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Cebuano 功能參考語法

A Functional Reference Grammar of Cebuano

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## ABSTRACT

Cebuano is a predicate-initial language. A Cebuano clause basically consists of a verb complex and noun phrases. The noun phrase contains a head noun and a case marker; sometimes modifiers are linked to the head noun by *nga*. The verb complex contains the main verb and clitic particles and pronominals; negators and adverbials can also be found in a verb complex, especially temporal and locative adverbials. Cebuano nominal case-marking exhibits an ergative pattern, but discourse data show a predominantly accusative pattern in interclausal linking. Transitivity has grammaticized in the voice constructions in Cebuano. The Actor Voice (AV) construction is intransitive, while the Patient Voice (PV), Locative Voice (LV), and the Instrument Voice (IV) constructions are transitive clauses. The intransitive clauses highlight the Actor and/or the action/movement carried out by the Actor, while the Patient(/Location/Instrument) that is affected by an action is highlighted in the transitive clauses (although the Actor remains more topical). In addition to AV clauses, there are distinct Extended Intransitive Clause (EIC) constructions where a Patient argument is oblique-marked; it is observed that the Patient in EICs do not track participants. In addition to LV clauses, there are also Extended Locative Voice (ELV) constructions, which carry the sense of “transfer.”

This dissertation is divided into three parts and contains 20 chapters. The first part describes basic grammatical elements of Cebuano. Chapter One introduces the language and reviews previous studies on Cebuano. Chapters Two and Three cover a general description of morphology and word order. Chapter Four covers noun phrases, while Chapter Five is on non-verbal clauses, especially clauses that are largely

composed of noun phrases. Chapter Six discusses the verb complex; Chapters Seven through Ten deal with negators, interrogatives, imperatives, and adverbial clauses, which are elements that commonly show up in a verb complex.

The second part of the dissertation, Chapters Eleven to Sixteen, deals with types of verbal constructions in Cebuano. Chapter Eleven is a discussion of complement constructions. Chapter Twelve is about intransitive constructions. Chapters Thirteen to Sixteen cover PV clauses and passive constructions, LV constructions and ELV clauses, IV clauses and other minor constructions, and causative constructions, respectively.

The final part of the dissertation, Chapters Seventeen to Nineteen, discusses Cebuano syntax from a discourse point of view, where linguistic phenomena, which are not easily observed in elicited and constructed clauses, become apparent and visible. In Chapter Seventeen, the argument structures of various types of verbs are illustrated. In Chapter Eighteen, reference tracking and inter-clausal organization are examined. It will also contain a discussion of the transitivity parameters. Chapter Nineteen covers the forms and functions of placeholder particles, as well as a description of various clitic particles and formulaic expressions in Cebuano. Chapter Twenty, the last chapter, provides a conclusion.

## 摘 要

Cebuano 爲一個謂語在前的一個語言。一個 Cebuano 語的句子基本上包含一個動詞語組與名詞片語。名詞片語含有主要名詞和一個適當的格位標記，有時候會有一些形容的詞，以連接詞 *nga* 連接至主要名詞。動詞語組則是由一個主要動詞和一些各樣的詞來組成，包括代名詞、否定詞，和各種副詞。Cebuano 語的格位標記呈現 *ergative* 的模式，但我們的語料顯示，在詞與詞的連接上卻呈現 *accusative* 的模式。及物性在這個語言裡已經語法化：主格句子都是不及物句，而物格、處格和工具格等句型都是及物句。不及物句強調主事者和他的行爲動作，而及物句則是強調受到動作影響的受事者、處所或工具（但主事者仍然是 *topical*）。再者，Cebuano 語還有延伸不及物句（*EIC*），其受事名詞以斜格來標記，此以斜格來標記的名詞並不是用來追蹤句子的論元。此外，還有延伸處所格句型（*ELV*），含有「載運」的意思。

此此博士論文分爲三大部分，共計二十章。第一大部分描述 Cebuano 語的基本文法元素。第一章介紹這個語言過去的相關研究。第二、三章談論構詞與詞序。第四、五章分別談及名詞片語與由名詞片語所組成之句子。第六章爲動詞語組，其組成份子在第七至十章詳細談(否定詞、問詞、祈使句型和副詞片語)。

第二大部分是第十一至十六章，主要談及 Cebuano 語之各種動詞句型，分別談補語句、不及物句、受事句與被動句、處所句與延伸處所句、工具句與其他句型，以及使役句等。第三大部分是第十七至十九章，從言談的觀點來談 Cebuano 的語法。最後一章則是結論。

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## **Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION**

### **1.0 Objectives**

Significant progress has been attained in linguistics studies, especially with the recent rapid development in the areas of cognitive and functional linguistics, and not to mention the advances in archaeology, anthropology, genetics, and other related fields of study, so that we have now enriched and deepened our knowledge of languages and of various linguistic phenomena. Unfortunately, research on Cebuano has not kept up with such pace. According to Liao (2006), the span of 25 years from 1981 to 2005 produced only three dictionaries in Cebuano, namely, Cabonce (1993), Kaufman (1985), and Trosdal (1990). Liao further observes fewer studies done on Cebuano than on Ilokano, Kapampangan, and Bikol during this period.

In undertaking this dissertation research, I have set a three-fold objective. First, I endeavor to write a functional reference grammar of Cebuano that is based on the actual spoken language. In this regard, there is probably no other reference grammar on Cebuano that comes close to Wolff's (1962; 1965) scholarly work, which was entirely based on an extensive body of written corpus, and we aspire to match, if not surpass, this feat. My second objective is to depart from the traditional emphasis on phonological, morphological, and phrasal description employed in most previous and even in recent reference grammars, but to conduct analyses at the clausal and discourse levels to better reflect the actual forms and functions of the language in use. Related to this is the third objective: I will introduce some recent research findings on Cebuano grammar, especially on repair organization and grammatical constituency,

noun modification, reference tracking, and passive constructions, as they constitute a very important part in the grammar of Cebuano.

### **1.1 Data and Methodology**

In writing this dissertation, I rely mainly on actual spoken data, although elicited and constructed data, and written news articles from a Cebuano daily are used as well. I consider actual spoken data particularly crucial, as it has been emphasized in S. Huang (to appear) that, 'argument structure and thus transitivity cannot be pre-specified in the lexicon, but emerges from discourse,' and the same can be said about grammar as a whole. The Cebuano data consist of two types of narrative texts, the Pear Story<sup>1</sup> and the Frog Story,<sup>2</sup> each around 30 minutes in length, and five conversational texts totaling approximately two hours and 30 minutes; these were compiled between 2001 and 2008. For supplementary purposes, elicited and constructed data are employed for constructions found only in specialized contexts, and news articles taken from the Cebuano daily *Sun Star* are searched for appropriate examples.<sup>3</sup> Native speakers of Cebuano are also consulted on certain problematic issues and to verify certain readings.

### **1.2 Theoretical frameworks**

This dissertation is based on theories set forth by discourse functional linguists and construction grammar theorists, and I rely mainly on observation of patterns and constructions in discourse data. These and recent significant developments on Austronesian linguistics are briefly discussed below.

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<sup>1</sup> A Pear Story video clip can be found at this website: <http://www.pearstories.org/>.

<sup>2</sup> Frog Story: <http://www.amazon.com/exec/obidos/tg/detail/-/0140546324/002-7561052-6720039?v=glance>.

<sup>3</sup> The website edition of Sun Star can be found here: <http://www.sunstar.com.ph/breakingnews/>.

### **1.2.1 Discourse-functional linguistics**

Several studies based on spoken corpora have been made so that we now have a much better understanding of various linguistic phenomena (Ewing 2005; Hsieh and Huang 2006; S. Huang 2002a; H. Huang and S. Huang 2007, to appear; H. Huang and Tanangkingsing 2005; S. Huang and H. Huang 2003; S. Huang and Tanangkingsing 2005; Streeck 1996; Tanangkingsing and S. Huang 2007; and Wouk 2001, 2005, among others). However, reference grammars on Cebuano have not made any headway; I have done some work on Cebuano (Tanangkingsing 2004, 2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2008), but I have not come across any other similar study, especially in the field of discourse investigation.

The notion of ‘emergence’ has stemmed from research based on discourse data. It refers to the realistic view that language is formed due to discourse pressure and based on speakers' actual experience with language, and not by a pre-existent and fixed set of grammar rules (Ochs, Schegloff, and Thompson 1996; Bybee and Hopper 2001). The grammar of any language evolves in order to serve its users' goals, whether to conceptualize, communicate, or collaborate (Du Bois 2003). Within discourse, considered as the domain of language use, functions most often implemented will play the greatest role, it is claimed, in shaping how grammars come to be the way they are. Across the literature, there has evidently been a serious mismatch between the findings of research based on utterances in actual conversational contexts and accounts that rely exclusively on constructed data (Bybee and Hopper 2001; Tao 2003; Thompson and Hopper 2001).

As for elicited data, various discourse and sociolinguistic factors contribute to their results inconsistent with findings obtained from corpora. There is no real discourse context in the process of sentential elicitation and therefore there is no

speaker involvement and there would be no means to track discourse flow. For example, as Nordquist (2004) observed in English, lexically-specific, highly-entrenched units (e.g., *I think*) will not be reproduced; what are obtained instead are infrequent uses that are not typical of conversation styles because of the stronger likelihood of open choice processing in the context of elicitation; in other words, informants are more likely to be creative (e.g., *I cough*) in filling out slots of schemas in accordance with their individual choices.

### **1.2.2 Construction grammar**

Constructions are stored form-meaning pairings that include morphemes or words, idioms, partially lexically-filled and fully abstract phrasal patterns (Goldberg 1992, 1995, 2003; Croft 2001). They can actually be thought of as the same as lexical items, although they are syntactically more complex and schematic (Croft 2001). Forms are typically associated with semantic or discourse functions. The following is an example to illustrate this: the ditransitive construction in English (S-V-Obj<sub>1</sub>-Obj<sub>2</sub>), not the individual lexical words used, produces the implication of "transfer" in contrast to the dative construction entailing caused motion to a location (S-V- Obj<sub>2</sub>-PP), where the location is not obligatorily an animate being (as opposed to Obj<sub>1</sub>). The equivalent of these two English constructions in Cebuano is *gi-V-an(=)A Goal ug P*, which conveys the general meaning of "transfer" (to be discussed in Chapter 13 on Extended Locative Voice Constructions). To give another example, argument structure constructions assign semantic values to each argument position, in addition to bearing meaning as a whole (Goldberg 1995, cited in Du Bois 2003); the form or function of these patterns is not strictly predictable from their component parts. Moreover, an actual expression may also involve the combination of other different

constructions. For example, the grammatical constituent Verb Complex in Cebuano contains the construction composed of a predicate and a second-order clitic and the construction composed of a root verb and its affix (see Chapter 5 on Verb Complex).

Although some patterns are primarily used colloquially, they are part of every native speaker's repertoire; they are productive or semi-productive constructions and must be learned on the basis of input (Goldberg 2003). Thus we also examine minor constructions and formulaic expressions in Cebuano in our study (Chapters 14 and 19). These various constructions in a given language are understood to be learned on the basis of input together with general cognitive mechanisms.

### **1.2.3 Recent developments in Austronesian linguistics**

The nature of the "focus" system in Philippine-type languages has been a long-standing issue. After numerous studies in this field, the view that the non-Agent Voice (NAV) clauses,<sup>4</sup> or more specifically the Patient Voice (PV) clause, in Philippine-type languages is an active construction has come to be widely accepted (Brainard 1994; Brainard and Molen 2005; Cooreman, Fox, and Givon 1984; Mithun 1994; Gerdtz 1988, among others). Moreover, it has also been recognized among Austronesian linguists that AV clauses, especially in the majority of Formosan and Philippine languages, are syntactically intransitive (Liao 2002, 2004; Starosta 1997, 1998, 1999; among others), taking at most only one core argument. It is now a well-recognized fact that AV clauses with an oblique-marked Patient argument, also called Extended Intransitive Clauses (EIC), are a separate clause type in many Philippine-type languages, as the core vs. oblique distinction in these languages is pretty robust (S. Huang, to appear).

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<sup>4</sup> AV refers to the intransitive Actor Voice clauses. In the section on Word Order, A=V which refers to the order between the Actor-like clitic argument and the Verb, is expressed with "=", indicating a clitic.

In addition, I agree to the proposal set forth in Nolasco (2005, 2006) for a conceptual (re)-formulation of transitivity in Philippine languages in terms of *source of action* and *most affected entity*, where speakers give the highest degree of prominence to the *most affected entity*. The said proposal states that, an AV construction focuses on an action performed by an S without necessarily affecting any external entity; a NAV construction focuses on an exclusive Patient totally affected by a punctual and telic action carried out deliberately and effortfully, especially by the use of the perfective affix *gi-*. This is based on Nolasco's reformulation of Hopper and Thompson's (1981) transitivity parameters to suit the Philippine condition, as shown in Table 1-1. The amended parameters are indicated in bold characters. This will be taken up again in detail in Chapter 18.

**Table 1-1. Transitivity parameters as applied to Philippine languages (Nolasco 2005)**

		<b>High</b>	<b>Low</b>
<b>A.</b>	<b>No. of Arguments</b>	<b>Distinct A and P</b>	<b>S</b>
B.	Kinesis	action	state
C.	Aspect	telic	atelic
D.	Punctuality	punctual	non-punctual
<b>E.</b>	<b>Intentionality</b>	<b>deliberate</b>	<b>volitional</b>
<b>F.</b>	<b>Particularity</b>	<b>particular</b>	<b>general</b>
<b>G.</b>	<b>Directionality</b>	<b>external</b>	<b>internal</b>
<b>H.</b>	<b>Effort</b>	<b>effortful</b>	<b>effortless</b>
I.	Affectedness of P	P totally affected	P not affected
<b>J.</b>	<b>Exclusivity of P</b>	<b>exclusive P</b>	<b>non-exclusive P</b>

S. Huang (2005) proposes that the LV (Locative Voice) vs. PV vs. IV (Instrumental Voice) constructions yield an analysis of the O arguments as a split phenomenon. That is, all of the thematic roles of the nominative NPs in PV, LV and IV clauses encode basically some kind of spatial relation. The nominative NP of a PV clause is a Patient object, that of the LV clause an abstract Location, and that of the IV a Transported theme. Other functions of IV clauses have been shown to derive from these more basic functions. Instrument NPs are interpretable as a variation on location;

if someone flies in the air, ‘the air’ is a medium, and thus also a location. Therefore, a localist interpretation provides a unified and substantive explanation for the forms and functions of the LV, PV, and IV clauses and related grammatical constructions.

Moreover, in Cebuano, the IV clauses which are associated with benefactives in Formosan languages have lost this function; now the nominative NPs of Cebuano IVs encode only transported theme and instrument. The usual IV functions of indicating cause or benefactive have now been taken over by LV clauses. The LV clauses in Cebuano still retain their normal functions of indicating location and goal.

### **1.3 Cebuano as a Bisayan language**

Cebuano (also spelled as Sebwanon and known as Sugbuanon), along with Leyteño and Boholano, belongs to the Cebuan subgroup of the Bisayan languages (Zorc 1977), which is a subgroup of Central Philippine languages (where Tagalog and Bikol also belong), which is in turn a subgroup of Meso-Philippine languages (such as Palawano and Agutaynen). Based on a study of 36 Bisayan speech varieties, Zorc (1977) lists seven exclusively-shared features and another seven exclusively-shared lexical items that appear to be innovations of the Cebuano subgroup. These exclusively shared features are the *ug* indefinite marker, *unsa* ‘what’, *kinsa* ‘who’, *unya?* ‘later on (same day)’, *ganiha* ‘earlier (same day)’, the past time marker *ga*, and the loss of \*k in certain discourse particles. The seven exclusively shared lexical items are *pa?ak* ‘bite’ \*kagat, *ig?agaw* ‘cousin’ tagasa, *buntag* ‘morning’ \*agah, *du?ul* ‘near’ \*rapit, *dula?* ‘play’, *singut* ‘sweat’ \*balhas, and *balibag* ‘throw away’ \*pilak (Zorc 1977: 279). Cebuano is spoken by some 20 million people on the Cebu Island and on the side of Leyte facing Cebu (sometimes called Leyteño). Similar varieties of Cebuano are also spoken on Bohol (sometimes called Boholano), the eastern side of

Negros, in the northern and eastern parts of Mindanao, as well as in Zamboanga in the southwest of Mindanao. Figures 1-1 and 1-2 show the areas in central and southern Philippines where the language is spoken (Cebuano is marked no. 34 on the maps). During the period after independence until the mid-seventies, it was the largest linguistic group in the Philippines.<sup>5</sup>

The Bisayan languages (Malayo-Polynesian, Meso-Philippine, Central Philippine), of which Cebuano is a subgroup, are divided into five subgroups.<sup>6</sup> Cebuano is part of the Bisayan dialect complex and is intermediate between the Central Bisayan and South Bisayan subgroups.

#### South

Butuan-Tausug: Butuanon, Tausug

Surigao: Surigaonon (Surigaonon, Jaun-Jaun, Kantilan, Naturalis)

#### Cebuano

**Cebuano** (Cebuano, Boholano, Leyteño)

#### Central

Peripheral: Ati, Capiznon, Hiligaynon, Masbatenyo, Porohanon

Romblon: Romblomanon

Warayan: Sorsogon and Masbate, Gubat, Samar-Waray

#### Banton

Bantoanon (Banton, Odionganon, Sibale)

#### West

Aklan: Aklanon, Malaynon

Caluyanun (Zorc 1977 does not have this subgroup)

Kinarayan: Kinaray-a (Pandan, Kinaray-a, Gimaras)

Kuyan: Ratagnon, Cuyonon (Datagnon, Santa Teresa, Semirara, Kuyonon)

North Central: Inonhan (Bulalakaw, Dispoholnon, Looknon, Alcantaranon)

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<sup>5</sup> In the 1940s, Cebuano speakers criticized the use of Tagalog as a basis for Filipino and actively resisted its use to some extent. For instance, after an attempt by the central government to enforce the use of Tagalog as the language of instruction in all public schools in the eighties, the governor of Cebu initiated the singing of the Philippine national anthem in Cebuano rather than that in Filipino (Tagalog) in the island province of Cebu. This resistance was not intended to undermine the country's national unity. On the part of the Cebuanos, it was mostly a protest against "imperial Manila" and a clamor for linguistic and regional recognition.

<sup>6</sup> The subgrouping hypothesis used here is from <http://www.ethnologue.com/>. For a complete listing and information on all Bisayan languages, refer to [http://www.ethnologue.com/show\\_family.asp?subid=92372](http://www.ethnologue.com/show_family.asp?subid=92372). The languages in parentheses are listed by Zorc (1977).

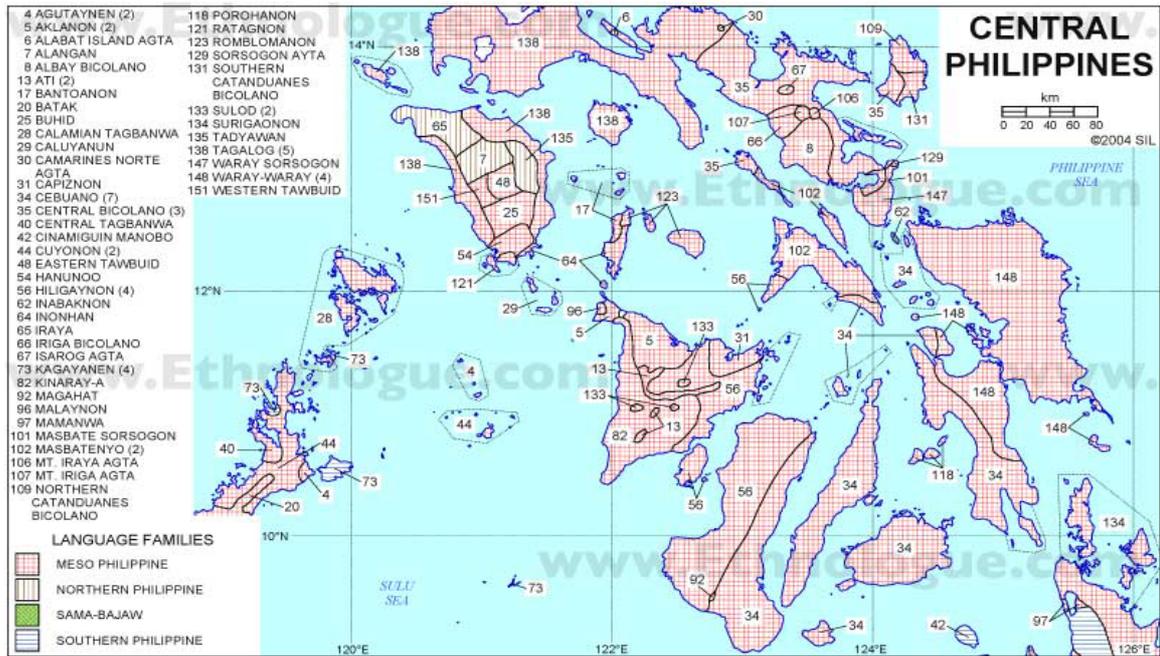


Figure 1-1 Cebuano language map ([www.ethnologue.com](http://www.ethnologue.com): Central Philippines)

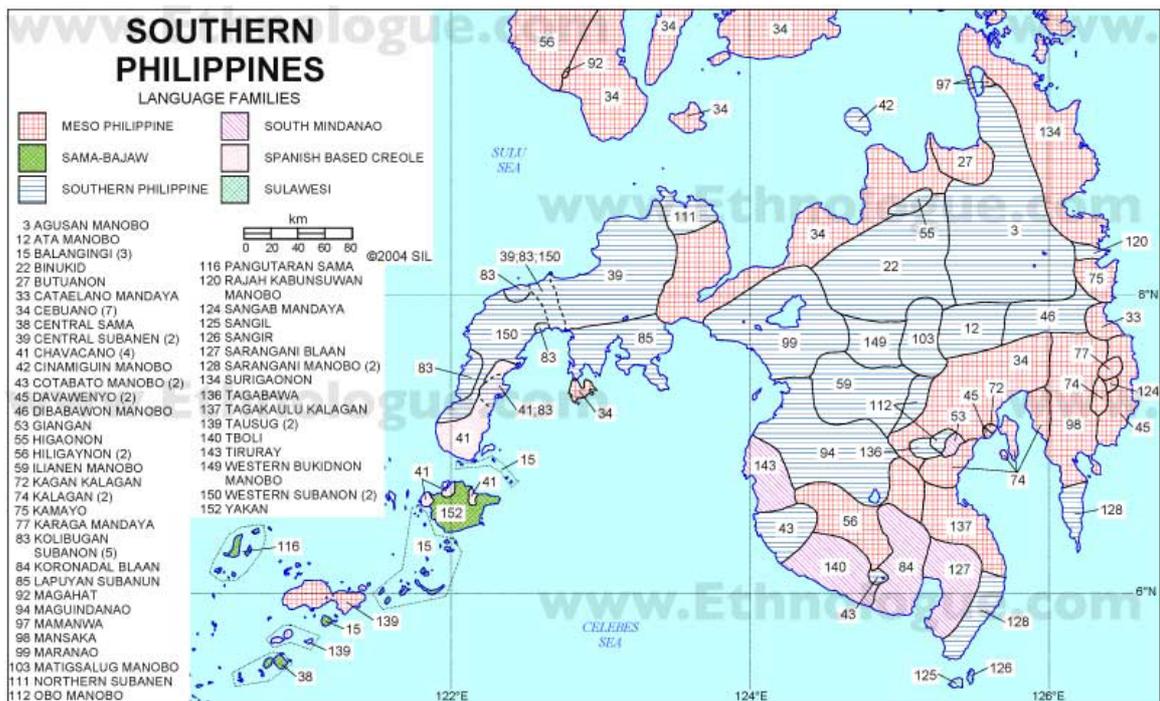


Figure 1-2 Cebuano language map ([www.ethnologue.com](http://www.ethnologue.com): Southern Philippines)

#### 1.4 Previous research on Cebuano

The first published Cebuano wordlist was prepared by Antonio Pigafetta in 1521. Pigafetta must have later worked on a manuscript on *Cebuano-Visayan grammar* (undated), which contains 19 chapters on the traditional categories of grammar. The grammatical descriptions are brief and simplified with very few

examples. However, there are parts which are of great value; for example, it contains a description of contractions and interjections, which are generally left out in other reference grammars. Materials on the portion covering verbs are outdated. As mentioned in the preface, this manuscript was supposed to be a preparatory material for publication; however, I doubt if it was ever published.

The first Cebuano dictionary was the *Bisayan Dictionary*, a manuscript done by Francisco Encina in 1633. However, it was not until 1885 that grammar notes were added into the *Diccionario Bisaya-Español* (third edition) [which was edited by Juan Felix Encarnacion, O.R.S.A., although they were only restricted to the alphabet, stress, and pronunciation]. This compilation was done mainly to enable the Spanish friars to learn the language in order to become more effective in spreading Christianity in the Bisayan-speaking areas.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, this dictionary is deemed a useful tool for historical linguists interested in the evolution of Cebuano lexical items. The lexical entries also reflect the contemporary attitude toward the natives.

By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Spanish was used in almost all the bilingual dictionaries that came to press. The first dictionary that included English was the *Pocket Dictionary of English, Spanish, Visayan Languages* by Hymen Cohen and Antonio Medalle y Zaguirre in 1900. In 1933, the *Vocabulario Binisaya-Ininsik: mga masayon nga paagi alang sa pagtuon sa ininsik* 'Visayan-Chinese Vocabulary: Easy ways for learning Chinese' by Juan Bacatan (translated to Chinese by Delfin Camos) included Chinese.

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Conant, an American linguist, collaborated with native speakers of Cebuano in compiling a Cebuano-English dictionary containing about 5,500 words, but they have not been published (Constantino 1971). He wrote another

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<sup>7</sup> Acknowledgement is due to Jessie Grace U. Rubrico whose articles (found at <http://www.languagelinks.org/onlinepapers/>) serve as the main source for the review of works on Cebuano.

article on the evolution of the Bisaya language, which appeared in *Ang Suga* 'The Light' in 1910 (Constantino 1971). Another American linguist, Blake, also wrote articles on Bisayan languages (1906, 1907, 1908, 1910, 1911, 1916), but his data were taken from second-hand sources and were not very reliable. He was able to analyze though, that the Actor is more "emphatic" than the indefinite Patient in intransitive clauses, although at that time, these were still believed to be "active" (1906).

After the war, Manuel Yap (1947), a Cebuano priest, wrote *Ang dila natong Bisaya* as an accompaniment to a translation of the New Testament into Cebuano in a span of a little over two months. The contents, written in Cebuano and containing 26 chapters, are in paragraph form with very few sample sentences, so it is a rather difficult reference book to consult with especially for non-speakers of Cebuano. Nevertheless, the description of the language is generally accurate and satisfactory, and this is generally considered a good reference grammar written of Cebuano.

In the post-Independence period between 1950 and 1970, there were only a handful of linguistic works on Cebuano, including a short article on Cebuano verbal clauses by Percy and Kathleen Meiklejohn (1953), a monograph on Cebuano by Bergh (1958), the *Cebuano reference materials* by V. Morey (1961), and two doctoral dissertations: Flores (1963) and Anderson (1965). During the late 60s, John Wolff wrote two volumes of Cebuano lessons and also finished his dissertation on Cebuano Visayan syntax in 1965.

Bergh's (1958) unpublished work, *Analysis of the syntax and the system of affixes in the Bisaya language from Cebu*, is an analysis of Cebuano based on data taken from various issues of *Bisaya* in 1953 and was first written in Dutch as a tool to help young priests learn the language. It was later translated into English by G. Trienekens, M.S.C. This work contains discussions of the verbal system and morphology, with a

bit of description of conjunctions. Discussion of the language is done from the point of view of western linguists. References to Indo-European linguistic phenomena are often made.

Morey (1961) deals with syntax and morphology in her work, *Cebuano reference materials*. As the title suggests, the materials are only for reference with very limited description. Her data consist entirely of constructed sentences, which are probably helpful to beginners, but which sometimes give the feeling of artificial-ness (as Wolff put it). Moreover, she also gives some very unnatural sentences, which are grammatically possible, but rarely attested in actual spoken data, such as the use of two third-person pronouns in a single clause ( $V=ni\alpha=sila$ ), as we will demonstrate in Chapter 18 that the A argument is always expressed as zero in such circumstances.

The most outstanding works on Cebuano to date have been done by Wolff (1962, 1965, 1972). In 1962, he wrote an unpublished reference grammar of Cebuano. Organized into four volumes, it contains a detailed and accurate description of the language by way of very specific grammatical rules with an abundant supply of sample sentences.<sup>8</sup> Reorganizing this material, he produced his doctoral dissertation in 1965, a very systematic and comprehensive account of Cebuano based on actual data including written publications and taped oral sources. However, Wolff used his own terminologies, and it is a bit difficult to search for explanations of a certain

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<sup>8</sup> Wolff (pers. comm.) himself describes the making of this reference material as follows: "... It was based on many published texts, books, plays, recorded conversations and copies of *Bisaya* and some other Cebuano language magazines as well. At that time *Bisaya* was a good magazine. A lot of the things they published were of excellent literary quality. I would read through them and underline all the words with affixations I thought were worthy of study. I hired people to copy out the complete sentence with the underlined word and give the reference on a slip of paper and then a typist put each one on an index card. It was quite labor intensive. We arranged the cards by affix and there I had a stack of examples with context of anything that could conceivably occur, as I had a large range of styles from a period of time going from 1900 to 1962. That was before computers were available to make concordances. Now it would be much less labor intensive, but at that time employment was difficult to come by in Cebu and the people worked for very modest salaries. My grant provided me with over a thousand dollars a month, and that was enough for me to pay rent on a house, hire a large staff and even buy the furniture I needed. I finished the project in less than 12 months."

grammatical element. Moreover, almost half a century has passed and a new reference grammar of Cebuano is needed, since "the language has changed much," as Wolff himself remarked (pers. comm.).

In 1972, he published *A Dictionary of Cebuano Visayan*, an exhaustive and scholarly work with entries that include acronyms, idiomatic expressions, euphemisms, slangs, abbreviations and loan words from English, and it remains until today a rich source of data for students of Cebuano. In the introduction section, Wolff indicates no intention of prescribing the correct forms of Cebuano, but to describe the language as it was used by the speech community at that time. This results in this dictionary's being highly recommended to linguists and students alike. It contains information on the grammatical structure of the language and an especially detailed description of the Cebuano verb system. The definitions and annotations that he provides for each lexical item include, in the words of Rubrico, "...the different shades of meaning, thus covering a wider ethnographic spectrum. Wolff has encapsulized the local color and the way of life of the Cebuanos, capturing not only the lifestyle of the elite, but also the street lingo, the taboos and euphemisms, . . . ." <sup>9</sup> In other words, Wolff has succeeded in describing the language as it was used by the Cebuano-speaking community at that point in time. A main feature of the dictionary is the classification of verbs into categories in accordance with the types of affixes that they can co-occur with. Aside from linguistic explanations, the dictionary also contains rich cultural and social references, making it also useful to non-linguists, especially anthropologists.

Cebuano has an abundance of loan words. It has borrowed words from Spanish, such as *krus* (<*cruz*) 'cross' and *brilyante* (<*brillante*) 'brilliant'. It has several

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. <http://www.languagelinks.org/onlinepapers/>.

hundreds of loan words from English as well, which are adapted to conform to the limited phonemic inventory of Cebuano: *brislit* (<bracelet), *hayskul* (<high school), *syaping* (<shopping), *dikstrus* (<dextrose), *sipir* (<zipper), *bigsyat* (<big shot), or *prayd tsikin* (<fried chicken), which are treated as entries in Wolff (1972). Chinese loan words have also enriched the lexical items like *bakya* 'wooden slippers' and *buysit* 'bad luck' (Wolff 2001), and especially those pertaining to food, such as *siopao* 'meat bun' and *bihun* 'rice noodle'. As for special terminologies, kinship terms first appeared in "Cebuano-Visayan Kinship Terms," an article by Ignacio T. Quijano that appeared in the *Philippine Magazine* (Vol. 34 [August 1937], pp. 359-360) in 1937.

Bunye and Yap's (1971) *Cebuano grammar notes* are not comprehensive, but are at least useful to students who are learning Cebuano. As noted in the preface, the contents need further revision. The sketch is 109 pages in length. It covers Phonology, Morphology, and the Sentence, which is further divided into two sections on non-verbal sentences and verbal sentences. Its major contribution is in a relatively-comprehensive description of particles, which is generally left out in reference grammars.

Bell's (1976) dissertation examines the notion of subject in Cebuano from both transformational-generative and relational grammar points of view. Cebuano is considered to be syntactically accusative in this work. The actor-voice clauses are considered to be basic and transitive and the undergoer-voice clauses are considered to be derived and passive (intransitive). However, this claim has been questioned by Dryer (1978) and by now, her description of the language has been proven to be inaccurate by many of recent studies and as Ross (2002) puts it, such an analysis has faded from discussion.

Zorc (1977) is a thorough examination of the phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon of 36 speech varieties spoken in central and southern Philippines. Through the use of lexicostatistics and a 100-functor list that is made up of high-frequency grammar-based morphemes, as well as the identification of shared innovations, Zorc considers these speech varieties as belonging to a single Bisayan subgroup of central Philippine languages. He lists seven exclusively-shared features and seven exclusively-shared lexical items that are innovations of the Cebuano subgroup, which consists of Cebuano, Boholano, and Leyteño.

Trosdal's *Formal-functional grammar of the Cebuano language* (1992), based on her formal-functional analysis of Cebuano (Trosdal 1995), is an excellent material for students of Cebuano, as it provides a step-by-step discussion of various aspects of the language with clear examples. Each lesson provides not only a simple explanation and discussion of the subject matter, but also a short dialogue where students will be able to gain some idea about the actual use of the words and phrases discussed in the lesson. The material is accompanied by a vocabulary list at the end.

Walters (1995) applies quantitative discourse-based measures to clarify the pragmatic functions of AV and PV clauses in Cebuano. Using five narratives compiled by Wolff (1962) and applying quantitative measures of topicality, frequency of use, and transitivity, he concludes that the PV clauses might have acquired different discourse functions through combination with punctual and potential aspect. The PV clauses in punctual aspect are found to function more like active voice in discourse than are AV clauses. As for PV clauses in the potential aspect, our own study using actual spoken data further shows that agent-less PV constructions in the potential aspect function as passives (please refer to Chapter 14 of this dissertation).

In Kilaton's (2000) *Binisaya--Sinugbuanon nga batadila*, the ordering of the chapters is influenced by traditional western grammars. Examples given are phrasal and sentential without any context, and sometimes lack glosses and translation, which is not helpful to students and linguists who are trying to learn the language. Moreover, errors are found in descriptions (e.g., on negation).

As for the few other works on Cebuano, they will be cited in the relevant parts of this dissertation.

## **1.5 Organization**

I believe that this dissertation will contribute to the study of the Cebuano language as it is mainly based on actual spoken data. Moreover, analyses are made at the clausal and the discourse levels, a departure from the traditional emphasis on phonological and morphological levels of linguistic study.

This dissertation is divided into three parts. The first part from Chapter 2 to Chapter 11 is a general description of Cebuano, but the presentation of the materials is done in accordance with the kinds of grammatical constituents that make up a Cebuano clause. In H. Huang and Tanangkingsing (2005), we identified the major constituents in Cebuano by the observation of the data recorded in Intonation Units and of the organization of repair.<sup>10</sup> Without such methodology, a grammar of Cebuano, and that of other Philippine-type languages cannot avoid the problem of being organized in the same way that western linguists handle the grammars of the well-studied Indo-European languages. For example, verbs in Cebuano, as well as in the majority, if not all, of the Philippine-type languages, form part of a larger constituent that we call Verb Complex. The adverbials and particles that constitute the

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<sup>10</sup> The Intonation Unit is a prosodic unit in natural discourse consisting of a speech segment that falls into a single coherent intonation contour (Chafe 1987, Du Bois et al. 1993). It reflects language-in-use through which a more realistic account of the grammatical units in a spoken language can be provided.

Verb Complex should be described or studied in relation to their function and position within the Verb Complex constituent. However, they have traditionally been treated in separate units in reference grammars without any reference at all to the Verb Complex.

My basic description of Cebuano in the first part of this dissertation is therefore based on such observations. After the basic phonological and morphological aspects (Chapter 2) and the clausal structure of Cebuano (in Chapter 3), I discuss Noun Phrases (NP) (in Chapter 4) and the non-verbal clauses associated with them (in Chapter 5). Then I discuss the Verb Complex (in Chapter 6) and grammatical elements associated with it: negation in Chapter 7, interrogatives in Chapter 8, imperatives in Chapter 9, and adverbials in Chapter 10. Finally, I examine complementation constructions in Chapter 11.

In the second part of the dissertation, which is from Chapter 12 to Chapter 16, I deal with various clause patterns formed by verbs with different voice derivations. For example, the AV clause is recruited as an intransitive construction used to emphasize the Agent and the action or the state that it is in (see Chapter 12), given the Object/Patient primacy feature of Philippine-type languages (Cena 1977). Such distinct constructions, as well as other specific constructions such as PV and passive constructions (Chapter 13), LV constructions and extended LV constructions (Chapter 14), IV and other minor constructions (Chapter 15), and causative constructions (Chapter 16) then have to be studied and treated in relation to their functions and forms.

In the third and final part of the dissertation from Chapter 17 onwards, I endeavor to show Cebuano syntax from a discourse point of view, where linguistic phenomena, which are not easily observed in elicited and constructed clauses become apparent and visible. In Chapter 17, I investigate the argument structure of various

types of verbs. In Chapter 18, I examine inter-clausal organization, which includes referential tracking and semantic transitivity, where I apply the parameters proposed by Nolasco (2005, 2006, based on Hopper and Thompson 1981) on Cebuano. In Chapter 19, I look at the functions of *ku?an*, a particle easily ignored and overlooked but has proven to be a useful and important device in carrying out a conversation in the Cebuano language. This particle *ku?an* has cognates in many Philippine-type languages but linguists have not paid any attention to them (Rubino 1996 and Streeck 1996 are exceptions), viewing them as mere "speech errors." It has to be examined if we are to understand how speakers manipulate the linguistic resources available to them. I also present a description of the various discourse markers and formulaic expressions in Cebuano.

## CHAPTER 2

### A BASIC DESCRIPTION OF CEBUANO

#### 2.0 Introduction

In this chapter I will briefly discuss the basic grammatical aspects of Cebuano. In 2.1, I will first show the orthography and the phonemic system. This part of the grammar has been investigated in detail in previous studies (Wolff 1962, 1965, 2001; Trosdal 1992, 1995, among others), so I will only provide a general description. In 2.2, I will consider the syllable structures in Cebuano, as well as the results of related studies (Wolff 2001; Bunye and Yap 1972; Maxilom 2008). In 2.3, I will discuss the morphological and syntactic means to distinguish, as well as to derive, nouns and verbs (including dynamic and stative verbs) in Cebuano. In 2.4, I will examine numerals and how plural forms are used in the language. In 2.5, I will discuss reduplication. Finally, in 2.6, I will provide a summary.

#### 2.1 Orthography and the phonemic inventory

Cebuano has sixteen consonants: *p, t, k, ʔ* (the **glottal stop**), *b, d, g, m, n, N, s, h, w, l, r, y, c,* and *j*, as shown in Table 2-1. There are three vowels: the high front *i*, the low *a*, and the high, back, rounded *u/o*; these are not nasalized. The vowels ***u*** and ***o*** are allophones, with ***u*** always being used at the beginning of a syllable, and ***o*** at the end.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Rubrico notes that in *Dictionary Bisayan-English-Tagalog* compiled by Tomas V. Hermosisima and Pedro S. Lopez, Jr. in 1966, Hermosisima proposed the standardization of *u* and *o*, "the vowel *u* should be used in the beginning and middle syllables while the vowel *o* should be used in the last syllable of the word base." (<http://www.languagelinks.org/onlinepapers/>)

**Table 2-1. Cebuano consonants (Wolff 2001)**

	bilabial	dental	palatal	velar	glottal
Voiceless stops	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	?
Voiced stops	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>	
Fricatives		<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ɲ</i>	
Liquids		<i>l, r</i>			
Glides			<i>y</i>	<i>w</i>	

In Cebuano orthography, the glottal stop is not usually explicitly marked, although it is phonemic. In this dissertation, it will be represented by the symbol ?; however, I do not mark it before the initial vowel letter in word-initial position. Some writers of Cebuano indicate the glottal stop (following a consonant) by a dash. A minimal pair would be *walá* 'left' and *walá?* 'existential negator.' Note that both words have their stress on the final syllable, but are written *wala*. The meaning can be distinguished from the context.

In general, the accent (stress or vowel length) of Cebuano words falls on the penultimate syllable, although there are exceptions. It is phonemic as shown by this minimal pair: *walá?* 'existential negator' and *wá:la?* '(to be) lost', but it is not indicated in the writing system; rather the words are distinguished by means of the context. More minimal pairs are shown in (1).

- (1) Minimal pairs showing differing accent/stress
- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <i>dápit</i> 'to invite'                 | <i>dapít</i> 'place'                        |
| <i>káha?</i> 'frying pan'                | <i>kahá?</i> particle (see Section 6.2.4)   |
| <i>síya</i> 'chair'                      | <i>siyá</i> 'third-person singular pronoun' |
| <i>tá?as</i> 'upstairs'                  | <i>ta?ás</i> 'tall; high'                   |
| <i>kasábot</i> 'a party in an agreement' | <i>kasabót</i> 'to comprehend'              |

## 2.2 Syllable patterns

There are two major types of syllables, namely, open syllable /CV/ and closed syllable /CVC/. As for the initial consonant sound, in written texts some words that seem to start with a vowel letter are actually pronounced with an initial glottal stop. However, in this dissertation, only the non-word-initial glottal stops are represented

by the symbol ?; word-initial glottal stop is not indicated). Wolff (2001: 122) notes though that there are exceptions to the /CVC/ pattern, "all syllables in forms not recent borrowings from Spanish and English have the shape C<sub>1</sub>(r)V(C<sub>2</sub>). C<sub>2</sub> may be any consonant but /h/." There are also phonetic sequences like CyV (e.g., *syudad* 'city') and CwV (e.g., *kwarta* 'money') that do occur, but these are phonologically analyzable as CiyV and CuwV, respectively, for there is no contrast between /Cy/ and /Ciy/. The other types of consonant clusters are illustrated in (2)<sup>12</sup> and examples are given in Table 2-2.

(2) Syllable structure:

/V/	<i>a-ko</i>	'I'	<i>u-sa</i>	'one'
/CV/	<i>ku-ha?</i>	'take'	<i>da-gat</i>	'sea'
/VC/	<i>un-ya?</i>	'later'	<i>an-hi</i>	'come'
/CVC/	<i>i-kaw</i>	'you'	<i>kan-ta</i>	'sing'
/CCV/	<i>gru-po</i>	'group'	<i>kla-ro</i>	'clear'
/CCVC/	<i>pwer-te</i>	'emphatic marker'	<i>kwat-to</i>	'room'

**Table 2-2. Consonant clusters in Cebuano** (adapted from Bunye and Yap 1972: 6)

	/w/	/y/	/r/	/l/	/s/
/p/	<i>pwerte</i>	<i>pyano</i>	<i>prito</i>	<i>plano</i>	-
/t/	<i>twerka</i>	<i>tyempo</i>	<i>trato</i>	-	<i>tsinelas</i>
/k/	<i>kwarta</i>	<i>kyugpos</i>	<i>krima</i>	<i>klaro</i>	<i>ekstra</i>
/b/	<i>bweno</i>	<i>byuda</i>	<i>braso</i>	<i>blangko</i>	-
/d/	<i>dwende</i>	<i>dyutay</i>	<i>drama</i>	-	-
/g/	<i>gwardya</i>	<i>gyud</i>	<i>grupo</i>	<i>Gloria</i>	-
/m/	<i>mwebles</i>	<i>Myerkoles</i>	-	-	-
/n/	<i>nwebe</i>	-	-	-	-
/s/	<i>swerte</i>	<i>syudad</i>	-	-	-
/h/	<i>Hwebes</i>	-	-	-	-

In spoken Cebuano, speakers make use of contracted forms, especially in rapid speech. Contractions are very often left out by reference grammars (with the exception of Pigafetta n.d. 4), because they are not considered to be a part of formal language. Maxilom (2008) finds that not only are they pervasive, there are also dialectal differences: speakers from the Cebu City area are found to delete a

<sup>12</sup> The words that are written as vowel-initial have a glottal stop sound preceding the initial vowel sound. Therefore the words in (2) are read as ?*ako*, ?*usa*, ?*unya?*, ?*anhi*, and ?*ikaw*.

consonant and lengthen the surrounding vowels, especially if they are the same vowel sounds more often than speakers from other Cebuano-speaking areas. Speakers from the neighboring islands of Bohol and Leyte make fewer alternations, while those from Mindanao and Negros Oriental are the most conservative ones.

There are two types of alternations: lexical and phrasal. The lexical alternations are shown in (3) and (4). In (3), the phoneme /l/ is deleted when it is between two ‘a’s or two ‘u’s, and the vowel sounds merge into a single syllable that is lengthened. In (4), the phoneme /l/ becomes [w] between ‘a’ and ‘u’.

(3) /l/ → Ø / [+back vowel]\_[+back vowel]

*kalabaw* → *ka:baw* 'carabao'

*dalan* → *da:n* 'road; street'

*wala* → *wa:* 'left (side)'

*sulod* → *su:d* 'inside; enter'

*ulu* → *u:* 'head'

(4) /l/ → [w] / [+back vowel]\_[+back vowel]

*hulat* → *huwat* 'wait'

*bulan* → *buwan* 'month'

*lalum* → *lawum* 'deep'

*kahibalu* → *kahibawo* 'know'

Phrasal alternants involve the phonological attachment of a function word to the preceding lexical item, which results in the deletion of the vowel sound of the function word. The function words that trigger phrasal alternation include the linker *nga*, and the case markers *ug*, *sa*, and *ang*, which are usually shortened to *-ng* (for the linker), *-g*, *-s*, and *-ng*, respectively. The first two show the strongest tendency to produce alternants, as they link closely-related units: *nga* (and sometimes also *ug*) links a head noun and its modifier, while *ug* links a verb and its (semantically obligatory) Patient argument. The latter two (i.e., *sa* and *ang*) are less integrated to the preceding verbal entity probably for clarity and emphasis (especially the nominative

*ang*), unless the entities linked are closely associated with each other. Some examples are shown in (5).

(5) phrasal alternations

*atu? nga higala* → *ato-ng higala* 'our friend'

*da?an nga/ug sinina?* → *da?a-(n)g sinina?* 'old dress'<sup>13</sup>

*palitan ug sapatos* → *palita-g sapatos* 'buy shoes (for somebody)

*ugma? sa buntag* → *ugma-s buntag* 'tomorrow (in the) morning'

*sulti-hi ang bata?* → *sulti-hi-ng bata?* 'tell the child'

### 2.3 Morphology

It is noted that Philippine languages generally lack a clear-cut lexical distinction between noun and verb (for example, Hiligaynon, as discussed in Spitz 2001), but I shall follow Himmelmann's (2005) position that lexical bases are morphologically and syntactically subcategorized. They are subcategorized syntactically as content words (i.e., noun, verb), and morphologically as having productive conversion/derivational processes. In this section, I will show such processes for deriving nouns and verbs in Cebuano. To do this, I shall take the stance of Croft (2001: 63), that noun and verb are not categories of particular languages, but that noun and verb are language universals—that is, there are typological prototypes which should be called noun and verb.

Unmarked nouns are words that refer to objects and are non-relational. There are certain morphological and syntactic means that can only apply to nouns (and not to verbs). These are discussed in Section 2.3.1 and are summarized in Table 2-3 and Table 2-4. Unmarked verbs are words that indicate actions that are process-oriented and transitory. They can take their root form in imperative constructions, which is not possible for nouns and adjectives (stative verbs cannot occur in imperative constructions). The affixes that can derive verbs out of nouns and “adjectives” are

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<sup>13</sup> The linker *nga* serves to link a head (usually a noun) and its modifying entity and the resulting *nga* phrase refers to a nominal entity. On the other hand, the *ug* phrase is a predicate phrase modifying a previously mentioned NP (this is discussed in Chapter 4).

discussed in Section 2.3.2. There is also a subclass of verbs that describe properties that are gradable, in the sense that they function to compare and that they can take the plural infix <g> and the particle clitics =ka?ayo and =gyud 'very'; this is not possible for nouns and dynamic verbs.

### 2.3.1 Nominal morphemes

Objects are non-relational; in other words, we conceive of an object or an entity, expressed as an unmarked noun, without the involvement of another concept, unlike for example *tall* (stative verb) or *run* (dynamic verb), where we have to conceptualize another entity that is *tall* or that is *running*. In Cebuano, these unmarked nouns for reference can be morphologically or syntactically marked by the plural marker *mga* to indicate multiple objects, or by a case marker, without any other derivational marker (e.g., nominalizer). These markers are discussed in Chapter 4 (Noun Phrase Structure). Another process that can only be applied to nouns is the simultaneous marking of a demonstrative pronoun and suffixation of a definitizer suffix *-a* (e.g., *kini-ng balay-a* 'this (very) house') to single out a specific object or entity, which cannot be applied to a verb (dynamic or stative), unless they are first derived into nouns (hence, they first need to be marked by a nominalizer). When verbs are case-marked or marked with a plural marker, they will have to be analyzed as a headless NP.

Verbs can be derived into nouns by various morphological means. I will divide the affixes into two groups: nominalization morphemes (Table 2-3) and (nominalizing) voice morphemes (Table 2-4). The discussion in this section is mainly based on Bunye and Yap (1971), Pigafetta (n.d.), and Wolff (1962, 1965, 1971).

**Table 2-3. Nominalization morphemes**

affix	base	meaning of derivation	examples	root/stem
<i>-ero</i>	N, V	occupation / profession	<i>basur-ero</i> 'garbage worker' <i>laba(nd)-ero</i> 'laundry washer'	<i>basura</i> 'garbage' <i>laba</i> 'wash (laundry)'
<i>hi-</i>	V	one who likes to do what the root signifies	<i>hi-mayle</i> 'dancer' <i>hi-nabako?</i> 'smoker'	<i>bayle</i> 'dance' <i>tabako?</i> 'smoke'
<i>isigka-</i>	N	fellow N	<i>isigka-tawo</i> 'fellowman'	<i>tawo</i> 'person'
<i>ka-</i>	V	reciprocal	<i>ka-ila</i> 'people who know each other' <i>ka-istorya</i> 'people conversing with each other' <i>ka-sakay</i> 'people on a ride together'	<i>ila</i> 'to identify' <i>istorya</i> 'to converse' <i>sakay</i> 'to ride'
	stative V	abstract concept	<i>ka-ayo</i> 'goodness' <i>ka-tarung</i> 'justice' <i>ka-tungod</i> 'right; reason'	<i>(ma-)ayo</i> 'good' <i>(ma-)tarung</i> 'just' <i>tungod</i> 'right'
<i>kada-</i>	N, V	each, every	<i>kada-adlaw</i> 'everyday' <i>kada-lakaw</i> '(at) each walk'	<i>adlaw</i> 'day' <i>lakaw</i> 'walk'
<i>pag-</i>	V	abstract concept/entity productive	<i>pag-atiman</i> 'care' <i>pag-ka?on</i> 'food' <i>pag-sulay</i> 'trial'	<i>atiman</i> 'to care' <i>ka?on</i> 'to eat' <i>sulay</i> 'to put to test'
<i>pagka-</i>	N, V	nature, essence of ... abstract concept/entity	<i>pagka-diyos</i> 'God-ness' <i>pagka-tawo</i> 'human-ness'	<i>diyos</i> 'God' <i>tawo</i> 'human'
<i>tag-</i>	V	owner of ...	<i>tag-balay</i> 'one who lives in a house' <i>tag-bu?ut</i> 'one who has a right to decide'	<i>balay</i> 'house' <i>bu?ut</i> 'opinion'
	V	doer of definite action productive	<i>tag-himo?</i> 'maker' <i>tag-sulat</i> 'writer; author' <i>tag-putos</i> 'packer'	<i>himo?</i> 'make' <i>sulat</i> 'write' <i>putos</i> 'pack'
<i>taga-</i>	N	up to a certain location native of a certain place productive	<i>taga-tuhud</i> 'up to the knee' <i>taga-Cebu</i> 'Cebu native' <i>taga-syudad</i> 'city dweller'	<i>tuhud</i> 'knee' <i>Cebu</i> 'Cebu' <i>syudad</i> 'city'
<i>tig-</i>	V	doer of habitual action productive	<i>tig-dala</i> 'one who habitually brings (something)' <i>tig-dawat</i> 'cashier' <i>tig-kuha?</i> 'one who habitually takes'	<i>dala</i> 'to bring (something)' <i>dawat</i> 'to receive' <i>kuha?</i> 'to take'
<i>ting-</i>	N, V, stative V	time or season for the work or weather expressed by the root	<i>ting-ani</i> 'harvest season' <i>ting-ulan</i> 'rainy season' <i>ting-tugnaw</i> 'cold season'	<i>ani</i> 'harvest' <i>ulan</i> 'rain' <i>tugnaw</i> 'cold'

**Table 2-4. Voice affixes serving as nominalizers**

affix	base	gloss	examples	root/stem
-(h)an	N, V	location; instrument (very productive)	<i>basura-han</i> 'trash can' <i>eskuyla-han</i> 'school' <i>kilo-han</i> 'weighing scale'	<i>basura</i> 'garbage' <i>eskuyla</i> 'to study' <i>kilo</i> 'kilo'
	V	someone addicted to a particular action	<i>kawat-an</i> 'thief' <i>pili?-an</i> 'picky' <i>tabi?-an</i> 'talkative' <i>tapul-an</i> 'lazy'	<i>kawat</i> 'to steal' <i>pili?</i> 'to pick' <i>tabi?</i> 'to talk' <i>tapul</i> 'to be lazy'
-an-an	N, V	place for V-ing	<i>higda?-an-an</i> 'place to lie on' <i>gamh-an-an</i> 'government' <i>tun-an-an</i> 'school'	<i>higda?</i> 'to lie down' <i>gahom</i> 'authority' <i>tu?un</i> 'to study'
gi-...-on	Pred	degree, dimension, or quantity	<i>gi-dak-on</i> 'largeness; size; extent' <i>gi-bag-on</i> 'thickness' <i>gi-daghan-on</i> 'total; quantity' <i>gi-lapd-on</i> 'width'	<i>dako?</i> 'large' <i>baga?</i> 'thick' <i>daghan</i> 'many' <i>lapad</i> 'wide'
ika-	V	instrument (substitute; something to be used as N)	<i>ika-ligo?</i> 'bathing suit' <i>ika-limpyo</i> 'something used for cleaning' <i>ika-tulog</i> 'sleepwear'	<i>ligo?</i> 'to bathe' <i>limpyo</i> 'to clean' <i>tulog</i> 'to sleep'
<in>	V	resultant state (lexicalized)	<i>h&lt;in&gt;ayhay</i> 'wet clothes to be hung for drying' <i>k&lt;in&gt;ugos</i> 'godchild' (child that one carried [at baptism]) <i>s&lt;in&gt;ugba</i> 'smoked fish/meat'	<i>hayhay</i> 'to hang wet clothes' <i>kugos</i> 'to carry' <i>sugba</i> 'to smoke fish or meat'
<in>...-an	V	manner (very productive)	<i>l&lt;in&gt;aktan-an</i> 'way of walking' <i>s&lt;in&gt;ayaw-an</i> 'way of dancing' <i>s&lt;in&gt;ul?ub-an</i> 'way of dressing'	<i>lakat</i> 'to walk' <i>sayaw</i> 'to dance' <i>sul?ub</i> 'to wear'
	V	state	<i>d&lt;in&gt;akp-an</i> 'prisoner; captive' <i>l&lt;in&gt;abh-an</i> 'washed clothes' <i>t&lt;in&gt;ago-an</i> 'secret'	<i>dakop</i> 'to capture' <i>laba</i> 'to wash clothes' <i>tago?</i> 'to hide'
ka-...-an	N	abstract entity; collective noun	<i>ka-gamhan-an</i> 'government' (entity with authority) <i>ka-higala-han</i> 'network of friends' <i>ka-taw-han</i> 'humankind'	<i>gahom</i> 'authority' <i>higala</i> 'friend' <i>tawo</i> 'person'
ka-...-on	N (time)	abstract time (lexicalized)	<i>ka-adlaw-on</i> 'dawn' <i>ka-buntag-on</i> 'morning'	<i>adlaw</i> 'day; sun' <i>buntag</i> 'morning'
	V	abstract concept	<i>ka-matay-on</i> 'death' <i>ka-minyo?-on</i> 'marriage'	<i>patay</i> 'to die' <i>minyo?</i> 'to marry'
mag-	N	kinship; reciprocal relation (lexicalized)	<i>mag-agaw</i> 'cousins' <i>mag-so?on</i> 'siblings' <i>mag-ti?ayon</i> 'married couple'	
	V	one who performs (plus reduplication of first syllable) (lexicalized)	<i>mag-a-asoy</i> 'narrator' <i>mag-du-du?aw</i> 'visitor' <i>mag-tu-tudlu?</i> 'teacher'	<i>asoy</i> 'to narrate' <i>du?aw</i> 'to visit' <i>tudlu?</i> 'to teach'
maN-	V	occupation / profession (first syllable of stem is lexicalized)	<i>ma(ng)-ngi-ngisda?</i> 'fisherman' <i>ma(n)-na-nabang</i> 'midwife' <i>ma(n)-na-nambal</i> 'doctor' <i>ma(n)-nu-nulat</i> 'writer'	<i>isda?</i> 'to fish' <i>tabang</i> 'to help' <i>tambal</i> 'to treat' <i>sulat</i> 'to write'
-on	V	sth to be V-ed	<i>labhan-on</i> 'laundry' <i>paliton-on</i> 'item (on a grocery list)'	<i>laba</i> 'to wash clothes' <i>palit</i> 'to buy'
<um>		dead formations (rare)	<i>g&lt;um&gt;ikan</i> 'because of; owing to' <i>d&lt;um&gt;alaga</i> 'young female animal' <i>&lt;um&gt;agad</i> 'son/daughter-in-law'	

### 2.3.1.1 Lexical nominalization

In this section, I will discuss further and provide more examples of the morphemes listed in Table 2-3 and Table 2-4.

The AV prefix *maN-* can denote a profession. In the examples given in (6), the first syllable of the root word is reduplicated together with the nasal part of the prefix. Some roots prefer the prefix *mag-* (7) rather than *maN-*; reduplication is still required.

(6) <i>maN</i> + redup + root → profession				
<i>ma(ng)-ngi-ngisda?</i>	'fisherman'	<	<i>isda?</i>	'fish'
<i>ma(n)-na-nabang</i>	'midwife'	<	<i>tabang</i>	'help'
<i>ma(m)-ma-masol</i>	'fisherman'	<	<i>pasol</i>	'to fish; fishing tool'
<i>ma(m)-ma-matay</i>	'killer'	<	<i>patay</i>	'die'

(7) <i>mag</i> + redup + root → profession				
<i>mag-a-asoy</i>	'narrator'	<	<i>asoy</i>	'narrate'
<i>mag-du-du?aw</i>	'visitor'	<	<i>du?aw</i>	'visit'
<i>mag-tu-tudlo?</i>	'teacher'	<	<i>tudlo?</i>	'teach'

Denoting names of professions, these lexical nouns in (6) and (7) are different from *tig-* (or *tag(a)-*) marked nouns (8) that refer to people doing the same actions on a "regular" basis but not as a "profession." For example, the *bring-er* in (8) cannot be referred to as *\*ma(n)-na-nala*; the *take-r* in (9) cannot be referred to as *\*ma(ng)-ngu-nguha?* (unless there are such professions in real life). The action denoted by the verb does not refer to their profession but constitutes only one of the duties that they are responsible for. The names of professions listed in (6) and (7) have initial syllables that are reduplicated. A *maN-* prefixed nominal without a reduplicated initial syllable could also denote not a profession but somebody who does something regularly as part of his responsibilities, as in (10).

(8) <i>tig-</i> marked NP				
<i>tig-dala=man=siya</i>	<i>diri</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>tnt</i>
TIG-bring=PAR=3S.NOM	here	EXT	PL	illegal.worker
'He regularly takes illegal workers here.'				

(9) <i>tig-</i> marked NP				
<i>siya=man</i>	<i>tig-kuha?</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>visa</i>	
3S.NOM=PAR	TIG-take	EXT	visa	
'He (is the person who regularly comes to) claim visas.'				

(10) non-reduplicated first syllable indicate regular activity

<i>pulis=man=na?=siya,</i>	<i>ma-nakop=man=na?=siya-g</i>	<i>tnt</i>
<i>pulis=man=kana?=siya,</i>	<i>maN-dakop=man=kana?=siya-ug</i>	<i>tnt</i>
policeman=PAR=that=3S.NOM	AV-catch=PAR=that=3S.NOM-EXT	illegal

'He's a policeman; he catches illegal workers (as part of his daily routine).'

Other morphemes that derive nominals denoting occupation, profession, or personal traits are *-or* (11) and *-ero/a* (12). However, these are not as productive as the other morphemes.

(11) verb root + *(d)or* → occupation / profession

<i>gasta-(d)or</i> 'spendthrift'	<	<i>gasto</i> 'spend'
<i>karga-(d)or</i> 'stevedore'	<	<i>karga</i> 'carry; load onto'
<i>reklama-(d)or</i> 'one who complains'	<	<i>reklamo</i> 'complain'

(12) verb root + *er(o/a)* → occupation / profession

<i>basur-ero</i> 'trash collector'	<	<i>basura</i> 'trash; garbage'
<i>laba(nd)-ero</i> 'laundry washer'	<	<i>laba</i> 'wash clothes'

A case-marked AV verb can be a derived nominal, as in (13).

(13) marked AV verb → NP

***mga na-lumos,***  
 PL AV-drown

<i>yun=kuno</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>pinaka-lu?ud=kuno=ka?ay</i>	<i>tan?aw-on</i>
<i>yun=kuno</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>pinaka-lu?ud=kuno=ka?ayo</i>	<i>tan?aw-on</i>
that=EVID	ANG	SUPER-disgusting=EVID-very	look-PV.FUT

'People who drowned, they say that's the most disgusting (thing) to look at.'

The AV infix <*um*> has been lost in Cebuano, but there are still dead formations remaining, such as *d<um>alaga* 'young female animal' < *dalaga* 'young female' and <*um*>*agad* 'son/daughter-in-law' < *agad* 'servitude.'

The infix <*in*>, which is so pervasive in many Philippine and Formosan languages to mark perfectivity and/or Patient Voice clauses, has almost completely lost its function as a verbal voice marker in Cebuano. But it is still productive in three ways. First, the examples in (14) illustrate the productivity of the infix <*in*> as it can attach to any activity verb to refer to an object on which an action indicated by the

verb has been carried out. Second, it is observed in many lexicalized nominals, such as in (15), where it indicates a "resultant" state. There is actually very little difference between (14) and (15); the main difference lies in that the examples in (14) can have other names (e.g., *regalo* 'gift' for *h<in>atag* 'something given'), while the referents in (15) have been lexicalized to a certain extent.

(14) <in> nominals

<i>regalo</i> 'gift'	vs.	<i>h&lt;in&gt;atag</i> 'thing given'	< <i>hatag</i> 'give'
<i>sinina?</i> 'clothes'	vs.	<i>h&lt;in&gt;ayhay</i> 'thing hung'	< <i>halay</i> 'hang'
<i>pagka?on</i> 'food'	vs.	<i>k&lt;in&gt;a?on</i> 'thing eaten'	< <i>ka?on</i> 'eat'

(15) lexicalized nominals

<i>k&lt;in&gt;ugos</i> 'god-child'	<	<i>kugos</i> 'to carry'
<i>s&lt;in&gt;ugba</i> 'smoked (fish/meat)'	<	<i>sugba</i> 'to smoke (vt)'
<i>l&lt;in&gt;ata</i> 'canned (food)'	<	<i>lata</i> 'can'
<i>p&lt;in&gt;angga?</i> 'cherished one'	<	<i>pangga?</i> 'cherish'

Third, the infix <in> can also attach to nouns and predicates and derive a stative verb meaning 'in the manner of.'

(16) <in> modifier words

<i>b&lt;in&gt;ata?</i> 'in a childish manner'	<	<i>bata?</i> 'child'
<i>b&lt;in&gt;o?otan</i> 'in a behaved manner'	<	<i>bo?otan</i> 'behaved'
<in> <i>inglis</i> 'in English'	<	<i>inglis</i> 'English'
<i>b&lt;in&gt;isaya?</i> 'in Bisayan; in Bisayan style'	<	<i>bisaya?</i> 'Bisayan'

The PV suffix *-on* can also derive lexical nouns. It can attach to a verb to derive the name of an object, such as *kan-on* 'rice' from *ka?on* 'to eat.' It can also attach to a nominal root to derive a person with a quality indicated by the root, such as *bakak-on* 'liar' from *bakak* 'lie.' Other examples are shown in (17). Furthermore, it can also derive a nominal referring to a person that is characterized by the thing indicated by the noun stem, as in (18).

(17) N/PRED-*on* derivations: personal trait or quality

<i>bakak-on</i> 'liar'	<	<i>bakak</i> 'lie'
<i>itom-on</i> 'blackish'	<	<i>itom</i> 'black'
<i>ngil?ar-on</i> 'ugly'	<	<i>ngil?ad</i> 'ugly'

(18) N-*on* derivations: person with certain ailments

<i>bugas-on</i> 'person with lots of acne'	<	<i>bugas</i> 'acne'
<i>kaspa-hon</i> 'person with dandruffs'	<	<i>kaspa</i> 'dandruff'
<i>tibi-hon</i> 'person with tuberculosis'	<	<i>tibi</i> 'tuberculosis'

Furthermore, it can also attach to and nominalize a verb, such as in the examples below, where the inner suffix *-on* derives a voiced verb, while the outer suffix *-on* nominalizes it, as in (19). This suffix *-on* can also derive a nominal indicating a state or a modifier, as in (20).

(19) suffix *-on* as a nominalizer of NAV verb

<i>palit-on-on</i> 'grocery list item'	<	<i>palit</i> 'to buy'
<i>labh-an-on</i> 'laundry'	<	<i>laba</i> 'to wash (clothes)'

(20) suffix *-on* derives a state/modifier

<i>duha ka electric fan</i>	<i>gamit-on=nako?</i>
two LK electric.fan	use-PV=1S.GEN
<i>siya di?=gyud=puydi,</i>	<b><i>singt-an-on</i></b>
<i>siya di?=gyud=puydi,</i>	<b><i>singot-an-on</i></b>
3S.NOM NEG=EMPH=possible	sweat-LV-STAT
'I use two electric fans; him, it's not possible, (he) sweats a lot.'	

In certain cases, there is a greater degree of lexicalization, such that the inner suffix on the noun stem can barely be detected, as in (21). Furthermore, the stative prefix *ma-* with the PV suffix usually on an emotion verb, can derive a stative verb indicating a mental quality or state.

(21) N-(a)*non* derivation derives personal trait/character

<i>dyos-non</i> 'pious; religious'	<	<i>dyos</i> 'god'
<i>lawas-non</i> 'bodily'	<	<i>lawas</i> 'body'
<i>lungsor-anon</i> 'urban'	<	<i>lungsod</i> 'city'

(22) *ma-V-on* derives quality/state

<i>ma-lampos-on</i> 'successful'	<	<i>lampos</i> 'to succeed'
<i>ma-lipay-on</i> 'happy; joyful'	<	<i>lipay</i> 'to be happy'
<i>ma-sulub-on</i> 'sad'	<	<i>subu?</i> 'to be sad'

(23) suffix *-on* derives a state/modifier

<i>kanang</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>pulis</i>	<i>no</i>
FIL	PL	police	DM

<i>kanang</i>	<i>gahi?</i> = <i>kuno-g</i>	<i>kasingkasing</i>
<i>kanang</i>	<i>gahi?</i> = <i>kuno-ug</i>	<i>kasingkasing</i>
PH	hard=EVID-LK	heart

<i>dili?</i> = <i>kuno=na?</i> = <i>sila</i>	<b><i>ma-luy-an-on</i></b>
<i>dili?</i> = <i>kuno=na?</i> = <i>sila</i>	<b><i>ma-lu?oy-an-on</i></b>
NEG=EVID=that=3P.NOM	STAT-pity-LV-STAT

'Policemen, (people say) they are tough-hearted, they don't show any mercy to people.'

Moreover, *-on* being a future-marking suffix, the nouns derived indicate a person or an object about to be affected. To refer to persons and objects that have been affected, as it were, the perfective affix *gi-* is recruited to form:

(24) affected nominals

*gi-ordain* '(person) ordained (as priest)'  
*gi-palit* '(thing[s]) bought'  
*gi-labh-an* '(clothes) washed'

The combination of the perfective prefix *gi-* and the PV suffix *-on* on a stative predicate stem derives a nominal indicating degree, dimension, and quality, as in (25). However, those bearing a negative sense cannot undergo such derivation, as in (26).<sup>14</sup>

(25) *gi*-PRED-*on* derivations indicating degree, dimension, quantity, etc.

<i>gi-bag-on</i> 'thickness'	<	<i>baga?</i> 'thick'
<i>gi-daghan-on</i> 'quantity'	<	<i>daghan</i> 'many'
<i>gi-dak-on</i> 'size (bigness)'	<	<i>dako?</i> 'big'
<i>gi-lapd-on</i> 'width'	<	<i>lapad</i> 'thick'

(26) stative predicate stems with negative senses

? <i>gi-dyutay-on</i>	intended: ?'few-ness'
? <i>gi-gamy-on</i>	intended: ?'small-ness'
? <i>gi-nipis-on</i>	intended: ?'thin-ness'

The derivation of more abstract entities further employs the morpheme *ka-* in addition to the PV suffix *-on*, as in (27).

<sup>14</sup> As also indicated by the English glosses and translations, it is probably a semantic universal that to derive abstract nouns, derivational affixes are only attached to positive adjectives, rather than negative adjectives.

(27) abstract entities formed by <i>ka-...-on</i>		
<i>ka-buntag-on</i> 'morning'	<	<i>buntag</i> 'morning'
<i>ka-tas-on</i> 'state of being high'	<	<i>ta?as</i> 'high; tall'
<i>ka-wad-on</i> 'want; poverty'	<	<i>wala?</i> 'existential negator'

Aside from marking voice on verbs, the *-an* suffix is a productive means of deriving lexical nouns. Attached to a verb or another noun, it can derive a locative noun (28) or a personal trait (29).

(28) <i>-an</i> locative nouns		
<i>eskuyla-han</i> 'school'	<	<i>eskuyla</i> 'to study'
<i>simba-han</i> 'church'	<	<i>simba</i> 'to attend Mass'
<i>disko-han</i> 'discotheque'	<	<i>disko</i> 'disco'
<i>basura-han</i> 'trash can'	<	<i>basura</i> 'garbage'
<i>hagdan-an</i> 'ladder'	<	<i>hagdan</i> 'ladder'

(29) <i>-an</i> nominals indicating person performing action or personal trait		
<i>kawat-an</i> 'thief'	<	<i>kawat</i> 'to steal'
<i>pili-an</i> 'picky'	<	<i>pili?</i> 'to choose'
<i>salig-an</i> 'trustworthy'	<	<i>salig</i> 'to trust'
<i>kwarta-han</i> 'rich'	<	<i>kwarta</i> 'money'

It can attach to a LV verb to form an Instrument noun that can also be viewed as a Location (30). The derived word can also be a stative predicate that can modify an entity (31). The *-an* suffix right next to the root word is the voice marker, while the outer suffix *-an* serves as the nominalizer.

(30) instrument nominals		
<i>saky-an-an</i> 'vehicle'	<	<i>sakay</i> 'to ride'
<i>kan-an-an</i> 'dining table'	<	<i>ka?on</i> 'to eat'
<i>tulg-an-an</i> 'bed'	<	<i>tulog</i> 'to sleep'

(31) <i>-an</i> stative verbs		
<i>gamh-an-an</i> 'powerful'	<	<i>gahum</i> 'power'
<i>kataw-an-an</i> 'funny'	<	<i>katawa</i> 'to laugh'

The suffix *-an* can also derive an abstract noun by attaching *ka-* to a verb (dynamic or stative) or another noun (32). The abstract sense must originate from the prefix *ka-*.

(32) abstract nominals

<i>ka-sabot-an</i>	'agreement'	<	<i>sabot</i>	'to agree'
<i>ka-libot-an</i>	'world; awareness'	<	<i>libot</i>	'to surround'
<i>ka-taw-han</i>	'mankind'	<	<i>tawo</i>	'person'
<i>ka-gamh-an-an</i>	'government; authority'	<	<i>gahom</i>	'power'

The perfective <in> together with a suffix -an may convey a manner of performing an action, as in the examples in (14) to (16) and in (33) below, or derive a nominal that is in the state denoted by the root, as in (34). The types of verbs that take ...<in>...-an is usually, but not limited to, activity verbs; for example, in LV perception verbs, the "perceiving" is being treated as a kind of activity.

(33) manner of performing an action

<i>l&lt;in&gt;akt-an</i>	'way of walking'	<	<i>lakat</i>	'to walk'
<i>s&lt;in&gt;ayaw-an</i>	'way of dancing'	<	<i>sayaw</i>	'to dance'
<i>s&lt;in&gt;ul?ub-an</i>	'way of wearing (a dress)'	<	<i>sul?ub</i>	'to wear (clothes)'
<i>p&lt;in&gt;asko-han</i>	'Christmas present'	<	<i>pasko</i>	'Christmas'

(34) ...<in>...-an nominals denoting state

<i>d&lt;in&gt;akp-an</i>	'prisoner; captive'	<	<i>dakop</i>	'to capture'
<i>l&lt;in&gt;abh-an</i>	'washed clothes'	<	<i>laba</i>	'to wash'
<i>t&lt;in&gt;agu-an</i>	'secret'	<	<i>tagu?</i>	'to hide'

Furthermore, different affixes derive different senses. To illustrate, the minimal pair in (35) are derived from the same root *gikan* 'to be from.' The infix <in> denotes a "resultant" state of an "origin" while the *gi-* denotes volitional movement from an "origin."

(35) different senses of derived words of *gikan*

<i>g&lt;in&gt;ikan-an</i>	'parents'
<i>gi-gikan-an</i>	'place of origin'

These *i*-marked verbs can derive nouns, as in (36) and (37).

(36) derived IV nominal  
*pila=ra=man=sa=y*                      *i-hatag*  
*pila=ra=man=sad=y*                      *i-hatag*  
 how.much=only=PAR=also=NEUT    IV-give  
 'How much does he give (you)?'  
 lit., 'How much is the (amount that he) gives (you)?'

(37) derived IV nominal  
*bisa-g*    *pila=pa*                      *ka electric fan ang*    *i-butang=nimo*  
*bisan-ug* *pila=pa*                      *ka electric fan ang*    *i-butang=nimo*  
 even-COMP how.much=even            LK electric.fan    ANG    IV-put=2S.GEN  
 '...regardless of how many electric fans you put (there).'  
 lit., '... the (thing) you will put (there) (is) even how many electric fans.'

### 2.3.1.2 Clausal nominalization

The chief means for clausal nominalization employed in Cebuano is the affixation of the prefix *pag(ka)-* to the verb root. In a *pag(ka)-* clause, all the arguments take their basic case markers. For this reason, Shibatani (1988) indicated that it is in a *pag(ka)-* clause where the actual semantic role of a nominal can be observed. Once the root verb is affixed with a voice marker, one of the nominal arguments becomes "focused," loses its original case marking, and is marked *ang*. The prefix *pag(ka)-* is not restricted to clausal nominalization though. The example in (38) shows a lexicalized nominal from a *pag-* prefixed to a root verb. Two more examples in (39) and (40) show that such a means is quite productive. The last example in (41) shows a *pagka-* nominalized clause, where the NPs take basic case markers (i.e., not *ang*).

(38) *pag-* lexicalized nominal  
*ganahan=gyud=ko*    *ana-ng*                      *restaurant-a*    *oy*  
*ganahan=gyud=ko*    *ana?-nga*                      *restaurant-a*    *oy*  
 like=EMPH=1S.NOM    that-LK                      restaurant-DEF    INTERJ  
  
*pero mahal*                      *mga pag-ka?on*    *dira?*  
 but    expensive                      PL    NMZ-eat                      there  
 'I really like that restaurant *oy*, but (the) food there is expensive.'

(39) *pag(ka)*- nominal

*usahay na?a=to=siya=y* ***pagka-Taiwanese***  
 sometimes EXIST=that=3S.NOM=NEUT NMZ-being.Taiwanese

*pero karon na-anad=ko, bo?otan=man=siya*  
 but now INTR-get.used.to=1S.NOM behaved=PAR=3S.NOM

'Sometimes he has that Taiwanese (character), but I'm used to it. He's nice man.'

(40) *pag(ka)*- nominal

*ayaw-g da?ot-a imo-ng career, imo-ng pagka-presidente*  
*ayaw-ug da?ot-a imo-nga career, imo-nga pagka-presidente*  
 NEG-COMP ruin-IMPER.PV 2S.POSS-LK career 2S.POSS-LK NMZ-president

'Don't ruin your career, your reputation being the president.'

(41a) *pag(ka)*- nominalized clause

*di?=gyud=siya maka-katawa sa pagka-retoke sa iya-ng nawong*  
*di?=gyud=siya maka-katawa sa pagka-retoke sa iya-nga nawong*  
 NEG=EMPH=3S.NOM AV-laugh CAUSE NMZ-sculpt OBL 3S.POSS-LK face

'She really couldn't smile due to the facelift (that she had).'

(41b) *pag(ka)*- nominalized clause: NPs take basic case markers

***pagka-retoke*** *ni Dr. Cruz sa iya-ng nawong* \**ang* NP  
***pagka-retoke*** *ni Dr. Cruz sa iya-nga nawong* \**ang* NP  
 NMZ-sculpt GEN PN OBL 3S.POSS-LK face ANG

'the operation by Dr. Cruz on her face (\**ang* NP).'

These *pag(ka)*- nominalized arguments can further serve as complements of matrix verbs that serve to modify the action denoted by the nominalized verbs, as in the examples from (42) to (44). The case marker *sa* now functions as a complementizer and may be further omitted, especially since there is Actor control over the complement, as in (45). This type of *pag*- complement is more common in written or formal contexts; ordinary speech makes use of the root form of the verb in a complement introduced by the complementizer *ug* (described in Section 11.1.2). The complementizer *ug* may not be suppressed.

(42) *pag-* nominal argument (Sun Star, December 31, 2007)

*nag-hinay-hinay=lang=kini*      *sa*      *pag-dagan*      *aron=lang*  
 AV-slow-REDUP=only=this      COMP      NMZ-run      so=just

*maka-abot ngadto sa*      *ila-ng*      *pa-dulng-an*  
*maka-abot ngadto sa*      *ila-nga*      *pa-dulong-an*  
 AV-arrive there LOC      3P.POSS-LK      CAU-toward-LV

'This (cab) slowly moved forward, just so (it) will reach their destination.'

(43) *pag-* nominal argument (Sun Star, July 9, 2007)

*Si Junjun mi-sulay=pa sa pag-sagang sa kutsilyo*  
 SI PN AV-try=still COMP NMZ-shield LOC knife

*ma?o nga na-samd-an kini*  
*ma?o nga na-samad-an kini*  
 ANAPH COMP SPONT-wound-LV this

'Junjun tried to shield (himself) from the knife, so that he was wounded.'

(44) *pag-* complement (Sun Star, November 26, 2007)

*aduna=y wa? ma-ilhi-ng suspetsado mi-sulod sa bakal*  
*aduna=y wa? ma-ila-nga suspetsado mi-sulod sa bakal*  
 EXIST=NEUT NEG INTR-identify-LK suspect AV-enter LOC steel

*nga gate ug gi-paspas-an sa pag-duslak ang biktima<sup>15</sup>*  
 LK gate CONN PFV-quick-LV COMP NMZ-stab ANG victim

'An unidentified suspect entered the steel gate and hastily stabbed the victim.'

(45) *pag-* complement (Sun Star, February 13, 2008)

*bisan ang amahan nag-lisod pag-dawat*  
 even ANG father AV-difficult NMZ-accept

*sa na-hitabo? sa iya-ng anak*  
*sa na-hitabo? sa iya-nga anak*  
 OBL AV-happen LOC 3S.POSS-LK child

'It was difficult even for the father to accept the fate of his child.'

Based on Lehmann (1988), nominalization is the process wherein a clause is reduced so that it loses the properties of a clause and acquires nominal properties by becoming a nominal or adverbial constituent of a matrix clause. These nominalized clauses in Cebuano sometimes function at the same time as adverbial constituents (semantically temporal or conditional) and are usually positioned clause-initially.

<sup>15</sup> The nominal phrase *ang biktima* is the Nominative-marked argument of the verb *gi-paspas-an*, nt of the nominalized *pag-duslak*.

(46) *pag-* nominalization functioning as temporal adverb

<i>pag-human=nako-g</i>	<i>college,</i>	<i>nag-adto=ko-g</i>	<i>Cebu</i>
<i>pag-human=nako?-ug</i>	<i>college,</i>	<i>nag-adto=ko-ug</i>	<i>Cebu</i>
NMZ-finish=1S.GEN-EXT	college	AV-go=1S.NOM-EXT	PN

'(Upon) the completion of (my) college studies, I went to Cebu.'

(47) *pag-* nominalization functioning as temporal adverb

<i>pag-abot=nimo diri,</i>	<i>nag-unsa,</i>	<i>OFW=ka/</i>
NMZ-arrive=2S.GEN here	AV-what	worker=2S.NOM

'(Upon) your arrival here, what did (you) do? Were you a contract worker?'

Lehmann (1988) also stated that clauses undergoing nominalization lose illocutionary force, mood, word order freedom, tense and aspect, and relationality of the predicate verb. The subject slot of the subordinate verb is either converted into an oblique slot (or genitive slot) or is entirely lost. At some stage of strong desententialization, the subordinate clause can no longer be independently negated. In the sentences below, non-finite (48b) is more strongly nominalized than (48a), so while (48a') shows the negation of (48a), the nominalized (48b) cannot be negated (as in 48b'). Moreover, the more a subordinate clause is nominalized, the more easily it combines with adpositions and case affixes. Therefore, the non-finite verb in (48b) is shown to take the case marker *ug*, instead of the clausal subordinators *nga* (48a). Furthermore, as the desententialized subordinate construction becomes more nominal, the whole sentence ceases to be complex. In (48c), the dependent clause takes a case marker; in (48c'), it is nominalized (by *pagka-* prefixation) and becomes a constituent of the main verb and so takes a case marker.

(48a) *nga* finite complement

<i>nag-huna?huna?=ko</i>	<b><i>nga</i></b>	<i>mo-adto</i>	<i>(=ko)</i>
AV-think=1S.NOM	COMP	AV.-go	

'I think that (I'll) go.'

(48a') negation of *nga* finite complement

<i>nag-huna?huna?=ko</i>	<b><i>nga</i></b>	<i>di?=na(=ko)</i>	<i>mo-adto</i>
AV-think=1S.NOM	COMP	NEG=already	AV-go

'I think that (I) won't go anymore.'

(48b) *ug* non-finite complement

*nag-huna?huna?=ko ug adto (\*=ko)*  
AV-think=1S.NOM COMP go  
'I think of going.'

(48b') negation of *ug* non-finite complement

*nag-huna?huna?=ko ug \*dili? (mo-)adto*  
AV-think=1S.NOM COMP NEG (AV-)go  
Intended: I think of not going.

(48c) complex clause

*na-ngawat=siya kay pordoy (=siya)*  
*na-kawat=siya kay pordoy*  
AV-steal=3S.NOM because poor  
'He stole because (he was) poor.'

(48c') *pagka-* nominal as argument in simple clause

*na-ngawat=siya sa iya-ng pagka-pordoy*  
*na-kawat=siya sa iya-nga pagka-pordoy*  
AV-steal=3S.NOM CAUSE 3S.POSS-LK NMZ-poor  
'He stole because of his poverty.'

### 2.3.2 Predicate morphemes

In this section, I will discuss dynamic verbs (2.3.2.1) and stative verbs (2.3.2.2), which in other languages such as English are termed as adjectives.

#### 2.3.2.1 Dynamic verbs

Sometimes, verbs and nouns look alike. Verbs can be noun-like when they are case-marked, but in these instances, they can be analyzed as "relative clauses" having covert head nouns. On the other hand, only a limited set of nouns (mostly instrument nouns) can be verb-like if marked with particular verb-forming affixes (see Table 2-5), but they cannot be used alone in an imperative clause: they are obligatorily marked with the prefix *pag-* (e.g., *pag-sapatos!* '(Wear) shoes!' but *\*sapatos!*).<sup>16</sup> In the same way, stative verbs can be dynamic when voice-marked, where a change of state is indicated.

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<sup>16</sup> The prefix (*p*)*ag-* is analyzed by Cena and Nolasco (2008) as "deliberate mode" in Tagalog.

Nouns can also be used in predication in equational clauses, which are termed "identifying" (cf. Reid and Liao 2004; Teng 2007). These equational constructions are discussed in Chapter 4 (Non-verbal clauses). In addition, clauses with stative verbs resemble equational clauses, and they are sometimes treated as "classifying" equational clauses; these are also discussed in Chapter 5.

Table 2-5 shows verbal morphemes in Cebuano. The first six morphemes are shown in their future *m-* forms. To express non-future, they occur with *n-* forms. When the sense of "wear(ing) something" is intended, the morpheme *naka-* cannot have a future form. The morpheme *pa-* is treated in great detail in Chapter 16.<sup>17</sup>

In 2.3.2.1.1 I will discuss Voice and Tense/Aspect/Mood affixes; in 2.3.2.1.2 I will show the syntax of loan words.

**Table 2-5. Special verbal morphemes**

affix	base	meaning of derivation	examples	root/stem
<i>mag-</i>	N	to wear the thing indicated by the stem	<i>mag-pula</i> 'to wear (something) red' <i>mag-shirt</i> 'to wear a shirt' <i>mag-tsinelas</i> 'to wear slippers'	<i>pula</i> 'red' <i>shirt</i> 'shirt' <i>tsinelas</i> 'slippers'
<i>mag-...-(an)ay</i>	V	reciprocal (multiple actors)	<i>mag-hatag-ay</i> 'be giving to each other' <i>mag-kulata-hay</i> 'be beating each other'	<i>hatag</i> 'to give' <i>kulata</i> 'to beat'
<i>mag-V-an</i>	V	do something habitually	<i>mag-anhi-an</i> 'come often' <i>mag-hagkan-an</i> 'kiss habitually'	<i>anhi</i> 'to come' <i>halok</i> 'to kiss'
<i>makig-</i>	V	reciprocal (single actor)	<i>makig-lalis</i> 'to argue with somebody' <i>makig-taban</i> 'to elope with somebody'	<i>lalis</i> 'to argue' <i>taban</i> 'to elope'
<i>maN-</i>	V	plurality of agent/patient iteration intensity	<i>ma(m)-mayli</i> 'to go dancing' <i>ma(n)-nan?aw</i> 'to watch (together)' <i>mang-lakaw</i> 'to go/leave'	<i>bayli</i> 'to dance' <i>tan?aw</i> 'to watch' <i>lakaw</i> 'to go'
<i>manga-</i>	Stative V	(multiple Patients) to become	<i>manga-gahi?</i> 'to become hard' <i>manga-lagum</i> 'to become dark' <i>manga-matay</i> 'to become dead'	<i>gahi?</i> 'hard' <i>lagum</i> 'dark' <i>patay</i> 'dead'
<i>naka-</i>	N	wear the thing indicated by the stem	<i>naka-pula</i> 'wear (something) red' <i>naka-shirt</i> 'wear a shirt' <i>naka-tsinelas</i> 'wear slippers'	<i>pula</i> 'red' <i>shirt</i> 'shirt' <i>tsinelas</i> 'slippers'
<i>pa-</i>	V	cause to do something	<i>pa-hugas</i> 'to make somebody wash' <i>pa-inom</i> 'to make somebody drink' <i>pa-sakay</i> 'to make somebody ride'	<i>hugas</i> 'to wash' <i>inom</i> 'to drink' <i>sakay</i> 'to ride'

<sup>17</sup> The causative prefix (*p*)*a-* is analyzed by Cena and Nolasco (2008) as "deliberate mode" in Tagalog.

### 2.3.2.1.1 Voice and TAM affixes

Except for Actor Voice (AV) imperative verbs (which can occur in their root form), other verbs (or noun stems) take affixes that contain information on voice, tense, and aspect/mood, especially AV verbs (see Table 2-6). Non-Actor Voice (NAV) verbs take a different set of affixes from AV verbs; prefixes usually convey non-future tense, while suffixes usually indicate voice form (see Table 2-7).

There are four voice forms: Actor Voice (AV), Patient Voice (PV), Locative Voice (LV), and Instrument Voice (IV); through these voice forms we can generally predict the semantic role of the nominative argument. Moreover, voice constructions of the language are also the product of the grammaticalization of transitivity. Actor voice verbs form intransitive clauses (Chapter 12), while the other three voice forms are collectively called NAV and form transitive clauses (see Chapters 13~15).

“Transitive” clauses are predicated by verbs that take two core arguments, A and P, while “intransitive” clauses by verbs that take only one core argument, the S.

In non-perfective AV verbs, tense is reflected as two forms: *m-* for Future (Unreal) and *n-* for Non-future (Real). Future tense indicates future time, while non-future encompasses present time and past time.

Volitional verbs indicating progressive aspect are marked by *-ag(a)-* or *-aN-*. Perfective verbs are marked by *ni-* (non-future, some speakers prefer *ning-* or *mi(ng)-*) or *mo-* (future). Abilitative verbs are marked by *-a-* or *-aka-*.

**Table 2-6. Actor voice affixes**

affix	VOICE	TENSE	ASPECT/MOOD
<i>ma-</i>	AV	Future	Potential-Abilitative
<i>mag-</i>	AV	Future	Imperative; Volitional
<i>mag(a)-</i>	AV	Future	Imperfective; Volitional
<i>maka-</i>	AV	Future	Potential-Abilitative
<i>maN-</i>	AV	Future	Imperfective Hortative (First-person Plural Actors) Indicative (Plural Actors)
<i>mo-</i>	AV	Future	Volitional
<i>na-</i>	AV	Non-Future	Potential-Spontaneous
<i>nag-</i>	AV	Non-Future	Volitional
<i>nag(a)-</i>	AV	Non-Future	Imperfective; Volitional
<i>naka-</i>	AV	Non-Future	Potential-Spontaneous
<i>naN-</i>	AV	Non-Future	Imperfective; Volitional Indicative (Plural Actors)
<i>ni-</i>	AV	Non-Future	Volitional
<i>pag-</i>	AV	Future	Imperative

VOICE / TENSE	ASPECT / MOOD
Future <i>m-</i>	Volitional Imperfective <i>-ag(a)-</i> ; <i>-aN-</i>
Non-Future <i>n-</i>	Potential Abilitative/Spontaneous <i>-a-</i> ; <i>-aka-</i>
Future <i>mo-</i>	Perfective-Volitional
Non-Future <i>ni-</i>	

In intransitive clauses, distributive, either plural actors or repeated actions, is indicated by a nasal element in the prefix *-N-*. It is also used in hortative clauses (with first person plural actors). The prefix *maN-* indicates plurality of Agent, patient, or of action, as in (49). A variant form *manga-* indicates “a gradual shift toward a certain state,” as in (50). Conversational excerpts are provided in (51) and (52).

- (49) *maN-V* indicating plural Agents/actions
- |  |   |                         |
|--|---|-------------------------|
| <i>ma-nan?aw</i> 'to look at' (plural actor)       | < | <i>tan?aw</i> 'to look' |
| <i>mang-lakaw</i> 'to go, to leave' (plural actor) | < | <i>lakaw</i> 'to walk'  |
- (50) *manga-V* derivations (plural Agents/Patients/actions)
- |   |   |                      |
|---|---|----------------------|
| <i>manga-lagum</i> 'to become dark'               | < | <i>lagum</i> 'dark'  |
| <i>manga-matay</i> 'to die (collectively)'        | < | <i>patay</i> 'dead'  |
| <i>manga-daghan</i> 'to become many; to multiply' | < | <i>daghan</i> 'many' |

(51) affix *naN-* for plural actors

T: *mingaw=ka?ay*      *diha?*  
*mingaw=ka?ayo*      *diha?*  
quiet=INTENS            there

W: *daghan=na=man=ka?ay*      ***nang-adto***  
*daghan=na=man=ka?ayo*      ***naN-adto***  
many=already=PAR=INTENS      AV.PL-go

T: 'It's very quiet there.'

W: '(Not really.) A lot of (tourists) have gone (there).'

(52) affix *naN-* for plural actors

<i>pero</i>	<i>ghost month</i>	<i>dili?=sila</i>	<i>ganahan</i>	<b><i>mang-gawas</i></b>
<i>pero</i>	<i>ghost month</i>	<i>dili?=sila</i>	<i>ganahan</i>	<b><i>maN-gawas</i></b>
but	ghost.month	NEG=3P.NOM	like	AV.PL-exit

'But during the ghost month they don't like to travel.'

Here I will briefly discuss further some of the affixes in Table 2-6. The *mag-*, in addition to being a volitional marker, also means "to wear" when prefixed to a noun stem, as in (53). In such instances, the verb *sul?ub* 'to wear' (as in *mag-sul?ub*) is omitted. With the suffix *-an*, the resulting derivation can indicate "something that is done habitually," as in (54).

(53) *mag-N* derivations

<i>mag-pula</i> 'wear red (clothes)	<	<i>pula</i> 'red'
<i>mag-shirt</i> 'wear a shirt'	<	<i>shirt</i> 'shirt'
<i>mag-tsinelas</i> 'wear slippers'	<	<i>tsinelas</i> 'slippers'

(54) *mag-V-an* derivations

<i>mag-anhi-an</i> 'come on a regular basis'	<	<i>anhi</i> 'to come'
<i>mag-hagkan-an</i> 'kiss on a regular basis'	<	<i>halok</i> 'to kiss'

The non-future form of the abilitative verb *naka-* conveys "wearing of the thing indicated by the stem." However, this derivation is rarely inflected in the future form, as it would seem to be very difficult to predict the spontaneous accomplishment of a particular act. For example, *maka-tsinelas* 'be able to wear slippers' is odd unless it refers to a situation where a person has been operated on on the foot or a situation where the person cannot afford to buy a pair of slippers for himself.

- (55) *naka*-N derivations
- |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| <i>naka-pula</i> 'wearing red (clothes) | < | <i>pula</i> 'red' (* <i>maka-pula</i> ) |
| <i>naka-shirt</i> 'wearing a shirt'     | < | <i>shirt</i> 'shirt'                    |
| <i>naka-tsinelas</i> 'wearing slippers' | < | <i>tsinelas</i> 'slippers'              |

The future form *maka*-, together with the reduplication of the first syllable of the stem, will produce a stative predicate referring to "an entity or an event that is characterized by the state or condition indicated by the stem."

- (56) *maka*-N derivations
- |   |   |                             |
|---|---|-----------------------------|
| <i>maka-bu-busug</i> 'filling'          | < | <i>busug</i> 'be full'      |
| <i>maka-ha-hadlok</i> 'instilling fear' | < | <i>hadlok</i> 'fear'        |
| <i>maka-lu-lu?uy</i> 'pitiful'          | < | <i>lu?uy</i> 'pity'         |
| <i>maka-u-ulaw</i> 'embarrassing'       | < | <i>ulaw</i> 'embarrassment' |

**Table 2-7. Non-actor voice affixes**

affix	VOICE	TENSE	ASPECT / MOOD
<i>gi-</i>		Non-future	Perfective; Volitional
<i>gi(na)paN-</i>	PV; IV	Non-future	Imperfective; Volitional
<i>gina-...-an</i>	LV	Non-future	Imperfective; Volitional
<i>(pa)g(a)-</i>		Future	Imperfective; Volitional
<i>-un</i>	PV	Future	Volitional
<i>-an</i>	LV	Future	Volitional
<i>i-</i>	IV	Future	Volitional
<i>-a</i>	PV		Imperative; Volitional
<i>-i</i>	LV		Imperative; Volitional
<i>i-</i>	IV		Imperative; Volitional
<i>na-</i>	PV; IV	Non-future	Potential-Spontaneous
<i>na-...-an</i>			
<i>na-...-i</i>	LV	Non-future	Potential-Spontaneous
<i>gika-</i>	IV	Non-future	Potential-Abilitative
<i>ma-</i>	PV; IV	Future	Potential-Spontaneous
<i>ma-...-an</i>			
<i>ma-...-i</i>	LV	Future	Potential-Spontaneous
<i>ika-</i>	IV	Future	Potential-Abilitative

Voice	Tense	Aspect / Mood	Dependent form
<i>-un</i> (PV)	<i>gi-</i> (non-future) Ø (future)	<i>paN-</i> (Imperfective) Volitional	<i>-a</i> (PV)
<i>-an</i> (LV)			<i>-i</i> (LV)
<i>i-</i> (IV)			<i>i-</i> (IV)
Ø (PV)	<i>n-</i> (non-future) <i>m-</i> (future)	<i>-a-</i> Spontaneous	Ø (PV)
<i>-an</i> (LV)			<i>-i</i> (LV)
<i>i-</i> (IV)	<i>g-</i> (non-future) Ø (future)	<i>-ka-</i> Abilitative	<i>i-</i> (IV)

Regarding tense in transitive clauses, non-future is signalled by a perfective Aspect-Mood affix (i.e., *gi-*), while in the future form, the prefix *gi-* disappears. The future form also serves to indicate infinitive/non-finite form in verb complexes (Section 6.3.3) and in *ug* complementation (Section 11.1.2).

Under Aspect/Mood, the perfective indicates completed action, while the imperfective indicates ongoing action (usually containing the prefix *paN-* in transitive forms). The *gi-* prefix, which occurs in the non-future of both perfective and imperfective aspects, implies a deliberate intention of an Agent. Aspect is not only reflected through the verbal affixes, but also through certain particles, including *=na* 'already'; *=pa* 'still'; and *=usa?* 'first' (see Section 6.2 for particles).

The imperative form (or sometimes called the dependent form) is used only in imperative clauses (Chapter 9) and in non-future negation (using the existential negator *wala?*, see Chapter 7).

The potential (spontaneous) mood is in contrast to the volitional (perfective, intentional) *gi-* form. In transitive clauses, it indicates an accidental event or an unintended outcome of a particular action. In other words, if the *gi-* form implies a deliberate intention of an Agent; the potential (spontaneous) *na-* directs attention to the often accidental effect or an unintended outcome of an action on a Patient without

emphasizing an Agent.<sup>18</sup> The contrast between volitional and deliberate *gi-* and accidental and spontaneous *na-* is illustrated in the sentence pairs in (57) and (58).

(57a) accidental sense of *na-*

*na-ma?ot-an=ko sa babayi*  
 NFUT-ugly-LV=1S.NOM CAUSE woman

‘I perceive the ugliness of the woman.’ (Subject does not have prior knowledge of the ugliness of the woman.)

(57b) deliberate sense of *gi-*

*gi-ma?ot-an=ko sa babayi*  
 NFUT-ugly-LV=1S.NOM CAUSE woman

‘I am consciously aware of the ugliness of the woman.’ (Subject is biased against the woman and exerts an effort to emphasize her ugly appearance.)<sup>19</sup>

(58) activity verbs

a. *na-kuha?=na=nako? ang sulat*  
 NFUT-take=PFV=1S.GEN ANG letter

‘I have already received the letter.’ (There was no prior knowledge that I would receive it.)

b. *gi-kuha?=na=nako? ang sulat*  
 NFUT-take=PFV=1S.GEN ANG letter

‘I have already taken the letter (on purpose).’ (There was an intention of taking the letter.)

---

<sup>18</sup> There is a similar morpheme *tafa-* in Malagasy (Keenan and Dryer 2007), as in (ia), where the conscious activity of the Agent is downplayed. Clause (ib) implies that the completion of the action was unexpected: either the action was difficult for the agent, unintended, or spontaneous.

(ia) (Keenan and Dryer 2007)

*tafa-tsangana ny lai*  
 PASS-put.up the tent

‘The tent is put up.’

(ib) (Keenan and Manorohanta 2001)

*tafa-idityra-ko ny omby*  
 PASS-enter-1SG.GEN the cow(s)

‘I got the cows in.’ (lit: the cows were made to enter by me.)

Such a morpheme indicating lack of intention or consciousness and an accidental or spontaneous nature of events is not unique to Cebuano or Malagasy. Shibatani (2006: 222-228) argues for a spontaneous voice where the form conveys the sense of an action accidentally brought about, which is not unlike the meaning conveyed by the morpheme *na-* in Cebuano. He further notes that in languages such as Japanese and Indonesian/Malay, the spontaneous voice shares the same marker as the passive. He illustrates that the spontaneous form is also attested in many other languages, such as Bengali, Marathi (Indo-Aryan), Tibetan, Newar (Tibeto-Burman), Tsova-Tush (Batsbi), just to name a few.

<sup>19</sup> I thank Ricky Nolasco for providing this example.

(59) Cebuano, excerpt from conversational data

- T *tawg-on=sa?=nako?*            *si*        *Mario kay*  
*tawag-on=usa?=nako?*            *si*        *Mario kay*  
 call-FUT.PV=first=1S.GEN        SI        PN        because
- na?a=ko=y*                        *gi-biya?-*        ***na-biya?-an***  
 EXIST=1S.NOM=INDEF    PFV-leave        NFUT-leave-LV
- (a few lines omitted)
- T: 'I'll call Mario because I left, ... I forgot to bring something.'
- T *kuha?-a*            *ako-ng*            *juice*    ***na-biya?-an=nako?***  
*kuha?-a*            *ako?-nga*        *juice*    ***na-biya?-an=nako?***  
 get-PV              1S.POSS-LK        juice    NFUT-leave-LV=1S.GEN
- T: '(Mario,) get my juice (for me); I (accidentally) left (it) (somewhere).'

As for the sentence pair in (57), (57a) seems to illustrate "me" as an involuntary Patient (Experiencer) of the perception of somebody's external appearance, while (57b) depicts "me" as someone who is deliberately aware of such a perception. As for (58), (58a) indicates the accidental receipt of the letter, while (58b) implies an effort on the part of the Actor to get the letter. This semantic contrast between *gi-* and *na-* is also captured in the excerpt in (59). Here, T forgets to take her juice and asks Mario to get it for her. In the first line, she initially utters a *gi-* affixed verb *gi-biya-an* 'to leave something behind', which she does not finish and replaces with a *na-* affixed verb *na-biya-an* 'to leave something behind accidentally.' The verb *gi-biya-an* would imply that she intended to leave her juice and that it would be her fault that it was not with her. Replacing *gi-biya-an* with *na-biya-an* would mean that it was not done on purpose. The affix *na-* is also analyzed as a passive marker,<sup>20</sup> which is discussed further in Section 13.5.

Table 2-8 shows a simplified verbal paradigm in Cebuano, and Table 2-9 is the conjugation of the verb *bunal* 'to beat.'

<sup>20</sup> The passive *na-* in Cebuano can be treated as a "passive"-marking morpheme, as there is comparative evidence that *na-* passives without the presence of As are fairly widespread especially in northern Philippine languages (Reid 2006; Reid and Liao 2004). See also Chapter 13 for the discussion of passive constructions in Cebuano.

**Table 2-8. Verbal affix paradigm** (simplified) (adapted from Wolff 1970: 76 and Ghazali 1990: 54)

Aspect/Mood		Volitional	Progressive	Abilitative / Potential
Tense				
Indicative Non-future	AV	<i>mi-; ni-; ning-</i>	<i>nag-; naga-; ga-</i>	<i>naka-; na-</i>
	PV	<i>gi-</i>	<i>gina-; gipaN-</i>	<i>na-</i>
	LV	<i>gi-...-an</i>	<i>gina-...-an</i>	<i>na-...-an</i>
	IV	<i>gi-</i>	<i>ga-; gina-; gipaN-</i>	<i>gika; na-</i>
Indicative Future (Infinitive)	AV	<i>mo-; maN-</i>	<i>mag-; maga-</i>	<i>maka-; ma-</i>
	PV	<i>-on</i>	<i>pa-ga-...-on</i>	<i>ma-</i>
	LV	<i>-an</i>	<i>pa-ga-...-an</i>	<i>ma-...-an</i>
	IV	<i>i-</i>	<i>iga-; ipag-</i>	<i>ika-; ma-</i>
Dependent (Imperative and Negation)	AV	<i>pag-; maN-</i>	<i>pag-</i>	-
	PV	<i>-a</i>	<i>pa-ga-...-a</i>	-
	LV	<i>-i</i>	<i>pa-ga-...-i</i>	<i>ma-...-i</i>
	IV	<i>i-</i>	<i>ipag-</i>	<i>ika-</i>

**Table 2-9. Conjugation of the verb *bunal* 'to beat'**

Aspect/Mood		Volitional	Progressive	Abilitative / Potential
Tense				
Indicative Non-future	AV	<i>ni-bunal</i>	<i>na-munal</i>	<i>naka-bunal</i>
	PV	<i>gi-bunal</i>	<i>gipang-bunal</i>	<i>na-bunal</i>
	LV	<i>gi-bunal-an</i>	<i>gina-bunal-an</i>	<i>na-bunal-an</i>
	IV	<i>gi-bunal</i>	<i>gipang-bunal</i>	<i>gika-bunal</i>
Indicative Future (Infinitive)	AV	<i>ma-munal</i>	<i>ma-munal</i>	<i>maka-bunal</i>
	PV	<i>bunal-on</i>	<i>pa-ga-bunal-on</i>	<i>ma-bunal</i>
	LV	<i>bunal-an</i>	<i>pa-ga-bunal-an</i>	<i>ma-bunal-an</i>
	IV	<i>i-bunal</i>	<i>iga-bunal</i>	<i>ika-bunal</i>
Dependent (Imperative and Negation)	AV	<i>pag-bunal</i>	<i>pag-bunal</i>	-
	PV	<i>bunal-a</i>	<i>pa-ga-bunal-a</i>	-
	LV	<i>bunal-i</i>	<i>pa-ga-bunal-i</i>	<i>ma-bunal-i</i>
	IV	<i>i-bunal</i>	<i>ipag-bunal</i>	<i>ika-bunal</i>

### 2.3.2.1.2 Syntax of loan words

When an action is being described using a non-Cebuano verb (English verbs most of the time, but the same rule can be used for Chinese verbs and Spanish verbs), the *mag-/nag-* AV affixes are utilized. This is a very productive process; aside from the excerpts given, many more examples can be found in our corpus: *mag-abroad*, *mag-open*, *mag-retire*, *mag-drive*, *mag-match*, *mag-swimming*, *mag-hire*, *mag-take*, *mag-enjoy*, *mag-massage*, *mag-bow*, *mag-transit*, *mag-experiment*, *mag-rule*, and *mag-day off*.

(60) AV clause with loan word

*pero ganahan=ko mag-shopping*  
 but like=1S.NOM AV-shopping  
 'But I like shopping.'

(61) AV clause with loan word

*pero mag-process=ka=na=lang ug mga papeles pud*  
 but AV-process=2S.NOM=already=just EXT PL papers also  
 'But you just have to process certain papers.'

(62) AV clause with loan word

*kung day off=niya, mag-meet=gyud=mi*  
 if day.off=3S.GEN AV-meet=EMPH=1EP.NOM  
 'If (it's) his day off, we do see (each other).'

In transitive clauses, the IV *i-* prefix is preferred. The only exceptions that I can think of are actions of applying or putting something on a person's body, which have to make use of the *-an* suffix; for example: *make-up-an*, *lipstick-an*, *sweater-an*, and *cover-an*.

(63) NAV clause with loan word

*barato=lang, i-compare=nimo sa manila*  
 cheap=only IV-compare=2S.GEN LOC PN  
 '(It's) cheap, (if) you compare (it) with Manila.'

(64) NAV clause with loan word

*mag-lagay=ako ug mga sticker sa passport*  
 AV-place=1S.NOM EXT PL sticker LOC passport  
*isa-isa=man=na?=nimo i-check*  
*isa-isa=man=kana?=nimo i-check*  
 one-one=PAR=that=2S.GEN IV-check  
 'I will put a sticker on (each) passport. You check each one of them.'

(65) NAV clause with loan word

*hagit=na i-hold ang Vietnamese, sila=y i-sunod*  
 almost=already IV-hold ANG PN 3P.NOM=NEUT IV-next  
 'The (hiring of) Vietnamese (workers) will be frozen; they will be next [they are (the) next].'

### 2.3.2.2 Stative verbs

Properties exhibit gradability. Stative verbs in Cebuano can be affixed with comparative and superlative markers to show comparison (Cf. Chapter 15).

Comparative markers include *mas*, *labaw-ng*, and *labi=pa-ng* (see 66). Superlative markers are *ang labi-ng*, *(ang) pinaka-*, and *(ang) kina-ROOT-an* (see 67).

(66) Comparative clause

*ganahan=ko sa Cebu mag-retire, mas nindut=man sa Cebu*  
 like=1S.NOM LOC PN AV.INF-retire COMP nice=PAR LOC PN  
 'I'd like to retire in Cebu; it's nicer in Cebu (than anywhere else).'

(67) Superlative clause

T: *pila=sila-ng mag-so?on*  
*pila=sila-nga mag-so?on*  
 how.many=3P.NOM-LK AV-sibling

L: *tulo, siya ang kina-manghur-an*  
*tulo, siya ang kina-manghud-an*  
 three 3S.NOM ANG SUPER-young-LV

T: 'How many brothers and sisters are they?'

L: 'Three. He's the youngest.'

They can also be affixed with the intensifier clitic =*gyud* and the degree clitic =*ka?ayo* 'very,' for emphasis. They can also be marked for plural patients by the insertion of the morpheme <*g*>; for example *da<g>ko?* 'big (Ns)' (from *dako?* 'big') and *ga<g>may* 'small (Ns)' (from *gamay* 'small').

(68) plural form of adjectives

L: *pila=man inyo-ng sweldo diri, da<g>ko?=sad*  
*pila=man inyo-nga sweldo diri, dako?<g>=sad*  
 how.many=PAR 2P.POSS-LK salary here big<PL>=also

T: *di?=man, dili?=man=mi officer*  
 NEG=PAR NEG=PAR=1EP.NOM official

L: 'How much is your salary here? (Is it) also big?'

T: 'No. We're not officials.'

(69) plural form of adjectives

T:	<i>tulu</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>anak</i>
	<i>tulu</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>anak</i>
	three	1S.POSS-LK	child

L: *da<g>ko?=na=sad*  
*dako?<g>=na=sad*  
big<PL>=already=also

T:	<i>da&lt;g&gt;ko?=na,</i>	<i>pero,</i>	<i>single mother=man=gud=ko</i>
	<i>dako?&lt;g&gt;=na,</i>	<i>pero,</i>	<i>single mother=man=gud=ko</i>
	big<PL>=already	but	single.mother=PAR=INTENS=1S.NOM

T: 'I have three children.'

L: '(They've) already (grown) big too.'

T: '(They've grown) big already. But, I'm just a single mother.'

Various morphemes can also be affixed on nouns and dynamic verbs to form stative verbs or "modifiers," as shown in Table 2-10.

**Table 2-10. Voice affixes deriving stative verbs**

affix	lexical base	gloss	examples	stem/root
-an	N, V	personal character	<i>bu?utan</i> 'well-behaved' <i>tabi?-an</i> 'talkative' <i>utuk-an</i> 'smart'	<i>bu?ut</i> 'character' <i>tabi?</i> 'to talk' <i>utuk</i> 'brain'
	V	person performing action	<i>kawat-an</i> 'thief' <i>tulis-an</i> 'robber'	<i>kawat</i> 'to steal' <i>tulis</i> 'rob'
<in>	N	manner	<i>b&lt;in&gt;ata?</i> 'in a childish manner' <i>b&lt;in&gt;o?otan</i> 'in a behaved manner' <in> <i>inglis</i> 'in English' <i>b&lt;in&gt;isaya?</i> 'in Bisayan; in Bisayan style'	<i>bata?</i> 'child' <i>bu?ut</i> 'character' <i>inglis</i> 'English' <i>bisaya?</i> 'Bisayan'
<i>ma-...-on</i>	V	state mental and physical qualities	<i>ma-lampus-on</i> 'successful' <i>ma-huya-hon</i> 'listless' <i>ma-lipay-on</i> 'joyful; happy'	<i>lampus</i> 'to succeed' <i>luya</i> 'to feel fatigue' <i>lipay</i> 'to be joyful; to be happy'
<i>maka-CV-</i>	Stative V	making one become [Rt] causing [Rt]	<i>maka-bu-busug</i> 'filling' <i>maka-ha-hadlok</i> 'inspiring fear' <i>maka-u-ulaw</i> 'embarrassing'	<i>busug</i> 'filling' <i>hadlok</i> 'to fear' <i>ulaw</i> 'to be embarrassed'
-(a)n-on	N	state / human noun modifier	<i>dyos-n-on</i> 'pious' <i>lawas-n-on</i> 'bodily' <i>lungsor-an-on</i> 'town-dwelling' <i>singt-an-on</i> 'easily sweats'	<i>dyos</i> 'God' <i>lawas</i> 'body' <i>lungsod</i> 'town' <i>singot</i> 'sweat'
-on	N, Stative V	quality	<i>bakak-on</i> 'liar' <i>itum-on</i> 'blackish' <i>ngil?ar-on</i> 'a little ugly'	<i>bakak</i> 'lie' <i>itum</i> 'black' <i>ngil?ad</i> 'ugly'
	N	description of a person with certain ailments	<i>bugas-on</i> 'one whose face is full of pimples' <i>kaspa-hon</i> 'somebody with dandruff' <i>tibi-hon</i> 'person suffering from tuberculosis'	<i>bugas</i> 'pimple' <i>kaspa</i> 'dandruff' <i>tibi</i> 'tuberculosis'
-(d)or	V	personal trait	<i>gasta-(d)or</i> 'spendthrift' <i>reklama-(d)or</i> '(one who) complains too much'	<i>gasto</i> 'to spend' <i>reklamo</i> 'to complain'
<i>pala-</i>	V	'fond of'; one who is constantly doing what is signified by the root frequentative/ habitual action	<i>pala-hilak</i> 'cries too much' <i>pala-hubug</i> 'gets drunk often' <i>pala-inom</i> 'drinks too much'	<i>hilak</i> 'to cry' <i>hubug</i> 'to get drunk' <i>inom</i> 'to drink'
<i>tag-</i>	N	price distributional idea	<i>tag-dos</i> '(worth) two each' <i>tag-utlu</i> '(worth) three each'	<i>dos</i> 'two' <i>tulo</i> 'three'

These stative verbs can be used as predicates in "classifying" equational clauses (cf. Section 5.5.1), as in (70). They can also refer to a quality, by the affixation of *pagka-*, as in (71). However, as can be noticed in these extracts, they occupy the same syntactic position as verbs.

(70) Stative verb in "classifying" equational clause

*sa Cebu, simple=lang=ba kinabuhi?*  
*sa Cebu, simple=lang=ba (ang) kinabuhi?*  
 LOC PN simple=only=PAR life  
 'In Cebu, life is just simple.'

(71) Stative verb nominalized by the affixation of *pagka-*

*bu?utan=man=siya, pero usahay=lang,*  
 behaved=PAR=3S.NOM but sometimes=just

*kana?=lagi iya-ng pagka-Taiwanese,*  
*kana?=lagi iya-nga pagka-Taiwanese,*  
 that=EMPH 3S.POSS-LK NMZ-Taiwanese

*pero karon, na-adjust=na=nako?*  
 but now SPONT-adjust=already=1S.GEN

'He's well-behaved, but sometimes, he (has) those Taiwanese (ways), but now, I have already gotten used to these.'

## 2.4 Numeral terms

In this section, I will discuss numeral terms, including numeral forms (2.4.1), plural noun markers (2.4.2), and plural pronominal forms (2.4.3).

### 2.4.1 Numeral forms

Cebuano has its own indigenous way of counting numbers from one to ten (see Table 2-11), but from eleven onwards, although the native way of counting would be *napulu ug usa*, *napulu ug duha*, and so on, speakers prefer using the Spanish loanwords. This is also true especially for time expressions. For 'one thousand', some people say *mil* instead of *libo* (see the second line in 74). Excerpts with numeral expressions are provided for illustration.

**Table 2-11. Numeral expressions**

numeral	cardinal expression	ordinal expression	distributive 'N each'	time expression
one	<i>usa</i>	<i>una</i>	<i>tag-sa</i>	<i>ala-una</i>
two	<i>duha</i>	<i>ika-duha</i>	<i>tag-urha</i>	<i>alas dos</i>
three	<i>tulo</i>	<i>ika-tulo</i>	<i>tag-utlo</i>	<i>alas tres</i>
four	<i>upat</i>	<i>ika-upat</i>	<i>tag-up?at</i>	<i>alas kwatro</i>
five	<i>lima</i>	<i>ika-lima</i>	<i>tag-ilma</i>	<i>alas singko</i>
six	<i>unom</i>	<i>ika-unom</i>	<i>tag-un?om</i>	<i>alas says</i>
seven	<i>pito</i>	<i>ika-pito</i>	<i>tag-pito</i>	<i>alas syete</i>
eight	<i>walo</i>	<i>ika-walo</i>	<i>tag-walo</i>	<i>alas ocho</i>
nine	<i>siyam</i>	<i>ika-siyam</i>	<i>tag-siyam</i>	<i>alas nwebe</i>
ten	<i>pulu?</i>	<i>ika-pulu?</i>	<i>tag-pulu?</i>	<i>alas dyes</i>
eleven	<i>onse</i>	<i>ika-onse</i>	<i>tag-onse</i>	<i>alas onse</i>
twelve	<i>dose</i>	<i>ika-dose</i>	<i>tag-dose</i>	<i>alas dose</i>
thirteen	<i>trese</i>	<i>ika-trese</i>		
twenty	<i>beynte</i>	<i>ika-beynte</i>		
thirty	<i>treynta</i>	<i>ika-treynta</i>		
forty	<i>kwarenta</i>	<i>ika-kwarenta</i>		
one hundred	<i>usa ka gatos</i>			
one thousand	<i>usa ka libo</i>			
one million	<i>usa ka milyon</i>			

(72) Numeral expressions

L *o*= *daghan=ka?ayo=mi*, *pito=mi* *ka* *bu?uk*  
 BC many=INTENS=1EP.NOM seven=1EP.NOMLK piece

J *pito*  
 seven

L *ika-tulu=man=ko*  
 ORD-three=PAR=1S.NOM

*ku?an, tulu=na=lang=sila* *wala?=pa=y bana*  
 KUAN three=already=just=3P.NOM NEG=still=NEUTHusband

L: 'Yeah, there are many of us, we are seven in total.'

J: 'Seven.'

L: 'I'm the third. (Now,) there are only three of them (who) still do not have husbands.'

(73) Numeral expressions

L	<i>ma?ayo=ka</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>na?a=na=man=ka=y</i>		<i>anak</i>
	good=2S.NOM	because	EXIST=already=PAR=2S.NOM=NEUT		child
T	<i>o=  ang</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>eldest</i>	<b>23 years old</b>	
	<i>o=  ang</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>eldest</i>	<i>23 years old</i>	
	BC	ANG	1S.POSS-LK	eldest	23.years.old
L	<b>23=na</b>				
	23=already				
T	<i>nang-anak=ko</i>		<b><i>beinte-tres</i></b>		
	<i>naN-anak=ko</i>		<i>beinte-tres</i>		
	AV-give.birth=1S.NOM		23		
L	<i>bata?=pa=man=ka</i>		<i>tan?aw-on</i>		
	young=still=PAR=2S.NOM		look-PV		
T	<b><i>beinte-dos=siya</i></b>	<i>karon,</i>	<i>kasi</i>	<b>45=ako</b>	<i>karon e</i>
	22=3S.NOM	now	because	45=1S.NOM	now DM
	<i>tapos kato</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>		<b><i>ika-duha</i></b>	
	<i>tapos kato</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>		<i>ika-duha</i>	
	then that	1S.POSS-LK		ORD-two	
	<i>a=</i>	<i>three years</i>	<b><i>three years</i></b>	<i>ang</i>	<i>pagitan</i>
	FIL	three.years	three.years	ANG	gap
					<i>nila</i>
					3P.GEN

L: 'Good for you, you already have kids.'

T: 'Yeah, My eldest child is 23 years old.'

L: '23 already!'

T: 'I gave birth (when I was) 23.'

L: 'You still look young.'

T: 'She's 22 now, since I'm 45 (now). Then, my second (child), ... a=  
they have a three-year gap.'<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> The speaker makes an error in her figures (first mentioning 23 then 22), but this is not of concern to me.

(74) Numeral expressions

L *gi-posta=niya*  
PFV.PV-gamble=3S.GEN

T *beinte mil/*  
twenty thousand

L *o\ beintsingko kinse*  
BC 25 15

T *unsa=man=na? majong/*  
what=PAR=that mahjong

L *lotto kananglotto nga, unsa=na-ng tawag nila*  
*lotto kananglotto nga, unsa=na?-angtawag nila*  
lotto that lotto LK what=that-ANG call 3P.GEN

*nga upat=ra ka numero*  
COMP four=only LK number

T *o kabalo=ko*  
BC know=1S.NOM

L: 'He gambled (it).'

T: 'twenty thousand?'

L: 'Yeah. (sometimes) twenty-five (and sometimes) fifteen.'

T: 'What kind is that? Mahjong?'

L: 'Lotto. That kind of lotto which, ... how do they call it ... (the one with) only four numbers?'

T: 'Aaah... I know (that).'

## 2.4.2 Plural noun markers

The marker *mga* (pronounced /maŋa/) indicates plurality and, if present, occurs almost always right before the noun, although in some cases it can also be positioned right after the case marker and before modifiers. In (75), the modifier (root form: *gamay* 'small') is in plural form through the infixation of <g>.

(75) plural marking of NP

<i>syempre kami-ng</i>	<b><i>mga</i></b>	<i>g&lt;in&gt;a&lt;g&gt;may</i>
<i>syempre kami-nga</i>	<b><i>mga</i></b>	<i>g&lt;in&gt;a&lt;g&gt;may</i>
of.course 1EP.NOM-LK	PL	small<result><PL>

<i>hangtud=lang=kami</i>	<i>m-aminaw</i>	<i>pag-na?a=na=y</i>	<i>decision</i>
<i>hangtud=lang=kami</i>	<i>m-paminaw</i>	<i>pag-na?a=na=y</i>	<i>decision</i>
until=only=1EP.NOM	AV-listen	NMZ-EXIST=already=NEUT	decision

'Of course, we tiny (employees) will just have to wait until there's a decision.'

The plural marker *mga* is polysemous: occurring before a numeral or a measure word, it can be used to indicate an approximation, as in the following extracts.

(76) *mga* marks approximation

T:     *unsa=ka*        *oras-a*            *ni-abot*        *sa*        *balay*  
           what=2S.NOM   hour-DEF        AV-arrive        LOC        house

L:     ***mga*** *seven-thirty*  
           approx seven-thirty

T: 'What time did you get home?'

L: 'Around seven-thirty.'

(77) *mga* marks approximation

T:     *pila=ka=y*                    *nag-pa-register*        *diri kada-adlaw*  
           *pila=man=y*                *nag-pa-register*        *diri kada-adlaw*  
           how.many=PAR=NEUT   AV-CAU-register        here every-day

L:     *kasagaran*     ***mga*** *napulo*  
           usually        approx ten

T: 'How many people (come) here to register everyday?'

L: 'Usually (it's) ten (persons everyday).'

Aside from the plural marker *mga*, the circumfix *ka-...-an* indicates collective nouns, as in (78). Moreover, quantifiers such as *daghan* 'many', *diyotay* 'few', and *pipila* 'some' are also recruited to indicate plurality, as in the extract in (79).

(78) circumfix *ka-...-(h)an*

<i>ka-taw-han</i> 'mankind; crowd'	<	<i>tawo</i> 'person'
<i>ka-higala-han</i> 'circle of friends'	<	<i>higala</i> 'friend'
<i>ka-igso?on-an</i> 'brethren'	<	<i>igso?on</i> 'sibling'
<i>ka-hayop-an</i> 'fauna; animals'	<	<i>hayop</i> 'animal'

(79) *daghan* indicates plural referents

***daghan-g***    *ilokanodinh* *no/*  
***daghan-nga*** *ilokanodinh* *no/*  
 many-lk        Ilocano here    dm  
 'There are many Ilocanos here, right?'

Reduplication also indicates plurality, as in (80).

(80) NP reduplication can mark plurality

*usahay*            *magka-s<in>abot*,  
sometimes        RECIP-agree<PFV>

*pero usahay*        *na?a=sa=y*                    ***away-away***

*pero usahay*        *na?a=sad=y*                    ***away-away***

but        sometimes        EXIST=also=NEUT        fight-REDUP

'Sometimes (we) agree (on things), but sometimes, there are also arguments.'

### 2.4.3 Plural pronominal forms

As Bisayan languages have apparently lost the plural marker on pronouns,<sup>22</sup> the third person plural pronouns in Cebuano *sila* and *nila* are recruited to indicate plurality in addition to the proper noun case markers: "*sila (nga) si NP*" and "*nila (nga) ni NP*".

(81) third person plural pronoun

*daghan=man=ko-g*            *dala*,    *gi-pa-dala=ko=nila*                    ***marilou***

*daghan=man=ko-ug*            *dala*,    *gi-pa-dala=ko=nila (ni)*                    ***marilou***

many=PAR=1S.NOM-EXT        bring    PFV.IV-CAU-bring=1S.NOM=3P.GEN PN

'I was bringing many (things); Marilou (and the others) they made me bring (them).'

(82) third person plural pronoun

*katong*            *usa ka Taiwanese*,            *ka-ila=pud*    ***sila-ng***                    *josie*    *ato*

*katong*            *usa ka Taiwanese*,            *naka-ila=pud* ***sila-nga (si)***                    *josie*    *ato*

that            one LK PN                    AV-know=also 3P-LK                    PN that.OBL

'One of those Taiwanese people, Josie and the others they also know him.'

(83) third person plural pronoun

*wa?=ka*            *ni-kuyug*            *sa*            ***ila-ng***                    *Irene*    *sa una*

*wa?=ka*            *ni-kuyug*            *sa*            ***ila-nga(ni)***                    *Irene*    *sa una*

NEG=2S.NOM AV-together        COM    3P.POSS-LK        PN        LOC.first

'You didn't go with them, Irene and the others, at that time?'

(84) third person plural pronoun

*nag-sabot=na=man=mi-ng*                    *Josie*

*nag-sabot=na=man=mi-nga*                    (ni)    *Josie*

AV-negotiate=already=PAR=1EP.NOM-LK        PN

'We, Josie and I, already talked (about this).'

As already discussed, the genitive form (*ni NP*) and the oblique/dative form (*sa/kang NP*) are interchangeable. The same is applicable to pronouns.

<sup>22</sup> Tagalog still retains the plural suffix *-na* in pronouns: Nominative *sina*, Genitive *nina*, and Dative *kina*, but this has apparently been lost in the Bisayan languages.

(85) interchangeability between genitive and dative forms

<i>usa ka bulan tag-pila=ma=y</i>	<i>i-hatagsa imo (/ nimo)</i>
<i>usa ka bulan tag-pila=man=y</i>	<i>i-hatagsa imo (/ nimo)</i>
one LK month each-how.much=PAR=NEUT	IV-give OBL 2S.POSS / DAT

'(For) each month, how much does (he) give you?'

(86) interchangeability between genitive and dative forms

<i>sige=ko-g</i>	<i>pangita?</i>	<i>nimo (/sa imo)</i>
<i>sige=ko-ug</i>	<i>pangita?</i>	<i>kanimo (/sa imo)</i>
ASP=1S.NOM-LK	find	2S.DAT / OBL.2S.POSS

“I have been looking for you.”

The portmanteau form =*tika* is used for first person singular agent and second person singular goal, as in (87) and (88), while =*tamo* for first person singular agent and second person plural goal.

(87) first person singular agent and second person singular goal

<i>ning-sa?ad=ko=nimo</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>tabang-an=tika</i>	<i>ani</i>
<i>ning-sa?ad=ko=nimo</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>tabang-an=tika</i>	<i>ani</i>
AV-promise=1S.NOM=2S.DAT	COMP	help=LV=1S.GEN.2S.NOM	this

'I promised to you that I'd help you (with) this.'

(88) first person singular agent and second person singular goal

<i>taga-an=na=lang=tika-g</i>	<i>kalendaryo</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>hatag-an=na=lang=tika-ug</i>	<i>kalendaryo</i>	<i>o</i>
give-LV=already=only=1S.GEN.2S.NOM-EXT	calendar	DM

'I'll just give you a calendar. Here.'

In such instances, the particle clitics can optionally occur between both pronouns, as in the following extract (based on 88). Here, the =*ti* becomes =*ta*. However, this can only be possible with the portmanteau forms. The ordinary pronouns in Cebuano are still strictly post-clitic (cf. 89b).

(89) first person singular agent and second person singular goal

<i>taga-an=ta=na=lang=ka-g</i>	<i>kalendaryo</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>hatag-an=nako?=na=lang=ka-ug</i>	<i>kalendaryo</i>	<i>o</i>
give-LV=1S.GEN=already=only=2S.NOM-EXT	calendar	DM

'I'll just give you a calendar. Here.'

(89a) = *hatag-an=na=lang=nako?=ka-ug*      *kalendaryo*      *o*

(89b) \**hatag-an=nako?=na=lang=ka-ug*      *kalendaryo*      *o*

## 2.5 Reduplication

There are two types of reduplication in Cebuano: CV- reduplication and full reduplication. CV- reduplication is the reduplication of the first syllable of a stem, as in (90) and (91), the former indicating the names of people's professions, and the latter deriving stative predicates meaning 'making one become something' or 'causing something.' Its occurrence is relatively restricted.

### (90) CV- reduplication

<i>mag-tu-tudlo?</i> 'teacher'	< <i>tudlo?</i> 'teach'
<i>ma(ng)-ngi-ngisda?</i> 'fisherman'	< <i>isda?</i> 'fish'
<i>ma(n)-na-nabang</i> 'helper (midwife)'	< <i>tabang</i> 'help'

### (91) CV- reduplication

<i>maka-bu-busug</i> 'filling'	< <i>busug</i> 'be full'
<i>maka-ha-hadlok</i> 'inspiring fear'	< <i>hadlok</i> 'be afraid'
<i>maka-u-ulaw</i> 'embarrassing'	< <i>ulaw</i> 'be embarrassed'

Full reduplication is productive in Cebuano. It can have the following senses: something not to be taken seriously or a game, or conveying an idea of ridicule, fake, imaginary, and false (Pigafetta, n.d.: 9, 12); a description of a person; multiple actions, a durative action, or a generic action; or a comparative word. The classification of these various senses will be made clearer below. The stress which originally falls on the final syllable usually shifts to the penultimate syllable of the second word.

### (92) Full reduplication

<i>pusil-púsil</i> 'play with a toy gun'	< <i>pusil</i> 'gun'
<i>buguy-búguy</i> 'act like a bully'	< <i>bugúy</i> 'bully'
<i>tulug-túlug</i> 'to feign sleep'	< <i>tulog</i> 'sleep'

A full reduplication of a noun or a modifier word will produce another lexical word, as in (93). The direction of the shift of the meaning differs from instance to instance.

- (93) Full reduplication
- |                                    |                        |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>daku?-dáku?</i> 'chief; leader' | < <i>dakú?</i> 'big'   |
| <i>bata?-báta?</i> 'bodyguard'     | < <i>batá?</i> 'child' |
| <i>asawa-asáwa</i> 'mistress'      | < <i>asáwa</i> 'wife'  |

A verb stem fully reduplicated may have several senses. For example, *tan?aw-tan?aw* (*tan?aw* 'to look at') may either mean multiple actions (e.g., 'to check several times'), a durative action (e.g., 'to keep looking at things in general rather than looking at something in particular'), or a generic action (e.g., *sayaw-sayaw* 'dance events'). More examples are given below. In these instances of full reduplication, notice that the accent falls on the penultimate syllable of the second stem.

- (94) Full reduplication of verb
- |   |                                  |
|---|----------------------------------|
| <i>simhot-símhot</i> 'to smell repeatedly'                                | < <i>simhot</i> 'to smell'       |
| <i>tindog-tíndog</i> 'to be standing for a period of time'                | < <i>tindog</i> 'to stand'       |
| <i>lingkod-língkod</i> 'to be sitting down with nothing particular to do' | < <i>lingkod</i> 'to sit (down)' |
| <i>kanta-kánta</i> 'to be singing while doing something else'             | < <i>kanta</i> 'to sing'         |

A modifying word may also be fully reduplicated to mean 'a bit more.' The stress in such instances falls on the final syllable of each stem.

- (95) Full reduplication of stative verb
- |                                      |
|--------------------------------------|
| <i>dakó?-dakó?</i> '(a bit) bigger'  |
| <i>gamáy-gamáy</i> '(a bit) smaller' |
| <i>lamí?-lamí?</i> '(a bit) tastier' |

For a detailed description of the phonemic and morphological aspects of Cebuano, please consult Wolff (1962, 1965, 2001) and Trosdal (1992, 1995).

## 2.6 Summary

This chapter serves as providing the basic elements in Cebuano grammar, including the phonetic inventory, the syllable patterns, the morphology, numeral terms,

and reduplication patterns. I have also shown the various nominal and verbal morphemes in Cebuano.

## CHAPTER 3

### CLAUSE STRUCTURE OF CEBUANO

#### 3.0 Introduction

This chapter will deal with the clause structure of Cebuano. I start in 3.1 by discussing the Repair phenomenon in this language, because it provides evidence with regard to the major grammatical elements in a Cebuano clause. In 3.2 I illustrate the preferred clause structure in Cebuano by examining conversation data. In 3.3 I investigate the preferred argument structure of Cebuano based on Du Bois (1987). In 3.4 I examine word order variations in Cebuano clauses, specifically the clauses with pronominal arguments, which can be preposed to a slot preceding the verb. In 3.5 I look at clausal coordination and subordination. Finally in 3.6 I provide a summary.

#### 3.1 Grammatical constituents

In Cebuano, speakers tend to do local Repair within a constituent. Clark and Wasow (1998) propose the *continuity hypothesis*, which states that, “all other things being equal, speakers prefer to produce constituents with a continuous delivery.” Speakers find it easier to formulate and produce entire constituents than disrupted ones and to keep track of where they are. From the point of view of the Hearer, it is also easier to parse and understand entire constituents than disrupted ones (Clark and Wasow 1998: 206-207). The “Constituent” in interaction is language-specific. In Cebuano, there are NP and Verb Complex, as revealed by the organization of Repair in Cebuano, as in (1).

(1) the organization of Repair in Cebuano

- i. When the trouble site is within the NP, Repair usually occurs within the same constituent; and
- ii. When the trouble site is at pre-verbal position, Repair occurs in the verbal complex;

From the observations made above, it can be said that Repair in Cebuano is syntactically restricted, that is, it is organized according to the kinds of constituents that are present in the language, namely, NP and verb complex, as shown in (2). The pre-verbs within the verb complex as shown in (2) consist of a first element and attitudinal particles and pronominal clitics. A first element can be a negator, an interrogative word, an existential word, or various forms of adverbials. In addition, based on the discussion of PAS and preferred clause structure in Chapter 17, there is usually only one NP coming after the Verb Complex.

(2) Constituents in Cebuano

**[Pre-verbs V]<sub>V COMPLEX</sub> [markers N]<sub>NP</sub> ...**

### 3.1.1 Noun Phrase Constituent

Cebuano NPs consist of the head noun and all the possible markers that can precede it. The markers that may come before a noun include a case marker, modifiers, numerals, possessor pronouns, and the plural marker *mga*. Although several markers and modifiers can possibly precede an NP, there is usually only one marker, at most two, in actual discourse (see Chapter 4).

Repair in NPs comes in three different types, namely, replacement, recycling, and use of placeholder strategy. Replacement refers to local replacement of a pre-nominal element, a marker, or the noun, as in (3), where T is showing L a picture of her children. At first she uses a plural marker *mga* to refer to them. Then she shifts to a first person singular possessive *ako-ng* to emphasize that the children in the picture

are *her* children. This is an example of a Repair because the plural marker *mga* cannot precede a possessor pronoun. But on second thought, she makes a Repair for the second time by using a first person exclusive plural possessive *amo-ng* to include her husband as one of the “possessors” of the children in the picture. The Repair is made locally before the head noun is uttered.

(3) Local replacement in NPs

T	<i>eto</i>	<b><i>mga-</i></b>	<b><i>ako-ng-</i></b>	<b><i>amo-ng</i></b>	<i>anak</i>	<i>o</i>
	<i>eto</i>	<b><i>mga-</i></b>	<b><i>ako?-nga-</i></b>	<b><i>amo?-nga</i></b>	<i>anak</i>	<i>o</i>
	this	PL	1S.POSS	1EP.POSS-LK	child	DM
L	<i>a=</i>	<i>cute</i>				
	INTERJ	cute				
T		'here, these are- my- our children, see.'				
L		'oh! (they're) cute.'				

Recycling is starting all over from the first-position marker or the addition of more markers regardless of whether the trouble site occurs at the marker or at the head noun, as in (4), where the speaker is word-searching for the name of a restaurant in line 2 (*diri sa= unsa*), and makes a Repair by recycling the first element (*diri*) of the locative NP in line 3 and further adds another particle *ra*. Recycling the first element of the noun phrase is the most common type of Repair in NPs and attests to the constituent NP in Cebuano.

(4) Recycling in NPs

<i>so=</i>	<i>nag-</i>	<i>nag-invite</i>	<i>nga=</i>	<i>...ma-ngaon@@@</i>
<i>so=</i>	<i>nag-</i>	<i>nag-invite</i>	<i>nga=</i>	<i>...maN-ka?on@@@</i>
<i>so</i>	<i>AV</i>	<i>AV-invite</i>	<i>LK</i>	<i>AV-eat</i>

<i>ka?on=kuno=mi</i>	<b><i>diri</i></b>	<i>sa=</i>	<b><i>unsa</i></b>	<i>to</i>	<i>nga=</i>
<i>eat=EVID=1EP.NOM</i>	here	<i>LOC</i>	what	that	<i>LK</i>

<i>basta</i>	<b><i>diri=rasa</i></b>	<b><i>Taipei</i></b>
<i>PAR</i>	here=only	<i>LOC PN</i>

‘So (he) invited (me) to dinner, (he said) we’re going to eat here at a- what was that place called- , (it was) just here in Taipei.’

The placeholder strategy (N=28) refers to the use of placeholders, which, as previously mentioned, are particles that hold a turn during word search, as in (5), where both T and L are making Repairs using placeholders. In line 2 of T, she uses the placeholder *ano* to hold her turn while searching for the appropriate word. L's answer also makes use of another placeholder *ku?an* as she tries to maintain her turn while searching for the right word to use.

(5) Use of placeholder strategy in NP Repair

T	<i>unya</i>	<i>pag-human</i>	<i>ani</i>		
	DM	NMZ-finish	this		
	<i>wa?=na=ka=y</i>		<i>lai?n-g-</i>	<b><i>ano-</i></b>	<i>trabaho-on</i>
	<i>wa?=na=ka=y</i>		<i>la?in-nga-</i>	<b><i>ano-</i></b>	<i>trabaho-on</i>
	NEG=already=2S.NOM=NEUT		other-LK	PH	work-PV
L	<i>wala?=na\</i>	<i>kani=ra=siya</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<b><i>ku?an</i></b>	<i>part time</i>
	<i>wala?=na\</i>	<i>kani=ra=siya</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<b><i>ku?an</i></b>	<i>parttime</i>
	NEG=already	this=only=3S.NOM	1S.POSS-LK	FIL	part.time.job
T:	'then, after you're off from here, you don't have any other work to do?'				
L:	'no more, this is my only part-time job.'				

Sometimes in order to hold a turn, the entire NP is completed first with *ku?an* as a convenient word to substitute a lexical entity that has not yet been found. This is illustrated in (6).

(6) Frog 1:85-87 NP constituent

85	...(1.0)	<i>daghan=na=di?ay=ka?ayo-g</i>	<i>anak</i>
		<i>daghan=na=di?ay=ka?ayo-ug</i>	<i>anak</i>
		many=already=EVID=intens-OBL	offspring
86	→...(1.5)	<b><i>ku?an ka</i></b>	<b><i>bu?uk anak</i></b>
		KUAN LK	CLASS offspring
87	→...(3.0)	<b><i>seven ka</i></b>	<b><i>bu?uk anak</i></b>
		seven LK	CLASS offspring
	'Then (they) had many children. (They had) how many children, ... seven children.'		

Table 3-1 below shows the organization of Repair in Cebuano NPs. The occurrence of the repair of a noun by recycling the pre-nominal marker (N=105, shaded area in Table 3-1) provides evidence for a NP constituent in Cebuano.

**Table 3-1. Repair in Cebuano noun phrases (N=201)**

	Trouble Site	Marker	Noun
Repair			
Pre-Marker Particle		-	<b>4</b> (addition of demonstratives and modifiers)
Marker		<b>27</b>	<b>105</b> (evidence for noun phrase constituent)
		14 (marker replaced) 13 (local recycling)	
Noun		n.a.	<b>65</b> 9 (replacement) 28 (local recycling) 28 (placeholder strategy)

### 3.1.2 Verb Complex constituent

Repair in Cebuano also shows evidence that the verb complex forms a constituent in the language. As I will discuss in Chapter 6, the verb complex contains the main verb and all the other elements and particles preceding it. In simplified terms, the Cebuano verb complex is represented in simpler terms as follows:

$$(7) \quad \text{First element} + \quad (=clitics) \quad + \quad \text{main verb}$$

wherein the first element may be a negator or an existential verb, a question word, a location, or a temporal adverb. Most of the time, the problem site occurs on the first element. At other times, the problem site occurs on the clitic where Repair will still start at the first element, displaying a constituent that consists of the predicate (or verb) and the clitic that attaches to it (which will be discussed later in this section). When the problem site occurs on the verb, the Repair may start at the first element, showing

verb complex constituent, as in both instances in (8), or the Repair would only recycle the verb affix, showing local recycling or replacement. In both examples below, the trouble occurs on the verb root, but each of the speakers engaged in Repair opts to recycle the first element of the entire verb complex.

(8) Word search for verb → recycling of first element in verb complex

T: *ma?ay-*            *ma?ay=na-ng*            *di?=ka*            *ka-sabot*  
*ma?ayo*            *ma?ayo=kana?-nga*            *di?=ka*            *ka-sabot*  
good            good=that-SUB            NEG=2S.NOM            AV-understand

→ *wa?=ka-*            *wa?=ka-*            *wala?=ka*            *ma-ano*  
NEG=2S.NOM            NEG=2S.NOM            NEG=2S.NOM            AV-what

L: *o\*            *wala?*  
BC            NEG

T: → *ma- ma-*            *dili?=ka*            *ma-*            *ma-gu?ol*  
FS            FS            NEG=2S.NOM            FS            AV-sad

*maka-sabot=ka*            *sa tanan a= ambot=lang*  
*maka-sabot=ka*            *sa tanan a= ambot=lang*  
AV-understand=2S.NOM OBL all            FIL            don't.know=PAR

*labad imo-ng*            *ulo*  
*labad imo-nga*            *ulo*  
ache            2S.POSS-LK            head

T: 'It's good you don't understand (them). You didn't-, you didn't-.'

L: 'Yeah, no, I'm not.'

T: 'You won't get sad. You understand everything, you'll get a headache.'

(9) Repair in verb complex

J *sa Cotabato*            *didto=na=ko*            *nag-dako*            *didto=ko*  
LOC PN            there=already=1S.NOM            AV-grow.up            there=1S.NOM

*nag-*            *didto=ko*            *nag-eskuwela=gyud-*            *didto=ko*            *nig-*  
FS            there=1S.NOM            AV-study=EMPH            there=1S.NOM            FS

L *didto=na=dyud=ka*            *nag-dako*  
there=already=EMPH=2S.NOM            AV-grow.up

J: 'in Cotabato, I grew up there, there I-, I studied there, I-'

L: 'you grew up there.'

The verb complex constituent is also shown in (10) (IU#12) to be uttered in a single IU. The initial particle is always recycled when a Repair occurs. More examples are given below.

(10) Verb complex constituent (Frog 6:11-13)

11 ... (1.8) *wala?=siy-* *wa?=siy-*  
NEG=FS NEG=FS

12 .. *wa?=siya kahibao nga ang baki?*  
NEG=3S.NOM aware COMP ANG frog

13 ... (0.8) *ni-gawas sa garapon*  
AV-move.out LOC container

'He did not, ... he did not know that the frog, ... came out of the container.'

(11) Utterance discontinued at verb; first element is recycled to Repair pronoun.

*diri=mo nag- a-diri=ra=ka nag-apply/*  
here=2P.NOM AV- FS here=PAR=2S.NOM AV-apply  
'You applied- you just applied here?'

(12) First element is recycled to Repair verb

*basta mag-idad=na=ko-g thirty dili?=na=ko mag-minyo?*  
*basta mag-idad=na=ko-ug thirty dili?=na=ko mag-minyo?*  
PAR AV-age=already=1S.NOM-OBL thirty NEG=already=1S.NOM AV-marry

@ *a- dili? mag-minyo?- dili? mang-anak*  
@ *a- dili? mag-minyo? dili? mag-anak*  
FIL NEG AV-marry NEG AV-have.baby

'When I'm thirty, I won't get married, no, (I) won't have a baby.'

There are two main forms of Repair in Cebuano verb complexes: recycling (N=143) and replacement (N=45) (see Table 3-2). Recycling is starting the Repair at

the first element, which may be a negator, an existential verb, a question word, or a temporal/locative adverb, as we have already shown in the examples above.<sup>23</sup>

Replacement includes modifications and local reformulations of the first element, which can be any particle or the main predicate/verb, as in the second line in (13), and instances wherein the trouble source occurs on the main predicate or the main verb, as in (14) and the first line in (13). In (13), the main predicate *single* is repaired locally; in the second line, the first element, a negative particle *di?*, is recycled. In (14), the main predicate is repaired locally. Further below, Table 3-2 summarizes the types of Repair involving the verb complex, as well as the Number (N) of tokens of each Repair type.

---

<sup>23</sup> Recycling is also attested in overlaps, a common occurrence in conversation, where one of the interlocutors is forced to make a Repair by recycling a previous utterance that was cut off due to the overlap. An example is illustrated in (i). Before T can finish asking another question (in line 3), W has started to answer the first question (line 2), but sensed that T must have wanted to re-phrase that first question (in line 1) and so stopped. At the same time, T thought she had been interrupted and wanted to make herself clear if in case W had not heard her since he was also trying to say something, and so recycled the start of her utterance (line 3).

(i) Repair caused by overlap

T	<i>pila=ma=y</i>	<i>sweldo</i>
	<i>pila=man=y</i>	<i>sweldo</i>
	how.much=PAR=NEUT	salary
W	[ <i>dili?</i> ]-	
	NEG	
T	[ <i>da-</i> ]	<i>dako?=ba-g dipirinsya/</i>
	[ <i>da-</i> ]	<i>dako?=ba-ug dipirinsya/</i>
	huge=Q-LK	difference

T: 'How much is the salary?'

W: '[No]'

T: '[Is the-] Is the difference big?'

(13) modification of first element

L     *unsa*                 *sing-*   *single=pa=ka*  
           what                 FS       single=still=2S.NOM

T     *di?-*    *di?=na*         *single day\*    *wala*    *?=na-*    *bali-*    *e-*        *e-*  
           NEG    NEG=already   single   VOC    NEG=already   PAR    FIL        FIL

*single=na=pud*         *sabihin*  
           single=already=also   say

*kay*    *wa?=na=man=ko=y*                                 *bana*  
           becauseNEG=already=PAR=1S.NOM=NEUT                 husband

L        'what are you? Are you still sing- single?'

T        'no- no, I'm not single anymore, I don't- uh-, but you can say  
           I'm single again, because I don't have a husband anymore.'

(14) local replacement of main predicate

*kag-*    *ka-*    *kahibawo=ko*                 *mag-bisaya*    *pero*  
           FS    FS    know=1S.NOM                 AV-visayan    but

          'I- I- I know how to speak Visayan, but ...'

**Table 3-2. Repair in Cebuano verb complexes (N=278)**

Repair	Trouble Site		Verb/Predicate	
	1st Element of Clause	Clitic		
Recycling of 1st Element of Clause	<b>77</b> (recycling)	<b>23</b> (V-clitic Constituent)	<b>34</b> (V-complex Constituent)	
Replacement	<b>11</b>	-	<b>99</b> recycling of verbal prefix	<b>34</b> (local 'lexical' replacement)

There are two smaller constituents within the verb complex, namely, the constituent consisting of the first element and the clitic(s) that attach(es) to it and the verb consisting of the root and the affix.

Recycling of the first element occurs in instances where the trouble site occurs on the clitic pronoun particles, and that means these clitics are not the starting points of a Repair; Repair must recycle the first element preceding the clitic, where the trouble occurs, as in (15a). Recycling can also occur when the Speaker needs to

change the pronominal clitic even if the sentence has progressed beyond the clitic position, as in (15b) and (15c). In such cases, the Repair would always recycle the first element preceding the clitic, and not recycle at the clitic.

(15a) recycling in verb complex

dili?=kayo- di?=mi magka-s<in>abot  
dili?=ka?ayo- di?=mi magka-sabot<in>  
 NEG=very NEG=1EP.NOM AV.RECIP-understand<res>  
 ‘(It’s) not very- we don’t understand each other.’

(15b) recycling in verb complex

a= pero dili- dili?=ka?ayo=ka- ku?an- dili?=siya progressive  
 FIL but NEG NEG=very=2S.NOM KUAN NEG=3S.NOM progressive  
 ‘But you’re not- you’re not- it’s not (a) progressive (area).’

(15c) recycling in verb complex

diri=mo nag- a- diri=ra=ka nag-apply  
 here=2P.NOM AV FIL here=only=2S.NOM AV-apply  
 ‘You (pl.) (did something) here... you (sg.) applied here...’

Like most Austronesian verbs, the Cebuano verb is composed of a verb root and an affix, which may denote voice, tense, mood, and aspect. As observed in my data, when a trouble source occurs on a verb root, the Speaker may recycle the prefix (N=99), as in (16), or use a placeholder strategy instead of recycling the prefix (N=6), as in (17). Placeholders (fillers) function to keep a turn from being taken by another party while the Speaker is in the process of word search. Placeholder particles in Cebuano include semantically-empty words, such as *ku?an* and *kanang* (see Chapter 19).

(16) recycling of verbal prefix

*pag-thirty-plus* =na=ka=  
NMZ-thirty-plus=already=2S.NOM

*lisod*=na=daw

***mag-buntis-***

***mang-anak***

*lisod*=na=daw

***mag-buntis-***

***mag-anak***

difficult=already=EVID

AV-pregnant

AV-baby

'If you're already more than thirty, it's difficult to get pregnant- to give birth.'

(17) use of placeholder strategy

J *didto*=na *sa* *manila* *trabaho*=na=ko *didto*  
there=already LOC PN work=already=1S.NOM there

L *nag-trabaho* ...*di* *di?* *wa?*=na=*di?*ay=*ka* *didto*  
AV-work DM DM NEG=already=EVID=2S.NOM there

***nag-ku?an-*** ***tugpo?***  
AV-KUAN reside

J: 'there in Manila, I was working there already.'

L: 'working, ...then- then you're not *kuan* residing there (in Cebu) anymore?'

It is also possible that the problem site would occur on the verb affix, but AV verb prefixes are not usually problematic. In rare cases where a suffix is involved, the Repair usually starts from the verb root, then the suffix, again showing the fact that the verb affix and the verb root form a constituent, as in (18) and (19). In (18) and (17), the placeholder *ku?an* is mainly holding the turn for word search. In (19), an affix is attached to the placeholder reflecting the fact that a NAV clause is deployed. In these examples, the main trouble still lies in searching for the appropriate verb root. We were also not able to find any utterance trouble occurring in verb suffixes, meaning again that the trouble must only occur in the verb root.

(18) Repair involving a suffix

*unsa imo-ng phone number*  
*unsa imo-nga phone number*  
what 1S.POSS-LK phone.number

*unya ku?an tawag-an*=dayon=*ka sa balay*  
DM KUAN call-LV=then=2S.NOM LOC house

'What is your telephone number, (you give it to them and) then *kuan* they will call you at home.'

(19) Repair involving a suffix

*ku?an-on=ra=ko=niya*

KUAN-PV=only=1S.NOM=3S.GEN

*taga-an=ko=niya-g* allowance kada buwan

*hatag-an=ko=niya-ug* allowance kada buwan

give-LV=1S.NOM=3S.GEN-EXT allowance every month

‘He will just *kuan* me- he will just give me my allowance every month.’

In (20), IU#8 recycles the voice/tense affix. In IU#10, the verb is nominalized, but the integrity of the entire verb, root plus affix(es), is preserved.

(20) Frog 5:5-10 Verb constituent

5 ... (4.3) *unya?* *na-tu=g=na* *ang* *bata?*  
*unya?* *na-tulog=na* *ang* *bata?*  
DM AV-sleep=already ANG child

‘Then the child went to sleep.’

6 ... (1.1) *ang-* *ang* *baki?*  
ANG ANG frog

7 ... (0.8) *ni-takas-* *nila-*  
AV-escape FS

8 → *ni-layas*  
AV-escape

9 ... (1.4) *ni-gawas* *sa* *iya-ng=* *gitago-*  
*ni-gawas* *sa* *iya-nga=* *gitago-*  
AV-move.out SA 3S.POSS-LK FS

10 →.. *gi-butang-an*  
PFV-put-lv.NMZ

‘The frog, ... left, ... escaped, ... came out of the con- ... the place (where) it had been kept.’

I have mentioned that a predicate and the clitic that attaches to it, which is a part of a verb complex constituent, is itself a constituent in Cebuano. However, pronominal clitics are topical, so there could be no ‘word search’ that will happen for a pronoun (reflected by pausing or lengthening) as in noun phrases or verb phrases. Based on my data, both predicate/verb and clitic almost always occur in the same IU most of the time. There could be exceptions though, as we found an instance, as in (21) repeated below, where a third-person plural pronominal clitic is uttered in a separate

IU (IU# 135). Third-person plural referents involve a group of persons which could be unknown or unfamiliar, and therefore would impose a heavier cognitive burden on the Speaker. Nevertheless, even in clauses where word order is changed, the integrity of the verb complex composed of the verb and the A seems to be preserved, as in (22), where the preposed pronominal A is recycled with the verb.

(21) Frog 3:133-140

133 ... (2.2) *ug sa wala? ma-dugay=*  
                   CONN TEMP NEG AV-long.time

134 ... *naka-kita?-*  
                   AV.ABIL-see

135 ... (0.8) *silā ug*  
                   3P.NOM OBL

**136** ... (0.9) *duha ka baki?*  
                   two LK frog  
 ‘Before long they saw two frogs.’

(22) Frog 2:22-23

... (1.2) *wala?=gyud=nila na-kit-an ang= ...frog\*  
           *wala?=gyud=nila na-kita?-an ang= ...frog\*  
           NEG=EMPH=3P.GEN SPONT-see-LV ANG frog

→ ... (1.7) *iya-ng gi-ow- iya-ng gi-abrih-an ang window*  
           *iya-nga gi-ow- iya-nga gi-abri-an ang window*  
           3S.POSS-LK FS 3S.POSS-LK PFV-open-LV ANG window  
 ‘(But) they never found the frog. (And) he opened the window.’

English (Fox, Hayashi, and Jaspersen 1996) and Indonesian (Wouk 2004) are found to have a Verb Clause constituent, which is composed of a verb and its subject. I have not been able to identify any verb clause constituent in Cebuano. I tried to pick out the transitive clauses where both A and P are overtly expressed. Aside from two instances where the P argument is obviously more topical (and human) than the A argument (e.g., owl, deer); in all the other cases, the A is more integrated to the verb (being pronominal clitics) while the P is usually uttered in a separate IU. In Cebuano transitive clauses, the P is the argument that takes the nominative case. This suggests that as the P argument takes up the nominative-case slot, the A, being more topical

than the P,<sup>24</sup> has grammaticized into a clitic to assert its status as superior (in topicality) to the nominative NP. It is therefore not surprising at all that Cebuano has a constituent composed of a predicate/verb and its pronominal (Agent) clitic (Verb Complex), but lacks a constituent composed of the transitive verb and the Patient argument (Verb Phrase).

From the observations made above, it can be said that Repair in Cebuano is syntactically restricted, that is, Repair in Cebuano is organized according to the kinds of constituents that have emerged and stabilized in the language, as schematized in (23).

(23) Constituents in Cebuano

**[[Pred-clit]** pre-verb particles **[pfx root]<sub>V</sub>** <sub>V complex</sub> **[markers N]<sub>NP</sub>** ...

As shown in (23), two major types of constituents emerge in Cebuano through Repair. First, The noun phrase, represented as **[markers N]<sub>NP</sub>** in (23), is a constituent consisting of the head noun and all the markers preceding it. Repair of an utterance trouble occurring at the head noun would usually recycle the first marker of the noun, as stated in (i) of (1).

The verb complex, represented as **[[Pred=clit] pre-verb particles [pfx root]<sub>MAIN VERB</sub>]** in the schema in (23), is a constituent consisting of the main verb and all the elements and particles that come before it. Repair of any utterance trouble occurring within this constituent would almost always start at the first element, as stated in (ii) of (1).

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<sup>24</sup> Statistical evidence shown in Chapter 13 of this dissertation, as well as studies in Seediq, Tsou (Huang 2002: 686), Saisiyat (Huang et al. 2004), and Tagalog (Cooreman et al. 1984), prove that Patient voice clauses are the default transitive construction in Cebuano, where the A remains more topical than P, even when P has been promoted to “subject” position.

In addition, Repair of an utterance trouble occurring at the clitic would usually involve recycling of the first-element; Repair of an utterance trouble occurring at the root verb usually involve recycling of the verb prefix or the first element.

In sum, the high frequency of non-overt arguments in Cebuano makes it difficult for Speakers to use the clause as a category for recycling, just as in Bikol (Fincke 1998). It has thus been shown that both languages display similar patterns of Repair.

### **3.2 Preferred clause structure**

At the clausal level, English and Japanese display varying preferences in terms of clause types. Iwasaki and Tao (1993) have shown that English, an SVO language with a rigid word order, has more clausal IUs than Mandarin and Japanese (see Table 3-3). In a separate study, Fox, Hayashi, and Jaspersen (1996) also show that English orients to the clause in the organization of repair. As for Japanese, Matsumoto (2003) states that speakers of Japanese are more likely to “fragment” the clause than English speakers. This is reflected in the organization of repair in Japanese, which has a loosely-organized syntax (Fox, Hayashi, and Jaspersen 1996). Clausal repair is practically rare since Japanese allows for abundant use of zero anaphora (Iwasaki and Tao 1993). This results in the predominance of semi-clauses in Japanese, as well as in Mandarin (Tao 1996). Semi-clauses here are used to refer to verbal predicates with covert arguments. Although Cebuano is like Japanese and Mandarin in that it also allows for a fairly high amount of zero anaphora, the proportion of full clauses vs. semi-clauses is much higher, as shown in Table 3-3. The probable reason for this is the fact that the verb complex in Cebuano is the only obligatory constituent of independent verbal clauses; moreover, human Agents are usually (obligatorily) expressed in pronominal form that cliticize to the verb or the first element. This means that, despite the prevalence of zero anaphora, the verbal complex itself can constitute

a full clause; thus the higher proportion of full clauses in Cebuano than in Japanese and Mandarin.

**Table 3-3. Frequency of full clauses vs. semi-clauses (Iwasaki and Tao 1993)**

	Total clauses	Full Clause (%)	Semi-Clause (%)
English	589	486 (82.5%)	103 (17.5%)
Japanese	343	83 (24.2%)	260 (75.8%)
Mandarin	463	170 (36.7%)	293 (63.3%)
Cebuano	700	469 (67.0%)	231 (33.0%)

(Based on conversation data; figures for Cebuano are mine.)

In my count of Cebuano conversational data (approximately 30 minutes), a huge proportion of clauses are low-transitive AV constructions (44.7 percent), which include epistemic and evidential clauses. Equational clauses make up 32.5 percent and existential clauses, or presentative clauses, account for 12.2 percent. Thus it is safe to state that intransitive clauses are preferred in Cebuano discourse. This low transitivity in spoken data has also been observed for English (Thompson and Hopper 2001; Mayes 2003), Mandarin Chinese (Tao 1996), and Japanese (Mayes 2003). In a conservative count by Thompson and Hopper (2001), only 27 percent of clauses in English conversation turn out to have two or more participants, while the other 73 percent are one-participant clauses. These one-participant clauses fall into three big groups, namely, verbal predicates with one participant (e.g., *visit, forget, remember*),<sup>25</sup> copular clauses (no lexical verb); and epistemic/evidential clauses (e.g., *know, think, see, remember* followed by a clause).

The preferred clause structure in Cebuano discourse is shown in (24).

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<sup>25</sup> These so-called "verbal predicates with one participant" are predicates usually thought of as transitive verbs taking two participants, but they actually occur more frequently in their intransitive form. For example, the verb *to remember* is usually thought of as somebody *remembering* something, but it is rare in actual conversation and occurs more frequently in expressions such as in the imperative *Remember that ...* or in intransitive constructions such as *You remember?*

#### (24) Preferred Clause Structure in Cebuano

- i) clauses exhibit the form VC X (One [New] Argument Constraint), where
- ii) VC is a verb complex containing a verb on the lower extreme of the transitivity scale, and
- iii) X is the sole [lexical] S argument in intransitive clauses or the lexical argument occupying the O role in transitive clauses, or the A pronominal argument attaching to the first element in a verb complex (Non-Lexical A Constraint).

One more interesting observation to note is that in another count of clauses in my Pear Story data, the proportion of intransitive clauses is around 40.2 percent, while another 8.5 percent are EICs (see Section 12.3). What is more striking is that transitive clauses account for 29.1 percent of the total of full clauses, which is significantly higher than the proportion found in conversation data. I think the reason for this is that in the Pear Story narratives, the topical entities include Patients, the pear, the basket, the hat, and others, which are being held, carried, taken, given, and handled in various ways, while in conversation, the topical entities are human Agents and their actions. Another observation worth mentioning is that there is also a significantly low proportion of predicate clauses (*i.e., equational clauses with stative verbs as predicate*) in my Pear Story narratives (only 9 percent, compared to 32.5 percent in conversation). This is expected as people make more descriptions in a conversation than in the Pear Story narrative, where Patient entities are more acted on (using transitive constructions) rather than being described (using equational constructions).

### 3.3 Preferred argument structure

In his IU-based analysis of Pear Story narratives in Sacapultek Maya, Du Bois (1987) proposed that newly-mentioned NPs follow a significant pattern. His data did not show any clause containing two new-argument mentions. This he terms the "One

New Argument Constraint": Speakers avoid more than one new argument per clause. Regarding this, Chafe (1987) also hypothesized that the amount of new information that speakers can activate in every clause is limited to only one. This new referent is further found to typically appear in the S or O roles, and to avoid the A-role argument position: the "Given A Constraint." These pragmatic constraints, together with the grammatical constraints: "One Lexical Argument Constraint" (Avoid more than one lexical argument per clause) and "Non-Lexical A Constraint" (Avoid lexical As), constitute the Preferred Argument Structure.

As shown in Table 3-4 and Table 3-5, the One Lexical Argument per IU is preferred in various languages; this lexical argument is usually located in the S and O slots. In Cebuano, clauses containing one lexical argument make up the largest proportion (55 percent); another 44 percent are clauses without any lexical argument; and only one percent of the clauses have two lexical arguments.

**Table 3-4. Number of lexical arguments in IUs<sup>26</sup>**

	0 Lex. Arg.		1 Lex. Arg.		2 Lex. Arg.		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Sakapultek	211	(46)	240	(53)	5	(1)	456
Saisiyat	97	(46)	101	(48)	12	(6)	210
Kavalan	63	(37)	86	(51)	21	(12)	170
Tsou	159	(39)	211	(51)	40	(10)	410
Cebuano	194	(44)	238	(55)	5	(1)	437

<sup>26</sup> Sources for the languages cited are as follows: Sakapultek (Du Bois 1987); Saisiyat (S. Huang et al. 2003); Kavalan (Shuping Huang, p.c.); Tsou (H. Huang and S. Huang submitted). Cebuano data are mine (based on Pear Story and Frog Story narratives).

**Table 3-5. Lexical argument role: Syntactic role of lexical core arguments<sup>27</sup>**

Language	Role	A		S		O		Total (N)
		N	%	N	%	N	%	
Hebrew		18	(8)	103	(44)	111	(48)	232
Sakapultek		11	(5)	126	(58)	81	(37)	218
Papago		37	(10)	169	(47)	152	(42)	358
Spanish		35	(6)	215	(36)	341	(58)	591
French		32	(5)	290	(45)	324	(50)	646
Japanese		48	(7)	320	(48)	293	(44)	661
Kavalan		30	(15)	96	(50)	67	(35)	193
Tagalog		56	(12)	215	(44)	213	(44)	484
Cebuano		12	(5)	176	(75)	48	(20)	236

Matsumoto (2000) initially proposes no more than three NPs per IU and no more than two new NPs per IU for Japanese. This seems to violate the ‘One New Argument Constraint.’ However, upon closer inspection of the data, he finds that only one of the New Arguments is a core argument, and none of the instances consists of two New Core Arguments. This was later termed as the "one new NP per IU constraint," which means that speakers avoid introducing more than one new NP per IU (Matsumoto 2003).

Like Japanese, Cebuano speakers tend to avoid introducing more than two new arguments per IU and to avoid new arguments in A position, as shown in Table 3-6 and Table 3-7, respectively. The predominance of new arguments occupying the S role is probably due to the relatively high frequency of intransitive clauses in our data in comparison with transitive clauses. Nevertheless, the result conforms to Du Bois’ (2003: 46) view that ‘the absolutive category (S, O) can be seen as reserving a structural locus for the cognitively demanding processing task of presenting new information.’ Moreover, both of these tables also show that the Preferred Argument Structure also holds in other languages as well.

<sup>27</sup> Sources for the languages cited are as follows: Hebrew (Smith 1996); Sakapultek (Du Bois 1987); Papago (D. Payne 1987); Spanish and French (Ashby and Bentivoglio 1993); Japanese (Matsumoto 1997; 2003); Tagalog (Nagaya 2006); Kavalan (Shuping Huang, p.c.). Cebuano data are mine (based on Pear Story and Frog Story narratives).

**Table 3-6. New argument quantity**<sup>28</sup>

Language	Quantity 0		Quantity 1		Quantity 2		Total (N)
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Sakapultek	336	(73)	122	(27)	0	(0)	458
Saisiyat	223	(84)	42	(15)	1	(<1)	265
Cebuano	383	(88)	54	(12)	0	(0)	437

**Table 3-7. New argument role: Syntactic role of new core arguments**<sup>29</sup>

Language	Role	A		S		O		Total (N)
		N	%	N	%	N	%	
Hebrew		6	(6)	40	(43)	47	(51)	93
Sakapultek		6	(6)	58	(55)	42	(40)	106
Spanish		2	(1)	56	(28)	142	(71)	200
French		0	(0)	75	(34)	143	(66)	218
Japanese		11	(4)	141	(53)	114	(43)	266
Saisiyat		4	(11)	15	(42)	17	(47)	36
Tsou		9	(8)	29	(28)	31	(30)	105 <sup>30</sup>
Cebuano		0	(0)	46	(85)	8	(15)	54

In sum, the Preferred Argument Structure holds in Cebuano. One lexical argument per IU and one new lexical argument are preferred; these arguments are distributed in the S and O slots, and are avoided in A slots. However, due to the predominance of intransitive clauses in our data (based on narrative texts), a much higher proportion of these lexical arguments are located in S role position rather than in O role position.

### 3.4 Word order

The canonical word order of Cebuano is predicate initial. Wolff (1965: 209) indicates that the main criterion for this word order is the length of the S (or

<sup>28</sup> Sources for the languages cited are as follows: Sakapultek (Du Bois 1987); Saisiyat (S. Huang et al. 2003). Cebuano data are mine (based on Pear Story and Frog Story narratives).

<sup>29</sup> Sources for the languages cited are as follows: Hebrew (Smith 1996); Sakapultek (Du Bois 1987); Spanish and French (Ashby and Bentivoglio 1993); Japanese (Matsumoto 1997, 2003); Saisiyat (S. Huang et al. 2003); Tsou (H. Huang and S. Huang submitted). Cebuano data are mine (based on Pear Story and Frog Story narratives).

<sup>30</sup> There are 36 instances of new arguments. H. Huang and S. Huang (submitted) is the first study to count extended arguments in research on argument structure. Extended arguments are of course known to carry new arguments; however, I have not counted Es as they are generally used to express peripheral entities and rarely track participants.

nominative NP) in comparison to the length of the Predicate. He also observes that other types of word order are unusual but they do occur. The weight principle also seems to figure in the word order of the head noun and its modifier in *nga* modification phrases (Bell 1992), but in this section I shall only discuss clausal word order in Cebuano; *nga* modification is discussed in the next chapter on noun phrase structure.

I examine the relative order between the core arguments and the verb. In intransitive clauses, which are strongly predicate-initial, the nominative argument sometimes precedes the verb. In such circumstances, this argument is considered topicalized and marked by the nominative marker *ang*. In (25), *ang iro?* in line 2 is preposed and topicalized; it is marked by *ang*. Another example of a preposed S is shown in line 40 in (26).

(25) Topicalized preposed S

<i>na-kuyaw-an</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>bata?</i> ,	<i>na-hulog</i>
SPONT-frighten-LV	ANG	child	SPONT-fall
<i>dayon</i>	[ <i>ang iro?</i> ] <sub>TOP</sub>	<i>pwerte-ng</i>	<i>dalagan</i>
<i>dayon</i>	[ <i>ang iro?</i> ] <sub>TOP</sub>	<i>pwerte-nga</i>	<i>dalagan</i>
DM	ANG dog	fast-LK	run

'The child was frightened, (and he) fell down. Then the dog, (it) ran very fast.'

In comparison to pre-verbal Ss which account for only around 23 percent of the number of intransitive clauses, pre-verbal As account for a little over a third of the total number of transitive clauses (see Table 3-8). This could be an indication of an ongoing but gradual word order shift from verb initial to A=V word order in transitive clauses. Further below, we illustrate this with an excerpt from our data.



possessive (Genitive-2) pronoun precedes the head noun; for example, *ang amigo=niya* vs. *ang iya-ng amigo* 'his friend.'<sup>31</sup>

Moreover, NAV verb forms (transitive verbs) can derive nominals that are Patient-like, and Patient-like NPs can be "owned," so to speak, such that we can attach a genitive/possessive pronoun to it. So like a NP, we can say both *(ang) gi-kugos=niya* 'the (one) he carried' and *ang iya-ng gi-kugos*. But such a choice is not possible with derived AV nominals, which are Actors and indicate actions and movements. We cannot say *ang ni-ambak (\*=niya)* '(\*his) the (one) that jumped' or *ang \*iya-ng ni-ambak*.

Therefore, the S in intransitive clauses does not prepose to a pre-verb position and change into another form in the same way that the A in transitive clauses changes from a genitive form to a possessive form. If the S is preposed at all, it is because it is being topicalized or emphasized, and it remains a nominative-marked nominal. In other words, intransitive clauses in Cebuano are strongly verb-initial.

Another count of the word order of NAV clauses yields a similar result: a little over a-third of transitive clauses in actual conversation have preposed As (see Table 3-9). In this count, I have disregarded the clauses that have absent As (whether or not they had Ps). As for the P pronominal, it can only be preposed if and only if the A pronominal is preposed. Moreover, if the A is preposed, the P also tends to be preposed if it is pronominalized. When the P pronominal argument is preposed, it usually remains marked in the nominative case, and is positioned between the A pronominal argument and the verb (A=P=V); in other words, there cannot be a \*P=A=V word order. P nominals that are lexical cannot be preposed, unless it is

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<sup>31</sup> It seems to me that the difference between the two would be that the possessor NP is more topical in *iya-ng amigo* than in *amigo=niya*.

topicalized (i.e., it is positioned at clause-initial position before the A, not after it). As shown in Table 3-9, the P in P V=A and P A=V word orders are topicalized.

**Table 3-9. Word Order variation in Cebuano conversational data**

	word order	N	%
Post-verbal A	V=A(=)P	22	85 (62%)
	V=P(=)A	25	
	(P <sub>Top</sub> ) V=A	38	
Preposed A	A=P=V	8	52 (38%)
	A=VP	5	
	(P <sub>Top</sub> ) A=V	39	

An observation of the data shows certain patterns in the word order between the position of the A in relation to the verb in NAV clauses. First, as to post-verbal A, the V=A(=)P word order is expected, as on the one hand A would be very topical, a first-person or a second-person referent, and hence would be pronominal and would cliticize to the verb. On the other hand, the focused P argument would tend to be realized as a full noun phrase; if it were pronominalized, it would still be less topical than the first-person or second-person A argument. The number of instances where both A and P are pronominal in V=A(=)P word order is only 8 (out of 22).

If the A is a third-person referent, as in (27), (and especially if it is realized as a full noun phrase, as in (26)) and the P is in pronominal form, the word order tends to be V=P(=)A. In such instances, the P being first person or second person is of course slightly more topical; moreover, both the P and the A nominals are pronominal in 21 out of 25 tokens (cf Table 3-10).

(27) V=P=A word order

*okay=ra taga-an=ko=niya-g gamay*  
*okay=ra hatag-an=ko=niya-ug gamay*  
 okay=just give-LV=1S.NOM=3S.GEN-EXT small

*wa?=man=sab=ko=y gastu-han*  
*wa?=man=sab=ko=y gastu-an*  
 NEG=PAR=also=1S.GEN=NEUT spend-LV

'It's just okay if he gives me a small (amount of pocket money); (after all,) I don't have (anything) to spend on.'

(28) V=PA word order

*gi-dala=ko ni atty tangco, di?=gyud=ko maka-tulog*  
 PFV.PV-take=1S.NOM GEN PN NEG=EMPH=1S.NOM AV-sleep  
 'Atty. Tangco took me (to the autopsy), I really couldn't sleep (after that).'

Another remarkable type of V=P(=)A construction attested in the data is when the P is realized as a demonstrative pronoun and the A is a first person pronoun. This is the only exception found that violates the topicality principle.

(29) V=P=A with pronominal P and A arguments

*pag-adto=nako? sa Thailand, na-kita?=nako? ang tourism=NILA*  
 TEMP-go=1S.GEN LOC PN SPONT-see=1S.GEN ANG tourism=3P.GEN

*didto, ma-buhat=man=na?=nato? ngadto sa Pilipinas*  
 there SPONT-do=PAR=that=1IP.GEN there LOC PN

'When I went to Thailand, I saw their tourism efforts there. We can do all those there in the Philippines.'

When the pronominal A is preposed, it seems to serve for contrastive or emphatic purposes; in such instances, the A pronominal form switches from the genitive case to the possessive case, while the P pronominal retains its nominative case marking. In such cases, the linker *nga* connects the verb to the pronominal right before it (either the genitive A or the nominative P).

(30) preposed A pronominal argument

*ing-ana? layo?=pa=ka?ayo, mag-ipit=na? si josie ug kwarta*  
 like.that far=still=INTENS AV-insert=that SI PN EXT money

*iya=na-ng i-pa-kita? sus mag-agaw-an=lagi=na-ng customs*  
*iya=na?-nga i-pa-kita? sus mag-agaw-an=lagi=na?-ang customs*  
 3S.POSS=that-LK IV-CAU-show INTERJ AV-fight.over-LV=really=that-ANG customs

*@@@ diri=ka oy diri=ka diri=ka*  
 here=2S.NOM VOC here=2S.NOM here=2S.NOM

*kay layo?=pa=ka?ayo iya=na-ng gi-sulod ang kwarta*  
*kay layo?=pa=ka?ayo iya=na-nga gi-sulod ang kwarta*  
 because far=still=INTENS 3S.POSS=already-LK PFV.PV-insert ANG money

*pag-pa-dulong=na=siya sa customs*  
 TEMPO-CAU-toward=already=3S.NOM LOC customs

*iya=na-ng i- dad-on=niya ang pushcart*  
*iya=na-nga i- dala-on=niya ang pushcart*  
 3S.POSS=already-LKFS take-PV=3S.GENANG pushcart

*hi maam maam maam diri maam maam maam*  
 HI VOC VOC VOC here VOC VOC VOC

*kahibawo=na=man na?a=y kwarta*  
 know=already=PAR EXIST=NEUT money

*wise ka?ay=na? si josie, layo?=pa*  
*wise ka?ayo=na? si josie, layo?=pa*  
 wise INTENS=that SI PN far=still

*iya-ng pa-kit-an, wa=y abri*  
*iya-nga pa-kita?-an, wa?=y abri*  
 3S.POSS-LK CAU-see-LV NEG=NEUT open

'Like that, (when she's) still far from the customs area, Josie will already insert cash (in her passport), (but) she will show it [her act of inserting the money] (to the customs officials); oh my customs (people) will be fighting (over her) [laughs] "Hey Miss, you come here, you come here." Because (when she's) still far away, she will already insert the money. When she's already (walking) toward the customs (area), (the officials would call at her) "Hey Ma'am; (come) here, Ma'am!" Of course (they) know there's money (inside her passport). Josie that woman's so smart: (when she's) still far away, she'll show (it). There's no opening (of her baggage)."

In the excerpt in (30), the Speaker is describing how Josie is able to pass through customs without her bags being opened and inspected. The pronominalized A (referring to Josie) is being emphasized at every mention. Halfway through the narration, in line 6, the A returns to its post-verbal position (*dad-on=niya ang pushcart* 'she would take the pushcart'), probably because this is a kind of background

statement, which does not need any emphasis. That means, the preposing of the A argument functions to convey an emphasis.

As for P, when it is preposed but the A remains post-verbal, the P can only be a topicalized NP (and it is never pronominalized), as in a P<sub>TOP</sub> V=A clause. When the P comes before the preposed A, it is topicalized, or it is viewed as a cleft equational clause, as in (31). In other words, the P is regarded as a separate unit from the verbal phrase *ila-ng ma-hire*.

(31) A argument preposed (P A=V)

<i>tulo=na</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>foreigner</i>	<i>ila-ng</i>	<i>ma-hire</i>
<i>tulo=na</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>foreigner</i>	<i>ila-nga</i>	<i>ma-hire</i>
three=already	LK	foreigner	3P.POSS-LK	PV.SPONT-hire

'(It is) three foreigners that they can now hire.'

When the P is pronominalized, it can be preposed only when the A argument is also preposed (for emphasis), as in a A=P=V clause; in other words, there is no attested (?)A=V=P clause, unless the P is in lexical form (A=V P). In such instances, the A pronominal takes a possessive case marking while the P pronominal retains its nominative case marking. In (32) and (33), both A and P are pronominal and placed before the verb (A=P=V).

(32) A and P arguments in NAV clause are preposed (A=P=V)

<i>iya=gyud</i>	<i>ko-ng</i>	<i>gi-tabang-an</i>		
<i>iya=gyud</i>	<i>ko-nga</i>	<i>gi-tabang-an</i>		
3S.POSS=EMPH	1S.NOM-LK	PFV-help-LV		

<i>na?a=gyud=siya</i>	<i>diha?</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>tupad</i>
<i>na?a=gyud=siya</i>	<i>diha?</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>tupad</i>
EXIST=EMPH=3S.NOM	there	LOC	1S.POSS-LK	side

'He really helped me; he was really there by my side.'

(33) A and P arguments in NAV clause are preposed (A=P=V)

<i>pag-tigom=gyud=ka</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>ako?=tika-ng</i>	<i>ingn-an</i>
<i>pag-tigom=gyud=ka</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>ako?=ka-nga</i>	<i>ingon-an</i>
IMPER-save=EMPH=2S.NOM	because	1S.POSS=2S.NOM-LK	say-LV

'You should save (money), because I tell you, ...'

Two other types of constructions deserve to be mentioned. First, when the A is a clitic pronoun and the P is zero, the P is a topical argument (38 tokens). Second, when the P is a clitic pronoun and the A is zero, there are three possibilities. (1) The A nominal may be the second-person addressee in an imperative clause and is obligatorily covert, as in (34).

(34) V=P word order with covert A argument in imperative clause

<i>pa-kit-a=ko</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>litrato</i>	<i>be</i>
<i>pa-kita?-a=ko</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>litrato</i>	<i>be</i>
CAU-see-PV=1S.NOM	OBL	3S.POSS-LK	picture	PAR

'Show me his picture.'

(2) The A may be a topical third-person referent, as in (35) and (36).

(35) V=P word order with covert topical A argument

<i>gamit=pa=siya-g</i>	<i>government</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>saky-an-an</i>
<i>gamit=pa=siya-ug</i>	<i>government</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>sakay-an-an</i>
use=even=3S.NOM-OBL	government	LK	ride-LV-NMZ

<i>gi-hatud=siya,</i>	<i>government</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>driver</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>gi-hire</i>
<i>gi-hatud=siya,</i>	<i>government</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>driver</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>gi-hire</i>
PFV.PV-take=3S.NOM	government	ANG	3S.POSS-LK	driver	LK	PFV.PV-hire

<i>gi-pa-limpyo=niya-g</i>	<i>balay,</i>	<i>gi-pa-galam=pa=gyu-g</i>	<i>buwak</i>
<i>gi-pa-limpyo=niya-ug</i>	<i>balay,</i>	<i>gi-pa-galam=pa=gyud-ug</i>	<i>buwak</i>
PFV.PV-CAU-clean=3S.GEN-EXT	house	PFV.PV-CAU-tend=even=EMPH-EXT	flower

'She used an official vehicle to take her home. She had a government-hired driver. She made (the driver) clean the house (and) tend flowers.'

(36) V=P word order with covert topical A argument

<i>ma?ay=unta-g</i>	<i>taga-an=ka-g</i>	<i>kwarta</i>
<i>ma?ayo=unta?-ughatag-an=ka-ug</i>	<i>kwarta</i>	
good=OPT-COMP	give-LV=2S.NOM-EXT	money

'It would have been good if (he'll) give you some money.'

(3) The construction may be inverse or passive-like, such that the non-topical A need not be mentioned, as in (37) and (38).

(37) passive-like verb with covert A argument

L: *pero dili@?=ka ma-il-han sa imo-ng idad, bata?=pa*  
*pero dili@?=ka ma-ila-an sa imo-nga idad, bata?=pa*  
 but NEG=2S.NOM SPONT-identify-LV CAU 2S.POSS-LK age child=still

T: *di oy, tiguwang=na intawon*  
 NEG VOC old.person=already PAR

L: 'But you don't look that old, (you) still look young.'

T: 'Not at all. (I'm) old already.'

(38) passive-like verb with covert A argument

*dili? kaya sa ako-ng lawas nga-*  
*dili? kaya sa ako?-nga lawas nga-*  
 NEG bear GEN 1S.POSS-LK body COMP

*kanang ma-init-an=ko, kay ma-lipong=man=ko*  
 PH SPONT-hot-LV=1S.NOM because SPONT-faint=PAR=1S.NOM

'My body can't take it when, like (when) I'm exposed to the sun, because I'd feel like fainting.'

In sum, A is always more topic-worthy than P, and that is why A always precedes P. If P is emphasized, then it is topicalized. Table 3-10 summarizes the types of word order in transitive clauses where both the A and the P are pronominals.

**Table 3-10. Word Order variation of pronominal arguments**

	word order	N	N (including lexical arguments)
Both A and P are overt	V=A=P	8	22
	V=P=A	21	25 (inverse) [P: ½; A: 3]
Only A is pronominalized	V=A	38	
	P <sub>TOP</sub> V=A	8	38
Only P is pronominalized	V=P	35	1. imperative 2. A is a topical third-person NP. 3. inverse/passive
	*P=V ?A=V=P	0	5; P tends to be pre-posed together with A when both are pronominalized → A=P=V

As I have already alluded in the preceding discussion, I will emphasize again that in this dissertation I distinguish between three voice types, namely, active, inverse, and passive, based on the relative topicality between the A and P arguments in transitive clauses (Cooreman 1982). Active and inverse clauses have A and P arguments that are both topical. A clause is “active” if the A argument is more topical

than the P; and “inverse” if the P is more topical than the A. A clause is identified as “passive” if the P is topical and the A is not topical at all. These will be discussed again in Chapter 13.

### **3.5 Coordination and subordination**

In this section, I will deal with two matters. First, in 3.5.1, I will discuss the linkage of two clauses that are syntactically independent from each other; each of the clauses can stand alone and are understood as separate state of affairs. In other words, they are not in a complementation relation with each other, but one of them may be semantically dependent on the other. In 3.5.2 I discuss adjoined clauses.

#### **3.5.1 Connectors in Cebuano**

The types of dependent relationship in clausal linking in Cebuano are shown in Table 3-11. In these constructions, the "subordinate" clause is syntactically independent and is outside the main clause; it is not obligated to share predicates, tense and aspect, and actants with the "main" clause. In addition, the subordinating linker is explicitly marked. Some "subordinators" are complement-taking particles.

**Table 3-11. Connectives coding circumstantial relations**

circumstantial relation	connective		notes	Complement-taking connectors
	Cebuano	English equivalents		
Additive	<i>ug, unya?, (pagka-)human, dayon</i>	<i>and</i>	free word	
Adversative	<i>pero, apan</i>	<i>but</i>	free word	
Disjunctive	<i>o</i>	<i>or</i>	free word	
Temporal	<i>samtang, bag?u, human</i>	<i>before, after</i>	free word	
Reason	<i>kay, gumikan kay, tungod kay</i>	<i>because, since, as</i>	free word	<i>bantog=ra</i>
Conditional	<i>kung, basta pag-</i>	<i>if, unless, provided that, as long as</i>	free word prefix	<i>basta</i>
Purpose	<i>para, aron</i>	<i>in order to, so that, in order that</i>	free word	<i>para, aron</i>
Subordinators	(see Table 11-4)		pseudo-verbs	Yes

### 3.5.1.1 Additive coordination

The markers for additive coordination signal that the story is not yet finished and that there is still more to follow. Excerpts containing various additive coordination markers are given below.

(39) additive coordination

*ang tigulang ni-saka sa usa ka punu-an*  
ang old.man AV-move.up LOC one LK tree-NMZ

*nga bayabas, a= na-mu?pu?=siya*  
*nga bayabas, a= naN-pu?pu?=siya*  
LK guava FIL AV-pick=3S.NOM

*ug iya-ha-ng gi-butang sa iya-ha-ng sudl-an-an*  
*ug iya-a-nga gi-butang sa iya-a-nga sulod-an-an*  
CONJ 3S.POSS-DEF-LK PFV.IV-place LOC 3S.POSS-DEF-LK inside-LV-NMZ  
‘The old man, (he) climbed up a guava tree, a=nd he was picking (fruits) and he put (them) in his container.’

(40) additive coordination

*nag-katag ang iya-ng dala nga gi-kawat*  
*nag-katag ang iya-nga dala nga gi-kawat*  
AV-scatter ANG 3S.POSS-LK bring LK PFV.PV-steal

*nga mga bayabas ug iya-ha-ng-*  
*nga mga bayabas ug iya-a-nga*  
LK PL guava CONJ 3S.POSS-DEF-LK

*gi-tabang-an=siya ug kuha?*  
PFV.PV-help-LV=3S.NOM COMP pick  
'The guavas that (he) stole and took (away) scattered and (they) helped him pick (them) up.'

(41) additive coordination

*pagka-human ni-labay=siya sa katong tawo*  
NMZ-finish AV-pass=3S.NOM LOC that person

*nga na-mu?pu? ug bayabas*  
*nga naN-pu?pu? ug bayabas*  
LK AV-pick EXT guava

*pagka-human na-tingala ang katong tawo*  
NMZ-finish AV-surprised ANG that person  
'Then, he passed by that person who was picking guavas. Then, that person felt surprised.'

(42) additive coordination

*may usa ka punu-an sa pear*  
EXIST one LK tree-LV GEN pear

*dayon na=y usa ka tawo-ng lalaki*  
*dayon na?a=y usa ka tawo-nga lalaki*  
then EXIST=NEUT one LK person-LK boy  
'There is a pear tree; then, there is a man.'

### 3.5.1.2 Adversative coordination

Adversative coordination introduces a statement that is contrary to the preceding one. There is a native word *apan* marking adversative coordination, but it is now restricted to formal settings and the written registers; the loan word *pero* is now more preferred in conversation.

(43) adversative coordination

*pero katong taw-hana, pag-kana?og=niya*  
*pero katong tawo-a, pag-kana?og=niya*  
but that person-DEF NMZ-move.down=3S.GEN

*na-tingala=siya nga ang iya-ha-ng mga prutas*  
*na-tingala=siya nga ang iya-a-nga mga prutas*  
AV-surprised=3S.NOM COMP ANG 3S.POSS-DEF-LKPL fruit

*na-wala?=na to usa ka basket*  
AV-NEG=already that one LK basket

‘But that particular person, when he got down, he was surprised that his fruits, one basket was gone.’

(44) adversative coordination

T *dili? pili-an bisa-g unsa-ng pa-kan-on*  
*dili? pili?-an bisan-ug unsa-nga pa-ka?on-on*  
NEG choose-NMZ even-COMP what-LK CAU-eat-PV.NMZ

L *mo-ka?on=ra=siya*  
AV-eat=just=3S.NOM

T *ka?on=siya*  
eat=3S.NOM

L *pero ikaw=gyu=y luto? sa iya-ha*  
*pero ikaw=gyud=y luto? sa iya-a*  
but 2S.NOM=EMPH=NEUT cook LOC 3S.POSS-DEF

T: ‘(He’s) not picky. Whatever (you) feed (him).’

L: ‘He’ll just eat.’

T: ‘He(‘ll) eat.’

L: ‘But (it) has to be you cooking for him.’

(45) adversative coordination

*ug ang iro? ni-sinyas nga na?a=y= ...sapa?*  
and ANG dog AV-sign LK EXIST=NEUT river

... *nga lalom=ka?ayo*  
LK deep=EMPH

...(0.8) *pero wala? maka-bati? ang bata?*  
but NEG AV-hear ANG child

...*ug (1.0) na-hulog ang= bata? ...uban sa iro?*  
and AV-fall ANG child together OBL dog

‘Then the dog signaled that there was a river which was very deep. But the child did not hear and the child together with the dog fell (into the water).’

### 3.5.1.3 Disjunctive coordination

Disjunctive coordination is usually marked by either *o*, or by juxtaposition of the two clauses with a prosodic pause in between.

(46) disjunctive coordination

*minyo?=mo      diri    o      kasal=mo      sa      manila*  
marry=2P.NOM    here    or      marry=2P.NOM LOC    PN  
'Were you married here, or were you married in Manila?'

### 3.5.1.4 Temporal clauses

The types of particles that mark a temporal clause are *samtang* 'while', *bag?u* 'before', or *human* 'after', that takes a *nga* complement clause; the *nga* can be omitted forming a verb complex with a temporal adverb in first-element position.

(47) temporal adverbial expression

*bag?u=mi      nang-adto-g      san carlos*  
*bag?u=mi      naN-adto-ug      san carlos*  
before=1EP.NOM    AV-go-EXT    PN  
  
*to      nag-sakay=mi      sa      Toledo*  
there      AV-ride=1EP.NOM      LOC    PN  
'Before we went to San Carlos, there, we rode (a bus) to Toledo.'

(48) temporal adverbial expression (Sun Star, January 27, 2008)

*napulo-g tulo      ka      mga      batan-on      ang      gipang-dakop sa*  
*napulo?-ug tulo      ka      mga      bata?-on      ang      gipaN-dakop sa*  
ten.and.three      LK      PL      child-ish      ANG      PV-arrest      GEN  
  
*ka-pulis-an      human gi-sembong      nga      nag-himo? ug ka-samok*  
KA-police-LV      after      PFV.PV-report      COMP      AV-make      OBL KA-trouble  
'The police officers arrested thirteen youngsters after (people) reported (them) for creating trouble.'

(49) temporal clause

*samtang*=*siya*    *nag-lakaw*,    *oy*,    *na-dagma?*=*man*=*siya*  
 while=3S.NOM    AV-walk    INTERJ    AV-fall.down=PAR=3S.NOM

*unya?*    *nanga-hulog*    *ang*    *iya-ha-ng*    *peras*  
*unya?*    *naN-hulog*    *ang*    *iya-a-nga*    *peras*  
 then    AV-fall.down    ANG    3S.POSS-DEF-LKpear

*a*= *samtang*    *nanga-hulog*,    *unya?*    *iya-ha-ng*    *gipa-munit*  
*a*= *samtang*    *naN-hulog*,    *unya?*    *iya-a-nga*    *gipaN-punit*  
 FIL while    AV-fall.down    then    3S.POSS-DEF-LKPV-pick

'While he was walking, *Oy!* he fell down. Then his pears fell down. *Aaa*=, while (his pears) were falling down, ... then he picked (them) up.'

(50) temporal clause (Sun Star, March 1, 2008)

*alas* 8    *sa gabi?i*    *samtang*    *n-ananghid*    *ang*  
*alas* 8    *sa gabi?i*    *samtang*    *n-pananghid*    *ang*  
 8.o'clock    LOC evening    while    AV-ask.permission    ANG

*iya-ng*    *anak*    *nga*    *mo-la?ag*    *uban sa*    *iya-ng barkada*  
*iya-nga*    *anak*    *nga*    *mo-la?ag*    *uban sa*    *iya-nga barkada*  
 3S.POSS-LK child    COMP    AV-go.out    together with    3S.POSS-LK friend

'(It was) eight in the evening when her son asked permission to go out with his friends.'

### 3.5.1.5 Reason clauses

Reason is marked by *kay* (51 and 52), *gumikan kay/sa* (53), or *tungod kay/sa*

(54). The unit following *kay* is usually clausal (53), while that following *sa* is nominal

(54).

(51) Reason clause

...(2.1)    *unya?*    ..*na-gu?ul*=*siya*  
                   DM                    AV-sad=3S.NOM

*kay*    *wala?*=*na*    *ang*    *iya-ng*    ...*pet*    *nga*    *frog*|\  
*kay*    *wala?*=*na*    *ang*    *iya-nga*    ...*pet*    *nga*    *frog*|\  
 because    NEG=already    ANG    3S.POSS-LK    pet    LK    frog

'He felt sad since he lost his frog.'

(52) Reason clause

*na-lamba*    *ang*    *bata?*    *kay*    *naka-dasmag*=*siya*    *ug*    *bato*  
 AV-slam    ANG    child    because AV-bump=3S.NOM    EXT    stone

'The child was slammed (to the ground) because he bumped over a stone.'

(53) Reason clause (Sun Star, March 5, 2008)

<i>gumikan kay lampas alas 10=na</i>	<i>ni?adto-ng higayon-a</i>
<i>gumikan kay lampas alas 10=na</i>	<i>ni?adto-nga higayon-a</i>
cause because exceed 10.o'clock=already	that- LK time-DEF

<i>iya-ng gi-badlong si Lintac nga mo-pa-uli?=na</i>
<i>iya-nga gi-badlong si Lintac nga mo-pa-uli?=na</i>
3S.POSS-LK PFV-advise SI PN COMP AV-CAU-return=already

*sanglit mi-lapas=na=kini sa curfew hour*  
 because AV-exceed=already=thisLOC curfew.time  
 'As it was already past ten at that time, he advised Lintac that (he) should go home already as (it) was past the curfew hour.'

(54) Reason clause

<i>tulo=mi ka oras ga-tindog didto</i>
three=1EP.NOM LK hour AV-stand there

<i>tungod sa TV nga second hand nga ako-ng gi-dala</i>
<i>tungod sa TV nga second hand nga ako?-nga gi-dala</i>
because CAU TV LK second.hand LK 1S.POSS-LK PFV.IV-take

'We were standing there (at customs) for three hours, (just) because of the second hand TV set that I was bringing (home).'

### 3.5.1.6 Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses are marked by either *para* or *aron*. The Spanish loan word *para* also marks benefactive nominals. These two markers may be followed by a complementizer *nga*.

(55) Purpose clause

<i>mo-gikan=gyud=ko sa= manila</i>
AV-depart=EMPH=1S.NOM LOC PN

<i>para ako-ng gamit-on ako-ng pilipin passport</i>
<i>para ako?-nga gamit-on ako?-nga pilipin passport</i>
for 1S.POSS-LK use-PV 1S.POSS-LK Philippine.passport

'I should leave [start my journey] from Manila in order to use my Philippine passport.'

(56) Purpose clause

<i>di?=na=lang butang-an para mo-du?ul=ka sa ila</i>
NEG=already=just place-LV for AV-approach=2S.NOM LOC 3P.POSS

'(They) will not put (maps there) in order that you will approach them.'

(57) Purpose clause

*sus*            *nag-minyo?=man=gani?=ko*  
INTERJ        AV-marry=PAR=PAR=1S.NOM  
  
*para*           *na?a=ko=y*                    *ka-uban*  
for            EXIST=1S.NOM=NEUT    KA-accompany  
'Sus, I really got married in order to have a companion.'

(58) Purpose clause (Sun Star, July 25, 2007)

*gi-apas=na=man=ko*                    *sa*        *amo-ng*        *teacher*  
*gi-apas=na=man=ko*                    *sa*        *amo?-nga*      *teacher*  
PFV-follow=already=PAR=1S.NOM    GEN       1EP.POSS-LK    teacher  
  
*sa amo-ng*        *balay aron*      *dad-on*        *sa*        *hospital*  
*sa amo?-nga*      *balay aron*      *dala-on*        *sa*        *hospital*  
LOC 1EP.POSS-LK    house so        take-PV        LOC        hospital  
'Our teacher followed me to our house to take (me) to the hospital.'

### 3.5.1.7 Conditional clauses

The two more common conditional markers are *basta* and *kung*. The marker *basta* indicates a more affirmative stance, while *kung* is the preferred marker in negative contexts. In a negative context, the association of *kung* with the negative particle *di* has become entrenched that they are often shortened to *kundi*, as in (64).

(59) conditional clause

*basta*           *pa-kan-on=ra=na=nimo-g*                    *utan-on*  
*basta*           *pa-ka?on-on=ra=kana?=nimo-ug*           *utan-on*  
COND           CAU-eat-PV=just=that=2S.GEN-OBL        vegetable-NMZ  
  
*or isda*      *karne okay=ra=na?*,                    *di?=m-angita?*  
*or isda*      *karne okay=ra=kana?*,                    *di?=m-pangita?*  
or fish      meat    okay=just=that                    NEG=AV-search  
'You just feed him with vegetables, or fish or meat, (it's) okay with him.  
(He's) not going to look for (other things to eat).'

(60) conditional clause

*basta*           *mag-idad=na=ko-g*                    *thirty,*  
*basta*           *mag-idad=na=ko-ug*                    *thirty,*  
COND           AV-age=already=1S.NOM-EXT        thirty  
  
*dili?=na=ko*                    *mag-minyo?@*  
NEG=already=1S.NOM        AV-get.married  
'When I'll be thirty (and still single), I won't get married anymore.'

(61) conditional clause

...(2.0) *nang-abli=sila sa bintana?* ... (0.9) *ila-ng*  
*naN-abli=sila sa bintana?* ... (0.9) *ila-nga*  
AV-open=3P.NOM LOC window 3P.POSS-LK

.. *gi- ..tan?aw kung ha?in=na*  
PFV- see if where=already  
'He opened the window to see where the frog is.'

(62) conditional clause

*kung dili?=na=ka- di?=ka ka-agwanta,*  
if NEG=already-2S.NOM NEG=2S.NOM ABIL-endure

*hala sigi sibat*  
INTERJ leave

'If you can't-, you can't stand (it), then go ahead, leave (him).'

(63) conditional clause

*tu?a=ka didto, ma-miss=nimo imo-ng bana*  
*tu?a=ka didto, ma-miss=nimo imo-nga bana*  
EXIST=2S.NOM there SPONT-miss=2S.GEN 2S.POSS-LK husband

*kung na?a=ka diri, ma-miss=sad=nimo ku?an*  
if exist=2S.NOM here SPONT-miss=also=2S.GEN KUAN

'(When) you are there, you miss your husband. When you are here, you also miss (your) *kuan*.'

(64) conditional clause

W: *buwag-an mag-hikog*  
separate-LV AV-suicide

T: *ma?o=na? ang style diri*  
*ma?o=kana? ang style diri*  
ANAPH=that ANG style here

*kun=di? lapwa-an=ka-g acido*  
*kun=dili? lapwa?-an=ka-ug acido*  
COND=NEG splash-LV=2S.NOM-EXT acid

W: '(When their lovers) leave (them), (they) commit suicide.'

T: 'That's the style of (the young people) here. If not, (they) splash (muriatic) acid on you.'

Another source for the marking of conditionals in Cebuano is the temporal marker *pag-*, the temporal marker being the commonest source for conditional protasis marking (Traugott 1985). The conditional marker *pag-* should not be confused with the nominalizer prefix *pag(ka)-*. The affixation of a nominalizer

*pag(ka)-* to a verb in its root form will result in a temporal adverbial clause that refers to a past event, as in (67). When the verb is voiced-marked, the affixation of *pag-* will produce a conditional reading.

(65) conditional clause

<i>pag-na-hurot=kuno</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>dugo?</i>	<i>pag-flow</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ti?il</i>
<i>pag-na-hurot=kuno</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>dugo?</i>	<i>pag-flow</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ti?il</i>
COND-AV-finish=EVID	3S.POSS-LK	blood	NMZ-flow	LOC	foot

*gamay=na=kuno=ka?ay-g*      *lawas na?*  
*gamay=na=kuno=ka?ayo-ug*      *lawas kana?*  
 small=already=EVID=INTENS-LK      body that

'When all the blood has entirely flown down the feet, [they say] the body will shrink.'

(66) conditional clause

<i>dali?=ka?ay=i-sulti,</i>	<i>pag-na-higugma=ka,</i>	<i>hikog=dyud</i>
<i>dali?=ka?ayo=i-sulti,</i>	<i>pag-na-higugma=ka,</i>	<i>hikog=dyud</i>
fast=INTENS=IV-say	COND-AV-fall.in.love=2S.NOM	suicide=EMPH

'(It's) so easy to say, (but) once you fall in love, (you'll) surely (commit) suicide.'

(67) nominalizer *pag-* affixed to verb root (adverbial reading)

<i>pag-human=nako?-g</i>	<i>college didto,</i>	<i>nag-adto=ko-g</i>	<i>cebu</i>
<i>pag-human=nako?-ug</i>	<i>college didto,</i>	<i>nag-adto=ko-ug</i>	<i>cebu</i>
TEMP-finish=1S.GEN-COMP	college there	AV-go=1S.NOM-EXT	PN

'After I finished college there, I went to Cebu.'

### 3.5.2 Adjoined clauses

As I will illustrate in Chapter 4 (Noun Phrase Structure), modification in Cebuano largely uses the linker *nga*, but I do not consider these post-head modifications as relative constructions. Nevertheless, I have observed that in more formal registers, such as in news articles, there are constructions that resemble relative clauses like those in English, where an interrogative pronoun links the second phrase to the head NP. In these constructions, it is two clauses being adjoined together (the second clause provides additional information which is not quite the same as modification in *nga* phrases) and the interrogative pronoun serves as the link between

them. Generally speaking, only human referents, time, and places can be relativized using various question words and the special deictic *diha?* ‘there (far from Speaker)’ (for relativization of temporal argument). The relativization of inanimate entities, even those in nominative case position, is not attested in these constructions.

(68) relativization of human argument (Sun Star, January 15, 2008)

<i>na-ilh-an</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>suspek</i>	<b><i>kinsa</i></b>	<i>detinado=na</i>	<i>sa selda</i>
<i>na-ila-an</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>suspek</i>	<b><i>kinsa</i></b>	<i>detinado=na</i>	<i>sa selda</i>
SPONT-identify-LV	ANG	suspect	who	detained=already	LOC cell

*sa Talomo police station nga ma?o si Phobee Qit Omoyog*  
 LOC PN COMP<sup>32</sup> IDENT SI PN  
 'The suspect has been identified as Phobee Qit Omoyog, and is now detained in a cell at the Talomo Police Station.'

(69) relativization of human argument (Sun Star, December 31, 2007)

<i>ang biktima</i>	<b><i>kinsa</i></b>	<i>nag-bag?o-ng tu?ig</i>	<i>sa Davao Med Center,</i>
<i>ang biktima</i>	<b><i>kinsa</i></b>	<i>nag-bag?o-nga tu?ig</i>	<i>sa Davao Med Center,</i>
ANG victim	who	AV-new-LK year	LOC PN

<i>na-ilh-an-g</i>	<i>si Jeffrey Adatan,</i>	<i>mo-lupyo?</i>	<i>sa Malagos.</i>
<i>na-ila-an-nga</i>	<i>si Jeffrey Adatan,</i>	<i>mo-lupyo?</i>	<i>sa Malagos.</i>
SPONT-identify-LV-LK	SI PN	AV.NMZ-reside	LOC PN

'The victim has been identified as Jeffrey Adatan, a resident of Malagos, and (spent) the New Year at the Davao Medical Center.'

(70) relativization of temporal entity (Sun Star, September 29, 2007)

<i>alas 6</i>	<i>sayo</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>buntag</i>	<i>ni?adto-ng</i>	<i>Biyernes</i>
<i>alas 6</i>	<i>sayo</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>buntag</i>	<i>ni?adto-nga</i>	<i>Biyernes</i>
six.o'clock	early	LOC	morning	that-LK	Friday

<b><i>diha-ng</i></b>	<i>gi-sulod</i>	<i>ang panimalay sa pamilya-ng</i>	<i>Adam</i>
<b><i>diha?-nga</i></b>	<i>gi-sulod</i>	<i>ang panimalay sa pamilya-nga</i>	<i>Adam</i>
there-LK	PFV.PV-inside	ANG home GEN family-LK	PN

'It was then at six o'clock early in the morning last Friday that (the search party) entered the house of the Adam family.'

<sup>32</sup> I analyze the *nga* here as a complementizer introducing the complement of the matrix verb.

(71) relativization of locative entity (Sun Star, November 13, 2007)

*gi-baha?-anang mga mo-lupyo? sa dapit*  
 PFV-flood-LV ANG PL AV.NMZ-reside LOC place

*di?in gi-sud sa tubig-baha? ang mga ka-balay-an*  
 where PFV-inside GEN water-flood ANG PL KA-house-LV

*ngagi-tukod daplin sa sapa?*  
 LK PFV-build beside LOC river

'The residents of the area were flooded; the houses built by the river were inundated with flood-water.'

The anaphoric particle *ma?o (nga)* can also be considered a pronoun

relativizing a cause or reason indicated in the preceding clause.

(72) relativization of cause/reason (Sun Star, February 10, 2008)

*tungod kay duna=y naka-kita? sa pang-hitabo?*  
*tungod kay duna=y naka-kita? sa paN-hitabo?*  
 since because EXIST=NEUT AV-see LOC NMZ-happen

*ni-sembong ang usa ka sibilyan sa army detachment*  
 AV-report ANG one LK civilian LOC army.detachment

*ma?o nga gi-respondi-han ni Staff Sergeant Samuel Abucay*  
*ma?o nga gi-respondi-an ni Staff Sergeant Samuel Abucay*  
 ANAPH COMP PFV-respond-LV GEN PN

*ug ma-lampos-on-g na-sikop si Alero*  
*ug ma-lampos-on-nga na-sikop si Alero*  
 and STAT-success-STAT-LK<sup>33</sup>SPONT-arrest SI PN

'Because there were (people who) saw the incident, a civilian reported to the army detachment, which is why Staff Sergeant Samuel Abucay responded and Alero was successfully arrested.'

This construction is structurally and semantically distinct from *nga* modification. Structurally, *nga* modification contains a gap in the modifying clause, this gap being the nominative nominal in the clause; clause-adjoining makes use of an interrogative pronoun referring to a person, time, place, or cause/reason, but not an inanimate object. Semantically, a *nga* modifying clause modifies a referent (in the same way as a restrictive relative clause in English), while clause-adjoining provides additional information (in the same way as a non-restrictive relative clause in English).

<sup>33</sup> I analyze *nga* here as linking a modifier to its head word.

This construction has never been described in any of the previous Cebuano grammars, which implies that this might be a borrowed construction from English. Tagalog does not have a similar construction save for the relativization of place and time, but with an additional particle before the "relative pronoun," *kung saan* 'where' and *kung kailan* 'when,' respectively. I believe that the closely-related Bisayan language Hiligaynon and other related languages also employ such a construction but which is limited also to written texts and formal registers.

### **3.6 Summary**

In this chapter, I have discussed issues related to clausal structure in Cebuano, including the grammatical constituents in a Cebuano clause, the preferred clause structure, the preferred argument structure, as well as the various types of ordering of the A and P arguments when they are pronominal in transitive clauses, and the various coordination and subordination strategies.

## Chapter 4 NOUN PHRASE STRUCTURE

### 4.0 Introduction

The noun phrase (NP) is one of the major constituents in Cebuano, as evidenced by the study of the organization of repair in the language (cf. H. Huang and Tanangkingsing 2005). That is, when trouble occurs within an NP due to word search or interruption, Repair almost always occurs at the first element of the NP structure, as illustrated in (1) and (2). In (1), the utterance of *ku?an* indicates a word search. The Speaker repeats the first element of the NP, the case marker *ang*. In (2), the entire NP is repeated once the right word has been found.

(1) Frog 6:89-90 NP constituent

89 ... (1.2)	<i>na-kit-an=na=nila</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>ku?an</i>
	<i>na-kita?-an=na=nila</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>ku?an</i>
	SPONT-see-LV=already=3P.GEN	ANG	KUAN

90 → ... (1.0) *ang mga baki?*  
                   ANG PL frog

‘Then they saw the *kuan*, ... the frogs.’

(2) Frog 1:85-87 NP constituent

88 ... (1.0)	<i>daghan=na=di?ay=ka?ayo-g</i>	<i>anak</i>
	<i>daghan=na=di?ay=ka?ayo-ug</i>	<i>anak</i>
	many=already=EVID=very- LK	offspring

89 → ... (1.5) *ku?an ka bu?uk anak*  
                   KUAN LK CLASS offspring

90 → ... (3.0) *seven ka bu?uk anak*  
                   seven LK CLASS offspring  
 ‘(They had) many children, ... seven children.’

In this chapter I will first examine in 4.1 the form of the noun phrase in Cebuano. In 4.2, I discuss its case marking system and the distribution of the different case markers. In 4.3, I look into the pronominal and demonstrative system and their functions. In 4.4, I take up kinship terms and vocatives. In 4.5, I investigate noun

modification, particularly the form and functions of the linker *nga*. In 4.6 I discuss the function of NP clusters in discourse. In 4.7 I provide a summary.

#### 4.1 Noun Phrase (NP) Structure

Theoretically, Cebuano NPs may contain a case marker, a demonstrative, a possessor pronoun, a numeral, a modifier, and a plural marker, each linked to the next word (to the right) by a linker *nga*, as shown in (3a), it is practically impossible for all of them to appear together in a single NP in actual speech (although it is theoretically possible). Longer modifiers which are clausal tend to occur to the right of the noun, as in (3b).

(3a) Cebuano noun phrase structure

CASE MARKER DEMONSTRATIVE *nga* NOUN  
 CASE MARKER POSSESSOR PRON *nga* NOUN  
 CASE MARKER NUMERAL *ka* NOUN  
 CASE MARKER MODIFIER *nga* NOUN  
 CASE MARKER PLURAL *mga* NOUN

(3b) Cebuano noun phrase structure

NOUN *ni* NOUN<sub>POSSESSOR</sub>  
 NOUN *nga* MODIFIER<sub>CLAUSAL</sub>  
 NOUN *ni* NOUN<sub>POSSESSOR</sub> *nga* MODIFIER<sub>CLAUSAL</sub>

Extract (4) shows that NPs in Cebuano always take a case marker. The case markers (including possessive case markers) and demonstratives are going to be examined in 4.2 and 4.3, respectively.

(4) Every NP takes a case marker

<i>ang</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>dog</i>	<i>gi-uyog-</i>	<i>ang=</i>	<i>...ang tree</i>	<i>..@</i>
<i>ang</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>dog</i>	<i>gi-uyog-</i>	<i>ang=</i>	<i>...ang tree</i>	<i>..@</i>
ANG	3S.POSS-LK	dog	PFV.PV-shake	ANG	ANG tree	

'His dog, (it) shook the tree.'

(5) linker *nga*

<i>kanang,</i>	<i>ikaw=ba</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>una-ng</i>	<i>uyab</i>
<i>kanang,</i>	<i>ikaw=ba</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>una-nga</i>	<i>uyab</i>
FIL	2S.NOM=Q	3S.POSS-LK	first-LK	girlfriend

'*kanang*, were you his first girlfriend?'

As have been mentioned, almost every element in the structure can be linked to the next element by a linker *nga*; this is elaborated in section 4.5. Also, possessive markers may only occur before the noun that they modify, while genitive markers always follow the noun they modify. In my database (and also shown in 4), it is observed that the ordinary NP with the highest frequency consists only of a case marker and the noun.

#### 4.2 Case marking system

The P and S arguments in Cebuano clauses take the nominative markers *ang* or *si*, while the A argument in transitive clauses take another set of case markers, the genitive *ni* or *sa*. The case marking system thus shows the language to be morphologically ergative. Furthermore, although we analyze Cebuano as ergative, we prefer to use the typologically more general terms "nominative" (rather than "absolute") for the core arguments S and P, and "genitive" (rather than "ergative") for the core argument A in transitive constructions. The E (for extended) arguments in extended clauses (see Chapters 12 and 14) are marked *ug* while the more peripheral arguments are marked locative *kang* or *sa*. In the following section, we will enumerate the functions of each case marker. Table 4-1 shows the case markers in Cebuano.<sup>34</sup>

**Table 4-1. Case markers in Cebuano**

	NEUTRAL	NOM	GEN	DAT	EXT	LOC
PERSONAL	= <i>y</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>kang</i>	-	-
COMMON		<i>ang</i>	<i>sa</i>	-	<i>ug</i>	<i>sa</i>

<sup>34</sup> Reid (1978) categorizes Cebuano as having a Type 4 four-set Determiner System.

#### 4.2.1 The nominative markers *si* / *ang*

The nominative markers *ang* (for common nouns) and *si* (for personal nouns) mark the nominative nominals whatever their semantic roles, that is, the Agent in AV clauses, the Patient in PV clauses, and so on. Topicalized nominals are also marked *ang* or *si*. In (6), the genitive agent *iyang dog* has been topicalized (by being fronted to the beginning of the sentence) and so is also marked *ang*.

##### (6) NP nominative marking

<i>ang</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>dog,</i>	<i>gi-uyog-</i>	<i>ang=</i>	<i>..ang tree</i>	<i>..@</i>
<i>ang</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>dog</i>	<i>gi-uyog-</i>	<i>ang=</i>	<i>..ang tree</i>	<i>..@</i>
ANG	3S.POSS-LK	dog	PFV.PV-shake	ANG	ANG	tree

'His dog, (it) shook the tree.'

The marker *ang* can be omitted in colloquial speech; the marker *ang* for *amerikano* (7) and *mga pagka?on* (8) has been left out. This usage is supposed to be "incorrect" but is in common use in the speech even of educated people, as observed by Wolff (1962). Even the other case markers can be omitted as long as the nominals can be understood contextually, as in (9).

##### (7) omission of nominative case marking (Wolff 1962: 191)

<i>pag-saka</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>pari?, tindog ( )</i>	<i>amerikano</i>
NMZ-move.up	GEN	priest stand	American

'When the priest came up, the American stood up.'

##### (8) omission of nominative case marking

<i>ganahan=gyud=ko</i>	<i>ana-ng</i>	<i>restaurant-a</i>	<i>oy</i>
<i>ganahan=gyud=ko</i>	<i>ana?-nga</i>	<i>restaurant-a</i>	<i>oy</i>
like=EMPH=1S.NOM	that-LK	restaurant-EMPH	INTERJ

<i>pero</i>	<i>mahal</i>	<i>( )</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>pag-ka?on</i>	<i>dira</i>
but	expensive		PL	NMZ-eat	there

'I really like that restaurant *oy*, but (the) food there is expensive.'

##### (9) omission of case marking

<i>pildi=mo</i>	<i>( )</i>	<i>buta</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>kamayan</i>
lose=2P.NOM	OBL	blind	LOC	PN

'You are inferior to the blind (singers) at Kamayan (Restaurant).'

#### 4.2.2 The neutral marker =y

In non-verbal clauses, the non-initial NP is optionally marked by =y (instead of *ang*) especially when the initial NP is a pronoun, numeral, name, or *ma?o* 'the very thing/situation', but does not end in a consonant sound (cf. Wolff 1962; 1965). This marker, called a "ligature" by Bergh (1958), which phonologically attaches to the initial word (NP or verb), marks referents that are mostly indefinite (in the case of existential clauses and nominal interrogative constructions); in cleft equational clauses the predicate nominal (i.e., the initial NP) may be definite (see also Section 5.4).

Conversational extracts that illustrate the various distributions of =y are shown below.

First, it is used to mark the indefinite NP in an existential clause (see Chapter 5), as in the schema in (10) and the following examples.

(10) clausal structure with the neutral marker =y

*na?a=y* NP  
*na?a=y* V<sub>NP (headless)</sub>

(11) =y in an existential clause

*na?a=pa=y*      *uban nga-*  
 EXIST=still-NEUT      other    LK

*upat=ra*    *ka*    *adlaw ni-abot*      *gi-atake=na*  
 four=only    LK    day    AV-arrive      INTR-attack=already

'There are also other people who-, they only arrived four days but already experienced heart attack.'

(12) =y in an existential clause

*last week=pud*      *duna=pu=y*      *pilipina*      (*nga*) *nag-hikog*  
*last week=pud*      *duna=pud=y*      *pilipina*      (*nga*) *nag-hikog*  
 last week=also      EXIST=also-NEUT      PN      LK      AV-suicide

'Last week, there was also a Filipina who committed suicide.'

(13) =y in an existential clause

*kungna?a=y*      *mo-invite sa ako?*    *kuyog=ko*      *sa ila-ha*  
*kungna?a=y*      *mo-invite sa ako?*    *kuyog=ko*      *sa ila-a*  
 if    EXIST=NEUT    AV-invite    DAT 1S.POSS    go.with=1S.NOM    DAT 3P.POSS-DEF

'If (somebody) invites me, (then) I'll go with them.'

(14) =y in an existential clause

T *na?a=na=sila=y* *Volvo na ano company*  
 EXIST=already=3P.NOM=NEUT PN LK what company

[*kita wa?=man=ta ( )*]  
 1IP.NOM NEG=PAR=1IP.NOM

W [*na?a=man=sab=ta ( )*]  
 EXIST=PAR=also=1IP.NOM

T [*na?a=ba=ta/ sa Philippines/*]  
 EXIST=Q=1IP.NOM LOC PN

W [XXX] *na?a= ( ) sa edsa, na?a*  
 EXIST LOC PN EXIST

T: 'They already have a Volvo company, [we, we don't have (any).]'

W: '[we also have (one).]'

T: '[We (have)? in the Philippines?]

W: '[XXX] There's (one) at EDSA, there is.'

It is also used in the negation of an existential clause as well, as in (15)-(17).

(15) negation of existence

*daghan=na=kuno=ka?ay Taiwanese wala=y trabaho*  
*daghan=na=kuno=ka?ayo(-ug) Taiwanese wala?=y trabaho*  
 many=already=EVID=very(-LK) PN NEG=NEUT work

*ngano mag-hire=pa=man=daw ug foreign workers*  
 why AV-hire=still=PAR=EVID EXT foreign workers

'They said many Taiwanese people have lost their jobs. Why are (they) still hiring foreign workers?'

(16) negation of existence

*pobre=gihapon wa=y kwarta mga tawo*  
*pobre=gihapon wala?=y kwarta mga tawo*  
 poor=still NEG=NEUT money PL person

'Still poor; people have no money.'

(17) negation of existence

<i>mas ma?ay=man na-ng</i>		<i>mag-usa=ka=lang</i>		
<i>mas ma?ayo=man kana?-nga</i>		<i>mag-usa=ka=lang</i>		
COMP good=PAR	that-COMP	AV-alone=2S.NOM=only		
<i>pag-uli?=nimo wa=y sakit sa ulo</i>				
<i>pag-uli?=nimo wala?=y sakit sa ulo</i>				
TEMP-return=2S.GEN	NEG=NEUT	ache	GEN	head
<i>gabi?i=ka=na mo-uli wa=y m-angutana</i>				
<i>gabi?i=ka=na mo-uli wala?=y m-pangutana</i>				
evening=2S.NOM=already	AV-return	NEG=NEUT	AV-ask	

'It's better if you're alone. When you return (at night), you won't get any headache; when you get home late, nobody will ask (where you've been).'

In (18)-(20), =y is used to mark the NP in an interrogative clause. In these instances, the interrogative clause is equational, and so the marker =y only occurs with nominal interrogatives (see Section 8.2).

(18) *kinsa* interrogative clause

<i>kinsa=ma=y imo- imo-ng barkada diri</i>				
<i>kinsa=man=y imo- imo-nga barkada diri</i>				
who=PAR=NEUT	FS	2S.POSS-LK	friend	here

'Who are your friends here?'

(19) *unsa* interrogative clause

<i>unsa=ma=y trabaho sa imo-ng bana</i>				
<i>unsa=man=y trabaho sa imo-nga bana</i>				
what=PAR=NEUT	work	GEN	2S.POSS-LK	husband

'What is your husband's occupation?'

(20) *pila* interrogative clause

<i>pila=ma=y idad=na=nimo/</i>	
<i>pila=man=y idad=na=nimo/</i>	
how.much=PAR=NEUT	age=already=2S.GEN

'How old are you now?'

Finally, it is used to mark the second NP in a "cleft" equational clause. It can be observed in (21)-(23) that the initial NP is definite; they can be a proper name (23), a pronoun (22), or the anaphoric particle *ma?o* (21).

(21) "cleft" equational clause

*ma?o=gyud=na?=y      pirmi i-order=gyud      inig-uli?*  
*ma?o=gyud=kana?=y      pirmi i-order=gyud      inig-uli?*  
 ANAPH=EMPH=that=NEUT      always IV-order=EMPH      when-return  
 'That is the very (dish) that (he) orders everytime he goes home.'

(22) *ma?o* in cleft equational construction

T:    *ikaw may case ka nga ing-ana?*  
       *ikaw may case ka nga ingon-ana?*  
       2S.NOM EXIST case 2S.NOM LK      like-that

W:    *o ako=ma?o=y ga-asikaso*  
       BC 1S.NOM=EMPH=NEUT AV-handle

T: 'You, do you get cases like that.'

W: 'Yes, (in fact) it is I handling (cases like that).'

(23) "cleft" equational clause

*si flora ma?o=y cebuano*  
 SI PN ANAPH=NEUT PN  
 'It's Flora who's the Cebuano.'

#### 4.2.3 The genitive marker *ni*

The genitive marker *ni* marks the personal noun Agent in non-agent voice clauses without exception, as in (24). In northwest Austronesian languages these are usually termed genitive rather than ergative as they also encode possession. Moreover, they can also mark Cause (only of a limited set of emotion verbs), as in (25).

(24) the genitive marker *ni* marks Agent

*gi-kuha? ni mang marino ang ngalan*  
 PFV.IV-take GEN PN ANG name  
 'Mang Marino got (his) name.'

(25) the genitive marker *ni* marks Cause in emotion verb clauses

*na-suko?=mi ni Jose*  
 INTR-angry=1EP.NOM CAUSE PN  
 'We were angry with Jose.'

The *ni* phrase can also be used interchangeably with the dative *kang* phrase, as in (26) and (27), and when used with a Location sense.

(26) the genitive marker *ni* is used interchangeably with the dative *kang*

<i>na-anad=na=mi</i>	<b><i>ni/kang</i></b>	<i>Petra</i>
INTR-get.used.to=1EP.NOM	GEN/DAT	PN

'We have gotten used to Petra.'

(27) the genitive marker *ni* is used interchangeably with the dative *kang*

<i>gi-limpyo-han=nako? ang</i>	<i>kwarto para</i>	<i>kang/ni</i>	<i>Juan</i>
<i>gi-limpyo-an=nako? ang</i>	<i>kwarto para</i>	<i>kang/ni</i>	<i>Juan</i>
PFV-clean-LV-1S.GEN	ANG	room for	DAT/GEN PN

'I cleaned the room for Juan.'

The marker *ni* can also mark the undergoer nominal in exclamatory clauses, as in (28). These are a type of the so-called “subjectless” clauses (cf. Section 15.3) as they do not take nominative nominals. The nominal that is supposed to be the semantic "subject" is marked by *ni* instead.

(28) the use of genitive marker *ni/sa* in an exclamatory clause

<i>pwerte=gyu-ng</i>	<i>mahal-a</i>	( <b><i>ni</i></b> / <i>sa</i> / * <i>ang</i> / * <i>si</i> N)
<i>pwerte=gyud-nga</i>	<i>mahal-a</i>	
EMPH=EMPH-LK	expensive-EMPH	

<i>ang bulak lang ha siguro may mga 1000 us dollars</i>
ANG flower only DM maybe EXIST PL 1000 US.dollars

'(It was) sooo expensive! Just the flowers, (I think) it cost around 1,000 US dollars.'

#### 4.2.4 The dative marker *kang* (personal nouns)

The dative marker *kang* usually marks an inanimate Location, whether Goal or Source, as in (29), and the possessor nominal in a headless NP, as in (30a). When the possessor NP is overt, the marking changes to *ni* (cf. 30b); otherwise, a *ni* phrase cannot stand alone.

(29) the locative marker *kang* marks location

<i>nag-trabaho=daw=siya</i>	<b><i>kang</i></b>	<i>lien chan</i>
AV-work=EVID=3S.NOM	DAT	PN

'She said she's been working for Lien Chan.'

(30a) the locative marker *kang* marks location

*tnt=man=na?*                      *ang* ( )                      ***kang***                      *lien chan*  
 illegal=PAR=that                      ANG                      DAT                      PN  
 'That of Lien Chan is an illegal worker.'

(30b) *tnt=man=na?* ***ang maid***                      ***ni*** *lien chan*.

'Lien Chan's maid is an illegal worker.'

#### 4.2.5 The locative marker *sa* (common nouns)

The marker *sa* has a variety of functions. It can mark spatial location, temporal location, a goal or a dative nominal, a definite E argument in extended clause constructions (see Section 12.3), reason or cause, a NAV clause agent which is a common noun. Moreover, it can link possessor and possessed entity in a possessive nominal and can mark comitative nominals.

The function of *sa* marking spatial location is very stable. In the examples given below and elsewhere in this dissertation, *sa* marking spatial location is always glossed 'LOC' (for 'location').

(31) the locative marker *sa* marks location

W:    *dako?=ka?ay*                      *gasto*                      *diri*    ***sa***                      ***Taiwan***  
       *dako?=ka?ayo*                      *gasto*                      *diri*    ***sa***                      ***Taiwan***  
       big=very                              expenses                      here    LOC                      PN  
 T:    *ma?o=lagi,*    *unya?*    *dili?=ka*                      *mo-uli?*                      ***sa***                      ***ato?/***  
       that=EMPH                      DM                      NEG=2S.NOM                      AV-return                      LOC                      1IP.POSS  
 W: 'Expenses are huge here in Taiwan.'  
 T: 'Exactly. So, you're not going home?'

(32) the locative marker *sa* marks location

*inig-uli?=nako?*                      ***sa***                      ***balay,*** *kanang,* *mag-hilak=gihapon=ko*  
 every=return=1S.GEN    LOC                      house    FIL                      AV-cry=still=1S.NOM  
 'Whenever I go home, *kanang*, I still cry.'

The locative marker also marks temporal location. Some examples are given in (33) and (34). Moreover, the phrase *sa una* in (35) is used in the literal sense

meaning 'at first.' It has now been used to refer to past time, as in (36). Fairy tale stories told to small children often begin with *sa una*, 'once upon a time.'

(33) the locative marker *sa* marks temporal location

*ig-abot=gyud*            *sa*    *ka-tapus-an*,    *taga-an=ra=gyud=ka=niya*  
*ig-abot=gyud*            *sa*    *ka-tapus-an*,    *hatag-an=ra=gyud=ka=niya*  
 when-arrive=EMPH    LOC    NMZ-end-LV    give-LV=only=EMPH=1S.NOM=3S.GEN  
 At the end of each month, he just gives you.'

(34) the locative marker *sa* marks temporal location

*ma-hadlok=kuno=sila*            *mo-gawas*            *sa*            *gabi?i*  
 AV-be.afraid=EVID=3P.NOM    AV.INF-go.out    LOC    evening  
 'They said they're afraid to go out at night.'

(35) the locative marker *sa* marks temporal location

J:    *pag-abot=nimo*            *diri*,    *nag-*    *unsa*    *OFW=ka*    /  
       NMZ-arrive=2S.GEN    here    FS        what    worker=2S.NOM  
 L:    *sa una OFW*,    *dayon*,    *saka=*    *naka=*  
       at.first worker DM    PH        PH  
 J: 'When you arrived here, what-, were you a contract worker?'  
 L: 'At first, I was a contract worker, then, a=, a='

(36) the locative marker *sa* marks temporal location

*sa una ni-adto=ko*    *sa*    *US*,    *many times=nako?*    *gi-gamit*  
 at.first AV-go=1S.NOM LOC    PN    many times=1S.GEN    PFV.PV-use  
 'Before (whenever) I went to the US, I've used (it) many times.'

The marker *sa* can also mark the target, goal, or recipient of an emotion or an action, as in (37) and (38), when the nominal is a common noun; if the nominal is a personal noun, the marker *kang* is used instead.

(37) the locative marker *sa* marks animate noun as a location

*di?=lagi=ko*            *ganahan*            *sa*            *ako-ng*            *ugangan*  
*di?=lagi=ko*            *ganahan*            *sa*            *ako?-nga*            *ugangan*  
 NEG=EMPH=1S.NOM    like                    DAT    1S.POSS-LK        in.law  
 'I really don't feel comfortable with my in laws.'

(38) the locative marker *sa* marks animate noun as a goal

*pila=na=lang=kaha=y*                      *ma-bilin*,  
 how.many=already=only=EPIS=NEUT    SPONT-remain

*mag-ampo=na=lang=ta*    *sa*    *gino?o*  
 AV-pray=already=only=1IP.NOMDAT    God  
 'How many will be left (in the office)? We'll just have to pray to God.'

The marker *sa* marks the definite E argument in extended clause constructions.

Being definite nominals, these E arguments are often pronominal or a person or an object related to either the speaker or the hearer. For extended clause constructions, see Section 12.3 and Section 14.4.

(39) *sa* marks the E argument

*mag-luto?*,    *mag-laba*    *sa*    *iya-ng*    *sinina?*,  
*mag-luto?*,    *mag-laba*    *sa*    *iya-nga*    *sinina?*,  
 AV-cook            AV-wash            EXT    3S.POSS-LK    clothes

*naku*    *ako=na=lang*            *tanang*  
 INTERJ 1S.NOM=already=only all  
 '(I) cook; (I) wash his clothes. My goodness, I do just everything (at home).'

(40) *sa* marks the E argument

*ako=ra*            *nag-buhi?*    *sa*    *ila-ng*            *tulo*  
*ako=ra*            *nag-buhi?*    *sa*    *ila-nga*            *tulo*  
 1S.NOM=only AV-raise            EXT    3P.POSS-LK    three

'Only I (was working) to raise the three of them.'

The marker *sa* can also mark the reason or cause of a predicate or an emotion verb.

(41) *sa* marks reason or cause

W:    *di?=gyud=nimo*            *ma-usab*            *ang*    *ila-ng*            *batasan*  
       *di?=gyud=nimo*            *ma-usab*            *ang*    *ila-nga*            *batasan*  
       NEG=EMPH=2S.GEN    SPONT-change    ANG    3P.POSS-LK    character

T:    *tungud=gyud=pud*    *sa*    *ka-lisud*            *sa*    *kinabuhi?*  
       CAUSE=EMPH=also    CAUSE    NMZ-hard            GEN    life

W: 'You really can't change their ways.'

T: '(It's) also due to the hardships (they encountered) in life.'

(42) *sa* marks reason or cause

*ngano-ng ga-kurog dinha? hadlok=daw=siya sa bu?ang*  
*ngano-nga ga-kurog dinha? hadlok=daw=siya sa bu?ang*  
 why-LK AV-tremble there be.afraid=EVID=3S.NOMCAUSE madman  
 'Why was (he) trembling there. He said he was afraid of the crazy person.'

The marker *sa* can also mark an agent which is a common noun. The genitive marker for the personal noun is *ni*.

(43) the genitive marker *sa* marks Actor

*gi-helicopter=gyud sa army, gi-diritso sa neihu*  
 PFV.IV-helicopter=EMPHGEN army PFV.IV-direct LOC PN  
 'The army (flew him) by helicopter directly to Neihu.'

(44) the genitive marker *sa* marks Actor

*mag-huwat=na=lang=ko-g i-hatagsa gino?o*  
*mag-huwat=na=lang=ko-ug i-hatagsa gino?o*  
 AV-wait=already=only=1S.NOM-COMP IV-give GEN God  
 'I'll just wait for God to give me.'

The marker *sa* also links possessor and possessed entity in a possessive construction.

(45) the genitive marker *sa* marks possessor entity

*unsa=y trabaho sa imo-ng bana*  
*unsa=y trabaho sa imo-nga bana*  
 what=NEUT work GEN 2S.POSS-LK husband  
 'What does your husband do?' (lit., 'What is your husband's job?')

(46) the genitive marker *sa* marks possessor entity

*di?=gyud=ka mag-sulti imo-ng sikrito sa kinabuhi?*  
*di?=gyud=ka mag-sulti imo-nga sikrito sa kinabuhi?*  
 NEG=EMPH=2S.NOM AV-say 2S.POSS-LK secret GEN life  
 'You must not tell (somebody) your secrets of (your) life.'

The phrase *sa tanan* (literally 'of all') has now been used to emphasize a predicate. It can also be used in clauses conveying superlative comparison.

(47) the fixed expression *sa tanan*

<i>ganahan=ka?ay=ko</i>	<i>kanang</i>	<i>ma-nganta=sila</i>
<i>ganahan=ka?ayo=ko</i>	<i>kanang</i>	<i>maN-kanta=sila</i>
like=very=1S.NOM	FIL	AV.PL-sing=3P.NOM

<i>kay</i>	<i>lingaw=ka?ay</i>	<b><i>sa tanan</i></b>
<i>kay</i>	<i>lingaw=ka?ayo</i>	<b><i>sa tanan</i></b>
because	amusing=very	EMPH

'I like it (when) they sing, because (they're) so amusing.'

(48) the fixed expression *sa tanan*

<i>gahi?=gyud=kayo</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>Tagalog,</i>
<i>gahi?=gyud=ka?ayo</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>Tagalog,</i>
hard=EMPH=very	1S.POSS-LK	Tagalog

<i>klaro=ka?ay</i>	<b><i>sa tanan</i></b>	<i>nga</i>	<i>bisaya?</i>
<i>klaro=ka?ayo</i>	<b><i>sa tanan</i></b>	<i>nga</i>	<i>bisaya?</i>
clear=very	EMPH	COMP	Visayan

'My Tagalog accent is very heavy. It's very obvious that I'm a Bisayan speaker.'

Finally, the marker *sa* can also mark companion (in comitative phrases), as in the following excerpts.

(49) *sa* in comitative phrase

<i>ni-adto=kami</i>	<b><i>sa</i></b>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>igso?on</i>
<i>ni-adto=kami</i>	<b><i>sa</i></b>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>igso?on</i>
AV-go=1EP.NOM	COM	1S.POSS-LK	sibling

<i>11 o'clock</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>gabi?i,</i>	<i>nag-lakaw=pa=mi</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>dalan</i>
11.oclock	LOC	night	AV-walk=still=1EP.NOMLOC		road

'I went with my sister. At 11 o'clock in the evening, we were still roaming around in the streets.'

(50) *sa* in comitative phrase

<i>usaka</i>	<i>gatos</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>pangayo?</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>amo?</i>
<i>usaka</i>	<i>gatos</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>pangayo?</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>amo?</i>
one LK	hundred	ANG	3S.POSS-LK	ask	LOC	1EP.POSS

<i>kami</i>	<b><i>sa</i></b>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>igso?on</i>
<i>kami</i>	<b><i>sa</i></b>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>igso?on</i>
1EP.NOM	COM	1S.POSS-LK	sibling

'She was asking one hundred from us, we with my sister.'

Wolff (1962, 1965) lists down lexical items that he calls 'qualifiers' (Bergh 1958 calls them "auxiliary words") which occur before *sa* phrases (51). These

qualifiers are also used as predicates indicating locations (52), which are often translated into English as prepositions. Extracts from conversational data are given in (53) and (54).

(51) lexical expressions occurring with *sa*

<i>bahin, labut, mahitungud</i> 'about'	<i>para</i> 'for'
<i>pareho</i> 'the same as'	<i>lahi?</i> 'different as'
<i>atul</i> 'on the occasion of'	<i>imbis</i> 'instead of'
<i>ingon, sumala</i> 'according to'	<i>ikumaparar, itandi</i> 'in comparison to'
<i>uban, uyun, sama</i> 'similar to'	<i>sukad</i> 'since'
<i>kalo?oy</i> 'with the mercy/grace of'	<i>ka?uban</i> 'together with'
<i>pina?agi</i> 'through'	<i>alang</i> 'for'

(52) locative expressions occurring with *sa*

<i>daplin</i> 'side'	<i>diritsu</i> 'straight'
<i>dungan</i> 'simultaneously with'	<i>du?ul</i> 'near'
<i>gawas</i> 'outside of'	<i>gikan</i> 'from'
<i>hangtud</i> 'until'	<i>kutub</i> 'until'
<i>labaw</i> 'more than'	<i>lahus</i> 'over'
<i>libot</i> 'around'	<i>luyu</i> 'at the back of'
<i>padulong</i> 'toward'	<i>pa?ingon</i> 'toward'
<i>padu?ul</i> 'approaching'	<i>atubang</i> 'in front of'
<i>ibabaw</i> 'above; over'	<i>ilalum</i> 'under'
<i>ubus</i> 'under'	<i>subang</i> 'cross'
<i>sulud</i> 'inside'	<i>taliwala</i> 'in the middle of'
<i>tupad</i> 'beside'	<i>agi</i> 'pass by'

(53) locative expressions with *sa*

<i>sa</i>	<i>Cebu</i>	<i>na?a=y</i>	<i>traffic</i>
LOC	PN	EXIST=NEUT	traffic
<i>pero</i>	<i>di?=gyud=ka?ayo</i>	<i>parehosa</i>	<i>Manila</i>
but	NEG=EMPH=very	same	LOC PN

'There's traffic in Cebu, but it's not the same as the situation in Manila.'

(54) locative expressions with *sa*

T:	<i>asa=man=siya</i>	<i>na-destino/</i>			
	where=PAR=3S.NOM	SPONT-assign			
L:	<i>diha?=ra</i>	<i>dapit sa amo-ng</i>	<i>gi-abang-an</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>wanhua</i>
	<i>diha?=ra</i>	<i>dapit sa amo?-nga</i>	<i>gi-abang-an</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>wanhua</i>
	there=only	near LOC 1EP.POSS-LK	PFV-rent-LV	LOC	PN
T:	'Where is he assigned?'				
L:	'Just there close to (where) we rent an apartment in Wanhua.'				

#### 4.2.6 The extended argument marker *ug*

The marker *ug* serves a major function in noun phrases, namely, as a marker of extended arguments in extended intransitive clauses, which are called E arguments (Liao 2002; see also Section 12.3 for the behavior of E arguments in discourse). They are usually indefinite. The extended argument marker *ug* can only mark inanimate participants that are Theme, Patient, or Instrument. A couple of examples are given below.

(55) the oblique marker *ug* marks extended argument of an intransitive clause

*ang iro?, naka-kita? ug balay sa butyukan*  
 ANG dog AV-see EXT house GEN bee

'The dog, it saw a beehive.'

(56) the oblique marker *ug* marks extended argument of an intransitive clause

*layo?=pa=ka?ayo, mag-ipit=na si josie ug kwarta*  
 far=still=very AV-insert=already SI PN EXT money

'(When she's) still far away (from the customs), Josie's going to insert money (in her passport).'

The extended argument marker *ug* also marks the semantically obligatory extended Patient argument in extended locative voice constructions, as in (57) and (58) (see Section 14.4).

(57) the oblique marker *ug* marks extended argument of a locative clause

*amo-ng tabang-an ron ug himo-an ug travel document*  
*amo?-nga tabang-an ron ug himo?-an ug travel document*  
 1EP.POSS-LK help-LV now and make-LV EXT travel document

'Now we are going to help him and prepare a travel document for him.'

(58) the oblique marker *ug* marks extended argument of a locative clause

*taga-an=ko=niya-g allowance kada buwan*  
*hatag-an=ko=niya-ug allowance kada buwan*  
 give-LV=1S.NOM=3S.GEN-EXT allowance every month

'He gives me an allowance every month.'

### 4.3 Cebuano pronominal system and demonstratives

Table 4-2 shows the various sets of personal pronouns in Cebuano. There are two forms of nominative case pronouns, namely, the long form and the bound form. When a pronoun is topicalized, only the long form is used (59) and (60). In ordinary verb-initial clauses, the bound forms are used; the long forms are used in more formal and polite settings. The dative form is actually formed by a locative affix (*sa/kang*) attached to the possessive form; for example, *sa + ako?* → *sa ako?*; *kang + ako?* → *kanako?* In addition, the dative case/form (i.e., *kanako?* → *nako?*) is further shortened to a form coincidentally similar to the genitive form.

**Table 4-2. Cebuano pronominal system**

	Nominative		Possessive (def)	Genitive	Dative	Locative
1 <sup>st</sup> person sing	<i>ako</i>	= <i>ko</i>	<i>ako?(-a)</i>	= <i>nako?</i>	<i>kanako?</i>	<i>sa ako?</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> person sing	<i>ikaw</i>	= <i>ka</i>	<i>imo(-ha)</i>	= <i>nimo</i>	<i>kanimo</i>	<i>sa imo</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> person sing	<i>siya</i>		<i>iya(-ha)</i>	= <i>niya</i>	<i>kaniya</i>	<i>sa iya</i>
1 <sup>st</sup> person pl ex	<i>kami</i>	= <i>mi</i>	<i>amo?(-a)</i>	= <i>namo?</i>	<i>kanamo?</i>	<i>sa amo?</i>
1 <sup>st</sup> person pl in	<i>kita</i>	= <i>ta</i>	<i>ato?(-a)</i>	= <i>nato?</i>	<i>kanato?</i>	<i>sa ato?</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	<i>kamo</i>	= <i>mo</i>	<i>inyo(-ha)</i>	= <i>ninyo</i>	<i>kaninyo</i>	<i>sa inyo</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> person	<i>silá</i>		<i>ila(-ha)</i>	= <i>nila</i>	<i>kanila</i>	<i>sa ila</i>

(59) topicalized pronoun

*daghan=siya-g reklamo, unya? ako=sad, reklamo=sad*  
*daghan=siya-ug reklamo, unya? ako=sad, reklamo=sad*  
 many=3S.NOM-LK complaint DM 1S.NOM=also complain=also  
 'He has many complaints. As for me, (I do) complain too.'

(60) topicalized pronoun

*ako sa una, dili?=gyud=ko mag-ayos*  
 1S.NOMLOC first NEG=EMPH=1S.NOM AV-tidy.up  
 '(As for) me before, I never made myself up.'

In this section, I will discuss special forms and functions of Cebuano pronouns. First, the second person nominative pronouns =*ka* and =*mu* may occur in elliptic expressions which are syntactically equational. However, they are not to be meant in their literal sense, but they rather suggest an omitted verb (61) or an offer (62). The

offer construction has the schema: NP=pron Voc, and such expressions can often be heard especially in markets and shops. This construction is also discussed in Section 15.6.1 (on elliptic constructions).

(61) special expression involving second person pronouns

*tulo ka tu?ig=na=mo no/*  
 three.LK.year=already=2P.NOM DM  
 'You (have been together) for three years, right?'

(62) special expression involving second person pronouns (Wolff 1962; 1965)

*isda=ka nang/*  
 fish=2S.NOM VOC  
 'You (want) fish, Ma'am?'

The plural pronominal forms also serve as a sort of case marker for plural referents. In these cases, they are used in addition to the singular case markers for proper names, as in the following examples.

(63) third person plural pronoun

*katong usa ka Taiwanese, ka-ila=pud sila-ng josie ato*  
*katong usa ka Taiwanese, naka-ila=pud sila-nga (si) josie ato*  
 that one LK PN AV-know=also 3P-LK PN that  
 'One of those Taiwanese people, Josie and the others they also know him.'

(64) third person plural pronoun

*wa?=ka ni-kuyug sa ila-ng Irene sa una*  
*wa?=ka ni-kuyug sa ila-nga(ni) Irene sa una*  
 NEG=2S.NOM AV-together COM 3P.POSS-LK PN LOC.first  
 'You didn't go with them, Irene and the others, at that time?'

(65) third person plural pronoun

*nag-sabot=na=man=mi-ng Josie*  
*nag-sabot=na=man=mi-nga (ni) Josie*  
 AV-negotiate=already=PAR=1EP.NOM-LK PN  
 'We, Josie and I, already talked (about this).'

As already discussed, the genitive form (*ni* NP) and the oblique/dative form (*sa/kang* NP) are interchangeable. The same is applicable to pronouns.

(66) interchangeability between genitive and dative forms

<i>usa</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>bulan</i>	<i>tag-pila=ma=y</i>	<i>i-hatagsa imo</i>	(/ ( <i>ka</i> ) <i>nimo</i> )
<i>usa</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>bulan</i>	<i>tag-pila=man=y</i>	<i>i-hatagsa imo</i>	(/ ( <i>ka</i> ) <i>nimo</i> )
one	LK	month	each-how.much=PAR=NEUT	IV-give	OBL 2S.POSS / 2S.DAT

'(For) each month, how much does (he) give you?'

(67) interchangeability between genitive and dative forms

<i>sige=ko-g</i>	<i>pangita?</i>	<i>nimo</i>	(/ <i>sa imo</i> )
<i>sige=ko-ug</i>	<i>pangita?</i>	<i>kanimo</i>	(/ <i>sa imo</i> )
ASP=1S.NOM-LK	find	2S.DAT	

“I have been looking for you.”

The portmanteau form =*tika* (=tikaw, =taka) is used for first person singular agent and second person singular goal, as in (68) and (69), while =*tamo* is used for first person singular agent and second person plural goal.

(68) first person singular agent and second person singular goal

<i>ning-sa?ad=ko=nimo</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>tabang-an=tika</i>	<i>ani</i>
<i>ning-sa?ad=ko=nimo</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>tabang-an=tika</i>	<i>ani</i>
AV-promise=1S.NOM=2S.DAT	COMP	help=LV=1S.GEN/2S.NOM	this

'I promised to you that I'd help you (with) this.'

(69) first person singular agent and second person singular goal

<i>taga-an=na=lang=tika-g</i>	<i>kalendaryo</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>hatag-an=na=lang=tika-ug</i>	<i>kalendaryo</i>	<i>o</i>
give-LV=already=only=1S.GEN/2S.NOM-EXT	calendar	DM

'I'll just give you a calendar. Here.'

In such instances, the particle clitics can optionally occur between the portmanteau pronouns, as in the following extract (based on 69). Here, the =*ti* becomes =*ta*. However, this can only be possible with =*taka*. The ordinary pronouns in Cebuano are still strictly after the non-pronominal clitic particles (cf. 70b).

(70) first person singular agent and second person singular goal		
<i>taga-an=ta=na=lang=ka-g</i>	<i>kalendaryo</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>hatag-an=ta=na=lang=ka-ug</i>	<i>kalendaryo</i>	<i>o</i>
give-LV=1S.GEN=already=only=2S.NOM-EXT	calendar	DM
'I'll just give you a calendar. Here.'		
(70a) = <i>hatag-an=na=lang=nako?=ka-ug</i>	<i>kalendaryo</i>	<i>o</i>
(70b) * <i>hatag-an=nako?=na=lang=ka-ug</i>	<i>kalendaryo</i>	<i>o</i>

These portmanteau pronouns may also occur in nominal clauses, as in (71).

(71) portmanteau forms in nominal clauses

*amigo=tika / =tamo*  
 friend=1S.GEN/2S.NOM / 1S.GEN/2P.NOM  
 'You (sg/pl) are my friend(s).'

Possession can be expressed in two ways: (1) the possessive pronoun precedes the possessor noun; (2) the genitive pronoun follows the modified noun. Possessive pronouns can also precede NAV verbs and refer to Agents. This change of word order is also discussed in Section 3.4. In NAV clauses, only pronouns can be preposed in the form of possessive pronouns; full noun phrases still cannot precede the verb unless they are topicalized. For functions of the genitive pronouns, please refer to the discussion of the genitive marker *ni* (4.2.3). As for the dative, it is supposed to be used to mark proper nouns that are extended arguments (cf. 29 and 30), but the dative form has now gradually faded in usage and has been replaced by the genitive form or the locative form (*sa* + possessive pronoun).

The possessive pronoun can also take an optional suffix *-a*, which is called a definitizer. The addition of the definitizer *-a* on an NP results in the particularization of one referent from the rest, as in (72) and (73a) (Trosdal 1992: 69; Wolff 1965: 119). In other related languages like Tagalog and Hiligaynon, such function is expressed through demonstratives (positioned after the head NP). Examples in Cebuano are given below.

(72) NP with definitizer

*pero kato-ng taw-hana pag-kana?og=niya*  
*pero kato-nga tawo-a pag-kana?og=niya*  
but that-LK man-DEF NMZ-move.down=3S.GEN

*na-tingala=siya nga ang iya-ha-ng mga prutas*  
*na-tingala=siya nga ang iya-a-nga mga prutas*  
AV-be.surprised=3S.NOM COMP ANG 3S.POSS-DEF-LKPL fruit

*na-wala?=na*  
AV-NEG=already  
'But that (particular) person, (upon) his descent, he was surprised (to see) that his fruits were gone.'

(73a) possessive pronoun with definitizer

*pila=man=sad imo-ha-ng sweldo*  
*pila=man=sad imo-a-nga sweldo*  
how.much=PAR=also 2S.POSS-DEF-LK salary  
'How much then is your salary?'

(73b) possessive pronoun without a definitizer

*imo-ng mama ug papa, tu?a/*  
*imo-nga mama ug papa tu?a/*  
2S.POSS-LK mother and father there  
'Your mother and father, (they are) there?'

The demonstrative pronouns in Cebuano are shown in Table 4-3.

Demonstratives have four basic functions found in many Austronesian languages (Cleary-Kemp 2007), namely, the situational use, the discourse deictic use, the "tracking" use, and the "recognitional" use. First, the situational use is the most often recognized use of demonstratives; they indicate location of an entity or a referent. Examples can be found everywhere in this chapter (and in other chapters as well). Second is the discourse deictic use: a demonstrative may refer either to the preceding discourse (anaphoric use) or to the following discourse (cataphoric use). In Cebuano, *ingon-ana?* 'like that' and *ingon-ani* 'like this' exhibit such a use, as in (74). Another pronominal unit that roughly translates as 'the said; the aforementioned' is the anaphoric *ma?o*. It can occur with or without the head noun (75). It can also have an

emphatic function (as in *She herself made the decision* in English), as in the second line in (74).

**Table 4-3. Demonstratives**

	nominative	oblique
Near Sp (and Hr)	<i>(ka)ri</i>	<i>(ni)?ini</i>
	<i>(ki)ni</i>	<i>(ni)?ani</i>
Near Hr	<i>(ka)na?</i>	<i>(ni)?ana?</i>
Far	<i>(ka)tu</i>	<i>(ni)?atu</i>
	<i>(kad)tu</i>	<i>(ni)?adtu</i>

(74) discourse deictic use of demonstrative

T: *ikaw may case ka nga ing-ana?*  
*ikaw may case ka nga ingon-ana?*  
 2S.NOM EXIST case 2S.NOM LK like-that

W: *o ako=ma?o=y ga-asikaso*  
 BC 1S.NOM=EMPH=NEUT AV-handle

T: 'You, do you get cases like that.'

W: 'Yes, (in fact) it is I handling (cases like that).'

(75) discourse deictic use of demonstrative

*gusto=niya-ng uyug-un ang ma?o-ng kahoy*  
*gusto=niya-nga uyug-un ang ma?o-nga kahoy*  
 like=3S.GEN-COMP shake-PV ANG ANAPH-LK tree  
 'He wanted to shake the said tree.'

Third is the tracking use of demonstratives. The pronoun *ana-ng* 'that' has come to be used as a definite article, and it is now being used as a marker for extended arguments (E) in extended intransitive constructions (EIC, see Section 12.3) to track old referents in discourse.

(76) tracking use of demonstratives

*ganahan=gyud=ko ana-ng restaurant-a oy*  
*ganahan=gyud=ko ana?-nga restaurant-a oy*  
 like=EMPH=1S.NOM that restaurant-DEF INTERJ  
 'I really like that (particular) restaurant, oy!'

(77) tracking use of demonstratives

<i>ako=ra=man=gud</i>	<i>nag-buhi?</i>	<b><i>ana-ng</i></b>	<i>tulo ka bata?</i>
<i>ako=ra=man=gud</i>	<i>nag-buhi?</i>	<b><i>ana?-nga</i></b>	<i>tulo ka bata?</i>
1S.NOM =only=PAR=EMPH	AV-raise	that-LK	three LK child

'Only I alone was raising those (my) three kids.'

The last function is the recognitional use. A recognitional demonstrative points to a referent that is known to both the speaker and the hearer through shared knowledge, rather than through context. It functions to introduce into the discourse a referent that is not present. They are found only in an adnominal environment.

(78) recognitional use of demonstrative

<i>anak=ba</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>Lien Chan</i>	<i>to/</i>	<b><i>katong</i></b>	<i>tambukikoy/</i>
child=Q	GEN	PN	that	that	fat.guy

'Was that the son of Lien Chan? That fat guy?'

(79) recognitional use of demonstrative

T:	<i>gwapa=baya?=to</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>uyab</i>
	<i>gwapa=baya?=to</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>uyab</i>
	pretty=assert=that	3S.POSS-LK	girlfriend

W:	<i>a=</i>	<b><i>katong</i></b>	<i>announcer/</i>
	BC	that	announcer

T: 'His girlfriend is pretty.'

W: '(Which one?) a= that newscaster?'

(80) recognitional use of demonstrative

<i>pag-lakaw=nila,</i>	<i>na-kita?=niya</i>
<i>pag-lakaw=nila,</i>	<i>na-kita?=niya</i>
NMZ-walk=3P.GEN	INTR-see=3S.GEN

<b><i>kadtong</i></b>	<b><i>isa</i></b>	<b><i>ka</i></b>	<b><i>bata?</i></b>
that	one	LK	child

<b><i>nga</i></b>	<b><i>mora-g</i></b>	<b><i>dako?-dako-g</i></b>	<b><i>gamay</i></b>
<b><i>nga</i></b>	<b><i>mora-ug</i></b>	<b><i>dako?-dako?-ug</i></b>	<b><i>gamay</i></b>
LK	like-COMP	big-REDUP-COMP	small

<i>na-kit-an=niya</i>	<b><i>tong</i></b>	<b><i>kalo?</i></b>	<i>nga</i>	<i>na-hayang</i>
<i>na-kita?-an=niya</i>	<b><i>tong</i></b>	<b><i>kalo?</i></b>	<i>nga</i>	<i>na-hayang</i>
SPONT-see-LV=3S.GEN	that	hat	LK	INTR-lie

'(Upon) their departure, he saw, (that) one of the children who was a bit bigger, he saw the hat lying (on the ground).'

In the examples above, *(ka)tong* points clearly to a referent that is identifiable to the Hearer. In (78) and (79), the *tambukikoy* and the *announcer*, respectively, have definite referents. In (80), *katong* is intended to point out a particular boy that was mentioned in the earlier part of the story.

It is also observed that the last three functions utilize the distal demonstratives. According to Greenberg (1985), "distal demonstratives are easily extended to that which is present but not visible." In other words, the referents are present in the minds of the speech act participants, but physically invisible to them. Moreover, the use of the distal demonstrative *kato-ng* in referring to past time can be also attributed to a metaphorical pointing back in temporal space.

Aside from these basic functions, certain demonstratives in Cebuano have developed another extended use, which might not be found in other Philippine languages. In contrast to *kato(ng)*, which has a definite referent, *kana?* 'that (near Hearer)' has come to be used as a placeholder, sometimes together with the dummy word *ku?an* (see Chapter 19). As a placeholder, it does not contain any semantic meaning and the Speaker is not trying to point to a specific referent, but only to indicate that a word search is going on and that the Speaker is trying to hold on to his turn. Examples are given below.

(81) demonstrative as a placeholder during a word search

<i>pwerte=gyu-ng</i>	<i>mahal-a</i>							
<i>pwerte=gyud-nga</i>	<i>mahal-a</i>							
EMPH=EMPH-LK	expensive-EMPH							
<i>ang bulak lang ha siguro may mga 1000 us dollars</i>								
ANG flower only DM maybe EXIST PL 1000 US.dollars								
<i>wa?=pa=y ku?an, wa?=pa=y kanang- kanang cremate</i>								
NEG=still=NEUTKUAN NEG=still=NEUT FIL FIL cremate								

'(It was) sooo expensive! Just the flowers, (I think) it cost around 1,000 US dollars. It doesn't even include yet the= the cremation (fees).'

(82) demonstrative as a placeholder during a word search

*sa Singapore, mga tawo didto, pressure=ka?ayo*  
 LOC PN PL person there pressure=EMPH

**kanang** *sa gobyerno ba, sayop=ka, oy grabe*  
 FIL OBL government DM err=2S.NOM VOC serious

'In Singapore, the people there, (they feel) so much pressure, *kanang*,  
 (pressure) coming from the government. (Once) you make a mistake, wow,  
 (it's going to be something) serious.'

(83) demonstrative evolving into a placeholder

**kanang,** *ikaw=ba iya-ng una-ng uyab*  
**kanang,** *ikaw=ba iya-nga una-nga uyab*  
 FIL 2S.NOM=Q 3S.POSS-LK first-LK girlfriend  
 'kanang, were you his first girlfriend?'

In (81), the Speaker experiences some trouble looking for the right word, as evidenced also by the utterance of a dummy word earlier in the clause. In (82), *kanang* cannot be an ordinary demonstrative as the head noun *pressure* has just been uttered. In (83), *kanang* as a placeholder here is even more obvious, especially since there would be a prosodic pause after it, as the following clause is complete by itself; furthermore, a complete clause cannot be modified by a demonstrative like *kanang*.

Aside from the demonstratives listed in Table 4-3, the anaphoric particle *ma?o* is considered by some linguists (Trosdal 1992: 72) as a special demonstrative form that points to an emphasized predicate or referent. It is most often found in "cleft" equational clauses (see Section 5.5).

#### 4.4 Kinship terms and vocatives

In this section, I will discuss kinship terms (4.4.1) and vocatives (4.4.2). The tables used in this section are taken from Elkins (1984), who compiled kinship terms from various Philippine languages.

#### 4.4.1 Kinship terms

Figure 4-1 and Figure 4-2 illustrate the various consanguineal and affinal kinship terms, respectively. The vocative forms are enclosed in parentheses. Abbreviations include *m* for male, *f* for female, and *g* for general. Other terms not in the figures include: *bala?i* 'child's spouse's parent', *umagad* 'son-/daughter-in-law', and *bilas* 'spouse's sibling-in-law.' Conversational excerpts are also given.

**Figure 4-1. Consanguineal kin of Ego (emic) (Elkins 1984)**

	L	C <sup>1</sup>	C <sup>2</sup>	C <sup>3</sup>	C <sup>4</sup>
G + 4	<i>apuhan</i> (m <i>lolo</i> ; f <i>lola</i> )				
G + 3					
G + 2					
G + 1	m <i>amahan</i> ( <i>tatay</i> , <i>papa</i> )	m <i>uyu?an</i> ( <i>tiyo?</i> )			
	f <i>inahan</i> ( <i>nanay</i> , <i>mama</i> )				
G 0	EGO	g <i>igso?on</i>	<i>ig?agaw</i> (+m <i>manoy</i> , <i>manong</i> ; +f <i>manay</i> , <i>manang</i> )		
		+ <i>magulang</i>			
		- <i>manghud</i>			
G - 1	<i>anak</i>	<i>pag?umangkon</i>			
G - 2	<i>apu</i>				
G - 3					
G - 4					

**Figure 4-2. Affinal kin of Ego (emic) (Elkins 1984)**

	L	C <sup>1</sup>	C <sup>2</sup>	C <sup>3</sup>	C <sup>4</sup>
G + 4	<i>apuhan</i>				
G + 3					
G + 2					
G + 1	<i>ugangan</i> (m <i>tatay</i> ; f <i>nanay</i> )	..... <i>m tiyo?</i>			
EGO		<i>f tiya?</i>			
	<i>f asawa</i>	<i>m bayaw (+manoy, manong)</i>			
	<i>m bana</i>	..... <i>f ipag (+manay, manang)</i>			
G - 1	<i>anak</i>	<i>pag?umangkon</i>			
G - 2	<i>apu</i>				
G - 3					
G - 4					

(84) kinship terms

*ako-ng mama, sa negros=siya nag-dako?*

*ako?-nga mama, sa negros=siya nag-dako?*

1S.POSS-LK mother LOC PN=3S.NOM AV-grow

*sigi=man=sila-g balhin-balhin ug balay*

*sigi=man=sila-ug balhin-balhin ug balay*

ASP=PAR=3P.NOM-LK move-REDUP EXT house

*kay ako-ng lolo, iya-ha-ng papa, sundalo=gud*

*kay ako?-nga lolo, iya-a-nga papa, sundalo=gud*

because 1S.POSS-LK grandfather 3S.POSS-DEF-LK father soldier=PAR

*kanang, bisa-g asa ma-assign*

*kanang, bisan-ug asa ma-assign*

FIL even-COMP where SPONT-assign

'My mom, she grew up in Negros. They moved (to different) houses very often, because my grandfather, her father, (he was) a soldier, (and) he was assigned anywhere.'

(85) kinship terms (term of address)

*kung m-angayo?=siya-g kwarta no*

*kung m-pangayo?=siya-ug kwarta no*

if AV-ask.for=3S.NOM-EXT money DM

*iya=na=lang=ni-ng mga butang*

*iya=na=lang=ni-ang mga butang*

3S.POSS=already=just=this-ANG PL thing

*suku?=ka?ay si mang marino*

*suku?=ka?ayo si mang marino*

angry=INTENS SI PN

'If he [the customs officer] asks for money, then just let him have these things. (So) Mang Marino was so furious.'

(86) kinship terms

<i>wa?</i> =gyud=ko		<i>kahibaw</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>iya-ha</i>
<i>wa?</i> =gyud=ko		<i>kahibaw</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>iya-a</i>
NEG=EMPH=1S.NOM		know	DAT	3S.POSS-DEF

<i>hangtud</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ni-abot</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<b><i>bana</i></b>
<i>hangtud</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ni-abot</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<b><i>bana</i></b>
until	LOC	AV-arrive	3S.POSS-LK	husband

<i>oy,</i>	<b><i>asawa</i></b> =man= <i>di?</i> ay= <i>to</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>lien chan</i>
VOC	wife=man=DISCOV=that	GEN	PN

'I didn't recognize her, until her husband arrived. Oh, (I didn't know) it was the wife of Lien Chan.'

#### 4.4.2 Vocatives

The discussion on the forms of vocatives in this section exclude family relations (these have been treated in the previous section) and include only those for calling persons not related to the Speaker by blood. For acquaintances and close friends, calling somebody by their first name or nickname is the most common practice. Non-familiar elders (e.g., in an office or on the street) are usually called *Nang* (shortened from *Manang*) or *Nong* (shortened from *Manong*); in formal contexts, the English loanwords *Sir*, *Ma'am*, and *Miss* are used. These are considered respectful terms. As for addressing younger people, any young girl is addressed *Inday*, which can be shortened to *Day* in direct address. A young man is *Dodong*, and likewise shortened to *Dong* or *Do?*. In informal settings, young girls are often called *Amiga* 'friend,' while male persons address each other *Bay*. Sometimes the particle *oy* is used when no particular person is addressed, or is used with a feeling of dissatisfaction. This can be mean and disrespectful.

(87) Vocative expression

<i>di?</i> =ko	<i>ganahan</i>	<i>adto</i>	<i>didto,</i>	<i>layo?</i> =ka?ay=na?	<b><i>dong</i></b>
<i>di?</i> =ko	<i>ganahan</i>	<i>adto</i>	<i>didto,</i>	<i>layo?</i> =ka?ayo=na?	<b><i>dong</i></b>
NEG=1S.NOM	like	go	there	far=EMPH=that	VOC

'I don't like going there. It's too far away, Dong.'

(88) Vocative expression

<i>oy</i>	<i>di?=na?=ako?-a,</i>	<i>ay=baya-g</i>	<i>kuha?-a</i>
<i>oy</i>	<i>di?=kana?=ako?-a,</i>	<i>ayaw=baya?-ug</i>	<i>kuha?-a</i>
VOC	NEG=that=1S.POSS-DEF	NEG=PAR-COMP	take-PV

'Hey (you), that's not mine. Don't (you) take it.'

#### 4.5 NP coordination and NP modification

In this section I will examine coordination and the modification of nouns. I will discuss coordination in Cebuano first, as it is more straightforward than noun modification; then I will look at noun modification after the two coordination examples below. The coordination marker in Cebuano is *ug*. It joins two nominal entities regardless of the case.

(89) noun coordination

<i>ang</i>	<i>bata?</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>iro?</i>	<i>ning-lantaw</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>baki?</i>
ANG	child	and	ANG	dog	AV-watch	EXT	frog

'The boy and the dog were watching the frog.'

(90) noun coordination

<i>cotabato</i>	<i>ron,</i>	<i>na-agpas-an=pa</i>	<i>sa davao</i>	<i>ug sa gensan</i>
PN	now	SPONT-exceed-LV=even	GEN PN	and GEN PN

'Cotabato now, it's even being surpassed by Davao and General Santos.'

Noun phrases are modified using the linker *nga*, with the exception of numerals, where the linker *ka* is used instead of *nga*. In *nga*-linked nouns, the modifier precedes the noun phrase almost all the time (a heavier modifier follows the modified noun). Based on our data, the modifier is usually a possessive pronoun (Number of tokens=250), a demonstrative pronoun (N=50, see example 91), or a clause (N=52, see example 92). When the *nga* phrase follows the modified noun, they are heavier and relative clause-like, usually clausal in form (N=22, see example 93). The modifier can also be headless (N=7, see example 94). The linker *nga* can also express apposition, as in (95).

(91) *nga* linking demonstrative pronoun and NP

<i>ako=ra=man</i>	<i>nag-buhi?</i>	<i>ana-ng</i>	<i>tulo</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>bata?</i>
<i>ako=ra=man</i>	<i>nag-buhi?</i>	<i>ana?-nga</i>	<i>tulo</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>bata?</i>
1S.NOM =only=PAR	AV-raise	that-LK	three	LK	child

'I was the only one who raised those three children.'

(92) *nga* linking clausal modifier and NP

<i>ma-kita?=nimo-ng</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>diri</i>
<i>ma-kita?=nimo-nga</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>Indonesian</i>	<i>diri</i>
AV.INF-see=2S.GEN-LK	PL	PN	here

<i>either</i>	<i>asawa or</i>	<i>tnt</i>	<i>duha=ra=na?</i>
either	spouse or	undocumented	two=only=that

'The Indonesians that you see here are either married to Taiwanese husbands or illegally staying. There are only two kinds of them (here).'

(93) *nga* linking "relative clause" to NP

<i>na?a=pa=y</i>	<i>uban nga</i>	<i>upat=raka</i>	<i>adlaw ni-abot</i>
EXIST=still=NEUT	other LK	four=only LK	day AV-arrive

*gi-atake=na*  
PFV-attack=already

'There are still other (workers) who just arrived four days but had heart attacks.'

(94) *nga* linking headless modifier clause to NP

<i>ako=gyu=y</i>	<i>una-ng</i>		<i>kan-on</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>iho</i>
<i>ako=gyud=y</i>	<i>una-nga</i>	( <i>N nga</i> )	<i>ka?on-on</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>iho</i>
1S.NOM=EMPH=NEUT	first-LK		eat-PV	GEN	shark

'I will be the very first (person that will be) eaten by the sharks.'

(95) *nga* linking NP and appositive (SunStar, January 15, 2008)

<i>na-damay=usab</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>pag-pa-musil</i>
<i>na-damay=usab</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>pag-pa-pusil</i>
AV-involve=also	CAUSE	NMZ-CAU-gun

<i>ang usa ka</i>	<i>5 anyos</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Shiela Mae</i>
ANG one LK	5-year-old	LK	SI	PN

'A five-year-old (girl), Sheila May, was also involved in the shooting.'

However, *ka* takes the place of *nga* if the modified noun is linked to a numeral; for example, *duha ka/\*nga tawo* 'two persons' and *tag-urha ka/\*nga peras* 'each two (lk) pears.'

(96) linker *ka* in numeral NP

*dili?*=*siya ka-agwanta*  
NEG=3S.NOM AV.ABIL-stand

*bisa-g pila=pa ka electric fan i-butang=nimo*  
*bisan-ug pila=pa ka electric fan i-butang=nimo*  
even.if-COMP how.many=even LK electric.fan IV-place=2S.GEN  
'He can't stand (the heat), even if you place several electric fans (there).'

(97) linker *ka* in numeral NP

*tulo=mi ka oras ga-tindog didto*  
three=1EP.NOM LK hour AV-stand there

'We were standing there for three hours.'

Based on corpus data, the syntactic units linked by *nga* are nominals and their modifiers. Lighter modifiers usually precede the modified entity, while heavier ones follow the modified entity, resembling relativization. In relativization, many languages use relative pronouns, such as English, and personal pronouns, such as Akan (Schachter 1985). Most Philippine-type languages form relative clauses by deleting the relativized nominal from the relative clause and employing a relative marker. However, in Cebuano, I opt not to label the *nga* NP construction as a relative clause, as the marker employed, *nga*, is shared with the linker in ordinary noun modification. Thus the so-called "*nga*" relative clauses in Cebuano, like the examples from (118) to (120), are better lumped together under a single syntactic construction as noun modification. Moreover, both *nga*-linked noun phrases and the *nga* "relative clauses" also share a similar function, that is, the modification of a noun.<sup>35</sup> A distinct relative clause construction in Cebuano avails of interrogative words serving as linking pronouns, not unlike the relative pronouns in English; this construction has a formal sense and serves to adjoin two related clauses. This is not attested in conversation and I was able to notice this construction when I examined written news texts. These are discussed in Chapter 3.

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<sup>35</sup> I would like to acknowledge Shuanfan Huang for this original observation.

As a linker between a modifier and a modifiee, *nga* usage is not restricted to nominals; it can also link an adverbial modifier, such as *labi* 'surpass,' and a predicate, as in (98a) and (98b). These comparison clauses are discussed in Chapter 14.

(98a) *nga* linking predicate and modifier

*labi=pa-ng ta?as si Juan*  
*labi=pa-nga ta?as si Juan*  
 over=even-LK tall SI PN  
 'Juan is even taller.'

(98b) *nga* linking predicate and modifier

*labi=pa-ng kusog mo-dagan si Juan*  
*labi=pa-nga kusog mo-dagan si Juan*  
 over=even-LK strong AV-run SI PN  
 'Juan runs even faster.'

The form consisting of the linker *nga* with a preposed possessive pronoun can also be found in NAV clauses (see the Section 3.5 on word order) where the A pronominal argument, and on rare occasions also the P pronominal argument,<sup>36</sup> is preposed (N=76 instances) (examples are provided below). In (99) and (100), both A and P are pronominal and positioned before the verb. In (101), the A is preposed in a cleft construction.

(99) A and O arguments in NAV clause are preposed (A=O=V)

*iya=gyud ko-ng gi-tabang-an*  
*iya=gyud ko-nga gi-tabang-an*  
 3S.POSS=EMPH 1S.NOM-LK PFV-help-LV  
  
*na?a=gyud=siya diha? sa ako-ng tupad*  
*na?a=gyud=siya diha? sa ako?-nga tupad*  
 EXIST=EMPH=3S.NOM there LOC 1S.POSS-LK side  
 'He really helped me; he was really there by my side.'

(100) A and O arguments in NAV clause are preposed (A=O=V)

*pag-tigom=gyud=ka kay ako?=tika-ng ingn-an*  
*pag-tigom=gyud=ka kay ako?=tika-nga ingon-an*  
 IMPER-save=EMPH=2S.NOM because 1S.POSS=2S.NOM-LK say-LV  
 'You should save (money), because I tell you, ...'

<sup>36</sup> In Chapter 2 I discussed a restriction: when a pronominal P is preposed, the pronominal A must also be overt and preposed. The A pronominal switches to the possessive case, while the P pronominal retains its nominative case marking.

(101) A argument preposed (P A=V)

*tulo=na ka foreigner ila-ng ma-hire*  
*tulo=na ka foreigner ila-nga ma-hire*  
 three=already LK foreigner 3P.POSS-LK AV.SPONT-hire  
 'It is three foreigners that they can now hire.'

Moreover, the linker *nga* can serve as a complementizer (N=83 instances, see various examples in (102) and (103). Complementizers are discussed in Chapter 11.

(102) *nga* as a complementizer

*karon nga ku?an=na- pag-minyo?=na=namo?*  
 now COMP KUAN=already NMZ-marry=already=1EP.GEN  
*ingon=dayon=siya nga di?=na=siya ma-ngu?an*  
*ingon=dayon=siya nga di?=na=siya maN-ku?an*  
 say=then=3S.NOM COMP NEG=already=3S.NOM AV-KUAN  
*di?=na=siya ma-nakop*  
*di?=na=siya maN-dakop*  
 NEG=already=3S.NOM AV-catch  
 'Now that aaa-, after we got married, he said that he wouldn't er-, he wouldn't be arresting illegal workers (anymore).'

(103) *nga* as a complementizer

*kanang ka-minyo-on dili? ingon nga duwa?*  
 that NMZ-marry-PV.NMZ NEG say COMP game  
*ako?=siya-ng gi-ingn-an*  
*ako?=siya-nga gi-ingon-an*  
 1S.POSS=3S.NOM-LK PFV-tell-LV  
 'That (so-called) marriage is not (said to be) a game, I told him (that).'

Not all languages in the world have distinct constructions for relative clauses and complement clauses, like English and other Indo-European languages. Comrie and Horie (1995) show that some languages like Japanese and Khmer do not have relative clauses, but have only a general syntactic construction for attaching subordinate clauses to head nouns. As I have pointed out earlier, Cebuano only has a single construction for forming relative clauses and complementation, which make use of the linker *nga*. The *nga* clauses in (104) simply link modifiers to their head nouns and the

clause demonstrates a right-branching strategy. In (105) the *nga* in line 87 can still be noticed to link a clausal description *that which only flies at night* to its head noun *bird*.

(104) *nga* as linker

<i>na=y</i>	<i>usa</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>bata?</i>	<b><i>nga</i></b>			
<i>na?a=y</i>	<i>usa</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>bata?</i>	<i>nga</i>			
EXIST=NEUT	one	LK	child	LK			
<i>na?a</i>	<i>sulod</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>kuwarto</i>			
<i>na?a</i>	<i>sulod</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>kuwarto</i>			
exist	inside	LOC	3S.POSS-LK	room			
...(0.8) <i>nag-</i>	... <i>nag-tan?aw=siya</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>iya-ng=-</i>	...(0.9) <i>iro?</i>			
	<i>nag-tan?aw=siya</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>iya-nga-</i>	<i>iro?</i>			
	AV-look=3S.NOM	OBL	3S.POSS-LK	dog			
...(0.8) <b><i>nga</i></b>	<i>nakig-dula?</i>	...(1.9) <i>sa=</i>	<i>us-</i>	<i>usa</i>	<i>ka</i>		
	LKRECIP-play	obl	one	LK			
...(0.9)	<i>a=</i>	<i>bakbak...</i>	<b><i>nga</i></b>	<i>gi-sulod</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>garapon</i>	
	BC	frog	LK	PFV.IV-inside	LOC	container	

'There was a child in his room looking at his dog playing with a frog inside a container.'

(105) *nga* as a linker (Frog 3:82-87)

82	...	<i>pero=</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>ma?o-ng</i>	<i>kahoy</i>		
		<i>pero=</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>ma?o-nga</i>	<i>kahoy</i>		
		but	ANG	ANAPH-LK	tree		
83	...(0.9)	<i>may</i>	<i>bangag</i>				
		EXIST	hole				
84	...(0.8)	<i>ang</i>	<i>sulod</i>				
		ANG	inside				
85	...	<i>usa</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>bukaw</i>			
		one	LK	owl			
86	...	<i>ang</i>	<i>langgam</i>	<b><i>nga</i></b>	<b><i>dako-g</i></b>	<b><i>mata</i></b>	
		<i>ang</i>	<i>langgam</i>	<b><i>nga</i></b>	<b><i>dako?-ug</i></b>	<b><i>mata</i></b>	
		ANG	bird	LK	big-LK	eye	
87	<b><i>nga</i></b>	<b><i>sa</i></b>	<b><i>gabi?i=lang</i></b>	<b><i>mu-lopad</i></b>	<b><i>maka-kita?</i></b>	<b><i>ma?ayo</i></b>	
	LK	LOC	night=only	AV.FUT-fly	AV.ABIL-see	well	

'But that very tree, ... had a hole. What was inside (the tree hole), ... (was) an owl, ... the bird with large eyes, .. and *that* can only fly and see well at night.'

In the following excerpts, however, the *nga* in each instance does not seem to link the grammatical entities before and after it in the usual way that it should in ordinary noun modification. In (106), what follows *nga* is a clausal entity, but which

does give a description of the head noun *tree*. In other words, there is still a kind of modification process going on, but not in the way that reference grammars have described it to be (i.e., that in Philippine-type languages, the modified NP serves as the nominative argument occurring as a gap in the modifying clause, traditionally called a “relative clause”). In this excerpt, we see that the modifying entity can be an existential clause too, with the head NP serving as a “Location.” In (107), the description following *nga* seems to be talking about the *head*, but again the modification is not really linking the modified noun with the following modifying clause. The modifying entity is not really providing a description of the preceding NP but it is instead indicating more on the “purpose” of the action of “forcing (the head)” that is denoted by the verb. In (108), the *nga* marked clause is not even talking about the noun *the child* but *the child's act of giving thanks*, which is not obvious syntactically. Excerpt (109) shows a third-order noun modification. Obviously, the *nga* in these instances is used to link some description to a certain entity early in the clause; therefore the *nga* clauses have the function of modification. This is evidence that shows *nga* to be a device for linking and modification and the excerpts provided reveal a connection between simple NP modification and complementation.

(106) *nga* links a modifying clause to the head NP

<i>kay= gi-uyog=man=niya</i>	<i>ang= punu-an</i>
<i>kay= gi-uyog=man=niya</i>	<i>ang= punu?-an</i>
because PFV.PV-shake=PAR=3S.GEN	ANG tree
... <i>nga ana?a diha? ga-puyo?</i>	<i>ang= ...(0.8)butyukan</i>
LK EXIST there AV-live	ANG bee

'Because the dog shook the tree, ... *where* there were bees living there.'

(107) *nga* links a modifying clause to the head NP

...(2.1) *gi=pugos=niya ang iya-ng ulo nga=*  
*gi=pugos=niya ang iya-nga ulo nga=*  
 PFV.PV=force=3S.GEN ANG 3S.POSS-LK head LK

*ma-sulod sa ma?o-ng garapa*  
*ma-sulod sa ma?o-nga garapa*  
 SPONT-put.inside LOC ANAPH-LK container

'(The dog) forced its head *tha=t* (it) will fit inside the container.'

(108) modifying clause linked by *nga* to head NP

...(1.1) *sa ka-tapus-an n-angayo-g pa-salamat ang bata*  
*sa ka-tapus-an m-pangayo-ug pa-salamat ang bata*  
 LOC NMZ-end-LV AV-ask-OBL CAU-thanks ANG child

.. *nga na-kita?=na=nila ang=*  
 COMP PV-see=already=3P.GEN ANG

... *ila-ng gi-pangita? nga ma?o-ng baki?*  
*ila-nga gi-pangita? nga ma?o-nga baki?*  
 3P.POSS-LK PFV.PV-find LK ANAPH-LK frog

'And in the end, the child thanked (them), *that* they found the frog they were looking for.'

(109) third-order noun modification

*kahibalo=ka sa balita? nga ni-abot=na si Marisa*  
 know=2S.NOM OBL news COMP AV-arrive=already SI PN

'Did you know the news that Marisa has arrived?'

#### 4.6 NPs in discourse

Bare NPs are used to introduce new referents, as in (110). Through the use of the distal deictic *kadto*, accessible entities are reintroduced back into the discourse, as in (111).

(110) bare NPs in discourse

T    *lisud=ka?ay sa ato? karon lisud=gyud=kayo*  
*lisud=ka?ayo sa ato? karon lisud=gyud=ka?ayo*  
difficult=EMPH LOC 1IP.POSS now difficult=EMPH=INTENS

*gamay=ka?ayo-g sweldo minimum wa?=pa=man dos syentos*  
*gamay=ka?ayo-ug sweldo minimum wa?=pa=man dos syentos*  
small=EMPH-LK salary minimum NEG=still=PAR two.hundred

(several lines omitted)

T    *ang- ang balay karon*  
ANG ANG house now

W    *bangko=ra=na? bangko*  
bank=only=that bank

T    *dos mil kinse mil*  
two.thousand fifteen.thousand

W    *mga teller ba sa bangkokwarenta a=*  
PL teller PAR LOC bank forty INTERJ

T    *unsa-on=man=nimo pag-buhi? sa city*  
what-PV=PAR=2S.GEN NMZ-survive LOC city

W    *pamilya a biya-an @@@*  
family INTERJ leave-LV

T    *taga-linis sa banyo beinte mil=na e*  
NMZ-clean OBL bathroom twenty.thousand=already INTERJ

T: '(Times are) difficult back home. It's now really difficult. Low wages; the minimum wage is not even two hundred.'

(several lines omitted.)

T: 'The rent now,'

W: 'Banks, just the banks.'

T: 'Two thousand, fifteen thousand (a month).'

W: '(I mean), the tellers at the banks. (They're earning just) forty.'

T: 'How could you survive in the city?'

W: 'Families, leave them... haha'

T: 'Toilet cleaners (here) are earning twenty-thousand.'

(111) bare NPs in discourse

*di? mga bata?, pag-balik=niya ngadto, subay-subay,*  
 DM PL child NMZ-return=3S.GEN there move.along-REDUP

*pag-abot sa ma=y punu?an,*  
 NMZ-arrive LOC EXIST=NEUT tree

*kadto-ng tawo, na-mick-up sa prutas, pag-baba?=niya*  
*kadto-ng tawo, naN-pick-up sa prutas, pag-baba?=niya*  
 that-LK person AV-pick.up OBL fruit NMZ-go.down=3S.GEN

*usa=na=lang ka bu?uk ka?ing na-kit-an=niya*  
*usa=na=lang ka bu?uk ka?ing na-kita?-an=niya*  
 one=already=just LK piece basket spont-see-LV=3S.GEN

'So the children, (upon) his return, (so they) follow the path. (Upon their) arrival at the (place where there was the) tree, that (old) person, (the one) picking fruits, (upon) his descent, (it's) only one basket (that) he saw.'

Iwasaki and Tao (1993) observe that the frequency of NP intonation units in Mandarin and Japanese is nearly double that in English (see Table 4-4). This structural difference is mainly brought about by the occurrence of clustering NPs in both Japanese and Mandarin, which serve certain functions. In Japanese, these NP intonation units, which consist of the head nouns and interactional particles, are to code non-referential, interactional information. In Mandarin, they convey various types of information for the establishment of a referent.

**Table 4-4. Frequency of nominal intonation units (Iwasaki and Tao 1993)**

	Total IU	NP IU	% of NP IU
English	1099	128	11.6%
Japanese	756	168	21.6%
Mandarin	1163	272	23.4%
Cebuano	703	169	24.0%

(Figures for Cebuano are mine.)

As shown in the table, the Cebuano data (based on narrative texts) have about the same proportion of NP IUs (24.0 percent) as Mandarin and Japanese. If the number of locative nominals, i.e., *sa*-marked locative NPs, is counted, then the proportion would even be much higher (27.3 percent). These clustering NPs present in Cebuano

discourse are, like Mandarin, used for the establishment of a referent, as in the IUs in bold in the following three excerpts.

(112) Frog 2:103-107

103 ... (1.8) *sus* *na?a=di?ay* *didto* *sa* *likod* *sa* *kahoy*  
 INTERJ EXIST=EVID there LOC behind GEN wood

104 ... (1.1) *ka-uban* *ang* *iya-ng-*  
*ka-uban* *ang* *iya-nga*  
 recip-together ANG 3S.POSS-LK

105 → *siguro* ***girlfriend*** *or* ***boyfriend*** *niya*  
 maybe girlfriend or boyfriend 3S.GEN

106 →.. *or @* ***iya-ng*** ***husband***  
*or @* ***iya-nga*** ***husband***  
 or 3s.POSS-LK husband

107 →.. *or whatever*  
 or whatever

‘Oh, there (they are) behind that piece of log, ... together with his, ... maybe it is a girlfriend or a boyfriend, ... or it is the husband, or whatever.’

(113) Frog 3:82-87

88 ... *pero=* *ang* *ma?o-ng* *kahoy*  
*pero=* *ang* *ma?o-nga* *kahoy*  
 but ANG ANAPH-LK tree

89 ... (0.9) *may* *bangag*  
 EXIST hole

90 →... (0.8) *ang* ***sulod***  
 ANG inside

91 →... *usa* *ka* *bukaw*  
 one LK owl

92 →... *ang* ***langgam*** *nga* ***dako-g*** *mata*  
***ang*** ***langgam*** ***nga*** ***dako?-ug*** ***mata***  
 ANG bird LK big-LK eye

93 *nga* *sa gabi?i lang mu-lopad* *maka-kita?* *ma?ayo*  
 LK LOC night only AV-fly AV.ABIL-see well

‘But that very tree, ... had a hole. Inside (the tree hole), ... (was) an owl, ... the bird with large eyes, .. and can only fly at night and see well.’

The NP clusters in (112) and (113) show how succeeding NPs establish a referent. In addition, the study of S. Huang and Tanangkingsing (2005) on motion events reveals that not only NP IUs serve to establish a referent. Clauses with manner

verbs of motion also provide identifying information, as in *sa gabi?i lang mu-lopad* in IU#87 in (114). We can therefore say that clustering NPs along with manner-of-motion verbs provide additional information on a particular NP and are uttered in chunks in separate IUs, to help the hearer to successfully identify the intended referent.

(114) Frog 3:133-140

137 ... (2.2)	<i>ug</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>wala?</i>	<i>ma-dugay=</i>	
	CONN	SA	NEG	AV-long.time	
138 ...	<i>naka-kita?-</i>				
	AV.ABIL-see				
139 ... (0.8)	<i>silá</i>	<i>ug</i>			
	3P.NOM	EXT			
140 ... (0.9)	<i>duha</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>baki?</i>		
	two	LK	frog		
<b>141 → ...</b>	<i>siguro=</i>	<b><i>mga</i></b>	<b><i>ginikanan</i></b>	<b><i>kito</i></b>	
	maybe	PL	parents	these	
142..	<i>sa</i>	<i>ila-ng</i>	<i>gi-pangita?</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>baki?</i>
	<i>sa</i>	<i>ila-nga</i>	<i>gi-pangita?</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>baki?</i>
	LOC	3P.POSS-LK	PFV.PV-search	LK	frog
<b>143 → ..</b>	<b><i>duha</i></b>	<b><i>ka</i></b>	<b><i>bu?ok</i></b>		
	two	LK	CLASS		
<b>144 → ...</b>	<b><i>babayi-g</i></b>	<b><i>lalaki</i></b>			
	<b><i>babayi-ug</i></b>	<b><i>lalaki</i></b>			
	female-CONN	male			

‘And not long (after that), ... they, ... saw, ... two frogs, ... maybe they were the parents, ... of the frog they were looking for. (There were) two frogs, ... a female and a male.’

In (114), aside from the four IUs in the NP cluster (in bold) spent identifying the referent, there are two other NP IUs: one (IU#138) is part of a larger NP unit also including IU#137. The other one, IU#135, is a pronominal clitic, which is supposed to be in the same IU as the main predicate *naka-kita?* in IU#134, which seems to violate what we have said about NP constituents. We know that pronominal clitics are topical, so there could be no ‘word search’ that will happen for a pronoun (reflected by pausing or lengthening) as in noun phrases or verb phrases. Based on our data, both predicate/verb and clitic almost always occur in the same IU most of the time. There

could be exceptions though, as we have found in IU#135, where a third-person plural pronominal clitic is uttered in a separate IU. Third-person plural referents involve a group of persons which could be unknown or unfamiliar, and therefore would impose a heavier cognitive burden on the Speaker.

#### **4.7 Summary**

In this chapter, I covered the Noun Phrase constituent of Cebuano. First, I showed the structure of the constituent and discussed the elements found in a Cebuano NP. I looked at the uses and distribution of each of the case markers, as well as forms and functions of the personal pronoun and demonstrative systems. In Cebuano, the distal demonstrative *kana(ng)* is found to serve a unique function as a placeholder.

The linker *nga* in Cebuano plays an important role in modification; it connects two grammatical entities where one modifies the other. This head entity is not restricted to, but is overwhelmingly, nominal. I have also shown that *nga* modification and *nga* complementation make use of the same structure. In the final section, I showed that bare NPs serve to introduce a new discourse participant, and NP clusters function to describe a new referent.

## Chapter 5 NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

### 5.0 Introduction

In this chapter I will examine non-verbal clauses. These clauses include existential clauses (5.1), possessive clauses (5.2), locational clauses (5.3), nominal predicate clauses (5.4), and stative predicate clauses (5.5). At the same time, I also examine the functions of existential clauses. At the end of each subsection, I also show how each of the constructions is negated (Negation is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7).

### 5.1 Existential Clauses

An existential clause expresses the existence of a referent and mainly functions to introduce an entity into a discourse. In the following subsections, I will deal with existential constructions (5.1.1), negation of these existential constructions (5.1.2), and the function of these existential constructions in discourse (5.1.3).

#### 5.1.1 Existential constructions

The existence of an object or a person is indicated in Cebuano by the forms *aduna* or *may*; the location may also be explicitly expressed as *ni?a/na?a/tu?a* (See paradigm in Chapter 4). However, *na?a* has become the default expression for existentiality (its location sense has somehow been lost). The negative equivalent is *wala?*. When *aduna/na?a/ni?a/tu?a* occurs alone (1a), it is more likely to serve as an

answer to a question, or a comment on a preceding talk; *may* cannot occur alone.

Existential clauses most often function to introduce an entity into discourse (schema 1b). In such instances, the referent is indefinite and is marked by the neutral marker =y that phonologically attaches to the preceding unit; this is a strategy employed in Cebuano for expressing indefinite referents (as in *somebody* and *something*), especially when the semantic head noun is unexpressed (cf. 4). Furthermore, this new entity is often accompanied by a modifying clause, as our data and the examples show. In some instances, the lexical NP is omitted leaving a headless clause. The schemas are summarized in (1a)-(1c).

(1a) existential response clause

*aduna / na?a / ni?a / tu?a / \*may*

(1b) existential clause construction

*may / aduna=y / na?a=y / ni?a=y / tu?a=y NP (nga modifying clause)*

(1c) existential clause construction

*may / aduna=y / na?a=y / ni?a=y / tu?a=y NP<sub>headless</sub>*

Particles usually cliticize onto the clause-initial existential word and the neutral marker =y phonologically attaches to the end of either the existential word or the particles, if there is any. In (2) and (3) the existing entities are further modified by a clause through the linker *nga*. In (4), the NP consists of a headless clause also marked by the neutral marker =y.

(2) existential clause

*na?a=pa=y uban nga-*  
EXIST=still-NOM other LK

*upat=ra ka adlaw ni-abot gi-atake=na*  
four=only LK day AV-arrive INTR-attack=already

'There are also other people who-, they only arrived four days but already suffered from a heart attack.'

(3) existential clause

*last week=pud, duna=pu=y pilipina (nga) nag-hikog*  
*last week=pud duna=pud=y pilipina (nga) nag-hikog*  
last week=also EXIST=also-NEUT PN LK AV-suicide  
'Last week, there was also a Filipina who committed suicide.'

(4) existential clause

*kungna?a=y mo-invite sa ako?, kuyog=ko sa ila-ha*  
*kungna?a=y mo-invite sa ako? kuyog=ko sa ila-a*  
if EXIST=NEUT AV-invite DAT 1S.POSS go.with=1S.NOM OBL 3P.POSS-DEF  
'If there is (somebody) who will invite me, (then) I'll go with them.'

Example (5) is another conversational extract showing an existential negator occurring where *na?a* should have been. The topic *Volvo* company is anaphoric in subsequent utterances. Observe that in the first line, although *Volvo* is a particular car company, it is treated as “indefinite” in the existential construction by the =y marking.

(5) existential clause

T *na?a=na=sila=y Volvo na ano company*  
EXIST=already=3P.NOM=NEUT PN LK what company

[*kita wa?=man=ta ( )*]  
1IP.NOM NEG=PAR=1IP.NOM

W [*na?a=man=sab=ta ( )*]  
EXIST=PAR=also=1IP.NOM

T [*na?a=ba=ta/ sa Philippines/*]  
EXIST=Q=1IP.NOM LOC PN

W [XXX] *na?a= ( ) sa edsa, na?a*  
EXIST LOC PN EXIST

T: 'They already have a Volvo company,[1 we, we don't have (any). 1]'

W: '[1 we also have (one). 1]'

T: '[2 We (have)? in the Philippines? 2]'

W: '[2 XXX 2] There's (one) at EDSA, there is.'

### 5.1.2 Negation of existential constructions

With regard to negation, as existential constructions refer to entities, it is these entities that are being negated, so the nominal negator *wala?* is used. In the examples below, the negator takes the place of the existential marker, and the marker =y cliticizes to it.

(6) negation of existence

<i>daghan=na=kuno=ka?ay</i>	<i>Taiwanese</i>	<b><i>wala=y</i></b>	<b><i>trabaho</i></b>
<i>daghan=na=kuno=ka?ayo(-nga)</i>	<i>Taiwanese</i>	<b><i>wala?=y</i></b>	<b><i>trabaho</i></b>
many=already=EVID=very(-lk)	PN	NEG=NEUT	work
<i>ngano</i>	<i>mag-hire=pa=man=daw</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>foreign workers</i>
why	AV-hire=still=PAR=EVID	EXT	foreign workers

'They said many Taiwanese people are unemployed. Why would (they) still hire foreign workers?'

(7) negation of existence

<i>pobre=gihapon</i>	<b><i>wa=y</i></b>	<b><i>kwarta mga</i></b>	<i>tawo</i>
<i>pobre=gihapon</i>	<b><i>wala?=y</i></b>	<b><i>kwarta mga</i></b>	<i>tawo</i>
poor=still	NEG=NEUT	money PL	person

'Still poor; people have no money.'

(8) negation of existence

<i>kung</i>	<b><i>wa=ka=diri</i></b>	<i>unsa=man</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>buhat-on</i>
<i>kung</i>	<b><i>wala?=ka=diri</i></b>	<i>unsa=man</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>buhat-on</i>
if	NEG=2S.NOM=here	what=PAR	1S.POSS-LK	do-PV.NMZ

'If you are not here, what am I going to do?'



(12) Introduction of new referent

W	<i>sa ato?</i>	<i>didto-s</i>	<i>pilipinas</i>	<i>ba</i>
	<i>sa ato?</i>	<i>didto-sa</i>	<i>pilipinas</i>	<i>ba</i>
	LOC 1IP.POSS	there-LOC	PN	DM
T	<i>na?a=man=pud</i>	<i>sa ato?</i>	[ <i>hikog oy</i> ]	
	EXIST=PAR=also	LOC 1IP.POSS	suicide VOC	
W		[ <i>buwag</i>	<i>na?ay</i> ]	<i>daghan pa</i>
		divorce	EXIST	several DM
T	<i>naku dali=ka?ay</i>	<i>i-sulti</i>	<i>pag-na-higugma=ka</i>	<i>hikog=dyud</i>
	<i>naku dali=ka?ayo</i>	<i>i-sulti</i>	<i>pag-na-higugma=ka</i>	<i>hikog=dyud</i>
	INTERJ fast=very	IV-say	TEMP-AV-love=2S.NOM	suicide=EMPH
W	<i>hikog</i>			
	suicide			
T	<i>last week=pud</i>	<i>duna=pu=y</i>	<i>pilipina</i>	<i>nag-hikog</i>
	<i>last week=pud</i>	<i>duna=pud=y</i>	<i>pilipina</i>	<i>nag-hikog</i>
	last.week=also	EXIST=also=NEUT	PN	AV-suicide
	W: 'There in our (hometown) in the Philippines,'			
	T: 'In our (hometown) [there are also suicides].'			
	W:		'[even more divorces]'	
	T: 'Oh, it's too easy to say it, (but) when you're in love, you will really commit suicide.'			
	W: '(commit) suicide.'			
	T: 'Last week, there was another Filipina who committed suicide.'			

## 5.2 Possession clauses

Possessive clauses convey possession by adding a nominative-marked possessor NP to the indefinite NP in an existential construction, as shown in the schema in (13a). When the possessor is pronominal, it cliticizes to the existential verb, as in (13b). Possession clauses are negated by *wala?*, as in the (b) sentences in the following examples. Negation is discussed more extensively in Chapter 7.

(13a) *ni?a / na?a / tu?a / may / aduna=y* NPPOSSESSED NP<sub>NOM</sub>

(13b) *ni?a / na?a / tu?a / \*may / aduna =pron=y* NPPOSSESSED

(14a) possessive existential construction

*tapos tu-ng nag-eskuyla=pa=ko*  
*tapos kato-nga nag-eskuyla=pa=ko*  
 then that-LK AV-go.to.school=still=1S.NOM

*na?a=ko=y mga classmate nga muslim usab*  
 EXIST=1S.NOM=NEUT PL classmate LK muslim also  
 'Then, when I was still a student, I had classmates who were also Muslims.'

(14b) negated possessive existential construction

*wala?=ko=y mga classmate nga muslim*  
 NEG=1S.NOM=NEUT PL classmate LK muslim  
 'I didn't have classmates who were also Muslims.'

(15) possessive existential construction

L *na?a=na=sila=y anak/*  
 EXIST=already=3P.NOM=NEUT child

J *oo duha puros babayi*  
 BC two all girl

L *na?a=sad ( ) diri/*  
 EXIST=also here

J *wala?, sa pilipinas*  
 NEG LOC PN

L: 'Do they have children?'  
 J: 'Yes, two, both girls.'  
 L: 'Are (they) also here?'  
 J: 'No, (they're) in the Philippines.'

(15b) negated possessive existential construction

*wala?=sila=y anak/*  
 EXIST=3P.NOM=NEUT child  
 'They don't have a child.'

### 5.3 Locational clauses

Locational clauses indicate the existence of a known referent in a particular location. When the referent is pronominal, this pronominal cliticizes to the existential verb, as in (16a). With lexical NPs, the locative NP may directly follow the existential verb, as in (16b). In discourse, these known referents are often omitted in locational

clauses, as shown in the third line of (15).<sup>37</sup> Aside from the examples below, examples of locational clauses can be found in line 2 of (11) and line 2 of (12). Locational clauses are negated by *wala?*, as in (17) and the (b) sentences in (18) and (19) below.

(16) Locational clause construction

(16a) *ni?a / na?a / tu?a*=pron NP<sub>Loc</sub>

*\*aduna / \*may*=pron NP<sub>Loc</sub>

(16b) *ni?a / na?a / tu?a / aduna* NP<sub>Loc</sub> *ang* NP

*\*may* NP<sub>Loc</sub> *ang* NP

(17) Negation of locational clause construction

(17a) *wala?*=pron NP<sub>Loc</sub>

(17b) *wala?* NP<sub>Loc</sub> *ang* NP

(18a) locational existential construction

<i>kung</i>	<i>na?a=y</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>ma-aksidente</i>
if	EXIST=NEUT	PL	AV-accident

<i>na?a=siya</i>	<i>didto</i>
EXIST=3S.NOM	there

'If there are people who get into an accident, he's there.'

(18b) negated locational existential construction

<i>wala?=siya</i>	<i>didto</i>
NEG=3S.NOM	there

'He wasn't there.'

---

<sup>37</sup> As observed by Sung et al. (2006) for Kavalan, definiteness plays a crucial role to distinguishing two locative constructions. One is to introduce a new “indefinite” referent existing in a location. As for the other one, the referent is definite.

(19a) locational existential construction

*a= mag-huna?huna?=na=lang=ka=ba*

FIL AV-think=already=just=2S.NOM=PAR

*a iya-ng igso?on tingali tu?a sa Taiwan*

*a iya-nga igso?on tingali tu?a sa Taiwan*

FIL 3S.POSS-LK sibling maybe there LOC PN

*iyang- iya-ng mama tu?a didto*

*iyang- iya-nga mama tu?a didto*

FS 3S.POSS-LK mother there there

'Aah, you'll just think, her sister is probably there in Taiwan, (or) her mom (is) there.'

(19b) negated locational existential construction

*iya-ng igso?on tingali wala? sa Taiwan*

*iya-nga igso?on tingali wala? sa Taiwan*

3S.POSS-LK sibling maybe NEG LOC PN

*iyang- iya-ng mama wala? didto*

*iyang- iya-nga mama wala? didto*

FS 3S.POSS-LK mother NEG there

'Her sister is probably not in Taiwan; her mom is not there.'

#### 5.4 Nominal Predicate Clauses

In equational clauses in Cebuano, the two NPs are in an appositive relation to each other; these are termed "identificational" (Reid and Liao 2004) or "identifying" by Teng (2007). In Cebuano there is no copula to indicate the relation between a subject and its predicate. In such languages the relation is indicated by juxtaposition. The predicate NP occupies the clause-initial position, while the other NP is definite and marked with nominative case (not with the neutral marker =y). However, based on our observation of corpus data, this type of construction accounts for only a small proportion of the total number of clauses, and the case marker *ang* is occasionally omitted. Nominal predicate clauses are negated using *dili?*(see Section 7.2.1).

(20a) Identifying nominal predicate clause

*ka-uban-nako? sa trabaho ang amiga niya*  
 RECIP-company-1S.GEN LOC work ANG friend 3S.GEN  
 'Her friend is my colleague at work.'

(20b) Negated nominal predicate clause

*dili?=nako? ka-uban sa trabaho ang amiga niya*  
 NEG-1S.GEN RECIP-company OBL work ANG friend 3S.GEN  
 'Her friend is not my colleague at work.'

Some nominal predicate clauses shift the order between the nominative-marked NP and the predicate NP. The identifying NP is preposed to the front forming a cleft construction. Dryer (1978) notes that such constructions introduce "new" information; this is true for the preposing of locative adverbials in the first-element position in verb complexes (see Chapter 6). Cleft constructions are also negated by *dili?*.

(21) cleft construction

*cotabato ang una-ng na-city kaysa sa davao*  
*cotabato ang una-nga na-city kaysa sa davao*  
 PN ANG first-LK AV-city COMP OBL PN

*pero general santos=man na-una-g sikat*  
*pero general santos=man na-una-ug sikat*  
 but PN=PAR AV-first-COMP popular  
 '(It was) Cotabato (that) was made a city earlier than Davao, but (it was) General Santos which became popular the earliest.'

(22) cleft construction

*ako-ng mga phone bills, siya=na? ang nag-bayad*  
*ako?-nga mga phone bills, siya=kana? ang nag-bayad*  
 1S.POSS-LK PL phone bills 3S.NOM =that ANG AV-pay  
 'My phone bills, (it's) he (who is) paying.'

(23) cleft equational construction

T: *mo-dapat=kuno ug asawa*  
AV-hit=EVID EXT wife

W: *ma-ngulata=lagi=na?=siya-g-  
maN-kulata=lagi=kana?=siya-ug-*  
AV-beat=EMPH=that=3S.NOM-EXT

T: *maid nag-istorya*  
*maid (ang) nag-istorya*  
maid AV-tell

T: 'He hits (his) wife.'

W: 'That guy does beat his-'

T: '(It was) the maid (who) told (this story).'

The particle *ma?o*, also termed identificational particle (Rubino 2006) and emphatic marker (Trosdal 1992) and which I will call an anaphoric particle, serves to emphatically point out a definite referent, or "draw attention on the subject or predicate of a nominal sentence (Bergh 1958: 28)." This particle appears in other Bisayan languages; there is a similar particle in Puyuma as well (Teng 2007). In Cebuano, *ma?o* precedes a particular event or referent being pointed out, but it follows a pronominal referent or a person identified by a proper noun in cleft constructions, as in the following examples. In these "cleft" equational clauses, there is an option between *ang* and  $\Rightarrow y$  in marking the non-initial NP. As can be observed in (24), such marking is sometimes optionally omitted.

(24) *ma?o* in cleft equational construction

*kato-ng pag-eleksiyon*  
*kato-nga pag-eleksiyon*  
that-LK TEMP-election

*ma?o=man=na?=bitaw=na-ng gi-istorya-han*  
*ma?o=man=kana?=bitaw=kana?-nga gi-istorya-an*  
ANAPH=PAR=that=PAR=that-ANG PFV-converse-LV

'(During) that election, that was the very (issue) that (everybody) was talking about.'

(25a) *ma?o* in cleft equational construction

<i>ma?o=ra=gyud=na?</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>gi-huna?huna?</i>
<i>ma?o=ra=gyud=kana?</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>gi-huna?huna?</i>
ANAPH=only=EMPH=that	1S.POSS-LK	PFV.PV-think

'That was the only thing I (kept on) thinking about.'

(25b) *ma?o=ra=gyud=na=y*                      *ako-ng gi-huna?huna?*  
 (25c) *ma?o=ra=gyud=na?*    **ang**    *ako-ng gi-huna?huna?*

Interrogative words are usually in clause-initial position. Again, the use of the marker *ang* or =y will show the definiteness status of the topic NP.

(26) *kinsa* interrogative clause

<i>kinsa=ma=y</i>	<i>imo-</i>	<i>imo-ng</i>	<i>barkada</i>	<i>diri</i>
<i>kinsa=man=y</i>	<i>imo-</i>	<i>imo-nga</i>	<i>barkada</i>	<i>diri</i>
who=PAR=NEUT	FS	2S.POSS-LK	friend	here

'Who are your friends here?'

(27) *unsa* interrogative clause

<i>unsa=ma=y</i>	<i>trabaho</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>imo-ng</i>	<i>bana</i>
<i>unsa=man=y</i>	<i>trabaho</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>imo-nga</i>	<i>bana</i>
what=PAR=NEUT	work	GEN	2S.POSS-LK	husband

'What is your husband's occupation?'

(28) *pila* interrogative clause

T	<i>pila=na=man</i>	<i>karon</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>minimum</i>
	how.much=already=PAR	now	ANG	minimum

'How much is the minimum wage now?'

## 5.5 Stative predicate clauses

In this section, I will cover the non-verbal constructions where a stative predicate classifies or modifies the nominative-marked NP. The predicate may be positioned either clause-initially before the *ang* NP or clause-finally after the *ang* NP. The *ang* NP in such constructions is definite and so is marked with *ang* (which may be omitted, especially if spoken) or some other determiner. Below I will discuss

classifying nominal predicates (5.5.1), stative predicate constructions (5.5.2), and stative predicate constructions with preposed nominative-marked NPs (5.5.3).

### 5.5.1 Classifying nominal predicates

Some NP predicates serve to classify the nominative-marked NP in a clause, as in the (a) sentences in the examples below. These clauses are negated using *dili?* (see Section 7.2.2), as in the (b) sentences.

(29a) Classifying nominal predicate clause

*OFW=ka/*  
 Overseas.Foreign.Worker=2S.NOM  
 'Are you a contract worker?'

(29a) Negated classifying nominal predicate clause

*dili?=ka OFW/*  
 NEG=2S.NOM Overseas Foreign Worker  
 'You're not a contract worker?'

(30a) Classificational predication, with topicalized NP

*mga ka-uban nako?, mga lalaki*  
 PL RECIPIENT-company 1S.GEN PL male  
 'My companions, (they're) all male.'

(30b) Negation of classificational predication

*mga ka-uban nako?, dili? mga lalaki*  
 PL RECIPIENT-company 1S.GEN NEG PL male  
 'My companions, (they're) not male.'

### 5.5.2 Stative predicates

Stative predicate constructions contain a stative verb serving as a predicate, which modifies the nominative-marked NP semantically. Examples are given in the (a) sentences below. Negation is marked by *dili?*, as in the (b) sentences below (see Section 7.2.2).

(31a) Stative predication (quantifier predicate)

*daghan=gihapon mo-larga, daghan mag-abroad*  
*daghan=gihapon (ang) mo-larga, daghan (ang) mag-abroad*  
 many=still AV-leave many AV-go.abroad  
 '(The people who) will leave are still many; (people who want to) go abroad are many.'

(31b) Negation of stative predication (constructed based on 37)

*dili? daghan ang mo-larga, dili? daghan ang mag-abroad*  
 NEG many ANG AV-leave NEG many ANG AV-go.abroad  
 '(The people who) will leave are not many; (people who want to) go abroad are not many.'

(32a) Stative predicate (with topicalized location)

*sa Cebu, simple=lang=ba kinabuhi?*  
*sa Cebu, simple=lang=ba (ang) kinabuhi?*  
 LOC PN simple=only=PAR life  
 'In Cebu, life is just simple.'

(32b) Negation of stative predicate (constructed based on 38a)

*sa Cebu, dili? simple ang kinabuhi?*  
 LOC PN NEG simple ANG life  
 'In Cebu, life is not simple.'

(33a) Stative predicate (with topicalized NP)

*ako-ng Tagalog, gahi?=dyud=ka?ayo*  
*ako?-nga Tagalog, gahi?=dyud=ka?ayo*  
 1S.POSS-LK PN hard=EMPH=very  
 'My Tagalog, (it has) a really heavy (accent).'

(33b) Negation of stative predicate (constructed based on 40a)

*ako-ng Tagalog, dili? gahi?*  
*ako?-nga Tagalog, dili? gahi?*  
 1S.POSS-LK PN hard=EMPH=very  
 'My Tagalog, (it) doesn't have (a heavy accent).'

Example (34a) below is a stative predicate with a nominative-marked derived nominal. This nominal can be in its verbal form; in this case, the structure will be classified as a verb complex with an evaluative adverbial as first element (34b). These

evaluative adverbials in first-element position are discussed in Chapter 6 (Section 6.1.6).

(34a) stative predicate (with topicalized adverbial)

*pag-thirty-plus=na=ka=/ lisod=na=daw ang pag-panganak*  
 NMZ-30plus=already=2S.NOM difficult=already=EVID ANG NMZ-have.baby  
 'When you're over thirty, they say it's difficult to give birth.'

(34b) evaluative adverbial in first-element position in a verb complex

*pag-thirty-plus=na=ka=/ lisod=na=daw m-anganak*  
*pag-thirty-plus=na=ka=/ lisod=na=daw m-panganak*  
 NMZ-30plus=already=2S.NOM difficult=already=EVID AV.INF-have.baby  
 'When you're over thirty, they say it's difficult to give birth.'

### 5.5.3 Stative predicates with preposed NPs

In this section, I will discuss stative predicates with preposed NPs. These are phrases that consist of stative predicates that take an indefinite noun complement introduced by *ug*. The complement noun is modified semantically by the stative predicate, and the entire phrase modifies a recent discourse topic, which is the preposed NP. These are also called "adjective phrase" (Wolff 1965: 96-97) and "adjective-phrase predicate form" (Trosdal 1992: 136). These phrasal predicates seem to always occur with a preposed nominative NP, as the usual word order would be pragmatically odd. Examples are given below.

(35) Stative predicate with preposed NP

*mga restaurant, daghan=gihapo-g tawo, puno?=gihapon*  
*mga restaurant, daghan=gihapon-ug tawo, puno?=gihapon*  
 PL restaurant many=still-LK person full=still  
 'The restaurants, they are still many customers. They're still full.'

(36) Stative predicate with preposed NP

<i>pila=ma=y</i>	<i>sweldo,</i>	<i>dako?=ba-g</i>	<i>dipirinsya/</i>
<i>pila=man=y</i>	<i>sweldo,</i>	<i>dako?=ba-ug</i>	<i>dipirinsya/</i>
how.much=PAR=NEUT	salary	big=Q-LK	difference

'How much is the salary? (Is there a) huge difference?'

(37) Stative predicate with preposed NP

<i>pero pag-bus</i>	<i>imo-ng</i>	<i>saky-an</i>	<i>dugay</i>
<i>pero pag-bus</i>	<i>imo-nga</i>	<i>sakay-an</i>	<i>dugay</i>
but COND-bus	2S.POSS.LK	ride-LV	long.time

<i>sigi-g</i>	<i>stop,</i>	<i>daghan=na=ka?ayo-g</i>	<i>para</i>
<i>sigi-ug</i>	<i>stop,</i>	<i>daghan=na=ka?ayo-ug</i>	<i>para</i>
ASP-LK	stop	many=already=INTENS-LK	stop

'But if (it's) a bus (that) you're taking, (it takes) long. (The bus) always stops and (there are) many (people getting on and getting off).'

(38) predicate phrase

<i>lisud=ka?ay</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ato?</i>	<i>karon</i>
<i>lisud=ka?ayo</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ato?</i>	<i>karon</i>
difficult=INTENS	LOC	1IP.POSS	now

<i>lisud=gyud=kayo</i>	<i>gamay=ka?ayo-g</i>	<i>sweldo</i>
<i>lisud=gyud=ka?ayo</i>	<i>gamay=ka?ayo-ug</i>	<i>sweldo</i>
difficult=EMPH=INTENS	small=INTENS-LK	salary

'It's difficult in our hometown nowadays. Really really difficult; so low salaries.'

In (35), the bare NP *mga restaurant* 'restaurants' signals that this will be the topic in the succeeding clauses. The following phrases, sure enough, tell something about this topic: *daghan=gihapo-g tawo* '(they) still (attract) many customers' and *puno?=gihapon* 'still full.' The phrasal unit *daghan=gihapo-g tawo* is composed of the predicate *daghan* 'many' and its complement *tawo* 'person' marked by the oblique *ug*. The same phenomenon can be said for the following three extracts: first, there is a topic: *sweldo* 'salary' in (36), *bus* 'bus' in (37), and *sa ato?* '(the situation) in our (hometown)' in (38); then, the predicate phrases follow. Stative predicate phrases with preposed NPs are negated with *dili?*.

Finally, stative predicates not taking any verbal affixes indicate stability of a state, while the attachment of an AV prefix indicates a change of state. In the pair of sentences below, an unaffixed verb (39a) indicates stability of a state; the addition of *mo-* to the verb in (39b) implies a change from a state, and the clause acquires a verbal flavor.

(39a) root form of predicate indicates state (SunStar, January 15, 2008)

*duha ang na-matay samtang la?in-g usa ang grabe*  
*duha ang na-patay samtang la?in-nga usa ang grabe*  
 two ANG AV-die while another-LK one ANG serious  
 'Two (people) died while another one (was) in serious (condition).'

(39b) affixed predicate indicates change of state (SunStar, January 29, 2008)

*mo-duha=na ka semana karon*  
 AV-two=already LK week now  
*wa?=lang=gihapon mo-abot ang basur-ero sa dakbayan sa Sugbo*  
*wa?=lang=gihapon mo-abot ang basura-ero sa dakbayan sa Sugbo*  
 NEG=only=still AV-arrive ANG trash-er LOC city GEN PN  
 'It has already been two weeks now (that) the garbage collectors have not come to the city of Cebu.'

## 5.6 Summary

This chapter is a discussion of the non-verbal clauses in Cebuano. The non-verbal clauses include existential clauses and related constructions including possession clauses and locational clauses; I also examined their functions in actual discourse. In the second half of the chapter I looked at nominal predicate clauses and stative predicate clauses. I also discussed those stative predicate clauses that come later than the nominals that they modify (semantically); they are usually uttered after a pause in a separate IU from the nominal.

## Chapter 6 VERB COMPLEX

### 6.0 Introduction

The verb complex refers to the head verb and its associated auxiliary particles (depending on the language) (McGinn 2001). In the English sentence *John might have been eating fish*, the verb complex would be *might have been eating*, which contains temporal, aspectual, and modal information. The verb complex has been described for Oceanic languages (Lynch 1998; Pawley 2003) and specifically for Kokota (Palmer 1999), Tongan (Broschart 2000),<sup>38</sup> as well as in non-Oceanic Austronesian languages (Wouk 2005). However, despite its being one of the main grammatical constituents based on the organization of repair in the language (Huang and Tanangkingsing 2005), the verb complex has not yet been explicitly described in Cebuano, although there have been references to auxiliary verbs (Reid and Liao 2004) and "process words" (Bergh 1958: 18-19) in various Philippine-type languages.

In 6.1, I will first introduce the grammatical elements that are found inside a verb complex, as well as the various types of word order found in a verb complex. In 6.2 I describe the second-position clitic particles that occur in a verb complex; these particles are used to express a variety of nuances that neither aspectual form nor any particular combination of aspects in constituent clauses appears to bear (Naylor 1977). In 6.3, I will try to show related issues, namely, repair, complementation structure, and tense in a verb complex. I will discuss repair because H. Huang and

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<sup>38</sup> Only the "preverbials" have been described for Tongan in Broschart (2000), comprising all the elements that precede the main verb in the language.

Tanangkingsing (2005) found that in doing repair within the verb complex, speakers would always recycle either the main verb or the first element of a verb complex, but never the particles located inside it; therefore, repair provides an evidence regarding the status of the verb complex as a grammatical constituent in Cebuano. I will also discuss complementation since they can sometimes transform into a verb complex. Then I will also discuss the types of verb complex that refer to general situations and particular events. Finally, I provide a summary in 6.4.

As serial verb constructions are not allowed in Cebuano, when another element in the verb complex (most possibly the adverbial entity occupying first-element position) takes a tensed form, then the main verb in the last slot is expressed in dependent form (tense-less), the same form used in negation and imperative clauses.

### **6.1 Elements in a verb complex**

The verb complex in Cebuano contains the following elements, namely, negators, interrogative words, various types of adverbial predicates, particles and clitics conveying tense, aspect, and modality, pronouns, and verbs, as shown in (1). The main verb is the only grammatical entity that cannot be absent in a verb complex; all the other grammatical entities, particles, and clitics are optional.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Yeh and Huang (2008) investigated triple- and quadruple-verb serialization in Formosan languages and found that there is a consistent ordering pattern of the various types of verbs in all the languages that they investigated. Cebuano seems to follow the same order.

(1) Cebuano verb complex

- 1a. First element (=particle(s)) =argument(s) (adverbials) main verb
- 1b. Negator/Interrogative (=particle(s) =argument) (adverbials) main verb
- 1c. Modals/adverbials (=particle(s) =argument) main verb
- 1d. Main verb (=particle(s) =argument)

The schema for verb complex is shown in (1a). There is a preference for which elements can occupy the first-element slot: it is the negators and interrogatives that always occupy this first-element slot. If there are adverbials at the same time, these adverbials can only occur after the first-element, as shown in (1b); in case there are neither negators nor interrogatives, the modal verb or an adverbial can be promoted to first-element position, as in (1c). If none of these elements occur, then the main activity verb occupies the first-element slot, as in (1d). Clitic particles also occur in verb complexes and attach to the first element (be they a negator, an adverbial, or a verb).

Based on the grammatical elements that can occupy the first element slot in the Cebuano verb complex, we are able to identify the following functions of the Cebuano verb complex:

(2) Functions of Cebuano verb complex

- a. to deny the existence of an action or movement (through negation);
- b. to ask *when* and *where* (through adverbial interrogation);
- c. to express contrast (of temporal and locative information);
- d. to express Speaker's attitude or desire;
- e. to express the manner/evaluation of an action; and
- f. to predicate an event or state of the Nominative-marked referent.

The various types of elements that can occur in a verb complex will be discussed in each of the sections below: negators (6.1.1), adverbial interrogatives (6.1.2), modal adverbials (6.1.3), locative phrases (6.1.4), temporal adverbials (6.1.5), and manner/evaluative adverbials (6.1.6).

### 6.1.1 Negators

The first-element slot in a verb complex is usually a negator or a question word. The negators that occur in a verb complex are *wala?* and *dili?*. The negator *wala?* (sometimes shortened to *wa?*) denies the existence of past or ongoing actions, as in (4), while *dili?* (sometimes shortened to *di?*) negates the occurrence of future actions, as in (3). In rare instances, *dili?* can also be used in more formal and indirect prohibitions (see Chapter 8). The division of labor between both negators with regard to temporal expression seems to be found only in Bisayan languages; this is not attested in Tagalog or in any Formosan language. Negators are also discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

(3) negator as first element; *di?* negates future action

<i>di?</i> = <i>man=pud=ko</i>	<i>mo-balik sa iya-ha</i>	<i>oy</i>	<i>kapoy=ra</i>
<i>di?</i> = <i>man=pud=ko</i>	<i>mo-balik sa iya-a</i>	<i>oy</i>	<i>kapoy=ra</i>
NEG=PAR=also=1S.NOM	AV-return OBL 3S.POSS-DEF	INTERJ	tiring=INTENS
'I'm not going to return to him [his side]! (I'm) too tired!'			

(4) negator as first element; *wa?* negates/denies past action

<i>ang</i>	<i>tawo</i>	<i>nang-uha-g</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>prutas</i>
<i>ang</i>	<i>tawo</i>	<i>maN-kuha?-ug</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>prutas</i>
ANG	person	AV-take-EXT	PL	fruit

<i>unsa=y</i>	<i>prutas</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>wa?=ko</i>	<i>ka-ila</i>
what=NEUT	fruit	that	NEG=1S.NOM	ABIL-identify

'The person, (he) was picking fruits, what kind of fruit was that I couldn't identify (it).'

### 6.1.2 Adverbial interrogators

Adverbial interrogatives include the question words asking "where" *asa* (6), "when" *kanus?a* (5), and "how often" *ka-pila* (7). The *unsa* temporal phrase can also occur in the first-element position, such as *unsa-ng oras-a* 'what time' (<what-lk hour-def), *unsa-ng adlaw-a* 'which day' (<what-lk day-def), *unsa-ng bulan-a* 'which month' (<what-lk month-def), and *unsa-ng tu?ig-a* 'what year' (<what-lk year-def).

(5) adverbial question word as first element

<i>kanus?a=na=sad=mi</i>	<i>mag-kita?</i>
when=already=again=1EP.NOM	AV-see

'When are we [excl] going to see each other again?'

(6) adverbial question word as first element

T	<i>asa</i>	<i>nag-</i>	<i>asa=man=siya</i>	<i>na-destino</i>	
	where	FS	where=PAR=3S.NOM	AV-assign	
L	<i>diha?=ra</i>	<i>dapit</i>	<i>sa=</i>		
	there=only	nearby	LOC		
	<i>diha?</i>	[= <i>ra=gud</i>	<i>sa</i> ]	<i>amo-ng</i>	<i>gi-abang-an</i>
	<i>diha?</i>	[= <i>ra=gud</i>	<i>sa</i> ]	<i>amo?-nga</i>	<i>gi-abang-an</i>
	there	only=PAR	LOC	1EP.POSS-LK	PFV-rent-LV
T	[ <i>o</i>	<i>wanhua</i> ]	<i>o\</i>		
	BC	PN	BC		

T: 'Where is he assigned?'

L: 'There, close to our rented [apartment].'

T: 'aah, Wanhua.'

(7) adverbial question word as first element

T *unya? sa usa ka semana,*  
then TEMP one LK week

*ka-pila=man=mo mag-kita?*  
FREQ-how.many=PAR=2P.NOM RECIP-see

L *ka-usa=ra*  
FREQ-one=only

T: 'Then, in each week, how many times do you see each other?'

L: 'Only once (a week).'

There have been previous descriptions of various "where" words and "when" words (Bunye and Yap 1971: 72ff), where the question word *asa* is described as expressing future and non-factual events; *di?in* for past and factual events; and *ha?in* for locational, stationary, and future events. However, modern speakers of Cebuano (especially in more urban areas) seem not to make such distinctions anymore and indiscriminately use *asa* for all instances of asking "where," although I have heard both *di?in* and *ha?in* in provincial areas, and I even remember using both words myself. There is one instance though of *di?in* in our corpus, but the Speaker immediately shifted to the general question word *asa* in the next utterance.

(8) adverbial question word as first element

*wa?=man=sad mo-sulti ang bata? unsa=y*  
NEG=PAR=also AV-say ANG child what=NEUT

*di?in=nila gi-kuha? nga pears*  
where=3P.GEN PFV.IV-take LK pears

*asa=to=nila gikan*  
*asa=kato=nila gikan*  
where=that=3P.GEN from

'The child did not say also (about) what-, where they took the pears, where the pears were from.'

As for asking "when," *kanus?a* is used for both factual and non-factual events, while *anus?a* is only for non-factual events. Obviously, *kanus?a* is the preferred question word. Interrogative words are discussed in Chapter 8.

The frequency of negators is observed to be significantly higher than the other possible first elements in a verb complex, and, along with the adverbial interrogatives, they always outrank the other possible first elements in occupying the clause-initial first-element position; that is, when an adverbial word or a deontic modal is negated or questioned, the negator or the question word always takes up the first element position without exception while the other elements are relegated toward the right end of the verb complex closer to the main verb.

### 6.1.3 Modal verbs

The modal verbs occurring in a verb complex include *gusto/ganahan* 'want; desire'; *kinahanglan* 'must, have to, need to, it is necessary to'; *puydi/kahibalo* 'can (ability)'; and *puydi/mahimo* 'can, able to, possible (permission).' They always occur in their root form when placed in first element position in a verb complex.

#### (9) modal verb in first-element position

*ganahan=bya?=ko*            *mo-kanta-kanta*  
 like=PAR=1S.NOM            AV.INF-sing-REDUP  
 'I like to sing (as a pastime).'

#### (10) Deontic adverb in a complementation construction; Actor control

<i>ang iro?</i>	...(1.2)	<i>gusto-ng</i>	<i>mu-katkat</i>	( )	<i>sa=</i>	<i>kahoy</i>
<i>ang iro?</i>	...(1.2)	<i>gusto-nga</i>	<i>mu-katkat</i>	( )	<i>sa=</i>	<i>kahoy</i>
ANG dog		like-COMP	AV-climb		LOC	tree

'The dog wanted to climb up the tree.'

(11) modal verb in first-element position

J *dira?=ka mag-sakay ug mga ferry ana?/*  
there=2S.NOM AV-ride OBL PL ferry like.that

L *o kung- puydi=ka mo-adto san carlos*  
BC if can=2S.NOM AV.INF-go PN

J: '(It is) there (where) you ride those ferries.'

L: 'Right. You can reach San Carlos (from there).'

(12) modal verb in first-element position

*original=man=ta Pilipino*  
original=par=1IP.NOM Filipino

*mahimo?=man=na? i-balik*  
can=PAR=that IV.INF-return

'(Our) original (nationality) is Filipino, (so) (you) can have it back (in case you regret changing your citizenship).'

Lehmann (1988) indicates that at the same time that a subordinate clause is reduced through nominalization, the word governing the subordinate clause may also be reduced into modals and auxiliaries through grammaticalization. In Cebuano, there is a similar phenomenon. These verb complex constructions headed by a deontic verb take complements introduced by *nga*. When the gap in the complement is controlled by the Actor of the matrix verb, the *nga* tends to be omitted. These matrix verbs, also termed 'pseudo-verbs' (Bunye and Yap 1971) and auxiliary verbs (Reid and Liao 2004), then form a verb complex with the complement verb. They occur in their root form but can take either a nominative or a genitive NP depending on the voice form of the "main" verb, as in (13a). Although they function here as an auxiliary (first element), they can also behave like verbs, as in (13b). When they behave like regular verbs, they do not express deontic meaning but are read as 'to need something.'

(13a) deontic verb in a verb complex (constructed)

*kinahanglan=ta m-aminaw sa klase*  
*kinahanglan=ta m-paminaw sa klase*  
 must=1IP.NOM AV.INF-listen LOC class  
 ‘We must listen in class.’

(13b) regular verb taking voice affix

*gi-kinahanglan=nako? ang imo-ng tabang*  
*gi-kinahanglan=nako? ang imo-nga tabang*  
 PV-need=1S.GEN ANG 2S.POSS-LK help  
 ‘I need your help.’

In the verb complex, the complement verb of a complementation construction becomes the "main" verb taking a voice affix while the matrix verb in first-element position loses its affix and becomes an "auxiliary" (cf. Reid and Liao 2004) verb. It is observed that in such instances, both "auxiliary" verb and "main" verb do not convey tense information; the entire phrase refers to a general condition, not to a specific event.

(14) modality verb in first-element position; general situation

*ma?o=man ato-ng kunswelo mga babayi*  
*ma?o=man ato?-nga kunswelo mga babayi*  
 ANAPH=PAR 1IP.POSS-LK enjoyment PL girl  
*ganahan=ta mag-pa-gwapa*  
 like=1IP.NOM AV.INF-CAU-beautiful  
 ‘It’s our enjoyment, as girls; we like to make ourselves beautiful.’

When a modal verb is negated or questioned (most possibly by *when*), the negator or the adverbial question word occupies the first-element slot and the modal verb takes the slot after the clitic particles, if any, and is positioned before the activity verb. This is shown in the schema in (15) and a conversation excerpt in (16):

(15) **neg/interrog (=clitic(s)) modal verb activity verb NP**

(16) modality verb in verb complex; general condition

J	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>maguwang</i>	<i>nag-uli?=na-g</i>	<i>cotabato</i>
	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>maguwang</i>	<i>nag-uli?=na-ug</i>	<i>cotabato</i>
	1s.poss-lk	elder.sibling	av-return=already-obl	pn
	<i>di?=na=siya</i>	<b><i>ganahan</i></b>		<i>sa manila</i>
	<i>di?=na=siya</i>	<b><i>ganahan</i></b>	<i>(mo-puyo?)</i>	<i>sa manila</i>
	neg=already=3S.NOM	like	av.inf-live	LOC PN
	<i>di?=man</i>	<b><i>ganahan</i></b>	<i>nga na?a=y</i>	<i>boss</i>
	neg=par	like	comp exist=neut	boss
	<i>gusto=niya</i>	<i>siya ang-</i>		
	like=3S.GEN	3S.NOM ANG		
L	<i>siya ang</i>	[ <i>boss</i> ] @@		
	3S.NOM ANG	boss		
J		[ <i>boss</i> ]		
		boss		

J: 'My elder brother, (he) has returned to Cotabato. He didn't like (to live in) Manila anymore. (He) didn't like that (he) had a boss. He wanted (that) he be-'

L: 'He be the [*boss*] @@'

J: '[*boss*]'

#### 6.1.4 Locative phrases for contrast

Locative phrases are usually found in clause-final position, but when they are preposed as the first element in a verb complex, they are used for contrast. As the clefted element, they convey focus and new information, serving as an answer to a question asking "where" (cf. Dryer 1978). In (17), the location of the body part being shot is stressed, which is *diri* 'here,' not *dinha* 'there (near Hearer),' *didto* 'there (far),' or any other place else. The first line in (18) is using an adverbial interrogative word. L's utterance in the sixth line shows that when a locative phrase is negated, the negator occupies the first-element slot and the locative phrase takes the position between the clitics and the activity verb. Later on in the conversation, J wanted to stress the location where her mother grew up, and the locative phrase is preposed to first-element position in a verb complex.

(17) locative phrase in first-element position

**diri=man=siya** *ni-pusil* *unya?* *ni-lusot=lang* **diri**  
 here=PAR=3S.NOM AV-shoot then AV-through=only here  
*unya?* *kari* *tanang* *talaga bungkag* *diri* *iya-ng* *ulo*  
*unya?* *kari* *tanang* *talaga bungkag* *diri* *iya-nga* *ulo*  
 then this all EMPH break here 3S.POSS-LK head  
 '(It's) here (where) he shot (himself), then (the bullet) went through here,  
 then all this, his entire head burst.'

(18) locative phrase in first-element position

L *di?* **asa=ka** **nag-dako?** *sa* *cotabato=na*  
 then where=2S.NOM AV.grow LOC PN=already  
 J *m=* *tapos/* *nag-college=ko* *sa* *manila*  
 FIL then AV-college=1S.NOM LOC PN  
*didto=na* *sa* *manila* *trabaho=na=ko* *didto*  
 there=already LOC PN work=already=1S.NOM there  
 L *nag-trabaho* *...di?* **wa?=na=di?ay=ka** **didto** *nag-tugpo?*  
 AV-work DM NEG=already=EVID=2S.NOM there AV-reside  
 J *o* *wala?*  
 BC NEG  
 L *wala?* *kinsa=ma=y* *taga-si-* *taga-cebu=gyud* *ang*  
*wala?* *kinsa=man=y* *taga-si-* *taga-cebu=gyud* *ang*  
 NEG who=PAR=NEUT NMZ-FS NMZ-PN=EMPH ANG  
 J *ako-ng* *mama pero* *...dili?=sad=siya* *didto* *gi-ku?an*  
*ako?-nga* *mama pero* *...dili?=sad=siya* *didto* *gi-ku?an*  
 1S.POSS-LK mother but NEG=also=3S.NOM there PV-KUAN  
**dili?=gyud=siya** **didto** *nag-dako?=sad*  
 NEG=EMPH=3S.NOM there AV-grow=also  
**sa negros=siya** *nag-dako?*  
 LOC PN=3S.NOM AV-grow

L: 'Where did you grow up, in Cotabato?'

J: 'Yes, then I went to college in Manila; (then) I worked there.'

L: 'work... aah so you didn't live there anymore?'

J: 'no, not anymore.'

L: 'not anymore, then who's really from Cebu?'

J: 'My mom. But, she didn't, she didn't grow up there. She grew up in Negros.'

### 6.1.5 Temporal adverbials

Like locative phrases, temporal adverbials are found in clause-final position, as in the first line in (19), but are preposed to the first-element slot in a verb complex when contrasted or stressed, as in the second to the last line in (19). They also have a clefting effect, as a possible answer to a question asking "when."

(19) temporal adverbial in first-element position

T	<i>gi-hold=gud=mi</i> PV-hold=INTENS=1EP.NOM	<b><i>tulo</i></b> three	<b><i>ka</i></b> LK	<b><i>oras</i></b> hours
	<i>gi-pangayo?-an=gyud=mi-g</i> <i>gi-pangayo?-an=gyud=mi-ug</i> PV-ask-LV=EMPH=1EP.NOM-EXT		<i>kwarta</i> <i>kwarta</i> money	
	<i>oy mister morales=na=to</i> VOC PN=already=that		<i>ha</i> INTERJ	
	<i>alam mo ingon si mister morales</i> know 2S.NOM say SI PN			
	<i>bisa-g</i> even-OBL	<i>abt-an=ta-g</i> <i>abot-an=ta-ug</i> reach-LV=1IP.NOM-EXT	<i>ugma?</i> <i>ugma?</i> tomorrow	<i>diri</i> <i>diri</i> here
	<i>di?=gyud=ko</i> <i>di?=gyud=ko</i> NEG=EMPH=1S.NOM	<i>mo-hatag</i> <i>mo-hatag</i> AV-give	<i>bisa-g</i> <i>bisan-ug</i> even-COMP	<i>usa ka dako?</i> <i>usa ka dako?</i> one cent
M	<i>unya?</i> then			
T	<b><i>tulo</i></b> three	<b><i>ka oras=mi</i></b> LK hour=1EP.NOM	<b><i>ga-tindog</i></b> AV-stand	<b><i>didto</i></b> there

T: 'We were detained for three hours, and they were asking for money. Hey, it was Mr. Morales (they were dealing with). You know, Mr. Morales told me, even if we have to stay here until tomorrow, I will not give a cent.'  
M: 'Then/'  
T: 'We were standing there for three hours.'

Some temporal adverbials expressing frequency can only occur in a verb complex, such as in the examples shown below.

(20) frequency/durative verb in first-element position

W *m= pilipinas kung= karon-g tu?ig-a*  
*m= pilipinas kung= karon-nga tu?ig-a*  
 FIL PN if this-LK year-DEF

*basi?-g mo-nindot=na inig-ka-XXX*  
*basi?-ug mo-nindot=na inig-ka-XXX*  
 probably-COMP AV-nice=already every-KA-

T *ambot=lang*  
 don't.know=PAR

W *unta?*  
 PAR

T *dugay=na=nako?=na? na-dung-gan*  
*dugay=na=nako?=kana? na-dungog-an*  
 long.time=already=1S.GEN=that SPONT-hear-LV

*ma?o=ra=gihapon=intawon*  
 ANAPH=PAR=still=PAR

*pobre=gihapon wa=y kwarta mga tawo*  
*pobre=gihapon wa?=y kwarta mga tawo*  
 poor=still NEG=NEUT money PL person

W: 'Mmm... the Philippines... if= this year, the [situation] might probably turn better... when-'

T: 'I don't know.'

W: 'I hope so.'

T: 'I have heard of that a long time ago. [The situation is] still the same. [People are] still poor. People don't have money.'

(21) frequency verb in first-element position

*panagsa=ra=man=siya pauli*  
 rarely=only=PAR=3S.NOM return  
 'He rarely goes home.'

(22) sequential "adverb" in first-element position

*kay na?a=man=ko=y ate sa= US*  
 because EXIST=PAR=1S.NOM=NEUT sister LOC PN

*mas una=pa=ko nag-minyo karon na?a=na=y*  
 COMPAR ahead=still=1S.NOM AV-marry now EXIST=already=NEUT

*anak tapos buntis=pa=gyud unya? kita wala?=pa=gyud*  
 baby then pregnant=still=EMPH then 1IP.NOM NEG=still=EMPH  
 'Because I have a sister in the States. I got married first before her, (but) now she already has a baby, and then she's pregnant again, (but) I- we still have nothing.'

### 6.1.6 Manner/evaluative adverbials

Manner is usually expressed in two ways, one of which is as the first-element unit in a verb complex, as the following examples illustrate.<sup>40</sup> When a manner adverb modifies a verb in a verb complex, the event described is a general condition and there is no reference to a particular event. In such a construction, manner is expressed in root form in the first-element position; it is the activity verb at the final slot that takes a voice affix. As it refers to a general condition, the entire phrase is tense-less.

(23) evaluative adverbial in first-element position

<i>nindut=ka?ay</i>	<i>mag-himo</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>states</i>
<i>nindut=ka?ayo</i>	<i>mag-himo</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>states</i>
nice=very	AV.DEP-make	ANG	LOC	PN

'The (manufacturers in the) States make (them) very nicely.'

(24) evaluative adverbial in first-element position

<i>pag-thirty-plus=na=ka=/</i>	<i>lisod=na=daw</i>	<i>m-anganak</i>
<i>pag-thirty-plus=na=ka=/</i>	<i>lisod=na=daw</i>	<i>m-panganak</i>
NMZ-30plus=already=2S.NOM	difficult=already=EVID	AV.INF-have.baby

'When you're over thirty, they say it's difficult to give birth.'

In contrast, the second type of manner expression refers to a specific event as the complement verb carries a perfective voice marker *mi-*; the matrix verb *kalit* 'suddenly' is in its root form, as in (25).

(25) Aspectual adverb in first-element position (Sun Star, January 15, 2008)

<i>kalit</i>	<i>mi-butho?</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>usa</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>single</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>motorsiklo</i>
sudden	AV-appear	ANG	one	LK	single	LK	motorcycle
<i>nga</i>	<i>gi-saky-an</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>tulo</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>tawo</i>	
<i>nga</i>	<i>gi-sakay-an</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>tulo</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>tawo</i>	
LK	PFV-ride-LV	GEN	three	LK	PL	person	

'A single motorcycle with three passengers suddenly appeared.'

<sup>40</sup> In this section, manner adverbs in a verb complex have an evaluative sense. Manner is also expressed as a verb, taking voice and tense-aspect affixes, which is discussed in Chapter 10 (Adverbials).

## 6.2 Second-position clitics

The clitic particles always occupy second position, that is, they always cliticize to the first-element entity, whether it is a negator, an interrogator, an adverbial, or any type of predicate. The class of clitics in Cebuano is very heterogeneous and they are polysemous; in most instances they need to have a context to acquire meaning. What is more important is that, they allow Speakers to express a broad range of attitudes. For example, commands and suggestions are toned up or softened through the use of certain particles: for emphasis, particles used are =*gud*, =*gyud*, and =*ra* 'just'; to tone down, =*lang* 'only', =*unta?* 'supposedly', =*usa?* 'first', =*kuno* 'as said (by somebody)' (this evidential particle adds to the indirectness of an utterance), =*pud* 'also', and =*sad* 'also'; in pleas, these particles are used: =*intawon* 'pitifully', =*pud* 'also', and =*sad* 'also'. (Examples in imperative clauses can be found in Chapter 9; more examples can be found in the discussions below.)

Although it is theoretically possible for as many as four or five clitics to follow a first-element entity, for example, PRED=*na=man=lang=sab=kuno*=PRON, the most that is attested in our corpus is three clitic particles per clause, with approximately more than nine out of ten containing only one or no particle. In a check of a 90-minute long conversation transcription, I found 1,638 clauses containing at least one particle (that's about one particle uttered every 3 seconds!), making use of 26 types of particles (in fact, there are even other particles that are not attested in the said data). Out of these, 275 clauses contain a combination of two particles, with a total of 69 types of combinations attested. Furthermore, 21 clauses contain three

particles in various combinations (17 types in all). The combinations and patterns will be described in the following subsections.

As for the ordering of the particles, Bunye and Yap (1971) proposed a table showing the relative positions of various “attitudinal particles” (See Table 6-1).

However, it is not entirely accurate, especially with respect to certain particles, such as =*ka?ayo*, =*kuno*, and =*gyud*, which are also attested to come before other particles listed before it (in the table). In addition, as to why the anaphoric particle *ma?o* is listed together and positioned after the first set (=na, =pa, =ra) is beyond me, as this particle itself usually takes these clitics also.

**Table 6-1. Relative positions of particles (Bunye and Yap 1971)**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<i>na</i>		<i>man</i>	<i>lang</i>	<i>pud</i>	<i>gyud</i>		<i>kuno</i>	<i>ka?ayo</i>
<i>pa</i>	<i>ma?o</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>di?ay</i>	<i>sab</i>	<i>gud</i>	<i>unta?</i>	<i>bitaw</i>	<i>tingali</i>
<i>ra</i>					<i>gani?</i>			<i>kaha?</i>
					<i>lagi</i>			

Wolff (1962; 1965) proposed a general formula: =*pa*/=*na* + =*ra* + =*man*/=*ba* plus any other particles/pronouns. In other words, the order of the particles other than =*pa*/=*na*/=*ra*/=*man* is free, although certain orders are more frequent than others. This description is very accurate, as these clitics are also usually found in the initial position in particle clusters (hence I call them "strongly-initial position" particles): in 222 instances (81%) of two-clitic particle clusters and in all of the 21 three-clitic particle clusters. What I call a "particle cluster" is the group of two or three particles in succession that cliticize to the verb and to which a pronominal demonstrative morpheme can cliticize.

Table 6-2 shows that there seems to be a slight correlation between frequency, preferred position, and semantic classification of particles in Cebuano. High-frequency particles are observed to prefer an initial position, while low frequency ones tend to occur at final position. In addition, aspectual particles are strongly-initial and highly-frequent, and they often occur at the initial position in particle clusters. It can also be observed that high-frequency particles tend to be more flexible in terms of the position they prefer in a particle cluster.

**Table 6-2. Preferred position and semantic classification of clitic particles**

	Strongly-initial position	Initial/medial position	Flexible position	Final position
Initial	= <i>man</i> (affect) = <i>na</i> (aspect) = <i>pa</i> (aspect) = <i>ra</i> (limiting)	= <i>lang</i> (limiting)		
High frequency		= <i>gyud</i> (stance)	= <i>lagi</i> (stance) = <i>sad</i> (additive) = <i>pud</i> (additive)	= <i>ba</i> (question) = <i>ka?ayo</i> (intensifier) = <i>kuno</i> (evidential)
Medium frequency				= <i>gud</i> (emphatic) = <i>gani?</i> (emphatic) = <i>gihapon</i> (degree) = <i>bitaw</i> (agreement) = <i>di?ay</i> (discovery)
Low frequency		= <i>baya?</i> (weak assertion)		= <i>unta?</i> (optative) = <i>daw</i> (evidential) = <i>kaha?</i> (uncertainty) = <i>tingali</i> (possibility) = <i>siguro</i> (possibility) = <i>talaga</i> (certainty) = <i>usa?</i> (temporal) = <i>unya?</i> (temporal)

### 6.2.1 Initial-position clitics

This subsection will cover what I call “initial-position” clitics, as in addition to their high frequency, they are the clitics that occur in the initial position of a particle cluster. These are listed in Table 6-3. First, it is observed that =*man* can occur almost anywhere, and has the highest frequency among all the second-position clitics. The aspectual clitics =*na* and =*pa* are strictly “initial-position” clitics as they do not occur

at all in non-initial position in particle clusters. The limiting particles *=ra* and *=lang* are semantically similar, but the former prefers an initial position in a particle cluster while the latter a non-initial position.

***=man***

The affect enclitic *=man* occurs almost anywhere and is attested in all types of clauses, except with temporal adverbials (although it's still possible). It also almost always occurs in initial position except after an aspectual clitic. This clitic has the effect of softening the force of a statement in order to sound more polite or less imposing, especially when asking questions and in uttering negation clauses.

(26) clitic particle *=man*

*ang tulo ka bukag,*  
ANG three LK basket

*ngano-ng duha=na=man=lang ka bukag nga pears*  
*ngano-nga duha=na=man=lang ka bukag nga pears*  
why-COMP two=pfv=par=only LK basket LK pears

*ang na-bilin, na-hibulong=siya*  
ANG INTR-leave INTR-wonder=3S.NOM

*na-wa=?=na=man ang usa*  
INTR-lose=PFV=PAR ANG one

'The three baskets, why are there just two baskets of pears left? He wondered. One (of the baskets) is gone.'

(27) clitic particle =*man*

<i>di?</i> = <b><i>man</i></b> = <i>pud</i> = <i>ka</i>		<i>maka-tubag</i>	
NEG=MAN=also=2S.NOM		AV.ABIL-answer	
<i>di?</i> = <b><i>man</i></b> = <i>pud</i> = <i>ka</i>		<i>maka-sulti</i>	
NEG=MAN=also=2S.NOM		AV.ABIL-say	
<i>sa</i>	<i>mo-ng-</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>your behalf</i>
<i>sa</i>	<i>mo-nga</i>		<i>on your behalf</i>
OBL	2S.POSS-LK		on your behalf
<i>nga</i>	<i>wa?</i> = <i>ka</i>	<i>ka-buhat</i>	<i>ani</i> \
COMP	NEG=2S.NOM	AV.ABIL-do	this
<i>nga</i>	<i>wa?</i> = <i>ka</i>	<i>maka-sala?</i> \	
COMP	NEG=2S.NOM	AV.ABIL-err	

<i>wala?</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>m-aminaw</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>imo</i>	
<i>wala?</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>m-paminaw</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>imo</i>	
NEG=PAR=AV.listen	DAT	2S.POSS	

<i>dahil</i>	<i>di?</i> = <i>ka</i> = <b><i>man</i></b>	<i>ka-istorya</i>	
because	NEG=2S.NOM=PAR	AV.ABIL-tell	

'You can't even answer (them) or say (anything) in your behalf, that you haven't done this, that you haven't done something wrong, because nobody listens to you, since you can't say (anything).'

(28) particle cluster =*man*=*gyud*=*ka?**ayo*

<i>baga?</i> = <b><i>man</i></b> = <b><i>gyud</i></b> = <i>ka?</i> <i>ay</i> = <i>na?</i> = <i>sila-g</i>	<i>nawong</i>
<i>baga?</i> = <b><i>man</i></b> = <b><i>gyud</i></b> = <i>ka?</i> <i>ayo</i> = <i>kana?</i> = <i>sila-ug</i>	<i>nawong</i>
thick=PAR=EMPH=INTENS=that=3P.NOM-EXT	face

'They have really thick faces.'

(29) particle cluster =*man*=*sab*

<i>pila</i> = <b><i>man</i></b> = <b><i>sab</i></b>	<i>imo-ha-ng</i>	<i>sweldo</i>
<i>pila</i> = <b><i>man</i></b> = <b><i>sab</i></b>	<i>imo-a-nga</i>	<i>sweldo</i>
how.much=PAR=also	2S.POSS-DEF-LK	salary

'How much is your salary?'

**Table 6-3. Initial-position clitics**

clitic	gloss	N	single -clitic	tokens				cluster combinations attested in data
				two-clitic cluster		three-clitic cluster		
				init	final	init	mid	
= <i>man</i>	'par' (affect)	443	343	42	47	3	8	= <i>man</i> = <i>pud</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>sad</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>gud</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>gani</i> ? = <i>man</i> = <i>gyud</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>kuno</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>gihapon</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>ka</i> ? <i>ayo</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>unta</i> ? = <i>man</i> = <i>daw</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>ra</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>pa</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>gud</i> = <i>ka</i> ? <i>ayo</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>gyud</i> = <i>ka</i> ? <i>ayo</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>sad</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>ka</i> ? <i>ayo</i> = <i>pa</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>daw</i> = <i>pa</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>unta</i> ? = <i>ra</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>gud</i> = <i>ra</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>pud</i> = <i>ra</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>sad</i>
= <i>na</i>	'already' (aspect)	283	168	106	0	9	0	= <i>na</i> = <i>lang</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>ka</i> ? <i>ayo</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>sad</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>gyud</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>pud</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>kuno</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>gud</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>unta</i> ? = <i>na</i> = <i>gani</i> ? = <i>na</i> = <i>lagi</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>tingali</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>talaga</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>sad</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>lang</i> = <i>kaha</i> ? = <i>na</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>ka</i> ? <i>ayo</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>kuno</i> = <i>ka</i> ? <i>ayo</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>ra</i> = <i>ba</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>lang</i> = <i>gyud</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>kuno</i> = <i>ka</i> ? <i>ayo</i>
= <i>pa</i>	'still' (aspect)	91	62	26	0	3	0	= <i>pa</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>pa</i> = <i>gyud</i> = <i>pa</i> = <i>kuno</i> = <i>pa</i> = <i>ka</i> ? <i>ayo</i> = <i>pa</i> = <i>gud</i> = <i>pa</i> = <i>daw</i> = <i>pa</i> = <i>ra</i> = <i>ba</i> = <i>pa</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>daw</i> = <i>pa</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>unta</i> ?
= <i>ra</i>	'only'	144	88	48	0	6	2	= <i>ra</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>ra</i> = <i>gyud</i> = <i>ra</i> = <i>sad</i> = <i>ra</i> = <i>ka</i> ? <i>ayo</i> = <i>ra</i> = <i>ba</i> = <i>ra</i> = <i>kuno</i> = <i>ra</i> = <i>gihapon</i> = <i>ra</i> = <i>gani</i> ? = <i>ra</i> = <i>tingali</i> = <i>ra</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>pud</i> = <i>ra</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>gud</i> = <i>ra</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>sad</i> = <i>ra</i> = <i>ba</i> = <i>ka</i> ? <i>ayo</i> = <i>ra</i> = <i>baya</i> ?= <i>ka</i> ? <i>ayo</i> = <i>ra</i> = <i>gyud</i> = <i>ka</i> ? <i>ayo</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>ra</i> = <i>ba</i> = <i>pa</i> = <i>ra</i> = <i>ba</i>
= <i>lang</i>	'only'	101	59	6	33	0	3	= <i>lang</i> = <i>kaha</i> ? = <i>lang</i> = <i>gud</i> = <i>lang</i> = <i>kuno</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>lang</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>lang</i> = <i>kaha</i> ? = <i>na</i> = <i>lang</i> = <i>gyud</i>

**=na**

This aspectual clitic *=na* means ‘already’; it can also signal an event that has been started or completed. It frequently occurs in negation clauses and questions.

(30) particle cluster *=na=kuno*

*dili?=**na=kuno**=siya ma-nakop*  
*dili?=**na=kuno**=siya maN-dakop*  
NEG=already=EVID=3S.NOMAV-catch

*kay iya-ng asawa pilipina*  
*kay iya-nga asawa pilipina*  
because 3S.POSS-LK wife Filipina

'According to him, he won't catch (illegal workers anymore), since he married a Filipina.'

(31) aspectual clitic *=na*

*di?=**na**=gyud=nimo ma-usab ang ila-ng ugali*  
*di?=**na**=gyud=nimo ma-usab ang ila-nga ugali*  
NEG=already=EMPH=2S.GEN SPONT-change ANG 3P.POSS-LK character  
'You can never really change their ways.'

(32) particle cluster *=na=lang=kaha?*

*pila=**na=lang=kaha**=y ma-bilin,*  
*pila=**na=lang=kaha**?=y ma-bilin,*  
how.many=already=only=wonder=NEUT AV-remain

*ma?o=**na**=y problema karon*  
*ma?o=**kana**?=y problema karon*  
ANAPH=that=NEUT problem now

'(I wonder) how many staff will be left here. That's the problem now.'

(33) particle cluster *=na=lang*

*panagsa=**ra**=man=siya pa-uli?*  
rarely=only=PAR=3S.NOM CAU-return

*antos=**na=lang**=ko diha?*  
suffer=already=only=1S.NOM there

'He rarely goes home, so I'll just bear (the conditions) there.'

**=pa**

This aspectual clitic *=pa* and expresses ‘still’ (especially with negatives), ‘yet,’ or ‘even.’

(34) aspectual clitic =*pa*

*wa?=pa=siya ka-adto sa ato?*  
 NEG=still=3S.NOM AV-go LOC 1IP.POSS  
 'Has he been to our (place)?'

(35) aspectual clitic =*pa*

*pa-ka?on=nimo, init=pa*  
 CAU-eat=2S.GEN hot=still  
 'You make (them) eat (it) (while it's) still hot.'

(36) aspectual clitic =*pa*

*sa una mga Taiwanese, mag-bow-bow=pa sa ato?,*  
 at.first PL PN AV-bow-REDUP=even LOC 1IP.POSS  
*unya karon baliktad*  
 CONN now opposite  
 'Many years ago, the Taiwanese people (were) even (inferior that they)  
 bow to us; but now it's the other way around.'

The clitic =*pa* implies a certain limitation.

(37) aspectual clitic =*pa*

*wala?=pa=ma=y dos cientos ato-ng minimum*  
*wala?=pa=man=y dos cientos ato?-nga minimum*  
 NEG=even=PAR=NEUT two.hundred 1IP.POSS-LK minimum  
 'Our minimum wage is not even two hundred (pesos).'

The clitic =*pa* also means 'in addition to,' 'someone else,' or 'something else'.

(38) aspectual clitic =*pa*

*unsa=pa uba-ng mga foreign workers*  
*unsa=pa uban-nga mga foreign workers*  
 what=else other-LK PL foreign.workers  
 'What other foreign workers are there?'

After a modifier predicate, it forms comparatives.

(39) aspectual clitic =*pa*

*di ba mas nindot=**pa** sa Thailand ang sa Pilipinas*  
 DM comparnice=even LOC PN ANG LOC PN  
 'Isn't it (that) the Philippines is nicer than Thailand?'

The following two excerpts show two special uses of the clitic =*pa*. In the first instance, it implies that the Speaker could have accomplished something if it were the case indicated by the conditional clause. In other words, if it were a weekday, they could have gone away already. It was not a weekday, so they were stuck in that particular place. The second instance expresses a kind of condition: that something is the case (expressed by the main clause) if the condition (expressed by the NP 'sa N=*pa*') is satisfied. In other words, the utterance means: if it's spoken in Bisayan, the thing would be called *usa?*. Furthermore, the clitic =*pa* usually occurs in the complement clause of *bisan* concessive clauses (as illustrated in 11.11).

(40) clitic =*pa*

*kung weekday ni, ganiha=**pa**=ta ni-gawas*  
 if weekday this awhile.ago=even=1IP.NOM AV-move.out  
 'If it were a weekday, we would have been out of here a long time ago.'

(41) clitic =*pa*

*ang tawag ini usa?, sa b<in>isaya?=**pa***  
 ANG call this deer LOC Bisayan<IN>=still  
 'This is called an *usa* in the Cebuano language.'

=*ra*

The core meaning of the limiting particle =*ra* is 'precisely,' 'only,' 'no more,' or 'no less.'

(42) particle cluster =*ra*=*gyud*

*mo-adto=gani?=ko sa manila, usa ka semana=**ra**=gyud*  
 AV-go=PAR=1S.NOM LOC PN one LK week=just=EMPH  
 'If I go to Manila, it's exactly just one week only.'

(43) particle cluster =*ra*=*man*

*panagsa=**ra**=man=siya pa-uli?*  
 rarely=only=PAR=3S.NOM CAU-return  
*antos=na=lang=ko diha?*  
 suffer=already=only=1S.NOM there  
 'He only rarely goes home, so I'll just bear (the conditions) there.'

In existential clauses, the clitic =*ra* conveys emphasis.

(44) clitic =*ra*

*ang na?a=**ra** sa hotel*  
 ANG EXIST=EMPH LOC hotel  
*kana-ng ila-ha-ng tour nga mahal=ka?ayo*  
*kana?-nga ila-a-nga tour nga mahal=ka?ayo*  
 that-LK 3P.POSS-DEF-LK tour LK expensive=INTENS  
 'What are in the hotel are just the tour packages that are very expensive.'

In imperatives, the clitic =*ra* makes the command or request a demand. As

Cebuano makes little use of politeness particles, the excerpt in (45a) would sound less demanding than if a =*ra* were cliticized to the imperative verb *kuha?-a*, as in (45b)

(45a) clitic =*ra* omitted

*kuha-a ako-ng juice, na-biya-an=nako?*  
*kuha?-a ako?-nga juice, na-biya?-an=nako?*  
 take-PV 1S.POSS-LK juice SPONT-leave-LV=1S.GEN  
 '(Please) get my juice. I left (it) (on my desk).'

(45b) clitic =*ra*

*kuha-a=**ra** ako-ng juice, na-biya-an=nako?*  
*kuha?-a=**ra** ako?-nga juice, na-biya?-an=nako?*  
 take-PV=just 1S.POSS-LK juice SPONT-leave-LV=1S.GEN  
 '(Just) get my juice. I left (it) (on my desk).'

With modifiers, the clitic =*ra* intensifies the quality. With such a function to intensify, it is used to form superlative comparisons (see also Chapter 15 for minor constructions).

(46) clitic =*ra*

T: *ta?as=ka?ay=na?* *ang balod, ma-hadlok=ko*  
*ta?as=ka?ayo=kana?* *ang balod, ma-hadlok=ko*  
 tall=INTENS=that ANG wave AV-fear=1S.NOM

W: *dako?=ra=ba=na?* *kung mag-uwan*  
*dako?=ra=ba=kana?* *kung mag-uwan*  
 big=just=EPIS=that COND AV-rain

T: 'The waves are so high. I'll feel afraid.'

W: 'They're huge if it rains.'

(47) particle cluster =*ra=ba*

*mga restaurant, daghan=gihapo-g tawo*  
*mga restaurant, daghan=gihapon-ug tawo*  
 PL restaurant many=still-LK person

*di?=ra=ba kana-nga barato nga restaurant*  
*di?=ra=ba kana?-nga barato nga restaurant*  
 NEG=EMPH=EPIS that-LK cheap LK restaurant

'The restaurants, still so many people. (And) they aren't those cheap ones.'

=*lang*

The limiting particle =*lang* conveys the same meaning of 'only' as =*ra*. The main difference between the two is that =*ra* prefers an initial position in particle clusters, while =*lang* prefers a non-initial position. The clitic =*lang* can also be considered a high-frequency clitic.

(48) clitic =*lang*

<i>mas</i>	<i>ma?ay=man=na-ng</i>	<i>mag-usa=ka=lang</i>
<i>mas</i>	<i>ma?ayo=man=kana?-ang</i>	<i>mag-usa=ka=lang</i>
COMPAR	good=PAR=that-ANG	AV-one=2S.NOM=only

<i>pag-uli?=nimo,</i>	<i>wala=y</i>	<i>sakit</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ulu</i>
<i>pag-uli?=nimo,</i>	<i>wala?=y</i>	<i>sakit</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ulu</i>
NMZ-return=2S.GEN	NEG=NEUT	pain	GEN	head

'It's good when you're just alone. (Upon) your return home, there's no headache.'

The combination of =*na=lang* functions to intensify the sense of 'only' and sometimes it will imply the lack of other means or the desperation due to such want.

(49) particle cluster =*na=lang=kaha?*

<i>pila=na=lang=kaha=y</i>	<i>ma-bilin,</i>
<i>pila=na=lang=kaha?=y</i>	<i>ma-bilin,</i>
how.many=already=only=wonder=NEUT	AV-remain

<i>ma?o=na=y</i>	<i>problema</i>	<i>karon</i>
<i>ma?o=kana?=y</i>	<i>problema</i>	<i>karon</i>
ANAPH=that=NEUT	problem	now

'(I wonder) how many staff will be left here. That's the problem now.'

(50) particle cluster =*na=lang*

<i>kung</i>	<i>asa-asa=na=lang</i>	<i>contactsi</i>	<i>Mr. Morales</i>
COND	where-REDUP=already=only	contact SI	PN

'Mr. Morales was (desperately) contacting people.'

**Table 6-4. High-frequency clitics**

clitic	gloss	N	tokens				cluster combinations attested in data	
			single-clitic	two-clitic cluster		three-clitic cluster		
				init	final	mid		final
<i>=gyud</i>	‘emph’	197	147	15	32	2	1	<i>=gyud=ka?ayo</i> <i>=gyud=pud</i> <i>=gyud=ba</i> <i>=gyud=lagi</i> <i>=gyud=gud</i> <i>=gyud=kuno</i> <i>=ra=gyud</i> <i>=pa=gyud</i> <i>=na=gyud</i> <i>=man=gyud</i> <i>=sad=gyud</i> <i>=ka?ayo=gyud</i> <i>=ra=gyud=ka?ayo</i> <i>=man=gyud=ka?ayo</i> <i>=na=lang=gyud</i>
<i>=ka?ayo</i>	‘intens’	186	125	3	49	0	9	<i>=ka?ayo=gyud</i> <i>=ka?ayo=pud</i> <i>=ka?ayo=kuno</i> <i>=na=ka?ayo</i> <i>=gyud=ka?ayo</i> <i>=kuno=ka?ayo</i> <i>=ra=ka?ayo</i> <i>=pa=ka?ayo</i> <i>=lagi=ka?ayo</i> <i>=gud=ka?ayo</i> <i>=man=ka?ayo</i> <i>=ba=ka?ayo</i> <i>=sad=ka?ayo</i> <i>=pud=ka?ayo</i> <i>=baya?=ka?ayo</i> <i>=man=gud=ka?ayo</i> <i>=na=kuno=ka?ayo</i> <i>=na=man=ka?ayo</i> <i>=ra=ba=ka?ayo</i> <i>=ra=gyud=ka?ayo</i> <i>=ra=baya?=ka?ayo</i> <i>=man=gyud=ka?ayo</i>
<i>=lagi</i>	‘emph’	84	71	6	7	0	0	<i>=lagi=ka?ayo</i> <i>=lagi=unta?</i> <i>=lagi=kuno</i> <i>=lagi=bitaw</i> <i>=sad=lagi</i> <i>=pud=lagi</i> <i>=kuno=lagi</i> <i>=na=lagi</i> <i>=gyud=lagi</i>
<i>=ba</i>	‘q’	87	78	1	5	1	2	<i>=ba=ka?ayo</i> <i>=ra=ba</i> <i>=gyud=ba</i> <i>=ra=ba=ka?ayo</i> <i>=na=ra=ba</i> <i>=pa=ra=ba</i>
<i>=pud</i>	‘also’	61	40	2	18	0	1	<i>=pud=ka?ayo</i> <i>=pud=lagi</i> <i>=man=pud</i> <i>=na=pud</i> <i>=gyud=pud</i> <i>=ka?ayo=pud</i> <i>=ra=man=pud</i>
<i>=sad</i>	‘also’	74	40	7	24	0	3	<i>=sad=lagi</i> <i>=sad=ka?ayo</i> <i>=sad=gyud</i> <i>=sad=kaha?</i> <i>=sad=siguro</i> <i>=man=sad</i> <i>=ra=sad</i> <i>=na=sad</i> <i>=kuno=sad</i> <i>=baya?=sad</i> <i>=na=man=sad</i> <i>=ra=man=sad</i>
<i>=kuno</i>	‘evid’	66	36	8	20	2	0	<i>=kuno=ka?ayo</i> <i>=kuno=lagi</i> <i>=kuno=sad</i> <i>=na=kuno</i> <i>=ra=kuno</i> <i>=man=kuno</i> <i>=pa=kuno</i> <i>=lang=kuno</i> <i>=gyud=kuno</i> <i>=ka?ayo=kuno</i> <i>=lagi=kuno</i> <i>=na=kuno=ka?ayo</i>

### 6.2.2 High-frequency clitics

High frequency clitics include the intensifiers *=gyud*, *=ka?ayo*, and *=lagi*, the question particle *=ba*, the additive particles *=pud* and *=sad*, and the evidential

particle =*kuno*, the top twelve particles in terms of frequency in my data, minus the “initial-position” clitics already covered in the previous subsection. The various combinations formed by these clitics are shown in Table 6-4. Each of them is discussed below and excerpts are provided for illustration.

**=*gyud*; =*gayud***

The clitic =*gyud* stresses the Speaker's stance; it means ‘definitely,’ ‘for sure,’ or ‘without a doubt.’ It occurs very often with negatives and means ‘ever.’

(51) clitic =*gyud*

*basta kada-semana mag-kita?=**gyud**=mi*  
 PAR every-week AV-see=EMPH=1EP.NOM  
 'Every week, we do see each other.'

(52) clitic =*gyud*

*bisa-g mag-hilant=ko-g kwarenta, mag-lutu?=**gyud**=ko*  
*bisan-ug mag-hilant=ko-ug kwarenta, mag-lutu?=**gyud**=ko*  
 even-COMP AV-fever=1S.NOM-EXT forty AV-cook=EMPH=1S.NOM  
*di?=**gyud**=siya mo-palit ug piantang sa ako-a*  
*di?=**gyud**=siya mo-palit ug piantang sa ako?-a*  
 NEG=EMPH=3S.NOM AV-buy EXT meal.box LOC 1S.POSS-DEF  
 ‘Even if I were having a fever of 40 degrees, I would really cook. He would never ever buy a meal box for me.’

**=*ka?ayo***

The clitic =*ka?ayo* is an intensifier particle, and collocates very often with adverbial predicates.

(53) particle cluster =*na=ka?ayo*

<i>tulo=mi</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>oras</i>	<i>nag-tindog,</i>
three=1P.NOM	LK	hour	AV-stand

<i>sakit=<b>na=ka?ayo</b></i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>ti?il</i>
<i>sakit=<b>na=ka?ayo</b></i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>ti?il</i>
hurt=already=INTENS	1S.POSS-LK	PL	foot

‘We were standing for three hours, (and) my feet were already very sore.’

(54) intensifier particle =*ka?ayo*

<i>dugay=<b>ka?ayo</b>=mi</i>	<i>nag-tindog</i>
long=INTENS=1EP.NOM	AV-stand

‘We were standing for a very long time.’

### =*lagi*

The clitic =*lagi* functions to intensify, emphasize, or confirm one's stance, often in an annoying tone of voice. It occurs very often with negation clauses.

(55) intensifier particle =*lagi*

<i>pastilan</i>	<i>di?=<b>lagi</b>=ko</i>	<i>ka-agwanta</i>
INTERJ	NEG=INTENS=1S.NOM	AV.ABIL-stand

‘Oh boy, I really can't stand (it).’

(56) intensifier particle =*lagi*

<i>chiangmai ang</i>	<i>wa?=nako?</i>	<i>na-adto-an,</i>	<i>nag-mahay=ko</i>
PN	ANG	NEG=1S.GEN	SPONT-go-LV
			AV-regret=1S.NOM

<i>kay</i>	<i>ganahan=<b>lagi</b>=ko</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>apak-apak</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>elepante</i>
because	like=EMPH=1S.NOM	OBL	step-REDUP	GEN	elephant

‘Chiangmai (in Thailand) is the place I haven't been to, and I'm regretting (it), since I really like the foot massage of the elephants(, and they have that it Chiangmai).’

Another special use of the clitic =*lagi* is to convey the meaning ‘anyway’ or ‘after all.’ In the excerpt below, the use of the clitic =*lagi* implies acceptance or resignation to fate.

(57) particle cluster =*sad*=*lagi*

T: *antos=gyud=ko*  
suffer=EMPH=1S.NOM

L: *ma?o=sad=lagi=na?*  
*ma?o=sad=lagi=kana?*  
ANAPH=also=EMPH=that

T: 'I really suffered.'

L: 'It's really like that also (There's really nothing we can do about it).'

### =*ba*

As a question particle, the clitic =*ba* is discussed in Chapter 8 (Interrogative clauses). It can also convey emphasis or impatience, especially in the combination =*ra*=*ba*.

(58) particle cluster =*ra*=*ba*

T: *ta?as=ka?ay=na?*    *ang*    *balod, ma-hadlok=ko*  
*ta?as=ka?ayo=kana?*    *ang*    *balod, ma-hadlok=ko*  
tall=INTENS=that    ANG    wave    AV-fear=1S.NOM

W: *dako?=ra=ba=na?*    *kung*    *mag-uwan*  
*dako?=ra=ba=kana?*    *kung*    *mag-uwan*  
big=just=EPIS=that    COND    AV-rain

T: 'These waves are so high. I'll be afraid (to take the ride).'

W: 'They're huge if it rains.'

(59) particle cluster =*ra*=*ba*

*la?in=ra=ba=na?*    *ang*    *mga*    *k<in>a-iya*    *mga*    *protestante*  
*la?in=ra=ba=kana?*    *ang*    *mga*    *ka<in>-iya*    *mga*    *protestante*  
different=only=EMPH=that    ANG    PL    KA<IN>-3S.POSS PL    Protestant  
'(They) have really strange personalities, Protestants.'

### =*pud* and =*sad*

The clitics =*pud* and =*sad* mean 'too,' 'also,' and 'at the same time.' Most of the time, both particles are interchangeable.

(60) particle cluster =*na=pud*

*la?in=na=pud*    *tawo*    *kuha?-on*  
*la?in=na=pud*    *tawo (ang)*    *kuha?-on*  
 other=PFV=again    person ANG    take-PV  
 '(They) will be hiring again another (set of) workers.'

(61) particle cluster =*man=sad*

*wa?=man=sad*    *mo-sulti*    *ang*    *bata?*    *unsa=y*  
 NEG=PAR=also    AV-say    ANG    child    what=NEUT  
*di?in=nila*    *gi-kuha?*    *ang*    *pears*  
 where=3P.GEN    PFV.PV-take    ANG    pears  
 'The child did not say also what-, where they took the pears.'

They can also convey emphasis (of an incredible fact) or disbelief; especially in interjection constructions (*ka-PRED=pud* or *ka-PRED=sad*). With imperatives, they connote a plea or enhance the tone or force of an utterance.

(62) clitic =*pud*

W: *diri=sila*    *ma-nganta*  
       *diri=sila*    *maN-kanta*  
       here=3P.NOM    AV-sing  
 T: *a di?ay,*    *ka-lami?=pud*  
       DM    KA-nice=EMPH  
 W: '(It's) here where they sing.'  
 T: 'Is that so, So nice!'

(63) clitic =*pud*

W: *mo-huwat=ka-g*    *tulo*    *ka*    *buwan*  
       *mo-huwat=ka-ug*    *tulo*    *ka*    *buwan*  
       AV-wait=2S.NOM-EXT    three    LK    month  
 T: *ka-dugay=pud,*    *ngano=man*  
       KA-long=also    why=PAR  
 W: 'You (have to) wait for three months.'  
 T: 'What a long (time)! Why?'

(64) clitic =*sad*

<i>tan?aw-a=sad=na?</i>	<i>oy,</i>	<i>ang tawo,</i>	<i>pa-dulong</i>	<i>sa iya-ng</i>
<i>tan?aw-a=sad=kana?</i>	<i>oy,</i>	<i>ang tawo,</i>	<i>pa-dulong</i>	<i>sa iya-nga</i>
look-PV=EMPH=that	VOC	ANG person	CAU-toward	LOC 3S.POSS- LK

<i>kaugalingon-g</i>	<i>nasod, pa-hubu-un=pa=nimo</i>
<i>kaugalingon-nga</i>	<i>nasod, pa-hubu?-un=pa=nimo</i>
self-LK	country CAU-take.off-PV=EMPH=2S.GEN

‘Please look at that. These persons, (they’re) going to their own country, and you’re making them take off (their clothes) (for inspection).’

=*kuno*

The clitic =*kuno* is an evidential particle. It frees the Speaker of the responsibility regarding the truth of an utterance. In imperatives, it functions to soften the impact of a command.

(65) clitic =*kuno*

<i>ingon=siya</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>makig-minyo?=kuno=siya=nako?</i>
say=3S.NOM	COMP	RECIP-marry=EVID=3S.NOM=1S.OBL
‘He said that he was going to get married with me.’		

### 6.2.3 Medium-frequency clitics

The medium-frequency clitics include the emphatic particles =*gud* and =*gani?*, the degree particle =*gihapon*, the agreement particle =*bitaw*, and the discovery particle =*di?ay*; they rarely occur in particle clusters (see Table 6-5).

**Table 6-5. Mid-frequency clitics**

clitic	gloss	N	tokens				cluster combinations attested in data	
			single-clitic	two-clitic cluster		three-clitic cluster		
				init	final	mid		final
= <i>gud</i>	‘emph’	33	13	3	14	2	1	= <i>gud</i> = <i>ka</i> ? <i>ayo</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>gud</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>gud</i> = <i>lang</i> = <i>gud</i> = <i>pa</i> = <i>gud</i> = <i>gyud</i> = <i>gud</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>gud</i> = <i>ka</i> ? <i>ayo</i> = <i>ra</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>gud</i>
= <i>gani</i> ?	‘even’	21	14	0	7	0	0	= <i>man</i> = <i>gani</i> ? = <i>na</i> = <i>gani</i> ? = <i>ra</i> = <i>gani</i> ?
= <i>gihapon</i>	‘still’	19	15	0	4	0	0	= <i>man</i> = <i>gihapon</i> = <i>ra</i> = <i>gihapon</i>
= <i>bitaw</i>	‘confirm’	19	18	0	1	0	0	= <i>lagi</i> = <i>bitaw</i>
= <i>di</i> ? <i>ay</i>	‘discov’	16	15	0	1	0	0	= <i>man</i> = <i>di</i> ? <i>ay</i>

**=*gud***

The emphatic clitic =*gud* means ‘indeed’ or ‘really’ and is equivalent to the English expression *in the world* in questions; it also occurs in exclamatory clauses.

(66) clitic =*gud*

*makig-minyo*?=*kuno*=*siya*=*nako*?,  
RECIP-marry=EVID=3S.NOM=1S.OBL

*mora-g di?=ko mo-tu?u, kay unsa=**gud** ...*  
*mora-ug di?=ko mo-tu?u, kay unsa=**gud** ...*  
 seem-COMP NEG=1S.NOM AV-believe because what=EMPH  
 ‘(He told me that) he would get married with me. It’s like I couldn’t believe (it), since what (on earth) (does that mean) ...’

(67) clitic =*gud*

T: *usa ka gatos to a*  
 one LK hundred that PAR

W: *mahal-a=**gud***  
 expensive-EMPH=EMPH

T: ‘That was 100 (Thai baht), mind you.’  
 W: ‘So expensive!’

(68) clitic =*gud*

<i>gi</i> -hold= <b><i>gud</i></b> = <i>mi-g</i>	<i>tulo</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>oras</i>
PFV-detain=EMPH=1EP.NOM-EXT	three	LK	hour

<i>gi-pangayo?</i> - <i>an</i> = <i>gyud</i> = <i>mi-g</i>	<i>kwarta</i>
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<i>gi-pangayo?</i> - <i>an</i> = <i>gyud</i> = <i>mi-ug</i>	<i>kwarta</i>
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PFV-ask-LV=EMPH=1EP.NOM-EXT	money
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‘The (customs officer) really detained us for three hours, (and) he really asked us for money.’

=*gani?*

The clitic particle =*gani?* means ‘even’ or ‘at least,’ conveying emphasis as in (69) and (70), and sometimes connoting insistence on a point. It can also have a conditional meaning, as shown in (71).

(69) clitic =*gani?*

<i>bisan</i> = <b><i>gani?</i></b> <i>imo-ng</i>	<i>anak</i>	<i>gikan</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>imo-ng</i>	<i>tiyan</i>
<i>bisan</i> = <b><i>gani?</i></b> <i>imo-nga</i>	<i>anak</i>	<i>gikan</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>imo-nga</i>	<i>tiyan</i>
even=even 2S.POSS-LK	child	from	LOC	2S.POSS-LK	womb

<i>di?</i> = <i>man</i> = <b><i>gani?</i></b> = <i>nimo-</i>	<i>kana?</i> = <i>pa-ng laki</i>	...
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<i>di?</i> = <i>man</i> = <b><i>gani?</i></b> = <i>nimo-</i>	<i>kana?</i> = <i>pa-ngalalaki</i>	...
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NEG=PAR=even=2S.GEN	that=even-LK	man
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‘Even your child who’s (come out) from your own womb, you can’t even ... , what more those men ...’

(70) clitic =*gani?*

<i>may</i> = <b><i>gani?</i></b>	<i>imo-ng</i>	<i>bana</i>	<i>ma?ayo=pud=siya</i>	<i>no</i>
<i>ma?ayo</i> = <b><i>gani?</i></b>	<i>imo-nga</i>	<i>bana</i>	<i>ma?ayo=pud=siya</i>	<i>no</i>
good=at.least	2S.POSS-LK	husband	good=also=3S.NOM	PAR

‘At least your husband is also nice, right?’

(71) clitic =*gani?*

<i>iya</i> = <b><i>gani?</i></b> = <i>ko-ng</i>	<i>tawg-on</i>	<i>unsa=y</i>	<i>i-pa-buhat,</i>
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<i>iya</i> = <b><i>gani?</i></b> = <i>ko-nga</i>	<i>tawag-on</i>	<i>unsa=y</i>	<i>i-pa-buhat,</i>
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3S.POSS=COND=1S.NOM-LK	call-PV	what=NEUT	IV-CAU-do
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<i>di</i> = <i>gyud</i> = <i>ko</i>	<i>maka-balibad sa</i>	<i>iya</i>
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NEG=EMPH=1S.NOM	AV-refuse	OBL	3S.POSS
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‘When he calls me (and) there’s something to do, I really couldn’t refuse.’

### =*gihapon*

The meaning of the degree particle =*gihapon* is ‘still.’ I have not observed any special usage in the corpus.

(72) clitic =*gihapon*

<i>lisud=ka?ay</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ato?</i> ,	<i>pero</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>restaurant,</i>
<i>lisud=ka?ayo</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ato?</i> ,	<i>pero</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>restaurant,</i>
hard=INTENS	LOC	IIP.POSS	but	PL	restaurant

*daghan=gihapo-g*                      *tawo, punu?=gihapon*

*daghan=gihapon-ug*                    *tawo, punu?=gihapon*

many=still-LK                            person full=still

‘(Life) is hard in our (country), but the restaurants, (they’re) still filled with customers, still full.’

### =*bitaw*

The agreement particle =*bitaw* functions to “confirm” what is believed to be the case, and it occurs very often with the anaphoric particle *ma?o* to convey ‘That is indeed so.’

(73) clitic =*bitaw*

<i>ma?o=bitaw</i>	<i>to-ng</i>	<i>pag-eleksyon</i>
<i>ma?o=bitaw</i>	<i>kato-nga</i>	<i>pag-eleksyon</i>
ANAPH=confirm	that-LK	NMZ-election

*ma?o=man=na?=bitaw*    *ang*    *gi-istorya-han*

*ma?o=man=kana?=bitaw*    *ang*    *gi-istorya-an*

ANAPH=PAR=that=confirm    ANG    PFV-tell-LV

‘That’s why in that election, that was a (public) issue.’

### =*di?ay*

The discovery particle =*di?ay* implies that a Speaker has either received a piece of information for the first time, and which is often contrary to what had been expected, or the Speaker is interested in getting additional information. It is used when the Speaker wishes to clarify an issue (equivalent to an interrogative utterance

in English that is accompanied with a falling intonation) or to express interest in an issue. Given its meaning, this particle often occurs in questions.

(74) clitic =*di?ay*

T: *ako-ng bana, Taiwanese=man*  
*ako?-nga bana, Taiwanese=man*  
 1S.POSS.LK husband PN=PAR

L: *Taiwanese=di?ay imo-ng bana*  
*Taiwanese=di?ay imo-nga bana*  
 PN=DISCOV 2S.POSS-LK husband

T: 'My husband, (he's Taiwanese).'

L: 'Your husband is Taiwanese. (I hadn't known that.)'

(75) clitic =*di?ay*

*unsa=man=di?ay, nag-hiring=ba=sila*  
 what=PAR=DISCOV AV-hiring=Q=3P.NOM  
 '(So) what then was the matter? Were they hiring (people)?'

(76) clitic =*di?ay*

L: *imo-ng asawa, asa=di?ay*  
*imo-nga asawa, asa=di?ay*  
 2S.POSS-LK spouse where=DISCOV

T: *bulag=man=mi*  
 divorce=PAR=1EP.NOM

L: 'Your husband, so where is he?'

T: 'We're divorced.'

#### 6.2.4 Low-frequency clitics

This subsection will cover all the remaining particles, which will also include those not attested in our data (because probably the context does not call for their use).

The clitic =*daw* is a Tagalog loan word equivalent to the evidential clitic =*kuno*.

**Table 6-6. Low-frequency clitics**

clitic	gloss	N	tokens				cluster combinations attested in data	
			single -clitic	two-clitic cluster		three-clitic cluster		
				init	final	mid		final
= <i>unta?</i>	‘opt’	9	4	0	4	0	1	= <i>na=unta?</i> = <i>man=unta?</i> = <i>lagi=unta?</i> = <i>pa=man=unta?</i>
= <i>baya?</i>	‘surely’	8	5	2	0	1	0	= <i>baya?=ka?ayo</i> = <i>baya?=sad</i> = <i>ra=baya?=ka?ayo</i>
= <i>daw</i>	‘evid’	8	5	0	2	0	1	= <i>pa=daw</i> = <i>man=daw</i> = <i>pa=man=daw</i>
= <i>kaha?</i>	‘perhaps’	8	3	0	3	0	2	= <i>lang=kaha?</i> = <i>sad=kaha?</i> = <i>na=lang=kaha?</i>
= <i>tingali</i>	‘possib’	6	4	0	2	0	0	= <i>na=tingali</i> = <i>ra=tingali</i>
= <i>siguro</i>	‘possib’	4	3	0	1	0	0	= <i>sad=siguro</i>
= <i>talaga</i>	‘surely’	3	2	0	1	0	0	= <i>na=talaga</i>
= <i>usa?</i>	‘first’	1	1	0	0	0	0	-
= <i>unya?</i>	‘then’	1	1	0	0	0	0	-

**=*unta?***

The optative particle =*unta?* indicates that something is somehow contrary to the reality (Trosdal 1992: 119), especially when occurring with predicates. Due to such sense, it collocates often with the evaluative verb *ma?ayo* to form *ma?ayo=unta-g* ‘(it) would have been nice if ...’ It can also be used to express hope ‘hopefully.’

(77) particle cluster =*man=unta?*

*gwapa=man=unta?=na?* *iya-ng* *asawa*  
*gwapa=man=unta?=kana?iya-nga* *asawa*  
 beautiful=PAR=CONTRA=that 3S.POSS-LK wife  
 ‘His wife was supposed to be good-looking.’

(78) particle cluster =*na=lang=unta?*

*dungan=na=lang=unta?=mi-g* *larga*  
*dungan=na=lang=unta?=mi-ug* *larga*  
 together=already=just=CONTRA=1EP.NOM-LK leave  
 ‘We would have left together.’

(79) clitic =*unta?*

*ma?ay=unta-g taga-an=ka-g kwarta*  
*ma?ayo=unta?-ug hatag-an=ka-ug kwarta*  
good=CONTRA-COMP give-LV=2S.NOM-EXT money  
'It would have been good if you were given money.'

=*baya?*

The clitic =*baya?* means 'really' or 'surely,' conveying weak assertion. It can also serve a warning in imperative clauses.

(80) clitic =*baya?*

*ganahan=baya?=ko mo-kanta-kanta*  
like=PAR-1S.NOM AV-sing-REDUP  
'I really like to sing (as a pastime).'

(81) clitic =*baya?*

*oy di?=na?=ako?-a, ay=baya-g kuha?-a*  
*oy di?=kana?=ako?-a, ayaw=baya?-ug kuha?-a*  
VOC NEG=that=1S.POSS-DEF NEG=PAR-COMP take-PV  
'Hey, that's not mine. Don't (you) take it.'

=*kaha?*

The uncertainty particle =*kaha?* occurs frequently in questions which could mean 'do you think,' 'by any chance,' 'can it be so,' 'perhaps,' or 'maybe.' The Speaker is uncertain about the truth of the utterance.

(82) particle cluster =*na=lang=kaha?*

*huna?huna?=nako?, diri=na=lang=kaha?=ko mag-trabaho*  
think=1S.GEN here=already=just=perhaps=1s.nom av-work  
'I was thinking, "Why don't I just get a job here?"'

(83) clitic =*kaha?*

*makig-minyo?*=*kuno*=*siya*=*nako?*  
RECIP-marry=EVID=3S.NOM=1S.OBL

*ako-ng gi-ingn-an, tinu?ud=kaha?=ka*  
*ako?-nga gi-ingon-an, tinu?ud=kaha?=ka*  
1S.POSS-LK PFV-say-LV real=perhaps=2S.NOM

‘(He told me that) he wanted to get married with me. I told (him), “Are you sure?”’

### =*tingali* and =*siguro*

The clitics =*tingali* and =*siguro* (literally 'certain') suggest possibility.

(84) clitic =*tingali*

T: *kanus?a=man=ka mo-uli*  
when=PAR=2S.NOM AV-return

W: *sunud tu?ig=tingali*  
next year=possib

T: ‘When are you going home?’

W: ‘Next year probably.’

(85) clitic =*siguro*

*wa?=ra=siguro=ka ka-sabot sa iya-ng gi-sulti*  
*wa?=ra=siguro=ka ka-sabot sa iya-nga gi-sulti*  
NEG=just=POSSIB=2S.NOM AV-understand OBL 3S.POSS-LK PFV.PV-say

‘You must have probably not understood what he said.’

### =*intawon*

The clitic =*intawon* can mean 'pitifully' and convey a request for mercy in imperatives.

(86) particle cluster =*na=gud=intawon*

*na-ikog=pud=ko ba, pa-huwat-on=nako?=siya*  
AV-embarrassed=also=1S.NOM DM CAU-wait-PV=1S.GEN=3S.NOM

*dugay=ka?ayo, kay tiguwang=na=gud=intawon, ingon=ko*  
long=EMPH because old=already=PAR=pitifully say=1S.NOM

‘I was also hesitant, (that) I made him wait ... very long, since he's too old, I was thinking (this).’

### **=talaga**

The clitic =*talaga* (actually a Tagalog loan word) conveys certainty.

(87) clitic =*talaga*

*dali=ka?ayo=talaga*      *mag-hikog*  
fast=INTENS=EMPH      AV-suicide  
'(It's) really easy to (commit) suicide.'

### **=unya? and =dayon**

The temporal particles =*unya?* and =*dayon* mean 'later' and 'then,' respectively. They originally convey "sequentiality" and are discourse markers when positioned clause-initially as free words, as in the first word in the second line in (89).

(88) clitic =*unya?*

*ay=na=lang pangutana day kay ma-kuyap-an=unya?=ka*  
NEG=already=just ask VOC because STAT-faint-LV=later=2S.NOM  
'Never mind asking, *day*, or you'll pass out.'

(89) clitic =*dayon*

*unsa=y imo-ng phone number,*  
*unsa=y imo-nga phone number,*  
what=NEUT 2S.POSS-LK phone.number

*unya? tawag-an=dayon=ka sa balay*  
DM call-LV=immediately=2S.NOM LOC house  
'(They'll ask) what's your phone number. Then, (they'll) call you at home right away.'

Other clitics include =*usa?* or =*una?* 'first' (used to soften commands),

=*galing* 'even', =*hino'on* 'instead', =*tu?ud* 'accordingly', and =*uruy* 'shouldn't be'.

## **6.3 Other issues**

In this section I will discuss repair (6.3.1), complementation (6.3.2), and tense in a verb complex (6.3.3).



(92) First element is recycled to repair verb.

<i>basta</i>	<i>mag-idad=na=ko-g</i>	<i>thirty</i>	<i>dili?=na=ko</i>
<i>basta</i>	<i>mag-idad=na=ko-ug</i>	<i>thirty</i>	<i>dili?=na=ko</i>
when	AV-age=already=1S.NOM-EXT	thirty	NEG=already=1S.NOM
<i>mag-minyo?</i>	@ <i>a- dili?</i>	<i>mag-minyo?- dili?</i>	<i>m-anganak</i>
<i>mag-minyo?</i>	@ <i>a- dili?</i>	<i>mag-minyo? dili?</i>	<i>m-panganak</i>
AV.marry	FS NEG	AV-marry NEG	AV-have.baby

'When I'm thirty, I won't get married, no, (I) won't have a baby.'

In (93), some time is spent trying to look for the right verb, the Speaker repeatedly recycles the first element, a negator, but ultimately also repairs the negator from an existential negator *wala?* to a volitional negator *dili?*.

(93) Word search for verb → repair starts at first element.

T: *ma?ay-ma?ay na-ng di?=ka ka-sabot*  
*ma?ay-ma?ayo kana?-nga di?=ka ka-sabot*  
 good good that-COMP NEG=2S.NOM AV-understand

→ *wa?=ka- wa?=ka- wala?=ka ma-ano*  
 NEG=2S.NOM NEG-2S.NOM NEG=2S.NOM AV-what

L: *o\ wala?*  
 BC NEG

T: → *ma- ma- dili?=ka ma- ma-gu?ul*  
 FS FS NEG=2S.NOM FS AV-sad

*maka-sabot=ka sa tanan*  
 AV-understand=2S.NOM OBL all

*a= ambot lang labad imo-ng ulo*  
*a= ambot lang labad imo-nga ulo*  
 FIL don't.know ache 2S.POSS-LK head

T: 'It's good you don't understand (them). You didn't-, you didn't-.'  
 L: 'Yeah, no, I'm not.'  
 T: 'You won't get sad. You understand everything, you'll get a headache.'

The above examples provide strong evidence for a grammatical constituent composed of the verb and its preceding particles. The recycling of the first element,

and not just any particle in between, during the process of repair proves that they form a singular unit, and so must be treated as such.

### 6.3.2 Complementation constructions

In addition to the repair phenomenon, the omission of the complementizer *nga* in a complementation construction provides another piece of evidence for the verb complex constituent in Cebuano. This omission, especially in rapid speech, gives rise to a verb complex. In a verb complex, the main and complement clauses, which originally refer to a single event, conflate into a single clause, where the arguments cliticize only to the first-element entity (*a* sentences), not anymore to the main verb in the last slot (*b* sentences).

(94a)  $V_1$  (matrix) *nga*  $V_2$  (complement)  $\rightarrow$   $V_1$  (first element) ( )  $V_2$  (activity verb)  
*di?=man=pud=ko*            *ganahan*            *mo-la?ag*  
*di?=man=pud=ko*            *ganahan*            (*nga*) *mo-la?ag*  
 NEG=PAR=also=1S.NOM    like                    AV.INF-walk  
 'I also don't like to roam around.'

(94b) *di?=man=pud=ko*            *ganahan*            *mo-la?ag(\*=ko)*

(95a)  $V_1$  (matrix) *nga*  $V_2$  (complement)  $\rightarrow$   $V_1$  (first element) ( )  $V_2$  (activity verb)  
*puydi=ka*                            *mo-adto*            *san carlos*  
*puydi=ka*                            (*nga*) *mo-adto*            *san carlos*  
 can=2S.NOM                        AV.INF-go            PN  
 'You can go to San Carlos.'

(95b) *puydi=ka*                            *mo-adto(\*=ka)*            *san carlos*

However, there is a constraint. The Actor of the matrix verb is required to impose control of the gap in the complement clause, regardless of whether the complement is an AV clause (96) or a NAV clause (97) for the *nga* to be omitted and

the entire construction to form a verb complex. Aside from modality adverbs, time expressions, specifically frequency adverbs, can also take *nga* complements, but the verb complex form is more preferred by speakers now.

- (96)  $V_1$  (matrix) *nga*  $V_2$  (complement)  $\rightarrow$   $V_1$  (first element) ( )  $V_2$  (main)  
*mahadlok=kuno=sila*                      *mo-gawas*    *sa*    *gabi?i*  
*mahadlok=kuno=sila*    (*nga*)    *mo-gawas*    *sa*    *gabi?i*  
 be.afraid=EVID=3P.NOM                      AV.INF-outside    TEMP    night  
 'They said they are afraid to go out at night.'

- (97)  $V_1$  (matrix) *nga*  $V_2$  (complement)  $\rightarrow$   $V_1$  (first element) ( )  $V_2$  (activity verb)  
 M *bakasyon=ba=sila/*  
    vacation=Q=3P.NOM  
 W *puydi=man*                      *i-undang*    *ang*    *bata*  
    *puydi=man*    (*nga*)    *i-undang*    *ang*    *bata*  
    can=PAR                      IV.INF-stop    ANG    child  
 M: 'They're on vacation?'  
 W: '(No, but) we can stop (the schooling of) the children.'

Without a gap or when there is no control over the complement clause, the matrix verb and the complement verb do not form a tight link and will not transform into a verb complex, as in (98). When suppressed, the complementizer *nga* has to be replaced by a pause, as in (99); still it cannot form a verb complex.

- (98) NAV main clause; NAV complement clause (gapless)  
*gustosa iro? nga maka-gawas ang baki? sa garapa*  
 like GEN dog COMP AV-outside ANG frog LOC container  
 'The dog wanted the frog in the container to be freed from the container.'

- (99) Pause takes the place of complementizer; clauses loosely linked  
*gusto=nako?, adto=ra=mi sa una*  
 like=1S.GEN go=just=1EP.NOM LOC first  
 'I like (that) we just go to the front.'

### 6.3.3 Tense in a verb complex

The Cebuano verb complex may either refer to a general situation or a particular event. The first type of construction is the verb complex in which a manner/evaluative adverbial occupies the first-element position (6.1.6). The tense-less manner/evaluative adverbial in this case conveys an evaluation of the action, and the entire phrase still refers to a general condition, not to a particular event, as in (100a). Deriving the first-element adverbial for tense or for voice will render the clause infelicitous, as in (100b) and (100c). The main verb is in dependent form.

(100a) verb complex conveying general situation/condition

<i>la?in=na=kuno</i>	<i>imo-ng</i>	<i>nawong</i>	<i>talaga</i>
<i>la?in=na=kuno</i>	<i>imo-nga</i>	<i>nawong</i>	<i>talaga</i>
different=already=EVID	2S.POSS-LK	face	really

*kuyaw=ka?ay tan?aw-on*

*kuyaw=ka?ayo tan?aw-on*

scary=very see-PV.INF

'They said your face will be different, so scary to look at.'

(100b) \**gi-kuyaw=ka?ayo tan?aw-on*

(100c) \**gi-kuyaw-an=ka?ayo tan?aw-on*

Certain negative modality adverbials<sup>41</sup> occurring in the first-element slot in a verb complex convey tense information, as in (101a), but they cannot be derived for voice, as in (101b) and (101c). The main verb is voiced but is in its dependent form. These clauses may refer to specific events occurring in the past.

<sup>41</sup> A verb complex headed by a modality verb in general does not carry tense information and indicates a general condition. So far, only negative modality verbs derived from emotion verbs *hadlok* 'to be afraid' and *ulaw* 'to be embarrassed' can carry tense affixes (*na-* and *ma-*m for non-future and future time, respectively). In these circumstances, the activity verb in the complement clause is in infinitive form (the future form and the infinitive form "*ma-hadlok*" are similar).

(101a) negative modality verb in first-element conveys past meaning

*samok=kuno=ka?ay sa tanan*  
*samok=kuno=ka?ayo sa tanan*  
 chaotic=EVID=very OBL all

***na-hadlok=kuno=sila (nga?) mo-gawas sa gabi?i***  
 NFUT-be.afraid=EVID=3P.NOM AV.INF-go.out LOC night  
 'It was so chaotic; they were afraid to go out at night.'

(101b) \****gi-hadlok=kuno mo-gawas \*=sila sa gabi?i***

(101c) \****gi-hadlok-an=kuno mo-gawas \*=sila sa gabi?i***

Another type is one that also refers to a particular event. An example was given in (54) and repeated below. In this instance, the verb is prefixed with a perfective affix, and so is voiced and tensed; the first-element adverbial is in its root form.

(102) Construction referring to specific event (Sun Star, January 15, 2008)

***kalit mi-butho? ang usa ka single nga motorsiklo***  
 sudden AV-appear ANG one LK single LK motorcycle  
*nga i-saky-an sa tulo ka mga tawo*  
*nga i-sakay-an sa tulo ka mga tawo*  
 LK PFV-ride-LV GEN three LK PL person  
 'A single motorcycle with three passengers suddenly appeared.'

Based on the discussion, when both verbs are tense-less, the clause refers to a general situation; when either of the verbs is tensed, the clause refers to a particular event. The schemas are shown below.

(103) Tense in a verb complex

[Adv<sub>ROOT</sub> V<sub>DEPENDENT</sub>]<sub>GENERAL SITUATION</sub>

[Adv<sub>TENSED</sub> V<sub>DEPENDENT</sub>]<sub>SPECIFIC EVENT</sub>

[Adv<sub>ROOT</sub> V<sub>TENSED</sub>]<sub>SPECIFIC EVENT</sub>

## 6.4 Summary

I was able to identify the verb complex constituent in Cebuano when I was investigating Repair: I observed that aside from local recycling, Repair always starts at the first element, not at any other position in the middle of the constituent. In this chapter I discussed each of the possible grammatical units that can occur at the first element slot: negators, interrogators, modal verbs, locative and temporal adverbials, and manner/evaluative adverbials. These will be taken up again in the following chapters (Chapter 7 through Chapter 10). The verb complex is also closely associated with complementation. When there is control in a complementation construction marked by *nga*, the complementizer *nga* is omitted and a verb complex is formed: the complement verb becomes the main verb and the matrix verb becomes the first-element verb; the clitic particles and pronominal arguments can only cliticize to the first-element verb and not to the main verb occupying the last slot.

## Chapter 7 NEGATION

### 7.0 Introduction

In almost every language in the world, there are words which occur as verbs or particles to negate the existence of entities (existential negators)<sup>42</sup> and events (event negators), to volitionally refuse to act in a certain way (volitional negators), and to carry out prohibitions (imperative negators). The scope of these negators varies from language to language. In this chapter I will describe the syntax of negation in Cebuano.<sup>43</sup> Negative particles in Cebuano are generally clause-initial, located mainly in the predicate, specifically in the first-slot position of the verb complex (see Section 6.1.1). From 7.1 to 7.4, I will deal with the four kinds of negator particles in Cebuano, namely, *wala?*, *dili?*, *ayaw*, and *ambot*. In 7.5, I will examine the negators used as verbs and their argument structure. In 7.6, I will examine the negator *di?*, which has come to be used as a discourse marker. In 7.7 I provide a summary.

Like some Formosan languages (cf. Yeh et al. 1999) and Philippine languages, such as Tagalog and Hiligaynon, Cebuano has three main negators, namely, the future negator *dili?*, the existential negator *wala?*, and the imperative negator *ayaw*. In 7.1, I will discuss the uses of *wala?* as a negator to negate the existence of an NP referent and to negate the occurrence of a non-future event. In 7.2, I will show the uses of *dili?* as a negator to negate nominal and stative predicate clauses and to negate the

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<sup>42</sup> S. Thompson (1985) shows through actual conversational data in English that what is denied is typically not explicitly present in the conversation. The denials also do not show any signs of themselves establishing a "conditional relevance" on what follows. This will not be pursued further in this chapter, but would be a very interesting topic for future research on Cebuano.

<sup>43</sup> Negators of course do not form a grammatical category, as they occur in various constructions.

occurrence of a future event. In 7.3, I will describe the uses of *ayaw* to make prohibitions. Another negation form *ambot* 'don't know' denies knowledge about a previous comment or circumstance and is almost always accompanied by an interrogative clause. This is taken up in 7.4.

## **7.1 The negator *wala?***

The negator *wala?* serve the following functions: to negate an existential clause (7.1.1), a possessive clause (7.1.2), a locational clause (7.1.3), and to deny the occurrence of a realis event (7.1.4). Sometimes, *wala?* is shortened to *wa?*.

### **7.1.1 Negation of existential clauses**

Existential clauses were discussed in Chapter 5; the negator *wala?* serves to negate these clauses. As in existential clauses, the NP marker =y cliticizes to the negator (if the referent is indefinite). Examples are shown below. In (1), *wala?* negates the existence of the *palaka?* 'frog.' In (2), it denies the existence or availability of an airconditioning system, In (3), it denies the dog's ability to do anything, expressed as a nominalized clausal unit. In (4), the negated existential clause is an indicative clause that is used as an indirect prohibition.

(1) to negate the existence of an entity

...(2.5) *unya sa pagka-buntag iya-ng na-kita?*  
 then TEMP NMZ-morning 3S.POSS-LK PV-see

*nga wala?=na ang frog wala?-*  
 LK NEG=already ANG frog NEG

...*a- unsa=na-ng frog wala?=na ang palaka?*  
*unsa=kana?-ang frog wala?=na ang palaka?*  
 PH what=that-ANG frog NEG=already ANG frog

'In the morning, he saw that his pet frog was not there anymore.'

(2) negation in existential clauses

T *na?a=pu=y aircon/*  
*na?a=pud=y aircon/*  
 EXIST=also=NEUT aircon

L *wala=y aircon*  
*wala?=y aircon*  
 NEG=NEUT aircon

T *so pagka-init-a*  
 so INTENS-hot-INTENS

L *init=lagi*  
 hot=EMPH

T: 'Is there any airconditioner?'  
 L: 'There's none.'  
 T: 'Then (it's) really hot!'  
 L: 'Really hot!'

(3) negation in existential clauses

...(2.5) *gusto sa iro? nga*  
 like GEN dog COMP

*maka-gawas ang baki? sa garapa*  
 AV-out ANG frog LOC container

...(3.0) *pero wala=y- ...wala=y na-himo? ang iro?*  
*pero wala?=y- wala?=y na-himo? ang iro?*  
 but NEG=NEUT NEG=NEUT PV-do ANG dog

'The dog wanted the frog in the container to be freed from the container. But the dog could not do anything.'

(4) to make a prohibition in a less direct way (constructed)

*wala=y ma-maligya? kung mo-larga=na ang barko*  
*wala?=y maN-baligya? kung mo-larga=na ang barko*  
 NEG=NEUT AV-sell if AV-leave=already ANG ship

'No vendors (are allowed) if the ship is about to leave.'

### 7.1.2 Negation of possessive clauses

Possessive clauses were discussed in Chapter 5; the negator *wala?* serves to negate these clauses. As in possessive clauses, the NP marker =y cliticizes to the negator (if the referent is indefinite); if the possessor is pronominal, it cliticizes to the negator while the marker =y cliticizes to it. In (5), the negator *wala?* is used to negate the possession of an airconditioning system.

(5) negation in a possessive clause

*wala*=*siya*=y      *aircon sa balay*  
*wala?*=*siya*=y      *aircon sa balay*  
NEG=3S.NOM=NEUT    aircon    LOC    house  
'He didn't have an airconditioning (system) at home.'

### 7.1.3 Negation of locational clauses

Locational clauses were discussed in Chapter 5; the negator *wala?* serves to negate these clauses. In locational clauses, the referent is usually definite and the locative phrase is positioned closer to the verb. Examples are shown in (6) and (7).

(6) negation of locational clause

*wala?*=*na sa sulod sa garapa ang frog*  
NEG=already    LOC    inside    GEN    container    ANG    frog  
'The frog is not inside the container anymore.'

(7) negation of locational clause

*wala?*=*didto ang tawo*  
NEG=there      ANG    person  
'The person is not there.'

### 7.1.4 Negation of realis verbal clauses

Non-future events, which include past events and present events, are negated with *wala?*. As in (8), the clause can only refer to a past event and not a future event.

(8) to negate a past (non-future) occurrence of an event

*wala?*=*sila kahibalo nga ang baki? naka*=...*takas*  
 NEG=3P.NOM aware LK ANG frog AV escape  
 'They didn't know that the frog had escaped.'

In a verbal clause, the negator occupies the first element slot in a verb complex with the clitic particles and pronominal arguments attaching to it. In the case of Cebuano, there is a division of labor between the two negators *wala?* and *dili?* in terms of time expression. The negator *wala?* denies the past occurrence of an event, while *dili?* denies the future occurrence of an event, making it a kind of volitional marker. (The negator *dili?* will be discussed in the next section.) This must be a feature among Bisayan languages<sup>44</sup> (Rubino 2006); other Philippine languages, like Tagalog, and Formosan languages are not known to make such a distinction.

The negator *wala?* takes the dependent form (9), which is the more “correct” and is often attested in written Cebuano. The realis form (10) is sometimes used especially when speakers become conscious of the words that they choose, thinking that the past form is the “correct” form in the negation of past events.

(9) *wala?* and the dependent form of the verb (Sun Star, September 25, 2007)

*wala?*=*nako? ma-kit-i ang suspek kay*  
*wala?*=*nako? ma-kita?-i ang suspek kay*  
 NEG=1S.GEN SPONT-see-LV ANG suspect because  
*na-kurat=man=ko kung kinsa ang nag-pusil sa drayber*  
 SPONT-surprise=PAR=1S.NOM COND who ANG AV-shoot LOC driver  
 'I did not see the suspect because I was caught by surprise as to who shot the driver.'

<sup>44</sup> Kilaton's (2000) description of negation in Cebuano is erroneous. This “division of labor” between *dili?* and *wala?* should be now known to linguists specializing in Bisayan languages. Being a non-speaker of a Bisayan language, Naylor (1977) must be unaware of such a phenomenon, in her discussion of irrealis, where in the negation of past event, the completive form has been replaced by the contemplative form in Cebuano, whereas Tagalog and Kapampangan, which are not Bisayan languages, do not exhibit such a phenomenon.

(10) *wala?* and the realis form of the verb in spoken Cebuano

<i>wala?</i> = <i>siya ni-adto,</i>	<i>nag-sigi=ra=siya-g</i>	<i>tawag</i>
<i>wala?</i> = <i>siya ni-adto,</i>	<i>nag-sigi=ra=siya-ug</i>	<i>tawag</i>
NEG=3S.NOM AV-go	AV-keep.on=just=3S.NOM-LK	call

'He didn't go (to visit me). He just kept on calling (me).'

## 7.2 The negator *dili?*

The negator *dili?* is used to negate nominal predicate clauses (7.2.1), stative predicate clauses (7.2.2), and future/irrealis verbal clauses (7.2.3). Sometimes, *dili?* is shortened to *di?*.

### 7.2.1 Negation of nominal predicate clauses

Nominal predicate clauses were discussed in Chapter 5. In a nominal predicate clause, the nominal predicate either identifies or classifies the nominative-marked referent. These are negated by *dili?*, as in (11) and (12).

(11) negation in a nominal predicate clause

...	<i>na?a=y</i>	<i>na-kita?</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>bata?</i>		
	EXIST=NEUT	PV-see	ANG	child		
<i>pero</i>	<b><i>dili?</i></b>	<i>ang</i>	<i>bakbak,</i>	<i>kon</i>	<i>dili?</i> ,	<i>ilaga?</i>
but	NEG	ANG	frog	if	NEG	mouse

'The child saw something, but it was a mouse, not the frog.'

(12) negation in an equational clause

L:	<i>pila=man</i>	<i>inyo-ng</i>	<i>sweldo diri,</i>	<i>da&lt;g&gt;ko=sad</i>
	<i>pila=man</i>	<i>inyo-nga</i>	<i>sweldo diri,</i>	<i>dako&lt;g&gt;=sad</i>
	how.much=PAR	2P.POSS-LK	salary here	big<PL>=also

T:	<b><i>dili?</i></b> = <i>man=mi</i>	<i>officer, casual=ra=man=mi</i>
	NEG=PAR=1EP.NOM	officer casual=only=PAR=1EP.NOM

L: 'How much is your salary here? Very high too?'

T: 'No, we're not officers; we're just casual employees.'

## 7.2.2 Negation of stative predicate clauses

Stative predicate clauses have been discussed in Chapter 5. The stative predicates serve to semantically modify the nominative-marked referent, and they are negated by *dili?*. If the referent is pronominal, it cliticizes to the negator at the initial position of the sentence.

(13) negation using *dili?*

*dili?*=*pud=sila katoliko*  
 NEG=also=3P.NOM catholic  
 'They're not Catholics, either.'

(14) negation using *dili?*

T *pero seloso=ba=siya/*  
 but be.jealous=Q=3S.NOM

L *dili?*=*siya seloso*  
 NEG=3S.NOM be.jealous

T: 'But is he the jealous (type)?'

L: '(No,) he's not the jealous (type).'

(15) negation using *dili?*

*sa cebu=di?ay ang Toledo/*  
 LOC PN=EVID ANG PN

*a= pero dili?=ka?ayo ka- ku?an-dili?=siya pro- progressive*  
 PH but NEG=very FS KUAN NEG=3S.NOM FS progressive  
 '(so), Toledo is (part of (Cebu), but it's not-, it's not-, it's not progressive.'

(16) negation using *dili?*

*sa cebu=daw di?=daw samok*  
 LOC PN=EVID NEG=EVID chaotic

*di?=kuno= kaga- kagayasa Manila ba nga*  
 NEG=EVID FS similar OBL PN PAR LK

*samok=kuno=ka?ay sa tanan*  
*samok=kuno=ka?ayo sa tanan*  
 chaotic=EVID=very SUPER

'(They say) it's not disorderly in Cebu. (They say) it's not like Manila, where everything is so very unsystematic.'

(17) negation using *dili?*

<i>mas</i>	<i>nindut sa</i>	<i>Cebu=dyud</i>	<i>tsaka</i>	<i>dili?</i>	= <i>siya</i>	<i>congested</i>
COMP	nice LOC	PN=EMPH	and	NEG=3S.NOM		congested
<i>di?</i>	<i>pareha sa</i>	<i>manila ba</i>				
NEG	similar LOC	PN DM				

'(It's) nicer in Cebu, and it's not congested; not like Manila.'

### 7.2.3 Negation of future verbal clauses

As has been mentioned in the preceding section, *dili?* serves to negate verbal clauses that refer to future/irrealis events. In the excerpts from (18) to (21), *dili?* negates a clause that refers to a general situation. In (18), *dili?* negates a habitual action (which is expressed as irrealis in Cebuano). In (19) and (20), a general situation is negated. In (21), it negates a future event.

(18) *dili?* denies the occurrence of an irrealis event

<i>di?</i> = <i>gyud-</i>	<i>di?</i> = <i>siya</i>	<i>mo-ka?on</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>gawas</i>
NEG=EMPH	NEG=3S.NOM	AV.FUT-eat	LOC	outside
<i>bisa-g</i>	<i>unsa</i>	<i>niya-g</i>	<i>overtime</i>	<i>hangtud ka-adlaw-on</i>
<i>bisan-ug</i>	<i>unsa</i>	<i>niya-ug</i>	<i>overtime</i>	<i>hangtud ka-adlaw-on</i>
even-SUB	what	3S.GEN-COMP	overtime	until KA-day-PV.NMZ
<i>uli?</i> = <i>gyud=na=siya-g</i>		<i>ka?on</i>		
<i>uli?</i> = <i>gyud=kana?=siya-ug</i>		<i>ka?on</i>		
return=EMPH=that=3S.NOM-LK		eat		

'He never eats outside. Even if he works overtime until past midnight, he's certainly coming home to eat.'

(19) to negate a general situation

<i>dili?</i> = <i>siya</i>	<i>ana-ng</i>	<i>ku?an</i>	<i>wala=y</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>elevator</i>
<i>dili?</i> = <i>siya</i>	<i>ana?-nga</i>	<i>ku?an</i>	<i>wala?=y</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>elevator</i>
NEG=3S.NOM	that-LK	KUAN	NEG=NEUT	PL	elevator

'He doesn't like that (situation) without any elevators.'

(20) *dili?* denies the truth of a proposition

<i>di?</i> = <i>man tanan nga pilipina ni-anhi diri nga n-angita-g</i>	<i>part-time</i>
<i>di?</i> = <i>man tanan nga pilipina ni-anhi diri nga m-pangita?-ug</i>	<i>part-time</i>
NEG=PAR all LK PN AV-come here LK AV-find-EXT	part.time

'Filipinas come here not to find part-time jobs.'

(21) *dili?* negates a future event

*dili?*=*na=kuno=siya*      *man-akop kay ang iya-ng asawa pilipina*  
*dili?*=*na=kuno=siya*      *maN-dakop kay ang iya-nga asawa pilipina*  
 NEG=already=EVID=3S.NOM AV-catch because ANG 3S.POSS-LK wife PN  
 'He doesn't like that (kind) without any elevators.'

In (22) what is negated by J's utterance of *dili?* is L's presumption of J's being a student. In such an instance, *dili?* can stand alone in clause-initial position (separated from the rest of the clause by a pause) and does not need to take any other grammatical element. In (23) *dili?* negates a verbal clause that functions as an indirect prohibition.

(22) *dili?* negates a proposition

L	<i>ngano na?a=man=ka</i>	<i>diri,</i>	<i>student/</i>	<i>or</i>
	why EXIST=PAR=2S.NOM	here	student	or
J	<i>m= dili?,</i>	<i>kanangku?an</i>	<i>nag-abot=ko</i>	<i>ato-ng April lang</i>
	<i>m= dili?,</i>	<i>kanangku?an</i>	<i>nag-abot=ko</i>	<i>ato-nga April lang</i>
	FIL NEG FIL KUAN	AV-arrive=1S.NOM	that-LK	April only

L: 'Why are you here? (Intended: What's your identity enabling you to stay here?)  
 (You're) a student/ or-  
 J: 'M=, no, er= I only arrived last April.'

(23) *dili?* serves to make a prohibition in a less direct way (constructed)

*dili?* *puydi*      *mang-labay*      *ug*      *basura*      *dinhi*  
*dili?* *puydi*      *maN-labay*      *ug*      *basura*      *dinhi*  
 NEG allowed AV-throw EXT garbage here  
 'Throwing of garbage here is not allowed.'

### 7.3 The negator *ayaw*

The negator *ayaw* is used to make a prohibition or suggestion. Unlike *dili?* and *wala?*, which occupy the first slot in a verb complex, *ayaw*, which is sometimes shortened to *ay*, takes a complement clause marked by *ug*. The verb in the complement clause is in its root form or may be affixed with the AV imperative

marker *pag-*, as shown in the schema in (24). A prohibition with a subordinate verb in its root form (26) sounds more direct than one affixed with *pag-* (25).

(24) Negation with *ayaw*

<i>ayaw</i>	( <i>ug</i> )	<i>pag-V</i> <sub>ROOT</sub>	(example in 25)
<i>ayaw</i>	<i>ug</i>	( <i>pag-</i> ) <i>V</i> <sub>ROOT</sub>	(example in 26)
NEG	COMP	NMZ-V	

(25) prohibitive imperative (*ayaw ug pag-V*)

...(2.1)	<i>dayo=n</i>	... <i>ingon ang bata?</i>	... <i>ayaw-g</i>	<i>pag-saba?</i>
	<i>dayon</i>	<i>ingon ang bata?</i>	<i>ayaw-ug</i>	<i>pag-saba?</i>
	then	say ANG child	NEG-COMP	IMP-be.noisy
	'Then the child said, Don't be noisy.'			

(26) prohibitive imperative (*ayaw ug V*<sub>root</sub>)

...(2.1)	<i>dayo=n</i>	... <i>ingon</i>	<i>ang bata?</i>	... <i>ayaw-g</i>	<i>saba? diha?</i>
	<i>dayon</i>	<i>ingon</i>	<i>ang bata?</i>	<i>ayaw-ug</i>	<i>saba? diha?</i>
	then	say	ANG child	NEG-COMP	be.noisy there
	'Then the child said, Don't make any noise there.'				

Strictly speaking, *ayaw* is the imperative negator, but in certain formal and polite settings, *dili?* and *wala?* (the negators in indicative clauses) are also used to make the tone of a command less direct, as in (23) and (4), respectively. It is to be noted that the ordinary voice-affixed verbs are used with *dili?* and *wala?*. Prohibitive imperatives are also discussed in Chapter 9 (section 9.2).

#### 7.4 The negator *ambot*

The interrogative word *ambot* contains a negative element in its sense 'don't know' and conveys a lack of knowledge about the proposition indicated by a following clause that is interrogative or introduced by an interrogative word, as in the schema shown in (27).

(27) Negation with *ambot*

*ambot* (*kung*) [V NP]<sub>INTERROGATIVE CLAUSE</sub>

It can be observed that *ambot* does not take any nominative argument at all.

The semantic argument for it is the first person singular *I*, which cannot be syntactically overt. Most of the time, *ambot* is followed by a clause that is introduced by an interrogator word, as in (28) to (30) or by a yes-no question that is marked by the question particle =*ba*, as in (31). The clause following *ambot* may be marked by a conditional clause marker *kung*, like (31).

(28) *ambot* followed by *ngano* interrogative clause

*ambot ngano-ng kahibawo=ko mag-bisaya*  
*ambot ngano-nga kahibawo=ko mag-bisaya*  
don't.know why-LK know=1S.NOM AV-Visayan  
'(I) don't have any idea why I know (how to speak) Visayan.'

(29) *ambot* followed by *gi-unsang* interrogative clause

T *ambot=lang gi-unsang=to pagka-ligis*  
*ambot=lang gi-unsang=kato pagka-ligis*  
don't.know=PAR PFV.PV-what=that NMZ-bump.against  
*wa?=ko ka-sabot wa?=ko ni-tan?aw*  
NEG=1S.NOM AV-understand NEG=1S.NOM AV-see  
*ma-hadlok=ko*  
AV-be.afraid=1S.NOM

(L: 'How was it knocked down?')

T: '(I) have no idea how it was knocked down. I couldn't understand; I didn't look; I was afraid to look.'

(30) *ambot* followed by interrogative clause

*ambot=lang unsa ila-ng plano*  
*ambot=lang unsa ila-nga plano*  
don't.know=only what 3P.POSS-LK plan  
'(I) don't know what their plans are.'

(31) *ambot* followed by a question

*naka-adto=ko-g argao*  
*naka-adto=ko-ug argao*  
 AV-GO=1S.NOM-EXT PN

***ambot*** *kung college=ba=ko ato o= high school*  
 don't.know if college=Q=1S.NOM that or high.school  
 'I've been to Argao. (I'm) not sure if I was in college then or in high school.'

The interrogative word *ambot* can also stand alone either as an answer to a question (32), or as a comment following a statement held with uncertainty (33). In both instances, *ambot* indicates the lack of knowledge on a particular matter.

(32) *ambot* as an answer to a question

W ***asa=man***  
 where=PAR

T ***ambot,*** *asa=man=to wa?=man=ko kahibalo*  
***ambot,*** *asa=man=kato wa?=man=ko kahibalo*  
 don't.know where=PAR=that NEG=PAR=1S.NOM know

W: 'Where?'

T: '(I) have no idea. Where was that? I don't know.'

(33) *ambot* as a comment following a statement

W **@** *ang malacanang i-buhat=sad sa cebu*  
 ANG PN IV-build=also LOC PN

T *ang mac- ang malacanang=daw sa cebu=daw*  
 ANG FS ANG PN=EVID LOC PN=EVID

***ambot*** *tinuod=ba=na?/*

***ambot*** *tinuod=ba=kana?/*

don't.know true=Q=that

W: 'The Malacanang Palace, (they're) going to build (one) in Cebu.'

T: 'They say a Malacanang Palace in Cebu. (I) wonder if that's true.'

The phrase *ambot=lang* is also a common expression indicating a lack of knowledge of the reason(s) behind a situation, and probably there is also the lack of intention to pursue it.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>45</sup> In Kavalan, a Formosan Austronesian language, there is a negator word similar to *ambot* (Huang, Sung, and Chiang 2007; Yeh 2005), which is *ita*, meaning ‘(I) don’t know; (I) have no idea,’ and is usually used alone in response to questions and to express a Speaker’s lack of answers to a preceding question. Like Cebuano, it exclusively implies a covert first-person singular actor, as in (i).

- (i) Kavalan (Huang, Sung, and Chiang 2007: 284)
- Q:     *supaR-an-na     ni     abas     ci     buya     ni ?*  
           know-LV-3S.GEN GEN     PN     NOM     PN     Q
- A:     *ita (\*-iku/ \*ayku)*  
           don't.know (\*-1S.NOM/ \*1S.NOM)
- Q: ‘Does Abas know Buya?’
- A:     (i) ‘I /\*We don’t know.’  
           (ii) \*‘No. (Abas doesn’t know Buya.)’

In addition, Tagalog has a similar word *ewan*, but unlike Cebuano and Kavalan, the first person singular pronoun can be overtly expressed (*ewan=ko*).

**Table 7-a. Special negator words in some Philippine and Formosan languages**

gloss	Tagalog	Amis (Wu 2006)	Kavalan (Huang et al. 2007; Sung and Yeh 2005)	Saisiyat (Huang et al. 2004)	Puyuma (Teng 2007)
'don't know'	<i>ewan</i> - takes a Nominative pronominal argument		<i>ita</i> - always used in isolation <i>Rayngu(an)</i> - used in declarative clauses and takes arguments		<i>ma-uLid</i> - lexical verb that can host clitics
'don't want'		<i>na?ay</i> - can be followed by a verb or a noun	<i>taqa</i> - used in declarative clauses and takes an NP or is followed by a verb in root form	<i>kayni?</i> - used in declarative clauses	
'unable to'		<i>ma-fukil</i> - can be followed by a verb	<i>Rayngu</i> - used in declarative clauses and followed by AV verb	<i>hasa?</i> - used in declarative clauses	
'not good'		<i>tatiih</i> – can be followed by a noun or a nominal clause	<i>sukaw</i> - used in declarative clauses, takes an NP, and followed by AV verb		
'not yet'				<i>i?ini?</i> - used in declarative clauses	

(34) *ambot=lang* as a fixed expression

<i>ambot=lang=kaha?</i>	<i>basi-g</i>	<i>di?=lang=niya</i>	<i>i-pa-kita?</i>
<i>ambot=lang=kaha?</i>	<i>basi?-ug</i>	<i>di?=lang=niya</i>	<i>i-pa-kita?</i>
don't.know=just=doubt	maybe-COMP	NEG=just=3S.GEN	IV-CAU-see

'(I) don't have any idea. Maybe, he just doesn't show (it).'

(35) *ambot=lang* as a fixed expression

<i>di?=man=ko-g</i>	<i>in-istorya-g</i>	<i>bisaya ako-ng</i>	<i>mama</i>
<i>di?=man=ko-ug</i>	<i>gina-istorya-ug</i>	<i>bisaya ako?-nga</i>	<i>mama</i>
NEG=PAR=1S.NOM-COMP	AV.dur-speak-EXT	Visayan 1S.POSS-LK	mother

*ambot=lang*

don't.know=just

'My mother didn't speak Visayan with me. (I) don't know.'

## 7.5 The use of negators as verbs

Both *wala?* and *dili?* can behave like regular verbs, taking voice affixes that transform them into intransitive and transitive verbs. When used as a verb, *wala?* means 'to lose (something).' It can be intransitive and take an argument with a Patient role (something or someone that has been lost), as in (36a), or when it occurs as *na-wad-an* (LV form) it can take a nominative Possessor argument and an extended Patient argument (that has been lost), as in (36b).

(36a) *wala?* as an intransitive verb

...	<i>pag-mata</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>iro?</i>	<i>ug-</i>	...	<i>sa</i>	<i>bata?</i>
	NMZ-wake	GEN	dog	and	GEN	child	

...	<i>na-wala?=na=</i>	<i>ang=</i>	<i>baki?</i>
	AV-lose=already	ANG	frog

“When they woke up, the frog was not there anymore.”

(36b) *wala?* as an intransitive verb (SunStar, September 27, 2007)

*sa mi-labay nga mga adlaw*  
 LOC AV-pass LK PL day

*na-wad-an=na=sila ug pagla?um nga*  
*na-wala?-an=na=sila ug pagla?um nga*  
 SPONT-lose-LV=already=3P.NOM EXT hope LK

*ma-palg-an=pa si Bernardo*  
*ma-palag-an=pa si Bernardo*  
 SPONT-meet-LV=still SI PN

'After several days have passed, they have already lost hope of finding Bernardo.'

When used as a verb, *dili?* is transitive carrying the meaning 'to prohibit (a certain action)' and can only take the PV form, as in (37).

(37) *dili?* as a transitive verb (SunStar, October 31, 2007)

*gi-dili? ang pag-dala-dala ug hinagiban sa sud sa sementeryo*  
 PFV.PV-prohibit ANG NMZ-take-REDUP EXT weapon LOC inside GENcemetery  
 'The (police authorities) prohibited the bringing of weapons inside cemeteries.'

In 7.3, we mentioned that *ayaw*, as the imperative negator, can only be uttered to a second-person addressee. It also takes an *ug*-marked complement clause; more examples are provided in (38) and (39).

(38) *ayaw* is followed by a subordinate clause

*ayaw-g pag-huna?huna? ana imo-ng sweldo nga gamay*  
*ayaw-ug pag-huna?huna? ana? imo-nga sweldo nga gamay*  
 NEG-COMP IMP-think that 2S.POSS-LK salary LK small

*ang huna?huna?-a ga?an imo-ng trabaho*  
*ang huna?huna?-a ga?an imo-nga trabaho*  
 ANG think-PV.IMP light 2S.POSS-LK work

'Don't think about your salary, which is little. (Instead,) think that your work is easy.'

(39) *ayaw* is followed by a subordinate clause

*kay tanan but-an=ka, ma?o=ni, ayaw=ni-g buhat-a ayaw=na?*  
*kay tanan bu?ot-an=ka ma?o=ni, ayaw=kini-ug buhat-a ayaw=kana?*  
 if all order-LV=2S.NOM ANAPH=this NEG=this-COMP DO-PV.IMP NEG=that  
 '(He) controls everything you do. (Things should be) like this. Don't do this;  
 don't (do) that.'

## 7.6 From a negator to a discourse marker

The negator *dili?* has grammaticized into a discourse marker, almost always in its shortened form, *di?*. As a discourse marker carrying the meaning '(and) then' or '(and) so,' as in the extracts in (40)~(42), it is followed by a prosodic pause and a clause.

(40) *di?* used as discourse marker

J	<i>didto=na sa manila,</i>	<i>trabaho=na=ko didto</i>
	there=already LOC PN	work=already=1S.NOM there
L	<i>...di?, wa?=na=di?ay=ka</i>	<i>didto nag-ku?an- tugpo?</i>
	DM NEG=already=EVID=2S.NOM	there AV-KUAN reside

J: '(I went) there in Manila. I (started to) work there.'  
 L: 'Then, you did not anymore live there (in Cebu)?'

(41) *di?* used as discourse marker

<i>...pero na?a=na=ka=y</i>	<i>mga barkada-</i>
but EXIST=already=2S.NOM=NEUT	PL friends
<i>mga barkada nimo, di?, mga pinay=sad</i>	
PL friends 2S.GEN DM PL	Filipina=also

'But you already had friends. Your friends, then, (they're) also Filipinas?'

(42) *di?* used as discourse marker

T	<i>unya-</i>	<i>p&lt;in&gt;angga?=ka</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>imo-ng</i>	<i>bana day/</i>
	<i>unya?</i>	<i>pangga? &lt;in&gt;=ka</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>imo-nga</i>	<i>bana day/</i>
	then	like<PFV>=2S.NOM	GEN	2S.POSS-LK	husband VOC
L	<i>m\</i>				
	BC				
T	<i>di?</i> ,	<i>ma?ayo</i>			
	DM	good			
		T: 'So, your husband adores you?'			
		L: 'Yes.'			
		T: 'Then, good.'			

With the final question particle =*ba*, *di=ba* has also acquired certain functions as a discourse marker, with distinct uses in clause-initial and clause-final positions. First, it can be in clause-initial and discourse-initial position. By discourse-initial, I mean that the phrase *di=ba* signals the start of a new discourse topic, as in (43). It does not matter whether the constituent after the phrase *di=ba* is an NP or a clause, which introduces the topic of the discourse that follows.

(43) clause-initial, discourse-initial

<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>ka-opisina,</i>	<b><i>di=ba</i></b>	<i>pag-overtime</i>
<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>ka-opisina,</i>	<b><i>di=ba</i></b>	<i>pag-overtime</i>
3S.POSS-LK	PL	RECIP-office	DM	NMZ-overtime
<i>unya</i>	<i>mo-ingon</i>	<i>o,</i>	<i>mo-palit=ta</i>	<i>ug piantang</i>
DM	AV-say	DM	AV-buy=1IP.NOM	EXT meal.box
'His officemates, say, (in times when they) work overtime, (they'll) say, let's buy <i>piantang</i> .'				

The phrase *di=ba* projects differing senses when placed in a clause-initial or clause-final position. In clause-initial position, it can be used to elicit Hearer participation, as in (44), where the *di=ba* phrase would usually be, but not always, followed by a response. Such a clause-initial *di=ba* construction may also be used in such situations as a confrontation or an interrogation scene, where the Speaker intends

to either elicit an answer that can prove him right or reveal something unknown to other people present at the scene. As for clause-final position, the *di=ba* phrase, which is similar to a tag-question in English, seems to serve as a rhetorical question, where the Speaker proposes some kind of conclusion or inference based on the preceding discourse, as in (45). This function is sometimes found in a discourse-final position, and, especially when *di=ba* stands alone, it will even serve only to signal an end to a discourse or a discussion, as in (46).

(44) clause-initial (question) to elicit Hearer participation

M        *kamo di=ba nang-adto=na=mo/*  
           *kamo di=ba maN-adto=na=mo/*  
           2P.NOMDM    AV-go=already=2P.NOM

T        *sa Bangkok=ako e*  
           LOC    PN=1S.NOM    PAR

M: 'You, didn't you go (together) (to the States)?'

T: '(No,) I (was) in Bangkok.'

(45) clause-final (rhetorical question)

W        *ingon=siya nga unsa=ma=y labot sa ako-ng asawa*  
           *ingon=siya nga unsa=man=y labot sa ako?-nga asawa*  
           say=3S.NOM    COMP    what=PAR=NEUT relation GEN 1S.POSS-LK wife

T        *pero actually di?=man talaga dapat ganyan*  
           but    actually    NEG=PAR    really    must.be like.that

W        *oo*  
           BC

T        *kasi personal life=yan e,*  
           because personal.life=that    DM

*wala?=naman=sila-ng pakialam e di=ba/*  
*wala?=naman=sila-nga pakialam e di=ba/*  
           NEG=PAR=3P.NOM-LK    relation    DM    DM

W: 'He said, what has my wife got to do with it?'

T: 'But actually, it should not be that way.'

W: 'right.'

T: 'Because it's (his) personal life. It's not their business, right?'

(46) discourse marker

<i>na-putol=man</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>kamot unya</i>			
<i>na-putol=man</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>kamot unya</i>			
INTRANS-cut=PAR	3S.POSS-LK	hand	then		
<i>ga-separate ang</i>	<i>ti?il</i>	<i>tsaka</i>	<i>kamot/ diha?</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>taoyuan/</i>
AV-separate	ANG	leg	and	hand	there LOC PN
<i>o</i>	<i>di=ba,</i>	<i>naka-kita?=ka ato/</i>			
DM	DM	AV-see=2S.NOM	that		

'His hand was cut, and then the legs and the hands have become separated from the body... . There in Taoyuan. See, did you see that?'

## 7.7 Summary

As the first element in a verb complex, negator words attract particle clitics.

Some of these particles that most often occur with negation are the following: =*gyud*

'ever' (47), =*man* 'contradiction' (48), =*na* '(not) anymore' (49), and =*pa* '(not) yet'.

Examples are found below.

(47) particle clitics in negation clauses

<i>di?=gyud=ka</i>	<i>maka-balibad sa</i>	<i>iya-ha</i>
<i>di?=gyud=ka</i>	<i>maka-balibad sa</i>	<i>iya-a</i>
NEG=ever=2S.NOM	AV-refuse LOC	3S.POSS-DEF

'You can never refuse him.'

(48) particle clitics in negation clauses

<i>minimum</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ato?</i>	<i>wa?=pa=man</i>	<i>dos syentos</i>
minimum.wage	LOC	1IP.POSS	NEG=still=PAR	two.hundred

'The minimum (wage) in our (country), (it's) not yet even two hundred.'

(49) particle clitics in negation clauses

<i>sa una puydi=man,</i>	<i>karon</i>	<i>di?=na=man</i>	<i>ma-himo?</i>
at.first can=PAR	now	NEG=already=PAR	AV-do

'Before, it was allowed, (but) now it's not anymore possible.'

In this chapter I have covered the negators in Cebuano; this is a closed-set semantic category with only four members. They do not form a grammatical category as they occur in different structural contexts. They may serve as first elements in a

verb complex or as regular verbs taking voice markers. Due to their frequency in actual conversation, they have further evolved into discourse markers, with distinct functions in clause-initial and clause-final positions. The negators and their syntactic distribution are summarized in Table 7-1.

**Table 7-1. Negator particles in Cebuano**

Construction type	Basic structure	This chapter	Cross-reference	
Non-verbal Clauses	Existential	<i>wala</i> =y NP	7.1.1	5.1
	Possessive	<i>wala</i> =y NP NP <sub>Nom</sub>	7.1.2	5.2
	Locative	<i>wala</i> =y NP NP <sub>Loc</sub>	7.1.3	5.3
	Classifying Nominal Predicate	<i>dili?</i> NP <sub>Pred</sub> NP <sub>Nom</sub>	7.2.1	5.5.1
	Identifying Nominal Predicate	<i>dili?</i> NP <sub>Pred</sub> NP <sub>Nom</sub>	7.2.1	5.4
	Adjective Predicate	<i>dili?</i> Adj NP <sub>Nom</sub>	7.2.2	5.5.2
Verbal Clauses	Realis	<i>wala?</i> V <sub>Fut</sub> NP <sub>Nom</sub>	7.1.4	
	Irrealis/ Future/ Timeless	V <sub>Fut</sub> NP <sub>Nom</sub>	7.2.3	
	Direct Prohibition	<i>ayaw pag-</i> V <sub>Root</sub> <i>ayaw ug</i> V <sub>Root</sub>	7.3	9
	Interrogative	<i>ambot kung</i> Clause <sub>Interrogative</sub>	7.4	8
		<i>ambot ug</i> Clause <sub>Interrogative</sub>		

## Chapter 8 INTERROGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

### 8.0 Introduction

In this chapter I will describe the grammar of interrogation in Cebuano. The following strategies are employed by Cebuano speakers in interrogative clauses, namely, intonation, interrogative morphemes, and particles (including tags). Almost every interrogative clause has a rising intonation, especially yes-no questions. As yes-no questions have the same word order as indicative clauses, such a strategy is employed to distinguish between them. There are two kinds of interrogative morphemes, namely, the question words, and the second-position clitic =*ba*. The clitic =*ba* further attaches to the negator *di?* and forms a tag question.

Below I will first discuss the structure of yes-no questions in 8.1. I will show that they are primarily characterized by a rising intonation, and they sometimes employ an interrogative particle =*ba*. Then from 8.2 to 8.5 I will examine nominal interrogatives, numeral interrogatives, adverbial interrogatives, and verbal interrogatives. Aside from the syntactic forms containing the interrogative words, I will also talk about certain fixed expressions containing the question words. In 8.6, I will discuss the particles that are most often associated with interrogative clauses, namely, clitic particles, the final particle *no*, and the complement-taking negator word *ambot*. In 8.7, I will provide a summary.

## 8.1 Yes-No questions

Yes-no questions in Cebuano have the same syntactic structure as indicative clauses. The only thing that differentiates them from indicative clauses is the rising intonation that is conspicuous at the last syllable. For example, in (1), there is an evident rising intonation on *-ning*, the last syllable of the clause-final word *mining*. In (2), there is an obvious rising intonation on *-to?*, the last syllable of the clause-final word *ato?*.

- (1) rising intonation
- naka-dungog=ka ana-ng atlas mining/*  
*naka-dungog=ka ana?-nga atlas mining/*  
 AV-hear=2S.NOM that-LK PN  
 'Have you heard of that Atlas Mining?'
- (2) rising intonation
- T *pero wa?=pa=siya maka-adto sa ato?/*  
 but NEG=still=3S.NOM AV-go LOC 1IP.POSS
- L *naka-adto=na*  
 AV-go=already
- T: 'But he has not yet been to our place?'  
 L: '(He) has been (there).'

Aside from a rising intonation on the last syllable, Cebuano, like some Philippine languages such as Tagalog, Hiligaynon, and probably most Bisayan languages,

employ a question particle that cliticizes to the first-element in an interrogative clause.

With a =*ba* particle, the clause still ends with a rising intonation, as in (3).<sup>46</sup>

(3) yes-no question with a =*ba* morpheme

$\overline{\text{ga-tokar=pa=ba=na?}}$ $\overline{\text{ga-tokar=pa=ba=kana?}}$ AV-play=still=Q=that 'Is that still playing? Isn't it that (you) reverse it?'	$\overline{\text{di=ba, balih-on=man=na?}}$ $\overline{\text{di=ba, bali-on=man=kana?}}$ DM reverse-PV=PAR=that 'Is that still playing? Isn't it that (you) reverse it?'
--	---

The =*ba* can also cliticize to the negator *di?* (cf. Section 7.6) to form *di=ba*, which has grammaticized as a clause-initial discourse marker, as in the examples from (3) to (5), and as a clause-final tag question, as in (6). The clause-initial *di=ba* introduces a proposition or information that is most probably shared by the Hearer and it is sometimes used to tone down a suggestion, as in (3), or to make a statement sound less direct, as in the other conversational extracts provided in (4) and (5). *di=ba* as a discourse marker is also discussed in section 8.6.

<sup>46</sup> Comparing Philippine languages and Formosan languages in general, according to L. Huang et al. (1999), among Formosan languages, only Mantauran and Tona Rukai show such a phenomenon (see Table 8-a), but it is not clear whether in these languages a rising intonation also accompanies the presence of a bound question particle, like in Cebuano. Overall, it seems that most Formosan languages prefer a final particle, while Philippine languages prefer a second-position clitic.

**Table 8-a. Question particles in some Formosan and Philippine languages.**

(Data for Formosan languages are from Huang et al 1999.)

Languages	Particle	Distribution		
		Final	Non-final	Post-verbal
Paiwan	---			
Rukai	Maga			
	Labuan			
	Mantauran			√
Puyuma	<i>amaw</i>	√		
Mayrinax Atayal	<i>quw</i>	√		
Saisiyat	<i>ay</i>	√	√	
Amis	<i>sau</i>	√		
Kavalan	<i>ni</i>	√		
Tagalog	= <i>ba</i>			√
<b>Cebuano</b>	= <i>ba</i>			√
Hiligaynon	= <i>gid</i>			√

(4) *di=ba* used to make a statement sound less direct

*di?=ba, grabe mga balita, ...pero dili?=man*  
 DM serious PL news but NEG=PAR  
 'Isn't it that the news (being reported) is serious, ... but (the actual conditions) are not (that bad).'

(5) *di=ba* used to make a statement sound less direct

*di?=ba, kusog=ka?ay ulan sa ato?*  
*di?=ba, kusog=ka?ayoulan sa ato?*  
 DM strong=very rain LOC 1IP.POSS  
 'Isn't it that it is raining very hard in our (place)?'

(6) yes-no question with a *di=ba* tag

T *puro=naman mga pilipina do?on o\ di=ba/*  
 all=PAR PL PN there DM tag  
 '(They're) all Filipinas there, am I right?'

## 8.2 Nominal interrogatives

In many languages, a nominal *wh*-word manifests a participant, either an object, a person, a choice, or quantity, and possesses nominal properties. As such, they usually occur clause-initially in equational/nominal constructions. The nominal interrogatives in Cebuano are *kinsa* 'who' (8.2.1), *unsa* 'what' (8.2.2), and *asa* 'which' (8.2.3), and they occur in clause-initial position. These are considered nominal because they occur in nominal clauses where the nominal marker =y can attach to them. In addition, although the question word itself is not case-marked (similarly as *who/whom* in English), it can be preceded by a case marker. *kinsa* and *unsa* can occur in non-initial position, and when they do, they have to be preceded by a case marker.

### 8.2.1 The nominal interrogative word *kinsa* 'who'

The interrogative word *kinsa* 'who' normally appears in the clause-initial position in equational constructions, as in (7) and (8). It can be observed that the neutral marker =y attaches to the interrogative word or to the particles that cliticize to it.

#### (7) *kinsa* interrogative clause

T	<i>unya, kinsa=ma=y imo-</i>	<i>imo-ng</i>	<i>barkada</i>	<i>diri</i>
	<i>unya kinsa=man=y imo-</i>	<i>imo-nga</i>	<i>barkada</i>	<i>diri</i>
	then who=PAR=NEUT FS	2S.POSS-LK	friend	here
L	<i>dili?, wala?=ka?ay=ko=y</i>	<i>barkada</i>		
	<i>dili?, wala?=ka?ayo=ko=y</i>	<i>barkada</i>		
	NEG NEG=EMPH=1S.NOM=NEUT	friend		

T: 'Then, who are your friends here?'

L: 'No, I don't have many friends.'

#### (8) *kinsa* interrogative clause

L	<i>wala?, kinsa=ma=y</i>	<i>taga-</i>	<i>si-</i>	<i>taga-cebu=gyud</i>	<i>ang</i>
	<i>wala?, kinsa=man=y</i>	<i>taga-</i>	<i>si-</i>	<i>taga-cebu=gyud</i>	<i>ang</i>
	NEG who=PAR=NEUT	from	SI	from-PN=EMPH	ANG
J	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>mama</i>			
	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>mama</i>			
	1S.POSS-LK	mother			

L: 'No? Who's from-, (who's) really from-'

J: 'My mom.'

In other languages, the question word for *who* can be case-marked; similarly, the Tagalog word for *who* is also marked for nominative (*sino*) and dative (*kanino*). In Cebuano, an optional case marker *si* (nominative) or *kang* (dative) can precede *kinsa*, as in the constructed clauses in (9). However, if *kinsa* is in a non-initial position, the case marker is obligatory, as in (10).

(9) case-marked interrogative word (constructed)

<i>si</i>	<i>kinsa=ma=y</i>	<i>ni-tubag</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>telepono</i>
<i>si</i>	<i>kinsa=man=y</i>	<i>ni-tubag</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>telepono</i>
SI	who=PAR=NEUT	AV-answer	OBL	telephone

'Who answered the phone?'

(10) case-marked interrogative word (constructed)

<i>ni-palit=ka-g</i>	<i>regalo para</i>	<i>kang</i>	<i>kinsa/</i>
<i>ni-palit=ka-ug</i>	<i>regalo para</i>	<i>kang</i>	<i>kinsa/</i>
AV-buy=2S.NOM-OBL	gift for	DAT	who

'You bought a gift for whom?'

When *kinsa* is linked to a noun, it functions as a possessive modifier, meaning 'whose.' In (11), it is asking for the possessor of the book. In other cases, it can mean 'which' to serve to determine the identity of the noun referent: for examples, *which* doctor in (12) and *which* person named Peter in (13).

(11) *kinsa* as possessor (constructed)

<i>kinsa=man=ni-ng</i>	<i>libro</i>	<i>diri</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>lamesa</i>
<i>kinsa=man=kini-nga</i>	<i>libro</i>	<i>diri</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>lamesa</i>
who=PAR=this-LK	book	here	LOC	table

'Whose is this book on the table?'

(12) *kinsa* as possessor

L	<i>wa?=ma=y</i>	<i>dipirinsiya</i>	
	<i>wa?=man=y</i>	<i>dipirinsiya</i>	
	NEG=PAR=NEUT	defect	
T	<i>kinsa-ng</i>	<i>doctor-a</i>	<i>imo-ng</i>
	<i>kinsa-nga</i>	<i>doctor-a</i>	<i>imo-nga</i>
	who-LK	doctor-DEF	2S.POSS-LK
			<i>gi-pa-tan?aw</i>
			<i>gi-pa-tan?aw</i>
			PFV.PV-CAU-see
L	<i>sa=</i>	<i>dira?=man=mi</i>	<i>sa=</i>
	LOC	there=PAR=1EP.NOM	LOC

L: 'There are no defects.'  
T: 'Which doctor did you see?'  
L: 'There, we (went to see the doctor) there at ...'

(13) *kinsa* as possessor

M        *a= si peter ilonggo/*  
           FIL    SI     PN     Ilonggo

W        *ilonggo@*  
           Ilonggo

T        *kinsa-ng peter-a*  
           *kinsa-nga peter-a*  
           who-LK        PN-DEF

W        *ang husband*  
           ANG    husband

M: 'A=, Peter, the (one who's) Ilonggo.'

W: 'Ilonggo. (laughs)'

T: 'Which Peter (is that)?'

W: 'The husband.'

To express an indefinite referent, the phrase *bisa-g kinsa* 'anybody' (< *bisan ug kinsa* lit., 'even who') is used, as illustrated in (14).

(14) *kinsa* indicating indefinite referent

*sa una ay sus bisa-g kinsa imo-ng pangutan-on sa dan*  
*sa una ay sus bisan-ug kinsa imo-nga pangutana-on sa dalan*  
 LOC.first interj even-COMP who 2S.POSS-LK ask-PV LOC road

*wa=y ka-sabot wa=y ka-sabot*  
*wa?=y ka-sabot wa?=y ka-sabot*  
 NEG=NEUT AV-understand NEG=NEUT AV-understand

'Before, yeah, (when) you ask anybody on the street (in English), nobody understands, nobody understands.'

### 8.2.2 The nominal interrogative word *unsa* 'what'

The interrogative word *unsa* 'what' normally also occurs in clause-initial position in equational constructions, as in (15) and (16). In (15), it can be observed that the marker =y attaches to the interrogative word or to the other particles that cliticize to it. The interrogative word may also occur in oblique position, as in (16). It can also be preceded by a case marker, as in (17).

(15) *unsa* interrogative clause

J        *m=    unsa=ma=y   trabaho    sa    imo-ng    bana*  
          *m=    unsa=man=y   trabaho    sa    imo-nga    bana*  
          FIL    what=PAR=NEUT work        GEN    2S.POSS-LK    husband

L        *pulis\*  
          police

J: 'M=, what does your husband do?'

L: '(He's a) policeman.'

(16) *unsa* interrogative clause

T        *unsa=man=di?ay=ni        mike    mo-kanta=ka        diri/*  
          *unsa=man=di?ay=kini        mike    mo-kanta=ka        diri/*  
          what=PAR=PAR=this        PN        AV-sing=2S.NOM        here

M        *diri=sila        mag-experiment*  
          here=3P.NOM    AV-experiment

T        *ug        unsa    voice lesson/*  
          EXT    what    voice lesson

T: 'What is this, Mike? You sing here?'

M: 'They do experiments here.'

T: 'What (experiments)? Voice lessons?'

(17) *unsa* preceded by a case marker

M        *five hundred per day*  
          five hundred per day

T        *ang        unsa*  
          ANG    what

M        *Thailand*  
          pn

T        *ang    hotel/    ang*  
          ANG    hotel            ANG

M        *ang    visa*  
          ANG    visa

M: '(It's) five hundred per day.'

T: 'The what?'

M: '(The visa applicants) to Thailand.'

T: 'The hotel or what?'

M: 'The (number of) visa (applications).'

Like *kinsa* and other possessive modifiers, *unsa* can be linked by *nga* to a noun to mean 'which.' This is illustrated in (18). The phrase *bisa-g unsa* 'anything;

whatever' (< *bisan ug unsa* lit., 'even what') is employed to indicate an indefinite referent, as in (19) and (20).

(18) *unsa* used as nominal modifier

T	<i>hangtod</i>	<b><i>unsa-ng</i></b>	<i>oras-a=man=mo</i>	<i>diri</i>
	<i>hangtod</i>	<b><i>unsa-nga</i></b>	<i>oras-a=man=mo</i>	<i>diri</i>
	until	what-LK	time-DEF=PAR=2P.NOM	here

L *six*  
six

T: 'Until what time are you (staying) here?'

L: '(Until) six.'

(19) *unsa* indicating indefinite referent

T	<i>pero</i>	<i>maka-lakaw</i>	<i>bisa-g</i>	<b><i>unsa-ng</i></b>	<i>oras-a/</i>
	<i>pero</i>	<i>maka-lakaw</i>	<i>bisan-ug</i>	<b><i>unsa-nga</i></b>	<i>oras-a/</i>
	but	AV-walk	even-COMP	what-LK	hour-DEF

L *ay* *maka-lakaw=ko* *oy*  
INTERJ AV-walk=1S.NOM PAR

T: 'But you can go out anytime?'

L: 'Ay, I can go out (anytime).'

(20) *unsa* indicating indefinite referent

T	<i>dili?</i>	<i>pili-an,</i>	<i>bisa-g</i>	<b><i>unsa-ng</i></b>	<i>pa-kan-on</i>
	<i>dili?</i>	<i>pili?-an,</i>	<i>bisan-ug</i>	<b><i>unsa-ang</i></b>	<i>pa-ka?on-on</i>
	NEG	choose-LV.STATE	even-COMP	what-ANG	CAU-eat-PV

L *mo-ka?on=ra=siya*  
AV-eat=only=3S.NOM

T: '(He's) not picky? Whatever you feed him-,'

L: 'He just eats.'

The interrogative word *unsa* can also serve as a placeholder or a replacement word when a Speaker is still searching for the right word to say, equivalent to the expression *ku?an* (this is discussed in detail in Chapter 19). In (21), the word *unsa* is being used as a placeholder in the process of word search.

(21) *unsa* in non-initial position and used as a placeholder

- J        *na?a=ka=y mga ku?an mga **unsa** ni mga manghod*  
*na?a=ka=y mga ku?an mga **unsa** kini mga manghod*  
 EXIST=2S.NOM=NEUT PL KUAN PL PH this PL younger.sibling
- L        *o= daghan=kayo=mi, pito=mi ka bu?uk*  
*o= daghan=ka?ayo=mi, pito=mi ka bu?uk*  
 BC many=very=1EP.NOM seven=1EP.NOMLK piece
- J: 'You have er..., younger siblings?'  
 L: 'Yes, (there are) very many of us. Seven in all.'

The expression of complaint in (22a) indicates the feeling of being treated unfairly. The similar expressions in (22b) and (22c) use *unsa* and *ku?an*, respectively, showing that the exact words cannot be found to describe certain unacceptable actions of other people.

- (22a) *grabe=man=na?=kayo=sila oy!*  
*grabe=man=kana?=ka?ayo=sila oy!*  
 serious=PAR=that=very=3P.NOM VOC  
 'They're just too much!'
- (22b) *unsa=man=na?=kayo=sila oy!*  
*unsa=man=kana?=ka?ayo=sila oy!*  
 what=PAR=that=very=3P.NOM VOC  
 'They're so . . . [word search].'
- (22c) *ku?an=man=na?=kayo=sila oy!*  
*ku?an=man=kana?=ka?ayo=sila oy!*  
 kuan=PAR=that=very=3P.NOM VOC  
 'They're so . . . [word search].'

The interrogative word *unsa* has also grammaticized into a discourse marker, as in (23) and (24).

(23) discourse marker

<i>kataw-an-an=ka?ay=ni-ng</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>amigo</i>
<i>katawa-an-an=ka?ayo=kini-nga</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>amigo</i>
laugh-LV-NMZ=very=this-LK	1S.POSS-LK	friend

<b><i>unsa,</i></b>	<i>na-lingaw=ka</i>	<i>dong/</i>
DM	AV-amused=2S.NOM	VOC

'My friend here is so funny. So, *Dong*, were you amused?'

(24) discourse marker

<i>o wala?- wa=y</i>	<i>mo-sugat</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ako</i>
<i>o wala? wa?=y</i>	<i>mo-sugat</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ako?</i>
DM NEG	NEG=NEUT	AV-get	OBL 1S.POSS

<i>unya</i>	<b><i>unsa=man,</i></b>	<i>aw</i>	<i>mag-taxi=lang=ko</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>airport</i>
then	what=PAR	DM	AV-taxi=just=1S.NOM	LOC	airport

'So, nobody will see me at the airport. Then what? I'll just take a taxi.'

A similar expression *unsa=ka (diha?)*, literally, 'what (are) you (there),' is an expression of disbelief or surprise at an unexpected statement or an action of another person. In (25), the topic of the conversation is *sinugba* 'roasted fish.' All of a sudden, M mentions Sunburst, a restaurant that sells only fried chicken dishes, to which T expresses her disbelief or surprise at the thought of Sunburst selling *sinugba*. Another example is provided in (26).

(25) *unsa* as part of fixed expression

W	<i>s&lt;in&gt;ugba</i> <i>sugba&lt;in&gt;</i> roast<PFV>				
T	<i>mora-g</i> <i>mora-ug</i> like-COMP	<i>wa?=na=tingali</i> <i>wa?=na=tingali</i> NEG=already=probably	<i>lami?=baya?=to</i> <i>lami?=baya?=kato</i> tasty=EVID=that	<i>didto/</i> <i>didto/</i> there	
M	<i>ku?an sunburst</i> KUAN PN				
T	<i>naku</i> <i>naku</i> INTERJ	<i>manok=man=na?</i> <i>manok=man=kana?</i> chicken=PAR=that	<i>unsa=ka</i> <i>unsa=ka</i> what=2S.NOM	<i>diha?/</i> <i>diha?/</i> there	
W	<i>sunburst</i> PN	<i>fried chicken</i> fried chicken			

W: 'roasted (fish)'

T: 'Seems it has probably closed down. (But) they had nice food there.'

W: '*kuan* Sunburst'

T: 'oh my, it's chicken there. What are you thinking?'

W: 'Sunburst fried chicken.'

(26) *unsa* as part of fixed expression

T	<i>na-unsa=ka</i> AV-what=2S.NOM	<i>diha?</i> there
M	<i>ma?o=na=y</i> <i>ma?o=kana?=y</i> ANAPH=that=NEUT	<i>lami?</i> <i>lami?</i> tasty
T	<i>bu?ang</i> crazy	

T: 'What are you thinking!'

M: 'That's what's tasty.'

T: '(You're) crazy!'

### 8.2.3 The nominal interrogative word *asa* 'which'

In phrases like *asa (nga) dapit* 'where (lk) place > which place', *asa* is an interrogative word asking 'which,' as in (27) and (28). Although it collocates often with *dapit* 'place' where it is ambiguous between 'which' and 'where', *asa* can also be linked to any NP (e.g., *asa-ng balay-a* 'which house' or *asa-ng babayi-hana* 'which girl'), where the definitizer suffix *-a* indicates a particular referent.

(27) *asa* interrogative word

L        *asa=mo*        *dapit*    *sa*        *manila*  
          where=2P.NOM place    LOC    PN

J        *san juan*  
          PN

L: 'Where (which place) in Manila are you (staying)?'

J: 'In San Juan.'

(28)        *asa* interrogative word

*kahibao=na=mi*                      *kung asa*    *dapit*    *mag-traffic*  
know=already=1EP.NOM            if        where    place    AV-traffic

'We already know where (in which areas) there is heavy traffic.'

In related Formosan languages, it is observed that the interrogative word for 'where' is also used to ask 'which' (L. Huang et al. 1999). Like other nominal interrogative words in Cebuano, *asa* is usually found in clause-initial position and may be cliticized with =y, which marks the attribute of the choice to be made, as in (29). The clause can also be optionally followed by a list of choices. If no overt list of choices is given, it is implied that the Hearer is actually asked to choose from all the possible options known to her. For example, in (29), M is asking for a choice among the local restaurants known to both W and T, to which T answers *Baliwag*. In other words, *Baliwag* is one of the possible choices understood to be available in M's asking *asa*. Moreover, the polysemy between 'which' and 'why' is actually obvious (this can also be detected in the translations). The question in (29) can be re-worded as *Where (can you find a restaurant that serves) tasty, roasted chicken?* instead of *Which (restaurant serves) tasty, roasted chicken?* Two more examples are given in (30) and (31), where open-choice questions are asked.

(29) *asa* means 'which/where'

W	<i>sunburst</i>	<i>ako?=na-ng</i>	<i>classmate</i>		
	<i>sunburst</i>	<i>ako?=kana?-nga</i>	<i>classmate</i>		
	PN	1S.POSS=that-LK	classmate		
M	<i>asa=y</i>	<i>nindot nga</i>	<i>ku?an</i>	<i>kanang</i>	<i>litson manok</i>
	<i>asa=y</i>	<i>nindot nga</i>	<i>ku?an</i>	<i>kanang</i>	<i>litson manok</i>
	which=NEUT	nice LK	KUAN	PH	roast.chicken
T	<i>baliwag</i>				
	PN				

W: 'Sunburst, (that's owned by) my classmate.'

M: 'Which (restaurant) serves tasty, roasted chicken?'

T: '(The one in) Baliwag.'

(30) *asa* means 'which/where'

a-	<i>bisaya?=ka</i>	<i>no,</i>	<i>asa</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>bisaya?inyo,</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>cebu</i>
FIL	Visayan=2S.NOM	DM	which	LOC	PN	2P.POSS LOC	PN

'So, you're Bisaya, right? Which (part)/where in the Visayas are you from? Cebu?'

(31) *asa* means 'which/where'

L	<i>ikaw,</i>	<i>asa=ka</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>Cebu</i>
	2S.VOC	where=2S.NOM	LOC	PN
T	<i>sa=</i>	<i>ku?an=ko</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>urgello</i>
	LOC	KUAN=2S.NOM	LOC	PN
L	<i>sa</i>	<i>urgello a\</i>		
	LOC	PN	BC	
T	<i>ikaw,</i>	<i>asa,</i>		
	2S.VOC	where		
L	<i>du?ul=ko</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>southwestern</i>	
	near=1S.NOM	LOC	PN	

L: 'You, which (area)/where in Cebu are you (from)?'

T: 'I'm from Urgello.'

L: 'Urgello, I see...'

T: 'You, which (area in Cebu are you from)?'

L: 'I'm (staying) near Southwestern (Hospital).'

The word *asa* can also be found in phrases like *taga-asa* 'from which place (where),' when asking about somebody else's native hometown, as in (32).

(32) *asa* interrogative word

T	<i>taga-asa=man</i>	<i>imo-ng</i>	<i>bana</i>
	<i>taga-asa=man</i>	<i>imo-nga</i>	<i>bana</i>
	from-where=PAR	2S.POSS-LK	husband
L	<i>taga-panchiao,</i>	<i>taiwanese</i>	
	from-PN	PN	

T: 'From where is your husband?'

L: '(He's) from Panchiao. (He's) Taiwanese.'

### 8.3 The numeral interrogative word *pila* 'how many'

The interrogative word *pila* occurs in clause-initial position, and can refer to both non-countable, as in (33) and (34), and countable nouns. For countable nouns, it can be linked to a noun by the linker *ka*, as shown in (35). Like the other nominal interrogatives, *pila* can be used in phrases like *bisa-g pila*, literally 'any amount or any number,' as in (35), and *tag-pila*, 'how many each,' as in (36).

(33) *pila* interrogative word

T	<i>wa=y</i>	<i>abri</i>		
	<i>wa?=y</i>	<i>abri</i>		
	NEG=NEUT	open		
M	<b><i>pila</i></b>			
	how.much			
T	<i>dos cientos</i>	<i>m\ a dos cientos</i>	<i>sa ato?</i>	<i>dako?=na=na?</i>
	<i>dos cientos</i>	<i>m\ a dos cientos</i>	<i>sa ato?</i>	<i>dako?=na=kana?</i>
	two.hundred	DM FIL two.hundred	LOC 1IP.POSS	big=already=that
W	<i>a</i>	<i>?o?o</i>		
	FIL	BC		
T	<b><i>pila=na=man</i></b>	<i>karon</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>minimum</i>
	how.much=already=PAR	now	ANG	minimum
	<i>wala?=pa=ma=y</i>	<i>dos cientos</i>	<i>ato-ng</i>	<i>minimum</i>
	<i>wala?=pa=man=y</i>	<i>dos cientos</i>	<i>ato?-nga</i>	<i>minimum</i>
	NEG=still=PAR=NEUT	two.hundred	1IP.POSS-LK	minimum

T: '(They) didn't open (my luggage).'

M: 'How much (did you bribe)?'

T: 'Two hundred. Two hundred in our (country), it's a huge amount.'

W: 'Yes.'

T: 'How much is the minimum wage now? It's not even two hundred.'



### 8.4.1 Temporal interrogative word *kanus?a* ‘when’

The interrogative word for *kanus?a* 'when' normally occupies the first element slot in the verb complex, as in (37). In temporal phrases, it can also be preceded by a temporal preposition like *hangtud* 'until,' as in (38).

(37) *kanus?a* interrogative word

T	<b><i>kanus?a=man=ka</i></b>	<i>ni-abot</i>	<i>diri/</i>
	when=PAR=2S.NOM	AV-arrive	here
L	<i>mga January=</i>	<i>2000 to</i>	
	<i>mga January=</i>	<i>2000 kato</i>	
	around January	2000 that	
	T: 'When did you arrive here?'		
	L: 'It was around January 2000.'		

(38) *kanus?a* interrogative word

T	<i>hangtud</i>	<b><i>unsa</i></b>	<i>na-human</i>
	until	what	AV-finish
L	<i>ha/</i>		
	BC		
T	<i>hangtud</i>	<b><i>kanus?a</i></b>	
	until	when	
L	<i>sa=</i>	<i>September 30</i>	
	TEMP	September 30	
	T: 'Until what (day) was it finished?'		
	L: 'Ha?'		
	T: 'Until when?'		
	L: 'Last September 30.'		

### 8.4.2 Locative interrogative word *asa* ‘where’

As I have mentioned in an earlier section, *asa* can mean either 'which' or 'where.' When used in the sense of 'where,' *asa* occupies the clause-initial first element slot in a verb complex, as in (39) and (40).

(39) *asa* interrogative word

T        *unya asa=man=ka mo-adto, sa States=na=pud/*  
           then    where=PAR=2S.NOM    AV-GO        LOC    PN=already=also

J        *wa?=pa=y plano*  
           NEG=still=NEUTplan

L: So, where are you going? To the States again?

J: '(There are) still no plans.'

(40)        *asa* interrogative word

*pag-abot=nimo diri asa=ka ga-trabaho*  
 NMZ-arrive=2S.GEN    here    where=2S.NOM    AV-work

'(Upon) your first arrival here, where were you working?'

In Chapter 6, I have mentioned that there have been previous descriptions of various "where" words and "when" words (Bunye and Yap 1971: 72ff), where the question word *asa* is described as expressing future and non-factual events; *di?in* for past and factual events; and *ha?in* for locational, stationary, and future events. The words *di?in* and *ha?in* can also be used to replace the more preferred word *asa* in expressing 'which' (see 8.2.3).

### 8.4.3 Frequency interrogative word *ka-pila* 'how often'

The interrogative word *ka-pila* expressing frequency also occupies the first-element slot in a verb complex in Cebuano, as in (41). Here, *ka-pila* is used as a frequency adverbial modifying the main verb *mag-kita?*.

(41) *ka-pila* interrogative word

T        *unya? sa usa ka semana, ka-pila=man=mo mag-kita?*  
           then    LOC one LK week    FREQ-how.many=PAR=2P.NOM    RECIP-see

L        *ka-usa=ra*  
           FREQ-one=only

T: 'Then, in each week, how many times do you see each other?'

L: 'Only once (a week).'

In (41), *ka-pila* is used adverbially to modify a main verb. In (42), it takes the main verb slot and functions as the verb, as the verb that it should have modified is missing; it is affixed with *maka-* (future) or *naka-* (non-future) and can take a nominative argument, just like a main verb.

(42) *ka-pila* as a verb

*naka-pila=mo ka tawo gahapon*  
 AV-how.many=2P.NOM LK person yesterday  
 'How many persons (did you serve) yesterday?'

#### 8.4.4 The interrogative word *ngano* 'why'

The interrogative word *ngano* 'why' occurs in clause-initial position and is linked to the following clause by *nga*, as in (43) and (44).

(43) interrogative word *ngano*

*ngano-ng ipis=man, wa?=niya gi-himo-g ?ok?ok*  
*ngano-nga ipis=man, wa?=niya gi-himo?-ug ?ok?ok*  
 why-LK PN=PAR NEG=3S.GEN PFV.PV-make-EXT cockroach  
 'Why (did they get the name) *Ipis* (Tagalog for cockroach); they didn't make it *?ok?ok* (Cebuano for cockroach)?'

(44) interrogative word *ngano*

*bakit ang ku?an=ba, ngano-ng ato-ng tourism*  
*bakit ang ku?an=ba, ngano-nga ato?-nga tourism*  
 why ANG KUAN=DM why-LK 1IP.POSS-LK tourism  
*mas daghan sa cebu kaysa manila*  
 more many LOC PN than PN  
 'Why is it that, why is it that our tourism-, more (tourists come) to Cebu than to Manila?'

#### 8.5 Verbal interrogatives

The interrogative word *unsa* 'what' is versatile in that it possesses a function similar to *ku?an*, which can replace other verbs; in this way, *unsa* is interchangeable with the dummy word *ku?an*. In using *unsa*, the Speaker in (45a) is implying that she

doesn't want to go to *Chungshan* as she has no business hanging out there. In other words, (45a) is a genuine question, where *unsa* 'do what' is being used as a regular verb. In contrast, in (45b), the use of *ku?an* (instead of *unsa*) implies a strong possibility that the Speaker is going as she has something to do there, given the functions of *ku?an* (see Chapter 19 for a detailed discussion of *ku?an*). Therefore, like any other regular verb, the *unsa* verb functions as the main verb in a verb complex and can be preceded by pre-verbal elements and followed by arguments.

(45a) *unsa* as a verb

<i>oy</i>	<i>adto=ta</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>Chungshan</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>wonwon</i>
VOC	go=1IP.NOM	LOC	PN	LOC	PN

*mag-unsa=man=ko diha?@@*

AV-do.what=PAR=1S.NOM there

'(They'll tell me,) "Hey, let's go to Chungshan, to Wonwon." What am I supposed to do there?'

(45b) *ku?an* as a verb (constructed based on 45a)

*mag-ku?an=man=ko diha?*

AV-KUAN=PAR=1S.NOM there

'I'm going to do something there?'

As a main verb, *unsa* can take an AV form (*mag-unsa/nag-unsa* and *ma-unsa/na-unsa*) or a PV form (*gi-unsa/unsa-on*) and be followed by clitic particles and pronouns, as shown in Table 8-1. In its AV form, the verb has the sense of “what (is being done)” or “what (has been accidentally done)” (as in 46), while in its PV form, it carries the sense of “how (something is done).” As an interrogative word, *gi-unsa/unsa-on* 'how' usually occurs in clause-initial position and takes a nominalized *pag(ka)*- complement, as in the conversational extracts from (47) to (49).

**Table 8-1. Verbal interrogatives in Cebuano**

	gloss	type	argument structure
<i>unsa</i>	what	nominal	-
<i>nag-unsa/mag-unsa</i>	V-ed; do what?	verbal (AV)	<i>nag-/mag-unsa</i> =clitics NP <sub>Nom</sub>
<i>na-unsa/ma-unsa</i>	got V-ed; do what? (accidentally)	verbal (AV)	<i>na-/ma-unsa</i> =clitics NP <sub>Nom</sub>
<i>gi-unsa/unsa-on</i>	how	verbal (PV)	<i>gi-unsa/unsa-on</i> =clitics(=)NP <sub>Gen</sub> (NP <sub>Nom</sub> ) <i>pag-V</i> <sub>COMP</sub>

(46) *unsa* as a verb

<i>tubig</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>ila-ng</i>	<i>gi-hulug-an</i>
<i>tubig</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>ila-nga</i>	<i>gi-hulug-an</i>
water	ANG	3P.POSS-LK	PFV-fall-LV

...(1.7) *wala?=sila ma-unsa ug na-buhi?=lang=gihapon*  
 NEG=3P.NOM SPONT-what and SPONT-live=only=still

'They fell into (a body of) water. They did not get (hurt) and were still alive.'

(47) *gi-unsa* 'how' as a verb

L	<i>gi-unsa=man=to</i>	<i>pag-ligis</i>	
	<i>gi-unsa=man=kato</i>	<i>pag-ligis</i>	
	PFV.PV-what=par=that	NMZ-bump.against	
T	<i>ambot=lang</i>	<i>gi-unsa=to</i>	<i>pagka-ligis</i>
	<i>ambot=lang (kung)gi-unsa=kato</i>		<i>pagka-ligis</i>
	don't.know=PAR	COMP PFV.PV-what=that	NMZ-bump.against
	<i>wa?=ko ka-sabot</i>	<i>wa?=ko ni-tan?aw</i>	<i>ma-hadlok=ko</i>
	NEG=1S.NOM AV-understand	NEG=1S.NOM AV-see	AV-be.afraid=1S.NOM

L: 'How was it knocked down?'

T: 'I have no idea how it was knocked down. I couldn't understand; I didn't look; I was afraid to look.'

(48) *unsa-on* 'how' as a verb

L	<i>unya? usahay</i>	<i>di?=ra=niya</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-sabt-an</i>
	<i>unya? usahay</i>	<i>di?=ra=niya</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-sabot-an</i>
	then sometimes	NEG=only=3S.GEN	FS	SPONT-understand-LV
	<i>unsa-on=man=ni=nako?</i>	<i>oy</i>	<i>@@sigi=dyud=ko-g-</i>	
	<i>unsa-on=man=kini=nako?</i>	<i>oy</i>	<i>@@sigi=dyud=ko-ug-</i>	
	what-PV=PAR=this=1S.GEN	VOC	ASP=EMPH=1S.NOM-SUB	
	<i>ingon=ko</i>	<i>unsa-on=kaha?</i>	<i>pag-</i>	
	say=1S.NOM	what-PV=PAR	NMZ-	
T	<i>wa?=ka=niya</i>	<i>tudlu-i/</i>		
	NEG=2S.NOM=3S.GEN	teach-LV		
L	<i>gi-tudlu-an</i>			
	PFV-teach-LV			

L: 'Then sometimes he just cannot understand (what I'm saying). What shall I do, @@I keep on-, I tell myself, how can I-, ...'

T: 'He didn't teach you?'

L: '(Yes,) (he) did teach (me).'

(49) *unsa-on* 'how' as a verb

<i>unsa-on=man=nako?</i>	<i>pag-adto</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>states</i>
what-PV=PAR=1S.GEN	NMZ-go	LOC	US
'How can I go to the States?'			

## 8.6 Particles associated with interrogative clauses

There are certain frequently-occurring particles in interrogative clauses in Cebuano, but they are not exclusively used for questioning as they are also often found in declarative clauses and other clause constructions. I will discuss three types of particles here, namely, various clitic particles, the final particle *no*, and the complement-taking negator word *ambot*. The clitic particles that often appear in interrogative clauses are *=ba*, *=kaha?*, *=di?ay*, *=gud*, and *=man*. The particle *=ba* has been discussed earlier in this chapter (section 8.1), so I will start with *=kaha?*.

The clitic particle *=kaha?* expresses doubt or uncertainty with regard to a proposition, and can be translated as 'do you think', 'by any chance', 'perhaps', or 'maybe'. In (50), Speaker T expresses doubt as to somebody's ability to speak Chinese

after only ninety days of language training. In (51), the Speaker is narrating her disbelief upon a sudden marriage proposal from her husband, who was then her suitor and just barely acquainted with her.

(50) interrogative clause with particle =*kaha?*

W        *ninety days*  
           ninety days

T        *maka-sulti=**kaha?**=na?=sila*        *sa <in>insik ka-bilis=pud*  
           *maka-sulti=**kaha?**=kana?=sila*        *sa <in>insik ka-bilis=pud*  
           AV-speak=PAR=that=3P.NOM        OBL Chinese<way> so-fast=PAR

W: '(for) ninety days.'  
 T: 'Will they be able to speak Chinese? (Ninety days) is just too little time (to learn a language).'

(51) interrogative clause with particle =*kaha?*

*unya? ako-ng-        ako-ng        gi-ingn-an,        tinu?od=**kaha?**=ka*  
*unya? ako?-nga-        ako?-nga        gi-ingon-an,        tinu?od=**kaha?**=ka*  
 then 1S.POSS-LK        1S.POSS-LK        PFV.PV-say-LV        real=PAR=2S.NOM

'Then, I-, I told him, "Are you serious?"'

The particle *di?ay* indicates a kind of interest on the part of the Speaker in the topic of the conversation. As illustrated in the following examples, the Hearer seems eager to pursue a particular topic through the use of this particle

(52) interrogative clause with particle =*di?ay*

J        *ma?o=na?        didto=na        sa manila,        trabaho=na=ko        didto*  
           *ma?o=kana? didto=na        sa manila,        trabaho=na=ko        didto*  
           ANAPH=that        there=already        LOC PN work=already=1S.NOM        there

L        *...di?, wa?=na=**di?ay**=ka*        *didto nag-tugpo        sa        Cebu*  
           DM        NEG=already=PAR=2S.NOM        there        AV-reside        LOC        PN

J        *o        wala?*  
           BC        NEG

J: 'So that's it. (I moved) there to Manila. I started to work there.'  
 L: 'So you did not reside anymore there in Cebu?'  
 J: 'No, not (anymore).'

(53) interrogative clause with particle =*di?ay*

T	<i>lisud=ka?ayo daghan-g bata? kapoy=ka?ayo</i> <i>lisud=ka?ayo daghan-ug bata? kapoy=ka?ayo</i> difficult=EMPH many-LK child tiring=EMPH
	<i>labi=na ikaw=ra nag-asikaso</i> especially=already 2S.NOM=just AV-handle
L	<i>ngano=man imo-ng asawa asa=<b>di?ay</b></i> <i>ngano=man imo-nga asawa asa=<b>di?ay</b></i> why=PAR 2S.POSS-LK husband where=PAR
T	<i>bulag=man=mi</i> separate=PAR=1EP.NOM

T: '(It's) really difficult (to have) so many children. (It's) so tiring, especially when you are the only one taking care (of them).'

L: 'Why? Where's your husband then?'

T: 'We divorced.'

The clitic particle =*gud* can be translated as 'in the world' while =*man* can tone down the force of the question, so as not to sound so intrusive, as in (54) and (55).

(54) interrogative clause with particle =*gud*

<i>makig-minyo?=kuno=siya=nako? mora-g di?=ko mo-to?o</i>
<i>makig-minyo?=kuno=siya=nako? mora-ug di?=ko mo-to?o</i>
RECIP-marry=EVID=3S.NOM=1S.DAT like-COMP NEG=1S.NOM AV-believe

<i>unsa=<b>gud</b>, ako-ng gi-ingn-an tinu?od=kaha?=ka</i>
<i>unsa=<b>gud</b>, ako?-nga gi-ingon-an tinu?od=kaha?=ka</i>
what=PAR 1S.POSS-LK PFV-say-LV true=perhaps=2S.NOM

'(He told me that) he (wanted to) marry me, (it's) like it's unbelievable.

How in the world... I told (him), can you be sure?'

(55) interrogative clause with particle =*man*

T:	<i>taga-asa=<b>man</b> imo-ng bana</i>
	<i>taga-asa=<b>man</b> imo-nga bana</i>
	from-where=PAR 2S.POSS-LK husband
L:	<i>taga-panchiao</i>
	from-PN

T: 'Where is your husband from?'

L: (He's) from Panchiao.'

Clauses accompanied by the final particle *no* may be followed by two types of intonation: a rising intonation indicates stronger uncertainty, while a falling intonation means the Speaker is surer.

(56) clause-final particle in interrogative clause

*tulo ka tu?ig=na=mo no/*  
 three LK year=already=2P.NOM PAR  
 'You('ve been married) for three years already, right?'

(57) clause-final particle in interrogative clause

*daghan=ka-g anak no/*  
*daghan=ka-ug anak no/*  
 many=2S.NOM-LK child PAR  
 'You have many children, right?'

(58) clause-final particle in interrogative clause

*may=gani? imo-ng bana mayo=pud=siya no/*  
*ma?ayo=gani? imo-nga bana ma?ayo=pud=siya no/*  
 good=PAR 2S.POSS-LK husband good-also=3S.NOM PAR  
 'It's good (that) your husband is nice, right?'

Finally, interrogative clauses can serve as complements. The negator word *ambot* expresses a lack of knowledge about a preceding question or comment or the proposition indicated by a following interrogative complement clause, as in (59). Being interrogative, the complement clause can be marked by *=ba*.

(59) *ambot* followed by interrogative clause

W	@	<i>ang malacanang</i>	<i>i-buhat=sad</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>cebu</i>
		ANG PN	IV-build=also	LOC	PN
T		<i>ang mac-</i>	<i>ang malacanang=daw</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>cebu=daw</i>
		ANG FS	ANG PN=EVID	LOC	PN=EVID
		<i>ambot</i>	<i>tinu?ud=ba=na?/</i>		
		<i>ambot</i>	<i>tinu?ud=ba=kana?/</i>		
		don't.know	true=Q=that		

W: 'The Malacanang Palace, (they're) going to build (one) in Cebu.'

T: 'They say a Malacanang Palace in Cebu. I have no idea (if) that's true.'

In the following examples, *ambot* is followed by an interrogative clause with the question word *ngano* (60), *asa* (61), *unsa* (62), and *gi-unsa* (63). This construction is also discussed in Section 7.4.

(60) *ambot* followed by *ngano* interrogative clause

<b><i>ambot</i></b>	<b><i>ngano-ng</i></b>	<i>kahibawo=ko</i>	<i>mag-bisaya</i>
<b><i>ambot</i></b>	<b><i>ngano-nga</i></b>	<i>kahibawo=ko</i>	<i>mag-bisaya</i>
don't.know	why-LK	know=1S.NOM	AV-Visayan

'I don't have any idea why I know (how to speak) Visayan.'

(61) *ambot* followed by *unsa* interrogative clause

<b><i>ambot=lang</i></b>	<b><i>unsa</i></b>	<i>ila-ng</i>	<i>plano</i>
<b><i>ambot=lang</i></b>	<b><i>unsa</i></b>	<i>ila-nga</i>	<i>plano</i>
don't.know=only	what	3P.POSS-LK	plan

'I don't know what their plans are.'

(62) *ambot* followed by *asa* interrogative clause

W	<b><i>asa=man</i></b>			
	where=PAR			
T	<b><i>ambot</i></b>	<b><i>asa=man=to</i></b>	<i>wa?=man[=ko</i>	<i>kahibalo]</i>
	<b><i>ambot</i></b>	<b><i>asa=man=kato</i></b>	<i>wa?=man[=ko</i>	<i>kahibalo]</i>
	don't.know	where=PAR=that	NEG=PAR=1S.NOM	know
W			<i>[balay]=ba sa iya-ng</i>	<i>employer/</i>
			<i>[balay]=ba sa iya-nga</i>	<i>employer/</i>
			house=Q GEN 3S.POSS-LK	employer
T	<i>o</i>	<i>balay sa</i>	<i>employer-</i>	<i>a- sa yangmingshan</i>
	BC house GEN	employer	DM LOC PN	

W: 'Where?'

T: 'I have no idea. Where was that? I don't know.'

W: 'Was it (in) the house of her employer?'

T: 'Yes, the house of her employer, er-, in Yangmingshan.'

(63) *ambot* followed by *gi-unsá* interrogative clause

T        *ambot=lang*                    *gi-unsá=to*                    *pagka-ligis*  
*ambot=lang*                    *gi-unsá=kato*                    *pagka-ligis*  
 don't.know=PAR                    PFV.PV-what=that                    NMZ-bump.against

*wa?=ko*        *ka-sabot*        *wa?=ko*        *ni-tan?aw ma-hadlok=ko*  
 NEG=1S.NOM    AV-understand    NEG=1S.NOM    AV-see AV-be.afraid=1S.NOM

L: 'How was it knocked down?'

T: 'I have no idea how it was knocked down. I couldn't understand; I didn't look; I was afraid to look.'

### 8.7 Summary

I covered four different types of interrogative clauses in Cebuano in this chapter, namely, nominal interrogatives, adverbial interrogatives, verbal interrogatives, and complement-taking interrogatives, which are summarized in Table 8-2. In addition, I also discussed some particles that frequently occur with interrogative clauses.

**Table 8-2. Interrogative words in Cebuano**

Type	Question word	Gloss	Notes
yes-no questions	= <i>ba</i>		Marked by a rising intonation at final syllable Frequently co-occurring particles: <i>ambot</i> and <i>no</i>
nominal	<i>kinsa</i>	who	May be cliticized with =y in equational clauses Can take case markers Can refer to indefinite referent: <i>bisa-g Q</i>
	<i>unsá</i>	what	
	<i>asa</i>	which; where	
	<i>pila</i>	how many; how much	
adverbial	<i>kanus?a</i>	when	Occupies first-element slot in verb complex
	<i>asa</i>	where	
	<i>ka-pila</i>	how often	
	<i>ngano</i>	why	Fronted
verbal	<i>maka-pila</i>	how many	
	<i>mag-unsá</i> <i>ma-unsá</i> <i>unsá-on</i>	do what	May be preceded by pre-verbal elements
	<i>unsá-on</i>	how	Strictly clause-initial Takes nominalized complement <i>pagka-V</i>

## Chapter 9 IMPERATIVES and OTHER CONSTRUCTIONS USED in COMMANDS

### 9.0 Introduction

This chapter will examine imperative constructions in Cebuano, as well as other types of construction that may be employed in giving commands. Imperatives are verbs used to give orders, commands, prohibitions, and instructions. Many languages, such as English, use the bare verb stem to form the imperative; other languages, such as Seri (language isolate on the coast of Sonora, Mexico, see 1), use special imperative forms.

(1) (Seri, language isolate, Mexico; Marlett 2000)

Root	Imperative	Translation
<i>-azt</i>	<i>c-azt</i>	Tattoo him/her!
<i>-atax</i>	<i>c-atax</i>	Go!
<i>-emen</i>	<i>qu-emen</i>	Winnow it!
<i>-oit</i>	<i>ait</i>	Dance!
<i>-oos</i>	<i>as</i>	Sing!
<i>-aanpx</i>	<i>aanpx</i>	Go home!
<i>-oocta</i>	<i>h-oocta</i>	Look at it!
<i>-aafc</i>	<i>h-aafc</i>	Pound it!
<i>-panzx</i>	<i>Ih-pánzx</i>	Run!
<i>-sanj</i>	<i>ih-sánj</i>	Carry him/her on your back!

Imperative constructions in Philippine-type languages have a distinct verbal affixation system from the regular voice constructions, the markers of which are called imperative markers. The imperative affixes in Cebuano are shown in Table 9-1. The AV imperative marker is *pag-*. This prefix can be optionally omitted, giving a command a more forceful tone (Wolff 1962:111). This and the other voice markers will be discussed first in 9.1. When negated, an imperative negator *ayaw* is usually

used. These negators and prohibition clauses are dealt with next in 9.2. Aside from these imperative affixes, the regular verbal affixes, also serving as irrealis or future markers, can also be used in utterances intended as imperatives for a less-direct sounding command, and such instances may be found in procedural texts or heard in social gatherings and formal settings. When these realis verbs used to give commands are negated, the negators *wala?* and *dili?* are employed. These will be illustrated with examples in 9.3. In 9.4, I show the particles often found occurring in imperative constructions and other fixed expressions. Finally in 9.5, I provide a summary.

### 9.1 Imperative constructions

In this section, I will discuss the imperative construction markers in Cebuano. Table 9-1 shows the affixes that form imperative verbs, as well as the markers that form polite-sounding commands and instructions.

**Table 9-1. Imperative affixes in Cebuano**

Voice type	Imperative marker	Future marker (more polite)
Agent Voice	Ø; <i>pag-</i> (singular) Ø; <i>paN-</i> (plural)	Ø; <i>mag-</i> (singular) <i>maN-</i> (plural)
Patient Voice	<i>-a</i>	<i>-on</i>
Locative Voice	<i>-i</i>	<i>-an</i>
Instrumental Voice	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>
Negator	<i>ayaw</i>	<i>dili?; wala?</i>

AV imperative verbs may take an imperative affix *pag-* or *mag-* (or *paN-* or *maN-* for plural addressees), or they can occur in their root form. Examples of the various forms of the verb in an imperative clause are given in the constructed

sentences in (2). The verb may take an imperative affix *pag-*, as in (2a); a zero affix, as in (2b); or a plural affix *paN-* for plural addressees, as in (2c).

(2a) imperative verb marked by *pag-*

<i>pag-ka?on=na</i>	<i>dong</i>
IMPER-eat=already	VOC
'Young boy, eat.'	

(2b) imperative verb in its root form

<i>ka?on=na</i>	<i>dong</i>
eat=already	VOC
'Young boy, eat.'	

(2c) imperative verb marked by *paN-*

<i>pan-ga?on=na=mo</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>bata?</i>
<i>paN-ka?on=na=mo</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>bata?</i>
IMPER-eat=already=2P.NOM	PL	child
'Children, eat now.'		

There are very few non-actor voice imperative verbs in my data. probably because imperative situations mainly call for an addressee to act on a situation. The non-actor voice imperative clauses below are constructed. Similarly as their indicative counterparts, the PV imperative verb highlights a Patient, *ang mga papel* 'the papers' in (3), the LV imperative verb highlights a Benefactee, *=ko* 'first person singular' in (4), and the IV imperative verb highlights a Transported Theme, *ang basurahan* 'the trash' in (5)

(3) NAV imperative verb (constructed)

<i>kuha-a</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>balay</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>papel</i>
<i>kuha?-a</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>balay</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>papel</i>
get-PV.IMPER	LOC	house	ANG	PL	paper
'Get the documents from the house.'					

(4) NAV imperative verb (constructed)

<i>kuha-i=ko</i>	<i>palihug</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>libro</i>
<i>kuha?-i=ko</i>	<i>palihug</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>libro</i>
get-LV.IMPER=1S.NOM	please	EXT	book

'Get me a book, please.'

(5) NAV imperative verb (constructed)

<i>i-labay=na=na-ng</i>	<i>basura-han</i>
<i>i-labay=na=na?-ang</i>	<i>basura-han</i>
IMPER.IV-throw=already=that- ANG	trash-LV

'Throw already that trash.'

The rightmost column in Table 9-1 shows the more polite forms. They are the same affixes used to form future indicative verbs. When used to issue requests, they sound more polite and less direct. These are discussed in Section 9.3.

## 9.2 Prohibitions

The schemas for negated imperative clauses are shown in (6). The imperative negator *ayaw* takes either a nominalized verb affixed with *pag-*, as in (7a) and (7b), or an *ug-* marked verb complement, as in (8a) or (8b). In the case of (7a) (or 7b), the imperative prefix *pag-* (or *paN-*) is required; in such instances, there may or may not be a complementizer *ug*. Without the prefix *pag-*, the subordinate verb must be marked by *ug*, as in (8a) and (8b). In the examples, the imperative negator *ayaw* has shortened to *ay*, which often occurs in spoken discourse.

(6) schemas for imperative clauses

*ayaw pag-V*  
*ayaw ug V<sub>root</sub>*

(7a) prohibition

*ay=ka*            *pag-ka?on*  
NEG=2S.NOM    IMPER-eat  
'Don't eat.'

(7b) prohibition

*ay=mo*            *pang-a?on*  
*ay=mo*            *paN-ka?on*  
NEG=2P.NOM    IMPER-eat  
'Don't eat.'

(8a) prohibition

*ay=ka-g*            *ka?on*  
*ay=ka-ug*            *ka?on*  
NEG=2S.NOM-COMP    eat  
'Don't eat.'

(8b) prohibition

*ayaw=na=la-g*            *pangutana*    *day*  
*ayaw=na=lang-ug*            *pangutana*    *day*  
NEG=already=PAR-COMP    ask            VOC  
'Never mind asking questions, young girl.'

For more polite requests, the volitional negator *dili?* or *di?* (9 and 10) and the existential negator *wala?* or *wa?* (11) are recruited, as in the "a" sentences in each pair below. These are less direct than the *ayaw* imperatives (the "b" sentences).

(9a) contrast between *di?* and *ayaw* prohibitives

*di?=gyud=ka*            *mag-sulti*            *tanan imo-ng*            *sikrito*  
*di?=gyud=ka*            *mag-sulti*            *tanan imo-nga*            *sikrito*  
NEG=EMPH=2S.NOM    AV-tell            all    2S.POSS-LK            secret  
'You must not reveal all your secrets.'

(9b) *ayaw=gyud=ka-g*            *sulti*            *tanan imo-ng sikrito*

(10a) contrast between *di?* and *ayaw* prohibitives

*away-on=na?=nimo*            *tanan, di?=lang=gyud*            *muslim*  
*away-on=kana?=nimo*            *tanan, di?=lang=gyud*            *muslim*  
fight-PV=that=2S.GEN            all    NEG=PAR=EMPH            PN  
'You can fight with anybody; just don't (pick) the Muslims.'

(10b) *away-on=na=nimo*            *tanan, ayaw=lang=gyud (ug)*            *muslim*

(11a) contrast between *wala?* and *ayaw* prohibitives

*wala*=y            *m-anigarilyo sa sulod*  
*wala?*=y            *m-panigarilyo sa sulod*  
 NEG=NEUT        AV-smoke        LOC        inside  
 'Nobody is to smoke inside (the room).'

(Constructed example, but often found in signs posted in public places.)

(11b) *ayaw-g panigarilyo sa sulod*

Another construction ***dili? mahimo/puydi nga clause*** indicates a prohibition, and this construction is even less direct than an *ayaw* imperative.

(12) prohibitive construction

*dili?*=*pud mahimo? nga tanan-g sikrito nimo*  
*dili?*=*pud mahimo? nga tanan-nga sikrito nimo*  
 NEG=also        allowed        COMP        all-LK        secret 2S.GEN

*imo*=*pu-ng sulti-hun sa imo-ng bana*  
*imo*=*pud-nga sulti-un sa imo-nga bana*  
 2S.POSS=also-LK        tell-PV        at        2S.POSS-LK        husband

'It's also not okay that, all your secrets, you're going to tell your husband about them.'

### 9.3 Other constructions used in commands

This section will discuss other constructions used as commands. I will take up hortatives (9.3.1), pseudo-imperatives (9.3.2), and polite requests (9.3.3).

#### 9.3.1 Hortatives

A hortative imperative is a special kind of affirmative imperative that exhorts not only the Hearer(s) but also the Speaker himself/herself to a certain action, much like the English “*let’s V*” construction. Hortatives in Cebuano take the *maN-* prefix, as in (13) and (14a) but the verb in its root form is also possible, as in (14b).

(13) hortative clause with a *maN*- verb

*ma-nga?on=na=ta*  
*maN-ka?on=na=kita*  
 AV.PL-eat=already=1IP.NOM  
 'Let's eat!'

(14a) hortative clause with a *maN*- verb

*ma-nan?aw=ta-g*                      *sini*  
*maN-tan?aw=kita-ug*                *sini*  
 AV.PL-see=1IP.NOM-EXT            movie  
 'Let's watch a movie!'

(14b) hortative clause with a verb in its root form

*tan?aw=ta-g*                      *sini*  
*tan?aw=kita-ug*                    *sini*  
 see=1IP.NOM-EXT                    movie  
 'Let's watch a movie!'

Negation of a hortative is to add the volitional negator *dili?* or *di?*. In this case, the verb must take a declarative verbal affix, either the AV markers *maN*- (15a), *mag*- (15b), or *mo*- (15c).

(15a) negative hortative

*di?=ta*                      *mang-hatag*    *sa*    *iya*  
*di?=ta*                      *maN-hatag*    *sa*    *iya*  
 NEG=1IP.NOM    HORT-give            DAT    3S.POSS  
 'We are not going to give (anything) to him.'

(15b) *di?=ta*                      *mag-hatag*    *sa*    *iya*  
 (15c) *di?=ta*                      *mo-hatag*    *sa*    *iya*

### 9.3.2 Pseudo-imperatives

Takahashi (2007) argues that in imperative utterances, there is the strong tendency to present actions considered beneficial for interlocutors. This property of "benefit" explains why such imperatives as *Kill me* or *Give me pain* are not generally understood in their literal sense, but as conditions (resulting in certain consequences, as in 16a) or threats (as in 16b).

(16a) imperative with condition

*dili?*=ka      *mag-strong*      *day,*      *mag-patay-patay=ka*  
NEG=2S.NOM    AV-be.strong    VOC    AV-dead-REDUP=2S.NOM

*na*      *wa?*=*ta=y*      *kan-on*  
*na*      *wa?*=*ta=y*      *ka?on-on*  
DM      NEG=1IP.NOM=NEUT    eat-PV.FUT

'Young girl, (if) you're not going to be strong, (if) you're going to act like a dead person, you won't (earn enough) to eat.'

(16b) imperative with threat

*bantay*      *mag-arte-arte=ka...*  
watch.out      AV-picky-REDUP=2S.NOM  
'Watch out, if you're going to be so picky, ...'

Negated pseudo-imperatives in Cebuano, as in (16a), are declarative constructions, since these instances when uttered can only occur with *dili?*, not *ayaw*, as *ayaw* can only be taken literally (thus losing the "pseudo-" sense). Nevertheless, they function to urge another person to act in a certain way, not unlike an imperative construction.

Similar to pseudo-imperatives, imperatives posed in question form are intended to suggest the opposite view, as in (17) and (18).

(17) imperative in question form

*ngano-ng*      *wa?*=*man=ka*      *mag-arrange*  
*ngano-nga*      *wa?*=*man=ka*      *mag-arrange*  
why-LK      NEG=PAR=2S.NOM    AV-arrange

*nga*      *pareho=mo-ng*      *duha*  
*nga*      *pareho=kamo-nga*      *duha*  
COMP    same=2P.NOM-LK      two

'Why didn't you arrange for the both of you to be(/have) the same (schedule)?'

(Intended: You arrange (plans) for the both of you to be in the same condition/state.)

(18) imperative in question form

*ngano-ng*      *mo-hatag=man=ta*  
*ngano-nga*    *mo-hatag=man=ta*  
why-LK          AV-give=PAR=1IP.NOM  
'Why should we give?' (lit., Why do we give?)  
(Intended: We shouldn't give.)

### 9.3.3 Polite request forms

Cebuano has a word *palihug* to express politeness when making requests (but it is not used frequently). It has also been termed an Introducer (Wolff 1962: 214) and a Request marker (Schachter 1985: 58). Another Introducer word would be the imperative negator *ayaw*.

Aside from expressing politeness through *palihug* 'please,' and clitic particles, as mentioned earlier, uttering an imperative using a declarative construction may sound more polite and indirect than using an imperative construction. For example, the form of (19a) is not different from the form of an indicative voice (the final particle *ha* gives it a tone of polite suggestion), while (19b) attaches an imperative affix on the verb. Both can express a suggestion, but (19a) sounds more indirect and formal, in addition to being polite, than (19b), a direct instruction.

(19a) imperative clause with indicative verb (indirect)

*timan-an=ni*          *pirmi ha/*  
*tima?an-an=kini*    *pirmi ha/*  
remember-LV=this    always PAR  
'Always remember this, okay?' (lit., This is to be remembered always, okay?)

(19b) imperative clause (constructed based on 30a)

*timan-i=ni*          *pirmi ha/*  
*tima?an-i=kini*      *pirmi ha/*  
remember-LV.IMP=this always PAR  
'Always remember this, okay?'

Similarly, a verb affixed with an indicative voice marker (20a), which sounds more like a suggestion, is more indirect than a bare root form (20b), which sounds more like an order or instruction.

(20a) imperative clause with voice affix (less direct)

<i>mo-sakay=lang=ka-g</i>	<i>saky-an-an</i>
<i>mo-sakay=lang=ka-ug</i>	<i>sakay-an-an</i>
AV-ride=only=2S.NOM-EXT	ride-LV-NMZ

'You just ride on a vehicle.'

(20b) imperative clause with verb in root form (more direct)

<i>()-sakay=lang=ka-g</i>	<i>saky-an-an</i>
<i>()-sakay=lang=ka-ug</i>	<i>sakay-an-an</i>
AV-ride=only=2S.NOM-EXT	ride-LV-NMZ

'Just ride a vehicle!'

In AV imperative constructions, the use of *pag-* (imperative marker) sounds more direct than *mag-* (indicative voice affix). In (21a) the excerpt is taken from a conversation between close friends. One is suggesting to the other to take a vacation with her husband somewhere, as they rarely see each other at home due to the husband's busy work schedule. The excerpt in (21b) is a more polite-sounding suggestion made to a new friend, who is a foreign spouse in Taiwan.

(21a) imperative clause with *pag-* (intimate)

<i>pag-bakasyon=mo</i>	<i>day</i>
IMPER-take.vacation=2P.NOM	VOC

'Why don't both of you take a vacation?'

(21b) imperative clause (more formal)

<i>mag-tan?aw=ka-g</i>	<i>kanangtv</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>Chinese</i>
<i>mag-tan?aw=ka-ug</i>	<i>kanangtv</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>Chinese</i>
AV-watch=2S.NOM-EXT PH	tv	LK	Chinese

'You watch those television programs that are in Chinese.'

The hortative use of a first person inclusive plural form (i.e., =*ta*, =*kita*) instead of a second person pronoun would also sound more polite, as in (22a). The use of a declarative construction, as I have mentioned, would also sound less direct.

(22a) hortative imperative (more polite)

<i>basta</i>	<i>unsa=y</i>	<i>imo-ng</i>	<i>plano,</i>
<i>basta</i>	<i>unsa=y</i>	<i>imo-nga</i>	<i>plano</i>
PAR	what=NEUT	2S.POSS-LK	plan

<i>ato-ng</i>	<i>padayon-on</i>
<i>ato?-nga</i>	<i>padayon-on</i>
1IP.POSS-LK	continue-PV

'Whatever your plan is, we'll go ahead (with it).'

(22b) imperative clause (direct)

<i>basta</i>	<i>unsa=y</i>	<i>imo-ng</i>	<i>plano, ( )</i>	<i>padayon-a</i>
<i>basta</i>	<i>unsa=y</i>	<i>imo-nga</i>	<i>plano, ( )</i>	<i>padayon-a</i>
PAR	what=INDEF	2S.POSS-LK	plan	continue-PV.IMPER

'Whatever your plan is, (you) go ahead (with it).'

In instances where nominal roots are affixed with *pag-*, where [*pag-N*]<sub>v</sub> means 'to become N,' the imperative prefix is needed, as in the second line in (23a). Similarly, in negating such a clause, the prefix is also (and always) required, as in the last line in (23a) (see also section 8.3); otherwise, the nominal becomes interpreted as the Patient argument of a negator (cf 23b).

(23a) nominal root in imperative clause

<i>kung</i>	<i>daghan=na?</i>	<i>siya-g</i>	<i>kwarta,</i>
<i>kung</i>	<i>daghan=kana?</i>	<i>siya-ug</i>	<i>kwarta,</i>
if	many=that	3S.NOM-LK	money

<b><i>mag-Chinese=ka</i></b>	<i>ha/</i>
IMPER.AV-be.Chinese=2S.NOM	PAR

<i>pero</i>	<i>kung</i>	<i>wa?=siya=y</i>	<i>kwarta</i>
but	if	NEG=3S.NOM=NEUT	money

<b><i>ay=ka</i></b>	<b><i>pag-Chinese</i></b>
NEG=2S.NOM	IMPER-be.Chinese

'If he (your husband) has lots of money, you (apply) to become Chinese (citizen). But if he doesn't have any money, don't (apply to) become a Chinese (citizen).'

(23b) negator as main verb in imperative clause

<b><i>ay=ka</i></b>	<i>Chinese</i>
<b><i>ay=ka</i></b>	<i>(ug) Chinese</i>
NEG=2S.NOM	EXT Chinese

'Don't (pick/choose/marry/...) a Chinese.'

Some commands and suggestions are accompanied by the deontic verb

*kinahanglan* 'need; must', as in (5); a pause occurs after the deontic verb. This clause pattern is schematized in (25a). In addition, the pause can be replaced by the complementizer *nga* (cf 25b and 25c).

(24) imperative clause with a deontic verb

<b><i>kinahanglan,</i></b>	<b><i>ready=gyud=ka</i></b>
need	ready=EMPH=2S.NOM

'(What is) needed (is), you (should) be prepared!'

(25a) *kinahanglan*,  $V_{\text{affix}}=\text{clitics}=\text{pronoun}$

(25b) *kinahanglan nga*  $V_{\text{affix}}=\text{clitics}=\text{pronoun}$

(25c) *kinahanglan=clitics nga*  $V_{\text{affix}}(=\text{clitics})=\text{pronoun}$

## 9.4 Particles and fixed imperative expressions

Commands and suggestions are toned up or down through the use of certain particles. For emphasis, particles used are =*gud*, =*gyud*, and =*ra* 'just' (26); to tone down, =*lang* 'only', =*unta?* 'supposedly', =*usa?* 'first', =*kuno* 'as said (by somebody)'

(this evidential particle adds to the indirectness of an utterance), =*pud* 'also', and =*sad* 'also' (27). In pleas, these particles are used: =*intawon* 'pitifully', =*pud* 'also', and =*sad* 'also'. The clitic =*ra* 'only' can either turn a command or request into a demand, or tone down the force of a command. In the following examples, with the use of =*ra*, (28) can be interpreted as a toned-down command, or as a demand, depending on the intonation used.

(26) imperative clause with =*gyud* for stress

<i>di?</i> = <b>gyud</b> = <i>ka mag-sulti</i>	<i>imo-ng sekreto sa imo-ng</i>	<i>kinabuhi?</i>
<i>di?</i> = <b>gyud</b> = <i>ka mag-sulti</i>	<i>imo-nga sekreto sa imo-nga</i>	<i>kinabuhi?</i>
NEG=EMPH=2S.NOM AV-say	2S.POSS-LK secret GEN2S.POSS-LK	life

'You must not say (any of) your secrets in life (to anybody).'

(27) imperative clause toned down by =*pud*

<i>dili?</i> = <b>pud</b>	<i>mahimo?</i>	<i>nga tanan-g</i>	<i>sekreto nimo</i>
<i>dili?</i> = <b>pud</b>	<i>mahimo?</i>	<i>nga tanan-nga</i>	<i>sekreto nimo</i>
NEG=also	allowed	COMP all-LK	secret 2S.GEN

<i>imo</i> = <b>pu-ng</b>	<i>i-sulti sa imo-ng</i>	<i>bana</i>
<i>imo</i> = <b>pud-nga</b>	<i>i-sulti sa imo-nga</i>	<i>bana</i>
2S.POSS=also-LK	IV-say LOC 2S.POSS-LK	husband

'(It's) not also advisable that all your secrets, (you) tell your husband.'

(28) imperative clause with =*ra*

<i>taga-i</i> = <b>ra</b> = <i>ko</i>	<i>ani</i>
give-LV=PAR=1S.NOM	this

'Just give me this.'

Aside from clitic particles, clause-final particles are also recruited in imperative utterances. I will discuss three of these, namely, *be* (the 'e' is a short e, as in *bed*), *oy*, and *ha*. The final particle =*be* is intended to convey annoyance or irritation and an expectation for the Hearer to do something right away. Such an annoyance or irritation can, however, be further toned down by the clitic particles mentioned earlier. In the extract below, the Speaker is a bit annoyed by the other

person's not having a picture of her husband with her, and she is urging her to check her purse to see if there's any.

(29) clause-final particle in an imperative clause

*tan?aw-a*      **be,**      *li?li?-abe*  
 look-PV          PAR      peep-PVPAR  
 'Take a look! Peek (inside your purse)!'

Commands and suggestions are usually given by superiors and older people to subordinates and younger people, so vocatives like *dong* 'young guy' and *day* 'young girl' accompany imperative utterances. The particle *oy* to address anybody other than the Speaker can also be used with or without another vocative and is not necessarily demeaning; the tone of utterance can vary from a joking tone, like (30), to an annoyed one, like (31). The *oy* in (30) and accompanied by the vocative *Sir* is intended to tone down a suggestion given to a superior. In (31), annoyance is conveyed through the use of =*sad oy*, where the Speaker is narrating an irritating experience he had passing through customs in Manila.

(30) imperative clause with *oy*

*sir*      **oy,**      *mag-hatag=lang=ta-g*      *gamay*  
*sir*      **oy,**      *mag-hatag=lang=ta-ug*      *gamay*  
 sir      VOC      AV-give=only=1IP.NOM-EXT      small  
 'Sir, let's just give a small (amount).'

(31) imperative clause with *oy*

*tan?aw-a=sad=na?*      **oy**  
*tan?aw-a=sad=kana?*      **oy**  
 look-PV=also=that      VOC  
 'Hey, (why not) look at that too!'

There are certain phrases that are used in imperative utterances to enhance the tone of urgency or for expressing various emotions or feelings. The clause-final

particle *ha*, as in (32), is used when giving instructions or reminders. It is usually uttered with a soft intonation in place of the more obviously "polite" word *palihug* 'please.' I have also mentioned that Cebuano speakers rarely say *palihug*, as noted by Trosdal (1992: 42-43), such that they are sometimes considered rude (especially by Tagalog speakers who can utter the polite particle *po* in almost every sentence).

(32) imperative clause with final *ha*

<i>timan-an=ni</i>	<i>pirmi</i>	<b><i>ha</i></b>
<i>tima?an-an=kini</i>	<i>pirmi</i>	<b><i>ha</i></b>
remember=LV=this	always	PAR

'This is to be remembered always, okay?'

In the remainder of this section I will present some frozen expressions associated with imperatives. The particle *sigi* might be termed an encouragement marker urging the addressee to go on with an action, as in (33). However, *hala sigi* may either be meant to allow the addressee to proceed with an action even if everybody else is not in favor of it, as in (34), or because there's no other workable way to solve a situation, as in (35).

(33) imperative clause with *sigi*

<b><i>sigi=na</i></b> ,	<i>taga-i=na=la-g</i>	<i>gamay</i>
<b><i>sigi=na</i></b> ,	<i>hatag-i=na=lang-ug</i>	<i>gamay</i>
PAR=already	give-LV=already=just-EXT	small

'Go, just give a small (amount).'

(34) imperative clause with *sigi*

<i>kung</i>	<i>gusto=ka-ng</i>	<i>mo-balik</i>	<i>sa iya,</i>	<b><i>hala sigi</i></b>
<i>kung</i>	<i>gusto=ka-nga</i>	<i>mo-balik</i>	<i>sa iya,</i>	<b><i>hala sigi</i></b>
if	like=2S.NOM-COMP	AV.INF-return	DAT 2S.POSS	frozen

'If you want to go back to him, go ahead!'

(35) imperative clause with *sigi*

*hala kung dili?, na sigi biya-i*  
frozen if NEG DM PAR leave-LV.IMPER  
'Okay, if not, then go ahead, leave (him for good)!'

The construction **V<sub>affix</sub>=sad oy** expresses an exasperation, frustration, or annoyance over something that is not done properly. The utterance offers an alternative action other than that already being done by the addressee to which the Speaker is dissatisfied with, as in (31).

The example in (8b), repeated below as (37), which combines the imperative negator and the clitic particles =*na* and =*lang*, can convey sarcasm, meaning 'there's no use' in doing a particular action.

(37) imperative construction

*ayaw=na=la-g pangutana day*  
*ayaw=na=lang-ug pangutana day*  
NEG=already=PAR-COMP ask VOC  
'Never mind asking questions, young girl.'  
(You won't get any answer; there's nothing else you can do.)

## 9.5 Summary

In this chapter I covered imperative clauses in Cebuano, including commands and suggestions, hortatives, and prohibitions. There are also commands that are not to be taken literally; some even mean the opposite sense, especially those in question form. I also looked at the particles that are associated with imperative clauses. I showed various ways of expressing differing degrees of politeness.

## Chapter 10      ADVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS

### 10.0 Introduction

Adverbs function as modifiers of predicates, modifiers of modifiers, and sometimes modifiers of propositions. They can be a morpheme, an independent lexical word, or a whole syntactic construction. In this chapter I will first discuss the syntactic distribution of adverbs: adverbs in the verb complex (10.1), adverbs taking complement clauses (10.2), and adverbs in nominal slots (10.3). Based on Givón (2001), adverbs can be semantically classified into manner adverbs, instrumental adverbs, time and aspectuality adverbs, epistemic adverbs, deontic-evaluative adverbs, adverbs modifying stative verbs, and emphatic 'adverbs.' In 10.4, I will enumerate the types of adverbial expressions and in which structures they occur. At the end of the chapter I provide a summary.

### 10.1 Adverbial expressions in the verb complex

Many types of adverbial expressions occur in various slots in a verb complex. They may occupy the first-element slot (1), the main verb slot (2), the adverbial slot before the main verb (3), or as clitics in second position (4). In (1) *lisod* 'difficult' modifies the act of giving birth. In (2), the adverbial expression *nag-lisod* is voiced and tensed and occupies the main verb slot; it is being negated by *wala?*. It is also the main verb in the clause because original verb *manganak* 'to give birth' is topical and has been mentioned in the preceding context. In (3), the main verb *manganak* is overt

and the negated adverbial expression *lisod* is expressed in its root form. In (4), adverbial clitics are modifying the first-element adverb *lisod*. The verb complex (VC) construction has been enclosed in brackets in the examples below; the verb complex constituent has also been discussed in Chapter 6.

(1) adverbial expression in first-element slot

<i>pag-thirty-plus=na=ka=,</i>	<b>[<i>lisod=na=daw</i></b>	<i>m-anganak]</i> <sub>VC</sub>
<i>pag-thirty-plus=na=ka=,</i>	<b><i>lisod=na=daw</i></b>	<i>m-panganak</i>
NMZ=30plus=already=2S.NOM	difficult=already=EVID	AV-have.baby

'When you're over thirty, they say it's difficult to give birth.'

(2) adverbial expression in main verb slot

<i>[wala?=siya <b>nag-lisod</b>]</i> <sub>VC</sub>	<i>kay</i>	<i>ma?ayo</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>doctor</i>
<i>wala?=siya <b>nag-lisod</b>,</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>ma?ayo</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>doctor</i>
NEG=3S.NOMAV-difficult	because good		3S.POSS-LK	doctor

'She didn't have a hard time (giving birth) because her doctor was good.'

(3) Negated adverbial expression in pre-main verb slot

<i>pag-na?a=na=ka=y</i>	<i>experience=,</i>
<i>pag-na?a=na=ka=y</i>	<i>experience=,</i>
NMZ-EXIST=already=2S.NOM=NEUT	experience

<b>[<i>di?=na=daw</i></b>	<b><i>lisod</i></b>	<i>m-anganak]</i> <sub>VC</sub>
<b><i>di?=na=daw</i></b>	<b><i>lisod</i></b>	<i>m-panganak</i>
NEG=already=EVID	difficult	AV-have.baby

'When you've had babies, they say it's not difficult to give birth.'

(4) adverbial clitic

<b>[<i>lisod=na=gyud=ka?ayo</i></b>	<i>m-anganak]</i> <sub>VC</sub>
<b><i>lisod=na=gyud=ka?ayo</i></b>	<i>m-panganak</i>
difficult=already=EMPH=INTENS	AV-have.baby

'It's really so difficult to give birth.'

As a first element in a verb complex, these adverbial expressions may be a manner/evaluative adverb, as in (1) and (4), a locative or a temporal adverbial (5), or a deontic adverbial (6). Temporal or Locative adverbials may also occur in the main

verb or the pre-main verb positions, especially when they are negated or questioned, as in the second line in (5), as well as in (2) and (3).

(5) locative adverbial in first-element slot

*ako-ng mama pero ...dili?=sad=siya didto gi-ku?an*  
*ako?-nga mama pero ...dili?=sad=siya didto gi-ku?an*  
 1S.POSS-LK mother but NEG=also=3S.NOM there PFV.PV-KUAN

[*dili?=gyud=siya didto nag-dako?*] <sub>VC</sub> *sad*  
 NEG=EMPH=3S.NOM there AV-grow also

[*sa negros=siya nag-dako?*] <sub>VC</sub>  
 LOC PN=3S.NOM AV-grow

'My mom, but, ...she didn't, she didn't grow up there. She grew up in Negros.' <  
 '(It's) in Negros (where) she grew up.'

(6) deontic adverbial in first-element slot

[*gusto mu-katkat*] <sub>VC</sub> *sa= kahoy ang iro?*  
*gusto mu-katkat sa= kahoy ang iro?*  
 like AV-climb LOC tree ANG dog

'The dog wanted to climb up the tree.'

The second slot in a verb complex is reserved for clitics, if there is any (second-position clitics have been discussed in Section 6.2). Adverbials that are realized as clitics in Cebuano are those that express intensity and emphasis, as in the examples below.

(7) emphatic clitic =*dyud/=gyud*

*ako-ng Tagalog, [gahi?=dyud=ka?ayo]* <sub>VC</sub>  
*ako?-nga Tagalog, gahi?=dyud=ka?ayo*  
 1S.POSS-LK PN hard=EMPH=INTENS  
 'My Tagalog, (it has) a really heavy (accent).'

(8) Intensifier clitic *ka?ayo*

[*dugay=ka?ayo=mi nag-tindog*] <sub>VC</sub>  
 long=INTENS=1EP.NOM AV-stand  
 'We were standing for a very long time.'

## 10.2 Adverbial expressions as matrix verbs in complementation constructions

Certain types of adverbials take complement clauses. The ones that take *ug* (or *sa*) complements include epistemic and evaluative adverbs; those that take *nga* complements are evaluative adverbs and the emphatic adverb *pwerte*. First, I will show examples of aspectual adverbs in *ug* complement constructions. As matrix verbs, they take voice and tense affixes with the complement marker *ug* phonologically shortened and attaching to it. Epistemic modifiers expressing uncertainty or likelihood, including *mora* 'seem', *basi?* 'maybe', and *abi* 'assume', take *ug* complements. They occupy matrix verb position but do not take voice affixes and neither can they take bound pronouns save for *abi*. These complement-taking verbs are discussed again in the next chapter, but some examples are provided below.

### (9) epistemic adverbial particle *mora*

<i>to-ng</i>	<i>una</i>	<i>grabe=pa</i>	
<i>kato-nga</i>	<i>una</i>	<i>grabe=pa</i>	
that-LK	first	serious=even	
<i>na?ay</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>marines=pa=gyud</i>	<i>mag-checkpoint</i>
EXIST	PL	marines=even=EMPH	AV-checkpoint
<b><i>mora-g</i></b>	<i>ma-hadlok=ka=gyud</i>		
<b><i>mora-ug</i></b>	<i>ma-hadlok=ka=gyud</i>		
seem-COMP	AV-be.afraid=2S.NOM=EMPH		

'At first, (it was) even more serious. There were even marines (carrying out inspections) at check points. It seemed that you'd really be afraid.'

### (10) epistemic adverbial particle *mora*

<b><i>mora=ma-g</i></b>	<i>pamilyar=man=ni-ng</i>	<i>bay-hana</i>	
<b><i>mora=man-ug</i></b>	<i>pamilyar=man=kini-nga</i>	<i>babayi-a</i>	
seem=PAR-COMP	familiar=PAR=this-LK	woman-DEF	
<i>oy</i>	<i>asawa=man=di?ay=to</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>lien chan</i>
<i>oy</i>	<i>asawa=man=di?ay=kato</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>lien chan</i>
INTERJ	wife=PAR=EVID=that	GEN	PN

'This woman looked familiar. (Then) oh (I remembered), she was the wife of Lien Chan.'

(11) epistemic adverbial particle *basi?*

T: *selos-o=ba=siya*  
jealous-MASC=Q=3S.NOM

L: *ambot=lang=kaha?, basi-g*      *di?=lang=niya*      *i-pa-kita?*  
*ambot=lang=kaha?, basi?-ug*      *di?=lang=niya*      *i-pa-kita?*  
dunno=only=perhaps    maybe-COMP    NEG=only=3S.GEN    IV-CAU-see

T: 'Does he get jealous?'

J: 'No idea. Maybe he just doesn't want to show (it).'

(12) epistemic adverbial particle *basi?*

W *m= pilipinas, basi-g*      *mo-nindot=na,*  
*m= pilipinas, basi?-ug*      *mo-nindot=na,*  
FIL    PN                    maybe-COMP    AV-nice=already

T *ambot=lang*  
don't.know=just

W: 'M= Philippines, (it) might already become a nice place.'

T: 'I don't know.'

(13) epistemic adverbial particle *abi*

T *kinsa-ng peter-a*  
who-LK            PN-DEF

W *ang husband*  
ANG    husband

M *di?, abi=nako-g*      *ku?an*  
*di?, abi=nako?-ug*      *ku?an*  
DM    think=1S.GEN-COMP    KUAN

T: 'Which Peter?'

W: 'the husband.'

M: 'Then, I thought it was *kuan*.'

The evaluative modifier *ma?ayo* 'good' occurs in clause-initial position and does not take focus markers. It can take either an *ug* complement (14) or a *nga* complement (15).

(14) evaluative particle *ma?ayo* as matrix verb of *ug* complement

*ma?ay=unta-g*      *taga-an=ka-g*      *kwarta*  
*ma?ayo=unta-ug*      *hatag-an=ka-ug*      *kwarta*  
good=PAR-COMP    give-LV=2S.NOM-EXT    money

'It would have been good that (they) will give you money.'

(15) evaluative particle *ma?ayo* as matrix verb of *nga* complement

<i>mas</i>	<b><i>ma?ay</i></b> = <i>man</i>	<i>na-ng</i>	<i>mag-usa=ka=lang</i>
<i>mas</i>	<b><i>ma?ayo</i></b> = <i>man</i>	<i>kana?-nga</i>	<i>mag-usa=ka=lang</i>
COMP	good=PAR	that-COMP	AV-one=2S.NOM=only

<i>pag-uli?=nimo</i>	<i>wa=y</i>	<i>sakit</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ulo</i>
<i>pag-uli?=nimo</i>	<i>wala?=y</i>	<i>sakit</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ulo</i>
NMZ-return=2S.GEN	NEG=NEUT	ache	GEN	head

'It's better that you're alone. (Upon) your return home (at night), you won't suffer any headache.'

The emphatic adverb *pwerte* takes a complement verb suffixed with an emphatic marker *-a* introduced by *nga*. This is illustrated by the examples below.

(16) Emphatic adverb taking *nga* complement

<i>ako=pud,</i>	<b><i>pwerte</i></b> = <i>pu-ng</i>	<i>lisur-a</i>	<i>first time=ko diri/</i>
<i>ako=pud,</i>	<b><i>pwerte</i></b> = <i>pud-nga</i>	<i>lisud-a</i>	<i>first time=ko diri/</i>
1S.POSS=also	EMPH=also-COMP	difficult-EMPH	first.time=1S.NOM here

'Me too, (It was) also so hard the first time I was here.'

(17) Emphatic adverb taking *nga* complement

<i>unya?</i>	<i>labi=na</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>na-bugnaw=na,</i>
DM	especially=already	COMP	INTR-cold=already

<b><i>pwerte-ng</i></b>	<i>gahi?-a</i>
<b><i>pwerte-nga</i></b>	<i>gahi?-a</i>
EMPH-COMP	hard-EMPH

'Then, especially (when it's) already become cold, (it's) so hard (to bite).'

(18) Emphatic adverb taking *nga* complement

<i>naka-adto=man=ko</i>	<i>Singapore</i>	<i>two times,</i>
ABIL-go=PAR=1S.NOM	PN	two.times

<b><i>pwerte-ng</i></b>	<i>mahal-a</i>
<b><i>pwerte-nga</i></b>	<i>mahal-a</i>
EMPH-COMP	expensive-EMPH

'I've been to Singapore twice. (It's) so expensive!'

### 10.3 Adverbial expressions in nominal slots

Two types of adverbial expressions will be described here: phrasal adverbs and temporal adverbs formed by affixation of verbal or nominal roots. The phrasal

adverbs are *sa-* marked nominals that usually express location and time. They are usually found in clause-final position, but can also occur in clause-initial position at the first-element slot in a verb complex when they are contrasted.

(19) Locative adverb in clause-final position

<i>ngano-ng</i>	<i>di?=man=mo</i>	<i>puyo?</i>	<i>sa</i>	<b><i>panchiao</i></b>
<i>ngano-nga</i>	<i>di?=man=mo</i>	<i>puyo?</i>	<i>sa</i>	<b><i>panchiao</i></b>
why-COMP	NEG=PAR=2P.NOM	live	LOC	PN

'Why don't you (pl.) live in Panchiao?'

(20) Locative adverb in clause-final position

<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>gi-pa-ka?on</i>	<i>tunga?-tunga?</i>	<i>sa</i>	<b><i>dagat</i></b>
<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>gi-pa-ka?on</i>	<i>tunga?-tunga?</i>	<i>sa</i>	<b><i>dagat</i></b>
1S.POSS-LK	PFV.PV-CAU-eat	middle-REDUP	LOC	sea

'I made (them) eat (the food) in the middle of the sea.'

(21) Temporal adverb in clause-final position

<i>samok=kuno=ka?ay</i>	<i>sa tanan</i>		
<i>samok=kuno=ka?ayo</i>	<i>sa tanan</i>		
messy=EVID=very	SUPER		
<i>mahadlok=kuno=sila</i>	<i>mo-gawas</i>	<i>sa</i>	<b><i>gabi?i</i></b>
be.afraid=EVID=3P.NOM	AV.INF-out	TEMP	night

'They said it was so chaotic. They were afraid to go out at night.'

The temporal adverbials denote time through the affixation of the nominalizer *pag-* and other markers like *inig-*. First, the temporal nominalizer *pag-* is affixed to the verb's root form, as in (22) and (23), or to a noun indicating an event, as in (24). In (22) and (23), the nominalized verb marked with *pag-* is treated as a NAV form as only genitive pronouns can cliticize to it.

(22) *pag-* affixed to verb root functioning as NAV

<i>pag-human=nako?-g</i>	<i>college didto,</i>	<i>nag-adto=ko-g</i>	<i>cebu</i>
<i>pag-human=nako?-ug</i>	<i>college didto,</i>	<i>nag-adto=ko-ug</i>	<i>cebu</i>
NMZ-finish=1S.GEN-EXT	college there	AV-go=1S.NOM-EXT	PN

'(Upon) my completion of college there, I went to Cebu.'

(23) *pag-* affixed to verb root functioning as NAV

*pag-abot=nimo diri, nag-unsang, OFW=ka/*  
 NMZ-arrive=2S.GEN here AV-what worker=2S.NOM  
 '(Upon) your arrival here, what did (you) do? Were you a contract worker?'

(24) *pag-* affixed to an event nominal

*pag-eleksiyon, ma?o=man=na?=bitaw na-ng gi-istorya-han*  
*pag-eleksiyon, ma?o=man=kana?=bitaw kana?-ang gi-istorya-han*  
 NMZ-election, ANAPH=PAR=that=PAR that-ANG PFV-talk-LV  
 '(During) the election (time), that was the very (issue) that (everybody)  
 was talking about.'

Another marker of a temporal adverb is *inig-* 'every time ...' affixed to a temporal noun, as in (25), or a verb in NAV form, as in (26).

(25) *inig-* affixed to a temporal nominal

*basta inig-ka-hapon, mag-sugod=na ang duka?*  
 PAR every-KA-afternoon AV-start=already ANG doze  
 'Every time after lunch, we'll surely start dozing off.'

(26) *inig-* affixed to an event nominal

*guba?=lagi=ka?ay-ng nawong, di?=na=gud maka-katawa*  
*guba?=lagi=ka?ayo-ang nawong, di?=na=gud maka-katawa*  
 destroy=EMPH=very- ANG face NEG=already=PAR ABIL-laugh  
*kay inig-katawa=niya, ma-guba-g samot@*  
*kay inig-katawa=niya, ma-guba?-ug samot@*  
 because every-laugh=3S.GEN INTR-destroy-LK even.more  
 '(Her) face was really damaged, and she really couldn't smile, since when  
 she (tries to) do so, (the face) will get even crooked.'

Other clausal markers of time are *kada* 'every', *matag* 'every', *bag?u* 'before', and *human* 'after', which can introduce a temporal clause consisting of an NP or a verb in its root form. Below are examples of adverbial expressions that are expressed as subordinate clauses.

(27) temporal adverbial expressions

<i>bag?o=mi</i>	<i>nang-adto-g</i>	<i>san carlos</i>	
<i>bag?o=mi</i>	<i>naN-adto-ug</i>	<i>san carlos</i>	
before=1EP.NOM	AV-go-EXT	PN	
<i>to</i>	<i>nag-sakay=mi</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>Toledo</i>
there	AV-ride=1EP.NOM	LOC	PN

'Before we went to San Carlos, there, we rode (a bus) to Toledo.'

(28) temporal adverbial expressions (Sun Star, January 27, 2008)

<i>napulo-g tulo</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>batan-on</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>gipang-dakop sa</i>	
<i>napulo?-ug tulo</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>bata?-(a)non</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>gipaN-dakop sa</i>	
ten and three	LK	PL	child-ish	ANG	AV-arrest	GEN
<i>ka-pulis-an</i>	<i>human</i>	<i>gi-sumbong</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>nag-himo?</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>ka-samok</i>
KA-police-LV	after	PFV.PV-report	COMP	AV-make	EXT	STAT-trouble

'Thirteen youngsters were arrested by the police after they were reported to be creating trouble.'

## 10.4 Semantic types of adverbial expressions

In this section I will discuss manner/evaluative adverbs, locative adverbs, and temporal adverbs in 10.4.1, 10.4.2, and 10.4.3, respectively. These are the kinds of adverbs that typically appear in first-element position in a verb complex, which also goes to show that the first-element slot in a verb complex is a preferred position where adverbs in Cebuano occur. As for the epistemic and emphatic 'adverbs,' they have already been discussed in Section 10.2 on complement-taking and clitic adverbial expressions.

### 10.4.1 Manner/evaluative adverbs

Manner/evaluative adverbs serve to modify the meaning of a verb, or evaluate an action denoted by the verb. In Cebuano, they typically occur close to the verb by means of two constructions. First, they occur in the first-element slot in a verb complex, as in (1), repeated below as (29a), or in another slot before the modified

verb (still in a verb complex, but not as first element), as in (3), repeated below as (29b). In a verb complex, the adverb takes a bare form while the activity verb in the final slot takes a voice affix. However, there is no tense information carried by the verbs, and the entire construction describes a general condition; it does not refer to a particular event. Moreover, it is also observed that the manner adverb in the verb complex functions to evaluate the action denoted by the verb modified. The reading turns to a description of a particular event when a complementation construction is used. This is illustrated in (29c).

(29a) Manner adverb is the first element in a verb complex (evaluative)

*pag-thirty-plus=na=ka=*, *lisod=na=daw* *m-anganak*  
*pag-thirty-plus=na=ka=*, *lisod=na=daw* *m-panganak*  
 NMZ=30plus=already=2S.NOM difficult=already=EVID AV.INF-have.baby  
 'When you're over thirty, they say it's difficult to give birth.'

(29b) Manner adverb is negated in a verb complex (evaluative)

*pag-na?a=na=ka=y* *experience=*,  
*pag-na?a=na=ka=y* *experience=*,  
 NMZ-EXIST=already=2S.NOM=NEUT experience  
*di?=na=daw* *lisod* *m-anganak*  
*di?=na=daw* *lisod* *m-panganak*  
 NEG=already=EVID difficult AV.INF-have.baby  
 'When you've had babies, they say it's not difficult to give birth.'

(29c) Manner adverb is matrix verb of *ug* complement (descriptive)

*ma?ay=to-ng* *doctor, wa?=siya* *mag-lisod* *ug* *panganak*  
*ma?ayo=kato-nga* *doctor, wa?=siya* *mag-lisod* *ug* *panganak*  
 good=that-LK doctor NEG=3S.NOM AV-difficult COMP give.birth  
 'That doctor was good. She did not have difficulty giving birth.'

The second type of construction where manner adverbials can occur with a verb that it modifies is the complementation construction schematized below; the matrix verb carries voice and tense affixes while the complement verb takes a bare

form (30a) or a nominalized form (30b). A constructed example has been shown in (29c). However, although the position of the manner adverb and the modified verb can be inter-changed, such that it is also possible to place the modified verb in the matrix clause and the manner adverb as its complement, like (31), our data show that this seems to be dis-preferred and it is actually not attested at all. The preferred word order is the one exemplified in the extract in (32), where the manner adverb (grammatically a verb) is always positioned in the matrix clause while the complement verb denoting the action is either nominalized or in its root form and introduced by a complementizer. In contrast to the verb complex form, which expresses a general phenomenon or condition, this construction refers to a specific event, and the nominative argument is sometimes overtly specified, as in (33).<sup>47</sup>

(30a) V *ug* V<sub>root</sub> (modified verb is in root form)

(30b) V *ug / sa pag-(ka-)V<sub>NMZ</sub>* (modified verb is nominalized)

(31) Manner adverb in complement clause (constructed)

*gi-basa=nako* [*ug hinayhinay*] *ang libro*  
 PV-read=1SG.GEN COMP slow ANG book  
 'I read the book slowly.'

(32) Manner adverb in matrix clause

*maka-ingon=sad=ko nga swerte=ka?ayo sa uban=gyud*  
 ABIL-say=also=1S.NOM COMP lucky=EMPH DAT other=EMPH  
*lu?oy=kayo nag-kapuliki? ug pag-ka-tabang sa ila-ha-ng @@*  
*lu?oy=ka?ayo nag-kapuliki? ug pag-ka-tabang sa ila-a-nga @@*  
 pitiful=EMPH AV-busy COMP NMZ-KA-help DAT 3S.POSS-DEF-LK  
 'I can also say that, I'm really so much luckier than the others. (They are) really pitiful, so busy helping their (children) [laughs].'

<sup>47</sup> The future and infinitive forms are the same. The matrix verb prefixed with the future/infinitive form will refer to a general condition.

(33) Manner adverb in matrix clause (referring to a particular event) (SunStar, December 31, 2007)

*nag-hinay-hinay=lang=kini sa pag-dagan aron=lang*  
 AV-slow-REDUP=only=this COMP NMZ-run so=just  
*maka-abot ngadto sa ila-ng pa-dulng-an*  
*maka-abot ngadto sa ila-ngapa-dulong-an*  
 AV-arrive there LOC 3P.POSS-LK CAU-toward-LV  
 'This (cab) slowly moved forward, just so (it) will reach their destination.'

#### 10.4.2 Locative adverbs

Locative adverbs are usually nominals marked with the locative marker *sa* and indicate the location of an action denoted by the verb. They are either positioned at the end of the clause or at the first-element position in a verb complex (for contrast). The location can also be indicated by a set of deictic (spatial) demonstratives (see the first column in table 10-1). They behave as pure adverbs and can occur non-initially in the clause, as in the excerpts from (34) to (36), or initially as the first element in a verb complex especially when contrasted, as in (37).

**Table 10-1. Spatial deictics**

	Timeless	Present	Future	Motion; progressive
Near Sp (and Hr)	<i>diri</i> <i>dinhi</i>	<i>(a)ni?a</i> <i>(a)di?a</i>	<i>ari</i> <i>anhi</i>	<i>ngari</i> <i>nganhi</i>
Near Hr	<i>diha?</i> <i>dinha?</i>	<i>(a)na?a</i>	<i>anha?</i>	<i>nganha?</i>
Far	<i>didtu</i>	<i>(a)tu?a</i>	<i>adtu</i>	<i>ngadtu</i>

(34) Deictic in final position

*simple=lang kinabuhi?=gyud didto*  
 simple=only life=EMPH there  
 'Life there is just simple.'

(35) spatial adverb

T *dugay=na=ba=ka* ***diri/***  
 long=already=Q=2S.NOM here

L *a= three years\*  
 FIL three years

T: 'How long have you been here?'

L: 'm= three years.'

(36) spatial adverb in existential clause

...(0.8) *they they con- they= they continued to look for*

...(0.9) (coughs) ...(0.8) *for the frog*

...(1.8) *sus na?a=di?ay **didtu** sa likod sa kahoy*  
 INTERJ EXIST=EVID there LOC behind GEN wood

...(1.1) *ka-uban ang iya-ng- siguro girlfriend*  
 RECIP-together ANG 3S.POSS-LK maybe girl friend

*or boyfriendniya .. or @ iya-ng husband .. or whatever*  
 or boy friend 3S.GEN or 3S.POSS-LK husband or whatever

'Then they continued to look for the frog. Aah, it was there behind the piece of log, probably together with his lover or with his family.'

(37) first element in a verb complex

***didto=na=dyud=ka*** *nag-dako?* *ma?o=di?ay*  
 there=already=EMPH=2S.NOM AV-grow ANAPH=EVID

'So (it is) there (where) you were raised, no wonder.'

Another set of existential demonstratives (second column in table 10-1)

indicates the existence of an object or a person in relation to the location of the Speaker and/or Hearer. They occur in existential clauses (see also Section 5.1), although the near-Hearer deictic *na?a* sometimes serves as a default existential marker. Examples are given below.

(38) verb in existential clause

*na=y usa ka bata?*  
*na?a=y usa ka bata?*  
 EXIST=NEUT one LK child

*nga na?a sulod sa iya-ng kuwarto*  
*nga na?a sulod sa iya-nga kuwarto*  
 LK EXIST inside LOC 3S.POSS-LK room

...(0.8) *nag- ...nag-tan?aw siya sa iya-ng=- ... (0.9) iro?*  
*nag- ...nag-tan?aw siya sa iya-nga=- iro?*  
 FS AV-look 3S.NOMEXT 3S.POSS-LK dog

'There was a child, who was in his room, ...he was looking at his dog.'

(39) *na?a* as existential verb

*unya? na?a=siya=y mga basket, butang=niya didto*  
 then EXIST=3S.NOM=NEUT PL basket place=3S.GEN there

*tu?a na=y lamesa\*  
*tu?a na?a=y lamesa*  
 there EXIST=NEUT table

'Then, he had a basket, (and) he placed (them) there. There was a table there.'

The relative word order between the existential demonstratives, deictic demonstratives, and locative nominals is shown in (40).

(40) *ni?a/na?a/tu?a* + *dinhi/dinha?/didto* + *sa NP*

The following conversational extracts show the deictic demonstratives used with locative nominals.

(41) Deictic + locative phrase

*na?a=man=ko=y amigo diha? sa wanhua*  
 EXIST=PAR=1S.NOM=NEUT friend there LOC PN  
 'I have a friend there in Wanhua.'

(42) Deictic + locative phrase

T *asa=mo=siya na-ilaila*  
*asa=nimo=siya na-ilaila*  
where=2S.GEN=3S.NOM SPONT-know

L ***diri sa Taipei\***  
here LOC PN

T: 'Where did you know him?'

L: 'Here in Taipei.'

(43) Deictic + locative phrase

T *ikaw mag-laba sa iya-ng sanina?/*  
*ikaw mag-laba sa iya-nga sanina?/*  
2S.NOM AV-wash OBL 3S.POSS-LK clothes

L *o=\ usahay dad-on=niya **didto sa kung***  
*o=\ usahay dala-on=niya **didto sa kung***  
BC sometimes bring-PV=3S.GEN there LOC COND

***asa=siya ganahan mo-pa-uli?, didto o diri***  
where=3S.NOM like AV-CAU-return there or here

T: 'Is it you washing his (dirty) clothes?'

L: 'Yes, (but) sometimes he takes (them) to where he wants to go home.  
Here or there (at his parents).'

(44) Deictic + locative phrase

L *di, asa=ka nag-dako*  
DM where=1S.NOM AV-grow

J *cotabato, tapos, nag-college=ko sa manila*  
PN DM AV-college=AS.NOM LOC PN

L *di?ay*  
BC

J *ma?o=na?, **didto=na sa manila, trabaho=na=ko didto***  
*ma?o=kana?, **didto=na sa manila, trabaho=na=ko didto***  
ANAPH=that there=already LOC PN work=already=1S.NOM there

L: 'So, where did you grow up?'

J: 'Cotabato, then, I went to college in Manila.'

L: 'Really.'

J: 'That's why, I was there in Manila. (Later on) I worked there.'

Below are more examples showing the existential demonstratives used with the deictic demonstratives.

(45) verb in existential clause

[a= mag-huna?huna?]=na=lang=ka=ba  
FIL AV-think=already=just=2S.NOM=PAR

a iya-ng igso?on tingali tu?a sa Taiwan  
a iya-nga igso?on tingali tu?a sa Taiwan  
FIL 3S.POSS-LK sibling maybe there LOC PN

iyang- iya-ng mama tu?a didto  
iyang- iya-nga mama tu?a didto  
FS 3S.POSS-LK mother there there

'Aah, you'll just think, her sister is probably in Taiwan, (or) her mom is there.'

(46) Existential demonstrative + deictic

L ma?o=na?-ng pa-uli?=ra=sad=dayon=ko-  
ma?o=kana?-nga pa-uli?=ra=sad=dayon=ko-  
ANAPH=that-COMP CAU-return=only=just=immediately=1S.NOM

tu?a=ka didto, ma-miss=nimo imo-ng bana  
tu?a=ka didto, ma-miss=nimo imo-nga bana  
there=2S.NOM there AV-miss=2S.GEN 2S.POSS-LK husband

kung na?a=ka diri, ma-miss=nimo ku?an  
if EXIST=2S.NOM here AV-miss=2S.GEN KUAN

J pero kanang- ug comfortable=na=ka dinhi  
but PH CONN comfortable=already=2S.NOM here

L: 'That's why I just come back right away. (When) you're there, you miss your husband. When you're here, you miss your wacchamacallit.'  
J: 'But, er-, (so) you're already used to (the lifestyle) here?'

The locative phrase can also occupy the first element slot in a verb complex, as in (47). When it appears in a verb complex, it is used for contrast, as in (48) and the third line in (49). The locative phrase can also be in a syntactic slot before the verb when there is a negator, as in the second line in (48), or when there is a deontic verb, as in (50).

(47) Deictic in verb complex

*naka-adto=ko-g san carlos/*  
*naka-adto=ko-ug san carlos/*  
ABIL-go=1S.NOM-EXT PN

[*dinha?=mi nag-sakay*]<sub>VC</sub> *sa Toledo*  
there=1EP.NOM AV-ride LOC PN  
'I've been to San Carlos. We took (a boat) in Toledo.'

(48) Deictic for contrastive use

*ako-ng mama pero ...dili?=sad=siya didto gi-ku?an*  
*ako?-nga mama pero ...dili?=sad=siya didto gi-ku?an*  
1S.POSS-LK mother but NEG=also=3S.NOM there PFV.PV-KUAN

[*dili?=gyud=siya didto nag-dako?*]<sub>VC</sub> *sad*  
NEG=EMPH=3S.NOM there AV-grow also

[*sa negros=siya nag-dako?*]<sub>VC</sub>  
LOC PN=3S.NOM AV-grow

'My mom, but, ...she didn't, she didn't grow up there. She grew up in Negros.' <  
'(It's) in Negros (where) she grew up.'

(49) Deictic for contrastive use

*lisud ang balay pangita?-on, didto sa wanhua,*  
difficult ANG house look.for-PV there LOC PN

*gusto=nako?, adto=ra=mi sa una*  
like=1S.GEN go.there=only=1EP.NOMLOC PN

[*sa chunghua=ko n-angita?*]<sub>VC</sub>  
*sa chunghua=ko m-pangita?*  
LOC PN=1S.NOM AV-look.for

'(It's) difficult to look for an apartment. (We looked) there in Wanhua. What I like is, we just live (near) the front [near the main street]. I looked (for an apartment) along Chunghua South Road.' < '(It's) along Chunghua South Road (where) I looked (for an apartment).'

(50) Deictic in verb complex

*pag-mag-retire=ko, [ganahan=ko sa Cebu mag-retire]*<sub>VC</sub>  
NMZ-AV-retire=1S.NOM like=1S.NOM LOC PN AV-retire

'(Upon) my retirement, I'd like to (spend my) retirement in Cebu.' < 'I like that it's in Cebu where I will (spend my) retirement.'

The spatial deictics in the third column have more verbal features than the first two sets. They can take the regular verbal affixes to form voice constructions and

indicate future time. That means, the scene depicted by the utterance suggests that the destination of the movement has not yet been reached.

(51) Spatial deictic as verb

*nang-lakaw dayon sila ni-adto=sila sa= kagubatan*  
 AV-walk then 3P.NOM AV-go=3P.NOM LOC woods  
 'Then they went into the woods.'

(52) Spatial deictic as verb

*mo-adto=gani?=ko sa Manila, usa ka semana=ra=gyud*  
 AV-go=COND=1S.NOM LOC PN one LK week=only=EMPH  
*kasi pag-abot, dyos- duha ka semana*  
 because NMZ-arrive INTERJ two LK week  
*dako?=na=ka?ayo gastos*  
*dako?=na=ka?ayo (ang) gastos*  
 big=already=EMPH spending  
 'When I go to Manila, (it's) only a week. (Otherwise,) after I arrive, Oh my goodness, for two weeks, you will incur huge expenses.'

The spatial deictics in the last column suggest movement and ongoing action.

They can also be used purely as adverbs in a motion verb clause, as in the following examples.

(53) Spatial deictic in a motion clause

*ni-kuha=di?ay=siya-g usa ka ka?ing,*  
*ni-kuha=di?ay=siya-ug usa ka ka?ing,*  
 AV-take=EVID=3S.NOM-EXT one LK basket  
*iya-ng gi-da ngadto*  
*iya-nga gi-dala ngadto*  
 3S.POSS-LK PFV.IV-bring there  
 'He took one basket, (and) took (it) there.'

(54) Spatial deictic in a motion clause

...(3.7) *ug ni= ...gawas=sila sa sapa?*  
 and AV out=3S.NOM LOC river  
 ... *ngadto sa= ...(1.3)a= yuta?*  
 toward LOC FIL ground  
 'And they emerged from the river (and swam) toward the shore.'

### 10.4.3 Temporal adverbs

Like locative adverbs, temporal adverbs are normally found at clause-final position, but it can also be found at the first-element slot in a verb complex for contrast. When both of them occur together, the attested preferred word order is for the locative adverbial to come before the time adverbial, as in (55). Or, the time adverbial can be preposed to clause-initial position leaving the locative adverb at the back, as in (56).

(55) Word order: Location - Time

*tugnaw=kuno      sa      manilakaron*  
 cold=EVID      LOC    PN      now  
 'I heard (it's) cold in Manila today.'

(56) Time adverbial at clause-initial position; Locative adverbial at final position

L    *na?a=na=mi      skedyol*  
 EXIST=already=1IP.NOMschedule

T    *a      di?ay, asa=man=ka      next*  
 BC    PAR    where=PAR=2S.NOM    next

L    *a=      next      dili?=pa,      diri=ra=gihaapon*  
 BC    next    NEG=still      here=only=still

*every Sunday=ra=mi      sa=      chungli      or sa      hsinchu*  
 every Sunday=only=1EP.NOM    LOC    NP      or LOC NP

T    *a=      usa=ra      ka      beses      usa      ka      semana*  
 BC    one=only    LK    time    one    LK    week

L: 'We already got a schedule.'  
 T: 'Oh really? Where are you (going) next (time)?'  
 L: 'Oh, the next (time)? Not yet. (We're) still (staying) here. We're only at Chungli or Hsinchu on Sundays.'  
 T: 'Oh, only once a week.'

I will now examine the adverbial expressions conveying various types of time.

I start with frequency adverbs. Frequency adverbs like *pirmi* 'always', *panagsa* 'rarely', and *adlaw-adlaw* 'everyday' are positioned either clause-finally (57) or initially in a verb complex, as shown from (58) to (60).

(57) Frequency adverb in clause-final position

L	<i>ako=ra</i>	<i>usa</i>	<b><i>pirmi</i></b> ,	<i>wala?=man=siya</i>
	1S.NOM=only	one	always	NEG=PAR=3S.NOM
T	<i>pero</i>	<i>adlaw-adlaw=siya</i>	<i>mo-tawag</i>	<i>nimo</i>
	but	everyday=3S.NOM	AV-call	2S.DAT

L: 'I'm just alone always. He's not around.'

T: 'But, he calls you everyday.'

(58) Frequency adverb in clause-initial position

<i>ma?o=gyud=na?=y</i>	<b><i>pirmi</i></b>	<i>i-order=gyud</i>	<i>inig-uli?</i>
<i>ma?o=gyud=kana?=y</i>	<b><i>pirmi</i></b>	<i>i-order=gyud</i>	<i>inig-uli?</i>
ANAPH=EMPH=that=NEUT	always	IV-order=EMPH	every-return

'That is the very (dish) that (he) orders everytime he goes home.'

(59) Frequency adverb in clause-initial position

<b><i>panagsa=ra=man=siya</i></b>	<i>pa-uli?</i>
rarely=only=PAR=3S.NOM	CAU-return

'He rarely goes home.'

(60) Numeric frequency adverb in clause-initial position

<b><i>ka-duha=na=siya</i></b>	<i>ni-uli?</i>
FREQ-two=already=3S.NOM	AV-return

'He has already gone home twice.'

There are exceptions, too. The frequency adverbs *usahay* 'sometimes' and *kasagaran* 'most of the time' only occur as a free word clause-initially, as in (61). It can of course also occupy the first-element slot in a verb complex.

(61) Frequency adverb as a free word

T	<i>pero</i>	<i>adlaw-adlaw=siya</i>	<i>mo-tawag</i>	<i>nimo</i>		
	but	everyday=3S.NOM	AV-call	2S.DAT		
L	<i>o=\</i>	<b><i>usahay</i></b> ,	<i>ako=y</i>	<i>mo-tawag</i> ,	<b><i>usahay</i></b>	<i>siya</i>
	BC	sometimes	1S.NOM=NEUT	AV-call	sometimes	3S.NOM

T: 'but, he calls you everyday.'

L: 'Yes, sometimes I call, (and) sometimes (it's) he (who calls).'

The adverb of duration *dugay* 'for a long time' occurs in the first-element slot in a verb complex (62); it can also enter into a complementation strategy (63). The

verb complex construction is used to refer to a past event, while the *ug* complement construction is preferred for irrealis and future events. Frequency and durative adverbs seem to form a category in that they can occur in both verb complex and *ug* complementation constructions. However, there is a restriction with regard to their word order vs. construction type. If the adverb of duration occupies the first-element slot and the activity verb occurs in the main verb slot, as in (62), they can occur in a verb complex, and it follows that they can also take a *nga* complement. But if the adverb of duration is positioned after the activity verb, it can only serve as a complement verb marked by *ug*, as in (63), and therefore the construction cannot be reduced to a verb complex.

(62) Adverb of duration in a verb complex

*dugay=ka?ay=mi nag-tindog*  
*dugay=ka?ayo=mi nag-tindog*  
 long=very=1IP.NOM AV-stand  
 'We were standing for a very long time.'

(63) Adverb of duration in an *ug* complement

*ma-ulaw=man=ko=nimo sir*  
 AV-embarrassing=PAR=1S.NOM=2S.DAT VOC  
*mag-hulat=ta-g dugay ka?ayo*  
*mag-hulat=ta-ug dugay ka?ayo*  
 AV-wait=1IP.NOM-COMP long very  
 'It will be embarrassing for me, Sir, as (I will cause) us to wait very long.'

As for *usab* 'again', it can occur only in a verbal construction either as a voice- and tense-carrying verb (64a) or as a complement verb in root form (64b). Between the two, (64a) is the preferred expression, as modifier expressions are usually found in the complement slot.

(64a) Adverb *usab* in verb slot

*usb-on=nako?*      *ug*      *buhat*  
*usab-on=nako?*      *ug*      *buhat*  
 again-PV=1S.GEN    LK      do  
 'I will do it again.'

(64b) Adverb *usab* in root form

*kan-on=nako-g*                      *usab*  
*ka?on-on=nako?-ug*                *usab*  
 eat-PV=1S.GEN-LK                  again  
 'I will eat (it) again.'

The sequential adverbs *una* 'be first' and *ulahi* 'be last' occur preferably as the matrix verb in an *ug* predicative construction.

(65) Ordinal adverb as matrix verb

*cotabato*      *ang*      *una-ng*      *na-city kaysa sa*      *davao*  
*cotabato*      *ang*      *una-nga*      *na-city kaysa sa*      *davao*  
 PN              ANG      first-LK      AV-city COMPAR OBL    PN

*pero general santos=man na-una-g*      *sikat*  
*pero general santos=man na-una-ug*      *sikat*  
 but    PN=PAR                      AV-first-LK      popular

'(It was) Cotabato (that) was made a municipality earlier than Davao, but (it was) General Santos City which became popular the earliest.'

**Table 10-2. Time adverbs**

type of adverb	adverb	free word; clause-initial	free word; medial/final position	first-element in verb complex	matrix verb in predicative construction
frequency	<i>usahay</i> 'sometimes'				
	<i>kasagaran</i> 'most of the time'	√	√	√	√
	<i>pirmi</i> 'always'		√	√	√
	<i>adlaw-adlaw</i> 'everyday'		√	√	√
durative	<i>panagsa</i> 'rarely'			√	√
	<i>dugay</i> 'for a long time'			√	√
sequential	<i>ulahi</i> 'last'				√
	<i>una</i> 'first'				√

The time adverbs shown in Table 10-2 form a continuum. Toward the top end are some frequency adverbs that can occur as free words in any part of the clause; on the bottom end are the durative and sequential adverbs that have more verbal features and can only serve as a matrix verb taking a complement.

### 10.5 Summary

Although adverbials are flexible in terms of their position in clauses, they seem to prefer the first element position in a verb complex in Cebuano. The kinds of adverbs that do so include manner/evaluative adverbs, locative adverbs, temporal adverbs, and deontic adverbs. There are also adverbials that take complements and occur in the form of clitics. These are summarized in Table 10-3.

**Table 10-3. Adverbial types and their syntactic behavior**

Type of adverbial	phrasal	free word	verb complex	V <i>ug</i> V	<i>nga</i>	<i>sa</i>	clitic
Manner			bare form (general condition)	voiced (particular event)			
Location	<i>sa</i> NP	final	for contrast				
Temporal	<i>pag-</i> <i>inig-</i>	final	for contrast				
Frequency		√	√	√	√		
Duration			√	√	√		
Sequential			√	√			
Deontic			√				
Epistemic				√			
Evaluative				√	√	√	
Emphatic					<i>pwerte</i>		√
Intensifier							= <i>ka?ayo</i>
De-intensifier							= <i>man</i>

## Chapter 11      COMPLEMENTATION and COMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES

### 11.0 Introduction

There are three basic ways in which two clauses can be combined (Dixon 2006), namely, coordination and subordination, relativization, and complementation. I talked about coordination and subordination earlier in Chapter 3, which covered coordination, temporal and logical linking, and contrastive and purposive linking. As for relativization in Cebuano, it shares the same form as modification, and so is discussed with noun modification in Chapter 4 (NP Structure). I will only discuss complementation in this chapter.

Clauses may function as sentential subject/object of a predicate. In other words, certain verbs/predicates can take a clause, instead of an NP, as a core argument; such a clause is called a complement clause (Noonan 1985).<sup>48</sup> Verbs make use of available grammatical mechanisms and enter into various complementation strategies (see Table 11-1). I will first discuss these various strategies in 11.1 and then in 11.2 I will examine control constructions, where I will show that it is *nga* marked complement constructions where the Actor controls the pivot in the complement clause that give rise to a Verb Complex in Cebuano.

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<sup>48</sup> However, the complement clause can also be an oblique argument of a complement-taking verb, as in (i).

(i) Puyuma (Teng 2007: 382, example 4, gloss mine)  
*ma-laDam      Da      ala      m-inaTay      tu=walak*  
INTR-know      COMP      maybe      INTR-die      3S=child  
'(She) knew that maybe her child was dead.'

**Table 11-1. Verb categories taking complements**

Verbs types	Examples	Complement types
Modality particles	<i>gusto</i> 'want; like' <i>ganahan</i> 'want; like' <i>puydi</i> 'can' <i>kinahanglan</i> 'must' <i>hadlok</i> 'be afraid'	<i>nga</i>
Manipulation verbs	<i>pugos</i> 'force' <i>tabang</i> 'help'	<i>ug</i>
Perception verbs	<i>kita?</i> 'see' <i>dungog</i> 'hear'	<i>nga</i>
Epistemic verbs	<i>abi</i> '(to) assume' <i>mora</i> '(to) seem; as if'	<i>ug</i> <i>nga</i>
Cognition verbs	<i>kahibalo</i> 'know' <i>kabantay</i> 'notice' <i>kasabot</i> 'understand' <i>hunahuna</i> 'think' <i>hinumdum</i> 'remember' <i>kalimot</i> 'forget'	<i>nga</i> interrogative complement (24)
Utterance verbs	<i>ingon</i> 'say; tell' <i>sulti</i> 'say; tell'	<i>nga</i> interrogative complement (36)
Aspectual verbs	<i>sigi</i> 'keep on' <i>sugod</i> 'start' <i>hunong</i> 'stop' <i>human</i> 'finish' <i>hinumdum</i> 'remember' <i>kalimot</i> 'forget'	<i>nga</i> <i>ug</i> / <i>sa pag-</i> (nominalization)
Activity verbs + adverbial verbs		<i>ug</i>
Interrogators	<i>gi-unsá</i> 'what; how' <i>unsá-on</i> 'how'	<i>pag-</i> (nominalization)
Negators	<i>ayaw</i> [imperative negator] <i>ambot</i> 'don't know'	<i>ug</i> interrogative complement (51) (52)
Particles	<i>basi?</i> 'maybe' <i>bisan</i> 'even if ...' <i>karon (nga)</i> 'now (that) ...' <i>diha(-ng)</i> 'at that (time) ...' <i>bahala?</i> 'it doesn't matter that ...' <i>basta</i> 'as long as ...' <i>ma?ayo</i> 'it is good that ...' <i>abi</i> '(sb) assumes that ...' <i>mora</i> 'it seems ...; as if ...' <i>bantog</i> 'no wonder ...' <i>ma?o</i> 'it is (the reason) why ...' <i>pwerte</i> 'so ...' <i>imbis</i> 'instead of ...' <i>labi</i> 'especially that ...'	<i>ug</i> <i>nga</i> interrogative complement

The verbs that trigger complementation are relatively restricted; in Cebuano, they typically include modality verbs/particles (11.3), verbs of manipulation (11.4), verbs of perception (11.5), verbs of cognition (11.6), epistemic verbs (11.7), verbs of utterance (11.8), and aspectual verbs (11.9). In addition, we also observe that activity verbs, the interrogative word *ngano* 'why,' the negators *ayaw* and *ambot*, and certain particles require a complement clause; these will be covered in 11.10, 11.11, 11.12, and 11.13, respectively. On the other hand, the verbs in the complement clauses are relatively unrestricted when they are introduced by *nga*; however, they have to be semantically compatible with the main verb. These complement clauses, which describe a fact, an activity, or a potential state, usually function as a P or E argument of the main verb.

## **11.1 Complementation strategies**

As observed in Table 11-1, there are at least several complementation strategies used in Cebuano, namely, *nga* complementation (11.1.1), *ug* and *sa* (nominalization) complementation (11.1.2), and conditional complementation (11.1.3). Which types of complements occur with a predicate must be listed in a dictionary (Wolff 1965: 89). We will discuss each of these in the following subsections.

### **11.1.1 *nga* complementation**

The *nga* complementation strategy is employed by modality verbs/particles, perception verbs, cognition verbs, and utterance verbs. With certain matrix verbs (modality verbs and cognition verb *kahibalo*), the *nga* may be replaced by a pause.

Matrix verbs followed by a *nga* complementizer are loosely integrated with their complements. The events indicated by the matrix verb and their complement verbs are separate and distinct. In these instances, there is no control, especially with verbs of perception, cognition, and utterance, as in (1).

(1) P-C-U matrix verb and complement indicate separate events

<i>naka-ingon=gyud=ko</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>kaugalingon,</i>
<i>naka-ingon=gyud=ko</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>kaugalingon,</i>
AV-say=EMPH=1S.NOM	LOC	1S.POSS-LK	self
<i>ma?o=di?ay,</i>	<i>wala?=ko</i>	<i>taga-i-g</i>	<i>anak,</i>
<i>ma?o=di?ay,</i>	<i>wala?=ko</i>	<i>hatag-i-ug</i>	<i>anak,</i>
ANAPH=DISCOV	NEG=1S.NOM	give-LV-EXT	child
<i>tungod=siguro</i>	<i>ana?</i>		
because.of=probably	that		

'I said to myself (that), that is why I was never given a child, probably because of that.'

With certain verbs like *ganahan* 'to like,' *pangandoy* 'to wish,' and *puydi* 'to be allowed,' there may be control especially when the complement clause has an AV verb, as in (2). If there is control, the matrix clause and the complement clause easily form a verb complex: the complementizer *nga* is suppressed, the complement verb becomes the main verb, and the matrix verb turns into a first element.

(2)  $V_1$  (matrix) *nga*  $V_2$  (complement)  $\rightarrow$   $V_1$  (first element) ( )  $V_2$  (main)

<i>mahadlok=kuno=sila</i>		<i>mo-gawas</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>gabi?i</i>
<i>mahadlok=kuno=sila</i>	( <i>nga</i> )	<i>mo-gawas</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>gabi?i</i>
be.afraid=EVID=3P.NOM		AV.DEP-outside	TEMP	night

'They said they are afraid to go out at night.'

### 11.1.2 *ug* complementation

The *ug* complementation is employed by manipulation verbs, aspectual verbs, activity verbs/manner adverbs, negators, and certain particles. Compared to a *nga*

complementation, there is tighter integration between the matrix verb and the complement clause linked by *ug*. In such a circumstance, the complement verb becomes an argument of the matrix verb and so is non-finite.

Aside from being a non-finite complementizer, *ug* is also used with particles taking complement clauses. In this instance, the complement clause is finite as the matrix clause merely contains a particle indicating epistemic, evaluative, or emphatic stance.<sup>49</sup>

Furthermore, in Cebuano, where the *ug* complementation is possible, the nominalization strategy is also applicable. This is reminiscent of the nominalizers in Korean ((*u*)*m*, *ki*) and Bella Coola (*s-*) at work at the lexical level (where they turn verbs into nominals) and at the clausal level (where they turn clauses into nominal complements) (Beck 2000; Horie 2000). In the case of Cebuano, the complement verb is prefixed with *pag-* (rather than occur in its root form) and can be optionally marked by *sa*. The matrix verbs that can enter into such kind of nominalization complementation are adverbs that modify semantically the action denoted by the

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<sup>49</sup> There is a similar situation in Paiwan: the non-finite complementizer *a* imposes certain restrictions on the verb in the complement clause (Tang 1999); they cannot take NAV forms and carry TAM markers. However, the following constructions observed by Chang (2006b) seem to be counter-examples.

(ia) Paiwan (Chang 2006b: 20, footnote 3)

<i>ini=ka=aken</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>na-k&lt;em&gt;an</i>	<i>tua</i>	<i>vurasi</i>
NEG=KA=1S.NOM	LK	PFV-eat<AV>	OBL	sweet.potato
'I did not eat sweet potatoes.'				

(ib) Paiwan (Chang 2006b: 20, footnote 3)

<i>ini=ka=aken</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>uri-k&lt;em&gt;an</i>	<i>tua</i>	<i>vurasi</i>
NEG=KA=1S.NOM	LK	FUT-eat<AV>	OBL	sweet.potato
'I will not eat sweet potatoes.'				

If we consider negators as particles not unlike the particles that will be discussed in 11.13, then the Paiwan examples above may be similar examples. The use of the *ug* (in Cebuano) and the *a* (in Paiwan) still suggests a tight link between the particle and the event denoted by the complement clause. The event cannot be fully expressed in the "main clause" containing the particle, and the only other place where it is possible to do so would be the complement clause.

nominalized entity. Such a construction forms a paradigm with *ug* complement clauses; the only difference that I observe is that one is formal while the other is spoken. This is illustrated schematically in (3). Examples are provided in (4) and (5), with the (b) and (c) sentences serving as variants.

(3) Nominalization complementation in Cebuano

- |     |                     |           |                             |                  |
|-----|---------------------|-----------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| (a) | V <sub>MATRIX</sub> | <i>ug</i> | V <sub>ROOT</sub>           | (spoken)         |
| (b) | V <sub>MATRIX</sub> | <i>ug</i> | <i>pag-V<sub>ROOT</sub></i> |                  |
| (c) | V <sub>MATRIX</sub> | <i>sa</i> | <i>pag-V<sub>ROOT</sub></i> | (formal/written) |

(4a) Manner adverb in matrix clause (Sun Star, December 31, 2007)

<i>nag-hinay-hinay=lang=kini</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>pag-dagan</i>	<i>aron=lang</i>
AV-slow-REDUP=only=this	COMP	NMZ-run	so=just
<i>maka-abot ngadto sa</i>	<i>ila-ng</i>	<i>pa-dulng-an</i>	
<i>maka-abot ngadto sa</i>	<i>ila-nga</i>	<i>pa-dulong-an</i>	
AV-arrive there LOC	3P.POSS-LK	CAU-toward-LV	

'This (cab) slowly moved forward, just so (it) will reach their destination.'

(4b) *nag-hinay-hinay=lang=kini*      *ug dagan*

(4c) *nag-hinay-hinay=lang=kini*      *ug pag-dagan*

(5a) nominalization complementation (Sun Star, July 9, 2007)

<i>Si Junjun mi-sulay=pa</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>pag-sagang</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>kutsilyo</i>
SI PN AV-try=still	COMP	NMZ-shield	LOC	knife
<i>ma?o nga na-samd-an</i>	<i>kini</i>			
<i>ma?o nga na-samad-an</i>	<i>kini</i>			
ANAPH COMP SPONT-wound-LV	this			

'Junjun tried to shield (himself) from the knife, so that he was wounded.'

(5b) *Si Junjun mi-sulay=pa ug sagang*

(5c) *Si Junjun mi-sulay=pa ug pag-sagang*

### 11.1.3 Interrogative complements (indirect question complement)

The types of matrix verbs that take interrogative conditional complement clauses are the negator *ambot*, as in (6) and (7), verbs of cognition (8) and utterance (9), and

certain particles. The complement clauses are marked by the marker *kung* (but sometimes it is covert), and the complement clause is an interrogative clause.

(6) *ambot* followed by interrogative complement

*ambot=lang*            *unsa*   *ila-ng*            *plano*  
*ambot=lang*            *unsa*   *ila-nga*            *plano*  
 don't.know=only        what    3P.POSS-LK            plan  
 '(I) don't know what their plans are.'

(7) *ambot* followed by interrogative complement

*naka-adto=ko-g*    *argao*  
*naka-adto=ko-ug*   *argao*  
 AV-go=1S.NOM-EXT   PN  
  
*ambot*        *kung*   *college=ba=ko*        *ato*    *o=*        *high school*  
 don't.know    if        college=Q=1S.NOM        that    or        high school  
 'I have been to Argao. (I'm) not sure if I was in college then or in high school.'

(8) Verb of cognition taking an interrogative complement clause

*kahibao=na=mi*            *kung*   *asa*    *dapit*   *mag-traffic*  
 know=already=1EP.NOM    if        where    place    AV-traffic  
 'We already know where (in which areas) there is heavy traffic.'

(9) Verb of utterance taking an interrogative complement clause

*unya*            *iya-ng*            *mga*    *amigo*  
*unya*            *iya-nga*            *mga*    *amigo*  
 then            3S.POSS-LK        PL        friend  
  
*mag-sulti=ba*                    *asa=siya/*  
*mag-sulti=ba*        *kung*   *asa=siya/*  
 AV-say=Q                        where=3S.NOM  
 'Then, his friends, will they tell (you) where he is?'

## 11.2 Control constructions

Control is the phenomenon where the matrix verb combines with a complement verb taking a zero argument serving as a pivot that corresponds to the semantic argument of the main verb. Considering that control usually occurs in a

complementation construction, after summarizing the different types of complements, I will then show the types of control in this section.

There are two types of control in Cebuano, and both of these can be found in an *ug* complementation construction, namely, the Actor control (Type 1) and the Nominative argument control (Type 2). As I have shown in this chapter, matrix verbs and their *ug*-marked complements are more integrated to each other than matrix verbs with *nga*-marked complements;<sup>50</sup> therefore there is necessarily control going on in the former. As for the latter, as matrix verbs with *nga*-marked complements are more loosely-integrated to each other, there is not necessarily a control relation; however, if there is control (Type 3, either Actor control or Nominative argument control), then the matrix and complement verbs easily form a verb complex construction (see Chapter 6). The three types of control verb are shown in Table 11-2.

**Table 11-2. Types of control verbs in Cebuano**

Verb Type	Control Type	Verbs	Notes
Verbs taking <i>ug</i> -marked complements	Actor control (Type 1)	<i>ganahan</i> ; <i>gusto</i> ‘like’ <i>pangandoy</i> ‘hope; wish’ <i>sugud</i> ‘start’ <i>sulay</i> ‘try’ <i>tabang</i> ‘help’	Control: S argument of AV verb A argument of NAV verb
	Nominative argument control (Type 2)	<i>pugus</i> ‘force’ <i>sugu?</i> ‘order’	(usually) PV matrix verb
Verbs taking <i>nga</i> -marked complements	no control (Type 3)	<i>ganahan</i> ; <i>gusto</i> ‘like’ <i>hulat</i> ‘wait’ <i>pangandoy</i> ‘hope; wish’ <i>puydi</i> ‘permit’ negative modality verbs (cf. Section 12.3)	form a Verb Complex when there is control (i.e., when the complement verb is in AV form)

<sup>50</sup> Although matrix verbs with *ug*-marked complements are strongly integrated to each other, they cannot form a verb complex like some instances of *nga* complementation. At most, the complementizer *ug* can only be phonologically simplified as *-g* and cliticize to the preceding word.

First, I will discuss *ug* complementation, where there is necessarily control.

Two types of control are attested. Actor control verbs (Type 1 control) are verbs whose Actor argument controls the pivot in the complement clause; the Actor argument can be the Nominative-marked argument of the AV matrix verb or the Genitive-marked argument of the NAV matrix verb.

(10) Actor control (NAV verb)

<i>iya</i> = <i>gyud</i> = <i>ko-ng</i>	<i>gi-tabang-an</i>	( <i>ug</i> <i>sulat</i> )
<i>iya<sub>i</sub></i> = <i>gyud</i> = <i>ko-nga</i>	<i>gi-tabang-an</i>	( <i>ug</i> V <sub>COMP</sub> [A] <sub>i</sub> )
3S.GEN=EMPH=1S.NOM-LK	PFV-help-LV	COMP
<i>na?a</i> = <i>gyud</i> = <i>siya</i> <i>diha?</i> <i>sa</i> <i>ako-ng</i> <i>tupad</i>		
<i>na?a</i> = <i>gyud</i> = <i>siya</i> <i>diha?</i> <i>sa</i> <i>ako?-nga</i> <i>tupad</i>		
EXIST=EMPH=3S.NOM there	LOC 1S.POSS-LK	side

'He did help me (write the document); he was really there by my side.'

(11) Actor control (AV verb; Sun Star, June 22, 2008)

<i>mi-sulay</i> = <i>kini</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>pag-tabok</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>suba?</i>
AV-try=this	COMP	NMZ-cross	LOC	river

'The (victim) tried to cross the river.'

The extracts in (10) and (11) exhibit Actor control. In the first line in (10), what would control the pivot in the complement clause would be the Genitive-marked Actor argument =*iya* and not the Nominative-marked Patient argument =*ko*. In this extract, the *ug* complement clause is not uttered, as it can be recovered from the context. Similarly, in (11), the Nominative argument =*kini* (or the Actor) controls the pivot in the complement clause.

Nominative argument control verbs (Type 2 control) are those whose Nominative argument controls the pivot regardless of whether the matrix verb is AV or NAV. For example, with the control verb *pugos* 'to force', if the matrix verb is

NAV (12), the nominative argument controls the gap in the complement clause; if the matrix verb is AV (13), then the nominative argument still controls the gap.

(12) Nominative argument control (NAV verb; constructed)

*gi-pugos=nila si Pedro ug palit ug balay*  
 PFV.PV-force=3P.GEN SI PN COMP buy EXT house  
 'They forced Pedro to buy a house.'

(13) Nominative argument control (AV verb; Sun Star, December 31, 2007)

*mi-pugos=sila ug adto*  
 AV-force=3P.NOM COMP go  
 'They forced (themselves) to go.'

Verbs that take a *nga* complement clause are less integrated with their complement verb. The argument of the matrix verb does not necessarily control the pivot; in other words, the pivot argument is not always coreferential with any of the arguments of the matrix verb, as in (14). In (14), it is not clear who is going to "buy the house."<sup>51</sup> It may be the Nominative argument of the AV matrix verb *they*, or it can also be any other person(s).

(14) no control (constructed)

*ni-sugot=sila nga palit-on ang balay*  
*ni-sugot=sila<sub>i</sub> nga palit-on ( )<sub>ij</sub> ang balay*  
 AV-agree=3P.NOM COMP buy-PV ANG house  
 'They agreed for the house to be bought (by them/by somebody else).'

However, what is noteworthy about these control verbs and their *nga* complements is that when there is control, or especially when the matrix verb is a negative modality verb, the *nga* complementation gives rise to a verb complex (Type 3). The type of control the matrix verb exhibits is the same as that when it takes an *ug*

<sup>51</sup> In the event of Actor control (if there is a context), the clause in (14) can easily turn into a verb complex. Otherwise, the complement structure is obligatorily retained.

complement (as except for the negative modality verbs, the other control verbs can also take *ug* complements). In such a circumstance, the matrix verb becomes an auxiliary verb and the complement verb becomes the main verb, as long as there is Actor control over the complement clause (see also Chapter 6). Two examples are provided in (15) and (16). The verb complex representing a single event, the main verb occupying the final slot in the verb complex cannot take pronominal clitics.

(15)  $V_1$  (matrix) *nga*  $V_2$  (complement)  $\rightarrow$   $V_1$  (first element) ( )  $V_2$  (main)  
*mahadlok=kuno=sila*                      *mo-gawas*(\*=*sila*)      *sa*      *gabi?i*  
*mahadlok=kuno=sila*      (*nga*)      *mo-gawas*                      *sa*      *gabi?i*  
be.afraid=EVID=3P.NOM                      AV.INF-outside                      LOC      night  
'They said they are afraid to go out at night.'

(16)  $V_1$  (matrix) *nga*  $V_2$  (complement)  $\rightarrow$   $V_1$  (first element) ( )  $V_2$  (main)  
*ang tawo nga ganahan mo-larga, di? pa-larga-hon*  
*ang tawo nga ganahan (nga) mo-larga, di? pa-larga-on*  
ANG person LK like AV-leave NEG CAU-leave-PV  
'The people who like to leave (are) not allowed to leave.'

### 11.3 Complement-taking modality verbs

The complement-taking modality particles to be discussed in this section include those that indicate desire (*gusto*, *ganahan*, *bu?ut* 'want'; *sulay* 'try; attempt') and modality (*puydi*, *kinahanglan* 'can; must'; *angay* 'it is fair that'), and express volition, intent, attempt, ability, and necessity, as well as those that encode negative modal attitude such as refusal, reluctance, and fear (e.g., *mahadlok* 'be afraid'). The complement clause of these verbs encodes a proposition or an event. In his categorization of complement-taking verbs, Givón (2001) groups aspectual verbs under modality verbs; however, we will devote another section (11.9) for the aspectual verbs. Furthermore, the concept of modality also covers probability,

uncertainty, and other attitudinal conditions. These notions are expressed through particles in Cebuano, and I also discuss them in another section in this chapter (11.13) (see also Table 11-3).

**Table 11-3. Modality verbs in Cebuano**

		Type of complement	Status of V in main clause	Status of V in complement clause
11.3	Volition, intent, attempt, ability, necessity	<i>nga</i> complement	V has only one form, which can be both AV and NAV	relatively independent
	Negative modality	<i>nga</i> can be suppressed	V carries tense-aspect info but is pre-verb in a verb complex	V carries voice info and is the main verb
11.9	Aspectual	<i>ug</i> complement (complement verb is in root form)	main verb	root form
		<i>sa</i> complement (complement verb is nominalized)	main verb	<i>pag-</i> nominalized form
11.13	Probability, uncertainty, attitude	<i>ug</i> complement clause	V does not have voice form	very independent

The modality verbs discussed in this section usually take a complement clause marked by *nga*. In (17) and (18a), there is a gap in the complement clause, and the Actor in the main clause (AV clause) controls the gap. In other words, the Actor argument in the complement clause need not be overtly specified. When the complement is a NAV clause, there is Nominative argument control (of an AV main clause), as in the constructed example in (18b), which is based on (18a). In (19), the main clause is NAV; it seems that there is also Actor control with a NAV complement clause. But there can be no Actor control (of a NAV main clause) if there is no gap in the complement clause, as in (20a). But once there is a gap (20b), the Actor automatically exerts control over this gap.

(17) Actor control (AV); Actor pivot (AV) (AV complement clause)

<i>ang iro?</i>	...(1.2)	<i>gusto-ng</i>	<i>mu-katkat</i>	( )	<i>sa=</i>	<i>kahoy</i>
<i>ang iro?</i>	...(1.2)	<i>gusto-nga</i>	<i>mu-katkat</i>	( )	<i>sa=</i>	<i>kahoy</i>
ANG dog		like-COMP	AV-climb		LOC	tree

'The dog wanted to climb the tree.'

(18a) Nominative Actor control (AV); Actor pivot (AV) (AV complement clause)

<i>pero=</i>	<i>next week</i>	<i>puydi=na=mi-ng</i>	<i>ka-gawas</i>	( )
<i>pero=</i>	<i>next week</i>	<i>puydi=na=mi-nga</i>	<i>ka-gawas</i>	( )
but	next.week	can=already=1EP.NOM-COMP	AV-outside	

'But next week we can already go outside.'

(18b) Nominative argument control (AV); Nominative argument pivot (AV) (NAV complement clause)

<i>pero=</i>	<i>next week</i>	<i>puydi=na=mi-ng</i>	<i>pa-gaws-on</i>	( )
<i>pero=</i>	<i>next week</i>	<i>puydi=na=mi-nga</i>	<i>pa-gawas-on</i>	( )
but	next.week	can=already=1EP.NOM-COMP	CAU-outside-PV	

'But next week we can already go outside.' (constructed based on 3)

(19) Genitive actor control (NAV); Actor pivot (NAV)

<i>gusto</i>	<i>niya-ng=</i>	...(1.8)	<i>uyug-un</i>	( )	<i>ang ma?o-ng</i>	<i>kahoy</i>
<i>gusto</i>	<i>niya-nga</i>		<i>uyug-un</i>	( )	<i>ang ma?o-nga</i>	<i>kahoy</i>
want	3S.GEN-LK		shake-PV	ANG	ANAPH-LK	tree

'The dog wanted to shake the tree.'

(20a) NAV main clause; gapless complement clause → no control

<i>gusto sa iro?</i>	<i>nga maka-gawas</i>	<i>ang baki?</i>	<i>sa garapa</i>
like GEN dog	COMP AV-outside	ANG frog	LOC container

'The dog wanted the frog in the container to be freed from the container.'

(20b) NAV main clause; AV complement clause (gapped) → Actor control

<i>gusto sa iro?</i>	<i>nga maka-gawas</i>	( )	<i>sa garapa</i>
like GEN dog	COMP AV-outside		LOC container

'The dog wanted ( ) to be freed from the container.'

The default reading in (19) and in (20b) is the Actor controlling the gap.

However, a different Actor in the subordinate event can also be possible. In general, the Actor of a NAV matrix verb does not necessarily control the gap in the subordinate event.

In discourse, the complementizer *nga* is often replaced by a pause. In (21), the final particle *ba* marks the NP as the topic of the following discourse and is followed by a pause. In (21), as in (20a), there is no Actor control over the gap-less complement clause.

(21) Pause takes the place of complementizer; clauses loosely linked

*gusto ni Mang Marino ba, nga mag-Boracay=ta*  
 like GEN PN DM COMP AV-PN=1IP.NOM  
 'What Mario wants, (is) that we (inc.) go to Boracay.'

In the following extracts, the pause has replaced the complementizer *nga*.

Consequently, the link between both clauses is further loosened. The main clause part becomes a topic clause (sometimes marked by clause-final discourse particle *ba*), and there is a greater tendency for the arguments of both clauses to be non-coreferential.

(22) Pause takes the place of complementizer; clauses loosely linked

*gusto=nako?, adto=ra=mi sa una*  
 like=1S.GEN go=just=1EP.NOM LOC first  
 'I like (that) we just go to the front.'

(23) Pause takes the place of complementizer; clauses loosely linked

*gusto=unta?=nako?=ba,*  
 like=PAR=1S.GEN=DM  
*kanang biyenan- kanangmagka-s<in>abut=gyud=mo*  
*kanang biyenan kanangmagka-sabut<in>=gyud=mo*  
 FIL in.law FIL RECIP-agree<RES>=EMPH=2P.NOM  
 'What I originally wanted was, (that) my in-laws, (that) we can understand each other.'

When the complementizer *nga* is suppressed and the arguments are coreferential (i.e., there is control), the resulting unit turns into a verb complex (cf Chapter 6), where the complement verb becomes the final verb and the main clause verb becomes the first element in the resulting verb complex. As the arguments are

coreferential, on the one hand there is a tighter clausal link and there is no need for a pause (as also evidenced by the accompanying translations); on the other hand, the arguments (if they are pronominal) cliticize to the original matrix verb, which is now the first-element entity in the resulting verb complex, and not to the main verb occupying the last slot in the verb complex.

(24)  $V_1$  (main) *nga*  $V_2$  (complement)  $\rightarrow$   $V_1$  (first element) ( )  $V_2$  (activity verb)

*nag-adto=ko sa Malaysia no/*  
 AV-go=1S.NOM LOC PN PAR

*wa- di?=na=dyud=ko ganahan mo-balik didto*  
*wa- di?=na=dyud=ko ganahan (nga) mo-balik didto*  
 FS NEG=already=EMPH=1S.NOM like AV-return there  
 'I went to Malaysia. I really don't like to go back there.'

(25)  $V_1$  (main) *nga*  $V_2$  (complement)  $\rightarrow$   $V_1$  (first element) ( )  $V_2$  (activity verb)

*di=man=pud=ko ganahan mo-la?ag*  
*di=man=pud=ko ganahan (nga) mo-la?ag*  
 NEG=PAR=also=1S.NOM like AV-walk

'I also don't like to roam around.'

(26)  $V_1$  (main) *nga*  $V_2$  (complement)  $\rightarrow$   $V_1$  (first element) ( )  $V_2$  (activity verb)

*puydi=ka mo-adto san carlos*  
*puydi=ka (nga) mo-adto san carlos*  
 can=2S.NOM AV-go PN

'You can go to San Carlos.'

(27)  $V_1$  (main) *nga*  $V_2$  (complement)  $\rightarrow$   $V_1$  (first element) ( )  $V_2$  (activity verb)

M *bakasyon=ba=sila/*  
 vacation=Q=3P.NOM

W *puydi=man i-undang ang bata*  
*puydi=man (nga) i-undang ang bata*  
 can=PAR IV-stop ANG child

M: 'They're on vacation?'

W: '(No, but) we can stop (the schooling of) the children.'

The excerpts from (24) to (27) show verb complexes; I have also shown the position of the *nga* when it is not omitted. As I have discussed in 11.2, the *nga* is

omitted if there is Actor control. In the original complementation construction, it is usually omitted in spoken discourse, especially during rapid speech in conversation.

I categorize the emotion verb *hadlok* 'be afraid' under negative modality verbs. In the examples below, the Actor in the main verb *hadlok* and the Actor in the complement verb are coreferential. The *nga* is **omitted** and the two verbs form a verb complex.

(28)  $V_1$  (main) *nga*  $V_2$  (complement)  $\rightarrow$   $V_1$  (first element) ( )  $V_2$  (activity verb)  
*hadlok=ko* *mo-tan?aw*(\*=*ko*)  
*hadlok=ko* (nga) *mo-tan?aw*  
 be.afraid=1S.NOM AV.INF-see  
 'I am afraid to look.'

(29)  $V_1$  (main) *nga*  $V_2$  (complement)  $\rightarrow$   $V_1$  (first element) ( )  $V_2$  (main)  
*mahadlok=kuno=sila* *mo-gawas*(\*=*sila*) *sa* *gabi?i*  
*mahadlok=kuno=sila* (nga) *mo-gawas* *sa* *gabi?i*  
 be.afraid=EVID=3P.NOM AV.INF-outside LOC night  
 'They said they are afraid to go out at night.'

(30)  $V_1$  (main) *nga*  $V_2$  (complement)  $\rightarrow$   $V_1$  (first element) ( )  $V_2$  (main)  
*mahadlok=ko* *mo-lakaw*(\*=*ko*)  
*mahadlok=ko* (nga) *mo-lakaw*  
 be.afraid=1S.NOM AV.INF-walk  
*mo-adto=gani?=kosa* *Manila,usa* *ka* *semana=ra=gyud*  
 AV-go=if=1S.NOM LOC PN one LK week=only=EMPH  
 'I am afraid to go out (shopping), (so) whenever I go to Manila, it's just only for a week.'

The complementation structure in (28)-(30) can still be detected from the fact that both verbs in the resulting verb complex still retain their voice marking, although now only the first element (originally the main verb) carries tense-aspect information, while the final activity verb (originally the complement verb) loses its tense-aspect features and becomes a tenseless dependent verb. This should be considered an

evidence of the closer integration between both verbs. A similar phenomenon also occurs in Formosan Austronesian languages, such as Puyuma (Teng 2007).

Complement constructions with coreferential arguments tend to achieve syntactic integration through verb serialization like Puyuma or the formation of a verb complex like Cebuano (as Cebuano does not permit serial verbs).

Another example is given in (31a). Again, the infelicity of turning the first-element verb (as I have said carries no voice but only tense-aspect information) into a NAV form is shown in (31b) and (31c).

(31a) first element in resulting verb complex lacks voice feature

<i>la?in=na=kuno</i>	<i>imo-ng</i>	<i>nawong</i>	<i>talaga</i>
<i>la?in=na=kuno</i>	<i>imo-nga</i>	<i>nawong</i>	<i>talaga</i>
different=already=EVID	2S.POSS-LK	face	really

*kuyaw=ka?ay tan?aw-on*

*kuyaw=ka?ayo tan?aw-on*

scary=very see-PV.INF

'They said your face will be different, so scary to look at.'

(31b) \**gi-kuyaw=ka?ay tan?aw-on*

\**gi-kuyaw=ka?ayo tan?aw-on*

PFV-scary=very see-PV

(31c) \**gi-kuyaw-an=ka?ay tan?aw-on*

\**gi-kuyaw-an=ka?ayo tan?aw-on*

PFV-scary-LV=very see-PV

#### 11.4 Complement-taking verbs of manipulation

According to Givón (2001), verbs of manipulation express a human agent manipulating the behavior of another human entity, where the complement clause codes the event to be performed by the latter. Manipulation in Cebuano is usually expressed via the causative construction (cf. Chapter 16) employing the causative morpheme *pa-*. However, *pa-* encodes indirect causation, and it cannot be predicted

whether there is successful manipulation (or prevention), or whether the manipulation is successful or merely attempted, without referring to a context. Relative to *pa-*causative verbs, lexical verbs that semantically encode successful manipulation (*pugos* 'force') take complement clauses introduced by *ug*, where the verb in the complement clause is in root form and tense-less and the Actor is necessarily coreferential to the Actor in the main clause.

(32) Coreferential actors in the complementation of verb of manipulation

*gi=pugos=niya ug sulod ang iya-ng ulo sa garapa*  
*gi=pugos=niya ug sulod ang iya-ngaulo sa garapa*  
 PFV.PV-force=3S.GENCOMP inside ANG 3S.POSS-LK head LOC container  
 'It (the dog) forced (to push) its head inside the container.' (constructed)<sup>52</sup>

### 11.5 Complement-taking verbs of perception

Perception verbs code the perception of a state or event by a human (or animate) perceiver. In Cebuano, these verbs include *kita?* 'see' and *dungog* 'hear.' The complement clause has a similar structure as the main clause, with full possibilities for negation and tense-aspect marking; the time reference is also independent of that in the main clause, and they may exhibit different tense-aspect values.

<sup>52</sup> Excerpt (32) is a constructed sentence based on the following excerpt from a narrative.

(i) ... (2.1) *gi=pugos=niya ang iya-ng ulo nga=*  
*gi=pugos=niya ang iya-nga ulo nga=*  
 PFV-force=3S.GEN ANG 3S.POSS-LK head LK  
*ma-sulod sa ma?o-ng garapa*  
*ma-sulod sa ma?o-nga garapa*  
 SPONT-inside LOC aforementioned-LK container  
 '(The dog) forced its head inside the container.'

It has to be noted that when "force" verbs take *ug* (not *nga*) complements, as in (32), there is tighter integration between the main and subordinate events. While there is not necessarily any Actor control in *nga* complementation, there is always Actor control in "force" events.

(33) perception verb + existential clause complement

<i>unya</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>pagka-buntag</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<b><i>na-kita?</i></b>
<i>unya</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>pagka-buntag</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<b><i>na-kita?</i></b>
DM	LOC	NMZ-morning	3S.POSS-LK	PV-see
<b><i>nga</i></b>	<i>wala?=na</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>frog</i>	
COMP	NEG=already	ANG	frog	

'In the morning, he saw that his pet frog was not there anymore.'

(34) perception verb + existential clause complement

<b><i>kit-an</i></b> = <i>man=gani?=nako?</i>	<b><i>nga</i></b>	<i>...na?asa</i>	<i>gawas-</i>
<b><i>kita?-an</i></b> = <i>man=gani?=nako?</i>	<b><i>nga</i></b>	<i>...na?asa</i>	<i>gawas-</i>
see-LV=PAR=PAR=1S.GEN	COMP	EXIST	LOC
			outside

'I can even see that ... there was outside ...'

(35) perception verb + existential clause complement

<i>di=ba</i>	<b><i>ma-dungog=nato?</i></b>	<b><i>nga</i></b>	
DM	PV-hear=1IP.GEN	COMP	
<i>ang mga</i>	<i>nag-asawa</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>Taiwanese,</i>
ANG PL	AV-spouse	EXT	PN
			<i>lu?uy=sila</i>
			pitiful=3P.NOM

'Isn't it (that) we can hear that, (Filipinos) who married Taiwanese (husbands), they're pitiful?'

(36) perception verb + verbal clause complement

<i>wa?=pa=dyud=ko</i>	<b><i>naka-dungog</i></b>	<b><i>nga</i></b>	
NEG=still=EMPH=1S.NOM	AV-hear	COMP	
<i>nag-minyo?=sila-g</i>	<i>Taiwanese</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>na-lipay</i>
<i>nag-minyo?=sila-ug</i>	<i>Taiwanese</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>na-lipay</i>
AV-marry=3P.NOM-EXT	PN	LK	AV-happy

'I haven't really heard of (any of) them who are happily married to a Taiwanese.'

## 11.6 Complement-taking verbs of cognition

Verbs of cognition take a complement clause denoting a state or event.

Complement-taking verbs of cognition in Cebuano include *hinumdum* 'remember', *kalimot* 'forget' (both are also categorized by Givón as falling under modality verbs), *kahibaw* (*kahibalo*; *kama?o*; *ka?antigo*) 'know', *kasabot* 'understand', and *huna?huna?* 'think.' The complement clauses of verbs of cognition are normally introduced by the

complementizer *nga*. They are independent from the main clause in terms of tense-aspect marking and they can also be negated.

(37) verb of cognition *nga* complement clause

*wala?*=*si* ***kahibalo***      ***nga***    *ang*    *baki?*    *naka*= ...*takas*  
 NEG=3P.NOM aware            COMP    ANG    frog    AV    escape  
 'They didn't know that the frog had escaped.'

(38) verb of cognition

*..wa?*=*niya* ***na-bantay-an***            *ang*=    *..iro?*  
 NEG=3S.GEN SPONT-aware-LV            ANG    dog  
  
*..nga*            *na-hulog*=*di?ay*  
 COMP            AV-fall=EVID  
 'But he didn't notice that the dog had fallen down.'

In (38), the *nga* complement clause seems to be an afterthought, but it is a complementation of the main verb *na-bantay-an*. An alternative analysis would be to treat *nga* as a linker introducing the phrase modifying the noun *ang iro?* 'dog'. Verbs of cognition can also take conditional complements, as in (39).

(39) interrogative complement

*kahibao*=*na*=*mi*                    *kung asa*    *dapit*    *mag-traffic*  
 know=already=1EP.NOM            if    where    place    AV-traffic  
 'We already know where (in which areas) there is heavy traffic.'

Like modality verbs, cognition verbs can also be followed by a prosodic pause instead of a *nga* introducing the complement. Like the English expression *you know*, *kahibaw=ka* has become frozen.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>53</sup> In English and Chinese complementation, complementizers are regularly dropped when the complement clause has been reanalyzed as the main assertion; the earlier main clause is reduced to an epistemic marker (see also Thompson 2002; S. Huang 2003).

(40) *nga* replaced by a prosodic pause

*pero kahibaw*=*man=ka*,

*pero kahibaw*=*man=ka* (*nga*)

but know=already=2S.NOM

*daghan=na=ka?ayo-ng na-hitabo? diri*

*daghan=na=ka?ayo-nga na-hitabo? diri*

many=already=very-LK AV-happen here

'But you know, (there) have been so many things happening here.'

(41) *nga* replaced by a prosodic pause

*pero kahibaw*=*ka*,

*pero kahibaw*=*ka* (*nga*)

but know=2S.NOM

*sa cebu mga restaurant/ mahal=na karon*

LOC PN PL restaurant expensive=already now

'But you know, the restaurants in Cebu, (they're) already so expensive nowadays.'

### 11.7 Complement-taking epistemic verbs

The “defective” verbs *abi* ‘(to) assume’ and *mora* ‘(to) seem; as if’ express epistemic stance and can take both *ug* and *nga* complements. They are considered “defective” since *abi* can only take genitive and oblique arguments, while *mora* can only take a nominative argument (S). Below I will discuss each of them.

The verb *abi* '(someone) assumed that ...' can take both *ug* (42) and *nga* (43) complements, without much difference in meaning. This particle is verb-like (sometimes classified as a defective verb) in that it can take genitive and oblique arguments, as in (42). The oblique argument *ku?an* in (42) can be nominal or clausal. In conversational speech, however, the complementizer usually phonologically attaches to the particle or other clitic particles so it is realized more often as the marker *ug*.

(42) particle *abi*

T	<i>kinsa-ng</i>	<i>peter-a</i>
	<i>kinsa-nga</i>	<i>peter-a</i>
	who-LK	PN-DEF
W	<i>ang</i>	<i>husband</i>
	ANG	husband
M	<i>di?</i> , <b><i>abi=nako-g</i></b>	<i>ku?an</i>
	<i>di?</i> , <b><i>abi=nako?-ug</i></b>	<i>ku?an</i>
	DM	think=1S.GEN-COMP KUAN

T: 'Which Peter?'

W: 'the husband.'

M: 'Then, I thought it was *kuan*.'

(43) particle *abi* (Pigafetta n.d.: 37)

<b><i>abi=nako?</i></b>	<i>(ug/nga)</i>	<i>mo-anhi=siya</i>
assume=1S.GEN COMP		AV-come=3S.NOM
'I thought (that) he would come.'		

The verb *mora* means 'seem' or 'as if', and is used to describe the feeling or state indicated by the complement clause. It can only take a nominative-case argument (S role) and must control the gap in the complement clause; it is thus also a “raising verb” like its counterpart *seem* in English (see the second of each pair of sentences below). Like *abi*, it can take a *nga* marked complement clause, but the marker phonologically attaches to the end of the main clause and is realized as *-g* especially in rapid talk.

(44a) particle *mora*

<i>to-ng</i>	<i>una</i>	<i>grabe=pa</i>	
<i>kato-nga</i>	<i>una</i>	<i>grabe=pa</i>	
that-LK	first	serious=even	
<i>na?a=y</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>marines=pa=gyud</i>	<i>mag-checkpoint</i>
EXIST=NEUT PL		marines=even=EMPH	AV-checkpoint
<b><i>mora-g</i></b>	<i>ma-hadlok=ka=gyud</i>		
<b><i>mora-ug</i></b>	<i>ma-hadlok=ka=gyud</i>		
seem-COMP	AV-be.afraid=2S.NOM=EMPH		

'At first, (it was) even more serious. There were even marines (carrying out inspections) at check points. It seemed that you'd really be afraid.'

(44b) raising verb (constructed based on 71)

<b><i>mora=ka-g</i></b>	<i>ma-hadlok=gyud</i>
<b><i>mora=ka-ug</i></b>	<i>ma-hadlok=gyud</i>
seem=2S.NOM-COMP	AV-be.afraid=EMPH

'You'd seem like (you'd really be afraid.'

(45a) particle *mora*

<b><i>mora=ma-g</i></b>	<i>pamilyar=man=ni-ng</i>	<i>bay-hana</i>	
<b><i>mora=man-ug</i></b>	<i>pamilyar=man=kini-nga</i>	<i>babayi-a</i>	
seem=PAR-COMP	familiar=PAR=this-LK	woman-DEF	
<i>oy</i>	<i>asawa=man=di?ay=to</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>lien chan</i>
<i>oy</i>	<i>asawa=man=di?ay=kato</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>lien chan</i>
INTERJ	wife=PAR=EVID=that	GEN	PN

'This woman looked familiar. (Then) oh (I remembered), she was the wife of Lien Chan.'

(45b) raising verb (constructed based on 72)

<b><i>mora=man=ni-g</i></b>	<i>pamilyar</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>bay-hana</i>
<b><i>mora=man=kini-ug</i></b>	<i>pamilyar</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>babayi-a</i>
seem=PAR=this-COMP	familiar	LK	woman-DEF

'This looked like a familiar woman.'

(46a) Manner clause

*nag-siga=namga mata=niya nga*  
 AV-bright=already PL eye=3S.GEN LK

***mora-g*** *mo-guwa?=na=ba*  
***mora-ug*** *mo-guwa?=na=ba*  
 seem-COMP AV-move.out=already=PAR

*unya? human mora-g la?in=na=ka?ayo, lagum=na=ka?ayo*  
*unya? human mora-ug la?in=na=ka?ayo, lagum=na=ka?ayo*  
 CONJ after seem-COMP different=already=INTENS dark=already=INTENS  
 'Her eyes were bulging like they were about to pop out. Then (it) seemed  
 already very weird. (Her skin) was getting very dark.'

(46b) raising verb (constructed based on 73)

***mora=to-g*** *mo-guwa?=na=ba*  
***mora=to-ug*** *mo-guwa?=na=ba*  
 seem=that-COMP AV-move.out=already=PAR

'Those (eyes) seemed like (they were) about to pop out.'

## 11.8 Complement-taking verbs of utterance

Verbs of utterance take a complement clause, which may be a direct quote or an indirect quote. Direct quotes are usually preceded by a prosodic pause after the complementizer *nga*.

(47) Verb of utterance *nga* (+ pause) direct quote

***ingon***=*siya nga, baki=?ha?ay=na=ka* *karon*  
 say=3S.NOM COMP frog where=already=2 S.NOM now  
 'He said that, Frog, where are you now?'

(48) Verb of utterance *nga* (+ pause) direct quote

***ni-ingon*** *ang bata? sa iro?, .. nga ay-g saba?*  
***ni-ingon*** *ang bata? sa iro?, .. nga ay-ug saba?*  
 AV-say ANG child DAT dog COMP NEG-COMP noise  
 'The child told the dog: Don't be noisy.'

(49) Verb of utterance *nga* (+ pause) direct quote

*unya*            *maka-ingon=sad=ko nga-*,  
then            AV-say=also=1S.NOM    COMP

*mas arang-arang=pa=gyud ako-ng*    *kahintang*    *sa*    *uban*  
*mas arang-arang=pa=gyud ako?-nga*    *kahintang*    *sa*    *uban*  
COMP okay=still=EMPH            1S.POSS-LK    situation    LOC    other  
'Then sometimes I say, "I'm still better off than other people."'

Sometimes the complementizer is suppressed, which results in the necessity of a pause. Both main clause and complement are semantically independent and lack control relations so they cannot be integrated into a single unit.

(50) Verb of utterance (pause) direct quote

*ingon=sila,*                            *kana-ng*            *mga*    *pulis*    *no*  
*ingon=sila (nga)*                    *kana?-nga*            *mga*    *pulis*    *no*  
say=3P.NOM                            that-LK            PL            police    DM

*la?in=kuno*                    *mga*    *batasan*            *nila*  
*la?in=kuno (ang)*                    *mga*    *batasan*            *nila*  
different=EVID            PL            character            3P.NOM

'They say, "the policemen, they have unusual character."'

(51) Verb of utterance (pause) direct quote

*ingon=siya,*                            *wa?=lagi=ko=y*                            *kwarta*  
*ingon=siya (nga)*                    *wa?=lagi=ko=y*                            *kwarta*  
say=3S.NOM                            NEG=EMPH=1S.NOM=NEUT                            money  
'He said, "I really do not have money."'

Complement clauses of utterance verbs that are indirect quotes usually contain the evidential clitic =*kuno*. A pause may or may not be present.

(52) indirect quote

*mi-ingon=ra=siya nga*    *na?a=kuno=y*                            *taga-Cebu=sad*                            *diri*  
AV-say=only=3S.NOM    COMP    EXIST=EVID=NEUT                            from- PN=also                            here  
'He just said that there's (as he said) somebody here who's from Cebu.'

(53) indirect quote

*ingon*=na?=siya **nga** mo-bisita=**kuno**=siya  
*ingon*=kana?=siya **nga** mo-bisita=**kuno**=siya  
 say=that=3S.NOM COMP AV-visit=EVID=3S.NOM  
 'He said that he will visit.'

(54) indirect quote

*ingon*=lagi=sila mahadlok=**kuno**=sila diha? sa pilipinas  
*ingon*=lagi=sila (nga) mahadlok=**kuno**=sila diha? sa pilipinas  
 say=EMPH=3P.NOM be.afraid=EVID=3P.NOMthere LOC PN  
 kay sa airport=lang=**kuno** m-angay-g ana?  
 kay sa airport=lang=**kuno** m-pangayo?-ug ana?  
 because LOC airport=only=EVID AV-ask-EXT that  
 'They said, (that) they are afraid (to go) there in the Philippines, because  
 (as you arrive) at the airport (they said people) ask for that (money).'

The phrases *ingon=ko* 'I say' and *ingon=siya* 'he/she says' have been so entrenched that they have evolved into shortened forms *ing=ko* and *ing=siya* in casual conversation. The verb *ingon* here can also have the sense of 'think'.<sup>54</sup>

(55) shortened form

*ing*=ko, wa?=ra=siguro=ka ka-sabot  
*ingon*=ko (nga) wa?=ra=siguro=ka ka-sabot  
 say=1S.NOM NEG=only=maybe=2S.NOM AV-understand  
 sa iya-ng gi-sulti  
 sa iya-nga gi-sulti  
 OBL 3S.POSS-LK PFV.IV-say  
 'I said (I think that), maybe you didn't understand what he said.'

<sup>54</sup> This must be a pervasive phenomenon in languages, but see Hsieh (2007) for a cognitive account of the link between cognition and perception in Kavalan and Saisiyat.

(56) shortened form

<i>di?=ko</i>	<i>kahibaw</i>	<i>mo-tubag</i>	<i>ba</i>
NEG=1S.NOM	know	AV-answer	PAR
<i>ing=ko,</i>		<i>ay=lang=gud</i>	<i>taga-i</i>
<i>ingon=ko</i>	<i>(nga)</i>	<i>ay=lang=gud</i>	<i>hatag-i</i>
say=1S.NOM		NEG=just=EMPH	give-LV
<i>ing=siya,</i>		<i>mahadlok=mi</i>	<i>di?=mi</i>
<i>ingon=siya</i>	<i>(nga)</i>	<i>mahadlok=mi</i>	<i>di?=mi</i>
say= S.NOM		be.afraid=1EP.NOM	NEG=1EP.NOM AV-give
<i>kay</i>	<i>di?=mi</i>	<i>pa-sudl-on</i>	
<i>kay</i>	<i>di?=mi</i>	<i>pa-sulod-on</i>	
because	neg=1ep.nom	cau-inside-pv	
<i>ing=ko,</i>		<i>sigi</i>	<i>taga-i=na=la-g</i>
<i>ingon=ko</i>	<i>(nga)</i>	<i>sigi</i>	<i>hatag-i=na=lang-ug</i>
say=1S.NOM		PAR	give-LV=already=just-EXT
			small

'I didn't know how to answer. I said, "Just don't give." But he said, "We were afraid not to give because (they) won't let us in." (So) I said, "(then) just give (them) a small (amount)."'

The verb of utterance can also take a conditional complement clause

introduced by *kung* 'if'. The complement clause serves as the argument expressing the content of the utterance verb, and is usually headed by an interrogative word.

(57) utterance verb + interrogative complement clause

<i>unya?</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>amigo</i>
<i>unya?</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>amigo</i>
then	3S.POSS-LK	PL	friend

<i>mag-sulti=ba</i>		<i>asa=siya/</i>
<i>mag-sulti=ba</i>	<i>(kung)</i>	<i>asa=siya/</i>
AV-say=Q		where=3 S.NOM

'So, his friends, will (they) tell you where he is?'

## 11.9 Complement-taking aspectual verbs

Aspectual verbs are categorized by Givón (2001) under modality verbs, but I devote a separate subsection for this category, as aspectual verbs in Cebuano seem to behave differently from the modality verbs in terms of the complementation strategies that they enter into. Aspectual verbs encode initiation (*sugod* 'start'), duration (*sigi*

'continue', *pirmi* 'always'), achievement (*hinumdum* 'remember'), termination (*hunong* 'stop', *human* 'finish'), and failure (*kalimot* 'forget'). In Cebuano, "achievement" is sometimes expressed as verbal prefixes (*naka-*) conveying ability and "failure" by negation. I have also grouped *hinumdum* 'remember' and *kalimot* 'forget' together with cognition verbs, as they behave in similar ways and also involve cognitive processes.

Aspectual verbs in Cebuano usually take a complement introduced by *ug*. The complement verb is in root form and is tightly integrated with the aspectual verb in the main clause, both having coreferential Actors.

(58) complement-taking aspectual verb

<i>ang dugo?</i>	<i>mo-sigi=ma-g</i>	<i>kana?og</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>imo-ng</i>	<i>ti?il</i>
<i>ang dugo?</i>	<i>mo-sigi=man-ug</i>	<i>kana?og</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>imo-nga</i>	<i>ti?il</i>
ANG blood	AV-ASP=PAR-COMP	move.down	LOC	2S.POSS-LK	foot

'The blood, (it) will keep on flowing down your legs.'

(59) complement-taking aspectual verb

<i>sa customs=kuno,</i>	<i>sigi=dyud=kuno-g</i>	<i>pangayo?-g</i>	<i>kwarta</i>
<i>sa customs=kuno,</i>	<i>sigi=dyud=kuno-ug</i>	<i>pangayo?-ug</i>	<i>kwarta</i>
LOC customs=EVID	ASP=EMPH=EVID-COMP	ask-EXT	money

'At customs, (the officials) kept on asking for money.'

(60) complement-taking aspectual verb

<i>mag-sigi=ka-g</i>	<i>huna?huna?,</i>	<i>mag-sakit</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>imo-ng dughan</i>
<i>mag-sigi=ka-ug</i>	<i>huna?huna?,</i>	<i>mag-sakit</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>imo-nga dughan</i>
AV-ASP=2S.NOM-COMP	think	AV-ache	ANG	2S.POSS-LK chest

'You keep on thinking (about it), your chest will ache.'

However, the following constructions in (62) can also be possible with aspectual verbs. As the matrix verb is voiced, they refer to a specific event. Examples are also given below.

- (61a) V<sub>1</sub> (voiced)                      *pag-V<sub>root</sub>* (complement verb is nominalized)  
 (61b) V<sub>1</sub> (voiced) *sa*                      *pag-V<sub>root</sub>* (complement verb is *sa*-marked and nominalized)

(62a) complement verb is nominalized (Sun Star, December 31, 2007)

*gi-kalit-an=siya*    *pag-dunggab* *sa wa? ma-ilh-i-ng*                      *pasahero*  
*gi-kalit-an=siya*    *pag-dunggab* *sa wa? ma-ila-i-nga*                      *pasahero*  
 PFV-sudden-LV=3S.NOM NMZ-stab                      GEN NEG SPONT-know-LV-LK                      passenger  
 'He was suddenly stabbed by an unidentified passenger.'

(62b) complement verb is *sa*-marked (Sun Star, December 31, 2007)

*nag-hinay-hinay=lang=kini*                      *sa*                      *pag-dagan*                      *aron=lang*  
 AV-slow-REDUP=only=this                      COMP                      NMZ-run                      so=just  
*maka-abot ngadto sa*                      *ila-ng*                      *pa-dulng-an*  
*maka-abot ngadto sa*                      *ila-nga*                      *pa-dulong-an*  
 AV-arrive there LOC                      3P.POSS-LK                      CAU-toward-LV  
 'This (cab) slowly moved forward, just so (it) would reach their destination.'

Similarly, the two achievement verbs *hinumdum* 'remember' and *kalimot* 'forget' may take complements introduced by both *nga* (63a) and *ug* (63b) (as well as a nominalized *pag-* complement), just as English allows both *I remembered that I locked the door* and *I remembered to lock the door*. They take a *nga* complement when they are meant to be the cognition of a state or event; the action of forgetting in (63a) did not necessarily happen at the same time as the action denoted in the complement clause. They take an *ug* complement clause when they are meant as an "achievement" verb (i.e., the "sudden" remembering or forgetting of doing an action); the action of forgetting in (63b) is necessarily co-temporal with the action denoted by the complement verb.

(63a) cognition verb

*na-kalimot=ko*    *nga*    *wa?=pa=nako?*                      *gi-basa*                      *ang sulat*  
 AV-forget=1S.NOM COMP NEG=still=1S.GEN                      PFV.PV-read                      ANG letter  
 'I forgot that I still haven't read the letter.' (constructed)

(63b) achievement verb

*na-kalimot=ko ug basa sa sulat*  
 AV-forget=1S.NOM COMP read OBL letter  
 'I forgot to read the letter.' (constructed)

### 11.10 Complement-taking activity verbs

Verbs denoting an activity can be modified by a manner adverbial which is expressed as a complement introduced by an *ug*, as activity and manner can be seen as co-temporal and are treated as a single event. The order of the activity verb and the manner adverb (which usually becomes the matrix verb) can even be switched, as in (64), but the complement verb must be in its root form.

(64) Activity verb + Adverbial

*ma-ulaw=man=ko=nimo sir*  
 AV-embarrassing=PAR=1S.NOM=2S.DAT VOC  
*mag-hulat=ta-g dugay ka?ayo*  
*mag-hulat=ta-ug dugay ka?ayo*  
 AV-wait=1ip.nom-comp long very  
 'It will be embarrassing for me, Sir, as (I will cause) us to wait very long.'

(65) Adverbial + activity verb

*unsa-on=man=siya-g halok sa iya-ng bana/*  
*unsa-on=man=siya-ug halok sa iya-nga bana/*  
 what-PV=PAR=3S.NOM-COMP kiss GEN 3S.POSS-LK husband  
 'How does her husband kiss her?'

(66) Coreferential actors

*..ang iya-ng pet dog ni-tabang=pud ug pangita?*  
*..ang iya-nga pet dog ni-tabang=pud ug pangita?*  
 ANG 3S.POSS-LK pet dog AV-help=also COMP search  
 'His pet dog also helped look for the frog.'

(67) **sequential reading**

<i>bisa-g</i>	<i>unsa=niya-g</i>	<i>overtime</i>	<i>hangtud ka-adlaw-on</i>
<i>bisan-ug</i>	<i>unsa=niya-nga</i>	<i>overtime</i>	<i>hangtud ka-adlaw-on</i>
even-COMP	what=3S.GEN-LK	overtime	until KA-day-PV

*uli?=gyud=na?=siya-g*      *ka?on*

*uli?=gyud=kana?=siya-ug*      *ka?on*

return=EMPH=that=3S.NOM-COMP      eat

'However late he works overtime, he always went home to eat.'

### 11.11 Complement-taking interrogative words

The adverbial question words *gi-unsa/unsa-on* 'how' occur in clause-initial position and are usually followed by a nominalization complement (either by *ug* complementation or by prefixation with *pag(ka)-*), which serves as a syntactic argument.

(68) *gi-unsa* 'how' as a complement-taking verb

L	<i>gi-unsa=man=to</i>	<i>pag-ligis</i>	
	<i>gi-unsa=man=kato</i>	<i>pag-ligis</i>	
	PFV.PV-what=PAR=that	NMZ-bump.against	
T	<i>ambot=lang</i>	<i>gi-unsa=to</i>	<i>pagka-ligis</i>
	<i>ambot=lang (kung)gi-unsa=kato</i>	<i>pagka-ligis</i>	
	don't.know=PAR	COMP PFV.PV-what=that	NMZ-bump.against
	<i>wa?=ko</i>	<i>ka-sabot</i>	<i>wa?=ko ni-tan?aw ma-hadlok=ko</i>
	NEG=1S.NOM	AV-understand	NEG=1S.NOM AV-see AV-be.afraid=1 S.NOM

L: 'How was it knocked down?'  
T: 'I have no idea how it was knocked down. I couldn't understand; I didn't look; I was afraid to look.'

(69) *unsa-on* 'how' as a complement-taking verb

<i>unsa-on=man=nako? pag-adto</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>states</i>
what-PV=PAR=1S.GEN NMZ-go	LOC	US

'How can I go to the States?'

### 11.12 Complement-taking negators

The imperative negator *ayaw* takes a complement clause introduced by *ug*. The complement verb may be affixed with *pag-*, which is the imperative verb marker

and at the same time a nominalizer. Another negator *ambot* takes a conditional complement clause, which is an interrogative clause headed by an interrogator word. The clause following *ambot* may also be marked by an optional conditional clause marker *kung*.

(70) prohibitive imperative (*ayaw ug pag-V*)

...(2.1) *dayo=n ...ingon ang bata? ...ayaw-g pag-saba?*  
*dayon ...ingon ang bata? ayaw-ug pag-saba?*  
 then say ANG child NEG-COMP IMPER-be.noisy  
 'Then the child said, Don't be noisy.'

(71) prohibitive imperative (*ayaw ug pag-V*)

*ayaw-g pag-huna?huna? ana? imo-ng sweldo nga @@gamay*  
*ayaw-ug pag-huna?huna? ana? imo-nga sweldo nga @@gamay*  
 NEG=COMP NMZ-think that 2S.POSS-LK salary LK small  
 'Don't think about your tiny salary.'

(72) prohibitive imperative (*ayaw ug pag-V*)

*but-an=ka, ayaw=ni-g buhat-a, ayaw=na?*  
*bu?ot-an=ka, ayaw=kini-ug (pag)buhat-a, ayaw=kana?*  
 order-LV=2S.NOM NEG=this-COMP do-PV NEG=that  
 'He will make orders left and right. Don't do this; don't do (that).'

(73) *ambot* followed by interrogative complement

*ambot=lang unsa ila-ng plano*  
*ambot=lang unsa ila-nga plano*  
 don't.know=only what 3P.POSS-LK plan  
 '(I) don't know what their plans are.'

(74) *ambot* followed by interrogative complement

*naka-adto=ko-g argao*  
*naka-adto=ko-ug argao*  
 AV-go=1S.NOM-EXT PN  
*ambot kung college=ba=ko ato o= high school*  
 don't.know if college=Q=1S.NOM that or high.school  
 'I have been to Argao. (I'm) not sure if I was in college then or in high school.'

### 11.13 Complement-taking particles

In this section I will show various epistemic and evaluative particles that take different types of complement clauses (see Table 11-4). The particles introduce a complement clause that forms a circumstantial relation with the main clause; they can also express the attitude of the Speaker toward the proposition conveyed by the complement clause. Table 11-4 summarizes the types of particles that can enter into complementation strategies. While they can take *nga* complements, some of them can also take *ug* complements and interrogative complements.

**Table 11-4. Complement-taking particles**

particle	gloss	<i>ug</i> comp	interrogative comp	arg	coreferential
<i>basi?</i>	'maybe' (epistemic)	√		*	n.a.
<i>bisan</i>	'even if' (concessive)	√	√	*	n.a.
<i>karon</i>	'now (that) ...'			*	n.a.
<i>diha?</i>	'(at) that (time) that ...'			*	n.a.
<i>bahala?</i>	'doesn't matter'	√	√	*	n.a.
<i>basta</i>	'as long as' (conditional)	√	√	*	n.a.
<i>ma?ayo</i>	'good' (evaluative)	√	√	*	n.a.
<i>bantog</i>	'no wonder ...' (reason)			*	n.a.
<i>ma?o</i>	'that is exactly why ...'			*	n.a.
<i>busa</i>	(consequence)				
<i>pwerte</i>	'so; very' (emphatic)			√	√
<i>imbis</i>	'instead'			*	n.a.
<i>labi</i>	'especially'			*	n.a.

There is generally no restriction with regard to the form and structure of the complement clause in relation to the main clause. Now I will discuss each of them and give examples.

### 11.13.1 “Uncertainty” epistemic particle

The particle *basi?* indicates uncertainty on the part of the speaker. This is evidenced by the epistemic negator phrase *ambot=lang* 'don't know' that usually accompanies the utterance of this particle.

(75) particle *basi?*

- T: *selos-o=ba=siya*  
jealous-MASC=Q=3S.NOM
- L: *ambot=lang=kaha?, basi-g*      *di?=lang=niya*      *i-pa-kita?*  
*ambot=lang=kaha?, basi?-ug*      *di?=lang=niya*      *i-pa-kita?*  
dunno=only=EVID      maybe-COMP      NEG=only=3S.GEN      IV-CAU-see
- T: 'Does he like to get jealous?'  
J: 'No idea. Maybe he just doesn't want to show (it).'

(76) particle *basi?*

- W *m= pilipinas, basi-g*      *mo-nindot=na,*  
*m= pilipinas, basi?-ug*      *mo-nindot=na,*  
FIL      PN      maybe-COMP      AV-nice=already
- T *ambot=lang*  
don't.know=just
- W: 'M= Philippines, (it) might already become a nice place.'  
T: 'I don't know.'

### 11.13.2 Concession

Concession is marked by the complement-taking particle *bisan* 'even.' In most cases, the particle and the complement marker, either *bisan nga* or *bisan ug*, are reduced to *bisa-g*. The particle *bisan* serves as a form of condition, and does not in any way affect the proposition or state indicated by the accompanying main clause. The complement clause will usually be accompanied by the particle *=pa* 'even.'

(77) particle *bisan*

*ingon*      *si*      *mister morales,*  
say          SI      PN

***bisa-g***    *abt-an=ta-g*            *ugma?*            *diri*  
***bisan-ug*** *abot-an=ta-ug*    *ugma?*            *diri*  
even-COMP reach-LV=1IP.NOM-EXT tomorrow      here

*di?=gyud=ko*    *mo-hatag*            *bisa-g*            *usa*    *ka*    *dako?*  
*di?=gyud=ko*    *mo-hatag*            *bisan-ug*          *usa*    *ka*    *dako?*  
NEG=EMPH=1S.NOM AV-give      even- LK      one    LK    big

'Mr. Morales said (to me), even if we'll be (staying) here until tomorrow, I will never give a single coin.'

(78) particle *bisan*

*dili?=siya ka-agwanta*  
NEG=3S.NOM      AV-stand

***bisa-g***    *pila=pa*                    *ka*    *electric fan*    *i-butang=nimo*  
***bisan-ug*** *pila=pa*                    *ka*    *electric fan*    *i-butang=nimo*  
even-COMP how.many=even      LK    electric.fan      IV-place=2S.GEN

*m-angita?=pa=gyud=siya-g*                    *aircon*  
*m-pangita?=pa=gyud=siya-ug*                    *aircon*  
AV-look.for=still=EMPH=3S.NOM-EXT      aircon

'He cannot stand (the heat) even when you put so many electric fans, he'll really ask for aircon '

(79) Concessive clause

***bisa-g***    *hilanat=ako-g*            *kwarenta,*            *mag-lutu?=gyud=ko*  
***bisan-ug*** *hilanat=ako-ug*            *kwarenta,*            *mag-lutu?=gyud=ko*  
even-COMP fever=1S.NOM-EXT      forty            AV-cook=EMPH=1S.NOM  
'Even when I got a 40-degree fever, I always had to cook.'

The temporal connector *karon* 'now' and the spatial deictic *diha?* 'there (far from Speaker)' may also form a phrase with the complementizer *nga* to signal concession. They are often shortened to *karon-g* 'now that ...' and *diha-ng* '(at) that (time) when/that ... '

(80) concessive clause

*karon nga pag-minyo?=na=namo?,*  
 now COMP NMZ-marry=already=1EP.GEN

*di?=na=kuno=siya ma-nakop*  
*di?=na=kuno=siya maN-dakop*  
 gen=already=EVID=3S.NOM AV-catch

'Now that we are married, he (said that he) won't catch (illegal Filipino workers anymore).'

(81) concessive clause (Sun Star, February 4, 2008)

*ang biktima nag-lingkod=lang sa bangko?*  
 ANG victim AV-sit=only LOC bench

*sa gawas sa ila-ng balay*  
*sa gawas sa ila-nga balay*  
 LOC outside GEN 3S.POSS-LK house

*dihang kalit=lamang gi-du?ul sa suspetsado*  
 while suddenly=just PFV-approach GEN suspect

'The victim was just sitting on a bench outside their house when the suspect suddenly approached him.'

### 11.13.3 *bahala?* clauses

The particle *bahala?* implies a carefree attitude to a circumstance that is conveyed by a complement clause marked by *ug*, as in (82).

(82) particles *bahala?* and *basta*

*mo-ingon=ra=siya,*  
 AV-say=just=3S.NOM

*bahala?-g di?=ko=ninyo taga-an sa inyo-ha-ng ku?an*  
*bahala?-ug di?=ko=ninyo hatag-an sa inyo-a-nga ku?an*  
 PAR-COMP NEG=1S.NOM=2P.GEN give-LV OBL 2P.POSS-DEF-LK KUAN

*basta-g unsa=y iya-ng gusto, iya-ng sund-on*  
*basta-ug unsa=y iya-nga gusto, iya-nga sunod-on*  
 PAR-COMP what=NEUT 3S.POSS-LK like 3S.POSS-LK follow-PV

'He will just say, "I don't care if you don't give me any of your *kuan* (inheritance)." He will just do whatever he wants to do.'

### 11.13.4 *basta* clauses

The particle *basta* takes an *ug* or a *nga* complement clause, as shown in (83).

(83) conditional clause

<i>basta</i>	<i>mag-idad=ko-g</i>	<i>thirty</i>
<i>basta</i>	<i>mag-idad=ko-ug</i>	<i>thirty</i>
COND	AV-age=1S.NOM-EXT	thirty
<i>dili?=na=ko</i>	<i>mag-minyo?</i>	
NEG=already=1S.NOM	AV-marry	

'When I'll get thirty, I won't get married.'

### 11.13.5 Evaluative clauses

The evaluative particle *ma?ayo* can take a complement clause introduced by *nga* or *kung*. But in conversation, it is reduced to -g phonologically attaching to the end of the main clause.

(84) particle *ma?ayo*

<i>ma?ay=unta-g</i>	<i>taga-an=ka-g</i>	<i>kwarta</i>
<i>ma?ayo=unta-ug</i>	<i>hatag-an=ka-ug</i>	<i>kwarta</i>
good=PAR-COMP	give-LV=2S.NOM-EXT	money

'It would have been good that (they) will give you money.'

(85) particle *ma?ayo*

<i>mas</i>	<i>ma?ay=man</i>	<i>na-ng</i>	<i>mag-usa=ka=lang</i>
<i>mas</i>	<i>ma?ayo=man</i>	<i>kana?-nga</i>	<i>mag-usa=ka=lang</i>
COMP	good=PAR	that-COMP	AV-alone=2S.NOM=only
<i>pag-uli?=nimo</i>	<i>wa=y</i>	<i>sakit</i>	<i>sa ulo</i>
<i>pag-uli?=nimo</i>	<i>wala?=y</i>	<i>sakit</i>	<i>sa ulo</i>
NMZ-return=2S.GEN	NEG=NEUT	ache	GEN head

'It's better that you're alone. When you return (at night), you won't suffer any headache.'

### 11.13.6 Reason clauses

The particle *bantug* roughly means 'that is why' or 'no wonder' and is usually followed by *=ra* for an emphatic effect. It takes a complement clause introduced by *nga*.

(86) particle *bantug*

*bantug=ra*                      *nga*    *wa?=ka*                      *mo-anhi*  
 no.wonder=only                      COMP    NEG=2S.NOM                      AV-come

*kay*    *na-tulog=ka=man=di?ay*  
 because AV-sleep=2S.NOM=PAR=PAR

'(So,) that is why you did not come, because you were asleep.'

### 11.13.7 Consequence clauses

Consequence clauses are marked by either *busa* 'so' or the anaphoric particle *ma?o nga* 'that (is) why ...'. In the latter, *ma?o* is an anaphoric particle referring to a previous clause that constitutes the reason for the consequence expressed in the following *nga* complement clause.

(87) Consequence clause (Sun Star, November 22, 2008)

*kalit=lang*                      *na-luya*                      *ang*                      *batan-on*  
*kalit=lang*                      *na-luya*                      *ang*                      *bata?-on*  
 suddenly=just                      INTR-weak                      ANG                      child-NMZ

*busa*                      *gi-dala*                      *sa daplin*                      *sa iya-ng*                      *ig?agaw*  
*busa*                      (*nga*)                      *gi-dala*                      *sa daplin*                      *sa iya-nga*                      *ig?agaw*  
 so                      PFV-take                      LOC side                      GEN 3S.POSS-LK cousin  
 'The young child suddenly felt weak, so his cousin took (him) to the side.'

(88) Consequence clause

T: *sa*    *cebu,*    *mga*    *restaurant,*    *mahal=na*                      *karon a*  
       LOC    PN    PL    restaurant    expensive=already                      now interj

W: *mahal=na=sad*  
       expensive=already=also

T: *compared before*  
       compared.before

W: *ma?o=bitaw nga pirmi sa fuente=na=lang=ko*  
       anaph=par    comp    always    LOC    PN=already=just=1S.NOM

T: 'In Cebu, the restaurants, (they're) already expensive.'

W: '(They're) also very expensive.'

T: 'Compared (to the prices) before.'

W: 'That's why I always just go to Fuente.'

(89) *ma?o* + *nga* complement clause

<b><i>ma?o-ng</i></b>	<i>wa?=naka-da?og</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>lien chan</i>
<b><i>ma?o-nga</i></b>	<i>wa?=naka-da?og</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>lien chan</i>
ANAPH-COMP	NEG=AV-win	SI	PN

<i>mo-dapat=kuno</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>asawa</i>
AV-beat=EVID	EXT	wife

'That (is why that) Lien Chan did not win. (Peoples say he) beats his wife.'

(90) *ma?o* + *nga* complement clause

<b><i>ma?o=bitaw</i></b>	<i>nga</i>	<i>di?</i>	<i>butanga-g</i>	<i>map</i>
<b><i>ma?o=bitaw</i></b>	<i>nga</i>	<i>di?</i>	<i>butangan-ug</i>	<i>map</i>
ANAPH=PAR	COMP	NEG	place-EXT	map

<i>kay</i>	<i>butanga-g</i>	<i>map</i>	<i>kahibawo=na=man=ka</i>	<i>mo-lakaw</i>
<i>kay</i>	<i>butangan-ug</i>	<i>map</i>	<i>kahibawo=na=man=ka</i>	<i>mo-lakaw</i>
because	place-EXT	map	know=already=PAR=2S.NOM	AV-walk

'That (is exactly why) (they) don't provide maps, because (when) they provide maps, you will know how to go (by yourself).'

### 11.13.8 Emphatic clauses

The emphatic particle *pwerte* occurs in the construction ***pwerte-ng(a)*** PRED-*a!*.

The following conversational extracts illustrate this.

(91) complement-taking emphatic particle *pwerte*

<i>naka-adto=man=ko</i>	<i>Singapore</i>	<i>two times,</i>
ABIL-go=PAR=1S.NOM	PN	two.times

***pwerte-ng mahal-a***

***pwerte-nga mahal-a***

EMPH-COMP expensive-EMPH

'I've been to Singapore twice. So expensive!'

(92) complement-taking emphatic particle *pwerte*

<i>ako=pud,</i>	<b><i>pwerte=pu-ng</i></b>	<i>lisur-a</i>	<i>first time=ko</i>	<i>diri/</i>
<i>ako=pud,</i>	<b><i>pwerte=pud-nga</i></b>	<i>lisud-a</i>	<i>first time=ko</i>	<i>diri/</i>
1S.POSS=also	EMPH=also-COMP	difficult-EMPH	first.time=1S.NOM	here

'Me too, (It was) also so hard the first time I was here.'

### 11.13.9 "Instead of" Clauses

"Instead of" clauses are marked by *imbis nga* 'instead of ...'.

(93) Clause of replacement (Sun Star, November 24, 2007)

<i>imbis</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>ma-kuha?</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>suspek ang</i>	<i>clearance,</i>
instead	COMP	FUT-get	GEN	suspect ANG	clearance
<i>bilanggo-an=na=hinu?un</i>			<i>ang</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>na-sudl-an</i>
<i>bilanggo-an=na=hinu?un</i>			<i>ang</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>na-sulod-an</i>
prison-NMZ=already=PAR			ANG	3S.POSS-LK	SPONT-enter-LV

'Instead of obtaining the clearance, the suspect got himself into prison.'

### 11.13.10 “Especially” Clauses

“Especially” clauses are marked by *labi nga* 'especially since ...'.

(94) "Especially" clause

<i>gahi?=gud=ka?ayo</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>pusu?</i>		
hard=EMPH=INTENS	ANG	packed.rice		
<i>labi=na</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>na-bugnaw=na,</i>	<i>pwerte-ng</i>	<i>gahi-a</i>
<i>labi=na</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>na-bugnaw=na,</i>	<i>pwerte-nga</i>	<i>gahi?-a</i>
especially=already	COMP	AV-cold=already	EMPH- LK	hard-EMPH

'The packed rice feels very hard, especially when (it's) already cold, (it becomes) so hard.'

(95) "Especially" clause

<i>ganahan=lang=ko</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>balay,</i>	<i>labi=na</i>	<i>init</i>
like=just=1S.NOM	LOC	house	especially=already	hot

'I just want (to stay) at home, especially (when the weather is) hot.'

### 11.14 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed the complementation strategies that are available in Cebuano. First I discussed the various complementation strategies and control types in the language. These strategies include *nga* complementation, *ug* (or nominalization) complementation, and interrogative complementation (which is marked by *kung*). In *nga* complementation, the presence and lack of control relations between the matrix verb argument and the pivot argument in the complement clause is an important factor that determines the formation of a verb complex. In such an instance, the complement verb becomes the main verb and the matrix verb turns into

the first element, and the entire construction is then viewed as a single event. In *ug* complementation, the complement clause and the matrix verb (in root form) represent a single event; however, as Cebuano does not permit verb serialization, the *ug* cannot be omitted.

## Chapter 12

### ACTOR VOICE and INTRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

#### 12.0 Introduction

Transitivity has fully gramaticized into the case marking strategies and in the voice system of Philippine languages. I will show in this chapter that the Actor-Voice (AV) clauses are intransitive constructions in Cebuano. In contrast to NAV constructions (see Chapters 13 to 15), the Patient-like argument in AV clauses is either irrelevant to the speaker or is neither a discourse participant already nor about to become a discourse participant. This will be clearly shown in Table 12-2. A conversation excerpt is provided for illustration below.

(1a) intransitive clause focuses on the Agent/action

*diri=man=siya      ni-pusil      unya? ni-lusot      diri*  
here=PAR=3S.NOM    AV.NFUT-shoot DM    AV.NFUT-pass.through    here  
'He shot here, then (the bullet) passed through this.'

(1b) transitive clause focuses on definite patient (Sun Star, November 20, 2007)

*gi-pusil      ang      sekyu sa mga tulisan ug      na-igo?sa      ilong*  
PFV.PV-shoot ANG    guard GEN PL robber CONN INTR-hit LOC nose  
'The robbers shot the security guard who was hit on the nose.'

Example (1a) is an intransitive construction that has a Nominative-marked argument S representing the source of the action and the most involved entity at the same time. Although *ni-pusil* 'shot (with a gun)' is supposed to be semantically transitive, i.e., the verb requires a semantic object of the action 'to shoot,' it is used to convey the act of 'shooting' wherein what is being shot at is not at all important, even

if it is a specific and definite entity. The action is atelic (i.e., there is no clear terminal boundary) and non-punctual; in other words, it cannot be ascertained how many gunshots were fired. In addition, if the target of the shooting were critical, (1a) should have been expressed with a transitive PV construction, as in (1b). Here, what is highlighted is a definite Patient that is fully affected by the action or the movement. The arguments A, marked genitive, and P, marked nominative, are distinct from each other, and the action is deliberate and punctual, resulting in an exclusive P argument being totally affected.

In 12.1 I will first introduce the affixes that mark the verbs in intransitive constructions. Then in 12.2, I look at various constructions that show non-transitive properties, including reflexives, reciprocals, verbs that take body parts as arguments, and causative clauses. In 12.3, I discuss extended intransitive clauses, first termed by Dixon (1994) to refer to intransitive clauses that take an obligatory non-core argument, and following Huang (to appear), I examine the tracking behavior of these arguments. In 12.4, I touch on transitive verb forms that are used intransitively; these are verbs that take transitive affixes but not genitive nominals.

### **12.1 AV affixes**

In every chapter on voice constructions I will show tables containing the different voice markers. They are grouped into three types, namely, volitional, progressive, and potential/spontaneous. There are two contrasts that can be made. First, volitional vs. progressive: volitional indicates punctuality (the volitional aspect markers generally express a kind of purposive action and are especially compatible

with activity verbs and motion verbs), while progressive indicates duration. Second, volitional vs. potential/spontaneous: volitional indicates determined and purposeful, while potential/spontaneous indicates accidental and spontaneity.

In this section, I will discuss first the affixes that form AV verbs. Table 12-1 shows the various affixes marking AV constructions.

**Table 12-1. AV construction markers**

Tense / Aspect	Volitional	Progressive	Potential
Non-future	<i>mi-; ni-; ning-</i>	<i>nag-; naga-; ga-</i>	<i>naka-; na-</i>
Future	<i>mo-; mag-</i>	<i>mag-; maga-</i>	<i>maka-; ma-</i>
Dependent (Imperative and Negation)	<i>pag-</i>	<i>pag-</i>	

For volitional aspect, AV is marked *mi(ng)-* or *ni(ng)-* for non-future time (2) (the various forms shown are dialectal variations). The markers *mo-* and *mag-* are used to express irrealis events; they can be found in negation clauses (see Chapter 7), as in (3) and in clauses indicating future events (4) and (5). As in (3), *mo-* marks negated verbs irregardless of past and future time. Moreover, although *mag-* strictly belongs in the progressive column, it can sometimes indicate just the volitional feature.

(2) non-future volitional AV clause

*ganiha na?a=y ni-larga nga usa ka trabahante*  
a.while.ago EXIST=NEUT AV.NFUT-leave LK one LK worker  
'A worker left (to go abroad) a while ago.'  
(lit., 'A while ago, there was (a person who) left who was a worker.')

(3) negation clause

*wa?=man=sad mo-sulti ang bata?*  
NEG=PAR=also AV-say ANG child  
*di?in=nila gi-kuha? ang pears*  
where=3P.GEN PFV.IV-take ANG pear  
'The children also did not say where they got the pears.'

(4) infinitive verb in subordinate clause (Sun Star, October 11, 2007)

<i>naka-limt-an</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>Nanay Dionesia</i>	<i>nga</i>
<i>naka-limot-an</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>Nanay Dionesia</i>	<i>nga</i>
SPONT-forget-LV	GEN	PN	COMP

<i>mo-ka?on</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>mo-inom</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>tubig</i>
AV-eat	CONN	AV-drink	EXT	water

'Mother Dionesia forgot to eat and drink water.'

(5) future volitional AV clause

<i>pag-mag-retire=ko,</i>	<i>ganahan=ko</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>Cebu</i>	<i>mag-retire</i>
NMZ-AV-retire=1S.NOM	want=1S.NOM	LOC	PN	AV-retire

"(Upon) my retirement, I want to do so in Cebu.'

The imperative form is *pag-* (see chapter 9 on imperatives), as in (6).

(6) imperative AV verb

<i>mag-tigom=ka-g</i>	<i>kwarta</i>
<i>mag-tigom=ka-ug</i>	<i>kwarta</i>
AV.IMPER-save=2S.NOM-EXT	money

'You have to save money.'

The progressive aspect is marked by *-g(a)-*; non-future is *nag(a)-* (7) and (8), while future is *mag(a)-*. The various forms are due to dialectal variations. The markers convey some prolonged action or state, as well as volition. For instance, *nag-dawat* 'receive' can only refer to a regular act of receiving (something over a period of time), but not to a single act of receiving at one point of time, as in *?ni-dawat*). These markers are usually compatible with sociative verbs and other verbs in general except emotion verbs, spontaneous verbs, and certain aspectual verbs.

(7) non-future progressive AV clause

<i>pilipina=gani?</i>	<i>(ang)</i>	<i>nag-istorya=nako?</i>
PN=PAR	ANG	AV-tell=1S.OBL

<i>nag-trabaho=kuno=siya</i>	<i>kang</i>	<i>lien chan</i>
AV-work=EVID=3S.NOM	DAT	PN

'(It was) a Filipina who was telling me (that story); she said she was working for Lien Chan.'

(8) non-future progressive AV clause

<i>iya=na=sa-ng</i>	<i>anak nga lalaki</i>	
<i>iya=na=sad-nga</i>	<i>anak nga lalaki</i>	
3S.POSS=already=also-LK	child LK	boy
<i>dala-dala=kuno-g</i>	<i>babayi ga-holding hands,</i>	<i>ga-kissing-kissing</i>
<i>dala-dala=kuno-ug</i>	<i>babayi ga-holding hands,</i>	<i>ga-kissing-kissing</i>
take-REDUP=EVID-EXT	girl AV.DUR-hold.hands	AV.DUR-kiss-REDUP

'His son too, taking girls everywhere, holding hands, kissing (each other)...'

The potential/abilitative aspect is marked by *naka-* (*na-*) for non-future time (9), and *maka-* (*ma-*) for future time (10 and 11). The prefix *naka-* conveys accidental or abilitative situations. If *ni-* or *nag-* expresses volition, *naka-* signals lack of prior intention. On the other hand, the prefix *na-* conveys spontaneity.

(9) non-future spontaneous AV clause

<i>na-bangga?ang</i>	<i>iya-ha-ng</i>	<i>bike</i>	<i>sa usa ka bato nga</i>	<i>dako?</i>
<i>na-bangga?ang</i>	<i>iya-a-nga</i>	<i>bike</i>	<i>sa usa ka bato nga</i>	<i>dako?</i>
INTR-bump ANG	3S.POSS-DEF-LK	bike	LOC one LK rock LK	big
<i>na-tumba ug</i>	<i>na-kit-an=siya</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>tulo ka</i>	<i>bata?</i>
<i>na-tumba ug</i>	<i>na-kita?-an=siya</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>tulo ka</i>	<i>bata?</i>
INTR-fall CONN	SPONT-see-LV=3S.NOM	GEN	three LK	child

'(He) bumped his bike into a big stone, (and) he fell down and was seen by three children.'

(10) abilitative AV clause (infinitive irrealis)

<i>di?=man=pud=ka</i>	<i>maka-tubag,</i>	<i>di?=man=pud=ka</i>	<i>maka-sulti</i>
NEG=PAR=also=2S.NOM	AV-answer	NEG=PAR=also=2S.NOM	AV-speak
<i>nga wa?=ka</i>	<i>maka-buhat</i>	<i>ani</i>	
COMP NEG=2S.NOM	AV-do	this	
<i>nga wa?=ka</i>	<i>maka-sala?</i>		
COMP NEG=2S.NOM	AV-err		
<i>wala?=man m-aminaw</i>	<i>sa imo</i>		
<i>wala?=man m-paminaw</i>	<i>sa imo</i>		
NEG=PAR AV.FUT-listen	OBL	2S.POSS	
<i>kay di?=ka=man</i>	<i>maka-istorya</i>		
because NEG=2S.NOM=PAR	AV-speak		

'You can't answer, you can't say (anything), that you haven't done this, that you haven't made a mistake, because you don't know how to speak.'

(11) future abilitative AV clause

*mga group tour, mostly na?a sa Cebu*  
PL group.tour mostly EXIST LOC PN

*puydi=na maka-saka ang Visayas*  
can=already ABIL-rise ANG PN

'The group tours, most (of them) go to Cebu. The Visayas can now prosper.'

## 12.2 Intransitive constructions

Cebuano makes use of the AV construction, which highlights the Agent, as a means for expressing intransitive events. In such constructions, the E argument, if there is one, is non-topical, and the emphasis is on the activity itself. An AV construction even with a *pa-* causative (which is supposed to be a valency-increasing prefix) seems to be just like any other intransitive constructions: although the *pa-* construction increases valency by the addition of a Causer argument, the Causer and the Benefactee/Patient in an AV construction share the same referent, as in (12), thus the construction remains intransitive.

(12) intransitive *pa-* construction

*nag-pa-guwapa=ko*  
AV-CAU-beautiful=1S.NOM  
'I am making myself beautiful.'

In this section, I will discuss reflexives (12.2.1), spontaneous events (12.2.2), reciprocals (12.2.3), verbs taking body parts as arguments (12.2.4), and AV causative verbs (12.2.5).

### 12.2.1 Reflexives

Reflexive pronouns (referring to a Patient) are interpreted as coreferential with another nominal, usually the "subject" (i.e., the Agent or the Experiencer), of the

clause in which they occur (Schachter 1985). Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000) indicate that there are two basic reflexivizing strategies with transitive verbs. Either they retain a transitive structure (reflexive pronoun in P), as in *John behaved himself*, or they employ a verbal affix which derives an intransitive stem with reflexive meaning, such as the prefix *t(ə)-* in Amharic (Afro-Asiatic, Amberber 2000: 325), which is used to derive the reflexive (see example below).

(13) Amharic (Amberber 2000: example 41b)

<i>ləmma</i>	<i>t(ə)-laḌč'č'ə</i>
PN	REFL-shave.PERF.3MASC
'Lemma shaved himself.'	

The English clause *John behaved himself* seems to have more syntactic arguments than semantic arguments. The reflexive pronoun is there simply to satisfy the requirement of its syntax. Cebuano employs a reflexive pronoun similar to English *-self*, namely, [pron]-*ng kaugalingon* 'self', where the pronoun is in the possessive form and an appropriate case marker is placed at the front, as in (14); (15) is an illustration. There is co-reference between the Nominative Agent/Experiencer and the oblique Patient. In such an event, no external entity, except the self, is affected. The activity verbs that usually show up in the construction schema in (14) are referred to in the literature as "introverted verbs" (Haiman 1983), which "refer to actions which one generally performs upon one's self" like the verb in (15).

(14)	<i>na-V</i>	NP <sub>i</sub>	( <i>sa</i>	Pron <sub>i</sub> - <i>ng</i>	<i>kaugalingon</i> )
	AV-	NOM	OBL	POSS-LK	self

(15) reflexive clause

*na-marbas si Berto (sa iya-ng kaugalingon)*  
*na-barbas si Berto (sa iya-nga kaugalingon)*  
 AV-shave SI PN OBL 3S.POSS-LK self  
 'Berto is shaving (his self).'

### 12.2.2 Spontaneous events

In spontaneous events, there is no Agent initiation and there is lack of volitional initiation of the Patient as well. In these instances, the affectedness of an entity is emphasized. Examples of spontaneous situations include *die*, *grow*, *sink*, *rise*, *rot*, *dry*, and *boil* (Kemmer 2002).

(16) accidental event

*duna=kuno usa=pud nag-hikog pilipina daw*  
 EXIST=EVID one=also AV-suicide PN EVID  
*three to four hours=siya bag?o na-discover*  
 three.to.four.hours=3S.NOM before INTR-discover  
 'There was also somebody (rumored) to have committed suicide. (They say) it was a Filipina. (It was) three to four hours before she was (accidentally) found.'

(17) spontaneous event

*mga na-lumus, yon=daw ang pinaka-lu?ud=kuno=ka?ay tan?aw-on*  
*mga na-lumus, yon=daw ang pinaka-lu?ud=kuno=ka?ayo tan?aw-on*  
 PL INTR-drown that=EVID ANG super-gross=EVID=INTENS look-PV  
 '(People) drowning, they are said to be the gross-est to look at.'

(18) spontaneous event

*na-punu? ang duha ka basket*  
 INTR-fill ANG two LK basket  
 'Two baskets were filled.'

Spontaneous events are also best exemplified by emotion verb clauses. Emotion events are very often involuntary and uncontrollable, and the self is most affected; that is the reason why emotion clauses in Cebuano are expressed by intransitive *na-*verbs (see also argument structure of emotion verbs in Section 17.2.7).

(19) intransitive event

*nindut=ka?ayo*      *pagka-make up*      *mora=gyud=siya*      ***na-tulog=ra***  
nice=INTENS      NMZ-make.up      like=EMPH=3S.NOM      INTR-sleep=only  
'(He) was properly made up; he was as if just asleep.'

(20) emotion event

*dali?=ka?ay*      *i-sulti, pag-na-higugma=ka*      *hikog=dyud*  
*dali?=ka?ayo*      *i-sulti, pag-na-higugma=ka*      *hikog=dyud*  
fast=INTENS      IV-say      NMZ-INTR-fall.in.love=2S.NOM      suicide=EMPH  
'It's so (often) easy to say, but when you (really) fall in love, you would commit suicide.'

As I will illustrate in the next chapter, passive situations also lack Agent initiation, and passive clauses in Cebuano are similarly expressed by the use of the prefix *na-*.

### 12.2.3 Reciprocals

Reciprocal clauses are used to express mutual actions and conditions; the “subject” and “direct object” of the basic verb are combined into a single compound subject of a reciprocal verb (sociative verb). In some languages, the same morpheme is used to express both reflexivity and reciprocity. For example, the verbal prefix *ber-* in Malay is unspecified for the choice between the reflexive and reciprocal readings, but the meaning of the verb stem determines the choice (Mohanani and Mohanani 1998).

(21a) reflexive verb (Malay)

*Bill*      ***ber-cukur***      (*sendiri*)  
PN      ber-shave      self  
'Bill shaved (himself).'

(21b) reciprocal verb (Malay)

*Bill dan John ber-tumbuk (sama sendiri) / \*sendiri*  
PN and PN ber-box each other self  
'Bill and John boxed each other.'

In Cebuano, the schema for clauses with plural nominative arguments is shown in (22a). In (23a), *nag-hubo?* is an ordinary activity verb; in (24a) and (25a) *halok* and *lalis* require plural agents (see also sociative verbs in Section 17.2.8). The prefix *nag-* also conveys a durative sense; the events expressed by the clauses are implied to take place over a period of time.

(22a) *nag-V* double agent (Intransitive)

(23a) reflexive verb

*nag-hubo? si Juan ug si Pedro*  
NAG-disrobe SI PN and SI PN  
'Juan and Pedro are disrobing (themselves)/\*each other.'

(24a) sociative verb clause

*nag-halok si Juan ug si Pedro*  
NAG-kiss SI PN and SI PN  
'Juan and Pedro are kissing each other/\*themselves.'

(25a) sociative verb clause

*nag-lalis si Juan ug si Pedro*  
NAG-argue SI PN and SI PN  
'Juan and Pedro are arguing with each other/\*themselves.'

The suffix *-(an)ay* denotes reciprocity (see schema in 22b). When an ordinary activity verb such as (23a) is suffixed with *-(an)ay*, it becomes a reciprocal verb that requires plural agents. Reciprocal verbs like (24b) and (25b) do not change in meaning as (24a) and (25a) when suffixed with *-(an)ay*.

(22b) *nag-V-(an)ay* double agent (Intransitive)

(23b) reciprocal clause (from 39a)

<i>nag-hubo?-anay</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Juan</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Pedro</i>
NAG-disrobe-RECIP	SI	PN	and	SI	PN

'Juan and Pedro are disrobing \*themselves/each other.'

(24b) reciprocal clause (from 40a)

<i>nag-hagk-anay</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Juan</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Pedro</i>
<i>nag-halok-anay</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Juan</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Pedro</i>
NAG-kiss-RECIP	SI	PN	and	SI	PN

'Juan and Pedro are kissing each other/\*themselves.'

(25b) reciprocal clause (from 41a)

<i>nag-lalis-anay</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Juan</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Pedro</i>
NAG-argue-RECIP	SI	PN	and	SI	PN

'Juan and Pedro are arguing with each other.'

A difference that can be noted between (22a) and (22b) would be that the former implies an activity that can go on for a long duration between two or more persons (by the prefix *nag-*), while the latter highlights a mutual activity or a mutual exchange of some concrete or abstract thing between the parties. Therefore, we cannot say *nag-minyo?\*-anay* '(in the process) of marrying (each other)' (or probably because in a marriage, both parties are acting as a single, not a plural, entity). In addition, the reciprocal suffix *-ay* is also sometimes described to mean 'together' but this sense is restricted to certain verbs only. The reciprocal meaning is still more salient as in the following examples that Morey (1961: 168) gives. In (26), the reading of *-ay* is more a "mutual" action (as in the *a* translation) and less a "simultaneous" action (as in the *b* translation). The verb *ka'on* 'eat' is not a reciprocal verb and attaching the reciprocal suffix to it will produce an ill-formed clause. The intended meaning of (27a) is correctly expressed in (27b) or (27c).

(26) reciprocal clause

*mag-palit-ay=kita*      *ug*      *sinina*  
AV-buy-RECIP=1IP.NOM      OBL      clothes  
a) 'Let's buy each other's clothes.'  
b) ???'Let's buy dresses together.' (Morey's translation)

(27a) reciprocal clause??? (Morey 1961)

*mag-ka?on-ay=ta*  
AV-eat-RECIP=1IP.NOM  
'Let's eat each other.'  
Intended: 'Let's eat together.'

(27b) based on (43a)

*mang-a?on=ta*  
*maN-ka?on=ta*  
AV-eat=1IP.NOM  
'Let's eat.'

(27c) based on (43a)

*dungan=ta-g*      *ka?on*  
*dungan=ta-ug*      *ka?on*  
together=1IP.NOM-COMP      eat  
'(Let's) eat together.'

Some reciprocal verbs differentiate between an action that is being done or that is about to be done and a resulting state of that action. The verb *sabot* 'to discuss; to agree' is one such verb. When two parties are still engaging in a discussion, then the schema in (22a) or (22b) can be applied. When a result has been produced or when an agreement has been achieved between both parties, then the perfective infix <in> is recruited; this is schematized in (22c). Although both *hubo?* and *lalis* require plural agents, both are not viewed as actions that may result in a particular state. An example that can take this form is given in (28a). Take note that (28a) indicates a different state from (28b). In (28b), both parties are still in a state of “negotiation,” the result of which is an “understanding,” or the lack of it, as illustrated in (28a).

(22c) *nag-V<in>-(anay)* double agent (Intransitive)

(28a) resulting state of a reciprocal activity

<i>di?=mi=<b>mag-ka-s&lt;in&gt;</b>abot, ma?o=na=y</i>	<i>problema</i>	<i>namo?</i>
<i>di?=mi=<b>mag-ka-sabot&lt;in&gt;</b>, ma?o=kana?=y</i>	<i>problema</i>	<i>namo?</i>
NEG=1EP.NOM=RECIP-KA-agree<IN> ANAPH=that=NEUT	problem	1EP.GEN

'We can't understand each other. That's exactly our problem.'

(28b) reciprocal activity

<i><b>nag-sabot=mi</b></i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>amo-ng</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>plano</i>
<i><b>nag-sabot=mi</b></i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>amo?-nga</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>plano</i>
RECIP-agree=1EP.NOM	OBL	1EP.POSS-LK	PL	plan

'We are discussing our plans.'

In the use of reciprocal verbs, when only one party takes the initiative, the construction schema in (22d) is employed. Here, the party taking initiative takes nominative case, while the passive party takes dative *kang* (proper noun) or *sa* (common noun). An example (29) is also given. The prefix *nakig-/makig-* implies something being exchanged by both parties, and can attach only to a reciprocal verb. For example, in *nakig-halok*, *nakig-lalis*, *nakig-minyo?*, both parties exchange kisses, arguments, vows, respectively, and they are also reciprocal in meaning. In (23c) *hubo?* is not a reciprocal verb, cf 23a), and so cannot take the prefix *nakig-*.

(22d) *nakig-V* NP<sub>nom</sub> NP<sub>dat</sub> (*kang*) (EIC)

(23c) \**Nakig-hubo si Juan kang Pedro*

(24c) reciprocal clause

<i><b>Nakig-halok</b></i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Juan</i>	<i>kang</i>	<i>Pedro</i>
RECIP-kiss	SI	PN	DAT	PN

'Juan and Pedro are kissing each other/\*themselves.'

(25c) reciprocal clause

*Nakig-lalis si Juan kang Pedro*  
RECIP-argue SI PN DAT PN  
'Juan and Pedro are arguing with each other.'

(29) reciprocal clause

*ni-ingon=siya nga makig-minyo?=kuno=siya nako?*  
AV-say=3S.NOMCOMP RECIP-marry=EVID=3S.NOM 1S.DAT  
'He said that he will get married with me.'

Reciprocal constructions focus attention on the mutual action of the multiple agents of an event. However, in certain Formosan languages, specifically Kavalan, Tsou, Saisiyat, and Amis, the reciprocal marker is shown to appear even in NAV clauses allowing the Patient entity being "exchanged" to take nominative case. In these languages, the reciprocal marker is not necessarily an intransitivizer, but it does reduce the number of arguments subcategorized by the attaching verb (Sung and Shen 2006). Examples in Kavalan and Saisiyat are provided below.

(30a) Kavalan (Sung and Shen 2006: 257 example 48d)

*sim-seles-an na qaniyau ya qudus-na*  
RECIP-change-NAV GEN 3P NOM clothes-3S.GEN  
'They exchanged their clothes.'

(30b) Saisiyat (Sung and Shen 2006: 273 example 68)

*ka rayhil sa-sibae: aeh-en niya?om*  
NOM money CA-borrow-PV 1EP.GEN  
'We borrowed the money from each other.'

In Cebuano, these Kavalan and Saisiyat clauses can only be expressed as intransitive clauses.

(30c) AV reciprocal clause

*nag-ilisd-ay=sila*            *ug*        *sinina?*  
*nag-ilis-ay=sila*            *ug*        *sinina?*  
AV-change-RECIP=3P.NOM    EXT    clothes  
'They exchanged their clothes.'

(30d) infelicitous NAV clause

\**gi-ilisd-ay=nila*            *ang*        *sinina?*  
*gi-ilis-ay=nila*            *ang*        *sinina?*  
PFV.PV-change-RECIP=3P.GEN    ANG    clothes  
Intended: 'They exchanged their clothes.'

(30e) AV reciprocal clause

*nag-hulm-anay=mi*            *ug*        *kwarta*  
*nag-hulam-anay=mi*            *ug*        *kwarta*  
AV-borrow-RECIP=1EP.NOM    EXT    money  
'We borrowed money from each other.'

(30f) infelicitous NAV clause

\**gi-hulm-anay=namo?*            *ang*        *kwarta*  
*gi-hulam-anay=namo?*            *ang*        *kwarta*  
PFV.PV-borrow-RECIP=1EP.GEN    ANG    money  
Intended: 'We borrowed money from each other.'

#### 12.2.4 Verbs involving body parts

Verbal expressions involving body parts are also an interesting topic for investigation. What is expressed as transitive in other languages, for example, the English clauses *I have a headache* and *I hurt my hand*, are expressed in Cebuano using AV constructions (more similar to *My head aches* and *My hands hurt*), which are intransitive. In (31), an AV *nag-* construction is used (which also seems to imply that the situation goes on for a period of time); (32) is an AV construction marked by a non-purposive *na-*. In these constructions, the nominative argument is the body part, not the Experiencer.

(31) AV clause indicating bodily sensation

*(nag-)labad ako-ng ulo*  
*(nag-)labad ako?-nga ulo*  
AV-ache 1S.POSS-LK head  
'I have a headache.' (< My head aches.)

(32) AV clause indicating bodily sensation

*(na-)samad ako-ng kamot*  
*(na-)samad ako?-nga kamot*  
AV-cut 1S.POSS-LK hand  
'(I) cut my hand.' (< My hand is cut.)

Example (33) uses a *gi-...-an* construction that is still used intransitively: the nominative NP =*ko* is an Experiencer and the oblique patient argument *ug ulo* is obligatory. I treat these intransitive *gi-...-an* constructions distinctly from the strictly adversative intransitive *gi-* constructions like (34). Constructions like (33) and (34) are further discussed in 12.5.3 and 12.5.2, respectively.

(33) intransitive *gi-...-an* clause

*gi-labd-an=ko ug ulo*  
*gi-labad-an=ko ug ulo*  
PFV-ache-LV=1S.NOM EXT head  
'My head aches.'

(34) adversative clause (intransitive *gi-* clause)

*gi-gutom=ko \*ug N*  
PFV-be.hungry=1S.NOM EXT  
'I feel hungry.'

### 12.3.5 AV Causative verbs

The causative morpheme *pa-* is supposed to increase verbal valence by one; however, AV causative verbs are different, as in the examples given below. The causative affix increases the number of arguments by the addition of a Causer, but the Causer in an AV clause is the same referent as the Patient argument in a non-causative

AV clause; therefore, the number of arguments remains the same. It is suffice to make this point here and provide a couple of conversational extracts, as we have a more detailed discussion of causative constructions in Chapter 16.

(35) AV causative clause

- T     *ngano=wa?=pa=man=ka na-mabdos*  
       why=NEG=CAU=PAR=2S.NOM AV.INTR-be.pregnant
- L     *@@ma?o=gani?@@ [gusto=na=namo?]*  
       exactly=PAR                   like=already=1EP.GEN
- T             *[mag-pa-tan?aw]     mag-pa-tan?aw     kang     doktora*  
               AV.FUT-CAU-see     AV.FUT-CAU-see     DAT     doctor
- L     *nag-pa-tan?aw=na=mi*  
       AV.NFUT-CAU-see=already=1EP.NOM
- T: 'Why aren't you pregnant yet?'  
       L: 'Exactly, [we like to have a baby now]'  
       T:                   '[See the doctor]'  
       L: 'We have been to the doctor.'

(36) AV causative clause

- ma?o=man     ato-ng     konswelo     mga     babaye*  
*ma?o=man     ato?-nga     konswelo     mga     babaye*  
 exactly-PAR     1IP.POSS-LK     enjoyment     PL     girl
- ganahan=man=ta     mag-pa-gwapa*  
 like=PAR=1IP.NOM     AV-CAU-be.pretty  
 'That's our enjoyment as girls, we like to make ourselves beautiful.'

That the use of the AV form/construction results in unchanged valency is also illustrated in Table 12-6 (see section 12.4.3), where the LV form of applicable verbs takes one more argument, but the LV verb is syntactically intransitive since the additional argument is non-core (E argument). Another piece of data that may add to our understanding of Cebuano AV clauses as non-valency-increasing constructions would be Goldberg's (2001) illustration that Patient arguments in causative clauses are allowed to be omitted based on the following criteria, namely, they are indefinite and non-specific, and they designate actions that are iterative (37a) or generic (37b).

These "repeated" actions, sometimes construed as atelic or temporally unbounded events, are more likely to be intransitive in many languages. That is, examples such as (37a) and (37b) are naturally expressed as AV clauses in Cebuano; what is in focus is not the patient argument, which may be absent, but the Agent and the action carried out by it.

- (37) (Goldberg 2001: 506, examples 6a and 6b)  
a. *The chef-in-training chopped and diced all afternoon.*  
b. *Tigers kill only at night.*

### 12.3 Extended Intransitive Constructions (EIC)

The term Extended Intransitive Construction (EIC) was first coined by Dixon (1994) to refer to intransitive constructions that are accompanied by an oblique-marked Patient nominal. These are typical in verbs of seeing, hearing, liking, and wanting. EICs are pervasive in Philippine-type languages and constitute a separate clause type, as the core vs. oblique distinction in these languages is pretty robust (S. Huang, to appear). In an EIC, there is an oblique-marked Patient, termed E, which is any argument marked differently from the core arguments, S, A, and P. In my conversational data, EICs account for approximately 14.3 percent of the total number of clauses.<sup>55</sup> According to S. Huang, EICs are shown to differ in their discourse-pragmatic behavior, with the Es being non-identifiable and non-given<sup>56</sup> and showing a lesser tendency to track participants than the Ps in transitive clauses. These EICs are

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<sup>55</sup> My count of the different voice clauses in conversational data reveals the following figures: AV clauses, N=565 (57.3%); EIC clauses, N=141 (14.3%); PV clauses, N=202 (20.5%); and LV clauses, N=78 (7.9%).

<sup>56</sup> The Es in Cebuano have weak tracking capability in general. However, a few Es in Cebuano are found to take anaphoric demonstrative *ana?* to refer to a previously-mentioned or context-accessible participant. But still, they are relatively unimportant in the ongoing narration or conversation and have very low topic persistence. This issue is also treated below and in Chapter 4 (NP) and Chapter 18 (Inter-clausal linking).

primarily used to highlight the activity indicated by the main verb and are "subject-oriented" rather than "object-oriented." Furthermore, they are cognitively less salient and less likely to be recognized by the grammar of a language as core argument. They show weak topic persistence (TP). The TP value is the number of times that an E argument is taken up in subsequent clauses in a core argument position, either as nominative- or ergative-marked NP. Table 12-2 shows the TP values of Es in Cebuano narratives, showing them to lack reference tracking features.

**Table 12-2. Referent tracking of Es in Cebuano narratives**

	TP=0	TP=1	TP=2	TP=3	TP=4	total
Pear	14 (63%)	4 (18%)	2 (9%)	1 (5%)	1 (5%)	22
Frog	15 (54%)	5 (18%)	4 (14%)	3 (11%)	1 (3%)	28
total	29 (58%)	9 (18%)	6 (12%)	4 (8%)	2 (4%)	50

Table 12-2 shows that over half (58 percent) of Es in Cebuano narratives do not track participants, and over three-fourths (76 percent) of Es have a TP value of just one at most, meaning they are mentioned again only once (at most) in the succeeding five clauses. As for conversation data, we observe that a higher percentage (75.4 percent, or 52 out of 69) of *ug*-marked Es do not track participants at all. Excerpts showing Es with TP values of zero and one are shown below.

(38) E argument with TP=0

*ni-gamit=siya ug kananghagdanan*  
AV-use=3S.NOM EXT FIL ladder

*duna=siya=y apron*  
EXIST=3S.NOM=NEUT apron

*unya? na?a=siya=y mga basket*  
then EXIST=3S.NOM=NEUT PL basket

*butang=niya didto*  
place=3S.GEN there

*tu?a=na=y lamesa*  
EXIST.there=already=NEUT table

*unya? daghan=ka?ay iya-ng gi-kuha?*  
*unya? daghan=ka?ayo iya-nga gi-kuha?*  
then many=INTENS 3S.POSS-LK PFV.PV-take

'He used a ladder. He had an apron. Then he had a basket. He placed (it) there. There was a table. Then he took so many.'

(39) E argument with TP=0

*naka-dasmag=siya ug bato and then*  
AV-bump=3S.NOM EXT stone and.then

*na-tagak ang bukag nga-*  
AV-fall ANG basket LK

*nag-katag ang pears sa yuta?*  
AV-scatter ANG pear LOC ground

*unya? na?a=y- na=y ni-tabang=niya nga tawo*  
*unya? na?a=y na?a=y ni-tabang=sa.iya nga tawo*  
then EXIST=NEUT EXIST=NEUT AV-help=LOC.3S.POSS LK person

*kay na?a=y tulo ka bata? nga naka-kita=siya*  
because EXIST=NEUT three LK child LK AV-see=3S.NOM

*gi-tabang-an=siya*  
PFV-help-LV=3S.NOM

'He bumped into a rock. The basket fell down. The pears scattered on the ground. Then a man helped him. There were three children, he saw (them). (They) helped him.'

(40) E argument with TP=4

<i>ang</i>	<i>bata?</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>iro?</i>	<i>ning-lantaw</i>	<i>sa=</i>	<i>baki?</i>
ANG	child	and	ANG	dog	AV-look	LOC	frog
...(2.1)	<i>dayon</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>bata?</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>iro?</i>	<i>na-tulog</i>
	then	ANG	child	and	ANG	dog	AV-sleep
<i>wala?=sila</i>	<i>kahibalo</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>baki?</i>	<i>naka=-takas</i>		
NEG=3P.NOM	know	COMP	ANG	frog	AV-escape		
... <i>pag-mata</i>	<i>sa iro?</i>	<i>ug-</i>	<i>sa bata?</i>	...	<i>na-wala?=na=</i>	<i>ang=</i>	<i>baki?</i>
NMZ-wake	GEN dog	and	GEN child		AV-NEG=already	ANG	frog
...(2.4)	<i>tapos</i>	<i>gi-pangita?=nila</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>baki?</i>	<i>sa sulod</i>	<i>sapatos</i>	
	then	PFV.PV-look=3S.GEN	ANG	frog	LOC	inside	shoe
...(1.7)	<i>dayon</i>	<i>..ingon</i>	<i>ang=</i>	<i>bata?</i> ,	<i>baki?</i> ,	<i>ha?in=na=ka</i>	
	then	say	ANG	child	frog.VOC	where=already=2S.NOM	

'The child and the dog are looking at the frog. Then the child and the dog went to sleep. They didn't know that the frog had escaped. When they woke up, the frog was not there anymore. Then they went to look for the frog inside the shoe. Then the child called, Frog, where are you?'

As can be observed from the excerpts, the E arguments are mostly Patient arguments of semantically-transitive verbs in intransitive clauses, meaning the clauses highlight the activity being carried out by the Agent and it then follows that this Patient E argument is not the focus of the utterance. Excerpts (38) and (39) show the ordinary Es that do not normally do tracking. As for (40), although the E argument is later focused, it is merely a required argument of the verb in the first line; what is being highlighted instead is the topic *bata?* 'child' and his action of "looking at (the frog)."

In other cases, the E nominal in a Cebuano EIC can also be Locations (41). Some of them are required by the semantics of ditransitive and placement verbs but there are also cases where they can be said to be "peripheral," as a Goal of an action (first line in 41 and 42), a Benefactee (43), or even a numeral (44).

(41) extended intransitive construction (EIC)

*unya? mo-du?ul=na=siya*                      *sa*        *ako?-a*  
then    AV-approach=that=3S.NOM        OBL        1S.POSS-DEF

*ma-nan?aw=ta-g*        *sini*  
*maN-tan?aw=ta-ug*    *sini*  
AV-look=1IP.NOM-EXT   movie  
'Then he'll approach me (and ask), let's watch a movie.'

(42) extended intransitive construction (EIC)

*pila=na=lang=kaha=y*                      *ma-bilin*  
*pila=na=lang=kaha?=y*                      *ma-bilin*  
how.much=already=only=PAR=NEUT    AV-remain

*mag-ampo?=na=lang=ta*        *sa*        *gino?o*  
AV-pray=already=only=1IP.NOMOBL    God  
'How many (of us) will stay (employed)? We can now only pray to God.'

(43) extended intransitive construction (EIC)

T:    *bisa-g*            *unsa-ng*            *pa-ka?on,*            *mo-ka?on=ra=siya*  
          *bisan-ug*            *unsa-nga*            *pa-ka?on,*            *mo-ka?on=ra=siya*  
          even-COMP        what-LK            CAU-eat            AV-eat=only=3S.NOM

L:    *pero*    *ikaw=gyu=y*            *mo-luto*            *sa*        *iya-ha*  
          *pero*    *ikaw=gyud=y*            *mo-luto*            *sa*        *iya-a*  
          but        2S.NOM=EMPH=NEUT    AV-cook            OBL        3S.POSS-DEF

T: 'Whatever you feed (him), he'll eat.'

L: 'But it's you (not other people) who has to cook for him?'

(44) extended intransitive construction (EIC)

*bisa-g*            *hilanat=ako-g*            *kwarenta,*            *mag-luto?=gyud=ko*  
*bisan-ug*            *hilanat=ako-ug*            *kwarenta,*            *mag-luto?=gyud=ko*  
even-COMP        fever=1S.NOM-EXT        40.degrees            AV-cook=EMPH=1S.NOM  
'Even if I had a 40-degree fever, I still had to cook.'

The oblique Patient in a Cebuano EIC is marked by *ug* (indefinite, as in 45 and 46) or *sa* (definite, as in 42, 43, and the third line in 45). We will discuss *ug* clauses first and *sa* clauses next. The *ug*-marked E arguments are non-specific and correspond to those nominals in English that are used with an indefinite article, as in (45) and (46). In the first line in (45) *piantang* 'meal box' refers to a non-specific meal box, while *sa luto? nako?* in line 3 refers to a particular cooking, which is mentioned to serve as a

contrast to the "meal box" in the previous clause. In (46), the *tulo ka bulan* could be any three consecutive months.

(45) extended intransitive constructions

<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>ka-opisina,</i>	<i>mo-palit</i>	<b>ug</b>	<i>piantang</i>
<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>ka-opisina,</i>	<i>mo-palit</i>	<b>ug</b>	<i>piantang</i>
3S.POSS-LK	PL	RECIP-office	AV.FUT-buy	EXT	meal.box

<i>di?=gyud=siya,</i>	<i>mo-uli?=gyud=siya-g</i>	<i>ka?on</i>
<i>di?=gyud=siya,</i>	<i>mo-uli?=gyud=siya-ug</i>	<i>ka?on</i>
NEG=EMPH=3S.NOM	AV.FUT-return=EMPH=3S.NOM-COMP	eat

<i>ganahan=man=siya</i>	<b>sa</b>	<i>luto?</i>	<i>nako?</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>lab?as</i>	<i>ba</i>
like=PAR=3S.NOM	OBL	cooking	1S.GEN	because	fresh	DM

'His officemates, (when) they (want to) buy meal boxes, he would never (go and buy with them). He would (rather) go home to eat. He likes my cooking; fresh food, you know.'

(46) extended intransitive construction

<i>mo-hulat=ka-g</i>	<i>tulo</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>bulan</i>
<i>mo-hulat=ka-ug</i>	<i>tulo</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>bulan</i>
AV.FUT-wait=2S.NOM-EXT	three	LK	month

'You (have to) wait for three months.'

In (47), the *asawa* 'wife' in the first line (and truncated in the second line) does not necessarily refer to the wife of the particular person being talked about. The focus in this instance is on the Agent instead, specifically on the fact that he *hits* and *beats* "a" wife ("his" wife); hence the use of an AV construction. In essence, the different *wives* in *a wife* and *his wife* refer to different persons.

(47) extended intransitive construction

T:	<i>mo-dapat=kuno</i>	<b>ug</b>	<i>asawa</i>
	AV-hit=EVID	EXT	wife

W:	<i>ma-ngulata=lagi=na?=siya-g-</i>
	<i>maN-kulata=lagi=kana?=siya-ug-</i>
	AV-beat=EMPH=that=3S.NOM-EXT

T: 'He hits (his) wife.' (lit., 'He hits wives.')

W: 'That guy does beat his-' (lit., 'That guy does beat wives.')

The *sa* NPs have a more definite referent and most of the time the *sa* marks possessive pronouns to refer to the Speaker and Hearer or to someone related to the discourse participants (e.g., *sa imo-ng amiga* 'your friend') or something possessed by them (e.g., *sa luto? nako?* 'my cooking'). In this respect, place names are ambiguous as they can be marked with either *ug* or *sa* with no significant difference in meaning between them. Examples of locative Es are shown below. Again these locative Es are semantically required by the verb.

(48) locative extended argument

<i>mga</i>	<i>muslim,</i>	<i>gusto=nila,</i>	<i>silá</i>	<i>mag-rule</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>cotabato</i>
PL	PN	want=3P.GEN	3P.NOM	AV-rule	LOC	PN

'The Muslims, what they want, they want to rule (in) Cotabato.'

(49) locative extended argument

<i>ang</i>	<i>Cebu,</i>	<i>mo-pareho=na-g</i>	<i>Manila</i>
<i>ang</i>	<i>Cebu,</i>	<i>mo-pareho=na-ug</i>	<i>Manila</i>
ANG	PN	AV-same=already-EXT	PN

'Cebu, (it's) getting to be like Manila.'

(50) locative extended argument

T	<i>ganahan=ka?ay=ko-g</i>	<i>Thailand</i>	
	<i>ganahan=ka?ay=ko-g</i>	<i>Thailand</i>	
	like=very=1S.NOM-EXT	PN	
W	<i>balik-balik no/</i>		
	return-REDUP Q		
T	<i>m\ lami?=ka?ay sa</i>	<i>Thailand,</i>	<i>mo-adto=[ka sa]</i>
	<i>m\ lami?=ka?ayo sa</i>	<i>Thailand,</i>	<i>mo-adto=[ka sa]</i>
	BC nice=EMPH LOC	PN	AV-go=2S.NOM LOC
W	<i>[pero] pag-adto=nako?</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>Thailand</i>
	but NMZ-go=1S.GEN	LOC	PN

T: 'I really like Thailand.'

W: '(It's nice to) keep going back, right?'

T: 'Yes, it's nice in Thailand, you go [to the]-'

W: '[but] when I went to Thailand, ...'

In (48), the E, *sa Cotabato*, could be interpreted as a definite Location or as a definite Patient (i.e., the people of Cotabato collectively). In (49), the E, *Manila*, is treated as an indefinite “Patient” that is being compared to the topic referent. When marked with *sa*, it could also simply be a Location, as in the case of *Cotabato* in (48), but there would be no substantive difference in meaning. In (50), T’s first utterance of *Thailand* is marked by *ug*, showing that T is mainly expressing a feeling of “liking” a place; this indefinite Patient is not for highlighting. In the second utterance, *Thailand* is a Location, due to its having been mentioned (and therefore it is definite) and probably also due to the syntactic constraint against using *ug* to mark an object of a stative predicate like *lami?* in (50).

Another observation that can be made on EICs in Cebuano is that aside from *ug* and *sa*, the demonstrative *ana(-ng)* ‘that’ can also mark the Es. These *ana?*-marked Es are anaphoric. Like the other forms of Es, these *ana?* nominals do not serve to track participants, but only to anaphorically refer to antecedents in prior discourse. In the last line of (51), the E is preposed not for tracking but to serve as a contrast.

(51) anaphoric extended argument

*ambot=lang gi-unsangto pagka-ligis*  
 dunno=PAR PFV.PV-what=that NMZ-run.over

*di?=gyud=ko mo-tan?aw ana?*  
 NEG=EMPH=1S.NOM AV-see that

*si josie mo-tan?aw=man, di?=man=ko mo-tan?aw*  
 SI PN AV-see=PAR NEG=PAR=1S.NOM AV-see

**natural death** *mo-tan?aw=ko*  
 natural death AV-see=1S.NOM

‘I dunno how (the car) ran over that (guy). But I never (dare) to look at that. Josie, (she) looks, but I don’t (dare to) look. Natural death, I look.’

(52) anaphoric extended argument

<i>ako=ra=man</i>	<i>nag-buhi?</i>	<i>ana-ng</i>	<i>tulo</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>bata?</i>
<i>ako=ra=man</i>	<i>nag-buhi?</i>	<i>ana?-nga</i>	<i>tulo</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>bata?</i>
1S.NOM=only=PAR	AV-raise	that-LK three	LK		child

'I have been the only one who raised those three kids.'

Now I want to emphasize again that EICs can also have definite extended arguments, as in (53), but as an intransitive construction, the focus of the utterance is on the act denoted by the verb, which is in this example the act of looking (see again entire excerpt in 40). In other words, the narrator will most possibly not be talking about the frog, no matter how definite this referent is, in the succeeding discourse.

(53) definite extended argument

<i>ang</i>	<i>bata?</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>iro?</i>	<i>nag-tan?aw</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>baki?</i>
ANG	child	and	ANG	dog	AV-see	LOC	frog

'The boy and the dog are looking at a/the frog.'

## 12.4 Intransitive NAV Forms

Some verbs prefixed with transitive forms produce intransitive clauses. They are intransitive in that they cannot take genitive-marked nominals. The Nominative-marked nominal is an Experiencer, and the extended nominal (E), if any (*sa* NP, or in dative form), expresses the Stimulus or Cause of the "experience." The types of verbs that form intransitive clauses through the affixation of transitive forms (i.e., *gi-* and *na-*, which are used to mark a transitive verb in other contexts) are listed in Table 12-3. These various categories are summarized in Table 12-4.

Table 12-4 shows the types of verbs that can take PV forms or LV forms that can be analyzed as intransitive. Attaching a PV form (e.g., perfective *gi-* or future *-on*) to a meteorological verb or a nominal root that indicates "a form of infestation" or "a physical state" yields an adversative verb. These are discussed in 12.4.1 and 13.3.1.

Emotion verbs and certain physical state verbs affixed with *na-* derive intransitive verbs. These are discussed in 12.4.2 and 13.4.1, respectively.

**Table 12-3. Semantic role of nominative NPs in intransitive NAV verbs**

Verb	PV form	LV form	Examples
<b>Emotion</b>	Experiencer <i>na</i>	Malefactee (Advers) <i>na</i>	<i>ulaw</i> 'be embarrassed'
	Experiencer (Advers) <i>gi</i>		<i>mingaw</i> 'miss'
<b>Meteorological</b>	Malefactee (Advers) <i>gi</i>	Malefactee (Advers) <i>na</i>	<i>ulan</i> 'rain'
	Malefactee (Advers) <i>gi</i>		<i>bagyo</i> 'typhoon' <i>linog</i> 'earthquake'
<b>Noun Verbs</b>	Malefactee (Advers) <i>gi</i>		<i>hubak</i> 'asthma' <i>sip?on</i> 'running nose' <i>ubo</i> 'cough' <i>ulod</i> 'worm'
<b>Existence</b>		Malefactee (Advers) (EIC) <i>na</i>	<i>patay</i> 'die' <i>wala?</i> 'lose'
<b>Physical states</b>		Exper <i>gi</i> (Advers) (EIC)	<i>labad</i> '(head)ache' <i>sakit</i> 'ache'
	Experiencer Undergoer <i>na</i>	/	<i>na-buhi?</i> 'become alive' <i>na-da?ot</i> 'get bad' <i>na-tulog</i> 'be asleep'
<b>Stative Predicates</b>		Exper (Intrans) 'to feel Pred'	<i>gahi?</i> 'hard' <i>gwapa</i> 'beautiful' <i>lami?</i> 'delicious' <i>ma?ot</i> 'ugly'

The LV form of certain roots that derive intransitive verbs yields two readings. One is an adversative reading when *gi-* is prefixed to certain physical state verbs and when *na-* is prefixed to certain verbs, like the emotion verb *ulaw* 'be embarrassed,' the meteorological verb *ulan* 'to rain,' and the negative existential verbs *wala?* 'to lose' and *patay* 'to die.' The second reading expresses a sense of "to feel." Applicable verbs are stative predicates. The future form for LV intransitive verbs is *V-an*. These intransitive LV forms are discussed in sections 12.2.4, 12.4.3, and 12.4.4.

**Table 12-4. Types of verbs occurring in intransitive NAV forms**

perfective prefix	PV form (pref-V)	LV form (pref-V- <i>an</i> )	
		Adversative verb	'NP <sub>Nom</sub> feel V'
<i>gi-</i>	Adversative verb <i>Meteorological verbs</i> <i>Infestation verbs</i> <i>Physical state verbs</i> <i>(nominal root)</i>	<i>Physical state verbs</i>	<i>Stative Predicates</i>
<i>na-</i>	Intransitive <i>Emotion verbs</i> <i>Physical state verbs</i>	<i>Emotion verb</i> <i>Meteorological verb</i> <i>Existential verbs</i>	
Future form	V- <i>on</i>	V- <i>an</i>	

### 12.4.1 Adversative verbs

In most Formosan and Philippine languages, adversity is conveyed by the affixation of the morpheme typically appearing in NAV constructions on a limited set of intransitive verbs (Reid 2006; Liao 2004). Although these adversative constructions share the same form as PV verbs, they are intransitive in that they take a Nominative NP subject, which experiences adversity and cannot take an Actor NP, as the presence of a genitive-marked Actor nominal would render the clause infelicitous; the Actor is most of the time expressed by the nominal root of the verb. Nolasco's (2006) analysis is treating the verb as already incorporating the Agent. Examples of these verbs include: *gi-ulan* 'rained on,' *gi-ulud* 'infested by worms,' and *gi-kaspa* 'infected with dandruff.' In addition, these adversative clauses indicate ailments, aching body parts, and infestation by a certain animal or insect, or a negative effect caused by some meteorological phenomenon, and physical and emotional states of adversity, as well as a host of other states of misfortune and situations viewed in a negative light. The *sa* phrase indicates the cause of the adversity, not the Actor. Some adversative verbs formed in this way are listed in Table 12-5. In addition, these adversative verbs cannot

take the intransitive prefix *na-*, and will also be discussed in more detail in section 13.4.1.

### 12.4.2 Intransitive *na-* verbs

The prefix *na-* derives intransitive verbs by attaching to two types of verbs, namely, emotion verbs and physical state verbs, as shown in Table 12-5. In these *na-* verbs, the *ni* or *sa* phrase is oblique case and refers to the Cause or Stimulus of the emotion or the situation, and not genitive case indicating the Actor. The *na-* physical state verbs listed in Table 12-5. The verbs shown in this section are only one kind of *na-* verbs; an entire section covering the types of *na-* verbs in Cebuano can be found in Section 13.4.

**Table 12-5. Intransitive *gi-* and *na-* verbs**

	<i>gi-V</i> (adversative verbs)	<i>na-V</i> (intransitive verbs)
Physical (bodily)	<i>gi-atake</i> 'to have a (heart) attack' <i>gi-duka?</i> 'to feel sleepy' <i>gi-gutom</i> 'to feel hungry' <i>gi-hubak</i> 'to suffer from asthma' <i>gi-kapoy</i> 'to feel tired' <i>gi-katol</i> 'to feel itchy' <i>gi-la?ay</i> 'to feel bored' <i>gi-lu?od</i> 'to feel nauseous' <i>gi-sip?on</i> 'to have a running nose' <i>gi-ubo</i> 'to cough' <i>gi-uhaw</i> 'to feel thirsty'	<i>na-banhaw</i> 'rise from the dead' <i>na-buhi?</i> 'become alive' <i>na-da?ot</i> 'get bad; get destroyed' <i>na-hagbong</i> 'fall' <i>na-hubog</i> 'be drunk' <i>na-hulog</i> 'fall' <i>na-lumos</i> 'drown' <i>na-matay</i> 'die' <i>na-pan?os</i> 'be rotten' <i>na-samad</i> 'be injured' <i>na-sangit</i> 'be hooked (to sth)' <i>na-sunog</i> 'burn'
mental / emotional	<i>gi-mingaw</i> 'to miss (sb)'	<i>na-balaka</i> 'be startled' <i>na-bu?ang</i> 'be crazy' <i>na-gu?ol</i> 'be sad' <i>na-hadlok</i> 'be afraid' <i>na-kurat</i> 'be astonished' <i>na-lipay</i> 'be glad' <i>na-suko?</i> 'be angry' <i>na-tingala</i> 'feel wonder'
Infesting verbs	<i>gi-anay</i> 'to be infested with termites' <i>gi-kagaw</i> 'to be infected with germs' <i>gi-kuto</i> 'to be infected with lice' <i>gi-ulod</i> 'to be infested with worms'	

### 12.4.3 Intransitive *-an* verbs

The intransitive *-an* form has two readings, namely, the "adversative" reading and the "to feel" reading (12.4.4). The prefix *gi-* is attached to physical state verbs to indicate that a body part is sore or aching. This construction is also an EIC with an extended nominal referring to the body part and being marked by *ug*, as in (54). When an AV form is used, as in (55), the body part nominal takes Nominative case, depriving the animate entity of any argument slot in the clause.

(54) adversative intransitive *-an* clause

<i>gi-sakit-an</i> = <i>ko</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>ngipon / kamot / ti?il</i> ...
PFV-hurt-LV=1S.NOM	EXT	tooth / hand / foot ...
'My tooth/hand/foot... aches.'		

(55a) stative clause

<i>sakit</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>ngipon / kamot / ti?il</i> ...
<i>sakit</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>ngipon / kamot / ti?il</i> ...
hurt	ANG	1S.POSS-LK	tooth / hand / foot ...
'My tooth/hand/foot... aches.'			

(55b) dynamic intransitive clause

<i>ni-sakit</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>ngipon / kamot / ti?il</i> ...
<i>ni-sakit</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>ngipon / kamot / ti?il</i> ...
AV-hurt	ANG	1S.POSS-LK	tooth / hand / foot ...
'My tooth/hand/foot... ached.'			

Except for physical state verbs, the other intransitive adversative verbs are affixed with *na-*, indicating an accidental state. When the prefix *na-* is attached to the emotion verb *ulaw* 'be embarrassed,' the meteorological verb *ulan* 'to rain,' and the negative existential verbs *wala?* 'to lose' and *patay* 'to die,' the derived form conveys an adverse situation and forms an EIC with an extended nominal referring to the Cause of the adversity and being marked by *ug*.

In the same way, (56a) can be expressed as an ordinary stative predicate clause, as in (56b). When prefixed with *na-*, there is a dynamic reading, as in (56c).

(56a) adversative intransitive *-an* clause (EIC)

*daghan=kuno na-wad-an ug trabaho karon sa Manila*  
*daghan=kuno na-wala?-an ug trabaho karon sa Manila*  
 many=EVID PFV-lose-LV EXT work now LOC PN  
 '(They say) many people lost their jobs now in Manila.'

(56b) stative clause

*daghan=kuno wala=y trabaho karon sa Manila*  
*daghan=kuno (ang) wala?=y trabaho karon sa Manila*  
 many=EVID (ANG) NEG=NEUT work now LOC PN  
 '(They say) many people do not have jobs now in Manila.'

(56c) dynamic intransitive *-an* clause

*na-wala? ang baki? sa garapon*  
 AV-lose ANG frog LOC container  
 'The frog got away (from) the container.'

Table 12-6 shows the types of adversative LV verbs, the kinds of prefix that attach to them, the semantic role of the nominative-marked nominal, and the case marker and the semantic role of the extended argument (these adversative clauses can be EICs).

**Table 12-6. Adversative LV verbs**

Verb type	Verb	affix	LV form			AV form	
			Nominative role	marker	E role	marker	Nominative role
physical state	<i>sakit</i> 'ache'	<i>gi-...-an</i>	Animate entity	<i>ug</i>	Body part	zero, <i>nag-, ni-</i>	Body part
emotion	<i>ulaw</i> 'be embarrassed'	<i>na-...-an</i>	Experiencer	<i>sa</i>	Cause	<i>na-</i>	Experiencer
meteorological	<i>ulan</i> 'rain'	<i>na-...-an</i>	Malefactee			zero, <i>nag-, ni-</i>	
existential	<i>wala?</i> 'lose'	<i>na-...-an</i>	Malefactee	<i>ug</i>	Patient	zero, <i>na-</i>	Patient
existential	<i>patay</i> 'die'	<i>na-...-an</i>	Malefactee	<i>ug</i>	Patient	zero, <i>na-</i>	Patient

#### 12.4.4 The "to feel" reading

A stative predicate suffixed with *-an* obtains a dynamic reading and conveys the sense of "to feel," as in (57); excerpts are provided in (58) and (59). They also form an EIC with an extended nominal referring to the Patient of the predicate and being marked by *sa*, instead of *ug*. The "to feel" reading in *-an* verbs is also attested in Amis (Wu 2006).

(57) "to feel" reading

<i>lami?</i> 'tasty'	>	( <i>gi-</i> ) <i>lami?-an</i> '(feels something is) tasty.'
<i>ma?ot</i> 'ugly'	>	( <i>gi-</i> ) <i>ma?ot-an</i> '(feels something is) ugly.'
<i>layo?</i> 'far'	>	( <i>gi-</i> ) <i>layo?-an</i> '(feels something is) far.'

(58) "to feel" reading of intransitive *-an* clause

<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>gi-pa-ka?on</i>	<i>tunga?-tunga? sa</i>	<i>dagat</i>
<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>gi-pa-ka?on</i>	<i>tunga?-tunga? sa</i>	<i>dagat</i>
1S.POSS-LK	PFV.PV-CAU-eat	middle-REDUP LOC	sea
<i>a=</i>	<i>wa?=man=ka=y</i>	<i>ma-pili?</i>	<i>a= ka?on</i>
DM	NEG=PAR=2S.NOM=NEUT	SPONT-choose	DM eat

*lami?-an=baya?=sad*

tasty-LV=PAR=also

'I made (them) eat (something when we were) in the middle of the sea.  
(There was) nothing else to choose, so (they) ate. (They) also liked it.'  
[lit., '(They) also felt (the food) was tasty.']

(59) "to feel" reading of intransitive *-an* clause

<i>di?=lagi=ko</i>	<b><i>gana-han</i></b>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>ugangan</i>
<i>di?=lagi=ko</i>	<b><i>gana-an</i></b>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>ugangan</i>
NEG=EMPH=1S.NOM	like-LV	OBL	1S.POSS-LK	in.law

'I really don't like my in-laws.'

Sometimes, the volitional prefix *gi-* is added to emphasize the "feeling," as in (61); the prefix *na-* conveys spontaneity of the situation, as in (60).

(60) "accidental" reading of intransitive *-an* clause

*na-ma?ot-an=ko sa babayi*  
 NFUT-ugly-LV=1S.NOM CAUSE woman  
 'I perceive/feel the ugliness of the woman.' (Subject does not have prior knowledge of ugliness of the woman.)

(61) "purposive" reading of intransitive *-an* clause

*gi-ma?ot-an=ko sa babayi*  
 NFUT-ugly-LV=1S.NOM CAUSE woman  
 'I am consciously aware of the ugliness of the woman.' Lit., 'I really feel that the woman is ugly.' (Subject is biased against the woman and exerts an effort to emphasize her ugly appearance.)

## 12.5 Summary

In this chapter I covered the various intransitive affixes in Cebuano, including *ni-*, *nag-*, *naka-*, and *na-*, and their variations, as well as the intransitive constructions in Cebuano, including reflexives, spontaneous events, reciprocals, verbs involving bodily parts, a bit of AV causatives, and intransitive NAV constructions. I have also discussed EICs and their functions. Finally, I would like to add here that Benefactive NPs prefer to occur in *para* phrases in AV constructions rather than as a Recipient nominal in an LV construction, as in (62) and (63).

(62) Benefactive NP in AV clause

*mag-sigi=ka-g huna?huna?, mag-sakit imo-ng dughan*  
*mag-sigi=ka-ug huna?huna?, mag-sakit imo-nga dughan*  
 AV-keep.on=2S.NOM-COMP think AV-ache 2S.POSS-LK chest

*wa?=man=pu=y mag-huna?huna? para sa imo-ha*  
*wa?=man=pud=y mag-huna?huna? para sa imo-a*  
 NEG=PAR=also=NEUT AV-think for OBL 2S.POSS-DEF

'If you keep on thinking (about these things), you'll have heartache. Nobody else will think for your (own good).'

(63) Benefactive NP in AV clause

*dili?*=*pud*    *mahimo?*    *nga*    *tanang*    *sikrito*    *nimo*  
*dili?*=*pud*    *mahimo?*    *nga*    *tanang-nga*    *sikrito*    *nimo*  
NEG=also    allow    COMP    all- LK    secret    2S.GEN

*imo*=*pu-ng*                    *sulti-hun*    *sa*    *imo-ng*    *bana*  
*imo*=*pud-nga*                *sulti-un*    *sa*    *imo-nga*    *bana*  
2S.POSS=also- LK    tell-PV    DAT    2S.POSS-LK    husband

*mag-bilin*=*gyud=ka*                    ***para***    ***sa***    ***imo-ha***    *ra*  
*mag-bilin*=*gyud=ka*                    ***para***    ***sa***    ***imo-a***    *ra*  
AV-leave=EMPH=2S.NOM    for    OBL    2S.POSS-DEF    only

'It cannot be that all your secrets you will tell your husband (about them).  
You have to leave (something) just for yourself.'

## Chapter 13

### PATIENT VOICE and PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

#### 13.0 Introduction

Patient voice (PV) constructions are clauses which usually mark the Patient role as nominative case. The Patient arguments so marked can range from a concrete animate entity (1) to an abstract notion (2). In (1) the pronoun clitic =*mi* 'first person plural exclusive' is the affected animate entity of the verb 'to detain' and is in the nominative case. In (2), the thing affected by the verb 'to tolerate' is the abstract notion of 'the practice of bribery' alluded to in the first line, 'if you give (them money).'

#### (1) PV clause

<i>gi-hold=gud=mi</i>	<i>tulo ka oras</i>
PFV.PV-detain=EMPH=1IP.NOM	three LK hour
<i>gi-pangayo-an=gyud=mi-g</i>	<i>kwarta</i>
<i>gi-pangayo?-an=gyud=mi-ug</i>	<i>kwarta</i>
PFV-ask-LV=EMPH=1IP.NOM-EXT	money

'(They) detained **us** for three hours, and they asked us for money.'

#### (2) PV clause

<i>kung</i>	<i>hatag-an=nimo</i>		
if	give-LV=2S.GEN		
<i>mora-g</i>	<i>imo=ra=sa-ng</i>	<i>gi-tolerate</i>	<i>ba</i>
<i>mora-ug</i>	<i>imo=ra=sad-nga</i>	<i>gi-tolerate</i>	<i>ba</i>
like-COMP	2S.POSS=only=also-LK	PFV.PV-tolerate	PAR

'If you bribe (them), it's like you're tolerating (this practice).'

In this chapter I will discuss the forms and functions of the PV construction as well as the passive construction in Cebuano. In 13.1 I will discuss the verbal affixes

that mark PV constructions. In 13.2, I will argue that the PV clauses are the default transitive construction in Cebuano. These non-actor constructions in Philippine languages had traditionally been referred to as passives in the literature (Wolff 1962; Bell 1976). These constructions in Cebuano are now treated as transitive, or ergative (Brainard 1994; Brainard and Molen 2005; Cooreman, Fox, and Givon 1984; Mithun 1994; Gerdts 1988; Dixon 1994; Liao 2004) where both the A and P arguments represent central participants, and neither A nor P is demoted. In section 13.3 I discuss the criteria for determining the passive construction in Cebuano using three criteria, based on Payne (1982), Shibatani (1988), and Comrie (1988), namely, defocusing of the Agent or lack of syntactic integration of the A, text frequency, and distinct word order, to provide additional evidence that the non-actor clauses in Cebuano that were thought to be passives are actually transitive constructions. In 13.4, I will discuss the various types of *na-* verb constructions, which directs attention to the often accidental effect of an action on a Patient without emphasizing any reference to an Agent. The intransitive *nas* have been treated in Section 12.2.2 and Section 12.4.2 as verbs indicating spontaneous events. In 13.5, I show that a *na-* verb construction, especially one in which the Agent is missing, is a much more plausible candidate for passive in Cebuano.

### **13.1 PV affixes**

Table 13-1 shows the various affixes marking PV constructions. These affixes can be further inflected for tense, aspect, and mood. In general, PV verbs take the suffix *-on/-un*, but these are covert in non-future clauses. Examples are given below.

**Table 13-1. PV verbal affixes**

Tense / Aspect	Volitional	Progressive	Potential
Non-future	<i>gi-</i>	<i>g&lt;in&gt;a(paN)-;</i> <i>gi-paN-</i>	<i>na-</i>
Future	<i>-on</i>	<i>pa-ga-...-on</i>	<i>ma-</i>
Dependent (Imperative and Negation)	<i>-a</i>	<i>pa-ga-...-a</i>	-

The non-future volitional marker is *gi-*, which is actually a perfective marker.

The actual PV marker is zero (3). The future marker is the suffix *-on* (4).

(3) non-future volitional PV verb (Sun Star, November 21, 2007)

*gi-pangutana*    *si*    *Tubalnos*    *kon*  
 PFV.PV-ask        SI        PN                    COMP

*unsa=y*    *na-suk-an*    *ni*    *Kwan Tiu*    *kaniya*  
*unsa=y*    *na-suko?-an*    *ni*    *Kwan Tiu*    *kaniya*  
 what=NEUT SPONT-angry-LV        GEN    PN                    3S.DAT  
 '(His superiors) asked Tubalnos what made Kwan Tiu mad at him.'

(4) future volitional PV verb (Sun Star, July 12, 2007)

*ang mga*    *Film producers*        *sa*    *na-hisgut-an-g*        *pelikula,*  
*ang mga*    *Film producers*        *sa*    *na-hisgut-an-nga*    *pelikula,*  
 ANG PL    film.producers        GEN    SPONT-mention-LV-LK    film

*bag?o=pa=lamang*        *ni-adto aron*    *tan?aw-on*    *ang*    *lugar*  
 just=still=only            AV-go so        look-PV        ANG    place  
 'The Film producers of the aforementioned motion picture just went (there)  
 to take a look at the site.'

The non-future durative marker is *gina(paN)-* (5) or *gipaN-* (6), while the future marker is *paga-...-on*, which is rarely used in actual discourse.

(5) nonfuture durative PV verb

*ngano-ng kahibaw=ni mag-bisaya?*  
*ngano-nga kahibaw=kini mag-bisaya?*  
 why-COMP know=this AV-Bisaya

*di?=man=nako?=ni gina-istorya-g bisaya?*  
*di?=man=nako?=kini gina-istorya-ug bisaya?*  
 NEG=PAR=1S.GEN=this PV-speak-EXT Bisaya

'How come this (child) knows (to speak) Bisaya (when) I never speak to her in Bisaya.'

(6) non-future durative PV verb

*ma?o na=y gipang-buhat sa mga kara?oke didto*  
*ma?o kana=y gipaN-buhat sa mga kara?oke didto*  
 ANAPH that=NEUT PV.DUR-do GEN PL karaoke there

'That's exactly what the karaoke bars are doing there.'

The non-future potential marker is *na-* (7), while the future marker is the prefix *ma-* (8).

(7) non-future potential/spontaneous PV verb

*amiga=nako?, wala?=siya na-dawat*  
 friend=1S.GEN NEG=3S.NOM NFUT.PV-accept  
 'My friend, she was not accepted.'

(8) future potential PV verb

*tulo=na ka foreigner ila-ng ma-hire*  
*tulo=na ka foreigner ila-nga ma-hire*  
 three=already LK foreigner 3P.POSS-LK FUT.PV-hire  
 'They can now hire three foreign (workers).'

The irrealis marker in PV clauses is the suffix *-a*. Examples below include an imperative clause (9) and a negated non-future clause (10).

(9) imperative PV clause

*tan?aw-a be, li?li?-a be*  
 look-PV PAR peep-PV PAR  
 'Take a look! Peek!'

(10) negated PV clause

<i>ma-buhat=man=na?=nato?</i> ,	<i>ngano wa?=man</i>	<b><i>buhat-a</i></b>
<i>ma-buhat=man=kana?=nato?</i> ,	<i>ngano wa?=man</i>	<b><i>buhat-a</i></b>
ABIL-do=PAR=that=1IP.GEN	why NEG=PAR	do-PV

'We could do that, why didn't (somebody) do it?'

A contrast to be made is that between the infix <in> and volitional prefix *gi-*.

A *gi-* prefix verb indicates a dynamic state, while an <in>-affixed verb indicates a simple or resultant state rendering the verb as adjective-like, as in (11a). In (11b), the *gi-* prefix implies volition and some effort exerted by the Agent.

(11a) infix <in> denotes a state

<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>in-lawsp&lt;in&gt;angga?=ka?ay=ko</i>	
<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>in-lawspangga? &lt;in&gt;=ka?ayo=ko</i>	
1S.POSS-LK	in-laws cherish<PFV>=very=1S.NOM	
<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>igso?on</i>	<i>tanan p&lt;in&gt;angga?=gyud=ka?ay=ko</i>
<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>igso?on</i>	<i>tanan pangga? &lt;in&gt;=gyud=ka?ayo=ko</i>
3S.POSS-LK	sibling	all cherish<PFV>=EMPH=very=1S.NOM
<i>kanangako-ng</i>	<i>bana-ng gi-atay</i>	<i>wa?=ta=y ma-buhat</i>
<i>kanangako?-nga</i>	<i>bana-nga gi-atay</i>	<i>wa?=ta=y ma-buhat</i>
FIL 1S.POSS-LK	husband-LK advrs-	NEG=1IP.NOM=NEUT FUT-do

'My in-laws cared for me very much, my husband's siblings they all took care of me, it's my husband, that bastard, there's nothing we can do about him.' (lit.: 'I am very loved.')

(11b) prefix *gi-* denotes a volitional action

<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>in-lawsgi-pangga?=ka?ay=ko</i>
<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>in-lawsgi-pangga?=ka?ayo=ko</i>
1S.POSS-LK	in-laws PFV.PV-cherish=very=1S.NOM

'My in-laws (did some things showing that they) cared for me very much.'

### 13.2 PV constructions as the default transitive constructions

The Patient-Voice (PV) *gi-* verb constructions that have a PA word order were analyzed as passive constructions (Payne 1994), since the Patient nominative nominals were reported to be highly topical and the Actor nominals downplayed by omission. Native intuition tells us, however, that a *gi-* morpheme strongly implies an

obligatory A and that in *gi-* constructions, there is an assumed intent and deliberate effort on the part of the Actor to complete the action denoted by the verb, whether or not the A is overtly expressed. It would seem therefore difficult to reconcile the existence of an obligatory and effortful A with the concept of passive. In this section, I will show that PV constructions in Cebuano are transitive constructions by re-examining the *gi-* constructions, based on an analysis of natural spoken data. In section 13.2.1, I will show the results of my analyses and illustrate that the As in *gi-* PV clauses are always topical regardless of the word order of A and P, as also shown in the corresponding PV constructions of other Philippine languages and most Formosan languages, such as Tsou (S. Huang 2002a) and Saisiyat (S. Huang et al. 2004). Furthermore, I show in 13.2.2 that these PV clauses behave in ways that run counter to the current understanding of what constitutes a passive construction in languages that can be argued to have one. Three criteria for the identification of passive clauses are often cited in the literature, namely, defocusing of actors or the minimal syntactic integration of the A, text frequency, and distinct word order. These PV clauses in Cebuano are far too frequent in actual discourse to be considered passive. Moreover, Actor NPs are topical and thus may be expressed as zero, but even then, they are still overtly expressed 59 percent (in conversation) and 91 percent (in narratives) of these clauses in my database, showing that As are fully integrated into the syntax of *gi-* verb clauses. Because of the obligatory As implied by *gi-* verbs, the PV clauses with Ps being more topical than As can be considered inverse constructions at best, since the As retain their high topicality and are not at all demoted. I agree with Payne (1994) that word order is a key factor in identifying

passives. But I argue that in Cebuano, the word order for passive is VP, where the V is marked *na-*, the P is in the nominative case and the A is defocused and thus often missing (to be treated in more detail in 13.4 and 13.5). In the *gi-* constructions, however, the A is always accessible from context even if it is covert, because of the semantics of the *gi-* marker. Based on the set of criteria identified above, namely, frequency, degree of syntactic integration of the Agent, and distinct word order, I will demonstrate that the *gi-* clauses in Cebuano are transitive constructions and cannot be passive.

### **13.2.1 Properties of *gi-* constructions**

In this section I will examine the semantic transitivity, constituent order, and topicality measures of *gi-* constructions to show that they are transitive constructions. In 13.2.2, I will classify the *gi-* constructions into several types.

#### **13.2.1.1 Semantic transitivity**

It is well known that there is a strong correlation between focus (or voice) and semantic transitivity in Philippine and Formosan languages. As shown in Table 13-2, AV clauses focus on the action of the Actor and are thus intransitive, while PV *gi-* clauses must have an affected Patient and are predominantly transitive. However, Table 13-2 also shows that there are PV verbs that are semantically intransitive. Upon closer examination, it is found that these are the type of verbs that we classify as

“adversative verbs.” These *gi-* affixes on adversative verbs must not be (taken as and) classified together with the PV form. These are discussed further in section 13.3.<sup>57</sup>

**Table 13-2. Voice and semantic transitivity in spoken Cebuano data**

		Transitive	Intransitive	Total
AV	<i>mi-</i>	1	<b>36</b>	37
PV	<i>gi-</i>	<b>65</b>	16	81

### 13.2.1.2 Constituent order

I find no correlation between voice and constituent order, as shown in Table 13-3. This would mean that there is an equal probability that the V=P(=)A/V(=)A(=)P word order can occur in both AV and PV constructions. With regard to AV clauses, Austronesian linguists now recognize that AV clauses, especially in the majority of Formosan and Philippine languages, are syntactically intransitive (Liao 2002, 2004; Starosta 1997, 1998, 1999; among others), taking at most only one core argument, as we have indicated in Chapter 12, and that AV clauses with an oblique-marked Patient argument, also called Extended Intransitive Clauses (EIC), are a separate clause type in Cebuano, as well as in other Formosan and Philippine languages, as the core vs. oblique distinction in these languages is pretty robust (S. Huang, to appear).

**Table 13-3. Voice and constituent order (conversational data)**

	SV/VS			V		
AV <i>mi-</i>	29			8		
	VAP/PAV	V(=)A/A=V	V	V(=)P/P=V	VPA/APV	
PV <i>gi-</i>	15	12	10	23	11	

<sup>57</sup> There are also "semantic transitive" AV verbs, which have been discussed in Chapter 12. The semantic Patient is marked as an oblique argument producing an extended intransitive construction (EIC).

Moreover, two argument clauses are rare in actual discourse, as Cebuano syntax also obeys the One Argument per Clause Constraint, better known as the "Preferred Argument Structure" (Du Bois 1987, 2003). As shown in table 13-3, VS or SV clauses predominate in AV *mi-* constructions and V(=)P and P=V clauses outnumber all the other clause types in PV constructions. Therefore, there is no way to compare the constituent order between *mi-* and *gi-* clauses, since what we have obtained from spoken data shows markedly different word order patterns. But this should occasion no surprise. Being syntactically intransitive, the AV *mi-* clauses take only S arguments. On the other hand, except for V(=)P/P=V, all the remaining PV *gi-* clauses are more or less evenly distributed between the other types of word order possible.

### **13.2.1.3 Topicality: RD and TP**

There are two ways to measure the degree of topicality of an argument, namely, referential distance (RD) and topic persistence (TP). RD measures the number of clauses between one mention of a participant and its previous mention in the text. Following Payne (1994), an argument that has been mentioned in a previous utterance would get an RD value of 1. An RD value from 2 to 19 would be considered medium topical; an RD value of 20 or more would be low in topicality (first mentions are given an RD value of 20). Table 13-4 shows the RD values of the A and P arguments in my data. I have intentionally separated the clauses with P(A) and A(P) word order to show that the As remain topical in a PV clause regardless of their position relative to the P argument.

**Table 13-4. Referential distance of A and P in Cebuano conversational data**

Continuity	P(A)		A(P)	
	A	P	A	P
High	5 (56%)	19 (44%)	<b>19 (83%)</b>	8 (67%)
Medium	1 (11%)	1 (11%)	3 (13%)	1 (8%)
Low	3 (33%)	6 (44%)	1 (4%)	3 (25%)

As shown in the table, the PV clauses with VAP word order tend to code highly topical As and less topical Ps. It is worth noting that the Ps are not significantly more topical than the As under the VPA word order ( $VPA[A/P]\chi^2 = 0.305, p=.858$ ). Based on the relation between argument topicality and type of construction (Givón 1990), these PV clauses with a VPA word order in our conversational data can be said to exhibit properties characteristic of an inverse construction.

Moreover, as Cebuano obeys the One-Argument per Clause constraint (Preferred Argument Structure), two-argument clauses are rare in natural discourse. For statistical purposes, we have included one-argument clauses into our count: clauses with covert As (including  $V=P(A)$ ;  $V=P$ ;  $VP$ ; and  $P=V$ ) are grouped with VPA word order and those with covert Ps (including  $V=A(P)$ ;  $V=A$ ;  $VA$ ; and  $A=V$ ) with VAP word order.

TP measures the number of times a participant is mentioned within ten clauses after any mention, regardless of its syntactic position in subsequent mentions. Again, we follow Payne (1994) by assigning a TP value of zero to an argument that is not mentioned again in the following discourse and which would be referred to as of low importance. A TP value between one and three would mean medium importance, and an argument that is mentioned more than four times in the following discourse is

highly important and topical. Table 13-5 gives the TP values of A and P in our conversational data.

**Table 13-5. Topic persistence in spoken Cebuano data**

Persistence	P(A)		A(P)	
	A	P	A	P
High	4 (44%)	12 (46%)	<b>17 (74%)</b>	1 (8%)
Medium	1 (11%)	7 (27%)	2 (9%)	1 (8%)
Low	4 (44%)	<b>7 (27%)</b>	4 (17%)	<b>10 (83%)</b>

The data show that the As are more topical than the Ps in VAP word order ( $VAP[A/P]\chi^2 = 15.168$ ,  $*p=.001$ ), but the Ps are not more topical than the As in VPA word order ( $VPA[A/P]\chi^2 = 1.389$ ,  $p=.499$ ). However, the preposed Ps in VPA word order are indeed more topical than the Ps in VAP word order ( $P[AP/PA]\chi^2 = 10.621$ ,  $*p=.005$ ), hence the preposing of Ps to a position right next to the verb. These clauses can thus be said to be functionally inverse, a result that is consonant with the claim made for the data given in Table 13-4. To summarize, then, our data show the following topicality hierarchy between the As and Ps in relation to the two word order types in question, which, significantly, also resemble results obtained for two Formosan languages, Tsou (S. Huang 2002a) and Saisiyat (S. Huang et al. 2004); that is, in PV clauses, As are at least as topical as P, if not more than Ps.

$$(12) \quad \text{Topicality: } A (AP) > A (PA) = P (PA) > P (AP) \rightarrow \underline{\underline{A > P}}$$

The results shown in this section based on actual spoken data reinforce the claim that the *gi-* Patient-Voice clauses in Cebuano should therefore be considered a transitive construction in the language: the *gi-* morpheme strongly implies a deliberate

intention and effort on the part of the Actor (regardless of whether it is overt or implied), with P as a goal. Therefore, although it would be correct to assume that a difference in word order, that is, VPA as opposed to VAP, would probably produce a passive construction, it is not appropriate to look for this construction in a *gi-* marked PV clause.

### 13.2.2 The identification of passive clauses

Based on Payne (1982), Shibatani (1988), and Comrie (1988), three criteria are used to identify passive clauses, namely, defocusing of the Agent or lack of syntactic integration of the A, text frequency, and distinct word order. Data from Cebuano are presented to provide supporting evidence that the *gi-* clauses are not passive but transitive constructions.

#### 13.2.2.1 Syntactic integration of Agent

Although the Patient argument possesses "subject" properties in the *gi-* clauses, these *gi-* clauses involve strong integration of the agent phrase into the syntax of the clause (cf. Comrie 1988: 9), show no tendency at all toward Agent omission (cf. Shibatani 1988: 93),<sup>58</sup> and the A argument is most often expressed in pronominal form. Shibatani (1988) counted 40 out of 49 clauses in his folktale corpus for an 81.6 percentage. Our own data yielded a 59.4 percent integration (167/281) for conversation, and a 91.1 percent (72/79) for the narratives.

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<sup>58</sup> The Malagasy clauses called "passive" voice by Keenan and Manorohanta (2001) have around 60 percent agent integration. These "passive" voice clauses have been explicitly claimed by Kikusawa (to appear) as transitive constructions, as we have conjectured.

### 13.2.2.2 Frequency of PV clauses

The text frequency of PV clauses is also an indication of voice type. Passives are a morphosyntactically marked construction, and a construction that is frequently attested in a language cannot be passive (Comrie 1988: 9; Payne 1982). This is clearly manifested in Chamorro, where there are both PV and passive clauses. In the PV clauses, the Agents are expressed 80 percent of the time, while in the passive clauses, only 15 percent of the sentences have overt Agents (Cooreman 1982, also cited in Shibatani 1988: 93).

The *gi-* clauses are not marked constructions in Cebuano in terms of frequency. In his folktale corpus, Shibatani (1988: 95-96) counted 46 percent (49 out of 106 clauses) using PV construction. In our Cebuano narrative data, the proportion is 51.0 percent (79/155), while in our conversation data, the proportion of *gi-* clauses is 22.3 percent (220/985). A raw text frequency of more than 20 percent should be too high for a passive construction, which should only account for less than 10 percent of the number of clauses (Wouk 1999: 103; among others).

### 13.2.2.3 Distinct word order

The passive is a marked construction that displays a word order that is distinct from other types of constructions in a given language. In the Pukapukan (Samoic-Outlier, Polynesian) clauses in (13a) and (13b), the As are positioned differently relative to the Ps in passive and ergative clauses: the As are usually positioned farther from the verb than the Ps in passive clauses. Furthermore, in some languages a

specific morpheme is recruited to mark [+PASS] on the passive verbs, such as *-na* in Pukapukan (13) and *ki-* in Rukai (14).

(13a) Pukapukan Passive (Croft 2001)

*kai -na loa na tamaliki e te wui aitau pau*  
 eat -PASS EMPH the.PL children AGT the PL spirit done  
 ‘The children were all eaten by the spirits.’

(13b) Pukapukan Ergative (Croft 2001: 66)

*lomilomi ai e tana wawine ma na tama lua tulivae ia*  
 massage PRON ERG his woman and the.PL boy two knee that  
 ‘His two knees were massaged by his wife and the children.’

(14) Rukai Passive (Li 1973: 193)

*ki-a-kani kuani umas sa Likulaw*  
 PASS-REAL-eat that man acc leopard  
 ‘That man was eaten by a leopard.’

There are of course languages where a certain construction has already acquired a passive function but there is yet no distinct morpheme that has grammaticized to mark the passive, since the acquisition of a new function is generally known to precede the formation of a formal marking for this function. Nevertheless, such a change in function can still be detected from a change in word order. Passives involve a more topical P that is placed closer to the verb; the A, being less topical and less important, is relegated to a position that is farther away from the verb. This reversal of word order can even progress to the further omission of the A.

In (15), the P argument is topicalized in line 57, in part to contrast with the other character of the story, which is also topicalized in line 54. The A is accessible from prior discourse, and is only slightly less, if not equally, topical with the topicalized P argument. Moreover, it is also interesting to note that in lines 62~63, the narrator

switches to English, rendering the *gi-* clause in lines 60~61 as an active English construction.

(15) topicalization of P (Frog 2:54-63)

54. ... (0.9) *unya?*      *ang*    *bata?*- *ang-*    *ang*    *bata?*  
    DM            ANG    child    ANG    ANG    child
- padayon*    *ug*    *pangita?*    *sa*    *iya-ng*    *frog*  
    *padayon*    *ug*    *pangita?*    *sa*    *iya-nga*    *frog*  
    continue    COMP    find            OBL    3S.POSS-LK    frog
55. ... *sa-*    *among the trees*  
    LOC    among the trees
56. ... (1.9) *unya?*      *diri*    *sa=*  
    DM            here    LOC
57. ... *pag-pangita?=niya*    *ang*    *iya-ng*      *pet doggi=*  
    *pag-pangita?=niya*    *ang*    *iya-nga*      *pet doggi=*  
    NMZ-find=3S.GEN    ANG    3S.POSS-LK    pet dog FIL
58. ...            *gi=*
59. ... (1.3) *a=*
60. ... (1.5) *a=*            *gi-habol*      *sa=-*  
    FIL            PFV.PV-chase    GEN
61. ... (1.0) @ *sa*    *bees*  
    GEN            bees
62. ... @            ...the bees ra-
63. ...            ran after the- the dog @@@ the puppy  
    ‘The child continued to look for his frog in the woods. As for his pet dog, the bees chased after it.’

### 13.3 The *gi-* affix

The *gi-* clauses fall into one of the following categories: (a) “adversative” clauses in which the main verbs are intransitive and behave syntactically like Actor-Voice (AV) verbs in being capable of taking only one argument NP; (b) active and inverse constructions depending on the relative topicality of the A and the P; and (c) fixed expressions that are primarily verbs of naming and saying. The inverse type can be distinguished from the active type depending on the relative topicality of the A and

P. Inverse as used in this dissertation does not refer to the construction with a formal inverse marker on the verb, as in American Indian languages. Instead, active and inverse are distinguished based on the relative topicality of agent and patient, as defined by Cooreman (1982) (see also Brainard 1994; Brainard and Molen 2005). In an active construction, both the Agent and the Patient are topical, but the Agent is more topical. In an inverse construction, the Agent and the Patient are also both topical, but the Patient is more topical. Nevertheless, the As in inverse can never be non-topical, as the *gi-* morpheme strongly implies a topical A.

### 13.3.1 Adversative verbs

Rukai, a Formosan Austronesian language, has a distinct adversative verb marker from passive marking. Aside from the passive marker *ki-* identified by Li (1973), another morpheme *kw-* is found to attach to verbs in clauses where the Experiencer does not have control of an unfortunate event (Zeitoun 2000: 96). These verbs indicate adversity, as shown in the examples in (16).

(16) Rukai (Zeitoun 2000: 96)

*kw-a-lama*            *ku*        *daane-su*  
 ADVRS-REAL-burn OBL house-2S.GEN  
 ‘Your house burned down.’

*kw-a-Lumaz=aku*  
 ADVRS-REAL-hit=1S.NOM  
 ‘I got hurt.’

*kw-a-vaLigi*                            *ku*        *daedae*  
 ADVRS-REAL-typhoon            OBL road  
 ‘The road got affected by the typhoon (<<was damaged by the typhoon).’

In other Formosan languages, such as Thao and Saisiyat, and other Philippine languages, adversity is conveyed by the affixation of the morpheme typically appearing in NAV constructions on a limited set of intransitive verbs (Reid 2006; Liao 2004). These intransitive verbs indicate ailments, aching body parts, and infestation by a certain animal or insect (Liao 2004), to name just a few. Below we provide examples in Thao and Saisiyat. In Thao, the suffix *-in*, marks adversity in addition to its function of marking PV verbs, as in (17).

(17a) Thao (Wang 2004: 134)

*wazaqan harbuk-in*  
lake fog-PV  
'The lake is covered with fog (fogged in).'

(17b) Thao (Wang 2004:134)

*cicu macuaw kitlhulhuk-in*  
3S lots.of KIT.pimple- PV  
'He has a lot of pimples.'

Similarly, Saisiyat, another Formosan language, employs the suffix *-en* to indicate adversity. The suffix *-en* also marks PV verbs in Saisiyat.

(18a) Saisiyat (NTU Corpus; Sung et al. 2008)

*a:zaw-en azaw-en o: isaa 'oka' ila ka ralom*  
heat-PV heat-PV FIL DM NEG PFV NOM water  
'It's the drought season; there's no water.' (lit: [the land] is heated.)

(18b) Saisiyat (NTU Corpus; Sung et al. 2008)

...so: *rikrika-en ila ma isaa*  
if hot-PV PFV like.that  
*ana p-in-a-mowa?-an tatimae? ma ayo:o? ila saboeh*  
regardless CAU-PFV-plant-LOC vegetable FUT wilt PFV all  
'If the weather is hot, the vegetable planted will all wilt.'

The affixes on these verbs must not be considered as and classified together with the usual PV affix.<sup>59</sup> They take a Nominative NP subject which experiences adversity but cannot take an Actor NP, as the presence of a genitive-marked Actor nominal would render the clause infelicitous. Furthermore, these adversative clauses also indicate a negative effect caused by some meteorological phenomenon, and physical and emotional states of adversity, as in the following Cebuano examples, as well as a host of other states of misfortune and situations viewed from a negative perspective. The *sa* phrase indicates the cause of the adversity, not the Actor. In other words, these verbs are intransitive verbs that denote the adverse state of the nominative-marked referent.

(19) adversative clause (Sun Star, August 15, 2007)

*tungod kay gi-kapoy ang biktima (sa ka-trabaho / \*ni Juan),*  
 reason becausePFV-tire ANG victim CAUSE KA-work GEN PN

*iya-ng gi-balibar-an ang pulis*  
*iya-nga gi-balibad-an ang pulis*  
 3S.POSS-LK PFV-refuse-LV ANG police

'Due to the victim's exhaustion (from work/ \*by Juan), she refused the police.'

(20) adversative clause

T: *ay ka-sakit oy [gi-lu?ud=ko]*  
 INTERJ KA-painVOC PFV-disgusting=1S.NOM

W: [*@ @ @*] *@@@*

T: *gi-lu?ud=ko dong naku dong*  
 PFV=disgusting=1S.NOM VOC INTERJ VOC

T: 'Oh, hey, it's too painful. It's [disgusting to me].'

W: '[laughing]'

T: 'Hey, It's disgusting.'

<sup>59</sup> Not all the languages that have such adversative constructions agree though in their use of *-in*, *-un*, *-an* or *si-* in these constructions. For example, *k-in-abag-an* 'to suffer gas pain' in Tagalog employs a locative morpheme *-an* (cited by Liao 2004: 36). This issue is not pursued further as this is not the main topic in this section.

(21) adversative clause (Payne 1994)

*Gi-laylay si Rayna Esmeralda sa usa ka sakit*  
PFV-afflict SI queen PN SA one LK sickness  
'Queen Esmeralda was stricken by a sickness.'

(22) adversative clause (constructed)

*gi-lawsay=ko \*sa/ni NP*  
PFV-loose.bowel=1S.NOM GEN  
'I have a loose bowel movement.'

In (19), the argument *biktima* 'victim' is the undergoer of the "effect" of the work, i.e., the feeling of exhaustion; in other words, *gi-kapoy* indicates the adverse state in which the victim is in. In (20), *gi-lu?ud* denotes a state of adversity of the speaker, and there is no action that is directly affecting her. Any other argument marked by *ni* or *sa* can only indicate the cause for this adverse state. Excerpt (21) is taken from Payne (1994): the verb *gi-laylay* merely indicates a state of adversity that is experienced by the queen because of her sickness; the passive sense is merely an effect of the English translation where "a sickness" is being viewed as though it were an agent demoted into a by-phrase. It is furthermore worth noting that even loan words indicating adversity, such as *lawsay*, 'to have loose bowel movement,' also use such a construction, as in the clause in (22) commonly spoken among ethnic Chinese Cebuanos.

Adversative constructions such as these found in Formosan and Philippine Austronesian languages seem to be the norm in much of east Asia, which Keenan and Dryer (2007) term as "negative effect passives," as opposed to "positive effect passives" attested in Vietnamese and Korean. In Vietnamese, there are five verbs that act as passive auxiliaries in passive constructions. One of them is *bi* 'suffer,' an adversative morpheme and another one is *duoc* 'enjoy,' used to express a pleasant

effect of an action on a subject (Keenan and Dryer 2007). In Korean, the negative effect passive uses the morpheme *tangha* ‘to be subjected to’ while the positive effect passive is constructed with *pat* ‘to receive’ (Keenan and Dryer 2007).

Smith (1998: 220) argues for treating adversative constructions as a separate grammatical category. If it happens that there is an involuntary action, what happens is an “accident,” which implies an adversative notion, as in the nonvolitional permissive causative construction in Even (23), a Tungic language. Here the causal agent, the hunter, does not wish the event, the deer’s standing up, to occur, but “permits” it due to his inattentiveness. In the same way, we can say that in adversative clauses in Cebuano, the causal agent (i.e., the experiencer) does not wish to cause an adversative event, say hunger or thirst, to happen, but “permits” it due to his inability to take care of his own bodily needs.

(23) Even (Tungic, Malchukov 1993: 8, cited in Smith 1998: 227)

*bujuhemŋe-Ø buju-m ila-v-ra-n*  
 hunter-NOM wild.deer-ACC stand.up-ADVRS-NFUT-3S  
 ‘The wild deer stood up; the hunter was negatively affected.’

### 13.3.2 Fixed expressions

The second type of *gi-* verb found in our data is a closed set of verbs of saying and naming that have become fossilized as fixed expressions, such as ‘be said’ or ‘be told,’ and verbs of naming, such as ‘be called’ or ‘be named.’ An example in English is *It is said that time heals all pain* (Siewierska 1985: 238). Examples from Cebuano below are taken from Shibatani (24), Payne (25), and my Cebuano data (26).

(24) Shibatani (1988: 94)

<i>gi-nganl-an</i>	= <i>siya-g</i>	<i>Kapuroy</i>
<i>gi-ngalan-an</i>	= <i>siya-ug</i>	<i>Kapuroy</i>
PFV-name-lv	=3S.NOM-EXT	PN

‘He was called Kapuroy.’

(25) Payne (1994)

<i>si Toto=ng</i>	<i>gi-ila</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>labi-ng hawod sa</i>	<i>dama</i>
<i>si Toto=ng</i>	<i>gi-ila</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>labi-nga hawod sa</i>	<i>dama</i>
SI PN=LK	PFV.PV-identify	LK	more-LK best LOC	game

‘Toto, who is known to be the best at the game of dama.’

(26) Cebuano, excerpt from conversational data

<i>o syempre</i>	<i>sad</i>	<i>lala-</i>	<i>ma?o=lagi</i>	<i>gi-ingon</i>	<i>lalaki</i>
yes of.course	also	FS	that=EMPH	PFV.PV-say	man

‘Right. That’s why (they are) so-called men.’

These are the *gi-* clauses in Cebuano that most closely resemble what we may call a passive construction. There is a similar phenomenon attested in other languages where such “unspecified subject constructions” (Keenan and Dryer 2007) are distinct from passives. These are also referred to as Indefinite Actor Construction by Dryer (1997) in his paper on Plains Cree. In Kutenai, the unspecified subject suffix *-(n)am* only occurs on intransitive verbs, but never on transitive verbs. The subject in such constructions has a meaning roughly paraphrasable as ‘by someone/something’ or ‘by them/people (generic)’ (Keenan and Dryer 2007).

Aside from Kutenai, there is also an unspecified subject construction (using the morpheme *-ukw*) in Oneida (Keenan and Dryer 2007). There are, however, also ambiguous cases, as in Plains Cree, where the suffix *-ikawi* is argued to be either an unspecified subject suffix or a passive suffix (Keenan and Dryer 2007).

Moreover, the examples shown for Kutenai are uniformly verbs of saying, as in

Cebuano, which I call fixed expressions.<sup>60</sup> As shown in my data, the three instances of such expression *gi-ingon* ‘is said’ are only confined to nominalized constructions (see 26 *so-called men*). Another instance is (27), where *ilang gi-ingon* is used as a nominal in an equational clause, or it can also be analyzed as a phrase modifying the following complement clause.

(27) Cebuano, excerpt from conversational data

<i>ma?o=bitaw</i>	<i>na?</i>	<i>ila-ng</i>	<b><i>gi-ingon</i></b>			
<i>ma?o=bitaw</i>	<i>kana?</i>	<i>ila-nga</i>	<b><i>gi-ingon</i></b>			
that=PAR	that	3P.POSS-LK	PFV.PV-say			
<i>ngadali?=ra</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>pag-pangita?</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>a- amiga</i>		
COMP	fast=only	ANG	NMZ-find	EXT	friend	
<i>pero</i>	<i>lisud</i>	<i>pangita?-on</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>tinu?od</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>amiga</i>
but	difficultfind-PV		ANG	real	LK	friend

‘That is what they say(/think), that it is easy to make friends, but it is difficult to find real friends.’

### 13.3.2 Inverse *gi-* constructions

The bulk of *gi-* constructions in Cebuano are either the basic transitive clauses in the language or inverse clauses. As I have mentioned, in a default transitive construction, both the Agent and the Patient are topical, but the Agent is more topical. In an inverse construction, the Agent and the Patient are also both topical, but the Patient is more topical. As our data attest, the Ps in inverse constructions are predominantly first-person or second-person nominals (this is especially evident in the

<sup>60</sup> The “impersonal passives” referred to in Cook (1996) are not the same as the type described here. In those clauses, the events or situations depicted are not initiated or controlled by a human agent (64-65). Clauses such as (ia) below would require the use of *na-* rather than *gi-* in Cebuano (ib).

ia. Samoan impersonal passive (Cook 1996: 64)

<i>Sā</i>	<i>ufitia</i>	<i>mātou</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>pogisā</i>
PAST	bite-Cia	we	LOC	the	darkness

‘We were covered by darkness.’

ib. adversative clause (Cebuano, constructed based on ia)

<i>na-ab(o)t-an=mi</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>gabi?i</i>
NFUT.NA-reach-LV=1EP.N	EXT	night

‘We were doing something until night-time.’ (lit., ‘We were reached by night-time.’)

*na-* clauses). In a similar study, Quick (2005) considers the *ni-* construction in Pendau to be inverse, not passive, based on the same criteria: in the measurement of Referential Distance and Topic Persistence, the As are topical; text frequency is over 20 percent; and the A is rarely omitted. However, further research is required to determine the role of word order in this language.

In the following subsections, I discuss word order patterns that characterize inverse clauses, namely, V=P(A), P=V, and V.

### 13.3.2.1 V=P (A) constructions

In this type of construction, the A nominal may either be overt or zero. It is the P nominal that is relatively more topical and attaches to the verb as a clitic, since they are usually first person or second person pronominal. The A nominals in such constructions are less animate but nonetheless topical or accessible from context. Examples are given below.

(28) Cebuano, excerpt from conversational data

- L → *gi-hired=ka=nila*  
 PFV.PV-hire=2S.NOM=3P.GEN
- J → *m gi-hire=ko- dili?gi-hire=ko ni= miss jero*  
 BC PFV.PV-hire=1S.NOM NEG PFV.PV-hire=1S.NOM GEN PN
- L *miss a=*  
 PN FS
- J *iya-ng sekretarya= personal alala=y*  
*iya-nga sekretarya personal alalay*  
 1S.POSS-LK secretary personal bodyguard
- L: 'They hired you?'  
 J: 'Yes, (they) hired me. No, Miss Jero hired me.'  
 L: 'Miss uh='  
 J: 'as her secretary, personal bodyguard.'

The A in (28) is pronominal and thus topical and accessible from the context. Weight of the pronouns could probably affect the word order of pronominal arguments, but it is possible to prepose =*nila* 'third person plural genitive' before =*ka* 'second person singular nominative' or =*ko* 'first person singular nominative' or any other monosyllabic pronoun for that matter, although it would of course sound a bit awkward. Even so, first person and second person, which tend to be monosyllabic and so would always precede third person pronouns, would still be more topical than a third person which is pronominal, as in the first line in (28) or a full noun phrase, as in the second line in (28). Moreover, concerning this, using Obo Manobo data, Brainard and Molen (2005: 402) argue that an "Inverse Analysis" is superior than the phonological and morphological hypotheses in explaining the orders of A and P in transitive clauses.

Constructions such as these in (28) can be represented by the following schema: V=P(A), where the P is a pronominal clitic and is nearly always either the Speaker or the Hearer. The A nominal is in genitive form and, although not necessarily human, it is most likely animate. In cases where the A is overt and [+HUMAN], as the underlined NP in (29), or zero, as in (30), it is accessible from the context, and it is always so due to the semantics of the marker *gi-*, which indicates purposeful participation of an Agent.

(29) Cebuano, excerpt from conversational data

<i>naku</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>first</i>	<i>year</i>	<i>sa-</i>	<i>hotel/</i>
<i>naku</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>first</i>	<i>year</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>hotel/</i>
INTERJ	ANG	1S.POSS-LK	first year		LOC	hotel

<i>gi-da?ugda?ug=lang=ko</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>ano-</i>	<i>Taiwanese</i>
PFV.PV-bully=only=1S.NOM	GEN	PL	FIL	PN

‘Oh, when I was new at the hotel, my Taiwanese colleagues bullied me.’

(30) Cebuano, excerpt from conversational data

<i>suko?</i> = <i>ka?</i> <i>ay</i> = <i>siya</i>	<i>suko?</i> = <i>gyud</i> = <i>ka?</i> <i>ay</i> = <i>siya</i>	<i>ba</i>
<i>suko?</i> = <i>ka?</i> <i>ayo</i> = <i>siya</i>	<i>suko?</i> = <i>gyud</i> = <i>ka?</i> <i>ayo</i> = <i>siya</i>	<i>ba</i>
angry=very=3S.NOM	angry=EMPH=very=3S.NOM	PAR

***gi*-hold=man=mi-*ng***                      ***duha***

***gi*-hold=man=mi-*nga***                      ***duha***

pfv.pv-detain=PAR=1EP.NOM-LK              two

‘He got so angry because we were detained (by the official [mentioned earlier in the conversation] at customs).’

### 13.3.2.2 P=V clauses

In PV clauses, the P nominal is topicalized, but the A nominal is still topical and accessible and not demoted, as in the following examples. In (31), the P nominal is topicalized; the A is accessible from prior discourse. In (32), which was presented earlier as (15), the P argument is topicalized in line 57, in part to contrast with the other character of the story, which is also topicalized in line 54. In addition, it is also interesting to note that in lines 62~63, the narrator switches to English, rendering the *gi*- clause in lines 60~61 as an active construction.

(31) Cebuano, excerpt from conversational data

<i>oy</i>	<i>etong-</i>	<i>etong</i>	<i>meco</i>	<b><i>gi</i>=<i>butang</i></b>	<i>sa</i>	<i>trade</i>
VOC	this-LK	this-LK	PN	NFUT.PV-place	LOC	trade

*unsa*=*ma*=*y*              *ato-ng*              *kahimtang*              *karon/*

*unsa*=*man*=*y*              *ato?-nga*              *kahimtang*              *karon/*

what=PAR=NEUT              1IP.POSS-LK              situation              now

‘Hey, this office (MECO), (the President) placed it under (the jurisdiction of) the Trade Department. What’s going to happen to us now?’

(32) Cebuano, excerpt from narrative data (Frog 2:54-63)

54. ... (0.9) *unya?*      *ang*    *bata?*- *ang-*    *ang*    *bata?*  
    DM            ANG    child    ang    ANG    child
- padayon*      *ug*    *pangita?*      *sa*    *iya-ng*      *frog*  
    *padayon*      *ug*    *pangita?*      *sa*    *iya-nga*     *frog*  
    continue        COMP    find                    OBL    3S.POSS-LK    frog
55. ... *sa-*      *among the trees*  
    LOC      among the trees
56. ... (1.9) *unya?*      *diri*    *sa=*  
    DM            here    LOC
57. ... *pag-pangita?=niya*    *ang*    *iya-ng-iya-ng*      *pet doggi=*  
    *pag-pangita?=niya*    *ang*                    *iya-nga*      *pet doggi=*  
    NMZ-find=3S.GEN      ANG                    3S.POSS-LK    pet dog FIL
58. ...            *gi=*
59. ... (1.3)    *a=*
60. ... (1.5)    *a=*      *gi-habol*      *sa=-*  
    FIL    NFUT.PV-chase    OBL
61. ... (1.0)    @ *sa*    *bees*  
    OBL    bees
62. ... @      ...the bees ra-
63. ...            ran after the- the dog @@@ the puppy  
 ‘The child continued to look for his frog in the woods. As for his pet dog, the bees chased after it.’

### 13.3.2.3 V clauses

In clauses where both the A and P nominals are covert, both of them are of similar topical status (only slightly different, if at all). This type of construction is more frequent in conversation than in narrative. These verbs are semantically transitive, but they closely resemble adversative clauses in that they always denote a negative effect on the subject, as shown in (33) and (34).

- (33) Cebuano, excerpt from conversational data
- T    *unsa=pa*    *mga*    *iba-ng*    *foreign workers*  
*unsa=pa*    *mga*    *iba-nga*    *foreign workers*  
what=still    PL    other-LK    foreign workers
- W    *Mongolian*    *Mongolian*    *lagi*  
PN                    PN                    EMPH
- T    *ni-*    *ni-*    *na?a=na=y*    *Mongolian*    *karon/*  
FS        FS        EXIST=already=NEUT    PN                    now
- W    *oo\*    *pero*    *pag-sulod=kuno*    *pag-*    *first batch*    *kuno*  
yes        but        NMZ-enter=EVID        NMZ        first batch        EVID
- six*    *days*    *lang*    *gi-rape=na=kuno*                    @  
      six     days    only    PFV.PV-rape=already=EVID
- T    *gi-rape=kuno-*                    *gi-rape/*  
      PFV-rape=EVID                    PFV-rape
- T: 'What are the (nationalities of) the other foreign workers?'  
W: 'Mongolians [emphatically]'  
T: 'There are Mongolian workers now?'  
W: 'Right. But six days after the first batch of workers arrived, one of them got raped.'  
T: 'Raped?'

(34) Cebuano, excerpt from conversational data

- W    *tangtang=gihapon*    *relo*    *tangtang*  
take.off=still                    watch    take.off
- T    *wa-*    *wa-*    *wala?=man*  
NEG        NEG        NEG=PAR
- W    *inig*    *gawas sa*    *X-ray*                    *na-wala?*  
as        leave    LOC    X-ray.machine    INTR-disappear
- T    @@*ma?o*                    *gi-suyop*                    *gi-suyop*  
anaph                    PFV.PV-siphon    pfv.PV-siphon
- W: '(We) took off (our) watches.'  
T: 'No, (we didn't).'  
W: '(Those things) disappear as they pass through the X-ray machine.'  
T: 'Right. (Those machines) suck up (those valuables).'

### 13.3.3 The default transitive clauses

Examples of transitive *gi-* clauses have been given in earlier sections. These are clauses with As which, being the current topic, are more topical than the Ps and are

syntactically positioned closer to the verb, whether preceding (35) or following (36) the verb. The Ps, although they are in focus and definite, are not as topical.

(35) active *gi-* construction

<i>ila-ng</i>	<b><i>gi-buhat</i></b>	<i>didto,</i>	<i>ma-buhat=man=na?=nato?</i>
<i>ila-nga</i>	<b><i>gi-buhat</i></b>	<i>didto,</i>	<i>ma-buhat=man=kana?=nato?</i>
3P.POSS-LK	PFV.PV-do	there	PV.SPONT-do=PAR=that=1IP.GEN

'They have done (it) there, we can do that (also).'

(36) active *gi-* construction

<b><i>gi-kuha?</i></b>	<i>ni</i>	<i>mang marino</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>ngalan</i>
PFV.PV-take	GEN	PN	ANG	name

'Mang Marino took his name.'

In (35), the speakers are talking about tourism in Thailand and the Philippines and are referring to government officials. They come to mention a particular tourism policy, which is expressed as zero in the excerpt. However, in the following conversation, they continue their discussion on other aspects of tourism. In (36), the speaker is talking about her being detained at customs for some taxable electrical appliance with her friend, Marino. Marino is therefore topical in the conversation. She comes to the point where Marino asked for the name of the official. The name at this point is the focus of the discussion and definite, but in succeeding utterances, she moves on to other aspects of the incident.

In the following two extracts, the As are obviously topical. As in the previous examples, the Ps happen to be the focus and are definite at that point of talk but are then discarded as conversation progresses.

(37) active *gi-* construction

T *kuha?-a*      *ako-ng*      *juice*    *na-biya?-an=nako?*  
*kuha?-a*      *ako?-nga*    *juice*    *na-biya?-an=nako?*  
 get-PV 1S.POSS-LK    juice    NFUT-leave-LV=1S.GEN

*gi-butang=nako?*    *sa*    *ako-ng*      *luyo*  
*gi-butang=nako?*    *sa*    *ako?-nga*    *luyo*  
 PFV.IV-place=1S.GEN    LOC    1S.POSS-LK    back

‘(Mario,) get my juice (for me); I (accidentally) left (it) (somewhere). I placed it behind my (desk).’

(38) active *gi-* construction

T *ikaw*    *m-aninguha=gyud=ka*      *mang-anak*    *day*  
*ikaw*    *m-paninguha=gyud=ka*      *maN-anak*    *day*  
 2S.NOM AV-try.hard=EMPH=2S.NOM    AV-child      VOC

*kay*    *importante=kay=na?*      *mga*    *Taiwanese*  
*kay*    *importante=ka?ayo=kana?*    *mga*    *Taiwanese*  
 because important=very=that      PL      PN

L *ma?o=bitaw=na?*    *ako-ng*      *gi-ku?an*      *karon*  
*ma?o=bitaw=kana?*    *ako?-nga*    *gi-ku?an*      *karon*  
 exactly=PAR=that      1S.POSS-LK    PFV.PV-KUAN    now

*ang*    *ako?=sa-ng*      *gi-huna?huna?*      *ba*    *sa pagka-karon*  
*ang*    *ako?=sad-nga*    *gi-huna?huna?*      *ba*    *sa pagka-karon*  
 ANG 1S.POSS=also-LK      PFV.PV-think      PAR    LOC NMZ-now

*wa?=ma=y*    *klaro*    *ako-ng*      *bana*      *oy*      @@  
*wa?=man=y*    *klaro*    *ako?-nga*    *bana*      *oy*  
 NEG=PAR=NEUT clarity 1S.POSS-LK    husband      VOC

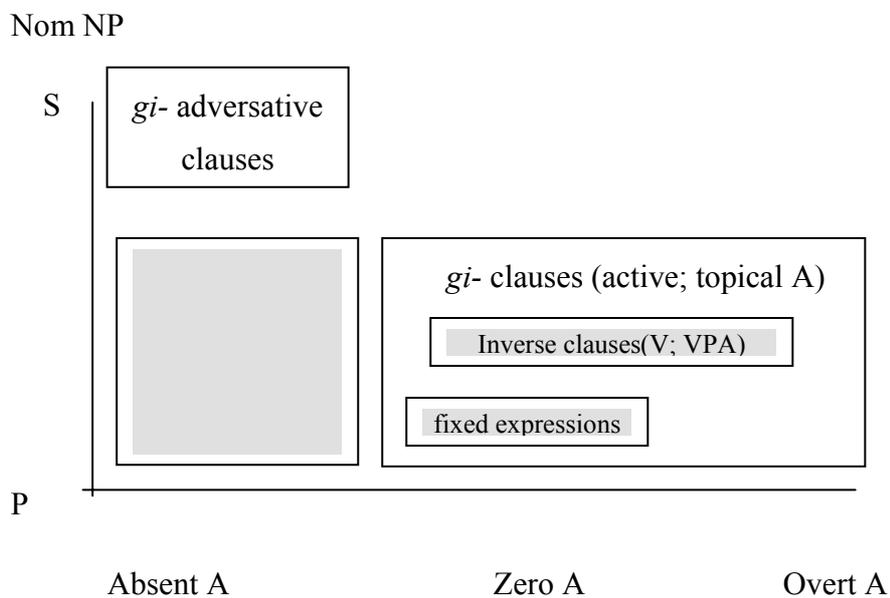
T: 'You should try hard to have a baby. That's very important to the Taiwanese.'

L: 'That's exactly what I'm *kuan* now, that's what I've been thinking about now. But, my husband's too timid to make a decision.'

Figure 13-1 shows the relative syntactic space occupied by each type of *gi-* construction in a diagram where the vertical axis represents the role of the Nominative NP (S or P), while the horizontal axis represents the form of the A nominal (overt, zero, or absent). When the Nominative NP is S, that is, when the clause is intransitive, the verb taking the *gi-* form is adversative. On the other hand, when the Nominative NP is P, that is, when the clause is a non-AV construction, the clause may be basic transitive or inverse depending on the relative topicality between the A and the P

nominals. The clause is basic transitive when the A nominal is slightly more topical than the P nominal; the clause is inverse when the P nominal is slightly more topical than the A nominal. Fixed expressions are those where the A is zero and the only nominal present is a P. A (systematic) gap exists in the syntactic space when P is in the nominative case and A is absent: A can never be absent in a non-AV *gi-* construction, given the semantics of *gi-* alluded to above.

**Figure 13-1. Syntactic space for *gi-* clauses in Cebuano**



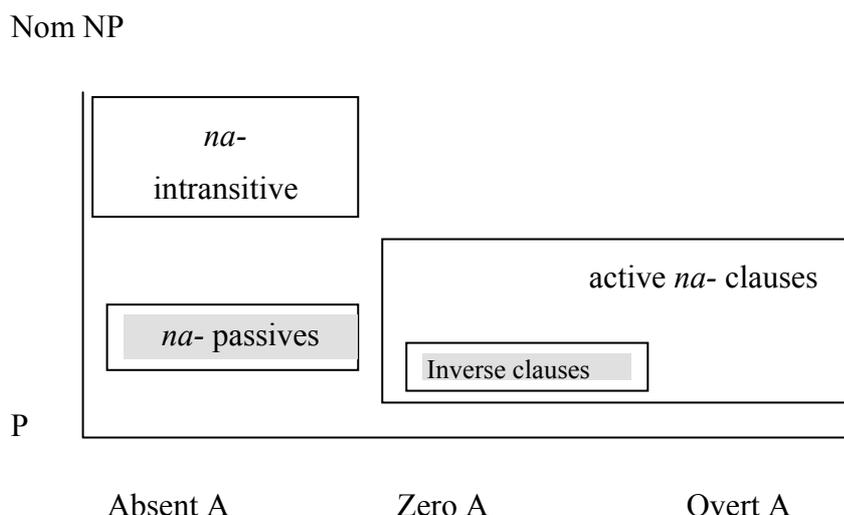
### 13.4 *na-* affixation

In this section, I discuss the discourse-pragmatics of the *na-* clauses and distinguish them from the *gi-* clauses. Four types of *na-* constructions are distinguished based on the relative topicality of the A and P arguments, namely, intransitive (AV construction) (see also Section 12.2.2 and Section 12.4.2), default

transitive, inverse, and passive. This last type of the *na-* PV clauses omits the A, and best fits to our criteria for the passive.

As in Figure 13-1, Figure 13-2 shows the relative syntactic space occupied by each type of the *na-* construction in a diagram where the vertical axis represents the role of the Nominative NP (S or P) and the horizontal axis represents the form of the A nominal (overt, zero, or absent). In the *na-* intransitive, the nominative NP is S, and there is no A argument. The S nominal is affected by the action denoted by the verb and the action that is denoted by the verb is not deliberately carried out. On the other hand, when the Nominative NP is P, that is, when the clause is a non-AV (transitive) construction, the clause may be active or inverse depending on the relative topicality between the A and the P nominals. The clause is active when the A nominal is slightly more topical than the P nominal; the A nominal also appears closer to the verb. The clause is inverse when the P nominal is slightly more topical than the A nominal and the P nominal occurs closer to the verb. When the A is absent or left unexpressed, which is more likely in *na-* constructions than in *gi-* constructions, the *na-* construction directs the attention to the effect of a non-deliberate action on the Patient. Here, the A is completely downplayed and inaccessible from the discourse context. This is what I argue as the true passive construction in Cebuano.

**Figure 13-2. Syntactic space for *na-* clauses in Cebuano**



### 13.4.1 Intransitive *na-*

The intransitive *na-* verbs, which have been discussed in Section 12.4.2 and treated as verbs referring to spontaneous events in Section 12.2.2, have something in common with the *gi-* adversative verbs in that they have PV forms, but function as intransitives, as summarized in Table 13-6. Physical state verbs with a *gi-* morpheme form adversative verbs (see section 13.3.1). Similarly, those (in Table 13-6) with a *na-* morpheme are intransitive (expressing spontaneity) and when the *na-* is replaced by *gi-*, they become a lexical causative. The *na-* intransitive verbs are similar to the *gi-* adversative verbs in that they cannot take a Genitive Agent phrase; any genitive nominal (*ni* NP; *sa* NP) would indicate a location (in bodily state verbs) or cause/stimulus of an emotion (in emotion verbs), as in (39a) and (39b). These *ni-* and *sa-* marked nominals are actually not Genitive at all, as they are clearly marked by the Dative marker in Tagalog (see 39c).

(39a) intransitive *na-* clause (Sun Star, July 24, 2007)

*na-suko?* ang dalaga diha-ng gi-kalit-an pag-himas  
*na-suko?* ang dalaga (sa) diha?-nga gi-kalit-an pag-himas  
 INTR-angry ANG lady there-LK PFV-sudden-LV NMZ-touch

sa suspek ang pribado-ng parte sa iya-ng lawas  
 sa suspek ang pribado-nga parte sa iya-nga lawas  
 GEN suspect ANG private-LK part GEN 3S.POSS-LK body

'The lady got angry when the suspect suddenly touched her private parts.'

(39b) adversative clause (constructed)

*gi-lu?ud*=siya ni / kang Pedro / sa dugo?  
 ADVRS-feel.disgusted=3S.NOM CAU PN CAU blood  
 'She felt "disgusted" with Pedro / She felt nauseous because of the blood.'

(39c) intransitive clause (Tagalog, constructed)

*na-suka*=siya kay Pedro  
 NFUT.INTR-feel.nauseous=3S.NOM DAT PN  
 'She felt "disgusted" with Pedro.'

**Table 13-6. Intransitive *gi-* and *na-* verbs**

	<i>gi-V</i> (adversative verbs)	<i>na-V</i> (intransitive verbs)
Physical (bodily)	<i>gi-atake</i> 'to have a (heart) attack' <i>gi-duka?</i> 'to feel sleepy' <i>gi-gutom</i> 'to feel hungry' <i>gi-kapoy</i> 'to feel tired' <i>gi-katol</i> 'to feel itchy' <i>gi-la?ay</i> 'to feel bored' <i>gi-lu?od</i> 'to feel nauseous' <i>gi-sip?on</i> 'to have a running nose' <i>gi-ubo</i> 'to cough' <i>gi-uhaw</i> 'to feel thirsty'	<i>na-banhaw</i> 'rise from the dead' <i>na-buhi?</i> 'become alive' <i>na-da?ot</i> 'get bad; get destroyed' <i>na-hagbong</i> 'fall' <i>na-hubog</i> 'be drunk' <i>na-hulog</i> 'fall' <i>na-lumos</i> 'drown' <i>na-matay</i> 'die' <i>na-pan?os</i> 'be rotten' <i>na-samad</i> 'be injured' <i>na-sangit</i> 'be hooked' <i>na-sunog</i> 'burn' <i>na-tawo</i> 'be born' <i>na-tulog</i> 'be asleep'
Mental / emotional	<i>gi-mingaw</i> 'to miss (sb)'	<i>na-balaka</i> 'be startled' <i>na-bu?ang</i> 'be crazy' <i>na-gu?ol</i> 'be sad' <i>na-hadlok</i> 'be afraid' <i>na-kurat</i> 'be astonished' <i>na-lipay</i> 'be glad' <i>na-suko?</i> 'be angry' <i>na-tingala</i> 'feel wonder'
Infesting verbs	<i>gi-anay</i> 'to be infested with termites' <i>gi-kagaw</i> 'to be infested with germs' <i>gi-kuto</i> 'to be infested with lice' <i>gi-ulod</i> 'to be infested with worms'	

Emotion verbs are mostly formed with a *na-* morpheme.<sup>61</sup> A *gi-* prefix can only be attached together with a nominalizer *ka-* in an equational clause; for example, *gi-ka-gu?ul* ‘somebody or something that is the cause of sadness of an animate Experiencer’ or *gi-ka-balaka* ‘somebody or something that is the cause of concern for an animate Experiencer.’ These expressions (*gi-ka-V*, where *V* is an emotion verb) are more often used in written and formal speech, such as in sermons, official speeches, and news broadcasts. These are illustrated in (40). The adversative verbs in Table 13-6 indicating “infestation” only use *gi-*.

(40a) intransitive emotion clause (Sun Star, October 2, 2007)

<b><i>na-gu?ul</i></b>	<i>karon</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>usa</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>pamilya</i>
INTR-worry	now	ANG	one	LK	family
<i>kinsa</i>	<i>n-angayo?</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>tabang sa</i>	<i>ka-pulis-an</i>	
<i>kinsa</i>	<i>n-pangayo?</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>tabang sa</i>	<i>ka-pulis-an</i>	
who	AV-ask	EXT	help	LOC	KA-police-NMZ

'A worried family sought assistance from the police authorities.'  
(lit., 'Now one family got worried, who asked for help from the police.')

(40b) emotion clause (constructed based on 40a)

<b><i>gi-ka-gu?ul</i></b>	<i>sa</i>	<i>usa</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>pamilya</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>ila-ng</i>	<i>kahimtang</i>
<b><i>gi-ka-gu?ul</i></b>	<i>sa</i>	<i>usa</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>pamilya</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>ila-ng</i>	<i>akahimtang</i>
PFV.PV-KA-worry	GEN	one	LK	family	ANG	3P.POSS-LK	condition

'One family is worried about their situation.'

In the following excerpts, the *na-* verbs expressing spontaneity are intransitive. In (41), the subject of the first verb *na-hilom* ‘to become silent’ indicates the state of the news; talk about it has died down. The same is true with the second verb *na-wala?* ‘to disappear;’ that is, the state of the nominative-marked *gubat* ‘war’ is that it has

<sup>61</sup> This is true with the exception of *gi-mingaw* ‘to miss somebody.’ However, if the more modern term *miss*, which is actually a borrowed form, is used, then *na-* is more appropriate, as in *na-miss=nako? si papa* ‘I miss(ed) Papa.’

disappeared. Moreover, a genitive *ni* phrase would be unacceptable. Excerpt (42) is another instance of the use of an emotion verb.

(41) Cebuano, excerpt from conversational data

L → *m= na-hilom=na ang balita mayo=unta? oy@@@*  
*m= na-hilom=na ang balita ma?ayo=unta? oy*  
 FIL NFUT.INTR-silent=already ANG news good=PAR VOC  
*ma-wala?=na=lang [ang gubot sa-]*  
 FUT.INTR-disappear=already=only ang war LOC  
 J *[diri sa cebu kay-] ku?an no/*  
 here LOC PN becauseKUAN Q  
*kanang= peaceful/*  
 FIL peaceful  
 L *peaceful\*  
 peaceful

L: 'The news disappeared. It's good though @@ No more disorder in-'

J: 'here in Cebu, it's peaceful, right?'

L: 'Peaceful.'

(42) Cebuano, excerpt from conversational data

*mag- lakwatsa=mi mga barkada namo? to-ng*  
*mag- lakwatsa=mi mga barkada namo? kato-nga*  
 AV go.out=1EP.NOM PL gang 1EP.GEN that-lk  
*high school unsa oras=na=kami mo-uli?\*  
 high school what time=already=1EP.NOM AV-go.home  
*di?=ka ma-hadlok sus hadlok=ka=man no*  
 NEG=2S.NOM FUT.INTR-be.afraid INTERJ be.afraid=2S.NOM=PAR PAR  
*to-ng una grabe=pa na=y mga marines=pa=gyud*  
*kato-nga una grabe=pa na?a=y mga marines=pa=gyud*  
 that-lk first serious=still EXIST=NEUT PL marines=still=EMPH  
*mag-checkpoint=bya- mora-g ma-hadlok=ka=gyud*  
*mag-checkpoint=baya?- mora-ug ma-hadlok=ka=gyud*  
 AV-checkpoint=PAR like-comp FUT.INTR-be.afraid=2S.NOM=EMPH  
*kong dili?=ka taga-didto/*  
 if NEG=2S.NOM from-there

'When we went out at night (together with) my high school classmates, what time did we go home? You won't get afraid? You should! At first, the condition was serious. There were marines (assigned) at checkpoints. You must feel afraid, if you're not from there.'

Intransitive clauses are the preferred structure in Cebuano oral discourse (Tanangkingsing 2006b), and the nominative argument of *na*-clauses is usually an Experiencer. When they take a second-person “subject,” they may either be asking a question, as in the first verb (in bold) in (42), or making an inference, as in the second verb in bold-face in (42).

### 13.4.2 Inverse *na*- (V=PA; V=P)

Constructions carrying an inverse voice function as defined in Cooreman (1982) and Thompson (1994) are distinguished from their active counterpart by word order and are attested in the following languages: Korean (Kwak 1994), Maasai (Payne, Hamaya, and Jacobs 1994), and Modern Greek (Roland 1994). In Tongan, the variation between VOS and VSO clauses is attributed to the feature [+FOCUS] (Otsuka 2005). It remains to be seen whether or not the inverse construction is a notion applicable to one of the constructions.

Most other languages have developed affixes, in addition to word order, to distinguish between active and inverse clauses, as in Mapudungun (Arnold 1994) and Northern Sahaptin (Rude 1994). Cebuano has inverse constructions, as we have shown for the *gi*- perfective clauses, but the inverse function is represented by a marked word order. The P argument is located right after the verb with the A being moved farther to the end of the sentence, or left unexpressed, and is represented by the schema V=PA or V=P. This attests to the fact argued by Givón (1994) that word order may also be a means of signaling an inverse construction. Regarding this, Brainard

and Molen (2006) did a good job at describing the word order of inverse constructions in Obo Manobo.

Inverse constructions are very rare and in our data, the ratio between those with and without an A argument expressed is about 50:50. Excerpt (43) is taken from my corpus. Both A and P are pronominal and thus topical. The P (second person addressee) is more topical than the A (third-person). This must also be the main reason why inverse *na-* constructions are not so frequent (see Table 12-11). First and second person participants are normally Agents and it is mainly in inverse clauses where they occasionally function as Patients.

(43) Cebuano, excerpt from conversational data

L → *pananglitan na-meet=ka*  
for.example SPONT-meet=2S.NOM

J *m=*  
BC

L *dili?=dyud=ko ingon nga- inga- ing-ani=ra=gyud*  
NEG=EMPH=1S.NOM say COMP FS like-this=only=EMPH

	<i>ang</i>	<i>ako-ng-</i>	<i>unsa=na? oy</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>kina?iya ba</i>	<i>nga-</i>
	<i>ang</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>unsa=kana? oy</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>kina?iya ba</i>	<i>nga-</i>
ANG		1S.POSS-LK	what=that	VOC	1S.POSS-LK	personality PAR LK

J *m=*  
BC

L *ay= ana? di?=dyud=ko- di?=ba parehas sa uban*  
INTERJ like.thatNEG=EMPH=1S.NOM NEG=PAR same LOC other

→ *pananglitan ma-meet=na=ka=nila*  
for.example SPONT-meet=already=2S.NOM=3P.GEN

J *m=*  
BC

L: 'For example, you have met -'

J: 'm='

L: 'I'm not, just like that, my uh-, what-you-call-it, my personality-'

J: 'm='

L: 'Oh, I'm not like that, not like others. For example, if you have been met by them,'

J: 'm='

### 13.5 Passive constructions

Recent research has shown that passive constructions in the world's languages exhibit a wide range of structural diversity and that there is no single property which all these constructions have in common (Siewierska 1985; Shibatani 1985; Croft 2001). This line of research has demonstrated that there is a rich structural continuum from the active to the passive, and that is why there is no single universal property for passives and no universally applicable definition of passives. Rather than a separate universal category, passive is probably more accurately characterized as a syndrome of features and phenomena. Although structural properties of voice constructions vary enormously from language to language, they can be compared across languages, and typological universals underlying the syntactic space for voice (cf. Croft 2001: 312, 313) can be inferred. In this section I argue that the *na-* verb construction in Cebuano, rather than the *gi-* clause, best satisfies the standard criteria for a basic passive construction in a language: the defocusing of Agents (Shibatani 1985), which is the minimal integration of A into the syntax of its clause (Comrie 1988: 21); low text frequency; and a distinct word order from the active construction.

In clauses containing the *na-* affixed verb, the P nominal serves as an inadvertent undergoer of an action, and the sentence can be said to direct the hearer's attention to the effect of the action on the Patient, as opposed to a *gi-* construction where an "effort-ful" action of the Agent is required (Nolasco 2005), thereby making *na-* a more likely candidate for the passive construction. Recent descriptions of Philippine languages refer to a class of stative verbs with nominative patient nominals

as true passives, in that they are intransitive and that their As are typically not expressed (Reid and Liao 2004). Furthermore, in his paper on Northern Luzon languages, Reid (2006) indicates that in such constructions, "when the nominative phrase expressed an undergoer, the verbal morphology reflected the prefix reconstructed as Proto-Extra-Formosan (PEF) \*ma-, deriving an agentless passive construction." In fact, As are rare in *na-/ma-* constructions in some Northern languages of the Philippines. In the previous section I have identified various types of *na-* clauses in Cebuano. One type of the *na-* constructions identified fits the standard criteria of passive, namely, omitted non-topical As signifying minimal integration of the A into the syntax of the clause, low text frequency, and distinct word order, and I conjecture that this *na-* type has developed from the same morpheme \*ma-.

The active *na-* clauses have As that are first-person or second-person pronominal and so are highly topical; they are also strongly integrated within the clauses. These transitive *na-* clauses account for a large proportion of the *na-* clauses (see Table 13-8). The possible word orders for these *na-* clauses are V=AP, P=A=V, V=A, and V(=)P (P is usually non-human or an abstract referent).

As shown in the examples in (44), the presence of an A would imply that it has been mentioned or is accessible in the preceding discourse. In other words, any A that has not been mentioned or is not accessible from the preceding discourse would likely make the construction passive.

(44a) passive construction (no external Agent; constructed)

*na-dakp-an=ko*

*na-dakop-an=ko*

SPONT-catch-LV=1S.NOM

'I got caught.' (As to by whom, it is entirely unimportant.)

(44b) inverse construction (with external Agent; constructed)

*na-dakp-an=ko*

*sa pulis*

*na-dakop-an=ko*

*sa pulis*

SPONT-catch=LV=1S.NOM GEN police

'The police caught me.' (Unintentionally; the police is slightly more topical in 61b than it is in 61a. [But it is still less topical than the P, as this is an inverse construction.])

(44c) active construction (constructed)

*gi-dakop sa pulis ang kriminal*

PFV-catch GEN police ang criminal

'The police caught the criminal.' (The police intended to arrest the criminal.)

In (44a), since there is no external Agent and most likely it is also absent in the prior context, this clause is passive. In (44b), since the Agent is overt and has most likely also been mentioned in the prior context, this clause is transitive. Moreover, (44c) provides a contrast with (44b). (44c) uses a *gi-* marker implying that there was a prior intention of the police “to catch (the criminal),” while such an intention is lacking in (44b), where the police might have seen me by accident and “took the opportunity to arrest me.” A similar situation seems to exist in Kapampangan, and in other languages in the northern areas of the Philippines (Reid and Liao 2004; Reid 2006), where the A argument is absent in passive clauses. In Kapampangan, there seems to be a distinct verbal morpheme, the prefix *me-* in (45b), to mark passive, as shown in the examples below cited from Mithun (1994).

(45a) Kapampangan (Mithun 1994: 271 example 55c)

*linutu no reng sagin*

cooked 3ERG/3P.ABS 3P.ABS banana

'She cooked the bananas.'

(45b) Kapampangan (Mithun 1994: 272 example 55d)

<i>melutu</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>reng</i>	<i>sagin</i>
cooked	already/3P.ABS	3P.ABS	banana

'The bananas have been cooked.'

The excerpts below provide further evidence that the focus of the discourse surrounding the *na-* passive is entirely on the P referent. In (46), the conversation is focused on the fact that the topic referent can just be assigned anywhere; as to who assigns him, it is not important. If a *gi-* prefix were used instead of a *na-* prefix, then the A would have been mentioned in the preceding discourse, with the *gi-* form suggesting a purposeful intention of the A (to assign the P anywhere he wishes). Similarly, in (46), the attention is entirely on the friend who was not hired; if an A were alluded to in the act of hiring the friend, then the use of a *gi-* verb would have been much more appropriate.

(46) Cebuano, excerpt from conversational data

J	<i>kay</i>	<i>ako-ng=</i>	<i>lolo</i>	<i>iya-ha-ng</i>	<i>papa</i>	<i>ku?an-</i>
	<i>kay</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>lolo</i>	<i>iya-a-nga</i>	<i>papa</i>	<i>ku?an-</i>
	because	1S.POSS-LK	grandfather	3S.POSS-DEF-LK	father	KUAN

<i>kanang-</i>	<i>sundalo</i>	<i>gud</i>
FIL	soldier	EMPH

L [*m=*]  
BC

J	→[ <i>kan</i> ]ang	<i>bisag</i>	<i>asa</i>	<b><i>ma-assign</i></b>
	<i>kanang</i>	<i>bisan-ug</i>	<i>asa</i>	<b><i>ma-assign</i></b>
	PH	even-comp	where	SPONT-assign

J: 'because my grandfather, his father was a *kuan* he (his father) was a soldier.'

L: 'm='

J: 'he was assigned anywhere.'

(47) Cebuano, excerpt from conversational data

<i>kay</i>	<i>ako-ng-</i>	<i>amiga nako?</i>	<i>wala?=siya</i>	<b><i>na-dawat</i></b> \
<i>kay</i>	<i>ako?-nga-</i>	<i>amiga nako?</i>	<i>wala?=siya</i>	<b><i>na-dawat</i></b>
because	1S.POSS-LK	friend	1S.GEN NEG=3S.NOM	SPONT-accept
<i>siya</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>nag-ano</i> \	<i>nag-pa-hibawo</i>	<i>nga na=y</i> XXX
<i>siya</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>nag-ano</i> \	<i>nag-pa-hibawo</i>	<i>nga na?a=y</i> XXX
3S.NOM	ANG	AV-what	AV-CAU-notify	COMP EXIST=NEUT
<i>una</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>ka-ila=ra=nila</i>	<i>ang</i> <i>ila=ra-ng</i>
<i>una</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>ka-ila=ra=nila</i>	<i>ang</i> <i>ila=ra-nga</i>
first	ANG	PL	RECIP-know=only=3P.GEN	NOM 3P.POSS=only-LK
<i>...hibo=ng=gay?=ko</i>		<i>ngano ako</i>	@@	<b><i>na-dawat</i></b>
<i>...hibulung=gani?=ko</i>		<i>ngano ako</i>	@@	<b><i>na-dawat</i></b>
wonder=PAR=1S.NOM		why	1S.NOM	SPONT-accept
<b><i>na-dawat=pa=ko</i></b>		<i>unya?</i>	<i>ang</i> <i>ag</i>	<i>ang</i> <i>nag-ku?an</i> <sup>62</sup>
SPONT-accept=still=1S.NOM		then	ANG FS	ANG AV-KUAN
<i>sa</i>	<i>ako?</i>	<i>wala?=siya</i>	<b><i>na-dawat</i></b>	
LOC	1S.POSS	NEG=3S.NOM	SPONT-accept	

'My friend, she was not hired. She was the one- who informed (me) that there was (a hiring). At first, they only (looked for) people they knew. I even wondered why I got hired. I got hired, and the one who (told) me (about this job), she didn't get hired.'

The *na-* verb in the following excerpt indicates a state that is unexpected or that is difficult to achieve. Here the cleaning of a gunshot wound would not be an easy task to the ordinary person. A doctor would use *gi-* to speak to a colleague in this instance. However, an ordinary person using *na-* to ask if somebody has cleaned the room or the table is just being polite by not referring directly to an Agent.

(48) accidental *na-* construction

<i>gawas=man</i>	<i>tanan</i>	<i>utok</i>	<i>niya</i>	<i>pag-abot=lagi=namo?</i>
out=PAR	whole	brain	3S.GEN	NMZ-arrive=PAR=1EP.GEN
<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>ulo</i>	<i>wala?=pa</i>	<b><i>na-limpyo=ka?ayo</i></b>	
<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>ulo</i>	<i>wala?=pa</i>	<b><i>na-limpyo=ka?ayo</i></b>	
3S.POSS-LK	head	NEG=still	SPONT-clean=EMPH	

'His brain was exposed, (so) when we arrived, his head, it was not yet entirely cleaned.'

<sup>62</sup> For a discussion of the functions of the dummy word *ku?an*, see Chapter 19.

Based on the preceding analyses then, there is a distinct word order pattern for every construction type in both *gi-* and *na-* clauses, summarized in Table 13-6. When two arguments are overtly mentioned, the argument which is more topical is most likely to occur closer to the verb. A passive analysis of a *gi-* clause is problematic in that both the semantics of the *gi-* verb and the pragmatics of the *gi-* clause contradict the lack of emphasis on the A referent in a passive clause. Table 13-8 shows that the other two criteria for passive, namely, syntactic integration of the A and text frequency, also hold for *na-* constructions.

**Table 13-7. Construction types and word order**

construction type	Relative topicality between A and P	<i>gi-</i> clause	<i>na-</i> clause
default transitive	A > P	V=AP	V=AP P=A=V V=A V(=)P
inverse	A < P	V=P(=)A V(=)P	V=P(=)A V(=)P
passive	A << P	-	V(=)P

**Table 13-8. *na-/gi-* verbs and syntactic integration of A and raw frequency**

		A integration in <i>na-</i> clauses	<i>na-</i> frequency (N/%)	<i>gi-</i> frequency (N/%)
Default transitive	A > P	<b>95.2%</b>	<b>42 / 4.3%</b>	<b>40 / 4.1%</b>
Inverse	A < P	<b>50.0%</b>	<b>10 / 1.0%</b>	<b>19 / 1.9%</b>
Passive	A << P	<b>0%</b>	<b>29 / 2.9%</b>	<b>n.a.</b>

As shown in Table 13-7, varying constructions are characterized by distinct word orders. Moreover, although the VP order with an A unexpressed is found in the default transitive, inverse, and passive constructions, the statuses of A in each of these constructions are actually different from each other. It is easier to identify VP clauses, since the A is highly topical, the referent being either the Speaker or the Hearer, and

so it is unexpressed. In the inverse VP clauses, the missing A is accessible from the context and is only slightly less topical than the P; in the passive VP clauses, the A is always absent and inaccessible, and the focus is entirely on the non-purposeful action imposed on the P. The main criterion then in distinguishing between “inverse” and “passive” clauses, especially those with covert A arguments, is the accessibility status of the A argument in question. This also shows the value of placing clauses in context rather than treating them in isolation.

Some might further question the status of a morpheme such as *na-* that appears in as many as four different types of constructions. A similar suffix, *-Cia*, exists in Samoan (Cook 1996) where it is used as a marker for passive, adversative, and transitive clauses. The adversative constructions are referred to as “personal passives without a transitive verb stem” by Cook (1996: 67-68). They are intransitive verbs that take a patientive absolutive subject. Examples are *timu'ia* ‘be rained on’, *saviligia* ‘be affected by the wind’, *lagoia* ‘be covered with flies’, and *māfatia* ‘be tired, exhausted, affected’ which all seem to reflect adversity. It is not unusual, in fact, for a morpheme to mark different functions, because new functions arise before a formal marking is grammaticized to mark them (Du Bois 2003). Moreover, Arka and Kosmas (2005) present convincing evidence that the *le* Agent constructions in Manggarai, a Central-Malayo Polynesian Austronesian language spoken on Flores Island in Indonesia, are passive even without any verbal morphology to mark passive. Therefore, having a “passive without *unique* passive morphology” is not surprising at all typologically speaking. The passive clause in Cebuano shares a verbal morpheme *na-* with two other clause types, and it is distinguished primarily by the low topicality

of its A arguments. The passive *na-* in Cebuano in fact can be seen as a "passive"-marking morpheme, if we consider the comparative evidence showing that *na-* passives with absent As are fairly widespread especially in northern Philippine languages (Reid 2006; Reid and Liao 2004).

### 13.6 Summary

In this chapter I have dealt with the PV construction and the passive construction in Cebuano. First, I showed that PV constructions are the default transitive construction in Cebuano by examining the semantic transitivity of the PV clauses, the constituent order, and the topicality of the A and P arguments. The passive construction in Cebuano is very similar to the PV construction, so I also distinguished between them by investigating the degree of syntactic integration of the A argument, frequency, and word order. In the process of investigation, I was able to identify different types of *gi-* verb clauses, namely, adversative *gi-* verbs, fixed expressions (which are *gi-* verbs of utterances), and inverse clauses. Likewise, *na-* constructions are also classified into intransitive *na-* verbs, inverse *na-* clauses, and passive constructions. Passive constructions are the *na-* clauses with zero Agent NPs; they are found to have unidentifiable Agents, low frequency, and a V(=)P word order.

## Chapter 14      LOCATIVE VOICE CONSTRUCTIONS and EXTENDED LOCATIVE VOICE CLAUSES

### 14.0 Introduction

Locative Voice (LV) constructions in Cebuano are *-an* marked transitive constructions that contain a genitive Agent and a nominative nominal whose semantic role is a benefactee, an addressee, a goal or recipient, a source, or a stimulus viewed as a kind of location. In 14.1 I will examine the various affixes that make up LV constructions. I will also discuss the *-an* constructions that are semantically and syntactically intransitive.

In Bunye and Yap (1971), locative constructions and benefactive constructions are described as sharing the same form. On the one hand, locative constructions are defined as having verbs that take a Location nominal as nominative; on the other hand, benefactive constructions have a Recipient or a Benefactive nominal taking nominative case.<sup>63</sup> However, although it is true that the Recipient and Benefactee roles are not so easy to distinguish from each other, our data show that Benefactee NPs prefer to occur in *para* phrases rather than as nominative NPs in LV constructions. As a principle, treating the Nominative nominals of LV activity verbs that imply a Theme argument as Recipient is the default reading. In 14.2 we will

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<sup>63</sup> In Reid and Liao (2004) and Liao (2004), Cebuano is shown as belonging to the type of Philippine languages that mark verbs taking benefactive nominative nominals in two ways, namely, the locative *-an* and the instrumental *i-*. The distribution of the latter is more restricted though.

especially examine further the distinction between the Recipient and Benefactee arguments.

LV constructions are similar to PV constructions in that they are transitive and focus nominals that are viewed as locative objects or as goals of an action, which are not unlike the Patient objects in a PV construction (Chapter 13). Sometimes, they are lumped under a singular category of non-Agent Voice (NAV) constructions together with PV and IV constructions. In addition, there are also constructions called extended locative voice constructions (ELV or extended transitive constructions, ETC, in Dixon's [1994] term), which require an additional obligatory argument that serves the role of Theme. In other words, the Theme and the Location are conflated as the nominative-marked nominal in a transitive LV construction, whereas in an ELV clause the Location is marked nominative while the Theme serves as the obligatory oblique argument. These ELVs are referred to in other languages as "ditransitive constructions" (cf. Malchukov, Haspelmath, and Comrie 2007), defined as consisting of a ditransitive verb, an agent argument, a recipient-like argument, and a theme argument. In their discussion, three-argument constructions whose two non-agent arguments are not recipients and themes are not considered ditransitive constructions, such as constructions formed by verbs of placement and verbs of saying. The main difference between ditransitive constructions and ELVs is that in ditransitive constructions both non-actor arguments may be topical or potentially topical, while in ELV constructions, the oblique-marked extended argument tends to be indefinite and not a potential discourse participant. In 14.3, we turn our attention to how the two non-agent arguments are marked in a ditransitive construction in relation to

monotransitive constructions. In 14.4, we discuss the ELVs in Cebuano. In 14.5, I will show that the *-an* construction in Cebuano also serves to indicate partial (against full) affectedness of the Patient argument, which in other languages is distinguished by various case markers. In 14.6 I provide a summary.

### 14.1 LV affixes

Table 14-1 shows the various affixes marking LV constructions. In general, LV verbs take the suffix *-an* (1), while the non-future temporal and aspectual aspects are marked by the prefixes *gi-* or *na-*, not unlike the PV constructions discussed in the previous chapter. For future time, the perfective prefix is absent while the locative suffix *-an* is retained. Irrealis situations are indicated by verbs marked *-i*; for example, imperative and negated non-future clauses.

**Table 14-1. LV affixes in Cebuano**

Tense / Aspect	Volitional	Progressive	Potential
Non-future	<i>gi- ...-an</i>	<i>g&lt;in&gt;a- ...-an</i>	<i>na- ...-an</i>
Future	<i>-an</i>	<i>paga- ...-an</i>	<i>ma- ...-an</i>
Dependent (Imperative and Negation)	<i>-i</i>	<i>paga- ...-i</i>	<i>ma- ...-i</i>

Volitional (or completive) LV clauses are marked by the locative *-an*. The perfective marker *gi-* is affixed to non-future clauses, as in (1) and (2), while it disappears in future clauses, as in (3). The irrealis marker is *-i*, as illustrated in the imperative clause in (4).

(1) non-future volitional LV clause

*suku?=ka?ay si mang marino kay gi-pangayo?-an=mi-g kwarta*  
*suku?=ka?ayosi mang marino kay gi-pangayo?-an=mi-ug kwarta*  
angry=EMPH SI PN because PFV-asklv=1EP.NOM-EXT money  
'Mang Marino was very angry because (he) asked us for money.'

(2) non-future volitional LV clause

*iya=gyud=ko-ng gi-tabang-an*  
*iya=gyud=ko-nga gi-tabang-an*  
3S.GEN=EMPH=1S.NOM-LK PFV-help-LV  
*na?a=gyud=siya diha? sa ako-ng tupad*  
*na?a=gyud=siya diha? sa ako?-nga tupad*  
EXIST=EMPH=3S.NOM there LOC 1S.POSS-LK side  
'He did help me; he was really there by my side.'

(3) future volitional LV clause

*ig-abot sa katapusan taga-an=ra=gyud=ka=niya*  
*ig-abot sa katapusan hatag-an=ra=gyud=ka=niya*  
every-reach OBL end give-LV=PAR=EMPH=2S.NOM=3S.GEN  
'At the end (of the month), he'll just give you (an allowance).'

(4) imperative LV clause

*sigi, taga-i=na=la-g gamay*  
*sigi, hatag-i=na=lang-ug gamay*  
DM give-LV=already=just-EXT small  
'Okay, just give (them) a little.'

The semantic contrast between volitional *gi-* and accidental *na-* for the LV verbs is similar to that of PV verbs. The prefix *gi-* marks the existence of a volitional agent and a purposeful effort to carry out an action, while *na-* marks an inadvertent and accidental effect of an action on a Patient. This contrast is shown in (5) and (6).

(5) accidental action expressed by *na-* (Sun Star, August 19, 2007)

*na-dakp-an sa ka-pulis-an ang onse ka mga t<in>un-an*  
*na-dakop-an sa ka-pulis-an ang onse ka mga tu?un<in>-an*  
 SPONT-catch-LV GEN KA-police-LV.NMZ ANG eleven LK PL study<IN>-LV

*samtang nag-himo? ug hazing ang ila-ng grupo nga fraternity.*  
*samtang nag-himo? ug hazing ang ila-nga grupo nga fraternity.*  
 while AV-make EXT hazing ANG 3P.POSS-LK group LK fraternity  
 'The eleven students were (accidentally) caught by police as their fraternity groups were conducting hazing activities.'

(6) purposeful action expressed by *gi-* (Sun Star, October 11, 2007)

*nag-pa-dala ug tinapayang amahan nga si Abas Esmael*  
 AV-CAU-send EXT bread ANG father LK SI PN

*gi-kuha?-an=kini ug gamay sa mga biktima ug gi-ka?on*  
 PFV-take-LV=this EXT small GEN PL victim CONN PFV.PV-eat  
 'The father, Abas Esmael, sent for bread, and the victims took some of this (bread) and ate (it).'

Spontaneous events are expressed by verbs marked with *na-...-an* for non-future time, as in (5), (7), and (8) and *ma-...-an* for future time. Irrealis situations (i.e., imperative and negated non-future events) are expressed by *ma-...-i* (9).

(7) non-future spontaneous LV clause

*kana?=ra ako-ng na-adto-an sentosa*  
*kana?=ra ako?-nga na-adto-an sentosa*  
 that=only 1S.POSS-LK SPONT-go-LV PN

*naka-adto=man=ko singapore two times*  
 ABIL-go=PAR=1S.NOM PN two times  
 'That's the only place I've been to, Sentosa; I've been to Singapore twice.'

(8) non-future spontaneous LV clause

*iya-ng maguwang nga tnt, na-dakp-an*  
*iya-nga maguwang nga tnt, na-dakop-an*  
 3S.POSS-LK older.sibling LK illegal.worker SPONT-catch-LV  
 'Her elder sister who was working illegally got caught.'

(9) irrealis abilitative LV clause (Sun Star, September 25, 2007)

<i>wala?=nako?</i>	<b><i>ma-kit-i</i></b>	<i>ang</i>	<i>suspek kay</i>
<i>wala?=nako?</i>	<b><i>ma-kita?-i</i></b>	<i>ang</i>	<i>suspek kay</i>
NEG=1S.GEN	SPONT-see-LV	ANG	suspect because

<i>na-kurat=man=ko</i>	<i>kung</i>	<i>kinsa</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>nag-pusil</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>drayber</i>
SPONT-surprise=PAR=1S.NOM	COND	who	ANG	AV-shoot	LOC	driver

'I wasn't able to see the suspect because I was caught surprise as to who had shot at the driver.'

The durative aspect marker is *g<in>a-...-an*, as in (10); future is marked by

*paga-...-an*.

(10) non-future durative LV clause

<i>ngano-ng</i>	<i>kahibawo=ni</i>	<i>mag-b&lt;in&gt;isaya</i>	<i>nga</i>
<i>ngano-nga</i>	<i>kahibawo=kini</i>	<i>mag-bisaya&lt;in&gt;</i>	<i>nga</i>
why-LK	know=this	AV-Cebuano<way>	COMP

<i>di?=man=nako?=ni</i>	<b><i>gina-istoryah-a-g</i></b>	<i>b&lt;in&gt;isaya</i>
<i>di?=man=nako?=ni</i>	<b><i>gina-istorya-an-ug</i></b>	<i>bisaya&lt;in&gt;</i>
NEG=PAR=1S.GEN=this	PFV.DUR-speak-LV-EXT	Cebuano<way>

'Why does this (girl) know how to speak Cebuano, as I never speak Cebuano (to her).'

Not all *-an* clauses are transitive; there are a few exceptions. The intransitive *-an* form has two readings, namely, the "adversative" reading (see Section 12.5.3) and the "to feel" reading (see Section 12.5.4).

(11) Adversative reading of intransitive *-an* clause

<i>ingon</i>	<i>si mister morales</i>	<i>bisa-g</i>	<b><i>abot-an=ta-g</i></b>
<i>ingon</i>	<i>si mister morales</i>	<i>bisan-ug</i>	<b><i>abot-an=ta-ug</i></b>
say	SI PN	even-COMP	arrive-LV=1IP.NOM-EXT

<i>ugma?</i>	<i>diri, di=gyud=ko</i>	<i>mo-hatag bisa-g</i>	<i>usa ka</i>	<i>dako?</i>
<i>ugma?</i>	<i>diri, di?=gyud=ko</i>	<i>mo-hatag bisan-ug</i>	<i>usa ka</i>	<i>dako?</i>
tomorrow here	NEG=EMPH=1S.NOM	AV-giveeven-COMP	one LK	big

'Mister Morales said (that) even if (it would take) us until morning, we should not give a cent.'

(12) "to feel" reading of intransitive *-an* clause

<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>gi-pa-ka?on</i>	<i>tunga?-tunga?sa</i>	<i>dagat</i>
<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>gi-pa-ka?on</i>	<i>tunga?-tunga?sa</i>	<i>dagat</i>
1S.POSS-LK	PFV.PV-CAU-eat	middle-REDUP	LOC
sea			
<i>a=</i>	<i>wa?=man=ka=y</i>	<i>ma-pili?</i>	<i>a= ka?on</i>
DM	NEG=PAR=2S.NOM=NEUT	SPONT-choose	DM
			eat

*lami?-an=baya?=sad*

tasty-LV=PAR=also

'I made (them) eat (something when we were) in the middle of the sea. (There was) nothing else to choose, so (they) ate. (They) also liked it.' [lit., '(They) also felt (the food) was tasty.']

## 14.2 Recipient vs. Benefactee nominals

In this section, I will consider the similarities and dissimilarities between Recipients and Benefactees. Arguments that are either Recipient or Benefactee benefit from the events that they are parts of. They are also distinguished based on the notion of reception vs. the lack of it (Kittila 2005). Reception refers to an entity's being controlled or possessed by a Recipient as a result of a "transfer" event, as in *The teacher gave/sent me a book* or *The ticket won me a million dollars*. I take the Recipient to be an animate or an inanimate "Goal" of a concrete (as in 3 and 13) or an abstract (as in 14 and 15) entity, the Theme argument that "changes location" from a Source to a nominative-marked Goal or Recipient. In Cebuano, the Recipient is the nominative case marked argument of an ELV clause (see Section 14.4) and is the default reading in cases where there is a Theme argument implied.

(13) recipient as nominative argument of LV clause

<i>amo-ng</i>	<i>tabang-an</i>	<i>ron</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>himo-an</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>travel document</i>
<i>amo?-nga</i>	<i>tabang-an</i>	<i>karon</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>himo?-an</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>travel document</i>
1EP.POSS-LK	help-LV	now	and	make-LV	EXT	travel document
'Now we are going to help (him) and prepare a travel document (for him).'						

(14) abstract entity as location

*di?=man=nato?*      *ma-kupt-an*    **ang**    *ato-ng*      *kinabuhi?*  
*di?=man=nato?*      *ma-kupot-an*    **ang**    *ato?-nga*    *kinabuhi?*  
NEG=PAR=1IP.GEN      SPONT-grab-LV    ANG      1IP.POSS-LK      life

*ing-ana?=gyud*      *unsa-on=man=nato?*  
*ingon-ana?=gyud*    *unsa-on=man=nato?*  
like-that=EMPH      what-PV=PAR=1IP.GEN

'We can't grab our lives (in our hands). It's like that; what can we do?'

(15) goal of verb of saying (Sun Star, July 24, 2007)

*nag-inom*    **ang**    *suspek sa*    *iya-ng*      *gi-trabaho-an ug*  
*nag-inom*    **ang**    *suspek sa*    *iya-nga*     *gi-trabaho-an ug*  
AV-drink    ANG    suspect LOC    3S.POSS-LK    PFV-work-LV    CONN

*gi-ingn-an=siya*    *nga*    "*tag-pila=man=di?ay=ka*      *day?"*  
*gi-ingon-an=siya*    *nga*    "*tag-pila=man=di?ay=ka*      *day?"*  
PFV-say-LV=3S.NOM    COMP    every-how.much=PAR=PAR=2S.NOM    VOC

'The suspect was drinking at his workplace and said to her, "How much are you (worth), Miss?''

The Benefactee, on the other hand, is an animate entity that benefits from the occurrence of an action. Somebody else substitutes for the benefactee as the agent of an event, as in *The driver parked the car for me* or *The student went downtown for me*, and therefore it is also called substitutive benefaction. A pure Benefactee argument can never be mistaken for a Recipient, and is marked by *para* in Cebuano in an intransitive construction.

(16) benefactee NP expressed in *para* phrase

*mag-sigi=ka-g*      *huna?huna?*,    *mag-sakit*    *imo-ng*      *dughan*  
*mag-sigi=ka-ug*    *huna?huna?*,    *mag-sakit*    *imo-nga*     *dughan*  
AV-keep.on=2S.NOM-LK think      AV-ache      2S.POSS-LK      chest

*wa?=man=pu=y*      *mag-huna?huna?*      **para**    *sa*      *imo-ha*  
*wa?=man=pud=y*    *mag-huna?huna?*      **para**    *sa*      *imo-a*  
NEG=PAR=also=NEUT    AV-think      for    OBL    2S.POSS-DEF

'If you keep on thinking (about these things), you'll have a heartache.  
Nobody else will think for you.'

(17) benefactee NP expressed in *para* phrase

<i>dili?</i> = <i>pu</i>	<i>mahimo?</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>tanang</i>	<i>sikrito</i>	<i>nimo</i>
<i>dili?</i> = <i>pu</i>	<i>mahimo?</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>tanang-nga</i>	<i>sikrito</i>	<i>nimo</i>
NEG=also	allow	COMP	all-LK	secret	2S.GEN

<i>imo</i> = <i>pu-ng</i>	<i>sulti-hun</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>imo-ng</i>	<i>bana</i>
<i>imo</i> = <i>pu-nga</i>	<i>sulti-un</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>imo-nga</i>	<i>bana</i>
2S.POSS=also-LK	tell-PV	DAT	2S.POSS-LK	husband

<i>mag-bilin</i> = <i>gyud=ka</i>	<b><i>para</i></b>	<i>sa</i>	<i>imo-ha</i>	<i>ra</i>
<i>mag-bilin</i> = <i>gyud=ka</i>	<b><i>para</i></b>	<i>sa</i>	<i>imo-a</i>	<i>ra</i>
AV-leave=EMPH=2S.NOM	for	OBL	2S.POSS-DEF	only

'It cannot be that all your secrets you will tell your husband (about them).

You have to leave (something) just for yourself.'

However, as we have mentioned, LV constructions are also traditionally called Benefactive constructions. These so-called Benefactive Constructions are actually constructions where the nominative-marked arguments are what Kittila (2005) calls Recipient-Beneficiary, which obviously represent a combination of features of Recipient and Beneficiary, as they comprise both reception and (substitutive) benefaction. These constructions are often ambiguous, as in *The maid baked me a cake*, where it is possible that *me* could either be a Recipient or a Benefactee. The clause containing a Recipient-Beneficiary is expressed similarly as an LV clause with a Recipient argument. Another concrete example would be the example in (13). The zero nominative nominal *him* is ambiguous, which could either be viewed as a Recipient (the travel document is given to him) or a Benefactee (the travel document does not necessarily come to be in his possession but enables him to achieve his purpose of traveling to a particular destination).

In instances where both Recipient and Benefactee need to be overtly expressed, the Recipient naturally takes Nominative case and the Benefactee is relegated to a *para* phrase, where the nominal is marked with Dative *kang* or *sa*. However, the *para*

phrase used to indicate Benefactee role seems to "prefer" to occur in an EIC rather than with a Recipient nominal in an LV construction, as in (16) and (17). In addition, we also observe that although the *para* clause can express Benefactee, the conversational data show that *para* is used more frequently to mark purpose clauses. The Benefactee nominal may be alternatively expressed as the Causer in a causative LV construction, especially when there is volition, as in (18), which is based on (17), and (19). A knowledge of the distinct concepts between Recipient, Benefactee, and Recipient-Benefactee is essential to our discussion on extended locative constructions in 14.4.

(18) benefactee in causative construction

*mag-pa-bilin=gyud=ka para sa imo-ha*  
*mag-pa-bilin=gyud=ka para sa imo-a*  
 AV-CAU-leave=EMPH=2S.NOM for OBL 2S.POSS-DEF  
 'You have to (make somebody) leave (something) for yourself.'

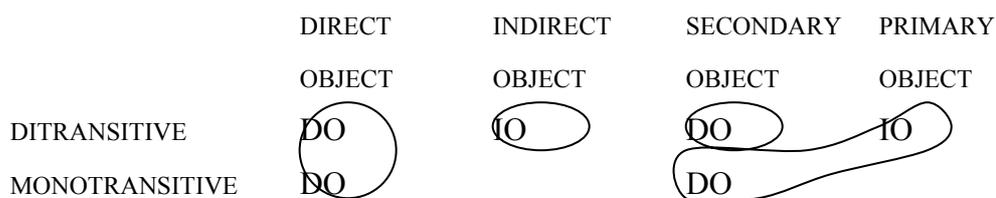
(19) benefactee as argument in causative construction

*gi-pa-bilin ni Kaloy<sub>i</sub> ang manok kay ganahan=siya<sub>i</sub>*  
 PV-CAU-leave GEN PN ANG chicken because like=3S.NOM  
 'Kaloy asked (somebody) to leave the chicken because he likes it.'

### 14.3 Primary object vs. secondary object distinction

In cross-linguistic studies of ditransitive clauses (or to suit our purpose, a ditransitive clause refers to clauses containing a usually animate indirect object marked oblique in certain languages), Dryer (1986) proposed the PO/SO distinction. In his proposal, a language in which a Patient or Theme of a monotransitive clause is treated in the same way as the Theme, and not the Recipient or Goal, in a ditransitive clause is said to make a distinction between Direct Objects and Indirect Objects, like English and other very well-studied Indo-European languages. In other languages the

situation is different: a nominal is a Primary Object (PO) if it is an Indirect Object (IO) in a ditransitive clause, or a Direct Object (DO) in a monotransitive clause; it is a Secondary Object (SO) if it is a DO, or the Theme that is transferred, in a ditransitive clause. See Fig. 14-1.



**Figure 14-1. Ditransitive alignment map (Dryer 1986: 814; see also Malchukov, Haspelmath, and Comrie 2007)**

In a number of languages that distinguish between POs and SOs, case markers usually occur with POs. In Khasi (Mon-Khmer, Assam), the preposition *ya* marks the PO—the DO in monotransitive clauses like (20a), and the IO in ditransitive clauses like (20b). The SO is unmarked, as in (20b). Note the contrast between (20b), a ditransitive verb, and (20c), a monotransitive verb, where the same verb is used in both sentences.

(20) Khasi (Rabel 1961: 77, cited in Dryer 1986: 816)

- a. *ka la yo??ii ya ?uu khlaa*  
 she PAST see OBJ the tiger  
 ‘She saw the tiger.’
- b. *?uu hiikay ya nga ka ktien phareng*  
 he teach OBJ 1SG the language English  
 ‘He teaches me English.’
- c. *?uu hiikay ya ka ktien phareng*  
 he teach OBJ the language English  
 ‘He teaches English.’



The extended locative voice construction (ELV) in Cebuano, or extended transitive construction (ETC in Dixon's [1994] term), is in a way similar to applicative constructions as it involves positioning the indirect object (i.e., the Goal) in a core position or the Nominative slot. The Theme (or the direct object) is marked oblique but remains semantically obligatory by virtue of the "transfer" sense of the construction, although they may be indefinite and tend not to be a potential discourse participant.

In Margetts and Austin's (2007) typology of three participant events in the languages of the world, such a strategy employed by Cebuano ELVs is termed 'T-type oblique strategy,' where a Theme-argument is marked oblique. In English, examples would include *deprive* and *present* verbs (24 and 25, respectively) in English and another actual example from Dyirbal (26, taken from Margetts and Austin [2007], who cite from Dixon 1972), where the theme argument is marked in the instrumental case.

(24) English: I *deprived* him of his freedom.

(25) English: I *presented* him with a medal.

(26) Dyirbal (cited from Dixon, 1972 in Margetts and Austin, 2007)

*Balam*            *banggun*            *wugan bagul*  
that.ABS.veg    that.ERG.FEM    give    that.DAT.MSC  
'She gave it (food) to him.'

In this section I will discuss the following: the ELV construction schema (14.4.1), the types of ELV constructions (14.4.2), and the distinction between ELV and other voice constructions (14.4.3).

#### 14.4.1 “Transfer” construction schema

From the point of view of constructional grammar, a specific semantics is attributed directly to such a construction instead of to the specific verbs involved. In other words, the transport of an object (or the giving and receiving) is implied by the ELV construction (not by the verb), namely, **V-an + ug/sa NP<sub>THEME</sub>**, that is, an *-an* marking plus a *ug-* or *sa-*marked oblique Theme, where construction refers to form-meaning correspondence. Such a construction exists independently of the individual verbs that may occur with it. For example, in (13), the verb *himo?* 'to make' does not convey any sense of "transfer" in itself unlike *hatag* 'to give' in (3), repeated below as (27). However, it begins to do so once it is placed in such a construction, so that in (13) it now conveys the meaning of "a travel document being made and the possession of which is then *transferred* to a Recipient." Some other verbs are incompatible with the construction but still a sense of "transfer" can be detected, as in (28) and (29); in these instances, the oblique-marked patient/theme arguments, *bisita* 'visitor' and *taxi*, are treated as entities whose possession may be transferred to another person. Furthermore, the direction of the "transfer" can also be reversed from the Source Nominative argument to the Goal Genitive argument, as in (30), when the verb used is 'ask for'.

(27) "transfer" sense conveyed in ELV construction

<i>ig-abot</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>katapusan</i>	<b><i>taga-an=ra=gyud=ka=niya</i></b>
<i>ig-abot</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>katapusan</i>	<b><i>hatag-an=ra=gyud=ka=niya</i></b>
every-reach	OBL	end	give-LV=PAR=EMPH=2S.NOM=3S.GEN

'At the end (of the month), he'll just give you (an allowance).'

(28) infelicitous use of ELV construction (constructed)

??*gi-imbíta-han=nako?* *si Juan ug bisíta*  
*gi-imbíta-an=nako?* *si Juan ug bisíta*  
 PFV-invite-LV=1S.GEN SI PN EXT visitor

Intended: 'I invited (for) John a visitor.' ← 'I invited a visitor for John.'

(29) infelicitous use of ELV construction (constructed)

??*gi-atng-an=nako?* *si Juan ug taxi*  
*gi-atang-an=nako?* *si Juan ug taxi*  
 PFV-wait-LV=1S.GEN SI PN EXT taxi

Intended: 'I waited (for) John a cab.'

(30) direction of "transfer" may be reversed (Sun Star, December 18, 2007)

*gi-pangayo?-an ang kompanya apan wala? kini mi-hatag*  
 PFV-ask.for-LV ANG company but NEG this AV-give  
 '(The caller) asked for (bribe) from the company but this (company) didn't give.'

**Table 14-2. Verb types that form ELV constructions in Cebuano**

Verb type	Verb	PV clause		LV clause	
		Role of Nom NP	Role of Nom NP	Role of Obl NP	Role of Obl NP
Activity	<i>luto?</i> 'to cook'	Patient	Loc / Rec / Ben		Theme
	<i>palit</i> 'to buy'	Patient	Loc / Rec		Theme
Ditransitive	<i>hatag</i> 'to give'	Patient	Rec		Theme
	<i>pangayo?</i> 'to ask for'	Theme	Source		Theme
	<i>utang</i> 'to owe'	Theme	Source		Theme
Placement	<i>butang</i> 'to place'	Theme	Loc (Rec)		Theme
Saying	<i>sulti</i> 'to speak'	Content	Rec		Content

As summarized in Table 14-2, the verbs that can form ELVs are those whose Patient Nominative argument of their PV form may be treated as a Theme "transported" between different locations, animate (Recipient) or inanimate (Goal) in an ELV clause. For example, gifts can be "transferred" from Agent to Recipient; things or objects made, bought, designed may change possession, so they form ELVs. In addition, abstract entities like stories, ideas, and services can also be "conveyed" or "transported" from person to person (see 31), but percept and location cannot, so perception verbs, cognition verbs, and motion verbs usually cannot form ELVs (see

constructed examples in 32 and 33) (otherwise, the *libro* 'book' or the *tawo* 'person' could be meant to be "transferred" to a Recipient just by 'looking' or 'staring', which is not quite possible). As Theme and Content are essential elements in a "transfer," they are obligatory arguments in an ELV, albeit oblique-marked. Another element that is essential to the formation of an ELV is the Location, Recipient, or the Benefactee, the destination of the "transfer", as it were, which is allotted the Nominative slot in the construction.

(31) abstract entity as transported theme

<i>di?</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>nako?</i> = <i>ni</i>	<b><i>gina-istoryah-a-g</i></b>	<i>b</i> < <i>in</i> > <i>isaya</i>
<i>di?</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>nako?</i> = <i>ni</i>	<b><i>gina-istorya-an-ug</i></b>	<i>bisaya</i> < <i>in</i> >
NEG=PAR=1S.GEN=this	PFV.dur-speak-LV-EXT	Cebuano<way>
'I never speak Cebuano to this (girl).'		

(32) percept and location cannot be "transported" (constructed)

* <i>gi-tan?aw-an=nako?</i> = <i>siya</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>libro</i>
PFV-look-LV=1S.GEN=3S.NOM	EXT	book
Intended: ??'I looked (for) him a book.'		

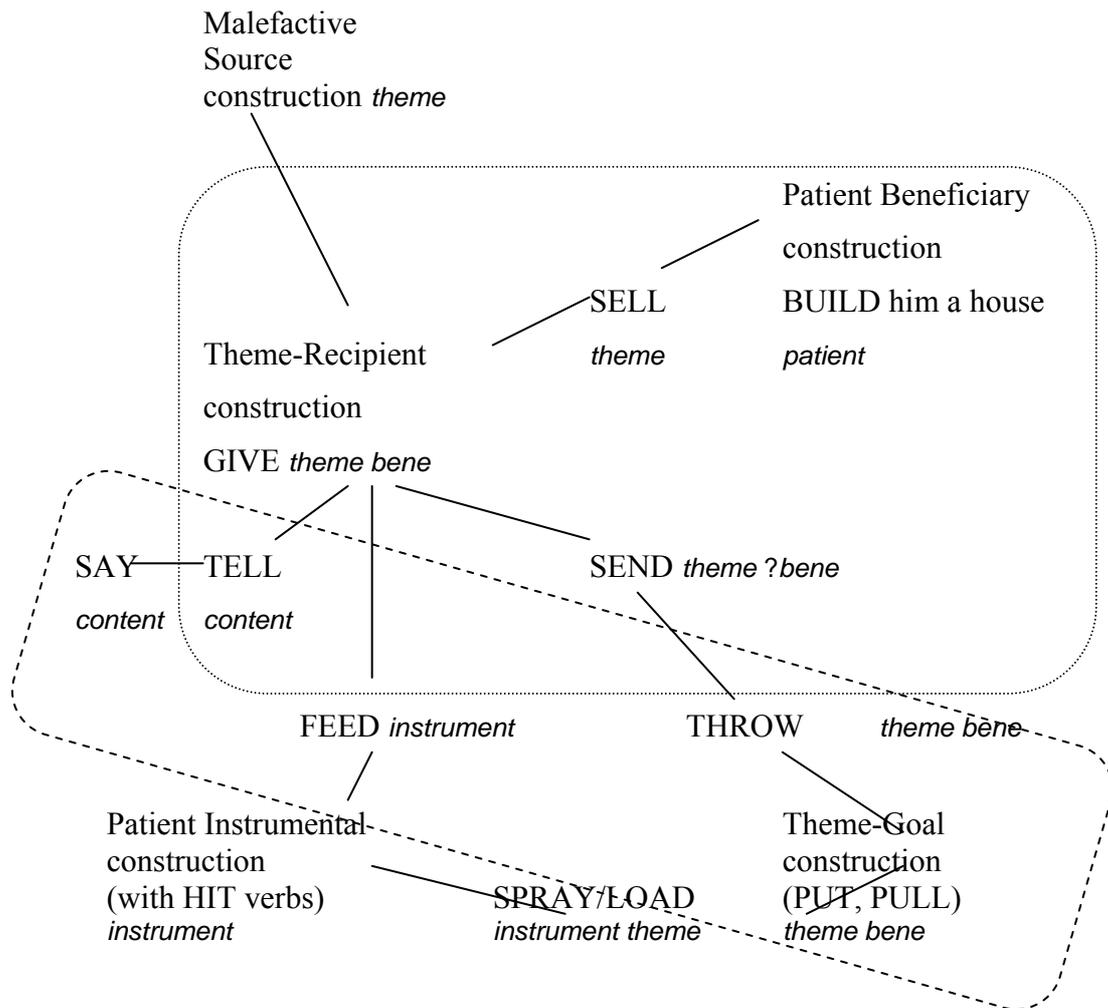
(33) percept and location cannot be "transported" (constructed)

* <i>gi-tutuk-an=nako?</i> = <i>siya</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>tawo</i>
PFV-stare-LV=1S.GEN=3S.NOM	EXT	person
Intended: ??'I stared (for) him a person.'		

#### 14.4.2 Types of ELV constructions

Figure 14-2 shows a semantic map of ditransitive constructions in English (Malchukov, Haspelmath, and Comrie 2007), where verbs in English that can convey the sense of "transfer" can be expressed either in Double Object constructions (DOC) or by *to*- NP constructions. In Cebuano, all of these are conveyed by the same ELV construction schema. But there are several types; in Figure 14-3, I show the different types of ELV constructions. First, the most common type of verb that occurs in an

ELV construction takes a Nominative Theme argument that may be considered a Recipient-Benefactive (R-B) nominal (cf. Kittila 2007). An R-B nominal is one that may either be a Recipient, one that actually receives a Theme, or a Benefactee, one that benefits from the action denoted by the LV verb. In (13), the covertly-expressed nominative NP may either be a Recipient of the travel document or a Benefactee: he doesn't take hold of the travel document, but it comes into the possession of somebody else who facilitates his being able to travel. The types of verbs that take an R-B nominal are those that are regular activity verbs, like "build" or "buy." When placed in an ELV construction, a Theme either transfers possession to the Nominative NP or transfers possession to another person and benefits the Nominative NP.



**Figure 14-2. Semantic map of English ditransitive constructions and Cebuano ELVs**  
 DOC ..... to-NP ..... (Malchukov, Haspelmath, and Comrie 2007)

The Nominative-marked nominal of some of these verbs may at the same time be possibly a Location, aside from being an R-B nominal. For example, the NP *bakery* in (34) may either be an R-B NP (*for whom* something was bought) or a Location NP (*from whom* something was bought).

(34) ELV construction; Nominative NP is Location/R-B NP (Sun Star, October 11, 2007)

*mi-lihok=na ang Department of Health Armm ug City Health Office*  
 AV-act=already ANG PN and PN

*sa siyudad sa Cotabato aron imbestiga-han ang bakery nga*  
*sa siyudad sa Cotabato aron imbestiga-han ang bakery nga*  
 GEN city GEN PN so investigate-LV ANG bakery LK

*gi-palit-an ug tinapaynga pudding sa amahan sa mga biktima.*  
 PFV-buy-LV EXT bread LK pudding GEN father GEN PL victim  
 ‘The Department of Health ARMM and the City Health Office of the city of Cotabato have acted in order to investigate the bakery (where) the father of the victim bought pudding.’

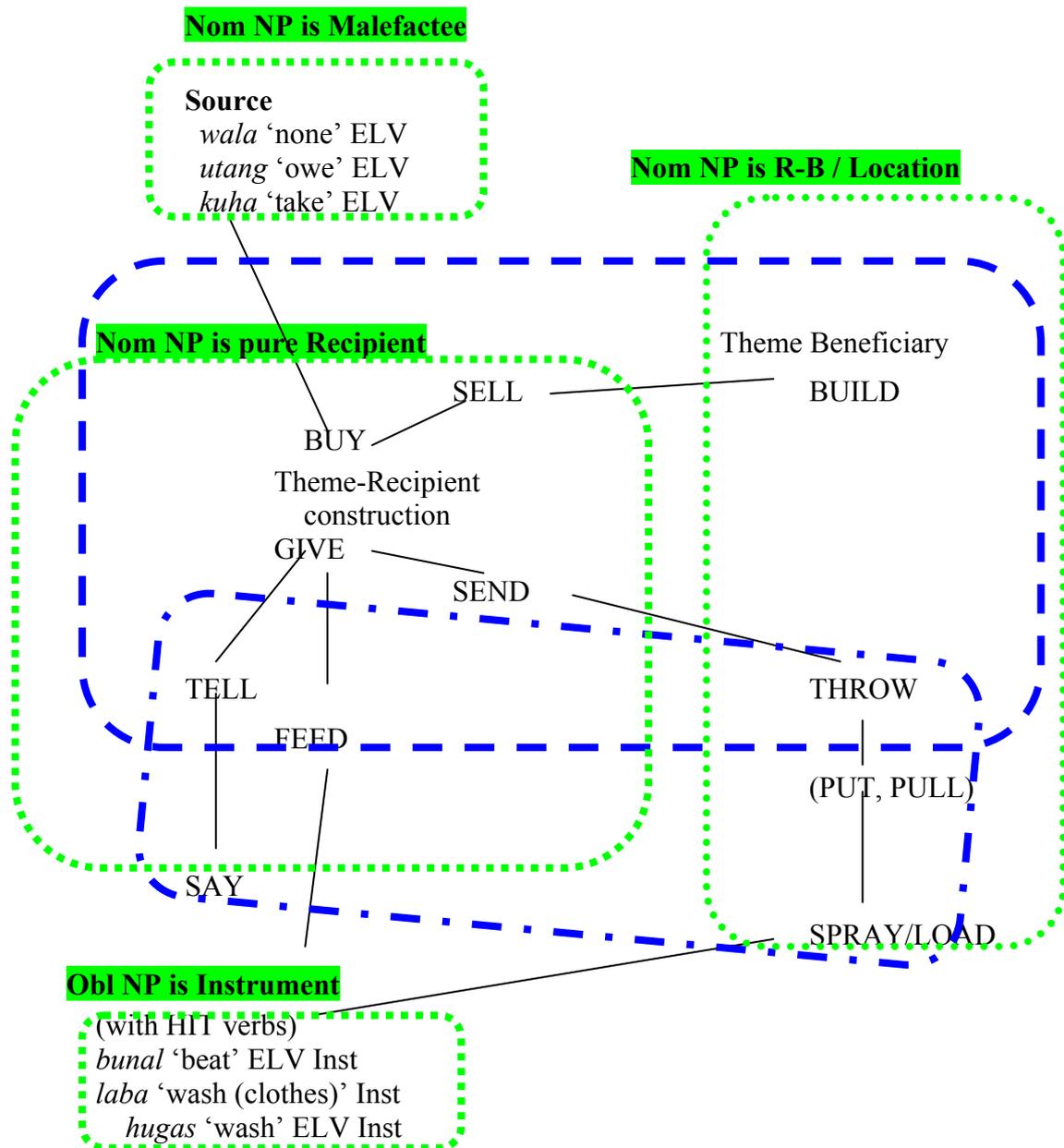
(35) ELV construction; Nominative NP is Location/R-B NP

*na?a=y tulo=siya ka basket*  
 EXIST=NEUT three=3S.NOM LK basket

*gi-butang-an=niya sa pears*  
 PFV-place-LV=3S.GEN OBL pears  
 ‘There are three baskets he has. He placed the pears (in them).’

(36) ELV construction; Nominative NP is Location/R-B NP

*ipit-an=na?=niya=na-g kwarta*  
*ipit-an=na?=niya=na?-ug kwarta*  
 insert-LV=that=3S.GEN=that-EXT money  
 ‘(She) will insert money in it.’



**Figure 14-3. Semantic map of Cebuano ELVs**

- ..... Cebuano ELV
- English caused possession verbs
- . - English to-NP construction

Second, the Nominative NP may be a pure Recipient, which means that the Theme NP necessarily comes into the possession of the Recipient NP. The types of verbs that belong to this category are usually three-place verbs like “give,” “sell,” and “send.” These are normally expressed as Double Object Constructions in English. They may also be verbs of saying like “say” and “tell.”

(37) ELV construction; Nominative NP is Recipient NP

*gi-taga-an=sila*      *ug*      *tagsa-tag-sa*   *ug*      *katong peras*  
*gi-hatag-an=sila*      *ug*      *tagsa-tag-usa*   *ug*      *katong peras*  
 PFV-give-LV=3P.NOM      EXT      REDUP-each-one   EXT      that      pear  
 ‘(He) gave each one of them one of those pears.’

As mentioned earlier, the direction of the “transfer” may be reversed; these are the third type of ELV verbs. The Nominative NP is the Source of the Theme NP and most of the time, they are also Malefactee, the fact being that something (Theme) has been taken away from them.

(38) ELV construction; Nominative NP is Source of Theme

*pag-abot=namo?*   *sa*      *customs*      *pangay-an*      *ka-g*      *kwarta*  
*pag-abot=namo?*   *sa*      *customs*      *pangayo?-an*   *ka-ug*      *kwarta*  
 NMZ-arrive=1EP.GEN   LOC      customs      ask.for-LV      2S.NOM-EXT      money  
 ‘(Upon) our arrival at customs, (they) will ask you for money.’

(39) ELV construction; Nominative NP is Source of Theme

*daghan=kuno*      *na-wad-a-g*      *trabaho karon sa*      *Manila*  
*daghan=kuno*      *na-wala?-an-ug*      *trabaho karon sa*      *Manila*  
 many=EVID      SPONT-NEG-LV-EXT      work      now      LOC      PN  
 ‘They say many people in Manila have lost their jobs.’

(40) ELV construction; Nominative NP is Source of Theme

*lapwa-an=ka*      *ug*      *ano*      *acido*  
*lapwa?-an=ka*      *ug*      *ano*      *acido*  
 spill-LV=2S.NOM      EXT      what      acid  
 ‘(They)’ll spill acid on you.’

An *-an* verb may take a Nominative NP that is a pure Benefactee NP. The most typical verb in this category is “help.” The verb itself is not “ditransitive”; it rather takes an oblique “nominal” that is more like a clausal complement. The verb in the clausal complement has been nominalized such that it is the action expressed by the complement verb that has been “transferred” to the Nominative NP. Hence what is

being “transferred” is an action that benefits (not an object that is received by) the Nominative NP. Therefore the Nominative NP is a Benefactee, not a Recipient.

(41) ELV construction with oblique clausal complement

*gi-tabang-an*=*siya ug kuha?*  
 PFV-help-LV=3S.GEN COMP take

*gi-uli?*        *sa basket ang mga bayabas*  
 PFV.IV-return LOC basket ANG PL guava

‘(They) helped him pick (them up). (They) returned the pears back into the basket.’

(42) ELV construction with oblique clausal complement

*gi-tabang-an*=*nila ug balik sa basket*  
 PFV-help-LV=3P.GEN COMP return LOC basket

*to-ng mga prutas nga nanga-hulog*  
*kato-nga mga prutas nga naN-hulog*  
 that-LK PL fruit LK AV-fall

‘They helped (the boy) replace those fruits that fell in the basket.’

Another type of ELV construction is one whose verb takes an oblique-marked NP that may be an Instrument instead of a Theme, as in (43).

(43) ELV construction; Oblique NP is Instrument

*iya-ha-ng gi-butang sa mora ug lamesa*  
*iya-a-nga gi-butang sa mora ug lamesa*  
 3S.POSS-DEF-LK PFV.PV-place LOC like EXT table

*gi-trapu-han*=*usa?=niya ug tubaw*  
*gi-trapu-an*=*usa?=niya ug tubaw*  
 PFV-wipe-LV=first=3S.GEN EXT hanky

‘He placed (it) on (something that) resembles a table. (Then) he first wiped (it) with a hanky.’

(44) Extended argument is an Instrument NP

*na-ligs-an*=*siya ug trak*  
*na-ligis-an*=*siya ug trak*  
 SPONT-run.over=3S.NOM EXT truck

‘A truck ran over her.’

### 14.4.3 ELV vs. other voice constructions

As I have already made clear, as a construction, ELVs convey the distinct sense of "transfer." LV constructions of motion, cognition, and perception verbs resemble ELVs but do not at all encode "transfer", since as mentioned, goals and events cannot be moved to another location. These constructions are actually simply LV constructions, where the Nominative-marked NPs which may be Patient, Goal, or Percept is viewed as a kind of Location, as in the examples from (45) to (48).

(45) Patient NP of motion verb is Location

<i>na?a=y</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>na-sugat-an-g</i>	<i>bata-ng</i>	<i>babayi</i>
<i>na?a=y</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>na-sugat-an-nga</i>	<i>bata?-nga</i>	<i>babayi</i>
EXIST=NEUT	3S.POSS-LK	SPONT-meet-LV-LK	child-LK	girl

*na-bunggu-an*=*siya*

*na-bunggu?-an*=*siya*

SPONT-bump-LV=3S.GEN

‘He encountered a girl, (who) bumped (into) him.’

(46) Goal NP of motion verb is Location

<i>maguang sa</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>inahan</i>
<i>maguang sa</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>inahan</i>
elder.sibling GEN	1S.POSS-LK	mother

*na?a=y*                      *cancer,gi-adtu-an*=*namo?*

EXIST=NEUT                      cancer PFV-go-LV=1EP.GEN

‘The elder brother of my mother, (he) has cancer. We went (to see him).’

(47) Nominative NP of cognition verb is viewed as Location

*dili?=nimo*                      *ma-hibaw-an* *swerte*

NEG=2S.GEN                      STAT-know-LV luck

‘You won’t be able to foretell (your) luck.’

(48) Nominative NP of perception verb is viewed as Location

<i>pag-baba?=niya</i>	<i>usa=na=lang</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>bo?ok</i>	<i>ka?ing</i>
NMZ-descend=3S.GEN	one=already=only	LK	piece	basket

*na-kit-an*=*niya*

*na-kita?-an*=*niya*

SPONT-see-LV=3S.GEN

‘(Upon) his descent, (what) he saw was only one basket.’

AV constructions even of three-place verbs focus on the activity expressed by the verb (with no interest at all on the theme argument, if any; in other words, the Theme in such constructions is an adjunct), as in the English sentence *I always give to the Salvation Army* (example taken from Margetts and Austin, 2007). On the other hand, if three-place verbs are used in the highly-transitive PV or IV constructions, the focus is on the Theme argument, with similarly very little, if any, interest placed on any recipient (given the oblique case marking). It is thus mainly in an ELV where "transfer" is encoded.

(49) AV clause focuses on an action

<i>unya?</i>	<b>mo-hatag</b> = <i>siya-g</i>	<i>kwarta sa</i>	<i>imo-ng</i>	<i>ginikanan</i>
<i>unya?</i>	<b>mo-hatag</b> = <i>siya-ug</i>	<i>kwarta sa</i>	<i>imo-nga</i>	<i>ginikanan</i>
then	AV-give=3S.NOM-EXT	money LOC	2S.POSS-LK	parents

‘Then he gives to your parents?’

(50) IV clause focuses on the Patient

<b>gi-butang</b> = <i>nako?</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>orange sa</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>luyu</i>
<b>gi-butang</b> = <i>nako?</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>orange sa</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>luyu</i>
PFV.IV-place=1S.GEN	1S.POSS-LK	orange LOC	1S.POSS-LK	back

‘I placed my orange (juice) behind me.’

(51) Extended argument is an Instrument NP

<b>na-ligs-an</b> = <i>siya</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>trak</i>
<b>na-ligis-an</b> = <i>siya</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>trak</i>
SPONT-run.over=3S.NOM	EXT	truck

‘A truck ran over her.’

## 14.5 Different degrees of affectedness

In the real ditransitive verbs in Saisiyat, where both Theme and Goal are coded as arguments, the Goal may fall within the sphere of influence of the Agent. The Goal can be coded as Accusative or Dative based on spatial or psychological factors (Hsieh

and Huang 2006). In the second of the following pair below (52b), the Accusative marking of the Goal implies that it is in some way more affected by the activity of the Actor than in (52a). Other verbs in Saisiyat that pattern after this ‘Give’ construction include *to lend* and *to offer (sth) as a gift*. In such constructions, there is a competition between the Dative case and the Accusative case to mark the Goal (Hsieh and Huang 2006).

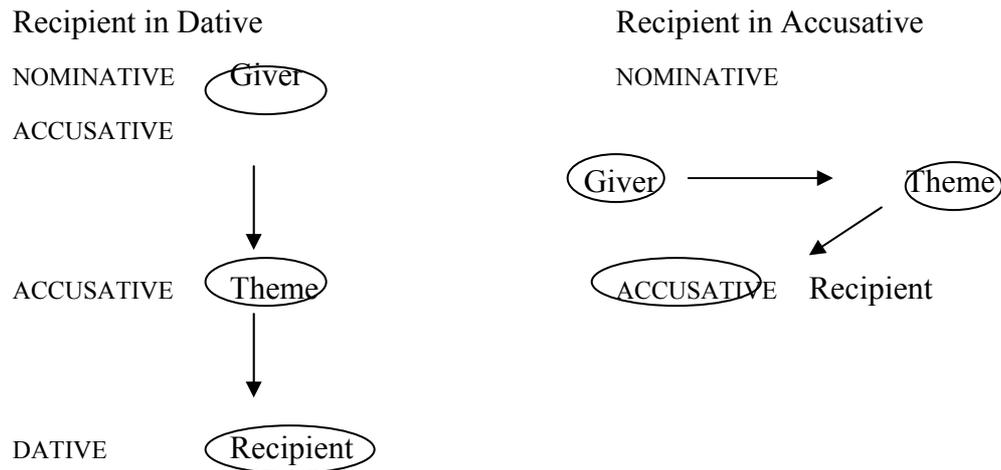
(52a) Saisiyat (Hsieh and Huang 2006)

<i>yao</i>	<i>wakik</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>allege:</i>	<b><i>no</i></b>	<b><i>korkoring</i></b>
1SG.NOM	wind	ACC	telephone	DAT	child
‘I gave a phone call to a/the child(ren).’					
‘I gave a/the child(ren) a phone call.’					

(52b) Saisiyat (Hsieh and Huang 2006)

<i>yao</i>	<i>wakik</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>allege:</i>	<b><i>ka</i></b>	<b><i>korkoring</i></b>
1SG.NOM	wind	ACC	telephone	ACC	child
‘I gave a/the child(ren) a phone call.’					

To Saisiyat speakers, the Recipient linguistically conceptualized in Dative are those commonly known receivers, the ultimate goal of the ‘giving’ action, whereas those encoded in Accusative are those that have direct physical contact or those that could be within visual contact and thus bring about a psychological sense of being affected, as illustrated in Figure 14-3.



**Figure 14-4. Competition between Accusative and Dative in Saisiyat (Hsieh and Huang 2006)**

In Cebuano, such a distinction is conveyed through the use of different voice constructions, as shown in the minimal pair below. In (53a), *Mario* is the focused nominal in a PV construction; it is within visual contact with an Agent and thus a psychological sense of being affected is brought about. In (53b), *Mario* is the focused nominal of an LV construction, but is less affected by the activity of the Agent (than in the situation in 67a) and is thus treated only as a Location.

(53a) PV construction; Patient is directly affected (constructed)

*gi-tawag=nako? si Mario*  
 PFV.PV-call=1S.GEN SI PN  
 'I called Mario.' (I can see Mario or I was able to talk with Mario.)

(53b) LV construction; Patient is indirectly affected (constructed)

*gi-tawg-an=nako? si Mario*  
*gi-tawag-an=nako? si Mario*  
 PFV-call-LV=1S.GEN SI PN  
 'I called Mario.' (Whether or not I was able to see or talk to Mario is not known.)

## 14.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have covered LV constructions and the related ELV construction. LV constructions are *-an* constructions that take nominals of various semantic roles as their Nominative-marked NP depending on the verb type. I have also discussed the differences between Recipient/Goal NPs and Benefactive NPs, and observed that Benefactive NPs prefer to occur as *para* marked NPs in intransitive clauses. In addition, I also examined the *-an* constructions with oblique-marked Theme arguments, now called ELV, and found them to carry the sense of “transfer” which is absent in other forms of transitive clauses in Cebuano.

## Chapter 15

### INSTRUMENT VOICE and OTHER MINOR CONSTRUCTIONS

#### 15.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I will look at Instrument Voice (IV) constructions, which take nominative nominals that are either Instrument or Transported Theme. I consider IV constructions a minor construction in Cebuano since the frequency of IV clauses in the data is very low, which is probably due to the fact that Instrument NPs are not so topical and occur very rarely in discourse. In 15.1 I will first discuss the various verbal affixes in IV clauses. In the next sections I will discuss other minor constructions. In 15.2 I will talk about the clauses that do not take nominative nominals; these are termed by other linguists as "subject-less" clauses. In 15.3, I will examine how comparison is expressed in the language. I will discuss pseudo-equational constructions in 15.4. In 15.5 I will provide a summary.

#### 15.1 IV affixes

Table 15-1 shows the various affixes marking IV constructions. Volitional events are marked by *gi-*; duration is marked by *ga-/gina-/gipaN-*; and the potential aspect is marked by *na-* and *gika-*. These express non-future time. For future time, volitional events are marked by *i-*; duration is marked by *iga-/ipag-*; and the potential aspect is marked by *ma-* and *ika-*. Irrealis situations are indicated by verbs marked *i-*; for example, imperative and negated non-future clauses.

**Table 15-1. IV verbal affixes**

Tense / Aspect	Volitional	Progressive	Potential
Non-future	<i>gi-</i>	<i>ga-; gina-; gipaN-</i>	<i>gika; na-</i>
Future	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-ga-; i-pag-</i>	<i>ika-; ma-</i>
Dependent (Imperative and Negation)	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-pag-</i>	<i>ika-</i>

The non-future volitional marker is *gi-* (1), which is actually a perfective marker and the same form as PV verbs. The future marker, the prefix *i-* (2 and the second line in 1), is usually used to check if a verb is PV or IV.

(1) non-future volitional IV verb (Sun Star, February 9, 2008)

<i>mga</i>	<i>ahente</i>	<b><i>gi-balhin</i></b>	<i>ngadto sa</i>	<i>uban-g</i>	<i>lugar</i>
<i>mga</i>	<i>ahente</i>	<b><i>gi-balhin</i></b>	<i>ngadto sa</i>	<i>uban-nga</i>	<i>lugar</i>
PL	agent	PFV.IV-move	move.toLOC	other-LK	place
<i>aron</i>	<i>padayon-g</i>	<b><i>i-tunol</i></b>	<i>ang</i>	<i>ila-ng</i>	<i>serbisyo</i>
<i>aron</i>	<i>padayon-nga</i>	<b><i>i-tunol</i></b>	<i>ang</i>	<i>ila-nga</i>	<i>serbisyo</i>
so	continue-COMP	IV-extend	ANG	3P.POSS-LK	service

'(Agency officials) relocated the (employees) to other places so that (they) could continue to extend their services.'

(2) future volitional IV verb

<i>upat=ra</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>computer</i>	<i>nga</i>	<b><i>i-pa-gawas</i></b>
four=only	ANG	computer	LK	IV-CAU-move.out

'There will only be four computers that are to be taken out.'

The non-future durative marker is *ga-*, *gina-*, or *gipaN-* (3), while the future marker is *iga-* or *ipag-*.

(3) non-future durative IV verb

<i>unya?</i>	<i>ato-ng</i>	<b><i>gipang-istorya</i></b>	<i>puro</i>	<i>ka-matay-an</i>
<i>unya?</i>	<i>ato?-nga</i>	<b><i>gipaN-istorya</i></b>	<i>puro</i>	<i>ka-patay-an</i>
DM	1IP.POSS-LK	IV-tell	all	KA-die-NMZ

*ma-hadlok=na?=sila*  
*ma-hadlok=kana?=sila*  
 INTR-fear=that=3P.NOM  
 'Then, (all) we are talking about are death; they will feel afraid.'

The non-future potential marker is *gika-* or *na-* (4), while the future marker is the prefix *ika-* or *ma-* (5). The future potential marker *ika-* can derive Instrument nominals, such as *ika-ligo?* 'swimwear < something used for bathing' (*ligo?* 'to take a bath') and *ika-tulog* 'sleepwear < something worn for sleeping' (*tulog* 'to sleep'). In (4), the *gi-ka-bu?ang* refers to the thing that is viewed as an Instrument<sup>65</sup> (i.e., something that he is crazy about).

(4) non-future potential/spontaneous IV verb

*kana-ng lotto, ma?o=gyud=na?*  
*kana?-nga lotto, ma?o=gyud=kana?*  
 that-LK lotto ANAPH=EMPH=that

*ang iya-ng gika-bu?ang karon*  
*ang iya-nga gika-bu?ang karon*  
 ANG 3S.POSS-LK IV-crazy now

'That lotto, that is what he's getting crazy about nowadays.'

(5) future potential/spontaneous IV verb (Sun Star, December 6, 2007)

*gi-huwat=na=lang nga mo-gawas ang commitment order*  
 PFV.PV-wait=pfv=only COMP AV-out ANG commitment.order

*aron ma-dala=sila ngadto sa General Santos City Jail*  
 so SPONT-take=3P.NOM to.there LOC PN

'(They) are just waiting for the commitment order to be released so that they can be taken to the General Santos City jail.'

The irrealis marker in IV clauses is the prefix *i-*. The example below is a negated clause (6).

<sup>65</sup> The "thing" can be a Cause/Reason, which is conceptually related to Instrument (Huang Huei-ju, p.c.).

(6) negated IV clause (Sun Star, September 9, 2007)

<i>wa?</i> = <i>pa</i> = <i>nila</i>	<b><i>ma-kuha?</i></b>	<i>ang</i>	<i>sakto-ng</i>	<i>ihap</i>
<i>wa?</i> = <i>pa</i> = <i>nila</i>	<b><i>ma-kuha?</i></b>	<i>ang</i>	<i>sakto-nga</i>	<i>ihap</i>
NEG=YET=3P.GEN	SPONT-take	ANG	correct-LK	count

<i>sa</i>	<i>pasahero</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>M. Shuttle</i>
LOC	passenger	GEN	PN

'They have not yet taken the exact count of the number of passengers aboard the Metro Shuttle.'

## 15.2 Clauses without nominative arguments

There are Cebuano clauses that are "subject-less" (also termed "predicates without subjects" by Bergh 1958: 15); these are the predicates that cannot take a nominative NP argument. Below I will discuss four types of such predicates, namely, defective verbs, meteorological verbs, temporal predicates, and interjection words.

### 15.2.1 Defective verbs

Defective verbs, a standard term in Indo-European linguistics, were most probably first applied to Cebuano by Pigafetta (n.d.: 36-37) to refer to verbs that do not behave regularly: they neither have derivational voice forms nor can they take nominative NP arguments. They can be categorized into two types: those that can take genitive NP arguments and complements, and those that take only complements. The first type includes particles like *ambot* 'don't know,' *matud*(=*pa*) or *sumala?* 'according to,' and *abi* 'epistemic particle,' while the second type includes particles that can take only complements, some of which are listed in Table 11-2 (complement-taking particles). Please refer to Section 11.13 for discussion on the particles that can only take complements.

As for the first type, the particle *ambot* 'don't know' has already been discussed in Section 7.4. It has a semantic "subject" which is always the Speaker, but which cannot be overtly expressed syntactically, as in (7) and (8). It can take a genitive argument (9), which is semantically the Agent of the interrogative complement clause.

(7) *ambot* followed by interrogative complement clause

<i>ambot=lang</i>	<i>unsa</i>	<i>ila-ng</i>	<i>plano</i>
<i>ambot=lang</i>	<i>unsa</i>	<i>ila-nga</i>	<i>plano</i>
don't.know=only	what	3P.POSS-LK	plan

'(I) don't know what their plans are.'

(8) *ambot* followed by interrogative complement clause

<i>naka-adto=ko-g</i>	<i>argao</i>				
<i>naka-adto=ko-ug</i>	<i>argao</i>				
AV-go=1S.NOM-EXT	PN				
<i>ambot</i>	<i>kung</i>	<i>college=ba=ko</i>	<i>ato</i>	<i>o=</i>	<i>high school</i>
don't.know	if	college=Q=1S.NOM	that	or	high school

'I've been to Argao. (I'm) not sure if I was in college then or in high school.'

(9) *ambot* takes a genitive argument

T:	<i>mo-hatag=ba imo-ng</i>	<i>bana sa imo-ng</i>	<i>ginikanan/</i>
	<i>mo-hatag=ba imo-nga</i>	<i>bana sa imo-nga</i>	<i>ginikanan/</i>
	AV-give=Q	2S.POSS-LK	husband LOC 2S.POSS-LK
			parent
L:	<i>ambot=lang=niya</i>	<i>kung unsa iya-ng</i>	<i>huna?huna?</i>
	<i>ambot=lang=niya</i>	<i>kung unsa iya-nga</i>	<i>huna?huna?</i>
	don't.know=just=3S.GEN	if what 3S.POSS-LK	thought

T: 'Does your husband give to your parents?'

L: '(I) don't know (about) what he thinks.'

The expression *matud(=pa)* or *sumala?* 'according to' or 'in the words of' is used when quoting another person's words. The complement may be an indirect quote, a direct quote, or introduced by a complementizer. Excerpts (10) and (11) show an indirect quote introduced by the complementizer *nga*, while extract (12) shows a direct quote.

(10) indirect quote complement of *matud* (Sun Star, February 12, 2008)

*matud*    *ni*    *Police Senior Inspector Jeofil Remudaro,*  
 according GEN    PN  
*hepe*    *sa*    *ka-pulis-an*    *sa*    *Maasim*    *nga na-kit-an*  
*hepe*    *sa*    *ka-pulis-an*    *sa*    *Maasim*    *nga na-kita?-an*  
 chief    GEN    KA-police-NMZ    LOC    PN    COMP SPONT-see-LV  
*sa mga barangay tanod*    *ang patay-ng lawas*    *sa*    *batan-on*  
*sa mga barangay tanod*    *ang patay-nga lawas*    *sa*    *bata?-on*  
 GEN PL    barangay.tanod    ANG dead-LK    body    GEN    child-NMZ  
 'According to Senior Inspector Jeofil Remudaro, chief of police of Massim, the dead body of the youngster was (accidentally) discovered by the barangay tanods.'

(11) indirect quote complement of *sumala?* (Sun Star, January 27, 2008)

*sumala?*    *kaniya nga*    *hinay*    *ang*    *iya-ng*    *dagan,*  
*sumala?*    *kaniya nga*    *hinay*    *ang*    *iya-nga*    *dagan,*  
 according 3S.DAT COMP slow    ANG    3S.POSS-LK    run  
*apan*    *aminado=kini nga*    *naka-inom*  
 but    admit=this    COMP    AV-drink  
 'According to him, he was driving slow but (he also) admitted to having been drunk.'

(12) direct quote complement of *matud* (Sun Star, February 10, 2008)

*"na-kit-an=nako*    *sir*    *nga*    *ana?a sa*    *daplin*  
*"na-kita?-an=nako*    *sir*    *nga*    *ana?a sa*    *daplin*  
 SPONT-see-LV=1S.GEN    VOC    COMP    EXIST    LOC    side  
*kritikal*    *ang*    *drayber nga*    *si*    *Norsayda,*"    *matud sa sundalo*  
 critical    ANG    driver    LK    SI    PN    according GEN soldier  
 "“Sir, I saw the driver, Norsayda, (lying) on the roadside (and in) critical (condition),” said the soldier.’

These excerpts are written texts; the spoken (or informal) counterpart would be the utterance verb *ingon* 'say', which could be a regular verb (13) that takes a nominative NP or a "subject"-less predicate like *matud* and *sumala?* (14).

(13) utterance verb *ingon* as complement-taking regular verb

*ingon=siya*    *nga*    *di?=na=siya*    *ma-nakop*  
*ingon=siya*    *nga*    *di?=na=siya*    *maN-dakop*  
 say=3S.NOM    COMP    NEG=already=3S.NOM    AV-catch  
 'He said that he won't catch (illegal workers) again.'

(14) utterance verb *ingon* functioning as "subject"-less predicate

*ingon=nila*            *pag-thirty-plus=na=ka=*,  
*ingon=nila*            *pag-thirty-plus=na=ka=*,  
 say=3P.GEN            NMZ=30plus=already=2S.NOM

*lisod=na=daw*            *m-anganak*  
*lisod=na=daw*            *m-panganak*  
 difficult=already=EVID    AV.INF-have.baby

'They say (that) (upon reaching) over thirty, they say it's difficult to give birth.'

The epistemic particle *abi* conveys a presupposition that turns out to be incorrect.

The semantic "subject" is realized as a genitive NP.

(15) particle *abi*

T    *kinsa-ng*            *peter-a*  
       *kinsa-nga*        *peter-a*  
       who-LK            PN-DEF

W    *ang*            *husband*  
       ANG           husband

M    *di?*,    *abi=nako-g*            *ku?an*  
       *di?*,    *abi=nako?-ug*        *ku?an*  
       DM     i.thought=1S.GEN-COMP KUAN

T: 'Which Peter?'

W: 'the husband.'

M: 'Then, I thought (it was) *kuan* (or somebody else, but it wasn't).'

(16) particle *abi* (Pigafetta n.d.: 37)

*abi=nako?*            (*nga*)    *mo-anhi=siya*  
 assume=1S.GEN            AV-come=3S.NOM

'I thought (that) he would come (but he didn't).'

### 15.2.2 Meteorological verbs

Meteorological verbs, which describe natural phenomena, can stand on their own.

They cannot take a nominative nominal when they are in an intransitive construction,

but they can take voice markers. In (17) the meteorological verb takes an AV prefix

but cannot take a nominative NP. In (18) the meteorological verb *ulan* is in its root

form. Another predicate *init* in the last line is in a construction described in 15.2.4.

The stative predicates *bugnaw* (in 18) and *init* (in 19) describe weather phenomena and can take a nominative NP such as *ang panahon* 'the weather (is) cold/hot' but these are very rarely overt.

(17) meteorological verb

*gahapon*      ***mi-linog***      *ug*      *kusog* \**ang* NP  
 yesterday      AV-quake      LK      strong  
 'Yesterday there was a strong quake.' (Bergh 1958: 15)

(18) meteorological verbs

T:      *kusog=ka?ay* ***ulan***      *sa*      *ato?----a*  
          strong=very      rain      LOC      1IP.POSS-DEF

W:      ***bugnaw=pa=kuno***      *sa*      *ato?*      *karon*  
          cold=even=EVID      LOC      1IP.POSS      now

T:      *di?ay, pwerte-ng*      ***init-a***      *diri*  
          *di?ay pwerte-nga*      ***init-a***      *diri*  
          BC      very-LK      hot-EMPH      here

T: 'It's raining hard in our (hometown).'  
 W: 'They are saying it's also very cold there now.'  
 T: 'Really? It's scorching hot here.'

(19) meteorological verb

*di?=siya*      *maka-tulog*      *kay*      ***init***      (*ang panahon*)  
 NEG=3S.NOM      AV.INF-sleep      because hot      ANG      weather  
 'He cannot sleep because (it's) hot.'

### 15.2.3 Temporal predicates

I call this type temporal predicates because the predicates in these clauses all involve time either indicating the time of an event/incident (20) or the length of time that has elapsed (21a). In the latter case, an abstract NP that is nominalized can serve as the nominative NP (21b).

(20) temporal predicate (Bergh 1958: 15)

***Sabado***      *sa*      ***hapon***      *ni?adto*  
 Saturday      LOC      afternoon      that.time  
 'It was Saturday afternoon.'

(21a) temporal predicate

<i>tulo</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>tu?ig=na</i>	<i>sukad sa</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>pag-abot</i>
<i>tulo</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>tu?ig=na</i>	<i>sukad sa</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>pag-abot</i>
three	LK	year=already	SINCE LOC	1S.POSS-LK	NMZ-arrive

'(It's) been three years since my arrival.'

(21b) temporal predicate

<i>tulo</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>tu?ig=na</i>	<b><i>ang</i></b>	<b><i>mi-labay</i></b>
<i>tulo</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>tu?ig=na</i>	<b><i>ang</i></b>	<b><i>mi-labay</i></b>
three	LK	year=already	ANG	AV-pass

<i>sukad</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>pag-abot</i>
<i>sukad</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>pag-abot</i>
since	LOC	1S.POSS-LK	NMZ-arrive

'Three years has passed since my arrival.'  
lit., 'What has passed since my arrival is three years.'

In (23a), the first element in the verb complex is occupied by a temporal adverbial. This can be re-phrased using the construction schematized in (22), where the temporal adverbial predicate serves as the matrix verb taking a complement verb infixed with <in>. In this construction, the matrix verb can only take a genitive NP. The main difference between (23a) and (23b) is that the former is a mere narration of an event that has taken place, while the latter is an exclamatory expression, not unlike the clauses given in Section 15.2.4.

(22) Pred=gen-ng V<in>

(23a) temporal predicate

<b><i>dugay=ka?ay=mi</i></b>	<i>nag-huwat</i>
<b><i>dugay=ka?ayo=mi</i></b>	<i>nag-huwat</i>
long.time=INTENS=1EP.NOMAV-wait	

'We waited for a very long time.'

(23b) temporal predicate

<b><i>(ka)-dugay=namo-ng</i></b>	<i>h&lt;in&gt;uwat</i>
<b><i>(ka)-dugay=namo?-nga</i></b>	<i>huwat&lt;in&gt;</i>
KA-long.time=1EP.GEN-COMP	wait<IN>

'What a long time that (we) waited!'

### 15.2.4 Interjection expressions

The fourth type of "subject"-less clause is illustrated in the schema in (24); they are also called exclamatory sentences (a similar expression has been given in 23b). The nominal that the verb predicates is marked by the locative case or genitive case, although it is observed in the data that such exclamatory verbs are not usually accompanied by nominals.

(24) PRED-*a* (ni / sa) NP (oy)!  
 PRED-emph gen voc

*ka*-PRED (ni / sa) NP!  
 interj-PRED gen

(25a) interjection expression

*pwerte=gyu-ng mahal-a*  
*pwerte=gyud-nga mahal-a*  
 EMPH=EMPH-COMP expensive-EMPH

*ang bulak lang ha siguro may mga 1000 us dollars*  
 ANG flower only DM maybe EXIST PL 1000 US.dollars  
 '(It was) sooo expensive! Just the flowers, (I think) it cost around 1,000 US dollars.'

(25b) interjection expression

*ka-mahal sa bulak*  
 KA-expensive GEN flower  
 'So expensive the flowers!'

(26a) interjection expression

*di?=man=pud=ko mo-balik sa iya-ha oy kapoy=ra*  
*di?=man=pud=ko mo-balik sa iya-a oy kapoy=ra*  
NEG=PAR=also=1S.NOM AV-return LOC 3S.POSS-DEF VOC tiring=EMPH

*sus karon=nga pwerte-ng hayahay-a nako?*  
*sus karon=nga pwerte-nga hayahay-a nako?*  
INTERJ now=LK EMPH-COMP relaxed-EMPH 1S.GEN

*mag-usa=ra=ko*  
AV-alone=just=1S.NOM

*balik=ka=pa/ sakit di?=ko oy*  
return=2S.NOM=still hurt NEG-1S.NOM VOC

'I won't return to his (side), it's too tiring! God! Now I'm so very relaxed! I'm all alone! Why should I go back! (His punches) hurt a lot! Of course I won't (go back).'

(26b) interjection expression

*ka-hayahay=nako?*  
KA-relaxed=1S.GEN  
'So relaxed (am) I!'

(27a) interjection expression

*pag-tumba sa barko, ako=gyu=y una-ng*  
*pag-tumba sa barko, ako=gyud=y una-nga*  
NMZ-sink GEN ship 1S.NOM=EMPH=NEUT first-LK  
*kan-on sa iho dagko?-a ani-ng ako-ng bati?is*  
*ka?on-on sa iho dako?<g>-a ani-nga ako?-nga bati?is*  
EAT-PV GEN shark big<PL>-EMPH this-LK 1S.POSS-LK leg

'(In the event of the) sinking of the boat, I'll be the first to be eaten by the sharks. I got sooo huge legs.'

(27b) interjection expression

*ka-dagko? ani-ng ako-ng bati?is*  
*ka-dako?<g> (sa) ani-nga ako?-nga bati?is*  
KA-big<PL> GEN this-LK 1S.POSS-LK leg  
'So huge are these legs of mine!'

### 15.3 Comparison

There are two markers to express comparison in Cebuano: the loan word *mas* and the indigenous word *labi* 'surpass; exceed'. Although *mas* is loaned from Spanish, it has become more frequently-used in colloquial settings (and even in the more

formal news articles). In the *mas* construction, *sa* or *kaysa* marks the nominal that serves as the standard for the comparison. The morpheme for ‘surpass; exceed’ is also utilized in other languages such as Amis (-*ki*- comparatives) (Sung and Kuo 2008) and Saisiyat (Sung and Sung 2007). In Amis, they can form PV verbs, while they cannot do so in Cebuano.

(28) *mas* comparative clause

<i>ganahan=ko</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>Cebu</i>	<i>mag-retire</i>
like=1S.NOM	LOC	PN	AV.FUT-retire
<b><i>mas</i></b>	<b><i>nindot=man</i></b>	<i>sa</i>	<i>Cebu</i>
COMPAR	nice=PAR	LOC	PN

'I'd like to retire in Cebu; it's nicer (there).'

(29) *mas* comparative clause

<b><i>mas</i></b>	<b><i>hitsura-an=gud=sila</i></b>	<i>ipis</i>	<i>kaysa</i>	<i>F4</i>
COMPAR	face-NMZ=EMPH=3P.NOM	PN	COMPAR	PN

'The IPIS (band), they're more goodlooking than the F4 (guys).'

(30) *mas* comparative clause

T:	<i>ma-kwarta</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>taga-Thailand</i>	
	STAT-money	ANG	NMZ-Thailand	
W:	<i>na-una=na=gud=sila</i>	<b><i>sa</i></b>	<i>ato?</i>	
	AV-ahead=already=EMPH=3P.NOM	LOC	1IP.POSS	
T:	<b><i>mas</i></b>	<i>progressive=sila</i>	<b><i>kaysa</i></b>	<i>Philippines</i>
	COMPAR	progressive=3P.NOM	COMPAR	PN

T: 'The Thai (people) are rich.'  
W: 'They've been farther ahead than we.'  
T: 'They are more progressive than the Philippines.'

The marker *labi* is the indigenous form to express comparison, whether of entities (31) or of actions (32). Note that one difference between the examples with *labi* and those with *mas* is that the comparative phrases in the former make use of the verb complex construction. The first element in the construction is an adverbial serving to modify the predicate located in the last slot of the verb complex.

(31) comparative clause

*labi=pa-ng ta?as si Juan*  
*labi=pa-nga ta?as si Juan*  
 over=even-LK tall SI PN  
 'Juan is even taller.'

(32) comparative clause

*labi=pa-ng kusog mo-dagan si Juan*  
*labi=pa-nga kusog mo-dagan si Juan*  
 over=even-LK strong AV-run SI PN  
 'Juan runs even faster.'

To express the superlative degree, the prefix *pinaka-* is used. Another expression used is *sa tanan*, literally, 'of all,' which is sometimes accompanied by emphatic clitics =*gyud* and =*ka?ayo*.

(33) *pinaka-* superlative clause

*pinaka-nindut=kuno nga pag-hikog, wa=y sakit,*  
*pinaka-nindut=kuno nga pag-hikog, wala?=y sakit,*  
 SUPER-nice=EVID LK NMZ-suicide NEG=NEUT pain

*diri sulod sa bathtub ba*  
 here inside LOC bathtub DM

'The most effective way to commit suicide, (where you) don't feel any pain, (you do it) inside the bathtub, then...'

(34) *pinaka-* superlative clause

*pinaka-nindut=gyud sa tourism, thailand*  
 SUPER-nice=EMPH LOC tourism PN  
 '(the one with) the nicest tourism (policy), (it's) Thailand.'

(35) superlative clause

*ganahan=ka?ay=ko kanangma-nganta-kanta sila*  
*ganahan=ka?ayo=ko kanangmaN-kanta-kanta sila*  
 like=very=1S.NOM PH AV-sing-REDUP 3P.NOM

*kay lingaw=ka?ay sa tanan*  
*kay lingaw=ka?ayo sa tanan*  
 because amusing=very SUPER

'I like it very much when they are singing. They're the most amusing.'

(36) superlative clause

<i>mga bayot,</i>	<i>sus</i>	<i>gwapa=ka?ay</i>	<i>sa tanan</i>
<i>mga bayot,</i>	<i>sus</i>	<i>gwapa=ka?ayo</i>	<i>sa tanan</i>
PL transvestite	INTERJ	pretty=very	SUPER

'The transvestites, oh, they're really the prettiest (of all)!'

The circumfix *kina*-PRED-*an* is also used as a marker for superlative comparison.

(37) superlative affix *kina*-...-*an*

L: *ikaw kina-maguwang-an*  
 2S.NOM SUPER-old-AN

J: *dili?, upat=mi, tapos, ika-tulu=ko*  
 NEG four=1EP.NOM DM ORD-three=1S.NOM

L: 'You're the eldest?'  
 J: 'No, we're four, then, I'm the third (one).'

(38) superlative affix *kina*-...-*an*

T: *pila sila-ng mag-so?on*  
*pila sila-nga mag-so?on*  
 how.many 3P.NOM-LK RECIP-sibling

L: *tulu, siya ang kina-manghur-an*  
*tulu, siya ang kina-manghud-an*  
 three 3S.NOM ANG SUPER-young-AN

T: 'How many siblings are they?'  
 L: 'Three, he's the youngest.'

Attaching to predicates, the degree particle =*ra* can also be used as a comparative particle to mean 'too.'

(39) degree particle =*ra*

<i>dali=ra</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>pag-pangita?</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>amiga</i>		
fast=just	ANG	NMZ-find	EXT	friend		
<i>pero</i>	<i>lisud</i>	<i>pangita-on</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>tinu?ud</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>amiga</i>
<i>pero</i>	<i>lisud</i>	<i>pangita?-on</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>tinu?ud</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>amiga</i>
but	difficult	find-PV	ANG	real	LK	friend

'(It's) too easy to look for friends, but (it's) difficult to find true friends.'

(40) degree particle =*ra*

<i>hayahay=ra=ka?ay=ko</i>	<i>sa tanan</i>	
<i>hayahay=ra=ka?ayo=ko</i>	<i>sa tanan</i>	
relaxed=just=INTENS=1S.NOM	SUPER	
<i>taga-an=ko=niya-g</i>	<i>allowance</i>	<i>kada-buwan</i>
<i>hatag-an=ko=niya-ug</i>	<i>allowance</i>	<i>kada-buwan</i>
give-LV=1S.NOM=3S.GEN-EXT	allowance	every-month

'I feel so relaxed. He gives me pocket money every month.'

## 15.4 Pseudo-equational constructions

In this section I discuss two types of "pseudo-equational" constructions. I call them pseudo-equational because they are formally equational, but they cannot be meant in the literal sense. In elliptic constructions (15.6.1), they serve to inquire about another person's preferences and the verb in these instances is ellipsed leaving the two core NPs without a verb. The other type of construction containing the anaphoric particle *ma?o* (15.6.2) is reminiscent of the recent past construction in Tagalog.<sup>66</sup> This *ma?o* construction may actually have two meanings: recent past (especially with clitic particle =*ra*) and exact time (especially with clitic particle =*gyud*).

### 15.4.1 Elliptic constructions

A formally equational construction schematized as "NP=2p voc" where 2p is a second-person pronoun (can be singular =*ka* or plural =*mo*) and NP is an entity that is for sale or available depending on the context; therefore, the clause cannot be meant

<sup>66</sup> The recent past construction in Tagalog does not have a nominative NP.

- i. *ka-ka-kain=lang ni Pedro*  
 KA-REDUP=eat=just GEN PN  
 'Pedro has just eaten.'
- ii. *ka-ba-baba=lang=natin*  
 KA-REDUP-down=just=1IP.GEN  
 'We just got down.'

in its literal sense. This construction can be heard especially in shops, markets, restaurants, or outside of hotels, as in (41) and (42). In other contexts, the ellipsed portion can be understood based on the context, as in (43) and (44).

(41) elliptic clause

*isda?=ka nang*  
 fish=2S.NOM VOC  
 '(Care for) fish, Ma'am?'  
 lit., 'You (are) fish, Ma'am.'

(42) elliptic clause

*taxi=mo noy*  
 taxi=2P.NOM VOC  
 'You (need a) taxi, Sir(s)?'  
 Lit., 'You (are) taxi, Sir.'

(43) elliptic clause

*asa=ka day*  
 where=2S.NOM VOC  
 'Where (is your destination), Miss?'  
 Lit., 'Where are you, Miss?'

(44) elliptic clause

*unsa=y ato? Sir*  
 what=NEUT 1IP.POSS VOC  
 'What can I do for you, Sir?'  
 lit., 'What (is) ours, Sir?'

### 15.4.2 Recent past and exact time expressions

Recent past and exact time expressions in Cebuano make use of the anaphoric particle *ma?o*, schematized in (45). The topic NP is a nominalized verb indicating the action. The addition of the clitic particle =*ra* 'just' indicates a "recent past" action (45b with constructed example in 46), while the addition of the clitic particle =*gyud* (for emphasis) indicates the very time that an action occurs (45c with constructed example in 47).

- (45a) *ma?o=y pag-V*  
 (45b) *ma?o=ra=y pag-V* (recent past)  
 (45c) *ma?o=gyu=y pag-V* (exact time)

(46) recent past expression

<i>ma?o=ra=y</i>	<i>pag-lakaw</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>Pedro</i>		<i>pag-abot=nimo</i>
<i>ma?o=ra=y</i>	<i>pag-lakaw</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>Pedro</i>	( <i>sa</i> )	<i>pag-abot=nimo</i>
ANAPH=just=NEUT	NMZ-walk	GEN	PN	OBL	NMZ-arrive=2S.GEN

'Pedro just left (upon) your arrival.'

(47) exact time expression

<i>ma?o=gyu=y</i>	<i>pag-lakaw</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>Pedro</i>		<i>pag-abot=nimo</i>
<i>ma?o=gyud=y</i>	<i>pag-lakaw</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>Pedro</i>	( <i>sa</i> )	<i>pag-abot=nimo</i>
ANAPH=EMPH=NEUT	NMZ-walk	GEN	PN	OBL	NMZ-arrive=2S.GEN

'Pedro left the very moment (of) your arrival.'

## 15.5 Summary

In this chapter I have shown IV constructions, transitive constructions in Cebuano that take Instrumental NPs and Theme NPs as Nominative nominals. In other languages, the IV/BV/RV constructions also take nominative –marked Benefactive NPs, but in Cebuano, the Benefactive NPs occur as *para* marked NPs in intransitive clauses. I also discussed Cebuano clauses that lack nominative-marked NPs (the so-called “subject-less” clauses), comparison clauses, elliptic constructions, and recent past and exact time expressions.

## Chapter 16 CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

### 16.0 Introduction

Causative constructions involve ‘a causing event’ and ‘a caused event’ (Shibatani 1976), specifying an additional argument, a Causer, onto a basic clause (Dixon 2000). According to Comrie (1985), there are three basic forms to express a causative situation, namely, lexical, morphological, and analytic (or syntactic). Lexical causatives are words which in themselves convey causation; there is a direct connection between cause and effect. In Cebuano, the *gi-* verbs, which by the volitional nature of the prefix, convey deliberate intention of directly causing something to happen. Aside from the *gi-* verbs, lexical causatives also include the other various transitive verb forms.

A more productive way of expressing causatives, especially in many Philippine and Formosan languages, is through the prefixation of a causative morpheme *pa-*. It is further observed in our data that in the process of causativization in Cebuano, AV clauses follow a particular pattern while NAV clauses follow another one. The causativization of an AV verb does not necessarily increase the number of arguments, rather, it produces a benefactive reading. These intransitive causative constructions are examined first in 16.1. On the other hand, in NAV clauses a causer argument is added in a causativized construction where the causee is relegated to the oblique slot. It is also further observed that these oblique nominals are non-obligatory arguments. These NAV constructions are investigated more fully in 16.2.

The different ways to express causative situations are distinct from each other in terms of productivity and immediacy of effect. In terms of productivity, lexical causatives are the least productive and syntactic causatives are the most productive. According to Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002), this notion of productivity is a better predictor of the form-meaning correlation of certain causatives than the purely formal classification advocated by Dixon (2000). By immediacy of effect, we mean the distance between the Cause and Effect of a causative event. Lexical causatives convey the most immediate connection between Cause and Effect; this is illustrated by *John killed the man* in English, where it is *John* who accomplished the action and *the man* was directly affected by such an action. As I mentioned, these are the *gi-* lexical causatives in Cebuano, which I will discuss next in 16.3. In contrast, a causative form making use of certain syntactic devices, like *John allowed the police to kill the man* in English, suggests a more loose connection between *John* and the effect of *kill* on the man, as the causing event and the caused event composing such an indirect causative situation may have distinct spatio-temporal profiles, as suggested by Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002). I will discuss these manipulative causative constructions in 16.4.

Furthermore, in 16.5, I deal with the causative forms of cognition verbs and examine those of other verbs that have lexicalized. In 16.6, I show that directional morphemes must originate from the causative morpheme *pa-*. In 16.7 I provide a summary.

## 16.1 AV causative constructions

The AV causative verbs referred to in this section are the AV-marked verbs prefixed with the causative morpheme *pa-*. There are three types of AV causative constructions in Cebuano in terms of their relation to their basic "non-causative" counterpart. Examples of the first type of AV causative constructions are shown in (1a) and (2a); their non-causative counterparts are shown in (1b) and (2b).

(1a) causative AV clause (constructed)

*nag-pa-guwapa=ko*  
AV-CAU-beautiful=1S.NOM  
'I made myself beautiful.'

(1b) basic intransitive clause (constructed)

*guwapa=ko*  
beautiful=1S.NOM  
'I am beautiful.'

(2a) causative AV clause (constructed)

*nag-pa-dako?=ko          ug          lawas*  
AV-CAU-grow.big=1S.NOM EXT          body  
'I made myself grow big.'

(2b) basic intransitive clause (constructed)

*dako?=ko          ug          lawas*  
big=1S.NOM          EXT          body  
'I have a massive body.'

In the minimal pairs above, the AV causative clauses have a benefactive reading, where the Causer and Causee refer to the same person (who is at the same time the Benefactee). In this way, there are no more arguments in the causative clauses than in the non-causative ones, and the causative clauses remain intransitive. The difference between both of them is that, the basic verb, being a predicate, indicates a state, while

the causative verb contains a dynamic element, a change of state, or an entry into a state. More examples are given in (3) and (4).

(3) causative AV clause

*huna?huna?=nila, daghan=ka?ay mag-pa-rehistro*  
*huna?huna?=nila, daghan=ka?ayo mag-pa-rehistro*  
 think=3P.GEN many=INTENS AV.FUT-CAU-register  
 'They thought (that) many (people) will (come to) register.' (lit., '... to have themselves registered')

(4) causative AV clause

*ma?o=man ato-ng kunswelo mga babayi*  
*ma?o=man ato?-nga kunswelo mga babayi*  
 ANAPH=PAR IIP.POSS-LK enjoyment PL girl  
***ganahan=ta mag-pa-gwapa***  
 like=1IP.NOM AV-CAU-beautiful  
 'It's our enjoyment, as girls; we like to make ourselves beautiful.'

The second type of AV causative clauses involves activity verbs. Like the first type, they also possess a benefactive reading where the Causer benefits from the action caused to be performed by a Causee. In the examples shown, the basic counterparts of the AV *pa-* verbs are *gi-* transitive verbs. However, the *pa-* verbs are less direct than the *gi-* verbs in terms of immediacy of effect. In addition, as shown in Figure 16-1, the prefixation of the causative morpheme *pa-* actually reduces the number of core arguments by one despite the addition of a causer argument (which conflates with the undergoer role of the basic clause), since the Agent in the *gi-* clause becomes an oblique (dative) causee in the *pa-* clause. The nominative Patient in the *gi-* clause retains the nominative marker as causer in the *pa-* clause.

(5a) causative AV clause

***nag-pa-kuha?=ko kang Juan***  
 AV-CAU-get=1S.NOM DAT PN  
 'I made Juan (come and) pick me up.'

(5b) basic transitive clause

*gi-kuha?=ko ni Juan*  
 PFV.IV-get=1S.NOM GEN PN  
 'Juan picked me up.'

(6a) causative AV clause

*nag-pa-luto? si Pedro kang Juan*  
 AV-CAU-cook SI PN DAT PN  
 'Pedro<sub>x</sub> asked Juan to cook for him<sub>x</sub>.'

(6b) basic transitive clause

*gi-lutu-an ni Juan si Pedro*  
 PFV-cook-LV GEN PN SI PN  
 'Juan cooked for Pedro.'

**Figure 16-1. Causative AV verbs and their basic counterparts**

Basic verb		Causative verb
First type (Base: intransitive clauses)		
Patient NOM	—————	Causer / Causee / Benefactee NOM
Second type (Base: transitive clauses)		
Patient NOM Agent GEN	————— —————	Causer / Patient / Benefactee NOM (Agent Causee) OBL (DAT)
Third type (Base: extended intransitive clauses)		
Agent NOM Patient E	————— —————	Causer / Benefactee NOM Patient E (Agent Causee) OBL (DAT)

More examples are given in (7) and (8).

- (7) causative AV clause
- T *ngano=wa?=pa=man=ka na-mabdos*  
 why=NEG=CAU=PAR=2S.NOM AV-be.pregnant
- L *@@ma?o=gani?@@ [gusto=na=namo?]*  
 ANAPH=PAR like=already=1EP.GEN
- T **[mag-pa-tan?aw]** *mag-pa-tan?aw kang doktora*  
 AV.FUT-CAU-see AV.FUT-CAU-see DAT doctor
- L **nag-pa-tan?aw=na=mi**  
 AV.NFUT-CAU-see=already=1EP.NOM
- T: 'Why aren't you pregnant yet?'  
 L: 'Exactly, [we like to have a baby now]'  
 T: '[See the doctor]'  
 L: 'We have been to the doctor.'

- (8) causative AV clause
- pananglitan larga=siya sa kaohsiung sa pingtung*  
 for.instance leave=3S.NOM LOC PN LOC PN
- mag-pa-destino=siya didto**  
 AV.FUT-CAU-assign=3S.NOM there
- mag-gukod-gukod=ka/**  
 AV.FUT-chase-REDUP=2S.NOM
- 'For instance, if he leaves for Kaohsiung or Pingtung, he wants to get assigned there, are you going to chase after him?'

So far, it has been observed that AV constructions mainly serve to highlight and focus on the S nominal; the source and the goal of the causation is the same entity. To illustrate this in another way, say, if only the Causer or only the Causee of a scene or an event were to be highlighted (without considering the other argument), then either the causative AV construction (9a) or the intransitive AV construction (9b) is employed, respectively. If both are to be highlighted, the transitive PV construction (9c) is recruited (see also 16.3.1). In such an instance, one of the "Agents" becomes a Patient.

- (9) a. *pa-V<sub>AV</sub>* *si Juan* (causative AV clause)  
 b. *V<sub>AV</sub>* *si Pedro* (intransitive AV clause)  
 c. *V<sub>PV</sub>* *ni Pedro si Juan* (transitive PV clause)

The third type of AV causative clause is based on an extended intransitive clause construction (EIC). This causative type has one more argument than the basic EIC, namely, the Causer argument. The extended argument E remains as is in the causative clause, while the Agent in the EIC becomes an optional oblique argument in the causativized clause. As attested by our data (see 10 and 8), the Causee argument is always optionally omitted. The optional Causee argument in a causativized clause is always marked by the dative *kang* (see 7).

(10) causative AV clause

<i>pa-palit=ka</i>	<i>ana-ng</i>	<i>high tech</i>
<i>pa-palit=ka</i>	<i>ana?-nga</i>	<i>high tech</i>
CAU-buy=2S.NOM	that-LK	high.tech

'You have (somebody) buy you (that) high-tech (gadget).'

## 16.2 Transitive *pa-* causatives

In intransitive clauses, it is always the Causee that has to change its syntactic relation in order to fit in the increased valency of the causative verb; the Causee is the nominative-marked argument of the basic verb, but cannot remain so (as nominative-marked argument of the causative verb), this position being usurped by the Causer. In Cebuano, the Causee moves out of the core and takes peripheral marking, except in NAV causative constructions derived from intransitive basic clauses (cf. Figure 16-3).

**Figure 16-2.**

**Typical valency relations between basic and causative verbs (Comrie 1985: 342)**

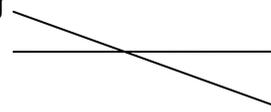
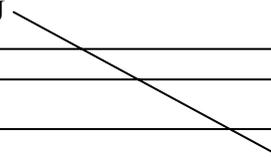
	Basic		Causative
Intransitive	SUBJ		SUBJ DO
Monotransitive	SUBJ DO	 	SUBJ DO IO
Ditransitive	SUBJ DO IO	  	SUBJ DO IO OBL

Figure 16-2, taken from Comrie (1985), represents typical valency relations between basic and causative verbs; this is slightly modified in Cebuano (see Figure 16-3). In the case of intransitive clauses, the additional Causer argument in the causative clause may either be encoded as Nominative (Causer and Causee are conflated) and the resulting construction remains intransitive, or it is encoded as Genitive, and the resulting construction becomes transitive. In both processes, the Nominative argument in the basic clauses remains Nominative-marked in the causative clauses.

**Figure 16-3. Valency relations between basic and causative verbs in Cebuano**

	Basic		Causative
Intransitive	NOM	—————	NOM (OBL)
	NOM	—————	NOM GEN (causer) (transitive clause)
Monotransitive	GEN	—————	GEN (causer)
	NOM	—————	NOM OBL (optional causee)
Ditransitive	GEN	—————	GEN (causer)
	NOM	—————	NOM
	OBL	—————	OBL OBL (optional causee)

In the case of the causativization of monotransitives and ditransitives in Cebuano, Bunye and Yap (1971) came up with the formulae shown in Table 16-1. However, I wish to introduce some revisions as it fails to capture certain aspects of Cebuano syntax that recent studies have already uncovered. For example, the type of AV causative clause that they describe is one that is based on an extended intransitive clause (EIC), which is traditionally treated as transitive constructions. This has to be clearly distinguished from the purely intransitive causative clauses. Hence, their description also fails to capture the fact that the AV clauses in Cebuano are intransitive constructions as these constructions focus on the Agent and its actions. Therefore in causative AV clauses, the number of arguments stays the same as that of the basic clauses, as there is no additional argument that results from the causative process. Moreover, the Causer in AV causative clauses is at the same time a Benefactee, so that AV causative clauses actually have a Benefactive reading. Our revision is shown in Table 16-2, which reflects the various types of AV causative clauses that we have described earlier in section 16.1.

**Table 16-1. Cebuano causatives (Bunye and Yap 1971: 104-109)**

Case roles	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique	(Oblique)
AF <i>mag-pa-V</i>	Causer		Receiver	Secondary Agent
PF <i>gi-pa-V</i>	Agent	Causer	Receiver	Beneficiary
LF <i>gi-pa-V-an</i>	Receiver	Causer		Secondary Agent
BF <i>(g)i-pa-V-an</i>	Beneficiary	Causer	Receiver	
IF <i>(g)i-pa-V</i>	Instrument	Causer	Receiver	Secondary Agent

As for the transitive constructions, as is the general situation in many other languages, there is one more additional causer argument in the causative clauses than in the basic clauses. When the causer takes the slot occupied by the Causee argument in the basic clause, the causee argument becomes an optional argument marked oblique.

**Table 16-2. Semantic roles of arguments in causative clauses in Cebuano**

Case roles	Valence change	Basic clause	Nominative	Genitive	Exrended Argument	(Oblique)	Verbs
AV <i>mag-pa-V</i>	0	Stative Predication	Benefactee Causer				<i>guapa</i> 'be beautiful'
	0	Transitive	Benefactee Causer			Causee	See Table 14-1
	0	EIC	Benefactee Causer		Patient	Causee	<i>kuha?</i> 'take' <i>himo?</i> 'make'
PV <i>gi-pa-V</i>	+1	Intransitive	Causee	Causer			<i>tindog</i> 'stand'
	+1	EIC	Causee	Causer	Patient		<i>ka?on</i> 'eat' <i>himo?</i> 'make'
	+1	Transitive	Patient	Causer		(Causee)	<i>ka?on</i> 'eat'
	+1	ELV	Theme	Causer	Goal	(Causee)	<i>hatag</i> 'give'
LV <i>gi-pa-V-an</i>	+1	Transitive	Locative Patient	Causer		(Causee)	<i>lingkod</i> 'sit'
	+1	ELV	R-B Goal	Causer	Theme	(Causee)	<i>himo?</i> 'make' <i>hatag</i> 'give'
IV <i>i-pa-V</i>	+1	Transitive	Theme	Causer		(Causee)	<i>buhat</i> 'make'

In the revised version in Table 16-2, we actually find construction subtypes of each causative verb form. PV causatives are derived from four types of basic clause constructions, and LV causatives from two types of basic clause constructions. The following subsections will discuss PV causatives (16.2.1), LV causatives (16.2.2), and IV causatives (16.2.3).

### 16.2.1 PV causative constructions

PV causative constructions are derived from four types of basic clauses. The first two types are AV constructions, namely, intransitive clauses and EICs (see Section 12.3). Intransitive clauses have an Agent or an Undergoer that becomes a Causee when causativized; the EIC has the same situation but there is an extended argument that retains its original marking in the resulting causative clause. The excerpts below show the resulting causative clauses of an intransitive clause (11) and an EIC (12).

#### (11) causative PV clause

*gi-hold,*        *wa?*    *gi-pa-larga,*        *kay*  
 PFV.PV-detain   NEG   PFV.PV-CAU-leave        because

*ni-layas=kuno sa*        *ila-ha*  
*ni-layas=kuno sa*        *ila-a*  
 AV-leave=EVID   LOC   3P.POSS-DEF

'(The officials) detained (him) and did not let (him) leave, because it was said that (he) left their (place) (without notifying anybody).'

#### (12) causative PV clause

*daghan=man=ko-g*        *dala,*    *gi-pa-dala=ko*  
*daghan=man=ko-ug*        *dala,*    *gi-pa-dala=ko*  
 many=PAR=1S.NOM-EXT        bring    PFV.IV-CAU-bring=1S.NOM

*nila marilou*  
*nila marilou*  
 3P.GEN PN

'I brought many things. Marilou and others asked me to bring (them).'

As for the basic clauses that are transitive or ditransitive, the Patient nominal remains nominative-marked while the Agent Causee argument becomes an optional oblique. As can be observed in Table 16-2, PV causatives can have either a Causee or a Patient as the argument taking the nominative case; this difference is actually brought about by the kind of basic clause the causative construction is derived from. If

the basic clause is intransitive where the nominative-marked nominal is Agent, the nominative argument in the causative clause is the Agent turned Causee; if the basic clause is transitive where the nominative-marked nominal is Patient, the nominative argument in the causative clause remains the Patient. Therefore in PV causative clauses where the nominative nominal is zero like (14a), it can either be an animate Causee (14b) or a Patient (14c). In (14a), the nominative nominal is either 'them' or 'the food.'

(13) causative PV clause

<i>pa-kit-a=ko</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>iya-ha-ng</i>	<i>litrato</i>	<i>be</i>
<i>pa-kita?-a=ko</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>iya-a-nga</i>	<i>litrato</i>	<i>be</i>
CAU-see-PV=1S.NOM	OBL	3S.POSS-DEF-LK	picture	PAR

'Let me see his picture!'

(14a) causative PV clause

<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>gi-pa-ka?on</i>	<i>tunga?-tunga?</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>dagat</i>
<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>gi-pa-ka?on</i>	<i>tunga?-tunga?</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>dagat</i>
1S.POSS-LK	PFV.PV-CAU-eat	middle-REDUP	LOC	sea

'I made (them) eat (the food) in the middle of the sea.'

(14b) basic AV clause with Nominative-marked Causee

<i>ni-ka?on(=nila)</i>	<i>tunga?-tunga?</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>dagat</i>
AV-eat(=3P.NOM)	middle-REDUP	LOC	sea

'(Them) ate (the food) in the middle of the sea.'

(14c) basic PV clause with Nominative-marked Patient

<i>gi-ka?on(=nila)</i>	<i>(ang isda?)</i>	<i>tunga?-tunga?</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>dagat</i>
PFV.PV-eat(=3P.GEN)	ANG fish	middle-REDUP	LOC	sea

'(Them) ate (the fish) in the middle of the sea.'

## 16.2.2 LV causative constructions

LV causative constructions have two types of basic clauses, namely, transitive LV clauses and ELVs (ditransitives, see section 14.4). The Causer occupies the genitive slot, while the Agent Causee is relegated to oblique position that is optional.

(15) LV causative clause

*layo?=pa, iya-ng pa-kit-an, wa=y abri*  
*layo?=pa, iya-nga pa-kita?-an, wa?=y abri*  
far=still 3S.POSS-LK CAU-see-LV NEG=NEUT open  
'(When she's) still far (away from the baggage inspection area), she'll show  
(some money inserted inside her passport). (They) won't open (her bags).'

### 16.2.3 IV causative constructions

The IV causative construction is based on an IV clause, with the Agent Causee, as always, relegated to oblique position. Example (16) shows an IV causative construction; (17) is a modifier of a nominal in an equational clause; and (18) is a nominalized form.

(16) IV causative clause

T: *selos-o=ba=siya*  
jealous-person=Q=3S.NOM  
L: *ambot=lang=kaha?, basi-g di?=lang=niya i-pa-kita?*  
*ambot=lang=kaha?, basi-ug di?=lang=niya i-pa-kita?*  
dunno=only=EVID maybe-COMP NEG=only=3S.GEN IV-CAU-see  
T: 'Does he like to get jealous?'  
J: 'No idea. Maybe he just doesn't want to show (it).'

(17) IV causative verb

*upat=ra ang computer nga i-pa-gawas*  
four=only ANG computer LK IV-CAU-move.out  
'There will only be four computers that are to be taken out.'

(18) IV causative verb

*unsa=y i-pa-buhat, di?=gyud=ko maka-balibad*  
what=NEUT IV.NMZ-CAU-do NEG=EMPH=1S.NOM AV-refuse  
'Whatever (the thing that I am) asked to do, I surely cannot refuse.'

In English, it has been claimed that Patient arguments of causative verbs can be omitted (Goldberg 2001). In Cebuano, this is hardly surprising as the language allows for zero anaphora. However, just as what has been claimed for Patient arguments in

English, we have repeatedly indicated in previous sections in this chapter that the oblique-marked Causee in causative clauses is optional. We conjecture two reasons for this phenomenon. First, in Table 16-2, we have shown that there are various ways of argument assignment in PV causative clauses. Either the Patient or the Causee is marked nominative. If the basic clause is intransitive, the focus is on the Agent; therefore, the Agent is highlighted in the derived causative clause; if the basic clause is transitive, the focus is on the Patient; therefore, the Patient argument is highlighted in the derived causative. In other words, there are choices available so that only the argument that needs to be highlighted is expressed through an appropriate construction. Thus, the second reason is obviously derived from the first: the choices are made available to avoid the mentioning of too many arguments in a single clause.

### **16.3 Lexical causatives in Cebuano**

In English, we say that *kill* is the lexical causative of *die*, and both words do not have any mutual (morphological) resemblance to each other. In Cebuano, these are the *gi-* prefixed verbs shown in Table 16-3. In terms of distance between the Causer and the Effect, these *gi-* verbs have the most direct connection between cause and effect among the various forms of causatives in Cebuano, and are similar to the morphological causatives in Marathi (an Indo-Aryan language) which align with pure lexical causatives in expressing direct causation (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002). Moreover, they are not as productive as the other morphological means of prefixing *pa-* to verbs. This causativization process deviates a bit from the general tendency described in Comrie (1985) (see also Figure 16-3) that the Causee (Patient/Undergoer)

occupies the slot that is not already filled by some argument (Causer) of the causative verb. Comrie arrived at such a conclusion because his data was based on phenomena observed in accusative languages. In Cebuano, the additional Causer argument in a causative clause always occupies the Genitive slot; therefore, the Nominative argument in the basic clause remains Nominative-marked in the causative clause.

**Table 16-3. Intransitive *na-* verbs and causative *gi-* verbs**

	<i>gi</i> -V (causative verbs)	<i>na</i> -V (inactive intransitive)
Physical (bodily)	<i>gi-banhaw</i> 'to cause to rise from the dead' <i>gi-bu?ak</i> 'to cause to break' <i>gi-da?ot</i> 'to cause to get bad; destroyed' <i>gi-hagbong</i> 'to cause to fall' <i>gi-hubog</i> 'to cause to be drunk' <i>gi-hulog</i> 'to cause to fall' <i>gi-lumos</i> 'to cause to drown' <i>gi-patay</i> 'to cause to die' <i>gi-sangit</i> 'to cause to be hooked' <i>gi-sunog</i> 'to cause to burn'	<i>na-banhaw</i> 'rise from the dead' <i>na-bu?ak</i> 'to break' <i>na-da?ot</i> 'get bad; get destroyed' <i>na-hagbong</i> 'fall' <i>na-hubog</i> 'be drunk' <i>na-hulog</i> 'fall' <i>na-lumos</i> 'drown' <i>na-matay</i> 'die' <i>na-sangit</i> 'be hooked' <i>na-sunog</i> 'burn'

(19) causative clause

*gi-bu?ak=niya ang baso* (transitive)  
 PFV.PV-break-3S.GEN ANG glass  
 'She broke the glass.' ('She caused the glass to break.')

(20) intransitive clause

*na-bu?ak ang baso* (inactive intransitive)  
 INTR-break ANG glass  
 'The glass broke.'

The intransitive *na-* verbs in Table 16-3, which we have discussed in Section 13.4.1 (and a bit in Section 12.5.2), may also be called anticausative based on Comrie's (1985) description. In the intransitive *na-* construction, the undergoer or patient nominal occupies the nominative slot (similar to the anticausative *The door opened* in English). The anticausative is also very similar to the passive; there is no wonder therefore that Cebuano employs a similar marker for both passive and

anticausative. In passive instances, there can be a person or thing that brings about a situation but it is downplayed; in anticausative instances, the situation comes about spontaneously.

Wolff mentions of causative verbs without causative *pa-* (1962: 353). We believe that he is referring to lexical causatives. Aside from the *gi-* causatives mentioned here, he gives examples of verbs marked by other prefixes (21) and (22). That means, most transitive verbs in Cebuano, which are marked for voice, have the potential of being a lexical causative, as transitive verbs entail some change of state in the Patient argument, which is what causative verbs do.

(21) causative clause (Wolff 1962: 353)

*unsa=y naka-da?utan niya*  
 what=NEUT ABIL-be.wrong 3S.OBL  
 'What went wrong with him?' (caused him to be bad')

(22) causative clause (Wolff 1962: 353)

*i-layo? ang tanan-g maka-da?ut kaniya*  
*i-layo? ang tanan-nga maka-da?ut kaniya*  
 IV-keep.away ANG all-LK ABIL-be.wrong 3S.DAT  
 'Keep all things which can harm him away.'

#### 16.4 Manipulative causative constructions

Manipulative causative constructions in Cebuano express a kind of attitude on the part of the Causer. These devices include *gi-pugos* 'to force,' *gi-sugo?* 'to instruct,' and *gi-tugt-an* 'to permit,' just to name a few. In terms of frequency, the causative markers *to allow*, *to permit*, and *to force* also have lower frequency than the more productive *pa-* causatives, which are equivalent to *make* and *cause*. In (23a), the causation process contains an element of force, while that in (23b) is more neutral.

(23a) manipulative causative

...(2.1) *gi=pugos=niya*      *ang*    *iya-ng*      *ulo*    *nga=*  
*gi=pugos=niya*      *ang*    *iya-nga*      *ulo*    *nga=*  
 PFV.PV-force=3S.GEN    ANG    3S.POSS-LK    head    LK

*ma-sulod*      *sa*      *ma?o-ng*      *garapa*  
*ma-sulod*      *sa*      *ma?o-nga*      *garapa*  
 INTR-put.inside LOC    ANAPH-LK      container

'(The dog) forced its head inside the container.'

(23b) causative *pa-* verb

*gi-pa-sulod=niya*      *ang*    *iya-ng*      *ulo*    *sa*    *garapa*  
*gi-pa-sulod=niya*      *ang*    *iya-nga*      *ulo*    *sa*    *garapa*  
 PFV.PV-CAU-put.inside=3S.GEN    ANG    3S.POSS-LK    head    LOC    container

'It put its head inside the container.'

## 16.5 Causativization of cognition verbs

Causative forms of cognition verbs like *hibalo* 'to know' and *sabot* 'to understand' seem to violate Table 16-2, as the arguments in their causative clauses do not follow the regular pattern. The causativized *pa-hibalo* in (24) takes a complement clause.

(24) causativized cognition verb takes complement

*amiga nako?, wala?=siya*    *na-dawat*  
 friend 1S.GEN NEG=3S.NOM    INTR-accept

*siya ang nag-ano,*      *nag-pa-hibawonga*    *na?a=y*    *nag-*  
 3S.NOM ANG    AV-what      AV-CAU-know COMP    EXIST=NEUT AV

'My friend, she was not accepted (for this job). She was (the one who) informed (me) that there was a...'

As for *pa-sabot*, the Nominative nominal of its AV form can only be an abstract situation and can never be an animate entity (e.g., *kini nag-pa-sabot nga ...* 'this means that ...') where *kini* refers to a situation or an event described in a preceding discourse. The PV form *gi-pa-sabot* seems also to be used as a nominal (e.g., *ang gi-pa-sabot=niya (nga) ...* 'what he means (that) ...'). However, such cases

like these are not restricted to cognition verbs. Another good example would be *salamat* 'to thank.' The causative form *pa-salamat* 'to thank' can be used as a verb, as in the last line in (25), or as a nominal, as in the first line in (25).

(25) causative form *pa-salamat*

...(1.1)	<i>sa</i>	<i>ka-tapus-an</i>	<i>n-angayo-g</i>	<b><i>pa-salamat</i></b>	<i>ang</i>	<i>bata</i>
	<i>sa</i>	<i>ka-tapus-an</i>	<i>m-pangayo-ug</i>	<b><i>pa-salamat</i></b>	<i>ang</i>	<i>bata</i>
	LOC	NMZ-end-LV	AV-ask-EXT	CAU-thanks	ANG	child
..	<i>nga</i>	<i>na-kita?=na=nila</i>	<i>ang=</i>			
	COMP	PV-see=PFV=3P.GEN	ANG			
...	<i>ila-ng</i>	<i>gi-pangita</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>ma?o-ng</i>	<i>baki?</i>	
...	<i>ila-nga</i>	<i>gi-pangita</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>ma?o-nga</i>	<i>baki?</i>	
	3P.POSS-LK	PFV.PV-find	LK	ANAPH-LK	frog	
..	<i>nag-pa-salamat=siya sa</i>	<i>ma?o-ng</i>	<i>grupo</i>			
..	<i>nag-pa-salamat=siya sa</i>	<i>ma?o-nga</i>	<i>grupo</i>			
	AV-CAU-thank=3S.NOM	DAT	ANAPH-LK	group		

'And in the end, the child thanked them. The child thanked the (group of) frogs that they found the frog they were looking for.'

Other verbs prefixed with *pa-* has lexicalized in varying degrees into nominals. I will discuss five more of these lexicalized *pa-* nominals, namely, *pa-salubong* 'present', *pa-dala* 'remittance', *pa-na?ad* 'promise', *pa-to?o* 'to obey', and *pa-agi* 'means'. The word *pa-salubong* (literally, '*pa-meet*'), which has come to refer to a present that is given upon the return of somebody from a faraway place, is actually a Tagalog word that has come to be borrowed in many other Philippine languages, since travel overseas or even to other parts in the Philippines became a fad.

In some other lexicalized words, the prefix *pa-* is now inseparable from the root. One such word *pa-dala* (literally, '*pa-bring*') refers to something that is entrusted to be given to somebody in another place. When somebody travels, people would always request the person traveling to take something to be given to another person residing at the place of destination. The word has now come to mean something that is

sent via the post or a delivery agency, or even money remitted through the bank; it could also refer to the action of sending. The prefix *pa-* has become part of the word, so that even if the causative sense can still be detected, it would be possible to add another *pa-* to further express the action of causing something to be sent to another person, *pa-padala*.

Another word would be *pa-na?ad* (literally, '*pa*-promise' < *sa?ad*), which is something that refers to a promise made to a godly being. However, the original root *sa?ad* is still used to talk about a promise made to ordinary people in ordinary occasions; *pa-na?ad* has acquired some mysterious element and would result in unfortunate consequences if not kept. The meaning of the word *pa-to?o* (literally, '*pa*-believe') "to cause to believe" has further evolved to 'to obey.' Another word is *pa-agi* (literally, '*pa*-pass.by') which has lexicalized to mean 'means; way.' In (26), the verb *pa-to?o* need not anymore be analyzed as a verb containing a causative element; it has lexicalized to just plainly mean 'to listen' or 'to obey.'

(26) lexicalized *pa-* words

<i>bu?utan=man=siya</i>	<i>pero</i>	<i>di?</i>	<i>pa-to?o</i>
behaved=PAR=3S.NOM	but	NEG	CAU-believe
'He behaves, but (he) doesn't listen.'			

## 16.6 Directional morphemes

The directional morpheme *pa-* occurring in motion clauses may have originated from the causative morpheme *pa-*. This is a very productive process, where the *pa-* attaches to a locative noun, a demonstrative, or a "path" word to mean, 'toward the direction of.' In (28), *pa-uli?* has lexicalized and now there is no difference between the words, *uli?* and *pa-uli?*. In (29), the verb root prefixed by *pa-* is a proper

noun, literally meaning, 'to cause to be in Cebu (or in the place denoted by the root)' which highlights the destination of a movement. In (30), it is the movement toward a destination that is highlighted.

(27) directional morpheme *pa-* attached to locative nominal

<i>pa-du?ul</i> 'to come clause; approach'	< 'to cause to be near'	< 'near'
<i>pa-ngadto</i> 'to go there'	< 'to cause to be there'	< 'there'
<i>pa-states</i> 'to the U.S.'	< 'to cause to be in the U.S.'	
<i>pa-gawas</i> 'outward'	< 'to cause to be outside'	< 'outside'

(28) lexicalized *pa-* word

<i>kwarto=ra</i>	<i>amo-ng</i>	<i>gi-abang-an,</i>	<i>panagsa=ra=man=siya</i>
<i>kwarto=ra</i>	<i>amo?-nga</i>	<i>gi-abang-an,</i>	<i>panagsa=ra=man=siya</i>
room=only	1EP.POSS.LK	PFV-rent-lv	rarely=only=PAR=3S.NOM

***pa-uli***

***pa-uli***

CAU-return

<i>unya</i>	<i>usahay</i>	<b><i>mo-pa-uli</i></b> = <i>man=sab=mi</i>	<i>didto</i>
DM	sometimes	AV-CAU-return=PAR=also=1EP.NOM	there

'We only rented a room, since he comes home rarely. And sometimes we also go there (to his parents' house).'

(29) directional morpheme *pa-*

<b><i>mag-pa-Cebu</i></b> = <i>ko</i>	<i>ugma?</i>	<i>sayo</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>buntag</i>
AV-CAU-PN=1S.NOM	tomorrow	early	LOC	morning

'I'm going to Cebu early morning tomorrow.'

(30) directional morpheme *pa-*

<i>mag-ipit=na?</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Josie</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>kwarta</i>
<i>mag-ipit=kana?</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Josie</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>kwarta</i>
AV-insert=that	SI	PN	EXT	money

<b><i>pag-pa-dulong</i></b> = <i>na=siya</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>customs</i>
NMZ-CAU-toward=already=3S.NOM	LOC	customs

'(That) Josie will insert money (into her passport) (when) she's already on her way to customs.'

## 16.7 Summary

In this chapter I have first illustrated how AV and NAV causative verbs exhibit two patterns of causativization: AV causative verbs remain intransitive as the

Causer serves as the Benefactee at the same time, while in NAV causative clauses the Causer is a separate entity that brings about the occurrence of an event. In an intransitive causative clause there is a Benefactive reading since an action that originates from an entity affects that same entity; in a transitive clause, the entity benefiting from an action caused can be any party other than the Causer, so the benefactive reading is not so relevant. Moreover, I have also discussed a number of lexicalized *pa-* verbs and attributed the directional morpheme *pa-* to a causative origin.

## **Chapter 17 ARGUMENT STRUCTURE**

### **17.0 Introduction**

This chapter will look into the argument structure of Cebuano verbs. In 17.1 I will first discuss the semantic roles of the nominative-marked arguments of the intransitive and transitive clauses in Cebuano. The data will show that AV clauses do not necessarily have nominative arguments that are Actors. Similarly, PV clauses also do not necessarily have nominative arguments that are Patients. It has been therefore suggested that the use of the terms “intransitive” and “transitive” for the clauses with one core argument and two core arguments, respectively, best captures the reality of how the voice constructions work in Philippine-type languages (Ross 2002; Teng 2007). In 17.2 I will then examine various verb types in Cebuano and their argument structures.

### **17.1 Voice constructions and the semantic role of their nominative arguments**

In this section I will discuss the various semantic roles of the nominative arguments that can occur in intransitive (17.1.1) and transitive (17.1.2) clauses. In addition to conversational excerpts for illustration, I will also provide tables that will better show the various patterns that emerge in Cebuano discourse.

### 17.1.1 Intransitive clauses and the semantic role of their nominative arguments

AV constructions focus on an action being performed by an Actor, and it is the Actor nominal that takes nominative case in the majority of such constructions. In such constructions the Patient objects are outside the focus and they are not marked as core arguments. They are either left out or marked oblique; however, not all AV clauses take Actor nominative nominals. Table 17-1 shows that in certain AV clauses, the nominative nominal may be an Experiencer, a Body Part, a Patient, or a Malefatee. In the table, only the boxes that form intransitive clauses are filled up; those that are used transitively have been left blank.

The verbs have been grouped into several categories. The more regular verbs (which consistently take Actors as their nominative arguments) are not included in the discussion in this section. Sociative action verbs take plural actors and form reciprocal verbs. Reciprocal verbs are discussed in more detail in 12.3.3. In addition, the plural actor verbal prefix *mag-* can derive nouns that denote reciprocal relationship. For example, *mag-so?on* 'siblings' (< *igso?on* 'sibling') and *mag-ti?ayon* 'husband and wife.' Another morpheme denoting mutual relationship is *ka-*. Some examples are given in (1).

(1) nominals denoting reciprocal relationship

<i>ka-ila</i> 'acquaintance'	<	<i>ila</i> 'know'
<i>ka-istorya</i> 'people in a conversation'	<	<i>istorya</i> 'speak'
<i>ka-sakay</i> 'people on a ride together'	<	<i>sakay</i> 'ride; sit'
<i>ka-uban</i> 'companion'	<	<i>uban</i> 'go with'

Most emotion verbs are used intransitively and take the *na-* prefix (12.5.2); The semantic role of their nominative nominals is Experiencer. Some exceptions are *katawa*

'laugh', *feel* 'feel', and *mingaw* 'miss'. *katawa* 'laugh' is not strictly an emotion verb, but an action that accompanies an emotion, so it can take *ni-* and *nag-*. The verb *mingaw* is probably the only emotion verb that takes *gi-* and forms an adversative verb (12.5.1).

Some verbs involving physical conditions can only take body parts as nominative nominals (12.3.4); when the nominal is animate, then an extended intransitive construction (EIC) is used with an LV verb form (12.5.3).

Meteorological verbs can take the *nag-* and *ni-* prefixes to express meteorological phenomenon that is ongoing and that occurred in a past time, respectively, but the clauses formed cannot take any nominative nominal (15.3.2). When a Patient is involved, the semantic role of its nominative nominal is Malefactee and although a NAV form is employed, the clause is intransitive. These clauses using a NAV prefix are still intransitive constructions as they do not take another core nominal aside from the nominative Malefactee (12.5.3 and 12.5.4).

Finally, a *gi-* prefix attached to a noun can form an adversative verb (12.5.1), which always expresses misfortune.

**Table 17-1. Semantic roles of nominative arguments in intransitive constructions**

Verb	AV				PV form	LV form	Examples
	<i>ni-</i>	<i>nag-</i>	<i>naka-</i>	<i>na-</i>			
<b>Sociative Action (Plural agents) (12.3.2)</b>		Agent (Recip)					<i>kita?</i> ‘meet’
		Agent (Recip)					<i>sabot</i> ‘agree on’
<b>Emotion (12.5.1; 12.5.2)</b>				Exper			<i>hadlok</i> ‘afraid’ <i>gu?ol</i> ‘worry’ <i>lipay</i> ‘happy’
				Exper		Malefactee <i>na</i> (Advers)	<i>ulaw</i> ‘be embarrassed’
	Exper	Agent					<i>katawa</i> ‘laugh’
			Exper				<i>feel</i> ‘feel’
					Malefactee (Advers)		<i>mingaw</i> ‘miss’
<b>Existence<sup>67</sup> (12.5.3)</b>			Agent	Patient		Malefactee <i>na</i> (Advers) (EIC)	<i>wala?</i> ‘lose’
	??Agent (EIC)	??Agent (EIC)		Exper		Malefactee <i>na</i> (Advers) (EIC)	<i>patay</i> ‘die’
<b>Physical states (12.3.4; 12.5.3)</b>	Body part	Body part				Exper <i>gi</i> (Advers) (EIC)	<i>labad</i> ‘(head)ache’ <i>sakit</i> ‘ache’
				Body part			<i>samad</i> ‘wound’
<b>Meteorological (12.5.1; 12.5.3; 15.3.2)</b>	Agentless	Agentless			Malefactee <i>gi</i> (Advers)	Malefactee <i>na</i> (Advers)	<i>ulan</i> ‘rain’
	Agentless				Malefactee <i>gi</i> (Advers)		<i>bagyo</i> ‘typhoon’ <i>linog</i> ‘earthquake’
<b>Noun Verbs (12.5.1)</b>					Malefactee <i>gi</i> (Advers)		<i>hubak</i> ‘asthma’ <i>sip?on</i> ‘running nose’ <i>ulod</i> ‘worm’
		Agent			Malefactee <i>gi</i> (Advers)		<i>ubo</i> ‘cough’
<b>Stative Predicates (12.5.3; 12.5.4)</b>	Patient: zero (state) <i>ni-</i> (change of state)			Patient: zero (state) <i>na-</i> (change of state)		Exper (Intrans) ‘to feel Pred’	<i>gahi?</i> ‘hard’ <i>gwapa</i> ‘beautiful’ <i>lami?</i> ‘delicious’ <i>ma?ot</i> ‘ugly’

<sup>67</sup> The verb *patay* ‘die’, when prefixed with *ni-* or *nag-*, requires an obligatory Patient nominal, but it would become a highly “transitive” situation, and the NAV form *gi-patay* is more appropriate in this case.

Predicates, usually stative ones, not taking any affix indicate stability of a state, while the attachment of an AV prefix indicates a change of state. In the pair of sentences below, an unaffixed verb (2a) indicates stability of a state; the addition of *mag-* to the aspectual verb in (2b) would imply a change from a state of non-'watching' and non-'laughing' to a state of 'watching' and 'laughing', respectively. The LV form of predicates denotes a sense of 'feeling' and takes a nominative nominal that is an Experiencer, as in 'It feels <pred> to <Exper>.' This is discussed in 12.5.3 and 12.5.4.

(2a) unaffixed predicate indicates state

<i>sigi-ng</i>	<i>reklamo</i>	<i>imo-ng</i>	<i>ugangan</i>	<i>sa imo-ha/</i>
<i>sigi-nga</i>	<i>reklamo</i>	<i>imo-nga</i>	<i>ugangan</i>	<i>sa imo-a/</i>
ASP-COMP	complain	2S.POSS-LK	in-law	DAT 2S.POSS-DEF

'Your in-laws will keep on complaining about you?'

(2b) marked predicate indicates change of state

<i>ganahan=ka?ay=ko</i>	<i>kana-ng</i>	<i>ma-nganta-kanta=sila</i>	
<i>ganahan=ka?ayo=ko</i>	<i>kana?-nga</i>	<i>maN-kanta-kanta=sila</i>	
like=very=1S.NOM	that-LK	AV-sing-REDUP=3P.NOM	
<i>kay lingaw=ka?ay</i>	<i>sa tanan</i>		
<i>kay lingaw=ka?ayo</i>	<i>sa tanan</i>		
because amusing=very	SUPER		
<i>mag-sigi=na=lang=ko-g</i>	<i>tan?aw,</i>	<i>mag-sigi=ko-g</i>	<i>katawa</i>
<i>mag-sigi=na=lang=ko-ug</i>	<i>tan?aw,</i>	<i>mag-sigi=ko-ug</i>	<i>katawa</i>
AV-ASP=already=PAR=1S.NOM-LK	look	AV-ASP=1S.NOM-LK	laugh

'I like it very much when they are singing. They're the most amusing. I can keep on watching them, and I can keep on laughing.'

### 17.1.2 Transitive clauses and the semantic role of their nominative arguments

Table 17-2 shows the semantic roles of the nominative arguments of transitive verbs. It can be observed that with regard to PV verbs, the nominative-marked arguments are mostly Patient, but there are a few that are either Goal (utterance verbs) or Content

(*gi-* cognition verbs). Moreover, PV emotion verbs take nominative arguments that are Experiencer, Stimulus, or Emotion.

As for LV verbs, most of the nominative arguments are Location and Goal. A few are Benefactee (*tabang* ‘to help’), Patient (some activity verbs), Path (a couple of motion verbs), Content (utterance verbs), Percept (perception verbs), and Stimulus (emotion verbs).

ELV verbs have been discussed in Section 14.4. As we have discussed in that chapter, they are restricted to a few ditransitive and placement verbs. Their nominative arguments are either a Goal (or Recipient) or a Recipient-Beneficiary (RB).

As for IV verbs, the semantic role of their nominative arguments is either Instrument or Transported Theme. Content (of utterance verbs) can also be viewed as an abstract Theme.

**Table 17-2. Semantic roles of nominative arguments in transitive constructions**

Verb type	PV	LV	ELV	IV	Examples
Activity	Patient	Location	RB	Instrument	<i>hiwa?</i> 'cut; slice' <i>punit</i> 'pick up' <i>sagul</i> 'mix'
	--			--	<i>ka?on</i> 'eat' <i>luto?</i> 'cook'
	--			Theme	<i>labay</i> 'toss; throw'
	??	--	Goal	Instrument	<i>bunal</i> 'beat' <i>tudlu?</i> 'teach'
	--	Benefactee	--	--	<i>tabang</i> 'help'
	--	Patient	--	--	<i>apak</i> 'step on' <i>bantay</i> 'watch; guard'
	--	Location <i>gi-(ka-)V-an</i>	--	--	<i>abang</i> 'rent'
Motion	--	Location	--	--	<i>abot</i> 'reach' <i>balik</i> 'return'
	--		Goal	Theme	<i>sulod</i> 'enter'
		Path	RB	Theme	<i>labay</i> 'pass by'
	Patient/Goal	Goal	--	Theme	<i>adto</i> 'go' <i>anhi</i> 'come'
		Location	--	Theme	<i>kana?og</i> 'go down' <i>lakaw</i> 'walk'
Placement	Patient	Location	--	--	<i>dagan</i> 'run' <i>katkat</i> 'climb' <i>langoy</i> 'swim'
	--	Location	Goal	Theme	<i>butang</i> 'place' <i>puno?</i> 'fill'
Utterance	--	Location	RB	Theme	<i>hatag</i> 'give' <i>palit</i> 'buy'
	Goal	--	Goal	Content	<i>istorya</i> 'tell' <i>sulti</i> 'say'
	Patient	Goal	--	--	<i>pangutana</i> 'ask' <i>tubag</i> 'answer'
	--	Goal (direct)	Goal (indirect)	--	<i>sugu?</i> 'command' <i>tawag</i> 'call; name'
Cognition	--	Content <i>gi-</i>	--	--	<i>sabot</i> 'agree on'
	Content <i>gi-</i>	Content <i>na-</i>	--	--	<i>huna?huna?</i> 'think' <i>hinumdum</i> 'remember' <i>hibalo</i> 'know; learn' <i>kalimot</i> 'forget'
Perception	Percept	--	--	--	<i>tan?aw</i> 'look at' <i>pamati?</i> 'listen to'
	Percept	Percept <i>na-</i>	--	--	<i>simhot</i> 'smell'
	--	Percept <i>na-</i>	--	--	<i>dungog</i> 'hear' <i>kita?</i> 'see'
Emotion	Experiencer	Stimulus	--	Cause	<i>hadlok</i> 'be afraid'
	Stimulus	Goal / Stimulus	--	Cause	<i>katawa</i> 'laugh' <i>suku?</i> 'be angry'
	Emotion	--	--	--	<i>feel</i> 'feel'

## 17.2 Argument structure of various verb types in Cebuano

Goldberg et al. (2004) argue that language input provides more than adequate means by which learners can induce the association of meaning with certain argument structure patterns. Children store such associations of meanings with forms on two levels. First, they acquire verb-centered categories and produce syntactic patterns on a verb-to-verb basis; for example, <actor> *put* <thing> <location>. In later stages, they make generalizations over specific verbs, forming argument structure patterns, as shown in Table 17-3. They hypothesize that the high frequency of particular verbs in particular constructions allows children to note a correlation between the meaning of a particular verb in a construction pattern and the pattern itself and further make an association between meaning and form. The experiments conducted by them show that in each particular construction there is one general-purpose verb that accounts for the lion's share of the tokens in the corpus. The dominance of these verbs facilitates the acquisition of constructional meaning, and an association between the meaning and form.

**Table 17-3. Construction patterns in English**

Verb	Constructional meaning	Construction
go	X moves Y	Intransitive motion
put	X causes Y to move Z	Caused motion
give	X causes Y to receive Z	Ditransitive
make	X causes Y to become Z	Resultative

In addition, Goldberg's view (1999) that semantically similar verbs show a strong tendency to appear in the same argument structure construction in fact implies the interdependency between structure and meaning in argument structure. Such a view can

be well testified by what has been found in Tsou verbs (H. Huang and S. Huang, 2007). Different types of verbs in Tsou are shown to have different patterns of acceptable NAV forms, suggesting that the lexical meaning of a verb influences, though not necessarily determines, what NAV forms it can take. This phenomenon indicates that voice forms in Formosan languages not only display which participant should be marked as nominative, they also reflect the structural constraints of a verb. The voice forms of Tsou verbs in fact point out the number of participants that verbs of the same type can take (i.e., the argument structure). Similarly, the voice forms in Cebuano can also somewhat predict the argument structure of particular types of verbs. The AV form in Cebuano is generally an intransitive construction taking only at most one core argument, which is almost always an Actor, while the NAV causatives are argument-increasing constructions. In 17.2.1 to 17.2.10, I will look at the argument structure of various verb types in Cebuano in different voice constructions.

Thompson and Hopper (2001), however, indicate that the sense of a verb or predicate is related to the lexico-grammatical schemas that it can occur in and argument structure can be seen as essentially just a subset of these schemas. They cite for example extensions and high-frequency verbs whose "argument structure" constantly changes over use. By extension, verbs can take a novel "argument structure" such as *Even my mother was campaigning me* and *we don't minutes this meeting*. The 'novelty' of these expressions varies and the dividing line between 'stored' argument structures and these 'extensions' change constantly under the influence of everyday language use. Moreover,

the more frequent the verb is, the less likely it is to have any fixed number of 'argument structures.' Frequent verbs ('low-information' verbs that have high token frequency) occur in a wide range of lexicalized expressions that must be learned (for example, see Tao 2003). Finally, Thompson and Hopper further observe that out of the five constructions discussed in Goldberg (1995), namely, ditransitive, caused motion, resultative, intransitive motion, and conative, only ditransitives occur in their data. The favorite constructions in conversation are: intransitive verbal clauses, copular clauses, and epistemic/evidential clauses.

It is also interesting to note that Wolff (1970) classified Cebuano verbs according to their active conjugation and their passive conjugation. On the whole, the active and passive conjugation classes are independent of each other. The active conjugation consists mainly of classifying the verbs according to the types of affixes that they can take, while the passive conjugations classify the verbs according to the types of semantic roles that show up in the different passive constructions. In this chapter, I adopt a semantic classification of the Cebuano verbs, but Wolff's data will serve as an important reference.

### **17.2.1 Activity verbs**

Activity verbs can be said to be the most regular in terms of behavior and argument structure. A verb prefixed with the AV marker will usually require only one

argument, which is an Actor (2). An additional Patient argument will be marked oblique, as in (3). The semantics of the AV clauses and EICs have been discussed in Chapter 12.

(2) AV activity verb takes one nominative argument

T	<i>dili?</i>	<i>pili?-an,</i>	<i>bisa-g</i>	<i>unsa-ng</i>	<i>pa-kan-on</i>
	<i>dili?</i>	<i>pili?-an,</i>	<i>bisan-ug</i>	<i>unsa-ang</i>	<i>pa-ka?on-on</i>
	NEG	pick-LV.NMZ	even-COMP	what-ANG	CAU-eat-PV

L ***mo-ka?on=ra=siya***  
AV-eat=just=3S.NOM

T: '(He's) not picky; whatever you feed (him),'

L: 'He'll just eat.'

(3) AV activity verb takes one nominative argument

<i>dira?=ka</i>	<b><i>mag-sakay</i></b>	<i>ug</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>ferry</i>
there=2S.NOM	AV-ride	EXT	PL	ferry

'(It is) there (where) you ride the ferries.'

As for transitive clauses, a regular activity verb requires two arguments. Of the two arguments, the Patient, which is usually lexical in form, is marked nominative, while the genitive Actor argument is normally pronominal and cliticizes to the verb or the first element in a verb complex. As I will show in Section 18.1, an inanimate Patient that is topical will usually be expressed as zero.

(4) transitive activity verb

<i>di?=man=nato?</i>	<b><i>ma-kupt-an</i></b>	<b><i>ang</i></b>	<b><i>ato-ng</i></b>	<b><i>kinabuhi?</i></b>
<i>di?=man=nato?</i>	<i>ma-kupot-an</i>	<b><i>ang</i></b>	<b><i>ato?-nga</i></b>	<b><i>kinabuhi?</i></b>
NEG=PAR=1IP.GEN	SPONT-grab-LV	ANG	1IP.POSS-LK	life

*ing-ana?=gyud* *unsa-on=man=nato?*

*ingon-ana?=gyud* *unsa-on=man=nato?*

like-that=EMPH what-PV=PAR=1IP.GEN

'We can't grab our lives (in our hands). It's like that; what can we do?'

(5) transitive activity verb

*kwarto=ra=sad amo-ng gi-abang-an kay-*  
*kwarto=ra=sad amo?-nga gi-abang-an kay-*  
room=only=also 1EP.POSS-LK PFV-rent-LV because

*usahay mo-pa-uli?=man=sad=mi*  
sometimes AV-CAU-return=PAR=also=1EP.NOM  
'(It's) only a room (that) we're renting since-, sometimes we go home.'

A couple of verbs, especially when they are in AV form, have a slightly different behavior as they take verbal complements, which occur in the slots normally reserved for oblique arguments and so are introduced by the oblique marker *ug*. Example (6) shows the verb *tabang* 'to help' and (7) *uli?* 'to go home.'

(6) activity verb takes *ug* complement

<i>..ang</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>pet dog ni-tabang=pud</i>	<b><i>ug</i></b>	<b><i>pangita?</i></b>
<i>..ang</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>pet dog ni-tabang=pud</i>	<b><i>ug</i></b>	<b><i>pangita?</i></b>
ANG	3S.POSS-LK	pet dog AV-help=also	COMP	search

'His pet dog also helped look for the frog.'

(7) activity verb takes *ug* complement

<i>bisa-g</i>	<i>unsa=niya-g overtime</i>	<i>hangtud</i>	<i>ka-adlaw-on</i>
<i>bisan-ug</i>	<i>unsa=niya-ug overtime</i>	<i>hangtud</i>	<i>ka-adlaw-on</i>
even-COMP	what=3S.GEN-LK overtime	until	KA-day-PV

***uli?*=gyud=na?=siya-g**                      ***ka?on***  
***uli?*=gyud=kana?=siya-ug**                    ***ka?on***  
return=EMPH=that=3S.NOM-COMP      eat  
'However late he worked overtime, he always went home to eat.'

The nominative NP in an LV-marked activity verb may be a recipient (8), a benefactee (9), an animate Patient (10), a concrete object (11), or an abstract entity (12), which are viewed as a location of the activity.

(8) recipient as location

*gi-tudlu-an=man=ko=niya,*  
PFV-teach-LV=PAR=1S.NOM=3S.GEN

*karon n-aningkamot=ko nga ma-kama?o ba*  
*karon m-paningkamot=ko nga ma-kama?o ba*  
now AV-word.hard=1S.NOM COMP INTR-learn DM  
'(He) taught me (to speak Chinese). Now I'm working hard to learn (the language).'

(9) benefactee as location

*iya=gyud=ko-ng gi-tabang-an*  
*iya=gyud=ko-nga gi-tabang-an*  
3S.POSS=EMPH=1S.NOM-LK PFV-help-LV

*na?a=gyud=siya diha? sa ako-ng tupad*  
*na?a=gyud=siya diha? sa ako?-nga tupad*  
EXIST=EMPH=3S.NOM there DAT 1S.POSS-LK side  
'He did help me; he was really there by my side.'

(10) animate Patient as location

*kung apak-an=ka, di?=gyud=ka ka-ginhawa gyud*  
*kung apak-an=ka, di?=gyud=ka maka-ginhawa gyud*  
if step.on-LV=2S.NOM NEG=EMPH=2S.NOM ABIL-breathe EMPH  
'If (it) steps on you, you will never be able to breathe.'

(11) concrete object as location

*kwarto=ra=sad amo-ng gi-abang-an kay-*  
*kwarto=ra=sad amo?-nga gi-abang-an kay-*  
room=only=also 1EP.POSS-LK PFV-rent-LV because

*usahay mo-pa-uli?=man=sad=mi*  
sometimes AV-CAU-return=PAR=also=1EP.NOM  
'We're renting only a room since-, sometimes we go home.'

(12) abstract entity as location

*di?=man=nato? ma-kupt-an ang ato-ng kinabuhi?*  
*di?=man=nato? ma-kupot-an ang ato?-nga kinabuhi?*  
NEG=PAR=1IP.GEN SPONT-grab-LV ANG 1IP.POSS-LK life

*ing-ana?=gyud unsa-on=man=nato?*  
*ingon-ana?=gyud unsa-on=man=nato?*  
like-that=EMPH what-PV=PAR=1IP.GEN  
'We can't grab our lives (in our hands). It's like that; what can we do?'

### 17.2.2 Motion verbs

Motion verbs are semantically intransitive, and they usually occur in their intransitive AV form; however, they also have NAV forms for expressing transitive situations. The nominative argument of PV motion verbs is Patient (13); in some cases, they can be a Goal (14), where the act of moving toward this Goal is volitional or intentional. Both instances are so-called inverse clauses, with more topical Ps than As (cf. Section 13.3.3). As the Ps are animate, they are obligatorily pronominal cliticizing to the main verb.

(13) Patient nominative argument of PV form (Sun Star, September 6, 2007)

<i>gi-sulod=siya</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>usa ka wa?</i>	<i>ma-ilh-i-ng</i>	<i>tawo</i>
<i>gi-sulod=siya</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>usa ka wa?</i>	<i>ma-ila-i-nga</i>	<i>tawo</i>
PFV.IV-inside=3S.NOM	GEN	one LK NEG	SPONT-know-LV-LK	person

'An unknown person (went) inside (where he was).'

(14) Goal nominative argument of PV form (Sun Star, July 25, 2007)

<i>gi-apas=na=man=ko</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>amo-ng</i>	<i>teacher</i>
<i>gi-apas=na=man=ko</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>amo?-nga</i>	<i>teacher</i>
PFV.PV-overtake=already=PAR=NOMGEN		1EP.POSS-LK	teacher

<i>sa amo-ng</i>	<i>balay aron</i>	<i>dad-on</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>hospital</i>
<i>sa amo?-nga</i>	<i>balay aron</i>	<i>dala-on</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>hospital</i>
LOC 1EP.POSS-LK	house so	take-PV	LOC	hospital

'Our teacher came to our house to take (me) to the hospital.'

The nominative form of LV motion verbs is Goal (15) or Path (16), which are in a broad sense a kind of Location. Human Goals are treated as Beneficiary. The LV verb in (15) is nominalized referring to a Goal; the LV verb in (16) illustrates an abstract motion, with a Location serving as an abstract Path.

(15) Goal nominative argument of LV motion verb

<i>kana?=ra</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>na-adto-an</i>	<i>sentosa</i>
<i>kana?=ra</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>na-adto-an</i>	<i>sentosa</i>
that.NOM=only	1S.POSS-LK	SPONT-go-LV	PN

<i>naka-adto=man=ko</i>	<i>singapore</i>	<i>two times</i>
ABIL-go=PAR=1S.NOM	PN	two times

'That's the only place I've been to, Sentosa; I've been to Singapore twice.'

(16) abstract Path nominative argument of LV motion verb

<i>gubot-gubot,</i>	<i>tan?aw-a</i>	<i>cotabato</i>	<i>ron</i>	<i>wala?</i>
chaotic-REDUP	see-IMP	PN	now	none

<i>na-agpas-an=pa</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>davao ug</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>gensan,</i>
SPONT-overtake-LV=even	OBL	PN and	OBL	PN

<i>gensan</i>	<i>gwapo=sad</i>
PN	beautiful=also

'It's disorderly; look at Cotabato. There's nothing (there). Davao and Gensan have even overtaken it (in terms of development). Gensan is (now) beautiful.'

The nominative argument of an IV motion verb is a theme (17), which is transported by a genitive-marked Actor to an oblique-marked Goal; the verb conveys the direction of the transport (by means of a path motion verb) or the manner in which the transfer is being carried out (by means of a manner verb).

(17) Transported Theme nominative argument of IV motion verb (constructed)

<i>i-sulod</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>kahon</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>sinina?</i>
IV-move.in	LOC	box	ANG	PL	clothes

'(Put) the clothes inside the box.'

In actual discourse, motion verbs occur in AV form, as in the excerpts from (18) to (21). Human arguments carrying out an action are usually topical and so are also observed to be more often omitted or realized as pronominal clitics. Inanimate Patient arguments in motion situations are more likely to be encoded in transitive clauses, as

shown in the second line in (21), where it is expressed as zero. In Section 18.1, I will show that inanimate referents that are topical tend to be expressed in zero form.

(18) AV motion verb

*na?a=y bata? ning-agi, nag-bisikleta*  
 EXIST=NEUT child AV-pass AV-bicycle  
 'There was a child passing by; (he was) riding a bicycle.'

(19) AV motion verb

*unya? ning-lakaw=na=siya, ni-adto=na*  
 then AV-walk=already=3S.NOM AV-go=already  
 'Then he walked (and he) went (away).'

(20) AV motion verb

...(1.8) *wala?=siya kahibao nga ang baki?*  
 NEG=3S.NOM aware COMP ANG frog  
 ... (0.8) *ni-gawas sa garapon*  
 AV-out LOC container  
 'He did not know that the frog ... (0.8) escaped from the container.'

(21) motion verb in discourse

*na-hulog, di? gi-tabang-an=siya-g pa-nguha?*  
*na-hulog, di? gi-tabang-an=siya-ug paN-kuha?*  
 AV-fall DM PFV-help-LV=3S.NOM-COMP PL-get  
*gi-balik didto sa iya-ha-ng sudl-an-an*  
*gi-balik didto sa iya-a-nga sulod-an-an*  
 PFV.IV-return there LOC 3S.POSS-DEF-LK enter-LV-NMZ  
 '(The pears) fell down, so (they) helped him pick (them up) and (place) them back into his basket.'

### 17.2.3 Ditransitive and placement verbs

Ditransitive verbs are three-place verbs that take an Actor, a Theme, and a Goal/Recipient as arguments. In my analysis of Cebuano, I also classify placement verbs as "ditransitive verbs" as they do involve Recipients albeit inanimate, where a Theme is

"transferred" from a source Actor (see Section 14.4 for "transfer"). However, it is not syntactically possible in Cebuano for all three to occur as core arguments; for example, semantically obligatory arguments are encoded as oblique nominals.

Like other regular verbs, the nominative argument in AV verbs is the Actor. The nominative argument in PV verbs is the Patient, which is necessarily completely affected, as in (22a); in a corresponding LV clause (22b), the nominative argument, which is the Source, is not necessarily completely affected.

(22a) Patient nominative argument of PV ditransitive/placement verb (constructed)

*gi-puno?=nako? ang baso (ug tubig)*  
 PFV.PV-fill=1S.GEN ANG glass EXT water  
 'I filled the glass (with water).' (Glass is completely filled.)

(22b) Location/Goal nominative argument of LV ditransitive/placement verb

(constructed)

*gi-pun-an=nako? ang baso ug tubig*  
*gi-puno?-an=nako? ang baso ug tubig*  
 PFV-fill-LV=1S.GEN ANG glass EXT water  
 'I filled the glass with water.' (Glass is most probably only partly filled.)

The semantic roles of the nominative NPs of IV clauses fall into two major types: Instrument and Theme. For verbs that imply the employment of an instrument, for example, *hiwa?* 'to cut' or *palit* 'to buy', the IV clause takes a nominative nominal that is an Instrument. For verbs that imply the transport of an object, for example, *labay* 'to throw' or *hatag* 'to give', the IV clause takes a nominative nominal that is a Transported Theme. In (22a), the nominative nominal *baso* 'glass' is the Patient object that is being

affected by the action of filling up; it is a PV clause. In (22c), the nominative nominal *tubig* 'water' is the Theme that is being "transported" into the glass; it is an IV clause.

(22c) Theme nominative argument of IV ditransitive/placement verb (constructed)

<b><i>gi-puno?</i></b> = <i>nako?</i>	<b><i>ang</i></b>	<b><i>tubig</i></b>	<i>sa</i>	<i>baso</i>
PFV.PV-fill=1S.GEN	ANG	water	LOC	glass

'I filled the water into the glass.'

The verb *palit* 'buy' has a different behavior; both the LV (24) and the IV (23) forms take a Benefactee nominative argument (see Reid and Liao 2004; Liao 2004, 2008). Historically, the *i-* verb served to highlight the Benefactee, as in *i-palit* 'to buy (for somebody),' as in (23) (cf. Reid and Liao 2004; Liao 2004, 2008). However, this function has been taken over by the *-an* verb in Cebuano, as in (24). Aside from a Benefactive nominative argument, the IV nominative argument can also be an Instrument, as in (25).

(23) Recipient/Benefactee nominative argument of IV ditransitive verb  
(constructed)

<b><i>i-palit=ti-ka</i></b>	<i>ug</i>	<i>libro</i>
<i>i-palit=nako?-ka</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>libro</i>
IV-buy=1S.GEN=2S.NOM	EXT	book

'I will buy you a book.'

(24) Recipient/Benefactee nominative argument of LV ditransitive verb  
(constructed)

<b><i>gi-palit-an=ti-ka</i></b>	<i>ug</i>	<i>libro</i>
<b><i>gi-palit-an=nako?-ka</i></b>	<i>ug</i>	<i>libro</i>
PFV-buy-LV=1S.GEN=2S.NOM	EXT	book

'I bought you a book.'

(25) Instrument nominative argument of IV ditransitive verb (constructed)

<i>i-palit=nako?</i>	<b>ang</b>	<b>kwarta</b>	<i>ug</i>	<i>libro</i>
IV-buy=1S.GEN	ANG	money	EXT	book

'I will buy a book with the money.'

Verbs of saying and verbs of placement are not considered ditransitives by Malchukov, Haspelmath, and Comrie (2007) as they take non-agent arguments that are not recipients and themes. I take a different view, as I consider the Content transmitted in a verb of saying event as an abstract "Theme" transferred to a Recipient, and in a similar way, I consider the location or goal where a Theme is being transferred as an inanimate "Recipient."

Although ditransitive and placement verbs are supposed to be trivalent, all three cannot occur together as core arguments. As I have illustrated in previous chapters, AV verbs highlight the Giv-er; transitive verbs focus on the Patient or the Theme argument; extended transitive clauses on the Recipient or Goal. Actors are marked genitive in transitive clauses, but the other non-nominative non-Agent arguments are always marked oblique, even if they are semantically obligatory. In (26), what was taught is supposed to be oblique. In (27), the LV verb is supposed to take a complement occurring as a verb in its root form and marked *ug*, which is not uttered in this excerpt; this semantically-obligatory clausal unit can never be made the nominative argument. Since the complement is not expressed, the second line in (27) provides an explanation of how the Speaker was 'helped.'

(26) LV ditransitive verb with two pronominal (core) arguments

**gi-tudlu-an**(=*man=ko=niya*) (*ug Chinese*),

PFV-teach-LV=PAR=1S.NOM=3S.GENEXT PN

*karon n-aningkamot=ko nga ma-kama?o ba*

*karon m-paningkamot=ko nga ma-kama?o ba*

now AV-word.hard=1S.NOM COMP INTR-learn DM

'(He) taught me (to speak Chinese). Now I'm working hard to learn (the language).'

(27) LV ditransitive verb with two pronominal (core) arguments

**iya=gyud ko-ng gi-tabang-an**

*iya=gyud ko-nga gi-tabang-an*

3S.POSS=EMPH 1S.NOM-LK PFV-help-LV

*na?a=gyud=siya diha? sa ako-ng tupad*

*na?a=gyud=siya diha? sa ako?-nga tupad*

EXIST=EMPH=3S.NOM there LOC 1S.POSS-LK side

'He really helped me; he was there by my side.'

In the following two excerpts, the nominative arguments, which are Locations, are either inanimate (and so cannot be easily replaced by a pronominal clitic, as in 28) or not very easy to identify but is mentioned in the preceding utterance (as in 29). In (28) zero expression is preferred (see also Section 18.1 on preferred referential expression). In both instances, the Actor is expressed as a pronominal cliticizing to the verb, while the Theme is semantically obligatory but is syntactically oblique (cf. Section 14.4 on ELVs).

(28) placement verb with one pronominal argument and one oblique argument

*di?=nila butang-a-g map para mo-du?ol=ka sa ila*

*di?=nila butang-an-ug map para mo-du?ol=ka sa ila*

NEG=3P.GEN place-LV-EXT map so AV-approach=2S.NOM LOC 3P.POSS

'They won't put maps (on the counters) so you will have to approach them.'

(29) placement verb with one pronominal argument and one oblique argument

*kung na?a=y mo-gukod sa imo,*  
 if EXIST AV-chase DAT 2S.POSS

*taga-an=lang=nimo-g gamay*

*hatag-an=lang=nimo-ug gamay*

give-LV=just=2S.GEN-EXT small

'If somebody chases after you, (you) just give a small (amount).'

#### 17.2.4 Verbs of utterance

Verbs of saying normally take two arguments, namely, an Agent (the Say-er) and the Content of the utterance. Sometimes, the Recipient or Goal of the utterance will also be overt; in this sense, they are actually "ditransitive." The nominative argument of an AV utterance verb is the Actor. The nominative argument of a PV utterance verb is the Patient or the utterance, as in (30), but some utterance verbs that cannot take the LV form (e.g., *pangutana* 'ask' and *tubag* 'answer') also have Goal/Recipient nominative arguments, as in (31). The LV form of an utterance verb usually takes a nominative argument that is the Recipient or the Goal, as in (32) and (33). Here, the Content of the utterance is syntactically a complement construction, uttered as a separate clause. The IV form of an utterance verb takes a Theme nominative argument, which is the Content "transported" between the Say-er and the Hear-er (34).

(30) Content as semantic role of nominative argument of PV verb (July 5, 2007)

*kini ma?o=y gi-sulti ni Police Senior Supt. Alfredo Toroctocon,*  
 this ANAPH=NEUT PFV.PV-say GEN PN

*hepe sa RIID sa Central Mindanao*  
 chief LOC PN LOC PN

'This is what Police Senior Supt. Alfredo Toroctocon, chief of the RIID in Central Mindanao, said.'

(31) Patient/Goal argument of PV utterance verb (Sun Star, November 21, 2007)

*gi-pangutana*    *si*    *Tubalnos*    *kon*  
 PFV.PV-ask    SI    PN    COMP

*unsa=y*    *na-suk-an*    *ni*    *Kwan Tiu*    *kaniya*  
*unsa=y*    *na-suko?-an*    *ni*    *Kwan Tiu*    *kaniya*  
 what=NEUT SPONT-angry-LV    GEN    PN    3S.DAT

'(His superior) asked Tubalnos what made Kwan Tiu mad at him.'

(32) Goal/Recipient argument of LV utterance verb

*ako?*    *gi-ingn-an*    *ako?*    *igso?on,*    *di?=ko*    *mo-sugot*  
*ako?*    *gi-ingon-an*    *ako?*    *igso?on,*    *di?=ko*    *mo-sugot*  
 1S.POSS    PFV-say-LV    1S.POSS sibling    NEG=1S.NOM    AV-agree

'I told my brother (that) I won't agree.'

(33) Goal of verb of saying (Sun Star, July 24, 2007)

*nag-inom*    *ang*    *suspek sa*    *iya-ng*    *gi-trabaho-an ug*  
*nag-inom*    *ang*    *suspek sa*    *iya-nga*    *gi-trabaho-an ug*  
 AV-drink    ANG    suspect LOC    3S.POSS-LK    PFV-work-LV    CONN

*gi-ingn-an=siya*    *nga*    *"tag-pila=man=di?ay=ka*    *day?"*  
*gi-ingon-an=siya*    *nga*    *"tag-pila=man=di?ay=ka*    *day?"*  
 PFV-say-LV=3S.NOM    COMP    every-how.much=PAR=PAR=2S.NOM    VOC

'The suspect was drinking at his workplace and told her, "How much are you (worth), Miss?"'

(34) Theme nominative argument of IV utterance verb.

*ayaw*    *i-sulti ang*    *imo-ng*    *sikrito sa*    *iya-ha*  
*ayaw*    *i-sulti ang*    *imo-nga*    *sikrito sa*    *iya-a*  
 NEG    IV-say    ANG    2S.POSS-LK    secret    DAT    3S.POSS-DEF

'Do not tell your secret to her.'

Aside from taking a Goal/Recipient nominative argument (35), the LV form of the utterance verb *istorya* 'to tell' can also take a Malefactee nominative argument (36) and a Content nominative argument (37), as our data show.

(35) Recipient nominative argument of *istorya-han*

<i>di?</i> = <i>man=ko</i>	<i>istorya-ha-g</i>	<i>bisaya?</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>mama</i>
<i>di?</i> = <i>man=ko</i>	<i>istorya-an-ug</i>	<i>bisaya?</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>mama</i>
NEG=PAR=1S.NOM	speak-LV-OBL	Cebuano	GEN	1S.POSS-LK	mother

'My mother won't speak to me in Cebuano.'

(36) Malefactee nominative argument of *istorya-han*

<i>didto=na?</i> = <i>sila</i>	<i>mag-tompok-tompok</i> ,	<i>istorya-han=ka=na=lang</i>
<i>didto=kana?</i> = <i>sila</i>	<i>mag-tompok-tompok</i> ,	<i>istorya-an=ka=na=lang</i>
there=that=3P.NOM	AV-gather-REDUP	speak-LV=2S.NOM=already=only

'They'll congregate there and talk about you (behind your back).'

(37) Content nominative argument of *istorya-han*

<i>ooy</i>	<i>unsa=y</i>	<i>ato-ng</i>	<i>istorya-han,</i>	<i>tsismis\</i>
<i>ooy</i>	<i>unsa=y</i>	<i>ato?-nga</i>	<i>istorya-an,</i>	<i>tsismis\</i>
VOC	what=NEUT	1IP.POSS-LK	speak-LV	gossip

'(They'll just say,) Hey, what are we going to talk about, (all) gossip.'

The utterance verb *ingon* 'say' takes a complement clause, which may be a direct quote or an indirect quote. Direct quotes are usually preceded by a prosodic pause after the complementizer *nga*, as in (38). When the complementizer is omitted, a pause is required, as in (39). Complement clauses of utterance verbs that are indirect quotes usually contain the evidential clitic =*kuno*; a pause may or may not be present, as in (40).

(38) Verb of utterance *nga* (+ pause) direct quote

<i>ni-ingon</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>bata?</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>iro?</i> ,	<i>.. nga</i>	<i>ay-g</i>	<i>saba?</i>
<i>ni-ingon</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>bata?</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>iro?</i> ,	<i>nga</i>	<i>ayaw-ug</i>	<i>saba?</i>
AV-say	ANG	child	DAT	dog	COMP	NEG-COMP	noise

'The child told the dog: Don't be noisy.'

(39) Verb of utterance (pause) direct quote

<i>ingon=siya,</i>	<i>wa?=lagi=ko=y</i>	<i>kwarta</i>
<i>ingon=siya</i>	<i>(nga) wa?=lagi=ko=y</i>	<i>kwarta</i>
say=3S.NOM	NEG=EMPH=1S.NOM=NEUT	money

'He said, "I really do not have money."'

(40) indirect quote

<i>ingon</i> = <i>na?</i> = <i>siya</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>mo-bisita</i> = <b><i>kuno</i></b> = <i>siya</i>
<i>ingon</i> = <i>kana?</i> = <i>siya</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>mo-bisita</i> = <i>kuno</i> = <i>siya</i>
say=that=3S.NOM	COMP	AV-visit=EVID=3S.NOM

'He said that he will visit.'

It can be observed that these instances frequently occur in AV utterance verbs. In this sense, the phrases *ingon*=*ko* 'I say,' *ingon*=*ka* 'you say,' and *ingon*=*siya* 'he/she says' have been so entrenched that they have evolved shortened forms *ing*=*ko*, *ing*=*ka*, and *ing*=*siya* in casual conversation.

(41) shortened form of utterance verb expressions

<b><i>ing</i>=<i>ko</i>,</b>	<i>wa?</i> = <i>ra</i> = <i>siguro</i> = <i>ka</i>	<i>ka-sabot</i>
<i>ingon</i> = <i>ko</i> ( <i>nga</i> )	<i>wa?</i> = <i>ra</i> = <i>siguro</i> = <i>ka</i>	<i>ka-sabot</i>
say=1S.NOM	NEG=only=maybe=2S.NOM	AV-understand

<i>sa</i> <i>iya-ng</i>	<i>gi-sulti</i>
<i>sa</i> <i>iya-nga</i>	<i>gi-sulti</i>
OBL 3S.POSS-LK	PFV.IV-say

'I said (I think that), maybe you just didn't understand what he said.'

Generally, verbs of utterance can take an interrogative complement clause introduced by *kung* 'if'. The complement clause serves as the argument expressing the content of the utterance verb, and is usually headed by an interrogative word.

(42) utterance verb + conditional complement clause

<i>unya?</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>amigo</i>
<i>unya?</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>amigo</i>
then	3S.POSS-LK	PL	friend

<i>mag-sulti</i> = <i>ba</i>	<i>asa</i> = <i>siya</i> /
<i>mag-sulti</i> = <i>ba</i> ( <i>kung</i> )	<i>asa</i> = <i>siya</i> /
AV-say=Q	where=3S.NOM

'So, his friends, will (they) tell you where he is?'

### 17.2.5 Verbs of cognition

Cognition verbs take an Agent nominative argument that is a Cognizer. The LV form of most cognition verbs takes a nominative argument that is the Content (a statement or a fact cognized) or Patient (a Human source of the Content). For cognition verbs with both PV and LV forms, the *gi-* marked PV form indicates volition, as in (43), while the *na-* marked LV form indicates spontaneity, as in (44) and (45).

(43) PV cognition verb indicates volitionality

<i>wa?</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>nako?</i>	<b><i>gi-huna?huna?</i></b> ( )		
NEG=already=1S.GEN	PFV.PV-think		
<i>kay</i>	<i>mag-sakit</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>dughan</i>
because	AV-ache	ANG	chest

'I didn't think (about it) because (it will just) break (my) heart.'

(44) LV form indicates spontaneity

<i>one hundred</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>gi-pangayo?</i>
<i>one hundred</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>gi-pangayo?</i>
one.hundred	3S.POSS-LK	PFV.PV-ask
<i>di?</i> = <i>gyud</i> = <i>nako?</i>	<b><i>ma-kalimt-an</i></b>	
<i>di?</i> = <i>gyud</i> = <i>nako?</i>	<b><i>ma-kalimot-an</i></b>	
NEG=EMPH=1S.GEN	SPONT-forget-LV	

'He asked for one hundred bucks; I can't forget (it).'

(45) LV cognition verb indicates spontaneity (Sun Star, January 15, 2008)

<b><i>na-ilh-an</i></b>	<i>ang</i>	<i>suspek kinsa</i>	<i>detinado=na</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>selda</i>
<b><i>na-ila-an</i></b>	<i>ang</i>	<i>suspek kinsa</i>	<i>detinado=na</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>selda</i>
SPONT-identify-LV	ANG	suspect who	detained=already	LOC	cell
<i>sa</i>	<i>Talomo police station nga</i>	<i>ma?o</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Phobee Qit Omoyog</i>	
LOC	PN	COMP	ANAPH SI	PN	

'The suspect who is now detained in a cell at the Talomo Police Station has been identified as Phobee Qit Omoyog.'

Relative to the situation illustrated above, there are also verbs (like *bantay* 'guard', *hinumdum* 'remember', and *limot* 'forget') that have only an LV form and do not have a

PV form. The LV form conveys both volitionality and spontaneity, as in (46b) and (46a), respectively. Still some other cognition verbs (e.g., *ka-hibalo* 'be aware; know' and *ka-sabot* 'understand; comprehend') can only be used to convey spontaneity (as for the volitional sense, the causative form is employed). One cognition verb *tingala* 'wonder, be puzzled' can only occur in AV form, as in (47).

(46a) verb of cognition

*..wa?=niya na-bantay-an ang= ..iro? ..nga na-hulog=di?ay*  
 NEG=3S.GEN SPONT-aware-LV ANG dog COMP AV-fall=PAR  
 '(But) he didn't notice that the dog had fallen down.'

(46b) verb of cognition (Sim Star, November 12, 2007)

*gi-bantay-an=usab sa mga otoridad ang tanan-g*  
*gi-bantay-an=usab sa mga otoridad ang tanan-nga*  
 PFV-watch-LV=also GEN PL authority ANG all-LK  
*mga saky-an-an nga pa-sulod sa dakbayan.*  
*mga saaky-an-an nga pa-sulod sa dakbayan.*  
 PL ride-LV-NMZ LK CAU-inside LOC city  
 'The authorities also monitored all the vehicles entering the city.'

(47) verb of cognition

*na-tingala=siya*  
*na-tingala=siya ( )*  
 AV-puzzled=3S.NOM  
*ngano-ng nang-a?o-g prutas to-ng mga bata?*  
*ngano-nga naN-ka?on-ug prutas kato-nga mga bata?*  
 why-LK AV-eat-EXT fruit that-LK PL child  
 'He was puzzled as to why those children were eating fruits.'

Verbs of cognition very often take a *nga* complement clause, as in (48). In (49), the complement has been preposed (for stress). The complement may also be an

interrogative clause, as in (50). Like utterance verbs, these complement-taking cognition verbs prefer to occur in the AV form.

(48) verb of cognition *nga* complement clause

*wala?=sila kahibalo nga ang baki? naka= ...takas*  
 NEG=3P.NOM aware COMP ANG frog AV escape  
 'They didn't know that the frog had escaped.'

(49) complement clause pre-posed

*one hundred iya-ng gi-pangayo?*  
*one hundred (ang) iya-nga gi-pangayo?*  
 one.hundred 3S.POSS-LK PFV.PV-ask  
*di?=gyud=nako? maka-limt-an*  
*di?=gyud=nako? maka-limot-an (kana?)*  
 NEG=EMPH=1S.GEN SPONT-forget-LV that  
 'He asked for one hundred bucks; I can't forget (it).'

(50) conditional complement of verb of cognition

*kahibawo=na=mi kung asa dapit mag-traffic*  
 know=already=1EP.NOM if where place AV-traffic  
 'We already know where (in which areas) there is heavy traffic.'

Like the English expression *you know*, *kahibaw=ka* has become a frozen expression.

There is usually a prosodic pause after the utterance of *kahibaw=ka*.

(51) *nga* replaced by a prosodic pause

*pero kahibaw=man=ka,*  
*pero kahibaw=man=ka (nga)*  
 but know=PAR=2S.NOM COMP  
*daghan=na=ka?ayo-ng na-hitabo? diri*  
*daghan=na=ka?ayo-nga na-hitabo? diri*  
 many=already=very-LK AV-happen here  
 'But you know, (that) so many things have already happened here.'

### 17.2.6 Perception verbs

Perception verbs code the perception of a state or event by a human (or animate) perceiver. Like other regular verbs, perception verbs in AV form have nominative arguments that are Actors or Perceivers. Moreover, like some cognition verbs, their PV forms indicate volition (52), while their LV forms indicate spontaneity (53).

(52) Percept nominative argument of PV perception verb (constructed)

*gi-tan?aw=namo?ang mga litrato*  
 PV-see=1EP.GEN                      ANG    PL           picture  
 'We looked at the pictures.'

(53) Percept nominative argument of LV perception verb

W     *dealer=ra=ta,                      sila,                      na?a=na=gyud=sila=y                      factory*  
 dealer=only=1IP.NOM    3P.NOM EXIST=already=EMPH=3P.NOM=NEUT    factory

T     *ma?o=lagi,                      dako?=ka?ay,                      na-kit-an=nako?*  
*ma?o=lagi                      dako?=ka?ayo                      na-kita?-an=nako?*  
 ANAPH=PAR                      huge=EMPH                      SPONT-see-LV=1S.GEN

W: 'We're only dealers; them, they already have a factory.'  
 T: 'Right, really huge. I saw it.'

A perception verb in the PV form takes a Percept (54) as the nominative nominal.

(54) Percept as semantic role of nominative argument of IV verb (Sun Star, July 12, 2007)

*ang                      mga                      Film producers                      sa na-hisgut-an-g                      pelikula,*  
*ang                      mga                      Film producers                      sa na-hisgut-an-nga                      pelikula,*  
 ANG                      PL                      film.producers                      GEN SPONT-mention-LV-LK                      film

*bag?o=pa=lamang                      ni-adto aron                      tan?aw-on                      ang                      lugar*  
 just=still=only                      AV-go so                      look-PV                      ANG                      place

'The Film producers of the aforementioned motion picture just went (there) to take a look at the site.'

In actual discourse, perception verbs take complement clauses, which have a similar structure as the main clause, with full possibilities for negation and tense-aspect marking; the time reference is also independent of that in the main clause, and they may exhibit different tense-aspect values. Moreover, the perception verb *tan?aw* 'to see' and *pamati?* 'listen' are also used in the sense of 'to feel'; for example, *ako-ng tan?aw* 'my feeling; my perception (of an event/the situation).'

(55) perception verb + existential clause complement

<i>unya?</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>pagka-buntag</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>na-kita?</i>
<i>unya?</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>pagka-buntag</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>na-kita?</i>
DM	TEMP	TEMP-morning	3S.POSS-LK	PV-see
<i>nga</i>	<i>wala?=na</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>frog</i>	
COMP	NEG=already	ANG	frog	

'In the morning, he saw that his pet frog was not there anymore.'

(56) perception verb + verbal clause complement

<i>wa?=pa=dyud=ko</i>	<i>naka-dungog</i>	<i>nga</i>	
NEG=still=EMPH=1S.NOM	AV-hear	COMP	
<i>nag-minyo?=sila-g</i>	<i>Taiwanese</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>na-lipay</i>
<i>nag-minyo?=sila-ug</i>	<i>Taiwanese</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>na-lipay</i>
AV-marry=3P.NOM-EXT	PN	LK	AV-happy

'I haven't really heard of them who are happily married to a Taiwanese.'

(57) perception verb + conditional clause

<i>gi-tan?aw=niya-g</i>	<i>asa</i>	<i>pa-dulong</i>	<i>to-ng</i>	<i>bata?</i>
<i>gi-tan?aw=niya-kung</i>	<i>asa</i>	<i>pa-dulong</i>	<i>kato-nga</i>	<i>bata?</i>
PFV.PV-look=3S.GEN-COMP	where	CAU-go.toward	that-LK	child

'He looked at where that child was going to.'

### 17.2.7 Emotion verbs

Emotion verbs convey emotional states and are about persons and their feelings, and so almost always occur in AV form. In fact, the verbs *hadlok* 'be afraid', *gu?ul* 'be

sad', and *ulaw* 'be embarrassed' all occur in their AV form or root form in our data.

Emotion is spontaneous and not volitional; that is why they are also more often prefixed with the intransitive *na-*, as in (58) and (59).

(58) emotion verb

<i>dugay=ka?ay=mi</i>		<i>nag-huwat,</i>	
<i>dugay=ka?ayo=mi</i>		<i>nag-huwat,</i>	
long=EMPH=1EP.NOM		AV-wait	
<i>di?,</i>	<i>na-suko?=ka?ay</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>morales</i>
<i>di?,</i>	<i>na-suko?=ka?ayo</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>morales</i>
DM	SPONT-angry=EMPH	SI	PN

'We waited very long. So, Mr. Morales was very angry.'

(59) emotion verb

<i>ma-ulaw=man=ko=nimo</i>		<i>sir</i>
SPONT-embarrass=PAR=1S.NOM=2S.DAT		VOC

'I feel embarrassed (toward you), Sir.'

The PV form of emotion verbs is not productive. In fact, not all emotion verbs have a PV form, and they are rarely used. The emotion verb *hadlok* 'be afraid' in its PV form is causative, that is, to make somebody feel afraid, as in (60). Another emotion verb that can occur in its PV form is *gi-mingaw* 'to miss (someone)', but it is intransitive; the nominative argument is the Experiencer (61). Another emotion verb that can take a PV form is *katawa* 'laugh' (62), where the nominative argument is an inanimate entity, a situation or a circumstance.

Some emotion verbs cannot take the PV affix *gi-*, like *\*gi-lipay* 'be happy' and *\*gi-suko?* 'be angry,' instead a *na-* prefix is attached to these emotion verbs to form an intransitive verb, not a transitive verb.

(60) Causee nominative argument of PV emotion verb *hadlok* (constructed)

*gi-hadlok*=*niya ang bata? para mo-ka?on ug tarong*  
 PFV.PV-scare=3S.GEN ANG child for AV-eat LK proper  
 'He scared the child so that (he) will eat properly.'

(61) intransitive emotion verb in PV form (adversative) (constructed)

*gi-mingaw*=*siya sa iya-ng anak*  
*gi-mingaw*=*siya sa iya-nga anak*  
 PFV-miss=3S.NOM CAUSE 3S.POSS-LK child  
 'She misses her child.'

(62) Stimulus nominative argument of PV emotion verb *katawa* (constructed)

*gi-katawa*=*ko=na=lang ang ako-ng problema*  
*gi-katawa*=*ko=na=lang ang ako?-nga problema*  
 PFV-laugh=1S.GEN=already=only ANG 1S.POSS-LK problem  
 'I just laughed (away) my problems.'

The nominative NP in most LV-marked emotion verbs (usually treated or thought of as equational constructions due to the prefixation of the morphemer *ka-*) is a cause (source) of the emotion, as in (63). Emotion events are supposedly intransitive events. Two noteworthy exceptions are the verbs *katawa* 'laugh' and *suko?* 'be angry' which obtain a "dynamic" reading with the transitive affixes (LV form) to mean 'to laugh at' (64) and 'to scold' (65), respectively; the focused nominal is a Goal or Recipient of the "laughing" and the "scolding."

(63) LV emotion verb (constructed)

*ma?o=to ang ako-ng gi-ka-sub-an, pero ma?ayo=na=ko*  
*ma?o=to ang ako?-nga gi-ka-subu?-an, pero ma?ayo=na=ko*  
 ANAPH=that ANG 1S.POSS-LK PFV-KA-sad-LV but fine=already=1S.NOM  
 'That was what I was sad about, but I (feel) fine now.'

(64) Target nominative argument of LV emotion verb *katawa*

<i>tupad=gyud=mi</i>	<i>dong,</i>	<i>iya=pa=ko-ng</i>	<b><i>gi-kataw-an</i></b>
<i>tupad=gyud=mi</i>	<i>dong,</i>	<i>iya=pa=ko-nga</i>	<b><i>gi-katawa-an</i></b>
beside=EMPH=1EP.NOM	VOC	3S.POSS=even=1S.NOM-LK	PFV-laugh-LV

'We sat beside each other, *dong*, (and then) she smiled at me.' (Target)  
 Another possible reading: 'She laughed at me.'

(65) Target nominative argument of LV emotion verb *suko?*

<i>iya=pa=ko-ng</i>	<b><i>gi-ka-suk-an</i></b>
<i>iya=pa=ko-nga</i>	<b><i>gi-ka-suko?-an</i></b>
3S.POSS=even=1S.NOM-LK	PFV-KA-angry-LV

Target: 'She scolded me.'

The IV emotion verbs take Cause nominative arguments, as in the excerpts below.

(66) Cause nominative argument of IV verb

T	<i>bisan=gud</i>	<i>na?a=y</i>	<i>problema</i>	<i>day</i>
	even=INTENS	EXIST=NEUT	problem	VOC
L	<i>bitaw</i>	[ <i>i-katawa-</i>	<b><i>i-ka</i></b> ]	<i>tawa=na=lang</i>
	BC	IV-laugh	IV-laugh=already=just	
T		[ <i>ato?=na=lang</i>	<i>i-katawa-katawa</i> ]	
		1IP.POSS=already=just	IV-laugh-REDUP	

T: 'Even if there are problems, *Day*.'  
 L: 'Yeah. [(We'll) just laugh (them)] away.'  
 T: '[We'll just laugh (them) away.]'

(67) Cause nominative argument of IV verb (Search Sun Star, November 15, 2007)

<i>ang</i>	<i>ma?o-ng</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>pulong gi-ka-suko?</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>Dominggo</i>
<i>ang</i>	<i>ma?o-nga</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>pulong gi-ka-suko?</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>Dominggo</i>
ANG	ANAPH-LK	PL	word IV-KA-angry	GEN	PN

'These very words angered Domingo.'

Emotion verbs that can take complements may evolve into an evaluative adverb and serve as the first element in a verb complex, as in (68) and (69), respectively.

(68) modality verb in a verb complex

*mahadlok=kuno=sila*                      *mo-gawas*    *sa*    *gabi?i*  
*mahadlok=kuno=sila*    (*nga*)    *mo-gawas*    *sa*    *gabi?i*  
 be.afraid=EVID=3P.NOM                      AV.INF-outside    TEMP    night  
 'They said they are afraid to go out at night.'

(69) emotion verb serving as evaluative adverb

*la?in=na=kuno*                      *imo-ng*                      *nawong*                      *talaga*  
*la?in=na=kuno*                      *imo-nga*                      *nawong*                      *talaga*  
 different=already=EVID    2S.POSS-LK                      face                      really  
  
*kuyaw=ka?ay*    *tan?aw-on*  
*kuyaw=ka?ayo*    *tan?aw-on*  
 scary=very                      see-PV.INF  
 'They said your face will be different, so scary to look at.'

### 17.2.8 Sociative action verbs

Sociative action verbs in Cebuano are always in AV form and are reciprocal as they more often indicate an action between multiple Agents. In such cases, the verb takes an AV prefix *nag-* indicating a durative reading.

(70) reciprocal clause

*unya?*                      *nag-sabot=na=man=kami*                      *ni*                      *josie*  
 DM                      RECIP-agree=already=PAR=1EP.NOM                      GEN                      PN  
 'Then we Josie and I have already agreed.'

(71) reciprocal clause

*mag-sabot=ra=man=mi*  
 AV-agree=just=PAR=1EP.NOM  
  
*kung*                      *kanus?a=mi*    *mag-day off*  
 if                      when=1EP.NOM AV-day.off  
 'We will just agree (about) when we are going to take a day off.'

The prefixation of the durative marker *nag-*, as well as the addition of a reciprocal suffix *-(an)ay*, implies a mutual activity that can go on for a long duration.

(72) reciprocal clause

*naka=sugat=siya-g*      *bata*    *pud,*    *nag-bisikleta=pud,*  
*naka=sugat=siya-ug*    *bata*    *pud,*    *nag-bisikleta=pud,*  
 ABIL-meet=3S.NOM-OBL    child    also    AV-bicycle=also

***nag-bangga?-ay=gyud=sila***

AV-bump-RECIP=INTENS=3P.NOM

'(He) met another child, (who) was also (riding) a bike. They really bumped into each other.'

Some reciprocal verbs differentiate between an action that is being done or that is about to be done and a resulting state of that action. The sociative verb *sabot* 'to discuss; to agree' is one such verb. When two parties are still engaging in a discussion, then *nag-* or *nag-...-(an)ay* can be applied. When a result has been produced or when an agreement has been achieved between both parties, then the resultative infix *<in>* is recruited (schema shown in 73b). After both parties are still in a state of “negotiation,” the result of which is an “understanding,” or the lack of it, as illustrated in (74). When only one party takes the initiative, the prefix *nakig-* is employed (schema shown in 73c). Here, the party taking initiative takes nominative case, while the other party takes dative *kang* (proper noun) or *sa* (common noun), as in (75). When the Patient needs to be highlighted, the usual transitive form *-an* is applied. Sociative action verbs are also discussed in section 12.3.3 (Reciprocals).

(73a)	<i>nag-V-(an)ay</i>	double agent	(Intransitive; in process)	
(73b)	<i>nag-V&lt;in&gt;-(anay)</i>	double agent	(Intransitive; resultant state)	
(73c)	<i>nakig-V</i>	NP <sub>nom</sub>	NP <sub>dat</sub>	(EIC)
(73d)	<i>gi-V-an</i>	NP <sub>gen</sub>	NP <sub>nom</sub>	(transitive)

(74) reciprocal clause

<i>di?</i> = <i>mi</i> = <b>mag-ka-s&lt;in&gt;</b> <i>abot,</i>	<i>ma?o</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>y</i>	<i>problema</i>	<i>namo?</i>
<i>di?</i> = <i>mi</i> = <b>mag-ka-sabot&lt;in&gt;</b> ,	<i>ma?o</i> = <i>kana?</i> = <i>y</i>	<i>problema</i>	<i>namo?</i>
NEG=1EP.NOM=RECIP-KA-agree<IN>	ANAPH=that=neut	problem	1EP.GEN

'We can't understand each other. That's exactly our problem.'

(75) reciprocal clause

<i>ni-ingon</i> = <i>siya</i>	<i>nga</i>	<b><i>makig-minyo?</i></b> = <i>kuno</i> = <i>siya</i>	<i>nako?</i>
AV-say=3S.NOM	COMP	RECIP-marry=EVID=3S.NOM	1S.DAT

'He said that he will get married with me.'

### 17.2.9 Meteorological verbs

Clauses with meteorological verbs are one of the very few clause types in Cebuano that cannot take a nominative (Actor) argument (see Section 15.2). AV verbs do not take any argument, while PV and LV verbs are intransitive and take a nominative argument that is the Malefactee of the meteorological phenomenon, as in (76). Another option that is possible in expressing meteorological phenomenon is to express it as a nominal, as in (77).

(76) NAV meteorological verb (Sun Star, November 13, 2007)

<b><i>gi-baha?-an</i></b>	<i>ang</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>mo-lupyo?</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>dapit</i>	
PFV-flood-LV	ANG	PL	AV.NMZ-reside	LOC	place	
<i>di?in</i>	<i>gi-sud</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>tubig-baha?</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>ka-balay-an</i>
where	PFV.IV-inside	GEN	water-flood	ANG	PL	KA-house-LV
<i>ngagi-tukod</i>	<i>daplin</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>sapa?</i>			
LK	PFV.PV-build	beside	LOC	river		

'The residents of the area where the houses built by the river were inundated with flood-water.'

(77) meteorological phenomenon preferably expressed as a nominal (Sun Star, July 5, 2007).

<i>duna=y</i>	<i>mo-abot</i>	<i>nga</i>	<b><i>bagyo</i></b>	<i>karon-g</i>	<i>bulan-a</i>
<i>duna=y</i>	<i>mo-abot</i>	<i>nga</i>	<b><i>bagyo</i></b>	<i>karon-nga</i>	<i>bulan-a</i>
EXIST=NEUT	AV-arrive	LK	typhoon	now-LK	month-DEF
<i>ug</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>Agosto</i>	<i>ni-ng</i>	<i>tu?ig</i>	
<i>ug</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>Agosto</i>	<i>kini-nga</i>	<i>tu?ig</i>	
CONN	LOC	August	this-LK	year	

'There is a typhoon that is coming this month and in August this year.'

### 17.2.10 Stative verbs

In this section I will discuss four verb types, namely, verbs denoting existence (or the lack of it), verbs denoting a physical state, verbs formed from nominal roots, and state predicates. Existential verbs have already been discussed in Chapter 5. The loss or the lack of existence is expressed by the roots *wala?* 'lose' and *patay* 'die'. Their AV form is produced by the prefixation of intransitive *na-*, where the nominative argument is a Patient experiencing the *losing* or the *dying* (78), while the LV form is a *na-* intransitive verb indicating adversity, where the nominative argument is the possessor of the entity that is *lost* or *dying*, as it were, (79).

(78) AV form of [-]existence verb

<i>may</i>	<b><i>na-matay</i></b>	<i>=na=pud</i>	<i>day,</i>	<i>na-ligs-an=siya</i>
<i>may</i>	<b><i>na-patay</i></b>	<i>=na=pud</i>	<i>day,</i>	<i>na-ligis-an=siya</i>
EXIST	INTR-die=already=again	VOC	SPONT-bump-LV=3S.NOM	

'There's another dead (person) again, *Day*. She was (accidentally) bumped by a car.'

(79) LV form of [-]existence verb

<i>daghan=kuno</i>	<b><i>na-wad-a-g</i></b>	<i>trabaho</i>	<i>karon sa</i>	<i>manila</i>
<i>daghan=kuno</i>	<b><i>na-wala?-an-ug</i></b>	<i>trabaho</i>	<i>karon sa</i>	<i>manila</i>
many=EVID	SPONT-NEG-LV-OBL	work	now LOC	PN

'(They say) many (people) are losing their jobs in Manila nowadays.'

Physical state verbs indicate physical sensations. The AV form takes a nominative argument that is a body part (see Section 12.5.1) where the sensation is located (80), while the LV form is prefixed with volitional *gi-* denoting adversity and takes a nominative argument that is the human entity experiencing the sensation (81).

(80) AV verb (nominative argument is body part) (Sun Star, October 9, 2007)

<i>pag-abot</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>udto</i>	<i>kalit</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>mi-sakit=na</i>	<i>ang</i>
TEMP-reach	LOC	noon	suddenly	COMP	AV-ache=already	ANG
<i>ila-ng</i>	<i>tiyan</i>	<i>samtang</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>uban</i>	<i>nanga-lipong</i>	
<i>ila-nga</i>	<i>tiyan</i>	<i>samtang</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>uban</i>	<i>naN-lipong</i>	
3S.POSS-LK	stomache	while	ANG	other	AV-faint	

'At noontime, they suddenly experienced pain in their stomachs while the others passed out.'

(81) LV verb (nominative argument is human entity) (Sun Star, July 25, 2007)

<i>mga</i>	<i>t&lt;in&gt;un-an</i>	<i>gi-sakit-an</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>tiyan</i>
<i>mga</i>	<i>tu?un&lt;in&gt;-an</i>	<i>gi-sakit-an</i>	<i>ug</i>	<i>tiyan</i>
PL	study<IN>-NMZ	PFV-ache-LV	OBL	stomache
<i>human</i>	<i>na-nga?on</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>humba</i>	
<i>human</i>	<i>naN-ka?on</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>humba</i>	
after	AV-eat	LOC	pork	

'Students felt pain in their stomach after eating the pork.'

Nominal roots can be prefixed with *gi-* to form intransitive verbs indicating adversity, where the nominative argument is a human entity experiencing the pain caused by the nominal root. Finally, stative predicates have been discussed in Section 5.5. The circumfixation of *gi-...-an* onto the root forms an intransitive verb, where the nominative argument that is a human entity "feels" the sensation denoted by the root. This was also treated in Section 5.3 and Section 5.5. Moreover, they cannot take on PV forms but they can be causativized upon the prefixation of *pa-* (82).

(82) causativized PV verb (Sun Star, October 31, 2007)

	<i>gi-pa-ta?as</i>		<i>sa ka-pulis-an sa</i>		<i>Davao del Sur ang</i>		<i>alert status</i>
	PFV.PV-CAU-high		GEN KA-police-NMZ LOC PN		ANG		alert.status
<i>human</i>	<i>gi-pa-ubos</i>	<i>g&lt;um&gt;ikan</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>malinawon-g</i>	<i>p&lt;in&gt;ili-ay</i>		
<i>human</i>	<i>gi-pa-ubos</i>	<i>gikan&lt;um&gt;</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>malinawon-nga pili&lt;in&gt;-ay</i>			
after	PFV.PV-CAU-low	from<UM>	GEN	peaceful-LK	elect<IN>-PL		

'Police authorities of Davao del Sur heightened the alert status after (they) lowered it due to the peaceful elections.'

### 17.3 Summary

In this chapter, I have reviewed the semantic roles of the nominative arguments that can occur in the different voice constructions in Cebuano. Moreover, I have shown the argument structure of various verb types in Cebuano. On the one hand, similar verbs do tend to appear in the same argument structure construction (e.g., activity verbs, utterance verbs, and cognition and perception verbs); on the other hand, some very frequently-used verbs acquire novel “argument structure” over use (e.g., the verb of utterance *ingon* ‘say’ and the cognition verb *kahibaw* ‘know’).

## **Chapter 18**

### **INTER-CLAUSAL ORGANIZATION AND LINKING**

#### **18.0 Introduction**

In this chapter, I will cover clausal organization and clause-linking strategies in Cebuano. In 18.1, I will illustrate that there is a pattern in how nominal referents are tracked across clauses, that is, human referents by pronominalization and inanimate referents by zero anaphora. In 18.2, I will then show that clausal linking in Cebuano discourse follows an accusative pattern (S/A) rather than an ergative pattern (S/O), as well as illustrate that any semantic role can serve as pivot with a more or less equal probability.

Nolasco (2005, 2006) illustrates that transitivity in Philippine languages has grammaticized in the form of its voiced constructions. In 18.3, I will discuss these transitivity parameters that he revised from Hopper and Thompson (1981) to suit the Philippine situation and show that Cebuano data support such a claim. In 18.4, I will discuss transitivity and its interaction with referential tracking. I will try to show that it is interclausal coreference that enables speakers to choose one voice construction over another. In 18.5 I provide a summary.

## 18.1 Referential tracking

In this section, I will take a look at how referents are expressed and tracked in a discourse. I will discuss preferred referential expressions and referential tracking in Cebuano, and see how the various types of referential expressions in Cebuano including personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and zero anaphora are being utilized to monitor reference continuity of a participant across clauses. Although first-person and second-person participants are on top of the topicality scale, pronouns are employed mainly to refer to them and to other third-person topical human participants, while zero anaphora is preferred for inanimate referents. Such a preferred type of expression is required by the morphosyntax of the language. In fact, if the first-person and second-person bound pronouns in (1) are omitted, the conversation would make no sense at all.

### (1) pronominal reference for animate referents

T *pero ganahan=ka?ay=ko sa Thailand*  
 but like=INTENS=1S.NOM LOC PN  
*naka-adto=na=ako three times e*  
 AV-go.there=already=1S.NOM three.times DM

W *ikaw mismo*  
 2S.NOM IDENT

T *ganahan=ka?ayo=ko*  
 like=INTENS=1S.NOM

W *ka-tulo=na=ka ni-adto*  
 KA-three=already=2S.NOM AV-go.there

T *three times=na=ko ni-adto*  
 three.times=already=1S.NOM AV-go.there

T: 'But I really like Thailand; I've been (there) three times.'

W: 'You yourself...'

T: 'I really do.'

W: 'You've been (there) for the third time.'

T: 'I've been there three times.'

In Table 18-1 I show the distribution of the various types of referential expressions. It is evident that there is a strong preference for first- and second-person referents to occur pronominally, as in the first-person and second-person referents (in bold) in (1) ~ (3). Zero expression is dispreferred; an exception would be the second-person addressee in imperative clauses where the referent is obligatorily zero, except in a vocative case slot; this accounts for the second-person referent expressed as zero in the table (an example is given in the last line in 2).

**Table 18-1. Distribution of referential expressions**

	1 <sup>st</sup> person		2 <sup>nd</sup> person		3 <sup>rd</sup> person	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Lexical NP	-		-		124	34.9
Demonstrative + head	-		-		36	10.1
Personal pronoun	<b>15</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>92.3</b>	95	26.8
Demonstrative pronoun	-		-		8	2.3
Zero anaphora	-		1	7.7	92	25.9
Total	15	100	13	100	355	100

(2) pronominal reference for animate referents

<i>di?=ko</i>	<i>kahibao</i>	<i>mo-tubag</i>	<i>ba</i>
NEG=1S.NOM	know	AV-answer	DM

<i>ing=ko</i>	<i>ay=lang=gud</i>	<i>taga-i</i>
<i>ingon=ko</i>	<i>ayaw=lang=gud</i>	<i>hatag-i</i>
say=1S.NOM	NEG=just=EMPH	give-LV

<i>ing=siya</i>	<i>ma-hadlok=mi</i>
<i>ingon=siya</i>	<i>ma-hadlok=mi</i>
say=3S.NOM	AV-fear=1EP.NOM

<i>di?=mi</i>	<i>mo-hatag,</i>	<i>di?=mi</i>	<i>pa-sudl-on</i>
<i>di?=mi</i>	<i>mo-hatag</i>	<i>di?=mi</i>	<i>pa-sulod-on</i>
NEG=1EP.NOM	AV-give	NEG=1EP.NOM	CAU-inside-LV

<i>ing=ko,</i>	<i>sigi, ( )</i>	<i>taga-i=na=la-g</i>	<i>gamay</i>
<i>ingon=ko,</i>	<i>sigi,</i>	<i>hatag-i=na=lang-ug</i>	<i>gamay</i>
say=1S.NOM	DM 2S	give-LV=already=just-EXT	small

'I didn't know (how to) answer. I said, "Just don't give (anything)." (But) he told (me), "We were afraid (that) if we didn't give, (they) wouldn't let us in." (So) I said, "All right, just give a little (then)."

(3) pronominal reference for animate referents

L *ma?ayo=**ka** kay na?a=na=man=**ka**=y anak*  
 good=2S.NOM becauseEXIST=already=PAR=2S.NOM=NEUT child

T *o=| ma- ang ako-ng eldest 23 years old*  
*o=| ma- ang ako?-nga eldest 23 years old*  
 BC FS ANG 1S.NOM-LK eldest 23.years.old

L *23=na*  
 23=already

T *ma- mag- n-anganak=**na=ko** ug beinte tres*  
*ma- mag- m-panganak=**na=ko** ug beinte tres*  
 FS FS AV-have.baby=already=1S.NOM OBL twenty.three

L *bata?=pa=man=**ka***  
 young=still=PAR=2S.NOM

T *beinte dos=**siya** karon, kasi 45=**ako** karon e*  
 twenty.two=3S.NOM now because45=1S.NOM now DM

*tapos kato ako-ng ika-duha*  
*tapos kato ako?-nga ika-duha*  
 then that 1S.POSS-LK NUM-two

*a= three years- three years ang pagitan=nila*  
 FIL three.years three.years ANG space=3P.GEN

*kay puro=**man=ko** caesarian*  
 becauseall=PAR=1S.NOM caesarian

L: '(It's) good you already have kids.'

T: 'Yes, my eldest is 23 years old.'

L: '23 already?'

T: 'I gave birth (when I was) 23.'

L: 'You (look) still young.'

T: 'She's 23 now, because I'm already 45. Then, my second child, a= they're spaced three years apart, since I gave birth by caesarian.'

Referring again to Table 18-1, we see that there are various choices for expressing third person referents, namely, lexical expressions, pronominalization, and zero anaphora. Third person referents may not always be animate and are not always topical, so they often have to be referred to using a full NP or with modification (more than one-third of the time according to the table). Pronominalization and zero anaphora are also frequent, each making up about a fourth of the total instances (26.8 percent and 25.9 percent,

respectively). However, when we separate the animate from the inanimate referents, we get a different but clearer picture. Table 18-2 shows that pronominalization is preferred for human referents and dispreferred by inanimate entities; the sole pronominalized inanimate referent in the table actually refers to a location (see excerpt 4), which is usually not done, or very rarely if at all. In this case in (4), zero anaphora or a demonstrative pronoun is instead preferred.

**Table 18-2. Animacy and third-person referential expressions**

	Human		Inanimate	
	N	%	n	%
Lexical NP	44	20.8	<b>80</b>	<b>55.9</b>
Demonstrative + head	20	9.4	16	11.2
Personal pronoun	<b>94</b>	<b>44.3</b>	1	0.7
Demonstrative pronoun	2	1.0	6	4.2
Zero anaphora	52	24.5	<b>40</b>	<b>28.0</b>
Total	212	100	143	100

(4) conversation excerpt

*mas*      *nindut sa*      *Cebu=dyud*  
 COMP      nice      LOC      PN=EMPH

*tsaka*      *dili?=siya*      *congested*  
 and      NEG=3S.NOM      congested

*di?*      *pareha sa*      *manila ba*  
 NEG      same      LOC      PN      DM

'Cebu is nicer, and it's not congested, not like Manila.'

If we simplify the data in Table 18-2 by counting NPs with demonstratives as lexical NPs and demonstrative pronouns as pronominal, it becomes very obvious (as in Table 18-3) that animate referents are usually expressed as pronouns (96 out of 212, 45.3

percent), while inanimate referents prefer lexical expression (96 out of 143, 67.1 percent), as many of them are oblique nominals, and zero anaphora, as in (5).

**Table 18-3. Animacy and NP form**

	lexical		pronoun		zero		total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Animate	64	30.2	96	<b>45.3</b>	52	24.5	212	100
Inanimate	96	<b>67.1</b>	7	4.9	40	<b>28.0</b>	143	100
	160		102		93		355	

(5) pronominalization for animate referents; zero anaphora for inanimate referents

*unya?*      *na?a=siya=y*      *mga*    *basket*  
 then      EXIST=3S.NOM=NEUT    PL      basket

*butang=niya*      *didto* ( )  
 place=3S.GEN      there

'Then he had baskets, (and) he placed (the fruits) there.'

Table 18-4 shows that pronominalization and zero anaphora occur in all argument slots, with A and S arguments tending toward pronominalization and P arguments slightly preferring zero anaphora. This is also obviously related to the fact that animate referents tend to occur in A and S slots, while inanimate entities in the P slot (where they are topical), as shown in Table 18-5.

**Table 18-4. NP form and grammatical relations<sup>68</sup>**

	pronoun		zero		total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
A	33	56.9	25	43.1	58	100
S	66	71.7	26	28.3	92	100
P	16	38.1	26	61.9	42	100
	113		77		192	

**Table 18-5. Animacy, grammatical relations, and syntactic form (Pear Stories)**

		lexical		pronominal		zero		total	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
A	An	4	<b>7.4</b>	31	<b>57.4</b>	19	<b>35.2</b>	54	100
	Inan	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
S	An	13	<b>17.6</b>	42	<b>56.7</b>	19	<b>25.7</b>	74	100
	Inan	13	<b>86.7</b>	0	<b>0</b>	2	<b>13.3</b>	15	100
P	An	3	<b>20</b>	11	<b>73.3</b>	1	<b>6.7</b>	15	100
	Inan	16	<b>43.2</b>	1	<b>2.7</b>	20	<b>54.1</b>	37	100
	An	20	<b>14.0</b>	84	<b>58.7</b>	39	<b>27.3</b>	143	100
	Inam	29	<b>55.8</b>	1	<b>1.9</b>	22	<b>42.3</b>	52	100
		49		85		61		195	

In the remainder of this section, I will show excerpts from Pear Stories that show the pattern of referential expressions, and illustrate them in tables to support the statistical results arrived at above.

<sup>68</sup> The figures are based on Pear Story narratives and a ten-minute long conversational excerpt. In addition, the Es are not included in the count, but based on my observation and impression, they are predominantly inanimate and lexical.

(6) excerpt from Pear Story

<sup>1</sup> <i>na-mu?pu?=siya ug</i>	<sup>2</sup> <i>iya-ha-ng</i>	<i>gi-butang</i>		
<i>naN-pu?pu?=siya ug</i>	<i>iya-a-nga</i>	<i>gi-butang</i>		
INTR-pick=3S.NOM CONJ	3S.POSS-DEF-LKPFV-place			
<i>sa</i>	<i>iya-ha-ng</i>	<i>dako-ng</i>	<i>sudl-an-an</i>	
<i>sa</i>	<i>iya-a-nga</i>	<i>dako?-nga</i>	<i>sulod-an-an</i>	
LOC	3S.POSS-DEF-LKbig-LK		inside-LV-NMZ	
<sup>3</sup> <i>tapos</i>	<i>ni-na?og=siya,</i>	<sup>4</sup> <i>iya-ha-ng</i>	<i>gi-butang</i>	
<i>tapos</i>	<i>ni-na?og=siya,</i>	<i>iya-a-nga</i>	<i>gi-butang</i>	
then	AV-go.down=3S.NOM	3S.POSS-DEF-LKPFV-place		
<i>sa</i>	<i>mora ug</i>	<i>lamesa,</i>	<i>pagka-human,</i>	
LOC	like COMP	table	NMZ-after	
<sup>5</sup> <i>gi-trapu-han=usa?=niyaug</i>	<i>tubaw</i>			
PFV-wipe-LV=first=3S.GEN EXT	handkerchief			
<sup>6</sup> <i>tapos</i>	<i>iya-ha-ng</i>	<i>gi-butang</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>basket</i>
<i>tapos</i>	<i>iya-a-nga</i>	<i>gi-butang</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>basket</i>
then	3S.POSS-DEF-LKPFV-place		LOC	basket
<i>ang</i>	<i>iya-ha-ng</i>	<i>gipang-pu?pu?</i>		
<i>ang</i>	<i>iya-a-nga</i>	<i>gipaN-pu?pu?</i>		
ANG	3S.POSS-DEF-LKPV-pick			

'He picked (pear fruits) and he placed (them) (into) his big basket. Then, he came down (from the tree), (and) he placed (them) on (something) like a table. Afterwards, he wiped (them) with a handkerchief. Then, he placed the (fruits that) he picked in the basket.'

**Table 18-6. Referential tracking in excerpt (6)**

clause	man	fruit	basket	table	handkerchief
1	S (pron)	E (zero)			
2	A (pron)	P (zero)	Loc (lex)		
3	S (pron)				
4	A (pron)	P (zero)		Loc (lex)	
5	A (pron)	P (zero)			Instr (lex)
6	A (pron)	P (lex)	Loc (lex)		

The clauses in excerpt (6) have been marked by upper-cased numbers, and Table 18-6 clearly shows how the nominal referents in the excerpt are expressed. First, the preferred form of expression of human participants is usually pronominal although there are instances where they are in zero form. For example, the fruit, which is less topical, is expressed in zero form except in the last clause. Thus, form of expression does not necessarily correspond to the topicality of a referent; rather, it reflects the animacy of a topical referent. Human referents can of course be expressed in zero form, especially when the P argument is also human (see also Excerpt 8 and Table 18-8). Furthermore, the less important referents, which are all coded as oblique, are expressed as full NPs.

This excerpt also shows an exception to the observation made in Section 12.4 that E references do not serve to track participants. The *fruit* in the first clause is coded as an oblique E argument, but it is later coded as a core argument in four of the following five clauses. This is actually because the first clause, being intransitive, highlights the fruit-picking activity, and as the verb is semantically transitive, an object of the action of picking fruits is implied. Another similar example is the E argument *three boys* in the second clause in excerpt (8).

(7) excerpt from Pear Story

<sup>1</sup> <i>unya?</i> then	<i>naka-kita?</i> = <i>man=siya</i> , AV-see=PAR=3S.NOM	<i>o</i>	<sup>2</sup> <i>na?a=ma=y</i> INTERJ EXIST=PAR=NEUT	<i>kalo?</i> hat		
<sup>3</sup> <i>iya-ng</i> <i>iya-nga</i> 3S.POSS-LK	<i>gi-hatag</i> <i>gi-hatag</i> PFV-give	<i>sa</i> <i>sa</i> LOC	<i>ato-ng</i> <i>ato-nga</i> that-LK	<i>nag-bisiklita</i> <i>nag-bisiklita</i> AV-bicycle		
<sup>4</sup> <i>gi-taga-an=niya</i> <i>gi-hatag-an=niya</i> PFV-give-LV=3S.GEN	<i>ang</i> <i>ang</i> ANG	<i>tulo</i> <i>tulo</i> three	<i>ka</i> <i>ka</i> LK	<i>bata?</i> <i>bata?</i> child		
<i>ug tag-sa</i> EXTeach-one	<i>ka</i> LK	<i>bu?ok</i> piece	<i>nga</i> LK	<i>prutas</i> fruit		
<i>di?</i> , DM	<sup>5</sup> <i>mga</i> PL	<i>bata?</i> , child	<i>pag-abot</i> NMZ-arrive	<i>sa=</i> LOC	<i>may</i> by	<i>punu?an</i> tree
<sup>6</sup> <i>kato-ng</i> <i>kato-nga</i> that-LK	<i>tawo</i> <i>tawo</i> person	<i>na-mick up</i> <i>naN-pick up</i> AV-pick.up	<i>sa</i> <i>sa</i> LOC	<i>prutas</i> <i>prutas</i> fruit		
<sup>7</sup> <i>pag-kana?og=niya</i> <i>pag-kana?og=niya</i> NMZ-go.down=3S.GEN	<i>usa=na=lang</i> <i>usa=na=lang</i> one=already=only		<i>ka</i> <i>ka</i> LK	<i>bu?uk ka?ing</i> <i>bu?uk ka?ing</i> piece basket		
<i>na-kit-an=niya</i> <i>na-kita?-an=niya</i> SPONT-see-LV=3S.GEN						

'Then, he saw (that) there was a hat. He gave (it) to the (child) riding a bike. (The child) he gave the three children one piece of fruit (each). So, the boys, (as they) reached by the tree, that person picking fruits, (upon) his descent from (the tree), he saw only one basket (left).'

**Table 18-7. Referential tracking in excerpt (7)**

clause	child	boys	hat	fruit	man	basket
1		S (pron)				
2			S (lex) [pres]			
3	Goal (lex)	A (pron)	P (zero)			
4	A (pron)	P (lex)		E (lex)		
5		topic (lex)				
6					topic (lex)	
7					A (pron)	P (lex)

Table 18-7 provides a clear illustration of the nominal expressions in the excerpt in (7). The less important inanimate referents (*hat*, *fruit*, and *basket*) are expressed in lexical form, as they are just mentioned but they become zero form in subsequent clauses, as expected. As for the human referents, the excerpt shows some of them to be in lexical form. Let me illustrate this with the referent *boys*. In the first three clauses, only one of them is being referred to (notice the singular form), and *he* is expressed in pronominal form (*siya* and *iya*), as a continuation of the preceding narration. In clause 4, it becomes expressed as a full NP because the referent has changed from just one of the boys to all three of them. As for clause 5, the boys are again lexicalized and in bare form, which means that the narration is moving on to a new scene, which involves only the boys (minus the boy riding a bike) in a different location. In Section 4.6, I showed that new topics are usually coded in bare lexical form. In other words, the bare lexical form functions to signal a new topic, or to reactivate a referent after it has disappeared from the scene; in these cases, the NP is usually bare without a case marker.

(8) excerpt from Pear Story

<sup>1</sup>*kay*      *na?a=y*      *tulo*   *ka*      *bata?*, <sup>2</sup>*naka-kita?=siya*  
because    EXIST=NEUT    three   LK      child   AV-see=3S.NOM

<sup>3</sup>*gi-tabang-an=siya,*      <sup>4</sup>*gipa-munit*   *ang*   *sulod*   *sa*      *bukag*  
*gi-tabang-an=siya,*      *gipaN-punit*   *ang*   *sulod*   *sa*      *bukag*  
PFV-help-LV=3S.NOM      PROG.PV-pick    ANG    inside   LOC      basket

<sup>5</sup>*then*      *gi-balik*      *sa*      *iya-ha-ng*      *bisikleta*  
*then*      *gi-balik*      *sa*      *iya-a-nga*      *bisikleta*  
then      PFV-return      LOC      3S.POSS-DEF-POSS      bicycle

'Because there were three boys, he saw (them). (They) helped him; (they) picked (what used to be) the contents of the basket. Then (they) placed (them) back on his bicycle.'

**Table 18-8. Referential tracking in excerpt (8)**

clause	child	three boys	fruit	bicycle
1		S (lex) [pres]		
2	S (pron)	E (zero)		
3	P (pron)	A (zero)		
4		A (zero)	P (lex)	
5		A (zero)	P (zero)	Loc (lex)

Again, Table 18-8 is a representation of the nominal coding of the referents in the excerpt in (8). Each of lines 2 and 3 involves two third-person referents. As we have indicated, in such instances, both referents tend not to be expressed in pronominal form at the same time. In clause 2, the S is more topical than the E, and so is a better candidate for pronominalization. In clause 3, both third-person human referents are the two core arguments in a transitive clause; corpus data indicate that they cannot be both expressed in pronominal form at the same time: when this occurs, it is always the P human argument that is pronominalized, while the A argument is the one expressed in zero form. As both referents are human, I would say that in this circumstance, the A is expressed in the way that indicates its being more topical than the P (the zero form being a signal of

higher topicality than a pronominal form in general). However, in a transitive clause where one of the core arguments is human and the other is inanimate, human participants prefer a pronominal form, while the inanimate referents prefer the zero form.

Furthermore, if the semantics of the verb is clear enough for the distinction between the A and the P arguments, both of them can of course be expressed in zero form.

It is now already clear that As (and Ss) tend to be animate and pronominal while Os tend to be inanimate and expressed as zero anaphora. Further, clauses do not allow two third-person pronominals in a single clause. When both are topical human arguments, the nominative P is pronominal while the genitive A is realized as zero anaphora, as already shown in clause 3 in (8) and in the second line in (9).

(9) excerpt from Pear Story

<sup>1</sup> ... <i>kadto-ng</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>ming-labay</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>tulo</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>bata?</i>
... <i>kadto-nga</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>ming-labay</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>tulo</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>bata?</i>
that-LK	PL	AV-pass.by	LK	PL	three	LK	child
<sup>2</sup> <i>a</i>	<i>na-hulog,</i>	<i>di?</i>	<sup>3</sup> <i>gi-tabang-an=siya-g</i>	( )	<i>pa-nguha?</i>		
<i>a</i>	<i>na-hulog,</i>	<i>di?</i>	<i>gi-tabang-an=siya-ug</i>		<i>pag-kuha?</i>		
INTERJ	INTR-fall	DM	PFV-help-LV=3S.NOM-COMP		NMZ-take		
<sup>4</sup> <i>gi-balik</i>	<i>didto</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>iya-ha-ng</i>	<i>sudl-an-an</i>			
<i>gi-balik</i>	<i>didto</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>iya-a-nga</i>	<i>sulod-an-an</i>			
PFV-return	there	LOC	3S.POSS-DEF-LK	contain-LV-NMZ			

'Those three children passing by, ... (The basket suddenly) fell, so (they) helped him get (the fruits) and placed (them) back into his basket.'

**Table 18-9. Referential tracking in excerpt (9)**

clause	child	three boys	fruit	basket
1		topic (lex)		
2			S (zero)	
3	P (pron)	A (zero)	[E (zero)]	
4		A (zero)	P (zero)	Loc (lex)

Table 18-9 summarizes the coding of the participants in the excerpt in (9). Clause 1 is again showing the mention of a new topic, through the use of a demonstrative with recognitional function (see Section 4.3). Clause 3 shows again two third-person core arguments, with the A in zero form and the P pronominalized. In clause 4 the human A argument is again in zero form (following clause 3). As for the P argument *fruit*, here it has become a “topical” argument starting in clause 2, where it is a zero S argument. In clause 3, it is actually also in zero form as the “object” of the complement verb *take*. It is no wonder that it is again expressed in zero form in clause 4.

## **18.2 Clausal linking patterns and pivots**

If we observe the linking pattern of core arguments across the clauses in Cebuano narratives (see Table 18-10), it is observed that languages with ergative morphology like Cebuano still exhibit discourse behavior that is similar to morphologically accusative languages. As the table shows, the As are still more topical than the Ps and the linking between the Ss and As is still more frequent than P links. We have not considered E arguments in this count since as we have discussed in Section 12.3, the Es do not function to track participants.

**Table 18-10. S/A and S/O linking patterns in Cebuano narratives**

	Pear		Frog		Total	
S→S	37		94		131	
A→A	21		20		41	
S→A	23		31		54	
A→S	17		23		40	
<b>S/A</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>72%</b>	<b>168</b>	<b>82%</b>	<b>266</b>	<b>78%</b>
P→P	16		9		25	
A→P	4		1		5	
P→A	3		0		3	
S→P	7		18		25	
P→S	8		10		18	
<b>S/P</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>13%</b>
Total	136		206		342	

If we examine the pivots (the arguments pronominalized or expressed in zero form in the second of clause pairs), there is more or less equal probability for those pivots to occur in any of the core argument roles. That is, they can either be S, A, or P. Nevertheless, S-A linking is still predominant, and this can be observed in many of the excerpts provided below. The fact that clausal constructions in Cebuano exhibit such a predominance of accusative linking is also reflected in Table 18-3.

The excerpts from (10) to (19) show the various types of pivots found in Cebuano narratives, as summarized in Table 18-11. There are some patterns observed, for example, pivot As are usually followed by more A pivots (this is illustrated in 11, 12, and 13); Ss easily link with As, while Ps link with Ps, which are easily expressed in zero form (especially in 16 and 17); and presentative clauses function to introduce referents into the discourse (shown in 10, 14, 16, and 17).

**Table 18-11. Core argument role of pivot**

Pivot (zero / clitic)	S	A	P	Notes
preceding clause				
NP	10	3	3	
Presentational	6	6	3	(existential)
S	31	17	4	
A	15	20	5	
P	6	4	12	
E	2	0	5	These are exceptions.
Loc		3		This is rare.
N=152	70	50	32	

(10) inter-clausal linking

<i>na-kit-an=niya</i>		<i>to-ng kalo?</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>na-hayang</i>	
<i>na-kita?-an=niya</i>		<i>to-nga/kalo?</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>na-hayang</i>	
SPONT-see-LV=3S.GEN		that-LK hat	LK	SPONT-lie	
		P			
<i>iya-ng gi-uli?</i>	( )	<i>didto sa bata?</i>			
<i>iya-nga gi-uli?</i>		<i>didto sa bata?</i>			
3S.POSS-LK PFV.PV-return		there LOC child			
		P			
<i>unya? kay na-</i>		<i>in gratitude nga gi-uli?</i>		<i>to-ng kalo?</i>	
<i>unya? kay na-</i>		<i>in gratitude nga gi-uli?</i>		<i>to-nga kalo?</i>	
then because			COMP PFV.PV-return	that-LK hat	
<i>gi-tag-a-an=sila</i>	( )	<i>ug tag-sa ka prutas</i>			
<i>gi-hatag-an=sila</i>		<i>ug tag-usa ka prutas</i>			
PFV-give-LV=3P.NOM	A	EXT each-one LK fruit			

'He saw the hat that lay (on the ground). He returned (it) to the boy. Then to thank (them) for returning the hat, (he) gave them a fruit each.'

Excerpt (10) shows an instance where a referent is first introduced into the discourse through the P slot. After introduction into the discourse, the referent becomes topical and is then expressed as zero in the next clause.



In (12), we also see an inanimate P argument being introduced into the text as an isolated NP, which is not linked to any particular clause. Once this referent has been introduced, it becomes topical and is then realized as zero in the succeeding mentions. This instance could also be considered a series of P pivots.

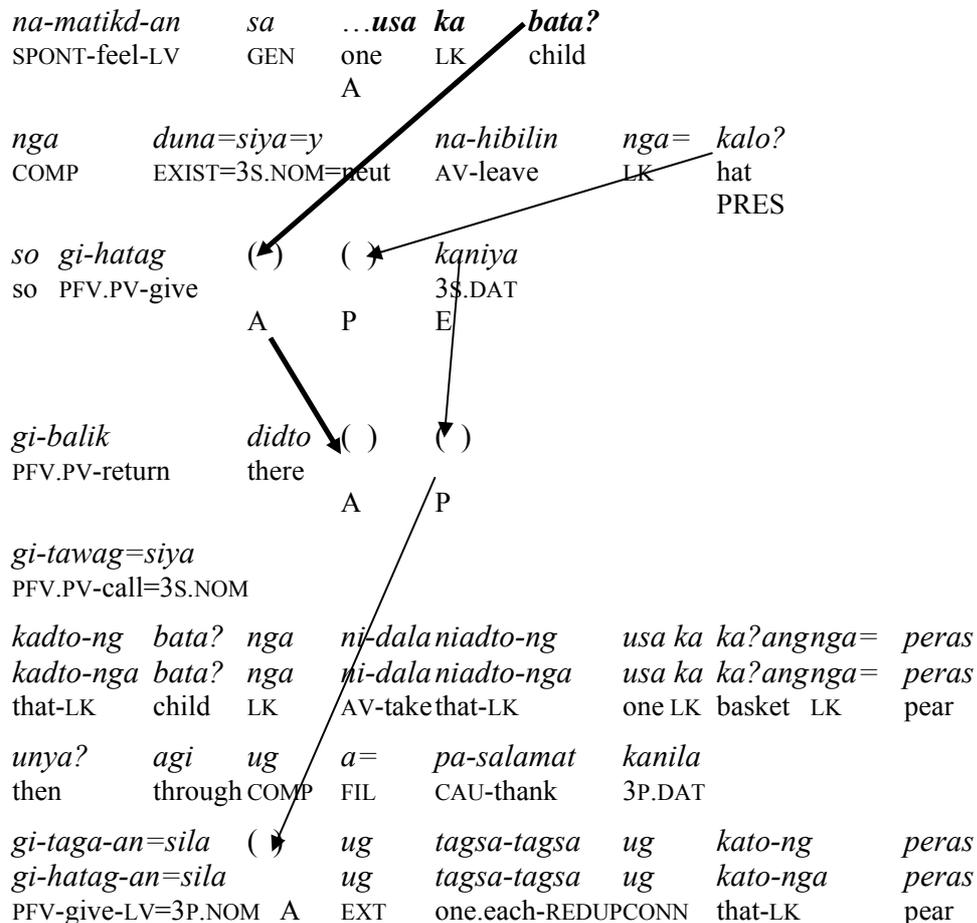
Excerpt (14) is another instance showing a series of P pivots. The inanimate P referent is first introduced as an extended argument in an intransitive clause, and then expressed as zero in succeeding mentions.

(12) inter-clausal linking

<i>kadto-ng</i>	<i>iya-ha-ng</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>peras</i>					
<i>kadto-nga</i>	<i>iya-a-nga</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>peras</i>					
that-LK	3S.POSS-DEF-LKPL		pear					
		NP						
<i>a= samtang</i>	<i>nanga-hulog</i>							
<i>a samtang</i>	<i>naN-hulog</i>							
FIL while	AV.PL-fall							
<i>unya?</i>	<i>iya-ha-ng</i>	<i>gipa-munit</i>	( )					
<i>unya?</i>	<i>iya-a-nga</i>	<i>gipaN-punit</i>						
then	3S.POSS-DEF-LK	PROG.PV-pick	P					
<i>ang</i>	<i>iya-ha=pu-ng=</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>kadto-ng</i>					
<i>ang</i>	<i>iya-a=pud-nga</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>kadto-nga</i>					
ANG	3S.POSS-DEF=also-LK	PL	that-LK					
<i>...kadto-ng mga</i>	<i>ming-labay</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>tulo</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>bata</i>	
<i>...kadto-nga mga</i>	<i>ming-labay</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>tulo</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>bata</i>	
that-LK	PL	AV-pass	LK	PL	three	LK	PL	child
							NP	
<i>gi-tan?aw=siya</i>	( )	<i>nga</i>	<i>nag-</i>					
PFV.PV-see=3S.NOM		COMP						
	A							
<i>a na-hulog</i>	( ),	<i>di?</i>	<i>gi-tabang-an=siya-g</i>	( )	<i>pa-nguha?</i>			
<i>a na-hulog</i>		<i>di?</i>	<i>gi-tabang-an=siya-ug</i>		<i>paN-kuha?</i>			
FIL AV-fall	S	DM	PFV-help-LV=3S.NOM-COMP	A	PROG-take			
<i>gi-balik</i>	( )	( )	<i>didto sa</i>	<i>iya-ha-ng</i>	<i>sudl-an-an</i>			
<i>gi-balik</i>			<i>didto sa</i>	<i>iya-a-nga</i>	<i>sulod-an-an</i>			
PFV.PV-return	A	P	there	LOC	3S.POSS-DEF-LK	inside-LV-NMZ		

'those his pears, a= while (they) were falling down, then he was picking (them) up. (and) also his those ... those three children passing by, (they) were looking at him picking-, a (the pears) fell down, so (they) helped him pick (them) up, and (they) put (them) back into his basket.'

(13) inter-clausal linking



'one (of the) child(ren) felt, (that) he had a hat (that) he left (behind), so (the children) gave (it) to him. (They) called him, that child who was taking the basket of pears. Then by way of thanking them, (he) gave each of them one of those pears.'

(14) inter-clausal linking

<i>a= na-mu?pu?=siya</i> a= naN-pu?pu?=siya FIL AV-pick=3S.NOM	<i>ug ( ), iya-ha-ng</i> <i>ug iya-a-nga</i> EXT E 3S.POSS-DEF-LKPFV-place	<i>gi-butang</i> <i>gi-butang</i> P	<i>( )</i> <i>( )</i> P	<i>sa-</i> <i>sa-</i> LOC
<i>iya-ha-ng</i> <i>iya-a-nga</i> 3S.POSS-DEF-LK	<i>sudl-an-an</i> <i>sulod-an-an</i> inside-LV-NMZ LK	<i>nga</i> <i>nga</i> LK	<i>mora ug</i> <i>mora ug</i> like COMP	<i>kani-ng</i> <i>kani-nga</i> this-LK
<i>basta</i> <i>basta</i> PAR	<i>iya-ha-ng</i> <i>iya-a-nga</i> 3S.POSS-DEF-LKPFV.PV-place	<i>gi-butang</i> <i>gi-butang</i> P	<i>( )</i> <i>( )</i> P	<i>diri sa</i> <i>diri sa</i> here LOC
<i>atubang-an</i> <i>atubang-an</i> front-LV	<i>nga</i> <i>nga</i> LK	<i>mora-g</i> <i>mora-ug</i> like-COMP	<i>na=y</i> <i>na?a=y</i> EXIST=NEUT	<i>bulsa</i> <i>bulsa</i> pocket
<i>nga</i> <i>nga</i> LK	<i>dako-ng</i> <i>dako?-nga</i> big-LK	<i>sudl-an-an</i> <i>sulod-an-an</i> inside-LV-NMZ		
<i>tapos</i> after	<i>ni-</i> AV-move.down=3S.NOM	<i>ni-na?og=siya</i> AV-move.down=3S.NOM		
<i>iya-ha-ng</i> <i>iya-a-nga</i> 3S.POSS-DEF-LK A	<i>gi-butang</i> <i>gi-butang</i> PFV-place	<i>sa</i> <i>sa</i> LOC	<i>mora ug</i> <i>mora ug</i> like COMP	<i>lamesa</i> <i>lamesa</i> table P
<i>pagka-human</i> <i>pagka-human</i> NMZ-finish	<i>gi-butang</i> <i>gi-butang</i> PFV.PV-place	<i>( )</i> <i>( )</i> A	<i>sa</i> <i>sa</i> LOC	<i>basket ang</i> <i>basket ang</i> basket ANG
<i>gi-trapu-han=usa?=niya</i> <i>gi-trapu-an=usa?=niya</i> PFV.PV-wipe-LV=first=3S.GEN	<i>ug</i> <i>ug</i> EXT	<i>tubaw</i> <i>tubaw</i> handkerchief	<i>( )</i> <i>( )</i> P	

'A= he was picking (pears) and he put (them) in his container which was like ..., anyway he put (them) here in front of him which was like there was a pocket, which was a huge container. Then he went down. He put (them) on (something) that was like a table. Afterwards, (he) put his (...) in the basket. He first wiped (them) with a hanky.'

Below, excerpt (15) shows two isolated NPs expressed as zero S arguments in succeeding mentions. Further below, the excerpts in (16) and (17) show animate referents first introduced in presentative clauses; they are then realized pronominally in succeeding mentions producing a series of S-A or A-S links.

(15) inter-clausal linking

<i>na?a=y</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>na-sugat-an-g</i>	<i>bata-ng</i>	<i>babayi</i>
<i>na?a=y</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>na-sugat-an-nga</i>	<i>bata?-nga</i>	<i>babayi</i>
EXIST=NEUT	3S.POSS-LK	SPONT-meet-LV-LK	child-LK PRES	girl

*na-bunggu?-an=siya* ( )  
SPONT-bump-LV=3S.NOM

A

<i>unya?</i>	<i>nanga-hulog</i>	<i>to-ng</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>gipang-</i>
<i>unya?</i>	<i>naN-hulog</i>	<i>to-ang</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>gipaN-</i>
then	AV-fall	that-ANG	3S.POSS-LK	PROG-

<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>mga- gi-</i>	<i>unsa=na-</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>basket</i>
<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>mga- gi-</i>	<i>unsa=na-</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>basket</i>
3S.POSS-LK	PL	what=that	LOC	3S.POSS-LK	basket

<i>unya</i>	<i>hasta-ng</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>kalo?,</i>
<i>unya</i>	<i>hasta-ang</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>kalo?,</i>
then	even-ANG	3S.POSS-LK	hat NP

*na-lupad* ( )  
SPONT-fly

S

<i>unya?</i>	<i>kato-ng</i>	<i>bata- nga</i>	<i>babayi</i>
<i>unya?</i>	<i>kato-nga</i>	<i>bata? nga</i>	<i>babayi</i>
then	that-LK	child LK	girl NP

<i>nga</i>	<i>naka-dasmag</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>iya,</i>
LK	SPONT-bump	LOC	3S.POSS

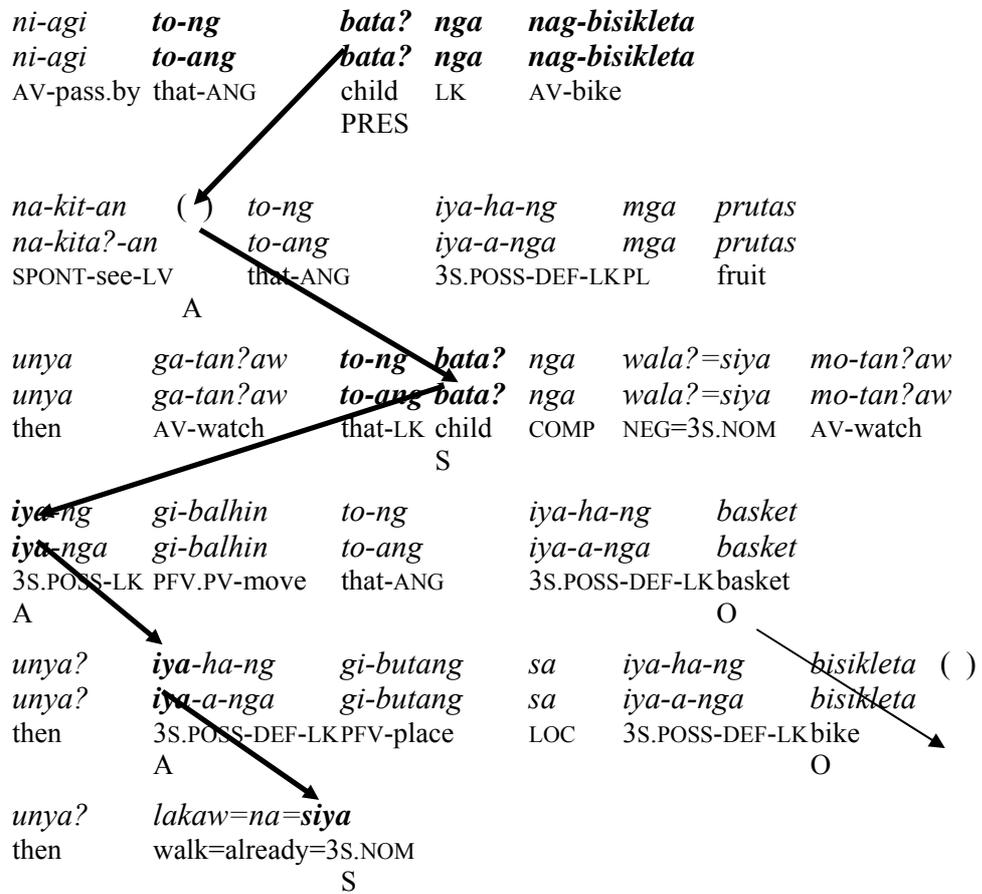
<i>wa?=lang-na-numbaling</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>iya,</i>	( )
NEG=just AV-look	LOC	3S.POSS	S

*ni-diritso=lang* ( )  
AV-straight=just

S

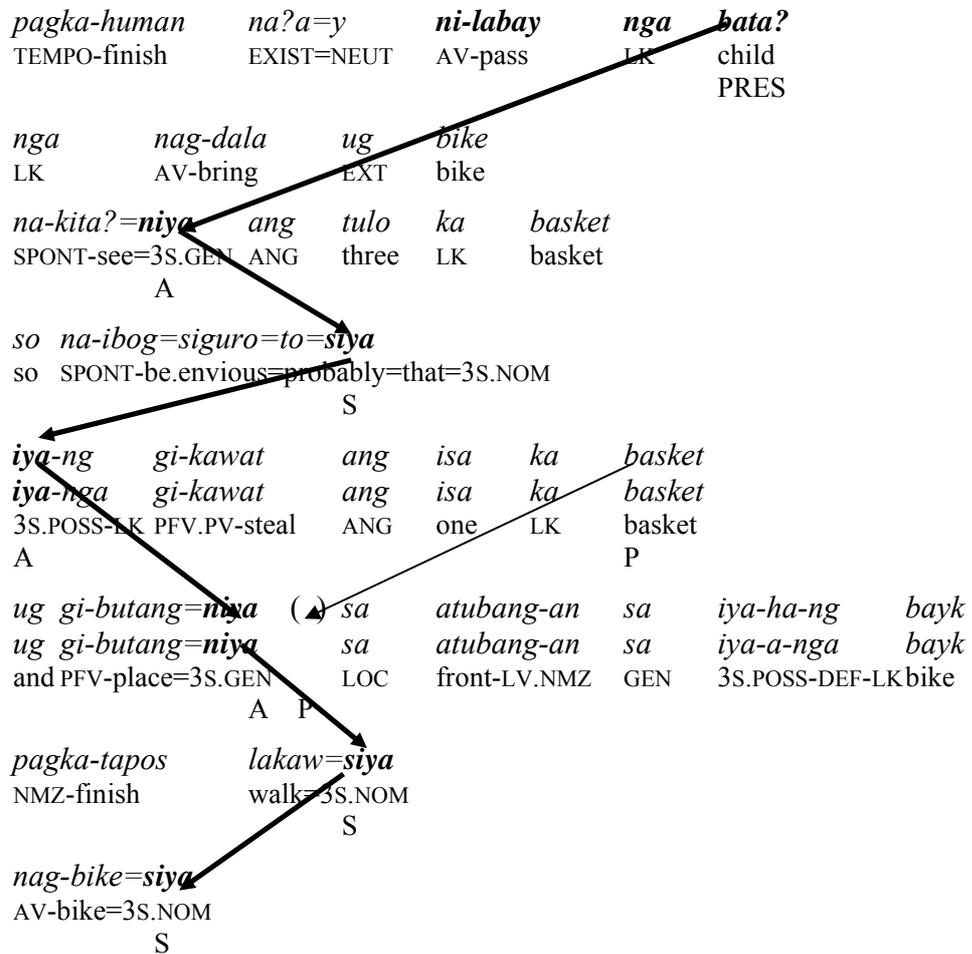
'There was a girl that he met. (The girl) bumped on him. Then those ... his basket fell down. Then even his hat, (it) flew (away). Then that- girl who bumped him, (She) just did nothing, (she) just looked at him, (and she) just (left) straight.'

(16) inter-clausal linking



'The boy riding a bike passed by. (And he) saw those his fruits. Then the boy was looking that (the old man) was not watching. He moved that his basket. Then he placed (it) onto his bike. Then he walked (away).'

(17) inter-clausal linking



'Then there was a boy who passed by, (who) was bringing a bike. He saw the three baskets. So he probably liked (the fruits inside the basket), he stole one basket, and placed (it) in front of his bike. Then he walked (away). He rode on (the) bike.'

(18) inter-clausal linking

<i>naka-sug-</i>	<i>sugat=siya-g</i>	<i>bata?</i>	<i>pud</i>
<i>naka-</i>	<i>sugat=siya-ug</i>	<i>bata?</i>	<i>pud</i>
SPONT-	meet=3S.NOM-EXT	child	also
		E	
		( )	
		↓	
<i>nag-bisiklita=pud</i>		S	
AV-bike=also			

*nag-bangga?-ay=gyud=sila*  
 AV-bump-RECIP=really=3P.NOM

'He met another child. (The child) was also riding a bike. They really bumped each other.'

(19) inter-clausal linking

<i>gi-pa-munit</i>	( )	<i>ang</i>	<i>sulod</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>bukag</i>	
<i>gi-paN-punit</i>		<i>ang</i>	<i>sulod</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>bukag</i>	
PFV.PV-CAU-pick		ANG	inside	GEN	basket	
	A		P			
		( )	( )	<i>sa</i>	<i>iya-ha-ng</i>	<i>bisikleta</i>
<i>then</i>	<i>gi-balik</i>		↓	<i>sa</i>	<i>iya-a-nga</i>	<i>bisikleta</i>
<i>then</i>	<i>gi-balik</i>			<i>sa</i>	<i>iya-a-nga</i>	<i>bisikleta</i>
then	PFV.PV-return	A	P	LOC	3S.POSS-DEF-LK	bike
<i>pag-lakaw sa</i>	<i>tulo</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>bata?</i>			
NMZ-walk	GEN	three	LK	child		
<i>gi-tag-a-an=siya</i>		<i>ug</i>	<i>pears</i>			
<i>gi-hatag-a-an=siya</i>		<i>ug</i>	<i>pears</i>			
PFV-give-LV=3S.NOM		EXT	pear			
	P					

'(They) picked the contents of the basket. Then (they) returned (them) on his bike. When the three boys walked (away), (he) gave them pears.'

### 18.3 The transitivity parameters

I agree with Ross (2002) and Teng (2007) that the use of the terms “intransitive” and “transitive” for the clauses with one core argument and two core arguments, respectively, best captures the reality of how the voice constructions work in Philippine-type languages (also cf. Nolasco 2005, 2006). AV clauses do not always have an Actor NP that is marked in the nominative case, and this is also true for the various NAV clauses, as I have shown elsewhere in this dissertation for Cebuano, specifically, Chapters 12 to 17 (cf. also H.

Huang and S. Huang 2007). However, I have decided to retain the traditional terms in this dissertation.

In this section I will discuss semantic transitivity in Cebuano. Much of the discussion will be based on Nolasco (2005, 2006), which adapted the transitivity parameters of Hopper and Thompson (1980) to apply to Philippine languages (Nolasco 2005), as shown in Table 18-12. Below I will look at each of the parameters and illustrate how they interact with the choice of voice construction.

**Table 18-12. Transitivity parameters as applied to Philippine languages (Nolasco 2005)**

		<b>High</b>	<b>Low</b>
<b>A. No. of Arguments</b>		<b>Distinct A and P</b>	<b>S</b>
B. Kinesis		action	state
C. Aspect		telic	atelic
D. Punctuality		punctual	non-punctual
<b>E. Intentionality</b>		<b>deliberate</b>	<b>volitional</b>
<b>F. Particularity</b>		<b>particular</b>	<b>general</b>
<b>G. Directionality</b>		<b>external</b>	<b>internal</b>
<b>H. Effort</b>		<b>effortful</b>	<b>effortless</b>
I. Affectedness of P		P totally affected	P not affected
<b>J. Exclusivity of P</b>		<b>exclusive P</b>	<b>non-exclusive P</b>

### 18.3.1 Number of Arguments

First, highly-transitive clauses are those that have two distinct participants A and P; there is usually a semantic Agent and a semantic Patient. On the other end of the continuum are the low-transitive clauses having only one participant. In Chapter 12, I have shown that AV constructions are those clauses that chiefly talk about the Actor or its actions and movements. The Patient argument in intransitive clauses in Cebuano, if there is one, is not syntactically a core argument, but is an Extended argument marked with

oblique case. In discourse, E arguments do not track participants; in at least 70 percent of instances, the Topic Persistence of these E arguments is less than two.

I have also shown in Section 12.5 the types of clauses which are intransitive constructions. One is the reflexive construction. A reflexive construction is syntactically expressed as a transitive clause (e.g., V NP<sub>1</sub> NP<sub>2</sub>), but there is actually only one participant: both NPs refer to the same entity. In other words, there seems to be an affected P, but this P is actually co-referent with the A; it is simply an S of an intransitive clause.

The periphrastic middle (coined by Nagaya 2007), as in (20), is expressed in a transitive NAV clause. In Cebuano, this can only be expressed through an intransitive construction, as shown in (21).

(20) Tagalog periphrastic middle (Nagaya 2006)

*p<in>atay-ø      ng      lalaki    ang      sarili    niya*  
 kill<PFV>-PV      GEN      man      ANG      self      his  
 ‘The man killed himself.’ (Middle)

(21) intransitive clause (based on 20)

*nag-pa-ka-matay ang      lalaki*  
*nag-pa-ka-patay ang      lalaki*  
 AV-CAU-KA-die      ANG      man  
 ‘The man killed (him)self.’

In Section 12.5 I also discussed reciprocals and constructions that express spontaneous events, where the development of an action/process is confined within the sphere of the protagonist; it comes involuntarily and accidentally from the Actor (cf. Pigafetta n.d. 23-24). For example, emotion events are very often involuntary and

uncontrollable, and that is the reason why emotion clauses in Cebuano are expressed by intransitive *na-* verbs (see also argument structure of emotion verbs in Section 17.2.7). Moreover, the Nominative-marked Patient shows no indication of volitionality. This is also true for reciprocals, where the difference is that the protagonists are more than one. In these instances, whether there is an Actor acting on the self or a Patient lacking volition, there is no distinct A and P; they employ either the intransitive prefixes *nag-* to convey some volition or *na-* to convey spontaneity.

(22) intransitive clause: physical event

*nindut=ka?ayo pagka-make up mora=gyud=siya na-tulog=ra*  
 nice=INTENS NMZ-make.up like=EMPH=3S.NOM INTR-sleep=only  
 '(He) was properly made up; he was as if (he) was just asleep.'

(23) intransitive clause: emotion event

*dali?=ka?ay i-sulti, pag-na-higugma=ka hikog=dyud*  
*dali?=ka?ayo i-sulti, pag-na-higugma=ka hikog=dyud*  
 fast=INTENS IV-say NMZ-SPONT-fall.in.love=1S.NOM suicide=EMPH  
 'It's so (often) easy to say, but (when) you (really) fall in love, (you would) commit suicide.'

(24) intransitive clause: accidental event

*duna=kuno usa=pud nag-hikog pilipina daw*  
 EXIST=EVID one=also AV-suicide PN EVID  
*three to four hours=siya bag?o na-discover*  
 three.to.four.hours=3S.NOM before INTR-discover  
 'There was also somebody (rumored) to have committed suicide. (They say) it was a Filipina. (It was) three to four hours before she was found.'

(25) reflexive clause

<i>ako</i>	<i>gi-biya-an=na</i>		<i>tambok=pa</i>	
<i>ako</i>	<i>gi-biya?-an=na</i>		<i>tambok=pa</i>	
1S.NOM	PFV.PV-leave-LV=already		fat=even	
<i>di?=pa=ko</i>	<b><i>nag-ayos</i></b>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>ka?ugalingon</i>
<i>di?=pa=ko</i>	<b><i>nag-ayos</i></b>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>ka?ugalingon</i>
NEG=even=1S.NOM	AV-tidy.up	OBL	1S.POSS-LK	self

'Me, not only did my husband leave me, I was also fat, and I did not even (try to) tidy up myself.'

### 18.3.2 Kinesis

Kinesis refers to the contrast between a state or stative event vs. a dynamic one that packs more action. A dynamic event is coded as a high-transitive clause, while a stative event is a low-transitive one. Taking into account the first parameter, a dynamic event would involve two participants, while a stative event usually involves only an Experiencer. For example, in Cebuano, an emotion event is treated as a stative event, where the emotion(s) taking place within a person is/(are) focused; therefore, emotion events are usually expressed as intransitive (only an S is affected). Converting the form of the emotion verb into a NAV form would usually change the sense of the verb, as in *katawa* 'to laugh' (intransitive) vs. *kataw-an* 'to laugh at' (transitive) and *suko?* 'to be angry' (intransitive) vs. *(ka-)suk-an* 'to scold' (transitive). The first members of these pairs involve only one participant acting on oneself and are therefore intransitive (26), while the second members involve a distinct A (the Experiencer of the emotion) and P (the target of the emotion), and have a dynamic reading (27).

(26) intransitive form of *katawa* 'laugh'

*di?=na=gud*      ***maka-katawa***  
 NEG=already=EMPH AV-laugh

<i>kay</i>	<i>inig-katawa,</i>	<i>ma-guba-g</i>	<i>samot</i>
<i>kay</i>	<i>inig-katawa,</i>	<i>ma-guba?-ug</i>	<i>samot</i>
because	every-laugh	INTR-destroy-LK	more.serious

'(She) can't laugh, because when (she) does, (her face) will be further deformed.'

(27) transitive form of *katawa* 'laugh'

*tupad=gyud=mi*      *dong*  
 sit.together=EMPH=1EP.NOM      VOC

*iya=pa=ko-ng*      ***gi-kataw-an***  
*iya=pa=ko-nga*      ***gi-katawa-an***  
 3S.POSS=even=1S.NOM-LK      PFV-laugh-LV

<i>oy,</i>	<i>asawa=man=di?ay=to</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>lien chan</i>
VOC	wife=PAR=CONTR=that	GEN	PN

'We were (sitting) side by side, *Dong*. And she even smiled at me. Oh (it was only later that I found out that) it was the wife of Lien Chan.'

Another example would be the perception verbs that express “passive” perception, such as *kita?* ‘to see’ and *dungog* ‘to listen.’ These verbs are usually more compatible with their intransitive AV forms, and they are never used in a way that would imply their being used in an “active” sense (i.e., “volitional” seeing and hearing, where *tan?aw* ‘to look at’ and *paminaw* ‘to listen’ are used instead; therefore *\*ni-kita?*, *\*gi-kit-an*, *\*ni-dungog*, and *\*gi-dung-gan* are not attested.

### 18.3.3 Aspect

Aspect refers to telicity or the completion of an event. An action or activity that terminates with a clear accomplishment of some kind is considered a highly transitive event. For example, in the contrast between the intransitive and transitive forms of *ila* ‘to

be acquainted, to recognize', the intransitive form *naka-ila* conveys a constant state of being acquainted with another person, while the transitive form *na-il-han* implies a point in time where the spontaneous act of identifying or recognizing somebody is accomplished.

(28) intransitive form of *ila* (Sun Star, February 28, 2008)

<i>wala?</i> = <i>gyu</i> = <i>y</i>	<b><i>naka-ila</i></b>	<i>sa</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>biktima</i>
<i>wala?</i> = <i>gyud</i> = <i>y</i>	<b><i>naka-ila</i></b>	<i>sa</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>biktima</i>
NEG=EMPH=NEUT	AV-know	OBL	PL	victim

'Really, nobody knew the victims.'

(29) transitive form of *ila* (Sun Star, May 7, 2008)

<i>angbiktimana-<b>il-han</b></i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Juanito dela Cruz</i>
<i>angbiktimana-<b>ila-an</b></i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>Juanito dela Cruz</i>
ANG	victim	SPONT-recognize-LV	COMP SI PN

'The victim has been identified as Juanito dela Cruz.'

This contrast can also be observed from the number of instances that verbs are expressed as completed or incomplete. As shown in Table 18-13, completed events may be encoded in their transitive (NAV) or intransitive (AV) forms, as there are other factors involved when they are expressed as AV forms (e.g., number of participants, kinesis, and some other factors). However, an incomplete event is almost always expressed in intransitive AV form; somehow, the idea of incomplete aspect and high transitivity is incompatible, especially when referring to future events.

**Table 18-13. Aspect (telicity) / punctuality vs. transitivity**

	perfective (completed) (punctual)	progressive (incomplete) (non-punctual)	
	non-future	non-future	future
intransitive	<i>ni-</i> 65	<b><i>nag-</i> 104</b>	<b><i>mag-</i> 113</b>
transitive	<i>gi-</i> 74	<i>g&lt;in&gt;a(pang)-</i> 3	<i>ga(pang)-</i> 0

### 18.3.4 Punctuality

Punctuality is very similar to the concept of aspect. Punctual verbs convey the achievement of a particular state, and in this sense, they are very compatible with perfective aspect. Non-punctual verbs, on the other hand, are durative; they are compatible with the progressive aspect and are almost always expressed as intransitive AV verbs. Taking motion verbs as an example, motion verbs tend to be durative, and so they are frequently used in their intransitive AV form. Based on an impressionistic observation of the data, approximately 9 out of 10 motion verbs are affixed with an intransitive affix. Once a motion verb is expressed in an NAV form, the focus shifts from the motion toward an affected entity, as in (30); the verb becomes less “durative” and more “punctual.”

(30) telic event

<i>maguang sa</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>inahan,</i>	<i>na?a=y</i>	<i>cancer</i>
<i>maguang sa</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>inahan,</i>	<i>na?a=y</i>	<i>cancer</i>
elder.sibling GEN	1S.POSS-LK	mother	EXIST=NEUT	cancer

<i>hapat=na</i>	<i>ma-matay,</i>	<b><i>gi-adto-an=namo?</i></b>
<i>hapat=na</i>	<i>ma-patay,</i>	<b><i>gi-adto-an=namo?</i></b>
almost=already	AV-die	PFV-go-LV=1EP.GEN

'My mother's elder sibling, (he) had cancer and was dying. We (went to) see (him).'

In sum, intransitive events involve only one participant engaged in an ongoing action or in a state, while transitive events involve an A entity carrying out a dynamic action that has been completed, and where a distinct P entity is most likely affected.

### 18.3.5 Intentionality

An action or an activity may either be voluntary or willingly carried out, in which case it is volitional; they are expressed as intransitive AV verbs. If an action is determined or willful, it is deliberate; in such an instance, a P is affected, and the verb is expressed as a transitive NAV verb.

(31) an AV verb form conveys a volitional action

<i>mora-g</i>	<i>sakit,</i>	<i>kung</i>	<b><i>mo-biya?</i></b>	<i>=na=ko</i>	<i>sa iya-ha</i>
<i>mora-ug</i>	<i>sakit,</i>	<i>kung</i>	<b><i>mo-biya?</i></b>	<i>=na=ko</i>	<i>sa iya-a</i>
seem-COMP	painful	if	AV-leave=	already=1S.NOM	DAT 3S.POSS-DEF

'(It) seems to hurt, if I (decide to) leave him.'

(32) an NAV verb form conveys a deliberate action

<i>unsa-on=man=nimo</i>	<i>pag-buhi?</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>city,</i>	<i>pamilya,</i>	<b><i>biya?-an</i></b>
what-PV=PAR=2S.GEN	NMZ-live	LOC	city	family	leave-LV.FUT

'How would it be possible for you to live in the city? (Your) family, (just) leave (them?)'

It appears to me that this parameter is more easily understood in terms of deliberateness of an action. If an action is deliberate, the verb tends to be coded in its transitive NAV form. Comparing the extracts above, the second one (32) conveys more deliberate and determined action than the first one (31).

### 18.3.6 Particularity

Particularity refers to the nature of an action, whether it is viewed as a general action (by the use of an AV verb) or a particular action (by a NAV verb). A particular action would usually imply a definite P being affected by such an action. For example, in (33), the first two instances of the verb *abang* ‘to rent’ is merely mentioning about the general act of renting an apartment. In the last line, the NAV form of the said verb is used, and therefore involves a definite Patient, a room that has been rented. Two more examples using the verb *adto* ‘to go’ is provided. In (34), only the general act of going to Cebu is mentioned. The focus is on the friend’s act of going, not on any entity affected by such an action. In (35), where the verb form is transitive, the focus is not anymore on the act of going, but on the entity (in this case, a person) that is the Goal or Purpose of the act of going.

#### (33) Particularity vs. transitivity

T: *iya-ng ginikanan, ka-uban=nimo/*  
*iya-nga ginikanan, ka-uban=nimo/*  
 3S.POSS-LK parent COM-together=2S.GEN

L: *nag-abang=ko sa gawas*  
 AV-rent=1S.NOM LOC outside

T: *nag-abang=mo/*  
 AV-rent=2P.NOM

L: *o\ kwarto=ra=sad amo-ng gi-abang-an*  
*o\ kwarto=ra=sad amo?-nga gi-abang-an*  
 BC room=just=also 1IP.POSS-LK PFV-rent-LV

T: 'Your in-laws, are (they) with you?'

L: '(No), I'm renting outside.'

T: 'You're renting?'

L: Yes, (but) we're only renting a room.'

(34) intransitive form conveys a general action

<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>amigo,</i>	<b><i>nang-adto-g</i></b>	<i>Cebu</i>	<i>for</i>	<i>two days</i>
<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>amigo,</i>	<b><i>naN-adto-ug</i></b>	<i>Cebu</i>	<i>for</i>	<i>two days</i>
1S.POSS-LK	friend	AV-go-EXT	PN	for	two.days

'My friends, (they) went to Cebu for two days.'

(35) transitive form conveys a particular action

<i>maguang</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>inahan,</i>	<i>na?a=y</i>	<i>cancer</i>
<i>maguang</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ako?-ng</i>	<i>inahan,</i>	<i>na?a=y</i>	<i>cancer</i>
elder.sibling	GEN	1S.POSS-LK	mother	EXIST=NEUT	cancer

<i>hagit=na</i>	<i>ma-matay,</i>	<b><i>gi-adto-an=namo?</i></b>
<i>hagit=na</i>	<i>ma-patay,</i>	<b><i>gi-adto-an=namo?</i></b>
almost=already	AV-die	PFV-go-LV=1EP.GEN

'My mother's elder sibling, has cancer and dying. We went to see her/him.'

### 18.3.7 Directionality

Directionality refers to the internal or outward movement of an action. If an action is contained within the personal space of the Actor, nobody else except the Actor is affected. Thus the verb will be expressed as intransitive. In this sense, reflexives, and reciprocals are the most appropriate examples (see Section 12.3.1 and Section 12.3.3). In these situations the protagonist(s) do(es) not move beyond oneself, and so they are expressed intransitively in Cebuano. When a transitive form is issued, the focus is entirely on an external entity affected by a particular action, and there is necessarily a distinct entity affected by a deliberately completed act.

### 18.3.8 Effort

One of the hallmarks of a transitive construction is the great amount of effort that an Agent pours into carrying out an action or an activity (Nolasco 2005). As

there is effort, there is deliberate intentionality on a definite and affected Patient in a particular action.<sup>69</sup> For example, in (35), there is an effort to not only *go*, but also to *see the sick brother of the speaker's mother*. Similarly, in (37), there is a deliberate plan and therefore an effort to sing the song. On the other hand, an intransitive construction conveys an effortless endeavor; there is volition, but somehow there is a lack of determination. Comparing the two sentences below, the intransitive construction in (36) signals less effort than the transitive clause in (37).

(36) an effortless event with a partially affected Patient (constructed)

*ni-kanta=ko ug Happy Birthday to You*  
 AV-sing=1S.NOM EXT PN  
 'I sang a "Happy Birthday to You" song.'

(37) an effortful event with a fully affected Patient (constructed)

*gi-kanta=nako? ang Happy Birthday to You*  
 PFV.PV-sing=1S.GEN ANG PN  
 'I sang the "Happy Birthday to You" song.'

### 18.3.9 Affectedness of P

In a transitive clause, the P is totally affected by an action. In contrast, in an intransitive clause, as the focus is on the Actor and the action, the P is not necessarily affected. I will first use the sentence pair in (36) and (37) to illustrate this. In (36), the focus is on my singing of a song; as I have said, there is less effort and so it is not so important whether the speaker did finish singing the song in its entirety as the fact that

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<sup>69</sup> It seems that this parameter is very closely linked to the intentionality parameter. If there is deliberate intention, there is effort, and vice versa.

the speaker did sing. In (37), the speaker exerted an effort to sing the song from start to finish; otherwise, the PV verb couldn't be used.

Below are excerpts from actual conversation. In (38), the number might just be an estimate. What is highlighted is the act of our deploying workers to Kaohsiung. In (39), the money is definitely inserted into the passport.

(38) an event with a partially affected P

*karon mo-sulod=mi ug 200 sa kaohsiung*  
 now AV-inside=1EP.NOM EXT 200 LOC PN  
 'Now we will deploy 200 (workers) in Kaohsiung.'

(39) an event with a fully affected P

*ing-ana? layo?=pa=ka?ayo, mag-ipit=na? si josie ug kwarta*  
 like.that far=still=INTENS AV-insert=that SI PN EXT money  
*iya=na-ng i-pa-kita? sus mag-agaw-an=lagi=na-ng customs*  
*iya=na?-nga i-pa-kita? sus mag-agaw-an=lagi=na?-ang customs*  
 3S.POSS=that-LK IV-CAU-show INTERJ AV-fight.over-LV=really=that-ANG customs

*@@@ diri=ka oy diri=ka diri=ka*  
 here=2S.NOM VOC here=2S.NOM here=2S.NOM

*kay layo?=pa=ka?ayo iya=na-ng gi-sulod ang kwarta*  
*kay layo?=pa=ka?ayo iya=na-nga gi-sulod ang kwarta*  
 because far=still=INTENS 3S.POSS=already-LK PFV.PV-insert ANG money  
 'Like that, (when she's) still far from the customs area, Josie will already insert cash (in her passport), (but) she will show it [her act of inserting the money] (to the customs officials); oh my! Customs (people) will be fighting (over her) [laughs] "Hey Miss, you come here, you come here." Because (when she's) still far away, she will already insert the money (in her passport). "

### 18.3.10 Exclusivity of P

In an intransitive clause, the action does not necessarily affect a Patient, and so the P can be just any entity. Therefore in (36), I might have sung not only the Happy Birthday song, but also other songs; in (38), who are deployed might be some other people who do

not belong to the original 200 workers. In (40) below, the friend might have gone not only to Cebu, but probably also to other neighboring places. But in a transitive clause, as the P is entirely affected, it is also necessarily exclusive; the Speaker is referring to a particular entity, not just any one.<sup>70</sup> In (41), the target of the visit is a particular person, the elder brother of the Speaker's mother, not somebody else.

(40) an intransitive event with a non-exclusive P

<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>amigo,</i>	<b><i>nang-adto-g</i></b>	<i>Cebu</i>	<i>for</i>	<i>two days</i>
<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>amigo,</i>	<b><i>naN-adto-ug</i></b>	<i>Cebu</i>	<i>for</i>	<i>two days</i>
1S.POSS-LK	friend	AV-go-EXT	PN	for	two.days

'My friends, (they) went to Cebu for two days.'

(41) a transitive event with an exclusive P

<i>maguang sa</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>inahan,</i>	<i>na?a=y</i>	<i>cancer</i>
<i>maguang sa</i>	<i>ako?-ng</i>	<i>inahan,</i>	<i>na?a=y</i>	<i>cancer</i>
elder.sibling GEN	1S.POSS-LK	mother	EXIST=NEUT	cancer

<i>hagit=na</i>	<i>ma-matay,</i>	<b><i>gi-adto-an=namo?</i></b>
<i>hagit=na</i>	<i>ma-patay,</i>	<b><i>gi-adto-an=namo?</i></b>
almost=already	AV-die	PFV-go-LV=1EP.GEN

'My mother's elder sibling, had cancer and was dying. We went to see her/him.'

#### 18.4 Voice constructions in discourse

In this section, I will try to show longer stretches of data that will illustrate the effect of the various discourse factors and elements discussed in this chapter. In (42), there are verbs that naturally occur as AV verbs: emotion verbs in lines 2, 4, and 6 (*ganahan* 'to like'), utterance verbs in lines 7 and 9 (*ingon* 'to say'), a cognition verb in line 1 (*kalimot* 'to forget'), and a perception verb in line 10 (*tan?aw* 'to look'). The Spanish origin of the

<sup>70</sup> It seems that this parameter is very closely associated with the particularity parameter. A particular action necessarily involves an exclusive P, and vice versa, while a general action can involve or affect any P entity.

word *ganahan* can still be detected, but it has become lexicalized, such that it can also take a PV affix to form *gi-ganahan*. As for *ingon*, I have mentioned in Section 17.2.4 (argument structure of utterance verbs) that the phrases *ing=ko* ‘I say,’ *ing=siya* ‘he/she says,’ and similar phrases have become entrenched in ordinary conversation. As for the PV verb of utterance in line 5 (*gi-ingn-an*), I think it is used to re-introduce a participant into the discourse: by taking advantage of the P role. The clauses following that are shifted to AV clauses. Moreover, in line 10, after the protagonist learned that she could not take a picture with the transvestite, she uses an AV verb implying that she won’t necessarily be looking at her, but on the other transvestites as well. In short, this extract is describing the personal feelings of the narrator during her trip to Bangkok, so AV clauses are used except in two lines where the speaker instead talks about highly transitive events like talking to somebody (line 5) and asking somebody for information (line 8).

(42) discourse excerpt

<sup>1</sup>*di?*=gyud=*nako?* **ma-kalimt-an**  
*di?*=gyud=*nako?* **ma-kalimot-an**  
NEG=EMPH=1S.GEN SPONT-forget-LV

<sup>2</sup>*kay* **ganahan**=ka?ay=*ko* *makig-ku?an* *sa* *katong bayot*  
*kay* **ganahan**=ka?ayo=*ko* *makig-ku?an* *sa* *katong bayot*  
because like=INTENS=1S.NOM RECIP-KUAN OBL that transvestite

<sup>3</sup>*kay* *gwapa*=ka?ay=*talaga*=*siya*  
*kay* *gwapa*=ka?ayo=*talaga*=*siya*  
because beautiful=INTENS=really=3S.NOM

<sup>4</sup>*unya?* *kusog*=ka?ay **mo-kanta** *ba,* **ganahan**=gyud=*ka?*ay=*ko*  
*unya?* *kusog*=ka?ayo **mo-kanta** *ba,* **ganahan**=gyud=*ka?*ayo=*ko*  
DM strong=INTENS AV-sing DM LIKE=EMPH=INTENS=1S.NOM

<sup>5</sup>*unya?* *ako-ng* **gi-ingn-an** *ako-ng* *igso?on*  
*unya?* *ako?-nga* **gi-ingon-an** *ako?-nga* *igso?on*  
DM 1S.POSS-LK PFV-say-LV 1S.POSS-LK sibling

<sup>6</sup>*sigi*=*na* **ganahan**=*lagi*=*ko*  
go.on=already like=INTENS=1S.NOM

<sup>7</sup>**ingon**=*ko* *mo-kuha?*=*lagi*=*ko* *ana-ng* *bayot-a*  
**ingon**=*ko* *mo-kuha?*=*lagi*=*ko* *ana?-nga* *bayot-a*  
say=1S.NOM AV-take=INTENS=1S.NOM OBL-LK transvestite-DEF

<sup>8</sup>*unya?* *iya-ng* *gi-pangutana* *how much*  
*unya?* *iya-nga* *gi-pangutana* *how much*  
DM 3S.POSS-LK PFV.PV-ask how.much

<sup>9</sup>**ingon**=*siya* *one hundred* **ing**=*ko* *unsa/* *ay*=*na*=*lang* *oy*  
**ingon**=*siya* *one hundred* **ingon**=*ko* *unsa/* *ayaw*=*na*=*lang* *oy*  
say=3S.NOM one.hundred say=1S.NOM what NEG=already=just VOC

<sup>10</sup>**mo-tan?aw**=*na*=*lang*=*ko* *sa* *iya-ha*  
**mo-tan?aw**=*na*=*lang*=*ko* *sa* *iya-a*  
AV-look=already=just=1S.NOM LOC 3S.POSS-DEF

‘I really can’t forget (it), because I very much wanted to (take pictures) with the transvestite, because she was very pretty. Then (she) sang very well, I really liked (her). Then I told my sister, “come on, I like to.” I said, “I’ll take that transvestite.” Then she asked (her) how much. She said, “One hundred.” I said, “What! No, I won’t anymore, I’ll just look at her.”’

Excerpt (43), a narration of an experience of being detained at an airport customs, shows a contrast between the expression of emotion verbs (in intransitive form) and activity verbs (in transitive form). Lines 1 to 4 are about Marino's *being angry*, which is expressed by the intransitive *suko?*. In Line 2, the officer is being asked about his *asking for bribe (pangayo?)*; Line 3 is likewise saying about their *working for* the government (*nag-trabaho*). Line 5 is about the *detainment* of the protagonists at customs. The officer is clearly detaining them on purpose, hence the use of the PV verb (*gi-hold*). Line 6 is again talking about Marino, who is now grumbling. The intransitive form is also signaled by the aspectual verb *sigi*, implying duration. In Line 7 the use of the PV form is a sign of determination and deliberate action; indeed the narration would be odd if the AV form *ni-kuha* were used (as in 43a), which would sound much weaker.

Notice also the contrast between the AV form of *gawas* 'to go out' in Line 11 and the PV form in Line 9. The intransitive *naka-gawas* is describing the state of the narrator after one hour of waiting: that "they were able to get out" of the airport after a grueling experience with the officer. In Line 9, the utterance is a continuation of Line 8, which describes the state of fear of the customs official (S), which resulted in his letting the speaker and her companion out. The S referent in Line 8 becomes the A pivot in Line 9. Notice also that with two animate arguments, it is the A that tends to be expressed as zero.

## (43) discourse excerpt

<sup>1</sup>*suko?*=ka?ay      *si*      *mang marino*, **ingon**      *si*      *mang marino*  
*suko?*=ka?ayo      *si*      *mang marino*, **ingon**      *si*      *mang marino*  
angry=INTENS      SI      PN      say      SI      PN

<sup>2</sup>*ngano-ng*      **m-angayo?**=man=ka      *sa*      *ako-ng*      *kwarta*  
*ngano-nga*      **m-pangayo?**=man=ka      *sa*      *ako?-nga*      *kwarta*  
why-COMP      AV-ask=PAR=2S.NOM      OBL      1S.POSS-LK      money

<sup>3</sup>*nga pareho*=ra=man=ta      **nag-trabaho**      *sa*      *gobyerno*  
COMP same=just=PAR=1IP.NOM      AV-work      LOC      government

<sup>4</sup>*suko?*=ka?ay=siya      *suko?*=gyud=ka?ay=siya  
*suko?*=ka?ayo=siya      *suko?*=gyud=ka?ayo=siya  
angry=INTENS=3S.NOM      angry=EMPH=INTENS=3S.NOM

<sup>5</sup>**gi-hold**=man=mi-ng      *duha*,  
**gi-hold**=man=mi-nga      *duha*,  
PFV.PV-detain=PAR=1EP.NOM-LK      two

<sup>6</sup>*unya?*      *sigi=na-g*      **bagutbut-bagutbut**      *si*      *mang marino*  
*unya?*      *sigi=na-ug*      **bagutbut-bagutbut**      *si*      *mang marino*  
then      go.on=already-LK      grumble-REDUP      SI      PN

<sup>7</sup>**gi-kuha?**      *ni*      *mang marino*      *ang*      *ngalan*  
PFV.PV-take      GEN      PN      ANG      name

<sup>8</sup>*pagka-kuha?*      **na-hadlok**=na=to-ng      *custom*  
*pagka-kuha?*      **na-hadlok**=na=to-ang      *custom*  
NMZ-take      SPONT-afraid=already=that-ANG customs.officer

<sup>9</sup>**gi-pa-gawas**=na=mi-ng      *duha*,  
**gi-pa-gawas**=na=mi-nga      *duha*,  
PFV.PV-CAU-out=already=1EP.NOM-LK      two

<sup>10</sup>*suko?*=ka?ay      *si*      *mang marino*      *ato*  
*suko?*=ka?ayo      *si*      *mang marino*      *ato*  
angry=INTENS      SI      PN      at.that.time

<sup>11</sup>*dugay=ka?ay=kami-*,      *usa*      *ka*      *oras=kami*      *bag?o naka-gawas*  
*dugay=ka?ayo=kami-*,      *usa*      *ka*      *oras=kami*      *bag?o naka-gawas*  
long=INTENS=1EP.NOM      one      LK      hour=1EP.NOM      before AV-out

‘Mang Marino was very angry, he said (to the man) “Why are you asking for my money, when we’re both just working for the government?” He was very angry, really really angry, (since) we were both detained. Then Mang Marino kept on grumbling. He took the (person’s) name. When (he was able) to take (the name), the customs (officer) got scared. (He) let us out. Mang Marino was very angry at that time. We (stayed) very long (there), (it was) one hour before (we) were able to get out (there).’

(43a) weaker effect of AV form

ʔʔʔ <i>ni-kuha?</i> si	<i>mang marino</i>	(*ug) / sa	<i>ngalan</i>
AV-take	NOM PN	EXT	name

‘Mang Marino took (\*a)/the name.’

Excerpt (44) is an Informant’s description of her husband. Line 2 is a predicate phrase describing the husband as *hard-headed*. Line 3 uses a cognition verb; here there is a specific referent of *ma?o=to*, which is her previous statement. Line 4 is an utterance verb *ingon* ‘to say.’ Utterance verbs are almost always in intransitive form. Line 5 is a highly transitive event: on the one hand, the topic is the narrator; on the other hand, the Actor is someone who is normally not mentioned. Furthermore, it is also common for Cebuano speakers to use such expression *taga-an=ko (ni Lord) ug ...* ‘(the Lord) will bless me with . . .’ Line 6 is again a kind of stative predication.

(44) discourse excerpt

<sup>1</sup> <i>ma?o=gyud=na?</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>gi-ka-bu?ang</i>	<i>karon</i>
<i>ma?o=gyud=na?</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>gi-ka-bu?ang</i>	<i>karon</i>
ANAPH=EMPH=that	ANG	3S.POSS-LK	PFV.PV-NMZ-crazy	now
<sup>2</sup> <i>gahi?=ka?ay-g</i>	<i>ulo</i>	<i>oy</i>		
<i>gahi?=ka?ayo-ug</i>	<i>ulo</i>	<i>oy</i>		
hard=EMPH-LK	head	INTERJ		
<sup>3</sup> <i>ma?o=to</i>	<i>usahay</i>	<i>gi-huna?huna?=nako?</i>		
ANAPH=that	sometimes	PFV.PV-think=1S.GEN		
<sup>4</sup> <i>naka-ingon=gyud=ko</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>ka?ugalingon</i>	
<i>naka-ingon=gyud=ko</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>ka?ugalingon</i>	
AV-say=EMPH=1S.NOM	LOC	1S.POSS-LK	self	
<sup>5</sup> <i>ma?o=di?ay wala?=ko</i>	<i>taga-i-g</i>	<i>anak</i>	<i>tungod=siguro</i>	<i>ana?</i>
<i>ma?o=di?ay wala?=ko</i>	<i>hatag-i-ug</i>	<i>anak</i>	<i>tungod=siguro</i>	<i>ana?</i>
ANAPH=PAR NEG=1S.NOM	give-LV-EXT	child	because=maybe	that
<sup>6</sup> <i>bu?otan=man=siya</i>	<i>pero</i>	<i>kana?=lagi</i>	<i>di?</i>	<i>pa-tu?o</i>
good.natured=PAR=3S.NOM	but	that=EMPH	NEG	CAU-believe
'That's is certainly what he's crazy about right now. He's too hard-headed. That's why sometimes I think, I said to myself, That's probably why (the Lord) hasn't given me a child, probably (it's) because of that. He's nice, it's just that he doesn't obey (me).'				

Extract (45) is a description of an event at an airport customs inspection area. The first five lines are either equational clauses or stative descriptions of the background. Line 6 is using an intransitive form to highlight the volitional action of Josie. Line 7 is about Josie's deliberate act of showing her inserting money into her passport to the customs officials who are looking on. Here the zero NP *kwarta* 'money' has become topical by its introduction in Line 6 and expression in zero form in Line 7. The money here has to be emphasized (hence promoted to the Nominative slot), as it is the entity that is attracting the attention of the customs officials (at this point of narration), who are now fighting over (with volition) being the one to inspect Josie's luggage, as expressed in Line 8.

(45) discourse excerpt

<sup>1</sup>*si josie=gyud, kataw-an-an=ka?ay=na?=siya*  
*si josie=gyud, katawa-an-an=ka?ayo=na?=siya*  
SI PN=EMPH laugh-LV-NMZ=EMPH=that=3S.NOM

<sup>2</sup>*di=ba kanangcustom, layo?=ka?ay=na?*  
*di=ba kanangcustom, layo?=ka?ayo=na?*  
DM that customs far=EMPH=that

<sup>3</sup>*di=ba na?a sa conveyor ka/*  
DM EXIST LOC conveyor 2S.NOM

<sup>4</sup>*ing-ana?=man=na-ng passport di=ba/*  
*ingon-ana?=man=na?-ang passport di=ba/*  
like-that=PAR=that-ANG passport DM

<sup>5</sup>*ing-ana? layo?=pa=ka?ayo*  
*ingon-ana? layo?=pa=ka?ayo*  
like-that far=still=EMPH

<sup>6</sup>*mag-ipit=na? si josie ug kwarta*  
AV-insert=that SI PN EXT money

<sup>7</sup>*iya na-ng i-pa-kita?*  
*iya na?-nga i-pa-kita?*  
3S.POSS that-LK IV-CAU-see

<sup>8</sup>*sus mag-ilog=lagi=na-ng customs*  
*sus mag-ilog=lagi=na?-ang customs*  
INTERJ AV-fight.over=EMPH=that-ANG customs

‘Josie, she’s so funny. The customs, isn’t it (that) they are far away, (when) you’re at the (luggage) conveyor? (Then) your passport is like that, right? Like that, (while you’re) still far away, Josie will insert money (in her passport). (Then) she will make it (obvious), My God, the customs (officials) would be surely fighting for her.’

Extract (46) is an Informant’s narration of her visit to an uncle who is dying of cancer.

Line 1 describes the state of the uncle’s health, hence the intransitive form is employed.

In Line 2, the uncle is the goal of the act of her going to visit; here the transitive form is used. The rest of the extract is describing how she is able to get to her uncle’s place through a series of motion verbs, and so intransitive forms are used. Notice again the

contrast between the transitive and intransitive forms of *adto* ‘to go’ in Line 2 and Line5, respectively.

(46) discourse excerpt

<sup>1</sup> <i>hagit=na</i>		<b><i>na-matay=na</i></b> \			
<i>hagit=na</i>		<b><i>na-patay=na</i></b>			
almost=already		AV-die=already			
<sup>2</sup> <i>tapos</i>		<b><i>gi-adtu-an=namo?</i></b> \			
DM		PFV-go-LV=1EP.GEN			
<sup>3</sup> <i>pwerte-ng-</i>	<i>nag-</i>	<i>nag-ku?an=mi</i>	<i>didto</i>	<i>sa-</i>	
<i>pwerte-ng-</i>	<i>nag-</i>	<i>nag-ku?an=mi</i>	<i>didto</i>	<i>sa-</i>	
EMPH-LK	FS	AV-KUAN=1EP.NOM	there	LOC	
<sup>4</sup> <i>aw-</i>	<b><i>agi=mi-g</i></b>	<i>cebu</i>			
<i>aw-</i>	<b><i>agi=mi-ug</i></b>	<i>cebu</i>			
FS	pass=1EP.NOM-EXT	PN			
<sup>5</sup> <i>tapos</i>	<i>bag?o=mi</i>	<b><i>nag-adto-g</i></b>	<i>san carlos-</i>		
<i>tapos</i>	<i>bag?o=mi</i>	<b><i>nag-adto-ug</i></b>	<i>san carlos-</i>		
then	before=1EP.NOM	AV-go-EXT	PN		
<sup>6</sup> <i>to</i>	<b><i>nag-sakay=mi=gani?</i></b>	<i>sa</i>	<i>Toledo</i>		
there	AV-ride=1EP.NOM=PAR	LOC	PN		

‘(He) was already dying (=almost dead), then we went (to see him). (It) was so- we were- we passed by Cebu. Then before we went to San Carlos, we rode to Toledo.’

## 18.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have first illustrated how referents are tracked in Cebuano discourse. First- and second-person referents are obligatorily pronominal. As for third person referents, the pronominal form is preferred for human referents, while the zero form is preferred for inanimate referents. When both participants in a transitive clause are third-person referents, the nominative P argument is pronominalized and the genitive A argument is in zero form. I have also shown that although a pivot can be any role, S-A

linking still predominates in Cebuano discourse. Moreover, I discussed transitivity and how it is related to referential tracking; it is after all interclausal coreference that enables speakers to choose one voice over another.

## Chapter 19

### DISCOURSE MARKERS and FORMULAIC EXPRESSIONS

#### 19.0 Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss the various particles and common expressions that occur in daily speech. In 19.1 I first discuss different types of particles in clause-initial and clause-final positions, as well as in post-nominal position, which function as discourse markers. In 19.2, I investigate the placeholders *ku?an* and its various functions in discourse, as well as other placeholder particles in Cebuano. In 19.3, I will turn to formulaic expressions used in daily speech. The expressions that will be taken up include greetings and leave-taking, agreeing and disagreeing, interjections and curses, and gestures. These expressions do not necessarily show up in the corpus, as they would require the appropriate contexts, so I have relied mostly on my own experience and the description of Trosdal (1992), especially on the section on gestures. I lump the particles and expressions in this chapter as they are similar in the sense that although they seem to be very minor parts of grammar, they are actually more pervasive than they are thought to be.

#### 19.1 Particles

I observe that second-position clitic particles are in general pervasive in conversation (see Chapter 6 on Verb Complex), but not so much in narratives. Narratives contain more connectors than particles, as connectors are more important

in establishing a storyline, while second-position clitic particles are used to convey personal attitude or expectations toward matters in the course of conversation. The particles that I will discuss here will include only clause-initial particles (19.1.1), clause-final particles (19.1.2), and post-nominal particles (19.1.3).

The particles that I mention in 19.1.1 to 19.1.3 can also be said to be discourse markers, which refer to the syntactically heterogeneous class of expressions which are distinguished by their function in establishing connectivity in discourse and the kind of meaning they encode, as indicated by Blakemore (2004). According to her, there is to date neither a definitive list of markers in any language, nor has any research yielded a framework for analyzing these expressions. They are best described at the level of discourse rather than the sentence.

### **19.1.1 Clause-initial particles**

In this section I will cover clause-initial particles. The particles that function as discourse connectors (e.g., *ug*, *unya?*, *dayon*) have already been discussed in Chapter 3, so I will not repeat them here. The various clause-initial particles convey different attitudes and conversation excerpts are also provided for illustration. The particles discussed here are *a*, *aw*, *bitaw*, *di=ba*, *kahibawo=ka*, *na*, *sigi*, *unsa*, and *oy*.

The particle *a* is uttered with a falling intonation at the beginning of the clause, and suggests that what is going to be said next is disappointing or not according to expectations.

(1) clause-initial particle *a*

*nag-sabot=na=man=mi*      *ni*      *Josie,*  
AV-agree=already=PAR=1EP.NOM      GEN      PN  
*mag-kita?=na=lang=mi*      *pa-dulong*      *sa*      *states*  
AV-see=already=just=1EP.NOM      CAU-toward      LOC      PN  
*a,*      *wa?=man*  
PAR      NEG=PAR  
'Josie and I already planned (that) we will just meet (in Manila) to leave for the States. But, we never made it.'

The clause-initial particle *aw* is a repair marker, but it is unlike *ku?an* (see Section 19.2) in the sense that *ku?an* involves some word search, while *aw* repairs an actual utterance. In the second example below, the clause introduced by the particle *aw* provides an alternative to the scenario that's not going to happen, as indicated by the first clause.

(2) clause-initial particle *aw*

*bisa-g*      *asa*      *pareha=ra=man*      *ang*      *saky-an*  
*bisan-ug*      *asa*      *pareha=ra=man*      *ang*      *sakay-an*  
even-COMP      where      same=just=PAR      ANG      ride-LV  
*bangka*      *aw-*      *kanangspeedboat*  
*banca*      REP      FIL      speedboat  
'Anywhere they always use the same means of transportation, the banca, er- I mean, the speedboat.'

(3) clause-initial particle *aw*

*wa?=ma=y*      *mo-sugat*      *nako?*      *sa*      *airport*  
*wa?=man=y*      *mo-sugat*      *nako?*      *sa*      *airport*  
NEG=PAR=NEUT      AV-pick      1S.DAT      LOC      airport  
*aw,*      *mag-taxi=na=lang=ko*  
PAR      AV-taxi=already=just=1S.NOM  
'Nobody's going to pick me up at the airport. Well, I'll just take a taxi.'

The particle *bitaw* can be a clitic, a clause-initial particle, or a clause-final particle. As a clause-initial particle, it can function to agree with the previous statement of another party and probably introduce an additional comment. It can also

collocate with the anaphoric particle *ma?o* the combination of which (*ma?o=bitaw*) will reinforce a previous statement by the introduction of another instance marked by *ma?o=bitaw*.

(4) clause-initial particle *bitaw*

T: *bisan=gud na?a=y problema day*  
 even=EMPH EXIST=NEUT problem VOC

L: *bitaw, i-katawa=na=lang*  
 agree IV-laugh=already=just

T: *ato?=na=lang i-katawa*  
 1IP.POSS=already=just IV-laugh

T: ‘Even if there are problems, *Day ...*’

L: ‘Right, (we’ll just) laugh (them) away.’

T: ‘We’ll just laugh (them) away.’

(5) clitic *bitaw*

T *kung daghan=siya-g kwarta, mag-Chinese=ka*  
*kung daghan=siya-ug kwarta, mag-Chinese=ka*  
 if many=3S.NOM-EXT money AV-Chinese=2S.NOM

*para ma-punta sa imo-ha*  
*para ma-punta sa imo-a*  
 so AV-go LOC 2S.POSS-DEF

L: *ma?o=bitaw=na? ako-ng gi-huna?huna?*  
*ma?o=bitaw=kana? ako?-nga gi-huna?huna?*  
 ANAPH=agree=that 1S.POSS-LK PFV.PV-think

T: ‘If he has much money, you have to (convert to) Chinese (citizenship), so that (the inheritance) will be given to you.’

L: ‘That’s exactly what I was thinking.’

Another function of *=bitaw* would be to give the meaning similar to ‘anyway’; the introduced clause would still have to do with the previous statement or topic.

In clause-initial position, the phrase *di=ba* can be used to elicit Hearer participation, as in (6), where the *di=ba* phrase would usually be, but not always, followed by a response. Such a clause-initial *di=ba* construction may also be used in

such situations as a confrontation or an interrogation scene, where the Speaker intends to either elicit an answer that can prove him right or reveal something unknown to other people on the site.

(6) clause-initial phrase *di=ba*

M *kamo di=ba nang-adto=na=mo/*  
*kamo di=ba maN-adto=na=mo/*  
 2P.NOM DM AV-go=PFV=2P.NOM

T *sa Bangkok=ako e*  
 LOC PN=1S.NOM PAR

M: 'You, isn't it (that) you already went (together) (to the States)?'

T: '(No,) I (was headed) to Bangkok.'

The clause-initial epistemic phrase *kahibao=ka* functions entirely similarly as English *you know*, although in Cebuano it is restricted to clause-initial position.

(7) clause-initial phrase *kahibao=ka*

*pero kahibao=ka, yong si Chen Shui-bian,*  
 but know=2S.NOM that SI PN

*di?=niya gusto na?*  
 NEG=2S.GEN like that

'But you know, Chen Shui-bian, he doesn't like that.'

The clause-initial particle *na* can mean 'all right' and can also serve to impart a warning.

(8) clause-initial particle *na*

T: *kay ganahan=lagi=ko sa apak-apak sa elepante*  
 because like=EMPH=1S.NOM OBL stomp-REDUP GEN elephant

W: *na, kuyaw=na-ng apak-apak*  
*na, kuyaw=kana?-ang apak-apak*  
 PAR scary=that-ANG step-REDUP

T: 'I really like the foot massage of the elephants.'

W: '*Na*, being stepped on (by elephants) would be frightening.'

The clause-initial particle *sigi* is an imperative urging somebody to ‘go ahead’ (9). In Section 9.4 I have mentioned that it collocates with another particle *hala* to form *hala sigi*, which may either be meant to allow the addressee to proceed with an action even if everybody else is not in favor of it, as in (10), or because there's no other workable way to solve a situation, as in (11) (in combination with other clause-initial particles).

(9) clause-initial particle *sigi*

*ako-ng gi-ingn-an ako-ng igso?on*  
*ako?-nga gi-ingon-an ako?-nga igso?on*  
 1S.POSS-LK PFV-say-LV 1S.POSS-LK sibling

*sigi=na ganahan=lagi=ko*  
 PAR=already LIKE=EMPH=1S.NOM

'I told my sister, come on let's go, I really like (to watch the show).'

(10) clause-initial particle *sigi*

*kung gusto=ka-ng mo-balik sa iya, hala sigi*  
*kung gusto=ka-nga mo-balik sa iya, hala sigi*  
 if like=2S.NOM-COMP AV.INF-return DAT 2S.POSS frozen

'If you want to go back to him, go ahead!'

(11) clause-initial particle *hala*

*hala kung dili?, na sigi biya?-i*  
*hala kung dili?, na sigi biya?-i*  
 frozen if NEG DM PAR leave-LV.IMPER

'Okay, if not, then go ahead, leave (him for good)!'

In exasperating situations, it can convey an attitude like ‘all right, if that's the case,’ as in the extract below.

(12) clause-initial particle *sigi*

*pila=man imo-ng gusto ani*  
*pila=man imo-nga gusto ani*  
how.much=PAR 2S.POSS-LK like this.OBL

*sigi mag-bayad=na=lang=mi diri*  
all.right AV-pay=already=just=1EP.NOM here  
'How much do you want for this? Okay, (if that's what you want) then we'll just pay here.'

The particle *unsa* conveys an attitude like 'well' or 'so.'

(13) clause-initial particle *unsa*

*unsa, na-lingaw=ka dong*  
what AV-be.amused=2S.NOM VOC  
'So, were you amused?'

The particle *oy* conveys disbelief, especially when uttered using a high intonation.

(14) clause-initial particle *oy*

*sa immigration, sus inig-pasko*  
LOC immigration INTERJ every-Christmas

*oy m-angayo-g Christmas*

*oy m-pangayo-ug Christmas*

INTERJ AV-ASK-EXT Christmas.present

'At the immigration, my goodness, during Christmas, (the officials) will ask for Christmas (presents), (can you believe it!).'

Other clause-initial particles include *buynu* 'well' (a Spanish loan word), *da* 'a means of writing off the previous statement' (the vowel sound is especially lengthened) *gani?* 'only ... ,' *lagi* 'nevertheless,' and *tatal* 'anyway.'

### 19.1.2 Clause-final particles

In this section I will discuss particles that occur in clause-final position, including *ba*, *ha*, *no*, *di=ba*, and *oy*. Excerpts from conversation are provided for illustration.

The particle **ba** functions to assert a piece of information (as in *I'm telling you this; you better believe me* and in 15), or it can also seek the agreement or confirmation of the Hearer.

(15) clause-final particle *ba*

<i>mas</i>	<i>nindut sa</i>	<i>Cebu, dili?</i>	<i>=siya</i>	<i>congested</i>
COMPAR	nice LOC	PN	NEG=3S.NOM	congested
<i>di?</i>	<i>pareha sa</i>	<i>manila</i>	<b><i>ba</i></b>	
NEG	similar LOC	PN	PAR	

'(It's) nicer in Cebu; it's not congested not like Manila. Really.'

(16) clause-final particle *ba*

<i>hatag-an=nimo,</i>	<i>mora-g</i>	<i>imo=ra=sa-ng</i>	<i>gi-tolerate</i>	<b><i>ba</i></b>
<i>hatag-an=nimo,</i>	<i>mora-ug</i>	<i>imo=ra=sad-nga</i>	<i>gi-tolerate</i>	<b><i>ba</i></b>
give-LV=2S.GEN	like-COMP	2S.POSS=only=also-LK	PFV.PV-tolerate	PAR

'(If) you give (to them), (it's) just like you're tolerating (the practice), right?'

The particle **ha** is uttered when the Speaker says something which seems to be especially important or incredible. It also occurs in imperatives for politeness or for emphasis.

(17) clause-final particle *ha*

<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>asawa mismo,</i>	<i>di?</i>	<i>=siya</i>	<i>puydi</i>	<i>mo-hire</i>
<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>asawa mismo,</i>	<i>di?</i>	<i>=siya</i>	<i>puydi</i>	<i>mo-hire</i>
3S.POSS-LK	wife	IDENT	NEG=3S.NOM	allowed	AV-hire
<i>pero</i>	<i>ku?an=siya</i>	<b><i>ha,</i></b>	<i>handicapped=siya</i>	<b><i>ha</i></b>	
but	KUAN=3S.NOM	PAR	handicapped=3S.NOM	PAR	

'His wife herself, she isn't allowed to hire (a foreign caretaker). But she's... she's handicapped, you know.'

(18) clause-final particle *ha*

<i>mahal=ka?ayo,</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>buwak lang</i>	<b><i>ha</i></b>
expensive=EMPH	ANG	flower only	PAR
<i>siguro</i>	<i>may</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>1000 US dollars</i>
probably	EXIST	around	1000.US.dollars

'(It's) so expensive, the flowers alone, (they) probably cost around 1,000 US dollars.'

The particle *no* is used as a tag in familiar speech. It is also called a “confirmation marker” (Schachter 1985:33).

(19) clause-final particle *no*

T: <i>ganahan=ka?ay=ko-g</i>	<i>Thailand</i>
<i>ganahan=ka?ayo=ko-ug</i>	<i>Thailand</i>
like=EMPH=1S.NOM-EXT	PN

W: *balik-balik no*  
 return-REDUP PAR

T: 'I really like Thailand.'

W: '(You want to keep) going back, right?'

In clause-final position, the *di=ba* phrase, which is similar to a tag-question in English, seems to serve as a rhetorical question, where the Speaker proposes some kind of conclusion or inference based on the preceding discourse, as in (20). This function is sometimes found in a discourse-final position, and, especially when *di=ba* stands alone, it will even serve only to signal an end to a discourse or a discussion, as in (21).

(20) clause-final (rhetorical question)

<i>Wingon=siya</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>unsa=ma=y</i>	<i>labot</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>asawa</i>
<i>ingon=siya</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>unsa=man=y</i>	<i>labot</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>asawa</i>
say=3S.NOM	COMP	what=PAR=NEUT	relation	GEN	1S.POSS-LK	wife

T	<i>pero</i>	<i>actually</i>	<i>di=man</i>	<i>talaga</i>	<i>dapat</i>	<i>ganyan</i>
	but	actually	NEG=PAR	really	must.be	like.that

Woo  
BC

T	<i>kasi</i>	<i>personal life=yan</i>	<i>e,</i>
	because	personal.life=that	DM

<i>wala?=naman=sila-ng</i>	<i>pakialam</i>	<i>e</i>	<b><i>di=ba/</i></b>
<i>wala?=naman=sila-nga</i>	<i>pakialam</i>	<i>e</i>	<b><i>di=ba/</i></b>
NEG=PAR=3P.NOM-LK	relation	DM	DM

W: 'He said, what has my wife got to do with it?'

T: 'But actually, it should not be that way.'

W: 'right.'

T: 'Because it's (his) personal life. They have nothing to do with it, right?'

(21) discourse marker

<i>na-putol=man</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>kamot</i>	<i>unya?</i>
<i>na-putol=man</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>kamot</i>	<i>unya?</i>
intrans-cut=PAR	3S.POSS-LK	hand	then

<i>ga-separate</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>ti?il</i>	<i>tsaka</i>	<i>kamot/ diha?</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>taoyuan/</i>
AV-separate	ANG	leg	and	hand	there	LOC PN

<i>o</i>	<b><i>di=ba,</i></b>	<i>naka-kita?=ka ato/</i>
DM	DM	AV-see=2S.NOM that

'His hand was cut, and then the legs and the hands have become separated from the body... . There in Taoyuan. There, did you see that?'

The particle **oy** functions to emphasize or exaggerate an utterance, as if nothing can be more extraordinary.

(22) clause-final particle *oy*

<i>nindut=ka?ay</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>pattayaoy</i>
<i>nindut=ka?ayo</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>pattayaoy</i>
nice=INTENS	LOC	PN PAR

'Pattaya is so nice, hey!'

Other clause-final particles include **a?** 'discontent', **ay** 'pointer'; **u** 'pointer', and **bi** 'give (me).'

### 19.1.3 Post-nominal particles

Post-nominal particles usually serve to activate, stress, emphasize a referent, as those below: *no*, *di?ay*, and *ba*. First, the post-nominal particle *no* marks a topic.

(23) post-nominal particle *no* as a topic marker

<i>sa</i>	<i>ila</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>Thailand</i>	<b><i>no</i></b> ,	<i>pwerte-ng</i>	<i>ta&lt;g&gt;as-a</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>pila</i>
<i>sa</i>	<i>ila</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>Thailand</i>	<b><i>no</i></b> ,	<i>pwerte-nga</i>	<i>ta?as&lt;g&gt;-a</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>pila</i>
LOC	3P.POSS	LOC	PN	PAR	EMPH-LK	long<PL>-EMPHGEN		line

'(There) at the Thai Office, the lines are so long!'

The post-nominal particle *di?ay* emphasizes an object or an entity as if to remind the Hearer to consider.

(24) post-nominal particle *di?ay*

T:	<i>sa</i>	<i>customs=kuno</i> ,	<i>sigi=kuno-g</i>	<i>pangayo-g</i>	<i>kwarta</i>
	<i>sa</i>	<i>customs=kuno</i> ,	<i>sigi=kuno-ug</i>	<i>pangayo?-ug</i>	<i>kwarta</i>
	LOC	customs=EVID	keep.on=EVID-COMP	ask-EXT	money

W:	<i>sa</i>	<i>Laoag=di?ay</i> ,	<i>ing-ana?=man=sab</i>
	<i>sa</i>	<i>Laoag=di?ay</i> ,	<i>ingon-ana?=man=usab</i>
	LOC	PN=PAR	like-that=PAR=also

T: '(He said) at the customs, (the officer) kept on asking for money.'

W: '(How about) Laoag. It's also like that.'

The post-nominal particle *ba* also serves to mark a topic, especially when a new one is activated. It can also serve to stress a referent to the Hearer.

(25) post-nominal marker *ba*

W:	<i>si</i>	<i>Peter</i>	<b><i>ba</i></b> ,	<i>ipis</i>
	SI	PN	EMPH	PN

T:	<i>mora-g</i>	<i>wala?=man=na?=sila</i>	<i>mo-sikat</i>
	<i>mora-ug</i>	<i>wala?=man=kana?=sila</i>	<i>mo-sikat</i>
	seem-COMP	NEG=PAR=that=3P.NOM	AV-popular

W: 'Peter, (the one of) Ipis (Band).'

T: 'Seems like they never became popular.'

## 19.2 On the particle *ku?an*

While there seems to be some understanding gained of the organization of Repair in Cebuano (see Chapter 3), there is still very little information about the particle *ku?an*, which is pervasive in spoken Cebuano especially in Repair but has probably never been mentioned in any previous grammar books. The particle *ku?an* is a versatile element in the language that can be used in various grammatical constructions as a substitute for words of any syntactic form. There are similar words in other languages, such as *kua* in Ilocano, *kuan* in Tagalog, and *kwan* in Hiligaynon, and probably in many other Philippine languages, but none has been described so far, except *kua* (Rubino 1996; Streeck 1996). The word *ku?an* differs in distribution and function in different languages. For example, *kuan* in Tagalog can only substitute for a Noun Phrase but never a Verb, unlike in Cebuano. In addition, Kavalan, a Formosan Austronesian language, is also reported to have a particle *iza*, which is semantically empty and function in many ways similar to *ku?an* in Cebuano.

Basically, Rubino regards this empty root as a morphological strategy that enables the Speaker to replace a root that is not available for production simultaneously with affixation, or to replace any given thought of any morphological complexity. Hsieh and Tanangkingsing (2006) indicate that the use of the empty root by Speakers is also an interaction-motivated phenomenon; it is like a ready filler for fulfilling conversational goals even under interactional pressure when Speakers do not have any candidate word or phrase in mind. Although this empty root lacks semantic consistency, it is without question that when it is used anaphorically, some negotiated

meaning emerges from the discourse context (cf. Huang 1998) and it thus acquires some semantic content in some uses.

In this section, I will first examine the empty root *ku?an* (19.2.1), then I will discuss its functions and see how it is different from a regular question word (19.2.2). Finally, I will look at other placeholder words in Cebuano (19.2.3).

### 19.2.1 Syntactic Distribution

The empty root *kuan* in Tagalog can only occur in an NP slot, never in a Verb Complex slot. In this regard, *ku?an* in Cebuano is more versatile, in the sense that it can occur in a variety of syntactic slots, namely, in an NP constituent (26), a verb (27 and 28), a predicate (29 and 30), or as a pause filler.

(26) NP constituent (Frog 1:85-87)

91	...(1.0)	<i>daghan=na=di?ay=ka?ayo-g</i>	<i>anak</i>
		<i>daghan=na=di?ay=ka?ayo-ug</i>	<i>anak</i>
		many=already=EVID=INTENS-LK	offspring

92	→...(1.5)	<i>ku?an ka bu?uk anak</i>	
		KUAN LK CLASS offspring	

93	→...(3.0)	<i>seven ka bu?uk anak</i>	
		seven LK CLASS offspring	

‘Then (they) had many children. (They had) many children, ... seven children.’

(27) AV verb

<i>ngano-ng</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>vietnamese</i>	<i>kabalo=man=sila</i>
<i>ngano-nga</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>vietnamese</i>	<i>kabalo=man=sila</i>
why-LK	PL	PN	know=PAR=3P.NOM

<i>mag-ku?an</i>	<i>mag-&lt;in&gt;insik</i>
<i>mag-ku?an</i>	<i>mag-&lt;in&gt;insik</i>
AV-KUAN	AV-Chinese<RES>

‘Why do the Vietnamese know *kuan*-, know how to speak Chinese?’

(28) NAV verb

<i>unya?</i>	<i>akong- ako-ng</i>	<i>gi-ingn-an</i>	
<i>unya?</i>	<i>akong- ako?-nga</i>	<i>gi-ingon-an</i>	
then	FS 1S.POSS-LK	PFV-say-LV	
<i>tinu?ud=kaha?=ka</i>	<i>basi-g</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>...ku?an=na=ka</i>
<i>tinu?ud=kaha?=ka</i>	<i>basi-ug</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>...ku?an=na=ka</i>
true=doubt=2S.NOM	maybe-SUB	PV	KUAN=already=2S.NOM
<i>unsa-unsa=ma=y imo-ng</i>	<i>ganahan</i>		
<i>unsa-unsa=man=y imo-nga</i>	<i>ganahan</i>		
FS what=PAR=NEUT	2S.POSS-LK	like	
<i>ako=gyud=siya-ng</i>	<i>gi-ku?an</i>	<i>ha</i>	
<i>ako?=gyud=siya-nga</i>	<i>gi-ku?an</i>	<i>ha</i>	
1S.POSS=EMPH=3S.NOM-LK	PFV.PV-KUAN	DM	
<i>interesado=ba=gyud=ka-ng</i>	<i>mag-</i>	<i>mag-minyo</i>	
<i>interesado=ba=gyud=ka-nga</i>	<i>mag-</i>	<i>mag-minyo</i>	
interested=Q=EMPH=2S.NOM-LK	FS	AV-marry	
<i>wa?=sad=ko=niya</i>	<i>ku?an-a</i>	<i>@@</i>	
NEG=also=1S.NOM=3S.GEN	KUAN-PV		

'Then I- I told (him), are you for real/ you might just be *kuan*, what- what do you like. I did *kuan* (ask) him, are you really sure of getting- getting married. He didn't *kuan* (answer) me. (laughs).'

(29) *ku?an* as predicate

<i>ku?an=na?=siya</i>	<i>m=</i>	<i>fifteen years old</i>
<i>ku?an=kana?=siya</i>	<i>m=</i>	<i>fifteen years old</i>
KUAN=that=3S.NOM	FIL	fifteen years old

'He's *kuan*, m= fifteen years old.'

(30) *ku?an* as pause filler

<i>dili?=ba</i>	<i>ku?an=na=ka?ayo/</i>	<i>gabi?i=na=ka?ayo/</i>
NEG=Q	KUAN=already=EMPH	night=already=EMPH

'Isn't it very *kuan*, getting very late already/

### 19.2.2 Functions

As has been shown in the examples given above, the empty root *ku?an* is a convenient choice enabling a Speaker to finish an action before an appropriate word can be found in the process of word search.

It can be a convenient word to utilize during a word search in (30) or in reformulating clausal structure (second line in 31). This empty root can also serve as a

discourse marker to elicit the attention of a Hearer, as in the first line in (31) and in (32). In these examples, the Speakers wish to convey that they have something important to say so Hearers had better listen.

(31) *ku?an* for various functions

<i>ku?an</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>to</i> = <i>siya-</i>	<i>tong</i>	<i>nang-adto</i>	<i>mi-g</i>	<i>san carlos-</i>
<i>ku?an</i> = <i>man</i> = <i>kato</i> = <i>siya-</i>	<i>katong</i>	<i>naN-adto</i>	<i>mi-ug</i>	<i>san carlos-</i>
KUAN=PAR=that=3S.NOM	that	AV-go	1EP.NOM-EXT	PN
<i>kanang</i> =	<i>nagka- ku?an</i> -	<i>na=y</i>	<i>cancer=gani?</i>	
<i>kanang</i> =	<i>nagka- ku?an</i> -	<i>na?a=y</i>	<i>cancer=gani?</i>	
FIL	AV (FS) KUAN	EXIST=NEUT	cancer=PAR	

‘*kuan*, when we went to San Carlos, em=(he) em=, there was cancer (he had cancer).’

(32) *ku?an* to elicit Hearer's attention

<i>SM</i> = <i>na</i> = <i>ron</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>cotabato</i>	<i>wala?</i> = <i>gyud</i>		
PN=already=now	LOC	PN	NEG=EMPH		
<i>pero</i>	<i>kung</i>	<i>ku?an</i>	<i>ha</i>		
but if	<i>kuan</i>	DM			
<i>tong</i>	<i>una</i>	<i>cotabato</i>	<i>ang una-ng</i>	<i>naging city</i>	<i>kaysa sa davao</i>
<i>katong</i>	<i>una</i>	<i>cotabato</i>	<i>ang una-nga</i>	<i>naging city</i>	<i>kaysa sa davao</i>
that	first	PN	ANG first-LK	become city	than LOC PN
<i>ug sa</i>	<i>general santos</i>	<i>m=</i>	<i>pero dahil</i>	<i>daghan-g</i>	<i>muslim</i>
<i>ug sa</i>	<i>general santos</i>	<i>m=</i>	<i>pero dahil</i>	<i>daghan-ug</i>	<i>muslim</i>
AND	LOC	PN	FIL	but because many-LK	PN

‘There’s really no SM store in Cotabato, but *ku?an* you know, it was Cotabato that became a city earlier than Davao and General Santos, but because there are many Muslim people there...’

Likewise, when a Speaker decides to modify a clause structure in the middle of speech, this empty root can be used as a placeholder. Note that in the excerpt above, the Speaker changes the utterance structure from an AV clause to an existential clause by employing the marker *ku?an* as a transition. In addition, *ku?an* can even take the place of an entire clause, for example in expressions such as *kung ku?an* ‘if *ku?an*’, *bisan ug ku?an* (even if *ku?an*), and others. In some cases, the entire utterance is completed before a Repair is made, as in (33).

(33) *ku?an* as a placeholder

*sa*= *next-* *next week*      *mag-ku?an*=*na=mi-*  
LOC next    next week      AV-KUAN=already=1EP.NOM

*unsa*=*gyu=y*      *amo-a-ng-*      *mag-sabot=ra=man=mi*  
*unsa*=*gyud=y*      *amo?-a-nga-*      *mag-sabot=ra=man=mi*  
what=EMPH=NEUT    1EP.POSS-DEF-LK      AV-agree=only=PAR=1EP.NOM

*kung*      *kanus?a=mi*    *mag-day-off*  
if            when=1EP.NOM AV-day.off  
'Next week we will *kuan* about our-, we will just agree when we are taking a day off.'

Although I have mentioned that *ku?an* is a convenient tool for holding one's turn in the process of word search, it is actually not Repaired in certain contexts (i.e., there is no attempt to make any Repair), which seems to suggest that both Speaker and Hearer have agreed on the meaning of the referent intended, as evidenced in (34) and (35), where the *ku?an* is uttered right after the correct word is said. Often the Speaker does not say the exact word due to the confidentiality or the personal nature of the information to be conveyed, as in (36), so that *ku?an* has also evolved into a kind of euphemism or a way to avoid direct mention of sensitive terms. In these cases, *ku?an* is deliberately uttered and not Repaired at all, as the Hearer clearly understands what it refers to in that specific context. In the same extract (36), the amount of salary that one earns is a sensitive or confidential topic in conversation, so the Speaker uses *ku?an* as a euphemism marker before the sensitive word *sweldo* 'salary'.

(34) *ku?an* is a placeholder for holding a turn

J *kay wala?- wala?=man=gyud=ka?ay ku?an sa cotabato*  
*kay wala?- wala?=man=gyud=ka?ayo ku?an sa cotabato*  
 because FS NEG=PAR=EMPH=much KUAN LOC PN

*mga tindahan [didto]*  
 PL store there

L *[tindahan o=]*  
 store BC

J *mga ku?an/ [wala?]*  
 PL KUAN NEG

L *[wala?]*  
 NEG

J: '...since there are not many *kuan* in Cotabato,  
 (not many) stores [there]'

L: '[stores] yeah='

J: 'not many *kuan*, [not many]\_'

L: '[not many]'

(35) referent of *ku?an* is known

L: *ma?ayo=unta? oy @@*  
 good=hopefully INTERJ

*ma-wala?=na=lang [ang gubot sa-]*  
 AV-disappear=already=PAR ANG chaos LOC

J *[dini sa cebu kay-]*  
 here LOC PN because

*ku?an no/ kanang= peaceful/*  
 KUAN Q that peaceful

L *peaceful\*  
 peaceful

J *wa?=na ang ku?an- ma?o=na?- guwapo=na=ka?ayo-ng Cebu*  
*wa?=na ang ku?an- ma?o=kana?- guwapo=na=ka?ayo-ang Cebu*  
 NEG=already ANG KUAN ANAPH=that nice=already=EMPH-ANG PN

*daghan-g mga turista kay- kay- kay ku?an-wala=y gubot*  
*daghan-nga mga turista kay- kay- kay ku?an-wala?=y gubot*  
 many-LK PL tourist FS- FS- becauseKUAN NEG=NEUT chaos

L: 'I hope so (laughs), gone is [the chaos-]'

J: '[here in Cebu,] *kuan* right/ it's peaceful.'

L: 'peaceful'

J: 'no more *kuan*, that's why Cebu is now very nice, there are many tourists  
 since *kuan*, there's no more chaos.'

(36) *ku?an* is a placeholder for holding a turn

L	<i>pila=man=sad</i>	<i>imo-ha-ng</i>	<b><i>ku?an</i></b> -	<i>...s=sweldo</i>
	<i>pila=man=sad</i>	<i>imo-ha-nga</i>	<b><i>ku?an</i></b> -	<i>...sweldo</i>
	how.much=PAR=also	2SG.POSS-DEF-LK	KUAN	salary
	<i>...ku?an=ra</i>	<i>...dili?</i>		
	KUAN=only	NEG		
J	<i>a</i>	<i>wala?- dili?</i>	<b><i>ku?an</i></b>	<i>confidential</i>
	PAR	NEG	NEG	KUAN confidential

L: 'How much is your er... salary? Only er... er no.'  
 J: 'mm... no, it's not... it's confidential.'

It should already have been observed that despite the lack of semantic content of *ku?an*, Hearers do understand what *ku?an* refers to, as in (37), where they help Repair or fill in the right word, or finish an utterance. Sometimes, the sense of the empty root can be inferred from the context, as in (38) to (40), so that there is even no attempt on the part of the Speaker to explain what the *ku?an* is.

(37) Hearer fills in right word for *ku?an*

T:	<i>unya</i>	<i>kinsa=man</i>	<i>ma-biya-an</i>	<i>diri\</i>
	<i>unya</i>	<i>kinsa=man</i>	<i>ma-biya?-an</i>	<i>diri\</i>
	then	who=PAR	SPONT-leave-LV	here
L:	<b><i>ku?an=mi</i></b>			
	KUAN=1EP.NOM			
T:	<i>rotation</i>			
	rotation			

T: 'then who's going to be left here'\  
 L: '*kuan*, we're-'  
 T: 'taking turns.'

(38) sense of *ku?an* can be inferred from context

***ku?an=man=na?=ka?ayo=sila*** *oy!*  
***ku?an=man=kana?=ka?ayo=sila*** *oy!*  
 KUAN=PAR=that=EMPH=3P.NOM INTERJ  
 'Sh-, they're so *kuan*!' (Here *kuan* could be any stative verb depending on the context.)

(39) sense of *ku?an* can be inferred from context

<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>igsu?un=pud</i>	<i>nag-hikog</i>	<i>e</i>		
<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>igsu?un=pud</i>	<i>nag-hikog</i>	<i>e</i>		
1S.POSS-LK	sibling=also	AV-suicide	DM		
<i>nag-pusil=pud</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ulo</i>			
AV-shoot=also	LOC	head			
<i>bungkag=dyud-</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>ulo</i>	<i>lagi</i>	
<i>bungkag=dyud-</i>	<i>ang</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>ulo</i>	<i>lagi</i>	
burst=EMPH	ANG	3S.POSS-LK	head	EMPH	
<i>pag-abot=namo</i>	<i>tanang</i>	<i>ku?an=na</i>			
NMZ-arrive=1EP.GEN	all	KUAN=already			
<i>gapas</i>	<i>gi-butang</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>iya-ng</i>	<i>ulo</i>	<i>tanang</i>
<i>gapas</i>	<i>gi-butang</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>iya-nga</i>	<i>ulo</i>	<i>tanang</i>
cotton	PFV.IV-place	LOC	3S.POSS-LK	head	all
<i>wa?=dyu=y</i>	<i>laman</i>				
<i>wa?=dyud=y</i>	<i>laman</i>				
NEG=EMPH=NEUT	content				

'My brother, (he) also committed suicide. He shot his head. His head really exploded. (Upon) our arrival, it was already *kuan*, cotton buds, they were all over the inside of his skull. There was nothing left inside.'

(40) sense of *ku?an* can be inferred from context

W:	<i>pak-</i>	<i>pa-ka?on=nimo</i>			
	FS	CAU-eat=2S.GEN			
T:	<i>init=pa</i>	<i>unya? human</i>			
	hot=still	then afterward			
W:	<i>unsa=man=na?</i>	<i>kan?on</i>			
	<i>unsa=man=na?</i>	<i>ka?on-on</i>			
	WHAT=PAR=that	rice-PV.NMZ			
T:	<i>unya? human</i>	<i>i-ku?an=nimo</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>kananglitson</i>	
	then afterward	IV-KUAN=2S.GEN	LOC	FIL	roast.pig
	<i>a</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>inasal/</i>		
	PAR	LOC	meat		
W:	<i>o=\</i>	<i>litson manok unya?</i>	<i>[hot sauce=pa]</i>		
	BC	roast chicken then	hot.sauce=even		
T:		<i>[sus lami?-a]</i>			
		INTERJ	tasty-EMPH		

W: 'then you (distribute it) to be eaten'

T: 'still hot, and then'

W: 'what's that, rice!'

T: 'then you *kuan* (drench) it over the roast pig or over the meat'

W: 'right, over the roasted chicken, [(and with) hot sauce still]'

T: '[wow, yummy!']

As shown in the excerpts above, the use of the empty root *ku?an* implies knowledge of a referent or an action even if an utterance is posed in question form; the question form merely serves to elicit confirmation of such knowledge. In the minimal pairs below, (41) are in the form of genuine questions trying to elicit information, while (42) are yes-no questions trying to confirm existing information. In (41a), the Speaker is asking a real question about what somebody is doing; in (42a), the Speaker is trying to confirm what somebody is doing, but couldn't find the right word to express the action being done. In (41b), the Speaker is trying to find out what has happened to somebody, as somebody might have met an accident or encountered something unexpected or undesirable (inferred from the *na-* prefix used);<sup>71</sup> in (42b), the Speaker probably knows what must have happened to somebody or what somebody has just encountered and is trying to confirm the facts, but just cannot find the exact words to say.

(41) asking a question

(a) *nag-unsaka/*  
 AV-what=2S.NOM  
 'What are you doing?'

(b) *na-unsaka/*  
 SPONT-what=2S.NOM  
 'What happened to you?'

(42) confirming information

(a) *nag-ku?an=ka/*  
 AV-KUAN=2S.NOM  
 'Are you doing it?'

(b) *na-ku?an=ka/*  
 SPONT-KUAN=2S.NOM  
 'Are you *kuan*?'

---

<sup>71</sup> The phrase *na-unsaka* can also express disbelief. See Section 8.2.2.

### 19.2.3 Other Placeholders in Cebuano

One of the Repair strategies available in Cebuano is the placeholder strategy. Aside from *ku?an*, there are other particles used as placeholders, namely, the demonstrative *kana-ng* 'that-lk' and the question word *unsa* 'what.' I will discuss both items below and give examples.

The demonstrative *kanang* is supposed to be followed by a nominal, as in (43). In (44), however, the use of *kanang* as a demonstrative is awkward, as the nominal following *kanang* should be a topic (see Table 4-3 on demonstratives), rather than an oblique nominal. This utterance would more require a possessive pronoun *ako-ng kwarto* 'my room' or an oblique demonstrative form *ana-ng kwarto* 'that room.' Therefore, *kanang* here is obviously being used as a placeholder.

(43) *kanang* as demonstrative *kana?-ng*

<i>ingon sila,</i>	<b><i>kana-ng</i></b>	<i>mga</i>	<i>pulis</i>	<i>no</i>
<i>ingon sila,</i>	<b><i>kana?-nga</i></b>	<i>mga</i>	<i>pulis</i>	<i>no</i>
say	3P.NOM that-LK	PL	policeman	DM

<i>la?in=kuno</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>batasan</i>	<i>nila</i>
different=EVID	PL	character	3P.GEN

'They say, those policemen, they have weird personalities.'

(44) *kanang* as placeholder

<i>pwerte=gyu-ng</i>	<i>init-a</i>	<i>sa</i>	<b><i>kanang</i></b>	<i>kwarto</i>
<i>pwerte=gyud-nga</i>	<i>init-a</i>	<i>sa</i>	<b><i>kanang</i></b>	<i>kwarto</i>
really=EMPH-COMP	hot-EMPH	LOC	FIL	room

'(?That) The room's really hot!'

In (45) and (46), the use of *kanang* as a placeholder has progressed to its being positioned before a verbal unit. A demonstrative may not be used felicitously by being positioned before a verb, unless the verb has been nominalized.

(45) *kanang* as placeholder

*kanang*      *mo-pa?uli=na=ko*      *sa*      *pilipinas*  
 PH              AV.FUT-return=already=1S.NOM LOC      PN  
 'kanang (when) I return to the Philippines, ...'

(46) *kanang* as placeholder

*reklamador=man=pud*      *mga*      *Pilipino*  
 complainer=PAR=also      PL      PN

*mag-*    *mag-*    *kanang*      *mag-punas*    *sa*      *mga*    *lubot*    *sa*    *mga*  
 FS      FS      PH              AV-wipe      OBL      PL      back    GEN    PL

*tiguang*      *di?=man=na?=sila*    *mo-sugut*  
*tiguang*      *di?=man=kana?=sila*    *mo-sugut*  
 old.person      NEG=PAR=that=3P.NOM AV-agree  
 'The Filipino (applicants) complain a lot, *kanang* wiping old people's butts, they won't do it.'

In (47) to (49), there is a prosodic pause just after the utterance of *kanang* with a clause after the pause. The clause following *kanang* in these examples cannot be syntactically connected with the demonstrative, as *kanang* cannot precede a connector (48) or another pronoun (49). In these examples, *kanang* has evolved into some kind of discourse marker preparing the Hearer to a newsworthy piece of information.

(47) *kanang* as placeholder

*kay*    *ako-ng=*      *lolo*      *iya-ha-ng*      *papa*  
*kay*    *ako?-nga=*      *lolo*      *iya-a-nga*      *papa*  
 because 1S.POSS-LK      grandfather      3S.POSS-DEF-LK father

*ku?an-kanang-*      *sundalo=gud*      *kanang,*  
 KUAN    FIL              soldier=EMPH      FIL

*bisa-g*      *asa*    *ma-assign*  
*bisan-ug*      *asa*    *ma-assign*  
 even-LK      where    AV-assign

'...because my grandfather, my father's father, *kuan kanang*, (he was) a soldier, *kanang*, he was assigned just anywhere.'

(48) *kanang* as placeholder

J        *pero*    *ku?an=na=ka*        *dinhi-* *sa-*    *Taiwan*        *taipei*  
but      KUAN=already=2S.NOM here      LOC      PN              PN

L        *unsa\*  
what

J        *kanang-*        *ug*    *comortable=na=ka*        *dinhi*  
PH              CONN    comfortable=already=2S.NOM    here

L        *usahay*        *lahi?=ra=gyud-*  
sometimes      different=only=EMPH

J: 'but here in Taiwan-, in Taipei-, you're ...'

L: 'huh!'

J: '*kanang*, you feel comfortable here.'

L: '(well,) sometimes it's just so different.'

(49) *kanang* as discourse marker

*kanang,*        *ikaw=ba*        *iya-ng*        *una-ng*        *uyab*  
*kanang,*        *ikaw=ba*        *iya-nga*        *una-nga*        *uyab*  
PH              2S.NOM=Q      3S.POSS-LK    first-LK        girlfriend  
'*kanang*, were you his first girlfriend?'

The terms for the question word *unsa* 'what' are also recruited to serve as placeholders in the same way as in the case of *ku?an*. In the process of word search it can replace a noun phrase, as in (50). But when it replaces a verb, like in (51), it is not serving as a placeholder. In instances like (51), *unsa* is functioning more like a genuine question, as we have mentioned in the previous section.

(50) *unsa* as placeholder during word search

*gi-hatud=siya* government *iya-ng driver=sad nga gi-hire*  
*gi-hatud=siya* government *iya-nga driver=sad nga gi-hire*  
PFV.PV-send=3S.NOM government 3S.POSS-LK driver=alsoLK PFV.PV-hire

*gi-pa-limpyo=niya-g balay*  
*gi-pa-limpyo=niya-ug balay*  
PFV.PV-CAU-clean=3S.GEN-EXT house

*gi-pa-galam=pa=gyu-g unsa=na? buwak*  
*gi-pa-galam=pa=gyud-ug unsa=kana? buwak*  
PFV.PV-CAU-tend=even=EMPH-EXT FIL=that flower

'(They drove) her home. The driver that she asked was a government employee. She let (the driver) clean the house and tend the wacchamacallit the flowers.'

(51) *unsa* as interrogative word

T: *naka-kita?=ka=ato/ na-separate*  
AV-see=2S.NOM=that AV-separate

*ang iya-ng lawas ug ti?il*  
*ang iya-nga lawas ug ti?il*  
ANG 3S.POSS-LK body and foot

W: *gi-unsa=man=to pag-ligis*  
*gi-unsa=man=kato pag-ligis*  
PFV.PV-WHAT=PAR=thatnmz-run.over

T: 'Did you see that? His body and his legs were separated?'

W: 'How did (the accident) happen?'

The question word *unsa* uttered before a clause has evolved into some kind of discourse marker. As in (52), there is a prosodic pause, which is sometimes imperceptible, after *unsa*.

(52) *unsa* as discourse marker

*unsa, na-lingaw=ka dong/*  
DM AV-amused=2S.NOM VOC  
'So, you're amused?'

### 19.3 Formulaic expressions

In this section I want to cover common expressions such as greetings and leave-taking (19.3.1), agreeing and disagreeing (as well as back-channeling, 19.3.2), interjections and exclamatory expressions (19.3.3), and gestures (19.3.4).

#### 19.3.1 Greetings and leave-taking

In greeting friends, *kumusta*, the nativized loan word *como estas* from Spanish, is used as a predicate,<sup>72</sup> as in *Kumusta=man=ka* 'How are you (sg.)?' and *Kumusta=man=mo* 'How are you (pl)?' Sometimes, the greeting is just *Kumusta*, with the final vowel lengthened (this is feminine sounding).

In more formal settings, the expressions *Ma?ayo-ng buntag* 'Good morning', *Ma?ayo-ng udto* 'Good noontime', *Ma?ayo-ng hapon* 'Good afternoon,' or *Ma?ayo-ng gabi?i* 'Good evening' is uttered before the vocative expression. With larger audiences, the following expressions are used.

#### (53) Common expression

<i>ma?ayo-ng</i>	<i>buntag</i>	<i>kaninyo-ng</i>	<i>tanan</i>
<i>ma?ayo-nga</i>	<i>buntag</i>	<i>kaninyo-nga</i>	<i>tanan</i>
good-LK	morning	2P.DAT-LK	all
'Good morning to all of you!'			

<sup>72</sup> *Kumusta* can also be used as a verb, meaning 'to greet' or 'to inquire about the present situation (of somebody)', as in the following expression:

- (i) *na-ngumusta=ra=mi*    *sa*    *imo-ng*    *mama, kumusta=man=siya*  
*naN-kumusta=ra=mi*    *sa*    *imo-nga*    *mama, kumusta=man=siya*  
AV-greeting=just=1EP.NOM    LOC    2S.POSS-LK    mother    greeting=PAR=3S.NOM  
'We just (want to) know about (the situation of) your mother. How is she?' (constructed)

(54) Common expression

<i>ma?ayo-ng</i>	<i>hapon,</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>igso?on / higala</i>
<i>ma?ayo-nga</i>	<i>hapon,</i>	<i>mga</i>	<i>igso?on / higala</i>
good-LK	afternoon	PL	sibling / friend

'Good afternoon, brothers and sisters/(my) friends!'

It is also a common and polite way of greeting somebody by inviting them to a meal when one happens to be eating, as in *Ma-nga?on=ta* 'Let's eat!'

Some of the common expressions for leave-taking are listed below:

(55) leave-taking expressions

<i>manamilit=na=kami</i>	'We're leaving already!' (very formal)
<i>adto=na=mi</i>	'We're leaving already!' (formal)
<i>sigi, lakaw=na=mi</i>	'So, we're already going!' (formal)
<i>ari=sa?=mi</i>	'We('ll be going) here first.' (semi-formal)
<i>ari=na=mi</i>	'We('ll be going) here already.' (semi-formal)
<i>mag-kita?=lang=nya?=ta</i>	'We'll just see each other later.' (polite)
<i>sigi ha</i>	'So, see you.' (familiar)
<i>babayu / babu</i>	'Goodbye!' (very informal)

### 19.3.2 Agreeing and disagreeing

Here, I will first talk about agreeing, then move on to disagreeing. I will also show the various ways that Cebuano speakers respond (backchannel) to incoming information.

The most common way to agree or to respond in a positive way is to utter *u*:. This is sometimes accompanied by the emphatic particle =*lagi* or the agreement particle =*bitaw*, which is also to confirm what has been said (as in *It certainly is; Yes, that's true, I admit it*). Other affirmative answers are *ma?o* 'exactly' and a loan word *syempre* 'of course.' Conversation excerpts are provided below for illustration.

(56) affirmative answer

T: *ingon=lagi=sila, ma-hadlok=kuno=sila sa pilipinas*  
 say=EMPH=3P.NOM AV-be.afraid=EVID=3P.NOM LOC PN  
*kay pag-abot=nimo sa airport, m-angay-g ana?*  
*kay pag-abot=nimo sa airport, m-pangayo?-ug ana?*  
 becauseNMZ-arrive=2S.NOM LOC airport AV-ask-EXT that

M: *ma?o*

BC

T: 'They said, they're afraid (to go to) the Philippines, because (upon) your arrival at the airport, (the customs officials) will ask for that.'

M: 'Exactly.'

(57) affirmative answer

T: *mga restaurant, punu?*  
 PL restaurant full

M: *di?=ra=ba kana?-ng barato nga restaurant*  
*di?=ra=ba kana?-nga barato nga restaurant*  
 NEG=EMPH=EMPH that-LK cheap LK restaurant

W: [*lagi lagi*]

BC BC

T: [*ma?o ma?o*]

BC BC

T: 'The restaurants, (they're) full.'

M: 'And they're not those affordable ones.'

W: '[That's true, that's true.]'

T: '[Yeah, exactly.]'

As for disagreeing, either of the two negators *dili?* or *wala?* is utilized and usually accompanied by the particle =*man* to soften the tone of disagreement or any one of the emphatic markers (=lagi, =ra=ba, =baya?=oy, to name a few examples). The resulting disagreement phrase would be something like the following: *di?=lagi oy, di?=ra=ba tinu?ud* 'It's not true', *di?=man*, or *dili?(=ra/oy/baya?)*.

(58) disagreeing

T: *ang visa fee nila, five hundred=lagi*  
ANG visa.fee 3P.GEN five.hundred=EMPH

M: *di? five hundred, two thousand*  
NEG five.hundred two.thousand

T: *visa fee/ dili? oy! pataka?=ka=lang*  
visa.fee NEG PAR wrong=2S.NOM=just

T: 'Their visa fee, (it's) five hundred.'

M: 'Not five hundred, (it's) two thousand.'

T: 'Visa fee? No! You're wrong.'

The most common way to respond to another person's statement is to say *a di?ay*, which sounds something like 'Oh, really' or 'Oh, is that true?' It doesn't convey agreement or disagreement, but is merely a polite way to show that you are listening.

(59) backchanneling

T: *ikaw, di?=ka mo-uli? sa ato?*  
2S.NOM NEG=2S.NOM AV-return LOC 1IP.POSS

W: *sunud tu?ig tingali*  
next year maybe

T: *a di?ay*  
BC

T: 'You, you're not going back to the Philippines?'

W: 'Next year probably.'

T: 'Oh really?'

(60) backchanneling

W: *si Arroyo Pampanga, si Macapagal Iligan*  
SI PN PN SI PN PN

T: *a di?ay*  
BC

W: 'The Arroyos (are from) Pampanga; the Macapagals (from) Iligan.'

T: 'Aah, really?'

There are some expressions to express disbelief. One is *to?o=ka*, literally, 'You believe'; this is often uttered with a sarcastic tone. Another is to utter a surprise-sounding *unsa* 'what.'

(61) conveying disbelief

W: *ni-saka=na=sad=sila*  
AV-rise=already=again=3P.NOM

T: *pila*  
how.much

W: *one plus*  
one plus

T: *to?o=ka*  
believe=2S.NOM

W: 'They raised (their fees) again.'

T: 'How much?'

W: 'One (thousand) plus.'

T: 'I don't believe you.'

(62) conveying surprise

<i>ako-ng</i>	<i>gi-pangutana</i>	<i>how much,</i>	<i>ingon=siya</i>	<i>one hundred</i>
<i>ako?-nga</i>	<i>gi-pangutana</i>	<i>how much,</i>	<i>ingon=siya</i>	<i>one hundred</i>
1S.POSS-LK	PFV.PV-ask	how.much	say=3S.NOM	one.hundred

<i>ing=ko</i>	<b><i>unsa</i></b>	<i>ay=na=lang</i>	<i>oy</i>
<i>ingon=ko</i>	<b><i>unsa</i></b>	<i>ay=na=lang</i>	<i>oy</i>
say=1S.NOM	what	NEG=already=just	VOC

'I asked (her) "how much". She told (me) one hundred. I said "What!"  
Never mind!'

### 19.3.3 Interjections

I now discuss interjections and exclamatory expressions in this section, as a linguistic description omitting interjections is an incomplete description, according to Schachter (1985: 58). Sadock and Zwicky (1985: 162) stated that in an exclamation, the speaker emphasizes a strong emotional reaction to what he/she takes to be a fact (whereas in a declarative, the speaker emphasizes his intellectual appraisal that the proposition is true). In previous grammars of Cebuano, these particles have been discussed by Wolff (1962: 128, 226) and Pigafetta (n.d.: 36), and I have here based parts of my discussion on their works. I will first present some constructions and schemas and then provide some conversational excerpts for illustration.

Like particles, there are interjections and exclamatory expressions occurring clause-initially and/or clause-finally. Some of those that are claimed by Wolff and A.P. to be found at the beginning of the clause, including *buynu, di?, na, hala, aw, tatal, da, ay*, have been discussed earlier as particles. The interjections that fit in the following constructions have also been discussed in Section 15.2.4 under "Minor Constructions" (as they are constructions that take only genitive-marked arguments rather than nominative arguments. These constructions are shown again in (64). They are equivalent to the English expression, *How PRED!*

(63) Exclamatory expressions in Cebuano

*PRED-a!*

*ka-PRED-a!*

*pagka-PRED-a!*

*labiha-ng PRED-a!*

*pwerte-ng PRED-a!*

*haskan PRED-a!*

Other interjections include *pastilan* 'Alas!' and *intawon* 'Alas!'; some expressions do not have any meaning: *bida!, gi-ahak!* Some interjections have religious origins: *Dyos=ko! Sus! Sus=ko! Susmaryosep!* Some express pain: *Aguy! Ayay! Aguruy!* This expression expresses joy: *Ay salamat!* Wolff also proposed schemas:

(64) exclamation expressions

*pastilan VOC ka-ROOT GEN!*

*ka-PRED=ba/=gyud GEN!*

Below, conversational excerpts containing interjections and exclamatory expressions are provided.

(65) exclamatory expression *sus*

<i>mga</i>	<i>bayot,</i>	<i>sus,</i>	<i>gwapa=ka?ay</i>	<i>sa tanan</i>
<i>mga</i>	<i>bayot,</i>	<i>sus,</i>	<i>gwapa=ka?ayo</i>	<i>sa tanan</i>
PL	transvestite	INTERJ	beautiful=INTENS	of.all

'The transvestites, wow! (they're) so beautiful!'

(66) exclamatory expression *sus*

<i>sus</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>customs</i>	<i>kuno,</i>
INTERJ	LOC	PN	EVID

<i>sigi=gyud=kuno-g</i>	<i>pangayo-g</i>	<i>kwarta</i>
<i>sigi=gyud=kuno-ug</i>	<i>pangayo?-ug</i>	<i>kwarta</i>
keep.on=EMPH=EVID-LK	ask-EXT	money

'(Je)sus! (He told me) at customs, (the official) kept on asking for money.'

(67) exclamatory expression *sus*

<i>mag-ipit=na?</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>josie-g kwarta,</i>	<i>i-pa-kita?=na?=niya</i>
<i>mag-ipit=kana?</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>josie-ug kwarta,</i>	<i>i-pa-kita?=kana?=niya</i>
AV-insert=that	SI	PN-EXT money	IV-CAU=see=that=3S.GEN

<i>sus,</i>	<i>mag-ilog-ay=lagi=na-ng</i>	<i>customs</i>
<i>sus,</i>	<i>mag-ilog-ay=lagi=kana?-ang</i>	<i>customs</i>
INTERJ	AV-vie-RECIP=EMPH=that-ANG	customs

'Josie will insert money (in her passport, which) she flaunts. Oh my, the customs (officials) will really fight each other (to make her come to their lane).'

(68) *ay* conveying mistake

<i>ay</i>	<i>sorry</i>	<i>ga-libog=na=ako-ng</i>	<i>ulu</i>
<i>ay</i>	<i>sorry</i>	<i>ga-libog=na=ako?-nga</i>	<i>ulu</i>
INTERJ	sorry	AV-confused=already=1S.POSS-LK	head

'Oh (I'm) sorry, I'm [my head's] already confused.'

(69) *ay* conveying excitement

<i>ay</i>	<i>ganahan=ka?ay=ko</i>	<i>ana-ng</i>	<i>ma-nganta=na?=sila</i>
<i>ay</i>	<i>ganahan=ka?ayo=ko</i>	<i>ana?-nga</i>	<i>maN-kanta=kana?=sila</i>
INTERJ	like=INTENS=1S.NOM=1S.NOM	that-LK	AV-sing=that=3P.NOM

<i>kay</i>	<i>lingaw=ka?ayo</i>
because	amusing=INTENS

'Oh, I really like it (when) they sing, because (it's) so amusing.'

The frozen expression *bahala?=na* in (70) indicates that the Speaker leaves it to fate to decide the outcome of the following proposition.

(70) frozen expression *bahala?=na*

*bahala?=na=mo-ng mag-bulag*  
*bahala?=na=mo-nga mag-bulag*  
 frozen=PFV=2P.NOM-COMP AV.FUT-separate  
 'It's up to you to get a divorce. (I don't care.)'

(71) expression *sagdi=lang* conveying reassurance

*ma-ulaw=man=ko=nimo sir mag-hulat=ta-g*  
*ma-ulaw=man=ko=nimo sir mag-hulat=ta-ug*  
 AV-embarrassed=PAR=1S.NOM=2S.DAT VOC AV-wait=1IP.NOM-EXT

*dugay=ka?ayo ingon=siya, sagdi=lang*  
 long.time=INTENS say=3S.NOM leave.alone=just

*ning-sa?ad=ko sa imo nga tabang-an=tika ani*  
*ning-sa?ad=ko sa imo nga tabang-an=tika ani*  
 AV-promise=1S.NOM OBL 2S.POSS COMP help-LV=1S.GEN.2S.NOM this  
 'I feel so embarrassed (toward you), Sir, (as) I'm making us wait for too long. He said, "it's all right, I promised you that I'll help you with this".'

(72) exclamatory expression *da=oy*

*da oy ga-laway=na=man=ko, ma-nga?on=na=ta oy*  
*da oy ga-laway=na=man=ko, maN-ka?on=na=ta oy*  
 INTERJ AV-saliva=already=PAR=1S.NOM AV-eat=already=1IP.NOM VOC  
 'Da oy, I'm already salivating. Let's go eat already!'

There are also expressions occurring clause-finally: *mu=lamang! nu! ha! da!*, as well as those that occur initially, medially, and finally: *oy! simba=ku!* and vocatives.

As for imprecatives and curses, according to Sadock (1985: 163), they are like exclamations; they are expressive or emotional in tone. In English, imprecatives often resemble imperatives (e.g., *Shit on you/screw you ...*), but in Cebuano, they are nouns. The following are some of the curses in Cebuano: *bu?ang* 'crazy (person)', *Hudas*, *leche*, *gago*, *peste(-ng yawa?)*, *inatay*, *gi-atay*, and *gi-ahak*. Oftentimes, these curses

take a second-person nominative pronoun and a magnifying modifier *dako?* 'great':  
*bu?ang=ka(-ng dako?)*, *leche=ka(-ng dako?)*, or *gi-atay=ka(-ng dako?)*.

#### 19.3.4 Gestures

Trosdal (1992: 131-132) makes an excellent description of the uses of gestures that accompany certain words in Cebuano conversation. I will summarize them here.

These phrases *marika*, *lakaw ngari*, *dali? diri*, *dali?*, which all mean 'Come here' are to call someone on sight and are usually accompanied by a slight beckoning nod (and with a downward flip of the wrist of a half-lifted hand).

The negation phrase consisting of the negators *dili?/wala?* plus a particle may probably be a simple answer to a question; this can be accompanied by a slight sidewise shake of the head. An affirmative answer, *u*, is accompanied either by a slight upward nod or a quick lifting and lowering of the eyebrows.

Finally, when two persons casually meet, one greets the other merely with a look accompanied by a quick lifting and lowering of the eyebrows.

#### 19.4 Summary

This chapter deals with very minor aspects of Cebuano grammar: particles and formulaic expressions, but they are actually very pervasive, especially in actual conversation. First, I talked about particles that occur in clause-initial and clause-final positions, as well as those that are found in post-nominal position. Then I discussed placeholder particles, which are essential in doing Repair. Last, I introduced common everyday expressions, including greetings and leave-taking, agreeing and disagreeing,

exclamatory expressions and curses, as well as gestures that accompany utterances.

These are usually not emphasized in grammar books, but they are very important if one wants to be conversant in Cebuano.

## Chapter 20 CONCLUSION

### 20.0 Summary

In this concluding chapter, I summarize each of the chapters (in this section), enumerate some of the contributions of this dissertation (in 20.1), and propose some issues for future research (in 20.2). This dissertation consists of three major parts, namely, a general description of Cebuano syntax, major constructions in Cebuano, and discourse phenomena. The first part is a general description of Cebuano syntax. First I provided a general background of the dissertation in Chapter 1, where I outlined my data/methodology, introduced the theoretical frameworks, and reviewed previous studies and literature on Cebuano grammar. In Chapter 2, I briefly reviewed the phonemic inventory and the major word classes; previous studies on these have been plentiful, particularly Wolff (1965, 1971) and Trosdal (1992, 1995). In Chapter 3, I provided a description of clause structure and word order, as very little work has been done on these topics.

Chapters 4 through 10 is a general description of Cebuano syntax, and I divided this portion into two main parts: the Noun Phrase (Chapters 4 and 5) and the Verb Complex (Chapters 6 through 10), as these are the two major grammatical constituents in Cebuano. Chapter 4 is a general discussion on NPs, covering the various elements in the structure of the NP, the case-marking system, the pronominal system and demonstratives, and kinship terms and vocatives. I also examined the modification strategies in the language, nominalization patterns, and the functions of

NPs in Cebuano discourse. Chapter 5 addressed NPs that make up non-verbal clauses, which include existential constructions (also possession and locational clauses), equational constructions, and stative predication and predicate phrases. I also talked about the functions of existential clauses in actual discourse.

Chapters 6 through 10 are about the verb complex and related grammatical elements. In Chapter 6 I introduced the verb complex in Cebuano and the grammatical entities that show up in a verb complex. Chapter 7 covered negators, which always occupy the first-element slot in a verb complex: I discussed the various negation markers for nominal and verbal negation, and examined negators when used as verbs and how they are used as discourse markers. Chapter 8 investigated interrogative clauses. I classified interrogative clauses into yes-no questions, nominal interrogatives, adverbial interrogatives, and verbal interrogatives, and examined some particles associated with interrogative clauses. Chapters 9 and 10 discussed imperative clauses and adverbials, where I identified various types of imperative clauses and adverbial expressions, respectively. It is especially observed that the verb complex is a strongly-preferred location for adverbials.

The second part of the dissertation, Chapters 11 to 16, is on the various types of constructions in Cebuano. Chapter 11 is a discussion of the various verbs and particles that take complements. I examined control and observed that there are Actor control and Nominative argument control in Cebuano. Chapter 12 dealt with the intransitive constructions in Cebuano, which are clauses that formally take only one core argument: reflexives, reciprocals, spontaneous event clauses, verbs involving bodily parts, and intransitive causative clauses. I also looked at EICs and the tracking

capability (or the lack of it) of extended arguments. In Chapter 13 I covered the default transitive constructions and passive constructions, and distinguished between them by looking at various factors: word order between the A and the P arguments and their topicality, syntactic integration of the A, and frequency. I also examined various types of *gi-* and *na-* clauses and identified the *na-* clauses that lack A arguments as the passive construction in the language. In Chapter 14 I discussed LV constructions and the semantic role of the nominative NPs in various LV clauses. I also distinguished between Recipient and Benefactive NPs and further observed that Benefactive NPs actually prefer to occur as oblique NPs in intransitive clauses. I also discussed ELV constructions and observed that this construction carries the sense of “transfer.” Chapter 15 dealt with the minor constructions in Cebuano, which include IV constructions, clauses that lack nominative-marked arguments (or “subject-less” clauses), comparison constructions, and elliptic constructions and recent past and exact time expressions (which I call pseudo-equational constructions). Chapter 16 talked about causative constructions, where I discussed the lexical causatives and syntactic causatives in Cebuano. I also examined lexicalized causative verbs and the directional morpheme *pa-* in this chapter.

In the third and final part of the dissertation from Chapter 17 to Chapter 19, which also serves as the highlight of this dissertation, I treated Cebuano syntax from the discourse point of view, where linguistic phenomena, which are not easily observed in elicited and constructed clauses, become apparent and visible. In Chapter 17, I investigated the argument structure of various types of verbs and showed the preferred argument structure and the preferred clause structure in Cebuano. In Chapter

18, I examined inter-clausal organization, which included referential tracking, adjoined clauses, clausal coordination and subordination. In this chapter, it is observed that human referents are referred to as pronouns and inanimate referents in zero form when they are topical; it is also noticed that pivots can either be located in the S, A, or the P slots. I also reviewed the semantic transitivity parameters proposed by Nolasco (2005, 2006, based on Hopper and Thompson 1981) to illustrate how transitivity works in Cebuano. In Chapter 19, I looked at the functions of *ku?an*, a particle that has long been overlooked but has proven to be a useful and important device in carrying out a conversation in the Cebuano language; I also discussed other placeholder strategies aside from *ku?an*. In this chapter, I also presented a description of the various clitic particles in Cebuano and formulaic expressions, including greeting and leave-taking, how to agree and disagree, interjections, and the gestures that accompany utterances. The last chapter offers a conclusion.

## **20.1 Implications and contributions**

I believe that this dissertation will contribute to the study of the Cebuano language in a number of ways. As I mentioned at the start of this dissertation, there have been fewer studies on Cebuano than the other major Philippine languages in the 25-year span from 1980 to 2005 (Liao 2006), and it has already been four decades since the publication of Wolff's excellent grammar (1965) and dictionary (1971) on Cebuano; therefore, it is just fitting that a fresh study on Cebuano is undertaken at this point. One significant feature of this dissertation has been that it is based on actual spoken data; most of the examples for illustration are taken from a spoken corpus with

a context. This would hopefully help not only in the understanding of the forms and in the use of a particular grammatical form in an actual context, but also in uncovering “new facts.”

In this dissertation I examined discourse phenomena which have never been investigated in previous studies. Analyses are made at the inter-clausal and discourse level, and the observation made can never be possibly obtained in a purely sentence-based analysis. First, I want to illustrate that discourse investigation can be employed to analyze the basic grammatical elements of a language. For example, in the earlier chapters of this thesis, I examined discourse data to check the word order and the use of demonstratives, just to cite two instances. In Chapter Two, I listed down various possible and attested word order patterns, the characteristics of the arguments in certain word order patterns, as well as determine the patterns which are not possible (for example, there cannot be a pattern that contains a preposed P argument and a covert A argument). In addition, the A is almost always topical than the P and pronominalized and attaches closer to the verb; otherwise we obtain an inverse construction. As for demonstratives (in Chapter Four), aside from the four basic functions that are found to be common in many Austronesian languages, I also observed one extended use of demonstratives in Cebuano: the demonstrative *kana?(ng)* 'that (near Hearer)-linker' has come to be used as a placeholder; it does not contain any semantic meaning and the Speaker is not trying to point to a specific referent, but only to indicate that a word search is ongoing and that the Speaker is trying to hold on to his turn.

In Chapter 18, it was made clear that for referential expressions in Cebuano, pronouns are employed mainly to refer to the more topical first- and second-person referents and to other topical third-person human participants, while zero anaphora is preferred for inanimate referents. Moreover, when I observed the linking pattern of core arguments across the clauses in Pear Story narratives, I noticed that the As are far more topical than the Ps (this is a finding which has also been observed in many other recent studies on other Philippine and Formosan languages) and the linking between the Ss and As across clauses is still more frequent than that between Ss and Ps. If we examine the pivots (the arguments expressed in pronominal form, or in zero form in the second of clause pairs), there is more or less equal probability for those pivots to occur in any of the core argument roles; that is, they can either be S, A, or P. Furthermore, the verbs in these languages do not have a single control pattern; a verb may have either agent or nominative NP as controller in control constructions. Pivot in these languages is determined by either semantic (which is why transitive verbs in these languages have variable pivot choices) or pragmatic considerations (which is why in interclausal linking there are both Accusative and Ergative alignment, although Accusative alignment is more prominent).

I also examined argument structure in Cebuano in Chapter 17. The data clearly show that the Preferred Argument Structure proposed by Du Bois is attested in Cebuano: the One Lexical Argument per IU is preferred; this lexical argument is usually located in the S and P slots. The clauses containing only one lexical argument make up the largest proportion (55 percent); another 44 percent are clauses without any lexical argument; and only one percent of the clauses have two lexical arguments.

Moreover, Cebuano speakers tend to avoid introducing more than two new arguments in a clause and to avoid new arguments in A position. There is also a predominance of new arguments occupying the S role, which is probably due to the relatively high frequency of intransitive clauses in our data in comparison to transitive clauses. Furthermore, the preferred clause structure in Cebuano is an intransitive clause containing one argument.

In Chapter 12 I talked about passive constructions. Without looking at a corpus, the form of inverse and passive constructions in Cebuano would not have been determined. It was only in the careful examination of conversation data the same findings as previous studies (notably S. Huang 2002a) were arrived at, that the A is in actuality more topic-worthy than the P. Thus this led to the conclusion that given the definition of passives, it is the clauses with agentless *na-* verbs that may be called passive constructions in Cebuano.

By making use of conversational data, we are able to make important observations on how repair is done in Cebuano discourse. When speakers get into trouble, it was observed that the repair does not just start at any random part of the sentence, but always at the first element of a constituent, unless there is local recycling at the trouble spot. It enabled the identification of the NP (Chapter Four) and the verb complex (Chapter Six) as the major constituents of the language. Such a finding leads one to consider that there must also be a constituent called Verb Complex in other related languages, especially the neighboring Bisayan languages. In Cebuano, it is in a Verb Complex where we find the negators and adverbials (including interrogative, locative, temporal, and evaluative adverbials). It is therefore

more appropriate to examine and study these grammatical elements as parts of a verb complex than as independent grammatical units.

Another interesting study carried out through the examination of discourse data was the study of clitic particles. Although it is theoretically possible for as many as four or five clitics to follow a first-element entity, in Chapter Six I illustrated that the most that is attested in our corpus is three clitic particles per clause, with approximately more than nine out of ten containing only one or no particle. In a check of a 90-minute long conversation transcription, I found clauses containing at least one particle or a combination of two or three particles. In such particle clusters, the high-frequency particles are observed to prefer an initial position, while low frequency ones tend to occur at final position. In addition, aspectual particles are strongly-initial and highly-frequent, and they often occur at the initial position in particle clusters.

## **20.2 Further research**

There are still several problems and issues in Cebuano grammar waiting to be examined and answered. There are several topics that are especially interesting; for example, the argument structure of high-frequency verbs, especially verbs of saying, and the similarities and differences between the second-position clitic particles and the clause-initial and clause-final particles, just to cite two issues. As for the first one, I have mentioned in Section 17.2.4 that some frequently-used verbs such as the verb of utterance *ingon* ‘to say’ has evolved new forms and their argument structures must have evolved too (cf. Tao 2003 for *forget* and *remember* in English), as illustrated in the following excerpts.

(1) verb of utterance *ingon*

*ing=ko, o na-dawat=na=ko*                      *ani nga factory*  
*ingon=ko, o na-dawat=na=ko*                      *ani nga factory*  
 say=1S.NOM DM SPONT-accept=already=1S.NOM    this LK factory

*ingon=siya, unsa=man imo-ng saky-an, unsa=man nga bus*  
*ingon=siya, unsa=man imo-nga sakay-an, unsa=man nga bus*  
 say=3S.NOM what=PAR 2S.POSS-LK ride-LV what=PAR LK bus  
 “I will say, ‘So, I got hired at this factory.’ He’d say, ‘How are you going there? What bus will you take?’”

(2) verb of utterance *ingon*

*ingon=ko mo-kuha=laga=ko kanangbayot-a*  
 say=1S.NOM AV-take=EMPH=1S.NOM that transvestite-DEF

*unya iya-ng gi-pangutana how much*  
 then 3S.POSS-LK PFV-ask how.much

*ingon=siya one hundred ing=ko unsa/*  
 say=3S.NOM one.hundred say=1S.NOM what  
 “I said, ‘I’ll take that guy (over there).’ Then (my sister) asked (him) how much. He said, ‘One hundred (baht).’ I said, ‘What!’”

As for the similarities and differences between clitic particles and clause-initial or clause-final particles, according to Huang (2000), there are lexicalized elements, including lexicalized expressions, and speech formulae whose functions are sequentially dependent and which signal relations between units of talk by virtue of their sequential position as initial or terminal brackets demarcating discourse units. These elements are sequentially sensitive; their interpretations are jointly determined by the information state of the discourse participants and its sequential placement in discourse.

Turn-beginnings tend to be the locus for making turn entries, alternative choices, pre-closing statements, or avoidance strategies. Here I will cite three examples in Cebuano. First, the phrase *di=ba* in clause-initial position can be used to elicit Hearer participation, as in (3), where the *di=ba* phrase would usually be, but not

always, followed by a response. Such a clause-initial *di=ba* construction may also be used in such situations as a confrontation or an interrogation scene, where the Speaker intends to either elicit an answer that can prove him right or reveal something unknown to other people on the site.

(3) clause-initial phrase *di=ba*

M *kamo di=ba nang-adto=na=mo/*  
*kamo di=ba maN-adto=na=mo/*  
 2P.NOMDM AV-go=PFV=2P.NOM

T *sa Bangkok=ako e*  
 LOC PN=1S.NOM PAR

M: 'You, isn't it (that) you went (together) (to the States)?'

T: '(No,) I (was) in Bangkok.'

The clause-initial particle *aw* is a repair marker. This is unlike *ku?an* (see Section 19.2) in the sense that *ku?an* involves some word search, while *aw* repairs an actual utterance. In the example below, the clause introduced by the particle *aw* provides an alternative to the scenario that's not going to happen, as indicated by the first clause.

(4) clause-initial particle *aw*

*wa?=ma=y mo-sugat nako? sa airport*  
*wa?=man=y mo-sugat nako? sa airport*  
 NEG=PAR=NEUT AV-pick 1S.GEN LOC airport

*aw, mag-taxi=na=lang=ko*  
 PAR AV-taxi=already=just=1S.NOM  
 'Nobody's going to pick me up at the airport. Well, I'll just take a taxi.'

The particle *bitaw* can be a clitic, a clause-initial particle, or a clause-final particle. As a clause-initial particle, it can function to agree with the previous statement of another party and probably introduce an additional comment. It can also collocate with the anaphoric particle *ma?o* the combination of which (*ma?o=bitaw*)

will reinforce a previous statement by the introduction of another instance marked by *ma?o=bitaw*.

(5) clause-initial particle *bitaw*

T: *bisan=gud na?a=y problema day*  
 even=EMPH EXIST=NEUT problem VOC

L: *bitaw, i-katawa=na=lang*  
 agree IV-laugh=already=just

T: 'Even if there are problems, *Day ...*'

L: 'Right, (we'll just) laugh (them) away.'

Turn-endings tend to be the locus for both the interactional function of doing questioning (a turn-yielding move) and the expression of affect and epistemic stance (signals turn completion). Again I cite another three examples in Cebuano. The *di=ba* phrase in clause-final position seems to serve as a rhetorical question, where the Speaker proposes some kind of conclusion or inference based on the preceding discourse. This function is sometimes found in a discourse-final position, and, especially when *di=ba* stands alone, it will even serve only to signal an end to a discourse or a discussion, as in (6) and (7).

(6) discourse marker (discourse-final)

*na-putol=man iya-ng kamot unya?*  
*na-putol=man iya-nga kamot unya?*  
 INTRANS-cut=PAR 3S.POSS-LK hand then

*ga-separate ang ti?il tsaka kamot/diha? sa taoyuan/*  
 AV-separate ANG leg and hand there LOC PN

*o di=ba, naka-kita?=ka ato/*  
 DM DM AV-see=2S.NOMthat

'His hand was cut, and then the legs and the hands have become separated from the body... . There in Taoyuan. There, did you see that?'

(7) clause-final (rhetorical question)

W *Wingon=siya nga unsa=ma=y labot sa ako-ng asawa*  
*ingon=siya nga unsa=man=y labot sa ako?-nga asawa*  
 say=3S.NOM COMP what=PAR=NEUT relation GEN 1S.POSS-LK wife

T *pero actually di=man talaga dapat ganyan*  
 but actually NEG=PAR really must.be like.that

*kasi personal life=yan e,*  
 because personal.life=that DM

*wala?=naman=sila-ng pakialam e di=ba/*  
*wala?=naman=sila-nga pakialam e di=ba/*  
 NEG=PAR=3P.NOM-LK relation DM DM

W: 'He said, what has my wife got to do with it?'

T: 'But actually, it should not be that way. Because it's (his) personal life. They have nothing to do with it, right?'

As a final particle, **ba** functions to assert a piece of information (as in *I'm telling you this; you better believe me*), or it can also seek the agreement or confirmation of the Hearer.

(8) clause-final particle *ba*

*hatag-an=nimo, mora-g imo=ra=sa-ng gi-tolerate ba*  
*hatag-an=nimo, mora-ug imo=ra=sad-nga gi-tolerate ba*  
 give-LV=2S.GEN like-COMP 2S.POSS=only=also-LK PFV.PV-tolerate PAR  
 '(If) you give (to them), (it's) just like you're tolerating (the practice), right?'

Finally, the particle **no** is used as a tag in familiar speech. It is also called a "confirmation marker" (Schachter 1985:33).

(9) clause-final particle *no*

T: *ganahan=ka?ay=ko-g Thailand*  
*ganahan=ka?ayo=ko-ug Thailand*  
 like=EMPH=1S.NOM-EXT PN

W: *balik-balik no*  
 return-REDUP PAR

T: 'I really like Thailand.'

W: '(You want to keep) going back, right?'

Moreover, it is also important to investigate the issue of the ordering of second-position particles in a particle cluster. Aside from the observation that aspectual clitics are strongly cluster-initial and highly frequent, there is still no definite conclusion as to their relative order based on semantic categories. This is important since particles express personal attitudes and various nuances, it would be a great help to learners and students of Cebuano if this could be sorted out.

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## APPENDIX

### Abbreviations and Grammatical Codings

1S	First person singular
2S	Second person singular
3S	Third person singular
1IP.Nom	First person plural, Inclusive, Nominative
1EP.Nom	First person plural, Exclusive, Nominative
2P	Second person plural
3P	Third person plural
ABS	Absolutive
ANAPH	Anaphoric particle
ASP	Aspect
AV	Actor voice
BC	Back Channel / Reactive Token
CAU	Causative
CLASS	Classifier
COMP	Complementizer
CONN	Connector
DAT	Dative case marker
DM	Discourse Marker
EIC	Extended Intransitive Clause
ELV	Extended Locative Voice
EMPH	Emphatic marker
ERG	Ergative marker
EVID	Evidential marker
EXIST	Existential verb
FEM	Feminine
FIL	Pause Filler
FS	False Start
FUT	Future marker
GEN	Genitive marker
IMP	Imperative marker
IMPF	Imperfective marker
INF	Infinitive
INTERJ	Interjection
IV	Instrumental voice

LK	Linker
LOC	Locative case marker
LV	Locative voice
MASC	Masculine
NEG	Negative
NFUT	Non-future
NMZ	Nominalizer/Nominalization
NOM	Nominative case marker
OBL	Oblique
POSS	Possessive case marker
PAR	Particle
PFV	Perfective
PH	Placeholder
PL	Plural marker
PN	Proper name
POT	Potential aspect
PV	Patient voice
Q	Question Marker
RECIP	Reciprocal
REDUP	Reduplication
REFL	Reflexive
SPONT	Spontaneous
TEMPO	Temporal adverb marker
VOC	Vocative
X	Uncertain Hearing

**Discourse symbols** (based on Du Bois et al. 1993)

**Units**

Intonation unit	{carriage return}
Truncated intonation unit	--
Word	{space}
Truncated word	--
Speaker identity/turn start	:
Speech overlap	[ ]

**Transitional Continuity**

Final	.
Continuing	,
Appeal	?

**Terminal Pitch Direction**

Fall	\
Rise	/
Level	—

**Accent and Lengthening**

Primary accent	^
Secondary accent	`
High booster	!
Low booster	;
Lengthening	= =

**Tone**

Fall	\
Rise	/
Fall-rise	\ /
Rise-fall	/ \
Level	—

**Pause**

Long	...(N)
Medium	...
Short	..
Latching	(0)

**Vocal Noises**

Vocal noises	(CAPITAL LETTERS )
Inhalation	(H)
Exhalation	(Hx)

	Glottal stop	%
	Laughter	@
Quality	Quality	<Y Y>
	Laugh quality	<@ @>
	Quotation quality	<Q Q>
Phonetics	Phonetic/phonemic transcription	( / / )
<b>Transcriber's Perspective</b>		
	Researcher's comment	(( ))
	Uncertain hearing	<X X>
	Indecipherable syllable	X
<b>Specialized Notations</b>		
	Duration	(N)
	Intonation unit boundary	&
	Accent unit boundary	
	Embedded intonation unit	<   >
	Restart	{Capital Initial}
	False start	< >
	Code switching	<L2 L2>
	Nontranscription line	\$
<b>Reserved Symbols</b>		
	Phonetic/orthographic symbols	'
	Morphosyntactic coding	+ * # { }
	User-definable symbols	" ~