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 central 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. —7 ~

1.11 Cebuano Visayan

Cebuano is spoken by approximately seven and a half million people. Within the Cebuano area, there are strong dialectical variations. 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

2.12 Texts used

The first three stories are told by Rev. Pedro Raterta, born in Iligan City, Mindanao, 1920. The fourth story is told by Mr. Bonifacio Miñoza,brn in Argo, Cebu, 1887, and the fifth text is a story which appeared in the magazine Bisaya, January 1961. The fourth 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 standard senses. (Cf. 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 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

with which they occur in construction are only of two syntactical types: adjective + nga + CN (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. kg- 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 <u>paradigm</u> refers to a set of words, a set of sentences, parts of sentences or constituents. The following sections give a definition of <u>paradigm</u>.

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 congrammatical pairs S₁ and S₂ 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 congrammatical pairs, S₁ and S₂ are called globally congrammatical. Thus the following pairs are globally congrammatical:

a wbc x y z x y z wd

A. 1. The singing of the birds 2. The birds sing.

The difference between the two is abc in the first and 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 congrammatical:

s
e
t
s
f
t
d
B. 1. Cats like mice
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 congrammatical 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 <u>globally congrammatical</u> pairs are considered in a <u>paradigmatic</u> relation if the difference between them involves affixes of Chapters Eight through Eleven, word order or the words <u>qug (g), nga (ng), sa (including the nominative-disjunctive relationship [Sec. 4.7]) and <u>qang.</u></u>

1.312 Different types of paradigmatic relationships

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 member of B with the morphemes involved in the paradigm), A is said to "generate" B, symbolized (A-B). If A-B and B-A, then the

relation is called a "two-way" transformation, symbolized (B A).

If only A B, then the relation is called a one-way transformation. Forms in a paradigm but neither in a one-way or in a two-way 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 same form class, their relationship is inflectional. For other definitions referring to the morphology of. Sec. 8.0 and its presections.

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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 a u/
consonants: /p t k b d g m n n** l r y w h q s /*
length: /:/

2.111 Allophones of the consonants

/q/ is a glottal stop. /p t k/ are unaspirated and voiceless in all of their allophones. /b d g m ng/ are unaspirated
and voiced. /m n ng/ are nasals. /b m/ are missials. /t d n/
are dentals. /k g 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] etc. 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 /r/. However, there is no lip rounding with
the allophones of /r/. A sound [6], a dorso-palatal sibillant is
analyzed as belonging to two phonemes /s/ and /y/. E.g., [sudad]

^{*} Some speakers use a sound [f] in very careful speech in words which generally have [p]. This pronunciation is considered as foreign and forms containing such sounds are not considered to be Cebuane.

^{**/}n/ will henceforth be transcribed as "ng"

is analyzed as /syudad/ "city". Some speakers use [sy] where others use [ś]. /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 Yowels

Cebuano vowels are not masalized. /a/ is front in all allophones with any but weakest stress (Sac.2.151). With weakest stress /a/ has slightly higher and centralized allophones (but not [e]). /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 syllables (Sec. 1.2) has lower allophones [o] than in other positions. When followed by /:/ the vowels have tenser allophones than in other environments.

2.12 Phonotactics 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 (consonant vowel consonant); open syllables have the shape CV. /h/ does not end a syllable except in the word quh "exclamation of surprise at seeing someone". No syllable begins in a vowel*. E.g.,

^{*}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 certain words /maqú/~/maw/; /muqú/~/mu/ /liki:qun/~/likyun/ and others (listed in the glossary).

/muqabut/ "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 /CrV/ and $/ClV/_{ullet}$ /CyV/ and /CwV/. However, /Cwi/ and /Cyu/ do not occur except /ryu/, and /Cwi/in syllables ending in a consonant /baryu/ "barrio" /bakwiq/ "take back". /riw/ does not occur. /qiskuyla/ "go to school", /ka:giw/ "escape" (pronounced [qiskuyla] and [ka:giw]). There is no contrast between [CuwV] and [CwV]; [CiyV] and [CyV]. Here we transcribe /qiyV/, /hiyV/, /quwV/, /luwV/, /buwV/. /qiya:wat/ "make something do" (pronounced with three syllables), /quwan/ "rain" (pronounced with two syllables); and /buwad/ "dry in the sun" (pronounced with two syllables). Most speakers also pronounce [Ciyy] in words which have no other syllables, and we transcribe /CiyV/: /siya/ "he". Otherwise there is no extra syllable, and we transcribe /CwV/ and /CyV/: /syudad/ [sudad]; /hwat/ [hwat]; etc.

In rapid speech /hw/ does not occur. Words with /hw/ in slow speech have /w/ in rapid speech:/hwan/~/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 protectic /qi/. E.g., /skawt/~/qiskawt/.) Syllables ending in /Cs/ occur in names, nicknames and a few other words: /nins/ "Nena" /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,C, or QC does not occur unless there is a word

boundary (Sec. 1.2) between C_1 and C_1 or q and C.* However, \sqrt{qC} occurs in forms with the shape (C_1V_1) $C_2V_2Q_3$ $(C_1V_1(:))$ $C_2V_2Q_3$

or forms of this shape with an infix (footnote to Sec. 8.05); hunaqhu:naq, baqbaq. Double consonants occur in the exclamation halls.?

Except in a few isolated examples (:) occurs only in the ultimate or the penult of a word. There is no contrast between /V:wu/ and /Vwu/. 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 6.32 qualifiers of Secs./ff., LP's of existential sentences (Sec. 3.4), and the pronouns when used as predicates have a primary or secondary stress. (Cf. Chapters Four, Five and Six for the definitions of these elements.) Other types of words have primary or secondary stress only when before pause. (Words are defined in Sec. 1.2.) The syllables with primary or secondary stress are called "stressed".

Q pron. pron. T di:liq mahi:mu kana ng qa:ku ng buha:tun "I cannot do that."(8.7) kanaq, a pronoun, in this sentence is the subject and therefore unstressed

In some dialects of Cebuano/qC/occurs.

tagnaw lang ni ba:kir (39.14) "Baker just looked on." (Dialectic for tangaw)

(Cf. Sec. 5.32.)

Q Pron. Pron. N N sukad karun qikaw na qang qa:ku ng kata:bang sa pagpanga:kuy (2.7) "From now on you will be my helper in gathering firewood." qikaw 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: nagkaqún; closed penult: kánqun. If the vowel of the final syllable is long, the stress is on the final syllable: nagdá:. 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.

gipasqan qang dakuq kaqa:yu ng ka: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.

sigf "Go ahead!" (Cf. sl: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.

qinigqabùt ni:mu didtu s qurmuk nu manga qalas kwatru pa kanaq 33 35 3 3 3 4 3 6 2 2 2 2 4 2 2 2 sa buntag (The "#" represents pause) "When you arrive in Ormoc, 2 3 1 it will only be around four in the morning."

However, within a phrase (defined Sec. 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 vocatives (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 4 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 3 ;

^{*}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).
bantayan na:kuq qang qa:ku ng kaqugali:ngun "I will take care of

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 highest pitch of the terminal. a higher pitch highest pitch of the first word of a phrase with a stressed syllable has the same pitch as the syllable 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 sentence. things a taigas 231. "It is upstairs." This sentence has the same meaning as things a taigas R 231. (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 meaning of
the pause is "," or ".".

2.144 Examples

qayàw kabalà:ka ná:kuq "Do not worry about me."

qayàw kabalà:ka ná:kuq R 112.

buhl:qi kanáq "Let go of that."

buhl:qi kanaq L 112.

draybir ## maw ba kini ng barku pa:ra s qurmuk "Driver, is this 1 4 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 1 3 the boat for Ormoc?"

draybir 14. maw ba kini ng barku pa:ra s qurmuk 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." 2 4 2 2 2 2 3 1 2

qayaw kabala:ka na:kuq R 223 pirla 12.

2.146 Relative height of phrases

A phrase not a vocative or a qualifier of <u>Sec</u>. 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 qurmuk R 242, manga qalas kwàtru pa kanaq sa buntag 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 kanaq R 112. "Let go of that." This command is less urgent than

buhi:qi kanaq L112 (i.e., with the final syllable of kanaq as high in pitch 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 213 or 324

(No R or L) This type of intonation is used in asking for information.

maw ba kini ng barku pa:ra s qurmuk 213. "Is this the boat for Ormoc?"

2.1512 312

With no pause or pauses in some contexts this intonation indicates statement with something to follow.

maw kini s mìs wí:bi 312, qang qamirkà:na ng qa:ku ng girisìrbaha g lugàr dinhi s bárku 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.

nàiqa y girisìrba pa:ra ng mis wi:bi 312. "There is one reserved for Miss Wiebe."

With R followed by a pause it is also used for supplicating.

qaku na la y dala qi:ni ng bag ni:mu R 312. "Just let me carry
your bag."

2.152 Rise-fall type terminals

2.1521 341, 231

With no (R or L) This intenational pattern is used for a warning.

là:qin ra ba ni ng manga tà:wu dinhi s pantalan 231. "The people

^{*}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 ... He was here ... but he is gone now." "Do you have any bananas?" "No ... " (vs. "No ... [curt]).

here at the docks are not of a nice sort."

With R or L this intonation is used in making a statement. bantayan na:kuq qang qa:ku ng kaqugali:ngun R 231. "I will take care of myself."

2,1522 232, 342

This intonation is the same 7 as 231 (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.)

bantayan ku qang qa:ku ng kaqugali:ngun R 343 kay daghan ra ba ng kawatan run 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.
wa y sapayan 232. "You are welcome."

maqa:yu 232. "Good morning!"

It is also used for something unexpected.

qana:q 232 maw ra ma g pu:rus giqukupahan qang manga tihi:ras dinhi 222 "Heavens! It looks as though all the cots are already occupied!"

2.1523 <u>243</u>, <u>132</u>

This intonation is used for warnings.

tugqant ika ru ng ma:ma 243 "I will tell Mama on you."

^{*}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.

2.153 Rising terminals

2.1531 Slight rise 112, 223

No R or L. This intonation is used for statement, within a conversation. (The intonation of Sec. 2.1521 is used when no answer is expected.)

ni:qa na kita s qa:tu ng tihi:ras 112, "Here we are at our cots."

This intonation is used for polite refusals.

sagdi na láng 112, waq na ku magkinahánglan 112, "Never mind. I do not need it any more."

It is also used for hortatory expression, with no urgency.
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.)

voc.
qayaw kabala:ka na:kuq R 223 pirla 12.

With R this intonation is used in a command or hortative.

The intonation does not express urgency.

qayàw kabalà:ka na:kuq R 112. "Do not worry about me."

2.1532 Rise of two pitches 113, 224

The rise of two pitches is used in hortatory expressions with urgency.

tanà 13 manaka na ta 113. "Let us go. Let us get on now."

This intonation occurs at the end of a sentence or qualifier when there is no pause.

maw na uí 224 kay na:qa ma y màrka ng qurmuk 231. "This is it because there is a sign 'Ormoc'."

qunyaq 24 ngitngit pa naq 231. "Then it will still be dark."

This intonation is used with phrases meaning pointing (with no urgency).

tu:qa ra siya qu 113. "There he is!"

2.1533 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.

hwat ka ngarí 112 há 4. "Wait here, OK?" (28.8)

At the beginning of the utterance the monosyllable has a rise.

dung 34 maw ba kini ng barku pa:ra s qurmuk 213, "Boy, is this the boat for Ormoc?"

The sharp rise is used in phrases meaning pointing with urgency.

kawatan 114, tu:qa 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.

qana: 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 <u>331</u>

This intonation is used in questions with an interrogative (Sec. 4.41).

diqln man ni ni:mu palitá 331. "Where did you buy this?"

(For questions with an interrogative the intonations of Sec. 2.1511 are also used.)

This intonation is also used in offering something.
ni:qa qang qi:mu ng tip qu 331 "Here is your tip."

2.1552 441

This intonation is used in questions with an interrogative expressing anger. (I.e., this intonation is like that of <u>Sec.</u> 2.1551, above, with a greater drop.)

ngà:nu ng qi:mu ma ng kuptan qang qa:ku ng bag 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 with the following exceptions. The letters used in writing Cebuano corp. 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 /l/ (Sec.2.211). These are written with two letters. E.g. /da:n/ "road" (alternating with /da:lan/) is written daan.
- 3) Glottal stop is not represented except after consonants and by some writers, between vowels. It is represented by " ".

 E.g. /pagqa:yu/ "well" is written pag-ayo. /da:qan/ "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.

^{*}When 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.)

- 5) /i/ is written i and e; /u/ is written u and o. There is no uniformity in the use of i vs. e; u vs. o. i is usually used rather than e except in words borrowed from other languages. o is used rather than u if it is the last letter of the word. /qiyuq/ is written iyo. In a closed final syllable o or u may be written. E.g. /hu:lug/ is written hulog and hulug.
- 6) Some writers write words borrowed from other languages as these are spelled in the languages from which they are borrowed.

 Most 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/

\[\langle VlV \rangle \] alternates with forms without \(\langle 1 \rangle \) is \(\langle a \rangle \) or \(\langle u \rangle \) and if they occur in the same word.* The forms with \(\langle 1 \rangle \) are fancier.

/a(:)lu/~/a:wu/ (or /awu/ if not at the end of a word).

/ba:lu//ba:wu/ "widow(er)" /balu//ba:wu/ "I do not know"

/u:la//u:wa/; /ula/-/uwa/ (/wa/ after C except//q//1/ and /b/)

/ku:lang/~/ku:wang/ "lack" /hulat/~/hwat/ "wait"

/u:lu/~/u:/; /ulu/~/u:/ when one of the /u/'s is in the penult of the word. Otherwise /u/.

^{*}These alternants without /l/ are mostly found in Cebu north of Argao and in Leyte and parts of Bohol. In other areas the forms without /l/ are rare except for certain lexical items.

/qu:lu/_/qu:/ "head"
/tutulu/_ /tutu:/ "three"
/pulupari:hu/_/pupari:hu/ "similar"

/a:la/~/a:/; /ala/~/a:/ when one of the /a/'s is in the penult of the word. Otherwise_/a/.

/tinga:la/~/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"; et al.

(These are listed in the glossary.)

2.212 Alternations of nga, qug, y (qing)*, ss and qang

The following alternations occur in normal speech. (For exceptions of the following Sec. 2.2121.) Following a word ending in a vowel /q/ or /n/ and following the qualifiers (Sec. 6.32) and some other common qualifiers which occur in the same positions, nga has an alternate /ng/; qug has an alternate /g/ and y (qing) has an alternate /y/. The word preceding has an alternate without /q/ or /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 ng [=qa:tuq + nga] tana ng [= tanan + nga] kinahanglan matagbuq na "All our needs can be met now." (9.10)

 b_{\bullet} Vn + qug = Vg

V + nga = Vng

^{*} In careful speech and writing there is an alternate ging (not frequently used.) This form is also used regionally.

kadtu ng [=kadtu nga] bilyagunsa:lu nga ginganla g [= ginganlan qug] quris bilyagunsa:lu "That Villagonzalo, who was called Oris Villagonzalo ..." (43.7)

- c. V + qug = /Vg/

 bulangan ba g [ba + qug] manuk "Cockfights with roosters, you know?" (37.9)
- d. lang + qug = la g (lang is a qualifier of the type in Sec. 6.32.)

gibutangan la g lami:sa nga gamay "Just a small table was placed." (37.9)

- e. Vq + y = Vy

 qapan wala y [= walaq + qing (y)] qikata:bang sa panimalay
 "But there was no help in the house." (3.7)
- f. particle + y

 lang + y = la y

 qikaw la y magbuqut "You are the one to decide."

y (qing) 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 s following /V/
 or /Vq/.
- h. V(q) + sa = Vs

 qugma * [=qugmaq sa] qalas si:ti "Tomorrow at seven."

 qang has an alternate /ng/ following vowels and man. qang
 has an alternate zero following words ending in /ang/.
- i. V + qang = ng

^{*}To avoid these alternations $\underline{\text{qing}}$ is used in writing and high speech.

walaq gayud qing tawu "There was no one at all." (for normal walaq gayu y ta:wu)

suginli ng [* li qang] ha:riq "Tell the king." (10.4)

qug has an alternate zero after words ending in /Vg/.

<u>nga</u> has an alternate zero after words ending in a consonant except /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 <u>y</u> occurs this alternation occurs.* It is quite common even in colloquial not to make the alternations with <u>qang</u> and <u>sa</u> and <u>si</u>, but the others are made in normal speech except when there is a pause.

2.213 Slow and mapid 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 consonant of the second and the final syllable.

e.g.,:

la:mang __ lang "only"

maqu --- mu "linking particle"

With others the alternant does not have the consonant and vowel of the first syllable.

qani:qa — ni:qa "here" qusab — sab "also" karun — run "now"

If the first consonant of the final syllable is /y/2 the

^{*}Cf. the footnote on the preceding page.

rapid speech alternant occurs with it.

gayud --- gyud "without a doubt"

qayaw "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 nickname"

sa, si have alternants 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.

sigí "Go ahead" cf. sì:gi na láng "Go on now"

Vocatives always have short penults.

kumusta si na:nay mu "How is your mother?"
nanay "Mom!" (calling)

2.215 /bw/~/w/

Cf. the statement, end of Sec. 2.121.

2.22 Alternations describable in terms of phonemic environment

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	Order in the base with a suffix
q, h + C*	C + q ₃ h**
r + C	C + d***
1 + C	C + 1
t + s	s + t
s + t	t + s

The change q, h + C -> 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 = Cq taqas + -un - tasqun (with /a/ dropped) "thing to be made long"

ba:taq +-anun --> batanqun (with /a/ dropped)
"young"

h + C = Ch gahum + ka- -anan (4-)***** kagamha:nan (with /u/dropped) "government"

r + C = Cd hurut + -un - hutdun (with /u/ dropped) "thing to be finished"

1 + m, n, ng, s \longrightarrow m, n, ng, s + 1 nga: lan + -an \longrightarrow nganlan (with /a/dropped) "thing to be named"

ba:lus + -an \longrightarrow baslan (with /u/ dropped) "thing to be replied"

A parallel alternation occurs with did and wad when followed by na. dinqa "no longer" wanqa "no longer"

t + s -> st putus + -i -> pusti (with /u/ dropped) "person for whom to be wrapped"

s + t ---> lusut + -un ---> lutsun (with /u/ dropped) "thing to be let through"

^{*}C = consonant and semi-vowels

^{**} for bases with both q and h cf. Sec. 2.2212

^{***} for change of r d cf. 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.

$$q + h \longrightarrow h + q$$

$$n + m \longrightarrow m + n$$

laktan + -in- -- nilaktan* "manner of walking"

$$q + h \longrightarrow h' + q$$

tu:qu + h** + -an - tuhu:qan* "to be believed"

2.222 Dropping of vowels

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 dissyllable, 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/:

tagas + -un ___ tasqun "thing to be made high" (with metathesis Sec.2.2211)

dropping of /i/:

para:yig + -an -- paraygan "one to be caressed"

dropping of /u/:

dakup + -an -> dakpan "one to be caught"

dropping of vowel in suffix:

ba:taq + -anun -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 h and q

Bases ending in a vowel have alternants with either /h/ or /q/ before a suffix. (Which bases and suffixes take which consonant is listed in the vocabulary.)

ba:sa + -un --> basa:hun "thing to be read"

gustu + -an (>) * - > gustuhan "one who will like"

su:si + -un ----> susi:hun "thing to be examined"

saka + -un ---> sakqun (with dropping of /a/) "place one boards"

2,224 Changes of vowels and consonants

Bases with certain phonemes have certain other phonemes when with an affix (called "x-y").

2.2241 $/r/\rightarrow /d/$

Some bases with /d/ have an alternate with /r/. The /r/ occurs in intervocalic position. This is symbolized "intervocalic $/r/\gg/d/$ ".

hurut + -un --> hutdun (with metathesis of /t/ and /d/ and dropping of vowel) "thing to be finished off"

bu:kid + ka- -an -> 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/- /d/; /1/-7/g/

Some bases with /1/ have an alternate with /d/ or /g/. The

^{*(-&}gt;) is described in Sec. 2.23.

/1/ occurs in intervocalic position; /g/ occurs preceding /k/ and /xg/.
/d/ occurs preceding other consonants.

wa:laq + -an ___ wadqan (with dropping of vowel) "one who lost something"

haluk + -an ____ hagkan (with dropping of vowel) "person kissed"

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

 $2.2243 \frac{\langle r/\rangle}{1/\rangle \rightarrow /h/}$

This alternation occurs with some bases ending in /r/ or /1/.

Before anaffix beginning with a vowel they have alternants in final /h/.

qimbitar + -un ___ qimbitahun "person invited"

mantinil + -an ---> mantinihan "thing for which something makeshift is used"

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 alternant beginning with the phonemes as illustrated by the following chart.

Bases beginning with /p.b//t.d.s//k.ng.q//l/ others and clusters final consonant of:

prefix plus initial: m:

n:

ng:

ng+1:

ng+initial

consonant of the

Examples:

paN- + putul pamutul "cut"

" + ba:hin pama:hin "divide"

" + ta:bang pana:bang "deliver baby"

^{*}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 alternatewith 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 pangprimyu.

```
da:gan ----> pana:gan "run"
-Kag
11
         sulat -----> panulat "write"
         ku:haq ____ pangu:haq "get"
11
                   panggaling "grind"
         galing
                  panginum "drink"
         qinum
                   panghisgut "discuss"
         hisgut
                     panglu:tuq "cook"
                        panlu: tuq
"
         warawa:ra pangwarawa:ra "wave"
         vamvam
                    pangyamyam "utter"
         traba:hu ---> pangtraba:hu "work"
                        (panraba:hu)*
                ----> pangmaymay "advise"
         naytklab ---- pangnaytklab "go to night club"
```

2.226 Cameleon Morphs

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

2.2261 Doubling

"Doubling" is a prefix having the shape of the base.

luksu + doubling . ____ luksuluksu "jump about"

lakaw + doubling(-)* lakaw -> lakawla: kaw "walk about"

2.2262 Reduplication

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

^{*}cf. footnote to chart

^{**}cf. <u>Sec</u>. 2.23 for (←).

^{***}lf the base begins in a cluster the r may have the shape of cluster plus vowel, first phoneme rlus vowel or zero.

traba:hu + qig- + -r- Qigtatraba:hu qigtratraba:hu qigtraba:hu

2.22621 Reduplication together with N

With N the initial phoneme of the reduplication has the form described in Sec. 2.2251.

laba + man- + -r-(-) manglala:ba "washerwoman"

With p, t, k, b, d, s, q, the form following -r- also has the alternation described in Sec. 2.2251.

bungsud + maN-+-r- mamunungsud "one who fishes with a trap"

sunud + maN- + -r-(+) - manunu:nud "heir"

tambal + maN-+-r mananambal "doctor"

ka:huy + maN- + -r- (mangangahuy "woodcutter"

qisdaq + maN- + -r- mangingisdaq "fisherman"

2.227 -1-

-1- - occurs after the first vowel of the word.

-1- has an alternant /la/ after /a/.

ka:qun + -l- + -anan + (->) kalanqanan (with dropping of /u/ and metathesis) "eating place"

After /u/ -1- has an alternant /lu/

tunghaq + -1- + -an (->) --> tulunghaqan "school"

After /i/ -l- has an alternant /li/

bili + -l- + -un -----> bililhun (with inserted /h/ and dropped /i/) "valued"

If the base has the shape C_1C_2V , -1- has an alternant VIV and is infixed immediately following C_1 .

traba:hu + qig-+-l- (----) ------ qigtalarabahu "time to

2.23 Shift (->) or (<-)

If there is no shift mark, the form with an affix has the same length on the penult as the base.*

lu:tuq + naka- -- nakalu:tuq "cooked"

2.231 (>)

The symbol () indicates that the form has a short penult (no matter what the length of the penult in the base is). hunaqhu:naq + naka- () > nakahunaqhunaq "thought"

2.232

The symbol () indicates that the form has a long penult (no matter what the length of the penult of the base is).

lakaw + doubling () -> 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.

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Chapter Three: Sentence Types

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 <u>linkers: nga</u>, (ng), qug (g), ka, sa and ni.

The order of exposition is from the largest constituents 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 y mahi:mu "All he used to do was sit around or roam
about, but there was not anything that could be done." (1.14).

3,121 Interrupted sentences

The order sentence* sentence (interrupted sentence) also occurs:

3.21 Declarative sentences

Sentence:
$$(Q)* + \begin{cases} S+P \\ P+S \\ S*P \end{cases} + (Q)*$$

Qualifiers (Q), subjects (S) and predicates (P) will be treated in succeeding chapters. For the symbol Q, several Q's may occur.

- a. qapan sa nagatubuq si hwan nasubuq qang qamahan tungud kay labihan katapulan "But as John grew up, the father was unhappy, because he was very lazy." (1.10)
- b. tu:qud man + si hwan miquban sa qi:ya ng qamahan "And so, John went with his father." (2.10)
- Q P S P
 c. kay + muquban | qikaw | kana:kuq qarun sa pagpanga:huy
 "For you are going with me to cut wood." (2.5)

3.22 Linking

Q is linked with ng (nga) qug (g), pause or not at all.

(Cf. Chapter Six where the rules of linking for Q are discussed. The subject and predicates are optionally linked with a pause. Whether or not a pause is used is dependent upon the length of what precedes and the rate of speech. In the case of subject preceding

^{*}Q is a large class of forms whose subclasses are discussed in Chapter 6. There is no intimation in the following formulae that every member of Q occurs in those places where Q is written in the formula. All that is meant is that some members of Q occur in the position where Q is indicated in the formula. The specification of which members of Q it is that occur is given in Chapter Six.

the predicate there is no linking.

3.23 Word order

The order P+S or P*S is used with some exceptions. The order S+P is optional in sentences composed of nominal phrases (Sec. 4.23) as subject and transient phrases containing active (Sec. 4.22) as predicates. Also, when there is a prepositive qualifier of the sentence the order S+P may occur. (Cf. Sec. 6.322). The word order in the case of S*P is described in Sec. 4.9. For the predictive 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 nga 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. (Since x nga y and y nga x are also transformations of each other (Sec. 4.212), the declarative sentence is also in a paradigm with y nga x.) S nga P and SP are two-way transformations. The S nga P and SP are not in the same form class (do not enter the same constructions). SP is a sentence and enters these 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.

a. nagkurug qug qunyaq naghilak qang qinahan "The mother trembled and then cried."

b. qug + cang qinahan nga nagkurug qug qunyac naghilak qusab

miqingun "And the mother, trembling and then bursting into tears, said" (11.11)

$$3.242 \quad X_{s}Y_{p} - Y_{s}X_{p}$$

As is described in Sec. 5.1, subjects occur as predicates, and most predicates occur as subjects or as subject when preceded by qang. (Cf. Sec. 5.1 for a discussion of which elements occur as predicates and which do not except when preceded by qang.) qang X_s (qang) Y_p 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:

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

In the subject position the difference between English "a" and "the" is not expressed for those forms which occur in the subject position only when preceded by qang. (5.1). In colloquial language the meaning of "the" is expressed by qag (Sec. 5.1).

The <u>na</u> is added to the example to show which of the two elements is the predicate. (Cf. <u>Sec</u>. 5.42.)

b. tu:qud man si hwan na qang miquban sa qi:ya ng qamahan "So now John was the one who went with his father."

qang qi:ya: 5 qamahan | qang mangangahuy di:liq qang qi:ya ng qigsu:qun "It is his father who is the fuel-gatherer, not his brother."

P S
[Of. d. mangangahuy | qang qi:ya ng qamahan di:liq man
magsusu:lat "His father was a woodcutter, not a journalist,"]

3.3 Imperative sentences

3.31 Definitions

Sentence: (Q) + Imperative Predicate + {(kamu*)}+ (Vocative) (ninyu)}

Imperative Predicate: $\left\{ (S) + \text{Passive Imperative} + (Q) + (C) \right\}$ $\left\{ \text{Abstract} + (Q) + (C) \right\}$

The complement (C) is described in <u>Sec</u>. 4.6, and which imperatives take a complement and which do not is discussed there. The abstract is described in <u>Sec</u>. 8.3 and its subsections. The passive imperatives are (<u>pag</u>-) + subjunctive passive. (Cf. <u>Sec</u>. 8.42.)

voc. imper. (abstr.) complement
a. karangkál pagqi:lis + sa qi:mu ng sini:naq nga

imperative complement qigtatraba:hu quban kana:kuq "Karangkal, put on your working clothes. 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.

Q linker passive S

e. quy qayaw ninyu g patya + naq qa:ku ng langgam
"Hay! Don't you kill my birds!" (46.14)

The singular 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.

- Q imp. (abstn)Q Q complement

 b. hala palit na ngadtu + sa maka:qun "Go over there
 to buy something to eat. [Lit.: "Buy at that place something
 to eat.] (8.9)
- Q Q S pass. imp.
 c. qayaw la:mang qaku pagputla "Just do not cut me."
 (5.12)
- pass. imp. S
 d. dagkuti qang duha ka murun "Light the two torches."
 (66.11)

Where the formula reads "abstracts", the prenasalized or timeless form of the deictics (Sec. 4.72) are also used:

- voc. deictic complement
 e. nanay ngadtu sa balay "Go to the house, Mothers"

 (Cf. Sec. 4.681, where the use of a prenasalized deictic in
 other positions of the abstract is discussed.)
- deictic

 f. ning quy qamirika:nu diri ka:qun "Er, hey, American, come over here. Eat." (40.3)

If the sentence has a qualifier <u>qayaw</u>, 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 side. (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-

^{*}These are not transformations of each other because not every active has a corresponding passive, and vice versa, not every passive has a corresponding active.

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

3.4 Existential sentences

Sentence:
$$\begin{cases} (Q) + (S) + LP + y^* + PP \\ (Q) + LP + (S) + y^* + PP \\ (Q) + LP + y^* + PP + (S) \end{cases}$$

For definition of S, P and Q of. Chapters 4. 5 and 6. PP (Predicate Phrases) are discussed in Sec. 4.2.

The deictics and interrogatives are listed in Sec. 4.72.

Numerals are listed in the glossary.

^{*}A dialectic alternant of y is ging. (Cf. Sec. 5.6 for the difference between y and qing.)

Only the present and timeless deictics are used in this construction. (Cf. Sec. 4.721.)

^{***} siya is the subject but it is postpositive and its position in the sentence will be discussed together with that of the postpositives (Sec. 6.322).

^{****}This subject is peculiar because it has no genitive (Sec. 4.7) though by the rules of "inalienable possession" subjects of this type usually have a genitive. However, since this sentence occurs in a nominal phrase following nga | the complete sentence is "milakaw si mali:yu nga wala y tumung qang paglakaw"], the genitive is not obligatory. (Cf. the discussion of "inalienable possession", Sec. 5.7.)

LP PP

d. qug may gibutang sa qi:ya ng kamut "And there was something put into his hand." (6.3)

ma- does not occur separated from 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.)

e. qapan sa qusa niqa:naq ka panahun + diha y pahibalu nga may

PP

qusa ka dakuq kaqa:yu ng qisdaq nga midagsaq ngadtu sa qusa
ka lungsud sa qusa ka ginhari:qan "But one time, there was
an announcement that there was a huge fish which was washed aground at a certain town of a certain kingdom." (32.12)

3.41 Order

The order of the existential sentence is parallel to that of declarative sentences ($\underline{\text{Sec. 3.23}}$). The $\underline{\text{S}}$ is optionally first if it is a NP ($\underline{\text{Sec. 4.23}}$). 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 declarative and existential sentences containing a subject and predicate phrase may be set up. There are differences in the membership 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 subject; it is in a paradigm with a declarative sentence.*

^{*}The existential sentence means that the subject "has the PP" whereas the declarative sentence means that the subject "is the 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*
$$\frac{1}{4}$$
) + LP + y + adjective + nga + PP**

$$\longleftrightarrow$$

c.
$$(Q) + P_2 + S_2$$
 where $P_2 = adjective$

S2 = qang + PP+genitive***

Genitive is the disjunctive form (Sec. 4.7) of the subject.

where P3\$S1

Szaqang + adjective + qug + PP

^{*}The other two possible word orders for an existential sentence are included in this formula.

^{**}Various word orders are possible; cf. Secs. 3.23, 3.41, 4.9 ff. and 6.322.

^{***}The genitive may be omitted under the circumstances described in Sec. 5.7 (of. examples d and e of that section) or if the sentence with which it is in paradigm has no subject.

^{****}For sentences of type a which have no subject, d does not occur.

- Q LP adj. PP 1
 a. diha ng + may dagha ng bula:wan na siya
 "When he had much gold now." (15.5)
- Q LP adj. gen. PP b. diha ng may daghan na ni:ya ng bula:wan "When there was much gold he had..."
- Q PP

 6. diha ng daghan na qang qi:ya ng bula:wan
 "When he had much gold..." [Lit.: "Much now was his gold."]
- Q P3 adj. S3 PP d. diha ng siya na qang daghan qug bula:wan "When he was the one who had much gold..."
- Q ladj.

 e. diha ng daghan na siya g bulawan "When he had much gold..."

For the position of <u>na</u> in these various members of the paradigm cf. <u>Sec</u>. 6.322.

3.4221 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. TP Sla. may dagha ng nadala siya

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.

^{*}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 <u>Sec</u>. 3.43. If the predicate phrase of the existential contains an adjective of quantity (i.e., <u>daghan</u>, <u>dyu:tay</u>, <u>gamay</u> and words of similar meanings), there are additional members of the paradigm. Aside from the formulas listed in <u>Sec</u>. 3.421, the following other members of the paradigm occur:

$$(Q) + (S_1)^* + LP + y + adjective of quantity + nga + PP$$

$$\leftarrow$$

$$(Q) + (S_1)^{**} + adjective of quantity + nga + PP$$

$$\longleftrightarrow$$

(Q) + (genitive) + adjective of quantity + nga + PP

where the genitive is the genitive form of the S_1 (Sec. 4.7),

Thus in addition to the examples given in <u>Sec</u>. 3.422, there are the following other sentences in a paradigm with the sentences of Sec. 3.42.

Q adj. of qty. gen. PP h. diha ng + daghan ni:ya ng bula:wan

^{*}The other possible word orders for existential sentences are included in the formula.

The other possible orders for quantity sentences are included in the formula.

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 (walaq) it enters the same types of paradigms described 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
 a. diha ng waq na y dagha ng bula:wan siya "When he
 no longer had much gold."
- Q Q P2 gen. S2 PP

 diha ng diq na daghan | qang qi:ya ng bula:wan
 "When he no longer had much gold." [Lit: "When no
 longer now was his gold much."]
- Q Q P3 adj. S7 PP

 a. diha ng diq na siya y dagha g bula:wan
 "When he no longer was the one with much gold."

For the distribution of diq and waq cf. Sec. 6.311. For the use of y (equals qang) cf. Sec. 5.61. For the position of na, cf. Sec. 6.322.

3.425 Existential 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. (Q) + S_1^* + LP + y + passive + nga + NP
- b. (Q) + LP + y + passive + nga + NP + genitive (Where genitive is the genitive form of the subject [Sec. 4.7]).
- c. (Q) + P_2 + S_2^* where $S_2 = \frac{\text{qang} + \text{NP}}{P_2}$ = passive + genitive (TP $\frac{\text{Sec}}{P_2}$ 4.22) genitive: genitive form of S_1 ($\frac{\text{Sec}}{P_2}$ 4.7).

The other two members of the paradigm are not parallel to those described in Sec. 3.422.

- d. By the rules of <u>Sec</u>. 4.811, sentence <u>c</u> is in a paradigm with an active. (Cf. Sec. 4.811 for a formulation.)
- e. Also, by the rules of <u>Sec</u>. 3.242, these sentences are also in a paradigm with a fifth sentence:
 - (Q) + $P_3 + S_3^{**}$ where $S_3 = qang + genitive + passive$ $P_3 = S_2 \text{ or } S_2 \text{ without } qang$
 - LP Sl passive NP a. walaq siya y naki:ta ng ta:wu "There was nobody he saw."
 - LP NP passive genitive
 b. wala y ta:wu ng naki:taq ni:ya "There was nobody he saw."
 - Q gen. passive 2
 c. walaq ni:ya maki:taq qang ta:wu "He did not see the man."
 - Q S active goal
 d. waq siya makakitaq qug ta:wu "He did not see sa }

 the man." qug means "a"; sa means "the".
 - e. di:liq ta:wu | qang qi:ya ng naki:taq "It was not a man that he saw."

^{*}Various word orders occur. Cf. Sections 3.23, 3.41, 4.9ff., 6.322.

^{**} Various word orders are possible. Cf. Sec. 3,41.

(On the use of <u>ma-vs. na- and walaq vs. di:liq cf. Sec.</u> 6.7.)

3.43 Quantity sentences

Sentence: (Q) + adjective of quantity + nga + PP + (S) + (Q) (The order S preceding, or S in the middle also occurs.) Adjectives of quantity are <u>daghan</u> "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 that 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 Q a. buntag + na "It is morning."
- b. waq na + magquwan "It is not raining anymore."
- P Q Q
 c. tu:qig + na sukad sa qi:ya ng paghilakaw "It has
 been a year 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 John to go to gather wood."

Q linker noun (10.254)
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 NP
pagtanqaw pa ni:la + si karangkal man "When they looked,
it was Karangkal!" (29.12)

			y kun		
			/qug}		
	[Adjective]		nga		
3.53	lTransient/	(plus	kay	plus	sentence)

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 + y manga ba:taq nga magsa:but "It would ng kun"

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 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 maqu y

3.541 maqu y plus abstract

Sentence: (Q) + maqu y + abstract + (genitive) + (dative)

The meaning of this type is "genitive x-ed dative" or "the time
x happened": Abstracts are described in Sec. 8.3 and its subsections. Genitives and datives are described in Sec. 4.7.

Q gen. abstract dative karun maqu pa y qa:ku ng pagkakitaq kani:ya "I just saw him now."

3.542 maqu y plus TP

Sentence: (Q) + maqu + y + TP, where the transient is an instrumental passive (Sec. 8.23). The meaning of this type is "time that actor will do does did

kining bata:san ba sa manga katsi:laq nga manday mahuman na g
instr. passive
ka:qun maqu pa y qipanangpit "Er, 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 makaqulan sulud sa siyam ka bu:lan nga hulaw sa qundul
"It was the first time it rained in Ondol after nine months of
drought."

3.6 Exclamatory sentences

Sentence: (exclamation $(\underline{Sec} \cdot 6.6) + (Q) + EP + (\underline{genitive})$ + (nominative) + (vocative $(\underline{6.6})$ 3.61 E₁P (exclamatory predicates with (\underline{ka}) 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 a <u>ka</u>- prefix (the "<u>ka</u>- stative", described in <u>Sec</u>. 9.3).

Q genitive
a. labihan qinta:wun + kabala:ka + sa qinahan
"How worried the poor woman was!" (13.9)

pagka-base Q Q genitive
b. pagkadakuq bayaq diqay + ni ng mani:laq "How big
it is here in Manila!"

Adjectives introducing sentences of the type described in <u>Sec</u>.

3.53 also occur with ka-, pagka- or -a () affixes:

ka- base Q sentence
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 (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 () affixes.

EP

ka-base PP gen.

d. kadagha g bula:wan + ni:ya "How much gold he had "

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 + NP also occur without ka- or pagka- in exclamatory sentences (Sec. 3.67).

3.611 E₁P with <u>qunsa</u>

Sentence: qunsa, sa:ma, qingun, pari:has + ka- base + (genitive). These are different from those described in Sec. 3.61 in that they do not occur with pagka- or -a (-).

Q EP qi:ya karu ng napalandung nga bi:san diqay qunsa + kaqabtik

Q EP 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 come."

3.62 E2P exclamatory predicates with other transient bases

 E_2P = any base with no ka- prefix*. This type of exclamatory predicate is obligatorily followed by a genitive, and the qualifier is also obligatory.

Q linker base genitive
a. labiha + ng pangu:rug + ni tiri:sa "How Theresa trembled!"

katu:lug "sleep", kalibang "defecate" and others of the type described in Sec. 9.321 occur in this type of predicate.

Q linker base gen.
a. labiha ng kina:tulug sa ba:taq "How the child kept sleeping!"

-a(+) (= -aha (+) -ana)

! luga: na : Lugava: ha 2. bota: qa : batqa: na 3. Lawu: Ra : Lawha: na 4. Lami: sa : Lamusaha: na (Wasj

- Q linker base genitive
 b. pastila + ng + hini:lak sa ba:taq "How the poor child cried!"
- linker base gen. labiha + ng + kata:wa sa ha:riq "The king laughed loudly." (12.7)

When the base of a transient occurs as a noun (Sec. 8.012), it occurs also with a suffix -a (-) in exclamatory sentences. (Cf. example d Sec. 3.63.)

3.63 E₃P Noun -a (←)

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.

 $noun + -a(<\!\!\!-)$ linker lamisa:ha "What a table!" a. pastila ng

noun + -a(←) subj.

Now you are b. patay ka na gyud bata:qa + ka dead, you child, you!" (28.12)

noun + -a(--)

- qutu:kan qusab nga hayu:pa "It was a brainy animal, too." (57.3)
- Q linker noun + $-a(\leftarrow)$ genitive susku ng suru:ka sa qa:ku ng duguq quy "Jesus! How my blood boiled!" (65.9)

3.631 Extension to infinitives

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

^{*}The adjective optionally has a suffix -a (--).

adjective noun labiha ng ngilngi:ga ng qawa:ya "What a horrible battle it wasl"

 $\inf \cdot + -a(-)$

qunsa:qun gud ni:mu <u>pagbaya:ra</u> 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 postpositive (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.)

- Q gen. EP a. labiha + ni:ya ng lipa:ya "How happy he was!"
- Q EP gen.
 b. (Colloquial) labiha + ng + lipa:ya ni:ya

 Note that only the disjunctive form, not the possessive form of the pronoun (Sec. 4.7) occurs in exclamatory sentences. (1.e., eqi:ya does not occur for ni:ya in the above sentences.)

3.65 Linking

With any but the <u>ka-</u> base, the preceding qualifier is linked with <u>nga</u>. However, this <u>nga</u> is optional in colloquial speech and is usually not used. The <u>nga</u> comes after the **postpositives**.

3.66 Paradigms

3.661 Bases with -a, (-), pagka- and ka-

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

There are some pagka-, ka- bases for which there is no -a (),
e.g., kamalipa:yun, pagkamalipa:yun. The pagka-, ka- forms are not
in the same form-class as the base -a () because the base -a()
is linked to preceding elements with nga, whereas the ka-, pagkabases 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) + EP + genitive --->
- (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 (\underline{Seo} . 4.7)

Q voc. ka- base gen.
a. pastilan nanay kasayun + niqa:naq "Goodness, Mother, how easy that is [" (15.2)

 $(a \rightarrow b)$

- Q voc. P | S b. pastilan nanay sayun | kanaq "Goodness, Mother that is easy!"
- ka- base Q Q gen.
 o. kabu:qang ba gyud ni:mu "What a fool you are!"
 (c->d)
- d. nabu:qang ka man kahaq "Have you gone mad?" (10.7)

3,663 Additional paradigms

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

^{*}P+S and P*S also occur. Cf. Sec. 3.23.

sentences also apply (Sec. 3.24 ff.).

3.664 Use of topics instead of genitive

The exclamatory sentences followed by a genitive (the types of <u>Secs.3.61</u>, 3.62 and 3.67) occur with a topic instead of a genitive. (Cf. <u>Sec</u>. 6.11 for <u>topics</u>.)

- topic Q EP
 a. qang qinahan + labihan kabala:ka
 "The mother was very concerned."
- topic Q abstract
 b. si tiri:sa labiha ng pangu:rug "How Teresa trembled!"

3.67 Exclamatory sentences composed of adjective phrase + genitive

Adjectives + qug + nominal phrases + genitives occur as exclamatory sentences. (Cf. Sec. 4.211 for adjective phrases and Sec. 4.7 for genitives.)

a. ga:hi g qu: qa:na ng bata:qa "That child is thick-headed!" (Lit.: "hard-headed")

These sentences enter into the paradigms described in <u>Sec.</u> 3.422. They are also in a paradigm with the sentences described in <u>Sec.</u> 3.61 with a one-way transformational relationship, and enter the same paradigms that these enter (<u>Sec.</u> 3.661).

3.7 Other sentences composed of qualifiers and bases or pagka- plus base

These sentences differ from those listed in <u>Sec</u>. 3.6 ff. in that they occur with different qualifiers. Also the meaning of those listed in <u>Sec</u>. 3.6 is exclamatory whereas the meaning of these is declarative. These sentences are of two types:

a. Sentence: Q + ng* + pagka- base + (genitive) + ({dative subject})

b. Sentence: Q + ng* + (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 agent, and the dative or subject is the thing affected by the action.

Q linker base genitive (agent) dative taqudtaqud na ng + sinamqid + ni qinting + sa qi:ya ng (thing affected by action)
linantip "Inting had been sharpening his bolo for a long time." (48.1)

subject (thing affected by the action) Q pagka-base qang qi:ya ng pinu:tiq maqa:yu ng pagkagi:pud "His sword was well-nicked." (56.5)

Q genitive linker base dative taqudtaqud na na:mu ng paqa:but 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."

Q topic linker base du:gay siya ng pangi:taq sa nawa:laq ni:ya ng 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 rela-

^{*}Some of the qualifiers occurring in sentences of this type are linked with qug.

tionship between the two.

Q linker <u>pagka</u> base genitive maqa:yu ng <u>pagkabu:hat</u> sa karuma:ta

←→

Q linker pagka- base subject 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 genitive du:ru ng kata:wa + ng baqubaqu:hay "Mr. Turtle laughed loudly."

topic Q linker base si baqubaqu:hay du:ru ng kata:wa

3.721 Paradigms with declarative sentences

Sentences of the above type are in paradigms with declarative sentences having qualifiers.

a. Q + linker + base + genitive + dative

b. Q + linker + TP + subject

1) If the TP 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 complement in the TP (Sec. 4.63).

Q linker base genitive (agent) a. du:gay ng putul ni qinting

(thing affected by action)

sa ka:huy "It took Inting a long time to finish cutting the the wood".

Q transient active subject complement b. du:gay ng nagputul si qinting sa ka:huy "It took Inting a long time to finish cutting the wood."

2) If the TP contains a passive the genitive of <u>a</u> is a genitive in <u>b</u>, and the dative or subject of <u>a</u> (the thing affected by the action) is a subject in <u>b</u>.

thing affected by action

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

ΨP

Q linker transient active genitive (agent) subject
b. du:gay ng giputul ni qinting qang ka:huy
"It took Inting a long time to finish cutting wood."

Also this type of sentences enters in the paradigms into which the declarative sentences enter (Sec. 3.24).

3.73 Word order

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

subject Q linker qang ka:huy maqa:yu ni:ya ng pagkaputul "He did a good job cutting the wood."

The order of the **post**positives (pronoun subject) is discussed in <u>Sec</u>. 6.322.

3.8 Qunsa:qun sentences

Sentences containing { giqunsa* qunsa:qun } "how" may be of a special type, containing all the elements of a declarative sentence except a subject:

^{*}The other transient forms of the base <u>quasa</u> do not occur in this type of sentence.

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 quasa:qua or giquasa 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 quasaqua is niqa:na ng qanak sa ha:riq.)

Sr the subject form of the genitive (Sec. 4.7). Thus example be above is in a paradigm and two-way transformation with a sentence:

Q gen. infinitive S

o. qunsa:qun + gud + ni:mu pagpangasa:wa kana ng qanak
sa ha:riq "How in the world are you going to marry the
king's daughter?"

gen. infinitive | S

d. qunsa:qun ni:la pagpatay | qang qi:la ng qanak "How
are they to kill their son?" (37.2)

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?"

3.9 Elliptic sentences

Sentences with constituents other than those described

above are considered elliptic. These elliptic sentences are in a paradigm 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!"
- sa quba ng panahun na lang "Let us make it at another time."

3.92 Parts of exclamatory sentences

Q genitive
ba:li + ni ng manga kutsi:ru sa syudad "Boy! These
rig drivers in the city!"

3.93 Other elliptic sentences

noun nominative voc.
qisdaq ka nang "Fish, Ma'am?"

The LP's (Sec. 3.4) except may occur as elliptic sentences.

Outline of Chapter Four : Predicates

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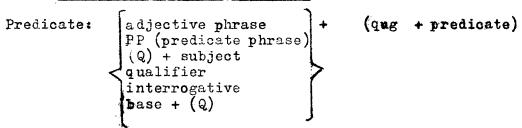
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Chapter Four: Predicates

4.0 Subjects and predicates

cebuano subjects and predicates are similar in the make-up of their 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



Predicates consisting of subjects are discussed in Chapter Five.

Others are discussed in this chapter.

4.2 Predicate phrases and adjective phrases

Adjective phrase: (manga)* + adjective + (Q) + (qug + predicate phrase) + ((kay) + dative). Adjectives are defined in Sec. 8.011 For datives cf. Sec. 4.7.

^{*}manga before adjectives in predicates consisting of adjectives 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.

- predicate predicate adj. Q S PP

 b. daghan da:yun kita 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 qistra:da

 pred. adj. Q subj.

 manga maqa:yu na sile "How are Miss Edralin and

 Mr. Estrada?" "They are both well now."
- Q S adjective dative
 d. nan kadtu si ba:kir | {taqas | kani:mu "Anyway, that Baker taqas kay}
 was taller than you are." (41.12)

4.212 Paradigms of adjective phrases

The adjective phrase containing a PP is in a paradigm with a predicate phrase containing an adjective (Sec. 4.2331):

adjective + qug + PP

adjective + nga + NP (or NP + nga + adjective) The paradigms described in Secs. 3.422 and 3.423

also apply here so that there is another two-way transformation:

adjective + qug + PP

adjective + qang + PP (With S

gen. Cf. examples c. and e., Sec. 3.422.)

- a. daghan kita g kwarta ng matipi:gan "We will have much money gathered." (9.8)
- b. daghan | Subj. | PP | ng kwarta ng matipi:gan (same meaning)

 P S | adj. | PP |
 c. daghan | 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 phrases (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 complement are called "transitive". Those which do not are called "intransitive".

Active, passives are defined in <u>Sec</u>. 8.05. Genitives, <u>Sec</u>. 4.7. Complements, <u>Sec</u>. 4.6.

passive gen. | S b. gihu:yad ni:ya kini "He brandished it." (49.2)

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 <u>qang</u> + imperative, and the meaning is "the one which you are to ..."

S imperative
a. qaku y pangutanqa "I am the one you should ask."

imperative 2nd subject

b. si hwan maqu | y hata:gi g ga:sa 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)

P gen. transient (passive)
c. qaku y qi:mu ng pangutanqun "I am the one
you should ask."

P transient + gen. + complement
d. si hwan maqu y hata:gan + mu + qug ga:sa

"John is the one you should give a present to."

4.23 Nominal phrases (NP)

4.231 Possessives

Possessive: dative form (for proper nouns)
qi:ya + (disjunctive)
qi:la + (disjunctive)
pronominal forms (for personal pronouns)
disjunctive form (for other noun pronoun)
ka + proper noun

Datives, disjunctives and pronominals are defined in Sec. 4.7.

pred.
pron. Q subj. voc.
a. qi:mu na kini hwan "This is yours now, John."

predicate
dative proper noun subj.
b. kang hwan 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 qi:ya or (plural) qi:la plus the genitive (Sec. 4.7) is used. With proper names qi:ya (qi:la) + genitive is also used.

a. nakakitaq qaku sa {qi:ya ni} hwan qug sa qa:kuq kang 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, <a href="mailto:qa:muq" ours" and <a href="qaintum" yours" are used to mean "my house", "your house". <a href="ka + proper name is used to mean" shouse"." | 's house". <a href="mailto:qaintum" ours" and <a href="qaintum" yours" are used to mean "yours" are used to mean yours are

4.232 Numeral phrases

Numerals are 1) the Cebuano numbers listed in the glossary;

- 2) words of quantity <u>pila</u> "how many and <u>pipila</u> "a few"
- 3) words with the affixes listed in <u>Sec. 11.8</u> and its subsections. The numbers are the words <u>qu:nu</u>, <u>dus</u>, <u>tris</u>, etc. borrowed from Spanish (listed as <u>numbers</u> in the glossary). They are also used as numerals.

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

Genitives:
\begin{cases} \text{sa + nominal phrase} \\ \text{genitives of pronouns} \\ \text{genitives of proper nouns} \end{cases}

Genitives of pronouns and proper names are given in \underline{Sec} . 4.7.

a. kini ng pita:ka | qusa ka pita:ka nga qingkanta:du "This purse is an enchanted purse." (7.3)

P numeral predicate phrase
b. kini qusa ka daku ng ti:qaw "This is a
great joke." (12.14)

pred.
num.

S

c. manga + pila + na + ka bu:wan | qang milabay

"A few months had gone by."

4.2331 Common nominal phrases

Common nominal phrase: (Q)+ (transient)*+ (Q) + (adjective)*

Nominatives and disjunctives are described in Sec. 4.7.

Complements are described in <u>Sec</u>. 4.6. Common nouns are any forms marked CN in the glossary. Transients are forms with the

^{*}The transient; common noun, and the adjective may also follow the noun.

^{**}A complement consisting of <u>nga</u> plus declarative sentence with an active transient predicate (<u>Sec</u>. 8.051) does not occur after nouns as will be explained in <u>Sec</u>. 4.26. Parallel **restrictions** of occurrence are also features of Malay and Tagalog.

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

- a. kay qang pla:sa niqadtu ng ginhari:qan daplin

 genitive
 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 katungud qaku 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?"
- adj. S CN
 c. gamay siya ng ba:taq "He was a small boy."

P

nominal phrase

CN genitive common noun

- d. manga daghung sa pungaw nga daw qinagu:luq sa manga kalag subject maqu kanu:nay qang masa:wud sa qi:la ng dalunggan "The moaning sounds of the pungaw bird like the groaning of ghosts is what reached their ears." (51.14)
- nominal phrase

 P S CN

 e. nakakitaq siya g qusa ka + ka:huy + nga + may
 sentence
 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 Sec. 4.63.)

S nominal phrase

f. basta kay + sundun mu qang qi:mu + ng sa:qad
sentence S P
+ 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 nominal is 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 qug, 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 infinitive
b. di:liq 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 <u>Sec</u>. 8.3) are also common nouns (Sec. 10.93). However, not all abstracts

used as are/common 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.

Aaghan 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 walaq (Sec. 6.311) whereas those containing passives may be. However, not all passives occur qualified by walaq - Sec. 6.71.

a. di:liq | S | CN | linu:tuq ni pidru "This is not something Pedro cooked."

Q S passive
b. walaq kini lutu:qa 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 PP whereas nouns frequently so occur. Morphologically, all

nouns occur with a suffix \underline{a} ($\underline{\leftarrow}$) (Sec. 4.27) whereas no passives do.

4.24 Linking with nga

The following paragraphs list exceptions to the linking of PP's.*

4.241 Omission of nga in certain phonemic environments

The nga of the predicate phrase, adjective + (nga) +
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.

TP
natagbaw sa libutli:but + nanulud | sila | 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

^{*}The rules of linking vary considerably in the Cebuano area. These rules of linking are those used in Cebu City and used in writing.

name adj.

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.

title name
b. si mistir ba:kir "Mr. Baker."

Names of streets, corners, squares and the like are like titles.

corner name of place
o. qihapit ku sa 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 c.)

- demons. pronoun

 a. kaqi:la ku kini siya "He (just mentioned)

 is a friend of mine."
- demons. name
 b. dakuq kadtu si ba:kir "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 g patya ang qa:ku ng langgam "Don't you kill those birds of mine!" (46.14)

4.25 Differences between nga 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 PP 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 genitive passive
a. qunsa kadakuq qang qagila nga qi:mu ng naki:taq
"How big was the eagle you saw?"

The active "nakakitaq ka" 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 passsives 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 qaku)

 would be impossible in this environment.)
- c. maqu lagi | kini | (qang) gisulti sa qa:ku ng qanak "That is really what my son said!" (12.11)

(misulti qang qa:ku ng qanak could not be used here.)

For the absence of qang cf. Secs. 5.6 and 5.81.

Similarly following sa and qug 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 =a () with nouns and disjunctives

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

- The suffix a () is used with

 1) / nouns following demonstratives (Sec. 4.72), interrogatives (Sec. 4.3), expressions of time (Sec. 6.222), or words

 meaning "similar" or "same" with a meaning of "particularity".
- Q demonstrative P

 a. pastilan + kini ng bata:qa kusgan man diqay

 "My! This boy surely is strong!" (ba:taq) (30.2)

Q.

- inter. P S
 c. qunsa ng kaqayuha:na kana ng qi:mu ng gisulti
 "What welfare are you talking about?" (kaqayu:han)
- word meaning similar

 d. qawq + maqingunqi:ngun ra + ng nga:na na ng
 S
 qi:ya ng gisulti na:kuq "The name he told me was
 just about like that."

This <u>-a</u> (—) 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 <u>-a</u> (←) suffix is used with the pronominals (Sec. 4.7) indicating particularity.
- pronominal P S

 f. qang qa:ku ng bisikli:ta maqu y gami:ta
 pronominal
 di:liq qang qimu:ha "My bicycle is the one you
 should use, not yours."
- 3) The <u>-a</u> () is also used in exclamatory sentences. (Cf. Secs. 3.61 and 3.63.)

4.28 (nga) + sentences as predicates

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

Q Q S P
bu:saq maqu/y qa:ku ng pagla:qum | nga kini ng manga qan
prubli:ma masulbad "Thus, it is my hope that these problems/
be solved."

4.3 Interrogative predicates

Interrogative predicates: {interrogative + (Q) + (nga) + (PP)} interrogative deictic + (genitive)

Interrogative: kamusta (kumusta) "how are (is)", [qunsa kinsa]

+ nga + PP; transients based on qunsa (Sec. 8.05)*; qunsa

"what", kinsa "who", qa:sa, ha:qin, diqin "where", diqin ku:kan ha:qin ku:tub

"where \[\text{from} \] ", \text{kanusqa} "when" \(\text{qanusqa} \) "when" (unreal only), \\ \text{nga:nu} \) "why". The interrogative deictics are optionally followed \\ \text{by a genitive meaning "which of two".}

- P Q subj. vocative
 a. qunsa ma y qi:mu ng tu:yuq tigulang "What is your
 purpose, old woman?" (11.10)
- Q T S Q voc.
 b. quy naqunsa ka gud hwan "What is the matter with you,
 John?" (10.6)
- P S kinsa kini ng ti:ngug "Whose voice is this?" (4.12)
- voc. P Q
 d. nanay kumusta na "Mother! How did it go?" (14.1)
- e. qunsa ng kaqayuha:na kana 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.

inten. Q subj.

f. ha:qi ma y qi:mu ng kaligqu:nan sa qi:mu ng pagpalit
"Where are your proofs of purchase?" (64.7)

4.4 Qualifiers as predicates

4.41 Interrogative qualifiers

Interrogative qualifiers are considered to be interrogative

^{*}The transient forms of <u>quasa</u> could be considered to be regular transient phrases, but it is better to classify them separately with <u>kamusta</u> (which is a separate predicate type in any case) because their intonation is similar (Sec. 2.1551).

For the same reason the interrogatives which also occur as qualifiers are included in the interrogative predicate when they occur as a predicate.

predicates when occurring as predicates (Sec. 4.3).

4.421 Deictic predicates

The deictics (listed in <u>Sec</u>. 4.72) occur as predicates as well as qualifiers.

Q deictic Q a. qug + pagkana:qug ni:la + didtu tu:qud si karangkal "And when they went downstairs, there sure enough, was Karangkal!" (31.13)

P

deictic Q S
b. di:qa ra qaku "Here I am!" (47.1)

The <u>real</u> deictics are not used after negative qualifiers

(Sec. 6.73) (just as the real forms of the transients <u>Secs</u>.

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 qu:ras sa pagbu:hat qi:ni "Now is the time to do this."

4.43 Qualifiers of the type listed in Sec. 6.41 used as predicates

- S | Q (used as P)

 a. kanaq gu ng durmituryu pa:ra man lang sa qistudyanti

 "But those dormitories (you mentioned) are only for students.
- Q S
 b. sigun lang sa qa:nad kanaq "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...as".

(These are the ka- bases forming CN described in Sec. 10.921 and its subsections. The syntactic construction is that described in Sec. 3.611.)

- S P

 o. si hwan sa:ma kang pidru kadakuq "John is as big
 as Pedro."
- qang buwa:han + nga qingun kadakuq sa bati:qis qang tungaq "A lanzones tree as big as a leg at the middle
 ..." (60.11)

4.44 Other qualifiers as predicates

Labihan (labiqan), hustu, walaq, ha:nit also occur as predicates.

P S
a. labihan qang kali:pay ni karangkal "Karangkal was
very happy."

The sentences with <u>labihan</u> used as a predicate are in a paradigm with exclamatory sentences such that <u>labihan</u> is a qualifier. (Cf. <u>Sec</u>. 3.61.)

- b. labihan kali:pay ni karangkal "How happy Karangkal was!"
- o. qarun + walaq na qang ba:huq sa tibuquk ginhari:qan
 "So that the smell might vanish from the entire kingdom."
 (33.5)
- qualifier P
 to sentence Q
 S
 d. nagdaliq sila + sanglit + ha:pit na man qang
 qalas says "They hurried because it was already almost
 six o'clock."
- e. waq ra ga:niq siya sa 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)

Sec. 6.2214. The bases which occur as this type of predicate are dala, quban, nunut, dungan "with", hasta, hangtud, qapil, lakip "including" and human, ta:pus "after". Base + -in-forms, nouns similar to the direct passives described also occur in this construction.

in Sec. 10.23, For examples of this type of sentence cf. Sec. 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 affines listed in Sec. 8.05 and described in Chapter Eight. Transient phrases are constituents with transient + (genitive) + (complement).

4.6 Complements of TP's

Active and passive are described in Sees. 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

may not have complements.

complements, and some may or/ of those 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.

^{*}There are also third goals for bases with prefix pacausative, (Secs. 9.11 and 9.12).

Q S transient
a. qunyaq qang ha:riq naghunaqhu:naq nga kini
sentence
qusa ka daku ng ti:qaw "Then the king thought that this
was a great joke." (12.14)

passive S genitive Q complement
b. gipanguta:na | qaku | sa hi:pi nga + nga:nu man nga waq +

TP

na:tuq qiqaplay "The chief asked me why we had not applied."
(65.3)

passive S

a. qug + qi:ya ng gipanguta:na qang tigu:wang sentence
kun kinsa y tagqi:ya niqadtu ng kapaya:sa "And he asked the old man who the owner of that papaya tree was."

complement
Q
S
TP
sentence
b. bu:saq + si gadun | nahibu:lung + qug nga:nu ng waq
na gyud mutunga qang qi:ya ng manghud "Therefore
Adun wondered why his younger brother did not appear at all."

After the transients of the base <u>qingun</u>, the <u>nga</u> is usually left out: qunyaq miqingun siya qunsa gud naq tigulang tiqawti:qaw qu tinu:qud "Then he said, What is this, old woman, joke or in earnest?" (12.9)

- Q S T. nominal phrase
 a. tu:qud man si hwan miquban sa qi:ya ng qamahan
 "And sq, John went along with his father." (2.10)
- active | S | nominal phrase

 b. nakakitaq siya | g | qusa | ka | ka | huy | nga | may | daku | ng |
 buhuq "He saw a tree with a huge | hole." (4.5)
- Q active S Q nom. phrase
 c. qug + lakaw siya ngadtu + sa + tinda:han
 qarun pagpalit qug maka:qun "And she went to the store to
 buy something to eat." (8.12)

d. nakakitaq siya g may daku ng buhuq "He saw one which had a huge hole." (Cf. example 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." (23.14)

(The qug is omitted before the first goal because it follows a word ending in /g/. [Cf. Sec. 2.212 1.])

4.64 Transients which have only qug goals

Certain transients are not followed by <u>sa</u> + 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.

P S goal
a. ginganlan siya g silhwan "He was named John."

- 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 sa 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

hi:muq (mahimu) "become" pabi:lin "remain"/have this type

of goal.

goal (nominal phrase)
a. gitudluq siya nga mamahandiq lungsud "He was appointed
municipal treasurer."

These goals, except those of <u>pabi:lin</u> are in a paradigm with sentences with infinitive complements (<u>Sec. 4.68</u>) where the abstract is the <u>pagka</u>— to noun bases (a formation described in Sec. 8.333).

infimitive
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.

qanhaq ku nga mulu: tuq siya g mani qugmaq "I bet he will cook peanuts tomorrow."

4.68 Infinitive phrases

The two types of infinitives are in a paradigm

This paradigm does not hold in the case of infinitives formed with pagka- plus noun bases meaning" be V (Sec. 8.333). These are not in a paradigm with qug.

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 containing sentences complements. (For examples, cf. Sec. 4.82.)

^{*[}qug qug] does not occur. Cf. Sec. 2.212. Otherwise, qug 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.

Q Q passive S ka:huy qug qunyaq + qi:ya ng sugu:qun si hwan sa P Q infinitive goal passive inf. pagputulputul niqi:ni qarun maqandam sa pagbaligyaq "The father immediately began to fell trees. Then he ordered John to cut them up in order to prepare them for sale." (2.12)

nom. phr. S inf. phr.
noun | infinitive
b. di:liq ba kahaq may katungud | qaku | sa pagpakisa:yud
sentence
+ kun + gikinahanglan pa qaku dinhi "Do I not have
a right to know whether I am still needed here?"

transient infinitive
naglisud + paghunaqhu:naq qang qamahan qug qinahan

p
sentence (complement of paghunaqhu:naq)
+ qug + qunsa:qun ni:la pagpatay qang qi:la ng qanak
"The mother and father were hard put to know how they were

4.681 Deictics used as abstracts

to kill their child." (32.6)

The prenasalized forms of the deictics (Sec. 4.72) also continuous in the positions where abstracts occur, but are not preceded by qug or sa (or nga).

p S P passive gen.

a. gisu:guq + ni:ya qang qi:ya ng sulugu:qun ngadtu goal sa balay ni hwan "He ordered his servant to go to John's house."

The same meaning could also be expressed by:

b. gisu:guq ni:ya qang qi:ya ng sulugu:qun (sa) pagqadtu (qug) qadtu sa balay ni hwan

(Cf. Sec. 3.31 where the use of the prenasalized deictics 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 "disjunctive". 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:

^{*}In a sentence such as

gisu:guq ni:ya qang qi:ya ng sulugu:qun didtu sa balay ni hwan The didtu sa balay ni hwan is not classified as a complement but rather as a qualifier because of the word order of sentences with which sentences containing it are in a paradigm. I.e., there is a sentence

didtu sa balay ni hwan gisu:guq ni:ya qang qi:ya ng suluguam (Cf. Secs. 6.2114 and 6.2212) ngadtu sa balay, on the other hand, is classified as a complement and not as a qualifier because this sentence is not in a paradigm with a sentence. *[ngadtu sa balay ni hwan gisu:guq etc.] (This starred form is not a Cebuano sentence.)

A substitution of the contraction of the contr	: :Nominative :		Genitive		•		Prono-
	long	short	long	short	long	shor t**	
Form preceding common nouns	: -	: -	sa		sa.	-	
Particles before proper names		: inone :	ng *	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	kang	ng* ni	
1st Singular	qaku	ku	na:kuq	ku	kana:kuq sa qa:kuq	na:kuq ***	qa ∶kuq
2nd Singular	qikaw	ka	ni:mu	mu	kani:mu sa qi:mu	ni:mu	q1:mu
3rd Singular	siya	none	ni:ya		kani:ya sa qi:ya	ni:ya	qi:ya
lst Plural Inclusive	kita	ta	na:t uq	ta	kana:tuq sa qa:tuq	na:tuq	đe uprđ
1st Plural	kami	mi	na:muq	•	kana: muq sa qa: muq		da :mnd
2nd Plural	kamu	mu	ninyu	*	kaninyu sa qinyu	ninyu	qinyu
3rd Plural	si:la sila	sila	ni:la		kani:la sa qi:la	ni:la	qi:la
Demonstratives This (near speak- er only)	kari) kiri)	: : ri :	niqa:ri	qa:ri	Same as	genitive	-
	kani kini		niqi:ni niqa:ni	qi:ni qa:ni ni	et es :	tt .	-
That (near hear-	kanaq	naq	niqamaq	qa:naq na q	14 15	11	~
That (far from both speaker & hearer)	kadtu qi:tu	tu	niqadtu	qadtu	17 10	,,	

Legend:

- } Any of the forms occur with me appreciable difference in meaning.
- * ng optional after vowels /n/ or /q/: balay ng husi (=balay ni husi) "Joe's house."
- ** The short form of the dative is the same as the long form of the genitive.
- *** <u>ki</u> is used only in the construction of <u>Sec.</u> 5.32.(It is not a frequent form.)
- **** The forms with <u>sa</u> 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 <u>kani</u> forms are most common, but <u>kari</u> forms are also used. If the thing talked about is definitely far from the second person but close to the first person, <u>kari</u> forms are used. The genitive forms of the demonstratives are **also used** in constructions requiring <u>que</u> or y for the nouns.

a. daghan mi niqa:naq dung "We have plenty of that, boy."

LP S | walaq mi niqa:naq "We have none of that."

The niqa:naq stands for * [qug kanaq] (sequences which do not y kanaq] (sequences which do not y kanaq) (described in sec. 4.211). The predicate of b is an LP (described in sec. 4.211). The predicate of b is an LP (described in sec. 3.4). The short forms are alternants of the type described in sec. 2.213.

4.71 Paradigms

The short forms of the chart <u>Sec.</u> 4.7 above are not used as predicates (<u>Sec.</u> 5.41). 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" (<u>Secs.</u> 3.61, 3.62, 3.63), and the genitive is not used as a pronominal predicate (<u>Sec.</u> 4.231). Furthermore, the pronominal is not used if there is a prepositive qualifier (<u>Sec.</u> 6.31). Otherwise, 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 preneminal precedes the word with which it is in construction and is linked by nga.

pronom. (used as gen.) pronom.

a. qi:ya ng giqingun qang qi:ya ng qinahan "He said

to his mother."

pass.

b. giqingun + ni:ya qang qi:ya ng qinahan (15.6)

"He said to his mother."

pred. S

prepos. Q gen. passive
c. walaq ni:ya qingna qang qi:ya ng qinahan

"He did not tell his mother."

In the case of <u>c</u> since there is a prepositive qualifier (<u>walaq</u> <u>Sec. 6.311</u>) <u>ni:ya</u> occurs and not the pronominal <u>qi:ya</u>.

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 na:kuq are used there.) Otherwise, ku is used in the same places as na:kuq, and mu, in the same place as ni:mu. ku and mu are used 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 locational meaning of the demonstrative pronouns. The interrogative deictics (meaning "where") correspond to the temporal meanings the of/deictics and are also listed in this chart.

Corresponding De	em. Base of Transie	nt Timele	ss Real P	renasalized
kari	: qa:ri* qari :	: : diri :	:qadi;qa}: :di:qa	nga ri
kini	: qanhi : qanhi	: : dinhi :	:qani:qa}: :ni:qa	nganh i
kanaq	: qanhaq	: dihaq : dinhaq	:qana:qa}: :na:qa	nganhaq
kadtu	: qadtu : qadtu	: : didtu :	: : : : : : : : : : : : : : : : : : :	ngadtu
Interrogative deictics	: qa:sa : sa:qa	diqin disqa	:ha:qin :ha:qi :ha:qi :sa:qa	••

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.)

:	Past	:	Present	:	Future	:	Motion	:
:	/	:		:		:		:
•	didtu	:	didtu	:	qadtu	:	ngadtu	:
:		:		:		ż		:
:	ngadtu	:	tu:qa	:	did tu	:		\$
:		:		:		:		:
:		:	ngadtu	:	ngadtu	:		:

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 Sec. 3.3) only in the meaning of "motion". In other meanings they are used as qualifiers (Sec. 6.22111) or as infinitives (Sec. 4.69).

a. karangkal hwat ka ngari ha "Karangkal, you will wait over here, OK?" (28.4). The form ngari is used as a

^{*}qa:ri is used as a base to the transients in some forms whereas <u>qari</u> is used as the qualifier and base of transients in some forms.

qualifier meaning present time. <u>diri</u> could also be used in place of <u>ngari</u> with the same meaning. (Cf. example <u>e</u> of this section below.)

b. mila: lin sila ng magtiqa: yun nganhi "They migrated here as a married couple." (51.3)

The reals ($\underline{tu:qa}$, etc..) are used as qualifiers or as predicates but only in present meaning.

P | S o. di:qa ra | qaku "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".

Q P S
d. na qunyaq qusa niqa:naq ka duminggu + didtu si ba:kir
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:

timeless deictic

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.

- 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 + qadtu | kita | 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 <u>miqadtu</u> 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:qa 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	
digin :	ha:qin	qa:sa	

Lee., digin is answered by didtu, ha:qin by tu:qe and qa:sa; by qadtu. With transients meaning motion to a place, qa: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:qin has its present meaning.

b. ha:qin si ma:ma mu "Where is your mother?"With diqin the meaning is past time.

- o. 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 diqin 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)

diqin in colloquial language is used in a present or future meaning even with no indication of motion.

- f. diqin tu ng 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 diqin are used.

- h. qa:sa man tu ng mani:laq "Now, where is Manila?"

 diqin 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 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 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.

passive + gen. S

a. hapitun + ta ka "I will drop in for you."

nominal gen. S

b. qami:gu man ta ka "You are my friend."

Instead of ta ka the forms t ika and t ikaw occur with the same meaning:

c. hapitun {t ika } "I will drop in for you."

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

transient Q Q S goal
d. maquwaw man lang ta ni:mu "I am just ashamed to face you."

Thus, there are the following members of the paradigm:

:		:		:
:	(genitive)	:	(subject)	
:	1st Person	:	2nd Person	:
:		:		:
:	ta	:	ka	:
:		:		:
:	t, ta, ku	:	qikaw	:
:		:		:
:	na:kuq, qa:kuq	:	ka, qikaw	:

4.8 Paradigms into which transient phrase predicates enter

4.811 Active-passive

The transient occurs with the affixes described in Sec. 8.05, and the sentence containing an active transient phrase is in a paradigm with a sentence containing a passive transient phrase. $S_1 + TP$ (active) + goal $S_2 + P$ passive TP + P disjunctive, 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.

a. nakakitaq siya goal gusa ka ka:huy nga may daku ng buhuq "He saw a tree with a huge hole." (4.4)

b. naki:taq man ni:ya | qang buhuq sa punu:qan sa ka:huy "He saw the hole in the tree trunk." (6.1)

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 b above. Which 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 | goal 2 | misablig | siya | g | tu:big | sa | baqiran | "He sprinkled water on the grindstone."

passive disjunct. goal subject gisabli:gan ni:ya + g tu:big qang baqiran "He sprinkled water on the grindstone." (48.9)

4.812 Active—passive with infinitive phrases as complement
With an infinitive phrase and goal the same paradigms also
occur.

- Q act. Q S inf. goal of inf. a. maqu nga su:gud + na pud siya qug pi:lay + sa ka:huy "So, he began to cut the tree down again." (5.7)
- Q passive gen. infinitive | S
 b. qug + gisugdan + ni:ya + sa pagpi:lay | qang ka:huy
 "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 quag

The subject of the passive is usually used when a certain subject has been previously mentioned. In that case the subject of the passive is the thing which was mentioned previously. For example, p. 6, lines 5, 6, and 7 have nothing but passives because the subject is what was talked about praviously.

plus abstract plus goal with the relationship being that of a two-way transformation.

passive + (sa) + infinitive + subject > passive + qang + pagabstract plus goal, where the goal is the disjunctive form of the subject. Thus the above example (b) is in a paradigm with:

passive abstract goal of abstract

o. gisugdan ni:ya | qang pagpi:lay + sa ka:huy

"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 CN means "action of V" " (Sec. 10.51).

passive + qang + CN (where the noun is to the same morpheme as the base of the abstract)

- P CN
 d. misamut qang kahadluk sa manga ta:wu "The people became more afraid." (58.5)
- transient inf. S

 e. misamut kahadluk qang manga ta:wu "The people became more afraid."

4.82 Abstract - sentence

As is indicated in <u>Sec. 8.05</u> 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

The active transient is the active real or unreal of the passive passive passive passive passive paradigm (Sec. 4.811).

a. qug qunyaq qi:ya ng sugu:qun si hwan sa pagputulputul niqi:ni "Then he told John to cut it up." (2.12)

sentence

- b. qug qunyaq qi:ya ng sugu:qun si hwan nga qi:ya kini ng passive "Then he told John to cut it up."
 putulputulun
- c. sukad karun qikaw na 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 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 Secs. 4.2331 and 4.6, not every noun or transient is followed by both infinitive and (nga) or (qug) 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 ka-prefix. (Cf. Sec. 9.12 and its subsections.)

- e. si:gi siya g qinum qarun mamala qang subaq
 "He continued drinking so that the river would dry up."

 This is in a paradigm with the sentence:
- f. si:gi siya g qinum + qarun pagmala sa subaq pagpamala "He continued drinking to dry up the river."

4.83 Indirect statements vs. indirect questions

\[\langle \text{noun} \\ \text{transient} \\ \text{+ (nga)} + \langle \text{sentence} \\ \text{is in a paradigm with} \\ \text{noun} \\ \text{transient} \\ \text{+ \langle qug} + \langle \text{sentence} \\ \text{transient} \\ \text{TP} \end{area} \]

This paradigm holds only

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.

- transient S sentence

 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 + | kun| + nga:nu man nga waq | qug|
 na:tuq qiqaplay "The chief asked me why we had not applied for it."

4.84 Transient a + infinitive transient + 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. 6.22112. These also enter into the paradigms

listed in Sec. 6.2124 and Sec. 6.221121.

trans.a inf.b

- a. gisunud ni:ya pagsablig qang qi:ya ng linantip "Next he sprinkled water on his bolo." (48.10)

 trans.
 b inf.
- al gisabli:gan ni:ya g sunud qang qi:ya ng linantip "Next he sprinkled water on his bolo."

 trans.a inf.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.
- 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."

4.9 Word order of sentence with S*P

If the order of a declarative or existential sentence is S*P (Sec. 3.23) and the P is a predicate phrase, the S has the following positions. (If the subject is a peatpositive [Sec. 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
Q adj. Q S NP
a. di:ha + ng + daghan na si hwan qug bula:wan
"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:

adj. phrase
QQQ SQ
b. busug na kunu si hwan kaqa:yu "John says that he is quite satisfied now."

4.92 In nominal phrases

The S usually follows the numeral + Q, possessive plus Q, or common noun plus Q.

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 postpositive qualifiers and precedes the complement (Sec. 4.6).

act. trans. Q complement

a. nagpu:nay + la:mang | si hwan | qug lingkud

"John just sits around."

Outline of Chapter Five: Subjects

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5.2	Subjects introduced by gang
5.21	qang plus predicate phrase as subject
5.211	qang plus adjective phrase as subject
5.212	qang plus transient phrase as subject
5.213	qang plus passive imperative as subject
5.214	qang plus 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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Chapter Five: Subjects

Subject:

\[
\begin{align*} \text{qing,y}** \\ \text{qag} \\ \text{sitential sentence} \\ \text{si + proper name} \\ \text{predicate} \\ \text{qang + abstract + (complement)} \\ \text{direct statements} \\ \text{interrogative sentence} \end{align*} \]

If the que "and" is not used and if there is a second subject, the meaning is appositive (i.e., the two subjects are the same):

a. manga:wat ba gud | qang qi:mu ng qanak nga si hwan

"Do you think your son John would actually steal?" (8.4)

The qang (qag) before a subject is usually not repeated in the second subject in the compound subject (qang _____ qug (qang)

). Similarly the si is not always repeated, though it .

frequently is repeated.

P
S
b. nga:nu ma ng diq na:muq qiku:yug | si tu:ni qug ti:ta

"Why may we not have Tony and Tita come along?"

^{*}For the omission of gang cf. Sec. 5.8.

^{**} The distribution of ging and y is explained in Sec. 5.61.

^{***}An exception to this rule is the case 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 qang 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)

P S
c. qi:la ng gibalhin qang lami:sa qug si:ya "They
moved the table and chair."

mag is confined to the colloquial language. (It is not used except in set expressions.) in Cebu City / The meaning of qag differs from qang in that qag 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 mentioned, gag is also possible.

5.2 Subjects introduced by gang

5.21 gang plus predicate phrase as subject

5.211 Qang plus adjective phrase as subject

pred. S (adj. phrase)
gustu na:kuq | qang qitum qug tabun "I want the:one with a
black cover."

The paradigms into which adjective phrases used as predicates enter (Sec. 4.212), apply also to adjective phrases used as subjects.

5.212 gang plus transient phrase as subject

P S transient phrase
a. dakuq kaqa:yu ng kahuy qang qa:ku ng gipi:lay
"It was a huge tree I cut down." (29.4)

P transient phrase
b. qusa ka mapaqit nga pahiyum | qang + mikiwiq sa qi:ya ng
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 consisting of active transient + subject do not occur as subjects. Cf. Sec. 4.26.)

5.213 gang plus passive imperative as subject

Qang qa:ku ng bisikli:ta maqu y gami:ta di:liq qang qi:mu "My bicycle is the one you should use, not yours."

Again since qang plus active imperative sentences do not occur 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 qang plus possessive as subject

S possessive P kay qang qi:ya dapit man sa da:hun "For his was the part near the leaves."

5.2142 qang plus numeral phrase as subject

Q P qunyaq qusa niqa:naq ka panahun + miqabut sa hunaqhu:naq S

numeral phrase ni hwani 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 plus common nominal phrase

labi na qang qamahan | nali:pay gayud pagqa:yu
" Especially the father was very happy." (1.6)

5.22 gang plus subject as subject

gustu ku qisulqub 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 deiotic 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 magic encantation." (Lit.: "what was to be uttered in asking".)

5.24 gang plus existential sentence as subject

3

- a. gipi:liq na:kuq qang may bu:wak "I chose the one with flowers."
- imper. pred. S (exist. sentence)
 b. pili:qa | qang wala y bu:wak "Pick one without
 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."
- P 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 <u>b</u> above), the sentence is in a paradigm

as is described in Sec. 4.812 (active-passive paradigm).

5.3 Nominatives as subjects

5.31 Proper name phrases

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

Proper names and titles are anything preceded by si (ni, 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".

Q proper name Q P
a. qapan si karangkal bisan sa ba:taq pa + nagpaki:taq
qug manga talagsaqu ng qabilidad "But Karangkal, even
when he was still a child, showed peculiar abilities." (25.8)

Q demonstr. S P
b. nan kadtu si ba:kir taqas kani:mu "Anyway, that
Baker was taller than you are." (41.12)

The <u>si</u> may be omitted if a demonstrative (<u>Sec</u>. 4.7) precedes. In that case there is linking with <u>nga</u>.

P demonstr. linker S
c. na qunyaq didtu | sila 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) + ((ng) + predicate phrase), For pronouns and demonstratives cf. Sec. 4.7.

pred. pron. transient
a. kinsa kini ng nagsulti "Who was it that was talking?"

(4.13)

b. qiruq ka man diqay "So you are greedy!" (42.4)

c. qadu:na na sila y qikata:bang sa panimalay "Now they had some help in the household." (1.5)

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

Q Q demons. pron.
d. na walaq pa tu siya maqunsa "Anyway, nothing happened to him yet." (46.8)

5.321 Plural subjects

na qunyaq didtu si:la + kadtu ng bilyagumsa: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.

^{*}The 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. Sec. 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 predicate (except as indicated in Sec. 5.42).

Q pron. S
sukad karun qikaw na* qang qa:ku ng kata:bang
sa panga:huy "From now on, you will be my helper in cutting
wood." (2.7)

(The occurrence of <u>na</u> also indicates that the <u>qikaw</u> is the predicate. [Cf. <u>Sec</u>. 6.32])

5.42 Predicates consisting of proper nouns

If there is a proper noun, the proper noun may be predicate:

P
Q proper noun Q Q P
qug + si hwan + na + la:mang qug qang qi:ya ng

qinahan maqu | y nahibilin "And now only John and his mother were left." (3.11)

Again, the occurrences of <u>na</u> and <u>la:mang</u> indicate that <u>si</u>

<u>hwan</u> is a predicate. (Cf. <u>Sec</u>. 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.

^{*}This is an example of a qualifier which occurs only with predicates (Sec. 6.32).

If there is a postpositive qualifier, the position of the postpositive qualifier indicates which is the predicate.

predicate postpos. Q a. si mistir qaba:ya man kini "It was Mr. Abaya."

pred. postpos. Q b. kini man si mistir qaba:ya "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 insistence 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 Sec. 5.42 above.)

Q P postpos. Q S qapan qang yamyamun la:mang sa pagpanga:yuq | qang dihaq 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 giha:pun ni qangkay
"IThen what happened?" Angkay kept asking." (65.1)

5.6 The use of v (ging)*

5.61 y 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 directly a pronoun, numeral, frequent name, postpositive qualifier or other frequent qualifiers or maqu, the qang 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 y qang (qing)** 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) subject qinahan maqu y nahibilin "So now John and his mother were the only ones left." (3.11)

predicate (with constituent which occurs also as subject)
subject
b. si hwa y qa:ku ng hinigugma "John is my only love."

(hwan is a frequent name.)

pred.
c. si luqis | qang qa:ku ng gihigugma "Luis is the one I love."

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

^{*}Regional and in high style speech to avoid the morphophonemate alternations described in Sec. 2.212.

^{**}Qing is not used in Cebu City, but qing also occurs in these environments if used regionally or in writing.

y. (Cf. Sec. 5.81, example d)

5.621 y in proverbial expressions

In set proverbial expressions y precedes the subject with other types of predicates.

- P (TP) S
 a. muba:lik pa y da:hu ng larag "A faded leaf will
 return again [but x will not]."
- b. magki:taq man ga:ni | luwag qug kasi:li "Even the eel and the ladle meet." (Cf. Sec. 5.81 for the omission of x.)

 But if the sentence is not a proverb, qang is required.
- P S S qang qa:ku ng qamahan "My father will still come back."

5.622 Extensions of "proverbial y"

This usage of <u>y</u> is with comparisons, if there is the nuance of a proverb. (Cf. the usage of <u>y</u> before transients and sentences <u>Sec</u>. 3.53.)

- P (adject.) S
 a. gwa:pa pa y kudkuran "As ugly as a coconut grater."

 (Lit.: "The coconut grater is more beautiful.")
- P (adject.) S
 b. tambuk pa y dyis "Thinner than a dime." (Lit: "A dime
 is fatter.")

But if there is no proverbial nuance, the y is not used.

P (adject.) S
c. taqas pa qang qi:mu ng qigsu:qun "Your brother
is taller."

5.63 Differences between y (ging) existential and y (ging) before a subject

The sentences with y before a subject are in a paradigm with sentences with quang before the subject, whereas existential sentences are not in a paradigm with sentences containing the same words except quang where the existential had y.

y before a subject

P a. qikaw ra | {qang } qa:ku ng hinigugma "You are the only one I love."

y existential

LP S PP
b. du:na ku y hinigugma "There is someone I love."

In the case of b, gang does not occur in the position of y. On the other hand, existential sentences enter into paradigms into which the declarative sentences do not enter (described in Sec. 3.422). Cf. the discussion and examples in Sec. 5.64, below.

5.64y after numerals and deictics

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

existential sentence

numeral g a. duha y qa:ku ng qanak "I have two children."

declarative sentence:

numeral subj.
b. duha qang qa:ku ng qanak "My children are two."

existential sentence:

deictic LP + PP

c. dihaq na y daghan kaqa:yu ng salapiq "There was much

money now." (16.1)

declarative sentence:

deictic P subject
d. dihaq na qang daghan kaqa:yu ng salapiq "The large
amount of money was there now."

In this case the sentences of types exemplified by <u>a</u> and <u>c</u>, above, have been called existential rather than declarative.

(I.e., deictic and numerical predicates have been excluded from those which may be followed by <u>y</u> plus the subject in the rules of <u>Sec</u>. 5.61.) The reason for this analysis is that these occur in paradigms in which the other sentences with <u>y</u> substitutable by quang do not occur.*

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 \underline{b} of that section).

corresponding to a, above

numeral S PP e. duha ku y qanak "I have two children."

^{*}In other words the criterion for determining whether we have y existential or the y before the subject is not whether or not gang occurs in the same place as y, but the other paradigms into which the sentence enters. This consideration is consistent with the semantic analysis. The existential sentence with y has a different meaning from the sentence with gang (best exemplified by examples c and d of this paragraph), whereas the sentences with y before the subject hardly differ in meaning from sentences with gang before the subject.

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 siya sa qi:ya ng qamahan "His father ordered him."
- b. qiku:qut kana ng qi:mu ng kamut "Stick in your 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 which the possessor has already been mentioned.

- PP (existent. sentence with mali:yu)

 P S LP PP S

 d. milakaw si mali:yu nga wala y tumung qang paglakaw

 "Maleyo went away without any direction in (his) walking."
- e. lahiq man gud siya kaqa:yu kay sa manga qulita:wu

 Q
 P
 ng syudadnun + nga pulus qartipisyal qang li: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 gang and y omitted in certain phonemic environments.

Following words ending in /ang/ qang does not usually occur

even in formal speech.(Cf. morphophonemics, Sec. 2.212)

P
S
a. gamay ng butang qi:ya ng da: "What he is bringing is
a small thing."

I does not occur following words ending in consonants except /q/
and except following postpositives and common 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 existentials.)

pred. subj.
b. maqu lagi kini | gisulti sa qa:ku ng qanak "But
that is what my son said!" (12.12)

In this case \underline{x} may be used because the constituents of the predicate are like those of a subject. (Cf. Sec. 5.6L) \underline{x} is omitted because \underline{kini} ends in /i/. Cf. the following:

pred. subject
c. maqu lagi kana y gisulti sa qaku ng qanak "That is
really what my son said!"

In existential sentences y may also be omitted after a consonant except /n/ and /q/ and after /i/, /iq/.

P S
d. qunum | qa:ku ng qanak "I have six children."

Since the word qunum ends in a consonant, y does not occur. Cf.

the following:

P S S e. pitu y qa:ku 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 gang - Sec. 5.2142).

subject

numeral phrase P qusa ka mapaqit nga pahi:yum mikiwiq sa qi:ya ng manga nga:bil "His lips twisted into a bitter smile."

This usage is normal in conversation and is considered correct,

though in written style it is not usual.

5.83 gang 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 sa pa:riq + tindug | qamirika:nu "When the priest came in the American stood up." (39.1)

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Chapter Six: Qualifiers

6.0 Introduction

Qualifiers (Q) are elements which are not adjectives, adjective 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" y, that means that x is a qualifier which 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 * Qugmaq" "He came tomorrow." However, in order to cut down the number of rules, many such self-contradictory sentences are not specifically 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.

a. si ta:tay + kanu:nay ku ni:ya ng dukdu:kun sa qalhu "Dad, he always used to pound me with a pestle."

topic excl sentence

b. si karangkal + labihan . kali:pay "As for Karangkal, how happy he was!"

topic
o. qikaw kay qiruq ka man diqay "You - since you are so greedy..." (42.4)

Many of the succeeding paragraphs give lists of forms. These lists include all forms coming from extensive texts, but they are by no means complete lists.

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

topic Q to topic P S P
d. kami + sa qamirika + naqa:nad kami niqa:naq
"We in America, we are used to that."

The topic may also occur at the end of a sentence as well as at the beginning.

- S Q TP topic
 e. qamirika:nu | walaq pud lang muti:ngug nu + si ba:kir "The
 American just did not say anything, you know Baker." (39.14)
- 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 $\begin{cases} \frac{\text{dig}}{\text{di:liq}} \end{cases}$ "not", qimbis, sakapi or qinay "instead of", labi pa "especially" or one of a few other qualifiers of similar meaning. Anything that occurs as a predicate, qualifier to a

S predicate Q subj a. qang ta:wu maqu y namatay + qimbis + qang mananap. "The man died instead of the animal."

sentence, or a goal occurs also as a "second predicate".

P S P Q Qualifier to sentence
b. milakaw siya sakay sa trak + qinay + sa trin.
"He left on the bus instead of the train."

P

S TP goal goal
c. qapan kini ng pagtu:qu | nagaha:tag + kali:sang + sa manga
2nd predicate

q goal ta:wu+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 immediate 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, sentence + Q and sentence * Q. If the order is sentence * Q, usually the Q follows the first word of the subject or predicate.

Q S Q predicate
a. qapan si du:day tinga:li + qusa ka baba:yi nga
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 sa

This section includes phrases introduced by sa or the genitive forms of the nouns and pronouns (Sec. 4.7).

Phrases introduced by sa may be followed by nga + predicate phrases, sentences the whole resulting phrase being used as a qualifier. (The

sentence

3 2 2 P S P 1

sa + panahun + nga + nagapuyuq siya sa sugbu +

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 forms are those which are not optional. (Cf. Sec. 3.11.)
6.2111 sa plus sentences consisting of transient phrase

plus subject

Q
a. qapan sa qusa niqa:naq ka qadlaw + sa + nagalingkud
sentence used as Q

S
P
siya | sa qiya ng lingkura:nan + miqingun siya
"But one day, as he was sitting in his seat, he said...."
(9.14)

sentence used as Q

b. qunyaq + sa + qi:ya na ng gisugdan sa pagpi:lay

S

qang ka:huy + may ti:ngug nga qi:ya ng naba:tiq
"Then, as he was beginning to cut the tree, there was a
voice which he heard." (4.7)

These are in a paradigm with the qualifiers composed of (sa)
plus abstracts (Sec. 6.2122). (Cf. paradigm Sec. 4.82. [S + P

senitive + abstract] where S is the nominative form of the genitive (Sec. 4.7) and genitive is the genitive form of the subject.) Sentence a above is in a paradigm with a sentence:

abstract + genitive + Q of the sentence

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 continuous or not. (Cf. the discussion Sec. 8.311.) The transient forms used in this construction are those with a nag-/mag-maga-/maga-/ga-continous action. (Cf. Sec. 8.1211.)

6.2112 sa + sentence with other constituents

sentence

adj. P S | a. sa + ba:taq pa | siya | + 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."
- existential sentence*

 c. dihaq ku siya hikitqi + sa + may tinda:han.

 "I saw him there by the store." (Lit.: "where there is a store".)

6.2113 <u>sa</u> + abstracts

The <u>sa</u> is obligatory with abstract qualifiers (<u>Sec</u>. 6.2122).

if the first word of the qualifier is preceded by a genitive of the pronominal form (<u>Sec</u>. 4.7).

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.

nominal phrase

a. may pita:ka nga dihaq gibutang + sa qi:ya ng kamut

"There was a purse that was put there in his hand." (6.4)

^{*}Existential sentences with locative predicates other than may do not occur in this construction. (Cf. Sec. 3.4.)

nominal phrase

b. sa + la:qi ng 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 <u>sa</u> (<u>Sec. 4.63</u>) 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 <u>sa</u> coming initially or with a sentence with <u>qug</u> instead of <u>sa</u>. For example, in the following, the phrase introduced by <u>sa</u> is a qualifier:

P S form in question nagalingkud siya sa qi:ya ng lingkura:nan "He was sit-ting in his seat."

This sentence is in a paradigm with a sentence:

form in question P S sa qi:ya ng lingkura:nan + nagalingkud siya (same meaning)

Transients with the meaning of location are not followed by complements, but rather by qualifiers.

6.212 Those introduced by optional sa

(For definition of optional cf. Sec. 3.11.)

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 (dinhaq nga) "while".

qualifier

sentence (expression of time)

a. sa 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)

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)

sentence (expression of time)

c. 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 (sa) + abstract + (genitive) + (complement)

The abstracts are the forms described in <u>Sec. 8.3</u> and its subsections. Also <u>matag</u> plus the base and <u>ka:da</u> 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 <u>qinig</u> base do not occur after sa.

abstract gen S

a. qinigqabut ni:la sa bu:kid + qang qamahan misu:gud da:yun
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 sentence where the qualifier precedes the sentence. A sentence

containing a pag- abstract used as an infinitive is in a paradigm 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 others containing this qualifier introduced by qua (when not initial in the sentence) or introduced by nothing.

numeral phrase

a. na qunyaq + qusa niqa:naq ka duminggu + didtu si ba:kir sa bulangan "Well anyway, one Sunday Baker was at the cookfights." (37.8)

This type of qualifier may be followed by nga plus sentence or predicate phrase as part of the qualifier:

qualifier

numeral phrase + nga + sentence
b. qusa niqa:naq ka qadlaw + nga + miqanhi si hwan sa sagbu +
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, etc.

Q

nom phrase

a. tibuquk gabi:qi + qang talisa:yun nagqantus sa kabugnaw "The whole night the speckled one suffered from the cold."

qualifier

qug is possible even if the qualifier precedes the sentence, if it is preceded by a qualifier.

q numeral phrase piru + g pipila ka bu:lan sukad karun + qabut na siya. "But in a few months he will already be here."

These qualifiers are optionally linked with \underline{nga} when not preceded by \underline{sa} .

qualifier
nom phrase Q linker

b. byirnis na + ng + miqabut siya "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. Sec. 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. 6.2121 and the sentences used as qualifiers are described in Sec. 6.2121.

- a. [sa] gabi:qi na + siya [ng] muqadtu "He will go there when it is night."
- ([] = either one or the other or neither occurs..)
- b. magabi:qi + siya (ng) muqadtu "He goes out at night."

 (Cf. Also the other possible word orders Sec. 6.221122.)
- Q (sentence)

 o. nagabi:qi na + siya (ng) miqadtu "It was night when he went."
- d. (sa) pagkagabi:qi + siya muqadtu "He will leave at night."

For those words meaning "time" which have the formations described in <u>Sec. 11.91 (-in-)</u> or <u>Sec. 11.92</u> (doubling or <u>Culu-</u>), 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.

y base

a. qunyaq + sa kalit + maqu y nadungug ni qangkay qang sya:git sa ba:taq "Then suddenly Angkay heard the screamsof the child." (55.3)

Sentences containing this type of qualifier are in a paradigm with an infinitive $\{(sa) + pag-base\}$ and also in the paradigms $\{ug + base\}$

described in Sec. 4.84.

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 Sec. 6.221121 below).

o. 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 (sa) plus expressions of time not nominals used as qualifiers

In this group are taqudtaqud"for a time, dihaddihad "right then and there" qadlawqadlaw "every day" other doubled nouns meaning "time" with meaning "every _____ "-ef. Sec. 11.92, qinadlaw "daily" (and other nouns meaning "time" with infix -in- meaning "by the"-cf. Sec. 11.91), da:yun "immediately" (sa da:yun "forever"),

duigay

"long time", qulahi "too late", panagsa "once in a while",

panagsaqan "once in a while".

- sentence

 a. da:qan na ng + naki:taq ni mis kunsuylu nga

 Q sentence
 qadlawqadlaw + nagtiniqil la:mang si dyanung
 "Miss Consuelo had already seen previously that Dyanung
 walked barefoot exerciday."
- b. qapan si hwan natinga:la + (sa) giha:pun
 "But John was still amazed." (5.7)
- o. 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 preceded by sa.(Cf. Secs. 6.21232 and 6.2124 for comment on linking with nga by qualifiers optionally introduced by sa.)

Q 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 came up." (52.11)

The forms in this group also occur as predicates (Sec. 4.4).

These forms followed by nga plus {sentence predicate} also occur as qualifiers with the nga plus {sentence} as part of the qualifier.

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:

Q to Q

f. sa + walaq + madu:gay + qang ha:riq namatay "After a short time, the king died." (17.7)

Q Q's to du:gay S linker
g. kun walaq pa + du:gay na quntaq kini ng
mikaging "If he had not, it would have died long ago."
(62.4)

Words with doubling <u>Culu-</u> or -<u>in-</u> (<u>Secs. 11.91</u> and 11.92) enter into the paradigms described in <u>Sec. 6.21233</u>. In addition they enter into paradigms with passives of <u>Sec. 8.21142</u>. (Cf. examples there.)

6.2126 (sa) plus other elements used as qualifiers

In this group are tinu:qud "truly", tinuquray "truly",
labihan* "very much" and hilabihan* "very much".

a. sa tinuquray diq ku gustu g mangga "Actually, I do not like mangoes."

When not initial, this type of qualifier may be preceded by qua.

- 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."
- c. 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. (Cf. example c.)

^{*}labihan and hilabihan also occur as qualifiers to explanatory sentences (Sec. 6.2233).

Q deictic

PP

a. may pita:ka nga + dihaq + gibutang sa qi:ya ng kamut "There was a purse placed there in his hands." (6.4)

deictic

- b. 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 there, you could not have recognized him." (44.14)
- imperative Q complement

 o. pagpalit ngadtu g maka:qun "Buy food over there."

 (7.14)

In this group are <u>kasaga:ran</u> "customarily", <u>qa:gi g</u> plus nominal phrase "as a", <u>pananglit</u>, <u>panangli:tan</u> "for example", <u>tinga:li</u> "perhaps". These last three are optionally linked with <u>qug</u> when initial.

d. kasaga:ran muqanhi siya dinhi "He usually comes here."

6.22112 Those optionally preceded by qug 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: daliq "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 pagqiya:wat sa taknaq kanu:nay ni:la ng giqanam qang manga sagbut "In order to save time, they always pulled the weeds as they came up." (52.10)
- b. qina:nay ng mili:suq si qinting "Inting turned slowly." (63.6)

These qualifiers also occur in the constructions described in <u>Sec.</u> 3.7 and enter the paradigms described in <u>Sec.</u> 3.72 and its sub-

tionship. 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 que.

linker Q

o. miginhawa qug lalum si qinting "Inting took a deep breath." (64.1)

An example of no linking is the following:

0

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 Sec. 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 qug when not initial. They are human, kahuman and ta:pus "after" and ma- plus expressions of time (the unreal form of transients with a ka- affix to a base meaning time, Sec. 9.333), maka-/ka-phs numerals meaning "_____ times" Sec. 11.85.

- a. human na ni:ya qikapanumpaq sa ha:yaq sa qi:ya ng pinangga ng qanak nga qipanimalus ni:ya kini "He had already sworn over the body of his beloved child that he would avenge her."

 (58.14)
- 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), qunyaq "the future".

Q linker nominal

a. mularga qaku + qunya ng gabi:qi + sa qalas

says dang taknad "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 Lucila!s call."
 sentence
- Q linker P

 o. daghan qaku g nahi:mu + niqadtu ng batanqun pa

 S

 qaku "There was much that I accomplished in those days when
 I was still young."
- d. qang kapungut nga qi:ya ng giba:tiq kagani:ha nahwashwasan "The anger which he felt before was relieved." (69.1)

 qugmaq "tomorrow" is similar in construction. However, it is

 optionally followed by sa + nominal phrase.
- e. mularga qaku qugmaq sa gabi:qi "I will depart tomorrow night." qugma ng

6.2213 Sentences used as qualifiers

Sentences can also be considered to be qualifiers if they are not at the end of the utterance.

qualifier

sentence

kun di:liq ni:ya qikaha:tag kana ng napu:luq ka sentence

kurma:ta nga bula:wan + punggu:tan ku siya sa li:qug "If he does not give me those ten cartloads of gold in twenty-four hours, I am going to cut off his head (<u>Lit</u>.: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, hasta, hangtud "including", human, ta:pus "after" and form base + -in- meaning "thing V ed" (Sec. 10.21 and its subsections).

a. sa nagatubuq si hwan nali:pay qusab qang manga
Q
P subject
ginika:nan+quban qang pagtu:qu nga qadu:na na sila y

qikata: bang sa panimalay "As John grew up, his parents were also happy together with the belief that now they had some-one to help them in the household." (1.4)

Q

- b. nisandig siya sa lubi + dala | ng satgan 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 qang qu:lu+masulubqu ng namalhin qang 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 ha:pit, ha:lus "nearly", nungka "never, kinahanglan "necessary", gustu (plus genitive), buqut (plus genitive) "wish", disidi:du "decided", bagqu "just". These are optionally linked with nga. In this group also is maqu ra "seems" always linked with qug. These qualifiers differ from the ones which occur only initially (introducers - Sec. 6.2231) in that the postpositives 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 postpos. linker

 a. suginlan ku qikaw nga gustu siya ng

 mangasa:wa sa qi:mu ng qanak "I will tell you that he

 wants to marry your daughter." (12.5)
- dang manga ba:buy + ha:pit + na lang musaka sa kabalayan
 "The pigs practically came into the houses." (51.10)
- qugmaq sa ha:pun sa qalas says qang taknaq kinahanglan qi:mu kini ng 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 qang 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

hina:qut, ba:sin, ba:sun "hope"; takula:haw

"lest"; sya:ru "it is unlikely"; qimbis, qinay, sakapi "instead".

The interrogatives are also introducers: qa:sa "where" (unreal),

ha:qin "where (timeless)"; diqin "where " (real), 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:naq + genitive, gawas, sa:ma, genitive of personal pronoun, hina:qut are optionally linked with nga. basta, ba:sin, ba:sun are optionally linked with qug and with nga. qa:bi plus genitive sya:ru, takula:haw are optionally linked with qug. The demonstratives and qimbis, qinay, sakapi 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 below) basta, qarun, sukad, tungud, samtang, gi:kan, qi:guq, qasta, hasta, 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 Davao-Cotabato 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)

intr. intr.

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.*

^{*}This is not true if there is an introducer and a qualifier to the predicate. If the qualifier is to the predicate, the introducer always precedes. Cf. example <u>d</u> <u>Sec</u>. 6.311 where <u>daw</u> must precede di:liq.

intr. Q

h. kun + pananglit + muquwan "If, for example, it rains..."

Q intr.

i. pananglit + kun + muquwan "For example, if it rains ..."

The introducers also occur preceding abstracts used as qualifiers

(Sec. 6.2122) in which case there is no sa.

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. PP
 sa manga ta:wu kanang bati:qun na sa kagu:tum maqadlaw
 kun magabi:qi "Ke 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:qaw 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 introducers to the exclamatory sentences are sya:ru, labihan, pwirti, du:ru, hilabihan, qunsa "how"; pari:hu, pari:has, 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 sentences.

(Note that exclamatory sentences are not qualified by negatives Sec. 6.311.)

6.2234 Introducers to imperatives

In this group are pali;hug "please" and qayaw "don't"

- a. qayaw + qaku g pila:ya "Do not cut me." (2.10)

 qayaw is optionally linked with qug except when the imperative
 has a prefix pag-. If there is a prefix pag- for the imperative,
 qayaw is linked with sa in very fancy style speech.
- Q Q
 b. qayaw la:mang + qaku pagputla "Just do not cut me."
 (5.12)
- o. qayaw (g) + kabala:ka "Do not worry."
- d. qayaw na paghilak "Stop crying!"

After <u>qayaw</u> where <u>qug</u> is optional, it is less frequently used preceding forms beginning with a prefix of the shape <u>ka</u> 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 <u>Sec</u>. 6.2 and its subsections above also occur as qualifiers to predicates or predicate phrases in addition to the ones described here.

6.31 Prepositive qualifiers to predicates

These precede the elements with which they are in a constituent.

6.311 di:liq and walaq (diq and waq)

di:liq is used as a qualifier to all predicates except im-

perative and exclamatory predicates. di:liq is also used as a qualifier to qualifiers of the type described in Sec. 6.222 and in Sec. 6.312. walaq 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. waq man ku kasabut kani:mu "I do not understand you."
 (8.3)
- Q deictic | S
 b. labi na kung waq dihaq | qang qi:ya ng manga ginika:nan
 "Especially when his parents were not there." (1.13)
 qualifier
- intr. + Q predicate phrase
 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 waq is a qualifier to it.

d. qunyaq qusa niqa:naq ka panahun miqabut sa hunaqhu:naq intr, 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 <u>di:liq</u> nor the <u>walaq</u> occur as qualifiers to TP's with any transients but unreals. (Cf. <u>Sec</u>. 6.71.) <u>di:liq</u> is used with transients in the meaning of future time, ability or potentiality, and habitual action (i.e. unreal). <u>walaq</u> is used as qualifiers to TP's where the transient has a meaning of past time and occasionally present time. Compare examples <u>e</u> and <u>f</u> with examples <u>a</u> and <u>c</u> above.

- Q S P
 e. di:liq ku kasabut kani:mu "I cannot understand you."
 Q postpes.
- f. mibanagba:nag na qang kabunta:gun qilha:nan nga diq na pred. phrase madu:gay + musubang na gayud qang qadlaw "The morning was dawning, a sign that the sun would rise in a short time now." (With waq it would mean "after a short while".)

- g. di:liq mahi:mu kana ng qa:ku ng buha:tun "I cannot do that." (8.7)
- postpositives predicate

 h. di:liq + ku quntaq kini qangay + qisulti
 "I should not say this." (11.13)

di:liq and walag are optionally linked with nga if qualifying an unreal transient with a prefix ka-.

- Q postpos. linker trans.
- i. diq na siya ng + kaqa:ku magtanqaw sa ta:wu "He cannot bring himself to look at the man any longer."
- Q postpos. linker trans.
 j. waq ku ng kasabut kani:mu "I do not understand you."

6.312 qa:ngay, takus "should"

<u>qa:ngay</u> and <u>takus</u> are parallel with <u>di:liq</u> in their distribution.(I.e., they do not qualify real transients.) <u>takus</u> is used
in a literary style. (To express past time with <u>qa:ngay</u> or <u>takus</u>,
waq or some other qualifier is used.) <u>qa:ngay</u> 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", labi "most", mas "more", pulus, lu:bus, pu:ru "purely", daw "seem"

These qualifiers are not linked except <u>labi</u> which is optionally linked with <u>nga</u>.

a. labi na + qang qamahan nali:pay gayud pagqa:yu "Especially the father was very happy." (1.6)

(Here <u>labi</u> na qualifies the subject <u>qang</u> <u>qamahan</u>.)

b. naluwas siya human buhisi qug qusa ka qinasal nga ba:buy

- Q adjective lu:bus + qitum "He was freed after a roasted pig, black all over, was offered up." (58.12)
- c. misaka sila sa qi:la ng balay midyu masulubqun
 "They went into their house rather sad." (29.7)

6.314
$$\left\{\frac{\text{na}}{\text{ma}}\right\}$$
 hi:mu "become, is possible"

In some cases <u>ma</u> <u>hi:mu</u> 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:ya ng 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 qug or kun meaning "if".

Q sentence

- 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)
- b. bi:san + qunsa y qi:mu ng gustu hala palita
 "Whatever you want. Go ahead buy it." (7.14)

These also occur as qualifiers to subjects.

c. bi:san pa + qang ha:riq natinga:la "Even the king was surprised." (36.2)

These also qualify qualifiers which are (<u>sa</u>) + sentences (<u>Sec</u>. 6.2121) or abstracts (<u>Sec</u>. 6.2122).

S | Q to Q (sentence) P

d. qapan si karangkal | bi:san sa ba:taq pa nagpaki:taq
qug manga talagsaqu ng qabilidad "But Karangkal, even
when he was still a child, showed some peculiar abilities."
(25.8)

6.316 Qualifiers to second predicates

For second predicates cf. Sec. 6.13. These are <u>di:liq</u>, <u>qimbis</u> and <u>qinaý</u>. Cf. Sec. 6.13 for examples.)

6.32 Postpositive qualifiers to predicates

The postpositive qualifiers are ba, bayaq, da:yun, diqay, ga:niq, ga:liq, gayud, hinu:qun, kahaq, kunu, kaqa:yu, lagi, la:mang, maqu, na, pa, pud, quga:ling, qugud, quntaq, qupud, qusab, ra (da), sad, qu:saq, qu:naq, qinta:wun, tanan, quruy, bi:taw and their rapid speech forms. (For the meaning of these cf. the glossary.) These may also qualify qualifiers to the sentences 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:

- Q pred. postpos. Q postpos. Q S
 a. kay + dihaq + na + man qang
 napu:luq ka kurma:ta "For there were the ten carts." (16.2)
- pred. postpos. Q postp

Examples of some of these qualifying other parts of a sentence are as follows:

S CN postpos. Q P
c. qang qi:ya ng qasa:wa + pud gipalakaw "He even had had his wife go away." (46.5)

Here pud is in a construction with a CN which is a subject.

a Q

qug labaw + pa + niqa:naq + mahi:mu ng manunu:nud sa qi:ya ng ginhari:qan "An besides that, (he) will become the heir to his kingdom." (33.8)

pa is in a constituent with niqa:naq and is "attracted" to the prepositive qualifier labaw.(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 Sec. 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 initial, the postpositive is "attracted to it" - i.e., the postpositive qualifier follows the prepositive qualifier. Examples of these are as follows:

prepos. Q postpos. Q postpos. Q kasabut kamismu "I did not understand you." (8.3)

prepos. Q postpos. 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 <u>qa:ngay</u>, <u>midyu</u>, <u>mahi:mu</u> and <u>bisan</u> and the qualifiers of <u>Sec</u>. 6.2 ff. for which the "attraction" is optional. Also the long forms of the pronouns (<u>Sec</u>. 4.7) and demonstratives need not be attracted.

o. mahi:mu ng musaka qaku dinhi "May I board here?"

Here the postpositive follows the predicate (not being attracted by the qualifier mahi:mu). But in the following the postpositive kanaq is attracted to the qualifier mahi:mu.

Q Q S gen. passive
d. di:liq mahi:mu kana ng qa:ku ng buha:tun "I cannot
do that." (8.8)

Postpositives precede the linkers of the qualifiers (as exemplified by the ng after kanaq 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 <u>ku</u>, <u>quntaq</u> and <u>kini</u> are attracted to the prepositive <u>di:liq</u>, but not to the other prepositive <u>qa:ngay</u> (which only attracts optionally).

The following sentences which are in paradigms with sentence above illustrate other possible word orders:

prepos. Q S postpos. Q prepos. Q postpos. Q f. di:liq kini quntaq qa:ngay na:ku (ng)*
passive
qisulti (same meaning as e)

Here the postpositives are attracted to both prepositives. **

prepos. Q postpos. Q prepos. Q postpos. Q postpos. Q g. di:liq quntaq qa:ngay kini na:ku (ng)

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

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prepos. Q postpos. Q prepos. Q postpos. Q postpos. Q postpos. Q prepos. Q postpos. Q pos

In examples g and h some of the postpositives are attracted to di:liq and qa:ngay and some only to di:liq.

i. di:liq ku quntaq qa:ngay qisulti kini

Here <u>kini</u> is not attracted to <u>di:liq</u> or <u>qa:ngay</u> because it is a long form of the demonstrative (<u>Sec</u>. 4.7) for which the attraction is optional.

When there are many pastpositive particles, one or two may follow the subject if it is short and there are no prepositives.

pred. postpos. Q postpos. Q S postpos. Q j. busug + na kunu si hwan kaqa:yu "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 postpositives optionally.

Q postpos. pred.
a. kanusqa + siya miqanhi "When did he come here?"

Q pred. postpos.
b. kanusqa miqanhi siya "When did he come here?"

The pronominal form of the genitive (Sec. 4.7) attracts the post-positives.

pron. form of gen. postpos. Q postpos. Q linker
c. qi:ya + na + qusab + nga
gila:bug "He threw it away again." (6.14)

With a pronominal preceding a nominal phrase:

gen. postpos. Q nominal
d. qang qi:ya lang kulur + nindut na kaqa:yu
"It is very pretty just by its color."

The postpositives are also attracted to the "LP's" of the existential sentences (Sec. 3.4) but not to may.

LP postpos. Q postpos. predicate phrase qadu:na + na sila y + qikata:bang sa panimalay "They had someone to help them in the house-hold." (1.5)

LP postpos. Q

f. waq gayu y nakahi:mu sa pagqalsa "There was
no one at all who could lift it." (32.14)

6.324 Attraction of postpositives qualifying a PP with a prepositive qualifier

If there is a postpositive which qualifies a PP which is preceded by a prepositive qualifier, the postpositive is "attracted" to the prepositive.

prepos. postpos. Q genitive PP

a. labut + pa + niqa:naq + qipapangasa:wa
qang qi:ya ng qanak nga prinsi:sa "And besides that, (he)
would give his daughter, the princess in marriage." (33.7)

(Cf. example d Sec. 6.321. above.)

Similarly postpositives may be attracted to the first word of an adjective phrase.

adj. phrase + postpos. + linker
b. ha:pit mamatay qang tanan + ku + ng +
+ adj. phrase
manga manuk "Almost all of my chickens died."

6.325 Word order of the postpositives among themselves

The general formula is:

\begin{cases} ku \ mu \ mu \ man \ m

postpositive qualifiers or pronouns. The order of the pronouns and the postpositive qualifiers other than pa, na, ra and man is free, although certain orders are more frequent than others.

ka may also occur after the other postpositive qualifiers like the other pronouns.

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
qayaw + mu + niqi:ni + paghilabut "Don't you
all monkey around with this thing!"

6.33 maqu (muqu, mu) "linking particle"

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 can usually be translated by forms of the English verb "to be".

postpos. postpos. Q pred. pron.

a. kay maqu man la:mang kini qang qa:tu
ng pangi:taq "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 Sec.6.2231).

introducer S
b. maqu nga qang manga ginika:nan maqu ra g
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 predicates which are in a paradigm with adjectival predicates (Sec. 4.212), unless followed by a qualifier ra or giha:pun.

o. 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 disjunctive 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 baived, baituk, baihin, binu:hat, daplin, dapit, diritsu, dungan, duqul, gawas, giikan, hangtud, ku:tub, labaw, labut, mahitungud, para, pari:ha, pari:ha, lahiq, lahus, li:but, luyu, padu:lung, paqingun, paduqul, qatul, qatubang (qatbang), qibabaw, qila:lum, qimbis, qingun, qikumparar, qitandiq, quban, qubus, qu:yun, rumbu, sakay, sala:mat, sa:ma, subang, su:guq, 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.

- a. qiqa:suy ku qang sugila:nun mahitungud + kang karangkal "I will tell the story about Karangkal." (25.1)
- b. qunyaq mipaqufliq siya + diritsu + sa qi:la ng balay "Then 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. Sec. 6.324 for examples.) Also these are used as predicates. (Cf. Sec. 4.43.)

6.412 Qualifiers to (sa) plus abstract

Many of the qualifiers listed in Sec. 6.411, above, occur 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 qarun 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 come 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 ...o'clock",

minus ...pa:ra qalas "... minutes to ...". pitsa 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."

qalas may be preceded by may, may manga or manga. may, manga or may manga mean "approximately" (Cf. Sec. 6.511)

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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, kaida, "each" di "having a", qi:si, qi:sig, qisig "each" and masig "each". manga before numerals means "approximately". manga also occurs preceding expressions of time. (Cf. Sec. 6.42 above.) qisig (qi:sig) also occurs preceding bases of transients.

- a. qang pagpanga:huy maqu y qi:ya ng pangi:taq qa:lang sa Q CN 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)
 - 5 CN
- 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".

pred. (nom. phrase) Q S
a. si hwan mismu qang mihangyuq niqi:ni "John himself was the one who asked for this."

mismu may follow a pronominal form of the pronoun:

pronominal Q nom.
b. qang qa:muq mismu ng simbahan "Our own church"

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 occur initially is: buynu, diq, bi, qambi,

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: <u>mu: la:mang</u>, <u>nu:, qu, ha, daq</u>.

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 meanings 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 unreal S complement
a. waq gayud makadaqug siya kana:kuq "He
was not able to overcome me." (32.3)

Here, with the qualifier waq initial, the transient makadaqug is in an unreal form, although the meaning past time is usually expressed by the real.

real S complement
b. nakadaqug siya kana:kuq "He overcame me."

Q | S | subjunctive
c. waq pud | qaku | qimbitaha "Also I was not invited."
(37.13)

Here <u>qimbitaha</u> is the subjunctive form of the passive after the initial qualifier <u>waq</u> (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 (Sec. 4.72), the interrogatives (except <u>nga:nu</u>), (ka) <u>niqadtu</u> (plus <u>nga</u> plus nominal phrase) "then", <u>karun</u> (plus nga plus nominal phrase) "now", <u>bagqu</u> "just now", <u>human</u> "after", <u>ta:pus</u> "after",

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

times", tagsa ra, 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?" (9.3)
- c. 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. qang 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 qang buqa:ya "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 waq (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 qang qi:ya ng pinu:tiq nga dihaq + real
 qi:ya ng gibi:tay sa hali:gi duqul sa qi:la ng kanqanan
 "He snatched his bolo which he had hung near their dining place." (55.14) (Cf. example c of Sec. 6.71)
 - linker
- b. di:liq kay makaqusa ra nga qi:la kini ng gipanqan qug qusa ka baktin "More than once they baited it with a young pig." (57.7) (Cf. example <u>f</u> of <u>Sec.</u> 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 nga.

If linking with nga is used, the unreal (for the real) and the subjunctive form of the passive is not used.

- a. (ma)kadaghan ku siya (ng) hikitqan "I saw him many times."
- b. (ma)kadaghan ku 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 <u>sa</u> are not linked with <u>nga</u>. The others are optionally linked with <u>nga</u>, except that for <u>waq</u> (<u>walaq</u>) this optional linking with <u>nga</u> occurs only with transients of the forms <u>ka</u>- base (i.e., those equal in meaning to [(Sec. 8.136)].

<u>maka- base</u>/ Cf. Sec. 6.311 and examples <u>i</u> and <u>i</u> of that section.)

- o. 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 deictics 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 "He was not at home."
- Q intr. Q deictic S
 b. labi na kun waq dihaq qang qi:ya ng manga 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 <u>na:qa</u> (the real deictic corresponding to <u>dihaq</u> in meaning) because the negative qualifier (<u>waq</u>) 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

^{*}There have been attempts by writers to coin compounds of these types and other types as well, but they have not caught on in ordinary speech.

words. (Cf. Sec. 2.132) They differ syntactically from other series in that there are no words que, sa or nea 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 action of both bases". (This is the only compound type with more than one or two common examples.)

- a. qayaw na kamu <u>pagsaka kana:qug</u> "You all stop coming in and out of the house now." V saka "go in" V 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 vomiting and defecating, after he had drunk all of Daddy's liquor." V su:ka "vomit" V kalibang "defecate"
- e. miqabut qang manga sili:ngan ni:la ni qinting nga nakabatiq sa singgit pakita:bang ni qangkay "Inting's neighbors arrived having heard Angkay's cries for help." V singgit "shout" 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." V hatud "deliver" V 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." V 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

a b b may qusà ka magtiqà:yun R 343, + dù:gay na ng katuqì:gan

l l a nga nangà:gi R 232, + nga + may qusà ka qanàk nga lalà:ki R 343, nga qi:la ng gingànlan si hwan R 231. "Many years ago there was a couple who had a son whom they called John."

<u>Intonation</u>: R 343, R 232, <u>2.1522</u> (Statement with ","); R 231. <u>2.1521</u> (Statement with ".")

Analysis of b: Common Nominal Phrase 4.2331 used as a qualifier to the sentence (constituent a) 6.21232

adj. 2 2 noun 2 2 transient du:gay na + ng + katuqi:gan + nga + nanga:gi

na: postpositive qualifier to PP 6.32 (The PP here is a CN phrase 4.2331.)

Analysis of a: Existential Sentence 3.4

LP numeral phrase c may + qusa ka magtiqa:yun nga may qusa ka qanak nga lala:ki 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

Analysis 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 numeral phrase f
may + qusa ka qanak nga lala:ki nga qi:la ng ginganlan si
hwan

Analysis of f: Numeral Phrase 4.232

numeral linker common nominal phrase g qusa + ka + qanak nga lala:ki nga qi:la ng etc.

Analysis of g: Common Nominal Phrase 4.2331

oommon noun CN 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 + ng + ginganlan + si hwan

Analysis of i: Pronominal form of Genitive 4.7

Analysis of j : Goal 4.63

magtiqa:yun CN "couple" V tiqa:yun mag- 10.182

katuqi:gan CN "years" V tu:qig "year" ka- -an 10.31

nanga:gi T "have passed" V qa:gi naN- 9.2111; naN- =

<u>mi- + paN- 8.11822</u>

ginganlan T "one who was named" V nga:lan "name" gi-an 8.22112; nga:lan ~ nganl 2.2211 and 2.222

7.2

sa nagatubuq si hwan R 343, + nali:pay qusab qang

l c
manga ginika:nan R 232, + quban qang pagtu:qu R 454, nga
qadu:na na sila y qikata:bang R 343, sa panimalay R 231.

Intonation: R 343, R 232, R 454 2.1522 (Statement with ",")
R 231. 2.1521 (Statement with ".") The stress on sa is a
reading pronunciation.

Analysis of the sentence: Declarative Sentence 3.21

<u>a</u> Qualifier to sentence <u>b</u> Declarative sentence

o Qualifier to sentence

Analysis of a: Qualifier 6.2111

d sentence sa + nagatubuq si hwan

Analysis of d: Declarative Sentence 3.21

predicate subject
e f
nagatubuq + si hwan

Analysis of e and f : e: Transient Phrase 4.22 (nagatubuq 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: Predicate Phrase TP 4.22

transient qualifier i
nali:pay + qusab

Analysis of i : postpositive Qualifier to PP 6.32

Analysis of h : Subject 5.214

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

k S 1
quban qang pagtu:qu nga qadu:na na sila y qikata:bang
sa panimalay

Analysis of k : Predicate 4.45

Analysis of 1 : Subject 5.25

complement

abstract m
qang + pagtu:qu + nga qadu:na na sila y qikata:bang
sa panimalay

Analysis of m: Complement of Abstract 4.6 and 4.61

existential sentence n
nga + qadu:na na sila y qikata:bang sa panimalay

Analysis of n: Existential Sentence 3.4

Q S PP Q

LP q o p qadu:na na sila y + qikata:bang + sa panimalay

Analysis of o: PP which is a TP 4.22

qikata:bang: Transient (8.23311 Cf. below.)

Analysis of p: Q to Existential Sentence

qadu:na na sila y qikata:bang

Analysis of q: postpositive Qualifier to PP 6.32; "attracted" to qadu:na 6.323

nagatubuq T "was growing" V tu:buq "grow" naga- (→) 8.121112
8.128

nali:pay T "became happy" V li:pay "console gladden g

ginika:nan CN "parents" V gi:kan "from" -in- -an 10.2333

pagtu:qu CN "belief" V tu:qu "believe" pag- 10.93

gikata:bang T "person that can be used to help another" thing

v ta:bang "help (assist)" <u>qika- 8.233</u> and <u>8.23311</u>

panimalay CN "household" V balay "house" paniN- 10.9411

7.3

a l b
labi nà + qang qamahàn R 454, nalì:pay gayud pagqà:yu
l c
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 pangi:taq R 232, qa:lang sa panginabù:hig sa matag qádlaw R 231. "Especially the father was very happy indeed, because now he had help in gathering firewood, which was his source of livelihood day by day."

Intonation: R 454, R 343, R 32, R 232 2.1522 (Statement with "."): R 231 2.1521 (Statement with ".")

Analysis of the sentence: Declarative Sentence 3.21

a Qualifier to sentence b Declarative Sentence

o Qualifier to sentence

S

Analysis of a : Qualifier 6.2231 followed by na Postpositive

Qualifier 6.32 attracted to labi 6.324

Analysis of b: Declarative Sentence 3.21

qang qamahan | 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 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

existential sentence

Q tungud kay + qadu:na na man siya y qikata:bang 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 g: Existential Sentence 3.4

Q S PP

LP h qadu:na + na man + 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 h: postpositive Qualifiers to PP 6.32 "attracted" to qadu:na 6.323

Analysis of 1: PP consisting of TP 4.22

j infinitive phrase qikata:bang + sa pagpanga:huy nga maqu y qi:ya ng pangi:taq qa:lang sa panginabu:hiq sa matag qadlaw

Analysis of j: Infinitive Phrase 4.68

subject

infinitive k
sa pagpanga:huy nga maqu + y qi:ya ng pangi:taq qa:lang
sa panginabu:hiq sa matag qadlaw

Analysis of k: Subject consisting of Common Nominal Phrase 5.2143

genitive common noun 1
y qi:ya ng pangi:taq + qa:lang sa panginabu:hiq sa
matag qadlaw

Analysis of 1: Qualifier 6.2114 used as a Qualifier to a Predicate Phrase (pangi:taq) 6.3

Q
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:hiq 6.21231

Analysis of matag: Qualifier to Noun 6.511

<u>qamahan</u> CN "father" V qama -an 10.266; qamah qama 2.223 <u>nali:pay</u> T "was happy" V li:pay <u>na- 9.31; na- = mi- + ka-</u> 8.11823

pagqa:yu Q 6.32 "very" V qa:yu "do well" pag- 8.31; pagqa:yu is a specialized meaning of the infinitive of V qa:yu "do well".

V ta:bang "help (assist)" gika- 8.23311

pagpanga:huy T "woodcutting" V panga:huy "the occupation of

gathering firewood" pag- 8.321; V ka:huy "tree" paN-

9.22

pangi:taq CN "occupation" V ki:taq "earn" paN- 9.22; used as a common noun 10.5111

panginabu:hiq CN "livelihood (occupation)" V kinabu:hiq "life"

paN- 9.22; used as a common noun 10.5111; V kabu:hiq

"to be alive" -in- 10.2111; V bu:hiq "live" ka- 9.321

7.4

qapan 32, + sa nagatubùq si hwan R 454, + nasubùq c d qang qamahan R 343, + tungùd kay R 32, labihan katapulan 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 3.21 with Qualifiers a. b and d

Analysis of a: Qualifier to Sentence coming initially 6.2231

Analysis of b : Qualifier to Sentence consisting of \underline{sa} + sentence

6.2111

P S nagatubuq + si hwan

P: TP <u>4.22</u> S: Proper Name <u>5.31</u>

Analysis of c : Declarative Sentence 3.21

P S nasubuq qang qamahan

P: TP 4.22 S: qang + Common Noun 5.2143

Analysis of d: Sentence used as a Qualifier 6.2213

Q

f

tungud kay + labihan katapulan

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

Analysis of 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- (----) 8.121112

and 8.128

<u>nasubuq</u>T"became sad" V subuq "sad" <u>na- 9.31; na- = mi-</u> + <u>ka- 8.11823</u>

qamahan CN "father" V qama "father" -an 10.266; qamah qama 2.223

7.5

di:liq masu:guq R 231. "He cannot be commanded."

Intonation: Same as 7.1 - 4 above

Analysis of sentence: Sentence consisting of a PP 3.5

<u>di:liq:</u> Q to PP <u>6.311</u>

masu:guq: PP consisting of TP 4.22

masu:guq T "can be commanded" V su:guq "command"

ma- 8.21411

7.6

a b kun sugù:qun nì:mu R 343, + dì: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 - 5 above

Analysis of sentence: Declarative Sentence 3.21

a Qualifier to Sentence b Declarative Sentence

Analysis of a: Q to Sentence consisting of a Sentence 6.2213

sentence

Q 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:qun: Transient (8.2111 - Cf. below.)

ni:mu: Genitive Sec. 4.7

Analysis of b: Declarative Sentence 3.21

predicate e subject d di:liq ni:ya buha:tun + qang gisu:guq

Analysis of d: Subject consisting of qang + TP 5.212

Analysis of e : PP consisting of TP (intransitive) 4.22

Q l genitive 2 passive di:liq + ni:ya + buha:tun

<u>di:liq</u>: Q to PP <u>6.311</u>

buha:tun: Transient (8.2111 - Cf. below,)

ni:ya: Genitive 4.7; attracted to di:liq 6.322

sugu:qun T 'person | who will be commanded' V su:guq "command" | thing |

-un 8.2111

buha:tun T "thing to be done" V bu:hat "do work" -un 8.2111

gisu:guq T "thing commanded" V su:guq "command" gi- 8.231122

7.7

a b c labi nà + kùng R 232, + wàq dihaq qang qi:ya ng manga ginika:nan R 232, "Especially when his parents were not there."

Intonation: Same as 7.1 - 6 above

Analysis of sentence: Declarative Sentence 3.21

<u>a</u> Qualifier to sentence <u>b</u> Qualifier to sentence

c Declarative Sentence

Analysis of a and b: Qualifiers to Sentence 6.2231

Analysis of c : Declarative Sentence 3.21

d predicate subject e waq dihaq + qang qi:ya ng manga ginika:nan

Analysis of d:

Q PP waq + dihaq

waq : Q to PP 6.311

dihaq: PP consisting of Qualifier Deictic 4.421

Deictics listed 4.72. Use of dihaq after waq 6.73

Analysis of e: Subject consisting of qang + Common Nominal

Phrase 5.2143

genitive 1 Q 2 common noun qi:ya + ng + manga + ginika:nan

qi:ya: Pronominal form of the Genitive 4.7

manga: Qualifier to CN 6.511

ginika:nan CN "parents" V gi:kan "from" -in- -an 10.2333

7.8

b a b magpù:nay la:mang + siya + g lìngkud R 343 qug

bagduybágduy 232,

Intonation: Same as 7.1 - 7 above

Analysis of sentence: Declarative Sentence 3.21

a Subject consisting of Pronoun 5.32; Pronouns listed 4.7 Po-

sition of siya 6.322

b Predicate: TP (transitive) 4.22

Analysis of a :

d c d magpu:nay + la:mang + + g lingkud qug bagduybagduy

Analysis of c: postpositive Q to Predicate 6.32

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

bagduybagduy T "roam about" 8.32; V bagduy "roam (not animal)"

doubling 9.86

7.9

a b qapan + wa y mahi:mu R 231. "But there was nothing that could be done."

<u>Intonation</u>: Same as 7.1 - 8 above,

Analysis of sentence: Existential Sentence Sec. 3.4

a Qualifier 6.2231

b Existential Sentence

Analysis of b:

LP PP wa y mahi:mu

mahi:mu: TP 4.22

mahi:mu T "thing which can be done" V hi:mu "do work"

ma- 8.21411

7.10

qusà niqa:naq ka panahun R 454, + sa gitanqaw sa

b qamahan nga si hwan R 343, hustu na gayud qiku:yug sa

c pagpanga:huy R 232, + qi:ya kini ng giqingnan 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 - 9 above

Analysis of sentence: Declarative Sentence 3.21.

a Qualifier <u>b</u> Qualifier <u>c</u> Declarative Sentence

Analysis of a: Qualifier to sentence 6.21231 consisting of

Numeral Phrase 4.232

G

qusa + niqa:naq + ka panahun

Analysis of niqa:naq: Qualifier to Numeral Phrase consisting of Demonstrative 6.2114. Qualifier to sentence used as Q to PP,

6.3

Analysis of b: Qualifier to sentence consisting of sa plus a sentence 6.2112. Sentence type 3.5

PP

đ

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

Analysis of e: Complement of Transient consisting of a sentence 4.61

S Q Q predicate
f g
si hwan + hustu + na gayud + qiku:yug sa pagpanga:huy
si hwan: Subject 5.31

hustu: Qualifier to sentence consisting of an Adjective 6.221121

Analysis of f: na and gayud are Postpositive Qualifiers to
the Predicate 6.32 attracted to hustu 6.323

Analysis of g: Predicate consisting of Transient Phrase 4.22

transient passive infinitive qiku:yug sa pagpanga:huy

sa pagpanga:huy: Infinitive Phrase 4.68

<u>Analysis of c</u>: Declarative Sentence 3.21

P S P
h h h
qi:ya + kini + ng giqingnan

kini: Subject 5.32; Attracted to qi:ya 6.323

<u>Analysis of h</u>: Transient Phrase (intransitive) 4.22

genitive linker passive qi:ya ng giqingnan

qi:ya: Pronominal form of Genitive 4.7 used with Passive 4.71
gitanqaw T "thing looked at" V tanqaw "look" gi- 8.2111
qamahan CN "father" V qama "father" -an 10.266; qamah ~
qama 2.223

qiku:yug T "person cause to accompany" V 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-9.22 giqingnan T "person told" V qingun 'say tell tell qingn qingun 2.222

7.11

a b, c hwan 34, + hala 21. pagqi:lis sa qi:mu ng purul R 112. "All right, John, put on your short pants."

Intonation: Intonation of Vocative (hwan) 2.1532; Rise on mono-

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 d: Complement (goal) 4.63

genitive common noun

sa + qi:mu ng purul

pagqi:lis T "change clothes" V qi:lis "change clothes" put on

pag- 8.411

7.12

a b kay + muquban qikaw kana:kuq R 343 qarun sa pagpanga:huy 231. "Because you are 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 3.21

P S P

muquban + qikaw + kana:kuq qarun sa pagpanga:huy

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:kuq: Goal 4.63 (Dative of Pronoun 4.7)

Analysis of d: Infinitive Phrase 4.68

Q abstract qarun + sa pagpanga:huy

garun: Qualifier to Infinitive 6.412

muquban T "will go with" V quban "go along with" mu- 8.111

pagpanga:huy T "woodcutting" V panga:huy "the occupation of
gathering firewood" pag- 8.321; V ka:huy "tree" paN
9.22

7.13

sukad karun 232, qikaw 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 3.21

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

o predicate d S

qikaw na + qang qa:ku ng kata:bang sa pagpanga:huy

Analysis of c: Predicate consisting of Pronominal Phrase 5.41

na: postpositive Qualifier to Predicate 6.32

Analysis of d: Subject 5.214 consisting of gang plus Common Nominal Phrase 4.2331

gen. common noun complement e qang + qa:ku ng kata:bang + sa pagpanga:huy

Analysis of e: Complement to Noun 4.2331 and 4.6; consisting of an Infinitive 4.68

kata:bang CN "person that helps another" V 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- 9.22

7.14

kay + maqu man la:mang kini qang qa:tu ng pangi: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 3.21

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: Subject 5.214 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

Q S P Q qarun + kita + mabu:hiq sa matag qadlaw

qarun: Qualifier to sentence 6.2231

kita: Subject 5.32

mabu:hiq: Transient Phrase (intransitive) 4.22

sa matag qadlaw: Qualifier to sentence 6.21232

matag: Qualifier to Noun 6.511

pangi:taq T"occupation" V ki:taq "earn" paN- 9.22; used

as common noun 10.5111

mabu:hiq T "can live" V bu:hiq "live" ma - 9.321; ma - =

 $\underline{mu} - + \underline{ka} - \underline{8.11823}$; meaning $\underline{9.34}$