## PART II

INTRODUCTION, PHONEMICS, MORPHOPHONEMICS AND SYNTAX

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## Chapter One: Introduction

### 1.1. Visayan

Visayan is a member of the Malayo-Polynesian group of languages. It is closely related to Tagalog, Bicol, Maranao, Joloano and some of the other languages of Mindanao and other parts of the Philippines.

Visayan is spoken in the entral and southern Philippines by approximately twelve million people. There are three main dialects or languages within Visayan: Hiligaynon (Ilonggo) - spoken on Panay and in Negros Occidental; Samareño (Waray-waray) -spoken on Samar and the eastern half of Leyte; and Cebuano - spoken in the western half of Leyte, Negros Oriental and the islands in between, the northern part of Mindanao, and various other places in Mindanao. These three dialects or languages are not mutually intelligible but are closely related. $\rightarrow \infty$

### 1.11 Cebuano Visayan

Cebuano is spoken by approximately seven and a half million people. Within the Cebuano area, there are strong dialectical rariations. The Cebuano of Surigao in Mindanao is not mutually intelligible with other types of Cebuano. Most other types of Cebuano, however, are mutually intelligible with each other. This analysis is based on the speech of speakers from Negros, Cebu, Leyte and Mindanao which shows only small dialectical variations. Features which are described as dialectical are those which are in use in a small area. Most speakers of Surigao Cebuano or other dialects of Cebuano which differ strongly from that used in Cebu learn how to understand and speak the Cebuano of Cebu as a second language

## S. 12 Texts used

The first three stories are told by Rev. Pedro Raterta, born in Iligan City, Mindanao, 1920. The fourth story is told by $\mathbf{k r}$. Bonifacio Miñoza,barn in Aga, Cebu, 1887, and the fifth text is a story which appeared in the magazine Bisaya, January 1961. The fourth
thind story most closely shows the type of speech and forms used in ordinary conversation. The other texts represent a more formal style. The sentences in the description not taken from the texts come from the magazines Bisaya and Silaw or from impromptu conversations.

### 1.2 Method

The methods now usual in descriptive linguistics are followed. Cebuano utterances are considered to be composed in hierarchical order of phonemes, morphemes, words, constituents (consisting of one word or several words) and sentences. The constituents are in construction with each other. These terms are used in their standara sensés. (Of. Bloch 1948, Welles 1948, Hockett 1959 ) The term word is used like the term lexeme (Hockett 1959 Section 19.4). Words.are separated by spaces in this study.

### 1.21 Borderline cases of words

There are some forms which always occur immediately preceding the elements with which they are in construction, but the elements with which they are in construction are a single word or more than one word. These are may "there is", manga "plural", ka-, pagka-, and paka-. The first two of these are treated as words. The syntactic types of the constituents with which these two are in construction are of a large variety. The latter three are considered affixes (not words, but bound forms) because if they
occur in construction with a series of words, the series of words with which they occur in construction are only of two syntactical types: adjective + nge $+C N$ (described in Sec. 4.23 ) or existential sentences composed of wala y plus CN. kg- and paka- also occur preceded by the affixes listed in Sec. 8.05. ker-is described in Sec. 9.3 and Sec. 10.921 ff. pagka, Sec. 10.922 , and paka, Sec. 9.741.

### 1.3 New definitions

### 1.31 Paradigms

This study will also take into consideration the paradigmatic relations of sentences and constituents. The term paradigm refere to a set of words, a set of sentences, parts of sentences or constituente. The following sections give a definition of paradism.

### 1.311 Congrammaticality

Let us call any two utterances or portions of utterances having one or more morphemes in common "congrammatical". The "difference" between two congrammatical forms is the morphemes of the first not shared by the second, the morphemes of the second not shared by the first, and the difference in arrangement (sequence) of the morphemes shared by both. If there are oongrammatical pairs $S_{1}$ and $S_{2}$ such that the difference between them is the same (i.e., involves the same morphemes and the same differences in arrangement) as the difference between many other oongramatical pairs, $S_{1}$ and $S_{2}$ are called globally congrammatical. Thus the following pairs are globally congrammatical:
A. 1. The singing of the birds 2. The birds sing. The difference between the two is abc in the first and $\underline{d}$ in the second and also the difference in arrangement wxyz and xyzw. As
there are many pairs which differ by the same morphemes and by the same difference in arrangement, this pair can be considered globally congrammatical.

Likewise the following pair is globally congrammatioal:

```
B. 1. l Cats like mice t 2. & Cats and mice.
```

Only the members of pair $A$, however, are in a paradigmatic relation with each other, for the term "paradigm" is reserved for those globally congramatical pairs for which the difference between them is one of a small number of words (particles) or affixes or differences in word order.

In Cebuano globally congrammatical pairs are considered in a paradigmatic relation if the difference between them involves affixes of Chapters Eight through Eleven, word order or the words gug (g), nge (ng), sa (including the nominative-disjunctive relationship [Sec. 4.7] ) and gang.

1. 312 Different types of paradigmatie relationsinios

Given A is a class of forms (defined in some way) and $B$ is a class of forms and that some members of $A$ are in a paradigm with a member of $B$ (i.e., for every member of $A$ there is a meraber of $B$ with the morphemes involved in the paradigm), $A$ is said to "generate" $B$, symbolized $(A \rightarrow B)$. If $A \rightarrow B$ and $B \rightarrow A$, then the
relation is called a "two-way" transformationgsymbolized (B $\leftrightarrow A$ ). If only $A \rightarrow B$, then the relation is called a one-way transformation. Forms in a paradigm but neither in a one-way or in a twoway transformation are marked $A-B$.

If the members of a paradigm enter the same form classes (i.e., have the same external grammar - appear as constituents in the same constructions) the relationship between them is
derivational (e.g., English duck and duckling). If the members of a paradigm are not in the aame form class, their relationship is inflectional. For other definitions referring to the morphology of. Sec. 8.0 and its tections.

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## Chapter Two: Phonology and Morphophonemics

### 2.1 Phonemes of Cebuano

2.11 Segmental phonemes

The segmental phonemes of Cebuano are:
vowels:

$$
/ i \text { a u/ }
$$


length: /:/

### 2.111 Allophones of the consonants

/q/is a glottal stop. /p t k/are unaspirated and voiceless in all of their allophones. $/ \mathrm{b} d \mathrm{gmgg} /$ are unaspirated
 are dentals. $/ \mathrm{kg} \mathrm{ng} /$ are dorso-velars pronounced far back with slightly more forward allophones before. /i/. For the Cebuano [ki] [gi] and [ngi] the dorsum touches the velum further back than for the English [ki] eto. Similarly Cebuano [ka] [ga] and [nga] is further back than English [ka] etc. /l/ is an apico-aveolar lateral without velarization in all of its allophones. /r/has tongue flap allophones in syllable initial position. Otherwise it has allophones which are dorso-alveolar spirants similar to the American English /x/, However, there is no lip rounding with the allophones of $/ x /$. A sound [ $£$ ], a dorso-palatal sibillant is analyzed as belonging to two phonemes /s/and /y/. E.g., [sudad]

[^0]is analyzed as /syudad/ "city". Some speakers use [sy] where others pre [ 6 ]. /s/ has slightly palatalized allophones before /i/. Otherwise /s/ has allophones which are alveolar sibillants and /y/ has allophones which are high front vowels of short duration.

### 2.112 Allophones of rowels

Cebuano vowels are not nasalized. /a/is front in all allophones with any but weakest stress (. Sec.2.131). With weakest stress /a/ has slightly higher and centralized allophones (but not [o]). /a/ also has slightly higher and centralized allophones before /y/:/says/ [seys] /i/has high front unrounded allophones; /u/ has high back rounded allophones. There is considerable variation among speakers as to the height of /i/ and /u/. For all speakers /u/ in word final sollables (Sec. 1.2) has lower allophones [0] than in other positions. When followed by $/: /$ the vowels have tenser allophones than in other enviromments.

### 2.12 Phonotactios of the segmentals

### 2.121 Syllable types

Syllables are phonetically defined by onset of stress. Cebuano utterances are composed of syllables which are of two types: open and closed. Closed syllables have the shape CVC (consonent vowel consonant); open syllables have the shape CV. /h/ does not end a syllable except in the word quh "exclamation of surprise at seeing momeone". No syllable begins in a vowel*. E.g.,

[^1]/muqabút/ "will come", consisting of the syllables /mu/, /qa/ and /but/, of which the first two are open and the last closed. There are also syllables with the shape /Cry/ and/ClV/. /CV/ and /CwT/. However, /Wwi/ and/cyu/ do not occur except/ryu/. and /Cwi/in syllables ending in a consonant/baryu/ "barrio"/bakwiq/ "take back". /rim/ does not occur. /qiskuyla/ "go to school". /ka:giw/ "escape" (pronounced [qiskuyla] and [ka:giw]). There is no contrast between [CuwV] and [CWV]; [CiV] and [CIV]: Here we transcribe /qiyV/, /hiyV/, /quwV/, /luwV/, /buwV/. /qiyaswat/ "make something do" (pronounced with three syllables), /quran/ "rain" (pronounced pith two syllables); and /buwad/ "dry in the sun" (pronounced with two syllables). Most speakers also pronounce [cyl] in words which have no other syllables, and we transcribe /CiyV/: /siva/ "he". Otherwise there is no extra syllable, and we transcribe /CwT/ and /CyV/: /syudad/ [sudad]; /hwat/ [heat]; etc.

In rapid speech /aw/ does not occur. Words with /kw/ in slow speech have /w/ in rapid speech:/hwan/h/wan/ "John".

Syllables beginning with /sk/ occur in careful educated speech, but in ordinary speech /s /is pronounced as the final of the preceding syllable. (If the /sk/ is word initial there is a prothetic /qi/. Ego /skawt/w/qiskawt/.) Syllables ending in /Cs/ occur in names, nicknames and a few other words:/nins/ "Nona" /pitrumaks/ "type of lantern". Also there are syllables ending in /wC/ and /yC/:/qiskawt/ "scout"; /says/ "six".

### 2.122 Other restrictions of occurrence

The cluster $C_{1} C_{1}$ or $q C$ does not occur unless there is a word
boundary (Sec. 1.2) between $C_{1}$ and $C_{1}$ or $q$ and $C_{0}^{*}$ However, $q c /$ oocurs in forms with the shape $\left(c_{1} \nabla_{1}\right) C_{2} \nabla_{2} a_{3}\left(c_{1} \nabla_{1}(:)\right) c_{2} \nabla_{2} a_{3}$ or forms of this shape with an infix (footnote to Sise. 8.05); hunaqhu:nag, baqbaq. Double consonants occur in the exolamation halla.?

Except in a few isolated examples (:) occurs only in the ultimate or the penult of a word. There is no contrast between $/ \mathrm{V}$ wu/ and $/ \mathrm{V}_{w} /$. In this study the phonemicization / V :wu/ is adopted.

## 2,13 Stress

### 2.131 Levels

There are three levels of stress: primary (marked " ""), secondary (marked "*") and tertiary (not marked). Stress is a combination of loudness and length. (Pitch does not enter into Cebuano stress.)

## 2. 132 Distribution

The nouns, transients, adjectives and qualifiers except that qualifiers of Secs. $\frac{6.32}{/ 7 f}$., LP's of existential eentences (Seo. 3.4), and the pronouns when used as predicates have a primary or secondary stress. (Cf. Chaptere Four, Five and Six for the definitions of these elements.) Other types of words have prinery or secondary stress only when before pause. (Words are defined in Sec. 1.2.) The syllables with primary or secondary stress are called "stressed".
 ganag, a pronoun, in this sentence is the subjeot and therefore unstressed
*In some dialects of Cebuano/qc/occurs. tagnaw lang ni be:kir (39.14) "Baker just looked on." (Dialeotio for tangar)
(Cf. Sec. 5.32.)
 (2.7) "From now on you will be my helper in gathering firewood."
gikaw in this case is the predicate and therefore stressed.
There is only one stressed syllable per word in Cebuano. The stress of the word is on the final syllable if the penult is open and short and on the penult if the penult is long or closed (ends in a consonant). Long penult: ká:qun; short penult: napkaquin; closed penult: kánqun. If the vowel of the final syllable is long, the stress is on the final syllable: nagdé: Exceptions to the placement of the accent within the word are marked: karangkál.

The last stressed syllable before a terminal (Sec. 2.141) has primary stress. (Cf. examples above.) Exceptions to this rule are situations of emphasis where the word emphasized has a primary stress. However, the primary stress on a syllable which otherwise does not occur with it is usual only in a storytelling style.
gipăsqan qang dakúq kaqa:yu ng kà:huy "He was carrying a huge tree." (29.14)

### 2.133 Stress of short words between pauses

The stress of a two or three syllable word is invariably at the end if the word occurs between two pauses. sigi "Go ahead" (Cf. si:gi na láng "Go on now.")

In vocatives this final stress occurs whether or not there is a pause before or after:
vocative qayàw kabalà:ka na:kuq pirlá "Do not worry about me, Perla."

### 2.14 Intonation

There are six pitch phonemes in Cebuano. These pitches are relative to each other within the elements between stops. (A stop is a pause meaning nothing else follows. Cf. Sec. 2.1413.) These pitches are not absolute for the word, but they depend upon the syntactic construction and the position within element between stops.
 sa búntag (The "抽" represents paused "When ycu arrive in Ormoc, 231
it will only be around four in the morning."
However, within a phrase (defined Seo. 2.141) there are only four levels.

### 2.141 Terminals and phrases

If the utterance is divided into sentences (described in Chapter Three), there are pitch variations of the final three syllables of the sentence. These are called the "terminals". The last syllables of vooatives (Sec. 6.6), topics (Sec. 6.11) and qualifiers of Sec. 6.21 and its subsections, 6.2213, 6.223 also have special intonational patterns which are considered terminals. Elements between terminals are called "phrases".

### 2.142 Marking of terminals

The first word in a phrase with primary or secondary stress may have on its penult*a pitch higher than or the same as the highest pitch of the terminal. The pitch of the other syllables

[^2]is the same as the third to last syllable of the phrase. Thus to indicate the intonation pattern, the pitch contour of the terminal and the pitch of the penult of the first word with a stressed syllable of the phrase will be indicated. " $R$ " means that the penult of the first word of the phrase with a stressed syllable has a higher pitch than the highest pitch of the terminaly that the penult of the first word of a phrase with a stressed syllable has the same pitch as the ribable with the highest pitch of the terminal. "R" and " $L$ " do not contrast with their absence if the first stressed word of the phrase immediately precedes the last stressed word in the sen-
 the same meaning as tùsqa s tá:qas $R$ 23I. (I.e., pitch level 4 on (/tu:/.)

### 2.143 Pauses

There may or may not be a pause following the terminal. If the meaning is that something else is following, the pause will be indicated ",". If the meaning is that nothing need follow it, the pause is a "stop", indicated ".". Certain terminals occur only with "," and certain others only with "."; but there are some terminals which occur either with something following or not, depending upon the meaning of the sentence. In some cases it is the relative height with what follows which carries the maning of the pause is "," or ".".

### 2.144 Examples

qayàw kabalà:ka nákuq "Do not worry about me." 13111112
qayàw kabalà;ka ná:kuq R 112.
buhi:qi kanáq "Let go of that."
12112
buhi:qi kanáq L 112.
draybí \# maw ba kini ng bàrku pa:ra s qúrmuk "Driver, is this $\begin{array}{llllllllllll}1 & 4 & 2 & 2 & 2 & 2 & 2 & 2 & 2 & 1 & 3\end{array}$
the boat for Ormoc?"
draybír 14, maw ba kini ng bàrku pe:ra s qúrmuk 213.
2.145 Terminals without pause

At the end of a sentence (syntactically defined) there are terminals even when there is no pause. In the following the sentence ends after na:kuq.
qayàw kabalà:ka ná:kuq pirlá "Do not worry about me, Perla." $\begin{array}{llllllll}24 & 2 & 2 & 2 & 2 & 3 & 2\end{array}$
qayàw kabalà:ka na:kuq R 223 pirlá 12.

### 2.146 Relative height of phrases

A phrase not a vocative or a qualifier of Sec. 6.6 with no pause or with "," is higher at its highest point than the phrase following it (unless it is itself preceded by a phrase). qinigqabùt ni:mu s qúrmuk $R$ 242, manga qalas kwàtru pa kanaq sa buntág R 231. "When you get to Ormoc, it will be around four in the morning." (I.e., /bùt/ has pitch 5 whereas/kwà/ has pitch 4.)
qay na láng 223 salá:mat 112. "Never mind, thanks."

### 2.147 Degree of rise

In some cases the degree of pitch differences depends on emotional coloring.
buhi:qi kanáq $R$ 112. "Let go of that." This command is less urgent than
buhi:qi kanáq Lile (i.e., with the final syllable of kanaq as high in pitoh as the penult of buhi:qi.)

In other cases the degree of rise indicates whether the phrase is a question or not. (Cf. Secs. 2.153 and its subsections.),

## 2. 15 Some intonation types and their meanings

This section lists the most frequent intonational types and some of their meanings.
2.151 Fall-rise type terminals

## $2.1511 \quad 213$ or 324

(No $R$ or $L$ ) This type of intonation is used in asking for information. maw ba kini ng bàrku pa:ra s qúrmuk 213. "Is this the boat for Ormoc?"

## $2.1512 \quad 312$

With no pause or pauses in some contexts this intonation indicates statement with something to follow.
maw kini s mis wi:bi 312, qang qamirkà:na ng qa:ku ng girisirbaha $G$ lugàr ainhi s barku 312. "This is Miss Wiebe, the American I reserved a place for here on the boat."
(No $R$ or L) This terminal is used for a polite statement when followed by pause. nàıqe y girisìrba pa:ra ng mis wí:bi 312. "There is one reserved for Mass Wiebe."

With R followed by a pause it is also used for supplicating. qakù na la y dalà qi:ni ng bag ni:mú $R$ 312. "Just let me carry your bag."
2.152 Rise-fall type terminals

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2.1521 \quad 341,231
$$

With no ( R or L ) This intonational pattern is used for a warning.
là:qin ra ba ni ng manga tà:wu dinhi s pantalán 231. "The people

[^3]here at the docks are not of a nice sort."
With $R$ or $L$ this intonation is used in making a statement. bantayàn na:kuq qang qa:ku ng kaqugalfingun $R$ 231. "I will take care of myself."
2.1522 232. 342

This intonation is the same7as 232 (Sec. 2.1521) but occurs when there is no ".". (I.e., the drop at the end of the phrase is less than in the type of Sec. 2.1521 as an indication that something is to follow.)
bantayàn ku qang qa:ku ng kaqugali:ngun $R 343$ kay dàghan ra ba ng kawatàn rún R 231. "I will watch myself, because there are many thieves now."

This intonation is also used with initial qualifiers of the types of Secs. 6. 21 ff.
qinigqabut ni:mu didtu s qurmuk $R 342$ manga qalas kwatru pa kanaq sa buntag R 231.*

This intonation is used in greetings, "thanks" and the like. wà y sapayán 232. "You are welcome." maqá: yu 232. "Good morning!"

It is also used for something unexpected.
qaná:q 232 maw ra ma g pu:rus giqukupahèn qang manga tihì:ras dinhi 222 "Heavens! It looks as though all the cots are already occupied!"

$$
2.1523 \quad 243,132
$$

This intonation is used for warnings.
tùgqantika ru ng máma 243 "I will tell Mama on you."

[^4]
### 2.153 Rising terminals

2.1531 Slight rise 112, 223

No $R$ or L. This intonation is used for statementswithin a donversation. (The intonation of Sec. 2.1521 is used when no answer is expected.)
ni:qa na kita s qa:tu ng tihíras 112, "Hers we are at our oots."
This intonation is used for polite refusals.
sàgdi na láng 112, waq na ku magkinahánglan 112, "Never mind. I do not need it any more."

It is also used for hortatory expressions with no urgenoy. talà 13 manaka tá 112. "Let us go. Let us get on."

This rise is used for vocatives without urgency. (Usually at the end of the sentence.)
qayàw kabalà:ka náskuq R 223 pirlá 12.
With $R$ this intonation is used in a command or hortative. The intonation does not express urgency. qaỳ̀w kabalà:ka na:kuq $R$ 112. "Do not worry about me."

### 2.1532 Rise of two pitches 112,224

The rise of two pitches is used in hortatory expressions with urgency.
tank 13 manaka na tá 113. "Let us go. Let us get on now."
This intonation occurs at the end of a sentence of qualifier when there is no pause.
maw na uf 224 kay na:qa ma y màrka ng qúrmuk 231. "This is it because there is a sign 'Ormoc!"

Q
qunyaq 24 ngitngit pa náq 231. "Then it will still be dark."
This intonation is used with phrases meaning pointing (with no urgency).
tu：qa ra siya qu 132．＂There he ts！＂

$$
2.1533 \text { Sharp rises 114, } 225
$$

The sharp rise is used for questions asking＇yes＇or＇no＇． manaka na ta 114．＂Shall we get on？＂

With a monosyllabic phrase，the monosyllable has a pitch two or three higher than the lowest of the phrase with which it is in construction．
hwàt ka ngarí 112 há 4．＂Wait here，OK？＂（28．8）
At the beginning of the utterance the monosyllable has a rise．
dúng 34 maw ba kini ng bàrku pasra s qúrmuk 213．＂Boy，is this the boat for Ormoc？＂

The sharp rise is used in phrases meaning pointing with urgency． kawatan 114，tusqa．ra siya qu 114．＂The thief！There he is！＂ 2.154 Level terminals

The level intonation is used for something contrary to one＇s expectation．If it is unpleasant the pitch is low． qaná：q 132 maw ra ma $g$ pu：rus giqukupahan qang manga tihi：ras dinhi 222．＂Heck，it looks like all the cots are already taken．＂

If the surprise is pleasant the pitch is higher． qana：q 243 kanindut niqa：ni ng manga qari：yus 333．＂My！What beautiful earrings！＂
2.155 Falling terminals
$2.1551 \quad 331$
This intonation is used in questions with an interrogative （Sec．4．41）
diq $\ln$ man ni ni：mu palita 331．＂Where did you buy this？＂
(For questions with an interrogative the intonations of Soc. 2.1511 are also used.)

This intonation is also used in offering something. nìaqa qang qi:mu ng típ qu 331 "Hexe is your tip."
2.1552441

This intonation is used in questions with an interrogative expressing anger. (I.ë̈, this intonation is like that of Sec. 2.1551, above, with a greater drop.) ngà:nu ng qi:mu ma ng kùptan qang qa:ku ng bág 441. What do you think you are doing grabbing my bag!"
2.16 The Cebuano writing system

The Latin alphabet is used to write Cebuano*. Each phoneme is represented, and one letter represents one phoneme tith the
following exceptionsf The letters used in writing Cebuano core respond to our transcription. -

1) Stress and intonational phonemes are not represented:
2) Length is not represented except in the case of monosyllabics with a long vowel which alternate with disyllabics having intervocallic /I/ (Sec.2.211). These are written with two letters. E.g. /da:n/ "road" (alternating with/da:lan/) is mithen dann.
3) Glottal stop is not represented except after consonants and by some writers, between vowels. It is represented by " ". E.". /pagqa:yu/ "well" is written pag-ayo. /dasqan/ "old" is written da-an by some, daan by others.
4) Initial and final glottal stops are not written. /qiyaq/ "term of address for an old woman" is written iya.

[^5]5) $/ i /$ is written $\underline{i}$ and $e ; / u /$ is written $\underline{u}$ and $o$. There
 rather than e except in words borrowed from other languages: 0 is used rather than $\underline{u}$ if it is the last letter of the word. /qiyuq/ is written iyo. In a closed final syllable o or uay be mititen. E.g. /hu:lug/ is written hulog and hulug.
6) Some writers write wards borrowed from other languages as these are spelled in the languagea from which they are borromed. Nost publications do not do so except for proper names.

### 2.2 Morphophonemics

In this section the various shapes of morphemes in various environments are discussed.
2.21 Alternations between different styles of speech
2.211 Dropping of/1/
$\{/ \mathrm{VIV} / \mathrm{V}: 1 \mathrm{~V} /\}$ alternates with forms without/l/ if V is /a/ or /u/ and if they occur in the same word.* The forms with / / / are fancier.
/a(:) Iu/~/a:wu/ (or/awu/ if not at the end of a word).
/ba:Iu/~/ba:wu/ "widow(er)"
$/ \mathrm{balu} / \sim / \mathrm{ba}: w u /$ "I do not know"
/ku:lang/~/ku:wang/ "lack"
/hulat/~/hwat/ "wait"
/u:lu/~/u:/; /ulu/N/u:/ when one of the/u/'s is in the penult of the word. Otherwise, $/ u /$.

[^6]/qu:1u/~/qu:/ "head"
/tutulu/aj/tutu:/ "threo"
/pulupari:hu/~/pupari:hu/ "similar"
La:la/~/a:/:/ala/~/a:/ when one of the /a/'s in in. the penult of the word. Otherwiseg/a/.
/tinga:Ia/~/tinga:/ "amaze"
/dala/~/da:/ "carry"
/kalamunggay/~/kamunggay/ "a kind of vegetable"
/kalabaw/~/ka:baw/ "carabao".
In some words this alternation does not occur. E.g.,
sala:mat "thanks"; ba:la "bullet"; kulu "breadfruit"; ㅌt al.
(These are listed in the glossary.)
2.212 Alternations of nga, gug, $y$ ( ging )*, gs and gang

The following alternations occur in normal speech. (For exceptions of. the following Sec. 2.2121.) Following a word ending in a vowel / $q$ / or $/ \mathrm{n} /$ and following the qualifiers (Sec. 6.32) and some other common qualifiers which occur in the same positions, nge has an alternate /ng/; gug has an alternate /g/ and $\boldsymbol{y}$ (ging) has an alternate $/ \mathrm{y} / \mathrm{c}$. The word preceding has an alternate without/q/ or $/ \mathrm{n} /$ or without the final consonants in the case of the qualifiers of Sec 6.32 and other common qualifiers.

```
a. Vq * nga * Vng
    Vn + nga * Vng
```

    qang qa:tu \(n g\) [ \(=q a: t u q+n g a] \operatorname{tana} n g[=\operatorname{tanan}+n g a]\)
    kinahanglan matagbuq na "All our needs can be met now."
    (9.10)
    b. $\mathrm{Vn}_{\mathrm{n}}+\mathrm{qug}=\mathrm{V}_{\mathrm{g}}$
$V+$ nga $=$ Vng

[^7]kadtu ng [mkedtu nga] bilyagunsa:lu nga ginganla g [ = ginganlan qug] quris bilyagunsa:lu "That Villagonzalo, who was called Oris Villagonzalo ..." (43.7)
c. $V+q u g=/ V g /$
bulangan ba $g[-\mathrm{ba}+q u g]$ manuk "Cockfights with roosters, you know?" (37.9)
d. lang + qug $=$ lag (lang is a qualifier of the fop in Sec. 6.32 $)$
gibutangan la g lami:sa nga gamay "Just a small table was placed." (37.9)
e. $V q+y=V y$
qapan wala y [= walaq + qing (y)] qikata:bang sa panimalay "But there was no help in the house." (3.7)
f. particle $+y^{*}$
$$
\text { lang }+y=1 a y
$$
qikaw la $y$ magbuqut "You are the one to decide."
$y$ (ging) has an alternate zero (i.e., is "dropped") after /i/ or /iq/
(. maqu lagi kini gisulti sa qa:ku ng qanak ( $=*[$ kini y gisulti $]$ ) "This is what my son said." (12.11)

In rapid speech sa and si have an alternate sfollowing/V/ or $/ \mathrm{Vq} /$.
h. $V(q)+s a=V s$
qugman [=qugmaq sa] qalas si:ti "Tomorrow at seven*"
gang has an alternate/ng/following vowels and man gang has an alternate zero following words ending in /ang/.
i. $V+$ qang $=n g$

[^8]suginli ng [ $2 i$ qang] ha:riq "Tell theking." (10.4) qug has on alternate zero after words ending in /Vg/.
j. $/ \mathrm{Vg} /+\mathrm{qug}_{g}=\mathrm{Vg}$
[=nagaha:tag qug]
kini ng pagtu:qu nagaha:tag/kali:sang sa manga ta:wu "This belief inspires fear in the people." (23.14)
nga has an alternate zero after words ending in a consonant except $/ \mathrm{n} /$ and $/ q /$ in normal speech. tibuquk gabi:qi (fancy speech tibuquk nga gabi:qi) "all night"

### 2.2121 Exceptions to these alternations

The above alternations do not occur if there is a pause between the forms in questions. However, whenever the form $y$ occurs this alternation occurs.* It is quite common even in colloquial not to make the alternations with gang and sa and si, but the others are made in normal speech except when there is a pause.

### 2.213 Slow and repid speech

Common words of two (or three) syllables have alternants with one syllable (or two) in rapid speech. With some the alternant occurs with the initial phoneme, the vowel and final oonsonant of the second and the final syllable.

## e.g.,:

la:mang $\rightarrow$ lang "only"
maqu $\rightarrow$ mu "linking particle"
With others the alternant does not have the consonant and
vowel of the first syllable.
qani:qa $\longrightarrow$ ni:qa "hera" qusab $\longrightarrow$ sab "also"
karun $\longrightarrow$ run "now"
If the first consonant of the final syllable is $/ \mathrm{y} / \mathrm{g}$ the
*Cf. the footnote on the preceding page.
rapid speech alternant occurs with it.
gayud $\longrightarrow$ gyud "without a doubt"
gayaw "don't" has a rapid speech alternant/qay/.
Some of the rapid speech forms are used in slow speech as well, with the long forms being fancy.
gud ( $=$ qugud), du:na (= qadu:na), qi:ni (=niqi:ni) et al.
A similar alternation occurs for names and titles, but this alternation is a matter of style. The last syllable is used for the whole name or title in the vocative. E.g., day (= qinday) "term of address for a girl"; kay (= qangkay) "girl's niokname" sa, si have alternants $\underline{s}$ in rapid speech.
2.214 Alternations between long and short vowels

Words of two or three syllables always have a short penult if the words occur between two pauses.
sigi "Go ahead" cf. sì:gi na láng "Go on now"
Wocatives always have short penults.
kumusta si na:nay mu "How is your mother?"
nanay "Mom!" (calling)
$2.215 / \mathrm{xw} / \sim / \mathrm{w} /$
Cf. the statementy end of Sec. 2.121.
2.22 Alternations desoribable in terms of phonemic environ=
ment

### 2.221 Metathesis

2.2211 With dropping of a vowel

When a vowel is dropped (cf. Sec. 2.222) and there is a suffix, the base with a suffix has a different order of the phonemes than the base without a suffix.

Order in the base with
no suffix

| $q, \mathrm{~h}+\mathrm{c}^{*}$ | $C+q_{y} h^{* *}$ |
| :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{r}+\mathbf{C}$ | $\mathrm{C}+\mathrm{d}^{* * *}$ |
| $1+C$ | $\mathrm{C}+1$ |
| $t+s$ | $\mathbf{s}+\mathrm{t}$ |
| $s+t$ | $t+s$ |

The change $q, h+C \longrightarrow C+q h$ is automatic (i.e., occurs with every base). . $^{* * *}$ Otherwise these changes occur only in certain items (so listed in the glossary).

## Examples:

| $q+C=C q$ | ```taqas + -un }\longrightarrow\mathrm{ tasqun (with/a/dropped) "t to be made long" ba:taq + -anun \longrightarrowbatanqun (with /a/ dropped) "young"``` |
| :---: | :---: |
| $\mathrm{h}+\mathrm{C}=\mathrm{Ch}$ |  dropped) "government" |
| $r+C=C d$ | $\text { hurut }+-u n \rightarrow \text { hutdun (with } / u / \text { dropped) "thing }$ to be finished" |
| $1+m$ | $\begin{aligned} & \rightarrow m, n, n g, s+\frac{1}{n g a: l a n}+-a n \rightarrow \text { nganlan } \\ & \text { (with } / a / \text { dropped) "thing to be named" } \\ & \text { ba:lus }+ \text {-an } \longrightarrow \text { baslan (with /u/ dropped) "thing } \\ & \text { to be replied" } \end{aligned}$ |

A parallel alternation occurs with dig and wag when followed by na. dinqa "no loager" wanqe "no longer"

| 8 | putus $+-i \longrightarrow$ pueti (with. /u/ dropped) "person for whom to be wrapped" |
| :---: | :---: |
| $s+t$ | ```lusut + -un \longrightarrow lutsun (with /u/ dropped) " to be let through"``` |

*C $=$ consonant and semi-vowels
** for bases with both $q$ and $h$ cf. Sec. 2,2212
*** for change of $r \rightarrow$ def. Sec. 2.2241
**** There are some dialects in which this alternation does not occur.
***** Cf, Sec. 2.232 for ( 4 )
2.2212 Metathesis when no vowel is dropped

In this case the alternation is optional.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \mathrm{l}+\mathrm{nmngw} \longrightarrow \mathrm{mnng}+1 \\
& \mathrm{q}+\mathrm{n} \longrightarrow \mathrm{n}+\mathrm{q} \\
& \mathrm{n}+\mathrm{m} \longrightarrow \mathrm{~m}+\mathrm{n}
\end{aligned}
$$

laktan + -in- $\longrightarrow$ nilaktan* "manner of walking" $q+h \longrightarrow h+q$
tu:qu $+h^{* *}+-$ an $\longrightarrow$ tuhu:qan* "to be believed"
2.222 Dropping of vawels

The vowel of penult is sometimes dropped in words with suffixes if the penult is open (or has a long vowel). I.e., bases with a suffix may have alternants without the vowel of the last syllable if there is a suffix, or if the suffix is dissyllabic, the suffix occurs as an alternant without the vowel of the first syllable. The occurrence of this alternation is dependent upon the lexical item.
dropping of /a/:
taqas + -un $\rightarrow$ tasqun "thing to be made high" (with metathesis Sec.2.2211)
dropping of /i/:
para:yig $+-a n \rightarrow$ paraygan "one to be caressed"
dropping of /u/:
dakup + -an $\rightarrow$ dakpan "one to be caught"
dropping of vowel in suffix:
ba:taq + -anun $\rightarrow$ batanqun (with metathesis Sec. 2.2211) "young"
*linaktan also occurs; tuqu:han also occurs.
**For insertion of /h/cf. Sec. 2.223)

### 2.223 Adding of $\underline{h}$ and $g$

Bases ending in a vowel have alternants with either /h/ or /q/ before a suffix: (Which bases and suffixes take which oonsonant is listed in the vocabularya)
ba:sa + -un $\longrightarrow$ basa:hun "thing to be read"
gustu + -an $(\rightarrow) \rightarrow$ gustuhan "one who will like"
su:si + -un $\longrightarrow$ susi:hun "thing to be examined"
saka + -un $\longrightarrow$ sakqun (with dropping of $/ \mathrm{a} /$ ) "place on boards"
qedtu + -un $\longrightarrow$ qedtu:qun "reason for going"
qaxi + -un $\longrightarrow$ qariqun "reason for coming"
2. 224 Changes of vowels and consonants

Bases with certain phonemes have certain other phonemes when with an affix (called " $x \rightarrow y$ ").
$2.2241 / r / \rightarrow / \alpha /$
Some bases with/d/ have an alternate with /r/. The /r/ occurs in intervocalic position . This is symbolized "intervocalic $/ r /-1 / d /$.

bu:kid + ka- -an $\rightarrow$ kabuki:ran "mountains"
(When the /d/ is base final it always has an alternate with $/ r /$ before a suffix beginning with $V$ if there is no dropping of the vowel.)
$2.2242 / 1 / \rightarrow / \alpha / ; / 1 / \rightarrow / 8 /$
Some bases with / / have an alternate with / / / or /g/. The
$*(\rightarrow)$ is described in Sec. 2.23.
$/ 1 /$ oocurs in intervocalic position; /g/ occurs preceding/k/and/mg/. faf oecure preceding other consonants.

wa:laq $+-a n \longrightarrow$| wadgan (with dropping of vowel) "one who |
| :--- |
| lost something" |

haluk $+-a n \longrightarrow$| hagkan (with dropping of vowel) "person |
| :--- |
| kissed" |

(Cf. also the changes for /1/ described in Sec. 2.211.)


This alternation ocours with some bases ending in /r/ or /1/. Before anaffix beginning with a vawel they have albemants in final $/ \mathrm{h} / \%$

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { qimbitar }+-u n \longrightarrow \text { qimbitahun "person invited" } \\
\text { mantinil }+-a n \longrightarrow \text { mantiniham "tring for which something } \\
\text { makeshift is used" }
\end{aligned}
$$

### 2.225 Alternations in conjunction with prefixes

2.2251 The alternations symbolized by $N$

Certain prefixes have a form ending in the symbol N. This symbol means that the form following the prefix has an altamant beginning with the phonemes as illustrated by the following chart ${ }^{*}$.: Bases beginning with $/ p, b / / t, d, s / / k, n g, q / / 1 /$ others and clusters ${ }^{*}$ final consonant of prefix plus initial : m: $n$ : ng of base

## Examples:

| paN- | + putui $\longrightarrow$ pamutul "cut" |
| ---: | :--- |
| $"$ | + ba:hin $\longrightarrow$ pama:hin "divide" |
| " | + ta:bang $\longrightarrow$ pana:bang "deliver baby" |

[^9]

### 2.226 Cameleon Morphs

These are prefixes whose shape depends on shape of the base.

### 2.2261 Doubling

"Dorabling" is a prefix having the shape of the base. luksu + doubling $\longrightarrow$ Iuksuluksu "jump about" Iakaw + doubling $(\leftrightarrows)$ **iakaw $\rightarrow$ lakawla:kaw "walk about"

### 2.2262 Reduplication

Reduplication ( $x$ ): a prefix naving the shape of the first phoneme and the first vowel*** of the form to whioh it is added.

[^10]\mathrm{ Declarative sentence
@ Qualifier to sentence
Analysis of a : Qualifier 6.2111
d sentence
sa + nagatubuq si hwan
Analysis of d : Declarative Sentence 2.21
predicate
Analysis of e and f : e: Transient Phrase 4.22
(nggatubug is a Transient)
f: si + Proper Name Subject 5.31
Analysis of b : Declarative Sentence 3.21
P g S h
nali:pay qusab + qang manga ginika:nan
Analysis of g : Predioate Phrase TP 4.22
transient qualifier i
nali:pay + qusab
Analysis of i : postpositive Qualifier to PP 6.32
Analysis of h : Subject 2.214
PP j
qang + manga ginika:nan
Analysis of j : PP Common Nominal Phrase 4.2331
common noun
manga + ginika:nan
Analysis of c : Qualifier to Sentence 6.2214
P
k
quban | qang pagtu:qu nga qadu:na na sila y qikata:bang
sa panimalay
Analysis of k : Predioate 4.45
Analysis of 1 : Subject. 5.25

```
complement
abstract
m
qang + pagtu:qu + nga qudu:na na sila y qikatasbeng sa panimalay

Analysis of \(m\) : Complement of Abstract 4.6 and 4.61 nga + existential sentence \(n\) naduina na \(\quad\) qikata:bang sa panimalay Analysis of \(n\) : Existential Sentence 3.4
 8.128

ginika:nan CN "parents" \(V\) giikan "from" -in- -an 10.2333
pagtu:qu CN "belief" \(V\) tu:qu "believe" pag- 10.93
gikata:bang \(T\) "pperson \(\{\) that can be used to help another"
\(v\) ta:bang "help (assist)" qika- 8.233 and 8.23311
panimalay \(C N\) "household" \(V\) balay "house" paniN- 10.9411
7.3
\(\begin{array}{cc}a & 1 \\ \text { labi nà }+ \text { qang qamahàn } R 454, ~ n a l i: p a y ~ g a y u d ~ p a g q a ̀ y a ~\end{array}\) 1
\(R\) 343, + tungùd kay \(R\) 32, dù:na na man siya y qikatà:bang sa
pagpangà:huy \(R\) 343, nga maqu y qì:ya ng pangì:taq \(R\) 232, qa:lang sa panginabù:hiq sa matag qádlaw \(R\) 23l. "Especially the father was very happy indeed, because now he had help in gathering firevood, which was his source of livelihood day by day."

Intonation: R 454, R 343, R 32, R 2322.1522 (Statement with ","); R 2312.1521 (Statement with ".")

Analysis of the sentence: Declarative Sentence 3.21
a Qualifier to sentence b Declarative Sentence
- Qualifier to sentence

Analysis of a : Qualifier 6.2231 followed by na Postpositive Qualifier 6.32 attracted to 1abi 6.324

Analysis of \(b\) : Deolarative Sentence 3.21
S
P
qang qamahan \({ }^{\text {d }}\) nali:pay gayud pagqa:yu
Analysis of \(d\) Subject 5.2143 (qamahan is a Common Noun)
Analysis of e : Predicate Phrase consisting of a Transient
Phrase (intransitive) 4.22
transient \(Q \quad Q\)
nali:pay + gayud + pagqa:yu
Analysis of gayud and pagqa:yu: Postpositive Qualifiers to Predicate Phrase 6. 32

Analysis of \(c\) : Qualifier to sentence consisting of a sentence 6.2213

\section*{existential sentence}

Q \(f \quad g\)
tungud kay + qedu:na na mên siya y qikata:bang sa pagpanga:huy nga maqu y qi:ya ng pangi:taq qa:lang sa panginabu:hiq sa matag qadlaw

Analysis of \(f\) : Qualifier to Sentence 6.2231
Analysis of \(\mathrm{g}:\) Existential Sentence 2.4

nga maqu y qi:ya ng pangi:taq qa:lang sa panginabushiq sa matag qadlaw

Analysis of \(h\) : postpositive Qualifiers to PP 6. 32 "attraoted" to qadu:na 6.323

Analysis of \(1: \operatorname{PP}\) consisting of TP 4.22
qikata:bang +\begin{tabular}{rl}
\(j\) & infinitive phrase \\
sagpanga:huy maqu y qi:ya ng
\end{tabular} pangi:taq qa:lang sa panginabu:hiq sa matag qadlaw

Analysis of i : Infinitive Phrase 4.68
infinitive \(k\)
sa pagpanga:huy nga mequ \(+y\) qi:ya ng pangi:taq qa:lang sa parginabu:hiq sa matag qadlaw

Analysis of k : Subject consisting of Common Nominal Phrase 5.2143

    m n
qa:lang + sa panginabu:hiq + sa matag qadlaw Analysis of \(m\) : Qualifier to a Qualifier introduced by sa 6.411 Analysis of \(n\) : Qualifier to panginabu:hig 6.21231 Analysis of matag: Qualifier to Noun 6.511 qamahan CN "father" qama -an 10.266; qamah~qama 2.223 nali:pay \(T\) "was happy" \(\sqrt{-}\) li:pay na- 2.31; na- \(=\underline{m i}-+\) ka8.11823
pagqa:yu Q 6.32 "very" \(ए\) qa:yu "do well" pag- 8.31; pagqa:yu is a specialized meaning of the infinitive of \(\nabla^{-}\) qa:yu "do well".
qikata: bang \(\left.T \quad \begin{array}{c}\text { "fperson } \\ \text { thing }\end{array}\right\}\) that can be used to help another"
V ta:bang "help (assist)" aika- 3.23311
pagpanga:huy \(T\) "woodcutting" \(V\) panga:huy "the occupation of gathering firewood" pas- 8.321 ; \(V^{-1} k a: h u y ~ " t r e e " ~ p a N-~\) 2.22
pangi:taq CN "oocupation" \(V\) ki:taq "earn" paN- 2.22 used as a common noun 10.5111
panginabu:hiq CN "livelihood (occupation)" \(\sqrt{\text { kinabu:hiq "life" }}\)
paN- 2.22; used as a common noun 10.5111; \(\sqrt{-}\) kabu:hiq
"to be alive" -in- 10.2111; \(\sqrt{-}\) bu:hiq "live" ka- 9.321
7.4
\(\underset{\text { qapàn }}{a} 32,+\) sa nagatubùq si hwàn \(R 454, \quad+\) nasubùq 0 d
qang qamohàn \(R 343\), + tungùd kay \(R\) 32, labihàn katapulán R 231. "But as John grew up, the father was unhappy because he was very lazy."

Intonation: Same as 7.1, 2, 3 above
Analysis of sentence: Declarative Sentence 2.21 with Qualifiers
\(a, b\) and \(d\)
Analysis of a : Qualifier to Sentence coming initially 6.2231 Analysis of b : Qualifier to Sentence consisting of sa + sentence 6.2111


Analysis of c : Declarative Sentence 2.21
\begin{tabular}{ll}
P & \multicolumn{2}{c}{} & S \\
nasubuq & qang \\
qamahan
\end{tabular}
\(\mathrm{P}: \mathrm{TP} 4.22 \quad \mathrm{~S}:\) qang + Common Noun 5.2143

Analysis of \(\mathrm{d}:\) Sentence used as a Qualifier 6.2213

Q

Analysis of e : Qualifier to Sentence coming at the beginning of the sentence 6.2231.

Analysis \(n f f\) : Exclamatory Sentence 3.61
Q ka-base
labihan + katapulan
Analysis of labihan: Qualifier to Exclamatory Sentence 6.2233 nagatubuq T"was growing" \(V\) tu:buq "grow" naga- \((\longrightarrow)\) 8.121112 and 8.128
nasubuqT"became sad" V- subuq "sad" na- 2.31; na- mi+ ka- 8.11823
gamahan \(\mathbb{C N}\) "father" \(\sqrt{-10.266 ; ~ q a m a h ~}\)
qama 2.223
labihan \(Q\) "very; extremely" \(\sqrt{ }\) labi "more" -an 11.332
(However labihan has a specialized meaning.); labih \(\sim\) labi 2.223 katapulan Exclamatory "how lazy" \(\sqrt{\text { E }}\) tapulan "lazy" ka10.9214; \(V\) ta:pul "laziness" -an \((\longrightarrow) 11.331\) 7.5
dì:liq masú:guq R 231. "He cannot be commanded."
Intonation: Same as 7.1-4 above
Analysis of sentence: Sentence consisting of a PP 3.5
di:1ig: \(Q\) to PP 6.311
masu:guq: PP consisting of TP 4.22
masu:guq \(T\) "can be commanded" \(V\) su:guq "command"
ma- 8.21411

\section*{7.6}
kun sugù:qun nì:mu \(R 343\), + di:liq ni:ya buhà:tun qang gisú:guq R 232. "If you gave him an order, he would not do what was ordered."

Intonation: Same as 7.1-2 above
Analysis of sentence: Declarative Sentence 3.21
a Quaijifier to Sentence b Declarative Sentence
Analysis of a : \(Q\) to Sentence consisting of a Sentence 6.2213
sentence
Q \(\quad c\)
kun + sugu:qun ni:mu
kun: \(Q\) to sentence 6.2231
Analysis of c : Sentence consisting of PP 3.5
The PP is a TP (intransitive) 4.22
TP
transient genitive
sugu:qun + ni:mu
sugu:gun: Transient (8.2111 - Cf. below.)
ni:mu: Genitive Sec. 4.7
Analysis of \(b\) : Declarative Sentence 2.21
predicate e subject d
di:liq ni:ya buha:tun + qane gisu:guq
Analysis of \(d\) : Subject consisting of qang + TP 5.212
Analysis of e : PP consisting of TP (intransitive) 4.22
Q 1 genitive 2 passive
di:liq + ni:ya + buha:tun
di:lig: \(Q\) to PP 6.311
buha:tun: Transient (8.2111-Cf. belows)
ni:ya: Genitive 4.7; attracted to di:liq 6.322
sugu:qun \(T\) " \(\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { person } \\ \text { thing }\end{array}\right\}\) who will be commanded" \(V\) su:guq "command"
-un 8.2111
buha:tun \(T\) "thing to be done" \(V\) - bushat "do work" -un 8.2111 gisu:guq \(T\) "thing commanded" \(\sqrt{-}\) su:guq "command" gi- 8.231122 7.7
a b c
labi nà + kùng R 232, + wàq dihaq qang qi:ya ng manga giniká:nan R 232, "Especially when his parents were not there."

Intonation: Same as 7.1 - 6 above
Analysis of sentence: Declarative Sentence 2.21
a Qualifier to sentence b Qualifier to sentence
c Declarative Sentence
Analysis of a and b : Qualifiers to Sentence 6.2233
Analysis of c : Declarative Sentence 3.21
\(\underset{\text { waq }}{\text { d }}\) dihaq + qang \(\begin{gathered}\text { subject } \\ \text { qi:ya }\end{gathered}\) ng manga ginika:nan
Analysis of \({ }^{2}\) :
\(\begin{gathered}Q \\ \text { waq }\end{gathered}+\stackrel{P P}{\text { dihaq }}\)
wag : \(Q\) to PP 6.311
dihaq: PP consisting of Qualifier Deictic 4.421
Deictics listed 4.72: Use of dihaq after wag 6.73
Analysis of e : Subject consisting of qang + Common Nominal
Phrase 2.2143
genitive 1 Q 2 common noun
qi:ya \(+n g+\) manga + ginika:nan
qi:ya: Pronominal form of the Genitive 4.7
mange: Qualifier to CN 6.511
ginika:nan CN "parents" \(\sqrt{\text { gi:kan }}\) "from" -in- -an 10.2333
7.8
b
a
b
magpù:nay la:mang + siya \(+g\) lingkud \(R 343\) qug
bagduybágduy 232,
Intonation: Same as 7.1-1 abova
Analysis of sentence: Declaretive Sentence 3.21
a Subject consisting of Pronoun 2.32; Pronouns listed 4.7 Position of siya 6.322
b Predicate: \(T P\) (transitive) 4.22
Analysis of a :
d c d
magpu:nay + la:mang \(+\ldots . .+\) g lingkud qug bagduybagduy

Analysis of d : TP 4.22 with Complement
active (8.127) infinitive phrase e
magpu:nay \(+g\) lingkud qug bagduybagduy
Analysis of e : Infinitive Phrase 4.68
base
base
g lingkud qug bagduybagduy
magpu:nay \(T\) "always" \(V\) - pu:nay "always": mag- 8. 127
lingkud T "sit" 8.31
begduybagduy T "roam about" 8.32; \(V^{-}\)bagduy "roam (not animal)" doubling 2.86
7.9
\(\frac{a}{\text { qapan }}+\) wa \(y\) mahí:mu R 231. "But there was nothing that could be done."

Intonation: Same as 7.1-8 above,
Analysis of sentence: Existential Sentence Sec. 2.4
a Qualifier 6.2231
b Existential Sentence
Analysis of \(b\) :
IP PP
wa \(y\) mahi:mu
mahi:mu: TP 4.22
mahi:mu \(T\) "thing which can be done" \(\sqrt{\text { hismu "do work" }}\) ma- 8.21411
7.10
qusà niqa:naq ka panahun \(R 454,+\) sa gitànqaw sa qamahàn nga si hwàn \(R\) 343, hùstu na gayud qikù:yug sa pagpanga:huy R 232, + qi:ya kini \({ }^{c}{ }_{\mathrm{n}}^{\mathrm{c}}\) giqíngnan \(R 231\). "Once upon a time, when the father saw that John was now just the right age to take along to gather firewood, he said to him."

Intonation: Same as \(7.1-\underline{9}\) above
Analysis of sentence: Declarative Sentence 3.21.
a Qualifier b Qualifier \(\quad\) c Declaretive Sentence Analysis of a : Qualifier to sentence 6.21231 consisting of Numeral Phrase 4.232

Q
qusa + niqa:naq + ka panahun
Analysis of niga:naq: Qualifier to Numeral Phrase concisting of Demonstrative 6.2114. Qualifier to sentence used as \(Q\) to PP, 6.3
 sentence 6.2112. Sentence type 3.5

PP
d
sa + gitanqaw sa qamahan nga si hwan hustu na gayud qiku:yug sa pagpanga:huy

Analysis of d : Transient Phrase 4.22
passive genitive complement e
gitanqaw + sa qamahen + nga si hwan hustu na gayud qiku:yug sa pagpanga:huy

Analysis of \(e\) : Complement of Transient consisting of a
 si hwan: Subject 5.31
hustu: Qualifier to sentence consisting of an Adjective 6201121 Analysis of \(f\) : na and gayud are Pootpositive Qualifiers to the Predicate 6.32 attracted to hustu 6.323

Analysis of g: Predicate consisting of Transient Phraso 4.22 transient passive infinitive qiku:yug sa pagpanga:huy
sa pagpanga:huy: Infinitive Phrase 4.68
Analysis of \(c:\) Declarative Sentence 2.21

kini: Subject 5.32; Attracted to qi:ya 6.323
Analysis of \(h\) : Transient Phrase (intransitive) 4.22
genitive linker passive
qi:ya ng giqingnan
qi:ya: Pronominal form of Genitive 4.1 used with Passive 4.71 gitangaw T "thing looked at" \(\Gamma\) tanqaw "look" gi- 8.2111 qamahan CN "father" \(\Gamma\) qama "father" -an 10.266; qamah~n qama 2.223
qiku:yug T "person cause to accompany" \(\sqrt{\text { m }}\) ku:yug "go together with" qi- 8.23113
pagpanga:huy T"woodcutting" \(V\) panga:huy "the occupation of gathering firewood" pag- 8.321; \(V\) ka:huy "tree" paN- 2.22 gigingnan \(T\) "person told" \(V\) qingun \(\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text { say } \\ \text { tell }\end{array}\right\}\) gi- -an 8.22131;
qingn \(\sim\) qingun 2.222

\subsection*{7.11}
hwàn \(34, \quad+\quad\) halá 21. pagqílis sa qi:mu ng purúl \(R 112\). "All right, John, put on your short pents."

Intonation: Intonation of Vocative (hwan) 2.1532; Rise on monom. syllable 2.1533; R 112 used for command 2.1531
Analysis of sentence: Imperative 3.31
Analysis of a : Vocative 6.6
Analysis of \(b\) : Exclamation 6.6
Analysis of c : Imperative Sentence 3.31
abstract complement \(d\)
pagqi:lis + sa qi:mu ng purul
Analysis of \(\mathrm{d}:\) Complement (goal) 4.63
genitive common noun
sa + qi:mu ng purul
pagqi:lis \(T\) "change clothes" \(V\) qi:lis "\{change \(\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text { put on }\end{array}\right\}\) clothes"
pag- 8.411

\subsection*{7.12}
\(a \quad b\)
kay + muqubàn qikaw kanà:kuq \(R 343\) qarun sa pagpangáa huy 231. "Because you axe going with me to gather firewood."

Intonation: Same as 7.1 - 10 above
Analysis of sentence: Declarative Sentence 3.21
Analysis of a : Qualifier 6.2231
Analysis of \(b\) : Declarative Sentence 2.21

qikaw: Subject 5.32; position after muquban 6.322
Analysis of \(c:\) Transient Phrase 4.22
```

        goal infinitive d
    muquban kana:kuq + qarun sa pagpanga:huy
kana:kug: Goal 4.63 (Dative of Pronoun 4.7)
Analysis of d : Infinitive Phrase 4.68

```
\(\stackrel{Q}{\text { qarun }}+\) sa \(\begin{gathered}\text { abstract } \\ \text { pagpanga:huy }\end{gathered}\)
garun: Qualifier to Infinitive 6.412
muquban \(T\) "will go with" \(\lceil\) quban "go along with" mu- 8.111
pagpanga:huy \(T\) "woodcutting" \(\sqrt{\text { D }}\) panga:huy "the occupation of
gathering firewood" pag- 8.321; \(V^{-1}\) ka:huy "tree" paN-
2.22
7.13
sukàd karùn 232, qikàw na qang qa:ku ng kata:bang sa pagpanga:huy R 231.

Intonation: Same as \(7.1-10,7.12\) above
Analysis of sentence: Declarative Sentence 2.21
Analysis of a : Qualifier to sentence 6.2212
sukad + karun
sukad: Qualifier 6.411
karun: Qualifier 6.2212
Analysis of \(b\) : Declarative Sentence 3.21
0 predicate
na
dang
da:ku ng kata:bang sa pagpangashuy
Analysis of \(c\) : Predicate consisting of Pronominal Phrase 2.41
na: postpositive Qualifier to Predicate 6.32
Analysis of \(a\) : Subject 2.214 consisting of gang plus Common
Nominal Phrase 4.2331
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline & gen. & n noun & & 1 \\
\hline qang & qa:ku & a & \(+\) & sa pagpang \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Analysis of e : Complement to Noun 4.2331 and 4.6 , consisting of an Infinitive 4.68
kata:bang CN "person that helps another" \(\sqrt{\text { ( }}\) ta:bang "help" ka- 10.1912
pagpanga:huy T "woodcutting" \(V\) panga:huy "the occupation of gathering firewood" pag- 8.321; \(V^{-}\)ka:huy "tree" paN- 2.22

\subsection*{7.14}
\(a \quad b\)
kay + maqu man la:mang kinì qang qa:tu ng pangì:taq 232, + qarun kita mabù:hiq sa matag qádlaw R 231. "For this is our only way of earning a living so that we can live from day to day."

Intonation: Same as 7.1-10, 7.12-13 above
Analysis of sentence: Declarative Sentence 3.21
Analysis of a : Qualifier 6.2231
Analysis of b: Declarative Sentence 2.21
Q P subject
maqu man la:mang kini + qang qa:tu ng pangi:taq qarun kita mabu:hiq sa matag qadlaw
maqu: Qualifier to Predicate 6.33
man and la:mang: postpositive Qualifiers to Predicate 6.32
attracted to maqu 6.33
kini: Predicate 5.41 follows maqu 6.33
Analysis of \(c: S u b j e c t 2.214\) consisting of qang plus Nominal
Phrase 4.2331
genitive common noun complement \(d\)
qa:tu ng pangi:taq + qarun kita mabu:hiq sa matag qadlaw

Analysis of \(d\) : Complement to Common Noun 4.2331 and Sec. 4.6 consisting of a sentence with nga omitted 4.61
\(\begin{gathered}Q \\ \text { qarun } \\ \text { kita }\end{gathered}+\underset{\text { mabushiq }}{P}\) sa matag qadlaw
garun: Qualifiex to sentence 6.2231
kita: Subject 5.32
mabu:hiq: Transient Phrase (intransitive) 4.22
Sa matag qaalaw: Qualifier to sentence 6.21232
matag: Qualifier to Noun 6.511
pangi:tag T"occupation" \(V\) ki:taq "earn" paN- 2.22; used as common noun 10.5111
mabu:hiqT "can live" \(\sqrt{ }\) bu:hiq "live" ma- 2.321; ma- \(=\) mu- + ka- 8.11823; meaning 2.34```


[^0]:    * Some speakers use a sound [f] in very careful speech in words which generally have [p]. This pronunciation is cosasidered as foreign and forms containing such sounds are not considered to be Cebuano.
    **/y/ will henceforth be transcribed as "ng"

[^1]:    *Syllables beginning with a glottal stop tend to have a weak glottal stop in rapid speech, but it is always present. /luqag/ "loose" is never pronounced like/luwag/ "ladle". Exceptions are
     and others (listed in the glossary)

[^2]:    *Note that it is the penult not the syllable with a stress which gets the higher pitch (unless the syllable with a stress is the penult).
    bantayàn na:kuq qang qa:ku ng kaqugalí:ngun "I will take oare of $\begin{array}{llllllllll}2 & 42 & 2 & 2 & 2 & 2 & 2 & 2 & 1\end{array}$ myself."

[^3]:    *This usage is parallel with English usage, where failure to drop voice to lowest register at the end of a statement is used to mean something follows and also to make a polite statement. "He was here 1 .; He was here 4 but he is gone now." "Do you have any banenas?" "No ." (ve. "No " [ourt]).

[^4]:    *The intonation 233 is used as well as 232 for 231 when there is no ".". There is no difference in meaning.
    di: liq ku maná:qug R 344 samtang di:liq pa há:yag R 231 "I will not get off while it is not light yet."

    R343 after
    Here/mana:qug would have the same meaning.

[^5]:    *Wen the Spaniards arrived in Cebu, the natives were using an Indic-derived syllabary, but the knowledge of this syllabary passed out probably during the Eighteenth Century. (Examples of this writing system still survive.)

[^6]:    *These alternants without / 1 / are mostly found in Cebu north of Argao and in leyte and parts of Bohol. In other areas the forms without / $/$ / are rare except for certain lexical items.

[^7]:    * In careful speech and writing there is an alternate qing ( not frequently used.) This form is also used regionally.

[^8]:    *To avoid these alternations ging is used in writing and high speech.
    walaq gayud qing tawu "There was no one at all." (for normal walaq gayu y ta:wu)

[^9]:    *Another way to look at this alternation is that the prefix has various shapes and the base has an alternant beginning with a. vowel.
    **bases with an initial cluster in colloquial speech also have alternantewith the alternations of the single consonants: e.g., there is a panraba:hu as well as the formal pangtraba:hu, pamrimyu as well as formal pangorimyu.

[^10]:    *cf. footnote to chart
    $*_{*}$ f. Sec. 2.23 for ( $\leftarrow$ ).
    ***lf the base begins in a cluster the $x$ may have the shape of cluster plus vowel, first phoneme plus vowel, or zero. traba:hu + qigm + -we
    
    patiga:yun + mag- $+\boldsymbol{- r}(\longrightarrow) \longrightarrow$ magpapatigayun "businessman" tulun $+r-+-a n \longrightarrow$ tutunlan (with dropping of vowel) "throat" 2.22621 Reduplication together with N

    With $N$ the initial phoneme of the reduplication has the
    form described in Sec. 2.2251.
    laba + maN- + x-(i) $\underset{\{\text { manglala:ba }}{\{\text { manlala:ba }\}} \begin{gathered}\text { washerwoman" }\end{gathered}$
    With $p, t, k, b, d, s, q$, the form following -r-also has the alternation desoribed in Sec. 2.2251.
    bungsud + maN-T-r- $\longrightarrow$ mamunungsud "one who fishes with a treap"
    sunud + maN- $+\boldsymbol{x - ( f - i \rightarrow} \rightarrow$ manunu:nud "heir"
    tambal + maN-Y-r $\longrightarrow$ mananambal "doctor"
    ka:huy + maN- $+-r-(\longrightarrow) \rightarrow$ mangangahuy "woodcutter"
    qisdaq + maN. + -r- $\longrightarrow$ mangingisdaq "fisherman"
    2.227 -1-
    -1- - occurs after the first vowel of the word.
    -1- has an alternant/la/after /a/.
    $k a: q u n+-1-+-\operatorname{anan}+(\rightarrow$ ) $\longrightarrow$ kalanqanan (with dropping of /u/ and metathesis) :"eating place"

    After /u/ -1- has an alternant /lu/
    tunghaq $+-1-+\operatorname{-an}(\longrightarrow) \longrightarrow$ tulunghaqan "school"
    After /i/ -1-has an alternant /li/
    $\mathrm{bili}+-1-+-\mathrm{un} \longrightarrow \mathrm{bililhun}($ (with inserted $/ \mathrm{h} /$ and dropped
    If the base has the shape $C_{1} C_{2} V$, -I- has an alternant VIV
    and is infixed immediately following $\mathrm{C}_{1}$.
    traba:hu + qig-t-l- $(\longrightarrow) \longrightarrow$ qigtalarabahu "time to

    ### 2.23 Shift $(\rightarrow)$ or $(\geqslant)$

    If there is no shift mark, the form with an affix has the same length on the penult as the base.** lu:tuq + naka- $\longrightarrow$ nakalu:tuq "cooked"
    $2.231 \longleftrightarrow 1$
    The symbol $(\longrightarrow$ ) indicates that the form has a short penult (no matter what the length of the penult in the base is). hunaqhu:naq + naka- $\longrightarrow) \rightarrow$ nakahunaqhunaq "thought" $2.232(\leqslant)$
    The symbol $(\leftarrow)$ indicates that the form has a long penult (no matter what the length of the penult of the base is). lakaw + doubling $(\longleftrightarrow$ lakawla:kaw "walk about"
    *The length in the base is determined by the length in the penult when the base occurs with a prefix mi-. If the base does not occur with mi-, then the base without an affix determines the length of the penult in the base.

    ## Outline of Chapter Three: Sentence Types

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    ## Chapter Three: Sentence Troes

    ### 3.11 Introduction

    Cebuano sentences and constituents are described by means of formulae and commentary. The formulae represent all the constituents of a sentence. In addition, Cebuano sentences contain words which do not belong to any constituents (i.e., which like English "and" are difficult to assign to constituents). These words are the linkers: nga, (ng), qug (g), ka, sa and ni.

    The order of exposition is from the larget con-. stituents in sentences to smaller ones. In giving some rules reference is made to constituents which are temporarily undefined. For example, the rules for producing sentences (this chapter) are given in terms of subjects (S), predicates $(P)$ and qualifiers ( $Q$ ), though these terms are not defined until the succeeding chapters.

    The term "optional" is a short-hand term to refer to sentences (or constituents) which are two-way transformations of one another, such that one contains the same words as the other except that the one has the forms in question which are lacking in the other, or the one has one of the sequences mentioned and the other has the other sequence.

    ### 3.12 Sentence: sentence + (sentence)

    sentence
    magpu:nay la:mang siya qug lingkud qug bagduybagduy sentence

    + qapan wa m mahi:mu "All he used to do was sit around or roam sbeut, but there was notanything that could be done." (1.14).


    ## 30121 Interrupted sentences

    The order sentence* sentence (interrupted sentence) also

    ## oocurs:

    sontence (1) sentence (2) sentence (1)
    4uh + hunaqhuinaq sa qamahan + si karangkà man "IOh!' thought the father, It is Karangkall""

    ### 2.21 Declarative sentences

    Sentence: $(Q)^{*}+\left\{\begin{array}{l}S+P \\ P+S \\ S * P\end{array}\right\}+(Q)^{*}$
    Qualifiers (Q), subjects (S) and predicates (P) will be treated in succeeding chapters. For the symbol $Q$, several $Q^{2} s$ may occur.

    | a. | Q | Q |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | qapan sa nagatubuq si hwan nasubuq | Sang qamahan |  |
    | tungud kay labihan katapulan |  |  |
    | "But as John grew up, the |  |  |
    | father was unhappy, because he was very lazy." (1.10) |  |  |

    
    

    ### 3.22 Linking

    $Q$ is linked with $n g$ (nga) qug (g), pause or not at all.
    (Cf. Chapter Six where the rules of linking for are digatated The subject and predicates are optionally linked with a pause. Whether or not a pause is used is dependent upon the length of what prem cedes and the rate of speech. In the case of subject preceding


    the predicate there is no linking.
    3.23. Viord order

    The order $P+S$ or $P * S$ is used with some exceptions. The order $\mathrm{S}+\mathrm{P}$ is optional in sentences composed of nominal phrases (Sec.
    4.23) as subject and transient phrases containing active (Seo.
    4.22) as predicates. Also, when there is a prepositive qualifier of the sentence the order S+P may occur. (C f. Sec. 6.322) The word order in the case of $S * P$ is described in Sec. 4.9. For the pertpeettire subject, Sec. 6.322, the word order is described in Sec. 6.322. Otherwise the word order S+P is rare.

    ### 3.24 Paradigms

    ### 3.241 Sentence - PP

    The declarative sentence is in a paradigm with a constituent $x$ nge $y$, where $x$ is the form which occured as $S$ in the declarative sentence and $y$ is the form which occured as $P$ in the declarative sentence. (Sirce $x$ nga $y$ and y nga $x$ are also transformations of each other (Soc. 40.23), the declarative sentence is also in a parm adigm with $y$ nga $x_{s}$ ) $S$ nga $P$ and $S P$ are two-way transformations. The $S$ nga $P$ and $S P$ are not in the same form class (do not enter -the same constructions). $S P$ is a sentence and enters thesa constructions which contain sentences. (Cf. the descriptions of succeeding paragraphs.) $S$ nga $P$ is a predicate phrase and enters those constructions into which predicate phrases enter. trembled and then cried."
     qusab
    $P$
    miqingun "And the mother, trembling and then bursting into tears, said ...." (11.11)
    $3.242 \mathrm{X}_{\mathrm{s}} \mathrm{Y}_{\mathrm{p}} \longrightarrow \mathrm{Y}_{\mathrm{s}} \mathrm{X}_{\mathrm{p}}$
    As is described in Sec. 5.1, subjects occur as predicates, and most predicates occur as subjects or as subject when preceded by gang. (Cf. Sec. 5.1 for a discussion of which elements ocour as predicates and which do not except when preceded by qang.)
    qang $X_{s}$ (qang) $Y_{p} \longrightarrow$ qang $Y_{s}$ (qang) $X_{p}$
    This relationship is not a transformational one, for there are certain elements which are always the predicate if the sentence contains certain other elements. (Cf. Sec. 5.4.) If the subject means an action or quality, and the predicate means a thing or a person, the meaning of the sentence is that the predicate is the one who (thing which) performs the action or has the quality. If the predicate means an action or quality and the subject, a person or thing, the meaning of specification is not present. If neither the subject nor the predicate has the meaning of an action or quality, then the predicate means "the one which is a (the) ${ }^{*}$ subject". For the first two examples we take sentences which are in a paradigm with the examples of Sec. 3.21:

    P
    a. qapan sa nagatubuq si hwan + (qang) qamahan na fang nasubuq "But as John grew older, it was the father now who became sad."

    The na is added to the example to show which of the two ele. ments is the predicate. (Cf. Sec. 5.42.)
     qamahan "So now John was the one who went with his father."
    
    
    [Of. d. mangangahuy ${ }^{\mathrm{P}}$ qang qi:yang qamahan di:liq man magsusu:lat "His father was a woodeutter not a journalist."]

    ### 3.3 Imperative sentences

    ### 3.31 Definitions

    
    Imperative Predicate: $\left\{\begin{array}{l}(S)+\text { Passive Imperative }+(Q)+(C) \\ \text { Abstract }+(Q)+(C)\end{array}\right\}$
    The complement (C) is described in Sec. 4.6 ; and which imperatives take. a complement and which do not is discussed there. The abstract is described in Sec. 8.3 and its subsections. The passive imperatives are (pag-) + subjunctive passive. (Cf. Sec. 8.42.)

    ```
        voc. Imper. (abstr.) complement
    a. karangkal pagqi:lis + sa qi:mu ng sini:naq nga
                            imperative complement
    qigtatraba:hu quban kana:kuq "Karangkal, put on
    your working clothea. Come with me." (27.11)
    ```

    *kamu is used to indicate and express plural with actives; ninyu, with passives. (Cf. pronouns, Sec. 4.7.) The word order of kamu and ninyu and pronominal subjects is described in Sec. 6.322 .

    ```
    imperative predicate
    S
    ```

    Q linker passive
    o.. quy qayaw ninyru g. patya + naq qa:ku ng langgam
    "Hey: Don't you kill my birds!" (46.14)
    The singalar ka is not used with the imperative. A sentence like, hwat ka ngari ha "You wait here, 0.K.?" (28.4), is considered to have an active transient hwat (equals muhwat Sec. 8.1611) predicate and not an imperative predicate.
    b. $\quad$ hala $\operatorname{imp}$ palit na ngadtu + sa maka:qunt (abso over there to buy something to eat. [Lit.: "Buy at that place something to eat.] (8.9)
    c. $\begin{array}{ccc}Q & \text { qayaw } \\ (5.12) & \text { la:mang } & \text { qaku } \\ & \text { pass. imp. } & \\ \text { pagputla }\end{array} \quad$ "Just do not cut me." pass. $\begin{aligned} & \text { imp } \\ & \text { dagkuti } \\ & (66.11)\end{aligned}$ Sang duha ka murun "Light the two torches." Where the formula reads "abstracts", the prenasalized or timeless form of the deictics (Sec. 4.72 ) are also used:
    e. noc. deictic sa bamplement "Go to the house, Motheri" (Cf. Sec. 4.681, where the use of a prenasalized deictio in other positions of the abstract is discussed.)
    f. ning quy qamirika:nu deictic
    diri ka:qun "Er, hey, American,
    come over here. Eat." $(40.3)$

    If the sentence has a qualifier qayaw, the imperative predicate may be preceded by the disjunctive form of the demonstratives (Sec. 4.7).
    g. qayaw na niqa:na ng hilakhi:lak "No more of that crying." (50.3)

    ### 3.32 Paradigms

    The two types of imperative predicates are in a paradigm*.
    $(S)+$ Imperative passive $+(Q)-$ abstract $+(Q)+(C)$ In this
    formula the complement is the disjunctive form of the subject of the
    left-hand siden(Cf. Sec. 4.7 for disjunctives.) (This paradigm
    is parallel to the active-passive transformation described in Sec. 4.811.) The imperative predicate is also in a paradigm with tran-


    sient predicates (Sec. 4.5) such that there is a two-way transformational relationship.

    ### 3.4 Existential sentences

    Sentence: $\left\{\begin{array}{l}(Q)+(S)+L P+y^{*}+P P \\ (Q)+L P+(S)+y^{*}+P P \\ (Q)+L P+y^{*}+P P+(S)\end{array}\right\}$
    For definition of S, P and Q cf. Chapters 4, 5 and 6. PP (Predie
    icate Phrases) are discussed in Sec. 4.2 .
    LP (Locative Phrase):

    $$
    \left\{\begin{array}{l}
    \text { ma- } \\
    \text { du:na } \\
    \text { qadu:na } \\
    \text { deictics** and interrogatives } \\
    \text { walaq, waq } \\
    \text { numerals }
    \end{array}\right\}+Q
    $$

    The deictics and interrogatives are listed in Sec. 4.72.
    Numerals are listed in the glossary.
    

    b. | LP | $Q$ | $S$ | PP |  |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | walaq | man | siya*** | y naki:taq | "He did not see anybody." | (5.2)

    


    LP $\quad$ PP
    dug may gibutang sa qi:ya ng kamut
    thing put into his hand." $(6.3)$
    ma- does not occur separated from $\mathbb{y}$, and the postpositives are not attracted to may. (Cf. Sec. 6.323.)

    The deictics used as LP's do not always retain their locational meanings (though the temporal meaning is retained. Cf. Sec. 4.72.)
    
    3.41 Order

    The order of the existential sentence is parallel to that of declarative sentences (Sec. 3.23). The $\underline{S}$ is optionally first if it is a $N P$ (Sec. 4.23). Otherwise the other two orders occur.

    ### 3.42 Paradigms

    The paradigms and rules of transformation which apply to predicate phrases in other environments (Secs. 4.212, 4.2332, 4.8) apply to predicate phrases in existential sentences if there is a subject. Thus paradigms and rules of transformation between dee darative and existontial sentences containing a subject and predicate phrase may be set up. There are differrences in the member. ship of the paradigms depending upon the constituents of the predicate phrase and whether or not the sentence is positive.

    ### 3.421 Existential and declarative sentences

    If the existential sentence contains a subjectgit is in a paradigm with a declarative sentence.*


    $S^{*}+\mathrm{LP}+\mathrm{y}+\mathrm{PP} \longleftrightarrow \mathrm{S}+$ (qang) +PP
    
    (In addition the existential sentence enters the paradigms of the following sections and the paradigms described for the declarative sentences.)
    3.422 Existential sentences containing positive LP's
    and predicate phrases with adjectives
    If the predicate phrase of the existential contains an adjective, the existential sentence is in a paradigm with another existential sentence and several declarative sentences.

    We have the following formulae to represent this paradigm:

    ```
    a. (Q) + (S**) + LP + y + adjective + nga + PP**
    \longleftrightarrow
    b. (Q) + LP + Y + adjective + PP + (genitive)
                                    Where genitive is the disjunctive of
                                    the subject (Sec. 4.7)
    ```

    
    c. $(Q)+P_{2}+S_{2}$ where $P_{2}=$ adjective
    $S_{2}=q a n g+P P+g e n i t i v e * * *$
    Genitive is the disfunctive form (Sec. 4.7) of the subject.
    
    where $\mathrm{P}_{3}=\mathrm{S}_{1}$
    $S_{z}$ zqäng + adjective $+q u g$ $+\mathrm{PP}$


    $$
    \text { e. } \quad(Q)+p_{1}+\left(S_{1}\right)
    $$
    where $P_{1}=$ adjective $+q u g+P P$
    (i.e., $S_{3}$ without the gang)
    $Q \quad L P$ adj. PP $\quad S_{I}$
    a. dihang + may agha ing bula:wan na siva "When he had much gold now." (15.5)

    Q LP adj gen. PP
    b. diha mg may daghan na ni:ya mg bula:wan "When there was much gold he had..."
    $\begin{array}{llll}Q & P_{2} & S_{2} \text { gen. PP }\end{array}$
    o. diha ing daghan na gang qi:ya ing bula:wan "When he had much gold..." [Lit.: "Much now was his gold."]

    Q $\mathrm{P}_{3}$. adj. $\mathrm{S}_{3} \quad \mathrm{PP}$
    d. dina ing siva na pang daghan fug bula:wan "When he was the one who had much gold...."
    

    For the position of na in these various members of the para. digm cf. Sec. 6.322.

    ### 2.4221 Examples of members with a TP

    Examples of the members of this paradigm with a PP containing
    a transient (TP Sec. 4.22) are as follows:

    |  | LP | adj. |  | $T P$ |
    | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
    | a. | may | dacha | mg | nadala |
    |  | siva |  |  |  |

    
    3.4222 Examples of members with a NP

    Some transients have noun derivatives (Sec. 8.013). In that case the sentences containing transients will be in a paradigm with the sentences containing the noun in the predicate phrase. Thus, for example, the transients of the base dala (illustrated by the examples in Sec. 3.4221) are in paradigms with sentences containing a noun dala "things brought" derived from the same base. The sentences are parallel to those listed in Secs. 3.422 and 3.4221.

    |  | LP | adj. | $S_{1}$ |
    | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
    | a. | may | daghan | siya |$|$ ng $\begin{aligned} & \text { dala }\end{aligned}$

    LP adj. gen. NP
    b. may daghan ni:ya ng dala

    |  | $\mathrm{P}_{2}$ | $\mathrm{~S}_{2}$ |  |  |  |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | c. | daghan | qaig | gi:ya |  |  |
    | qi | dala |  |  |  |  |

    d. | $P_{3}$ |  | ${ }^{S_{3}}$ |  |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: | ---: |
    | siya | qang | NP |  |
    | dagha | $g$ | dala |  |

    
    *This member of the paradigm does not occur if the TP contains an active (Sec. 8.05). (Cf. Sec. 4.26.)

    ### 3.423 Paradigms with "quantity sentences"

    "Quantity sentences" are described in Sec. 3.43. If the predicate phrase of the existential containg an adjective of quantity (i.e., daghan, dyu:tay, gamay and words of similar meanings), there are additional members of the paradigm. Aside from the formulas listed in Sec. 3.421, the following other members of the paradigm occur:
    $(Q)+\left(S_{1}\right)^{*}+L P+y+$ adjective of quantity $+n g a+P P$
    
    $(Q)+\left(S_{1}\right)^{* *}+$ adjective of quantity + nga $+P P$
    
    $(Q)+$ (genitive) + adjective of quantity + nga $+P P$
    where the genitive is the genitive form of the $S_{1}$ (Seo. 4.7).
    Thus in addition to the examples given in Sec. 3.422 , there are the following other sentences in a paradigm with the sentences of Sec. 3.42.
    
    
    


    3.424 Existential sentences with adjective phrase plus noun with a negative LP

    If the existential sentence with an adjective phrase has a negative LP (walag), it enters the same types of paradigms dom saribed in the above paragraphs (Sec. 3.422 through 3.423) except that there is no corresponding negative to the second member of the paradigms described in Sec. 3.422 (exemplified by example b).

    | Q | LP | Q | adj. | PP | S |  |
    | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | aiha | ng | waq | na | yagha | ng | bula:wan |
    | no longer | had much gold." |  |  | "When he |  |  |

    
    
    

    For the distribution of dig and wag cf. Sec. 6.311. For the use of $i$ (equals qang) cf. Sec. 5.61. For the position of na, of. Sec. 6.322.

    > 3.425 Existentisl sentences with a PP consisting of
    passive + nga + NP
    Existential sentences of this type with a subject enter
    into paradigms parallel to those described in Sec. 3.422.
    a. $\quad(Q)+S_{1}^{*}+L P+y+p a s s i v e^{*}+n g a+N P$
    b. (Q) $\div \mathrm{LF}^{2}+\mathrm{y}+\mathrm{passive}+\mathrm{nga}+\mathrm{NP}+$ genitive ${ }^{*}$ (Where gentfive is the genitive form of the subject [Sec. 4.7]).
    c. $(Q)+P_{2}+S_{2}^{*}$ where $S_{2}=$ gang $+N P$
    genitive: genitive form of $S_{1}$ (Sec. 4.7).
    The other two members of the paradigm are not parallel to those described in Sec. 3.422.
    d. By the rules of Sec. 4.811 , sentence c is in a paradigm with an active. (Cf. Sec. 4.811 for a formulation.)
    e. Also, by the rules of Sec. 3.242, these sentences are also in a paradigm with a fifth sentence:
    (Q) $+\mathrm{P}_{3}+\mathrm{S}_{3}^{* *}$ where $\mathrm{S}_{3}=$ qang + genitive + passive
    $P_{3}=S_{2}$ or $S_{2}$ without gang
    a. Walaq $\left|\begin{array}{c}S_{1} \\ \text { sita }\end{array}\right| \begin{array}{cc}\text { passive } & \text { ne } \\ \text { noki:ta } & \text { ne } \\ \text { ne saw." }\end{array}$

    | LP | NP | passive | genitive |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: | :--- | :--- |$\quad$ "There was

    $Q$ gen. passive $\mathrm{S}_{2}$
    c. walaq ni:ya maki:taq pang ta:wu "He did not see the man."

    d. | Q | si ya | active |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | makakitaq |  |  |\(\left\{\begin{array}{c}q u g <br>

    s a\end{array}\right\} $$
    \begin{gathered}\text { goal } \\
    \text { ta: wu }\end{gathered}
    $$ \quad\) "He did not see $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { the } \\ a\end{array}\right\}$ man." que means "a"; sa means "the".
    e. $\begin{array}{cc}Q & P_{3} \\ \text { di: liq } & \text { ta: wu }\end{array}$ gang qi:ya $\begin{gathered}\mathrm{S}_{3} \\ \mathrm{ng} \\ \text { naki:taq }\end{gathered}$ "It was not a man that he saw."


    (On the use of ma- vs. na- and walaq vs. di:liq cf. Sec. 6.7.)
    3.43 Quantity sentences

    Sentence: $(Q)+$ adjective of quantity $+n g a+P P+(S)+(Q)$ (The order $S$ preceding, or $S$ in the middle also occurs.) Adjectives of quantity are daghan "much" and others with a similar meaning.
    adj. of qty. PP
    dagha ng nakakitaq qug nanumpaq gayud nga may hikut nga lina:maq sa li:qug qang mananap "There were many who saw and swore for sure thet the animal had a red thread tied around his neck." (57.18)

    The paradigms of the "quantity sentences" are described in Sec. 3.423.

    ### 3.5 Sentences consisting of predicates alone; sentences

    Introduced by maqu $Y$These sentences also occur as predicates to declarative sentences with a demonstrative pronoun subject (Sec. 5.32).
    3.51 Predicates meaning time or meteorological phenomena
    
    $P \quad Q \quad Q$
    been a ycar since he left."
    3.511 Predicates consisting of instrumental passives or nouns similar to instrumental passives

    These sentences always occur with a qualifier and mean"time to .. (The formation of the instrumental passive in this meaning is described in Sec. 8.2314. The formation of the nouns is
    described in Sec. 10.254 and its subsections.)
    Q
    inst. passive
    hustu na gayud + qiqadtu ni hwan sa pagpanga:huy "Now is just the right time for Joha to ga to gather wood."

    Q linker noun ( $\mathbf{1 0 . 2 5 4}$ )
    di:liq pa run hustu ng qigqaladtu sini kay mudtu pa "Now is not the right time to go to the show because it is still noon."
    3.52 Sentences consisting of NP $+Q$

    Q
    pagtanqaw pa ni:la + si karangkal man "When they looked, it was Karangkal!" (29.12)
    
    adj. sentence
    a. maqa:yu man + qug manga ba:taq nga magsa:but "It would be good if it were children making an agreement." (64.10)
    adj.
    b. maqa:yu pa + ng mupaha:waq sila "It would be better if they would get out." (53.7)
    adj.
    c. maqa:yu pa $+\left\{\begin{array}{l}y \\ n g \\ k u n\end{array}\right\} \begin{aligned} & \text { sentence } \\ & \text { manga ba:taq nga magsa:but "It would }\end{aligned}$ be better if it were children making an agreement."
    transient
    d. musayup pa $y$ mamingwit "It is easier than fishing with a line." (Lit.: You are more likely to miss if you fish with a line.)
    adj. $Q$ sentence
    e. maqa:yu ga:niq + kay qang ka:huy nga handa:may maqu y naqiguq "Luckily, however, it was the 'handalamay' bush which was hit." (56.8)

    These sentences also occur without $y$, kun, qug or nga.
    adj. $Q \quad Q$
    f. maqa:yu tinga:li niqi:ni + qa:kuq na la:mang patyun kini si karangkal "It probably would be good in this situation for me just to kill Karangkal." (26.13)
    3.531 Sentences consisting of adjective phrases

    Adjective phrases (Sec. 4.211) occur as sentences.
    dagha g bula:wan "There was much gold."
    If these sentences have a subject, they are considered declarative sentences (Sec. 3.21). If they are followed by a genitive, they are exclamatory sentences (Sec.3.67).
    3.54 Sentences introduced by magu $\mathbb{Y}$
    3.541 maqu $y$ plus abstraot

    Sentence: $(Q)+$ maqu $y+$ abstract + (genitive) + (dative)
    The meaning of this type is "genitive x-ed dative" or "the tine $x$ happened": Abstracts are described in See. 8.3 and its subsections. Genitives and datives are described in Sec. 4.7.

    Q
    karun maqu pa y qa:ku ng pagkakitaq kani:ya $\quad$ "I just saw him now."
    3.542 maqu $y$ plus $T P$

    Sentence: $(Q)+$ maqu $+y+T P$, where the transient is an instrumental passive (Sec. 8.23). The meaning of this type is "time that actor $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { will do } \\ \text { does } \\ \text { did }\end{array}\right\} \quad v$ "
    kining bata:san ba sa manga katsi:laq nga manday mahuman na g instr. passive
    ka:qun maqu pa y qipanangpit $\quad \mathrm{EFr}$, is it the Spanish custom that they do not call you until they have finished eating?" (41.6)

    ### 3.543 maqu plus active transient

    Sentence: maqu plus active potential (Sec. 8.13). The meaning of this is "the time $V$ happened ".
    pot. active
    maqu pa makaqulen sulud sa siyam ka bu:lan nga huilaw sa qundul "It was the first time it rained in Ondol after nine months of drought."

    ### 3.6 Exclamatory sentences

    Sentence: (exclamation [Sec. 6.6) $+(Q)+E P+$ (genitive) + (nominative) + (vocative[6.6)
    $3.61 E_{1} P$ (exclamatory predicates with kaf $\longleftarrow$ formations)
    These are with an optional qualifier and may be followed by a genitive. Genitives are discussed in Sec. 4.7.
    

    The only bases which occur in exclamatory sentences are those which have ake prefix (the "ka- stative", described in Sec. 9.3).
    a. labihan qinta:wun + kabala:ka + sa qinahan "How worried the poor woman was!" (13.9)

    EP
    pagka-base $Q \quad Q \quad$ genitive
    b. pagkadakuq bayaq diqay + ni $n g$ mani:laq "How big it is here in Manila!"

    Adjectives introducing sentences of the type described in Seo. 3.53 also occur with ka-, pagka- or -a ( $\leftarrow$ ) affixes: ka-base $Q$ Aentence
    c. kaqa:yu gyu ng tukqun "How good it would have been to choke him." (64.13)
    *Note that phrases (i.e., series of words) also occur as bases. base (phrase) genitive pagka + wala $y$ hinungdan + ning bata:qa "How useless this child was!" (25.6)
    ${ }^{* *}$ The denotation $(\longleftrightarrow$ ) indicates that the vowel preceding -a( - ) is long if in open syllable. (Cf. Sec. 2.232.)

    Similarly adjectives in the sentences of the type described in Sec. 3.531 occur with ka- pagka- and -a $(\leftarrow)$ affixes.

    EP
    da- base $\quad$ PP $\quad$ gadagha gen.
    In colloquial style for a few very common adjectives the base alone without a prefix ka- or pagka- is used like the forms with a ka- prefix.
    e. sa:baq ni:mu quy "How noisy you are!"

    Adjectives followed by qug $+N P$ also occur without ka- or pagka- in exclamatory sentences (Sec. 3.67).
    $3.611 \mathrm{E}_{1}$ P with qunsa
    Sentence: qunsa, sa:ma, qingun, pari:has + ka-base + (genitive). These are different from those described in Seo. 3.61 in that they do not occur with pagka- or -a $(\leftarrow)$.
     bi:san qunsa kagamha:nan bi:san qunsa kakusgan may panahun ra giha:pun sa qi:ya ng pagkapu:kan "Now he considered that no matter how sly he turned out to be, no matter how powerful, no matter how strong, the time for his downfall would inevitably oome."
    $3.62 \mathrm{E}_{2} \mathrm{P}$ exclamatory predicates with other transient bases
    $E_{2} P=$ any base with no ka- prefix*. This type of exolamatory predicate is obligatorily followed by a genitive, and the qualifier is also obligatory.

    a. | Q labiha $+{ }^{\text {linker }}$ base |
    | :--- |
    | trembled!" |


    $-a(-)(=-a h a(\leftarrow)$-ana)

    1. luga: va : Lugawa: tha
    2. bata: ga = batga:na
    3. Lawu: Ra = lawha:na
    4. Cami:ea = lamieaha: na (Wang)
    b. pastila tinker $\begin{aligned} & \text { Q base } \\ & \text { poor child cried!" }\end{aligned}$
    
    When the base of a transient occurs as a noun (Sec. 8.012); it oocurs also with a suffix -ag ( - ) in exclamatory sentences; (Cf. example d Sec. 3.63.)
    $3.63 \quad \mathrm{E}_{3} \mathrm{P}$ Noun $-\mathrm{a}(\leftarrow)$
    This type of exclamatory predicate has either a qualifier, an adjective phrase*, a subject following it, or two or all three. It is not followed by a genitive.
    

    $$
    \begin{aligned}
    & \mathrm{E}_{3} \mathrm{P} \\
    & \text { noun }+-a(\longleftrightarrow) \text { subj. }
    \end{aligned}
    $$

    b: patay ka na gyud bata:qa + ka "Now you are
    dead, you child, you!" (28.12)
    adj. $Q \quad{ }_{3}{ }_{3} P$ noun $+-a(\leftarrow)$
    o. qutu:kan qusab nga hayu:pa "It was a brainy animal,
    too." (57.3)
    d. susku linker noun $+-\mathrm{a}(\underset{\mathrm{ng}}{\leftarrow} \underset{\text { suruska genitive }}{\text { sa qa:ku ng duguq quy }}$
    "Jesus! How my blood boiled!" (65.9)
    2.631 Extension to infinitives

    The - $-(\leftarrow)$ suffix for exclamations with nouns is extended to infinitives (Sec. 4.68) in gunsa:qun sentences (Sec. 3.8) with an exclamatory meaning.


    $\operatorname{lnf}+\quad+\underline{-a}(\underset{-}{ })$
    qunsa:qun gud ni:mu pagbaya:ra nga daghan man ka g qu:tang "How in the devil are you going to pay when you have so many debts:"
    3.64 Order

    If the genitive is a pronoun (Sec. 4.71) it is pontpositive (Sec. 6.322) and follows the first word after the exclamatory. (This is true for all postpositives ?cf. Sec. 6.322], though in conversational style the postpositive pronoun occurs after the EP.)
    
    
    Note thet only the disjunctive form, not the possessive form of the pronoun (Sec. 4.7) occurs in exclamatory sentences. (1.e.g q1:ya does not occur for ni:ya in the above sentences.)

    ### 3.65 Linking

    With any but the ke- base, the preceding qualifier is linked with nga. However, this nga is optional in colloquial speech and is usually not used. The nga comes after the postpositives. !
    3.66 Paradigms
    3.661 Bases with -a, ( 5 ), pagka- and ka-

    The base -a $(\longleftarrow)$, pagka- base and ka- base are in a paradigm
    such that there is a two-way transformation between the pagkaand ka- forms and a one-way transformation between the -a ( $\leftarrow$ ) and the pagka- and ka-.

    $$
    \text { base }+-\mathrm{a}(\leftrightarrow) \rightarrow\left[\begin{array}{r}
    \text { pagka- base } \\
    \text { ka- base }
    \end{array}\right\}
    $$

    There are some parka-, ka- bases for which there is no -ㅛㅛ ( $\leftarrow$ ), eng., kamalipa:yun, pagkamalipa:yun. The parka-, ka- forms are not in the same formmclass as the base -a $(\longleftarrow)$ because the base $-\underline{-a}(\leftarrow)$ is linked to preceding elements with aga, whereas the ka-qpagkabases are not.

    3,662 Exclamatory and declarative sentences
    Exclamatory sentences with a genitive are in a paradigm with declarative sentences with a predicate of the type discussed in Chapter 4 (Sec. 4.22, Sec. 4.211).
    $(Q)+E P+$ genitive $\qquad$
    $(Q)+S+P^{*}$ where $P=$ form of the base occurring as predicate (Secs.4.22, 4.211 and Chapter 8)
    S. nominative form of the genitive (Seq. 4.7)
    a.: pastilan panay kasayun + niqa:naq "Goodness, Mother, how easy that isl" (15.2)
    $(\mathrm{a} \longrightarrow \mathrm{b})$
    b. pastilan nancy sayun $\begin{array}{cc}\text { Q } & \text { vanaq } \quad \text { "Goodness, Mother that is }\end{array}$ easy!"
    ka-base $Q$ Q gen.
    O. kabu:qang ba gyud ni:mu "What a fool you are!"
    $(c \rightarrow d)$

    |  | $P$ | $S$ | $Q$ | $Q$ |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | d.: | nabu:qang | ka | man | kahaq | "Have you gone mad?" (20.7)

    ### 3.663 Additional paradigms

    In the case of exclamatory sentences in a paradigm with declarative sentences, the paradigms described for declarative


    sentences also apply (Sec. 3.24 ff.).

    ### 3.664 Use of topics instead of genitive

    The exclamatory sentences followed by a genitive (the typos of Sece.3.61, 3.62 and 3.67) occur with a topic instead of a genItive. (Cf. Sec. 6.11 for topics.)
    

    b. \begin{tabular}{cc}
    topic \& si tiri:sa <br>
    trembled!"

    $\quad$

    $Q$ <br>
    labiha

    $\quad$

    abstract <br>
    pangu:rug
    \end{tabular}$\quad$ "How Teresa

    ### 3.67 Exclamatory sentences composed of adiective phrase

    $\pm$ genitive
    Adjectives + qug + nominal phrases + genitives occur as exolamatory sentences: (Cf. Sec. 4.211 for adjective phrases and Seo. 4.7 for genitives:)
    adj. phrase NP genitive a.. ga:hi g qu: qa:ne ng bata:qa "That child is thick-headed!" (Lit.: "hard-headed")

    These sentences enter into the paradgms described in Seo. 3.422. They are also in a paradigm with the aentences described in Sec. 3.61 with a one-way transformational relationship, and enter the same paradigms that these enter (Sec. 3.661).
    3.7 Other sentences composed of qualifiers and bases or pagka- plus base

    These sentences differ from those listed in Sec. $3.6 \mathrm{ff}^{\mathbf{*}}$ in that they occur with different qualifiers. Also the meaning of those listed in Sec. 3.6 is exclamatory whereas the meaning of these is declarative. These sentences are of two types:
    a.. Sentence: $Q+n g^{*}+$ pagka- base $+($ genitive $)+\left(\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { dative } \\ \text { subject }\end{array}\right\}\right)$
    b. Sentence: $Q+n g^{*}+$ (genitive) + (dative)

    The qualifiers in this sentence type are those adjectives meaning "manner" and expressions of time (Secs. 6.2124, 6.225, and 6.22112 and its subsections). The genitive is the agenty and the dative or subject is the thing affected by the action.
    
    subject (thing affected by the action) Q pagka- base qang qi:ya ng pinu:tiq maqasyu ng pagkagispud "His sword was wellmicked." (56.5)

    Q genitive linker base dative taqudtaqud na na:mu ng paqasbut kang qinting we have been waiting for Inting for a long time now:"

    ### 3.71 These sentences with a topic

    These sentences occur with a topic (Sec. 6.11) meaning
    "agent".
    topic (agent) Q linker base
    si baqubaqu:hay du:ru ng kata:wa "Mr. Turtle laughed loudly."
    $\begin{array}{cccc}Q & \text { topic linker } & \text { base } \\ \text { du:gay } & \text { siya } & \text { ng } & \text { pangi:taq nawailaq ni:ya ng }\end{array}$ qigsu:qun "He had been looking for his lost brother for a long time."

    ### 3.72 Paradigms

    Sentences with a subject meaning "thing affected by the action" are in paradigms with sentences having a genitive in the same meaning such that there is a two-way transformational relam


    tionship between the two.

    $\begin{array}{ccc}Q & \text { linker } & \text { pagka-base } \\ \text { maqa:yu } & \text { ggitive } \\ \text { pagkabu:hat } & \text { sa karuma:ta }\end{array}$
    

    Q linker pagka- base maqa:yu ng pagkabu:hat qang karuma:ta
    "The carts were well made."

    Similarly a sentence with a genitive agent is in paradigm with a sentence having a topic agent.
    Q linker base
    du:ru ng kata:wa
    laughed loudly."
    

    ### 2.721 Paradigms with declarative sentences

    Sentences of the above type are in paradigms with declarative sentences having qualifiers.
    a. $Q+$ linker + base + genitive + dative
    $\longleftrightarrow$ b. Q + linker $+\mathrm{TP}+$ subject

    1) If the $T P$ contains an active transient (Sec. 8.05) the first genitive (the agent) of $\underline{a}$ is the subject of $\underline{b}$ and the second genitive or subject of $\underline{a}$ (the thing affected by the action) is a come plement in the TP (Sec. 4.63).
    a. $\begin{array}{ccc}Q & \text { linker base } & \text { genitive (agent) } \\ \text { ai gis } & \text { ng putul } & \text { ni qinting }\end{array}$
    (thing affected by action)
    sa ka:huy "It took Inting a long time to finish cutting the the "wood".
    
    2) If the $T P$ contains a passive the genitive of a is a genitive in $\underline{\underline{b}}$ gand the dative . or subject of a (the thing affected by the action) is a subject in $\underline{b}$.
    thing affected by action

    | Q linker base | genitive | dative |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | a. du:gay ng | putul niqinting sa kahuy |  |
    | "It took Inting a long time to finish cutting the wood." |  |  |

    TP
    Q linker transient active genitive (agent) subjeot b. du:gay ng giputul ni qinting qang kashuy "It took Inting a long time to finish outting wood." Also this type of sentences enters in the paradigms into which the declarative sentences enter (Sec. 3.24).
    2.73 Word order

    For sentences of this type containing a subject the subject may also precede the qualifier.

    | subject | $Q$ | linker |  |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | nisg ka:huy maqasyu $n g$ pagkaputul He did a geod |  |  |  | job cutting the wood,"

    The order of the postpositives (pronoun subject) is discussed in Sec. 6.322.

    ### 3.8 Qunsa:qun sentences

    Sentences containing $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { giqunsa* } \\ \text { qunsa:qun }\end{array}\right\}$ "how" may be of a special type, containing all the elements of a declarative sentence except a subject:

    $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { qunsa:qun } \\ \text { giqunsa }\end{array}\right\}+(Q)+($ genitive $)+($ infinitive $)+(Q)+($ oomplemert $)$
    a. qunsa:qun niqi:ni ng bata:qa "How was this child going to do it?" (35.9)

    Q gen. infinitive complement
    b. qunsa:qun + gud + ni:mu + pagpangasa:wa niqa:na ng qanak sa ha:riq "How in the world are you going to marry the king's daughter?" (10.7)

    If there is a genitive (Sec. 4.7) following qunse:qun or giqunse meaning "thing affected by the action", the sentence is in a paradigm with a declarative sentence such that there is a two-way transformational relationship. (In this case a genitive following gunsaqun is niga:na ng ganak sa ha:rig.)
    $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { giqunsa } \\ \text { qunsa:qun }\end{array}\right\}+(Q)+$ (agent $)+$ (infinitive $)+$ genitive $+(Q) \longleftrightarrow$
    $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { giqunsa } \\ \text { qunsa:qun }\end{array}\right\}+(Q)+($ agent $)+$ infinitive $+S+(Q)$
    Se the subject form of the genitive (Sec. 4.7). Thus example b above is in a paradigm and two-way transformation with a sentence:
    0. qunsa:qun $\left.+\begin{gathered}\text { Qud } \\ \text { gen. } \\ \text { ni:mu } \\ \text { infinitive } \\ \text { pagpangasa:wa }\end{gathered} \right\rvert\, \underset{\text { kana }}{ } \mathrm{S}$ ng qanak sa ha:riq "How in the world are you going to marry the king's daughter?"
    d. qunsa:qun ni:la pagpatay $\begin{gathered}\text { gen. } \\ \text { are they to kill their son?" }\end{gathered} \underset{(37.2)}{ } \begin{aligned} & \text { qang qi:la }\end{aligned}$

    An example of this type of sentence with a genitive meaning "thing affected by the action" but without a genitive meaning "agent" is:
    infinitive gen.
    e. qunsa:qun sa paglarga sa barku nga wala y karga "How is the boat to debark without any freight?"
    3.2 Elliptic sentences

    Sentences with constituents other than those described
    above are considered elliptic. These elliptic sentences are in a paradign with constituents or parts of sentences described above.

    ### 3.91 Parts of declarative sentences

            S complement
    a. qang baqu + dapit sa punu:qan "The turtle, the lower
    part."
    excl. voc.
    b. qu:qu tay "Yes, father!"
    Q
    0. sa quba ng panahun na lang "Let us make it at
    another time."
    3.92 Parts of exclamatory sentences
    Q genitive
    ba:li $+n i$ ng manga kutsi:ru sa syudad "Boyl These
    rig drivers in the city!"
    3.93 Other elliptic sentences
    $\begin{array}{lcc}\text { noun } & \text { nominative } & \text { voc. } \\ \text { qisdaq } & \text { ka } & \text { nang }\end{array}$
    The LP's (Sec. 3.4) except may occur as elliptic sentences.

    ## Outline of Chapter Four : Predicates

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    ## Chapter Four: Predicates

    ### 4.0 Subjects and predicates

    Cebuano subjects and predicates are similar in the makemp of thefi constituents. Everything which occurs as a subject, occurs also as a predicate and vice versa. The differences between subjects and predicates are discussed in Chapter Five.

    ### 4.1 Definition of predicate

    Predicate: $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { adjective phrase } \\ \text { fP (predicate phrase) } \\ \text { Q) + subject } \\ \text { qualifier } \\ \text { interrogative } \\ \text { base + (Q) }\end{array}\right\}+\quad$ (qug +predicate)

    Predicates consisting of subjects are discussed in Chapter Five. Others are discussed in this chapter.
    4.2 Predicate phrases and adjective phrases

    PP:
    
    4.211 Adjective phrases

    Adjective phrase: (manga)* + adjective $+(Q)+$ (qug + predicate phrase) + ((kay) + dative). Adjectives are defined in Sec. 8.012 For datives cf. Sec. 4.7 .
    
    *manga before adjectives in predicates consisting of adjec. tives is used only with plural subjects (i.e., two or more subjects, subjects preceded by manga or subjects consisting of the plural pronouns (Sec. 4.7]). It has the meaning that all the elements of the subject have the quality indicated.

    | $c$ | predicate |  |  |  | predicate |  |  |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | adj. | Q. |  |  |  |  |  |  |
    | b. daghan da:yun | Sita |  |  |  |  |  |  |$|$ qug kwarta nga matipi:gan

    "Then we will have much money to keep." (9.8)
    predicate subject

    c. kumusta ( si gining qidralin qug si mistir qistrasda | pred. adj. | Q |  |
    | :--- | :---: | :--- |
    | manga maqa:yu | na | $\begin{array}{l}\text { subj. } \\ \text { sile }\end{array} \quad$ How are Miss Edralin and | Mr. Estrada?" "They are both well now."

    d. nan kadtu si ba:kir $\begin{aligned} & \text { Q }\end{aligned} \begin{gathered}\text { P } \\ \text { adjective } \\ \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { taqas } \\ \text { taqas kay }\end{array}\right\} \begin{array}{l}\text { dative } \\ \text { kani:mu }\end{array} \quad \text { "Anyway, that Baker }, ~\end{gathered}$ was taller than you are." (41.12)

    ### 4.212 Paradigms of adjective phrases

    The adjective phrase containing a $P P$ is in a paradigm
    with a predicate phrase containing an adjective (Sec. 4.2331):
    adjective + qug $+\mathrm{PP} \longleftrightarrow$ adjective $+\mathrm{nga}+\mathrm{NP}$ (or $\mathrm{NP}+\mathrm{nga}+$ adjective) The paradigms described in Secs. 3.422 and 3.423
    also apply here so that there is another two-way transformation: adjective $+q u g+P P \longleftrightarrow$ adjective $+q a n g+P P$ (With $S$
    
    gen. Cf. examples c. and e., Sec. 3.422.)
    a. daghan $\left|\begin{array}{c}\text { subj. } \\ \text { kita }\end{array}\right|$ g kwarta $\quad$ ng matipi:gan "We will have much money gathered." (9.8)
    
    $P \quad S$
    adj. $P P$
    c. daghan $\mid$ qang qa:tu ng kwarta ng matipi:gan (same meaning) The other members of the paradigms are listed in Secs. 3.422 and 3.423.

    ### 4.22 Transient phrase (TP)

    TP: phrase containing a transient (forms having affixes listed in Sec. 8.05 and its subsections)

    Transient phrases are of two types: those which have a complement and those which do not. Those which have a comm plement are called "transitive". Those which do not are called "intransitive".

    Intransitive TP:

    $$
    (Q)+\left\{\begin{array}{l}
    \text { active } \\
    \text { passive }+(\text { genitive })
    \end{array}\right\}
    $$

    Active, passives are defined in Sec. 8.05. Genitives, Sec. 4.7. Complements, Sec. 4.6.

    |  | act. TP | S |
    | :--- | :---: | :---: |
    | a.: milisngiq | siya $\quad$ "He turned around." (4.13) |  |

    P
    b. $\left.\quad \begin{aligned} & \text { passive } \\ & \text { gihu:yad } \\ & \text { gi: ya }\end{aligned} \right\rvert\, \begin{gathered}\text { Sind }\end{gathered}$ "He brandished it." (49.2)

    Transitive TP: $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { active } \\ \text { passive }+ \text { (genitive) }\end{array}\right\}+$ complement (+ complement)
    Examples are given in Sec. 4.6 and its subsections.

    ### 4.221 Imperatives as predicates

    Imperatives occur as predicates in imperative sentences
    (Sec. 3.3) and also in declarative sentences consisting of two subjects (of the type described in Sec. 5.213).

    The predicate consists of gang + imperative, and the meaning is "the one which you are to ..."

    P
    a. $\quad$ S $\quad$ baku $\mid$ y imperative $\begin{gathered}\text { pangutanga }\end{gathered} \quad$ "I am the one you should ask." P
    imperative and subject
    b.. si hwan maqu|y hata:gi g gaia di: liq si pidru "John
    is the one you should give presents to, not Pedro."
    These sentences are in a paradigm with sentences with the
    other forms of the transient plus genitive:

    ```
    imperative predicate < genitive + transient phrase
    (passive)
    ```

    
    d. si hwan maqu|y y $\begin{gathered}\text { transient + gen. + complement }\end{gathered}$
    "John is the one you should give a present to."
    4.23 Nominal phrases (NP)
    NP: (manga)* $+\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { possessive } \\ \text { numeral phrase } \\ \text { common norinal phrase }\end{array}\right\}$

    ### 4.231 Possessives

    Possessive: $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { detive form (for proper nouns) } \\ \text { qi:ya (disjunctive) } \\ \text { qi:la +(disjunctive) } \\ \text { pronominal forms (for personal pronouns) } \\ \text { disjunctive form (for other noun pronoun) } \\ \text { ka + proper noun }\end{array}\right\}$

    Datives, disjunctives and pronominals are defined in Sec. 4.7.
    
    predicate
    dative proper noun (eubj.
    b. kang hwan $\mid$ kini "This is John's."
    *The form manga does not occur after qusa "one". Usually if there is a manga in the subject, any transient in the subject or predicate will be plural (Secs. 9.21, 9.93). If there is a plural transient in the subject or predicate, there is always a manga.

    Possessive phrases consisting of pronominals or proper names have a different distribution from possessives consisting of disjunctives. The former occur as goals (Sec. 4.61) whereas the latter do not. To express the meaning "possessive goal" with elements which are not pronominals or proper names, the third person pronominal gi:yag or (plural) qi:la plus the genitive (Sec. 4.7) is used. With proper names qi:ya (qi:1a) + genitive is also used.
    a. nakakitaq qaku sa $\begin{gathered}\text { pron gen. } \\ \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { qi:ya ni } \\ \text { kang }\end{array}\right\} \text { hwan qug sa qa:kuq }, ~\end{gathered}$.
    pron. genitive piru nagsi:gi pa qaku g pangi:taq sa qi:ya sa maqistra "I found John's and mine, but I am still looking for the teacher's."

    The plural qi:la has the meaning of "home of".
    pron. genitive
    b. miba:lik siya sa qi:la ng hwan "He returned back to John's house."

    Similarly, ga:muq "ours" and qinvu "yours" are used to mean "my house", "your house". ka + proper name is used to mean "__ 's house".
    4.232 Numeral phrases

    $$
    \text { Numeral phrase: }\left\{\begin{array}{r}
    \text { numeral }+(Q)+(\text { genitive })+(\text { ka }+ \text { predioate } \\
    \text { phrase }) \\
    \text { numeral }+(Q)+(\text { genitive })+(\text { predicate } \\
    \text { phrase })
    \end{array}\right\}
    $$

    Numerals are 1) the Cebuano numbers listed in the glossary;
    2) words of quantity pila "how $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { many } \\ \text { few }\end{array}\right\}$ " and pipila "a few"
    3) words with the affixes listed in Sec. 11.8 and its subeeottons. The numbers are the words qu:nu, dus, tris, etc. borrowed from Spanish (listed as numbers in the glossary). They are also used as numerals.

    Ordinals (with qika- prefix) may be linked with ka or linked with nga.

    Genitives: $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { sa + nominal } \\ \text { genitives of } \\ \text { genase } \\ \text { genitives of }\end{array}\right.$
    Genitives of pronouns and proper names are given in Sec. 4.7.
    S
    a. kini ng pita:ka| qusa ka pita:ka nga qingkanta:du "This purse is an enchanted purse." (7.3)

    b. | kini | $\begin{array}{r}\text { Sumeral } \\ \text { qusa }\end{array}$ |
    | :--- | ---: |
    | great joke." (12.14) |  | predicate phrase $\begin{aligned} & \text { daku ng ti:qaw }\end{aligned} \quad$ "This ia a

    pred.
    num. $S$
    o. manga + pila $+n a+k a \quad b u: w a n \mid$ qang milabay
    "A few months had gone by."

    ### 4.2331 Common nominal phrases

    Common nominal phrase: $(Q)+($ transient $) *+(Q)+\left(\right.$ edjective) ${ }^{*}$

    $$
    \left.+\left\{\begin{array}{l}
    +(Q)+\text { common noun }+ \text { (genitive) } \\
    \text { complement }{ }^{* *} \\
    n g a+\text { existential sentence } \\
    \text { nga }+ \text { (maqu) }+ \text { subject }
    \end{array}\right\}\right)
    $$

    Nominatives and disjunctives are described in Sec. 4.7.
    Complements are described in Sec. 4.6. Common nouns are any forms marked CN in the glossary. Transients are forms with the


    affixes listed in Sec. 8.05. Complements are confined to certain types of nouns, and only certain nouns take certain types of complements. (cf. the discussion in Sec. 4.6.)

    a. kay qang plaisa niqaatu ng ginhari:qan | Q | $\begin{array}{l}\text { predicate } \\ \text { common noun } \\ \text { daplin }\end{array}$ |
    | :---: | :--- |

    man sa da:gat "For the plaza of that kingdom was at the seashore." (33.14)
    (In this sentence daplin can also be analyzed as a qualifier Sec. 6.411.)

    b. di:liq ba kahaq may | LP | common noun | S |  |
    | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
    | qakud |  |  |  |$|$ nga complement of the CN

    magpakisa:yud kung gikinahanglan pa qaku dinhi "Do I not have a right to ask whether I am still needed here?"

    c. gamay | adj. | siya | nf | ba:taq | "He was a small boy." |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

    nominal phrase
    CN genitive common noun
    d. manga daghung sa pungaw nga daw qinagu:luq sa manga kalag subject maqu kanu:nay $\mid$ qang masa:wud sa qi:la ng dalunggan "The moaning sounds of the pungaw bird like the groaning of ghosts is whet reached their ears." (51.14)
    nominal phrase
     daku ng buhuq "He saw a tree with a large hole (which had a large hole)." (4.4)
    (In this case the nominal phrase is a goal described in See. 4.63.)

    $$
    -145-
    $$

    ## S

    

    + nga + kun qa:kuq |kini|ng qikabalibag ngadtu sa layuq qa:ku ng pangasawqun na ng qi:mu ng qanak "It is enough that you fulfill your promise that if I can throw it far away, I will marry that daughter of yours." (34.11)
    phrase
    In this case the nominalif a subject (Sec. 5.214).
    4.2332 Paradigms of common nominal phrases

    Certain nouns are followed by two types of complements: infinitives (Sec. 4.68) and nga or gug, kun plus transient phrases (Sec. 4.22). In those cases transient phrases following the noun will be in a paradigm with the infinitive phrase. Thus, for example, sentence b of Sec. 4.2331 above can also be said:
    $P$ CN $S$
    $P$ b. di:Iiq ba kahaq may katungud qaku| sa pagpakisa:yud kun gikinahanglan pa qaku dinhi "Do I not have a right to inquire if I am still needed here?"
    4.234 Syntactic differences between nouns and forms of
    transients
    4.2341 Differences between abstracts and nouns

    Many of the abstracts (forms described in Sec. 8.3) are also common nouns (Sec. 10.93). However, not all abstracts
    used as
    aretcommon nouns. The criterion for determining whether an abstract functions as a noun is if it occurs in an environment where nouns occur but abstracts do not; e.g., after qug, where pag- abstracts do not occur or after sa where base abstracts do not occur.
    aghan siya g pagka:qun "He has much food." (But there is no sentence*[daghan siya $g$ pagdala], for pagdala is not a noun.)

    ### 4.2342 Differences between passives and common nouns

    In many ways common nouns and passives are alike in their distribution. One difference in distribution is that predicate phrases containing nouns are not qualified by walag (Sec. 6.311) whereas those containing passives may be. However, not all passives oacur qualified by walaq - Sec. 6.71.
    a. $\quad$ Qi:liq $\left\lvert\, \begin{gathered}S \\ k i n i\end{gathered}\right.$
    CN
    a. di:liq kini linu:tuq ni pidru "This is not something Pecro cooked."

    ```
                    P
    b. walaq \ kini| passive ni pidru "This was not cooked by
    Pedro."
    ```

    Another difference is that nouns are frequently preceded by adjectives or transients whereas passives are not preceded by them in the same predicate phrase (Sec. 4.22). Passives rarely occur preceded by demonstratives in the same $P P$ whereas nouns frequently so occur. Morphologically, all
    nouns occur with a suffix $=(\longleftarrow)$ (Seo. 4.27) whereas no passives do.
    4.24 Jinking with nga

    The following paragraphs list exceptions to the linking of PP's.*
    4.241 Omission of nge in certain phonemic environments

    The nga of the predicate phrase, adjective + (nca) + nominative of common noun, in colloquial or formal style is often not used if what precedes ends in any consonant except $/ n /$ and $/ q /$. (In formal style the nga is used.). adj. CN walaq na qang ba:huq sa tibuquk ginhari:qan "The smell would vanish from the entire kingdom." (33.5)
    4.242 Ommission of nga with TP

    If the predicate phrase preceding the noun or pronoun is a transient phrase (Sec. 4.6) the linker is usually not used. $\left.\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{TP} \\ & \text { natagbaw } \\ & \text { sa libutli:but }+ \text { nanulud } \\ & \text { sila }\end{aligned} \right\rvert\,$ sa qusa ka daku ng sinihan sa mani:laq "Having had enough of going around, they went to one of the big movie houses in Manila."
    4.243 Omission of nga with names

    With names the linker is also often omitted.
    a. maqu nga niqadtu ng dapi:ta nabantug siya sa

    ```
    nga:lan si hwan tapulan "So in those parts he
    became known by the name of 'Lazy John'." (3.13)
    With titles there is no linker.
    b. si title mistir ba:kir "Mr. Baker."
    Names of streets, corners, squares and the like are like
    titles.
    0. qihapit ku se qiski:na pidil rusaryu qug
    hunki:ra dung "Take me to the corner of P. del Rosario
    and Junquera, boy."
    4.244 Omission of nga with demonstratives
    ```

    The demonstratives are not linked to proper names and to pronouns (with the exception mentioned in Sec. 5.31. Cf. example . .) $^{\text {. }}$
    a. kaqi:la ku kini siya $\begin{gathered}\text { demons. pronoun } \\ \text { siya (just mentioned) }\end{gathered}$ is a friend of mine." b. dakuq $\begin{gathered}\text { demons. } \\ \text { kadtu }\end{gathered}$ si ba:kir $\quad$ That Baker was a big man." (41.4)
    kanhi "the former" is usually not linked when preceding or following a noun.
    o. di:liq na siya qang luqis kanhi "He is no longer the Louis I used to know."

    The demonstrative is optionally linked to what follows when there is a genitive in the pronominal form (Sec. 4.7).
    d. qayaw ninyu \& patya $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { demons. pron. } \\ \text { naq } \\ \text { ng }\end{array}\right\}$ qa:ku ng langgam "Don't you kill those birds of mine!" (46.14)

    ### 4.25 Differences between nge and sa

    Many things expressed by English "of" are translated by Cebuano nga. These are with meanings of measure or quantities. a. taga:qi qaku dirig qusa ka ba:su ng tu:big "Give me a glass of water."
    b. palit qug bugas nga ba:li g baynti "Buy twenty cents worth of rice."
    o. niqi:ni ng qusa ka bu:lan nga nagpuyuq ku dinhi daghan na qaku ng kamahuqan "In this month of my stay here, I have learned a lot."
    4.26 Limitations of occurrence for actives and passives

    Sentences consisting of subjects plus a predicate consisting of active $P P$ do not occur following the common noun in a common nominal phrase (sec. 4.2331). Instead, the passive plus genitive is used. (Passives and actives are described in Sec. 8.05)
    PP
    noun The active "nakakitaqka "would not occur in this environment. The same limitations hold for the subject position where subject plus active TP does not occur, but only PP's with mapo sives occur.
    (I.e., to express the meaning "actor-action", the passive must be used if it is the subject position.)
    b. dakuq kaqa:yu ng ka:huy qang qa:ku ng gipi:lay (29.4)
    "It was a huge tree which I cut down." (mipi:lay gaku
    would be impossible in this environment.)
    0. maqu lagi $\left\lvert\, \begin{gathered}S \\ \operatorname{kini}\end{gathered}\right.$ (qang) gisulti Pa qa:ku ng
    qanak "That is really what my son said!" (12.11)
    (misulti gang ga:ku ng ganak could not be used here.)
    For the absence of gang of. Secs. 5.6 and 5.81.
    Similarly following sa and gug goals (Sec. 4.63) subject plus active transient does not occur:
    d. qug gisaysa:yan ku qang hi:pi sa gibu:hat ni mistir qalug
    "And I told the chief what Mr. Alog had done." (64.10)

    ### 4.27 Suffix -2 ( ) with nouns and disjunctives

    In common nominal phrases consisting of the nown alone or noun plus disjunctive (Sec. 4.7 ) common nouns may have an - a $(\longleftrightarrow$ suffix in certain constructions. In a pronominal phrase (Sec. 5.32) or in phrases with genitive consisting of pronominal + nga (Sec. 4.7 ) the $-\mathrm{a}(\longleftarrow)$ suffix may be added to the pronominal.

    The suffix $\underset{\sim}{2}(\leftarrow)$ is used with

    1) Jnouns following demonstratives (Sec. 4.72), interrom gatives (Sec. 4.3), expressions of time (Sec. 6.222), or words moaning "similar" or "same" with a meaning of "parm ticularity ".
    $S$
    

    Q
    

    | $\quad$ inter. | p | S |  |  |
    | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | c. $\quad$ qunse | gaqayuha:na | kana | ng qi:mu | ng gisulti | "What welfare are you talking about?" (kaqayu:han)

     qi:ya ng gisulti na:kuq "The name he told me was just about like that."

    This -a ( $\leftarrow$ ) also follows the demonstratives in the meaning "the one referred to.
    e. titula:du na man kunu kini ng yuta:qa ni mistir qalug '"This land he said, was registered in the name of Mr. Alog." (65.11)
    2) In a usage confined to a colloquial style of certain areas, this $-a(\longleftrightarrow)$ suffix is used with the pronominals (Sec. 4.7) indicating particularity.
    f. qang qa:ku ng bisikli:ta maqu $\left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & \text { prominal gami:ta }\end{aligned}\right.$ pronominal
    di:liq qang qimu:ha "My bicycle is the one you should use, not yours."
    3) The $-\mathrm{a}(\longleftrightarrow$ ) is also used in exclamatory sentences.
    (Cf. Secs. 3.61 and 3.63.)
    4.28 (nga) + sentences as predicates

    Predicate: (nga) + sentence. These only occur when the subject is preceded by maqu Sec. 6.33.

    | $Q$ | $Q$ |
    | :---: | :---: |
    | bu:saq maqu\|y qa:ku ng pagla:qum | nga kini ng manga gan |
    | prubli:ma masulbad "Thus, $i t$ is my hope that these problems |  |
    | n- be solved." |  |

    ### 4.3 Interrogetive predicates

    Interrogative predicates: $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { interrogative }+(Q)+(n g a)+(P P) \\ \text { interrogative deictic + (genitive) }\end{array}\right\}$

    Interrogative: kamusta (kumusta) "how are (is) …...", $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { qunsa } \\ \text { kinsa }\end{array}\right\}$ $+n g a+P P ;$ transients based on qunsa (Sec. 8.05)*; qunsa
     "where $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { from }\} \\ \{t 0\end{array}\right\}$ ", kanusqa "when" qanusqa "when" (unreal only), nga:nu "why". The interrogative deictics are optionally followed by a genitive meaning "which of two".
    
    b. $\quad \begin{gathered}Q \\ \text { quy } \\ \text { naqunsa }\end{gathered}\left|\begin{array}{c}\mathrm{P} \\ \mathrm{Sa}\end{array}\right| \begin{array}{cc}\mathrm{Q} & \text { gud } \\ \text { hwan }\end{array} \quad$ "What is the matter with you, John?" (10.6)
    0. $\begin{gathered}\mathrm{P} \\ \text { kinsa }\end{gathered}\left|\begin{array}{c}\mathrm{S} \\ \text { kini }\end{array}\right|$ ng ti:ngug "Whose voice is this?" (4:12)
     e.. qunsa $\quad \begin{aligned} & \mathrm{P} \\ & \mathrm{ng}\end{aligned}$ kaqayuha:na ${ }_{\text {kana }}^{\mathrm{S}} \mathrm{ng}$ qi:mu ng gisulti "What kind of welfare is it that you are talking about?"

    The meanings of the interrogative deictics are discussed in
    Sec. 4.722.
     "Where are your proofs of purchase?" (64.7)
    4.4 Qualifiers as predicates
    4.41 Interrogative qualifiers

    Interrogative qualifiers are considered to be interrogative


    predicates when occurring as predicates (Sec. 4.3).
    4.421 Deictic predicates

    The aeictics (listed in Sec. 4.72) occur as predicates as well as qualifiers.
    

    ## P

    b. | deictic | Qi:qa | ra | qaku "Here I am!" (47.1) |
    | :--- | ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

    The real deictics are not used after negative qualifiers (Sec. 6.73) (just as the real forms of the transients Secs. 6.71 and 6.711).
    4.422 Expressions of time as predicates (qualifiers of
    the type described in Sec. 6.2212)

    | $P$ | $S$ |
    | :---: | :---: |
    | karun | qang. |
    | to do this." |  |

    4.43 Qualifiers of the type listed in Sec. 6.41
    used as predicates
    a. kanaq gu ng durmituryu $\left\lvert\, \begin{gathered}\text { pa:ra man lang sa qistudyanti }\end{gathered}\right.$ "But those dormitories (you mentioned) are only far etradents.
    b. sigun lang sa qa:nad $\left\lvert\, \begin{array}{cc}\mathrm{Q} & \mathrm{S} \\ \mathrm{k} a \mathrm{aq}\end{array}\right.$ "It is just a question of getting used to it."

    The phrases sa:ma sa, qingun sa, (pulu) pari:ha sa, occur
    followed or interrupted by a ka_ + base in the meaning "as...an". .
    (These are the ka- base forming CN described in Sec. 10.921 and
    its subsections. The syntactic construction is that described in
    Sec. 3.611.)
    
    d. qang kuwa:han + nga qingun kadakuq sa bati:qis $\begin{gathered}\text { Pang }\end{gathered}$ tungaq "A lanzones tree as big as a leg at the middle ...." (60.11)

    ### 4.44 Other qualifiers as predicates

    Labihan (labigan), hustu, walag, heinit also oceum as predicates.

    | a. | $\left.\begin{array}{c}\text { P } \\ \text { a }\end{array} \right\rvert\,$ qang kali:pay | ni karangkál "Karangkal was |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: | very happy."

    The sentences with labihan used as a predicate are in a para. digm with exclamatory sentences such that labihan is a qualifier. (Cf. Sec. 3.61.) -

    Q
    b. labihan kali:pay ni karangkál "How happy Karangkal was!"
     "So that the smell might vanish from the entire kingdom." (33.5)
    $\quad \begin{gathered}\text { qualifier } \\ \text { to sentence }\end{gathered} Q^{P}$
    nagdaliq sila + sanglit + ha:pit na man
    qalas says "They hurried because it was already almost
    six o'clock."

    e. waq ra ga:niq | P | siya | Pa kumingking + qitandiq niqadtu ng |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: | dakuq kaqa:yu ng qisdaq "He was not even as big as your little finger compared to that huge fish." (34.8)

    4.45 Bases as predicates

    Predicates consisting of a base $+(Q)$
    ooour in sentences which are qualifiers of the type listed in Seo. 6.2214. The bases which occur as this type of predicate are dala, quban, nunut, dungan "with", hasta, hángtud, gapil, lakip "including" and human, ta:pus "after". Base + -informs, . nouns similar to the direct passives described in Sec. $10.23,7$ also oocur in this construction. 6.2214. Bases alone are used as predicates when equal to base plus affix.(cf. Sec. 8.16 and its subsections.)

    ### 4.5 Transients

    The transients are the forms with the affixes listed in Seo. 8.05 and described in Chapter Eight. Transient phrases are constituents with transient + (genitive) + (complement).
    4.6 Complements of TP's
    
    Aotive and passive are described inSeeg 8.051 and $8.052 ;$
    genitive, Sec. 4.7; Infinitive , Sec. 4.68 and goals. Sec. 4.63. Some transients do not occur with complements; some always have oomplements, and some may or $\frac{\text { may }}{0} \mathrm{f}$ not have oomplements. that occur with complements some have one, some two, some three, some four and some all five types of complements. The paradigms in which these transient forms enter are described in Sec. 4.8.


    

    P
    a.. qunyeq gang ha:riq $\begin{array}{cc}\text { Q } & \text { transient } \\ \text { naghaqhu:naq } & \text { ga mini }\end{array}$ sentence
    qua ka dak hg ti:qaw "Then the king thought that this was a great joke." (12.14)

    P

    |  | passive | S | genitive | Q |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | b. | complement |  |  |  |
    | gipanguta:na | qaku | sa $\quad$ hi: pi | ga + nga:nu | man ga wag + | na:tuq qiqaplay "The chief asked me why we had not applied." (65.3)

    4.62 TP with $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { qua } \\ \text { kun } \\ \text { lung }\end{array}\right\}$ plus $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { sentence } \\ \text { pp }\end{array}\right\}$
     kun kinsa y tagqi:ya niqadtu ing kapayassa "And he asked the old man who the owner of that papaya tree was."
    b. $\begin{aligned} & \text { bu: seq } \\ & \text { na gid mutunga gang qi:ya mg manghud nasa ne wherefore } \\ & \text { dun wondered why his younger brother did not appear at all." }\end{aligned}$

    $$
    4.63 \text { Goals }
    $$

    Goal:

    $$
    \left\{\begin{array} { l l } 
    { \{ \begin{array} { l } 
    { \{ u g } \\
    { ( Q ) + s a }
    \end{array} \} + } & { \{ \begin{array} { l } 
    { \text { existential sentence } } \\
    { \text { nominal phrase } }
    \end{array} }
    \end{array} \left\{\begin{array}{l}
    \left\{\begin{array}{l}
    \text { genitive } \\
    (Q)+\text { dative }\}
    \end{array}\right. \\
    \left.\begin{array}{ll}
    (Q)+\left\{\begin{array}{l}
    n i \\
    \text { lang } \\
    n g
    \end{array}\right\}+ & \text { propenouns name }
    \end{array}\right\}+(Q)+(n g a+P P)
    \end{array}\right.\right.
    $$

    After the transients of the base gingun, the aga is usually left out: qunyaq miqingun siva qunsa gad nag tigulang tiqawtisqaw qu tinu:qud "Then he said; What is this, old woman, $\mathrm{p}^{j o k e}$ or in earnest?'in (12.9)
    a. tu:qud man si hwan miquban sa qi:ya ng qamahan "And so, John went along with his father." (2.10)

    b. nakakitaq | active | siya | gominal phrase |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | gusa ka ka:huy | nga may daku ng |  | buhuq "He saw a tree with a huge hole." (4.5)

    0. | $Q$ |
    | :---: | :---: |
    | qug |\(+\begin{aligned} \& active <br>

    \& lakaw\end{aligned}\left|$$
    \begin{array}{c}\text { siya }\end{array}
    $$\right| $$
    \begin{gathered}\text { goal } \\
    \text { ngadtu }\end{gathered}
    $$\) qarun pagpalit qug maka:qun "And she went to the store to buy something to eat." (8.12)
    goal
    d. nakakitaq $\mid$ siya $\left\lvert\, \begin{gathered}\text { existential sentence } \\ g \text { may daku ng buhuq }\end{gathered}\right.$ which had a huge hole." (CN. example $\underline{b}$, this paragraph.)
    4.631 Second goals

    The elements that make up the second goals are the same as the first, except that qug does not precede second goals.

    S lst goal 2nd goal
    qapan kini ng pagtu:qu nagaha:tag + kali:sang + sa manga ta:wu . "But this belief inspires fear in the people."
    (The qug is omitted before the first goal because it follows a word ending in $/ \mathrm{g} / \mathrm{g}$ [Cf. Sec. 2.212 2.])
    4.64 Transients which have only qug gools

    Certain transients are not followed by sa + goals. These are of three semantic types: 1) transients meaning "to name"; 2) transients always followed by numerical predicate goals meaning "to cost, be...old"; 3) transients meaning to "wear clothing." Proper names may be preceded by si."
    
    b. nanglaba si qangkay sa subaq quban sa fisya ng ba:ta ng babasyi
    transient goal
    nga nagpanuqigun qug pitu ka tu:qig "Angkay was washing at the river with her seven-year-old daughter." (54.16)
    c. nagqunipurmi siya g qasul "She was wearing a blue uniform."
    d. .. nga qi:la ng ginganlan si hwan "whom they named John."
    4.65 Transients which have only sa preceding goals

    Transients with the meaning of "going" or "coming" have only se before the goal meaning "place". Second goals (Sec. 4.631) are preceded by sa.
    4.66 Transients which have nga preceding goals

    Transients meaning "choose, elect, nominate" and the like are followed by nga + nominal phrase. Also the transients and others $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { nag- }\end{array}\right\}$ hi:muq (mahimu) "become" pabi:lin "remain"/have this type of goal.
    gral (nominal phrase)
    a. gitudluq siya nga mamahandiq lungsud "He was appointed municipal treasurer."

    These goals, except those of pabi:lin are in a paradigm with sentences with infinitive complements (Sec. 4.68) where the abstract is the pagka:- to noun bases (a formation described in Sec. 8.333).
    infiritive
    b. gitudluq siya (sa) pagkamamahandiq lungsud "He was appointed municipal treasurer."

    ### 4.67 Complements of pusta and ganhaq

    The forms pusta and ganhaq "bet", used as the transient in a TP, may be followed by sa + sentence. This is in a paradigm and two-way transformational relationship with a complement consisting of nga + sentence.

    ## sentence

    qanhaq ku $\left\{\begin{array}{l}n g a \\ s a\end{array}\right\}$ mulu:tuq siya g mani qugmag "I bet he will cook peanuts tomorrow."

    ### 4.68 Infinitive phrases

    Infinitive phrase: $\left\{\begin{array}{l}(s a)+(d i \& l i q)+\text { pag- abstract } \\ (q u g)+(d i: l i q)+\text { base abstract }\end{array}\right\}+$
    $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { mge }+(\text { maqu })+\text { subject } \\ (\text { genitive })+(\text { complement })\end{array}\right\}+(2)+\left(q u g^{*}+\right.$ infinitive phrase $)$
    The two tywes of infinitives are in a paradigm

    $$
    (s a)+\text { pag- base }-(q u g)+\text { base }
    $$

    This paredign does not hold in the case of infinitives formed With pagka- plus noun bases meaning" be $\operatorname{FOM}^{\prime \prime}$ (Sec. 8.333). These are not in a paradigm with gug.
    inf. gipi:liq siya sa pagkaprisidinti "He was elected president." For those transients which have sentence as well as infinitive complements (Sec. 4.6) there are also paradigms between sentences containing the infinitive and sentences conteining sentenot complements. (For examples, cf. Seo. 4.82.)

    P

    ```
                                act. Q inf.
    ```

                                    misu:gud + da:yun + qug pislay + qug manga
    *[qug qug] does not occur. Cf. Dec. 2.212. Otherwise, que is usually not omitted in the infinitive except before bases beginning with ka-, and in that case the omission of qug is considered correct speech.
    
    nom. phr. S . inf. phr.
    b. di:liq ba kahaq may katungud sentence

    + kun + gikinahanglan pa qaku dinhi "Do I not have a right to know whether I am still needed here?"
    $P$
    transient Enfinitive

    0. naglisud ${ }_{P}$ paghunaqhu:naq qang qamahan qug qinahan sentence (complement of paghunaqhusnaq)

    + qug + qunsa:qun ni:la pagpatay qang qi:la ng qanak "The mother and father were hard put to know how they were to kill their child." (32.6)
    4.681 Deictics used as abstracts

    The prenasalized forms of the deictios (Sec. 4.72) also-0e-
    are in the positions where abstracts occur, but are not preo aeded by qug or sa (or nga).
    

    The same meaning could also be expressed by:
    b. gisu:guq ni:ya qang qi:ya ng sulugu:qun $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { (sa) pagqadtu } \\ \text { sa balay ni hwan }\end{array}\right.$
    (Cf. Sec. 3.31 where the use of the prenasalized deietics in

    Imperative predicates is discussed.)*

    ### 4.7 Case Form

    The genitive and dative is distinguished only for the personal pronouns and for the particle before proper nouns. For other pronouns and for common nouns the genitive and dative coincide. The genitive and dative together are called "dism junctive". If the rules call for disjunctives, then either the genitive or the dative occurs (with the genitive and dative being in a paradigm in a two-way transformation and derivational relationship). If the rule refers specifically to , the genitive, the dative does not occur. The following table lists the case forms:


    

    ## Legend:

    $\}$ Any of the forms oocur with appreciable difference in meaning.

    * ng optional after vowels /n/ or /q/: baley ng husi ("balay ni husi) "Joe's house."
    ** The short form of the dative is the same as the long form of the genitive.
    *** ki is used only in the construction of Sec. 5.32. (It is not a frequent form.)
    **** The forms with sa are dialectical and restricted in the speech of Cebu City to a few expressions.

    The two forms for locations near the first person are in many situations used interchangeably. If the thing talked about is near both to the first and second persons, the kani forms are most common, but kari forms are also used. If the thing talked about is definitely far from the second person but close to the first person, kari forms are used. The genitive forms of the demonstratives are also used in constructions requiring qug or $y$ for the nouns.

     b. walaq | L | Si | niqa:naq $\quad$ "We have none of that." |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: |

     occur). The predicate of example a is an adjective phrase (described in vec. 4.211). The predicate of bis an LP (de.in the chart scribed in Sec. 3.4). The short formsfare alternants of the type described in Sec. 2.213.

    ### 4.71 Paradigms

    The short forms of the chart pec. 4.7 above are not used as predicates (Dec. 5.4). The pronominal and the genitive cases occur with almost the same distribution, except that the pronominals are not used in exclamatory sentences where the formula reads "genitive" (Secs. 3.61, 3.62, 3.63), and the genitive is not used as a pronominal predicate (Sec. 4.231). Furthermore, the pronominal is not used if there is a prepositive qualifier (Sec. 6.31). Othervise, where the formula reads "disjunctive" or "genitive", the pronominal forms occur
    as well. Thus constituents or sentences containing genitives are in a paradigm with those containing pronominals such that they are two-way transformations of one another. The pronominal precedes the word with which it is in construction and is linked by nga.
    $\left.\begin{aligned} & \text { pronom. (used as sen.) } \\ & \text { qi:ya ng giqingun }\end{aligned} \right\rvert\, \begin{aligned} & \text { pronom. } \\ & \text { qi:ya ng qinahan }\end{aligned}$ to his mother."
    pass. gen. b. $_{\text {giqingun }}$ + ni:ya qang qi:ya ng qinahan (15.6)
    "He said to his mother."
    

    In the case of $c$ since there is a prepositive qualifier (walag Sec. 6.311) ni:ya occurs and not the pronominal qi:ya.

    ### 4.711 Further restrictions

    Following the first word in a sentence the disjunctive ku is used (not na:kuq). Ku and mu are not used in exclamatory sentences (Secs. $3.61,3.62,3.63$ ). (Only ni:mu and naikug are used there.) Otherwise, ku is used in the same places as na:kug, and mu, in the same place as ni:mu. ku and mu are usod only following the first word of the sentence or predicate phrase.
    4.72 Deictic system

    The deictic system in the meaning of location (place referred to by the deictics) corresponds to the lacational meaning of the demonstrative pronouns. The interrogative deictics (meaning "where") correspond to the temporal meanings
    of/deiotics and are also listed in this chart.

    | Corresponding Dem. Base of Transient Timeless Real Prenasalized |  |  |  |  |  |  |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | kari | $:$ | $q a: r i$ | : | diri | $\left.\begin{array}{l} : q a d i: q a \\ : d i: q a \end{array}\right\}$ | ngari |
    | kini | : | qanhi | : | dinhi | $\begin{aligned} & \text { : } \\ & \text { :qani:qa } \\ & \text { :ni:qa } \end{aligned}$ | nganhi |
    | kanaq | : | qanha | : | dihaq <br> dinhaq | $\left.\begin{array}{l} \text { : } \\ \text { :qana } q a \\ \text { :na:qa } \end{array}\right\}$ | nganhaq |
    | kadtu | : | qadtu |  | didtu | $\left.\begin{array}{l} : \\ : \text { qatu:qa\} } \\ : \text { tu:qa } \end{array}\right\}$ | ngadtu |
    | Interrogative deictics | . | $\begin{aligned} & q a: s a \\ & \text { sa:qa } \end{aligned}$ |  | $\left.\begin{array}{l} \text { diqin } \\ \text { disqa } \end{array}\right\}$ | $\left.\begin{array}{l} \text { : } \\ : h a: q i n \\ : h a: q i \\ : s a: q a \end{array}\right\}:$ |  |

    ### 4.721 Deictic meanings

    The meanings of the deictics are shown by the following chart. (The third person "qadtu" is used as the example for all the deictics.)
    

    These forms are not mutually substitutable in the same meaning but have the following limitations. The prenasalized forms are used as predicates (Sec. 4.421 and vec. 3.3) only in the meaning of "motion". In other meanings they are used as qualifiers (Sec. 6.22111) or as infinitives (Sec. 4.6a). a. karangkal hwat ka ngari ha "Karangkal, you will wait over here, OK? ${ }^{H}(28.4)$. The form ngari is used as a


    qualifier meaning present time. diri could also be used in place of ngari with the same meaning. (Cf. example ef this section below.)
    b. mila:lin sila ng magtiqasyun nganhi "They migrated here as a married couple." (51.3)

    The reals (tu:ga, etc..) are used as qualifiers or as predioates but only in present meaning.
    0. $\begin{gathered}\text { Pi:qa } \\ \text { 0. } \\ \text { qaku }\end{gathered}$ "Here I am!" (47.1)

    The timeless deictics (didtu, etc.) are used as predicates or qualifiers. If they are used as predicates, they have a meaning "past time".

    d. na qunyaq qusa niqa:naq $\quad$ ka duminggu $\left.+$| $P$ | didtu |
    | :---: | :---: |
    | si ba:kir |  | \right\rvert\, sa bulangan "Well, anyway, one Sunday Baker was at the cockfights." (37.8)

    If they are used as qualifiers, the timeless deictics are used in any tense meaning:
    e. sa qa:muq sa qamirika qug kun du:na y magkumbira dinhaq di:liq kami qimbitahun di:liq kami muqadtu "Back home in America, if there is a banquet there and we are not invited, we do not go." (37.13)

    The deictics labelled "base of transients" are used both as qualifiers and as predicates. The meaning of these is "unreal" (i.e., future or habitual action - cf. Sec. 8.03.) whether used as a qualifier or as a predicate.

    ## Q

    f. qug diq ka makakitaq nga qadtu sa sulud magsulti qa diq gyud maqilhan "If you could not see that he was the one talking inside, you could not recognize him." (44.13)
    g. ba:kir $+\begin{gathered}P \\ q a d t u\end{gathered}\left|\begin{array}{c}S \\ \text { kita }\end{array}\right|$ sa kumbira ni sanbisinti
    "Baker, let us go to the feast of Saint Vincent." (37.10) The forms marked "bases of transients" are used as bases to transients. The meanings of these used as bases to transients are "go, come"; pagqanhaq "go (to where the second person is)"; pagqanhi "come (to where both the first and second persons are)"; etc.
    transient
    h. nana:qug siya sa qi:la na migadtu gayud sa kalsa:da sa tambul "He went out of his house and made it a point to go to the street where the drum was." (45.9)

    The real and the timeless deictics are used as LP's in existential sentences (Sec. 3.4). The real deictics are used to mean "present time ". The timeless deictics are used to mean "past time".

    LP
    i. hala ni:ga $y$ kwarta pagpalit ngadtu $g$ maka:qun "Ok, here is some money; buy some food over there." (7.13)
    j. qapan sa qusa niqa:naq ka panahun diha y pahibalu nga "But one time there was a notice that..." (32.12)

    ### 4.722 Interrogative meanings

    The interrogatives basically have the meanings which correspond to the deictics.

    | Past | Present | Future |
    | :--- | :--- | :--- |
    | diqin | ha:qin | qa:sa |

    I.e., diqin is answered by didtu, ha:qin, by tu:qe and ga:sa, by qadtu. With transients meaning motion to a place, ga:sa and ha:qin are used with same meaning (future).
    a. ha:qin ka man paqingun "Where are you going?" (11.5) qa:sa $\}$

    Otherwise ha:gin has its present meaning.
    b. ha:qin si ma:ma mu "Where is your mother?"

    With diqin the meaning is past time.
    0. diqin ka kagaha:pun "Where were you yesterday?"
    d. diqin ka paqingun "Where did you go?"

    With words having the meaning of "motion from" qa:sa is possible, but usually digin or ha:qin is preferred.
    e. ha:qin\} gud ni:mu kuha:qa kana ng qi:mu ng kwarta diqin
    "Where did you get that money of yours from?" (9.3)
    digin in colloquial language is used in a present or future meaning even with no indication of motion.
    f. diqin tu $n g$ qa:ku ng kwarta "Where is that money of mine?" g. diqi ng dapi:ta qi:mu "Where will you get off (Lit. what place is your destination)?"

    With questions of geographical location ga:sa, ha:qin and digin are used.
    h. qa:sa man tu ng mani:laq "Now, where is Manila?"
    digin has a special use as a qualifier in the meaning of "relative".
    i. manga lalin sila gi:kan sa qusa ka gamay nga pu:luq sa relative
    lungsud sa qu:pun diqin didtu qikabi:tay sa qisla ng qamahan qang qi:la ng pu:sud sa sagunting sa qi:la ng payag "They were immigrants from a small island in the town of Opon, where their fathers had hung up their navels from the beams of their hut." ( 50.16 )
    4.723 Use of ta in the meaning of first person singular
    ta is used in the meaning of first person singular as
    genitive to a passive or a noun if the subject is the second person (singular or plural). When the subject is in the short form, ku is not used.
    a. hassive + gen. $\left.\right|_{\text {hapitun }+ \text { ta }} ^{\text {Sa }}$ "I will drop in for you."
    b. $\begin{array}{ll}\text { nominal } \\ \text { qami:gu }\end{array} \quad$ man $\underset{\text { ga }}{\text { gat }} \left\lvert\, \begin{aligned} & \text { ka }\end{aligned} \quad\right.$ "You are my friend."

    Instead of ta ka the forms tika and t ikaw occurawith the same meaning:
    o. hapitun $\left\{\begin{array}{l}t \\ t \\ t \\ \text { ikaw }\end{array}\right\}$ "I will drop in for you."

    This meaning of ta occurs with transient forms with derivative affix ka (Sec. 9.3) where ta is the subject, when the goal is the second person.
    

    Thus, there are the following members of the paradigm:

    | : ( ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | : |  | : |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | (genitive) | : | (subject) | : |
    | : lst Person | : | 2nd Person | 8 |
    | : | : |  | : |
    | : ta | : | ka | : |
    | : | : |  | - |
    | : t, ta, ku | : | qikaw | : |
    |  | : |  | : |
    | : na:kuqe ga:kuq | : | ka, qikaw |  |

    4.8 Paradigms into which transient phrase predicates

    ## enter

    ### 4.811 Active-passive

    The transient occurs with the affixes described in Seo. 8.05, and the sentence containing an active transient phrase is in a paradigm with a sentence containing a passive transient phrase. $S_{1}+T P$ (active) + goal $-S_{2}+$ passive $T P+$ disjunotive, where $S_{2}$ is the goal in the nominative form (Sec. 4.7) and the disjunctive is the $S_{1}$ in the disjunctive form (Sec. 4.7); and vice versa, $S_{1}$ is the disjunctive form in the nominative form and the goal is $S_{2}$ in the disjunctive form.
     buhuq "He saw a tree with a huge hole." (4.4)
    

    The subject of the passive is definite whereas the goal of the active may be either indefinite or definite* (depending on whether respectively).
    it is preceded by qug or sa/ Note the difference between examples
    a and $\underline{b}$ above. Whioh form of the passive transient is used depends upon the meaning relation between the thing affected by the action and the action. These are treated in Sec. 8.2 and its subsections. If there is an active with two goals, then the sentence is in a paradigm with a passive plus goal:

    | active | S | goal 1 |  |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | misablig | siya | gu:big | gal 2 |
    | water on the grindstone." |  |  |  |$\quad$ baqiran $\quad$ "He aprinkled

    
    4.812 Active-passive with infinitive phrases as complement

    With an infinitive phrase and goal the same paradigms also
    occur.

    a. | $Q$ | act. | $Q$ | $S$ |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | maqu | su:gud + na | pud | siya | qug pislay goal of inf. "So, he began to cut the tree down again." (5.7)

     "And he began to cut the tree down." (4.6)

    Sentences consisting of passive plus infinitive plus subject, with the infinitive consisting of (sa) plus pag-abstract, are also in a paradigm with sentences consisting of passive plus gang


    plus abstract plus goal with the relationship being that of a two -way transformation.
    passive $+(s a)+$ infinitive + subject $\longleftrightarrow$ passive $+q a n g+$ pageabstract plus goal, where the goal is the disjunctive form of the subject. Thus the above example (3) is in a paradigm with:

    ```
    \(P\) passive abstract goal of abstract
    0. gisugdan nj:ye qang pagpi:lay + sa kathy
    "He began the felling of the tree again."
    ```

    In those cases where the base of the transient is also a CN , there is another member of the paradigm, if the $C N$ means "action of $v$ (Sec. 10.51).
    passive + qang + CN (where the noun is to the same morpheme as the base of the abstract)

    d. $\begin{gathered}\text { P } \\ \text { misamut } \\ \text { more afraid." }\end{gathered} \begin{gathered}\text { S } \\ \text { LN } \\ \text { kahadluk } \\ (58.5)\end{gathered}$ sa manga ta: wu "The people became | transient | inf. | S |  |
    | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | misamut | kahadik | gang manga ta:wu "The people became |  | more afraid."

    4.82 Abstract - sentence

    As is indicated in Sec. 8.051 abstracts are in a paradigm with the real and unreal forms of the transient. Sentences containing an abstract may be in a paradigm with sentences containing other sentences.
    $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { noun } \\ \text { transient }\end{array}\right\}+(Q)+\left\{\begin{array}{l}(\text { sa }) \\ (q u g) \\ \text { qua- base abstract }\end{array}\right\}+($ genitive $)+$ (complement) $-\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { noun } \\ \text { transient }\end{array}\right\}+(Q)+($ nga $)+$ (subject $)+$ $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { active } \\ \text { passive }\end{array}\right\} \quad$ transient $2+$ (complement)

    The $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { active } \\ \text { passive }\end{array}\right\}$ transient $_{2}$ is the $\left.\begin{array}{c}\text { \{active } \\ \text { passive }\end{array}\right\}$ real or unreal of the abstract (Sec. 8.05). This in turn is in the active-passive paradigm.(Sec. 4.811).
    a. qug qunyaq $\quad$ qisya $n g$ sugu:qun $\left.\right|_{\text {si }} ^{\mathrm{S}} \mathrm{hwan} \left\lvert\, \begin{gathered}\text { inf. (abstract) }\end{gathered}\right.$ niqi:ni "Then he told John to cut it up." (2.12)
    sentence
    b. qug qunyaq qi:ya ng sugusqun $\mid$ si hwan $\left.\right|_{\text {nga }}$ qi:ya kini ng papsite "Then he told John to cut it up." putulputulun
    0. sukad karun $\stackrel{P}{P}$ ikaw na ${ }^{\text {a }}$ qang qa:ku ng kata:bang nga complement (act. trans.)
    manga:huy "From now on, you will be the one to help me gather wood."
    d. sukad karun qikaw na $\left.\right|_{\text {qang }}$ qa:ku ng kata:bang comp (inf.)
    sa pagpanga:huy (Same meaning as c.) (2.7)
    The abstract with a genitive is rarely used as infinitive. As is stated in Seas. 4.2331 and 4.6 , not every nown or tranEient is followed by both infinitive and (nga) or (gug) plus sentence or TP. This paradigm holds only for those nouns and transients which are followed by both types of complements.

    If a complement consists of a TP which contains a stative (Sec. 9.3) it is in a paradigm with an infinitive phrase consisting of an abstract without the krefix. (Cf. Sec. 9.12 and its subsections.)
    e. si:gi $\left|\begin{array}{c}\text { siya } \\ \text { siyg }\end{array}\right|_{g}$ qinum $\underset{\text { qarun }}{Q}$ mamala gang subag "He continued drinking so that the river would dry up."

    This is in a paradigm with the sentence :
    f. $\quad$ si:gi $\left|\begin{array}{c}S \\ \text { siya }\end{array}\right|_{g}$ qinum $+\underset{\text { qarun }}{\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { pagmala } \\ \text { pagpamala }\end{array}\right\} \text { sa subaq }, ~}$ "He continued drinking to dry up the river."
    4.83 Indirect statements $v s$. indirect questions

    $$
    \begin{gathered}
    \quad\left\{\begin{array}{l}
    \text { noun } \\
    \text { transient }
    \end{array}\right\}+(\text { nga })+\left\{\begin{array}{l}
    \text { sentence }\} \\
    \mathbb{T P}
    \end{array}\right\} \text { is in a paradigm with } \\
    \left\{\begin{array}{l}
    \text { noun } \\
    \text { transient }
    \end{array}\right\}+\left\{\begin{array}{l}
    \text { qug } \\
    \text { kun }
    \end{array}\right\}+\left\{\begin{array}{l}
    \text { sentence } \\
    T P
    \end{array}\right\} \quad \text { This paradigm holds only }
    \end{gathered}
    $$

    for those transients and nouns which are followed by both types of complements. (Cf. comments Sec. 4.6.) Indirect statements are introduced by nga. Indirect questions are introduced by nga, kun, kung, and qug with no difference in meaning.
    a. gipanguta:na qaku sa hi:pi + nga + nga:nu man nga waq na:tuq qiqaplay "The chief asked me why we had not applied for it." (65.3)
    transient $|S|$ sentence
    b. gipanguta:na qaku sa hi:pi $+\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { kun } \\ q u g\end{array}\right\}+$ nga:nu man nga waq na:tuq qiqaplay "The chief asked me why we had not applied for it."
    4.84 Transient ${ }_{a}+$ infinitive $_{b}$ _—ransient tr $_{b}+$ infinitive $_{a}$

    This type of paradigm occurs only with certain bases
    (which usually have an adverbial type meaning, "suddenly",
    "quickly", "slowly", etc.) The bases are those listed in
    Sec. 6.2124 and Sec. 6.22114. These also enter into the maredigma
    listed in Sec. 6.2124 and Sec. 6.221121. trans.a ${ }_{a}$ inf. ${ }_{b}$
    a. gisunud ni:ya pagsablig qang qi:ya ng linantip "Next he sprinkled water on his bolo." (48.10) trans. ${ }_{b} \quad$ inf.a
    $\left.{ }^{a}\right]_{1}$ gisabli:gan ni:ya g sunud qang qi:ya ng linantip "Next he sprinkled water on his bolo."

    $$
    \text { trans }_{a} \quad \inf _{e_{b}}
    $$

    b. gikalit pagpadasmag qang tungaq sa swab sa qi:ya ng linantip "He suddenly dashed against it the middle of the blade of his bolo." (48.16) trans of inf. ${ }_{6}$
    $b_{1}$ gipadasmag ni:ya g kalit qang tungaq sa swab sa qi:yang linantip "He suddenly dashed against it the middle of the blade of his bolo."

    ### 4.2 Viord order of sentence with $\mathrm{S}^{* P}$

    If the order of a declarative or exiatantial sentence is S*P (Sec. 3.23) and the $P$ is a predicate phrase, the 8 has the following positions. (If the subject is a pestpositive [Seog 6.32] of. the remarks in Sec. 6.322 for exceptions to the rules given in this section.)

    ### 4.91 With adjective phrases as predicates

    The $S$ follows the adjective. $Q$ precedes and the linker (qug or nga) + NP follows the subject: adj. phrase

    | a | adj. | Q | S |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | di:ha $+n g+$ daghan | na | si hwan | qug bulaiwan |
    | "When John had much gold |  |  |  | "When John had much gold."

    If there are several Q's and the $S$ is short, one of the $Q$ 's ordinarily follows the $S$ :
     is quite satisfied now."
    4.92 In nominal phrases

    The $S$ usually follows the numeral $+Q_{\text {, }}$ poszessive plus $Q_{2}$ or common noun plus $Q$. | numeral | S |  |  |
    | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
    | qusa | si | hwan | ka magtutudluq "John is a teaoher." | b. di:liq ba kahaq may katungud/qang ta:mu|cemplement $\begin{gathered}\text { nompangutaina }\end{gathered}$ kun gikinahanglan pa siya dinhi "Doesn't the man have a right to ask if he is atill needed here?"

    ### 4.93 Transients as predicates

    For transient predicates the word order is parallel to that described for adjective and nominal predicates. The subject follows the transient plus its pestpositive qualifiers and precedes the complement (Sec. 4.6).

    | $\quad$ act. trans. | Q |
    | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
    | a. | complement |
    | "John just sits around." |  |

    ## Qutline of Chapter Five: Subjects

    5.1 Subjects defined
    5.2 Subjects introduced by gang
    5.21 gang plus predicate phrase as subject
    5.211 qang plus adjective phrase as subjeot
    5.212 qang plus transient phrase as subject
    5.213 qang plus passive imperative as subject
    5.214 qang pius nominal phrase as subject
    5.2141 qang plus possessive as subject
    5.2142 qang plus numeral phrase as subject
    5.2143 qang plus common nominal phrase
    5.22 qang plus subject as subject
    5.23 qang plus deictic as subject
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    5.3 Nominatives as subjects
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    5.7 Inalienable possession
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    5.81 qang and $\underline{y}$ omitted in certain phonemic environments
    5.82 Numeral phrase subjects without qang
    5.83 qang omitted in colloquial style

    ## Chapter Five: Subjects

    5.1 Subjects defined
    
    If the qus "and" is not used and if there is a second subjeot, the . moaning is appositive (i.e., the two subjects are the same): second subject in the compound subject (qang _qug (qang)
    $\qquad$ ). Similarly the si is not always repeated, though it • frequently is repeated.
    b. nga:nu ma ng diq na:muq qiku:yug| si tu:ni qug tista
    "Why may we not have Tony and Tita come along?"
    *For the omission of qang cf. Sec. 5.8.
    ** The distribution of ging and $y$ is explained in Sec. 5.61.
    ***An exception to this rule is the oase of predicates beginning with qang, interrogatives, proper names and personal pronouns which do not occur after qang (i.e., "qang qang does not occur, nor does gang si). Furthermore, not all of the qualifiers with predicates occur with predicates used as subjects.
    ****Pronoun + nga + declarative sentence with active transient predicate does not occur. (Cf. statement Sec. 4.26)
    c. qi:la $\stackrel{P}{n g}$ gibalhin| qang lami:sa qug si:ya "They moved the table and chair."

    Tag is confined to the colloquial language, (It is not used except in set expressions.)
    in Cebu City / The meaning of gag differs from gang in that
    gag is more specific.
    d. manga:wat ba gud qag qi:mu ng qanak "Would this son of yours ever steal (as opposed to other sons)?"

    In the following rules when gang is mentionedgag is also possible.
    5.2 Subjects introduced by gang
    5.21 gang plus predicate phrase as subject
    5.211 gang plus adjective phrase as subject
    pred. $\quad \mathrm{S}$ (adj. phrase)
    gustu na:kuq qang qitum quE tabun "I want the: one with a black cover."

    The paradigms into which adjective phrases used as predicates onter. (Sec. 4.212), apply also to adjective phrases used as subjects.
    5.212 gang plus transient phrase as subject
    a. dakuq kaqa:yu ng kahuy $\mid$ qang qa:ku ng gipi:lay
    "It was a huge tree. I cut down." (29.4)
    "It was a huge tree. I cut down." (29.4)

    S
    b. qusa ka majaqit nga pahiyum $\mid$ qang $+\begin{gathered}\text { transient phrase } \\ \text { mikiq sa qi:ya ng }\end{gathered}$ manga nga:bil "His lips twisted into a bitter smile." (49.1)

    These transient phrases used as subjects do not enter into the active-passive paradigms (Secs. 4.811 and 4.812 ) because of the restrictions on what occurs as subject. (Declarative sentences oonsisting of active transient + subject do not occur as subjects. Cf. Sec. 4.26..)
    5.213 gang plus passive imperative as subject
    $\mathrm{P} \quad \mathrm{S}$ (passive imp.)
    qang qa:ku ng bisiklizta maqua y gamista disliq qang qisma "My bicycle is the one you should use not yours."

    Again since qang plus active imperative sentences do not
    oocur as subjects, the passive in this case is not in a paradigm with an active.

    ### 5.214 gang plus nominal phrase as subject

    5.2141 gang plus possessive as subject

    S possessive $P$
    kay qang qi:ya $\mid$ dapit man sa da:hun "For his was the part near the leaves."
    5.2142 gang plus numeral phrase as subject
    
    numeral phrase
    ni hranl qang qusa ka butang nga daw di:liq katuqu:han "Then one time there came to John's mind something which seemed unbelievable." (9.12)
    5.2143 gang pius common nominal phrase
    labi na qang qamahan $\mid$ nali:pay gayud pagqasyu * Especially the father was very happy." (1.6)
    5.22 gang plus subject as subject
    gustu $\left.\begin{array}{lll}\mathrm{P} & \mathrm{ku} & \text { qisulqub }\end{array} \right\rvert\,$ qang kadtu ng qasul "I want to put on the blue one."

    The type of subject "kadtu ng qasul" is described in Sec. 5.41.
    5.23 qang plus deictic as subject

    | Q | $P$ | S |
    | :--- | :---: | :---: |
    | qapan | qang yamyamun la:mang sa pagpanga:yuq | qang dihaq sa |
    | qi:ya | ng qu:lu "But the only thing in his head was the |  |

    5.24 gang plus existential sentence as subject

    a. gipi:liq na:kuq $\left\lvert\,$| existential sentence |
    | :---: |
    | qang may bu:wak |$\quad\right.$ "I chose the

    one, with flowers."
    b. pili:qa. pred.
    flowers."
    5.25 qang plus abstract as subject

    S
    P abstract compl. of abstr.
    a. lisud kaqa:yu| qang pagpatay kang karangkál "It was very difficult to kill Karangkál."

    S
    abstr.
    b. gisugdan ni:ya | qang pagputul sa ka:huy "He began the cutting of the trees."

    If the predicate contains a passive transient and abstract subject (as in example babove), the sentence is in a paradigm
    as is described in Sec. 4.812 (active-passive paradigm).

    ### 5.3 Nominatives as subjects

    5.32 Proper name phrases

    Proper name phrasea: (demonstrative) + proper name + (Q) + (nga) + (predicate phrase)

    Proper names and tities are anything preceded by sif kang) so listed in the glossary. If a name has two parts, or consists of a title plus a name, the si is used only once, and no other linking is made between the elements, (cf. Sec. 4.243., si husi risal "Jose Rizal", si hwan tapulan "Lazy John", si mistir qidralin "Mr. Edralin", si qiyuq qambuq "Mr. Ambo". $S$
     qug manga talagsaqu ng qabilidad "But Karangkal, even when he was still a child, showed peculiar abilities." (25.8)
     Baker was taller than you are." (41.12)
    The si may be omitted if a demonstrative (Sec. 4.7) precedes. In that case there is linking with nga.
    $P$ demonstr. linker $S$
    c. na qunyaq didtu | siala kadtu ng bilyagunsa:lu
    "Well anyway, there he was with that Villagonzalo." (38.8)
    5.32 Pronominal phrases as subjects

    Pronominal phrase: (demonstrative pronoun) + pronoun +
    $(Q)+((n g)+$ predicate phrase), Four pronouns and demonstratives cf. Sec. 4.7.
     $(4.13)$
    b. qiruq||ka|man diqay "So you are greedy!" (42.4)
     they had some help in the household." (1.5)

    Demonstratives occur only preceding the third person pronoun singular or plural.

    ```
                                    S
    ```

    

    ```
    happened to him yet." (46.8)
    ```

    5.321 Plural subjects
    Subject: $\left\{\begin{array}{ll}\text { sila } \\ \text { kamu } \\ \text { kita } \\ \text { kami }\end{array}\right\}^{*} \quad . \quad .+($ subject $)$
    na qunyaq didtu|si:la + kadtung bilymanea: lu "Well anyway,
    there he was with that Villagonzalo." (38.8)

    ### 5.4 Subjects used as predicates

    If a sentence is composed of two constituents which occur as subjects, one is taken to be the subject and the other, the predicate. The reason for this consideration is that words which occur only as qualifiers of predicates, occur as qualifiers to one of the constituents in sentences containing two constituents, the internal structure both of which is like that of subjects.

    FThe other forms of the pronoun listed in Sec. 4.7 are also included in this type of subject.
    (These are the postpositive qualifiers to predicates. Cf. Sea. 6.32.) The examples of the following paragraphs exemplify this rule.

    ### 5.41 Predicates consisting of pronominal phrases

    If one of the constituents of such sentences is a pronominal phrase, the pronominal phrase is the prodicate (except as indicated in Sec. 5.42).

    P
    $\begin{array}{cc}\text { Qukad karun qikaw } & \text { na* } \mid \text { qang qa:ku } \\ \text { ng katasbang }\end{array}$ sa panga:huy "From now on, you will be my helper in outting wood." (2.7)
    (The occurrence of na also indicates that the gikaw is the predicate. [Cf. Sec. 6.32] )

    ### 2.42 Fredicates consisting of proper nouns

    If there is a proper noun, the proper noun may be predicate:
     S
    qinahan maqu $\mid y$ nahibilin "And now only John and his mother were left." (3.11)

    Again, the occurrences of na and lasmang indicate that si hwan is a predicate. (Cf. Sec. 6.32.) On the other hand, if one constituent is a demonstrative, and the other is a proper name, either one may be the predicate.

    If there is a postpositive qualifier, the position of the posipositive qualifier indicates which is the predicate.
    predicate postpos. $Q$
    a. si mistir qaba:ya man ${ }_{\text {kini }}$ "It was Mr. Abaya;" b. ${ }^{\text {pred. }} \underset{\text { postpos. }}{\text { man }} \quad Q \mid$ si mistir qabasya "This is the one who is Mr. Abaya."

    If there is no postpositive qualifier, the element which is first is the predicate. (This is the most common word order for sentences with NP's for predicates, and if the word order is subject preceding a predicate, there is also a particle to show insistenge or some other special nuance this word order has.)

    ### 5.43 gang before predicate

    If the sentence consists of two phrases introduced by gang, the one which has the postpositive qualifier (Sec, 6.32) is the predicate. If there are no postpositive qualifiers, the constituent which precedes is the predicate. (Cf. the remarks in Seo.. 5.42 above.)
    $\left.\begin{array}{ccc}Q & P & \text { postpos. } \\ \text { qapan qang } & \text { qamyamun } & \text { lasmang sa pagpanga:yuq }\end{array} \right\rvert\, \begin{gathered}\text { qang dihaq }\end{gathered}$ sa qi:ya ng qu:lu "But the only thing that was in his head was the magic utterance." (Lit.:"what should be uttered in asking.")

    ### 5.5 Direct statements as subjects

    Sentences occur as subjects with the meaning of "what he said":
    subject
    sentence predicate qunyaq qunsa ma $y$ nahitabuq panguta:na gihaspun ni qangkay "'Then what happened?' Angkay kept asking." (65.1)
    5.6 The use of $y$ (ging)*
    5.61 In in normal sentences

    In sentences consisting of a subject and a predicate which is also a subject, $y$ (qing) is optionally used before the subject (If not initial in the sentence). If the subject follows direotIy a pronoun, numeral, frequent name, postpositive qualifier or ather frequent qualifiers or maqu, the gang is not usually used, but rather $y$ is used instead. If the word preceding the subject ends in a consonant and is not one of those usually followed by $\bar{y}$ gang ( $q$ ing)** only is used (or $y$ is omitted). Q + predicate (consisting of elements which occur as a. qug + si hwan na la:mang qug qang qi:ya ng subjects) qinahan maqu|y nahibilin "So now John and his mother were the only ones left." (3.11) predicate (with constituent which occurs also as subjeot)
     (hwan is a frequent name.)
    c. si luqis $\left.\left\lvert\,\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { pred. } \\ \text { qang } \\ \text { love." }\end{array}\right\} \begin{array}{c}\text { qubject } \\ \text { qing }\end{array}\right.\right\}$ gi gihigugma "Luis is the one $I$

    Here the word preceding the subject ends in a consonant and is not a postpositive particle or a frequent name, so that only gang (qing) is used. It would also be considered correct to omit


    Y. (Cf. Sec. 5.81, example d.
    2.621 in proverbial expressions

    In set proverbial expressions $y$ precedes the subject with other types of predicates.
     return again [but $x$ will not]."
    b. magki:taq man gaini $\mid$ luwag qug kasisli $\begin{aligned} & \text { Paven the eel }\end{aligned}$ and the ladle meet." (Cf. Sec. 5.81 for the omission of $X_{*}^{\prime}$ ) But if the sentence is not a proverb, gang is required.
     come back."
    5.622 Extensions of "proverbial $y^{\prime \prime}$

    This usage of $\underset{Y}{ }$ is with comparisons, if there is the nuance of a proverb. (Cf. the usage of $I$ before transients and sentences Sec. 3.53.)
    $P$ (adject.) $\quad S$
    a. gwa:pa pa y kudkuran "As ugly as a coconut grater."
    (Lit.: "The cooonut grater is more beautiful.")
    P (adject.) $S$
    b. tambuk pa, y dyis "Thinner than a dime." (Lito: "A dime
    is fatter.")
    But if there is no proverbial nuance, the $y$ is not used.

    $$
    \begin{aligned}
    & \text { P(adject.) }\left.\right|_{\text {qang qi:mu }} \text { Sg qigsu:qun "Your brother } \\
    & \text { taqas pa } \\
    & \text { is taller." }
    \end{aligned}
    $$

    5.63 Differences between $y$ (ging) existential and $y$ (ging)
    before a subject
    The sentences with $\mathcal{Z}$ before a subject are in a paradigm with sentences with qang before the subject, whereas existential sentences are not in a paradigm with sentences containing the same words except gang where the existential had $y$.
    $y$ before a subject
    a. qikaw ra|\{qang $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { P } \\ y\end{array}\right\}$ ga ng hinigugma "You are the only
    one I love."
    Yexistential
     In the case of $\underline{b}$, gang does not occur in the position of $y$. On the other hand, existential sentences enter into paradigms into which the declarative sentemes do not enter (described in Seg. 3.422). Cf. the discussion and examples in Sec. 5.64, below.
    5.64 y after numerals and deictics

    There are some sentences which have been considered existential sentences but for which gang is possible in the position of $y$. These are sentences with deictic and interrogative prede icates (Secs. 4.421 and 4.3 , respectively) and numeral predicates (Sec. 4.232). The existential sentences are treated in Sec. 3.4.
    istential sentema

    | $\begin{array}{l}\text { numeral } \\ \text { duha }\end{array}$ | $y \quad q a: k u \quad$ $n g$ qanak $\quad$ I have two ohildren." |
    | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

    declarative sentence:
    

    ## declarative sentence:

    d. dihaq na ${ }^{\text {deictic }}{ }^{P}$ qang daghan kaqa:yu ng salapiq "The large
    amount of money was there now."
    In this case the sentences of types exemplified by and $\underline{c}$, above, have been called existential rather than declarative. (I.e., deictic and numerical predicates have been excluded from those which may be followed by y plus the subject in the rules of Sec. 5.61) The reason for this analysis is that these ocour in paradigms in which the other sentences with $y$ substitutable by gang do not occur.*
    $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { deictic } \\ \text { numeral }\end{array}\right\}+y+P P+($ gen $) \leftrightarrow\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { deictic } \\ \text { numeral }\end{array}\right\}+y+P P+$ (subjeot) where the subject is the nominative to the genitive
    (i.e., the second member of the paradigm described in Sec. 3.422 - exemplified by examples $\underline{a}$ and b of that section). corresponding to 2 , above
    


    ### 5.7 Inalienable possession

    In Cebuano nouns which have the meaning of "one thing which can belong to someone" occur with a genitive when the meaning is "a particular one".
    a. gisu:guq $\mid$ siya $\mid$ sa qi:ya ng qamahan $\quad$ "His father ordered him."
    b. qiku:qut kana ng qi:mu ng kamut "Stick in four hand." (5.11)
    c. qamahan |siya "He is a father."
    (This usage parallels English usage,) The only exception is a sentence which is a constituent of a larger sentence in whioh the possessor has already been mentioned.

    PP (existent. sentence with malis.yu)
     "Maleyo went away without any direction in (his) walking." e. lahiq man gud siya kaqa:yu kay sa manga qulitaswu ng syudadnun + nga puius qartipisyal qang $^{Q}$ il:huk "For he is very different from the city boys who are all affected in their ways."

    ### 5.8 Omission of gang and y with subject

    5.81 qang and $y$ omitted in certain phonemic environments.

    Following words ending in /ang/ gang does not usually oocur even in formal speech.(Cf. morphophonemics, Sec. 2.212.) a. gamay ng butang|qi:ya ng dai "What he is bringing is a small thing."
    $\mathbf{Z}$ does not occur following words ending in consonants except /q/ and except folloring postpositives and oommon words. (cf.. the morphophonemics Sec. 2.212 and Sec. 5.61) y does not occur following words ending in /i/, /iq/. (The same is true for the $y$ of existentiels.)
    pred. subj.
    b. maqu lagi kini gisulti sa qa:ku ng qanak "But that is what my son said!" (12.12)

    In this case $y$ may be used because the constituente of the predicate are like those of a subject.(Cf. Sec. 5.61) $\dot{y}$ is omitted because kini ends in /i/. Cf. the following:
     resily what my son said: "

    In existential sentences $y$ may also be omitted after a consonant except $/ \mathrm{n} /$ and $/ \mathrm{q} /$ and after $/ \mathrm{i} / \mathrm{s} / \mathrm{iq} /$.

    P
    S
    d. qunum $\mid$ qa:ku ng qanak "I have ajx children."

    Since the word qunum ends in a consonant, $y$ does not occur. Cf. the following:
    e. pitu|y qa:ku ${ }^{\text {P }}$ ng qanak "I have seven children."
    5.82 Numeral phrase subjects without gang

    Numeral phrases occur as subjects with no gang (as well as
    with $\frac{\text { qang - Sec }}{\text { subjeot }}$. 5.2142).
    numeral phrase
    $P$
    qusa ka mapaqit nga pahi:yum mikiwiq sa qi:ya ng manga nga:bil "His lips tristed into a bitter smile."

    This usage is normal in conversation and is considered correct,
    though in written style it is not usual.
    5.83 qang omitted in colloquial style

    If the predicate is a transient or adjective phrase and the subject is a nominal phrase, the gang is optional in colloquial style. This usage is considered incorrect but is in common use in the speech of educated people.
    pagsaka ${ }^{Q}$ sa pa:riq $+\underset{\text { tindug }}{\text { P }} \mid \underset{\text { qamirika:nu }}{S} \quad$ "When the prieat oame in, the American stood up." (39.1)

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    | 6.312 | ga:ngay, takus "should" |
    | 6.313 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { midyu "rather" labi "most" mas "more" pulus, Husbue, } \\ & \text { pu:ru "purely" daw "seems" } \end{aligned}$ |
    | 6.314 | na/mahi:mu "become, is possible" |
    | 6.315 | bisan, maskin, maski, "even" |
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    ## Chanter Six: Qualifiers

    ### 6.0 Introduction

    Qualifiers (Q) are elements which are not adjectives, adjeotive phrases, nouns, nominal phrases, transients or transient phrases. They are in endocentric construction with other elements ~ i.e., the elements with which they are in construction also occur without the qualifier. In this study when we say $x$ "qualifies" $\mathbb{Z}$, that means that $x$ is a qualifief whioh is in endocentric construction with $y$. In many contexts the omission or inclusion of a certain qualifier makes little or no sense. Thus it would make no sense to say "miqabut siya + Q qugmaq" "He came tomorrow." However, in order to cut down the number of rules, many such self-contradictory sentences are not speoifically ruled out, though in reality they do not occur in Cebuano any more than the corresponding ones occur in English.*

    ### 6.11 Topic

    An element which occurs as a subject occurs also as a topio.
    It is a qualifier to a sentence, - i.e. the first immediate constituent cut is made between it and the rest of the sentence.
    


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    The topic may be qualified (just as a subject may be).

    topic $Q$ to topic $P$ P $|$| $\mathbf{S}$ |
    | :--- |

    "We in America, we are used to that."
    The topic may also occur at the end of a sentenoe as well as at the beginning.
    
    axcl sentence topic
    f. labihan kali:pay + si karangkal "Karangkal, how happy he was!"

    ### 6.12 Linking

    Topics which are short (consisting of one or two words) are not linked. If they are long they are linked with a pause.

    ### 6.13 Second predicates

    Similar to the topic construction is the second predicate. The second predicate is in endocentric construction with a sentence and occurs at the end of a sentence. It is qualified by• $\left\{\frac{d i q}{d i: l i q}\right\}$ "not", qimbis, sakapi or qinay "instead of", labi $\left\{\frac{p a}{\underline{n a}}\right\}$ "especially" or one of a few other qualifiers of sịmilar meaning. Anything that occurs as a predicate, qualifier to a sentence, or a goal occurs also as a "second predicate".
    

    2nd predicate
    

    P
    S $\quad$ TP goal goal
    0. qapan kini ng pagtusqu|nagaha:tag + kalissang + sa manga 2nd predicate
    Q EOal
    taswu+labi na + sa manga kabata:qan. "But this belief inspires fear in the people, especially the children." (23.14)

    ### 6.2 Other qualifiers to sentences or predicate phrases

    These are qualifiers which occur such that the first imem diate constituent cut is made between them and the rest of the sentence. These also occur as qualifiers to predicate phrases.

    ### 6.201 Word order of sentences with qualifiers

    These qualifiers occur in the order $Q+$ sentence, sentenoe $+Q$ and sentence * $Q$. If the order is sentence * $Q$, usually the Q follows the first word of the subject or predicate.
     lahiq sa quban "But Duday is probably a woman who is different from the others."

    Qualifiers which are long are linked with a pause. Those which are short (consisting of one or two words) are not linked except as indicated in the following paragraphs.
    6.21 Qualifiers to sentences introduced by ga

    This section includes phrases introduced by ga or the genitive forms of the nouns and pronouns (Sec. 4.7). Phrases introduced by sa may be followed by nga + \{licate phrased, $\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { prentences } \\ \text { sen }\end{array}\right\}$ the whole resulting phrase being used as a qualifier. (The numbers indicate the order of the IC cuts):
    
    magtutudluq siya sa qusa ka qiskuylahan didtu "When he lived in Cebu, he was a teacher at a school there."
    6.211 Those with "obligatory" sa

    Obligatory formovare those which are not optional. (Cf. Sec.3.17)
    6.2111 sa plus sentences consisting of transient phrase

    ## plus subject

    a. qapan sa qusa niqa:naq ka qadlaw $+\frac{\mathrm{sa}+\text { nagalingkud }}{\text { ( }}$ sentence used as $Q$

    | $S$ |  |
    | :--- | :--- |
    | Siya | sa giya ng lingkurasnan |$+$ miqingun siya "But one day, as he was sitting in his seat, he said...." (9.14)

    

    These are in a paradign with the qualifiers composed of (sa) plus abstracts (Sec. 6.2122). (Cf. paradigm Sec. 4.82. [S + P $\longleftrightarrow$ genitive + abstract] where $S$ is the nominative form of the genitive (Sec. 4.7) and genitive is the genitive form of the subject.) Sentence $\underline{a}$ above is in a paradigm with a sentence:

    ## Q

    abstract + genitive $+Q$ of the sentence c. sa paglingkud + ni:ya + sa qi:ya ng lingkura:nan + miqingun siya "As he sat down in his seat, he said ."

    The difference in meaning is one of aspect. The transient phrase used as a qualifier means that the action is continuous (expressed In English by the progressive form with most words) whereas the abstract may mean continuaas or not. ( $C f$. the discussion Sec. 8.311.) The transient forms used in this construction are those with a nag-/mag-nage-/maga-/pa-continous action. (Cf. Seg. 8.1211. )

    ### 6.2112 sa + sentence with other constituents

    sentence
    a.. sa + ba:taq pa $\left.\begin{gathered}\text { adj. } P \\ \text { siya }\end{gathered} \right\rvert\,$ + qusa ka gantang bugas qang qi:ya ng mahurut. "When he was a child, he could finish off a whole ganta of rice."

    Q
    exclamatory sentence
    b. sa + labihan ni:ya ng hini:lak + waq ni:ya madungug qang qayrupla:nu "Because of too much crying, he did not hear the airplane."
    o. dihaq ku siya hikitqi + sa $\quad \begin{aligned} & \text { existential sentence* } \\ & \text { "I saw him there by the store." } \\ & \text { store".) }\end{aligned}$ (Lit.z "where there is a
    6.2113 sa + abstracts

    The sa is obligatory with abstract qualifiers (Sec. 6.2122).
    if the first word of the qualifier is preceded by a genitive of the pronominal form (Sec. 4.7).

    Q
    pron form of gen abstract
    sa qa:ku ng pagka diq tagadinhi + waq ku mahibalu sa tinu:qud "Since I am not from here, I do not know the truth..."

    The sa is obligatory here, because the first word of the qualifier is a genitive in the pronominal form.
    6.2114 sa + nominal phrase or demonstrative phrase

    The sa is obligatory in sa plus nominal phrase used as a qualifier except for the numeral phrases (Sec. 6.21231) and those listed in Sec. 6.21232.

    Q
    nominal phrase
    a. may pita:ka nga dihaq gibutang + sa qi:ya ngkamut "There was a purse that was put there in his hand." (6.4)


    nominal phrase
    b. $\quad$. $a+l a=q i \quad n g$ pagkasulti + qugmaq sa ha:pun sa qalas says qang taknaq kinahanglan qi:mu kini ng qiha:tag ngadtu sa ha:riq "In other words, tomorrow afternoon at six o'clock you have to deliver it to the king." (14.10)

    Since goals are also introduced by sa (Sec. 4.63) the decision Whether a certain element is a goal or a qualifier following the verb depends upon whether the sentence is in a paradigm with a sentence with the phrase introduced by sa coming initially or with a sentence with gug instead of sa. For example, in the following, the phrase introduced by sa is a qualifier:
    

    This sentence is in a paradigm with a sentence:
    form in question
    sa qi:ya ng lingkura:nan + nagalingkud $\underset{\text { siya }}{\text { P }} \quad$ (same meaning) Transients with the meaning of location are not followed by oomplements, but rather by qualifiers.

    ### 6.212 Those introduced by optional ga

    (For definition of optional ef. Sec. 3.11.)
    Q: (sa) $+\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { sentence } \\ \text { abstract +(genitive) } \\ \text { nominal phrase }\end{array}\right\}$
    6.2121 (sa) + sentence as qualifier

    The only sentences used as qualifiers with an optional sa are expressions of time or sentences introduced by dihaq nga (dinhag nga) "while".
    qualifier
    sentence (expression of time)
    a. s3. qalas says qang taknaq + kinahanglan qi:mu kini ng qiha:tag ngadtu sa ha:riq "At six o'clock you have to give this to the king." (14.11)

    Q
    b. qug sa dihaq nga may dagha ng bula:wan na siya qi:ya ng
    giqingnan qang qi:ya ng qinahan "And when he had much gold, he said to his mother, ..." (15.5)
    aentence (expression of time)
    o. pila na ka gatusan ka tu:qig qang miqa:gi + qadu:na y
    duha ka magsu:qun "Several hundred years ago there
    were two brothers. "

    $$
    6.2122 \text { (sa) + abstract + (genitive) }+ \text { (complement) }
    $$

    The abstracts are the forms described in Sec. 8.3 and its subsections. Also matag plus the base and ka:da plus the base occur in this construction in the position of the abstract meaning "each time $V$ happens". The abstracts consisting of the base alone do not occur initially or initially following sa. The abstracts of the form ginig- base do not occur after sa;

    Q
    abstract. gen $S$
    a. qinigqebut ni:la sa bu:kid + qang qamahan misu:gud dasym qug pi:lay qug manga ka:huy "On arriving at the mountain the father began to cut trees down." (2.11)

    Q (abstract)
    b. qinigka:qun gayud + muka:qun siya qug qusa ka gantang nga Q
    linungqag + ka:da ka:qun ni:ya "Every time he ate, he would eat a ganta of rice each time he ate." (25.13)
    qualifier
    abstract $Q$ gen complement
    c. pagbira + pa + ni:ya + sa qi:ya ng kamut may pita:ka nga dihaq gibutang sa qi:ya ng kamut "On pulling out his hand, there was a purse that was put into his hand." (6.3)
    qualifier
    Q abstract $Q$ gen complement
    d. qapan + sa pagla:bug pa ni:ya sa pita:ka + may mitagingting nga manga salapiq "But as he threw the purse away, there were coins that jingled." (6.8)

    The pag- abstract of a transient used as a qualifier differs from the infinitive (Sec. 4.68) in that a sentence with a qualifier following the predicate is in a paradigm with a senm tenoe where the qualifier precedes the sentence. A sentence
    containing a peg-abstract used as an infinitive is in a paradign with a sentence containing qug + base.

    ### 6.21231 (sa) plus nominal phrase as qualifier

    The sa is optional in nominal phrases containing numerals or numbers or indicating time or date. Sentences containing this type of qualifier preceded by sa are in a paradigm with two athers containing this qualifier introduced by qug (when not Initial in the sentence) ${ }^{*}$ or introduced by nothing.

    ```
            Q
                            numeral phrase
    a. na qunyaq + qusa niqa:naq ka duminggu + didtu si baskir
    sa bulangan "Well anyway, one Sunday Baker was at the cook-
    fights." (37.8)
    ```

    This type of qualifier may be followed by nga plus sentence or predioate phrase as part of the qualifier:
    qualifier
    numeral phrase + nga + sentence
    b. qusa niqa:naq ka qadlaw + nga + miqanhi si hwsn sa augbu + nagkaki:taq kami "One day when John came to Cebu,we happened to meet."

    6,21232 (sa) plus nominal phrase not containing a numeral
    This is confined to nominal phrases containing nouns
    meaning time of day, week, month, years, eto.
    Q
    nom phrase
    a. tibuquk gabi:qi + qang talisa:yun nagqantus sa kabugnaw
    "The whole night the speckled one suffered from the cold."
    *
    qug is possible even if the qualifier precedes the sentence, if it is preceded by a qualifier.
    qualifier
    Q numeral phrase
    piru + g pipila ka buslan sukad karun + qabut na siya. "But in a few months he will already be here."

    These qualifiers are optionally linked with ga when not preceded by se.
    qualifier
    nom phrase $Q$ linker
    b. byirnis na $+\mathrm{ng}+$ miqabut siva "He did not arrive until Friday."

    ### 6.21233 Paradigms of nominal expressions of time as qualifier

    These expressions of time of day, week, month, season, year etc. occur with affix ka-bases as transients. (cf. Seq. 9.333) and thus they are in paradigms with qualifiers containing other members of the transient paradigm. The forms with the prefix mado not occur introduced by sa and are described in Sec. 6.221122. The abstract qualifiers are described in Sec 6.2122 and the sentences used as qualifiers are described in Sec. 6.2121.

    ## Q

    a. [sa] gabi:qi na + siva [mg] muqadtu "He will go there when it is night."
    ([ ] = either one or the other or neither occurs..)

    Q
    b. magabi:qi + siva (hg) muqadtu "He goes out at night." (Cf. Also the other possible word orders Sec. 6.221122.)

    Q (sentence)
    0. nagabi:qi na + siva ( $n g$ ) miqadtu "It was night when he went."
    d. (sa) pagkagabi:qi + siva muqadtu "He will leave at For those words meaning "time" which have the formations described in Sec. 11.91 (-in-) or Sec. 11.92 (doubling or lulu-), sentences containing them as qualifiers also enter into paradigms with sentences containing the . ...

    ```
    passives of Sec. 8.21142.
    ```


    ### 6.2124 (sa) plus transient base as qualifier

    In this group are the bases kalit "sudden" and others.". . Q
    base
    a.- qunyaq + sa kalit + maqu $y$ nadungug ni qangkay qang sya:git sa ba:taq "Then sudenly Angkay heard the screams of the child." (55.3)

    Sentences containing this type of qualifier are in a paradigm with an infinitive $\left\{\begin{array}{l}(\mathrm{sa})+\text { pag-base } \\ \text { qug }+ \text { bese }\end{array}\right\}$ and also in the paradigms described in Sec. 4.84.

    Q
    b. gipadasmag ni:ya g kalit qang tungaq sa swab sa qi:ya ng linantip "He suddenly dashed against it the middle of the blade of his bolo." (48.16)

    When the qualifier is first without sa there is optional linking with nga (a usage parallel to Sec. 6.21232 above, and Seo. 6.221121 below).

    Q
    0. qug + kalit nga + nanibugquk qang lu:haq sa qi:ya ng manga mata "And suddenly, the tears welled up in her eyes:"

    If the transient base is the qualifier of a declarative sentence with a predicate containing a transient phrase, it is in the paradigms described in Sec. 4.84.
    6.2125 (se) plus expressions of time not nominals used as

    ## gualifiers

    In this group are taqudtaqud"for a time", dihagdihag "reght than and there", qadlawgadlaw "every day", other doubled nouns meaningmime" with meaning "every $\qquad$ "-0.f. Sec. 11.92; qinadlaw "daily" (and other nouns meaning "time" with infix -in- meaning "by the"of. Sec. 11.91), da:yun "immediately" (sa da:yun "forever"),
    panaggagan "once in a while".
    Q sentence
    a. da:qan na ng + naki:taq ni mis kunsuylu nga Q sentence
    qadlawqailaw + nagtiniqil la:mang si dyanung "Miss Consuelo had already. seen previously that Dyanung walked barefoot every day."
    b. qapan si hwan natingasla + (sa) gihaspun "But John was still amazed." (5.7)

    ## Q

    - taqudtaqud na na:mu ng paqa:but kani:mu "We have been waiting for you for some time now." (63.11)

    Of these forms, panagsa, kanu:nay, and qulahi are optionally linked with nga when preceding what they are qualifying. However, this linking does not occur when the qualifier is prem oeded by sa. (Cf. Secs, 6.21232 and 6.2124 for comment on linking with nga by qualifiers optionally introduced by gad.
    linker
    d. qarun pagqiya:wat sa taknaq + kanusnay ni:la ng giqanam qang manga sagbut "In order to save time they always pulled the weeds as they oame up." (52.11)

    The forms in this group also occur as predicates (Sec. 4.4). These forms followed by nga plus $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { sentence } \\ \text { predicate }\end{array}\right\}$ also occur as qualifiers with the nga plus $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { sentence } \\ P P\end{array}\right\}$ as part of the qualla.

    Q PP
    e. waq pahinayuna qang piknik sa dihaqdiha ng miquwan "The picnic was called off when right at that moment it started to rain."

    These qualifiers may themselves be qualified:
    f. sa + walaq + maduigay + qang ha:riq namatay "After a short time, the king died." (17.7)
    g. kun walaq pa + duigay na $\left.\frac{\text { quntaq }}{\mid k i n i}\right|_{\text {ng }} ^{\text {link }}$ mikaging "If he had not, it would have died long ago." (62.4)

    Words with doubling Culu- or -in- (Sece. 11.91 and 11.92) enter into the paradigms described in Sec. 6.21233. In addition they enter into paradigms with passives of Sec. 8.21142. (cf. examples there.)
    6.2126 (sa) plus other elements used as qualifiers

    In this group are tinu:qua "truly", tinuguray "truly", Iabihan* "very much" and hilabihen* "very muoh".
    a. sa tinuquray diq ku gustu g mangge "Actually, I do not like mangoes."

    When not initial, this type of qualifier may be preceded by qug.
    b. gisakitan siya $g$ tinu:qud sa manga tunuk nga mita:ruy sa qi:ya ng la:was "The thorns that were stuck in his body certainly did hurt him."
    0. mihi:lak qang baqu sa hilabihan "The turtle cried very loudly."
    6.22 Qualifiers to sentences without sa
    6.221 Those which occur initially, medially and finally
    6.2211 Those not followed by nga plus nominal phrase

    ### 6.22111 Those not preceded by qug

    In this group are the timeless, real and prenasalized deictics (Sec. 4.71). It is not considered correct to use the prenasalized deictics as qualifiers to sentences, but it is common colloquial usage to use them in this way. ( ${ }^{C}$ f. example $\mathrm{o}_{\mathrm{o}}$ )

    * labihan and hilabihan also occur as qualifiers to emplamatory sentences (Sec. 6.2233).
    

    In this group are kasaga:ran "customarily", ga:gig plus nominal phrase "as $a$ ", pananglit, panangli:tan "for example", tinga:li "perhaps". These last three are optionally linked with qug when initial.
    d. kasaga:ran muqanhi $\begin{array}{cc}Q & \mathrm{Siya} \\ \mathrm{Q} & \mathrm{dinh} i\end{array}$ "He usually comes here." 6.22112 Those optionally preceded by gug when not initial 6.221121 Adjectives used as qualifiers (linked with nga)
    (These differ from those in Sec. 6.2124 only in that they do not occur preceded by sa.) In this group are adjectives with a meaning of manner: dalig "fast", kusug "fast", du:ru "hard", ha;qit "sharp", dakuq "big" and others with similar meanings or other meanings of "how". Also in this group are words meaning "always": kanu:nay, si:gi, pirmi, etc.
    a. qarun pagaiya:wat sa taknaq kanu:nay ni:la ng giquanam
    qang manga sagbut "In order to save time, they always pulled
    the weeds as they came up." ( 52.10 )
    Q
    b. qina:nay ng mili:suq si qinting "Inting turned slowly."
    $\quad(63.6)$

    These qualifiers also ocour in the constructions described in Seo. 3.7 and enter the paradigms described in Sec. 3.72 and its subm
    seotions and in Sec. 4.84 with a two-way transformational relationship. When these occur initially, they are optionally linked with nga (just as the forms described in Sec. 6.2124). When not initial they are optionally preceded by qug.

    -. miginhaira | linker |
    | :---: |
    | qug |
    | $(64.1)$ | lalum si qinting "Inting took a deep

    An example of no linking is the following:
    Q
    d. maqa:yu kunu qaku muqimbintu qug kataru:ngan "He said I was good at making up reasons." (65.8)
    6.221122 Those not linked with nga

    The qualifiers of this group are exactly like those of Seo. 6.221121 above except that they are not linked with nga when initial. They enter into the same paradigms (Sec. 3.72 and its subsections and Sec. 4.84)and are optionally linked with gug when not initial. They are human, kahuman and taipus "after" and me- plus expressions of time (the unreal form of transients with a ka- affix to a base meaning time, Sec. 9.333), maka-/ka-plus numerals meaning "___ times" Sec. 11.85.
    a. human na ni:ya qikapanumpaq sa ha:yaq sa qi:yang pinanggang qanak nga qipanimalus ni:ya kini "He had already sworn over the body of his beloved child that he would avenge her." (58.24)

    Q linker
    b. di:liq kay makaqusa ra nga qi:la kini ng gipanqan qug qusa ka baktin "More than once they lured it with a young pig." (57.7)
    6.2212 Those followed by nga plus nominal phrase

    In this group are , forms with a temporal meaning: gani:na, kagani:na, gani:ha, kagani:ha, "a little while ago", niqadtu, kaniqadtu, "the past", karun (run), qunyag "the future". Q linker nominal
    a. mularga qaku + qunya ng gabi:qi + sa qalas
    says qang taknaq "I will depart this evening at six o'clock."

    Q linker nominal
    b. karu ng qadla:wa + si tankri:du nagpaqa:but sa tawag ni lusi:la "Today Tancredo is waiting for Lucilals call." sentenoe
    o. daghan qaku g nahi:mu + niqadtu ${ }^{\text {Q }}$ (inker batanqun pa |qaku "There was much that I accomplished in those days when I was still young."

    Q
    d. qang kapungut nga qi:ya ng giba:tiq kagani:ha nahwashwasan "The anger which he felt before was relieved." (69.1)
    gugmag "tomorrow"is similar in construction. However, it is
    optionally followed by sa + nominal phrase.
    

    ### 6.2213 Sentences used as qualifiers

    Sentences can also be considered to be qualifiers if they are not as the end of the uttarance.
    qualifier
    sentence
    kun di:liq ni:ya qikaha:tag kana ng napu:luq ka sentenoe
    kurma:ta nga bula:wan + punggu:tan ku siya sa lisqug "If he does not give me those ten cartloads of gold in twenty-four hours, I am going to cut off his head (ift.:his neck)." (13.5)
    6.2214 Sentences with base or base + -in-used as qualifiers

    With this type of sentence the predicate consists of one of the following words: quban, dala, nunut, dungan "together with", lakip, qapil, haista, hangtud "including", human, ta:pus "after" and form base + -in- meaning "thing $V$ ed" (Sec. 10.21 and 1ts , subsections)
    a. sa nagatubuq si hwan nali:pay qusab qang manga Q
    P subject
    ginika:nan +quban
    qikata: bang sa panimalay "As John grew up, his parents were also happy together with the belief that now they had someone to help them in the household." (1.4)

    Q
    b. nisandig siya sa lubi $+\quad$ dale $\quad$ mg satan kay na patyun man siya "He leaned against the coconut tree carrying the shotgun, for he was going to be killed." (45.13)
    o. pinadukuq pang qu:lutmasulubqu mg namalhin gang magtiqa:yun "With bowed heads, the couple moved." (53.12)
    6. 222 Those qualifiers which occur initially and after
    the subject when the subject is first
    These are haipit, he:lus "nearly", nungka "never, kinahanglan "necessary", gustu (plus genitive), buqut (plus genitive) "wish". disidi:du "decided", bagqu "just". These are optionally linked with ga. In this group also is magu ra "seems" always linked with qua. These qualifiers differ from the ones which occur only initially (introduces - Sec. 6.2231) in that the postyetrym. tives are likely to be attracted to them, whereas for the introducers they are not attracted. (Cf. Sec. 6.322 for word order of postpositives.)
    $Q$ postposw. linker
    a. suginlan mu qikaw nga gusto siya ny mangasa:wa sa qi:mu mg qanak "I will tell you that he wants to marry your daughter." (12.5)

    Q postpositives
    b. Gang manga ba:buy + ha:pit + na lang musaka sa kabalayan "The pigs practically came into the houses." (51.10)

    Q
    c. qugmaq sa ha: pun sa qalas says qang taknaq kinahanglan qismu kinin mg qiha:tag ngadtu sa ha:riq "Tomorrow at six o'clock in the afternoon you must give this to the king." (14.11)

    Q linker
    d. maqu nga walaq madu:gay gang manga ginika:nan maqu ra $g$ miba:tiq sa kahapdus tungud sa kawaladqun "Therefore it Was not long before the parents seemed to feel the sting of poverty." (26.7)

    ### 6.223 Those occurring only initially

    ### 6.2231 Introducers

    In this group are the forms qug "and"; qapan, piru (pisru) "but"; qunyaq "then"; maqu nga "therefore"; bu:sa "therefore" (also bu:saq); da, dan, na, nan. (Cf. the glossary for definitions.) These are always first if there is more than one introduoer. The other introducers are tungud, sanglit, kay "because"; kun (kung) "if"; mintras, samtang "while"; sukad, giekan, kuemu "since"; basta "enough , just so"; qiigug "at the time"; basta, qasta "even, until"; hangtud "until"; la:bun "whereas"; qa:bi plus genitive " $\qquad$ thought"; hunaqhu:naq plus genitive " $\qquad$ thought"; $\left\{\begin{array}{c}\text { Erenitive of personal pronoun } \\ \text { ni }+ \text { name }\end{array}\right\}$. $\quad\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { thoughty } \\ \text { said }\end{array}\right\}$ nga "seeing that", qarun, bulahan "in order that"; qiya:wat "with the savings that"; gawas, la:but "besides"; sa:ma "just as"; hina:qut, ba:sin, ba:sun "hope"; takulashaw
    "lest"; sya:ru "it is unlikely"; qimbis, qinay, sakapi "instead". The interrogatives are also introducers: qa:sa "where" (unreal), ha:qin "where (timeless)'; digin "where " (xeal), kanusqa, qanusqa "when"; nga:nu "why". kining, kanang, kadtung are also used as introducers meaning "when" (relative).

    Linking of this group: gi:kan, labun sanglit, samtang, mintras, sukad, qarun, hangtud, la:but, dungan, hunaqhu:nag + genitive, gawas, sasma, genitive of personal pronoun, hina:qut are optionally linked with nga. basta, ba:sin, ba:sun are optionally linked with qug and with nga. ga:bi plus genitive sya:ru, takula:haw are optionally linked with gug. The demonstratives and qimbis, qinay, sakani and nga:nu are always linked
    with nga, tu:ngud, sanglit, labun, ku:mu and basta occur as
    introducers followed by kay, and postpositives may be attracted
    to them (Sec. 6.323) preceding the kay. (Cf. example k belowa)
    basta, qarun, sukad, tungud, samtang, gi:kan, qi:guq, qasta, bosta,
    gawas and sa:ma occur as qualifiers to qualifiers beginning with
    sa.. (Cf. Sec. 6.41.)
    intr. Q Q
    a. basta + kay + qi:ya qaku ng dadqan qug napu:luq ka kurma:ta ng bula:wan "Just so he brings me . ten cartloads of gold." (13.4)
    Q
    intr.
    b. sanglit dinhi man magkampu qang manga trabahadur sa gubyirnu sa pagtraba:hu sa da:baw kutaba:tu rud "For the government workers had camped here during the construction of the DavaoCotabato Road." (51.8)
    introducer linker
    c. qi:guq ra ng nakaqabut qang ba:taq sa quspital namatay "The child died just as soon as it reached the hospital." (55.8)
    d. nasubuq qang qamahan tungud kay labihan katapulan "The father was unhappy because he was very lazy." (1.10)
    intr. gen. $Q+$ linker
    e. qa:bi ku ma g daku ng tiqawti:qaw kini "I thought that this was a huge joke." (17.2)
    intr.
    f. labi na qang qamahan nali:pay gayud pagqa:yu
    "Especially the father was very happy." (1.6)
    (interrog)
    intr.
    g. ha:qin + gud ni:mu kuha:qa kana ng qi:mu ng kwarta "Where did you get that money of yours?" (9.3)

    When there is an introducer or another qualifier to the sentence at the beginning of the sentence, either the introducer or the qualifier comes first.*


    

    The introducers also occur preceding abstracts used as qualifiers
    (Seo. 6.2122) in which case there is no sa.
    j intr.
    j. pagquliq gayud niqi:ni ng kapitan sa mani:laq + kining abstract used as qualifier
    pagba:lik na sa qi:ya ng barku midu:qaw da:yun siya sa manidyir "When this captain returned home to Manila, when his ship returned, he visited the manager at once."
    k. wala y kukahadluk nga manungkab sa manga hayu:pan intr. $\quad P P$
    sa manga ta:wu kanang bati:qun na sa kagu:tum maqadlaw kun magabi:qi "Fe had no fear at all to steal people's animals whenever he felt hungry, day or night." (56.16)
    6.2232 Qualifiers linked with y

    These are ti:qaw mu "imagine", sya:ru "it is unlikely" and some others.

    Q
    Q (to ti:gaw mu)
    ti:qaw mu ba y mangi:taq qug dagha ng qipaka:qun qa:lang sa qi:la ng qanak "Imagine looking for a lot of food for their son." (26.9)
    ti:qaw mu is also linked by nga, so that there is a paradigm in two-way transformational relation with sentences containing these qualifiers linked with nga. sya:ru is also linked with qug.
    6.2233 Introducers to exclamatory sentences

    The introduceas to the exclamatory sentences are sya:ru,
    labihan, pwirti, du:ru, hilabihan, qunsa "how"; pari:hu, parishas, qingun "so"; paskan, haskan, pastilan, hastilan, purbi:da, bi:da "very"; ya:waq "the devil"; ba:li "very"; hisusku "Christ" and others. (For examples, cf. Sec. 3.6 ff . Linking of qualifiers with exclamatory sentences is also discussed there.) The first four of these also occur as qualifiers to declarative sentenoes.
    (Note that exclamatory sentences are not qualified by negatives Seo. 6.311.)
    6.2234 Introducers to imperatives

    In this group are paliihug "please" and gayaw"don't" a. qayaw + qaku g inker pila:ya "Do not cut me." (2.10)
    gayaw is optionally linked with gus except when the imperative has a prefix pag-. If there is a prefix pag-for the imperative, qaysw is linked with sa in very fancy style speech. Q $\quad Q$ b. qayaw la:mang + qaku pagputla "Just do not cut me." (5.12)

    Q
    o. qayaw (B) + kabala:ka "Do not worry."
    d. qayaw na paghilak "Stop crying!"

    After gayaw where qug is optional, it is less frequently used preceding forms beginning with a prefix of the shape ka- than before forms without such a prefix.

    ## 6. 3 Qualifiers to predicates

    The qualifiers described in this section are in a constituent with a predicate or with a predicate phrase. (They occur with these in any usage.) The qualifiers described in Sec. 6.2 and its subseotions above also occur as qualifiers to predicates or prollioate phrases in addition to the ones described here.

    ### 6.31 Prepositive qualifiers to predicates

    These precede the elements with which they are in a con stituent.

    ### 6.311 di:lig and walag (dig and wag)

    di:liq is used as a qualifier to all predicates except im.
    perative and exclamatory predicates. di:lig is also used as a qualifier to qualifiers of the type described in Sec. 6.222 and in Sec. 6.312. walag is used as a qualifier only to predicates consisting of transient phrases or deictics. (walaq is also used as a LP [Sec. 3.4] and as a predicate by itself [Sec. 4.44]) a. $\quad \begin{gathered}Q \\ \text { waq man }\end{gathered} \left\lvert\, \begin{gathered}\mathrm{S} \\ \mathrm{ku}\end{gathered} \mathrm{c}_{\mathrm{kasabut} \text { kani:mu }}^{\mathrm{T}} \quad\right.$ "I do not understand you." (8.3)
    b. labi na kung waq dihaq $\mid$ qang qi:ya ng manga ginika:nan "Especially when his parents were not there." (1.13)
    qualifier
    intr. + Q predicate phrase
    o.. qug sa walaq madu:gay + qang ha:riq namatay "And after a short while, the king died." (17.7)

    Here madu:gay is a predicate phrase used as a qualifier, and wag is a qualifier to it.
    d. qunyaq qusa niqa:naq ka panahun miqabut sa hunaqhu:naq tntr, $Q$ pred phrase ni hwan qang qusa ka butang nga daw di:liq + katuqu:han "Then one day, there came to John's mind a thought which seemed unbelievable." (9.12)

    Neither the di:lig nor the walag occur as qualifiers to TP's with any transients but unreals. (Cf. Sec. 6.71.) di:lig is used with transients in the meaning of future time, ability or potentiality, and habitual action (i.e. unreal). walaq is used as qualifiers to $T P^{\prime}$ s where the transient has a meaning of past time and ocoasionally present time, Compare examples $e$ and $f$ with examples a and $\mathfrak{c}$ above.

    e. | $Q$ | S | P |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | P |  |  |
    | ku | kasabut kani:mu $\quad$ " I oannot understand you." |  |

    f. mibanagba:nag na qang kabunta:gun qilha:nan nga diq postp na pred. phrase
    madu:gay $\quad+$ musubang na gayud qang qadlaw "The morning was dawning, a sign that the sun would rise in a short time now." (With wag it would mean "after a short while".)
    g. di:liq mahi:mu
    do that."
    $(8.7)$ kana ng qa:kung buha:tun "I cannot
    di:liq and walag are optionally linked with nga if qualifying an unreal transient with a prefix ka-.

    | 1. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Q postpas. } \\ & \text { diq na } \\ & \text { "He cannot brin } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { linker } \\ & \text { siya ng } \\ & \text { g himself to } \end{aligned}$ | trans. <br> kaqe:ku magtanqaw sa ta:wu k at the man any longer." |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | j | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Q postpos. } \\ & \text { waq ku } \\ & \text { stand you." } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { linker } \\ \text { ng } \end{gathered} \text { trase }$ | $t$ kani:mu "I do not under- |
    |  | 6.312 ga:ngay, | takus "should |  |

    qa:ngay and takus are parallel with di:lig in their distrim bution. (I.e., they do not qualify real transients.) takus is used in a literary style. (To express past time with ga:ngay or takus, waq or some other qualifier is used.) ga:ngay is optionally linked with nga.
    di:liq ku quntaq kini qa:ngay (ng) qisulti "I should not say this." (11.13)
    6.313 midyu "rather", lapi "most", mas "more", pulus, Iu:bus, pu:ru "purely", daw "seem"

    These qualifiers are not linked except labi which is optionally linked with nga.
    
    "Especially the father was very happy." (1.6)
    (Here labi na qualifies the subject qang gamahan.)
    b. naluwas siya human buhisi qug qusa ka qinasal nga ba:buy
    Q
    lus

    + | adjeotive |
    | :---: |
    | qitum |$\quad$ He was freed after a roasted pig, black all over, was offered up." (58.12)

    c. misaka sila sa qi:la ng balay $\left\lvert\, \begin{gathered}\text { Qidya } \begin{array}{c}\text { adj. phrase } \\ \text { masulubqun }\end{array} \\ \text { "They went into their house rather sad." }\end{gathered}\right.$
    $6.314\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { na- } \\ \mathrm{ma}-\end{array}\right\}$ hi:mu "become, is possible"
    In some cases $\{\underline{m a}-\}$ hi:mu qualifies a predicate. (They also occur as the transient of a predicate phrase.)

    Q postpos. linker
    a. mahi:mu kunu ng pangasawqun mu qang qi:yang qanak "He says it is possible for you to marry his daughter." (14.7)

    In the following sentence this qualifier goes with a predicate phrase which is used as a subject.
    subject
    Q nom. phrase
    b. si hwan maqu y nahi:mu ng ba:na sa qanak sa ha:riq "John was the one who became the husband of the king's daughter." (17.6)
    6.315 bi:san, maskin, maski "even"

    These qualify interrogative predicates (Sec. 4.3). These sentences are optionally introduced by gug or kun meaning "if".
    a. kay qanak man lagi ni:la + bi:san + kun mahi:mu ng daku ng prubli:ma "For he was their son, even if he would be a huge problem." (29.8)

    Q pred. subject
    b. bi:san + yunsa y qi:mu ng gustu hala palita
    "Whatever you pant. Go ahead - buy it." (7.14)
    These also occur as qualifiers to subjeats.
    Q subject $\mid \quad P$
    c. bi:san pa + qang ha:riq |natinga:la "Even the king was surprised." (36.2)

    These also qualify qualifiers which are (sa) + sentences (Seo. 6.2121) or abstracts (Sec. 6.2122).
    
    For second predicates of. Sec. 6.13. These are di:lig, qimbis and qinaý. Cf. Sec. 6.13 for examples.)
    6.32 Postpositive qualifiers to predicates

    The postpositive qualifiers are ba, bayard, daivun, digs, ga:niq, ga:liq, gayud, hinu:qun, kahaq, kunu, kaqa:yu, lagi, lasmang, maqu, na, pa, pud, quga:ling, qugud, quntaq, qupud, qusab, ra (da), sad, qu:sag, qu:naq, qinta:wun, tanoan, quay, bi: taw and their rapid speech forms. (For the meaning of these cf. the glossary.) These may also qualify qualifiers to the sentenses of the types described in Secs. 6.21 through 6.22.
    6.321 Examples of postpositive qualifiers to predicates

    Examples of these particles qualifying the predicate of a sentence are as follows:
    
    pred. postpos. $Q$ postpos. $Q$ postpos. $Q$ postpos. $Q$ b. napugus na man la:mang gayud
    

    Examples of some of these qualifying other parts of a sentence are as follows:
    
    Here pud is in a construction with a CN which is a subject.
    a.. qug labaw + pa + niqa:naq + mahi:mu ng manunusnud sa qisya ng ginhari:qan "An besides that, (he) will become the heir to his kingdom." (33.8)
    pa is in a constituent with niga:nag and is "attracted" to the prepositive qualifier labawe(Cf. Sec. 6.324.) (The qualifiers of the same type as labaw are described in Sec. 6.411.) An example of one of these particles qualifying a qualifier is as follows:
    postpos. Q
    e. pagbira + pa + ni:ya sa qi:ya ng kamut may pitaka nga dihaq gibutang sa qi:ya ng kamut "Then when he pulled out his hand there was a purse which had been put there in his hand." (6.3)
    pa qualifies pagbira etc. a qualifier of the type described in Seg. 6.2122.

    ### 6.322 Word order of postpositives

    Postpositive qualifiers and other postpositives (these are the long forms of the nominative pronouns and all short forms of the pronouns - Sec. 4.7) follow directly the first word of the elements with which they are in construction - usually the predicate of the sentence, for the postpositive qualifiers. (cf. examples in Sec. 6.321.) However, if there is a prepositive qualifier (Sec. 6.31) or the qualifiers of Sec. 6.2 ff. when initialy the postpositive is "attracted to it" - i.e., the postpositive qualifier follows the prepositive qualifier. Examples of these are as follows:
     "I did not understand you." (8.3)
    prepos. $Q$ postposis. $Q$ postpos.

    ```
    b. waq + gyud + siya + musa:lig nga
    ```

    mahi:mu ni karangkal "He did not believe that Karangkal
    could do it at all." (35.6)
    Exceptions to this rule are the prepositives ga:ngay, midyu, mahi:mu and bisan and the qualifiers of Sec. 6.2 ff. for which the "atiraction" is optional. Also the long forms of the prom nouns (Sec. 4.7) and demonstratives need not be attracted. 0. mahi:mu ng musaka | Q | quku | dinhi | "May I board here?" |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | Here the postpositive follows the predicate (not being attraoted by the qualifier mahi:mu). But in the following the postpositive kanag is attracted to the qualifier mahi:mu.

    

    Postpositives precede the linkers of the qualifiers (as exemplified by the $n g$ after kanag in example d above. prepos. Q gen. postpos. Q $S$ prepos. $Q$ passive e. di:liq + ku quntaq kini qa:ngay qisulti "I should not say this..." (11.13)

    Here the postpositives ku, quntaq and kini are attracted to the prepositive di:liq, but not to the other prepositive gasngay (which only attracts optionally). The following sentences which are in paradigms with sentence $\boldsymbol{2}$ above illustrate other possible word orders:
    

    Here the postpositives are attracted to both prepositives.**
    *qa:ngay is optionally linked with nga. (Cf. Sec. 6.312.)
    **
    na:kuq occurs instead of ku because of the limitation that ku occurs only following the first element in the sentence or predicate phrase. (Cf. Sec. 4.711.)
    passive
    qisulti
    s
    

    In examples $g$ and $\underline{h}$ some of the postpositives are attracted to di:liq and qa:ngay and some only to di:lig.
    i. di;liq mu quntaq qa:ngay qisulti $\left\lvert\, \begin{gathered}\text { bini }\end{gathered}\right.$

    Here kind is not attracted to di: liq or ga:ngay because it is a long form of the demonstrative (Sec. 4.7) for which the attraom tion is optional.

    When there are many postpositive particles, one or two may follow the subject if it is short and there are no prepositives.
    
     "John said he was quite satisfied."
    6.323 Other attractions to pronominals and other qualifiers

    Other qualifiers occurring initially of the type described
    in Sec. 6.22 ff. attract the pontpositives optionally.
    S

    a. | $Q$ |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | a |\(\quad \begin{gathered}postpos. <br>

    siva\end{gathered} \quad $$
    \begin{gathered}\text { pred. } \\
    \text { miqanhi }\end{gathered}
    $$ \quad\) "When did he come here?" S

    b. kanusqa miqanhi | postpos. | pya |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: |$\quad$ When did he come here?"

    The pronominal form of the genitive (Sec. 4.7) attracts the postpositives.
    pron. form of gen. postpos. Q postpos. Q linker
    c. qi:ya + na + qusab + ga
    gila:bug "He threw it away again." (6.14)

    With a pronominal preceding a nominal phrase:
    gen. postpos. $Q$ nominal
    d. gang qi:ya lang kulur + nindut na kaqa:yu "It is very pretty just by its color."

    The postpositives are also attracted to the "LPis" of the exism tential sentences (Sec. 3.4) but not to may.

    S
    
    6.324 Attraction of postpositives qualifying a PP with

    ## a prepositive qualifier

    If there is a postpositive which qualifies a PP which is preoeded by a prepositive qualifier, the postpositive is "attracted" to the prepositive.
    prepos. ..postpos. $Q$ genitive PP
    a. labut + pa + niqasnaq + qipapangasaswa
    qang qi:ya ng qanak nga prinsi:sa "And besides that, (he) would give his daughter, the princess in marriage." (33.7) (Cf. example a Sec. 6.321, above.)

    Similarly postpositives may be attracted to the first word of an adjective phrase.
    b.. ha:pit mamatay qang adj. phrase $+\quad$ postpos. + linker

    + adj. phrase manga manuk "Almost all of my chickens died.".
    6.325 Word order of the postpositives among themselves

    The general formula is:
    $\left\{\begin{array}{l}k u u \\ m u\end{array}\right\}+k a^{*}+\left\{\begin{array}{l}p a \\ n a\end{array}\right\}+r a+\left\{\begin{array}{l}m a n \\ b a\end{array}\right\}$ pius any of the other postpositive qualifiers or pronouns. The order of the pronouns and the postpositive qualifiers other than $p a, n g, r a$ and man is free, although certain orders are more frequent than others.

    These are illustrated by examples throughout the study. A short form of the pronoun (Sec. 4.7). . . precedes if the sentence also contains a long form.
    prepos. Q short form pronoun imperative qayar + mu + niqi:ni + paghilabut "Don't you all monkey around vith this thing!"

    ### 6.33 maqu (muqu, mu) "linking particie"

    maqu (muqu, mu) is used in sentences with predicates of the type listed in Sec. 5.4 and Sec. 4.28. It precedes those of the type listed in Sec. 4.28 and the pronouns (Sec. 4.7). Otherwise it follows. Postpositives are "attracted" to maqu. maqu oan usually be translated by forms of the English verb "to be". postpos. postpos. Q pred. pron. ${ }^{\text {P }}$ subjeot a. kay maqu $\begin{gathered}\text { postpos. postpos. } \\ \text { man } \\ \text { lasmang }\end{gathered} \begin{gathered}\text { pred. pron. } \\ \text { kini }\end{gathered}$ qang qaitu ng pangistaq "For this is the only occupation we have." (Lit:: "For it is only this that is our occupation.") (2.8)
    maqu (muqu, mu) followed by nga also occurs as an introducer (Q See.6.2231).
    b. $\left.\begin{gathered}\text { introducer } \\ \text { maqu nga }\end{gathered} \right\rvert\,$ qang manga ginika:nan $\left\lvert\, \begin{array}{cc}\text { S } & \text { maqu ra } \\ \text { g }\end{array}\right.$ predicate miba:tiq sa kahapdus tungud sa kawaladqun "So, the pare ents seemed to feel the sting of want." (26.7)
    maqu does not occur with adjectival predicates or with predioates Which are in a paradigm with adjectival predicates (Sec. 4.212), unless followed by a qualifier ra or gihaspun. 0: kini ng ba:ya maqu ra g putiq "This house seems white." maqu followed by ra or giha:pun occurs as an elliptic sentence (Sec. 3.93).

    ### 6.4 Qualifiers to qualifiers

    6.41 Qualifiers to phrases introduced by sa (or disjungtive pronouns) or introduced by words with temporal meaning not preceded by sa

    ### 6.411 Qualifiers to sa plus nominal phrases

    A partial list of qualifiers in this class are baivad, baituk, ba:hin, binu:hat, daplin, dapit, diritsu, dungan, dugul, gawas, giikan, hangtud, . ku:tub, labaw, labut, mahitungud, para, pari:hw, pari:he , lahiq, lahus, 1i:but, luyu, padu:lung, paqingun, paduqul, qatul, qatubang (qatbang), qibabaw, qilailum, qimbis, qingun, qikumparar, gitandig, quban, qubus, qu:yun, rumbu, sakay, sala:mat, sa:ma, subang, su:gug, sukad, sulud, suma:laq, sumpay, ta:liq, taliwa:laq, tampi, ti:pun, tupad, qa:gi, kalu:quy, kaqu:ban, pinaqa:gi. Some of these may also precede qualifiers of the type listed in Sec. 6.2212.
     "I will tell the story about Karangkal." (25.1)
    b. qunyaq mipaqualiq siya + diritsu + sa qi:lang balay "Theng he returned straight to their home." (28.13)

    As is explained in Sec. 6.324, the qualifiers preceding a qualifier may be separated from them by postpositives. (Cf. Seo. 6.324 for examples.) Also these are used as predicates. (Cf. Seg. 4.43.)

    ### 6.412 Qualifiers to (sa) plus abstract

    Many of the qualifiers listed in Sec. 6.4ll, above, ocour also as qualifiers to abstracts used as infinitives (Sec. 4.68) or abstracts used as qualifiers (Sec. 6.2122). In such cases the sa is optional. In addition, basta, basta kay, qarun and kay garun are used in this way, but these are not used as qualifiers to nominal phrases preceded by sa.

    Q infinitive
    kay muquban qikaw kana:kuq qarun + sa pagpanga:huy "For you will cone with me in order to cut wood." (2.6)
    6.42 Qualifiers to expressions of time

    These are pitsa "on the date of", qalas "at ...0'clock", minus ...pa:ra qalas ".... minutes to ...". pitas is usually preceded by sa. .

    Q
    a. qang qa:ku ng qamahan nata:wu + sa pitsa singku sa qagustu mil nuybi syintus syi:ti "My father was born on August 5. 1907."
    galas may be preceded by may, may manga or manga. may, manga may manga mean "approximately". (Cf. Sec. 6.511)

    Q
    b. . sa manga qalas says sa ha:pun qi:ya qaku ng dadqan qug baynti ka kurma:ta nga bula:wan "At approximately six in the afternoon, he will bring me twenty cartloads of gold."
    6.5 Qualifiers to other elements
    6.51 Qualifiers to nominal phrases
    6.511 Preceding nominal phrases

    These are manga "plural" and matag, kaidan "each" di "having a", qi:si, qi:sig, qisig "each" and masig "each". manga before numerals means "approximately". manga also oocurs preceding ex. pressions of time.(Cf. Sec. 6.42 above.) gisig (qi:sig) also ooours preceding bases of transients.
    a. qang pagpanga:huy maqu y qi:ya ng pangi:taq qa:lang sa panginabu:hiq sa matag + qadlaw "Gathering firewood is his occupation for earning his daily living." (1.8)
    b. muka:qun siya qug qusa ka gantang nga linungqag Q CN ka:da + ka:qun ni:ya "He would eat a ganta of rice every time he ate." (25.13)

    $$
    Q \quad C N
    $$

    c. qang manga + ta:wu natinga:la "The people were amazed." (35.9)
    6.52 Following a noun or pronoun

    A qualifier of this type is mismu "himself".
    $\left.\begin{array}{cc}\text { pred. (nom. phrase) } & \begin{array}{c}Q \\ \text { si hwan }\end{array} \\ \text { mismu }\end{array} \right\rvert\, \begin{array}{cc}\text { Sang mihangyuq niqi:ni }\end{array}$ "John himself was the one who asked for this."
    mismu may follow a pronominal form of the pronoun: b. qang $\begin{gathered}\text { pronominal } \\ \text { qa:muq }\end{gathered} \frac{Q}{\text { mismu }}$ ng simbahan $\quad$ "Our own churoh " 6.6 Exclamations

    Exclamations are in construction with sentences. (I.e., the first cut is made between the sentence and exclamation.) The intonation rules for sentences (Sec. 2.14 and its subsections) are for sentences without the exclamations. Exclamations fall into three classes: those that occur only initially, or initially immediately following another exclamation or introducer; those that occur finally in the sentence; and those that occur initially, medially (between subject and predicate) and finally. A partial list of those which accur initially is: buynu, dig, bi, qamble na, hala, hala:, halla, qawg, qu:, qu:qu, qaha:, tutal, da:, qay.

    A partial list of those occurring initially, medially and finally is: quy, simbaku. The vocatives (words of address) are in this group.

    A partial list of those occurring finally are: mu: la:mang, nu: $, ~ q u, ~ h a, ~ d a q$.
    6.7 Use of the subjunctive
    6.71 When used and with which qualifiers used

    If there are certain qualifiers in the beginning of a sentence and the predicate contains a transient, the subjunctive of the passive may be used, or the unreal of the active in the mean: ings otherwise expressed by the real. (Cf. Sec. 8.03 for a discussion of real, unreal and subjunctive; Sec. 8.05 for "active" and "passive"."

    |  | Q | postpos. Q | 1 | S | compIement |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | a. | waq | gayud | makadaqug | siya | kana:kuq |
    |  | was | able to o | rcome me." | (32.3) |  |

    Here, with the qualifier wag initial ${ }^{\text {, }}$, the transient makadaqug is in an unreal form, although the meaning past time is usually expressed by the real.

     o. Waq puad | S | quku | subjunctive |
    | :---: | :---: | :---: |
    | qimbitaha |  |  |$\quad$ "Also I was not invited." (37.13)

    Here gimbitaha is the subjunctive form of the passive after the initial qualifier waq (Sec. 6.711). Other qualifiers which when initial may be followed by a subjunctive or by an unreal in a meaning usually expressed by the real are: the deictics (Seo. 4.72), the interrogatives (except nga:nu), (ka) nigadtu (plus nga plus nominal phrase) "then", karun (plus nga plus nominal phrase) "now", bagqu "just now", human "after", ta:pus "after", :

    ```
    qu:naq "before", sukad "since", diryut,
    ```

    daryat "nearly", ha:pit "nearly", (ma) ka plus numeral "...
    times", tagsara, panagsa, tagsaqun "rarely", sa plus nominal phrase (excepting numeral phrase) meaning "at (place or time) or nouns indicating time without sa. Q (interr.) unreal
    a. ha:qin ka man makakuhaq qug kwarta "Where do you get money?" (8.4)
    inter . subjunct. subj.
    b. ha:qin gud ni:mu kuha:qa kana ng qi:mu ng kwarta "Where do you get that money of yours from?"
    0. manga lalin sila sa qusa ka gamay nga pu:luq sa lungsud deictic $Q$ subjunctive sa qu:pun diqin didtu + qikabi:tay sa qi:la ng qamahan qang qi:la ng pu:sud sa sagunting sa qi:la ng payag "They were immigrants from a small island in the town of Opon where their father had hung their navels from the rafters of their hut." (50.16)

    Q unreal
    d. gang manga ba: buy ha:pit na lang + musaka sa kabalayan "The pigs practically came into the houses." (51.10)

    Q subjunctive
    e. nasakit si sinuy human ni:ya hipusili gang buqasya "Senoy got sick after he had shot the crocodile." (58.6)

    Q subjunctive
    f. kadaghan ga:niq kami pabalikbali:ka sa qispiktur "We even had been made to come back many times by the inspector." (65.7)
    6.711 Obligatory and optional use of the subjunctive

    With the qualifier wag (walaq) the use of the subjunctive and unreal is obligatory, but with the others, it is optional. The following sentences do not have a subjunctive though they are parallel to examples of Sec. 6.71 with the subjunctive.

    Q deictic a. gilanit ni:ya gang qi:ya mg pinu:tiq aga dihaq + real
    qi:ya ing gibi:tay sa hali:gi duqul sa qi:la mg kanqanan "He snatched his bolo which he had hung near their dining place." (55.14) (Cf. example c of Sec. 6.71)

    Q linker
    b. di: liq kay makaqusa ra aga qi:la kinin mg gipanqan que qua ka baktin "More than. once they baited it with a young pig." (57.7) (cf. example f of Sec. 6.71.)

    If these qualifiers taking a subjunctive optionally do not occur initially, the subjunctive and unreal (for the real) is not used.

    ### 6.72 Linking and the subjunctive

    Some of these qualifiers are optionally linked with ga.

    - If linking with nga is used, the unreal (for the real) and the subjunctive form of the passive is not used.
    a. (ma)kadaghan mu siva (ing) hikitqan "I saw him many times."
    b. (ma)kadaghan mu siya hikitqi (same meaning as a above.) (Also cf. example b, Sec. 6.71 above.)

    Of the forms listed in Sec. 6.71 above, the deictics, the
    interrogatives and the phrases introduced by sa are not linked with nga. The others are optionally linked with nga, except that for waq (walaq) this optional linking with nga occurs only with transients of the forms ka- base (i.e., those equal in meaning to $[$ Sec. 8.136$)]$ maka- base Cf . Sec. 6.311 and examples 1 and if of that section.) 0. waq ku (ng) kasabut kani:mu "I do not understand you." d. waq ku makasabut kani:mu (Same meaning as c above.)
    6.73 Use of real and unreal deictics parallel to the use of subjunctives

    The real and the unreal deictics are not used as predicates when there is a qualifier waq, walaq. Also, if one of the other qualifiers listed in Sec. 6.71 above is used, the timeless deiotics are optionally used in the meaning of the real or unreal. (However, with these the other deictics may also occur.)
    a. waq siya didtu sa balay $\underset{P}{ } \quad \mathrm{He}\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { was }\} \\ i s\end{array}\right\}$ not at home."
    b. $\begin{array}{ccc}Q & \text { Intr. } & Q \\ \text { labi deictic } & \text { na } & \text { qun } \\ \text { waq } & \text { dihaq } & \text { qang qi:ya ng manga }\end{array}$ ginika:nan magpu:nay la:mang siya g lingkud "Especially when his parents were not there, he would just sit around." (1.13)

    This same sentence could not be said with na:ga (the real deictic corresponding to dihag in meaning) because the negative qualifier (waq) is used.

    ### 6.8 Compounds

    There are very few compounds in ordinary use in Cebuano and all compound types are dead (Sec. 8.043)* . Since each element of a compound has a stress, compounds in Cebuano are series of


    words. (Cf. Sec. 2.132.) They differ syntactically from other series in that there are no words gug, sa or nga between the members although the meanings are of the types that would usually have these words between them. (For definitions of noun and transient bases of. Secs. 8.01, 8.011 and 8.012.)
    6.81 Transient plus transient

    This type forms phrases which are bases to transients. (Cf. Sec. 8.01) The meaning of this type is "repeated aotion of both bases". (This is the only compound type with more than one or two common examples.)
    a. qayaw na kamu pageaka kana:qug "You all stop coming in and out of the house now." $V$ saka "go in" 5 kana:qug "go out"
    b. tibuquk gabi:qi nagsu:ka kalibang si kadyu human ni:ya mahurut qang tana ng qa:lak ni pa:pa "All night long Cadio kept vonitirig and defecating, after he had drunk all of Daddy's liquor." $V$ - su:ka "vomit" $\sqrt{\text { kalibang "def- }}$ ecate"
    c. miqabut qang manga sili:ngan ni:la ni qinting nga nakabatiq sa singgit pakita:bang ni qangkay "Inting's neighbors arrivad having heard Angkay's cries for help." $V$ singgit "shout" $\checkmark$ pakita:bang "ask for help"
    6.82 Transient plus noun

    This type forms phrases which have the syntax of common nouns.
    lu:quy dyus hatud ba:y "If God wills it, it will come." hatud "deliver" ए balay "house"
    6.83 Noun plus noun

    This type forms phrases which have the syntax of common nouns.
    didtu siya sa balay lungsud "He was at the city hall." balay "house" $V$ lungsud "town"

    ## Chapter Seven: Analysis of a Short Text

    This chapter gives the analysis of the beginning of the first text, "Lazy John". No reference is made to word order or linking unless it is different from the most frequent cases. The numbers above the + sign indicate immediate constituent cuts. The underlined numbers indicate section numbers.

    ## 7.1

    may qusà ka magtiqà:yun R 343 , + dù:gay na ng katuqì:gan $1 \quad 1 \quad a$ nga nangà:gi R 232, + nga + may qusà ka qanàk nga lalà:ki R 343, nga qi:la ng gingènlan si hwán $R$ 231. "Many years ago there was a couple who had a son whom they called John."

    Intonation: $\mathrm{R} 343, \mathrm{R} 232,2.1522$ (Statement with ","); R 231.. 2.1521 (Statement with ".")
     to the sentence (constituent a) 6.21232
    adj. 22 noun 22 transient
    du:gay na + ng + katuqi:gan + nga + nanga:gi
    na: postpositive quelifier to PP 6.32 (The PP here is a CN phrase 4.2331.)

    Analysis of a : Existential Sentence 3.4
    IP numeral phrase $c$ may + qusa ka magtiqa:yun nga may qusa ka qanak nga lalaski nga qi:la ng ginganlan si hwan

    Analysis of c : Numeral Phrase 4.232
    numeral linker PP d
    qusa + ka + magtiqa:yun nga may qusa ka qanak nga lala:ki nga qi:la ng ginganlan si hwan

    Analysjs of d : Common Nominal Phrase 4.2331

    ```
    common noun existential sentence e
    magtiqa:yun + nga + may qusa ka qanak nga lala:ki
    ```

    Analysis of e : (The same as the analysis for a above)
    Existential Sentence 3.4

    ```
    LP may + qusa ka qanak nga lala:ki nga qi:la ng ginganlan si
    hwan
    ```

    Analysis of $f$ : Numeral Phrase 4.232
    
    Analysis of $\mathrm{g}:$ Common Nominal Phrase 4.2331
    common noun $C N$ transient phrase $h$
    qanak + nga + lala:ki + nga + qi:la ng ginganlan si hwan

    Analysis of h : Transitive Transient Phrase 4.22
    genitive $i$ passive complement $j$
    qi:la $+n g+$ ginganlan + si hwan
    Analysis of $i$ : Pronominal form of Genitive 4.7
    Analysis of $i$ : Goal 4.63
    magtiga:yun CN "couple" $V$ tiqa:yun mag- 10.182
    katugi:gan CN "years" $\sqrt{\text { katu }}$ tuig "year" ka- -an 10.31
    nanga:gi $T$ "have passed" $\sqrt{ }$ qa: бi naN- 2.2111; naN- $=$ mi- + paN- 8.11822
    ginganlan $T$ "one who was named" $V$ nga:lan "name" gi- -an
    8.22112; nga:lan $\sim$ nganl 2.2211 and 2.222

    ## 7.2

     1

    ## c

    manga ginikà:nan $R 232,+$ qubàn qang pagtùzqu $R 454$, nga qedư:na na sila y qikatà:bang $R$ 343, sà panimaláy $R 231$. Intonation: R 343, R 232, R 4542.1522 (Statement with ", ") R 231. 2. 1521 (Statement with ".") The stress on sà is a reading pronunciation.

    ```
    Analysis of the sentence: Declarative Sentence 3.21
    a Qualifier to sentence b```

