PARTIAL LOSS OF CONTRAST BETWEEN \textit{a} AND \textit{e} \\
IN WESTERN BUKIDNON MANOBO$^1$

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The Proto-Malayo-Polynesian reflexes under consideration in this paper are the central vowels \textit{a} and \textit{e}. \textit{a} is low central open unrounded, and \textit{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 \textit{e} in these environments where no contrast with \textit{a} occurs represents Proto-Malaya-Polynesian \textit{a}. We will write it as \textit{E} in this paper. \textit{e} occurring elsewhere represents Proto-Malayo-Polynesian \textit{epet}, and will be written \textit{e}.

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

\begin{table}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
\textit{qeled} & shame & \textit{kanat} & stretch \\
\textit{qelad} & piece & \textit{genat} & go \\
\textit{qalad} & fence & \textit{lageng} & voice \\
\textit{balEy} & house & \textit{qEgkEqenan} & eating place \\
\textit{belEy} & to tire & \textit{qEgkEqenen} & food \\
\textit{gapas} & cotton & \textit{qEbagat} & strong wind \\
\textit{qipes} & cockroach & \textit{mEbegat} & heavy \\
\textit{hEqenem} & six & \textit{dineg} & hear \\
& & \textit{saqag} & floor \\
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

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-qen ke balEY  We saw the house.
n-E- qumEw dEy-qen ke datuq  We called the datu.
n-E- padpad dEy-qen ke kaluq  We dropped the hat.
n-E- hadek dEy-qen ke qebel  We smelled the smoke.

etc.  etc.

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

qEd-qEhaq-an dEy-qen ke qE-belay-an  We'll go see see the
   See we now the house lot
   home lot.

qEb-pE-tibas-Eq dan They fight with knives.
   reciprocal stab they

qEd-qinum-en din-qen 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:  antepenult  penult  ultima

n-EkEkEqEla bat  He has walled it.
Double base complex:

\[
\begin{array}{c|cccc}
\text{antepenult} & \text{penult} & \text{ultima} & \text{penult} & \text{ultima} \\
\hline
n-EkE- & ba & lEy & ba & lEy \\
\end{array}
\]

\[nEkEbalEybalEy \_kEy\]  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 \(E\).

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
\text{antepenult} & \text{penult} & \text{ultima} & \text{wall} \\
\hline
E & la & bat & \\
qEd-qE & la & bat & qa \quad \text{I wall.} \\
qEd-qElE & bat & -an & ku \quad \text{I wall it.} \\
tam & bar & medicine \\
qEd-tem & bar & -an & ku \quad \text{I medicine it.} \\
ta & ngel & food served up \\
n-Eng-E-te & nge & l-an & he pElatu \quad \text{dirty plates} \\
\end{array}
\]

2.2 The vowel position before syllable-final semivowel.

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

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
\text{baleEy} & \text{house} & \text{kenikEw} & 2\text{nd sing. referent} \\
\text{qetEw} & \text{person} & \text{linEw} & \text{pool} \\
\text{qatEy} & \text{liver} & \text{qandEw} & \text{day} \\
\text{patEy} & \text{die} & \text{himatEy} & \text{kill} \\
\text{hipanEw} & \text{walk} & \\
\end{array}
\]

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).

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{patEy} & + \text{-an} = \text{pEtayan} & \text{death} \\
kEdhipanEw & + \text{-en} = kEdhipEnawen & \text{journey} \\
balEybalEy & + \text{-en} = bElbElayen & \text{toy} \\
EdhimatEY & + \text{-an} = qEdhimEtayan \_qEdin & \text{He is going to kill me.} \\
\end{array}
\]
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.)

\[
\begin{align*}
qE\text{-}genat^*\text{ ka} & \quad \text{Are you going?} \\
qE\text{-}genat^*\text{ kE\text{-}qen} & \quad \text{Are you going now?}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
qE\text{-}genat^*\text{ kE\text{-}qen^* daqan} \quad \text{go you-now also}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
qE\text{-}genat^*\text{ kE\text{-}qen^* daqan} & \quad \text{go you-now also} \\
qE\text{-}genat^*\text{ kEy\text{-}qen^* guntaqan} & \quad \text{go we-now today}
\end{align*}
\]

We are leaving today.

\[
\begin{align*}
qE\text{-}genat^*\text{ kEy\text{-}en^* guntaqan} & \quad \text{go we-now today}
\end{align*}
\]

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?"

\[
qE\text{-}genat^*\text{ kEy\text{-}en^* guntaqan} \quad \text{We are leaving today.}
\]

\[
qE\text{-}duma\quad \text{He will go along.}
\]

\[
qE\text{-}duma^*\text{ qa} \quad \text{I'll go along.}
\]

\[
qE\text{-}dumE^*\text{ kEy\text{-}qen} \quad \text{We'll go along.}
\]

\[
qE\text{-}dumE^*\text{ qE\text{-}dea} \quad \text{I'll just go along.}
\]
qEbaga  waterfall
qEbaga* ded  Just a waterfall.
qEbagE q*embes  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.

  *bataq  child
  batEq pa  Still a child.
  bata* a  I am a child.
  diyq  There.
  diyEq ded  Just there.
  diyEq ka  Go there.
  qihEndiyEq* nu  Put it there.
  diyEq kEqem bes  So there you are.
  kenEq a  Not I.
  kenEq Eqen  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.

  kenEq ka  Don't.
  kenEq kEqen  Don't do it now.
  kenEq a  Not I.
  kenEq Epa  I won't yet.
  kenEq EpEbes  So I won't yet?
  qEgkEhandek qa  I am afraid.
  qEgkEhandek q*Edin  I am afraid of him.
3. Further examples of e where contrast occurs with a follow:

*begas

*duqen

nEkEgenat qen

nEkEhEnhEnduqen

wadEq dEy sedEq

sikam, geli, mEregen is kEnami

he qEqkEqulaqula

mEbegaq qutEw se quled

There is.

He left already.

He acted like this.

We have no fish.

As for us, friend, our life is very hard.

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 *a, while e parallels e in Binukid and reflects Proto-Malayo-Polynesian *pepet. The following chart will demonstrate this.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manobo</th>
<th>Binukid</th>
<th>PMP⁴</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dEgami</td>
<td>*dagarami</td>
<td>straw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapEy</td>
<td>tapay</td>
<td>*tapay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ranEW</td>
<td>lanaw</td>
<td>*danaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qandEW</td>
<td>qaldaw</td>
<td>*qa(N)jaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qebaga ~ qebagE</td>
<td>qabaga</td>
<td>*barah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duma ~ dumE</td>
<td>duma</td>
<td>companion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tEtelu</td>
<td>tatelu</td>
<td>*teluh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>begas</td>
<td>begas</td>
<td>*begas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mEbegat</td>
<td>mabegat</td>
<td>*begat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dineg</td>
<td>*deNer</td>
<td>hear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deket</td>
<td>*deket</td>
<td>stickiness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qudipen</td>
<td>qulipen</td>
<td>*dipen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keris</td>
<td>*ki/r/is</td>
<td>dagger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sedaq ~ sedEq</td>
<td>sedaq</td>
<td>fish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.