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PARTIAL LOSS OF CONTRAST BETWEEN a AND e
IN WESTERN BUKIDNON MANOBO¹

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The Proto-Malayo-Polynesian reflexes under consideration in this paper are the central vowels a and e. a is low central open unrounded, and e is mid central open unrounded. Although full contrastive status can be demonstrated for each of these vowels, loss of contrast between them occurs in certain limited environments. Comparison with historical and comparative data indicates that e in these environments where no contrast with a occurs represents Proto-Malayo-Polynesian a. We will write it as E in this paper. e occurring elsewhere represents Proto-Malayo-Polynesian pepet, and will be written e.

1. The following examples will demonstrate the full contrastive status of both e and a:

qeled ²	shame	kanat	stretch
qelad	piece	genat	go
qalad	fence	lageng ³	voice
balEy	house	qEgkEqenan	eating place
belEy	to tire	qEgkEqenen	food
gapas	cotton	qEbagat	strong wind
qipes	cockroach	mEbogat	heavy
hEqenem	six	dineg	hear
		saqag	floor

2. Environments in which the contrast is lost.

2.1 The environment defined by reference to a word base complex.

In most Manobo utterances there are one or more positions in which the possibility of morpheme substitutions is unlimited. The beginning and end of such a substitution possibility we shall define as word base boundaries, thereby establishing sequences between such boundaries as word bases.

n-E-	qEhEq	dEy-gen	ke	balEy	We saw the house.
n-E-	qumEw	dEy-gen	ke	datuq	We called the datu.
n-E-	padpad	dEy-gen	ke	kaluq	We dropped the hat.
n-E-	hadek	dEy-gen	ke	qebel	We smelled the smoke.
	etc.			etc.	

These word bases have potential occurrence with any member of a class of suffixes: -an, -i, -en, -a, -aq, -ey. Word bases which are completely reduplicated, however, are not suffixed.

<u>qEd-qEhaq-an</u>	dEy-gen	ke	qE-belay-an	We'll go see the
See	we	now	the house lot	home lot.

<u>qEb-pE-tibas-Eq</u>	dan	They fight with knives.
reciprocal stab	they	

<u>qEd-qinum-en</u>	din-gen	ke	wahig	He is drinking the water.
drink	he now	the water		

A word base plus its suffixes and/or prefixes we will call a single base complex. Occasionally completely reduplicated word bases occur. A completely reduplicated base plus its prefixes we will call a double base complex. (Suffixes do not occur with a double base complex.) The syllable formed by the addition of a suffix, or, in the absence of a suffix, the final syllable of a word base, we will call the ultima. The syllable immediately preceding the ultima we will call the penult. In a single base complex all syllables preceding the penult we will call antepenult syllables. In a double base complex all syllables preceding the first penult we will call antepenult.

Single base complex:	<u>antepenult</u>	<u>penult</u>	<u>ultima</u>
	n-EkE-qE	la	bat

nEkEqElabat gen He has walled it.

Double base complex:

antepenult	penult	ultima	penult	ultima
<u>n-EkE-</u>	ba	lEy	ba	lEy

nEkEbalEybalEy kEy We played.

a and e never contrast in antepenult syllables. When suffixation arranges a single base complex so that a shifts from a penult to an antepenult, it is replaced by E.

antepenult	penult	ultima		
<u>E</u>	la	bat		wall
qEd-qE	la	bat	qa	I wall.
qEd-qElE	bat	-an	ku	I wall it.
	tam	bar		medicine
qEd-tem	bar	-an	ku	I medicine it.
	ta	ngel		food served up
n-Eng-E-te	nge	l-an	he pElatu	dirty plates

2.2 The vowel position before syllable-final semivowel.

In the vowel position before syllable-final semivowel a never occurs.

balEy	house	kenikEw	2nd sing. referent
qetEw	person	linEw	pool
qatEy	liver	qandEw	day
patEy	die	himatEy	kill
hipanEw	walk		

When a suffix of a nonpermitted syllable pattern such as -an or -en is added to a word containing a syllable-final semivowel preceded by E, the E is replaced by a. Permitted syllable patterns are CVC (consonant-vowel-consonant) and CV (consonant-vowel).

<u>patEy</u>	+ <u>-an</u>	= <u>pEtayan</u>	death
<u>kEdhipanEw</u>	+ <u>-en</u>	= <u>kEdhipEnawen</u>	journey
<u>balEybalEy</u>	+ <u>-en</u>	= <u>bElbElayen</u>	toy
<u>EdqhimatEy</u>	+ <u>-an</u>	= <u>qEdhimEtayan</u> <u>qEdin</u>	He is going to kill me.

Note that the other vowel changes in the preceding examples are the effect of the shift into the antepenult position as described in Section 2.1.

2.3 Environments defined by reference to the intonation group.

An intonation group is a sequence of two or more syllables with highest intonation on one syllable. The close of the syllable following an intonation peak ends the intonation group. (* indicates an intonation peak.)

<u>qE-genat</u> [*] ka	Are you going?
<u>qE-genat</u> [*] kE-qen	Are you going now?

Clause length utterances have at least one intonation peak and certain of these may have two at the discretion of the speaker.

<u>qE-genat</u> [*] kE-qen [*] daqan	You will go also.
go you-now also	

The preceding statement might be in response to the question, "Shall I go?" The following is a question, "Are you going also?"

<u>qE-genat</u> [*] kE-qen [*] daqan	
go you-now also	
<u>qE-genat</u> [*] kEy-qen [*] guntāqan	We are leaving today.
go we-now today	

The preceding example might be in response to the question, "Are you leaving?" The following might be in response to the question, "When are you leaving?"

<u>qE-genat</u> [*] kEy-en [*] guntāqan	We are leaving today.
go we-now today	

a, when it occurs in an ultima, is replaced by E before the intonation peak.

<u>qE-duma</u> [*]	He will go along.
<u>qE-duma</u> [*] qa	I'll go along.
<u>qE-dumE</u> [*] kEy-qen	We'll go along.
<u>qE-dumE</u> [*] qE-dea	I'll just go along.

<u>qEba[*]ga</u>	waterfall
<u>qEba[*]ga ded</u>	Just a waterfall.
<u>qEba[*]gE qembes</u>	So it's a waterfall is it?

2.3.3 In the vowel position before ultima-final glottal stop, a occurs only when the intonation peak falls on the preceding syllable or when it (a) is immediately followed by another a. Otherwise it is replaced by E.

<u>ba[*]taq</u>	child
<u>ba[*]tE[*]q pa</u>	Still a child.
<u>ba[*]taq a</u>	I am a child.
<u>di[*]yaq</u>	There.
<u>di[*]yE[*]q ded</u>	Just there.
<u>di[*]yE[*]q ka</u>	Go there.
<u>qi[*]hEndi[*]yE[*]q nu</u>	Put it there.
<u>di[*]yE[*]q kE[*]qem bes</u>	So there you are.
<u>ke[*]naq a</u>	Not I.
<u>ke[*]nE[*]q E[*]qen</u>	I won't now.

2.4 Enclitic a.

When a clitic ending in a is joined to a following clitic, the a is replaced by E.

<u>ke[*]nE[*]q ka</u>	Don't.
<u>ke[*]nE[*]q kE[*]qen</u>	Don't do it now.
<u>ke[*]nE[*]q a</u>	Not I.
<u>ke[*]nE[*]q E[*]pa</u>	I won't yet.
<u>ke[*]nE[*]q Ep[*]Ebes</u>	So I won't yet?
<u>qEgkEhandek[*] qa</u>	I am afraid.
<u>qEgkEhandek[*] qE[*]din</u>	I am afraid of him.

3. Further examples of e where contrast occurs with a follow:

<u>*begas</u>	rice
<u>*dügen</u>	There is.
<u>nEkEgēnat qen</u>	He left already.
<u>nEkEhEnhEndügen</u>	He acted like this.
<u>wadEq dEy sēdEq</u>	We have no fish.
<u>sikami, geli, mErēgen is kEnami</u>	As for us, friend, our
<u>he qEgkEqulaqūla</u>	life is very hard.
<u>mEbēgat qūtEw se qūled</u>	The snake is very heavy

Historical and comparative data suggest that e in this dialect had its source in two proto-vowels--pepet, and proto-a. Comparison shows that E in Manobo parallels a in Binukid (a neighboring dialect in northern Bukidnon) and reflects Proto-Malayo-Polynesian ā, while e parallels e in Binukid and reflects Proto-Malayo-Polynesian pepet. The following chart will demonstrate this.

<u>Manobo</u>	<u>Binukid</u>	<u>PMP</u> ⁴	
<u>dEgami</u>		<u>*dagaRamih</u>	straw
<u>tapEy</u>	<u>tapay</u>	<u>*tapay</u>	ferment
<u>ranEw</u>	<u>lanaw</u>	<u>*danaw</u>	lake
<u>qandEw</u>	<u>qaldaw</u>	<u>*qa(N)jaw</u>	day, sun
<u>qebaga ~ qebage</u>	<u>qabaga</u>	<u>*baRah</u>	shoulder
<u>duma ~ dumE</u>	<u>duma</u>		companion
<u>tEtelu</u>	<u>tatelu</u>	<u>*teluh</u>	three
<u>begas</u>	<u>begas</u>	<u>*begas</u>	rice
<u>mEbēgat</u>	<u>mabēgat</u>	<u>*bēgat</u>	heavy
<u>dineg</u>		<u>*deNer</u>	hear
<u>deket</u>		<u>*deket</u>	stickiness
<u>qudipen</u>	<u>qulipen</u>	<u>*dipen</u>	slave
<u>keris</u>		<u>*ki/r/is</u>	dagger
<u>sedaq ~ sedEq</u>	<u>sedaq</u>		fish

FOOTNOTES

1. The data in this paper were collected during residence in the barrio of Barandias, Pangantocan, Bukidnon, Philippines in 1955, 1956, and 1958 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. A more extensive phonemic description appeared in Folklore Studies, Vol. XII, Tokyo, 1953, entitled "The Phonemes of Southern Bukidnon Manobo." Appreciation is due Richard S. Pittman for his help in editing and arranging the material in this paper.
2. q represents glottal stop.
3. For the purposes of this paper the voiced fricatives are not written so as to contrast with their voiced stop counterparts b, d, and g. These do contrast but this fact is not pertinent to the present description.
4. The reconstructions in this list are from Otto Dempwolff's Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesische Wortschatzes. The orthography represents the transcription used by Isidore Dyen.