\text{there is} \quad \text{sickness his LOC hot}
\]

There is his sickness from the heat.

\[
\text{Wen} \quad \text{fol nû talaken.} \\
\text{there is} \quad \text{storehouse ß-to.be middle.its}
\]

There is a storehouse in the middle (of the field).

\[
\text{Wen} \quad \text{dumu kudâ moni.} \\
\text{there is} \quad \text{companion horse nearby}
\]

There is also a location phrase marked by the word gunû ‘place’. But it functions in a much broader sense than is seen in the examples above. It always occurs with the -u set of pronouns functioning as a possessive. The word final glottal stop is dropped when a singular pronoun is attached to the word:

\[
\text{Wen} \quad \text{gunum lala.} \\
\text{there is} \quad \text{place.your ß-disturb}
\]

You are being disturbed.

\[
\text{Wen} \quad \text{gunuhu étel.} \\
\text{there is} \quad \text{place.my ß-lack}
\]

There is a place where I’m lacking.

\[
\text{Wen} \quad \text{gunû le segled.} \\
\text{there is} \quad \text{place their se-claim}
\]

There is something they are both claiming/quarreling over.

(2) With time

Time may be either a time word or a word giving a measure of time. If location and time both occur in a sentence, time follows location. The modifier dô ‘approximately/about’ often occurs with it:

\[
\text{Wen} \quad \text{dô hanû sôl mneged kdau.} \\
\text{there is} \quad \text{about still half-way m-climb.a.hill sun}
\]

It is still about 9 A.M.

\[
\text{Wen} \quad \text{dô shuûn he kun.} \\
\text{there is} \quad \text{about one.month yet him}
\]

There is about one month yet according to him.

\[
\text{Wen} \quad \text{dô mukas limu folô halayan.} \\
\text{there is} \quad \text{about more than five ten year.his}
\]

He is probably more than fifty years old.
There was a person who shot a pig here earlier.

7.2 Descriptive

In a nonverbal descriptive sentence, the comment describes the person or thing being talked about, i.e., the topic. The comment is either an adjective (see sec. 3.1) or a stative verb (see sec. 8.1). The topic may be a noun, a noun substitute or a noun phrase.

(1) Noun as the topic

If a noun is used as the topic, it may be either a regular noun or a derived one:

- **Ali miteg** | **Bé**.  
  INT m-tired  Grandmother

- **Tey mnóng** | **kdaw ni**.  
  INT m-shine  sun now

- **Ali gedlug** | **yem kebli kem ngá**.  
  INT more than enough  that ke-buy PL child

- **Tey hyu** | **kbunguhen**.  
  INT good  k-fruit.its

(2) Noun substitute as the topic

If a noun substitute is used as the topic, it is either from the focused -e set of personal pronouns or from the ni set of demonstratives.

- **Mabu** | -e.  
  m-fat  I

- **Hiögul** | -i.  
  Ø-happy  you,SG

- **Hyu** | yó.  
  Ø-good  that

- **Ali tahá** | **nim ni**.  
  INT Ø-long  this this

(3) Noun phrase as the topic

- **Tehe tey dê** | **dumu nmó me**.  
  former INT many companion work our EX

- **Mahil** | **yem kégorie me**.  
  m-easy  that k-go our EX

- **Deng gou mékéng ne** | **silà le**.  
  PT Ø all m-dry now corn their
Little Mother and her companions are angry.

Tboli really know how to be hospitable.

This water (already mentioned) is very cold.

His words are true.

(4) Topic-comment ordering

When the topic needs to be contrasted with another person or thing for clarification, then the topic occurs before the comment:

It is Grandmother who is really tired.

It is malaria medicine that is so bitter.

I'm the one who is fat.

She is the one that is so tired.

7.2.1 Negated with là

A nonverbal descriptive sentence may be negated by là. This sentence ordinarily takes the focused -e set of pronouns as actor. When the pronoun 'he/she/it' is needed as actor or experiencer, the pronoun -en 'he/she/it' from the nonfocused -u set is used instead:

It's not good.

It's not complete.

The Tboli way of living is not settled.

When a modifier is used before the descriptive word or phrase, the modifier attracts the pronoun actor to itself:

lit., Their clearing for a ricefield is not true yet.

nat., They are not actually clearing for a ricefield yet.
Là holën /hulung./
NEG INT, she /doesn't know how.\

Là holën /likô kun./
NEG INT, she /she's not really afraid as for her.\

Là holën /hyu kegômu du kemdaw ni./
lit., It is not very good how I feel today.
nat., I'm not feeling very good today.\
NEG INT, it /lit., It is not very good how I feel today.

Là dogen /tahâ sulatu ebêleem./
My letter to you is not very long.
NEG INT, it /My letter to you is not very long.\

7.2.2 Optional constituents
There are three optional participants that may occur with a nonverbal descriptive sentence: location, goal and time.

7.2.2.1 Location
Location may be indicated either with the bè location marker or a location word. A demonstrative from the ni set may substitute for a place:

*Tey ali bong kalôn /nim bulôn ni bè klamang*
INT INT big rain this month this LOC k-wide
*Cotabato.*
Cotabato

*Tôdô menek /lem gunù.*
just m-quiet inside house

*Mgel /yem nmò me bè ni koni.*
It was difficult work that we did here just now.
m-difficult that n-do our, EX LOC here just now

7.2.2.2 Goal
Goal is indicated by a pronoun from the -u set occurring with the preposition bèlè. This preposition has a wide area of meaning. In English it would be expressed by to, for, with, among, from, etc.:

*Tilob /ktolok me bèlè le.*
beautiful k-teach our, EX PREP them

*Ali kbyeñ /Seitan bèlèu.*
INT k-settle in Satan PREP, me

*Tey hyu /nawa le ebêle me.*
Their attitude towards us was very good.
INT good breath their DIR, PREP us, EX

7.2.2.3 Time
Time may be a time word, a word giving a measure of time or a demonstrative from the ni set substituting for time:
Our going was easy early yesterday afternoon.

The little colt is already very big at this time.

We really studied last night.

7.3 Equational

In a nonverbal equational sentence, the comment and the topic refer to the same thing, i.e., they 'equate' one another. Since they are in balance, a noun phrase may be used as either the topic or the comment, with or without a demonstrative from the ni set or the nim set. The ni set demonstrative may also occur alone:

Mà Imi | boluyen.
Father Imi name his

Sónen | ni.
only it this

Yó | bunguhen.
that fruit its

Yó se | botong kəd yem bulungen.
that EMPH extent k-effective that medicine his

Són gel, kumù me | yem sakù halay.
only always blanket our, EX that sack rice

Són udeì ie | nuhul.
only word their whistle

Boluy nim nmoen ni | bulung bolos.
name this n-work his this medicine fox

Yem dou nit | yem sowu.
that my n-bring that python

Ne yò des yem tau, | bokong.
and that sickness that person deaf
(1) Time as comment

A time word may occur as comment along with a derived noun functioning as topic:

- **Ekimel** \( \mid kkólen. \)
  - **DIR\_early.\_afternoon** k-arrive.his
  - **His arrival was early yesterday afternoon.**

- **Legen udi** \( \mid yem tendo kni Mà. \)
  - **long\_time little** that continue k-pray Father
  - **Father’s continual praying went on for quite a long time.**

- **Kifu** \( \mid kebeng le. \)
  - **night** k-bury their
  - **It was at night their burying him.**

### 7.3.1 Topic-comment ordering

If it is necessary to contrast the noun used as topic with another noun for clarification, the topic would then occur before the comment:

- **Yem tuha libun yó, \( \mid Yè Genew. \)**
  - **that old woman that Mother Genew**
  - **That old woman is the Mother of Genew.**

- **Ou \( \mid gna tau. \)**
  - **I first person**
  - **I am the first person.**

- **Du se \( \mid yem ngà ali bong tóbôngem du. \)**
  - **she EMPH that child INT big \( \β\)-help.you,SG her**
  - **She is the child you helped a great deal.**

### 7.3.2 Negated with sundu/sindu

The nonverbal equational sentence may be negated by sundu/sindu ‘it’s not’. The pronoun *du* ‘it’ always occurs along with *sundu* following whatever is being negated:

- **Sundu Mà Imi du \( \mid boluyen. \)**
  - **NEG Father Imi it name.his**
  - **His name is not Father of Imi.**

- **Sundu Yè Genew du \( \mid yem tuha libun yó. \)**
  - **NEG Mother Genew it that old woman that**
  - **That old woman is not Mother of Genew.**

- **Sundu yó du \( \mid bunguhen. \)**
  - **NEG that it fruit.its**
  - **That is not its fruit.**

- **Sundu sowu du \( \mid yem dou nit. \)**
  - **NEG python it that my n-bring**
  - **It was not the python that I brought.**

- **Sundu bulung bolos du \( \mid yem nmoen yó. \)**
  - **NEG medicine fox it that n-do.he there**
  - **It is not medicine for a fox that he is making there.**

### 7.4 Possession

In the nonverbal sentences indicating possession, the comment is the possessor and the topic is the possessed item. The comment may be either a noun or a pronoun. If the comment is a noun, it is marked by the nonfocus particle *ke*. If it is a pronoun, it is a nonfocused pronoun from the *dou* set functioning as a possessive.
The topic may be either a noun phrase or a demonstrative from the ni set substituting for it:

**Ke Ting** | sewel yó.  
NF Ting trousers that

Those trousers belong to Ting.

**Ke Abing** | funen ke wen soging huluhen.  
NF Abing owner if there is bananas he plants.

Abing is the owner if there are bananas he plants.

**Kun** | yem kumù Tbolí yó.  
his that blanket Tbolí that

It's his that Tbolí blanket there.

**Dou** | ni.  
mine this

This is mine.

There is a preposition mò ‘for’ which functions as indicating purpose. It may occur before the noun or pronoun used as possessor to indicate potential ownership:

**Mò ke Ting** | sewel yó.  
PREP NF Ting trousers that

Those trousers are for Ting.

**Mò yem nga wen desen | nim bulung**  
PREP that child there is sickness her this medicine

This medicine (already mentioned) is for the child who is sick.

**Mò kom | yem lieg yó.**  
PREP you,SG that necklace that

That necklace (already mentioned) is for you.

### 7.4.1 Topic-comment ordering

If it is necessary to contrast the noun used as topic with another noun for clarification, the topic may occur before the comment:

**Yem bew laga | mò ke Kasi.**  
that carabao male PREP NF Kasi

It's the male carabao that is for Kasi.

**Yem lieg ni | ke Yè Bong.**  
that necklace this NF Mother Big

This is the necklace for Big Mother.

**Tey sidek khowen | ke Umék kun.**  
INT bad k-cough her NF Umek her

It is a very bad cough that Umek has as for her.

**Sòn yem | ke Alun klot.**  
only that NF Alun tight

It is only the one for Alun that is tight.

### 7.4.2 Negated with là

A nonverbal sentence indicating possession may be negated by là. The negative requires that the pronoun du ‘he/she/it’ occurs after the possessor:

**Là ke Ting du | yem sewel yó.**  
NEG NF Ting it that trousers that

That pair of trousers (already mentioned) is not for Ting.
This necklace (already mentioned) is not mine.

That male carabao is not for Kasi.

7.5 Location

In a nonverbal sentence indicating location, the comment is either the place of the action or the person/place toward which the action is directed. It may be the specific name of a person or place occurring with the location particle bè, a noun phrase with or without one of the location words (see sec. 10.2.2) or a noun substitute.

The topic is always marked by the word gunu ‘place’. Only two classes of verbs are used following gunu: a stative verb signalling an EFS (see sec. 8.1) or a verb with the me- affix signalling actor focus (see sec. 8.2).

The word gunu ‘place’ always occurs with a possessive, either a noun or a pronoun. It can also occur with a pronoun from the -u set. If the singular pronoun is used, the word final glottal is dropped since the pronoun is attached to the word.

(1) Noun as location

Bè Ting | gunuhen mit du.
LOC Ting place.his m-bring it

Bè Bongu | gunu le sion ekimel.
LOC Bongu place their s-see DIR, early afternoon

It was at Bongu where they saw each other early yesterday afternoon.

(2) Noun phrase as location

Bè gunu Mâ | gunu Kasi mton ke Gadu.
LOC house Father place Kasi m-saw NF Gadu

It was at Father’s house where Kasi saw Gadu.

Lem kahun | gunuhen nì.
inside box place.its ë-to.be

It’s inside the box.

Ta ofi | sotu gunu le uméwéng du.
above fire one place their -m-hang it

One place they hang it is above the fire.

Tey dë tindà | gunun emit do.
INT many store place.his DIR, m-bring me

He brought me to very many stores.

Tlu benwu | gunun emógów sok wen
three country place.his DIR, m-go when there.is

There are three countries where a Tboli may go when he dies.

(3) Personal pronoun as a substitute for location

If a personal pronoun substitutes for the person functioning as location, either a pronoun from the nonfocused -u set occurs with the preposition bèle or a pronoun from the focused ou set occurs as the comment:
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Du ne | gunuhu mni. He's now the one to whom I pray.
he now place.my m-ask

Bel& | gunuhen emeted du. She delivered it to me.
PREP,me place.her DIR,deliver it

(4) Demonstrative pronoun as a substitute for location
If a demonstrative pronoun substitutes for the location, a demonstrative from the ni set is used with or without the location marker be:

Yó sotu but | gunù le éél bê Tbol. That's one reason why Tbol are needy.
that one beginning place their lack LOC Tbol

Ni se | gunù me nù. This is where we live.
This EMPH place our,EX B-to.be

Ne yó | angat gunuhu tmiba kedeng. And there is where I will make a ricefield later on.
and there FT place.my -m-ricefield later

Bè yó | gunù le temngón du ke That is their way to know whether it will rain or whether the sun will shine.
LOC that place bold their -em-know it . if
angat kmulón dun mnong kdaw.
FT -m-rain or m-shine sun

7.5.1 Negated by laen dû
A nonverbal sentence indicating location is negated by laen dû 'there is no/none':

Laen dû | gunù me hemwit du. There is no one with whom we can send it.
NEG,it left place.our,EX h-em-send it

Laen dû | gunù me mton du dini yem lan yó. There is no place here where we can see that path (already mentioned).
NEG,lt left place.our,EX m-see it here that path there

Laen dû | gunuhen egefet hendemu. I'm not able to reach any decision.
NEG,lt left place.its DIR,reach -en-thought.my

Laen dû | gunuhu mung. There is no one with whom I can go.
NEG,lt left place.my m-go.along

Laen dû | gunuw lungun nawa. There is nothing that I'm worried about.
NEG,lt left place.my worry breath

7.5.2 Optional constituents
Time may occur in a nonverbal sentence indicating location. It always occurs at the end of the sentence:

Bè lemisas | gunù Tunyu hem sû du eginu. It was on the table where Tunyu put it earlier.
LOC table place Tunyu hem-put it DIR,early
8. Verbal sentences: focus system

There is a certain distinctive feature of Philippine languages that English does not have, and this feature is the main reason for the difficulty English speakers have in learning to speak a Philippine language correctly. It is called the 'focus system', the system which shows the relationship between the verb and the other participants in the sentence.

In most Philippine languages the participants may be a person, thing, place or time; it may be a single word or a phrase. For example, in the English sentence ‘Yesterday the father gave his son a gong’, the words ‘yesterday, father, son’ and ‘gong’ are the participants in the action of giving. In most Philippine languages, this relationship between the verb and the participants is a grammatical one signalled by a particle which indicates which participant in the sentence is in focus, i.e., which participant is the most prominent in the sentence. The affix on the verb designates the role (actor, object, etc.) the focused participant plays in the sentence.

Tboli does not have these focus marking particles, so the focus system is signalled mainly by the affix used on the verb. What further complicates learning the system in Tboli, however, is that many of the verbs are used without an affix. The unaffixed verbs and the participants not marked by any particle results in problems for anyone trying to learn Tboli until a very important fact is realized: word order in Tboli is fixed. So it may be said that the participants in a Tboli sentence are marked, not by overt particles, but by word order. This order is verb, actor, object. If a goal is added, the fixed order is verb, actor, goal and object. If an instrument is added, the fixed order is verb, actor, object and instrument. Location and time may occur at the end of any of the sentences.

There are five sentence types in Tboli based on the five different participants which can be signalled by the verb as being in focus: experiencer focus, actor focus, object focus, goal focus and instrument focus. These five may be divided into two groups based on their strong similarities: EFS and ABS make up one group; object, goal and instrument make up the second. Of these five sentence types, the actor focus and the object focus are by far the most frequently used.

The focused participant may be shifted to the position immediately preceding the verb. So a test to determine whether or not a certain participant is in focus is to see if it can occur in this preverb position. If it can without changing anything else in the sentence, it is the focused participant. If it cannot, it is not:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Blay le do sotu kudà.} & \quad \text{They gave me one horse.} \\
\beta\text{-give they me one horse} & \\
\text{Sotu kudà blay le do.} & \quad \text{It was one horse they gave me.} \\
\text{one horse } \beta\text{-give they me} &
\end{align*}
\]

There can be only one participant in focus in the sentence. Time and place are also participants in a sentence, but in Tboli these are never signalled by an affix on the verb.

Throughout this material, the term 'sentence' is used to mean simply a verb plus one or more of the basic participants: actor, object, goal or instrument.

8.1 Experiencer focus sentence (EFS)

The experiencer in Tboli is the one who experiences a certain state or condition. It always occurs immediately following the verb. The verb used in an EFS is a stative verb, describing the state or condition of the experiencer. In Tboli there is a wider range of words used as statives than is found in English. Verbs like 'sleep, bathe, lie down, rest, slip, fall', etc. are all included in this class.
Most of the stative verbs in a sentence where the experiencer is in focus will either have an affix from the ne- set (ne-, n-, -en- and -n-) or no affix at all. Only a few verbs will use an affix from the me- set (me-, m-, -em- and -m-). The affix signals that the role of the focused participant is experiencer. Examples of stative verbs plus the affixes used with them are given in the examples below:

- **Myake.**
  - m-embarrass.I
  - I'm embarrassed.

- **Ningete.**
  - n-percpire.I
  - I'm perspiring.

- **Denge bennget.**
  - FT.I -en-beard
  - I have already let my beard grow.

- **Hnisa.**
  - -n-boil-Ø
  - He has a boil.

- **Kinii**
  - Ø-hot.you,sg
  - You are hot.

The only participant that is essential in an EFS is the experiencer, but goal, location and time may also occur.

### 8.1.1 Grammatical forms of experiencer

The experiencer may be a noun, a noun phrase or a pronoun.

1. **Noun as experiencer**
   
   A noun functioning as an experiencer may be either a common noun or a proper noun. It occurs immediately following the verb, as illustrated in the following examples:

   - **Deng matû Mantil.**
     - PT m-win Mantil
     - Mantil won.

   - **Tungô Ngà Bun.**
     - Ø-sleep Ngà Bun
     - Ngà Bun is sleeping.

   - **Dmunuk él.**
     - -m-flood river
     - The river is flooded.

   - **Tôdô sut kulôn.**
     - immediate Ø-arrive rain
     - The rain came immediately.

   - **Tey ninget kwangu.**
     - INT n-perspire back.my
     - My back is really perspiring.

   - **Msut tlangas.**
     - m-arrive grasshopper
     - The grasshoppers arrived.

2. **Noun phrase as experiencer**
   
   All four types of noun phrases (see sec. 6) may occur as an experiencer: (1) noun + possessive; (2) noun + plural markers; (3) noun + adjective; (4) noun + demonstrative:
My other coconuts have already arrived there.

Ting and his companions stayed behind.

The little boat is by the shore (of the lake).

This dog (already mentioned) is badly wounded.

That horse of my brother-in-law is really perspiring.

In a longer sentence when other participants are involved, the noun phrase realizing the experiencer always occurs at the end of the sentence. However, a pronoun representing it occurs in the regular position for experiencer, which is following the verb:

The children are lying on the floor.

The men who are to plow have arrived to us.

These children are hungry.

The people who plant rice are happy.

(3) Pronoun as experiencer

Normally verbs with an affix from the ne- set or verbs with no affix at all use a pronoun from the nonfocused -u set for an actor. But with an EFS, the pronoun used for the experiencer is from the focused -e set. The use of this focused pronoun set for experiencer is the feature that distinguishes stative verbs from other verbs with the same affixation:

(a) Stative verbs

Ningete.

n-perspire,J

Tungói ne.

 sø-sleep.you,SG now

(b) Nonstative verbs

Nwitem twolihem.

n-bring.you,SG younger.sibling.your,SG

You bring your younger sibling with you.
Tonu lu koni.  
β-see.I them just.now

I saw them just now.

There are several classes of adverbs occurring before the stative verb (see sec. 3.2.1) that always attract the -e set of pronouns used as experiencer:

Gošu le likò kem dumu tau. 
all they β-afraid PL companion person

All the other people were afraid.

Elese tòdò tungò dìtu kedeng.  
beforehand.I just β-sleep there by.and.by

I'll just plan ahead of time to sleep there.

Deng le kòl yò kem lebeng.  
PT they β-arrive that PL β-bury

Those who buried (him) have already arrived.

There is another class of adverbs occurring before the verb (see sec. 3.2.1) which also attract the experiencer pronoun to themselves, but with these adverbs, the focused -e set is replaced with the nonfocused -u set:

Sónmoen hligal dmójón ke Dwata.  
always.he β-happy -m-praise NF God

He is always happy to praise God.

Tey lelu lehen.  
INT still.I β-thin

I'm still very thin.

There are certain sentence conjunctions which do the same, attracting the pronoun experiencer, then changing it from the focused -e set to the nonfocused -u set:

Igò me sem bùil, igò me  
while we,EX EMPH β-hungry while we,EX

tòdò heflóng.  
just hurry

While we were so hungry, at the same time we just hurried.

When we woke up at that place, then we again started out.
(4) Position of experiencer for contrast

Whenever an implied contrast with another person or thing is needed for clarification, the experiencer is shifted from its normal position following the verb to the position immediately preceding the verb. In this position the pronoun used as experiencer is from the focused ou se. The emphasis particle se may or may not occur following the experiencer:

*Mantil se maul.*  
*Mantil EMPH m-win*

*biang koni.*  
EMPH β-fall just.now

*Du tolo tungō.*  
he/she/it still β-sleep

*Mantil was the one who won.*

*Mantil* was the one who won.

(5) Position of experiencer for emphasis

Emphasis may be given to the experiencer used in its regular position following the verb by reiterating it at the end of the sentence. This is done by using either a pronoun from the nonfocused dou set or by using a proper name. The emphasis particle se may or may not occur just before the reiterated experiencer:

*Mabu se kun.*  
m-fat-β EMPH him

*I'm the one who fell just now.*

Tnawe dou.  
β-cold.I me

*He/she/it is the one still sleeping.*

Leheni se kém.  
β-thin.you EMPH you

*You are thin as for you.*

Because the reiteration is a nonfocused function, the nonfocus particle ke always occurs with the proper name:

*Fen gna ebē gunū ke Lewadin.*  
ID β-ahead DIR,LOC house NF Lewadin

*As for Lewadin, he was the first one to the house.*

*Dalang se ke Alun, likō.*  
same EMPH NF Alun β-afraid-β

*It was the same with Alun, he was afraid.*

When a plural experiencer is emphasized, and it is necessary to clarify the ones being spoken about by naming the individual, the plural particle le occurs with the person's name following the nonfocused pronoun used for an emphazizer. In the following example the pronoun kul 'them' for emphasis is repeated twice:

*Hlos le kul le Alun kul.*  
β-proceed they them PL Alun them

*Alun and the others proceeded as for them.*

8.1.2 Participants that are optional

There are three participants in an EFS that are optional as nonfocused participants: goal, location and time.
(1) Nonfocused goal

The goal is the one to whom the action is directed. It always occurs immediately following the experiencer in a sentence. It may be either a personal noun or a pronoun. If a personal noun occurs as goal, the location particle be always occurs with it:

Kôle be Mạ.  I arrived at/to (the place of) Father.

Gefet me be Libun Bong.  We reached at/to (the place of) Big Woman.

Tungọ be Mrs. Bargas.  I slept at (the place of) Mrs. Bargas.

Nù me be Yẹ Bong.  We live at (the place of) Big Woman.

Sidek be Dwata yo.  And Friend Walan visited me.

If a pronoun occurs as goal, it is a pronoun from the -u set, and it always occurs with the preposition béle. This preposition has a wide area of meaning. In English it would be expressed by 'to, for, with, among, from', etc.:

Tungọ le béle me.  They slept with us/at our house.

Ne lawa béle Wẹ Walan.  Friend Walan visited me.

Slob béle be guunu mken  He stopped by to (see) me at the place where I was eating young coconut.

agü.

young.coconut

Baling lli béleén yem suk yó.  That knife (already mentioned) becomes taboo for him.

(2) Location (see sec. 10)

(3) Time (see sec. 11)

8.1.3 Display of an experiencer focus sentence

The display of an EFS (Figure 3) summarizes the relative position of the participants and their functions. The focused experiencer is the only obligatory participant. It must occur either following the verb or preceding it. It is optional whether or not it is reiterated at the end of the sentence for emphasis. Goal, location and time are optional participants.
Verb Affixation ne-, ŋ, me-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Experiencer (contrast)</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>+ Experiencer</th>
<th>+/- Goal</th>
<th>+/- Location, Time</th>
<th>+/- Experiencer (emphasis)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>e</td>
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<td>bè</td>
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<td>ke</td>
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<td>-e</td>
<td>bèlé + -u</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>dou</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3. Experiencer focus sentence

Ø = unmarked
- = does not occur
* = if not in experiencer position following verb
* = obligatory

8.2 Actor focus sentence (AFS)

The actor in Tboli is the one doing the action. A sentence where the actor is in focus will always have a verb with an affix from the me-set, either me-, m-, -em- or -in-.

An AFS and an EFS are almost identical as far as participants in a sentence are concerned. The only difference between the two is that in an AFS a nonfocused object may occur. It cannot in an EFS.

An experiencer and an actor are identical except that they have different functions. Whereas the experiencer is the one who experiences whatever is expressed in the stative verb, the actor is the one doing the action expressed in a nonstative verb. Just as the -e set of pronouns is used for experiencer, so it is used for actor. Just as the pronoun experiencer is attracted to certain modifiers in preverb position, so it is with the pronoun actor. As the experiencer can be placed before the verb for contrast or at the end of the sentence for emphasis, so it is with the actor. Just as the goal is an optional participant in EFS, so it is in AFS. There is only one new participant to be learned in an AFS, that is the optional nonfocused object.

Examples of the verb affixation which indicate that the focused participant is an actor are given below:

Mken Linda.
M-food Linda

Bemlihe sedinas.
-em-buy.1 sardines

Ne tmiba Mà.
and -m-ricefield Father

And Father made a ricefield.

8.2.1 Grammatical forms of actor

The actor may be a noun, a noun phrase or a pronoun.

(1) Noun as actor

A noun functioning as actor may be either a person or an indefinite thing. It is unmarked, but its position following the verb determines its role:

Deng myehen Alun.
PT m-spouse Alun

Alun has already married.

Tey mbak ohu.
INT m-bark dog

Some dog is really barking.
Deng gotu matay silau. All my corn has died.
PT all m-die corn.my

(2) Noun phrase as actor

A noun phrase functioning as an actor is identical to a noun phrase functioning as an
experiencer. It may be a noun with a possessive, a plural marker, a descriptive or a demonstra-
tive.

(a) With the plural markers kem and le

*Mensag kem logi.
* m-shout PL male

Thé men shouted.

*Mnagi kem dumuhu.
* m-study PL companion.my

My companions are studying.

*Mken le Yë Udi.
* m-food PL Mother Little

Little Mother and her companions are
eating.

(b) With a demonstrative from the nim set

*Botong mkik nim yehenu.
* to.the.extent m-cry this spouse.my

My wife felt so badly she cried.

*Tey mbak yem ohu Min.
* INT m-bark that dog Min

Min’s dog really barks.

(c) With a descriptive phrase

*Bud mnagi Fög Udi.
* again m-study Brother.in.law Little

Little Brother-in-law is studying again.

*Ne mbel tey lenos bong.
* and m-come.up INT wind big

And a very strong wind came up.

The noun phrase as actor always occurs at the end of an AFS whenever either an ob-
ject or a goal are included. At the same time a pronoun representing the actor also oc-
curs in the regular position for actor following the verb:

*Smakay le ówong yó kem ngà.
* -m-ride they airplane that PL child

The children rode in the airplane.

*Ma le koyu kem dumu.
* m-fetch they wood PL companion

The others are fetching wood.

(3) Pronoun as actor

When the actor is represented by a pronoun, the focused -e set is used, and it occurs in the
regular actor position following the verb:

---

5 The only exception to this rule is the word mon ‘said’. It always takes the nonfocused -u set of pronouns for an actor.
They walked.

I'm looking for one can of unhulled rice.

We are going to Hlilan.

And I said to Alun,

And he said to me,

There are several classes of adverbs occurring before the verb that always attract the -e set of pronouns used as actor (see sec. 3.2.1):

- Deng le ma koyu kem dunu. (They already fetched some wood.)
- Little Mother and her companions are still eating.
- Tboli are almost ready to harvest.
- I would like to plow (in the area) down below.

There are other classes of adverbs occurring before the verb which also attract the actor pronoun, but with these modifiers, the focused -e set pronoun is replaced with the non-focused -u set:

- That big person was always looking at me.
- Bang only teased us.
- He kept on writing on the typewriter.
- He repeatedly kept peeling the scab off his sore.
- If he weeds only once, they do not pay him.

There are certain sentence conjunctions which do the same, attracting the pronoun actor, then changing it from the focused -e set to the nonfocused -u set:
Then I followed the river called Kling.

Then they fed us.

While I was still eating young coconut, I immediately saw (him) coming from below.

As soon as he left, immediately he saw it.

(4) Position of actor for contrast

As in EPS, whenever a contrast is needed with another person or thing for clarification, the actor is shifted from its normal position following the verb to the position immediately preceding the verb. In this position the pronoun used as actor is from the focused ou set. The emphasis particle se may or may not occur following the actor:

They were the ones who walked.

God is the one to take care of all of you there.

Yadan is the one again taking his turn to take care of Dove.

(5) Position of actor for emphasis

The actor, like the experiencer, is often emphasized by reiterating it at the end of a sentence. This is done by using either a pronoun from the nonfocused dou set or by using a proper name with the nonfocus particle ke. The emphasis particle se may or may not occur just before the pronoun:

I'm going along as for me.

Linda is going along as for her.

He deceived Ibid as for him.

As for Lewadin, he cut grass (under) the coconut (palms).

As for Grandfather, he is still strong to make a ricefield.
8.2.2 Participants that are optional

There are four other participants that may occur in an AFS as nonfocused participants: object, goal, location and time.

8.2.2.1 Nonfocused object

An object may be either a person or thing directly involved in the action of the verb, very often something is done to it. It always occurs immediately following the actor except when a goal is included in the sentence. Then the goal takes the position following the actor, and the object follows the goal. The object may be a noun, a noun phrase or a pronoun.

(1) Noun as nonfocused object

A noun functioning as an object may be either a person or an indefinite noun. If the object is a person, the nonfocus particle ke occurs before the person's name:

Ne omin le tmudà ke Was. And then they threw Monkey out.
and then they -m-throw NF Monkey

Ou tmóbòng ke Mâ haya. I'll be the one to help Father tomorrow.
I -m-help NF Father tomorrow

If the noun is a thing, only an indefinite noun is used, and it always implies that only a part of the whole of whatever is named is intended. It is unmarked, but its role is determined by its position in the sentence:6

Mangayi kut ël. Please fetch some water for us.
m-fetch.you us.two(polite) water

Bemli le kemnaw bè fedyan. They bought some vegetables in the market.
-em-buy they vegetable LOC market

Deng le ma koyu kem dumu. The others fetched some wood.
-pst they m-get tree PL companion

(2) Noun phrase as nonfocused object

(a) With the plural marker kem

Môyxo tmóbòng kem dumω. I want to help my companions.
m-want.I -m-help PL companion.my

Ou gel mtem yó kem klitas I am the one to burn all the paper she always wastes.
I always m-burn that PL paper
gel namaen.
always n-waste.she

(b) With a demonstrative from the nim set

Tôdô me sbalu semgyok yem safi. We just take turns taking care of the steer.
just we,EX Ø-take.turns -em-care.for that steer

---

6 In the following three examples, if a verb from the OFS is used with an affix from the ne- set, it means they will get all the water in the spring, all the vegetables in the market and all the wood in the forest, not just some of it.
Omin le men yem gunù.
then they m-burn that house
And then they burn the house.

(c) With a descriptive phrase
Mulu le sfu soging.
m-plant they shoot banana
They planted shoots of the banana.

Ominen milot sudengen labi.
then he m-draw out sword his very old
Then he drew out his very old sword.

(d) Reiteration of a specific object with du 'he/she/it'.
Whenever the actor occurs before the verb in the contrast position, a specific object marked with a demonstrative from the nim set is reiterated by using the pronoun du 'he/she/it' which occurs immediately preceding the object:
Uu tiba du yem numa yo.
you m-ricefield it that forest that
You be the one to make a field of that forest.

O semning du yem filak.
I m-pocket it that money
I'm the one to pocket the money.

Reiterating the object with the pronoun du 'it' may also occur whenever the actor has been attracted from its normal position following the verb to an adverb or a sentence conjunction occurring before the verb:
Ket kifuhu mungol du yetn tutul Dwata.
each night I hear it that story God
Each night I hear the story of God.

Sonmoen tendo malak du yem nga.
always she continue m-lead it that child
She is always leading that child.

I oe mulu du de kay lernaw.
would like I m-plant it many kinds vegetable
I would like to plant many kinds of vegetables.

Omin le hmunges du kumù.
then they m-wrap it blanket
Then they wrap it up in a blanket.

Ket kiwølen muké du tefung halien.
each repeat he m-peel it scab sore his
He repeatedly kept peeling the scab off his sore.

(3) Pronoun as nonfocused object
When a pronoun is used as the nonfocused object, it is always a pronoun from the nonfocused dou set. When this occurs, the actor of the sentence is found either before the verb or in sentence final position when it is a noun phrase:
Dwata semgyok kuy dyó.
God m-take care of you there
God will be the one to take care of all of you there.

Du umolok da.
he/she m-teach me
He will be the one to teach me.
Nonfocused goal

A participant functioning as a nonfocused goal may also occur in an AFS. As in the EFS, the goal is the one to whom the action is directed, and it always occurs immediately following the actor. It may be either a personal noun or a pronoun.

1. Personal noun as nonfocused goal

Since goal is a nonfocused participant, the nonfocus particle ke occurs along with the personal noun. The location marker be may also be used to indicate the goal:

- **Munge ke Adil.** I’ll go along with Adil.
- **I forgot to send the money with Fludi.**
- **Bring some bananas for Grandmother tomorrow.**
- **Good if you put away for Mother ten pesos.**

2. Noun phrase as nonfocused goal

Whenever the goal is a long noun phrase, it shifts from the regular goal position following the actor to the end of the sentence. It occurs with the location marker be:

- **Yake hemyuhi filak be kem nga.** Good if you put away money for the children who are studying.
- **Bring bananas for Little Mother and her companions.**

3. Pronoun as nonfocused goal

As in the EFS, when a pronoun is used as goal, a pronoun from the -u set may be used along with the preposition bèlè. The many examples given are intended to show the wide range of meaning this preposition has in Tboli:

- **He would like to sell me a carabao.**
She always read to us a story about God.

He was the first one among them to die.

I don't like to borrow from them.

I ate with them.

I'm ashamed to you.

But there is also a difference between EFS and AFS in what may be used as goal. In EFS, only a pronoun from the -u set with bèlè can be used. In AFS, a pronoun from the dou set may also be used. When the dou set is used, its meaning seems to be limited to either beneficiary or recipient rather than directional. Usually an object occurs along with it, either stated or clearly understood:

Good if you put away ten pesos for me.

Bring some bananas for me tomorrow.

God gives you wisdom.

Mother lent me temporarily three hundred (pesos).

God gives him wisdom.

Mother lent him temporarily three hundred (pesos).

And then they told it to me.

Maybe New Mother has already told you about it.
There are a few instances where a pronoun from the dou set can be used interchangeably with the preposition bèlé for the goal without any apparent change of meaning:

- **Ho-li m-ní d-o.**
  - Really pray for me.
  - INT,you,SG m-pray me

- **Ho-li m-ní bè-leù.**
  - Really pray for me.
  - INT,you m-pray PREP,me

- **Gèhèlì b-u-d s-m-ù-lat d-o.**
  - Quickly write to me again.
  - quick.you,SG again -m-letter me

- **Gèhèlì b-u-d s-m-ù-lat bè-leù.**
  - Quickly write to me again.
  - quick.you,SG again -m-letter PREP,me

- **Mungi d-où mool.**
  - Accompany me to the lower area.
  - m-accompany.you,SG me lower.area

- **Mungi bè-leù mool.**
  - Accompany me to the lower area.
  - m-accompany.you,SG PREP,me lower.area

### 8.2.2.3 Location (see sec. 10)

### 8.2.2.4 Time (see sec. 11)

### 8.2.3 Display of an actor focus sentence

The display of an AFS (Figure 4) is divided into two sections. The top section summarizes the relative positions of the participants in an AFS and their status, i.e., whether they are obligatory in the sentence or optional.

In order to show more easily the possible positions of the focused actor in relation to the other participants, the various positions are charted on separate lines: (1) normal position following verb (including the position used for a long noun phrase (NP) as actor); (2) preverb contrast position; and (3) a preverb position when a pronoun actor is attracted to an adverb modifying the verb.

The lower section shows the grammatical forms used to indicate the functions of the various participants.
Verb Affixation me-

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Actor (Contrast)</th>
<th>Actor (NP)</th>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Location/Time</th>
<th>Actor (Emph)</th>
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<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>—</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
</tr>
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<td>ke</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>ou</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>belè</td>
<td>dou</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4. Actor focus sentence

*Whenever the actor occurs in preverb position, and a specific object marked with a demonstrative from the nim set is being spoken about, the pronoun du 'it' always occurs immediately before the object.

Ø = unmarked + = obligatory — = does not occur +/- = optional

8.3 Object focus sentence (OFS)

In the introduction to this chapter on the focus system, it was mentioned that the five sentence types could be divided into two groups based on their similarities. Experiencer and actor focus make up one group; object, goal and instrument focus make up the second group. Since an OFS is used far more frequently than either the goal or instrument focus, it will be considered first.

The object in Tboli may be either a person or a thing directly involved in the action. Very often something is done to it. A focused object will always be a particular, specific object, not an indefinite one as in AFS (see sec. 8.2.2).

Obligatory participants in an OFS are actor and object. When these two are the only participants in the sentence the order is verb, actor, object. When a nonfocused goal is included the order is verb, actor, goal, object. Time or location may occur at the end of a sentence.

A sentence where the object is in focus will either have a verb with an affix from the ne- set (ne-, n-, -en- and -n-) or no affix at all. Examples of these are given below:

Nangayem kudà. Fetch the horse.
n-fetch.you,SG horse

Benosen kuluhen tum sówu. The boa constrictor hid its head.
-en-hide.it head.its that boa.constrictor

Knoduhu lu. I pity them.
-n-pity.I them

Gou ton me lu. We saw them all.
Ø-see we,EX them

Etueden uu diuu ta. It delivers you there to the top.
Ø-deliver.it you,SG there up

0-deliverit you,sc there up
8.3.1 Actor as nonfocused obligatory participant

The actor is one of the obligatory participants in an OFS, but it is not in focus. It may be an unmarked noun, a noun phrase or a pronoun from the nonfocused -u set (see sec. 4.2.1). In the examples that follow, the focused object will be bold print. But the purpose of the examples is to show how the nonfocused actor is used in an OFS.

(1) Noun as nonfocused actor

As with the EFS and AFS, the noun functioning as actor may be either a proper noun or a common one, and it occurs in the regular position following the verb:

\begin{align*}
\text{Nwit } & \text{Má mi.} \\
\text{n-bring Father us,ex} \\
\text{Ton } & \text{Gadu yem ulal.} \\
\text{ṣ-sec Gadu that snake} \\
\text{Nbək } & \text{ohu yem ulal.} \\
\text{n-bark dog that snake}
\end{align*}

(2) Noun phrase as nonfocused actor

As in both EFS and AFS, all four types of noun phrases may function as an actor: (1) noun + possessive; (2) noun + plural markers; (3) noun + adjective; and (4) noun + demonstrative. Examples of all four types are given below:

\begin{align*}
\text{Gel } & \text{nmò kem Tboli nîm nîi.} \\
\text{always n-make PL Tboli this this,sp} \\
\text{Deng tenles le Yé } & \text{Bong yem kdaw} \\
\text{PT -en-change PL Mother Big that day} \\
\text{mò knagi me.} \\
\text{for k-study our,EX} \\
\text{Hnebel } & \text{yem maen yem libun leged.} \\
\text{-n-look.for that father.his that girl industrious} \\
\text{Fen nwi} & \text{t yem logi yem kimu.} \\
\text{ID n-bring that man that property}
\end{align*}

(3) Pronoun as nonfocused actor

The pronoun set used as actor in OFS differs from the pronoun set used as actor in EFS and AFS. Since the actor is now a nonfocused participant, a pronoun from the nonfocused -u set is used:

\begin{align*}
\text{Naba le } & \text{tniba.} \\
\text{n-clear they -n-ricefield} \\
\text{Tonèn } & \text{yem ulal.} \\
\text{ṣ-sec he that snake}
\end{align*}

\text{Father brought us along.} \\
\text{Gadu saw the snake.} \\
\text{The dog barked at the snake.} \\
\text{Tboli always make this (specific thing).} \\
\text{Big Mother and her companions changed the day for our studying.} \\
\text{His father looks for an industrious girl.} \\
\text{The man is the one to bring along the property.} \\
\text{They are clearing the ricefield.} \\
\text{He saw the snake.}
I always bring the horse here.

You pound the corn.

First I'll fetch the horse.

First he will visit his companion.

First we looked for Father and the rest of the family.

Beat it indeed, but first let me leave.

First forgive me.

First I will leave them.

8.3.2 Grammatical forms of focused object

(1) Noun as object

The noun used as a focused object is always a particular, specific object. It is unmarked, but its role is determined by its position in the sentence following the actor:

Fetch the horse.

They made a rope (for tying him).

He brought along his ax.

I held the gun.

They call the Owner of the Mountain.
(2) Noun phrase as object

Just as all four types of noun phrases may be used as actor in an OFS, so all four types may also function as the focused object:

Tonu Sëng.
Ø-scc.I Seng

I saw Seng.

Bud snukatu Yë.
again -n-deceive.I Mother

Again I deceived Mother.

You help your companions.

Lewadin called all his sisters-in-law by (their) names.

Let's all visit those countries over there.

They asked permission from the owners of the house.

I borrowed the carabao of my father-in-law.

They visit the young woman.

They pounded the corn.

Tomorrow I'll bring with me (my) older brother Bedung.

I just saw Big Father.

(3) Pronoun as object

Since the object is the focused participant in an OFS, a pronoun from the focused ou set is used:

Bnogulen lu.
-n-club.he them

He beat them.

It delivers you to the top.

They kept me (back) for themselves.
**They brought us along.**

When the pronoun used as object refers to a thing, it would be expected that the pronoun du 'he/she/it' would be used, but it never is. It is left implied, as can be seen in the following examples:

- *Gotu ken sit ne sdô ne ungé.*
  - The ricebirds and pigs and rats ate (it) all.
- *Ne fen nwa yö kem tuônen.*
  - And his parents-in-law are the ones to take (it).
- *Hendem le Yê Lomi.*
  - New Mother and her companions are thinking about (it).

### (4) Position of object for contrast

As in EFS and AFS, the focused participant may occur in the position before the verb for contrast if necessary.

#### (a) Noun as object in contrast position

- *Kudà nangay le.*
  - horse n-fetch they
  - It is a horse they are fetching (not a carabao).
- *Soging ne ubi tinôgô le.*
  - banana and sweet.potato -n-cook they
  - It was bananas and sweet potatoes they cooked (not rice).

#### (b) Noun phrase as object in contrast position

- *Tey dé tau nêkéten.*
  - INT many person n-bite.he
  - He has bitten very many people.
- *Nem latu filak nwitu.*
  - six hundred peso n-bring.I
  - It was six hundred pesos I brought along.
- *Tey sdô bong nbô Mâ.*
  - INT pig big n-carry.on.back Father
  - It was a very big pig Father carried on his back.

#### (c) Pronoun as object in contrast position

- *Ou gna bekeseem.*
  - I first $h$-tie.up.you,SG
  - I'll be the one you tie up first.
- *Ne du ne lolou ni knœn ni.*
  - and he now $h$-follow.I this time.it now
  - And he is the one I follow at this time.
- *Lu inabahen.*
  - they -n-call.he
  - They are the ones he called.
(5) Position of object for emphasis

As in EFS and AFS, emphasis may be given to the focused participant by reiterating it at the end of the sentence by using a pronoun from the nonfocused dou set. But this is not done as frequently in OFS as in EFS or AFS:

\[ Tnóbóngem \textit{se o dou} \]
\[ \Rightarrow \text{-n-help you,SG EMPH me me} \]

\[ Tnóbong \textit{tekay se lu kul} \]
\[ \Rightarrow \text{-n-help we,IN EMPH them them} \]

8.3.3 Participants that are optional

There are three other participants that may occur in an OFS as nonfocused participants: goal, location and time.

8.3.3.1 Nonfocused goal

As in AFS, the participant functioning as goal in an OFS is the one to whom the action is directed, either a recipient of the action or a beneficiary of it. It may be a personal noun with the nonfocus particle \textit{ke}, a noun phrase, a nonfocused pronoun from the -\textit{u} set used with \textit{bélè} or a nonfocused pronoun from the dou set used alone.

(1) Personal noun as nonfocused goal

\[ Tólóng \textit{blayen ke főgen} \]
\[ \text{different 0-give he NF brother-in-law his} \]

\[ Sóó \textit{kudà blay le ke Min} \]
\[ \text{one horse 0-give they NF Min} \]

\[ Heseğoku ke Kasi yem bew logi \]
\[ \text{he care for I NF Kasi that carabao male} \]

\[ Tulónem ke yehen Fining \]
\[ \text{0-tell you,SG NF spouse Fining} \]

(2) Noun phrase as nonfocused goal

As in AFS, when a rather long noun phrase is used as goal, it occurs with the location marker \textit{bè} and shifts to the location position at the end of the sentence:

\[ Tódó \textit{blay le yem kudà bè tu kem} \]
\[ \text{just 0-give they that horse LOC there PL} \]

\[ dumu tau \]
\[ \text{companion person} \]
(3) Pronoun as nonfocused goal

Just as in the AFs, the nonfocused goal may be indicated by either a pronoun from the -u set used with the preposition bèlè or a pronoun from the dou set.

(a) The -u set with bèlè

\[ \text{Bnayadu bèléen msò. } \]
-\( n \)-\( pay.l \) \( \text{PREP,him hulled.rice} \)

\[ \text{Ben li bèlè afus. } \]
-\( en \)-\( buy.they \) \( \text{PREP,me bamboo} \)

\[ \text{Ali dé snôlók le bèléu. } \]
\( \text{INT many} \) \( -n \)-\( \text{ask.they \ PREP,me} \)

\[ \text{Hendón le bèlé ye hnoło. } \]
-\( en \)-\( expect.they \) \( \text{PREP you,PL hair.oil} \)

(b) The dou set

\[ \text{Lomi blay le do. } \]
\( \text{recent} \) \( \text{give.they me} \)

\[ \text{Hnungesem kum mò bnotu me. } \]
-\( n \)-\( wrapper.you,SG us,EX \) \( \text{for \ n-stone \ our,EX} \)

\[ \text{Kenlo Yè do } \]
-\( en \)-\( weeding.tool Mother me \)

\[ \text{lamihù. field.my} \)

8.3.3.2 Location (see sec. 10)

8.3.3.3 Time (see sec. 11)

8.3.4 Display of an object focus sentence

The display of an OFS (Figure 5) is divided into two sections. The top section summarizes the relative positions of the participants in an OFS and their status, i.e., whether they are obligatory in the sentence or optional. In order to show more easily the possible positions of the focused object participant in relation to the other participants, they have been displayed on two separate lines, normal position and preverb contrast position.

The lower section shows the grammatical forms used to indicate the functions of the various participants.
Verb Affixation \( ne-\phi \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normal (Contrast)</th>
<th>Object (Contrast)</th>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Location, Time</th>
<th>Object (Emphasis)</th>
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<td>Φ</td>
<td>bè/Φ</td>
<td>ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>ou</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>bèlè + u</td>
<td>ou</td>
<td></td>
<td>dou</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5. Object focus sentence

\( \Phi \) = unmarked
- = does not occur
+ = obligatory
+/- = optional

8.4 Goal focus sentence (GFS)

The goal in Tboli is the participant to whom the action is directed. In English this would be an indirect object. The goal always occurs immediately following the actor.

There are two nonfocused participants that are also obligatory in a GFS: actor and object. Actor occurs in the regular actor position following the verb, the object occurs immediately following the goal. A sentence where the goal is in focus will have a verb with an affix from the \( ne-\) set, either \( ne-, n-, -en- \) or \( -n-\).

A GFS is very similar to the OFS. One noticeable difference is that relatively few verbs can be used in a GFS, whereas almost all the verbs in the language can be used in an OFS. Verbs in both sentence types are affixed with \( ne-\), but certain OFS verbs occur unaffixed as well. Both sentence types use the nonfocused \( -u \) set of pronouns for actor, and the \( ou \) set for the focused participant. Both use unmarked nouns for actor or object. In a GFS, the goal is always a person, the object is always a thing.

There are two other nonfocused participants in a GFS that are optional: location and time. Examples of the verb affixation which indicates that the focused participant is a goal are given in the examples below:

\[ Nkay \ le \ a \ bigu. \]
\[ n-serve.food \ they \ me \ winnowing.tray \]

They served food to me on a winnowing tray.

\[ Benlay \ le \ mi \ klatas. \]
\[ -en-give \ they \ us \ paper \]

They gave paper to us.

\[ Hnogot \ ye \ p \ klembe\w \ ne \ dadu. \]
\[ h-n-hold \ you.PL \ me \ carabao \ and \ plow \]

Give to me the responsibility of a carabao and a plow.

8.4.1 Nonfocused obligatory participants

There are two nonfocused obligatory participants in a GFS, the actor and the object. The actor is like an actor in an OFS in that it may be an unmarked noun, a noun phrase or a pronoun from the nonfocused \( -u \) set.

The object in a GFS differs from the object in an OFS in that it is always a thing, i.e., a common noun or a noun phrase. It is never a personal noun or a pronoun. It occurs following the goal, and its role is determined by its position in the sentence. Examples of both the nonfocused actor and object can be seen in section 8.4.2.
8.4.2 Grammatical forms of focused goal

A noun functioning as a goal is always a person (a personal noun, a noun phrase or a pronoun). It occurs following the actor. Since it is in focus, it is unmarked. Its role is determined by its position in the sentence.

(1) Noun as goal

Since it is in focus, it is unmarked:

\[
\text{Ben lay me Adù bulung hulò.} \quad \text{We gave Adù some red medicine.}
\]

(2) Noun phrase as goal

A noun phrase functioning as goal is the same as when a noun phrase is used in other focus types. It may be a noun plus a possessive, a plural marker, an adjective or a demonstrative:

\[
\text{Hol bnasahem kem tuha yem libun.} \quad \text{You must really give gifts to the parents of the girl.}
\]
\[
\text{Ben lay me le Adù bulung hulò.} \quad \text{We gave the red medicine to Adù and his companions.}
\]
\[
\text{Ben layen yem libun des blutuen ising.} \quad \text{She gave a ring to the woman with a stomachache.}
\]
\[
\text{Ben lay le ket tau tonok.} \quad \text{They gave land to each person.}
\]
\[
\text{Oguhen tum libun tum kun ò-hand.to.her that girl that his namak.} \quad \text{He hands his own quid of betel nut to the girl.}
\]

(3) Pronoun as goal

Since the goal is in focus, the pronoun used for it is from the focused \textit{ou} set:

\[
\text{Neteden o kudà ekimel.} \quad \text{He delivered a horse to me early yesterday afternoon.}
\]
\[
\text{Henwit ye mi soging ne bkadu.} \quad \text{Send some bananas and avocados to us.}
\]
\[
\text{Ben lay Ben ou snafang.} \quad \text{Ben gave a gun to me.}
\]
\[
\text{Ke wen dù sigi ye kut,} \quad \text{If you have any toothbrushes left, please send me one.}
\]
\[
\text{henwit ye o sotu.} \quad \text{If you have any toothbrushes left, please send me one.}
\]
(4) Position of goal for contrast

Since the goal is the focused participant, it may occur in preverb position for contrast if necessary:

\[ \text{Ada -en-give we,EX medicine red} \]
\[ \text{Ket tau -en-give they land} \]
\[ \text{Kem tuha yem libun hol nbaelahem. pl. old that girl INT -n-give, gift, you,SG} \]
\[ \text{Ou henwit ye sigi. me h-en-send you,PL brush} \]

8.4.3 Participants that are optional

There are only two participants that are optional in a GFS, location and time.

(1) Location (see sec. 10)
(2) Time (see sec. 11)

8.4.4 Display of a goal focus sentence

The display of a GFS (Figure 6) summarizes the relative position of the participants and their functions. There are three obligatory participants, the focused goal, the nonfocused actor and the object. The goal occurs either following the actor or preceding the verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Affixation ne-</th>
<th>+/-</th>
<th>Goal (Contrast)</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>Goal</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>+/-</th>
<th>Location, Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td>bØ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>ou</td>
<td></td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>ou</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \text{Figure 6. Goal focus sentence} \]

\[ Ø = \text{unmarked} \]
\[ - = \text{does not occur} \]
\[ + = \text{obligatory} \]
\[ +/- = \text{optional} \]
\[ -/+ = \text{if not in goal position following actor} \]

8.5 Instrument focus sentence (IFS)

The instrument in Tbol is the thing used to carry out the action described by the verb. A sentence where the instrument is in focus will have an unaffixed verb:

\[ \text{Dekem du dek bong.} \]
\[ \text{Pound it with the big pestle.} \]
\[ Ø\text{-pound, you,SG it pestle big} \]

Instrument focus is probably the least used focus in Tbol simply because in the common activities of daily life, the instrument used for these activities would be understood without having to name it. Only when the instrument is not the one ordinarily used would it be necessary to identify it in an IFS.
Even though this is the least used sentence type, there is in Tbo root words a great potential for instrument focus, since so many root words can be understood to mean either the instrument used to perform the action (i.e., as a noun) or the action itself when using the instrument (i.e., as a verb). The following are examples:

- **dek** 'a pestle'
- **dek** 'to pound with a pestle'
- **klo** 'a weeding tool'
- **klo** 'to weed using a weeding tool'
- **bulung** 'medicine'
- **bulung** 'to treat (someone) with medicine'
- **éhék** 'a sharpening stone'
- **éhék** 'to sharpen (something) by using a sharpening stone'
- **kaf** 'a tie between the ankles used for climbing (a coconut palm)'
- **kaf** 'to climb (a coconut palm) by using a tie between the ankles'
- **ogot** 'that used to hold (something)'
- **ogot** 'to hold (something) with (something)'

When these root words occur with an affix from the *ne-* set, they become verbs indicating object focus. The participants that are obligatory in an IFS are actor, object and instrument. A goal never occurs in this type of sentence. Both location and time are optional.

### 8.5.1 Nonfocused obligatory participants

There are two nonfocused obligatory participants in an IFS: actor and object.

The actor is like the actor in both the OFS and the GFS in that it occurs in the regular actor position following the verb, and it may be a noun, a noun phrase or a pronoun from the nonfocused -*u* set (see sec. 4.2.1).

The object is the person or thing affected by the action, and it occurs immediately following the actor. It may be a noun, a noun phrase or a pronoun from the nonfocused *dou* set. (For the use of the focused pronoun *du* for the nonfocused 'him/her/its', see sec. 4.2.2.)

Since the object is not in focus, a personal noun used as object always occurs with the nonfocus particle *ke*. Other nouns are unmarked, but their role is determined by their position in the sentence.

### 8.5.2 Grammatical forms of focused instrument

The focused instrument may be either a common noun or a noun phrase. It is unmarked, but its role is determined by its position in the sentence following the object.

**(1) Noun as instrument**

- **Solokem du lunay.**
  - *Ø-light.you it sap.of.lunay.tree*
  - Make a light from the sap of the lunay tree.
- **Ofok Walan du asay.**
  - *Ø-chop.down Walan it ax*
  - Walan chopped it down with an ax.
- **Bogulen ke Mélé Botu dek.**
  - *Ø-club.he NF Mélé Botu pestle*
  - He beat Mélé Botu with a pestle.
(2) Noun phrase as instrument

A noun phrase is used whenever the instrument is: (1) plural, i.e., a common noun marked by the plural marker kem; (2) a specific thing spoken of earlier in the immediate situation marked with nim set demonstrative; or (3) an unmarked descriptive phrase:

Dekem du dek bong.
pestle big

Pound it with the big pestle.

Klohu du suk udi koni.
knife little just.now

I just now weeded it with the little knife.

Hbukem do bulung Ye.
me medicine Mother

Smoke me with Mother's medicine.

Okol le yem lan kem fala benli le.
road PL shovel -en-buy they

They dug out the road with shovels they bought.

Bulungu kóm yem bulung henyuku.
that medicine -en-good.I

I'll treat you with the medicine I put away.

Ifahem ke Ngà Bun kgal
wear.out.your,SG that medicine -en-good.

Wipe off Ngà Bun with your worn out blouse.

(3) Position of instrument for contrast

Since the instrument is in focus, it is the participant that may occur before the verb for contrast if necessary. When the instrument occurs in this preverb position, and a specific object marked with a nim set demonstrative is being spoken about, the pronoun du 'it' always occurs immediately before the object:

(a) Noun

Luos bkesem du yem guna nmoem.
rattan O-tie.you,SG it that house n-make.you

Use rattan to tie the house you're making.

Asay ofok Walan du.
ax O-chop.down Walan it

It was with an ax that Walan chopped it down.

Lunay solokem du.
sap.of.lunay.tree O-light.you,SG it

Use the sap of the lunay tree for a light.

(b) Noun phrase

Dek bong dekem du.
pestle big O-pound.you,SG it

Use a big pestle to pound it.

Sotu filak bii May mambang.
one peso O-buy May bread

May bought bread with one peso.
8.5.3 Participants that are optional

There are only two participants that are optional in an IFS: location and time.

(1) Location (see sec. 10)

(2) Time (see sec. 11)

8.5.4 Display of an instrument focus sentence

The display of an IFS (Figure 7) summarizes the relative positions of the participants and their functions. The focused instrument is the obligatory participant. It must occur either following the object or preceding the verb. Actor and object are the nonfocused obligatory participants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Affixation Ø</th>
<th>-/+ Instrument (Contrast)</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>+</th>
<th>+/- Object</th>
<th>+/- Location, Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>bē/Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun +/−</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>dou</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7. Instrument focus sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ø</th>
<th>= unmarked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>−</td>
<td>= does not occur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>= obligatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>= optional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-/</td>
<td>= if not in instrument position</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.6 Summary of the focus system

The following contrastive charts show the distinctive features of each of the five types of focused sentences in Tboli.

8.6.1 Display of the distinctives of each focus type

Figure 8 summarizes all the possible participants in each of the five types of focus and the fixed order in which they occur in a sentence. Bold type indicates a focused participant.
8.6.2 Display of pronouns as participants

The four pronoun sets in Tboli are divided into focused and nonfocused sets. Figure 9 summarizes which pronoun sets are used for the various participants in the five types of focus. Bold type indicates the pronoun used as a focused participant.

8.6.3 Nouns as participants

When a noun or noun phrase occurs as a participant, it is word order that determines its role. The only participant marked by an overt particle is a personal name functioning as a nonfocused goal or object, which is marked by the nonfocus particle ke. In Figure 9 this particle plus a personal noun can occur wherever the nonfocused dou set of pronouns occurs. By substituting a pronoun for either a noun or a noun phrase, it can be determined which participant is in focus in any sentence.
9. Affixes

Tboli has very few affixes compared to most Philippine languages. They are me-, ne-, he-, se-, ge-, ke-, e-, te-, and de-. (For a review of the spelling of these affixes, see sec. 1.2.) These affixes may be divided into three classes, those that are derivational, those that are inflectional and those that function as both derivational and inflectional.

9.1 Derivational affixes

A derivational affix forms a new word with a new grammatical function when the affix is added to an already existing root word. This is seen when the English suffix ‘ness’ is added to the word ‘happy’, which is an adjective. The result is a new word ‘happiness’, which is a noun. So an adjective has become a noun by the addition of an affix.

There are only two affixes in Tboli that are strictly derivational: ke- and te-.

9.1.1 The ke- prefix

The ke- prefix may be added to a great many nouns, verbs or adjectives to form an action oriented noun. The new word formed by adding the prefix functions as a noun in a sentence, but there is a strong element of action in its actual meaning, making it similar to a verb:

(1) Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ke-</th>
<th>yeh</th>
<th>'spouse'</th>
<th>kyeh</th>
<th>'marrying'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ke-</td>
<td>kul</td>
<td>'rain'</td>
<td>kul</td>
<td>'raining'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Verbs

mög | 'to go' | kóg | 'going' |
mowil | 'to live' | klöwil | 'life' |

(3) Adjectives

kipi | 'hot' | kkipi | 'hotness' |
mayuk | 'far' | klöwk | 'farness' |

These derived nouns differ from a regular noun in that when it is used in a sentence it always occurs with a possessive pronoun (see sec. 2.2):

Tngónem ne kó yem deng kyeh? Do you know about my being married?
know.you,SG now QU that PT k-spouse.my

Tey glayam kun lög. His life has much suffering.
INT g-suffer his k-live

Tey ksidek nawai yu. He feels very badly about that.
INT k-bad breath.his there

9.1.2 The te- prefix

A te- prefix is added to the adjective listed below to make a verb. (This is the only example of this to date.)

gel | 'hard' | tgel | 'to strengthen' |

Tgelu | tewed | mneged. I was strengthened going uphill by my walking stick.
t-strong.I walking.stick.my m-go.uphill
9.2 Inflectional affixes

An inflectional affix does not form a new word with a new grammatical function as does the derivational affix. With an inflectional affix on a verb, the verb stays a verb, but an additional element of meaning is added. For example, the English suffix 'ed' when added to the verb 'plant' changes it to 'planted'. The meaning of the verb stays the same, but the element of past tense has been added to it.

9.2.1 Inflectional affixes with location

There are five inflectional affixes in Tboli which have to do with location: seN-, de-, te-, ke- and e-.

(1) The seN- prefix

The seN- prefix adds the meaning of “being in the area adjacent to” a specified location, or “being compared with” a specific thing. It occurs with the following words describing a location:

- lem ‘down/below’
- ta ‘up/above’
- laan ‘under’
- leged ‘higher’
- bwak ‘lower’
- subô ‘upstream’
- mool ‘downstream’
- tu ‘there’
- dini ‘here’

Ne le na sbung yó kem tau then they first gather together that PL person
mulu senta ke senlem ke m-attend婚礼 sen-above or sen-below or
seneged duhen sembwak yem gunu. sen-higher or it sem-lower that house
Tey klayukan sentu Datal Teblow. 
INT k-far.its sen-there Datal Teblow

Nà snaanu kbongen yem libun tu. 
Ø-to.be sn-under.I k-big.her that girl there

All the people going to the wedding first gather together in the area above/ below it or higher than it or lower than it.

Its a long distance beyond (the place called) Datal Teblow.

That girl is smaller than I am.

(2) The de-, te- and ke- prefixes

The de-, te- and ke- prefixes only occur with the four location words that are used in relation to a higher or a lower level. De- adds the meaning of a distance relatively nearby, te- indicates one that is far distant, and ke- indicates a distance about halfway in between. Ke- is used only with ta ‘up/above’:

- lem ‘down/below’
- ta ‘up/above’
- leged ‘higher level’
- bwak ‘lower level’
- dlem ‘nearby below’
- dta ‘nearby up’
- dleged ‘nearby higher level’
- debwak ‘nearby lower level’
- sllem ‘far below’
- stta ‘far up’
- stleged ‘distant higher level’
- stebwak ‘distant lower level’
Deng sut se Yê Tahà debwak. PT Ө-arrive EMPH Mother Tall de-lower /

Snólók me diu, mon me, Mayuk -n-ask we,EX there said we,EX far Maitum? Mon le, Tebwak.
Maitum said they te-lower

Tôdô mîyô gu diu kia lem immediate-Ө m-run from there k-up in bulul.
mountain

Immediately he ran (down) from there midway up in the mountain.

(3) The e- prefix

The e- prefix adds the meaning of “direction or motion toward” a specified location. It may be prefixed to: (1) the location marker bè and the preposition bèlé, (2) location words (see sec. 10.2) and (3) location substitutes (see sec. 5.3). The pronoun du may also substitute for a specific place:

Bude mögow ebè Afus.
again.I m-go DIR,LOC Afus

Again I went to Afus (name of a place).

Toy legen là smulate ebélem.
INT long.time NEG -m-write.I DIR,PREP,you,SG

I haven’t written to you for a very long time.

Là hyu kógówen ealak yem nga őwong.
NEG good k-go.its DIR,middle that little boat

It is not good for that little boat to go out into the middle (of the lake).

Bude mulék efatu bè Hitas.
again.I m-return DIR,other.side LOC Hitas

I’m returning again to the other side to Hitas.

Hgéhêli kut edini.
h-hurry.you,SG us,DU(polite) DIR,here

Please hurry to us here.

Ken me edyó he kedeng.
Ө-eat we,EX DIR,there yet later

We’ll eat later (upon arriving) there.

Tôdô mögow edu yem kijú.
immediate-Ө m-go DIR,it that night

Immediately he went to it that night.

When the e- prefix is used in combination with the three prefixes de-, te- and ke- indicating distance, the vowel of these prefixes is dropped. The combination of the two prefixes becomes ed-, et- and ek-:

Ne mulêke eda lem bulul.
and m-return.I DIR,nearby.up in mountain

I’m returning up into the mountains nearby.

Mulêke alem dou.
m-return.I DIR,far,below as.for.me

I’m returning to (the area) far below as for me.
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9.2.2 Inflectional affix with numbers

A ge- prefix may be added to the cardinal numbers (i.e., one, two, three, etc.) to change them to ordinals (i.e., first, second, third, etc.). The only exception is sow ‘one’, whose ordinal is the word tanay ‘first’. The ordinals always occur with a possessive pronoun:

- limu ‘five’
- nem ‘six’
- sýom ‘nine’
- sfolô ‘ten’
- gëlimu ‘fifth’
- gnem ‘sixth’
- gesyöm ‘ninth’
- gesfolô ‘tenth’

Deng bud gewu le dulêk muta. It was the second time they harvested.

Mënom be bulon getuhen dun gfaïen. It shines during the third or fourth month.

9.3 Affixes functioning as both derivational and inflectional

There are five affixes that are used with both verbs and nouns: me-, ne-, he-, se- and ge-. When used with verbs, they are inflectional, adding a new element of meaning to the verb. When used with nouns or adjectives, they are derivational, changing the grammatical function of the root word.

9.3.1 The me- affix

A me- prefix may be added to certain nouns and verbs to form an adjective:

- btes ‘a measure’
- brik ‘to get up’
- duk ‘laziness’
- kieng ‘to pull’
- nong ‘ray of light’
- mebtes ‘expensive’
- mebrik ‘quick’
- mduk ‘lazy’
- mekieng ‘direct’
- mnong ‘shiny’
The *me-* prefix may be added to an adjective to form another adjective with similar meaning:

- **lehen** 'thin'
- **lemehen** 'slender'
- **tahà** 'tall'
- **tañahà** 'oblong'

The *me-* affix signals that the role of the focused participant in the sentence is either actor or experiencer. The affix is used with both verbs and nouns. When used with a noun, the noun becomes a verb.

(1) With verbs

`blì` 'buy'
`etèd` 'bring'
`kòdù` 'pity'

`bëmëli` 'to buy'
`mëted` 'to deliver'
`këmodù` 'to pity'

*I bought hulled rice at Bongu.*

(2) With nouns

`bënwù` 'country'
`kèn` 'food'
`kìlo` 'weeding tool'
`tonòk` 'ground'

`mënwù` 'to live in a country'
`mëken` 'to eat'
`këmëlo` 'to weed'
`tëmënoke` 'to walk'

*I bought hulled rice at Bongu.*

9.3.2 The *ne-* affix

The *ne-* affix signals that the role of the focused participant in the sentence is either experiencer, object or goal. It is used with both verbs and nouns. When used with a noun, the noun becomes a verb.

(1) Experiencer focus

`hàli` 'a wound'
`ìngët` 'perspiration'
`lekef` 'a cold'

`hnàli` 'to be wounded'
`nìngët` 'to perspire'
`lënekef` 'to have a cold'

*The children have colds.*

*The children have colds.*
Tey ninget kwangu lanu kemlo.

My back is really perspiring because I've been weeding.

(2) Object focus (The root words listed may be either a noun or a verb.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>angat</td>
<td>'wait'</td>
<td>nangat</td>
<td>'to wait for (someone/something)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bli</td>
<td>'buy'</td>
<td>benli</td>
<td>'to buy (something)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kodu</td>
<td>'pity'</td>
<td>knodu</td>
<td>'to pity (someone/something)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taha</td>
<td>'call'</td>
<td>knaha</td>
<td>'to call (someone)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tnabahen Yē.

n-call.she Mother

Nangat me lu.

n-wait.for we,EX them

(3) Goal focus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>blay</td>
<td>'give'</td>
<td>benlay</td>
<td>'to give to (someone)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eted</td>
<td>'bring'</td>
<td>neted</td>
<td>'to deliver to (someone)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Benlay le mi klatas.

-EN-give they us,EX paper

Neteden o kuda ekimel.

n-deliver.he me horse DIR,early.afternoon

He delivered the horse to me early yesterday afternoon.

9.3.3 The he- prefix

The he- prefix has three functions: (1) when it occurs with an adjective, the adjective is changed to a verb; (2) when it occurs with a verb, it signals that the action of the verb is being initiated by one person, but being performed by another, i.e., it becomes a causative verb, someone is causing another person to do something; (3) when it occurs with a noun, the noun becomes a causative verb or a reflexive verb.

(1) With adjectives to form a verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bong</td>
<td>'big'</td>
<td>hbong</td>
<td>'to make big/plenty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kini</td>
<td>'hot'</td>
<td>kkini</td>
<td>'to heat (something)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moni</td>
<td>'near'</td>
<td>hloni</td>
<td>'to come near'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tólóng</td>
<td>'different'</td>
<td>hólóng</td>
<td>'to separate'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Deng hkiniu ken koni.

PT h-hot.I food just.now

Béi hloni bè ské kudà.

do.not.you,SG h-near LOC rear.end horse

I just finished heating the rice/food.

Don't go near the rear end of a horse.
(2) With verbs to form a causative verb

- minum  'to drink'
- hinum  'to cause (someone) to give a drink to
(someone/something)'
- segyok  'to take care of'
- hesegyok  'to cause (someone) to take care of
(someone/something)'

_Gel_ hinumem  _do onuk._
always h-give.drink.you,SG my chicken

_Hesegyoku ke Kasi yem bew._
he-care.for.I NF Kasi that carabao

(3) With nouns to form a causative verb

- dek  'pestle'
- hdek  'to cause (someone) to pound rice'
- klo  'weeding tool'
- heklo  'to cause (someone) to weed'

_Gel_ wen  _halay heklo_  _le snéen._
always there.is rice he-weeding.tool they also

_Sgantang halay nwahu ne hdeku_
s-one.ganta unhulled.rice n-get.I and h-pestle.I

_ke Bé._
NF Grandmother

There is a limited group of nouns that may function as a reflexive when pre-fixed with _he_, i.e., the person initiating the action has it done to himself. This takes the focused _e_ set of pronouns for the initiator:

_Hgunitinge ke Yadan kedeng._
he-scissors.I NF Yadan later

_Hetbeku ke Ye Udi ngau._
he-sharp.pointed.object.I NF Mother Little child.my

_Géhéli hbulung dé._
hurry.you,SG h-medicine EMPH

Notice the difference in meaning when the non-focused _u_ set of pronouns is used:

_Hguntingu ke Yadan nga ni._
he-scissors.I NF Yadan child this

_Hetbeke ke Yé Udi ngau._
he-sharp.pointed.object.I NF Mother Little child.my

Always give my chickens something to drink.

_I had Kasi take care of the carabao._

There is also always some rice (field) they have others weed.

_I will have Yadan cut my hair later on._

_I'll have you give me an injection for this sickness of mine._

_Hurry up and have yourself treated with medicine._

_I will have Yadan give this child a haircut._

_I will have Little Mother give my child an injection._
Gëttël hbulungem ne yehenem. Quickly have your spouse treated now with medicine.

9.3.4 The se-prefix

The se-prefix has two functions: (1) it may signal a reciprocal action, i.e., both parties perform the action or benefit from it; or, (2) it may add the additional meaning of ‘one/once’ to certain nouns.

9.3.4.1 To signal reciprocal action

(1) With verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kó</td>
<td>‘to remove’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tagak</td>
<td>‘to leave behind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingón</td>
<td>‘to know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóbông</td>
<td>‘to help’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulón</td>
<td>‘to tell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skó</td>
<td>‘to divorce’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stágak</td>
<td>‘to leave one another’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>segtón</td>
<td>‘to know each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stóbông</td>
<td>‘to help each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stulón</td>
<td>‘to talk to each other’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Let’s all help each other.

Then I discussed it with my wife.

Previously (the mountains) Mélê Botu and Mutung were near each other. Their custom is very different (from ours).

Tboli really like to become in-laws with each other.

The persons who sing the traditional songs to each other don’t sleep all night.

(2) With adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mayuk</td>
<td>‘far’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moni</td>
<td>‘near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sow</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tólông</td>
<td>‘different’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slayuk</td>
<td>‘far from each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sloni</td>
<td>‘near each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ssotu</td>
<td>‘to be in agreement’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stólông</td>
<td>‘to be different from each other’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Previously (the mountains) Mélê Botu and Mutung were near each other. Their custom is very different (from ours).

(3) With nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lai</td>
<td>‘in-law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lingun</td>
<td>‘traditional song’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syat</td>
<td>‘a turn off’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yehen</td>
<td>‘spouse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slai</td>
<td>‘to be in-laws with each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slingun</td>
<td>‘to sing a traditional song to each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sesyat</td>
<td>‘crossroads’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syehen</td>
<td>‘to be married’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tboli really like to become in-laws with each other.

The persons who sing the traditional songs to each other don’t sleep all night.
9.3.4.2 To add the additional meaning of 'one/once' to certain nouns

The s- may be a shortened form of sōtu 'one':

- **bota** 'piece'
- **goyu** 'cob/stalk'
- **halay** 'year'
- **hunges** 'wrapper'
- **kdaw** 'sun/day'
- **ulék** 'repeat'

s-bota
s-goyu
s-halay
s-hunges
s-kdaw
s-ulék

'sone piece'
'sone cob/one stalk'
'sone year'
'sone wrapper'
'sone day'
'sonce'

Mukas s-falayen ne kegen le là mayad do. more.than s-year.It now k-long.time they NEG m-pay me

Yake new bud ton lu sulék. Good if I can first see them once more.

good.if first.I again ∅-see them s-return

9.3.5 The ge- prefix

The ge- prefix signals either an ability/capacity to do something or an unintentional action, depending upon the context. It occurs with nouns or verbs.

(1) With nouns

- **fun** 'owner'
- **salà** 'sin/mistake'  
- **tutuk** 'nail'

Ne gtutuk kulu Nib. And Nib accidentally bumped his head.

and g-nail head Nib

Snóloken belé me yem lefo ke gfunen. He asked us if he was to be the owner of the coconuts.

-n-ask.he PREP us,EX that coconut if g-owner.he

(2) With verbs

- **mon** 'say'
- **mungol** 'hear'
- **tungó** 'sleep'

Gungoludél sádo fau lem law. I was able to hear the squeal of a pig in the cane across (the river).

g-hear.I word pig across in cane

Song gungolbud mdóm sôtu kumù. I wasn't able to sleep until I again borrowed a blanket.

not.until g-sleep.I again m-borrow one blanket

Ge- also occurs in combination with the verbal affix me- on certain verbs to form a stative verb. In this combination of me- + ge-, the vowel of the ge- prefix is dropped, and the resultant prefix is meg-:
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10. Location

A participant functioning as location occurs with all five focus types. Basically location is the place where the action happens. But in Tbolí it can also be the person or thing toward which the action is directed. It is indicated by certain location markers, location words and by the *dini* set of demonstratives as location substitutes.

Usually location occurs at the end of the sentence. But it may occur before the verb when it is necessary to contrast it with some other location for clarification.

10.1 Location marker *bé*

There is a location marker *bé* which is used to indicate both the place where the action happens or the person or thing to which the action is directed. It is also used to introduce an independent clause.

10.1.1 Location as the place where the action happens

Location may be either a person or a place. A demonstrative can be used as a location substitute.

(1) Person as location

*Kól le bé Mrs. Bargas.*

They arrived at (the place of) Mrs. Bargas.

*Bude muta haya bé le Afo.*

I’m going to harvest again tomorrow at (the field of) Afo and his family.

(2) Place as location

*Kól le bé Dadiangas.*

They arrived at Dadiangas.

*Mógów le bé jedyan.*

They went to the market.

*Mius le bé yem fsiñà.*

They passed by that (certain) office.

*Tungóo bé lé bé Afus.*

I slept with them at Afus.

(3) Demonstrative as location substitute

*Ní sòne bé ni.*

This (place) here is as far as I’m going.
10.1.2 Location as that toward which the action is directed

When the location is that toward which the action is directed, it may be a person, a thing or a derived noun. In most cases it is a person. When it functions in this way, it may occur in the goal position before the object or in the location position at the end of the sentence.

(1) Person

Denge hemtahu bë Dwata se dou.
PT.I hem-true LOC God EMPH me

As for me, I have believed in God.

(2) Thing

Yë gunu hu bemlay du bë hitu filak.
That place.I -em-give him LOC seven peso

That's the reason I gave it to him for seven pesos.

Doli ngalihu bë filak nogot Ting.
Fifty.cents hold.back.I LOC money n-hold Ting

I kept back fifty cents from the money that Ting was responsible for.

Okôm hni hu bë limu latu filak.
But h-ask.I LOC five hundred peso

But I asked/bargained for five hundred pesos.

Malù kulang bë tgo mu.
Somewhat-Ø Ø-lack LOC round.wood

It's lacking somewhat in round wood (poles).
A derived noun

\[ \text{Ali gedlug} \quad \text{khedemem} \quad \text{bë} \quad \text{kmoem} \]

INT more.than.enough k-think.you,SG LOC k-do.your nmò.
n-do

\[ \text{Wen tcy viłônu kôm} \quad \text{bë} \quad \text{kum} \quad \text{kwò dini.} \]

there.is INT $\$-tell.I you,SG LOC us,EX k-do here

10.1.3 Location marker used to introduce a dependent clause

The location marker may be used to introduce a dependent clause:

\[ \text{Sômen efet} \quad \text{bë} \quad \text{bud} \quad \text{késton} \quad \text{teku} \quad \text{s} \quad \text{bus} \quad \text{we,IN} \]

only.it until LOC again ke-s-see we,IN

\[ \text{Bë} \quad \text{kwò} \quad \text{kbenwu} \quad \text{kem} \quad \text{Tboli}, \quad \text{là} \quad \text{holen} \quad \text{mdengen}. \]

LOC k-do k-country PL Tboli NEG INT,IT settle

\[ \text{Là} \quad \text{buden} \quad \text{hyu} \quad \text{knagien} \quad \text{bë} \quad \text{yem} \quad \text{kdes} \quad \text{matahen}. \]

N:G again.he good k-study.his LOC that k-pain eye.his

10.2 Location words

There is a category of words that designate location. These are used without the location marker.

10.2.1 Location words in relation to higher and lower levels

There are four location words that are used in relation to a higher or a lower level. These occur with the two prefixes indicating distance (de- ‘nearby’ and te- ‘distant’):

\[ \text{bwak} \quad \text{‘a lower area’} \quad \text{-lem} \quad \text{‘down/below’} \]

\[ \text{wêged} \quad \text{‘a higher area’} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{‘up/above’} \]

\[ \text{Deng le kól ta.} \]

PT they $\$-arrive up

\[ \text{Thahu te bë Bsayà bwak.} \]

$\$-work we,DU LOC Visayan lower.area

\[ \text{Ne gu wêged yem sou òwông bong.} \quad \text{and from higher.area that one boat , big} \]

(1) With de- and te-

\[ \text{Deng mulêk gu diu tieged.} \]

PT:$\$ m-return from there distant.higher.area

\[ \text{Deng ndadahu ne yem ñi dlem.} \]

PT -n-plow.I now that DIR nearby.lower.area

They have already arrived up (in the mountains).

Let’s you and I work for the Visayan down below.

And that one large boat came from the higher area.

He has already returned from the distant higher area there.

I have now already plowed that nearby area just below.
He went down (from the mountain) there to the river far below.

And Tall Mother arrived in the lower area nearby.

Right then we saw Big Father coming downhill from the higher area nearby.

And (when) I arrived in the area far up, Ting was there also.

They live there halfway up (the mountain).

He immediately ran from halfway up the mountain.

10.2.2 Other location words

There are other location words that do not occur with the above prefixes:

- fatu ‘the other side of’
- klohek ‘beside’
- laan ‘under/beneath’
- lem ‘in/inside’
- mool ‘downstream’
- subo ‘upstream’
- talak ‘the middle of’

It's inside.

They have already arrived in/at the river.

Don’t always tie the horse under the coconut palm.

He was sitting at the base of the post near the fire.

I heard the squeal of a pig on the other side of (the river) in the cane.
Hilu dulék me smūbo du, hilu
how.many times we,EX m-go.upstream it how.many
dulék me mool du, laen du sōnen.
times we,EX m-go.downstream it NEG, it end, it

Mōgōw me subō kedeng.
m-go we,EX upstream by.and.by

Lem frequently occurs as part of a place name:

Lem Snólón
Lem Sembong
Lem Loyón

We are going upstream later on.

How many times did we go upstream, how many times did we go downstream, it had no end.

We are going upstream later on.

10.3 The dini set of demonstratives as location substitutes

For a review of the dini set of demonstratives, see section 5.3:

Dwata semgyok kay dyó.
God -em-care.for you,PL there

Hilośi menwu dini ne.
Ø-continue,you,SG m-inhabit here now

Tek fat buteng me dītu.
only four nights we,EX there

A demonstrative from the dini set often occurs with a location indicated by a bè phrase and/or with a location word:

Deng mukin dini bè Begabag.
PT-Ø m-rain here LOC Bagabag

Gou le ni dītu ilem bè
all they Ø-to.be there distant.below LOC

Mlikan Bukay.
American White

Deng mulék gu dītu ilaged.
PT-Ø m-return from there distant.higher.area

It has rained here at Bagabag.

They all live there far below at the Americans.

He has already returned from there far up (in the mountains).

10.4 The e- prefix indicating motion toward a location

The prefix e- indicating direction or motion towards the designated place can occur with the location marker, location words and location substitutes.

(1) With location markers

Bude mulék ebè Sinolon ni.
again.I m-return DIR.LOC Sinolon now

I'm going to return again to Sinolon now.
(2) With location words

Ke gele mógów ektu, là gel when always.I m-go DIR,halfway.up NEG always
tonu ke Yè. 0-see.I NF Mother

Bude mulék : efatu bê Hitas. again.I m-return DIR,other.side LOC Hitas

When I always go halfway up into (the mountains), I don't always see Mother.
I'm returning again to the other side to Hitas.

(3) With location substitutes

Hgéhéli kut edini. h-hurry.you,SG we,DU(polite) DIR,here

Ken me edyó he kedeng. 0-eat we,EX DIR,there yet later

Please hurry and come here.
We'll eat later (upon arriving) there.

11. Time

A participant functioning as time occurs with all five focus types. Basically time indicates when the activity described by the verb takes place, but it may also indicate a certain measure of time. Although it is always a nonfocused participant, it frequently occurs before the verb when it is necessary to contrast it with some other time for clarification.

11.1 Time words

The following is a list of the most commonly used time words:

- buteng 'twenty-four hour period'
- fedyan 'market/week'
- gungó 'noon'
- halay 'rice/year'
- hlafas 'morning'
- kdaaw 'sun/day'
- kemdaw 'noon'
- kifu 'night'
- kinel 'early afternoon'
- kaloy 'late afternoon'

As an e- prefix is used with location words to indicate direction towards, so there is an e- prefix used with certain time words, but it points backwards to the immediate past:

- ebutfeng 'DIR,twenty-four hour period'
- ekimel 'DIR,early afternoon (yesterday afternoon early)'
- ekuloy 'DIR,lately afternoon (yesterday afternoon late)'

Some of the time words in the above list occur with ni 'this':

- fedyan ni 'this week'
- halay ni 'this year'
- kemdaw ni 'this day (today)'
- kinel ni 'this afternoon'
Numbers may occur with ni to indicate a future time:

- fat ni ‘four (days) from now’
- lewu ni ‘two (days) from now’

The modifiers gna ‘before/ahead’ and huli ‘behind/after’ are used with the following time words:

- feyan gna ‘last week/market day’
- feyan huli ‘next week/market day’
- halay gna ‘last year’
- halay huli ‘next year’

Compounds are also used to express time:

- hlafus ekimel ‘yesterday morning’
  - morning DIR.early.afternoon
- kdaw ekimel ‘yesterday noon’
  - sun/day DIR.early.afternoon
- sulayen buteng ‘all night’
  - late.afternoon.it 24.hour.period

11.2 How time is indicated

Time may be indicated by: (1) a time word occurring with bè; (2) a time word indicating a measure of time; (3) a ni set demonstrative with or without a time word; (4) by an adverb from the eginu class (see sec. 3.2.2(1)) with or without a time word.

11.2.1 A time word with bè

- Lemwôt tekuy bè udas fat hlafus.
  - cm-leave we.in LOC hour four morning
  - We’ll all leave at four o’clock in the morning.

- Bude mnagi bè halay huli.
  - again... study LOC year after
  - I’ll study again next year.

- Sow kifu bè Akad ungóe bè Afus.
  - one night LOC Sunday ñ-sleep.I LOC Afus
  - One Sunday night I slept at Afus.

- Dô bè Julay kgefeten yem sillà Tboli.
  - maybe LOC July k-reach.its that corn Tboli
  - Maybe in July Tboli corn will be ready to eat.

11.2.2 A measure of time indicated

- Deng lu butengen tâ mken.
  - PT three night.she NEG m-food
  - It’s already three nights she hasn’t eaten.

- Deng mukas sfoló halayen ne.
  - PT more.than ten year.it now
  - It has already been more than ten years now.

- Sfoló fat butengen nû ta.
  - s-ten four night.he ñ-to.be up
  - It was fourteen nights he stayed up (in the house).
Dó bulón huli kebjet bkadu.
maybe month after k-reach avocado

Maybe next month the avocados will be ripe.

11.2.3 A ni set demonstrative with or without a time word

Lelu ni kem mfás.
still.I this PL m-clear.a.field

I'm still at this time clearing a field.

Sónmou hemdem Ḳay bulón ni.
amyrs.1 -cm-think you,PL month this

I'm always thinking of you all this month.

Són ni Ḳifu ni là keseken du.
just this night this NEG k-wear.she it

It's just tonight she's not wearing it.

The demonstrative ni often occurs with the ke- prefix, forming the word kni a previous/past time:

Likoe kudá Ḳanà kegenu udi kni.
β-afraid.I horse still k-long.time.my little k-this

I was afraid of horses in the past when I was still a child.

Lumun yem tehe knawa me ebééem
like that former k-breath ours,EX DIR,PREP,you,SG

kni.
k-this

This kni form also occurs with the prefix e- which indicates a direction towards a past time:

téhe yu ekni
previous that DIR,k-this

'a long, long time past'

téhe benwu gnan ekni
previous country before.it DIR,k-this

'in a previous country from before in times past'

téhe knuu bê Kiambá ekni
previous k-to.be LOC Kiamba DIR,k-this

'when I previously lived in Kiamba in times past'

Yake yem gna téhe kukét me
good.if ti.that before previous k-pick.corn our,EX

ekni.
DIR,k-this

Good (if it were like) that previous time we picked corn in times past.

11.2.4 An eginu set adverb with or without a time word

Fene mò ken kedeng.
1D m-do food later

I'm the one to cook rice later on.

Deng bud lemώòt koni.
PT β again -cm-leave just.now

She just now left again.

Gu me bê Demfilan eginu.
β-from we,EX LOC Demfilan DIR,early

We came from Demfilan earlier (today).
12. Negatives

12.1 Types of negatives

There are three negatives in Tboli: là, bè and sundu/sindu.

12.1.1 The negative là

Là negates an action (a verb) or a descriptive (an adjective). It always precedes that which it negates, and it never attracts the pronoun actor to itself.

(1) With a verb

\[
\begin{align*}
Là & \text{ munge.} \\
\text{NEG} & \text{ m-go.along.I} \\
Là & \text{ bentay le do.} \\
\text{NEG} & \text{ -en-give they me} \\
Là & \text{ tulônen du.} \\
\text{NEG} & \text{ ß-tell.he/she it} \\
Là & \text{ mawe.} \\
\text{NEG} & \text{ ß-cold.I} \\
\end{align*}
\]

I'm not going along.

They didn't give it to me.

He/She didn't tell it.

I'm not cold.

(2) With an adjective

\[
\begin{align*}
Là & \text{ bongen.} \\
\text{NEG} & \text{ big.it} \\
Là & \text{ bud buden du.} \\
\text{NEG} & \text{ again again.he it} \\
Là & \text{ bong guta me.} \\
\text{NEG} & \text{ big g-get we,EX} \\
\end{align*}
\]

It's not big.

He will not do it again.

We didn't get much.

It has been a long time their not seeing each other.

In the -e set of actor or experiencer focus pronouns (see sec. 4.1.1), the third person 'he/she/it' is indicated by the absence of a word to signify it, i.e., a zero pronoun. When là negates a verb using this zero pronoun, it borrows the equivalent pronoun -en from the non-focused -u set to fill the seemingly empty space:
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Mung.
m-go.along-Ø

He/she is going along.

Là mungen.
NEG m-go.along-he/she

He/she is not going along.

Tnaw.
Ø-cold-Ø

He/she/it is cold.

Là tnawen.
NEG Ø-cold-he/she/it

He/she/it is not cold.

12.1.2 The negative bé

The negative command bé is used with verbs only, negating an action. It always attracts the pronoun actor from its regular position following the verb to itself, whether the pronoun is from the focused actor -e set or from the nonfocused actor -u set:

Bée dou.
do.not.1 as.for.me

As for me, I don't want to.

Béi hebtang.
do.not.you,SG he-fall

Don't you fall.

Béem hentaw lu.
do.not.you,SG -en-amaze them

Don't you be amazed at them.

Béen tafa nawa le do.
do.not.it Ø-anxious breath they me

They should not be anxious about me.

12.1.3 The negative sundu/sindu

Sundu/sindu negates nouns or noun substitutes. So in an equational sentence, it negates the noun or noun substitute functioning as the topic of the equation. The pronoun du 'he/she/it' may occur after whatever is being negated:

Sundu adat bè Tbolí du yó.
not custom LOC Tbolí it that

That is not a Tbolí custom.

Sundu kumù Tbolí du ni.
NEG blanket Tbolí it this

This is not a Tbolí blanket.

Sundu uu gna tau.
not you,SG first person

You are not the first person (in the world).

Sundu yó hendemu.
not that -en-think.I

That is not what I'm thinking.

Tŋónu sundu ni kun kóyó DWata.
Ø-know.I NEG this his k-want/like God

I know that this is not God's desire.
12.2 Negatives emphasized

Negatives là and bè may be emphasized by three modifiers only: kõ, dog and abay.

12.2.1 Là emphasized by kõ

Kõ only modifies là, but it occurs in this combination frequently. It adds the meaning of being very definite or very certain about something. When the actor focus -e set of pronouns is used, the kõ always attracts the actor pronoun from the verb to itself. When the pronoun for ‘he/she/it’ is needed, the equivalent pronoun -en is borrowed from the nonfocused actor -u set. It, too, is attracted to kõ:

Là kõe mõyô mung.
NEG INT,l want m-go.along

Ke là mebeli ken, là kõí
If NEG m-look.for.you,SG food NEG INT,you,SG
gemken se.
g-em-food EMPH

Là kõen deng kmulôn he.
NEG INT,It PT -m-rain yet

Là kõen kõyów he.
NEG INT,It adequate yet

12.2.2 Là and bè emphasized by dog

The modifier dog modifies both là and bè. In some contexts it has the meaning of not being able to do something. In other contexts it carries the meaning of not wanting to bother about doing something—a “never m:.” attitude.

(1) With là

When dog modifies the negative là in a sentence requiring the nonfocused -u set of pronouns as actor, the pronoun actor always remains in the regular actor slot following the verb. It is never attracted to dog:

Là dog nwit le do.
NEG INT n-bring they me

Là dog tngônû du mô kken me.
NEG INT l-know.I it PREP k-food our,EX

Là dog tolônû du kul le Yê Bong.
NEG INT l-tell.I it them PL Mother Big

But when dog modifies a negative used in a sentence requiring the focused -e set of pronouns as actor, the actor is always attracted to dog. And, as has been noted before, when ‘he/she/it’ from this set of pronouns is needed, the equivalent pronoun -en from the nonfocused -u set is borrowed:

It is not mine that (teaching) I teach them.
In the above examples where the focused -e set of pronouns has been attracted to the modifier dog, another change takes place if time, location, certain conjunctions, etc. occurs at the beginning of the sentence. These sentence initial participants not only attract the actor pronoun from dog, but they change it from the focused -e set to the nonfocused -u set:

Wen se kwawu là dog mò nmò.  There were days when I didn’t bother to work.

Tey kegenen là dog mudél.  It was a very long time he wouldn’t speak.

Ominu hilili là dog kmumù.  Then I lay down not bothering to use a blanket.

(2) With bè

As has already been noted, bè may be used in sentences with either a focused or nonfocused actor, and it always attracts the actor pronoun to itself:

Bèem dog tenles ne.  Don’t bother to change it now.

Bèen dog mnagi abay se tafa.  Never mind (if) he studies because I’m very anxious about him.

Sometimes bè is dropped and dog is used by itself:

Dog mnagi ne.  Never mind (if) he studies now.
12.2.3 Bë emphasized by abay

The modifier abay only modifies the negative bë ‘don’t’, which is used as a command, a request or a warning. Abay adds a strong note of authority or urgency to this negative. As has already been said, bë always attracts the pronoun actor to itself, whether it is focused or a nonfocused actor:

Bëi abay kmô!
donot.you,SG INT  bè-jump.down

Bii abay mójôw hegusak!
donot.you,SG INT  m-go  heg-wander.around

Bëem abay hnisô ô kôô?
donot.you,SG INT  -n-forget me QU

Bë ye abay hennë ô dé bë kmou
do.not you,PL INT  -en-ridicule me EMPH LOC k-do.my
nmô.

Bë ye abay knutô nawa yem ngà ye
do.not you,PL INT  -n-hate breath that child your,PL

13. Questions

Questions are formed either by using one of the question words (with or without the question particle de) or by adding the question particles (kô or kôô) to an ordinary statement.

13.1 Question words

There are nine different question words in Tbolî, and they always occur at the beginning of the sentence. A sentence which uses one of these question words is called an interrogative sentence, and the word used in asking the question is called an interrogative pronoun.

(1) Tau du ‘who/whose’ (lit., ‘person he/she/it’)

Tau du se gel gna tungô?
person he/she/it EMPH always first  bè-sleep

(2) Kilôn ‘when’

Kilôn se kulékem du?
when EMPH k-return.you,SG it

Who is always the first one to go to sleep?

When is it you are returning?
(3) Gunù/nù ‘where’ (lit., ‘place’)

A noun or pronoun always follows this question word. The glottal stop is dropped when a singular pronoun is attached directly to the word:

- **Gunù ye nù de?**
  - place you,PL ُ-to.be QU
  - Where are you living?

- **Gunùhenn nù lan bê ni?**
  - place it ُ-to.be path LOC here
  - Where is the path here?

- **Nù se kudâ du?**
  - place EMPH horse it
  - Where is the horse?

- **Gunum/gum esolu de?**
  - place,you,SG DIR,face QU
  - Where are you going?

- **Gunù ye deng bud tmiba?**
  - place you,PL PT again -m-ricefield
  - Where have you again made your ricefield?

- **Gunù le Fining nù se kal, du?**
  - place they Fining ُ-to.be EMPH them it
  - Where are Fining and the others living as for them?

(4) *Tedu* ‘what’

- **Tedu des le kem ngâ ni?**
  - what sickness their PL child this
  - What is the sickness of these children?

(5) *Boluy* ‘what’ (lit., ‘name’)

- **Boluyen de?**
  - name,its QU
  - What is happening?

- **Boluyen?**
  - name,your,SG
  - What is your name?

(6) *Mò kmo* ‘how’

- **Mò kmoen se yem kògôw ye?**
  - ُ-do k-do its EMPH that k-go your,PL
  - How was your journey?

(7) *Moen* ‘why’

- **Moen ke hnalii?**
  - ُ-do he/she if -n-wound,you,SG
  - Why did you cut yourself?

(8) *Mahi du* ‘which he/she/it’

- **Mahi du maû?**
  - which he/she/it m-win
  - Which one won?

- **Mahi du bèlé le kemgis?**
  - which he/she PREP them -em-strong
  - Which of them is the stronger?
13.2 Question particles

There are three question particles: de, kō and kōo.

13.2.1 Question particle de

The question particle de often occurs with all the question words, especially if they are used in isolation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boluyen de?</td>
<td>'What is it?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunun nū de?</td>
<td>'Where is it?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilu de betesen?</td>
<td>'How much does it cost?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kīlōn de?</td>
<td>'When?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mō kmoen de kuy?</td>
<td>'How is it with you all?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moen de?</td>
<td>'What is your purpose?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moen de?</td>
<td>'Why?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nū de?</td>
<td>'Where is it?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tedu de?</td>
<td>'What is it?'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13.2.2 Question particles kō and kōo

An ordinary statement can become a question by adding either the kō or kōo particle. The "ordinary statement" may be either a sentence using a regular verb or it may be a nonverbal sentence.

13.2.2.1 The particle kō

The question particle kō indicates that the questioner expects either a 'yes' or 'no' answer. It occurs following the actor or experiencer in an ordinary verbal sentence. It follows the comment in an equational sentence.

(1) Verbal sentence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tūgōi ye kā yem deng tonu?</th>
<th>Do you know what I saw?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ō-know you,PL QU that PT ō-see.I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Deng mēgō kā yem tehe senlaw Timud?

PT m-remove-ō QU that former -en-sickness Timud

Deng bud ton ye kā yem sō?

PT again ō-see you,PL QU that pig

Mōyōi kā ke wen tukūnu kūm?

m-want.you,SG QU if there.is ō-tell.I you,SG

Deng nauy ye kā?

PT n-visit you,PL QU

(2) Nonverbal sentence

Hyu kā atul ni?

good QU idea this

Is this a good idea?
With the existential wen 'there is', the question particle occurs following the comment:

Wen kó tau hendsidek kóm?
Was there a person who hurt you?

Wen kó bulungen yem múo lem ilangen?
Is there medicine for a nosebleed?

But with the existential 'there is none', the question particle always occurs at the end of the question:

Laen dà kuy tengak kó?
None of you are sick, are you?

Laen deng mosok bè nihin kó?
None of his teeth have fallen out, have they?

13.2.2.2 The particle kóó

The kóó particle indicates that the questioner wants a 'yes' for an answer. It occurs at the very end of a regular verbal sentence, but in an equational clause it occurs following the comment.

(1) Verbal sentence

Hol ye gel mni bèlé me bè Dwata kóó?
Always really pray to God for us, won't you?

Bè tekuy sekifót kóó?
We won't forget each other, will we?

Deng le mangay insó bè yó kun le
Father and his household have already
taken him that peanut

Mà kóó?
haven't they?

(2) Equational clause

Deng deng ne kóó keklo ye
You have already finished now, haven't you, your weeding the peanuts?

legasing?
peanuts
14. Summary

It was said in the introduction that learning a language well is a most exacting task. Now after having gone through this material, you know this fact by experience. In looking at Tboli as a whole, there are two basic hurdles that cannot be avoided by the learner. These are pronunciation and the focus system.

Pronunciation is the hurdle for a Filipino learning Tboli, since Tboli has vowels that are not in most of the major languages of the Philippines: seven vowels instead of the usual four. Another difficulty is the Tboli preference for only one or two syllables in a root word which results in double consonants at the beginning of a great many words. Another difference is the fact that stress on a root word always falls on the final syllable, a fact which does not change even when a pronoun suffix is added. These are differences that make it more difficult for a Filipino to master Tboli pronunciation.

For an expatriate, the hurdle is the focus system, and this hurdle we are seldom able to clear completely. Even knowing the system does not always mean that we can use it correctly in speaking. Filipinos are well acquainted with the focus system. But the difficulty for them in learning Tboli is the fact that Tboli does not have the particles familiar to them to signal which participant in a sentence is in focus. It may be helpful to remember that the five different focus types in Tboli can be divided into two groups based on their similarities: experiencer and actor in one group; object, goal and instrument in the other. Of these five sentence types, the most frequently used are actor focus and object focus.

The four pronoun sets are also divided into two groups: two functioning as substitutes for a focused participant, the other two for a nonfocused participant. Other basic factors to remember are:

1. Only one participant can be in focus in a sentence.
2. The affix on the verb (or the lack of an affix) designates the role the focused participant plays in the sentence.
3. Substituting a pronoun for an unmarked noun or noun phrase will clearly reveal whether it is functioning as a focused or a nonfocused participant.
4. Word order is fixed in Tboli. The position of a participant in a sentence determines its role in the sentence. Only a focused participant can be used in the preverb position.

Since this is not an exhaustive study of Tboli grammar, it is to be expected that you will have questions that are not answered in this material. If you would like help with those questions, write the author at the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Nasuli, Malaybalay, 8700 Bukidnon.
References
