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Chapter Eight: Inflectional Affixes

8.0 Introduction

The morphology is treated in Chapters 8 - 12:

Chapter 8 Inflectional affixes
Chapter 9 Derivational affixes forming transient bases
Chapter 10 Derivational affixes forming nominal bases
Chapter 11 Derivational affixes forming adjective bases and qualifiers
Chapter 12 Paradigms

8.01 Definitions

Any form occurring with the inflectional affixes (listed Sec. 8.051 ff.) is a transient. The base of a transient is the form less the inflectional affixes. However, the base is considered adjective, transient or nominal depending upon the following criteria. (The vocabulary indicates what type of base the lexical item is.)

8.011 Adjective bases forming transients

A base is considered adjective if it fulfills two conditions: 1) it occurs by itself as a predicate; 2) it also occurs preceded by ka- in exclamatory sentences meaning "how V-1" (Sec. 3.61).

E.g. qitum is considered an adjective base because it occurs by itself as a predicate.
\[
P qitum | S \text{ siya } \text{ "He is black."}
\]

It also occurs preceded by ka- in exclamatory sentences. \[
\text{ka}qitum niqa:naq \text{ "How black that is!"}
\]

On the other hand, balakaka "concern" is not an adjective base because it does not occur by itself as a predicate (although it does occur with a ka- prefix in an exclamatory sentence). For examples of forms meeting these two criteria which are not adjec-
Other bases occurring with inflectional affixes are transient or nominal. A base is considered transient if it is not a common noun when used by itself. For example, "tulug" "put to sleep", is not used as a CN. Therefore, transients formed to the base tulug are to transient bases. However, a base used by itself as a common noun is still a transient base if it has one of the following three meanings:

1) thing V-edi
2) action of V-ingo or state of being V-
3) instrument by which one V-

For example, dala "thing carried" is a common noun. However, the base dala with transient affixes is considered a transient base because the meaning of the common noun is 1) "thing V-edi". Similarly, kata:wa "laugh" is considered a transient base because when used by itself as a common noun, the meaning is 2) "action of laughing". Similarly, qutaw "iron" is a transient base because when used as a CN by itself, the meaning is 3) "instrument with which one irons". Further examples of these are given in Secs. 10.51 - 10.52 and their subsections and in Sec. 10.92 and its subsections.

8.013 Nominal bases forming transients

On the other hand, buntag used as a transient means "do until morning", and used as a CN, it means "morning". In this case we say the transient is formed to a nominal base.

8.014 Transient bases forming adjectives

In a few cases a given base is not considered adjectival even though it fulfills the conditions of Sec. 8.011 above. If
it occurs as a base to a transient and does not mean "cause V~", "become V~", or "be affected by V~", it is not an adjective base, but a transient base. For example tulug "sleepy" is an adjective for it occurs as a predicate by itself.

\[ P \quad S \]
\[ tulug \mid siya \quad "He is sleepy." \]

It also occurs with ka- in exclamatory predicates.

\[ katulug \mid ni:ya \quad "How sleepy he is!" \]

However, when used as the base of a transient it means "put to sleep". (It does not mean "become V~" or "cause to be V~" or "be affected by V~".) Therefore, tulug is considered a transient base (from which the adjective is formed with \( \rightarrow \)). Cf. Sec. 11.151 and its subsections.

On the other hand qitum is an adjective base because it fulfills the conditions of Sec. 8.011, and the meaning of the base used as a transient is "cause to be black".

\[ qitum \mid ni:ya \quad qang \quad qa:ku \quad ng \quad sapa:tus \quad "He made my shoes black." \]

8.015 Transients formed to other bases

There are some forms used as bases to transients which occur by themselves as qualifiers, pronouns or other forms. Transients formed to these types are considered to be formed to qualifier bases, etc.

8.02 Inflectional affixes

The inflectional affixes are those listed in the chart. Sec. 8.05. These are considered to be the inflectional affixes on the basis of their distribution: their distribution is limited by certain qualifiers. (Cf. Sec. 6.72.) Also these occur freely with the greatest number of bases (derived or roots). Those inflectional elements which are of limited occurrence (e.g. gina-
-266-

/qiga - instrumental) are still considered inflectional because of their distribution with bases and the limitations of distribution with certain qualifiers (Sec. 6.72). For the criteria by which bases are determined cf. Sec. 9.0.1.

8.03 Real, unreal, subjunctive

The unreal is used for action which is going to or may take place or takes place habitually. The real is used for action which has taken place or is taking place. (There are some exceptions described in the individual sections following in this chapter.) Also, there is no distinction between real - unreal under the conditions described in Sec. 6.7. The unreal is used in three other ways. In a sequence consisting of three or more transients meaning "action which was done in the past" the second to last may be unreal.

a. giduqu:lan man qaku sa buqa:ya sa qa:ku ng pagkali:guq unreal maqu nga qa:kuq pa ng sakwa:tun quq gila:bug na:kuq sa mamala "A crocodile came near me as I was swimming, so I picked it up and threw it on dry land." (32.1)

The unreal is also used for a transient in a second predicate (Sec. 6.13).

b. qunsaiqun ni:la pagpatay qang qi:la ng qanak nga qimbis unreal pa:tyun sa buqaw:ya maqu man hinu:qun qang mipatay sa buqaw:ya "How could they kill their son, who instead of being killed by the crocodile, was the one who killed the crocodile?" (32.7)

The unreal is also optionally used in the apodosis of conditions contrary to fact. The unreal is obligatory in the protasis.

unreal

c. kun waq ku pa siya maki:taq malumus quntaq siya "If I had not seen him, he would have drowned." (malumus also occurs in this environment.)

The subjunctive is used under the conditions described in Sec. 6.72.
Except where specifically stated otherwise every inflectional base occurs with every derivative base described in Chapter 9.

8.04 Other definitions

8.041 "Same" meanings:
The meanings of two forms are called "the same" if the only difference in meaning between the two is one of style. "The same" is symbolized by "=".

8.042 Specialization of meanings

If a form has a different meaning from the combination of the meanings of its affix and its base, it is considered to have a "specialized meaning". Most affixes occur with numbers of bases in specialized meanings, but no attempt is made to give an exhaustive list of specialized meanings but rather one or two examples to show what direction the specialization takes.

8.043 Productivity of affixes

An affix is considered "productive" if it occurs with a large proportion of forms having a certain meaning. Bases newly borrowed into Cebuano from other languages may occur with these. An affix is considered to be "restricted" if it occurs with a smaller number of bases than the "productive". It is considered to be "dead" if it occurs with a limited number of bases. For inflectional affixes only "restricted" and "dead" types are indicated. If there is no indication, the affix is "productive". For derivational affixes degrees of productivity are indicated for all types.

8.044 Bases and affixes

Affixes are grouped on the basis of meaning and
form. Two affixes are the same if they have the same meaning and the same form. Otherwise they are different. Bases are the words less the affix. If two affixes have the same meaning and distribution or differ in distribution only with respect to forms with which they occur in a word, they are called "alternants" of each other. The affixes /pag- and ka- in gipagqawa:yan "reason on account of which two people quarreled" and gikasabuitan "thing on which two people agreed" are considered to be alternants of each other because their meaning is the same, and the only difference in their distribution is the forms with which they occur in a word. (Some words have pag- in this meaning; some have ka-; and some have both.)

8.045 Zero

A form ab is considered to have an affix zero, alternant of affix c, when /abc/ occurs with the same meanings as /ab/ (or the difference in meaning is one of specialization). The affix zero, however, is not analyzed unless it is an alternant of another affix. (Cf. Sec. 8.044.) E.g., gigawa:yan "thing fought together about" (with a zero alternant of pag-) and gipagqawa:yan "thing fought together about" (with a pag- affix, the alternant of zero).

8.046 (→) and (←) as part of the affix

As is explained in Sec. 2.23 the symbol (→) means that the

*Included in the form is 1) the phonemic shape and 2) the alternant of the base which occurs with the form. Thus the maka-prefix which is always followed by an alternant with a short penult is not the same as the maka- which is followed by an alternant with a long penult. (E.g., the maka- (→) of makakauqa V ka:qun is not the same as the maka- of makaluituq.)

**These are not necessarily the same morphemes, for forms with different shapes in complementary distribution belong to the same morpheme but are called "different" affixes. Also many affixes are composed of several morphemes.

***For the criteria by which the base is determined cf. Sec. 9.0.1.
base has an alternant with a short penult and (← —) means the base has an alternant with a long penult. If a given affix occurs only in words with a long or closed penult, (← —) is considered part of the affix. Thus for -a (← —) exclamatory (Sec. 3.64) the (← —) is considered part of the affix because it occurs only in words with a long or closed penult. Thus the form lipayya is analyzed as lipay + -a (← —), even though the base already has a long penult. Similarly (→ —) is considered part of an affix if it occurs only in words with a short or closed penult. Thus for -an (→ —) "place of V" (Sec. 10.2621), the (→ —) is considered part of the affix because it occurs only in words with short or closed penult. Thus the form sinihan "theater" is analyzed as sini + -an (→ —), even though the base already has a short penult.

8.05 Inflectional affixes listed

The following tables present the inflectional affixes. The morphophonemics of these affixes with the bases is discussed in Sec. 2.225 and Sec. 8.1182 and its subsections. These affixes are used both with the bases consisting of one morpheme (roots) and those consisting of more than one morpheme (derived bases). There is also an infix -um-* which is used in TP's (transient phrases - Sec. 4.22) which are in the predicate in a declarative sentence with a subject ka or kamu (mu) - i.e., second person singular and plural. The usage of the -um- infix in this meaning is common only with a few bases of high frequency.

TP | S
qumari | ka "Come here!" V qari "here"

Otherwise this usage of -um- is fancy style.

*Infixed in Cebuano occur immediately following the first phoneme of the word except the infix -1- (Cf. Sec. 2.227.*)
### 8.051 Active

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Real</th>
<th>Unreal</th>
<th>Abstract</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Volitional</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punctual</td>
<td>{ni-}</td>
<td>{mu-}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>{ning-}</td>
<td>{um-}</td>
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<td></td>
<td>{ning-}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nonvolitional</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durative</td>
<td>{nag-}</td>
<td>{mag-}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>{base alone pag-}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specifically durative</td>
<td>{naga-}</td>
<td>{maga-}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Potential</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>{naka-}</td>
<td>{maka-}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>{ka-}</td>
<td>{pakka-}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Legend:**

- *Used only regionally (except -um- with ka, kamu, mu)*

- Either of the forms is used with same meaning and in the same environment (with exceptions discussed under specific treatment).

- Bases occurring/affixes above the line occur also with affixes below the line and vice versa.

- Form is prefixed.

- Form is infixed (follows first consonant).

- Form is suffixed.

- Forms for which bases occurring with one above may or may not occur with one below.

- Bases occurring with affixes to the right occur also with affixes to the left and vice versa.

- Except for a few exceptions bases occurring with affixes above occur also with affixes below and vice versa.
Some bases occur only with active affixes, others only with passive affixes. Most bases occur with both.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affixes</th>
<th>Real</th>
<th>Unreal</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nonpoten</td>
<td>gi-</td>
<td>-un</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>pag- -a</td>
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<tr>
<td>tial</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Progres-</td>
<td>pag- -un</td>
<td>pag- -a**</td>
<td>paga- -a</td>
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<tr>
<td>sive</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iterative</td>
<td>gina-</td>
<td>paga--un</td>
<td>paga- -a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potential</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>Nonpoten</td>
<td>gi- -an</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-i</td>
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<tr>
<td>tial</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Progres-</td>
<td>pag- -an</td>
<td>pag- -i**</td>
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<td>sive</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>iterative</td>
<td>gina--an</td>
<td>paga--an</td>
<td>paga- -i</td>
<td>paga- -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>na- -an</td>
<td>ma- -an</td>
<td>ma- -an</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gika--an</td>
<td>ka- -an</td>
<td>ka- -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Nonpoten</td>
<td>gi-</td>
<td>qi-</td>
<td>qi-**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tial</td>
<td></td>
<td>qi-**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>Progresive</td>
<td>gina-</td>
<td>qiga-***</td>
<td>qiga-***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>gika-</td>
<td>qika-</td>
<td>qika-</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potential</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Same legend as for Sec. 8.051.)

**Dead affixes, confined to a limited number of bases.
*** rarely used
8.1 Active

Not every base occurs with the prefixes described below. Almost all underived transient bases occur with mi- / mu-; nag-/ mag- and maka- / maka- (except those of Secs. 8.135 and 8.112), but derived transient bases and adjective, nominal, and other bases are restricted as to type of affix. (These are discussed in the sections on individual affixes, Chapter Nine.) Cf. the discussion in Chapter 12.

8.11 mi- / mu- (mi- = ni-, ming-, ning-, qina-)

mi- and ni- are used with every base in the following sections. ming- and ning- are not used with every base. qina- is dialectic. The suffixes with mi- / mu- described in the following sections are different. Bases with one type of mi-/mu- may or may not occur with another type. A chart in Sec. 8.114 summarizes the various principal meanings of mi-/mu- as opposed to nag-/mag-.

8.111 Future/past with volition

Bases which occur with mi-/mu- in this meaning also occur with nag-/mag- / naga-/maga-. The nag-/ mag- / naga-/maga- is neutral * with respect to the meaning of volition, nag-/mag- often has a meaning of continuing action. (The naga-/maga- always has mi-/mu- with meaning volitional is neutral with respect to the meaning continuing action.

muginum ka ba "Do you want to drink?" V qinum "drink"

*Neutral means that the form is noncommittal on the meaning in question, whereas some other form indicates it. Usually, in high style, the form which indicates the meaning in question is the one which is used in the context calling for that meaning, but in colloquial style the neutral form is often preferred. (These cases will be specified.)
And I told the chief frankly that I would not clear out, no matter what happened. "V pahaswaq "clear out" (65.12)

He says we are his tenants and would not give him his share." V he:tag "give" (50.6)

The forms with mi-/mu- mean "start action" whereas the forms with nag-/mag- mean "be doing V". (Cf. Chart Sec. 8.114)

The thief hid himself in the cogon grass." (Cf. nagta:guq siya sa kakugnan "He was hiding in the cogon grass.") V ta:guq "cause to be hidden"

Then, Kay, the cheater just up and laughed out loud." V bahakhak "laugh boisterously" (65.8)

When the lightning struck, the grasslands burst into flames." V kala:yu "fire"

But one time there was an announcement that there was a very big fish which was washed aground in a certain town." V dagsaq "wash aground" (32.12)

But when he threw the purse away, there was money which jingled." V tageting "jingle (6.8)

If the spring pole snaps back into place, it will be just the right length so that the pig's
feet do not touch the ground." \( V \) libkas "snap into place"
\( V \) tugkad "touch the ground" (61.12)

8.11311 \text{mi-/mu-} neutral as to volition with bases with
which it undergoes morphophonemic alternation

Note that \text{mi-/mu-} of Sec. 8.111 above does not have volitional meaning when it occurs with the prefixes with which it undergoes morphophonemic alternations (Sec. 8.1182). (In those cases \text{mi-/mu-} is neutral with respect to volition and continuing action.)* Cf. examples Sec. 8.1182.

8.1132 \text{mi-/mu-} to adjectives, numbers and words meaning
time "become \( V \)."

8.11321 Nonspecialized meaning

The meaning of this \text{mi-/mu-} is "become \( V \)."

a. kun di:liq ka muka:qun \text{mugamay} qang qim\(\mu\) ng la:was "If you do not eat, you will become thin." (Lit.: "Your body will become small.") \( V \) \text{gamay} "small"

b. \text{mipula} qang na:wung ni dyu human siya makaqinum qug tulu ka butilya ng bir "Joe's face became red after he drank three bottles of beer." \( V \) \text{pula} "red"

c. qug \text{muqalas qutsu} na qug waq pa siya maqanhi qihatud ni ng sulatta da:yun sa ka mari:ya "If it gets to be eight and he still has not come, take this letter to Mary's at once." \( V \) \text{qalas qutsu} "eight o'clock"

8.11322 Specialized meaning with \text{mi-/mu-} "approximately \( V \)"

This meaning of \text{mi-/mu-} occurs with bases meaning length of time or space. In this case \text{mu-} is used to mean past tense as well as present and future tenses.

\text{muduha} na siya ka bu:lan dinhi sugbu "He has been here in Cebu for almost two months." \( V \) \text{duha} "two"

*Most of these bases do not occur with \text{nag-/mag-}.
mutu: hud na qang tu: big sa paglabay ni piping "The water was nearly knee-deep just as Peping came through." V— tu: hud "knee"

8.1133 To noun bases (restricted)

labi na guyud kay qang gubirnadur sa lalawi: gan maqu qang mukuru: na sa rayna "Especially since the governor of the province would be the one to crown the queen." V— kuru: na "crown" (18.10)

8.114 Meanings of mi-/mu- as opposed to nag-/mag-

The following chart shows the differences among the meanings of mi-/mu- and nag-/mag-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bases with mi-/mu-means</th>
<th>volitional-action</th>
<th>start V</th>
<th>become V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Sec. 8.111)</td>
<td>(Sec. 8.112)</td>
<td>(Sec. 8.113)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>These bases occur with mag-/nag-means</td>
<td>1) neutral as to volition (Sec. 8.1212) and action continuing (Sec. 8.1211)</td>
<td>either no mag-/nag- or nag-/mag-action continuing (Sec. 8.1211)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) action continuing (Sec. 8.1211)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.1141 Bases which occur with mi-/mu- but not with nag-/mag-

Bases with derivative affixes with which mi-/mu- undergo morphophonemic alterations (Sec. 8.1182) do not occur with nag-/mag- except some of those with ka- and those with paN- in nonplural meaning. Cf. Section 12.01 for further discussion.

8.115 mi-/mu- to other noun bases

8.1151 To noun bases which occur with a large number of inflectional affixes

The different types of noun bases are described in Sec. 9.10 ff. If mi-/mu- is used at all, it is confined to bases in a limited number of contexts where the meaning of "volitional
action" is brought out. (Otherwise nag-/mag- is used with these for active nonpotential meanings. Cf. examples Sec. 9.10 ff.)

8.1152 To nouns that occur with paN- transient derivative prefixes with approximately the same meaning

This type of base is described in Sec. 9.224. (Cf. examples there.)

8.1153 mi-/mu- "go to V"

The meaning "go to V" occurs with noun bases but rarely with affixes other than mi-/mu-.

mula:wud qang mananagat bi:sa g tingbagyu "The fishermen go to sea even during the typhoon season." V la:wud "sea"

bana:waq bay di:liq ra ba mugra:hi man ku "Banawa, driver." "Sorry, no. I am headed for the garage". V gra:hi "garage"

8.116 Meanings peculiar to mu-

8.1161 Iterative action (neutral as to volition and time)

Cf. the discussion Sec. 8.03. For transients which occur with mi-/mu- it is mu- which expresses the meaning of iterative action. (For bases for which mag- has this meaning cf. Sec. 8.127.)

maqa:yu kunu qaku mubinsayu qug katamu:ngan "He said I was good at making up explanations." V qimbintu "make up" (65.8)

8.1162 Iterative action to nontransient bases

Note that with nontransient bases mag- is also used in this meaning (Sec. 8.127).

na qunyaq ni ng ta:wu ng qamirika:nu ku:mu walaq kaqi:la bi:san siya maqalamubinisayaq nagalingkud la:mang gyud "Then this American man, since he did not have any friends, even though he knew how to speak Visayan well, just sat." V binisayq "Visayan" (38.10)

(In this example we have mu- with a past time meaning.)
8.1163 *mu-* meaning "capable of"

This is an extension of the habitual meaning.

kini ng barku *mukarga* g lima ka tunila:da "This boat carries five tons."  
*V* *karga* "load"

8.117 Meanings peculiar to *mi-*

The real is used in giving stage directions. (I.e., it is considered that the actions of stage directions have already happened.)

quunyaq miluksu qang ba:taq qug *mihi:lak* "Then the child jumps up and down and bursts out crying."  
*V* *luksu* "jump"  
*V* *hi:lak* "cry"

8.118 *mi-*/*mu-* with derived bases

8.1181 Those that do not undergo morphophonemic alternations

8.11811 *mi-*/*mu-* to bases with *paki-*

di:liq siya gustu ng mutuggan qapan *mupakisu:si* lang ku gii:apun "She does not want to tell, but I will ask her anyway."  
*V* *pakisusi* "investigate, ask questions"

didtu sa pulis *misakiluquy* qang qu:nguq "The witch asked the policemen to take pity."  
*V* *pakiluquy* "ask for pity"

8.11812 *mi-*/*mu-* to *ka-

The optional use of *mi-*/*mu-* to bases with *ka-* without morphophonemic alternations is confined to those bases with which *ka-* has the meaning "action performed by the agent" (Sec. 9.321).  
*mike-*/*muka-* has the meaning of "volitional action" whereas *na-*/*ma-* is neutral with respect to the meaning of volition.  
*muka-* is also used in the meaning of habitual action.

qayaw *mu* pagbanhaq dihaq kay *mukatu:lug* na ku. "Don't you make any noise over there because I want to go to sleep now."  
*V* *ku:lug* "sleep"
"Then Karangkal went down from the king's throne." 

The use of mika-/muka- is fancy style.

8.1182 Those that undergo morphophonemic alternations

The mi-/mu- is neutral with respect to volitional meaning when it undergoes morphophonemic alternation together with a derivative affix. (mi-/mu- is also neutral with respect to duration of action.) Thus na-/ma- (= mi- + ka-/mu- + ka-) is neutral with the meaning of volition and durative action.

Note that for some of those with ka-, there are forms which explicitly express volition and durative action. (Cf. Sec. 8.11812 immediately preceding.) However, in colloquial style with most bases the mi-/mu- which is neutral in volitional and durative meanings is preferred to those forms which express them explicitly. Thus matxulug is preferred to mukatu:q; natulug; to mikatu:q (Sec. 8.11712 and Sec. 8.12122).

qinigqabut ni:mu matu:q na ku "When you arrive, I will be sleeping."

(magkatu:q has the specific meaning of durative action but is fancy style.)

qayaw g banhaq dihaq kay matu:q na ku "Do not make any noise there because I want to sleep now."

(mukatu:q specifically has the meaning of volition, but is confined to fancy style.)

8.11821 mi-/mu- + pakig- = pakig-/pakig- (Sec. 9.7)

makigqaway qang liyun kun kuha:qan sa qi:ya ng qituy "A lion will fight if its cub is taken." pakigqaway "to fight with another"

qang qa:tu ng katigulangan nakigbugnuq qarun sa pagkabqut sa qa:tu ng kagawa:san "Our forefathers fought in order to gain our freedom." pakigbugnuq "to struggle with another in a fight"
samtang sa qusa ka dyu:tay ng ba:y sa midyu hilit nga daspit qang qasa:wa la:mang qang nahibilin nga panghi:pus sa kusi:na "While in a small house located at a somewhat deserted place, the wife was the only one left behind cleaning the kitchen." V panghi:pus "put things in their proper place" (19.2)

muqadtu qaku sa qibabaw kay mangiesdaq qaku didtu qaku mamingwit "I am going upstream because I will fish. There I will fish with a pole." V mangiesdaq "go fishing" V pamingwit "fish with a pole" (30.14)

muqadtu qaku sa qibabaw kay mangiesdaq qaku didtu qaku mamingwit "I am going upstream because I will fish. There I will fish with a pole." V mangiesdaq "go fishing" V pamingwit "fish with a pole" (30.14)

qug sa walaq madu:qay qang ha:riq namatay "And not long after, the king died." V matay "die" (17.7)

mi-/mu- + ka- = na-/ma- (Sec. 9.3).

mi-/mu- + ka- = na-/ma- (Sec. 9.3).

mi-/mu- to other bases

mi-/mu- + {hi-

mi-/mu- + peni- = nani-/mani- (Sec. 9.73)

mi-/mu- + paniN- = naniN-/maniN- (Sec. 9.74)

mi-/mu- + pani- = nani-/mani- (Sec. 9.73)

mi-/mu- + paniN- = naniN-/maniN- (Sec. 9.74)

mi-/mu- + panggi = nanggi-/manggi (Sec. 9.78)

mi-/mu- + rag- = nag-/mag- (Sec. 9.92)

For examples cf. sections referred to.

8.119 mi-/mu- "action devolving on agent" (restricted)

This occurs with a few bases which occur also with nag-/mag- "action devolving on agent" (Sec. 8.123 and its subsections) and naka-/maka- (Sec. 8.1341). However, nag-/mag- occurs with more bases in this meaning than mi-/mu-.

The difference in meaning is parallel to the other differences between mi-/mu- and nag-/mag.*

*The meaning "do to oneself" is assigned to the base as well as to the affixes.
(intentional meaning)

qug qi:mu ku ng duq:ulun mupatighulug ku s qubus "If you come near me, I will hurl myself down." V—– patighulug "go downward"

(Cf. the second example of Sec. 8.1232.)

mi-/mu- meaning "begin action"
mita:guq qang kawatan didtu sa kakugnan "The thief hid himself in the cogon grass." V—– ta:guq "cause to be hidden"

(Cf. the second example of Sec. 8.112.)

8.12 nag-/mag-

The following suffixes with nag-/mag- are different except for the meaning of Secs. 8.1211 and 8.1212 (continuing) action of V—–). Bases with one type of nag-/mag- may or may not occur with another type.

8.1211 Continuing action

The nag-/mag-, naga-/mag- in this section occur with bases that also occur with mi-/mu- "volitional" (Sec. 8.111). The meaning of this nag-/mag-, naga-/mag- is neutral with respect to the meaning "volition". With some bases nag-/mag- specifically means "action continuing". With others it may not have this meaning. (Cf. the chart Sec. 8.114 for meanings of nag-/mag- vs. mi-/mu-.) naga-/mag- always means "continuing action".

8.12111 To underived bases

8.121111 No shift

samtang qang qinahan naghi:pus sa manga pinggan qug nanghinluq sa kusina qang ba:taq la:mang qang quza ra didtu sa su:d sa kwartu "While the mother was putting away the plates and was cleaning up the kitchen, just the child was alone in the room." V—— hiri:pus "put things in their proper place". (19.5)
Then the woman that was aiding opposite shouted. "Sit" (42.7)

The child was sitting on a rock amusing itself by playing. "sit" (55.1)

The priest was sitting over there and was paired off with a girl here. "sit" (39.11)

The carabaos were pulling the carts containing the money. "pull" (16.10)

Then the mother, who was trembling and then crying as well said... "cry" "tremble" (11.11)

With bases with paN-: always have (→).

But Karangkal even when he was still a child, showed unusual abilities because there was much he did that seemed amazing. "see" (25.8)

The child was sitting on a rock amusing itself by playing. "amuse oneself" (55.1)

"action going on" does not occur with paN- plural (Sec. 9.21 and subsections). (Instead naN-/maN- is used for the meaning of durative action with bases having paN- plural.) For bases with other paN-‘s: naN-/maN- is used but with them the meaning is "plural (action of agents or goals)" as well as "action continuing".

Who else but Mr. Alog? answered Inting, snorting; and he gnashed his teeth." "snort" (50.4)

The forest was on fire. "fire"
8.1212 nag-/ma^- action not necessarily volitional

quinaq nagsu:mud qang gu:tum "Then the famine started."

V su:gud "start"

8.1213 nag-/ma^- to derived bases which do not occur with mi-/mu-, naka-/maka-

mi-/mu- do not occur with bases having the prefix naka- (Sec. 9.74), -in- (Sec. 9.96), and the dead prefixes of Sec. 9.97, for which it is not specifically stated that they occur with mi-/mu-. For these bases nag-/ma^- is used in contexts which call for meaning "volitional". (Cf. examples in the sections referred.) These also do not occur with naka-/maka- (Sec. 8.13 and subsections). Cf. Sec. 12.01 for a further discussion of this topic.

8.122 nag-/ma^- meaning "be V—"

8.1221 To adjective bases

8.12211 No shift

nagpula qang qi:yu ng na:wung kay nabulad siya sa qi:nit "His face is red because he stayed in the sun." V pula "red"

maghi:lug ta kay natu:lug si pa:pa "Let us be quiet because Dad is asleep." V hi:lug "quiet"

8.12212 (—)

nagku:sug qang pamanalit sa linata run kay musa:ka kunu qang prisyu "Tinned goods are selling fast now because they say the price is going up." V kusug "fast"

8.12213 To derived adjective bases

qug maghanginha:ngin qugmaq di:liq ku mudayun sa mani:laq "If it is windy tomorrow I will not proceed to Manila."

V hanginha:ngin "somewhat windy"
"Blessed are those that go to heaven because they will be happy there."  

There were many people in the movie house; some were standing, packed in like sardines."

8.1222 To adjective bases with specialized meaning

8.12221 Underived

Dear, probably what would be good in this situation is for me to kill Karangkal, for we will be hard up now."  

8.12222 To derived bases

If you do not behave, your father will be reluctant to grant you your request."  

I am sickly because I always drink liquor."  

8.1223 To noun bases "be like"  

8.12231 Underived bases

8.122311 No shift

And there Esyut beheld his rice field, a sea in the morning light."

8.122312 With shift (→)

After ten seconds the iron that was put in the fire will be glowing. It will be just right for hammering into shape."  

The abaca was affected with disease just as it was maturing."  

8.1224 neg-/ma£> to transient bases (transient meaning state or condition)
those that
These are the same bases as occur with the ni-/mu-
(neutral as to volition) of Sec. 8.1131 and naka-/maka- of
Sec. 8.1342.

nagqabri gang pultahan kay nalinta g sirca ni lu:ling "The
doors are open because Loling forgot to close it." V qabri
"open"

8.12241 nag- "become V" (dead)

gihinumduman qikaw kanu:ney sa qa:ku ng nagmahilak nga
kasingka:sing "You are always remembered by my heart that
has become eternally crying." V mahilak "always crying"

8.123 nag-/mag- "actor does V to himself"

This affix is restricted except with bases having prefix

pa- (Sec. 8.1232).

8.1231 To transient bases

quy nga:nu gu ng mutugpa ka s pir gustu ka ng maglumus
"Hey, why are you jumping off the pier? Do you want to drown
yourself?" V lumus "cause to drown"

qayaw g su:d nagqi:lis pa ku "Do not come in. I am still
changing." V qilis "change"

8.12311 nag-/mag- (→)

nagtuyuk giha:pun qang manga ligid sa bisikli:ta bisan
sa naghayang na kini "The wheels of the bicycle were still
turning even when it was already upside down." V tu:uyuk
"cause to turn"

nagpanilap qang liyun nga humahambat sa karini "The lion
licked his chops about to take a bite from the meat." V
pani:lap "lick (several actions)"

8.12312 To noun bases

gustu siya ng magpa:riq kay ni:ya pa tu di:liq lisud
qang pagpalangit "He wants to become a priest because he
says it will be easy to go to heaven." (Lit.: "make himself
a priest") V pai:riq "priest"

8.1232 To bases with pa- "cause V to devolve on one-
self"

(Cf. Sec. 9.13.)
gusto ku ng magpahaya:hay kadyut "I want to refresh myself a bit." V pahaya:hay "to refresh"

day gina:pas man siya sa ta:qas sa lubi magpatighulug qang halu sa yu:taq "Because someone was climbing up the coconut tree after him, the lizard went to the ground." V tighulug "downward"

magpatudluq ku g qininglis ni qartur "I will have Arthur teach me English." V tudluq "teach" V patudluq "cause to teach"

8.12321 nag/-mag- "action devolving on agent" to bases

with pa- plus statives (dead)

These are described in Sec. 9.134 and subsections.

nagpakamatay siya sa kagawa:san sa yu:ta ng natawhan "He died for the freedom of his native land." V kamatay "die" V pakamatay "cause oneself to die"

8.1233 nag/-mag- "action devolving on agent" with bases having other derivatives

si pa:riq pidru naghinamhinam qang nagpanilap sa:ma sa liyun nga nagpadulung paghambat sa qus ka matambuk nga tuk-bunun "Father Pedro was eagerly awaiting (the moment) and was licking his chops like a lion approaching a fat prey ready to take a bite from it." V pani:lap "lick" (several actions)

Cf. nani:lap qang manga qituy sa lu:ta "The puppies licked the cans." = paN- + ti:lap "lick"

8.1234 nag/-mag- "action of two or more agents each other"

This nag/-mag- prefix is considered to consist of mi-/mu- plus nag- described in Sec. 9.921.

8.124 nag/-mag- To noun bases other than those described above

8.1241 To noun bases which occur with a number of inflectional affixes

This type of noun base is described in Sec. 9.10.1 ff. (Cf. examples there.)
8.1242 nag-/mag- "to do something on V's"

The transients in this group require infinitive complements
(Sec. 4.66).

8.12421 To underived bases

magduminggu siya g qanhi sa syudad kay maqu ra ma y qadlaw
ng waq siya y trabahu "He comes here on Sundays because that
is the only day he does not have work." V duminggu "Sunday"

8.12422 To derived bases

kung qanhi siya s syudad magqadlawqadlaw la g tanqaw g
sini "If he comes to the city, he will just go to the show every
day." V qadlawqadlaw "every day"

magbinulan mi g su:hul qug maghalakut qug tu:big kay lisud
kaqaryu g walaq ta y griipu "We are paying a water carrier by
the month because it is very difficult if you do not have a
faucet." V binulan "monthly" V bu:lan "month"

8.1243 nag-/mag- "work as a V" 

didtu siya magqartista sa mani:laq "He was an actor in
Manila." V qartista "actor"

8.1244 nag-/mag- in other meanings with noun bases

sanglit dinhi man magkampu qang manga trabahadur sa
gubyirnu sa pagtrabaha hu sa da:baw kutaba:tu rud "For the govern-
ment workers had camped here in the building of the Davao-Cota-
bato Road." V kampu "camp" (51.8)

8.12441 (→)

dagha ng tagasibu gustu ng magyuta s mindanaw "Many
Cebuanos would like to farm in Mindanao." V yutaq "soil"

nanglaba si qangkay sa subaq quban sa qi:ya ng ba:te ng baba:yi
nga magpanuqigun qug pitu ka tuqig "Angkay was washing at the
river with her seven-year-old daughter." V panuqigun "age"
(54.16)

8.125 nag-/mag- to other types of bases

8.1251 "be nearly V"

With these mag- is used for past time. (I.e., both nag- and
mag- are used for past time.)
magqikapitu na sa gebiqi siya mahiqabut sa bugu "It was almost seven when he arrived at Bogo."

8.1252 "at around V-

magqalas syiiti na ga:niq qihatud ni ng sula:ta da:yun sa ka mari:ya "At about seven take this letter to Mary's at once." V- qalas syiiti "seven o'clock"

(Cf. example c Sec. 8.11321 for the difference between this end mi-/mu-)

8.1253 To other qualifiers

waq ku mackinahangla g laqi ng tumata:bang dinhi s tindashan "I do not need any more helpers here in the store."

V- kinahanglan "need"

8.126 Meanings peculiar to mag-

8.1261 mag- injunctive [should]

magba:yad ka niqiini ng qi:mu ng gibushat "You must pay for this thing that you have done." V- ba:yad "pay for" (23.5)

8.1262 To derived bases

Note that to derived bases of the type described in Sec. 8.1182 (in which mi-/mu- with the derivative affix undergoes morphophonemic alternations) mag- is not used in this meaning. Instead mu- is used:

manglingkud ta "Let us sit down."

quy pirla mama:na ka qarun disliq ka hibyaqan sa trin "Perla, you had better get married so you won't miss the boat." (Lit: "be left behind by the train") V- ba:na "husband"

8.127 mag- "iterative action"

The meaning of this affix is the same as the meaning of mu- Sec. 8.1161. It is confined to nontransient bases and to transient bases which do not occur with mi-/mu-.

si pidru maqa:yu ng magbinisayag sa waq pa maputul qang qi:ya ng
dislaq "Pedro spoke Visayan well before his tongue was cut out."

Visayan language

magpu:nay lamang siya g lingkud qug bagduybagduy "All he used to do was sit around or roam about." pu:nay "always" (does not occur with mi-/mu-)

8.128 \{naga- \}/maga-

\{naga- \}/maga- is used with the same bases as nag-/mag-except in the meanings of Sec. 8.126. \{naga- \}/maga- has a meaning of "continuing\{action\}". In the meanings of Sec. 8.1212 and Sec. 8.125 the meaning is different for nag-/mag-. Otherwise the meaning is the same.

8.129 Meanings peculiar to nag-

The real is used in giving stage directions.

naghilak qang tigu:lang qi:ni ng dapi:ta "The old woman cries at this point." hilak "cry" (Cf. Sec. 8.117.)

8.13 naka-/maka- "potential"

naka-/maka- has four meanings. ka- is used in the same place as naka-/maka- but is of more colloquial style. (Cf. Sec. 8.136.)

However, the potential forms are not always used in colloquial speech in contexts which call for them, especially when there is something in the context to indicate the potential, accidental or perfective meaning. The mi-/mu- forms (nonpotential forms for the passives) are used as well.

8.131 naka-/maka- \{can\}

8.1311 To transient bases

8.13111 Underived bases

8.131111 No shift
kung kinsa kado tu ng maka:gu:yud niqi:ni ng qisdaq qug makabalibag ngad tu sa malayu ng dapit hata:gan sa hariq qug dakuq kaq:ya nu ng bahandiq "Whoever can drag this fish and throw it to a distant place will be given a huge treasure by the king." V gu:yud "drag" V balibag "throw" (33.4)

The unreal maka- is also used in past time meanings in the meaning of "was able to V". (naka- has the nuance of "succeeded in V").

makagaaw bi:ta w sadna g bunal si ba:kir "Wouldn't you know it, Baker was able to get hold of the club." V qa:igaw "snatch away" (42.13)

8.131112 Shift (→)

ha:qin ka man maka:ku:haq qug kwarta "Where did you get money from?" V ku:haq "get" (8.4)

8.13112 Derived bases

Note that naka-/maka- does not occur with statives (i.e.,
with bases with ka-) except those of Sec. 9.321 ("action performed by agent").

waq man siya y mahi:mu qarun siya maka:pa:na:taq qug maka:ta:bang sa qa:tu ng kahintang "He cannot do anything in order to earn something to help our situation." V pangi:taq "earn" V ki:taq "earn" (30.4)

makapakata:wa ka ni:ya nga murha:nun man naq siya "Can you make him laugh? For he is a sourpuss." V pakata:wa "cause to laugh"

qapan qusa niqa:naq maqu y nakapasubuq sa qi:ya ng mango ginika:nan kay dakuq siya g ka:qun "But one of these was what made his parents sad, for he had a huge appetite." V subuq "sad" (25.11)

8.131121 To bases with ka-

some

With/stative bases (Sec. 9.321) the base has an alternant without/ke / with naka-/maka-.

walaq ku maka:tulug gabi:qi kay banhaq kaq:ya nu gang qiring sa qa:mu ng sili:ngan "I was not able to sleep last night because our neighbor's cat was very noisy." V katu:lug "sleep"

8.1312 naka-/maka- to adjective bases

With adjective bases the potential usually has an additional meaning "cause to be V" (but not"allow to be V").
qayaw g panabakuq kay makadmut man naq sa qi:mu ng panglalawas "Do not smoke, for it can ruin your health." V daqut "bad"

8.132 naka-/maka- completed action

8.1321 To transient bases

kun waq pa lang qang hi:pi nakapatay na qaku qug ta:wu "If the chief had not been there, I would already be a murderer." (Lit.: "I would have already killed someone.") V patay "kill"

8.1322 To noun bases

nakahigayun siya g lakaw kay tu:qa ma s lungsud si ma:ma ni:ya "He had a chance to go out because his mother was in town." V higayun "occasion"

nakasqtlug na ng manuk maqu ng nagputak siya "The hen has laid an egg; that is why it is cackling." V qitlug "egg"

8.1323 To adjective bases

nakadaqutan kani:ya qang qi:ya ng pagsi:gi g qinum qug qalak "His constant drinking of liquor was what made him bad." V daqutan "bad"

8.133 naka-/maka- "accidental action"

"Accidental action" covers three meanings:

1) Action not intentional on the part of the agent;

kina y nakamansa qa:ni "Who happened to stain this?"

2) Action coincidental with another event;

qang litqag nakasinggit si qinting diha ng nat:i:nuq ni:ya nga didtu gi:kan qang kabahag "The trap! shouted Inting when he was sure that the noise came from there." V singgit "shout"

3) Action which occurred due to outside influence;

pagkadungug ni:ya s prisyu nakatihul siya kay mahal man kaqa:yu qang sapa: tus "When he heard the price he whistled, for the shoes were very expensive." V tihul "whistle"

8.1331 To transient bases

8.13311 Underived bases

nakapusta ka ba sa kang saryu ng manuk "Did you happen to bet on Sario's cock?" V pusta "bet"
"Do not play with that plant because the sap might stain." V mansa "stain"

8.13312 Derived bases

"If I read late at night, I fall asleep right away." V katulug "sleep"

"The mayor's adopted son was the one who happened to marry Torio's younger sister." V qasa:wa "wife"

(Note that the base occurs with and without paN-. Cf., Sec. 9.244)

8.134 naka-/maka- "action devolving on agent" (dead)

"Pedro heard the news that Tasio's father had died." V balitaq "news"

"Like a herd of carabao that had escaped from the corral, butting each other." V buhiq "free" (66.8)

(Note that these also have the other meanings of the naka-/maka-)

"Somebody told me that you were accused of stealing." V balitaq "news"

8.1341 naka-/maka- "action devolving on agent" to bases which occur with nag-/mag- "action devolving on agent"

These bases also occur with nag-/mag- of Sec. 8.123 and its subsections, but not all bases in 8.123 occur with naka-/maka-. The difference in meaning is parallel to the difference between other types of nag-/mag- and naka-/maka- except naka-/maka- "accidental".

(action completed)

nakatagwa na mu larga na "Are you hidden? Here I come!" (lit.: "get going"). V ta:guq "hide"

(Cf. the second example of Sec. 8.112.)
(potential meaning)

dil:liq ka kepabuy kay wa y muda:wat ni:mu "You cannot hire
yourself out as a servant because no one will accept you."
V pabuy "hire oneself out as a houseboy"
(Cf. the example of Sec. 9.133.)

8.1342 naka- / maka- "action that happened to something"

These are the bases which occur with mi-/mu- of Sec. 8.1131
and nag-/mag- of Sec. 8.1224.

nakabasting na qang kampa:na sa simbahan "The church bell has
rung now."

8.135 naka- / maka- with nonpotential meanings

This usage occurs with bases which for the most part have
no mi-/mu- or nag-/mag- or have a meaning with the potentials
radically different from the bases with other affixes. E.g.,
nakeki:taq "saw" ( nageki:taq "met"), nakabatiq "heard"
(mibatiq "felt"), etc.

nakakitaq siya g qusa ka kahuy nga may daku ng buhuq "He saw
a tree with a big hole." V ki:taq "see" (4.4)

8.136 ka- for naka- / maka-

In colloquial style ka- is used in the meaning of naka-
and maka- (though in some contexts ka- tends not to be used:)
waq man ku kasabut kani:mu "I{do } not understand you."
V sabut "understand" (8.3)

8.137 Potentials to nominal bases

(Cf. also the examples of Sec. 8.1322.)

8.1371 To nouns which occur with a number of inflectional
affixes

This type of noun base is described in Sec. 9.10.1 ff.
(Cf. the examples there.)
"To be able to obtain"

8.1372 (Have obtained)

maqa:yu na lang ni ng manasul kay makaqisdaq ku "Line fishing is good enough because I can get fish that way." V qisdaq "fish"

nakadu:da qang manga ta:wu nga si kadyu nakasangud maqu nga siya kusgan "The people suspected Cadio of possessing charms. That is why he is strong." V sa:ngud "charm"

8.13721 This meaning to bases with (\(-\rightarrow\))

wala y kala:ki ni ng trabahu:qa kay di:liq ku makaqsininag ga:niq "This job is no good because I cannot even clothe myself with what I earn." (Lit."obtain clothing") V sina:naq "clothes"

8.138 Potentials to bases with pag- (Sec. 9.92)

The potential active of the base with a pag- prefix has the shape nagka-/magka-.  

8.1381 In meaning "can V"

di:liq na lisud kay managkasa:but/"It is not difficult any more because they can agree." V pagsa:but "agree"

di:liq magkasinabta:naq qang duha kay nagakala:hiq qang qi:la ng hunaqhu:naq qug manga pu:lung "The two cannot agree with each other because their thoughts and their words are growing apart." V pagsinabta:naq "understand one another" V pagla:hiq "be different from one another"

8.1382 In meaning "perfected action"

walaq pa kami managkasa:but "We have not come to an agreement yet." V pagsa:but "agree"

8.1383 In meaning "accidental V"

nakakitaq be mu gaharpun si husi "Did you and José happen to meet yesterday?" V pagkitaq "meet"

8.1384 Potential forms with nonpotential meanings

nakasikbit mi s pidru g yu:taq "Pedro's and my land are contiguous." V pagkasikbit "be contiguous"

8.139 nakag-/maka- "have moral power to V"

(restricted)

This is used in fancy style. In colloquial speech maka-/maka-
is used instead.

8.1391 To transient bases

kana ng qi:mu ng pagqubanqan ban ni:la maqu y makagdu:hig
sa manga daquta ng bata:san "Your going around with them can influence you with bad manners." V du:hig "smear"
si duray sa pagpakabatiq niqaina ng manga pulu:nga walaq makagpugung
sa manga luhhaq nga nanaligdig sa qi:ya ng kaqapi:ngan "Doray, on hearing those words, could not hold back the tears which trickled down her cheeks." V pugung "hold back"

8.13912

qang tagduma:la maqu ra y makagdiliq sa matag qusa kannatuq
"The manager is the only one who can forbid all of us." V diliq "forbid"

8.13913 To bases with a dead pag- prefix (Sec. 9.922)
diliq ku makagbuqut niqainaq kay qusa ra qaku ka sulu:gu:qu
"I cannot decide on that because I am only a servant." V pagbuqut "decide"

8.14 Bases with the active having a causative meaning

These occur with the mi-/mu-, nag-/mag- and naka-/make-
prefixes described in Secs. 8.11 - 8.13 above. For these bases the passives also have a causative meaning.

8.141 Adjective bases

This usage occurs with adjective bases and with potentials. It occurs with few bases with nag-/mag- and mi-/mu-. (Usually a pa-
causative prefix occurs with the adjective bases in transients with mi-/mu- or nag-/mag-. Cf. Secs. 9.122 and 12.124.)
si dyu maqu y mulimpyu sa blakburd "Joe is the one who cleans the blackboard." V limpyu "clean"

8.1411 Adjectives with (i) when used as bases to

transients meaning "cause "

siya na pu y nagesakit sa qi:ya ng qinahan kay wanqa ma ng qi:ya ng magulang "Now he is the one making his mother suffer again because his elder brother is not there any more." V sakit "be sick"
8.142 Actives of passives of the type described Sec.

8.1421

mubinugtung siya g bungkag sa qi:ya ng quma "He will start his farm alone." V binugtung "do alone"

mibinulan siya g qanhi na:kuq "He came to me once a month." V binulan "by the month"

8.143 Bases with the active having a meaning "do V to oneself"

With a few bases the active also means "do V to oneself" as well as "causative" (e.g., ta:guq "hidden"). However, the meaning "do V to oneself" has been assigned to the affix as well. (Cf. Secs. 8.119, 8.123 [and its subsections] and 8.134)

8.15 nasc:ka/-masc:ka- (←) "covered with V"

8.151 To noun bases

nasc:kabarlas qang qi:la ng manga pagka:qun qug mibalit sila g litsu g lu:tuq pagqu:q sab "Their food got sand all over it, and they bought roast pork and cooked rice again." V balas "sand"

8.1511 To bases which do not occur by themselves

miqundang siya g labyug sa wa:ay nangaghu g lalum qug namahid sa nags:u:ngut ni:ya ng lawas "He stopped swinging his axe, heaved a deep sigh and wiped his body covered with sweat." V *dusingut

8.152 To adjective bases "be V all over"

maqu gyud na ng magka:qun ka g lumaya:gan magkaq:u:tum na ng qi:mu ng nga:bil "That is what happens when you eat squid. Your lips get black all over." V qitum "black"

8.16 Zero for inflectional affixes

For a definition of zero cf. Sec. 8.045.

8.161 Zero = ni-/mu-

The base is used alone in colloquial style for forms with
**mi-/mu-** with underived bases in any context except after qualifiers. The meaning of the forms with **mi-/mu-** and of the base alone is the same.

### 8.1611 With underived bases

- qə: su:kul ka s pa:riq "So! you defy priests!" (= musu:kul) (Cf. 41.11)

- na qunya qang babayi nga qathang naglingkud sya:git "Then the woman sitting opposite shouted." (= misya:git) (42.7)

(meaning "action that happened to something" (Sec. 8.1131))

- qanusqa bagting qang kampa:na "When does the bell ring?" (= mubagting)

- libkas na ba qang balagqung "Did the trap spring?" (= milibkas)

(meaning "become/became")

- gamay ka nyaq basta di:liq ka muka:qun "You will become small if you do not eat." (= mugamay)

(in habitual meaning Sec. 8.1161)

- qug di:liq tugnaw quunya ng gabi:qi qayaw la g habu:li qang manga ba:taq "If it does not get cold tonight, do not put a blanket on the children." (= mutugnaw)

- karga ni ng pu:luq ka ta:wu ni ng qi:mu ng sakayan "Does your boat hold ten persons?" (= mukarga)

### 8.1612 With derived bases

If the base occurs with **mi-/mu-** without morphophonemic alternations, the base alone occurs in contexts where **mi-/mu-** + base occur.*

- pada: ku g ga:sa sa qa:ku ng manghud "I will send a gift to my younger brother." (= mupada:)

- pada: siya na:ku g krismaskard qi:tung disimbru "He sent me a Christmas card last December." (= mipada:)

*In dialectical usage zero is used for **mi-/mu-** with bases with paN-, even when qualified by walaq, di:liq.

walaq si:la panghibalu "They did not know." However, this is not the usage of Cebu City.
pakiluquy lagi siya na:kuq sa diha ng giki:ha ku siya. "He asked me for sympathy when I filed a complaint against him."

( = mipakiluquy)

With pa- meaning "go in the direction of" (Sec. 9.15)
zero for mu- occurs after walaq, di:liq and gustu.

walaq siya padaplin bi:sa g dagha ng tra:k gustu ng muqa:gi "He did not move to the side even though many buses wanted to go by." ( = mupadaplin)

8.16121 Special comment on bases with pa- causative

Most bases with pa- "causative" (Sec. 9.11) are not used in contexts in place of mupa-/mipa- if there is homonymy with the base alone for passive (Sec. 8.1642).

mupatanqaw ku niya g sini "I will allow her to go to the show."

In this case, patanqaw ku niya g sini, means "She allowed me to go to the show." (with patanqaw = gipatanqaw Sec. 8.1642)

8.162 Zero = nag-/mag-

The base is used alone in colloquial style for forms with nag-/mag- plus base (derived or underived - except bases with paN- or ka-).

8.1621 With underived bases

The base alone for the base with mag- is not used after di:liq, walaq and gustu except for the types described in Sec. 8.1623 and its subsections.

dala nyaq ku g sa:ging qugmaq kay qa:tu ng qisugba "I will bring bananas tomorrow because we will roast them over the fire."

( = magdala "durative meaning" Sec. 8.122)

hi:lum na ba si:la si dyunyur qug si tu:ni s ta:qas "Are Junior and Tony quiet upstairs?" ( = naghi:lum nag- in the sense of "be V-" Sec. 8.122)

sungkaq gani:ha kami si tibuy "I played 'sungka' with Tibuy."

( = nagsungkaq with nag- to nominal base Sec. 9.10.1)

bantay ta dinhi sa qa:tu ng manga butang kay la:qin ra ba ni ng manga ta:wu dinhi "We should keep an eye on our things because the
people here are not of a nice type." (= magbantay mag-in the meaning of "should V-" (Sec. 8.126)

8.1622 With derived bases

8.16221 Zero = nag-/mag- to bases with pag- " V-

each other"  

ki:taq lang qunyaq ta sa prugram "We will see each other at the program later." (= magki:taq) V- pagki:taq "meet" (Sec. 9.921)

pu:yuq lang mi kay nagpadyuq qang qa:mu ng paghigugma "We were living together, because we continued being in love." (= nagpu:yuq) V- pagpu:yuq "live together"

8.16222 Zero = nag-/mag- to bases with paka-  
pakada:tuq diqay siya nan dagha ng mga dala:ga ng mabi:bag "Suppose he pretends to be rich. Then he can attract many girls." (= magpakada:tuq)

8.16223 Zero = nag-/mag- to bases with other derivatives where zero is not used after walaq, di:liq

pasigarbu ka gihs:pun nga waq na man qa:niq ka y gikaqun "You are still proud when you do not even have anything to eat any longer." (= nagpasigarbu)

8.1623 To bases where zero = nag-/mag- which occur also after di:liq, walaq, gustu

8.16231 pa- in meaning "action devolving on agent"  

(Sec. 9.13)

walaq qusab patimqaw hangtud nga gipulqan na qang mga sulugu:qun sa bala:qud "He did not show himself until the servants of the law got tired (of watching for him)." (= magpatimqaw) (57.4)

walaq siya pabuy sa ka dun simyun kay nahadluk siya ng palabilabi:han siya "He did not hire himself out to Don Simeon because he was afraid that he would be treated with contempt." (= magpabuy)

walaq pa ku padigansi kay lu:ya pa ku "I have not had my womb scraped because I am still weak." (= magpadigansi)
8.1623  pa- in meaning "go to V" (Sec. 9.15)

di:liq pa ku palungsud run "I will not go to town yet."
 (= magpalungsud)

8.1623  To bases with paki-

waq siya pakiluquy kay taqas man siya garbu "He did not ask for pity, for he was very proud." (= magpakiluquy)

8.163  Zero = na-/ma- (stative)

These do not occur qualified by di:liq, walaq, or gustu.

8.1631  To statives from transient bases (Sec. 9.32)

tu:lug na ta kay tungaq na ng gabi:qi "Let us sleep now because it is already midnight." (= matu:lug)

didtu gayud tumba rumbu kani:ya "There it fell right smack at him." (= natumba) (29.5)

8.16311  To bases with hi-/ha-

hibalu ka ng muqani si hwan "Do you know that John is coming here?" (= nahibalu)

hibu:lung tinga:li si qi:da qinigkakitaq ni:ya ng piping 'nakigung ni birta "Ida will probably be puzzled to see Pepe going with Berta." (= mahibu:lung)

8.1632  To statives from adjective bases

li:pay si ma:ma pagkahibalu ni:ya ng gipatubuqan qang qa:ku ng swildu "Mama will be happy when she knows that I got a raise." (= mali:pay)

dakuq na si hwan qapan maqu giha:pun tapulan "John was grown up now, but as always, he was lazy." (= nadakuq) (3.12)

8.164  Zero for passive affixes

8.1641  To bases not with pa- "causative"

With these bases zero for passive affixes is confined to certain bases. Zero is usually used with a real meaning. With bases human, ta:pus, dala, nunut and some others, this usage is literary style. Zero for passive affixes is not used after qualifiers.
6.16411 Zero for direct passive

walu ka pulisi:ya qa:ku ng dala "I took along eight policemen." (= gidala)

qunyaq tsonaw lang ni ba:kir "Then Baker just watched them." (= gitaqnaw [gitanqaw]) (39.14)

6.16412 Zero for local passive

With the local passive gi- = zero, but -an is used.

qug tu:qud man sugdan da:yun ni hwan qug taktak qang qi:ya ng pita:ka "And so John began to shake his purse right away."
(= gisugdan) (15.2)

6.16413 Zero for instrumental passive

kusyug ku qang prisidinti "I had the president come along."
(= gikusyug)

waq na ku ba:la* ha:tag ku s pulisi:ya "I did not have any bullets any more. I had given them to the police." (= gihastag)

(To base with paN-)

na panambug qang manga si:ya "Anyway, they threw the chairs out." (= gipanambug) (46.8)

6.1642 To bases with pa- causative

With many bases having pa- causative the base alone is used for (gi-/un direct passive or gi-/qi- instrumental)

(p direct)

patanqaw ni:ya qang mutsatsa g sini "He allowed his maid to go to the show." (= gipatanqaw)

(instrumental)

gubirnadur su:qu kana:kuq nga padakup si ba:kir "The governor ordered me to have Baker captured." (= qipadakup)

6.2 Passive

A given base may occur with one, two, or all three of the passives. Cf. Chapter 12 for paradigms.

*Dialectic for "waq na ku y ba:la"
8.21 gi-/un/-a direct passive

The various meanings for the direct passive are the same from the Cebuano point of view with the exception of the meanings "purpose for which" (Sec. 8.2113) and "affected by V" (Sec. 8.213). For the others the difference in meaning is merely a difference from the point of view of the translation, and these are all considered to be the same affix.

8.211 gi-/un/-a direct meaning

8.2111 Transient bases meaning "thing V-ed"

hala dakpun patyun si baikir "Come on! Let us catch and kill Baker!" V- dakup "capture" V- patay "kill" (46.3)

8.21111 To derived transient base

The direct passive occurs less with derived bases than the other passives. There are no direct passives to bases with derivative ka- (Sec. 9.3), pakig- (Sec. 9.6), paki- (Sec. 9.91) and hi- (Sec. 9.4) (except hiqu:sa).

qang qi:ya ng qasawa pud gipalakaw "He had even had his wife go away." V- palakaw "cause to go out" (46.5)

pahaw:qun kunu kita kay "He says we will be kicked off, Kay." V- pahaw:waq "cause to clear out" (50.6)

pangasawun ku qang qi:ya ng qanak "I will marry his daughter." V- pangasawa "take a wife" (10.4) (For bases with pag- of. Sec. 8.2115)

8.2112 "place to which V-

This meaning occurs with transients having a meaning of motion in a direction.
8.21121 To bases where local (Sec. 8.22) means "place on which" and direct means "place to which"

lakwun ta qang bana:waq "Let us walk to Banawa."

[Cf. lakwan ta qang bagqu ng da:lan "Let us walk on the new road." (local passive)]

8.21122 To bases where direct means "person V-ed to" whereas local has other meanings

labayun ta ka ru g batu "I will throw a rock at you."

V la:by "to throw"

labayi ra ku g buqu:ngun ning "Toss me a pomelo, Ning."

(local)

8.21123 Bases with same meaning for local and direct

katka:tan ta kani ng taqas nga ka:hay "Let us climb this tall tree."

V katkat "to climb" (katka:tan also has the meaning of Sec. 8.2113) Cf. Sec. 8.221111 for other examples.

8.21124 To bases which have no local

gili:ngiq ku qang baba:yi sa qa:ku ng luyu "I turned to the woman in back of me."

V li:ngiq "turn"

8.21125 To noun bases "person V- is aimed at"

[g/-/un/-a (→)]

qayaw ku g darlingdarli:nga dihaq bakyauqun t ikaw run "Don't you darling me! I will hit you with this wooden slipper now."

8.2113 Direct passive meaning {purpose for which }

This meaning occurs with transients having a meaning of motion in a direction. In this meaning the transient is not used in a transient phrase (Sec. 4.22).

qunsas ma y qi:mu ng qubanun "What are you going along for?"

qunsas y qi:mu ng qadlu:qun sir "What is the reason you are going, sir?"
8.2114 Direct passives to bases with causative meaning

without pa-

8.21141 Adjective bases

With adjective bases the transient has a causative meaning
"make something be V". (This differs from the meaning of pa-; cf. Sec. 9.11.)

qituma qang qim:mu ng sapa:tus "Make your shoes black." V qitum "black"

qug giga:yu gyud ni:ya qarun di:liq mali:wag "And he saw to it
that it could not be pushed aside." V qa:yu "good" (60.3)

(With derived adjective)

binughtu:ngun ni:ya pagbungkag qang qim:ya ng quma "He will open
up his farm alone." V bugtung "alone"

8.211411 To adjective bases with (→)

nga:mu ma ng qim:mu ng saki:tun si tasya nga waq man siya y
salaq ni:mu "Why do you make Tasya suffer when she has not done
anything to you?" V sakit "painful"

8.211412 To adjective bases with paN- "plural"

gipangasgad ni:la qang manga sudqa g timpla "They made the
side dishes salty in seasoning them." V qasgad "salty"

8.21142 Direct passives with qualifiers

are Words meaning time/used as bases of transients with infini-
tive complements parallel to the usage with adjectives (Sec.
8.21141 immediately preceding). (These words occur as qualifiers
Sec. 6.2125 or 6.221121.)

niqadtu sulusimana:hun ku g bisi:ta sa qa:ku ng qanak pиру karun
talagsa na lang "Formerly my son used to visit me every week,
bu now, just once in a while." V sulusima:na "every week"

tinagsaun ni na:ku g dala "I will take them one by one." V
tinagsa "one by one"

8.21143 Direct passives to qualifiers meaning

"caused to be done V"
diq na lagi mahi:muq na ng qu:ga:gun "That just cannot be put off until tomorrow." V qu:gaq "tomorrow"

8.21144 To qualifiers consisting of ka- plus unreal

(Sec. 6.221122) "thing to be done V times"

tatuluqa g hu:gas naq qu:saq qibuwad sa qadlaw "That is to be washed three times before it is to be dried in the sun." V katulu "three"

8.21145 Direct passives with numeral bases meaning

"cause to be V"

qupata na ng turta "Divide that omelette into four parts." V qupat "four"

8.2115 Direct passive to bases with pag- (9.921)(dead)

This direct passive occurs only with a few of the bases with pag-. The pag- has a zero alternant. (Cf. Sec. 9.921.)

8.21151 Meaning "person with whom V-ed"

kitasqun na:tuq si pidru "Let us meet with Pedro." V pagki:taq "meet"

qiga:way ku qang ba:taq "I quarrelled with the child." V pagqisa:way "quarrel"

8.21152 Meaning "thing people V-ed with one another"

qiliisun na:tuq qang pawntinpin "Let us exchange fountain pens." V pagqisi:lis "exchange"

8.21153 Meaning "people caused to V with each other"

ku:yu:gun na:tuq qang qa:tu ng manga ba:taq ngadtu simbahan "Let us have our children go to church together." V ku:yug "go together with"

8.2116 Direct passive to noun bases

8.21161 To nouns which occur with other transient affixes

This type of noun base is described in Sec. 9.10.1 ff.

(Cf. examples there.)

8.21162 "make into V"

kini ng panaptu:na maqa:yu ng karsunisun "This cloth is
good to make into pants." **karsu:nis "pants"

mutsatsu:ha lang ku basta diq lang ku kasti姑:hun "Make me into
a servant, just so long as I am not punished." **mutsatsu
"servant"

8.21163 "person to whom ** is said"

swayan lang mari ta:pus qaku ni:ya litsilitsi:ha nga wala y
sala ng nabo:hat kani:ya "We will just see, comadre, after I
was scolded when I did not even do anything wrong to her."
(Lit.: "I was said 'leche' to") ** litsi "a curse"

8.21164 "person who was called **"

qayaw na lang ku g mulumisti:ra dihaq ka:puy na naq kaqaiyu
tawga lang ku g piping "Do not call me 'Mr.' It will be much
easier just to call me Peping."

8.21165 Specialized meanings

qug makigda:ma ka na:kuq qa:ku ng babu:yun qang qi:mu ng
da:ma "If you play checkers with me, I will corner your king."
** ba:buy "pig"

qayaw g galingga qang pinusuq kay qa:kuq na ng binhi:gun "Do
not grind the big ears of corn because I will use that for seed."
** binhiq "seed"

8.211651 **/-un/-a (←) with noun bases in specialized
meaning

**qi:ruq lang ku ni:ya g hatagha:tag libru "He acted as if
he were going to give me the book." ** qiruq "dog"

8.2117 **/-un/-a with additional intentional meaning

With some bases the direct passive has an intentional
meaning as opposed to the potential.

tu:qud man gida:wat sa qinahan qang salapiq "And so the mother
accepted the money." ** da:wat {receive} {accept} (8.11)

(Cf. nada:wat ba ni:mu qang qa:ku ng swat "Did you get my
letter?")

8.212 **/-paga- -un/-a {iterative}

These forms are used only in fancy style except with a few
set expressions. They go with the same bases as the affixes
described in Sec. 8.211 above and its subsections above. These forms are also used without an iterative or durative (meaning of action continuing).

8.2121 Underived bases

human kasultichi kun qunsa y qi:la ng pagabuha:tun "After telling them what they were to do . . . ." V bu:hat "do" (606)

8.2121 pag- -un/-a (used with some bases)

This affix has the same meaning as paga- -un/-a.

maqu na y paggingmun nga wala y subu "That is what is usually called 'untried'." V qingun "tell, say to be"

8.2122 To derived bases

gina-/paga- -un/-a occurs with few derived bases. To express the meaning plural actors (usually expressed by the derivative prefix pani- Sec. 9.21) continuing action the derivative prefix panag- is used for the direct passive with most bases (Sec. 9.933). However, gina-/paga- -un occurs with some derived bases.

ginapamu:lut qang manga pulak nga lubi sa manga ba:taq "The fallen coconuts are being gathered by the children." V pu:lut "gather"

8.2123 paga- -un (→) "iterative action" (dead)

This affix is confined to high style speech and occurs only with a few bases.

qayaw la g kabala:ka quq tu:qa ka s hospital kay pagaqadtuqun ka na:kuq "Do not worry when you are in the hospital because I will always visit you." (Lit.: "always go to you") V qadtu "go to"

8.2131 To noun bases (productive)

8.213 Underived
8.21311  No shift

qang qabaka nga qi:la ng kanu:nay gitisuk ku:tub sa qi:la ng maqabut paghinluq gikalhuhi:ris sa diha ng nagdumalaga na "The abaca which they always planted as far as they had been able to clear was affected with abaca disease." V^- qalkuhi:ris "a disease which strikes abaca" (54.6)

8.21312  With shift (→)

si li:tu ginuka kay si:gi ng su:ruy sa kalibunan "Lito got infected with sores because he always goes around in the woods." V^- nu:ka "sore"

8.2132  Derived bases

gi/-un/-a occurs with a noun base which has a paN- prefix "plural" which occurs only with these prefixes. (Cf. Sec. 9.2171.)

gipaningut si qinting qug qingu g bawgbug human sa makalili:sang nga bugnuq sa kamata:yun "Inting sweated marbles after the dreadful struggle with death." V^- singut "sweat" (68.11)

8.2133  Specialized meaning

giduguq siyarung bagqu "She has recently menstruated." V^- duguq "blood"

8.2132  To adjective bases

8.21321  Underived

8.213211  No shift

qang manga nanghibilin sa manga kabalayan nga maqu y nanghi:pus bu:saq gika:puy qug tinu:qud nakamata "Those left in the houses, who were the ones who had been clearing the things away and therefore very tired, woke up." V^- ka:puy "tired" (20.1)

8.213212  With (→)

maqu ra g gidimalas si tibuy sa qi:ya ng pamu:lang "It looks as though Tiboy is having bad luck in his betting." V^- dima:las "bad luck"

8.2133  To transient bases (dead)

This type of passive requires a goal complement with qug or sa (Sec. 4.63).

wala y kukahadluk nga manungkab sa manga hayu:pan sa manga ta:wu
kanang bati:gun na sa kagu: tum maqadlaw kun magabi:qi "He had no fear at all to steal people's animals whenever he felt hungry day or night." V—— batiq "feel" (56.16)

8.214 na-/ma- direct passive

The potential meanings are "ability", "completion of action", and "accidental" (described in Sec. 8.13). The potentials occur with the direct passives in the meanings described in Sec. 8.211 and its subsections. However, for bases with the prefix pa- the direct passive has no potential.

 GPIQADTU na ba ni:mu si lutting sa ka lu:lu waq ra ba "Have you sent Loring to grandpa's yet?" 'No, I have not.'" V— paqadtu "cause to go"

In this case napaqadtu could not be used. However, napaqadtu is used for the instrumental passive (Sec. 8.23 ff.).

napadala na ba ni:mu qang sulat waq ra ba waq pa na:kuq

napadala "Have you sent the letter?" "No, I have not sent it yet."

However, the potential forms are not always used in colloquial speech in contexts which call for them, especially when there is something in the context to indicate the potential, accidental or perfective meaning. The ordinary (nonpotential) forms are used as well.

8.2141 Potentials in meaning "able to V—"

8.21411 To transient bases

diliq na kini maku:haq sa lu:haq "This cannot be gotten by tears." V—— ku:haq "get" (50.13)

8.21412 To adjective bases "can be made V—"

malimpyu ba ni:mu ni ng qa:ku ng tra:hi qarun maga:wiq ku sa bayli qunyaq sa duminggu "Can you clean my suit so that I can use it for the dance on Sunday?" V—— limpyu "clean"
8.2142 Potential in meaning "completed action"

8.21421 To transient bases

naki:taq ni:ya qang qi:ya ng hinului:gu ng kamunggay nga
naputul "She saw her cherished kalamunggay tree cut down."
\[\text{V} \quad \text{putul} \quad \text{"cut" (49.7)}\]

8.21422 To adjective bases

nahubug na ni:ya si husi sa pagginaqinum qug bir "He has already gotten Joe drunk drinking beer."
\[\text{V} \quad \text{hubug} \quad \text{"drunk"}\]

8.2143 Potentials in meaning "accidental action"

8.21431 To transient bases

maqa:yu ga:niq kay qang ka:huy nga handa:may maqu y nagiguq
kay dihaq man maduqul si qinting "Luckily, however, it was the
handalamay bush that was hit, for Inting happened to be near it."
\[\text{V} \quad \text{qiguq} \quad \text{"hit a mark" (56.8)}\]

qang manga si:ya:git nga mahu:g ku sa kagwang maqu kamnay qug masawud
sa qi:la ng dalunggan "The shouts of 'maho-oq ko' of the
flying lemurs is what filled their ears."
\[\text{V} \quad \text{sa:wd} \quad \text{"catch" (51.16)}\]

(to derived bases)

didtu mapa:naq na:kuq ni ng qisda:qa du:qul sa daku ng batu
"I happened to spear this fish near the big rock."
\[\text{(The \textit{pan} of the derived base is 'dropped'. [Cf. Sec. 9.244])} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{pama:naq} \quad \text{"spear fishing"}\]

8.21432 To adjective bases "has been made V—"

natamqis na:ku g timpla qang qi:mu ng kapi punqi lang na g
dyu:taq ng tu:big qug kapi "I happened to make your coffee sweet; just add a little water and coffee."
\[\text{V} \quad \text{tamqis} \quad \text{"sweet"}\]
nadugqul ba ni:mu pagtanum qang manga sa:ging "Did you happen
to plant the bananas near each other?"
\[\text{V} \quad \text{dugqul} \quad \text{"near (each other)"}\]

8.21433 To noun bases

nata:taq lagi ni:ya si husi sa gibugtaw na siya sa qiruq
"He called Joe daddy (when he should not have) when he was
chased by a dog."
\[\text{V} \quad \text{ta:taq} \quad \text{"dad"}\]

8.2144 na-/ma- to bases that do not have gi-/un-/a

(These are the same bases that do not occur with mi-/mu-
or nag-/mag- but occur with naka-/make- Sec. 8.135)
nakitaq ba ni:mu qang tawi:nu ng nagdala g bukag "Did you see the man bringing a basket?" V" kitaq "see"

8.2145 na-/ma- to derived bases

na-/ma- occurs freely to derived bases.

(To paN- [not in plural meaning] )

napaniqid ba ni:mu qang kahimu:qan sa qu:sa ng balay "Were you able to observe the goings-on in that house?" V" paniqid "observe"

8.21451 na-/ma- to bases with paN- plural (dead)

The potential passives occur with paN- in meaning "plural"

with only a small number of bases. They have shape nanga- / manga-.

(i.e., na- + paN-→nanga / ma- + paN-→manga-)

qang manga pati ng di:liq qayu:h:hu g tagad mangabi:hag sa qu:ba ng pati "Pigeons not well kept can be attracted by other pigeons." V" pani:hag "attract (win over between domestic animals and fowls)"

8.22 Local passives

The various local passives are the same affix with the exceptions of the meaning direct (Sec. 8.2211) and meaning "reason on account of which" (Sec. 8.2214), and a given local passive form may be translated in any of the various meanings depending upon the context.

gipalitan ku si mari:ya g ka:may "I bought sugar for Maria." (Sec. 8.2213)

qang tinda:han ni mari:ya maqu y qa:ku ng gipalitan sa ka:may "I bought the sugar in Maria's store." (Sec. 8.2212)

gipalitan ku qang ka:may ni mari:ya "I bought some of Maria's sugar." (Sec. 8.22124)

8.221 gi- -an/-an/-i

8.2211 Local passive "thing that was V-ed"
8.22111 To transients that have a direct passive

8.221111 With the same meaning

These are bases meaning "open" and "close".

She opened the window so that she could see the serenaders downstairs. "V" bukas "open"

There are also other bases of this type. (Cf. Sec. 8.21123.)

8.221112 With a different meaning

These are bases meaning "wipe, sweep" and the like. The direct passive means "the thing wiped off" whereas the local means "the thing wiped". This type is treated under Sec. 8.22122 below.

8.221113 Local passives with direct meaning to causative bases

These also have a direct passive with a direct meaning. For such bases the local passives have three meanings:

1) "action caused to become V~"

2) \[\text{\{thing\} caused to be V\~\text{-ed (by someone)}\]

3) "thing caused to become V~"

a. pahina:yi qang da:gan sa kaba:yuq "Cause the gait of the horse to become slow." V~ hi:nay "slow"

b. pahina:yi ni pidru qang makina "Have Pedro slow the machine down."

c. pahina:yi qang qi:mu ng kaba:yuq "Make your horse go slow."

For most of these bases the direct passive has the meaning number 1 and 3.

d. pahina:ya qang da:gan sa kaba:yuq (same meaning as a)

e. pahina:ya qang qi:mu ng kaba:yuq (same meaning as c)

The instrumental has the meaning 2.
f. gipahi:ney ni pidru qang makina (same meaning as h)

8.22112 To transients that have no direct passive

The local passive occurs in a direct meaning to most bases which have the meaning "do things to the body (kiss, wash, shave and the like)" and also to bases meaning "wash".

gihagkan ku qang ba:taq "I kissed the child." $\neg$ haluk "kiss"
mubqi piru qayaw g balha:isi "Make it short, but do not shave it." $\neg$ mubuq "make short"

ginusnu:san ku na naq piru di:liq mada: qang buling "I rubbed it, but the dirt would not come out." $\neg$ nusnus "rub hard"

Also many bases meaning "touch, take hold of, let go of" and the like have a local passive in the direct meaning.

kini ng buhu:ka gihawi:ran sa qamirika:nu "This hair was held by the American." $\neg$ ha:wid "hold" (42.1)

gihapsan da:yun ni:ya qang bukubuku "He immediately hit him on his back." $\neg$ hapus "strike" (56.2)

Also, bases with other meanings have local passives in a direct meaning.

8.22113 To stative bases

Many statives (described Sec. 9.3) occur with local passives meaning "thing on account of which one becomes $\neg$ ".

mikalit qug buthuq qang gikalisa:nga ng buqa:ya sa subaq sa marbil. "The dreaded crocodile suddenly appeared in the river at Marbel." $\neg$ kalissang "fear" (54.15)

walaq na y gita:hud nga ta:wu nga sarang ni:ya ng kahadlu:kan "There was no man he respected who was capable of inspiring him with fear." $\neg$ kahadluk "fear" (56.15)

With statives na- -an/ma- -an/-i may optionally replace

gika- -an and ka- -an/-i.

nagulqan (= gikagulqan)

nahadlu:kan (= gikahadlu:kan)

duqan qang qa:ku ng $\text{gikagulqan}$ $\text{nahulqan}$ "But what gets me down..."

$\neg$ kaguqul "be sad" (66.3)
8.22114 Direct meaning with (~>~)

qunyaq qa:ku ng gitubag nga gigaplayan man na:kuq "Then I replied that I really had applied." V qaplay "apply" (65.4)

8.22115 Local passives with hi- = zero having direct meaning

(These do not occur with direct passives.) Local passives with hi- often have direct meaning even for bases for which the direct meaning is expressed by the direct passive. When hi- = zero (Sec. 9.401), then it looks as though the local passive has an accidental meaning. However, the accidental meaning is because of the hi- = zero. hi- is described in Seg. 9.421 ff.

hikitqaq ni:ya qang qusa ka ka:huy ng may buhuq "He happened to see a tree with a hole."

naki:tag ni:ya qang qusa ka daku ng ka:huy nga may buhuq "He saw a large tree with a hole." V ki:taq "see" (4.4)

8.22116 Local passive direct meaning to noun bases (various meanings)

giyawi:han ni:ya qang kwartu gaha:pun s ha:pun "He looked the room yesterday afternoon." V ya:wi "key"

qang qa:ku ng pagtu:qu gikaluha:qa g pagduhadu:ha "My belief was linked with doubt." V kalu:ha "twin"

8.221162 Noun bases direct in specialized meaning

kasabaqan qang mirik:nu si ba:kir "The American Baker was cussed out." V kasab:baq "scold" (40.11)

8.22117 To qusa/duha "do with one (two) hands"

qi:mu ng duaha:an ka kamut paggaswat kanaq "You should lift that up with both hands." V duha "two"

8.2212 Local passive "place from, to, at which"

8.22121 To transient bases
taquiran nata:tu g bumbilya qang qi:mu ng kwartu "Let us install a bulb in your room." V taqqud "install, attach"

qang qila pa gayu ng gidugan gana qang qila ng paninga:mut kada:siq qug kakusi qinay mabugnaw "And they added to their strivings, enthusiasm and industry instead of losing interest." V d:gang "add" (54.1)

qang qila ya ng nawa:ung namugtuk kasabqu:ngan qug bukag "His face was sullen. A basket could be hung from it." V sabqung "hang" (48.2)

bu:saq gipamutlan ni minggu sa manga sanga "Therefore,ingo cut the branches off of it." V pamutul "cut (several things)" (60.12)

walaq siya kataktak:ki qug balhi:bu "Not a feather fell off him." V kataktak "fall off" (58.8)

8.22122 To transient bases translated by a direct in English

These are bases meaning "wipe, sweep" and the like. The local passive means "thing wiped" (i.e., place where the wiping is done) whereas the direct means "thing which is wiped off".

gisunud niya pagsablig qang qi:ya ng linantip da:yun gitrapu:han sa qi:ya ng wala ng komut "Next he splashed water on his bolo, then wiped it with his left hand." V tra:pu "wipe" (Lit: The bolo was the place he wiped.) (48.10)

gitrapu ni:ya qang tu:big sa sa:wug "She wiped up the water on the floor." (direct passive)

Similar bases meaning "to ride" and the like are translated by a direct in English, but have a local in Cebuano.

gikabayuq ni:ya qang qa:ku ng ka:ba:aw "He rode my carabao." V kabayuq "ride on the back"

8.22123 To noun bases in meaning "place"

gibanigan ni:ya g ti:kug qang katri "He spread a straw mat on the bed." V banig "mat"

8.22124 The meaning "place to" which is extended to mean "thing part of which"
"Someone has taken a bite out of my cake." (Lit.: "eaten a small part from")

"The cheese was nibbled at by the mouse last night because it was not put in the cupboard."

**8.22125 Local passive with transients meaning "motion"**

With transients meaning motion for which the direct passive means "place V-ed to" (Sec. 8.21121) the local passive means "place V-ed on".

"Pepe walked on the new cement."

"The cheese was nibbled at by the mouse last night because it was not put in the cupboard."

**8.22126 Local passive meaning "place" with specialized meaning**

"The late Magsaysay stood for currency control."

"Their children were just curled on the floor, poor things, without even having had a mat spread for them."

**8.2213 Local passive "person for whom"**

"For I was given an enchanted purse."

"Their children were just curled on the floor, poor things, without even having had a mat spread for them."

**8.22131 Local passive with bases meaning "speak", etc.**
With most bases meaning "speak" and the like and bases meaning "teach" the local means "person spoken to, taught". (The instrumental means "thing said, taught")

qug gisaysayan ku qang hi:pi kay sa nahitabuq qug sa gibu:hat ni mistir qalug "And I told the chief, Kay, about what had happened and what Mr. Alog had done." V—saysay "relate" (64.11)

8.22132 Local passive meaning "person to whom" with (→)

qug qa:ku ng giprangkahan qang hi:pi nga diliq qaku mupah:waq bi:sa qunsa y mihatatuq "And I told the chief frankly that I would not clear out, no matter what happens." V—prangka "frank" (65.12)

qug qasku ng giprangkahan qang hi:pi nga diliq qaku mupah:waq bi:sa qunsa y mihatatuq "And I told the chief frankly that I would not clear out, no matter what happens." V—prangka "frank" (65.12)

8.2214 Local passive "reason for or on account of which"

8.22141 (→)

qunsa ma y gihilakan sa ba:taq "What is the child crying for?" V—hi:lok "cry"

8.22142 To adjective bases

waq man kahaq ka y gidalig an manginum saq ta g bir "If you are not in a hurry, let us drink beer." V—daliq "hurry" (Lit."If you have nothing on account of which to hurry")

8.2215 To adjective bases

banha:gan ka ba s manga ba:ta ng nagdu:laq "Will you be disturbed by the children playing?" V—banhaq "noisy"

walaq qusab patimqaw hangtud nga gipulqan na qang manga sulugu:qun sa bala:qud "He also did not show up until the servants of the law were fed up." V—puqul "boring" (57.4)

8.22152 To transient bases

qang qi:ya ng bain daw nalisan:gan sa buqut "Her husband seemed to have lost his senses." (Lit."affected by a turning of his will") V—li:suq "turn" (49.7)

di:liq ku gustu siya ng pakalitan "I do not wish to take her unawares." V—pekaliit "take unawares"
8.2215 Local meaning "{person} affected" causative
to transient bases compared with direct and instrumental passives

With this type the local meaning is "person who was affected by the action of causing someone to V". The direct passive means "person who was caused to V". The instrumental passive means "person who was caused to be V-ed" (i.e., nearly the same as the local passive).

\[\text{gipasugu:qan} \text{ ku si mari:ya ng paqanhi:qun siya} \quad \text{"I had word sent to Maria that she should come here." (Lit.: "caused Maria to be affected by my command").} \quad V^{-} \text{su:guq} \quad \text{"command"} \]
\[\text{di:liq gyd na:kuq siya pasugu:qun sa mutsatsa} \quad \text{"I will not let him command the servant."} \]

With the causative prefix this meaning is expressed by the instrumental passive with a large number of bases. (Cf. Sec. 8.2311221.)

\[\text{diq ku gipasui:guq si mari:ya sa mutsatsa} \quad \text{"I will not let Maria be commanded by the servant."} \]

8.2216  \(g^{-}\)-an/-an/-i "one who considers \{a person\}

(to adjective base):

\[\text{gigwanu:han} \text{ siya ng pulding} \quad \text{"He considers Polding handsome."} \quad V^{-} \text{gwa:pu} \quad \text{"handsome"} \]

(to noun base)

\[\text{mi:kiqi:kq si ti:ti:q qusting gibata:qan ka quruy sa qanak mu purusa} \quad \text{"Uncle Osting snickered. You consider your boy a child, Porosa."} \quad V^{-} \text{bartaq} \quad \text{"child"} \]

8.2217 Local passives to noun bases which occur with other inflectional affixes

This type of noun base is described in Sec. 9.10 ff. The meanings vary according to types: "place of V" and "person
for whom" depending on the type. (Cf. discussion and examples in Sec. 9.10 ff.)

8.222  gina- -an/paga- -an/-i "[iterative continuing] action"

maqa:yu nga:niq kay sa ka:da ti:baw ni:ya pagadadqan ni:ya qug pinusu ng maqis qang ba:buy "Luckily, however, every time he went there he brought large ears of corn to the pig." V dala "bring" (62.2)

qang nahitabuq nagqabirlin nga ginasulti:han sa manga ta:wu "The incident has remained a topic of conversation for the people." V sulti "speak" (23.11)

8.2221  paga- -an (→) "habitual place"

qang da:qa ng pugaran maqu y pagaqitlugan sa himungai:qa ng qugis "The old nest is where the white hen usually lays her eggs." V qitlug "lay eggs"

8.223 Potential local passives na- -an/\{ma-\} -an/\{ma-\} -i

Note that the potentials are not always used in colloquial speech in contexts which would call for them. (Cf. Sec. 8.13.)

Potentials occur with all the meanings of the local passives.

8.2231 Potential local "able to, can V"

qang qi:ya ng na:wung namugtuk kasabqu:ngan qug bukag "His face was sullen. A basket could be hung from it." V sabqung "hang" (48.2)

kalimpyu:han ba ni:mu ni ng qa:ku ng karsu:nis "Can you clean my pants?" V limpyu "clean"

qarun qi:la ng kasahu:lan sa pagta:bang "So that they could hire (them) to help." V su:thul "hire" (59.16)

8.2232 Potential local "completed action"

qang qi:la ng manga qanak naglu:kuq lang qinta:wun sa sa:wug nga walaq ga:niq kabanigi "Their children were just curled on the floor, poor things, without even having had a mat spread for them." V banig "mat" (62.12)

nalimpyu:han na:kuq qang salug sa may qalas qunsi "I had already cleaned the floor by about eleven o'clock." V limpyu "clean"
human kasulti:hi kun qunsə y qi:la ng pagabuha:tun "After they had been told what they were to do ..." V sultı "say" (60.6)

8.2233 Potential local "accidental action"

naqatul nga qang bus nga qi:ya ng gisakyan maqu sa y qa:ku ng nasakyan "It happened that the bus he was riding in was the one I happened to be riding." V sakay "ride"

8.2234 nahi/-ha/-an/ mahi/-ha/-an/-i = na-/-an/ma/-an/-i

In the meaning "accidental action" the potential local with a base has a zero alternant of hi- (Sec. 9.401). This is the interpretation if there is no ka- -an/-i for the unreal. For most of these bases there is (→) as well.

manga sagbut nangaha:pɨq kənango maligiran sa qi:ya ng naglimbaglimbag nga la:was "Grass was flattened when it was rolled upon by his body tossing about in pain." V li:gid "roll over" (67.4)

8.2235 Potential locals to derived bases

The potential local occurs freely with derived bases as does the local passive.

8.22351 To bases with pag-

To bases with a prefix pag- (Sec. 9.92) the potential local has the form gika- -an, ka- -an (with a zero alternant of pag-).

gikasabu:tan "thing happened to be agreed to"(with zero alternant of pag- and ka- potential).

kay nagdaliq sila dyis qi:la ng gikasabu:tan" "Because they were in a hurry, they happened to agree to ten." V sa:but "agree"

The potential local is homonymous with the local having ka-

alternant of the prefix pag-.

Gikasabu:tan "thing agreed to" (with ka- alternant of pag-)

diq ba dyis qang qa:tu ng gikasabu:tan gani:ha "Did we not agree to ten cents at first?"

8.22352 To bases with paN- "plural" (dead)
Passive potentials occur with very few bases with $\text{paN}^{-}$ meaning "plural". (Cf. Sec. 8.21451.) $\text{na}^{-} + \text{paN}^{-} = \text{nanga}{-}\$

\text{ma}^{-} + \text{paN}^{-} = \text{manga}{-}\$

$\text{qang qi:mu ng dyip nangawadga g twirka} "\text{Your jeep has lost some screws.}"

8.2236 $\text{gika}{-}\text{an}$

This affix is used with some bases in colloquial style by the older generation.

$\text{gikahata:gan ku na siya g tulu ka pi:sus qunyaq manga:yuq pa gihapun} "\text{I have given him three pesos already. Still he has to ask for more.}"

$\text{gikalutu:gan ku siya g ba:rir kik kay walaq man ku y sankis} "\text{I cooked butter cake for him because I did not have any oranges.}"

Cf. $\text{na}^{-}\text{an}$ for $\text{gika}{-}\text{an}$ with stative bases Sec. 8.22113.

8.23 Instrumental-ablative passive

The various meanings of the instrumental-ablative passive are different affixes, and bases occurring with the instrumental in one of the meanings may or may not occur in the other meanings.

8.231 Shapes $\text{gi}{-}\text{qi}{-}$

8.2311 $\text{gi}{-}\text{qi}{-}$ ablative (direct) meaning

The instrumental forms with an ablative meaning mean "thing $\text{V}^{-}$ed in a direction away from agent". With bases meaning "give, reply, return, throw, put" and the like, the instrumental means "thing given, replied, returned, thrown, put", etc.

8.23111 Bases with no direct passive

$\text{buynu kay gisagad ku man matu:man qang qi:mu ng gipanga:yuq} "\text{All right, since I promised, what you are asking for will be granted.}"

$\text{V}^{-}\text{sa:qad} "\text{promise}" (17.4)$

*We refer to this as the "instrumental passive" but the meaning "ablative" is as important.*
walaq na ma y lunaq nga yu:taq nga qipangha:tag sa kagamha:nan  
"There was no more land to be given away by the government." V-  
pangha:tag "give (several things)" (52.2)

8.23112 Bases having ablative meaning in the instrumental  
and direct meaning in the direct passive

8.231121 Instrumental and direct passive with nearly the  
same meaning

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[qigandam]} & \quad \text{ku ni ng sulat pa:ra ng piping } "I \text{ will prepare} \\
\text{[ganda:mun]} & \quad \text{this letter for Peping.} \quad V^- \text{andam } "\text{prepare"}
\end{align*}
\]

8.231122 Instrumental which has an ablative meaning  
different from the direct passive

In such cases the meaning of the instrumental is similar  
to one of the meanings listed in Sec. 8.2311.

qisu:guq "thing to be commanded"

sugu:qun "person to be commanded"

\[
\begin{align*}
ni:mu & \quad \text{di:liq ni:ya buha:tuq } \\
\text{ins. passive} & \quad \text{qang gisu:guq } "\text{He could not be commanded. If you told him} \\
\text{to do something he would not do what he was told to."} \quad V^- \\
su:guq & \quad "\text{command" (1.11)"
}\end{align*}
\]

qisa:guul "thing to be mixed in with something else"

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{qayaw g qisa:guul} & \quad \text{qang bulingun sa manga qinutaw } "\text{Do not mix} \\
\text{the dirty things in with the ironed things."}
\end{align*}
\]

sagu:ilun "things to be mixed together"

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{qang pasa:yan qug karni sagu:ilun} & \quad \text{paglu:tuq } "\text{The shrimp and the} \\
\text{meat are to be cooked together."}
\end{align*}
\]

8.2311221 With bases having pa- "causative" prefix

With bases with a causative prefix the instrumental means  
the "[person] affected by the action" and the direct means  
the "[thing]"

the "[person] caused to do the action".
qipaka:qun "thing caused to be eaten"

ti:qaw mu ba y mangi:taq qug dagha ng qipaka:qun qa:lang sa qi:la ng qanak nga dakuq qug ka:qun "Imagine looking for so much to feed their child who had a huge appetite." V– paka:qun "cause to eat" (26.9)

pakanqun "person caused to eat"

pakanqun ku si karangkal "I will feed Karangkal."

gipapangasa:wa "person caused to be taken as wife"

labut pa niqa:naq gipapangasa:wa qang qi:ya ng qanak nga prinsi:sa "Aside from that, his daughter, the princess will be given away in marriage." V– pangasa:wa "take a wife" (33.7)

papangasawqun "person caused to take a wife"

diq ku siya papangasawqun ni tasya miqingun qang qamahan "I will not let him marry Tasia," said the father.

8.231123 Instrumental with causative and direct with noncausative meaning

(Cf. Sec. 8.23113)

qapan kadtu ng kanyun qari pud qisulud sa baqbaq qang pulbura "But those cannons, they were loaded here at the mouth." (Lit: "The powder was put in here at the mouth.") V– sulud "enter"

suldun ku qang la:ngub "I will enter the cave." (direct passive)

8.231124 Instrumental passive with ablative meaning to bases meaning "naming, calling, etc."

To bases meaning "naming, calling," etc., the instrumental has the meaning "thing someone is called".

qambir kun qunsa y qi:la ng gitawag kana:kuq tutal waq man sab ku makagustu kani:la "Let us see what they call me. Anyway, I do not like them either."

(For these bases the direct passives have the meaning "[person] [thing]

V––ed".

gitawag kini qug kampu "It was called 'Campo'." V– tawag "call" (51.8)
8.23113 gi-/qi- with additional causative meaning

With some bases the instrumental passives also have a causative meaning as well as the ablative meaning "{thing} caused to V". This causative meaning is parallel to the causative meaning of the adjective bases used as transients and different from the causative meanings of pa- (Sec. 9.11) in that it does not have the meaning "allow". (Cf. Sec. 8.231123 for further examples.)

"imagine he had never before been taken along by his father to the forest to fell trees." V ku:yug "go together with someone" (27.13)

"Tasio will have Maria live with him." V pagpu:yug "live together as man and wife" (gipu:yug has a zero alternant of pag-. Cf. Sec. 9.921.)

"Do not keep waving the flag." (Lit.: "cause the flag to be waved")

(to bases with derivative affixes)

"I will use my last two pesos to buy something to read." V palit "buy"

"Her thoughtfulness makes me happy." V kali:pay "be happy"

8.23112 To transient bases

8.2312 gi-/meaning "thing used as"

8.23121 To transient bases

8.23122 Instrumental passive to stative bases meaning

"thing which causes subject to be V... (thing used by agent to V...)"

"Her thoughtfulness makes me happy." V kali:pay "be happy"
8.23123 To noun bases

8.231231 To nouns which occur with a number of inflectional affixes

This type of noun base is described in Sec. 9.10 ff. The meanings vary according to the type. (Cf. the examples in Sec. 9.10 ff.)

8.231232 gi-/qi- to other nouns (miscellaneous meanings)

gipaypay ni:ya qang qi:ya ng gisiqu ng ka:lu ng buli "He fanned himself with his torn hat made of buri palm." V paypay "fan" (68.12)

8.23124 Instrumental meaning "wear as"

karun qi:ya na ng gitakin qang qi:ya ng linantip "Now he wore his bolo in his belt." V takin "wear on the waist" (62.8)

This meaning is common with nouns used as transients. (Cf. Sec. 9.10 ff.)

8.2313 gi-/qi- "person for whom"

This meaning of the instrumental passive with many bases is confined to the imperative, and as imperative it is used with a large number of bases.

qipunit ku qa:na ng papil nga nahu:lug "Pick up that piece of paper that fell for me."

For transients used this way the instrument can also be used with a pronoun agent qualified by walaq.

waq ni:ya qipunit si pidru sa papil "He did not pick the paper up for Pedro."

The meaning "person for whom" is used with a few bases with the instrumental passive in other than the above two usages (i.e., with other than imperative and not qualified by walaq).

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
dead body of his beloved child that he would avenge it." V—
panimalus "avenge" (58.14)

8.23131 To adjective bases

giha:yaq ku sa sugaq kay di:liq ku kabasa diri "Make the
lamp bright for me because I cannot read here." V— ha:yaq
"bright"

8.2314 gi- "time to (time one may ) V—"

The meaning "time to" with gi- occurs with most transient
bases.

ha:pun qa:ku ng gi:ki:kan kay di:liq qi:niit "I will start in the
afternoon because it will not be hot." V— gi:kan "leave for"
This use is confined to the unreal. This usage of the instru-
mental passive is particularly common in maqu type sentences
(Seo. 3.54) meaning "the time one V—'s".

qinigqabut na:kuq maqu pa y qi:mu ng qilutug sa qitlug kay diq
man ku layhan mukaqu g bugnaw "You should not cook the eggs
before I come home, for I do not feel like eating them cold."  
V— lu:tuq "cook"

(to derived bases)

maqu pa y qipangitlug sa himungqa g matingqinit "The hen will
not lay eggs until summer." V— pangitlug "lay eggs"

maqu pa y qa:ku ng qikatu:lug sa qalas duisi "I will not go
to sleep before twelve." V— katu:lug "sleep"

maqu pa y qi:mu ng qikaminyuq quq maminyuq na qang qi:mu ng
magulang "You cannot get married before your older sister has."  
V— kaminyuq "get married"

8.23141 gig- (= gi-)

With a few bases in this type of instrumental passive, gig-
is used with the same meaning as gi-. (gi- may also be used with
these bases.) The bases which occur with gig- are those of Seo.
8.2315 and some others as well.

qinighimungtud ni:ya sa tagaytay maqu pa y qi:ya ng giguabut
sa ka lu:lu ni:ya "He would not reach his grandfather's place
until he had climbed the ridge." V qabut "reach"

8.23142 Extension of this usage

This usage is extended to contexts where the meaning "time to" is not present and is translated into English by the infinitive.

la:qay qunta ng qigadtu sa ka lu:lu ni:ya sanglit musaka pa man siya qigadtu ng bakilid qug qiniqhimguntud ni:ya sa tagaytay maqu pa y qi:ya ng qigqabut sa ka lu:lu ni:ya "It was tiresome to go to his grandfather's because he still had to go up the slope and he would not reach his grandfather's place until he had reached the crest of the ridge."

8.23143 Instrumental meaning "action done while agent is in a certain emotional state"

qiluqum ku na lang qang qa:ku ng manga kaguqul "I will just choke back my sorrows." V luqum "choke on air (as when crying)"

gihi:lak na lang na:kuq qang qa:ku ng kahiqubus "I wept out my hurt feelings."

8.2315 qig-/qi- in meaning "thing V-ed with" (dead)

With these qig- or qi- is used with the same meaning.*

qi:mu ng qigki:taq ba ru ng ha:pun si guryu sa parki "Will you and Gorio meet in the park this afternoon?" V ki:taq "see"

walaq na qigdungug qang ba:na ng karya sukad niqadtu ng daku ng bagyu "Karya's husband was not heard from since that big typhoon." V dungug "hear"

8.232 gina-/giga- {iterative} instrumental

These are forms confined to set expressions.

maqu na y qi:la ng qigaba:lus sa qa:tu ng kaq:yu kani:la "That is how they repay our kindness to them." (Lit.:"things which they return") V ba:lus "return"

*The meaning is the same as the passive qi- and pag- "V each other" (Sec. 9.921) and occurs to bases which also occur with pag-. 
In very high style they are used with a large number of bases.

hinu:qun nahibalu gaku nga bisan karun qang tanan nga qi:mu ng pangayu:qun sa dyus kini qigahagi:tag kani:mu sa dyus "But I know that even now, whatever you ask of God, God will give you." V- hagi:tag "give"

8.2321 giga- (dead)

giga- is also used with bases of the type Sec. 8.2315.

sa pagpakabasa ni:ya niqadtu ng sula:ta nanganduy da:yun nga muqabut qang kagabhi:qun qarun qigakiti:taq ni:ya qang kapi:kas sa qi:ya ng kalag "After reading that letter, she longed for the evening to arrive, so that she might meet with the other half of her soul." V- ki:taq "meet"

8.233 Instrumental potential na/-ma- or gika/-gika-

The two instrumental potential affixes are used with most bases. With bases having a causative meaning the na/-ma- affix is rarely used in the instrumental meaning. gika/-gika- is preferred.

walaq ku siya gikaquban sa qa:muq kay walaq man musugut qang qi:ya ng ginika:nan "I was not able to take him along to our place because his parents did not agree to it." V- quban "go along" (naquban would not be used in this context)

gika/-gika- is usually used for a potential instrumental passive following y; na/-ma- is not used after y.

qunsa ma y qi:mu ng gikasulti niqa:naq "What can you say to that." V- sulti "speak" (masulti would not be used here.) (63.14)

The potential occurs with the instrumental passive in the ablative meaning (Sec. 8.2311), instrumental meaning (Sec. 8.2312) and temporal meanings (Sec. 8.2314). The potential does not occur in the meaning "person for whom" (Sec. 8.2313). Note that the potential is not always used in contexts which would call for it in colloquial speech. (Cf. Sec. 8.13.)

8.2331 na/-ma- or gika/-gika- "able to"
8.23311 To transient bases

kun di:liq ni:ya{maha:tag} kana ng napu:luq ka kurma:ta
qi:kaha:tag nga bula:wan sulud sa baynti kwatru ka quiras punggu:tan ku siya
sa li:qug "If he cannot give those ten cartloads of gold within
twenty-four hours, I will cut off his head." V− ha:tag "give"
(13.5).

8.23312 To adjective bases

di:liq kanaq qikalimpyu s salug kay mabaq naq "That cannot
be used in cleaning the floor because it is too short." V−
limpyu "clean"

8.23313 To noun bases

{masapa:lus} na ba ni ng qa:ku ng bagqu run "Can I wear
{qikasapa:lus} my new pair of shoes now?" V− sapa:lus "shoes"

8.2332 na-/ma- or gika-/gika- "completed action"

didtu{mabi:tay} sa qi:la ng qamahan qang qi:la ng pu:sud
{qikabi:tay} sa sagunting sa qi:la ng payag. "Their father had hung their
umbilical cords from the rafters of their huts." V− bi:tay
"hang" (51.2)

human na ni:ya{mapanumpaq} sa ha:yaq sa qi:ya ng pinangga
{qikepanumpaq} ng qanak "He had already sworn over the body of his beloved
child." V− panumpaq "vow" (58.14)

8.2333 na-/ma- or gika-/gika- accidental meaning

maqu na ng libru:ha nga qa:ku ng{naha:tag} ni:ya "That is
{gikaha:tag} the book I happened to give him." V− ha:tag "give"

qang qi:mu ng pu:wid sa laytir{nalimpyu} na:kuq sa
{gikalimpyu} makinilya "I happened to use your lighter fluid in cleaning the
typewriter." V− limpyu "clean"

8.2334 Instrumental potentials to derivatives

na-/ma- or gika-/gika- occurs with bases having derivative
prefixes except statives (Sec. 9.3), those ha-/hi-/hing- (Sec.
9.4), those with pakig- (Sec. 9.7) and paka- (Sec. 9.74).
gikasultiga:nay na:kuq si husi didtu sa qiskuylahan "Jose and I happened to speak to each other at school." V sulti "talk to"

(to base with pa-)

sigi gikapakai:gun na naq sa qirus ba:ha:wa na bi:ta:w naq "Go ahead. That can be fed to the dogs; it is not fresh anyway." V pakai:gun"feed"

(to base with hin-)

dyu:ta:y ra ku g gikinahanglan duha ka butilya ng kukaku:la qij:guq na gikahingu:ha:w "I just need a little. Two bottles of coke are enough as a thirst quencher." V quhaw "thirst for"

(to base with pag-)

In the case of derivative bases with pag- (Sec. 9.921), the pag- usually has an alternant ka- so that the instrumental potential is the same in form as the pom potential instrumental.

gikahinagbuq ku siya sa qiski:na "I met him at the corner." V paghinagbuq "meet with some" (This has the same meaning as gihinagbuq)

8.23341 Instrumental potential to bases with paN- "plural"

With instrumental potential the paN- "plural" affix is more productive than with the local and direct passive. (Cf. Secs. 8.21451 and 8.22352.)

diq pa gikapangha:tag ni ng qa:ku ng manga libru kay qa:kuq pa ng maga:wic sa qsa:ku ng pagqiskuyla "I cannot give these books of mine away yet because I can still use them in my studies." V ha:tag "give"

8.234 Potentials to instrumentals of type Sec. 8.2315

maqu ra y gikaki:taq sa qasa:wa g ba:na sa panahun nga muqabut qang daku ng pangi:lin sa tibuquk lungsud "The only time the husband and the wife can see each other is at the time the fiesta of the whole town arrives." V ki:taq "see"

8.235 gikag- (= gika-) (dead)

This usage is very high style. The meanings are the same as for gika-.

qang qi:ya ng kagwa:pa qikagta:ndiq sa kagwa:pa sa manga ha:ra
"Her beauty can be compared to the beauty of the queens." tandiq "compare"

diliq sikegga:suy qang qi:ya ng kaqa:gi "His experiences cannot be told." qa:suy "tell"

8.3 Abstracts

Abstracts are composed of pag- plus base or of the base alone. The two have the same meaning. The abstract is used in the constructions described in Secs. 3.541, 4.68, 6.2122.

The base alone, however, is used only in the infinitive construction (Sec. 4.68) and as a qualifier under the conditions described in Sec. 6.2122. Otherwise the pag- abstract is used.

8.301 qinig/-gig- for pag-

When used as a qualifier (Sec. 6.2122) the abstract also may be prefixed by qinig/-gig- instead of pag- meaning "at the moment of". qinig/-gig- occurs with the same bases as pag- except hi-.
qinig/-gig- does not occur with hi- (Sec. 9.4151).

8.31 To undervied bases

qinigqabut nila sa bukid qang qamahan misugd dasyn
{qag pi:lay} qug manga ka:huy "When they arrived at the mountains, pagpi:lay
the father began cutting trees down right away." pi:lay
"fell" (2.11)

8.311 Meanings of abstracts corresponding to the various meanings of mi/-mu-, nag/-mag-

The abstract is neutral with respect to the various meanings which contrast mi/-mu- and nag/-mag- with each other: intentional, durative, action coming into being, habitual action.

For the various other meanings of mi/-mu-, nag/-mag- the abstracts have corresponding meanings.

misugd siya pagdakuq qug qang qi:ya ng pagka:gun midakuq qusab
"He began to grow big, and the amount he ate increased as well." midakuq "became big" (Cf. Sec. 8.1132)
He began to get dressed and then at once went to the show. "naggiliq" "dressed" (Cf. Sec. 8.123)

"Lito is only good if he is given candy." magbinugutan "is good" (Cf. Sec. 8.122)

"The first time he wore shoes was when he started going to school." naglapa:taus "is wearing shoes" naggiskuyla "went to school" (Cf. Sec. 9.10.11.)

8. 312 pag- meaning "V~ each other"

This pag- is considered a derivational affix (Sec. 9.921).

8.32 Abstracts to derived bases

Abstracts occur freely with all bases formed from transients derived or not.

8.321 Derived transient bases other than with ka-

If the base has a derivative pag- (Sec. 9.92), the derivative pag- prefix has a zero alternant after qug or pag-.

"They began to fight with one another." (There is no*[pagpagqa:way] or*[qug pagqa:way])

However, if there is an -an- infix (Sec. 9.93), the pag- derivative does not have a zero alternant.

"The two started to fight after one was caught stealing a chicken." V~ qa:way "fight"

(with other derivatives)

"Has he not cheated us enough yet?" V~ pani:kas "cheat (several actions)" (50.10)
"At eight o'clock she started feeding the child." \(\text{pakawqun, feed}\)

"The moment she knew whom she was facing, she at once stopped her talking." \(\text{parkilusli, talk with}\)

"He started to ask for pity when his father arrived at their house." \(\text{pakiluqy, ask for pity}\)

8.33 Abstracts to bases with ka-

misamut si qanduy, human mawa:laq, ka:baw, "Andoy got more and more angry after his carabao disappeared." \(\text{sukuq, be angry}\)

8.331 Abstracts to bases with panga- (\(\text{paN- + ka-}\))

pangahuslug, "Tasyo was under the tree just as the coconuts fell." \(\text{kahulug, fall}\)

8.332 To bases which have hi- instead of ka-

With some stative bases the abstract has paghi- instead of pakka- \(\text{paghiliakaw, go away}\). These are most of the bases which have ha-/hi- (Sec. 9.412). (The ha-/hi- meaning agent doing involuntary action 9.41111 or with passive na-/ma- does not have paghi-)

The paghi- form in some contexts has an explicit accidental meaning.

qusa na ka bu:lan sukad sa qairlakaw, ni tankridu, "It has been a month since Tancredo left." \(\text{lakaw, go away}\)

Note however, that pakka- is used with these bases in constructions described in Sec. 3.7.
8.333 Abstracts to statives with noun bases

The stative with noun bases means "become V". (Cf. Sec. 9.331.) However, the pagka- abstract is also extended to mean "being V" and is more widely used than the other forms of the stative.

The story about the time I was chief is the one about that American Baker from Boljo-on." V~ hi:pi "chief" (37.1) (Cf. other examples Sec. 10.9222.)

8.34 pagka- to nonstatives (potential abstracts)

Bases which occur with potential affixes (active or passive) take a prefix pagka-.

"Upon seeing that there were many Japanese already there, he went home." V~ ki:taq "see"

8.341 pag- for pagka-

With some bases in some constructions, pag- V~ is used in the same meanings as pagka- V~.

"Upon learning that he was to be killed, he went home." V~ hibalu "know" (45.7)

8.342 pagpaka- for pagka-

An abstract pagpaka- formed to the potential paka- (Sec. ff.) has the same meaning as pagka-.

"Simon, having heard all that was said by Celso, sighed a deep sigh and said." (pagkabatiq could also be used here.) V~ ba:tiq "hear"

8.343 Other meanings of pagka- to transient base

pagka- is used freely with all bases. They occur in the construction described in Sec. 3.7.
maqa:yu ng pagkemusmus "He got a good dunking." V~ musmus 
"push face into" (42.6)

8.35 pagkA- to bases with paN-
pagka- is used to bases with paN- in the construction of Sec.

3.7.

maqa:yu ng pagkapamutu:la ninyu g ka:huy daq kay walaq dinhaq 
gang magbalantay "Good job, cutting the wood! For the watch-
man was not around." V~ pumutul"cut"

(Otherwise pagpanga- is used; i.e. pag- to stative bases with 
paN-. Cf. Sec. 8.331.)

8.36 Voice of abstracts

Abstracts are not active or passive, and the element following 
the abstract may be the agent or the goal.

maqa:yu ng pagkaluituq ni mari:ya "Maria's cooking is good."
maqa:yu ng pagkaluituq sa sa:ging "The banana was well cooked."

V lu:tuq "cook"

The goal of the action of the construction de-
scribed in 3.7 may be preceded by gang or sa whereas the agent 
is only preceded by sa. (Cf. Sec. 3.7.)

maqa:yu ng pagkaluituq qang sa:ging "The banana was well cooked."

8.4 Imperatives

8.4.1 Active imperatives

The active imperatives have the same form as the abstracts 
(Sec. 8.3). There are no potential imperatives.

8.4.11 Imperative with pag-

For some bases occurring with nag-/mag- (→) pag- also has 
(→) when with imperatives.

pagkaqun na pilang  гарун mangutaw huma g pangahu:gas manga plaitu 
"Come on and eat, Pilang, so that you can iron after washing the 
dishes." V~ ka:qun "eat"
pagsalit ngadu g maka:qun "Buy something to eat over there."
V palit "buy" (7.14)

hwan hala paggilis sa qismu ng purul "John, go on, change into your short pants."
V qilis "change" (2.5)

8.412 Imperative without pag-

The imperative without pag- has the same meaning as the imperative with pag-. However, the form without pag- is used when the command is forceful.

hala suiyup na ng sabaw "Go on. Drink that soup."
V suiyup "suck in" (42.5)

8.413 Imperative with derived bases

Active imperatives occur freely with derivative bases except those with hi- or hin-.

nomaitiq kamu "Hear ye!"
V pama:tiq "hear" (45.3)

katuling dihaq "Go to sleep."
V katuling "sleep"

qayaw g pakigqa:way sa qismu ng manga kaqu:ban "Do not fight with your companions."
V pakigqa:way "fight with"

qayaw g pakilimus "Do not beg."
V pakilimus "ask for alms"

qayaw g qa:way mu dihaq "Do not quarrel."
V pagqa:way "quarrel"

8.42 Passive imperative

8.421 Without pag-

The passive imperative without pag- has the same form as the subjunctive.

8.4211 Direct passive

hwan qayaw qinta:wun qaku g putla "John, please do not cut me."
V putul "cut" (5.5)

8.4212 Local

qug sugilinli ng hari:riq nga pangasawqun ku qang qi:ya ng qanak "And tell the king that I will marry his daughter."
V sugilun "tell" (10.3)
8.4213 Instrumental

qiku:qut kana ng qi:mu ng kamut kay qaduna ku y qihu:tag kani:mu "Reach your hand in because I have something to give you." V ku:qut "reach hand into" (5.11)

8.422 With pag-

With passives pag- with imperative occurs only with qa:yaw "do not". This usage is fancy style, but otherwise the meaning is the same as without pag-. (pag- does not occur before pa:ga-)

8.4221 Direct

qa:yaw le:mang qaku pagputla "Just do not cut me." V putul "cut" (5.12)

8.4222 Local

qa:yaw pagsultishi si numir nga dinhi s luqis gaha:pun "Do not tell Nomer that Louis was here yesterday." V sulti "tell"

8.4223 Instrumental

bi:sa g qunsa y mahitabuq qa:yaw pagqi:ha:tag kang bi:san kinsa kini ng libru:ha "Whatever happens do not give this book to anybody." V ha:tag "give"

8.423 Imperative passives to derived bases

pasakga na na ng manga bi:si:ta luling "Let the guests come up, Loling." V saka "come up"

qa:yaw g pakuha:qi ni ng qa:ku ng sa:ging kay dadqun na:ku s talamban "Do not let anybody take any of these bananas of mine because I am taking them to Talamban." (Lit.: "Do not let a part of these bananas be taken.") V ku:haq "get"

qipaki:pus na ri ng manga pla:tu sa manga mutsatsa "Have the maids clear the table." V hi:pus "clear up"

qa:yaw pagpakuha:qi ni ng qa:ku ng sa:ging "Do not let anybody take any of these bananas of mine." V ku:haq "get"
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9.5261 To bases which occur without \text{hiN-} in the same meaning

9.5262 To bases which do not occur without \text{hiN-}

9.5263 Specialized meaning

9.6 Derivatives with -\text{ay}, -\text{in-}, -\text{ay}, -\text{anay}, -\text{in-}, -\text{anay}

9.61 Action by several agents, the action of each one affecting the others

9.611 To bases with -\text{ay}

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9.612 Specialized meaning

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9.87 Doubling empty
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9.91 paki-

9.911 paki- "ask for"

9.912 paki- specialized meaning

9.9121 paki- (→) specialized meaning

9.92 pag-

9.921 pag- "do with each other"

9.9211 No shift

9.9212 pag- (←)

9.9213 To nominal bases

9.9214 pag- with derived bases

9.9215 Specialized meaning

9.922 pag- (confined to pagbuqut)

9.93 -an- "plural agents"

9.931 -an- to bases with nag-/mag- in meaning "continual" or "nonvolitional"

9.9311 -an- to nag-/mag- to bases with paka-, paki-etc.

9.932 -an- to nag-/mag- "action devolving on agent"

9.933 -an- to nag-/mag- with noun

9.934 -an- to reciprocals

9.935 panag- in passives

9.936 nanag-/manag- vs. nagpaN-/magpaN-

9.9361 nanag-/manag- to bases with paN-

9.94 -an/-anan (→) "to habitually V"

9.941 To nontransient bases

9.95 nagsig-/magsig- "each do separately"

9.96 -in- "continuous V"

9.961 Meaning "continuous action of V"
9.962 Meaning "continuous sound of \( V \)"

9.963 Meaning "continuous having the quality of \( V \)"
(to noun bases)

9.97 Dead transient formers

9.971 pasi-

9.972 sing-/siN-

9.9721 sing-

9.9722 siN-

9.973 pani-

9.974 tiN-

9.9741 paniN- (= paN- + tiN- )

9.97411 To transient bases

9.97412 To adjective bases

9.97413 To noun bases

9.9742 paniN- to bases with no tiN-

9.975 tig- ( \( \rightarrow \) )

9.976 panig-

9.9761 To noun bases (with \( \rightarrow \) )

9.977 panggi-

9.9771 manggi-

9.978 paha-

9.979 -um- ( \( \leftarrow \) )

9.10 Nominal bases used as bases of transients

9.10.11 Meaning "wear, use as \( V \)"

9.10.12 "Season with \( V \)"

9.10.13 "Ride a \( V \)"

9.10.14 "Play \( V \)"

9.10.15 "Do something until \( V \)"
9.10.16 "Hold V"
9.10.17 "Close with a V"
9.10.18 Miscellaneous types
9.10.2 Derivatives to nominal bases
9.10.21 paN- "plural"
9.10.22 pa-
9.10.23 Other derivatives
Chapter Nine: Affixes Forming Transient Bases

9.0 Introduction

The following paragraphs list the derivative affixes which occur with transient bases. These do not include the common nouns used as transient bases which are described in Chapter Ten. (Cf. the discussion Secs. 8.012, 8.013.) A transient base is one which occurs with the inflectional affixes described in Chapter Eight. Not all transient bases occur with all inflectional affixes. Paradigms are described in Chapter Twelve, and a summary table of which inflectional affixes occur with bases having certain derivative affixes is given in Sec. 12.01. A summary of which derivative affixes occur with bases having derivative affixes is given in Sec. 12.02.

9.0.1 Determination of the base

The base is determined by immediate constituent analysis. Given a form xyz, where x, y, and z are morphemes, there are three possibilities:

a. \[ x \uparrow y \downarrow z \]

b. \[ x y \uparrow \downarrow z \]

c. \[ x \downarrow y \uparrow \downarrow z \]

The choice of which cut to make depends on the occurrence and meaning. If yz occurs by itself in the same meaning as it does in xyz, then a is the correct cut. (In such cases xyz will usually

*If yz are the same morphemes as the yz of xyz then the meaning yz is the same (for morphemes are classes of forms with the same meaning in complementary distribution).
be in a paradigm with $x\overline{y}_1z_1$ where $x\overline{y}_1z_1$ also occurs by itself in the same meaning as in $x\overline{y}_2z_1$. If $x\overline{y}$ occurs by itself in the same meaning as it does in $x\overline{y}z$, then $b$ is the right cut. If neither $a$ nor $b$, then $c$ is the right cut. (There are no cases in Cebuano where both $a$ and $b$ could be considered the right cut.)

$$a \ b \ c \ d \ e$$

E. g. pagka manggi hunaq hunaq $\overline{un}$ "thoughtfulness"

Since $\overline{manggihunaq\;un}$ "thoughtful" occurs by itself in the same meaning as in packaman$\overline{g}$gihunaqun, the first cut is $a$ $\overline{b}$ $\overline{d}$ $\overline{e}$. This form is in paradigm with other forms pagka-$\overline{x}$ (Sec. 10.922) which have the same immediate constituent structure.

Similarly for manggi hunaq hunaq $\overline{un}$ we have a cut $b$ $\overline{d}$ $\overline{e}$ $\overline{g}$ $\overline{a}$ $\overline{b}$ $\overline{d}$ $\overline{e}$ by itself. It does cause $\overline{c}$ $\overline{d}$ $\overline{e}$ does not occur/in the same meaning as/in $\overline{b}$ $\overline{d}$ $\overline{e}$; nor do $\overline{b}$ $\overline{d}$, $\overline{b}$ $\overline{d}$, $\overline{d}$, or $\overline{a}$. However, $\overline{c}$ $\overline{d}$ $\overline{e}$ does occur in the same meaning as in $\overline{b}$ $\overline{d}$ $\overline{e}$. This form is in paradigm with other forms $\overline{manggi}-\overline{un}$ with parallel immediate constituent structure (Sec. 11.357).

For forms with the inflectional affixes the first cut is made between the inflectional affixes and the base on the basis of the above criterion.

9.1 $\overline{pa}$-

9.11 $\overline{pa}$-"causative"(productive)

The causative has either the meaning "allow" or "make (have) someone V" depending on the context. (Cf. examples of Sec. 9.1111.) Bases with $\overline{pa}$-"causative" and active affixes (Sec. 8.1 and subsections) may occur with "second goals" (Sec. 4.631).

9.111 $\overline{pa}$- "causative" to transient** bases

With some transient bases in conjunction with instrumental passives there is a causative meaning without $\overline{pa}$-. Also the bases have a causative meaning without $\overline{pa}$-. These are the

*$\overline{hunaq\;un}$ "thing to be thought of" occurs by itself, but the meaning is different than in $\overline{manggihunaq\;un}$ "thoughtful" and the $\overline{un}$ of the former is not in the same morpheme as the $\overline{un}$ of the latter.

**Cf. Sec. 8.012 for the criteria by which to determine the type of base.
bases which also occur with the affix ka- (Sec. 9.3).

9.1111 pa- to underived bases

palutugun ku si mari:ya g paniqudtu "I will have Mary cook dinner." V lu:tuq "cook"

nagpasalsal si qinting sa ka saryu quq qingun kadakuq sa kumagkuq sa kamut nga qasi:ru "Inting had a piece of steel as big around as a thumb, forged at Saryo's." V salsal "forge" (59.9)

sinyur ha:riq aku y mupasalig sa pagbira niqi:ni ng qisdaq "Your Majesty, I will guarantee to pull this fish out." V sa:lig "to have trust in"

9.1112 With derived transient bases

(With paM-)

papangahu:ya na si lu:ling kay ha:pun na "Have Loling gather firewood now because it is late." V panga:huy "gather firewood"

(With ka-)

maqu ni ng tamba:la makapakatu:lug na:kuq "This is the medicine which can make me sleep." V katu:lug "sleep"

9.11121 pa- to potential formations (dead)

The potential formations (Secs. 8.13, 8.214, 8.223, 8.233, 8.33) are considered inflectional affixes and not derivational affixes forming derived bases. (Cf. discussion Sec. 9.32.) Yet with bases of the type which occur only with potential prefixes (Sec. 8.135) pa- "causative" occurs as a derivative prefix.

mita:maq sa qi:ya ng qapapa:ngig qang qusa ka suntuk nga nakapakakitaq ni:ya g qanini:put "He was hit squarely on the jaw by a blow with the fist that made him see stars." (literally "fireflies") V nakakitaq "saw"

nakapakakitaq "caused someone to see"

Similar usage is with the bases which occur only with the potentials. (Cf. Sec. 8.135)

nakapakasalaq "caused someone to sin"

nakapakabatiq "caused someone to hear"
9.112 **pa-** "causative" to noun bases

"\{make into\} V "

9.1121 Meaning \(\text{\{allow to become\}\ V}\)

- **diq siya papari:qun ni pa:pa ni:ya ka siya ra ma y lala:ki sa manga magsu:qun** "His father will not allow him to become a priest because he is the only son among the brothers and sisters," \(\text{V}\) pa:riq "priest"

9.1122 **pa-** to nouns that occur as bases to transients

These noun bases are discussed in various sections of Chapter Eight and also in Sec. 9.10 and its subsections.

- **kay sayu pa man gud siya ng mipagra:hi sa traktu:ra kay gilabdan siya sa qi:ya ng qu:lu** "For he put his tractor in the garage earlier than usual because he had a headache." \(\text{V}\) grashi "garage" migra:shi "went to the garage" (Sec. 8.1153) pagra:hi "cause to go to the garage"

9.1123 To nouns that do not occur as bases to transients

- **di:liq ka babakya:qun sa sulud kay banhaq kaqa:yu** "You are not allowed to wear wooden slippers inside because they are very noisy." \(\text{V}\) bakyaq "wooden slipper" \(\text{V}\) pagbakyaq "wear wooden slipper" (Sec. 9.10.11)

9.113 **pa-** "causative" to bases with causative meaning *(productive)*

These bases are adjective bases and transient bases which also occur with stative (ka-) derivatives (Sec. 9.3).

Note that with most adjective bases the passive and the ni-/mu- and naka-/ maka- have causative meaning without the prefix \(\text{pa-}\).

*However, the causative meaning does not include the meaning "allow". E.g.*

- **qunsa y nakada:qutan ni:ya** "What went wrong with him?" *(Lit. "caused him to be bad")*
- **gilayuq qang tana ng makada:qut kani:ya** "Keep all things which can harm him far away." \(\text{V}\) layuq "far"
9.1131 pa- with passive affixes

With bases having a causative meaning: \( \{ \text{have} \} \{ \text{someone} \} \) make something \( \leftarrow \)

\( qipaqitum \) qang qa:ku ng sapa: tus ni di:yu "Have Deo make my shoes black." \( \leftarrow \) qitum "blacken" \( \leftarrow \) paqitum "have someone blacken"

\( qipehu:lug \) ni ng sulai:ta ni pidru s pusqu:pis "Have Pedro mail this letter at the post office." \( \leftarrow \) hu:lug "drop" pahu:lug "have someone drop"

9.1132 To bases with no inflectional affixes

When the base has no inflectional affix the pa- means "cause"

\( \leftarrow \) (This is the reflexive meaning of the pa- described in Sec. 9.13 and its subsections)

\( \text{bis:an qang manga wati qug mangliw na:kalimut qusab sa qi:la ng naqanda ng patili:qis sa ti:ngug } \) "Even the earthworms and the katydid also forgot to sing their usual shrill songs." (Lit.: "make shrill") \( \leftarrow \) tili:qis "shrill" (62.14)

9.1133 With active affixes

With some stative bases the pa- in the active has the same meaning as the passive (have \{ something \} make \{ someone \} \( \leftarrow \) )

\( \text{nakapahu:lug ku ng pidru s qi:mu ng pakati didtu s pusqu:pis } \) "I had Pedro mail your package at the post office." \( \leftarrow \) hu:lug "drop" \( \leftarrow \) pahu:lug "have someone drop"

With other stative bases and adjective bases the active pa- plus base means "cause something to be \( \leftarrow \) " (i.e., the meaning is the same as without pa-)

\( \text{qapan qusa niqa:naq maqu y} \{ \text{nakasubuq} \} \) sa qi:ya ng manga

\( \text{ginika:nan } \) "But one of those caused his parents to be sad:"

\( \leftarrow \) subuq "sad" (25.11)

\( \text{maqu y} \{ \text{nakapahi:muq} \} \) ni:ya ng qaduna:han qang qi:ya ng

\( \text{paningka:mut } \) "It was his effort that made him rich." \( \leftarrow \) hi:muq "become"

9.1134 Extension to transients (restricted)
With some active transients with the meaning "cause" or a similar meaning the base is used with pa- in the same meaning as the base without:

\[ \text{ki} \text{n} \text{i} \text{ma} \text{q} \text{u} \{ \text{nakapatag, nakahatag} \} \text{ kaguqul sa qi:ya ng qinahan} "\text{This is what caused grief for his mother.}" \quad \text{V- ha:tag} \ "\text{give}" \]

**9.1135 pa- (→) to adjective bases (restricted)**

\[ \text{bu:saq nagpalaqin sila kay walaq man sila y swirti sa} \]
\[ \text{pananum nidangup sila sa pamuhisun} "\text{So they tried something else. Because they had no luck in raising crops, they turned to raising animals.}" \quad \text{V- palaqin} \ "\text{change}" \quad \text{V- la:qin} \ "\text{different}" \]

**9.12 "Causative to stative bases (with a prefix ka-} [Sec. 9.3]**

Some stative bases do not occur without ka- when with causatives. (i.e., they occur only with paka- if there is a pa- causative.) Some do not occur with ka- at all (i.e., occur with pa-alone) if there is a pa- causative. (Some statives have a double causative meaning with pa-. Causatives to these bases are described in Sec. 9.113 and its subsections.)

**9.121 Stative bases with paka- in causative meaning**

\[ \text{walaq ku pakatulga s manga ba:taq banhaq sila kaqa:yu} "\text{I could not sleep on account of the children. They were very noisy.}" \quad \text{(Lit.: "I was not allowed to sleep by the children."} \]
\[ \text{V- pakatu:lug} \ \{ \text{could to sleep} \} \quad \text{V- katu:lug} \ "\text{sleep}" \quad \text{V- tu:lug} \ "\text{cause to sleep}" \]

**9.122 Stative bases with pa- in the causative**

With these bases the meaning of the base alone or with pa- is the same (although the pa- does not tend to occur with certain prefixes). (Cf. further examples in Sec. 9.113.)

\[ \text{si:gi siya ng qinum gurar} \{ \text{pagpamala, pagmala} \} \text{ sa tu:big s subaq} "\text{He kept on drinking in order to dry up the water of the river}" \]
\[ \text{V- kamala} \ "\text{be dry}" \quad \text{V-} \text{pamala} \ "\text{make dry}" \quad \text{V-} \text{mala} \ "\text{make dry}" \]

**9.13 pa- "agent cause V- to himself" (productive)**
The meaning of these differs from those of Sec. 9.11 in that in this usage the agent causes \( V \) to be done to himself (whereas for the \( pa- \) of Sec. 9.11 the action need not be done to the causer).

\[
\text{di:liq siya magpakitaq } "\text{He will not show himself.}" \quad \text{V- } \text{ki:taq } "\text{see}" \quad \text{(Here the base has the } \text{pa- \text{ of this section.})}
\]

\[
\text{di:liq siya magpakitaq niqaina ng qi:ya ng nakitgan } "\text{He is not going to show what he has found.}" \quad \text{(Here the base has the } \text{pa-\text{ in the usage of Sec. 9.11.)}
\]

All bases with the \( pa- \) of 9.11 also occur with this \( pa-\), but not all bases with the \( pa- \) of this section occur with the \( pa- \) of Sec. 9.11.

Bases with this \( pa- \) do not occur with passive affixes.*

(However, when used as bases to other derived forms, they occur with passive affixes.)*

\section*{9.131 Transient bases}

\[
\text{sa walaq pa mugi:kan si tunyu nagpakasal na lang sila si durya } "\text{Tonyo and Doria got married before he went away." } \quad \text{V- nagpakasal "cause to be married" } \quad \text{V- kasal "wedding"}
\]

\section*{9.132 Adjective bases}

\[
\text{didtu ka nagpahaya:hay sa gawas karu ng mudtu } "\text{Did you refresh yourself outside this noon?" } \quad \text{V- pahaya:hay "cause to refresh" } \quad \text{V- haya:hay "refreshing"}
\]

\[
\text{di:liq siya qa:ngay ng mapasa:kit niqa:naq kay tutal walaq pud siya y la:but } "\text{He should not torture himself with that, because after all, it is no concern of his." } \quad \text{V- pas:kit "to cause pain" } \quad \text{V- sakit "pain"}
\]

\section*{9.1321 With doubled bases (productive)}

With doubled bases nagpa-/magpa- has a specialized meaning:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\{\text{pretend to be } V \} \\
\text{(These occur only with nag-/mag- or zero for nag-/mag-.) (The meaning "act like } V \text{" for noun bases is}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\quad \text{papahaya:ya qang manga bisi:ta didtu s balkun } "\text{Let the visitors refresh themselves on the balcony.}" \quad \text{V- papahaya:hay } "\text{cause someone to refresh himself}" \quad \text{V- pahaya:hay "refresh oneself"}
\]
expressed by paka- Sec. 9.741 and its subsections.

kun siya sampitun qarun papanguluhiun sa miting muqiyas qug
magpasakit sa kit da:yun "If he is called to preside at the
meeting he gets out of it and pretends right away to be sick." 
\[\text{pasakit sa kit} \text{ "pretend to be sick"} \]

Who would be so crazy as to tie something around the crocodile's
neck?" \[\text{bu:gang "foolish" (58.3)}\]

9.1321 pa- with doubled bases other than statives or

adjectives

nagpadiliq di:liq guryu siya ng gitaga:qan sa mansa:nas piru

9.133 To noun bases

diq siya gustu ng magpabuy kay muqiskuyla pa kunu siya "He
does not want to hire himself out as a servant because he still
wants to go to school." \[\text{pabuy "to cause oneself to be a}

servant" \text{buy " servant"} \]

9.134 pa- agent "cause V- to himself" with stative bases

(\text{dead})

9.1341 Meaning \{do \} V- on purpose "whereas the stative

\{do \} means \{become \} V-

Rizal gave his life on account of his love for his fatherland."
(Lit.: "The love of his fatherland was the thing
on account of which (local passive Sec. 8.2214) Rizal made himself
die.") \[\text{pakamatay "die for a cause" kamatay "die"}

(pakamatay is also used in the same meaning as kamatay.)

nagpakaha:naw si qupilya sa diha ng walaq mugu:waq sa bar qang

qiy:ya ng nga:lan "Ophelia did not show herself after her name
failed to appear on the list of those who passed the bar exams."

\[\text{pakaha:naw "cause oneself to drop out of sight" kaha:naw "disappear"} \]

Cf. naha:naw siya sa kangitngit sa kahapun:mun "He disappeared
into the evening darkness." ha:naw "disappear"
9.1342 Meaning the same as the stative

qunsa y qi:ya ng pakabuhig an "What does he do for a living?" V pakabu hiq "live" V kabu hiq "live"

9.1343 (→)

maqa:yu ng magpakahilum na lang ta kay di:liq gustu s ta:ay g manga ba:ta ng banhaqan "Let us be quiet because Dad does not like noisy children." V pakahilum "be quiet" V hi: lum "quiet"

9.14 pa- "cause oneself to be at V" (noun bases)

nasukuq qang draybir sa dyip kay waq mupadaplin qang tartanilya "The driver of the jeep got mad because the rig would not move to the side of the road." V daplin "edge"

ninggu:waq da:yun ku dihaqdihaq qug nagpaqulan ku nga wa y ningsampit kana:kuq "I went out then and there and walked in the rain without anyone calling after me." V qulan "rain"

9.141 Specialized meaning

run qikaw ma y nagqantug sa hantak/paha:riq ka kami pakuru:na "You are the one tossing (the coins) now. You take heads; we will take tails." V h a:riq "heads" V kuru:na "tails"

9.15 pa- "go in the direction of" (to noun and adjective bases)

human ta g panaygun s ka siluy magpalungsud ta kay dagha ng ta:wu didtu "After carolling at Siluy's place, let us go towards the town because there are many people there." V lungsud "town"

nagpaduqul siya qapan gabi:qi "He went near, but it was night." V duqul "near" (45.10)

9.151 pa- "go in direction of" (specialized meaning) {→}

Many roots which take this pa- also occur without pa- in the same meaning.

sa daplin sa subaq nga maqu y qagiqa:nan sa qi:la ng tu:yuq sila padu:lung "They went towards the edge of the river where their quarry usually passed." V du:lung "go toward" (60.10)

9.2 paN-

9.21 paN- "plural"
9.211 Several actors

9.211 Without shift

"The teachers will cook things to eat."  lu:tuq "cook"

pinadukuq qu:lu masulubqu ng nanalhin mangtaq:yu ngadtu sa yuitaq nga gitudluq kani:la ni mistir qalug "With bowed heads the couple sadly moved to the land which Mr. Alog had pointed out to them."  balhin "to move (to another place)"

9.212 With shift (←)

"The pigs slipped through the fence."  lusut "slip through"

9.212 Several actors only

9.2121 To underived bases

9.2121 Several actors only

du:giy na ng katuqi:ga nga nangagi may qusa ka magtaq:yun "Many years ago there was a couple."  qa:gi "pass by"

9.2122 With shift (←)

mangla:ka w lang mi kay walaq mi qikapli:ti "We will just walk because we do not have fare money."  lakaw "to walk"

9.2123 paN- (plural) to nouns not forming a transient

pancatulgun ta ru ng gabi:qi kay du:ru ta g traba:hu ru ng qadla:w a "We will feel sleepy tonight because we worked hard today."  katulgun "about to sleep"

9.213 Several goals only

9.213 Several goals only

9.214 paN- several acts only

"Angkay was washing clothes in the river together with her little girl."  laba "to wash clothes"
9.215  **paN-** to derived bases

**paN-** occurs with some bases with **ka-** and to bases with doubling. It also occurs with a few bases with **hiN-** (described in Sec. 9.2312) and to bases with empty **pa-**. Otherwise **paN-** does not occur with derived bases.

9.2151  **Bases with ka-**

daghan na qang paqa:gi nga gihi:muq qapan qang tanan nangapakyas "Many ways have been tried but all failed." V kapakyas "to fail" (57.5)

9.2152  **To bases with doubling**

didtu sila manuruysu:ruy qimbis mutunghaq "There they walked around instead of going to school." V suruysu:ruy "go around"

9.2153  **To bases with empty **pa-**

mamaqu:liq na ta "Let us go home now." V paqu:liq "go home"

9.2154  **To bases with hi-/**ha-**

**paN-** occurs to bases with **hi-/**ha-** which are of high frequency. In a very fancy style **paN-** is used with bases with **hi-/**ha-** which are of less frequent occurrence.

qang manga nanghibilin sa manga kabalayan nakamata tungud sa hakusug sa danguynguy qug sya:git sa qinahan "Those who were left behind in the houses woke up because of the loud wailing and shrieking of the mother." V hibilin "remain" (20.1)

9.216  **paN-** "occupation" (cf. **paN-** 9.22)

9.217  **paN-** occurring with passive transients

Bases with **paN-** plural affixes in some cases appear only with passive affixes. These are to adjective or noun bases which in themselves are bases of transients occurring only with passive affixes.

9.2171  **With direct passives, meaning "affected by"**

(Sec. 8.213) (dead)
The meaning in this case is usually "affected by \( \text{V} \) to a great extent".

human siya muqinum sa qi:nit kapi gipaningut siya pagqa:yu
"After he drank the hot coffee, he sweated profusely." \( \text{V} \)
singut "sweat" \( \text{V} \) gisingut "person who sweated"

9.2172 With local passives meaning "affected with \( \text{V} \) to a
great extent" (dead)

gipanguyawan si li:tu sa diha ng naki:taq ni:ya qang baki ng
naguksuluko:sa ngadtu kani:ya "Lito was terrified upon seeing the
frog jumping at him." \( \text{V} \) kuyaw "fear" \( \text{V} \) gikuyawan "person
affected by fear"

9.2173 paN- in other cases with the passive

In other cases with the passive the paN- has the meaning
plural agents, plural goals or plural actions.

sa timpu sa gi:ra basta tingtugnaw na ga:niq qang qa:mu ng
gipangha:bul sa:ku sa kala:may kay nihit man kaqa:yu qang
panaptun " During the war when cold weather set in, sugar sacks
were what we used as blankets, for cloth was very scarce." \( \text{V} \)
ha:bul "blanket" \( \text{V} \) qihabul "thing used as blanket"

9.22 paN- "occupation"*

This paN- has two meanings: 1) "the agent does \( \text{V} \) " and
2) "the agent does \( \text{V} \) for a living". These are with nominal bases.

labi na qang qamahan nali:pay gayud pagqa:yu tungud kay du:na na
man siya y qikata:bang sa pagpana:huy "Especially the father
was happy because now he would have someone to help him in gathering
firewood." \( \text{V} \) ka:huy "wood" (1.6)

9.23 paN- "perform action on part of the body" (restricted)

9.231 To noun bases

9.2311 Underived "to use \( \text{V} \) "

9.23111 Without shift

manipilyu ku ka:da huma g ka:qun "I brush my teeth after
each meal." \( \text{V} \) sipilyu "toothbrush"

*Note that paN- in other than plural uses, has a plural mean­
ing if with nag-/mag-, naga-/maga-. (Cf. Sec. 8.12112.)
The child said he did not know how to wipe himself. 

"Get the toilet paper out"

It is not good to pick your teeth while still at the table.

It is not good to pick your teeth while still at the table.

Gil and Nena always wash their feet just before going to sleep.

I think I will cut my nails tonight.

We will visit your place tomorrow.

Some of the nominal bases occurring with paN-.
tion" Sec. 9.22 and Secs. 9.24 ff. also occur without paN- in the same meaning or nearly the same meaning. (In some cases the form with paN- is used in different contexts than the form without paN-. E.g. panganak "give birth" (V- qanak "child") nangenak (= miganak) nakapanganak (= nakaganak) gipanganak (= giganak)
gipanganakan (= giganakan)
didtu {manganak
munganak} qang ba:buy sa kalibunan "The pig gave birth in the thicket."

walaq pa makapanganak si gunsalis naqana ng hospita:la "Mrs. Gonzales has never had a baby in that hospital."

swirti ng waq siya makaganak qug ba:ta ng lintiq "It is lucky she did not happen to have an incorrigible child for a son."

(These makapaN- V- and maka- V- have slightly different meanings.
maqu na ng kwartu:ha ng {gipanganakan} sa qasa:wa ng di:yu "Deo's wife delivered in that room."
kami ng tana ng magsu:qun didtu {gipanganak} sa ba:y "All of us children were born at home."

With some affixes paN- does not occur. These are affixes of the nouns meaning person.

qumeca:nak na si mari:ya qapan waq pa didtu qang mananabang "Maria was about to deliver but the midwife was not yet there."
V- panganak "deliver" V- pana:bang "assist in delivering"

9.25 paN- transient former with other parts of speech as bases

9.251 With adjective bases

siyu:ru siya ng mangha:wud kay naqana: nad na man siya g kanta "He will surely come out the winner because he is already used to singing." V- ha:wud "superior"

9.252 With interrogative bases

gipangu:musta ku ng li:tu qug magki:taq mu ha "Give my regards to Lito if you see each other." V- kumusta "how are you"
9.253 With qualifier bases

\[ \text{mama:sin} \text{ lang ta niqi:ni ni ng higayu:na kay di:liq ku makapanigu:zu} \]
"Let us just hope in this case because I cannot be sure."  \( \text{V} \) ba:sin "hoping for something to occur"

9.254 With pronoun bases

di:liq ku \text{manga:ku kay walaq ku y naqantiguhan niqa:naq} "I will not take that on because I do not know anything about that."  \( \text{V} \) qaku "I"

9.26 \( \text{pan} \) \{ {\text{be}} \} \( \text{V} \) (bases from adjectives)

9.261 No plural meaning

\[ \text{qang qi:ya ng manga mata naglirawliraw qug namula daw mata sa qiring} \text{ kumagat} \]
"His eyes stared wildly and were red like the eyes of a vicious oat."  \( \text{V} \) pula "red" (48.2)

9.2611 No plural meaning (?-)

\[ \text{hubag pa kaqa:yu qang qi:ya ng dagway qug nangla:gun qang qi:ya ng manga mata} \]
"His face was still very swollen, and his eyes were discolored."  \( \text{V} \) lagum "discolored from injury" (23.7)

9.262 Specific plural meaning

\[ \text{tinu:qud gyu ng sadqan qang qi:ya ng manga nga:bil nangluspad} \]
"He is really guilty. His lips became pale."  \( \text{V} \) luspad "pale"

9.2621 Plural meaning (with adjective having \(-g\)- infix)

\[ \text{nanagkuq ni ng qa:ku ng manga buktu g binugha g ka:huy} \]
"My arms have grown large splitting wood."  \( \text{V} \) dagkuq "big"

9.27 \( \text{pan} \) - empty

9.271 To bases which occur without \( \text{pan} \) - but with different meaning

9.2711 To adjective bases

\[ \text{mahadluk ku kung mangi:sug qang qa:ku ng qinahan} \]
"I am frightened when my mother is angry."  \( \text{V} \) pangi:sug "be angry" \( \text{V} \) qisug "brave"

9.2712 To transient bases

\[ \text{gikapanimbang na siya karun sa ba:y kay masu:guq na man} \]
"He now can be used as help in the house because he can already be made to run errands." V - panimbang "help" V - timbang "weigh"

9.272 paN- to bases which do not occur without paN- or when with paN- with the same meaning as without paN-

9.2721 To bases that do not occur without paN-

may nanga panahun nga manganduy qaku qug duguq "There are times when I long for blood." V - panganduy "to long for" (22.11)

9.2722 To bases that occur without paN- with no difference in meaning

9.2721 To bases which alone have a restricted usage

buynu kay gisa:qad ku man matu:man qang qi:mu ng gipan:ca:yuq "Well, since I promised it, your wish will be granted." V - ka:yuq "ask for something" (17.4)

The base ka:yuq also occurs in a few forms.

di:liq siya gustu qa:na ng qamigu:ha kay kayuqan kaqa:yu "He does not like that friend because he always asks for things."

9.2722 To bases which alone occur freely

namu:law siya g tahiq sa qi:ya ng sini:naq "He sewed his shirt late into the night." V - pamu:law "do something until late at night" V - pu:law "do something until late at night"

nagpu:law ku g tuqun gabi:qi hangtud sa qalas dus "I studied until two last night."

Transients formed to noun bases with a paN- derivative which occur also without paN- are of this type (Sec. 9.244).

9.2723 To derived bases

qi:la pa gayu ng giduga:ngan qang qi:la ng paningka:mut "And they added to their striving as well." V - singka:mut "strive" Cf. also Sec. 9.9741. (54.1)

9.3 ka- (stative)

The forms na-/ma- are considered to be mi-/mu- to bases with ka- (Sec. 8.11823) if they are not passives (direct potentials Sec. 8.214 or instrumental potentials Sec. 8.233).
A form is considered passive if it occurs with a genitive such that the genitive means "agent". Otherwise it is a stative. Also if a form has a meaning described for the passive, it is a passive.

nahubug si pidru ganina ng buntag "Pedro got drunk this morning."

This is a stative because the meaning "become drunk" is one of those described for the statives (Sec. 9.31) and does not occur with a genitive (in that meaning). This nahubug is considered to be ni- plus a base kahubug. On the other hand, the following is a passive:

nahubug ni:ya si pidru "He got Pedro drunk."

Here we have a genitive meaning agent (ni:ya), and the meaning for nahubug is one described for the direct passive "person caused to be V-- " (Sec. 8.21432).

The bases without ka- usually have a meaning "cause V-- ".

9.31 To adjective bases {be \becomes V-- }

naparat qang sabaw human qasini ni mari:ya "The soup became salty after Maria seasoned it."

parat "salty" (Cf. Sec. 8.011 for criteria as to when a form is considered an adjective base.)

9.32 To transient bases

9.321 ka-"action performed by agent"(intentionally or not) (restricted)

qang qi:ya ng gamay ng qanak nga wa:wu pa ka bu:wan natulug sa duryan "Her small eight-month-old child was sleeping in the hammock." tu:lug "sleep" (19.4)
9.322 ka- "action which happened to agent (i.e., without agent's intention")

qang tibuq nga ginharisqan natinga:la "The whole kingdom was surprised." \[\text{V- tinga:la "surprise" (36.1)}\]

sa nagatubuq si hwa:mal:ri:ya ng manga ginika:nan "As John grew up, his parents were happy." \[\text{V- li:pay "be happy" (1.3)}\]

9.33 ka- "become V-"

9.331 To noun bases

napa:ri:ya si hwa:sa tur:qig sa qa:ku ng pagkata:wu "Jose became a priest the year I was born." \[\text{V- pa:ri:q "priest" (With \(\rightarrow\))} \]

li:tyi:ya diwa ng nabanggaq qang dyip nga q:a:ya ng tisy:yan "Tecio became a harelip when the jeep he was riding crashed." \[\text{V- bungiq "harelip"}\]

9.3311 To derived noun bases

qug mamagbalantay ka sa qa:mu ng klarsi qayaw g qinstriktu "If you become our class watcher, do not be strict." \[\text{V- magbalantay "watcher"}\]

9.3312 Specialized meaning

nata:wu ku sa tyimpu sa gi:ra "I was born during the war." \[\text{V- ta:wu "man"}\]

9.3313 Other meanings to noun bases (dead)

nahospital si piping human siya tabangi sa manga buguy "Peping was put in the hospital after being attacked by a bunch of hoodlums." \[\text{V- hospital "hospital"}\]

9.332 To pronominal bases (restricted)

qug mata:pus na ni:mu g ba:ya:d qang katapu:sa ng qinstulmin mega:tuq na ni "After you have finished paying the final installment, this will be ours." \[\text{V- qa:tuq "ours"}\]

9.333 To nouns meaning time (dead)

nagabi:qi na lang qang manininda g qutanun waq pa giha:pun maquliq "It was already night, and the vegetable seller still had not gone home." \[\text{V- gab:qi "night"}\]
The unreal forms of these are used as qualifiers (Sec. 6.221122.)

He had no fear at all to steal the people's livestock whenever he felt hungry, day or night. \(\sqrt{qadlaw} \) "day" \(\sqrt{gabi:qi} \) "night" (56.16)

9.334 ka- to qualifier "become V" (dead)

She took a guess at the answer to the question, but it turned out right. \(\sqrt{maqu} \) "correct"

9.34 Potential meanings with the statives

The statives except those described in Sec. 9.321 are neutral with respect to the potential meanings.

He could not become thin because he had a big appetite. \(\sqrt{ni:wang} \) "thin"

(Translated as "perfected action")

When he arrived in the Philippines, he had already been a doctor in America for three years.

(Translated as "accidental")

Joe happened to be his teacher for a year while I was still in Cebu. \(\sqrt{maqistru} \) "teacher"

9.35 ka-/paka- "accidental", "potential" and "completed action"

The potentials (Secs. 8.13, 8.214, 8.223, 8.233, 8.33) are treated as single affixes (except for the nagpaka-/magpaka- type Sec. 9.742) although they might be treated as two affixes — as derivative affix ka- or paka- plus the inflectional affixes.

However, the analysis of the potentials as a single prefix is preferable because their distribution is parallel to the other inflectional affixes (except for the nagpaka-/magpaka- of Sec. 9.742).
9.742 and the nakapaka-/nakapaka- causatives Sec. 9.11121 which are dead formations).

9.351 ka- "potential" to bases with derivative pag-

(Sec. 8.138)

These have the shape nagka-/magka- but are not the same as the statives.

nagkaki:taq mu s binansyu gaha:pun s ha:pun didtu s tinda:han
"Did you happen to meet Venancio yesterday afternoon at the store?" V kitaq "see"

9.36 Empty ka-

These are bases which do not occur by themselves for which ka- has no meaning.

9.361 Bases that occur with other affixes (restricted)

qadu:na giha:pu y manga ta:wu nga bula:wanu g kasingka:sing nga maqanti:gu ng malu:quy kani:ya "There are still people with golden hearts who know how to sympathize with him." V kalu:quy "pity" (69.13)

9.362 Bases that always occur with ka-

pulus kagidlay lang qang saput sa tigu:lang kay walaq na siya y manga paryinti ng makata:bang kani:ya "The old man's clothes are in tatters because he has no relatives any longer who can help him." V kagidlay "ragged"

9.363 na-/ma- (= nahi-/ha-/mahi-/ha-) (productive)

With bases having nahi-/ha-/mahi-/ha-, na-/ma- is used in the same meaning. (cf. Sec. 9.417.)

midasdas qang manga masali:guq gun qug manga la:was qug gitabangan ni:la qug puspus qang ta:wu hangtud nga { nahibuhigan } niiya { nabuhigan }
qug bas:taq qug natumba siya sa la:puk sa aapaq "The able-bodied attacked the man and teamed up to beat him until he let go of the child and fell into the mud of the creek." V bu:hiq "to let go" (21.8)

9.4 ha/hi/hing- (→)

The affixes ha-/hi-/hing- have accidental meanings (action

*In most cases forms with the prefix have a short penult (if it is open). Exceptions will be marked separately.
coincidental to something else or action unintentional on part of agent) ha-, hi-, hing-, hig-, hag-, are all of similar meanings with a distribution such as described in the following paragraphs.

9.401 Dropping of ha-, hi-, hing- (restricted)
In most cases words with ha-, hi-, hing-, have the same meanings as the same words without ha-, hi-, hing-. (Cf. Secs. 9.417 and 9.42). However, hi-/ha- with some bases of Secs. 9.41111 and 9.4112 are not dropped.

9.41 ha-/hi- (productive)
Forms occurring with hi- occur with ha- and vice versa except if there is a prefix ka-, pag-, nag- or mag- (Secs. 9.415, 9.4151 and 9.418) with no difference in meaning.

9.411 ha-/hi- "accidental"

9.4111 Action happened to take place (productive)

qang litqag nahasinggit si qinting diha ng nati:nuq ni:ya nga didtu gi:kan qang kabanhaq "The trap! shouted Inting when he had ascertained that that was where the noise had come from." V— singgit "shout" (66.9)

9.41111 Agent doing action involuntarily

A specialized meaning of ha-/hi- is accidental action involuntary on the part of the agent.

kalit ka man la g tunghaq dinhaq mehikurug man lang ta g diq tyimpu "Boy! You gave me a scare. I could not help trembling." (Lit.:"You just appeared suddenly there. We just trembled involuntarily when it was not the time to") V— kuirug "tremble"

9.41112 Accidental meaning weakened (restricted)

With many bases hi-/ha- occurs in contexts with no accidental meaning.

qayaw kana g buha:ta kay nahasu:pak kana s bala:qud "Do not do that because that is against the law." V— su:pak "contrary to"
To derived bases (dead)

bi:san ga:niq qang manga wati qug mangliw nahikalimut qusab sa qi:la ng naqanda ng patiliqis sa ti:ngug "Even the earthworms and the katydids also forgot to sing their usual shrill songs." V~ kali:mut "forget" (62.14)

State happened to come about (productive)

qang qi:la ng ka lu:lu nahiqibabaw g dyu:tay s qi:la ng ka saryu "Grandfather's place is a bit farther up than Sario's." V~ qibabaw "above"

Action accidentally done to subject (passive)

(restricted)

qang qa:ku ng sapartus nahapasuk qila:lum sa katri "My shoes got put underneath the bed." V~ pasuk "put in a place hard to get out of"

Accidental meaning weakened

gitawag da:yun ni qinting qang qi:ya ng manga nahibili ng sili:ngan "Inting immediately called his remaining neighbors." V~ bi:lin "leave behind" (67.11)

"action completed"

With forms having nahi-/ha-/mahi-/ha- a meaning "perfected action" occurs with no accidental meaning. These are bases which occur both with active potentials maka-/maka- and with hi-/ha-.

pagqabut na:kuq waq pa mahilakaw si prid "When I arrived Fred had not left yet." V~ lakaw "leave"

With these bases ha-/hi- also occur with an accidental meaning.

mahilakaw ku g na:qa y qayrupla:nu ng mubya:hi "I might leave if there is an airplane going."

"action completed"

With specialized meaning (dead)

No shift

"The child was hurt by your refusal." V~ qubus "below"

For these bases the potential also has the meaning "action completed".

pagqabut na:kuq waq pa makalakaw si prid (same meaning)
9.4132 (←)

human sa piligay nahiquxsa qang qi:la ng nagkalaqinla:qi ng paqa:gi sa pagtuskud sa tayta:yan "After the election they recon­ciled their different ways of constructing the bridge." (Lit.: "was united") V qusa "one"

9.414 hi-/ha- empty (with bases that always have hi-/ha- or zero* for hi-/ha-) (restricted)

qunsamangyuynahitabuq ninyu sa qupisi:na sa hi:pi ting "What actually happened to you at the chief's office, Ting?" 

9.415 pagka-/ka- to bases with hi- (restricted)

The abstract to bases with hi- is restricted. Most bases with hi- have pagka- without hi- for the accidental meaning, but a few have pagkahii-.

pagkahiduqul ni:ya mipaghut qang qiruq quq gipa:qak siya "When he came near, the dog barked; and he was bitten." V duqul "near"

9.4151 pag- to bases with hi- (restricted)

For some bases with hi- the abstract is formed with pag- alone. This type is more common than pagkahii-.

qusa na ka tu:qig sukad sa qi:ya ng paghilakaw "It has been a year now since he left."

paghisaka ni:ya sa ta:qas maqu pu y pagkana:quq sa kawatan sa hinta:naq "At the same time as he went upstairs, the thief went out of the window." V saka "go up"

Many of them also have the pagka- of Sec. 9.415.

paghiva {pagkahiva}

ni:ya nga qipapatay gayud siya paqui:liq sa qi:la "Upon learning that he was really going to be killed, he went home." V hibalu "to know" (45.7)

9.416 pa- to bases with ha-/hi- (dead)

pa- ("causative or action devolving on agent" [Sec. 9.13])

*I.e. forms without ha-/hi- have the same meaning as forms with ha-/hi- (Sec. 9.417).
occurs with bases having ha-/hi- in the meaning of "involuntary action on the part of the agent" (Sec. 9.41111) and "state happened to come about" (Sec. 9.4112).

qunsa kaha y nakapahiluksu ni:ya "What could it be that made him jump?" (startled) paluksu "cause to jump" hiluksu "jump involuntarily"

sa tantu ng layugla:yug ni:la nakapahigibabaw gyud si ruini "After wrestling for a time Rony was able to get on top." paqibabaw "cause to get on top" hiqibabaw "be on top involuntarily"

9.4161 pa- "action devolving on agent" (Sec. 9.13) to other bases with ha-/hi- (dead)

With bases other than those of Secs. 9.41111 and 9.4112, paha-/pahi- is used to mean the same as pa- or has a specialized meaning.

maqu nga siya nagpahinunut na lamang sa qi:ya ng pa:lad sa:ma sa gapnud nga gibanlas sa manga balud "Therefore he submitted himself to his fate like seaweed washed ashore by the waves." nagpanunut "had someone follow"

karun kay human na qang piliqay qipahiqu:liq qang qa:tu ng maqaryu ng pagbinatigay "Now that the election is over, let us return to our good feelings." pahiqu:liq "reconcile oneself" paqu:liq "return home"

9.4162 pah- to bases with hi-

These are described in Sec. 9.2154.

9.417 maha-/ha- / nahi-/ha- = ma-/na- (productive)

Most base forms with ma-/na- plus ha-/hi- have the same meaning as forms with ma-/na-, except that the former (the forms with ha-/hi-) are fancier. An exception is adjective bases where the form with na-/ma- means "become/became" (coincidentally or not) whereas maha-/nahi- means "become/became" coincidentally with something else" (Sec. 9.4112) E.g. nataqas "be-
came tall" nahitaqas "accidentally became tall". Also with most transient bases where ha-/hi- has an involuntary meaning (Sec. 9.41lll) na-/ma- is not the same in meaning as nahi-/mahi-.

maqa:yu ng pagnkatqaw ni:ya na:tuq kay {nahasunud, nesunud} man siya "He got a good view of us because he happened to be following us." V sunud "follow"

9.418 hi- to bases with nag-/mag- (dead)

naghiduqul na qang pista ng qiy:ya ng gipaqa:but "The fiesta he was looking forward to was approaching." V duqul "near"

9.42 Local passives with hi-/hing- (→) (restricted)

hi-/hing- occurs in forms having local passive affixes, potential or otherwise. Forms with hi- occur with hing- and vice versa with no difference in meaning. gi- (prefix of real passive forms) does not occur with hi-/hing-. Rather, local passives with hi-/hing- are neutral with respect to the meaning real vs. unreal. (The examples of this section are translated by future, whereas the second example for Sec. 9.4211 is translated by the past.)

Forms with hi-/hing- also occur without these in the same meaning. (Cf. Sec. 9.401 for "dropping" of hi-/ha-)

qayaw g du:qul kay {hin:banhaqan, hibanhaqan} qunyaq qang pasyinti ng natu:lug "Do not go near them because the sleeping patient might get disturbed," V banhaq "noise" V banha:qan "be disturbed." V {hin:banhaqan, hibanhaqan, banhaqan}

The forms with hi-/hing- are used in colloquial and in fancy style, whereas forms without hi/hing- are used only in colloquial.

Note that local passives are formally different from the local passives with hi-/hing- (→) that has been "dropped" if the local passive to the underived base has
a long penult. E.g. banhaqan vs. banhaqan (Also the form with a "dropped" hi-/hing- (→) is neutral with respect to real vs. unreal meaning.)

9.4201 Potentials to local passive with hi-/ha- (productive)

In addition to the forms described in 9.42 above, there is also a local accidental potential used with bases having hi-/ha- (→) (not hing-) (i.e. naha-/hi- / maha-/ha-). The meaning is the same as hi-/hing- except that the meaning of real or unreal is expressed. In ordinary style hi-/ha- is "dropped", whereas nahi-/ha- -an/ mahi-/ha- -an is confined to a very fancy style.

(riters in any case nahi- -an/mahi- -an is more frequent than naha- -an/maha- -an.)

gitabangan ni:la qug puspus qang ta:wu hangtud nga nabuhigan ni:ya qang ba:taq "They teamed up in beating the man until he let go of the child." V— buhiq "release" (21.9)
nahibuhigan [or nahabuhigan] is possible in this context but is used only in fancy style. [ nahabuhigan is rare.]

9.421 hi-/hing- "action might take place"

(restricted)

qayaw g kusga qang qi:mu ng ti:ngug kay hidunggan nyaq ta "Do not speak loudly because we might be heard." V— dungug "to hear"
misamut qang kahadluk sa manga ta:wu diha ng nasakit si sinuy human ni:ya hipusili qang buqiya "The fear of the people became more intense when Sinuy became sick after he had shot at the crocodile." V— pusil "gun" (58.5)

9.4211 hi-/hing- to derived bases (dead)
pagnga na lang qang radyu kay hingkatulgan lang ni:mu nyaq naq "Just shut off that radio because you might doze off on it." V— katulug "sleep"

sa dalanda:lan nga giqagiqan ni sinsyu nakapanghapit siya g
pamusil sa manga langgam nga qi:ya ng hipangdagigan "While walking over the small trails Cencio happened to pass by some birds which he had a chance to shoot." V pangagi "go by several things"

9.422 Weakened meaning of hi-/hing-

di:liq ka magesurusruy g magabi:qi kay hidakpan ka ga:niq sa pulis qikaw ra "Do not go out for strolls at night because if you are arrested by the police, you will be on your own." V dakup "catch"

maqu ba na y qi:mu ng nahikatqunan sa qi:mu ng pagqiskuyla "Is that what you learn in school?" V katqun "learn"

9.423 Derived bases (dead)

di:liq ku gyud qikaw hikalimtan "I will never forget you." V kali:mut "forget"

9.424 To noun bases

gayaw g qibutang na ng libru dihaq kay hitubigan nyaq naq "Do not lay your book there because water might get on it." V tu:big "water"

9.425 paga- -an to bases with hi-/hing- (→) "continuing accidental" (dead)

This form is parallel to the gina- -an and paga- -an of the local passive (Sec. 8.222).

9.426 hi-/hing- empty (same bases as Sec. 9.414) (dead)

kini ng manga pulu:nga ni duray lansis larmang qusab nga gitudu:aq ni silsusu:ma:laq sa qa:tuq na ng hingba:ga:na sa quba ng ba:hin ni ng sugila:mun "These words of Doray's were also nothing more than the lies which Celso had taught her, as we have already learned in another portion of this story." V hibalu "know (facts)"

9.43 Dead prefixes with similar meaning

9.431 hag-/hig- "happened to"

This affix is confined to a small number of bases.
qayaw g banhaq kay mahizmata qang bastaq "Do not make noise because the child might wake up."  V mata "wake up"

9.432 "Able to"

walaq siya mahagtingug human siya kasabqi sa qi:ya ng magulang "He was not able to say anything after being scolded by his elder brother."  V tingug "utter sound"

9.433 hag-/hig- to derived bases

qipahamunut lang ni ng qa:ku ng tu:yuq sa qi:mu ng manga gustu "I will make my purpose conform to your wishes."  V nunut "go together with"

9.5 hin-

9.51 hin- (→) "about to become"  V "(restricted)"

9.511 To transient bases "about to V~ "

(Cf. Sec. 9.512 for this hin- to noun bases;)

maqu qang pagqabut ni qinggu qi:gu ng naghinapu qang pangadyiq sa qi:ya ng giqinggu ng pagkamatay "Ingo walked in just as the prayer for his supposed death was about to end."  V ta:pus "finish"

9.512 To noun bases (dead)

9.5121 "Becoming V~ "

sa naghinigulang na si ta:taq badung waq giha:pun siya hiwadi sa qi:ya ng pananqaw qug makatuhug pa ga:niq siya g da:qum "When Daddy Badung was already growing old, he still had not lost his eyesight; and he could even thread a needle."

V tigu:lang "old man"

nahnungaq na qang sulud sa la:ta qu:saq pa qiha:tag ni:ya qang manti:kaq "The can was already half full when he gave the lard away."  V tungaq "half"

9.5122 "About to become V~ "(dead)

This type occurs with nouns meaning "time."

naghingudtu g ka:wus qug tu:big qang ba:na dunung sa pagpulu:nang sa ka:baw qinay mahigda s pantaw "The husband fetched water at about noon while he put his carabao out to wallow instead of lying down on the stoop."  V hingudtu "do at noon"  V qudtu "noon"
9.52 hiN- \{intense\} V-"(to transient bases) (restricted)

9.521 \( V- \) intently"

"The girl outside was intently looking at the toys inside, remembering that had her father not died, she might have had a doll bought for her." \( V- \) tanqaw "look"

9.522 \{Continuous\} V-" (restricted)

9.5221 hiN- no shift

tungaq na kadtu ng gabi:qi quq qa:kuq sila ng naqabta ng naghinugilun sa manga kaqa:gi s tyimpu s gu:bat "It was already midnight, and I came upon them continuously telling stories of their experiences during the war." \( V- \) sugi:lun "tell"

9.5222 hiN- \( \rightarrow \) (restricted)

naghingasuy siya ba:hin sa panginabushiq sa qi:la hangtud pagqabut sa tra:k "He told about what they did for a living in his home town until the bus arrived."

9.5223 hiN- \( \leftarrow \)

qikali:pay ku qang pagsulti kani:mu nga qang qinyu ng balasahu ng sii:law gihimalitan diri sa qai:muq "I am happy to tell you that your magazine 'Silaw' is widely bought here in our place." \( V- \) palit "buy"

9.523 hiN- \( \leftarrow \) every \( V- \) (dead)

naghinga:pin ni ng qi:ya ng ghia:tag na:kuq dadqi g dyu:tag "He has given me much too much; take some." \( V- \) kapin "extra"

9.524 hiN- forming stative bases (to transient bases)

\( \text{(dead)} \)

The meaning of the base differs in varied ways from the meaning of the root without hiN-.

9.5241 No shift

sa diha ng nahibawqan s tigu:lang nga si girli ng nagpadala ni:ya g ga:sa nahimuquit siya kaqa:yu "When the old man knew that it was Girlie who sent him the present, he was very pleased." \( V- \) buqut "mood, will"
walaq mahimuyug si siryu sa pagkahibalu ni:ya nga nakadaqug siya s
swipstik "Sergio was not at ease when he knew he had won the
sweepstakes." V - puyuq "settle down"

9.5242 hiN- (→)

sa tyimpu s gi:ra si ti:ta nahimulag:sa qi:ya ng ba:ncy
"During the war Tita was separated from her family." V
"u:lag "separate"

9.5243 hiN- (←)

nahimuitang sila sa qi:la ng balay "They were settled
in their house." V - butang "put down, set"

With this base haN- also occurs. hamuitang (same meaning)

9.525 hiN- to noun bases (restricted)

qug daghan qang manga ginika:nan nga nagpahimus niqi:ni ng
kahadluk "And many parents make use of this fear." V
pulus "use" (24.3)

hingukg an gyud ni:mu qang ba:taq run kay tagqas na kaqa:yu qang
qi:ya ng manga kuku "You must clip the boy's nails now because
they are very long." V - hingu:ku "cut nails" V - kuku "nail"

9.5251 Those usually preceded by paN-

9.52511 Of the types of Sec. 9.2312

sigi na panghimati:qis na mu manga ba:taq kay mangatu:lug
na ta miqagda si tunya sa qi:ya ng manga manghud "All right,
children, wash your feet now because we are going to sleep;
Tonia told her younger brothers and sisters." V - himati:qis
"wash legs" V - bat:iqis "lower legs"

9.52512 Other panghiN-

For these bases, forms with panghiN- and paN- have meanings
specialized in different directions.

nanghimakak si pidru nga siya y manga:wat sa kwarta "Pedro
denies that he is the one who stole the money." V - bakak "lie"

Cf. namakak si pidru kay siya man gyud "Pedro was lying because
he was the one."

9.526 hiN- empty (dead)

9.5261 To bases which occur without hiN- in the same
meaning
9.5262 To bases which do not occur without hin-

qang sulugug-qun walaq maglimpyu s salug hingairi lang siya g tambuq sa binta-naq "The servant did not clean the floor.
All he did was look out of the window."

9.5263 Specialized meaning (dead)

qang manga bat-taq walaq magtuqun nashinu:gay la g du:laq
"The children are not studying; all they do is play."

9.6 Derivatives with -ay, -in-, -ay, -anay, -in- -anay

These bases do not occur with any passive inflectional affixes except those meaning reciprocal action Sec. 9.921 which have an instrumental passive.

9.61 Action by several agents, the action of each one affecting the others (productive)

Transients with this class have a prefix pag- (Sec. 9.921) or pakig- (Sec. 9.7). (For examples with pakig- cf. Sec. 9.714.) The forms without pakig- are considered to have a pag- prefix because of the shape of the potential magke/-nagke- (the shape of the potential for forms with a prefix pag- [Cf. Sec. 8.138]).

9.611 To bases with -ay (productive)

magsulatay lang qu nyaq ta "Let us just write to each other."

9.6111 -ay (→)

nagdutdutay qang qi:siq kapi:kas diha ng nagku:sug na ng qi:la ng panagqa:way "Each side pushed at the other when the fighting grew strong."
9.612 Specialized meaning

tu:qa sila magtigbakay sa qi:la ng gabi:nu "They are having an illegal cockfight at Gabino's place." V— tigbak "illegal cockfight"

9.612 To bases with -in- -ay (productive)

qang qa:ku ng qiru qug qang qiru ni guryu nagpinaqakay kay nagqi:lug sa bukug "My dog and Gorio's dog are biting each other because they are fighting over a bone." V— pa:qak "bite"

9.613 -anay (restricted)

9.6131 No shift

si:gi lang mu ng nagsultiqanay qug walaq mu y nabu:hat "You are always talking with each other, and you have not done anything." V— sulti "{speak}"

9.6132 -anay (→)

walaq na sila magkatawaqanay human ni:la hibawqi nga magqa:qaw diqay sila "They have stopped laughing at each other since they found out that they are really cousins." V— kata:wa "laugh"

9.614 -in- -anay (restricted)

lu:haq sa kasukuq kayugut qug kaguqul nagingkada:nay pagpangambak sa qi:ya ng manga mata "Tears of anger, ranoor and sorrow leaped from her eyes one after another." V— gu:kud "chase" (50.11)

9.615 Base with -ay in the same meaning as base without -ay (dead)

9.62 "Intense/several action of V—" (productive)

9.621 -ay

si:gi ng hikayay run s ka pidru kay bunyag man s qi:ya ng
There are a lot of fixings at Pedro's place now because it is the baptism of his child. "Give a banquet"

They keep on taking out the rotten lanzones because the good ones will be sold tomorrow." Choose"

"If there is going to be any killing around here, I will be the one who is going to do it." "Kill"

I will not go along with you because something might happen to me."

Let us work seriously today so that we will accomplish more."

"Play" with someone else (action initiated by agent)" (productive)

Bases with pakig- and active affixes (Sec. 8.1 and subsections) may occur with "second goals" (Sec. 4.631).

To transient bases (productive)

Underived transient bases

"I would like to play with you now because my mother is not at home." "Play"
makigpamasiyu si ti:ta sa parki karu ng ha:pun "Tita would like to go strolling with someone in the park this afternoon."
V~ pamasiyu "to stroll"

makigpangisdaq si sibyu ku:yug ni:mu qugmaq "Sebio would like to go along fishing with you tomorrow."
V~ pangisdaq "to fish"

qayaw qug pakighuguyhu:guy sa tagabungtud kay daqutan naq sila "Do not go around with those hill people because they are bad."
V~ huguyhu:guy "to go around"

9.713 pakig- («)

di:liq siya gustu ng makigpu:yug sa qi:ya ng ba:na "She does not want to live together with her husband."
V~ puyuq "live (in a place)"

9.714 pakig- to derived bases with -ay (restricted)

(Cf. Sec. 9.61.)

qunyaq nakigsinumbagay diqay ka ni:ya bi:sa g gamay siya ng ba:taq "So you picked a fight with him even though he was a small child."
V~ sinumbagay "fight with each other (fist fight)"

9.72 pakig- to noun bases (restricted)

9.721 To underived bases

di:liq ku makigpa:ris ni husi kay hinayan siya "I do not want to pair up with José because he is slow."
V~ pa:ris "pair"

n-qa:bin kang tiryu kay maqayu siya ng mukanta "Team up with Terio because he sings well."
V~ qa:bin "team"

Some of the noun bases of Sec. 9.10.11 occur with pakig-
gustu ku ng ti:nis ni li:na "I would like to play tennis with Lena."
V~ ti:nis "tennis"

9.73 kig- or tig- for nakig-/makig- (productive)

kig- or tig- is used in the meaning of nakig- or makig-
in informal speech. (Cf. ka- for naka-/maka- Sec. 8.136.) There is no restriction of occurrence except that with some bases kig- is preferred and with others tig- is preferred.

gustu siya ng {makigdu:laq, tigdu:laq}

{makigdu:laq, tigdu:laq}

na:ku s pwinti duluduminggu
"He likes to play with me at the fountain on Sundays." V
du:laq "play"

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kigla:kaw} \\
\text{tigla:kaw} \\
\text{nakigla:kaw}
\end{align*}
\]

"He just wanted to walk along on our way home yesterday." V
lakaw "walk"

9.74 paka-

Transients with paka- do not occur with potentials or with
mi-/mu-.

9.741 paka- "take form /act like V" (passive "considered V") (productive)

9.7411 With nominal bases (productive)

sayup qang qi:ya ng gibu:hat kay magpakabataq siya nga may qapu na man taq siya "What he did was wrong because he acted like a child when he already has grandchildren." V pakabataq "pretend to be a child" V ba:taq "child"

kun magpakatigu:lang ka matigu:lang ka da:yun "If you act like an old man, you will grow old quickly." V pakatigu:lang "act like an old man" V tigu:lang "old man"

makatarunga:nun gyud nga qang qusa ka qanak pakamutya:gun sa qusa ka qinahan "It is but right that a child be considered a jewel by its mother." V mutyaq "jewel"

9.7412 With nonnominal bases (restricted)

gipakasalaq ni pilimun qang qi:ya ng qasa:wa sa mapaqit ni:la ng kahimtang "Filemon blamed his wife for the difficulty of their situation." V salaq "be at fault"

This meaning is usually expressed by pa- plus doubling (See, 9.1321 and 9.13211) for bases other than nominals.

9.7413 With a phrase (restricted)

nakapangasa:wa siya g qanak qug sapi:gan kay sa qi:ya ng pagpa:naw sa mindanaow magpaka daku ng maguyutaq "He happened to marry the daughter of a rich man because in his travels in Mindanao, he pretended to be a great landowner." V daku ng maguyutaq "great landowner"
9.742 paka- potential meanings (productive)

These are only used with the actives pag-/nag-/mag-. The meaning is similar to the active potentials naka-/maka- (Sec. 8.13).

This usage is dead in the speech of the younger generation though it is used with a large number of bases in the speech of older people. It is confined to fancy style.

9.7421 Without shift

dagha ng manga ta:wu ng nagpakapusta sa manuk ni si:suy
"Many people happened to bet on Sisuy's cock." V- pusta "to bet"

nagpaka- / magpaka- is used in fancy speech to express accidental continuing action.

mapasalama: tun sila nga qang nanagpakasaksi kani:la di:liq maqanti:gu ng musulti "They were thankful that those who were witnesses to what they were doing did not know how to speak." V- saksi "witness" V- { naka- / nagpaka- } saksi "happened to witness" V- nagpakasaksi "happened to be witnessing"

9.7422 With shift (~-»)

(These are bases that take (~-) with naka- / maka-)

kun si ma:ma qug si pa:pa magpakabatiq sa qi:mu ng balitaq sigu:ru ng mangi:sug sila "If mother and father happen to hear what you have to tell, they will surely get angry." V- batiq "hear"
mamaqayu siya sa qi:ya ng sakit ginigpakakitaq sa nahidla:wan ni:ya ng qanak "She will get cured of her sickness the minute she sees her son, for whom she longs." V- ki:taq "see"

9.7423 With meaning "able"

qang nanagya:yung sanglit gipanggu:tuq qug sanglit walaq qinta:wun managpakatimuq niqadtu ng bunta:ga nangawadgan sa kusug qug hailus managpakala:kang "The pole bearers because they
were hungry and because they had not had a bite to eat that morning lost their strength and could hardly take a step."

la: kang "take a step" 

timuq "eat a bite"

9.7424 ka- potential alternant of paka-

The ka- potential might be considered an alternant of paka-.

(Cf. discussion Sec. 9.35.)

9.7425 paka-ka- "stative" (dead)

Some bases with ka- stative prefix (Sec. 9.3) also occur with paka- with approximately the same meaning. This type is considered to consist of pa- "action devolving on agent" to a base with ka- "stative" (treated in Sec. 9.3.4 and its subsections.)

9.743 paka- "to be overtaken by V-" (dead)

9.7431 Without shift

qanhi siya magpakaha:pun sa baybay kay sayu pa ng qiba:lik sa syudad "He will stay here on the beach until afternoon because it is too early to go back to the city." V- ha:pun "afternoon"

9.7432 With (→)

di:liq ka qa:ngay ng magpakagabi:qi kay babayi ka "You ought not to be overtaken by night because you are a girl." V-gabi:qi "night"

9.7433 paka- to bases that do not occur without (dead)

qayaw lang pakabeneq sa qi:ya ng gisulti "Pay no heed to what he said." V- banaq "take heed"

9.74331 pagka- for pagpaka- (dead)

With this type ka- is used as well as paka- with the prefix mag-/mag-/pag-. This usage is only with "empty" paka- (Sec. 9.7433).

sa qi:ya ng pagpanga:yam makadaghan na siya makadungug qug tuktuga:quk sa manuk qiba:las qapan waq lang siya {magpakabeneq magkabeneq}

"While hunting he had heard the crowing of wild cocks many times, but he paid no attention." V- *banaq
9.8 Doubling and Culu-

Whether the base takes Culu-* or doubling depends on the base. Bases of more than two syllables take Culu-. Bases with less than two syllables take doubling. Some occur with Culu- as well in the same meaning.

9.81 "To \( V \) around (i.e., do \( V \) without an end to the action)" (productive)

9.811 No shift

du:gay na siya ng tindug tindug sa qiskin na g hinulat ni ti:ta "He has been standing around on the corner waiting for Tita for a long time." \( V \) tindug "stand"

9.812 With shift (\( \leftarrow \))

di:liq maqayu ng maglakawla:kaw g magabi:qi kay dagha ng manga daquta ng taiwu ng magsuruyu:ruy "It is no good to go around at night because there are many bad people going around." \( V \) lakaw "walk"

9.82 "To \( V \) playfully" (productive)

(With shift (\( \leftarrow \)))

si:gi ni:ya ng kusiq kusi:qun si ti:ta kun mamisi:ta qang ba:taq ni:ya "He always pinches Tita playfully whenever the child visits him." \( V \) kusiq "pinch"

9.83 "Doing false \( V \) " (productive)

hi:lum dihaq hilakhi:lak mu ra g di:liq siya maqu y nakasalaq "Quiet there! Crying crocodile tears, as though he were not at fault." \( V \) hi:lak "cry"

9.833 Culu- plus walaq y "do \( V \) at all"

This usage is with transient bases with doubling used as a noun (described in Sec. 10.822).

sa wala y pupasumi:ngay qug kataru:ngan gisulti:han qang magtiqa:yun nga di:liq maqu kadtu ng yuta:qa qang qi:la ng napalit "Without hinting any reason at all, the couple was told

\(*Cu/ is far more frequent than/Culu/ even for speakers who do not "drop" /l/ 's in other words.
that that was not the land they had bought." \(\text{V}^{\text{pasumbi:ngay}}\) "hint" \(\text{(52.15)}\)

9.84 Repetitive action \(\text{(productive)}\)

9.841 Repetitive action

gisultik:han ku qusab siya nga kadaghan ga:niq kami pabalikbalika:ka sa qispiktur "I also told him that the inspector had even made us come back many times." \(\text{V}^{\text{balik}}\) "return" \(\text{(65.6)}\)

9.842 Repetitive action

qusa na ka simain nga tibawti:baw ni qinting sa qi:ya ng pana:ga:at "Inting had been visiting his fish trap for a week now." \(\text{V}^{\text{tibaw}}\) "make inspection visit" \(\text{(62.1)}\)

9.843 "Do \(\text{V}\) in succession"

nagkalaqinla:qi ng katalagman qang mipulipu:li pagba:bag sa qi:la ng kalampu:saan "Various calamities took turns in hindering their success." \(\text{V}^{\text{pu:li}}\) "take a turn" \(\text{(54.4)}\)

9.8431 (\(\langle\)\))

nindut kaqa:yu tu ng dula:qa labi na kadtu ng nagtubagtu:bag qug panganta qang duha ka hinigugma "That play was very good, especially when the two lovers sang to each other." \(\text{V}^{\text{tubag}}\) "answer"

9.8432 With Culu-

si li:nu si guyut qug si luqis nanagpabi:lin qug nagsulusa:but sa qi:la ng pagahimu:quq "Lino, Goyut and Louis remained, discussing back and forth what they would do." \(\text{V}^{\text{pagsa:but}}\) "discuss"

9.85 Doubling "continuous action"

qapan bi:san qug qunsa:quq niya g lugnutlugnut lumpayatlumpayat walaq gayud mabugtuq qang kasya:hu ng pi:siq "No matter how it strained and jumped about, the rope would not snap." \(\text{V}^{\text{lugnut}}\) "pull" \(\text{V}^{\text{lumpayat}}\) "jump" \(\text{(67.6)}\)

9.86 "Pass time by doing \(\text{V}\)" \(\text{(productive)}\)

walaq sila y nabu:hat kay hinga:ri sila g sultisulti "They had not accomplished anything they were always chatting." \(\text{V}^{\text{sulti}}\) "talk"

dung pasliguqli:quq qusaq dihaq sa daplin "Son, swim around awhile there at the edge." \(\text{V}^{\text{di:guq}}\) "bathe something" \(\text{(30.14)}\)
9.861 Culu-

magsulusulti saq ta dinhi samtang walaq pa magsug qang kla:si "Let us talk awhile here until classes begin." V— sulti "talk"

9.87 Doubling empty

9.871 Doubling to V—'s which do not occur without

qunyag qang ha:raq naghunaqhu:naq nga kini qusa ka daku ng ti:qaw "And the king thought that this was a great joke." V— hunagu:naq "think" (12.14)

9.872 Doubling with specialized meaning

didtu giqa:yu g kusigkusiq sa buqa:ya "There he was, completely torn to pieces by the crocodile." V— kusiq "pinch" (31.7)

qayaw g qapiqapil ni ng qa:mu ng qa:way "Do not butt into this quarrel of ours." V— qapil "be included"

9.88 Doubling plus Culu- (restricted)

Bases with doubling in the above meanings occur with a prefix Culu- with a meaning of belittling the action.

kumusta si tyaq lusing ni:mu qa maqu giha:pun tu:qa gansilyugansilyu man tu "How is your Aunt Lucy? Just the same as always. She is still spending her days crocheting odds and ends." V— gansilyugansilyu "spend time crocheting"

(This type of doubling is described in Sec. 9.86.)

9.9 Miscellaneous restricted types

9.91 paki- (dead)

Transients with paki- occur only with nag/-mag- forms in active.

9.911 paki- "ask for"

maqa:yu ga:niq kay miqabut qang manga sili:ngan ni:la ni qinting nga nakabatiq sa singgit paki:bang ni qangkay "Fortunately Inting's neighbors came, having heard Ankay's cry for help." V— ta:bang "help" (56.12)

9.912 paki- specialized meaning
gustu taq ku ng magpakisa:yud ba:hin sa balayranan sa qiskuylahan "I would like to ask for information regarding the costs of schooling." V pakisa:yud "ask for information" V sa:yud "know"

9.912 pakiluquy (→) specialized meaning

qarun pasaylusquyun ka s qi:mu ng qamahan magpakiluquy ka kani:ya hangtud mawa:laq qang qi:ya ng pangi:sug "So that you might be forgiven by your father, you must ask him for sympathy until his anger is gone." V pakiluquy "ask for forgiveness" V lu:quy "sympathy"

9.92 pag-

9.921 pag- "do with each other" (restricted)

mi-/mu- combines with pag- to form nag-/mag- (Sec. 8.11824). In passives pag- has a restricted occurrence. It occurs only with the local passive*. With some bases it has an alternant zero**. (It always has a zero alternant if there is a potential Sec. 8.2236.)

gipagqawasyan "thing over which two persons quarrelled"
gigabu:tan "place two people met" (with zero alternant of pag-).
qunsa y qinyu ng gipagqawasyan "What are you fighting with each other over?" V pagqaswa:wy "fight with each other"

gigabu:tan ni:la qang qusa ka qawa:qaw ng da:pit "They met in a deserted place." V pagqa:but "meet"

With the local passive and the instrumental passive the pag- may have an alternate ka-. (This is not considered to be "potential" ka- because the potential meaning is not present.)
gikagawa:yan "reason on account of which two people fought"

With the instrumental passive, pag- has an alternant ka-

* An exception is gipanagtagbuq "persons with whom one meets"

** Cf. Sec. 8.045 for definition of zero alternant.
with all except a few bases.

\text{gikaqa\textsubscript{way} ku si pidru} "I fought with Pedro." \text{V pagqa\textsubscript{way} "fight with one another"}

\text{pag-} also has an alternate zero when used as an infinitive after \text{qug}. (Cf. Sec. 4.68)

\text{nagsugud kami} \{\text{g puyuq}\} \text{sa waq pa y gi:ra} "We began to live together (as man and wife) before the war." \text{V pagpuyuq "live together as man and wife"}

Also the alternant zero occurs in constructions of the type described in Sec. 3.7.

\text{si:gi kami ng ki:taq didtu s magalyanis} "We always meet on Magallanes."

9.211 No shift

\text{di:liq mu magki:taq si baldu s qiskuylahan karun kay wala y kla:si siya} "You will not meet Baldo in school now because he has no classes." \text{V ki:taq "see"}

9.9212 \text{pag- (→)}

\text{nagkasakay kami si tunyu s dyip paqingun sa lahug} "Tony and I happened to ride together in a jeep going to Lahug."

\text{V sakay "ride"}

9.9213 To nominal bases (dead)

\text{magkumpa:ri kamu s qisku kay qikaw ma y pakugu:sun sa bunyag sa qi:ya ng ba:taq} "You will be cofathers with Esco because you will be made sponsor at the baptism of his child." \text{V kumpa:ri "person who is godfather of another's child or one whose child was sponsored by another"}

9.9214 \text{pag- with derived bases}

\text{qug mugi:kan ka run qadtu mu s manda:wi maghinagbuq} "If you leave now, you will meet in Mandawe." \text{V hinagbuq "meet"}

9.9215 Specialized meaning

\text{kun magkada:yun s tasya qug si husi qang qi:la ng kinabu:hiq wala y kahu:say} "If Tasya and José get married, their lives will have no peace." \text{V da:yun "forever"}
9.922 **pag-** (confined to pagbugut)

wa y la:qi ng taiwu ng magbugut kun di:liq qaku "No other person will decide but me." buqut "will"

ginagbutaan siya sa qi:ya ng qamahan nga di:liq siya pagwaqun sa lawak "He was ordered by his father not to go out of the room." (Lit.:"He was affected by his father's will that he was not to be allowed out of the room."

9.93 **-an-** "plural agents" (productive)

This infix occurs with some forms having affixes of the shape nag-/mag-/pag-. The nag-/mag- affixes which occur with -an- are those described in the following sections and their subsections: 8.1211, 8.1212, 8.1213, 8.123, 8.1241, 8.1243, 8.1244, 8.1253, 8.126 and 9.92. The -an- with the abstract and infinitive occurs with the pag-'s corresponding to the nag-/mag- of the above section (Sec. 8.311). The -an- is a hallmark of fancy style except in certain set expressions (the form without -an- being the one usually used).

9.931 **-an-** to bases with nag-/mag- in meaning "continual" or "nonvolitional" (Secs. 8.1211 and 8.1212)

si pidiri:ku qana:qa sa kamut sa manga qagtaq niqa:na ng manga diwaq nga karun nanagtanqaw qug nagpamatig kana:tuq qapan walaq maki:taq sa qa:tu ng manga mata "Federico is in the hands of the 'agta', those spirits which are looking at us and listening to us now, but which are not seen by our eyes." tanqaw "look"

(Note that nanagtamiq can also be used in this context with the same meaning but/artificial in style)

(-an- with pag-)

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*There are some bases, however, occurring with the nag-/mag- of these sections which do not occur with nanag-/manag- e.g. magkahulug Sec. 8.12112. nanag-/manag- is most usual with the nag-/mag- of Sec. 8.1213 and the nag-/mag- of Sec. 9.92, and occurs with all bases of these groups.*
The only people left in the convent were the gamblers who with great enthusiasm continued their gambling. *V su:gal "gamble"

kana ng manga tawhainanenagpakasarun qingnu ng sapi:qan "Those people are pretending to be wealthy." V qarun qingnun "pretending to be"

kana ng manga tu:qa sa qatubangangan sa simbahan nanagpakilimus kay byirnis man "Those people in front of the church are begging because it is Friday." V pakilimus "to beg"

A derivative prefix nanag- occurs with direct passive non-potentials (Sec. 6.21). For those bases which occur with nanag-/manag- the meaning is "plural agent, action continuing." (I.e., gipanag- is the passive corresponding in meaning to nanag-[nag- plus -an- Sec. 9.931] and panag- -un is the passive corresponding in meaning to manag-[mag- plus -an- Sec. 9.931]).
This usage is confined to high style.

tibuqg kuqhaq ni:nla qang manga batu dinhaq sa quma "They spent the whole day removing the stones from the field."  
įunuq "take, remove"

This nanag- is also used with the local passives (Sec. 8.22) with some bases.

gipanagkuha:qa g manga batu qang quma "The field was being cleared of stones."  Vku:haq "get, remove"

9.936 nanag-/manag- vs. nagpaN-/magpaN-

If paN- has a meaning of plural agent, it has the same meaning as -an-. If the base is of the type listed in Sec. 9.93, -an- is usually preferred. Otherwise nag-/mag- plus paN- is used.  
nag-/mag- to paN- plural is rare. (Cf. Sec. 8.12112.)

miha:runq siya sa daku ng salamin qug naki:taq ni:yqa qang nagpangaputiq ni:yqa ng buhuk "He faced the huge mirror and looked at his hair which was becoming white." (kaputiq does not occur with nanag-)

nahimuqut siya ng nagtenqaw sa qi:ya ng nanagkedaku ng manga qanak "He took pleasure in watching his children grow up."  Vdakuq "big"

9.9361 nanag-/manag- to bases with paN-

nanag-/manag- is used to bases with paN- meaning plural.

(This is not usual but confined to a fancy or turgid style. Of course, with other meanings of paN-, nanag-/manag- is free to occur) (Cf. Sec. 8.12112.)

gawas sa manga bungtud nga lata:sun quadu:na y manga lugutlugut nga la:wun nga qang qagiq:inan maqu qang manga tigka:huy nga nanapangatumba qug ghi:imu ng lataya:nan sa manga nanapuyuq sa maqu ng darpit "Aside from the hills to be traversed, there are deep crevices, the passage over which is fallen logs made into catwalks by the residents of that place."  Vpangatumba "fall down (plural)"
9.94 -an/-anan (→) "to V habitually" (productive)

This is only used inactive and with prefixes nag-/mag-/pag-
and with tig- (Sec. 10.131).

samtang ni:qa pa qikaw dinhi sa hospital maganhiyan ku dinhi matag buntag "While you are still here in the hospital, I will come here every morning." V qanhi "come"

The alternant with -anan occurs with bases having a closed penult.

qug muqadtu siya sa qu:pun meghagkanan siya sa birhin "When he goes to Opon, he kisses the Virgin." V haluk "kiss"

9.941 To nontransient bases

dinhi na lang pagqatang sa karti:ru kay magkununayan man siya dinhi g mabuntag "Just wait for the postman here because he comes here every morning." V kanu:ny "always"

9.95 nagsig-/magsig- "each do separately" (restricted)

qug nagsigpadu:ng sila ngadtu sa balay nga gigika:nan sa manga singgit "And each of them went to the house from which the cries originated." V padu:ng "go toward" (20.4)

However, with these bases nagsig-/magsig- or gi:si plus g plus base also occurs with the same meaning and is less fancy style.

qang manga ta:wu gi:siq pana:gan nanampung sa qi:la ng qilung "The people were all running about covering their noses." (34.1)

9.96 -in- "continuous V-" (productive)

This type of base is most frequently used by itself either as a noun meaning "continuous action" or in the constructions of the type described in Sec. 3.7.

*The meaning of this type of transient is habitually do an action which has a person or place goal. This meaning would point to an interpretation that these types are nag-/mag-/pag- to nominal bases of the type described in Sec. 10.24 (similar to the unreal local passives in meaning). However, since most forms following nag-/mag-/pag- do not occur by themselves as nouns, this interpretation is rejected.*
9.961 Meaning "continuous action of V" (productive)

taqutdaqud na ng sinamqid ni qinting sa qi:ya ng linantip
"Inting had been sharpening his bolo for a long time now." V——samqid "sharpen" (48.1)

9.962 Meaning "continuous sound of V"

qunyaq gipuli:han sa hinagtub qug linagubu daw qusa ka panun nga ka:baw nga nakabuhig sa turil "Then it was replaced by the continuous booming and thudding sounds like a herd of carabao that had escaped from the enclosure." V——lagubu "boom" V——hagtub "thud" (66.7)

9.963 Meaning "continuous having the quality of V"

(to noun bases) (dead)

walaq siya makatulug tungud sa dina:qang sa qi:ya ng la:was "He could not sleep because of the fever in his body." V——daga:qang "warmth"

9.97 Dead transient formers

9.971 pasi-

kini ng piging qusa ka pasidungug qa:lang sa qi:mu ng paglampus sa pasualit "This party is in honor of your success in the examination." V——dungug "honor"

9.972 sing-/siN-

9.9721 sing-

dinhi ni ng yuta:qa gisugdan na qusab ni:la qug qugba qug qi:la pa gayu ng giduga:ngan qang qi:la ng paningka:mut "In this land they started farming all over from scratch, and they added to their strivings." V——singka:mut "to strive" V——kamut "hand" (53.16)

9.9722 siN-

singulan siya g baligyaq sa qi:ya ng pu:tu pi:ru wa y namalit "He was selling poto out in the rain but there were no buyers." V——qulan "rain"

9.973 pani-

pani— does not occur with nag-/mag-. mi-/mu- + pani-
becomes nani-/mani-.

kaqusa walaq makatiwas si qirting sa qi:ya ng paniqudtu "One time Inting could not finish eating his lunch." V qudtu "noon" (55.13)

9.974 tiN-
pagsu:d na:kuq nakatimahug ku g patay ng qilaqaq "Upon entering, I smelled a dead rat." V ba:huq "smell"

9.9741 paniN- (=pan- + tiN-)  

Cf. Sec. 9.2723.

9.97411 To transient bases

maqu ng gipugaq ni:ya qang qi:ya ng qu:tuk pagpangi:tq g paqa:gi qarun matu:man qang qi:ya ng panimalus "Therefore, he racked his brains looking for a way to take his revenge." V panimalus "take revenge" (59.5)

9.97412 To adjective bases

kung walaq dihaq qang qinahan si husi maningalit qug du:qaw sa dala:ga "When the mother was not there Jose would surreptitiously visit the girl." V paningalit "to do something fast with the aim of not being caught or seen" V kalit "sudden"

9.97413 To noun bases

bi:sa g qunsaqun qug ta:guq sa duryan manima:huq gyud "No matter what you do to hide it, durian will smell." V ba:huq "smell"

9.9742 paniN- to bases with no tiN-

naninga:qun qang qi:mu ng kanding sa manga tanum ni qiyaq tiryu "Your goat is feeding on Aunt Teria's plants." V ka:qun "eat" V paninga:qun "feed (eat - said of animals)"

9.975 tig- (→)

kaqanti:gu ka ba ng mulanguy qug tighayaq "Do you know how to swim on your back?" V ha:yaq "to be caused to lie on one's back as when one is made to lie in state"

9.976 panig-

panig- does not occur with nag-/mag-, mi-/mu- + panig- becomes nanig-/manig-
qayaw g panigqingun sa ta:wu ng wala y bata:san "Do not be like a person with no manners." V—gingun "like"

9.9761 To noun bases (with ———)

nanighawak si qida g bantay sa qiyaya ng mutsatsa ng nagtra:pu sa salug sa makapila ng dig na maqihap "Ida stood with her hands on her hips, watching her maid cleaning the floor for the nth. time." V—ha:wak "waist"

9.977 panggi— (dead)

sa barbiri:ya ng qikuq dagha ng ta:wu ng nanggida:ma "In Eco's barbershop there were many persons playing checkers." V—da:ma "checkers"

niqadtu sa qa:ku ng pagtu:qu qaku ra y qaingay ng masa:yud nga:nu ng qiyaya pa ng panggilabutan "Formerly, I believed I was the only one who should know. Why did he have to butt in?" V—la:but "concern"

9.9771 manggi—

nga:nu ng nagmanggila:qin man ka total kitaki:ta ra bitaw "Why do you feel yourself a stranger? After all it is only us." V—manggila:qin "to feel oneself a stranger [[unrelated]]

9.978 paha—

buqut ku ng magpahali:pay kang du:dung sa qadlaw sa qiyaya ng kasal "I would like to congratulate Dodong on his wedding day." V—pahali:pay "congratulate"

9.979 —um— (←) (dead)

The —um— infix is used with the active. This infix occurs only with pag-/nag-/mag-/naka-/maka— in the active.

nagdumiliq si ma:ma sa pagtanqaw na:ku g sini "Mama would not allow me to go see the movie." V—dumiliq "refuse" V—di:liq "no"

kinsa y nagduma:la sa mantala:qa ng bisayaq "Who manages the journal Bisaya?" V—duma:la "manage" V—dala "carry"

9.10 Nominal bases used as bases of transients

Bases of transients are considered to be nouns if they occur as nouns and if the meaning is not "thing that has been V—ed",
"action of V—ing" or "means of V—("(Cf. the discussion Secs. 8.011 and 8.013.) In this section we will consider nominal bases which have a number of inflectional affixes with the meaning of the base remaining the same. Those which occur with passive affixes may also occur as bases to which the nouns similar to the passives (Sec. 10.2) are formed. (Cf. the example 10.24323.) Those types which occur with only one affix are not considered here but are listed under the affix with which they occur.

9.10.11 Meaning "wear, use as V—" (productive)

These nouns occur with mi-/mu-, nag-/mag-, naka-/maka-, local passive and instrumental passive.

**mikarsuni**siya sa qi:ya ng bagqu qug nana:qug "He put on his new pants and went out." V karsuni "trousers" When used as base of transient, "wear trousers"

**nagkarsuni** qaku "I am wearing pants."

**gang babayi di:liq makkarsuni** niqi:ni ng syuda:ra kay su:pak man sa bala:qud "Women cannot wear trousers in this city because it is against the law."

**karsuni** san si du:dung kay mangadtu na ta s’ sini "Dodong should have pants put on him because we are going to the show."

**qikarsuni** ku qang qa:ku ng bagqu "I will put on my new pants."

**qikarsuni** saq ku qi:ni gusta ku ng mutanqaw s hitsu:ra "First put these trousers on for me. I want to see how they look."

manday manggi:kan na ta maqu pa y qi:ya ng qikarsuni "He does not put on his trousers until just before we are about to leave."

9.10.12 "Season with V—" (productive)

These nouns occur with mi-/mu-, nag-/mag-, naka-/maka- local passive, and instrumental meaning "person for whom."

**misili** si ma:ma sa qinunqu:na ng bansi:kul "Mama put chili in the mackerel stewed in vinegar." V si:li "chili pepper"

(Note that si:li has a (→) when used as a base of a transient.)
kinsa y nagsili qini ng bingka "Who put peppers in these rice oakes?"

waq ra ba ku makasili sa tinu:wa kay waq ma y baligyaq "I was not able to put chili in the stew because there was none for sale."

waq ku tuyu:qa pasilihan ma:kuq qang turta "I unintentionally put pepper into the omelette."

qa:ku ng gisili kini ng qimu ng kulikut kay walaq ku kapalit gi:kan sa tyanggi "I will use your chili pepper because I was not able to buy any from the market."

gisili ku qa:ri ng su:kaq "Put chili in this vinegar for me."

9.10.13 "Ride a V—" (productive)

These bases occur with nag-/mag- and gi-/un/-a.

magayrupla:nu lang ta kay qarun makaqabut ta s pista "Let us just take an airplane so as to make the fiesta." V qayrupla:nu "airplane"
kana ng gilayqu:na qiguq gyu ng gayruplanuhun "That distance is so far one should take a plane."

9.10.14 "Play V—" (productive)

This affix occurs with mi-/mu-, nag-/mag-, maka-/maka-,

gi-/an, gi-/qi-

gustu ka ng muti:nis ru ng ha:pun "Do you want to play tennis this afternoon?" V ti:nis "tennis"

qunya g muqabut si maryu gi:kan s mani:laq magti:nis ta qadlawqadlaw "When Mario arrives from Manila, we will play tennis every day."

nasukuq si qiyuq supru kay gipingpu:ngan sa manga ba:taq qang baggu ni:ya ng lami:sa "Uncle Sofro got mad because the children played pingpong on his new table." V pingpung "pingpong"

kini ng sapatu:sa qa:ku ng qiti:nis kay da:qan "I will play tennis in these shoes because they are old."

hustu na ru ng qiti:nis "Now is the time to play tennis."

9.10.15 "Do something until V—" (restricted)

These bases occur with neg-/mag- with the direct, local and instrumental passives.

sunud baggu ng tuqi:q magbuntaq ta g bayli "Next New Year we
Will dance till morning. V buntag "morning"

bunta:gun na:tuq qang bayli tatal waq man ta y kla:si qugmaq "Let us make this dance last till morning because we do not have classes tomorrow anyway." [Lit.: "cause to be done to morning"

bunta:gun na:tuq qug hara:na si qu:ping "We will serenade Oping till morning."

qinya ng gibunta:gan qang sugaq "He burned the light until morning."

kini ng sugaq maqu y gibunta:gan "This light is to be used until morning."

9.10.16 "Hold V— " (restricted)

Nouns of this type occur with nag-/mag-, maka-/maka- (but not all) and local passives.

sa qa:muq sa qamirika qug du:na y magkumbira di:liq ga:niq qimbitahun sa tagqinya sa kumbira di:liq gyud mi muqadtu "At home in America, whenever anyone holds a banquet, we never go unless we are invited by the host of the banquet." V kumbira "banquet" (38.1)

walaq sila makakumbira kay sila naglu:tu "They were not able to hold the banquet because they were in mourning."

gikumbirahan qang paglampus ni syaning sa pasu:lit "They held a banquet to celebrate Syaning's success in the examination."

9.10.17 "Close with a V— " (restricted)

Nouns of this type occur with nag-/mag-, maka-/maka- and instrumental passives.

si hwan maqu y magtrangka sa gawang ka:da gabi:qi "John is the one who bolts the door at night." V trangka "crossbar"

nataktrangka ka na be sa gawang "Have you bolted the door?"

trangka:han qang matag pulta g magabi:qi "Each door is to be bolted at night."

qitrangka ni:ya qang daku ng baratish:ha sa binta:nq "He will bolt the window with a large board." (Lit.: "used a board to bolt")

maqu pa y qitrangka ni:ya s gawang nga nakabuhiq na ng kaba:yuq "Now he locks the door after the horse has gotten away."

qitrangka ku qarni ng pultahan ha "Bolt this door for me."

9.10.18 Miscellaneous types
magbalay ku s lahug "I will build a house in Lahug." V
balay "house" (When used as a transient "build a house")

makabelay ba ku dinhi mananghid ku ni:mu kay "May I build a
house here? I am asking permission because..."

maqu ni ng yuta:qa qi:mu ng balayan "Is this the land you will
build on?"

qikabelay ba ni ng ka:huy nga maqu ra g gubuk "Can this wood be
used to build a house, for it seems rotten?"

9.10.2 Derivatives to nominal bases

Derivatives occur with nominal bases used as transients, but
these are restricted.

9.10.21 paN- "plural"

sa tyimpu sa gi:ra basta tingtugnaw na ga:niq gang qa:mu ng
qipang:bu:lu sa:ku sa kala:may "During the war when cold weather
set in, we used to use blankets made from sugar sacks." V ha:bu:lu
"blanket" (as T base: "use as a blanket")

9.10.22 pa-

dil:liq ku pabalayan ni:ya qang qa:ku ng yu:taq "I will not
allow him to build a house on my land." V pabalay "have some­
one build a house"

9.10.23 Other derivatives

nag:sihilay qang duha ka mananagat "The two fishermen were
hurling sharp words at each other." V sihilay "hurl sharp
words at each other"

makigtimis ku ni:mu ru ng ha:pu:n "I would like to play tennis
with you this afternoon." V pakigtimis "play tennis with
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-\text{-unun}

\text{paN- -un} (dead) specialized meaning

Local passives "action completed"

\text{-in- -an} "thing V\text{—}\text{ed}" (restricted)

\text{-in- -an} to derived base (restricted)

\text{-in- -an} specialized meaning

\text{-in- -an} "person on whom V\text{—}\text{devolved}" (restricted)

\text{-in- -an} to derived base

\text{-in- -an} specialized meanings

\text{-in- -an} "place at which V\text{—}\text{was done}" (restricted)

\text{-in- -an} "place" to nontransient base (restricted)

\text{-in- -an} "reason on account of which" (restricted)

\text{-in- -an} specialized meaning

\text{-in- -anan} (dead)

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\text{-\text{an}}

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10.2414   -r- -an (various meanings) (dead)
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10.242    -anan "place where activity is to be held (person on whom action devolves) 
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-an "place where activity is held"

-an (no shift) specialized meaning

-an (→) (productive)

-an (→) specialized meaning (instrumental)

"Place where V is found, grown, kept or made" (productive)

-an (→)

Specialized meaning

-an (←)

-anan "place where V is found" (dead)

-an (←) specialized meaning

-an (→) "place where V is sold"

-an (←) "place where V is sold"

"Part of the body where V is located" (restricted)

-an (→)

-an (←)

Direction or vicinity of V " (restricted)

-an (→)

-an (←) (dead)

-an (→) "relation (older generation)" (dead)

-an "group of V"

-anan (dead)

"Group or collection of V " (to nominal base)

-kan (productive)

-kan "place where V is found"

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Specialized meaning

-kan meaning "all of V " (restricted)

-kan "V as a whole"

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Chapter Ten: Affixes with Nouns

10.0 Bases to which nouns are formed

Nouns are formed to derived and underived nominal and adjectival bases and to transient bases underived or derived with affixes \( \text{panN-, ka- or doubling} \). Nouns are not formed to transient bases with other affixes. In the case of bases with \( \text{panN-} \) when the \( \text{panN-} \) is "dropped" (Sec. 9.244), the criterion as to whether the affix is to the base alone or to the base with \( \text{panN-} \) is semantic. Thus \( \text{manunud} \) "heir" is to a base \( \text{panunud} \) "inherit" whereas \( \text{magsulu:nu} \) "follower" is to a base \( \text{synud} \) "follow".

10.1 Affixes forming names of persons

10.11 "Person from" (to nominal bases)

10.111 \( \text{taga-} \) "one from" (productive)

\( \text{manga} \)
dagh\( \text{man} \) na qang/\( \text{paqa:gi} \) \( \text{qang gihi:muq sa tagaba:ngay qarun pagsi:kup sa mabangis nga mananap} \) "The barrio people had already tried many ways of capturing the ferocious animal."

\( \text{V bala:ngay} \) "barrio" (57.5)

dinha y tagaqadwa:na nga nangi:ta ng du:dung gani:ha "There was a man from the customs who was looking for Dodong a while ago."

\( \text{V qadwa:na} \) "customs bureau"

10.112 \( \text{tagi-} \) "resident of" (dead)

qang manga tagilungsud nagpunduk didtu s pla:sa "The townspeople gathered at the plaza."

\( \text{V lungsud} \) "town"

10.12 "Person who does \( \text{V} \) by nature or occupation"

10.121 \( \text{maN-} \) \( \text{-r-} \) (productive)

10.1211 To bases with \( \text{panN-} \) (panN- dropped) (\( \rightarrow \))

This affix is productive only with bases with \( \text{panN-} \). On the

*For the criteria for determining the bases cf. Sec. 9.0.1.

**There are a few exceptions, but these are dead formations.
other hand, bases with pan- do not occur with the other affixes forming names of persons. It usually occurs with short penult if the penult is not closed. This man- -r- occurs to all bases which occur with a prefix pan- "occupation" (Sec. 9.22).

manginginhas qang manga babayi sa pulambatu kay qang bala:ngay nahimutang sa daplin sa da:git diqin daghan kaqa:yu ng kinhasun "The women of Pulambato are shell gatherers because the village is located by the sea where there are very many sea shells." V panginginhas "gather shells for a living"

tawga qang mananabang kay manganak na si silya "Call the midwife because Celia is going to deliver." V pana:bang "help a woman deliver"

10.1212 To underived base

nakabasa ka na ba ba:hin sa maninital nga si salumi "Have you read about Salome, the temptress?" V tintal "tempt"

10.1211 (<-)

qang baqa:ya sa sa:lug qusa ka manunu:kub "The crocodile in the river is a predatory animal." V tukub "eat predatorily"

10.1213 man- -l- (dead)

miqadtu silica sa manalag:naq qarun pagti:nuq quq kinsa y mangawat sa kalabaw "They went to the seer to find out who stole the carabao." V tagnaq "foretell"

10.122 mag- -r- (to transient base) (productive)

nakagustu qang manga tinunqan sa bagqu ng magtutudluq "The students liked the new teacher." V tudluq "teach"

10.1231 mag- -r- (->) (to transient base)

nagqabli quq bagqu ng tinda:han qang magpapatigayun "The merchant opened a new store." V patigayun "engage in business"

10.1232 mag- -r- (<-)

qaku quinta y maghaha:tud sa balasahun ngadtu s qiskuylahan qapan giqilisân na ku ng kadyu "I was the one who used to bring the reading materials to school, but now Kadyo has replaced me," V hatud "bring"

10.124 mag- -r- (->) (to noun base)

qang magbabalaquq kinahangla ng musunud sa bala:qud nga
qi:ya ng gimugnaq "The lawmaker should obey the law which he has created." V bala:qud "law"

nindut qang manga ku:lu ng hini:mu sa maskukulun nga tagatali:say "The pots made by the pot maker from Talisay are pretty." V ku:lu: "pot"

10.1241 mag- -r- (→) (to noun base specialized meaning)

si badung qusa ka daku ng magyu:taq sa mindanaw "Badung is a big landowner in Mindanao." V yu:taq "land"

10.125 mag- -l- (productive)

gipatay sa tulisan qang magbalantay sa budi:ga "The robber killed the warehouse guard." V bantay "watch"

10.126 mag- -l- (→)

qang megbuluhat sa maqa:yu ng saput qatu:qa sa mani:laq "The good dressmakers are in Manila." V bu:hat "make"

10.128 r- -um- "one who"

qubayqubay na ng manga lumulupyuq qang namalhin sa pinuyqa:nan tungud sa kahadluk "Quite a number of the inhabitants moved away now because of fear." V *lupyuq (57.13)

10.129 Dead types

10.1291 maki- -r- (←)

qang makili:limus si:gi ng qanhaq sa qa:muq mabirnis kay qa:kuq ma ng pagahataga g tagdyis "The beggar always comes to my place on Fridays because I give him ten cents each time." V pakilimus "beg"

10.1292 tig-

si manang maqu y tigcalima sa ba:taq "Big Sister is the one who takes care of the child." V qali:ma "take care"

si santus na karun qang tigduma:la sa tinda:han "Santos is the store manager now." V duma:la "manage"

si bituy qang tiggalam sa manga manuk "Bitoy is the one who takes care of the chickens." V galam "take care"

10.1293 -iru (←)

Note that with this affix the base has an alternant without
The boatman took us to the other side of the river."  

"Then the cooks were carrying clubs."  

"Government workers camped in this place."

"The one who often comes to drink here in our store died."

"Since her beloved went away, Lena does not usually eat between meals any more."

"She usually comes to the city Sundays because she drops by the market after going to church."

"I always eat at Juana's place."

"The one who usually asks for the empty tin cans will come now."

"I usually cook the rice, and you prepare the rest."
lunqag "cook"

10.1331 tig- -r- (←)

qang qa:ku ng manghud baba:yi maqu y tiglala:ba sa qa:ku ng sini:naq "My younger sister is the one who usually washes my clothes." V laba "wash clothes"

10.1332 tig- -r- (→)

karu ng simanahu:na si qa:iks maqu y tiglalabay g saqbut "This week Alex is the one who will throw away the trash." V laba:bay "throw"

10.1333 tig- -r- (specialized meaning)

siya y tigdudumbul ni pa:pa sa pagpalit qug dulsi sa manga ba:taq "She is the one who always talks daddy into buying candy for the children." V dumbul "poke with a large stick"

10.134 tig- -l- "one who does an action repeatedly"

qikaw ba y tigbuluqbuq sa tanum qug maha:pun "Are you the one who waters the plant every afternoon?" V buqbuq "pour water on"

10.1341 tig- -l- (→)

qaha qikaw diqay tigbulunal sa qa:ku ng qiruq "Aha! So you are the one who always beats my dog!" V bu:nal "beat"

10.1342 tig- -l- (←)

qadtujja s ma:nuy mu kay siya ma y tigbala:nig kun mangatu:lug na mu "Go ask your elder brother because he is the one who usually spreads the mat out when you all go to sleep." V banig "spread a mat"

10.1343 tig- -l- (←) (specialized meaning)

ting kinsa ma y tigsala:ka s qinyu ng lubi "Ting, who usually gathers your coconuts?" V saka "climb"

10.14 "Person doing a particular action"

10.141 r- -um- (productive)

10.1411 r- -um-

qug qa:ng tawu kansa ng kalawa:san nabunqug sa pinuspus sa manga tumatabang waq na la:mang magtingug "And the man, whose entire body was bruised by the blows given him by his attackers, did not say a word." V tabang "to gang up on a person" (23.5)
nalingaw gayud kaqa:yu qang manga tumatangaw sa sa:yaw sa manga ba:taq "The spectators were really entertained by the dancing of the children." V tanqaw "see"

10.1412 r- -um- (←)

pitu ka sumasa:kay qang nasamad sa paghibanggaq sa trak nga q:la ng gisakyan sa quqa ka dyip "Seven passengers were injured when the bus they were riding collided with a jeep." V sakay "ride"

10.1413 r- -um- (→)

nagdumi:liq qang pumipiliq sa pagbaligyaq sa qi:ya ng bu:tu "The voter refused to sell his vote." V pi:liq "elect, choose"

10.142 maN- -r- (restricted)

10.1421 maN- -r-

qang manga maninimba nagdala qug kandislaq sa simbahan "The churchgoers were taking candles to church." V simba "go to church"

10.1422 maN- -r- (→)

daghan qang mananayaw karu ng gabhiqu:na "There are many dancers tonight." V sa:yaw "dance"

10.1423 maN- -r- (←)

qug labaw pa niqa:naq mahi:mu ng manunu:nud sa qi:ya ng ginharican "And furthermore, he would become the heir to his kingdom." V panunud "inherit" (33.8)

10.1424 maN- -r- -ay (dead)

qang quba ng maninimba:hay namaqui:liq na lang tungud kay taqas kaqa:yu qang sirmun sa pa:riq "Some of the churchgoers just went home because the priest's sermon was so long." V simba "go to church"

10.143 tag- (restricted)

10.1431 tag-

qang tagsalaq mequ y magba:yad sa nangagu:qak nga manga pinggan qug baisu didtu sa kanqanan "The guilty party is the one who should pay for the broken plates and glasses at the restaurant." V salaq "guilt"

10.1432 tag- (←)

si risal maqu y tagsu:lat sa duha ka libru nga nakapala: gut
Rizal is the author of the two books which angered the Spanish priests.

When we passed by a certain house, we were invited in by the owner in order to rest.

The two men had many papers with them, documents, they said, which were proof that the thin man was the owner of the land.

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10.155  r- -um- extended to impersonal phenomena (restricted)

mu ra g bumabagyu kini ng ha:ngin "The wind seems as though we are going to have a typhoon." V bagyu "storm"

10.1551  r- -um- (←) (restricted)

qumgu:ian kini ng qadla:wa kay dagqum qang la:ngit "Today is likely to be rainy because the skies are dark." V qulan "rain"

10.156  Cumu- "about to V" (productive)

The meaning of this is the same as r- -um-.

10.1561  Cumu-

lumulangyaw kadtu si pidru qapan gipugngan siya sa qi:ya ng qinahan "Pedro was about to go abroad, but his mother stopped him." V langyaw "go to other places"

10.1562  Cumu- (←)

si qinting nga sumusa:kay na quntaq sa trak miba:lik sa qi:la kay du:ma y nabyaqan "Inting, who was about to get on the bus, went home because there was something he left behind." V sakay "ride"

10.1563  Cumu- (→)

si ginang ru:sis maqu y humuhataq sa midalya qapan waq siya makaqanhi kay nasakit man "Mrs. Roces would have been the one to give the medal, but she could not come because she was sick." V ha:tag "give"

10.157  ka- -un (→) "one who is on the verge of V" (productive)

This form differs from the r- -um- and Cumu- in that the action occurs because of something outside of the agent or against his will, whereas for r- -um- or Cumu- the action is neutral as to the will of the agent.

10.1571  ka- -un (→)

kahilakun si li:na nga nagdumi:liq sa pagqa:wit "Lena was on the verge of tears as she refused to sing." V hi:lak "cry"
"She was on the verge of shouting for help when her husband arrived."  

"Let the puppy out because it probably has to urinate now."  

"I was about to ask for his watch, but he had already given it to someone else."  

"Maring is crying because she is very sleepy."  

"Hurry, it is about to rain."  

"I was at the verge of laughing a while ago in church."  

"At that time he was on the verge of getting married, but Maria did not want to and went away."  

"Twelve o'clock has just rung, and your father is about to arrive at this hour."  

"He kept looking in the distance"
as though looking for someone about to arrive."  "arrive" (62.6)

10.1592  tali- (→)

naqabut hinu:qun si mistir qunraw sa diha ng talikaqun na quntaq ku sa qa:ku ng qu:sa ka buqquk mangga "Mr. Unrau arrived just as I was about to eat my one mango."

10.1593  tali- extended to impersonal phenomena (to nominal base) (dead)

taliqudtu na siya ng pakuq:liq sa ba:qy  "He will come"  "He comes"  "He came"
just a little before noon."  "noon"

10.16  Name formers (restricted)

10.161  -gy (←) (used in storytelling)

gikuptan ni dangaw:way sa qi:kug si baqu:hay quq giqitsa s da:qat "Mr. Dangaw took hold of Mr. Turtle's tail and tossed him into the sea,"  baqu "turtle"  daingaw "measurement (span from thumb tip to tip of middle finger)"

This type frequently occurs with doubling:  dangawdangaw:way: baubacu:hay.

10.162  gqN- -e (→) "one who" (dead)

This affix is used to form names of animals, mythological beings, etc. which do the .

qang manga tinunqaq nanakup quq manga qananaq:law quq qanunu:ba qarun qirta ng tunqaq sa kla:si "The students are catching spiders and moths to be studied in their class."  saklaw "grab" sugba "burn in fire"

10.17  Persons miscellaneous (dead types)

10.171  -an (→)

Adjective forms with -an in the same meaning are productive.

Cf. Sec. 11.331.

qang diwatahan di:liq makatambal kun walaq qang qugis  "The medicine man cannot cure you unless he has a white rooster."

diwa:ta  "a type of rite"
lisud qang pagbyahi nga magdala g masusu. "It is difficult to travel with an infant." V su:su "suckle"

10.173 Doubling of base with specialized meanings of "one who"

Cf. Sec. 10.8133.

gipatay qang pulis sa bataqba:taq ni kadyu ng matun. "The policeman was killed by the bodyguard of Cadio, the Tuftian ba:taq "child."

nangitaq kami qug basta ng mahi:mu ng tabangta:bang sa panimalay. "We are looking for a child who can help around the house." V ta:bang "help".

qusa:si linda sa manga quluqu:lu sa manga kapunu:ngan sa qiskuy-lahan. "Linda is one of the leaders of school organizations." V qu:lu "head".

10.1731 Doubling to nonnominal bases

si ti:nu na karun qang dakuqda:kuq sa q:la ng buhatan. "Tino is the boss in their office now." V dakuq "big"

10.174 pan- "agent"

Cf. Sec. 10.72.

qunyaq mikata:wa lang quruy qang panway nga qalug. "Then the devil Alog just up and laughed." V sway "tempt" (64.12)

10.18 "Persons who are related" (restricted)

10.181 qig- (→)

 nga:nu ng makigminyuq ka man kang li:na nga di:liq man naq siya na:tuq gig:la:qin. "Why do you want to marry Lina when she is still a relative of ours?" V la:qin "different"

qang qa:ku nga qig:qa:gaw nga si li:ta miqabut na. "Lita, my cousin, has already arrived." V qagaw "cousin"

10.182 ma- (→)

These are dead transient formations of the type described in Sec. 9.921.

named:ta sa pa:riq qang duha ka magqa:gaw. "The two cousins visited the priest." V qagaw "cousin"
There was once a couple many years ago who had a son.

This is the type mag- (Sec. 10.182) with -an- plural infix (Sec. 9.93).

So he was forced (to go) because they were friends.

This is for qamaːqun "godfather" and qinaːqun "godmother".

I was given many toys by my godmother last Christmas.

This is confined to qinanak "godchild".

It is Christmas again, and that godson of mine will be sure not to forget me.

Person who or thing which is one of a pair" (restricted)

When he returned to town, his former childhood contemporaries did not recognize him any more.

He at once looked for the enemy so that he could avenge his beloved child.

Lata was my copassenger in the rig.
10.1913 ka- to derived base

10.19131 ka- to base with tagi-

maqu kini si linda qang qa:ku ng katagilungsud "This is Linda, my fellow townsman." V- tagilungsud "resident of the town"

10.1914 ka- to qualifier base

walaq siya mahadluk sa qi:ya ng kagatbang "He was not afraid of his opponent." V- qatbang "side facing"

10.1915 ka- with specialized meaning

gimahal ni:ya qang qi:ya kapi:kas sa kinabuhiq "He cherished his spouse." V- pi:kas "half of a whole"

giqina:nay pagbira sa qita:qas samtang nagagunit qang kaputul sa baksan sa daku ng ka:huy "It was pulled up gradually to the top while half of the python held on to the huge tree." V- putul "cut"

10.19151 ka- (←)

ha:qin man qang qi:mu ng kalu:ha "Where is your twin brother?" V- duha "two"

kita ng manga kadu:quq ni lapula:pu mahigugma:qun qusab sa kagawa:san "We, who are Lapulapu's kinsmen, are also lovers of liberty." V- duguq "blood"

10.1916 ka- plus base qualified by qi:sig "fellow" V- "

Cf. Sec. 6.511.

Many bases with ka- do not occur except when qualified by qi:sig (qi:si).

10.19161 qi:sig ka-

malu:quy ka sa qi:sig ni:mu kata:wu "You should sympathize with your fellow men." V- ta:wu "man"

10.191611 qi:sig ka- to derived base

malumus quntaq siya kung waq pa siya tabangqi sa qi:ya ng qi:sig kamananagat "He would have drowned had his fellow fisherman not come to his aid." V- mananagat "fisherman"
10.191612 qis sig ka- (to object not person; base meaning "both 's")

qang qis sig kaligid nga luyu sa trak pulus bagqu "Both rear tires of the truck are new."  V ligid "wheel, tire"

10.192 masig ka- (noun) (restricted) "each one of the

in a group"

tungud sa qi:la ng pangahu:lug nangaba:liq qang qi:la ng masig kali:qu:ug "Because of their fall both of their necks were broken."  V li:qug "neck"

maqika:gun kaqayu sila ng nama:tiq sa matag siyaq nga himu:qu:un sa magtutulduq pagta:liq sa manga butus nga makuhag sa masig kakandidatu "They listened with great concern to every broadcast which the teacher made counting the votes obtained by each of the candidates."  V kandidatu "candidate"

10.2 Nouns similar to the passives

In this group are nouns similar in meaning to the transients which mean the names of things or persons to which an action is, will be, or has been done or which are indirectly affected by an action. The meanings of these nouns are parallel to those of the passives (Sec. 8.12). The following table presents a summary of these noun formers:

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<td>qig- -l- (→)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
10.21 Direct passives - action completed (productive)

10.211 -in- "thing that has been V-ed"

dagha ng nakakitaq qug manumpaq gayud nga may hikut nga lina:maq sa li:qug qang mananap "Many saw and swore that the animal wore a dyed thread around its neck." V la:maq "to dye" (57.17)

10.2111 -in- to derived base

diliq maqa:yu qang qa:ku ng kinatulug kagabi:qi "I did not have a good sleep last night." V katulug "sleep"

10.2112 -in- used in specialized meaning

qadu:na kami qnasal kay qadlaw man nak:kuq "We have a roasted pig because it is my birthday." V qasal "roast"

10.2113 -in- *(something caused to be V*(specialized meaning)

taqudtaquad na ng sinamqid ni qinting sa qi:ya ng putiq "Inting had been sharpening his bolo for a long time." (Lit. "one made white") V putiq "white"

10.212 -in- "person who was V-ed"

This affix is the same as that of Sec. 10.211.

nakigkistaq qang sinumbung sa qi:ya ng higugma sa walaq pa siya qisulud sa karsi: "The accused person went to see his beloved before he was put in jail." V sumbunab "tell on, report" V higugma "love"

10.2121 -in- specialized meaning

hinumdumi la:mang nga qadu:na y qusa ka bunahat nga kanu:nay naghandum kani:mu "Just remember that there is a creature who always remembers you." V bu:hat "make"

10.213 -in- to noun base

These are parallel to the transients formed to noun bases.
(Cf. Sec. 9.10)

gitaga:qan siya ni nainay g qinasin nga karni "Mother gave him some salted meat." V qasina "salt"

sila ng tanan gipapasqan sa manga butang nga walaq ni:la hibalqi g qunsa manga kinakun qug quban pa ng karga "All of them were made
to carry things they did not know what; crated, and other materials"
\[ \text{V} \] kahun "box"

In this last meaning this type is extended to nouns which do not occur as bases to transients meaning "things put in \[ \text{V} \]"
mipalit siya g linata "He bought canned goods." \[ \text{V} \] la:ta "can"

10.22 "Action to be done"

10.2211 -un (->) (restricted)

qinigba:lik ni:mu nganhi dadqi ku g basahun "When you come back, bring me some reading materials." \[ \text{V} \] ba:sa "read"

10.22111 -un (<-) (dead)

qug qubayqubay na qusab sa manga buhi:gun ni:la ni qinting qang nasubad, sa buqa:ya "And quite a number of Inting's animals had been devoured by the crocodile." \[ \text{V} \] buhiq "to raise" (57.14)

10.2212 -un (->) to noun base

These are parallel to the transients formed to noun bases (Sec. 9.10.1).

palitan na:kuq qang qa:ku ng ba:na qug karsunisun "I will buy my husband some cloth to make into a pair of pants." \[ \text{V} \] karsunis: "a pair of pants"

tambung karu ng gabiqi sa saluse:lu qarun maqilaqi:la ni:mu qang qa:tu ng qumagarun "You come to the get-together tonight so that you will become acquainted with our future son-in-law." \[ \text{V} \] quma:gdad "son-in-law"

di:li:q na:kuq qisha:wun kana ng bayi kay qa:kuq na ng qanayun "I will not slaughter that female , because I will make it into a sow." \[ \text{V} \] qanay "sow"

10.22121 -un (<-) with no meaning (dead)

tulu ka buquq qanayun ni karya naqainud sa baahaq gabiqi "Three of Karya's sows were swept away by the flood last night." \[ \text{V} \] qanay "sow"

10.2213 -un (->) specialized meaning

qayaw kaliamut niqadtu ng matahun nga pulungun nga miqingun qang matair:rug maqi:sug "Do not forget that beautiful proverb which says, 'The righteous are brave.'" \[ \text{V} \] pamu:lung "speak"
10.222 -l- -un (productive)

sa pla:sa karun dagha ng manga talangawun qug maqa:yu ng kalengun qug qilimun "At the park today there are lots of things to watch and good food and drinks." V tanqaw "see" V qinum "drink" V ka:qun "eat"

10.2221 -l- -un to derived base

maqu na y la:na ng panulundun gi:kan sa qi:la ng ginika:nan "That is an oil handed down from their parents." V panunud "inherit"

10.2222 -l- -un (→)

qaku qang mangarku sa buluhatun sa quqa ka qinahan "I will assume the duties of a mother." V bu:hat "work"

10.2223 -l- -un specialized meaning

qutu:kan qusab nga hayu:pa kay sa diha ng qikugi:hen sa quqa ka platun nga pi:si sa pagbantay waleq qusab patimqaw hangtud nga gipulqan na qang manga sulugugun sa balasqud "It was a clever animal, for one time when a platoon of the P.C. patiently watched for it, it did not show up until the servants of the law got tired." V su:guq "command" (57. 3)

10.223 -unun (productive)

10.2231 -unun

taba:ngi si ta:tay s pagdala sa qisya ng kanqunu "You help Father carry his baggage." V dala "bring"

10.2232 -unun (←)

dagha ng palitunun didtu s magalya:nis "There are many things to buy in Magallanes." V palit "buy"

10.2233 -unun (→)

qang qatu ng kanguun ng pan gitangag sa qitu: "The puppy snatched away the bread we were going to eat." V ka:qun "eat"

10.22331 -unun (→) to derived base

maqanyag qang pangasa:waun ni kardu "Cardo's bride-to-be is beautiful." V pangasa:wa "to take a wife"
qi:ya ng naki:taq qang gaslunun nga nagkisikisi qug nagqo:liqik
dihaq sa baqbaq sa buqa:ya "He saw the pig of roasting
dihaq sa baqbaq sa buqa:ya. "He saw the pig of roasting
size "wriggling and squealing in the crocodile's mouth." V
qasal "to roast" (55.16)

10.224 -1- -unun (restricted)

10.2241 -1- -unun

kana ng manga bulingun dihaq balasqunun pa naq kay waq ma y
pu:big gan:hi:ha "Those soiled clothes there are still to be
wetted because there was no water before." V basaq "wet"

10.2242 -1- -unun (→) (dead)

dakuq ni ng belayrunun kay nahurut ma g kabuqak qang tana ng
pla:tu "This is a big thing to be paid off because all the
plates are broken." V ba:yad "pay"

10.225. Dead types

10.2251 gim- -un (→)

qinigkahuman ni:la s qi:la ng gimbuhatun magdu:laq sila g
bu:la "After they are through with their chores, they play ball
together." V bu:hat "work"

10.2252 penggi- -un (→)

^kusaq musu:gi:du sa pagtraba:hu qang bagqu ng binatunan
gipasabut siya ba:hin sa manga penggibuhatun "Before the new
maid started to work, she was made to understand about her duties." V
bu:hat "work"

10.2253 -anun

^quisa:uy ku qang sugilamun mahitungud kang karangkál "I
will relate the story about Karangkal." V sugid "to tell"
(25.1)

10.226. Nouns similar to direct passives in meaning "reason
for which"

Bases which take this suffix also occur with the direct
passive in this same meaning (Sec. 8.2113). The nominals are used
to refer to habitual actions, whereas the transient forms are
usually used to refer to actions which are not habitual.
Do you have business in church? What do you go to church for if not to pray?" V sulud "enter"

10.227 paN- -un (dead) specialized meaning

liggqun kaq:yu ni ng panapun "This cloth is very durable." V saput "clothes"

10.23 Local passives "action completed"

10.231 -in- -an "thing V-ed" (restricted)

These are to bases which have local passives in the direct meaning (Sec. 8.2211).

nakahiba:wu na ku kung qunsa y qi:mu ng tinagu:gan "I already know what your secret is." V ta:guq "be hidden"

10.2311 -in- -an to derived base (restricted)

qang sa:piq nga qa:tu ng pinaningkamu:tan di:liq madaliq-da:liq qug gastu "The money we earn [Lit. "which is the result of our effort"] is not easily spent." V paningka:mut "exert effort"

gitaga:gan si li:ma ni na:nyay qug pinasku:han "Lena was given a Christmas present by Mother." V pamasku "ask for Christmas presents"

10.2312 -in- -an specialized meaning

tinuyu:gan ra qusab ni:ya qang qi:ya ng pagdaqut "Her being sick is her own fault." V tu:yuq "on purpose"

10.232 -in- -an "person on whom V devolved" (restricted)

This meaning is to bases for which the local passives have similar meanings (Sec. 8.2213).

si tibuq maqu y pinyalan sa balay ni lawra "Tibo is the one trusted in Laura's house." V piyal "trust"

gipapatay ni dumisyamar qang manga binunya:gan "Domitian ordered the Christians (baptized persons) to be killed." V bunyag "baptize"
The guest of honor was met with thunderous applause. V pasidungug "honor"

10.2322 -in- an specialized meanings

qang manga tinunqan sa sankarlus nangadtu s bugu "The students of San Carlos went to Bogo." V tuqun "study"

10.233 -in- an "place at which V was done" (restricted)

qang pagbawgba:ug sa sanga maqu y sinugdan s pagka:liq "The constant bending of the branch was the beginning of its being broken." V su:gud "start"

10.2331 -in- an "place" to montransient base (restricted)

kana ng kahu:ya ng qi:mu ng naki:taq maqu y kinutu:ban sa qa:ku ng yuitaq "That tree which you see is at the boundary of my land." V kustub "limit"

10.2332 -in- an "reason on account of which" (restricted)

kaqu:sik sa qi:mu ng lu:ha:q maqu ra na y qi:mu ng hinilak:kan qusa ka buq:uk ra ng dulsi "What a waste of tears! Is that all you are crying about - a piece of candy?" V hi:lak "cry"

10.2333 -in- an specialized meaning

labi na kung waq. dihaq qang qi:ya ng manga ginika:nan magpu:na: y la:mang siya g lingkud "Especially when his parents were not there, he would just sit around all the time." V gi:kan "from" (1.13)

10.234 -in- anan (dead)

qang hagwaqhaqwag:aq maqu y kasaga:ra ng sinugda:nan sa qas:way "Horseplay is usually the beginning of a quarrel." V su:gud "begin"

10.2341 -in- anan (←)

qusa ka buqw:wa ng singsing maqu y kinupta:nan sa qi:la ng panaghinigu:mqay "A gold ring was the token of their love for each other." V kuput "possess"

10.235 gin- an or ging- an (dead)

diha y pahibalu nga may qusa ka dakuq kaqa:yu ng qisdaq nga midagesaq ngadtu sa qusa ka ginharig:qa:n "There was an announcement that a very big fish was washed ashore at a certain town of a certain kingdom." V ha:riq "king" (32.12)
10.24 Nouns parallel to unreal local passives

10.241 "place where activity is held" (restricted)

10.2411 tu:qud man qidawat sa qinahan qang salapiq qug lakaw siya ngadtu sa tinda:han "And so, the mother accepted the money, and she went to the store." V tinda "goods to be sold" (8.11)

10.2412 gisabli:gan ninya g tu:big qang baqiran "He sprinkled water on the whetstone." V ba:qid "sharpen" (48.9)

qusa niq:an ka duminggu didtu si ba:kir sa bulangan "One Sunday, Baker went to the cockpit." V bu:lang "cockfight" (37.8)

10.24121 to derived base

qang manga pla:tu tu:qa pa sa panghugas:an qug waq pa kapanghuga:si "The plates are still in the sink and have not been washed yet." V pangihu:gas "wash"

qadtu ku s pangisdaqan kay tu:qa si ta:ta:q mangisdaq "I will go to the fishing place because Daddy is there now, fishing." V pangisdaq "to fish"

maqa:yu ng pahayahan dinhi kay kusugkusug qang ha:ngin "This is a good place to refresh oneself, for the wind is a bit stronger here." V pahaya:hay "refresh oneself"

10.24122 (no shift) to derived base

qang qa:tu ng gamay ng yu:taq maqu ra gayud qang qa:tu ng kabuhi:gan "Our small parcel of land is our only source of livelihood." V kabuhiq "live"

10.2413 buqbu:qi qang kaliba:ngan kay bahuq kaq:ayu "Flush the toilet, because it smells very much." V kalibang "defecate"

10.24131 an with specialized meaning
mupalit ku g qusa ka parisa ng qistik s ka husi paira qa:ku ng pasana:yun "I will buy a pair of ducks at Joe's for breeding." 
V pairis "to pair" 
V parisan "a pair"

naglaqin qang qa:ku ng ginha:wa:gan pagkakitaq na:kuq sa dugu:qu ng larwas sa duha ka ta:wu ng patay "I felt sick inside when I saw the bloody bodies of the two dead persons." 
V ginha:wa "to breathe" 
V ginha:wa:gan "insides"

10.24132 -an (no shift)

tagaqi qang bar:taq qug dagha ng du:laqan "Give the child many toys." 
V du:laq "play"
qang kadi:na qang pi:siq naghadyunghadyung sa:ma sa harsya sa sakayan nga giqabutan sa subasku "The chain and the rope whizzed like the guy rope of a boat overtaken by a tempest." 
V sakay "to ride" (67.8)

10.2414 r- -an (various meanings) (dead)

V tulun "swallow" (66.14)
tanqa:wun na:tuq kung qunsa y da:nga:tan sa qimtu ng binu:qang "We shall see what your foolishness will come to." 
V da:nga:tan "arrive"

10.2415 -an to nominal base

-an is a productive suffix to nominal bases in meanings closely akin to the -an parallel to the local passive and is treated in Sec. 10.27.

10.242 -anan

\[ \text{place where activity is to be held} \]
\[ \text{person on whom action devolves} \]

(productive)

10.2421 No shift

10.24211 "Place" (productive)

sa daplin sa subaq nga maqu y qagiga:nan sa qila ng tu:yuq sila padulung "They went towards the edge of the river where the one they were looking for usually went by." 
V qa:gi "go by" (60.1c)
-440-

qinigquwan mana:gan da:yun sila ngadtu sa qakasya nga qi:la ng silunga:nan "When it rained they would quickly run to the acacia tree where they would take shelter." V— pasi:lun (with an alternant of the base without pe-) "take shelter"

10.24212 "Person on whom action devolves" (restricted)

qang manga sanlahun sa manda:wi maqu y hataga:nan sa manga siminarista g pinasku:han "The lepers of Mandawe are usually the ones given Christmas gifts by the seminarians." V— ha:tag "give"

10.24213 To nominal base

qi:anhi qang qegiwa:nan kay manaba:kuq ku "Bring me the ashtray for I am going to smoke." V— qagiw "ash from cigarettes or cigars"

10.2422 -anan (⇒) (restricted)

10.2423 "Place"

qang qii:la ng pilar maqu y qa:mu ng sakqanan didtu s sibu "Pilar's place is where we usually lodge in Cebu." V— saka "lodge"

gilanit ni qinting qang qi:ya ng pinu:tiq nga dihaq qi:ya ng sibitay sa hali:gi duqul sa qi:la ng kaqanan "Inting quickly pulled out his bolo which he hung on a post near their eating place." V— ka:qun "eat" (55.14)

10.2423 "Person"

karun nga walaq na qang qi:ya ng qinahan walaq na sab qang qi:ya ng paray:anan "Now that his mother is gone, [one from whom he gets his affection] is also gone." V— paray:ig "caress" of his affection

10.2423 -anan "place" (⇐) (restricted)

layuq ba gi:kan dinhi qang kawsa:nan "Is the place where you get water far from here?" V— kalus "fetch water"

10.24231 -anan to derived base

gidu:qaw sa manga ba:taq qang qitluga:nan sa manuk qapan walaq na didtu qang manuk quoq qang qi:ya ng manga qitlug "The children visited the place where the chicken lays her eggs, but the chicken, together with her eggs, was already gone." V— pangitlug "lay eggs" (base with alternant without pal-)

10.24232 -anan (no shift) specialized meaning
You used the wrong measuring instrument.

Mary is always made an example of diligence.

This is the document which is the basis of my complaint.

Mary is always an example of diligence.

"Lanao at the time of their arrival was still the home of jungle animals."

"dwell" (51.6)

It hurts one's feelings if his things are taken from him without asking permission.

I will not go to school today because I have a headache.

It was very clear in his mind what the old man meant.

We still have much to learn about life.
10.24322 "Thing for which something is V-ed"

dakuq siya g galastuhan sa pagqiskuyla s qi:ya ng manga bastaq
"He has big expenses for the schooling of his children." V
gastu "spend"

10.24323 "Person for whom"

halabulan pa qang bastaq kay diritsu ra ma ng natulu:lug nga
walaq hitagdi "We still have to put a blanket on the child
because he went to sleep unnoticed." V habul "wear a blanket"

Note that this base is a TP from a nominal base (Sec. 9.10).

10.24324 pag←1←-an (dead)

qang nahitabuq nagha:tag qug maqa:yu ng pagtulungan sa qi:ya ng
qigsu:qun "What happened gave her sister a good lesson."
V tuqun "study"

10.244 -1- -anan (→) (restricted)

10.2441 To transient base

waq kami kapamaqu:liq da:yun kay waq ma y salakyenan "We
could not come home early because there was no transportation."
V sakay "ride"

human ni:la g pamalit misulud sila sa qusa ka kalanganan "After
shopping, they went into an eating place." V ka:qun "eat"

10.2442 -1- -anan (→) meaning "thing to be V-ed" (dead)

daghan qang halyranan sa qusa ka tumatapus nga tinunqan
"A graduating student has many things to pay for." V baiyad
"pay"

10.25 Nouns similar to instrumental passives

10.251 -in- nouns similar to instrumental (dead)

qang pagtahiq ni ng qa:ku ng karsunis kinamut lang kay walaq
mi makina "The sewing of my pants was done by hand because we do
not have a sewing machine." V kamut "hand"

10.252 Instrumental "thing with which to V-

The instrumental noun has two shapes (besides shifts):
qig←-r- and qig←-1-. For some bases both affixes occur, and it
is a matter of style which is used. -1- is predominant in some
areas, whereas -r- is more predominant in others. Other bases occur only with -r- or only with -l-.

10.2521 gig- -r- (restricted)

karangkal pagqulis sa qi:mu ng sini:naq nga qigtatrabs:hu quban kana:kuq "Karangkal, change into your working clothes. Come along with me." (27.10)

10.2522 gig- -l- (productive)

kini maqu y qigtulusluk sa qisdaq qug magtapqan ku "I use this as a spit when I roast fish over a fire." V~ tusluk "pierce"

10.253 Similar to instrumental passive in ablative meaning

"thing (habitually) V-ed"

10.2531 gig- -r-

maqu na y qa:ya ng qigsusulti basta mangi:sug siya "That is what he says if he gets mad." V~ sulti "say something"

10.25311 gig- -r- (⇒)

kini ng libru:ha qaku ng qigtutunul ni prid qapan milarga da:yun qang dyip "This is the book I was to hand to Fred, but the jeep left right away." V~ tu:nul "hand"
10.25312 qig- -r- (←)

Kini ng kupra:sa qigsusu:lad pa ni sa:ku kay qipatimbang ni ru ng haːpun "This copra has to be placed in sacks yet because it is to be weighed this afternoon." V sulud "put into"

10.2532 qig- -l- (→)

Maqu ba na ng libru:ha qang qiːmu ng qighalatag na:kuq "Is that the book you are going to give me?" V haitag "give"

10.25321 qig- -l- (→) to derived base

duːna taq ku y qigpalangutana qapan natubag na man sa qiːmu ng sulat "I had something to ask you, but it was already answered by your letter." V pangutain "ask (a question)"

10.254 Similar to instrumental passive in meaning "time to V "

10.2541 qig- -r- (restricted)

Wala y giqila ng taknaq qang magtiqaːyun nga qigpapahulay "The couple knew no time for rest." V pahulay "rest" (52.8)

10.2542 qig- -l-

diːliq pa run hustu ng qiggaladtu sini kay mudtu pa "It is not yet time to go to the show because it is still noon." V qadtu "go (to place far from speaker)"

10.25421 qig- -l- (→)

Karu ng quraːsa maqu y qigtalarbaːhu sa manga tagapantalan "This hour is the time the people at the pier go to work." V trabaːhu "work"

10.25422 qig- -l- (←)

Karu ng panahuːna maqaːyu ng qigtuluːbag sa manga daːqa ng sulat "This is a good time to answer old letters." V tubag "answer"

10.2543 qig- -r- or qig- -l- extension of temporal meaning "one desirous of V "

This is used only with ginhaːwa "breathe" as subject.

qiggaladtu gyud ni ng qaːku ng ginhaːwa sa karnabal kay waq pa ku kasulud biːsa g kasqa "I want very much to go to the
carnival because I was never able to go, even once."  

**10.26** -an to nominal base

The affixes -an in this section are closely akin in meaning to the nouns similar to local passives. However, these are with noun bases and do not have temporal meanings.

**10.261** -an "place where activity is held" (for nouns which are names of activity)

**10.2611** -an (no shift) specialized meaning

sa panahun sa hapun dagha ng manga la:ki qang nangadtu sa buluntaryu:han qarun sa pagsilbi sa qi:la ng yu:ta ng natawhan "During the Japanese time, many men went to the place where volunteers presented themselves in order to serve their native land."  

**10.2612** -an (—>) (productive)

didtu sila me:kkitaq sa baylihan "They met at the dance hall."  

human sila mananqaw sa du:laq didtu sa baskitbulan nangadtu sila sa sinihan "After seeing the games at the basketball court, they went to the movies."  

**10.2613** -an (—>) specialized meaning (instrumental)

manga sya:quk sa manga ka:law nga maqu y qurasan sa tagabu:kid maqu kanu:may qang masawud sa qi:la ng dalunggan "The cries of the hornbill which are the mountaineers' timepiece always filled their ears."  

qi:ya ng gipadayun qang manga dumudu:qung ngadtu sa hawan "She bade the visitors to enter the sala."  

kana ng wa y su:d nga kinhasun himu:qu ng balayan sa qu:mang "Those empty sea shells will be used as a shell by snails."  

(Specialization of place)

qi:ya ng gipadayun qang manga dumudu:qung ngadtu sa hawan "She bade the visitors to enter the sala."  

kana ng wa y su:d nga kinhasun himu:qu ng balayan sa qu:mang "Those empty sea shells will be used as a shell by snails."  

(Empty -an (dead))

qang bastaq nagling:ud didtu sa hagdan "The child was sitting on the stairs."
(thing from which V is gotten)

gang ba:ka ng gatasan ni kadyu gidala sa manga kawatan kagabi:qi
"Kadyu's milk cow was taken last night by thieves."  V gatas "milk"

10.262 "Place where V is found, grown, kept or made"

(productive)

10.2621 -an (➜)

gipamatay ni:la qang manga qilagaq didtu sa humayan  "They
killed the mice in the ricefield."  V humay "rice"

10.2622 -an (-an) is extended to mean "business of raising V"

nagsulay sila g manukan qapan napakyas "They tried chicken
raising, but it failed."  V manuk "chicken"  V manukan
"raising chickens"

10.2623 -an (➜-) specialized meaning

qang bugasan wanga y su:d "The rice container is already
empty."  V bugas "rice (husked)"

10.26231 -an (➜-) specialized meaning

wa y kala:yu qang gabuhan  "There is no fire in the stove."  
V qabu "ash"

10.263 -an (➜-) "place where V is sold"

sayu siya ng miqadtu sa qisdaqan qarun pagpalit qug bangus
"She went to the fish market early in order to buy milk fish."  
V qisdaq "fish"

10.2631 -an (➜-) "place where V is sold"

qang manga lalad:ki qadtu magpunduk sa tuba:gan ni ni:na
"The boys gather at Nena's tuba store."  V tubaq "palm toddy"
10.264 "Part of the body where \( V \) is located" (restricted)

10.2641 \(-an\)

kinahangla ng gami:tu ng qutukan sa bi:sa ng qunsan ng trabah:hu "It is necessary to use the brain in any kind of work." \( V \) qu:tuk "brain"

10.2642 \(-an\)

nanakit qang luta:han sa tigu:lang kay bugnaw qang penahun "The old man's joints ached because it was cool." \( V \) luta "joint"

10.265 "Direction or vicinity of \( V \)" (restricted)

10.2651 \(-an\)

didtu sila matu:lug sa tiqilan sa qusa ka bu:kiid, "They slept at the foot of a mountain." \( V \) tiqil "foot"

mili:ngiq siya sa likud mili:ngiq siya sa qi:ya ng kiliran mitanqaw siya sa qunah:an qapay man siya y naki:taq "He turned his head in back of him; he turned to his sides; he looked ahead of him, but he saw no one." \( V \) ki:liid "side" (4.14)

sa habagatan maki:taq na:tuq qang qusa ka gamay ng puluq nga may pangpang "To the south we can see a small island with cliffs." \( V \) habagat "southwest wind"

10.2652 \(-an\) (dead)

du:na y gamay ng balay sa gatuba:ngan sa simbahan "There is a small house across from the church." (Lit.: "on the place facing") \( V \) gatubang "to face"

10.266 \(-an\) (dead) "relation (older generation)"

qapan niqingun qang qinahan hwan qunsa gud na ng qi:mu ng gisulti "But the mother said, 'John what is it that you are saying?" \( V \) qina "mother" (8.2)

10.27 \(-an\) "group of \( V \)"

This affix is treated in Sec. 10.322.

10.28 \(-anan\) (dead)

sa pagkasal sa qa:ku ng manang waq mi ha:guq kay tagababeyingan man mi "At the wedding of my elder sister we had no trouble, for we were members of the bride's family." \( V \) ba:yi "female"
10.3 "Group or collection of V" (nominal base)

10.31 ka- -an (productive)

qang manga ba:buy ha:pit na lang musaka sa kabalayan "The pigs would almost go into the houses." V balay "house" (51.10)

10.311 ka- -an "place where V is found"

With bases meaning plants or other objects found in nature the ka- -an affix also has a meaning of "place where V is found".
(Cf. Sec. 10.43.)

10.312 ka- -an to transient base

maba:sa mu qang kasaysa:yan sa pilipinas didtu s libru ng griguryu "You can read the history of the Philippines in Gregory's book." V saysay "narrate in detail"

10.313 ka- -an to other bases (dead)

(to adjective base)

kini ng huma:ya didtu ni matanum sa kamadgan kay qispisyal nga ma:tan man ni "This rice was planted on dry land because it is a special type." V mala "dry"

(to nominal base)

gikarga qang qi:la ng kabta:ngan sa dakuqadaku ng trak "Their possessions were loaded on a large-sized truck." V butang "things"

10.314 Specialized meaning

karun maqu na y katapu:san niqi:ni ng sawa:ha miqingun si sibyu "Now this snake has met its end,' said Sebio." V ta:pus "end"

10.32 ka- -an meaning "all of V" (restricted)

qang qi:ya ng pulusirt nga kulur kapi walaq na makaqatu sa pageinu:yup sa maqasgad ni:ya ng singut nga midahi:liq sa qi:ya ng kalawa:san "His coffee-colored polo shirt could no longer absorb all of the salty perspiration which rolled down his body." V la:was "body" (46.4)

nanakit qang qi:ya ng kaqunuran human sa tibuquk qadlaw ni:ya ng traba:hu "His muscles ached after a day's work." V qunud "flesh"
10.321  ka- -an "V as a whole"

dagha ng balay sa kahila:yvan sa ri:lis "There are many dens of vice at the railroad tracks." V hi:lay "vice"

10.322  ka- -an (no shift) to transient base specialized meaning

human qaku mang:yu g katahu:ran sa hi:pi qi:ya da:yun qaku ng gisulti:han "After I greeted the chief, he told me immediately...." V ta:hud "respect" (63.8)

10.33  ka- -anan (←) (dead) "all of V"

tinga:li nakasabut qusab sila sa kaguqul sa magtiq:yu:yan bu:saq midury:ug sa qi:la ng kasubqa:nan "Maybe they also understood the sorrow of the couple. Therefore, they joined them in their sadness." V subuq "sad" (63.2)

10.331  ka- -anan "V as a whole"

kini ng qi:mu ng bulpin di:liq magpulus qisulat kay bagtuk qug tintaq pi:ru may kapu:lan:nan pa ni kay mamaq:yu pa "Your ballpoint pen cannot be used for writing because the ink has coagulated, but it still is good (Lit.; has usefulness) because it can be repaired." V pulus "use"

10.34  ka- -an (dead)

sa kapupud:gan sa pilipi:nas qang mindu:ru ra qang may tamaraw "In the Philippine archipelago only Mindoro has wild carabao ." V pu:luq "island"

10.35  Dead affixes meaning "collection of V"

10.351  gin- -an

qang manga ginsaku:nan sa kapu:nu:ngan mapi:liq sa qi:la ng pangu:lu "The members of the organization elected their chairman." V sarkup "member"

10.352  -an

wala y kukahad:lik nga manungkab sa manga hayu:pan sa manga ta:wu kanang batiq:un na sa kagu:teum "It had no fear at all to steal the people's domestic animals whenever it felt hungry." V hayu: "animal" (56.16)

10.3521  -an (→)

may manga sundai:lu ng hapun pa sa bukir:an sa puluq sa lubang
"There still are Japanese soldiers in the mountains of Lubang Island." V bukid "mountain"

10.4 Names of places

Most names of places are formed like nouns similar to local passives unreal and are with -an. (Cf. Secs. 10.24 and 10.26 and their subsections.)

10.41 pa- (restricted)

sa pali:but naki:taq ni:ya qang dagha ng bu:laq "He saw many flowers in the surroundings." V li:but "be around"

10.42 ka- -an (restricted)

hina:qut quntaq nga tu:qa na siya sa kahitasgan "I hope she is already in heaven." V hitaqas "be high up"

10.43 ka- -an "place where a collection of V is found"

(productive)

qug midanguynguy sa hilabihan kakusug hangtud nga napa:kaw qang tibuq tuk kasilinga:man "And she wailed very loudly until the entire neighborhood was awakened." V sili:ngan "neighbor" (19.14)

maqu nga gisuqutsu:qut ni:la qang manga kasapagqan qug manga kanipa:gaq "Therefore, they wound back and forth through the creeks and the nipa groves." V ni:paq "nipa palm" V sapaq "creek" (20.12)

10.431 ka- -anan

gisuqutsu:qut ni:la ng kalubihan sa pagpamunit ni:la qug pulak "They crisscrossed the coconut grove picking up the fallen nuts." V lubi "coconut tree"

10.432 -un (dead)

didtu sa baybayyun naghwat qang manga ta:wu "The people waited on the beach." V baybay "beach"

10.5 Nouns formed from transients and adjectives

Nouns formed from transients with prefix ka- are described in Sec. 10.92.

10.51 Transient bases used as nouns

Cf. the discussion in Sec. 8.01.
10.511 Meaning "thing V-ed"

qilugun na qusab qang qaitu ng yu:taq mamahayu ng tubag ni qinting "Our land will be taken from us again. Inting answered regretfully." V tubag "answer" (49.15)

tiqaw mu ba y mangi:taq qug dagha ng qipak:qan qa:lang sa qila ng qanak nga da:luq qug ka:qun "Imagine looking for so much to feed their child who had such a big appetite." V ka:qun "eat" (26.9)

10.5111 To derived bases

na:qa ba y qi:mu ng panguta:na ba:hin s pagbahin s qaitu ng kayuta:qan "Do you have a question regarding the division of our land?" V panguta:na "ask"

midagsang qang manga hungkin:hung labi na gayud sa matuhtuqu:qun nga kunu qang buqa:ya buhiq sa di:liq qingun na:tuq "The rumors multiplied especially among the gullible, that the crocodile was a pet of one who is not like us." V hugin:hung "whisper about" (57.16)

10.51111 To bases with ka-

With stative bases when the meaning is "thing which has become V", the base occurs without ka-.

qang yu:taq nalukup s dalag "The earth was covered with fallen leaves." V kadalog "become yellow"

10.512 With specialized meanings

du:na y sulat nga miqabut gi:kan sa sa:mar "A letter arrived from Samar." V sulat "write"

qusa:hay qang panga:nud mu ra g hitsu:ra g ta:wu qusa:hay mu ra g langgam "Sometimes the clouds resemble a man, sometimes a bird." V panga:nud "be driven along by wind or water"

10.512 Meaning "action of V-

labiha ng kata:wa sa ha:riq "How the king laughed!" V kata:wa "laugh" CN "laughter" (12.7)

10.5121 "Action of V-" to derived base

milalin sila ng magtiqa:yun nganhi sa yu:taq sa manga sa:qad gumikan sa ha:taqas ni:la ng panganduy qug plaglantaw sa kaquma:qun sa qi:la ng kabata:qan "The couple migrated to the land of promise because of their big yearnings and foresight for the future of their children." V panganduy "long for" (51.3)
With stative bases (i.e., ka-) this meaning is very frequent. Cf. Sec. 10.92 and its subsections for examples.

10.5122 Base of transient with doubling or Julu-after waleq V

This type has a specialized meaning "without any V at all". Cf. Sec. 10.822 for examples.

10.513 Meaning "instrument for doing V"

This type of formation is not so common as the other two types; however, it is widespread enough to be considered productive.

"Bamboos broke as they were lashed at with his saw-like tail." V gabas "saw" (67.4)

10.5131 To derived base

"For one week now Inting had been visiting his fish trap." V pana:gap "fish" (62.1)

10.52 Transient base plus (—»)

10.521 Meaning "thing which has been V-ed"

"I am going to the river now to wait for the drifted coconuts to pass by to pick them up." V qa:nud "drift" (67.4)

10.522 With stative base

"This coming hot season there will be many fallen nuts in the coconut groves." V pulak "fall down"

10.523 Meaning "instrument for doing V"

"So, he did not feel the clubs." V bu:nal "to club" (42.13)

10.5231 With specialized meaning

"The tuba gatherer came down because his cleaning stick had fallen." V hu:gas "clean"
10.53 Adjective base used as a noun (dead)

10.531 (←)

miqabut sa taqas qang ba:hug sa patay ng taligat:us "The dead mouse could be smelled upstairs." "Lit.: The smell of the dead mouse reached upstairs.") V taqas "high" V bahug "smelly"

10.532 qi- (←)

ngitngit kaqa:yu sa qilalum sa daku ng ka:huy "It is very dark underneath the big tree." V lalum "deep"

10.54 Qualifier forming noun (dead)

10.541 (←)

tu:qa si pa:pa s qiba:baw "Dad is [up in the hills]"
V qibabaw "above"

10.6 "Manner of action" (productive)

10.61 -in- -an

katawqanan kaqa:yu qang qi:ya ng kinatawqan "His way of laughing is very funny." V kata:wa "laugh"

maqu na y qi:ya ng tinangan s qi:ya ng bu:buq qenhaq ra sigi s mabaw kay hadluk siya g maqanud "That is his way of setting his fish trap - always at the shallows because he is afraid it will be swept away." V taqun "set a trap"

10.62 -in- -an (→) (productive)

makahuluga:nun kaqa:yu kadtu ng qi:ya ng tinangawan kani:mu "The way she looked at you was very meaningful." V tanqaw "look"

10.63 paN- (restricted)

mabinagqu:hun kaqa:yu ng qi:ya ng panaput "Her mode of dressing is truly modern." V saput "dress (clothes)"

nindut taqawun qang panghayun ni lidya "Lydia's way of swinging her arms when she walks is nice to look at." V hayun "swing one's arms"

10.7 Instrument formers

Most instrumentals to nouns are formed similarly to the instrumental passives, so that most of them are treated as nouns
similar to the passives. (cf. Sec. 10.25) Those treated in this paragraph are the irregular forms.

10.71 pa- (dead)

These are bases with pa- "cause V to oneself" (sec. 9.13 and subsections) used by themselves in an instrumental meaning (sec. 10.513 and 10.523).

gidalitaran siya g pa bugnaw "She was served some refreshments." V bugnaw "cool"

10.72 paN-

Forms with this paN- are bases of transients used as nouns meaning "instrument" (sec. 10.513 and 10.523) for which the other forms of the transient are not in use. (cf. also in sec. 10.174.)

10.721 paN- to transient base (dead)

qang sabu ng pirla maqayu sa pang laba "Perla soap is good for washing." V laba "wash"

10.722 paN- to transient base "sense of V" (dead)

dakuqdakuqa qang qimnu ng tingug kay di liq na maqayu qang qa ku ng pendungug "Raise your voice a bit, for my sense of hearing is not so good." V dungug "hear" (note the irregular alternant of paff-.)
daw mangalimyun qang duguq sa qaku ng pan imhut "Blood seems to give off a fragrance to my sense of smell." V simhut "smell" (22.11)

10.723 paN- "means of obtaining V" to noun base (dead)

qiyawat na lang nga may du:gang panalapiq qang panudlanan sa baryu "It will be useful so that the barrio treasury might have an additional source of revenue." V salapiq "money"

10.73 hiN- "instrument" (dead)

midahi:liq qang maqasgad ni:ya ng singut sa qiyaya ng kalawa:isan bi: san pa sa hina:bang sa hapu:nu ng hutu: hut gikan sa nabantug nga muntiqapu "His sour sweat rolled down his body despite the aid of the afternoon breeze from the famous Mt. Apo." V ta:bang "help" (49.6)
10.731  hiN- (←) "instrument" specialized meaning
dala la g kuk pa:ra s hinguhaw "Bring along some coke to
to quench (your) thirst."  V quhaw "thirsty"

10.8  Doubling and Culu-forms (productive)

10.81  Doubling meaning "something like  V−−−" 

10.811  No shift

nagdu:waq qang ba:taq sa bagqu ni:ya ng traktra:k "The
child is playing with his new toy truck."  V trak "truck"

10.812  Doubling with (←)

nagbu:hat qang manga ba:taq qug qusa ka balayba:lay nga
du:na y lawakla:vak "The boys made a playhouse which had small
rooms."  V balay "house"  V lawak "room"

10.813  Doubling with specialized meaning of "something like
V−−−"

10.8131  No shift

diq gud naq sila kinasal qug banabina lang naq si tiryu
"They are not really married, and Tiryu is just her common-law
husband."  V ba:na "husband"

10.8132  (←)

bula:han si ni:na kay buqu:tan qang qi:ya ng qina:na
"Nena is lucky, for her stepmother is kind."  V qina "mother"

10.8133  Doubling with meaning "one who"

(Cf. Sec. 10.173 for example)

10.82  Culu- "something like  V−−−" (productive)

Some nouns occur with doubling, some with Culu- and some with
either. Nouns of three or more syllables occur with Culu-.
Doubling and Culu- have the same meanings.

naghi:mu si ma:nuy g lulami:sa qa:lang kang ti:ta "Big Brother
is making a toy table for Tita."  V lami:sa "table"

10.821  Specialized meaning "something like  V−−−"

nagki:taq si gi:nang ba:shaw qug qang qulugasa:wa sa qi:ya ng
ba:na "Mrs. Bajao met her husband's mistress."  V qasa:wa
"wife"
10.822 Doubling and Gulu- after walaq y

Extension of the meaning "similar to V~" is used after walaq plus y meaning "there [is] no V~ at all". This is used with nouns derived from transients meaning "action of V~" (Sec. 10.5122).

-gina:mit qang tana ng kusug gihapak ni:ya qang kaqa:way sa qi:ya ng wa:say sa wala y kukalu:quy. "Using all his strength, he beat his enemy mercilessly with an ax." V~ kalu:quy "pity" (68.2)

10.83 Empty doubling

10.831 Bases that do not occur without doubling

daku g kasingka:sing si gami:lu "Gamelo has an enlarged heart." V~ kasingkasing "heart"

10.8311 Names of plants and animals

qang tanganta:ngan maqa:yu ng tanum kay maga:mit sa panambal. "Castor plants are good plants because they have medicinal value." V~ tanganta:ngan "castor plant"

pagkakitaq ni:ya sa daku ng tapaytapay sa banyu nahikurat siya "She was startled upon seeing the large spider in the bathroom." V~ tapaytapay "house spider"

10.832 To bases that occur without doubling in a different meaning

mingtubag qang tungaqtu:ngaq qay manang qayaw pagsa:baq "The middle sister answered, 'Ay, Big Sister, stop fussing.'" V~ tungaq "half"

10.9 Abstract noun formers

10.91 Nouns expressing quantity or quality

10.911 gi- -un (→) "degree of V~ness" (restricted)

With gi- -un: (→) occurs when possible.

-nagpasalaal si qinting sa ka saryu qug qingun kadakuq sa kumagkuq sa kamut nga qasi:ru nga duha ka tiqil qang gitasgum "Inting had a piece of steel forged at Saryu's, which was as big as a thumb and two feet in length." V~ taqas "long" (59.9)

10.912 ka- -un (→) to adjective base "degree of V~ness"
ka-\textsuperscript{un} \((\rightarrow\rightarrow)\) has the same meaning as gi-\textsuperscript{un} and is used with nearly the same bases.

pari\textsubscript{sihu} g kagulan\textsuperscript{run} qang qa\textsuperscript{iku} ng qamahan qug qang qinahan ni husi "My father's age is the same as that of Jose's mother." V gu\textsuperscript{ulang} "old"

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{10.913 paN} "way in which V is" (to noun base)
\end{itemize}

This usage is restricted with noun bases, but is productive with transient bases used as nouns (Sec. 10.512).

dalsy\textsuperscript{un} qang pama\textsuperscript{nit} ni qinday "Inday's complexion is admirable." V \textsuperscript{pa}nit "skin"

di\textsuperscript{liq} la\textsuperscript{mang} maq\textsuperscript{atyu} qang pangu\textsuperscript{tuk} ni linda kun diq nindut pa gayud qang qi\textsuperscript{ya} ng \textsuperscript{pani}ngug "Linda not only has intelligence, but she also has a nice voice." V qut\textsuperscript{tuk} "brain" V ti\textsuperscript{ngug} "voice"

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{10.9131 paN} to derived noun base
\end{itemize}

gitudlus\textsuperscript{qan} siya sa qi\textsuperscript{ya} ng ginika\textsuperscript{nan} sa maq\textsuperscript{atyu} ng pamata\textsuperscript{isan} "His parents taught him good manners." V \textsuperscript{bata}\textsuperscript{san} "manners"

qang pang\textsuperscript{utukan} ni risa\textsuperscript{d} di\textsuperscript{liq} ma\textsuperscript{alaris} "Rizal's intelligence cannot be disputed." V \textsuperscript{qutukan} "brains"

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{10.914 tapa-} \((\rightarrow\rightarrow)\) "up to the V" (productive)
\end{itemize}

tagatuhud qang tu\textsuperscript{big} sa karsa\textsuperscript{da} "The water in the streets was up to the knees." V tu\textsuperscript{huhud} "knee"

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{10.92} "State of being V"
\end{itemize}

This is the base of transients with an affix ka- (Sec. 9.3) used as a common noun meaning "state of being V". (Cf. discussion of Sec. 8.012)

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{10.921 ka-} (to adjective base) (productive)
\end{itemize}

Bases with this prefix enter the stative conjugation, Secs. 9.3 and 8.33.

gitanqaw niya qang swab qang kaha\textsuperscript{qit} qug kaha\textsuperscript{mis} niqi\textsuperscript{ni}
miqasmag "He looked at the blade; its sharpness and smoothness gleamed." V haqit "sharp" V haqis "smooth" (48.12)

10.9211 ka- to phrases

tungud sa qisya ng ka wala y hinungdan ng pagkatawu wa y naLuqy kaniya "Because of his being a good-for-nothing person, no one took pity on him." V wala y hinungdan "there is no usefulness"

10.9212 ka- to transient base

haqit mahuqang si qinting sa kaguqul "Inting almost went crazy with sorrow." V kaguqul "be sad" (55.10)

10.92121 ka- plus base = base alone (dead)

With certain frequent bases the base alone is used in the same meaning and construction as ka- + base.

wala y kakahadluk nga manungkab sa manga hayuqpan sa manga ta'wu kanang batiqun na sa kaguqul maqadlaw kun magabiqiqi "It had no fear to steal the people's domestic animals whenever it felt hungry day or night." V guqul "hungry" (56.16)

10.92122 ka- (dead)

sa qu:na ng kama'tay namatudqan nga kulira y nakaqingun "In the first wave of deaths it was confirmed that cholera was the cause." V matay "die"

10.9213 ka- to derived transient base

(ku- to base with hi-)

mikagiw siya tungud sa daku ng kahiqubus "She ran away because of her deeply hurt feelings." V kubus "down"

(ku- to base with empty hiN-)

waq man siya y mahi:mu qarun siya makapangi:taq qug makata:bang sa qatu ng kahimtang "There is nothing he can do in order to earn something that can help us in our situation." V himtang "place" (30.4)

(ku- to base with -in-)

di:liq mutu:kib qa:ng kehinangup nga qisya ng gibastiq "The joy
she felt was unknowable." V hinangup "be overjoyed"

10.9214 ka- to derived adjective base

(ka- to base with -anun)

pahimusli karun qang qi:mu ng kabatangun "Make use of your youthfulness now." V batangun "young"

(ka- to base with -l- -un)

qang kabililhun sa qi:ya ng dungug di:liq kabayluqa g salapiq "The pricelessness of her virtue cannot be exchanged for money." V bililhun "having value"

(ka- to base with ma- -un)

qang kamabinagqu:hun sa qa:tu ng kababayinqaq nakapaquswag sa qa:tu ng na:sud "The modernism of our women has improved the country." V mabinagqu:hun "fond of new things"

(ka- to base with -an)

bantug sa tibuquk na:sud qang kakusgan ni ti:nu "Tino's strength was known throughout the nation." V kusgan "strong"

10.922 pagka- (productive)

10.9221 pagka- to adjective base = (ka-)

This is the abstract to potentials formed to adjective bases (Sec. 8.33).

may pagkatabunuk ni ng yuta:qa "This land is somewhat fertile." V tabunuk "fertile"

10.92211 pagka- to derived adjective base

(to base with -un)

kali:guq dihaq quy makaququ:law ng qi:mu ng pagkabulingun "Take a bath! Your dirtiness is shameful!" V bulingun "dirty"

may pagkabaqba:qun qang qaiku ng qasa:wa "My wife is somewhat talkative." V baqba:qun "talkative"

10.9222 pagka- to noun base (productive)

This is the abstract to potentials formed to noun base (Sec. 8.333) with the meaning shifted to "being V".
"What made her stuck-up was being chosen queen."

"He was not contented with being nothing more than a cashier."

"She was tired of being a servant in her own home."

"Our friendship will surely end if you do not take back what you told Maria."

"His irritability was not in harmony with his manner."

"You should give thanks for the fortune that has come to you."

"He said I was very good at making up explanations."

"state of being with someone else" (dead)

"quality of " (to adjective base)

"quality of " (to derived adjective base)

"quality of " (to adjective base specialized meaning)
10.9243 ka- -an (←) to transient base

nagkalaqinla:qi ng katalagman qang mipulipuli pagba:bag sa qii:la ng kalampusan "Various calamities one after another barred their success." V lampus "succeed" (54.4)

10.925 kina- -an "superlative" (productive)

10.9251 To adjective base

qug didtu sa kinatasqa ng ka:huy gidala qang pisuq sa banug "And the hawk brought the chick to the highest tree." V taqas "high"

10.9252 To nonadjective base

miqabut na ta sa kinatungqan sa qa:tu ng pa:naw "We have arrived at the halfway point of our journey." V tungaq "middle" (Lit: "middlemost")

10.9253 ka- -an superlative (dead)

siya y kamagula:ngan sa qii:la ng ba:nay qug kani:ya nasandig qang pagqatiman sa qii:ya ng manga manghud "He is the eldest in the family, and on him rests the care of his younger brothers and sisters." V magulang "person older than someone"

10.93 pag- (productive) (to transient base)

binuhiq qu di:liq walaq gayud makatibhang sa pagdumut ni qinting "Enchanted or not, it could not lessen Inting's hatred." V dumut "hate" (58.13)

10.94 Dead formations of abstract nouns

10.941 ka- -anan (←)

(This form has nearly the same meaning as ka- -anan of Sec. 10.33)

10.942 ka- -an

In the government could give, Inting and his family were forced to use the little money they had brought in order to pay for a piece of land which they bought." V gahum "power" (52.2)
their success." \(\text{tagan}\) "learn from bitter experience" (54.4)

\(\text{walaq mutu:ng qang qi:ya ng galaman nga magbu:hat siya}\) g daqutan "His conscience did not permit him to do something bad."
\(\text{gahum}\) "power!"

\(\text{qang kinagadman gahum}\) "Knowledge is power." \(\text{kaqailam}\) "knowledge"

\(\text{qang qi:mu ng hulagway gitanum ku na sa qaiku ng panumdu:man}\) "I implanted your image in my memory." \(\text{dumdum}\) "recall"

\(\text{di:liq ku masu:pak kana ng sugu:qa kay maqu na y gimbutgan}\) sa qai tu ng ha:riq "I cannot go against that order because that is the will of our king." \(\text{buqut}\) "will"

\(\text{pila na man qang panu:gi:gun niqadtu ng bayha:na}\) "How old do you think that woman was?" \(\text{tu:qig}\) "year"

\(\text{qang makalulu:quy nga kamunggay napu:kan nga walaq qinta:wun masayud sa hinungdan}\) "The pitiful kamunggay tree fell, poor thing, without knowing the cause." \(\text{tungud}\) "reason of" (49.3)

\(\text{wala y kala:ki ng tarbahu:qa naq kay walaq ta y}\) \(\text{tingqusba:wa ng mahi:muq}\) "That job is no good because we can make no progress." \(\text{qusbaw}\) "increase"

\(\text{ka- un}\) "state of" (dead)

\(\text{tungud sa manga pangiliyu:puq quq lubudlu:hud ni dwardu ng miriku naluwas siya sa hinana:ling}\) \(\text{kamatai:yun}\) "Because of the implorations and kneelings of Duardu, the folk doctor, he was saved from sudden death." \(\text{matay}\) "to die" (58.9)

\(\text{ka- r- un}\)

\(\text{qang kabubutgun}\) s ta:wu mu ra g kadungga:nan mahal qapan
A man's good will is like honor—dear, but cannot be bought.

Therefore, it was not long before the parents seemed to feel the sting of poverty.

His parents were also happy with the thought that now they had a helper in the household.

Isiong bought Didoy's house frame for a thousand seven hundred.

The savages stole the logs you have gathered.

The wattles of a cock are usually red.

Go buy something to eat. Whatever you want, go ahead; buy it.

There is food for sale cheap at the market on
Sundays because it is market day."  V— kaːqun  "eat"

10.9543 ka- -an (dead)

diːliːq siya musulud niqaːna ng trabahuːqa kay gamay ra na g
kasapiːgan  "He will not take that job because he can get little
money out of it."  V— saːpiːq  "money"

10.9544 -um-/mu- (dead)
nanginabuːhiːq sa daːgat qang manga*[lumupuːq]  sa tapyahan
"The people who live on the seashore make a living by the sea."  
V— *[lupuːq]  "live"

10.955 -in-

kuhaːqa qang dinapːuːm sa baːtaq kay malamuy nyaq naq  "Get
the pin from the child because he might swallow it."  V— daːgum
"needle"

qiːla ng giqisːa qang manuk qug giqusiːsa qang tinaːqiː pagtanqaw g
qunsa y nakaqinɡun sa qiːya ng dinagaːqang  "They killed the
chicken and examined the intestines to see what was the cause of
his fever."  V— taːqi  "feces"

10.956 kina- -an

naghulat sila sa qusa ka qawaːqaw ng baːhin sa kinasangːan sa
manga daːlan qurbina qug patiːnu  "They were waiting in a
deserted spot at the intersection of Urbina and Patino streets."  
V— sanga  "branch of a road"

10.10 "Time (for something which occurs regularly)"

10.10.1 ka- -un (restricted)

qug sa pagqabut gayud sa may manga qalas tris qang taknaq sa
kahapːuːnun sa sunud nga qadlaw dihaːq na y daghan kaqaːyu ng salapiːq
"And by the time three o'clock in the afternoon of the following
day had arrived, there was already very much money."  V— haːpun
"afternoon"  (15.13)

10.10.2 ka- -an (dead)

sabadu qang kahuluːqan sa qaːtu ng kasel  "Our wedding falls
on a Saturday."  V— huːlug  "fall"

10.10.21 ka- -an (→) ka- -an (→)

qunyaːq sa[kacadlawan] sa pangiːlin ni sanbisinti hailus
Then on the day of the feast of Saint Vincent almost all households will slaughter a pig.

10.10.22 an "time of " (dead)

This is a specialized usage of the adjectives of the types described in Sec. 11.32 and its subsections.

This is an extension of tali- Sec. 10.159 "about to ".

This is an extension of tali- Sec. 10.159 "about to ".

It was already just a little before noon when we arrived in town.

"regular time" of (productive)

And many parents make use of this fear to make their children come into the house at the time when twilight sets in.

The ice season has little water, so we should use as little water as possible.

It is the mango season now.

"fruit"

It is not good to bathe during the season of big waves.

"waves"

After the mother had cleared away the things, she went in in order to feed the baby because it was feeding time now.
10.10.5 pan- "harvest of the year" (dead)

daghan ta g masanggiq kay panigig run "We will harvest much corn because it is the time of the first harvest of the year."

Vu:qig "year"

Cf. also panguli:lang "second harvest", paninyur "third harvest".

10.10.6 tali- "season of" (dead)

taliqui:lan karun "This is a rainy time of the year."

Vu: qulan "rain"
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11.3232 -un (→)
11.33  "having the quality of V"
11.331 -an (→) (productive)
11.3311 To adjective base
11.3312 To transient base "characterized by doing V"
11.332 -an to adjective base (to greater degree than expected or desired) (dead)
11.3321 -an to adjective (no meaning) (dead)
11.3322 -an (→) shifted meaning
11.333 -un "having the quality of V-ness" (productive)
11.3331 -un to adjective base
11.3332 -un (→)
11.3333 -un to noun base
11.33331 -un to noun base specialized meaning
11.3334 -un (→) to noun base
11.33341 -un (→) "something gathered in the V"
11.3335 -un (→) to numeral base "worth V apiece" (productive)
11.33351 ma- -un (→) (dead)
11.3336 -un "cock colored like V" (dead)
11.34 -anun (←) to noun base (productive)
11.341 "having the quality of V"
11.342 -anun (←) with specialized meaning
11.35 ma- -un "having the quality of V" (productive)
11.351 ma- -un to adjective base
11.3511 To derived adjective base
11.35111 To base with -in-
11.35112 To doubled base
11.3512 ma- -un (→) (dead)
11.3513 ma- -un (←) (dead)
11.352 ma- -un to transient base
11.3521 ma- -un to derived T base
11.3522 ma- -un (→) to T base
11.3523 Specialized meaning
11.353 ma- -un noun base
11.354 ma- -in-un to transient bases (restricted)
11.355 Dead type with ma- -un
11.3551 ma- -l- -un
11.3552 ma- -r- -un
11.356 ma- -anun (↔) (restricted)
11.3561 Specialized meaning
11.3562 ma- -in- -anun (dead)
11.35621 ma- -in- -anun (↔)
11.3563 ma- -in- -anun (↔)
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11.5221  Specialized meaning with \( \rightarrow \)

11.53  Specialized meaning

11.54  Empty doubling

11.6  maka- \( \rightarrow \) "causing \( \vee \) to a great extent" (restricted)

11.61  maka- \( \rightarrow \) (no shift)

11.62  maka- \( \rightarrow \) (\( \leftarrow \))

11.63  maka- \( \rightarrow \) (\( \leftarrow \)) to nonstative \( T \) base (dead)

11.7  Dead adjective formations

11.71  Affixes similar to passives used to form adjectives (dead)

11.711  -l- -un

11.712  -l- unun specialized meaning

11.713  hi- -l- -un

11.72  Affixes forming agent nouns used to form adjectives (dead)

11.721  maN- \( \rightarrow \) (\( \leftarrow \))

11.73  -ady (-awu) (\( \leftarrow \))

11.741  -ay (\( \leftarrow \)) (no meaning) (to adjective base)

11.742  -ay to Q base

11.8  Affixes to numeral base

11.81  tag- (forms numerals) "each, a piece"
11.811 tag- to adjective base
11.8111 tag- (→) to adjective base
11.812 tagi- (dead)
11.82 ka- -an (→) "V—ty" (numeral formers)
11.83 qika- "ordinal former"
11.84 -an (dead)
11.85 ka- (maka-)
11.86 -un "to take V—" "to make it V—"
11.87 Affixes for amount of money
11.871 -un (→) 1) "V— piece, bill" 2) "V— apiece"
11.872 \[
\{\text{man-} -\text{un}(\rightarrow)\} "V— bill" \text{ (dead)} \\
\text{man-}(\rightarrow) \}
\]
11.873 dya- "bill worth V—" (dead)
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11.91 -in- (→) "by the, in groups of"
11.911 To nominal base
11.912 To adjective base (adjectives meaning "quantity")
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11.9131 Specialized meaning
11.92 Doubling and Culu-forms "every" "by the"
11.921 Doubling
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11.94 maka-/ka- (to numerals)
Chapter Eleven: Affixes with Adjectives

11.0 Introduction

Adjectives are formed to underived transient, nominal and adjectival bases. Adjectives are also formed to derived transient bases with па and паN. A form is considered an adjective if it occurs preceded by ka- in exclamatory sentences (Sec. 3.61) and occurs in the predicate. Cf. the discussion Sec. 8.011. For the criteria for determining the base cf. Sec. 9.0.1.

11.1 Descriptive adjectives

11.11 ma- to adjective base (productive)

Note that bases in this section do not occur with ha- (Sec. 11.13) except luqag. The bases with ma- mean "to V to a strong degree" (This prefix is formal.)

qusa ka mapaqit nga pahiyum qang mikiwiq sa qi:ya ng manga nga:bi: "His lips twisted into a bitter smile." V- paqit "bitter" (49.1)

11.111 ma- to base which do not occur without prefix when used as an adjective (dead)

sa:ma sa wala y nahitabuq qang buhuk walaq mana:ngit maqyu ng pagkaputul "As though nothing had happened his hair did not catch. It was well cut." V maqyu "good" (48.17)

11.12 With specialized meaning (restricted)

maqayiq ku ng tugtan qikaw sa qi:mu ng gihangyuq "I am reluctant to grant you your request." V ga:hiq "hard"

11.12 ma- (→) "fond of V" to T base

Cf. Sec. 11.25.

11.13 ha- "V to strong degree"

Note that bases in this group do not occur with ma- (Sec. 11.11) except luqag. Adjectives of this group are those meaning measurements, "far, near, deep, wide" and the like.
The couple migrated to the land of promise because of their high yearnings and foresight for the future of their children.

Adjectives of this group use those meaning size, measurements, distances and the like.

When they had cut almost all of the trees and when most of their land had been planted with abaca, Mr. Alog appeared.

"Your coconut trees are planted very near each other." 

"This street is very narrow and not well paved."

He was not able to control his feelings and tears welled up in his eyes.

Lito is very sleepy now.

How thin that child is!

It is considered that nouns are formed to adjective bases. (Cf. Sec. 10.53.)
11.2 "Fond of V—" (productive)

11.21 Shape hiN- "fond of doing V—"

11.211 hiN- (to transient base) (restricted)

qiquban nganhi qang hina:yaw mu ng higa:la "Bring along your friend who is fond of dancing." V— sa:yaw "dance"

11.212 hiN- with optional (→) to transient from noun base

"fond of doing V—" (restricted)

Cf. Sec. 9.10.1 for the meanings of nouns used as bases to transients.

sus{hina:piq} kaqa:yu na s dyaini bi:sa g qami:gu mu kaqa:yu
pangwarta:hu:n ka gyud kay diq man ka muyawyaw "My, how money-minded Johnny is! Even though he is a good friend, he will be sure to charge you more than usual because he knows you will not make a fuss." (lit., hina:piq "fond of obtaining money") V sa:piq "money" (used as base to transient base) "obtain money"

11.2121 hiN- to noun base meaning "fond of V—" (dead)

nagla:gut siya sa hina:bung ni,a ng ba:na "She was angry with her husband who was fond of cockfighting." V sa:bung "cockfight"

sugut ra na ng batqa:na g wa y sudqansudqan kay hinglu:tuq naq siya "That child makes do without any side dishes because he is fond of cooked rice." V lu:tuq "cooked rice or cooked corn grits"

(to derived noun base)

nahiba:wu sila nga di:liq sila magli:seud pagsulud sa balay kay qang magtiqa:yun hingatulgun "They knew that they would have no difficulty getting into the house because the couple was fond of sleeping." V katulgun "one who is sleepy"

11.213 hiN- (→) (dead)

qang qa:mu ng magtutudluq himasa g libru ba:hin sa pangluntu:giq "Our teacher is fond of reading books about debating." V ba:sa "read"

11.214 hiN- (←) (dead)

kana ng tawha:na pirmi ng musulti g bakak hima:kak siya "That man always tells lies. He is a liar." V pamakak "tell lies"
11.215 hiN- -un "fond of doing V" (dead)

11.2151 hiN- -un

kini ng batqa:na himanta:yun kaqa:yu s li:huk sa qi:ya ng manga megulang "This child is fond of watching the actions of his elders." V bantay "watch"

11.2152 hiN- -un (←)

du:na ku y sili:ngan nga hinawa:yun kaqa:yu "I have a neighbor who is very fond of criticizing." V saway "criticize"

11.22 -iru (←)

magla: gut gyud ku sa ta:wu ng hamburgi:ru "I really dislike braggarts." V hamburg "brag"

11.221 -iru (←) specialized meaning

nga:nu nga sa tana ng ta:wu butangi:ru ma y qi:mu ng napisi:liq "Why of all people did you choose a ruffian?" V butang "hit"

11.23 pala- "usually V-ing as a habit" (restricted)

11.231 pala- (no shift)

gipahi: lak qang ba:taq sa palasu:ngug ni:ya ng qigsu:qun "The child was made to cry by his brother who always teases." V su:ngug "tease"

11.232 pala- (←)

magulqa:nun si linda kay palahu:bug man qang qi:ya ng ba:na "Linda is sad, for her husband is a drunkard." V hubug "drunk"

11.233 pala- (→)

qayaw pakigdu:laq sa ba:ta ng palagaway "Do not play with a quarrelsome child." V qa:way "quarrel"

11.24 maki- "fond of V"

11.241 maki- to noun base (productive)

nga:nu ng di:liq gud naq siya maguqul nga qang qi:ya ng ba:na makibaba:yi man "Why should she not be sad when her husband is fond of women?" V baba:yi "woman"

11.25 ma- (→) to T base "always doing V" (restricted)

di:liq ku Gustu g ba:ta ng mahilak "I do not like a child who is always crying." V hi:lak "cry"
Note that for bases beginning with ka- the base has an alternant without the ka-.

matawa = "always laughing" kata:wa
matulug = "always sleeping" katu:lug

11.3 Adjectives meaning "characterized by"

11.31 -anun to noun base meaning "person or object from"

(productive)

qang bala:ngay sa la:naw sa qi:la ng pagqabut maqu pa qang pinuyqa:nan sa manga ha:yp nga lasang mun "The barrio of Lenaa at the time of their arrival was still the home of jungle animals." lasang "forest" (51.6)

11.32 "Person or thing having V" (to noun base)

11.321 -an (productive)

qutu:kan qusab nga hayu:pa "That animal was also brainy." qu:tuk "brainy" (57.3)

11.3211 -an specialized meaning

buqu:ta:n si li:na nga ba:tdq "Lena is a good child." buqut "consciousness, will"

11.3212 -an (→) specialized meaning

qug qang duq:q sa ba:taq maqu y qa:ku ng pangita:qu:un kay lam:i:gan qang duq:q sa ba:taq "And I always look for the blood of a child because the blood of a child is delicious." lamiq "taste" (22.13)

11.322 -anan (productive)

si dun manwil qusa sa manga ta:wu ng gama:nan sa qaitu ng na:sud "Don Manuel is one of the powerful persons in our country" gahum "power"

11.323 -un "having V" (productive)

11.3231 -un (no shift)

miquntul lang qang qi:ya ng pinu:tiq walaq magpulus sa mabagaq qug himbi:su ng pa:nit "His bolo just bounced off; it was useless against the thick and scaly skin." himbi:su "scales" (56.3)
nahadluk si kulas sa pagkakitaq ni:ya sa duguqun ni:ya ng kamut
"Kulas was frightened when he saw his bloody hand." V duguq
"blood"

11.3232 -un (→)

di:liq maqitsip qang manga gabiqi ng bulanun nga makistaq
qang magtilqariyun nga nagtambayayung quq quinqad sa qila ng
la:was "On countless moonlit nights the couple could be seen
laboring together." V bulan "moon" (52.8)

11.33 "Having quality of V -ness"
11.331 -an (→) (productive)

11.3311 To adjective base

di:liq maqa:yu ng qiku:yuq sa sini ni ng bata:qa kay sabaqan
kaqar:yu quq di:liq ra ba siya gustu ng pabuyag "This child is not
good for a companion in the show because he is very noisy, and he
does not like to be told to stop." V sabaq "noise"

11.3312 To transient base "characterized by doing V -ness"

qang tikasan waq pa gyud matagbaw pagpani:kas kana:tuq "The
cheat! Has he not cheated us enough yet?" V ti:kas "to
cheat" (50.10)

dakuq na si hwan qapan maqu:pun tapulan "John was grown up
now, but as always, he was lazy." V tapul "to laze" (52.12)

11.332 -an to adjective base "to greater degree than
expected or desired" (dead)

dakuqan na quya:mut qang qu:tang ni ta:mu kang pilar "Tano
owes Pilar quite a large amount already." V dakuq "big"

11.3321 -an to adjective (no meaning) (dead)

dagha:nan nga manga tu:qiug qang milabay qapan walaq giha:pun
si ti:nu "Many years passed, but still Tino did not come." V
daghan "much, many"

11.3322 -an (→) shifted meaning

kun di:liq ka pa gahigan quq qu:lu di:liq ka quintaq maqunsa
"If you had not had such a stubborn head, nothing would have
happened to you." V gahiq "hard"

11.333 -un "having the quality of V -ness" (productive)
11.3331 -un to adjective base

mibuthuq si mistir qalug quban niqadtu ng ta:wu nga yagnisun
qang la:was "Mr. Alog appeared together with that thinnish man."
The bothersome disparagement always goaded him into questioning his ability.

She bought a dress and a shirt of cheap quality.

In the end, she paid for her worldly sins.

There are still people with golden hearts who know how to sympathize with him.

The lawyer-like reasoning of the child was praised.

This is with nouns meaning time of day.

Let me have the twenty-cent size.
11.3335 
man- -un (→) (dead)

taga:qi ku g mamieusun "Give me the one peso size." V pi:sus "one peso bill"

11.3336 -un "cook colored like V" (dead)

The affix -un has a specialized meaning with certain bases meaning "fighting cock colored like V". These are extensions of the meanings in Secs. 11.3331 - 11.3334.

qang tubaqun maqu y giqila ng ha:wud sa manga qigtatariq "The fighting cock colored like palm toddy is known as the champion fighter." V tubaq "palm toddy" (colored red)

With some of these forms the base does not occur by itself.

gibaligyaq ni tatyung qang qi:ya ng talisayyun qug singkwinta kang pablu "Tatyung sold his multicolored cock for fifty pesos to Paul." V [tali:say]

11.34 -anun (←) to noun base (productive)

11.341 "Having the quality of V" 
batangun pa siya "He was still young." V ba:taq "child"

(22,3)

11.342 -anun (←) with specialized meaning
di:liq siya malipa:yun didtu sa hariqa:nu ng balay sa qi:ya ng ba:na "She was unhappy in her husband's regal mansion." V hariq "king"

11.35 ma--un "having the quality of V" (productive)

The ma- -un affix is most productive with bases which occur with ka- stative (Sec 9.3), but it occurs with large number of bases of other types as well.

11.351 ma--un to adjective base

qunsa man gyu y nahitabuq ninyu sa qupisina sa hi:pi ting gibuqak ni qangkay qang kahi:lam sa maluyashu ng ti:ngug "What really happened to you at the chief's office, Ting?" Ankay broke the silence with a weak voice." V lu:ya "weak" (63,4)

11.3511 To derived adjective base
11.3511 To base with -in-

qang panaput sa manga kababayingan karun mabinagqu:hun na kaqa:yu "Women dress in a very modern way now." V bagqu "new"

11.3512 To doubled base
diliq maqa:yu qang madaliqdali:gun sa paghukum "It is not good to be hasty in one's judgement." V daliqdaliq "hurry"

11.3512 ma- -un (➔) (dead)

maluyahun pa kaqa:yu qang qa:ku ng la:was "My body still feels weak." V lu:ya "weak"

11.3513 ma- -un (➔) (dead)

sa kalangi:tan naki:taq ni:ya qang masana:gu ng bitu:gun "In the skies she saw the brilliant star." V sanag "bright"

11.352 ma- -un to transient base

qilu:gun na sab qang qa:tu ng yu:taq mamaha:yu ng tubag ni qinting "Our land will be taken from us again," Inting ruefully replied." V marhay "regret" (49.15)

11.3521 ma- -un to derived T base

(to base with -in-)
gisu:got siya sa qia:ya ng qanak quben sa qusa ka mahinangpu ng haluk sa qa:ping "Her daughter met her with a fond kiss on the cheeks." V hinangup "overjoyed"

(to base with pa-)

mapasali:gun qang balitaq gani:ha ba:hin sa nawa:la ng qayruplai:nu "The news about the lost plane a while ago was reassuring." V pasa:lig "inspire confidence"

(to base with paN-)

mibarlik qang qia:ya ng qanak nga mapangilyupu:gun na "His son returned, humbled now." V pangilyu:puq "implore"

11.3522 ma- -un (➔) to T base

midagsang qang manga huhungi:hung labi na gayud sa matuhu:tuhu:gun nga kunu qang buqa:ya buhiq sa di:liq qingun nai:tuq "The rumors multiplied, especially among the gullible, that this crocodile was the pet of one unlike us." V tuqu:tqu "believe without reason" (57.18)
11.3523 Specialized meaning

si tattay mahugma:guna kaqa:yu sa pamusil "Dad is very fond of shooting." V higugma "love"

11.353 ma- -un noun base

pagba:sa kanu:nay sa manga matulunqa:nu ng sugila:nun "Always read stories that give moral lessons." V tulunqan "lesson"

11.354 ma- -in- -un to transient base (restricted)

qang qistranyu nakasugat qug ba:ta ng matinab:ngun nga maqu y nagtudluq kani:y a sa hustu ng da:lan "The foreigner met a helpful boy who told him which road was the right one." V ta:bang "help"

11.355 Dead types with ma- -un

11.3551 ma- -l- -un

misaka sila sa qi:la ng balay midyu masulubgun kay qanak man lagi ni:la "They went into their house rather sad, for he was, after all, their son." V kasubuq "be sad" (29.7)

11.3552 ma- -r- -un

maqu gyud ni ng wala y qanak maluluygun sa manga ba:taq "That is the case of childless people. They are sympathetic with children." V kalu:quy "have pity"

11.356 ma- -anun (←) (restricted)

nga:nu ng masukqa:nun man si li:na karu ng manga qadla:wa "Why is Lena irritable these days?" V kasukuq "get mad"

11.3561 Specialized meaning

walaq makasu:pak si li:na sa mahugta:nu ng pagdiliq sa qi:y a ng qamahan nga siya magminyuq "Lena could not go against her father's firm prohibition against getting married." V hugut "tight"

11.3562 ma- -in- -anun (dead)

11.35621 ma- -in- -anun (←)

masinabta:nun si pa:pa sa pagsulti na:kuq ni:ya nga gustu na ku ng magminyuq "Daddy was understanding when I told him I wanted to get married." V sabut "understand"

Note that with derived bases there are two alternants of the word:
the -in- infix occurs following the first phoneme of the root as well as following the first phoneme of the base:

{mapinaqubsa:nun} kaqa:yu qang pangu:lu sa kapunu:ngan "The president of the organization is very humble." V paqubus "be humble"

11.3563 ma- -in- -unun (←)

mapasalama:tun qaku nga qaku qadu:na y manga ginika:nan nga masinabtu:nun kaqa:yu "I am grateful that I have very understanding parents." V sabut "understand"

11.357 manggi- -un to T base (restricted)

These bases occur also with ma- -un. With manggi- -un they are very formal style.

manggigula:wun qang manga dala:ga sa bu:kid "The mountain maidens are very shy." V qu:law "shame"

11.3571 manggrim- -un to T base (dead)

mangi:taq kami qug manga manggimbuhat:tu ng trabahadur nga makata:bang kana:muq "We are looking for industrious workers who can help us." V bu:hat "work"

11.3572 manggi- -an to T base (dead)

si qida y patamna kay manggibuhigan man naq siya "Have Ida do the planting for she is good at raising things." V bu:miq "raise"

11.358 maki- -un "V—minded" (dead)

maqu na y ta:wu ng maqa:yu ng qisili:ngan kay makiqanga:yun kaqa:yu siya "He is a good person to have as a neighbor because he is very fair." V qa:ngay "proper"

11.3581 maki- -un specialized meaning

makiqanga:yun si li:na maqu nga daghan siya g higa:la "Lena is sociable (in an indiscriminating way); that is why she has many friends." V qa:ngay "proper"

11.3582 maki- -anun "V—minded" (dead)

qang pagdag:i:nut sa tu:big maqu y quasa ka makilungsudnu ng li:huk "The sparing use of water is a civic-minded act." V lungsud "town"
11.4 "Manner of"

11.41 -in- "in a V way" (productive)

11.411 To adjective base

nya:nu gu ng qi:mu man qaku ng gisu:guq niqa:na ng daku ng binu:gang "Why did you send me on that foolish errand?" V bu:iqang "fool" (14.4)

11.4111 -in- to derived base

di:liq ka gyud mulampus niqa:na ng dinaqutan mu ng paqa:gi "You will never succeed in your evil ways." V daqutan "bad"

11.412 To noun base

nalu:quy siya sa babay:yi ng qala:qut qug qi:ya ng gitaga:qan sa qi:ya ng qinigsu:qu ng tambad "She pitied the unfortunate woman and gave her some sisterly advice." V qigsu:qu:un "brother, sister"

11.413 Specialized meaning

11.4131 "Way of speaking"

na qunyaq ni ng ta:wu ng qamirika:mu ku:mu walaq kaqi:la bi:san siya maq:al:am mubinisayaq nagingkud lang dihaq sa daplin "Then, this American having no friends, though he spoke Visayan well, just sat in the corner." V bisayaq "Visayan" (38.10)

11.4132 Other specialized meanings

dawa:ta kini ng qa:ku ng kasingka:si ng nga pahal:pay kani:mu "Accept my sincere congratulations to you." V kasingka:si ng "heart"

11.414 -in- (→)

11.4141 To adjective base

qayaw kabala:ka kay makasapiq lang giha:pun ta sa maq:ayu ng paqa:gi "Do not worry for we shall still make money in a nice way." V maq:ayu "good"

11.4142 To noun base

lami:qan kaqa:yu qang tinagalug nga linutoqan "The tagalog way of cooking is very delicious." V taga:lug "Tagalog (ethnic group in Luzon)"

11.4143 -in- (→) specialized meaning

gipakigsult:han ku sa misyunaru sa binisaya ng binay:bas "The
missionary spoke to me in pidgin Visayan. ) baya:bas "guava"

11.42 _in_ - _an_ to adjective base only

(Cf. Secs. 10.61 and 10.62 _in_ - _an_ to T bases "manner of V")

pagsakay g taksi kay dinaliqan kini ng su:guq "Take a cab, for this is a rush order." V daliq "fast"

11.5 Doubling and Culu-

11.51 "Somewhat\[\]

11.511 "Seems\[\] (productive)

lami:qan qang duguq sa ba:taq tamgistanqis "Children's blood is tasty, somewhat sweet." V tamqis "sweet" (23.1)

11.511 Culu_ in meaning of "somewhat V"

nangi:taq mi g bulubantuk nga qasi:mu ng qagiqan qarun disliq mabi:lin qang qasi:mu ng turinub "We looked for somewhat firm places to walk on so that we would not leave footprints." V bantuk "hard"

11.512 Doubling (\[\] )

waq mi makahiba:wu g ha:qin siya kay dugaydugay na man tu siya ng milekaw "We do not know where he is, for it seems a long time since he left." V du:gay "long time"

11.52 "More V" (productive)

kusugkusug pa si kardu muda:gan kay kang kulas "Cardo runs faster than Kulas." V kusug "fast"

11.521 Doubling (\[\] )

hanginhangin karun kay sa gaha:pun "Today is windier than yesterday." V hungin "wind"

11.522 To _com_adjective base

maqu:maqu hinu:qun qang bu:ha: sa ba:taq "The child's work, on the other hand, is more nearly correct." V maqu "the one, the correct one"

11.5221 Specialized meaning with (\[\] )

nga:nu ka ma ng disliq magta:ru g sulti mu ra ka man hinu:qu g ku:langku:lang "Why do you not speak properly? You sound moronic instead." V ku:lang "lack"

11.53 Specialized meaning
They heard the various songs of the nations.  

Quite a number of the inhabitants changed their residence now because of fear.  

causing to a great extent (restricted)  

quite a number (57.13)  

causing to a great extent (restricted)  

And the pitiful kalamunggay tree near him which was as big around as a leg, fell without knowing the reason, poor thing.  

pity (49.3)  

sad  

It is said in our religion that the sinful cannot enter heaven.  

sin  

Perhaps the Almighty wanted to measure how far their suffering and patience could go.  

power (54.5)  

I would like to investigate these mysterious events in our town.  

know something previously
unknown"

11.712 -l-un specializ ed meaning

qadtu ng gabhiqu:na naki:taq na qusab ni:ya qang salabtunu ng pahi:yum sa q:iy:a ng ba:na. "That night, she again saw her husband's meaningful smile." V sabut "understand"

11.713 hi- -l-un

kay waq na ma y mahi:muq gitanqaw na la:mang ni:ya qang q:iy:a ng himalatyu ng kaq:ib:an "Because nothing else could be done, he just watched his dying companion." V matay "die"

11.72 Affixes forming agent nouns used to form adjectives

(dead)

Cf. Sec. 10.14 and its subsections.

11.721 maH- -r- (<->)

qang kulira qusa ka manana:kud nga sakit. "Cholera is a contagious disease." V takud "infect"

11.73 -adu (-aw) (<->)

nga:mu ng kanu:nay man ka ng qatrasa:wu? "Why are you always late?" V qatrasar "delay"

sukad karun hamuga:way na kita kay gihatra:gan qaku qug qusa ka pitarka nga qingkanta:du "From now on we shall be comfortable, for I was given an enchanted purse." V qingkantu "fairy"

11.741 -ay (<->) (no meaning) to adjective base

Cf. Sec. 10.161 for nouns with -ay.

qadu:na y manga gabi:qi nga dyu:tay ra siya qug kinatulgan "There were nights when he had but little sleep." V diyut "little" (59.6)

hiqapsan pa ni:mu s paking kay baghu:gay pa lang tu ng migi:kan "You can still overtake Paking because he left just a short while ago." V bagqu pa "just now"

11.742 -ay to Q base

si butyuk kunu:hav muqanhi qugma g di:liq mudayun s bilyung qug lakaw "Butyuk says he will come tomorrow if Beliong does not go." V kuru "he says"
In the olden days it was said that heaven was near the earth. “kanhi” “former”

11.6 Affixes to numeral base

11.81 tag- (forms numerals) “each, apiece”

Note that some numerals have irregular alternants when with tag-.

maqu nga nagpadayun qang qisla ng kasubuq kay hangi:taq na
pud sila g pagka:qun tagesa ka sa:ku tagurha ka sa:ku qarun
qipaka:qun kang karangkal “Therefore, they continued to be sad,
for they were looking for food again, a sack each time, two sacks
each time in order to feed Karangkal.” qusa “one” duha
“two” (32.9)

The Cebuano numerals one through ten have irregular alternants with tag-.

tagesa - "one each"
tagurha - "two each"
tagutlu - "three each"
tagupqat - "four each"
tagilma - "five each"
tagunqum - "six each"
tagpi:tu - "seven each"
tagwa:lu - "eight each"
tagsi:yam - "nine each"
tagpuluq - "ten each"

11.811 tag- (→) to adjective base

kini ng gidakqu:na maqu y tagsingku:hu:n sa ka qalinggurya
“when occurs”, the meaning of tag- is “each time”. In this
meaning it can also be added to other forms than numerals.
"I give her three pesos every time she comes here." V tris "three"

(tag- + qalas)

si danyil mahiquliq sa balay tagqalas qunsi na sa gabi:qi
"When Daniel comes home, it is already eleven o'clock at night."

11.8111 tag- (→) to adjective base

di:liq na lang ku muhwat kang ti:nuy kay tagdugay ra ba naq siya mulakaw maqatrasa:wu qu nyaq ku sa kla:si "I will not wait for Tinoy any longer because he usually stays long when he goes out, and I might be late for school." V diugay "long time" Cf. also tagpuluq V pu:luq "ten"

11.812 tagi- (dead)

da:wuq kaqa:yu si li:tu kay qang qi:ya ng gipangha:tag nga surbi:ti tagidyut lang "Lito is very selfish because the ice cream he gave was in very small amounts." V diyut "little"

11.82 ka- -an (→) "V-ty" (numeral formers)

Cf. Sec. 10.312 "collection of"

kapqatan ka manga ta:wu qang nangama:tay sa bagyu "Forty people died in the typhoon." V qupat "four"

Numeral bases with irregular alternants with this affix are:

kaluhaqan - "twenty"
kaluwaqan - "twenty"
katluguqan - "thirty"
kapqatan - "forty"
kalimqan - "fifty"
kanquman - "sixty"

(These forms could be taken to be dead forms of transients potential local passives. Cf. kaduhaqan "Thing which can be done with two at a time"

kaduhaqan ba naikuq pagumit qang bugsay "Can the paddle be held with both hands?" )
11.83 **qika-** "ordinal former"

qika- occurs with any numeral not with prefix `tag-` except `qusa`. The ordinal is either a CN or numeral (i.e., linked either with `ka-` or `nga`).

si ru:has qang qikaduha ng pangu:lu sa qa:tu ng na:sub "Roxas was the second president of our country."

11.84 **-an** (dead)

qang qi:ya ng hunaqhu:naq giku:taw sa gatusan ka panguta:na "His mind was stirred by hundreds of questions." v gatus "hundred"

11.85 **ka-** (maka-)

This prefix occurs with numerals / forming / qualifiers (Sec. 6.2125).

\{
\begin{align*}
\text{maka-} & \text{ pila ka na:kuq sulti:hi ng diq naq ni:mu hilabtan} \\
\text{ V pila } & \text{ "how many"}
\end{align*}
\}

These are forms of transients but used only with these have two affixes and / no subject in this meaning. These affixes are used with the Cebuano numerals, one through ten, and Spanish numbers above that. Also they are used with gatus "one hundred" and li:bu "one thousand"

tulu qi:mu qa:kuq lang qupatun ha "You want three? I will just make it four, all right?" v qupat "four"

libu:ha lang qarun waq na y ki:da "Just make it a thousand to round it off." v li:bu "thousand"

11.87 **Affixes for amount of money**

11.871 `-un` (→) 1) "V— piece bill"

2) " worth V— piece"

1) qiqi:lis ku qa:ri ng singkuhun "Change me this fiver." v singku "five"
In the second meaning -un (→) is the same affix as that described in Sec. 11.333.

2) taga:qi ku g bayntihun "Let me have the twenty-cent size." baynti "twenty"

\[
\text{maN- (→)} \quad \text{maN- -un (→)} \quad \text{"bill" (dead)}
\]

\[
di:qa y qa:ku ng\text{ mamisusun } \quad \text{qu sinsiyu:hi qu "Here. Here is a peso. Give me the change." }
\]

v pi:sus "one peso bill"

(For maN- -un in the meaning "worth V~ apiece" cf. Sec. 11.33351)

\[
\text{dya-"bill worth V~ " (dead)}
\]

hingkitqan na:kuq si pasyu nga naglukluk sa qi:ya ng bulsa
gug lini:kit nga manga dyabaynti "I happened to see Pacio stuffing
his pocket with rolls of twenty peso bills." baynti
"twenty"

11.9 Derivative affixes forming qualifiers

These affixes form qualifiers of the type described in Sec. 6.2125.

11.91 -in- (→) "by the, in groups of"

11.911 To nominal base

giswilduqan sila g binulan "They are paid by the month!"
bu:lan "month"

11.912 To adjective base (adjectives meaning "quantity")

gika:qun ni:ya g pinamay qang qi:ya ng bukha:yuq "He ate
his coconut candy little at a time." gagmay "little
(plural)"

11.913 To numerals

nanggu:waq sila g tinagsa qarun di:liq sila himatikdan
"They went out one at a time in order not to be noticed." tagsa "one apiece"

11.9131 Specialized meaning

gipi:siq ni:ya qang qi:ya ng lugway g tinulu "He made
his tether using three strands." tulu "three"
11.92 Doubling and Culu-forms 

This affix occurs with words meaning "recurring period of time" (dead). If the action is a different action each time, *matag* is used.

**11.921 Doubling**

This is with words of two syllables.

*giswilduhan siya g qadlawqadlaw* "He is paid by the day."

**qadlaw** "day"

**11.922 Culu-**

This is used for words of more than two syllables.

*magtagbuq kami dinhi duluduminggu* "We meet here on Sundays."

**duminggu** "Sunday"

**11.93 qinig-, qig, pag-**

These form qualifiers of the type described in Sec. 6.2122 and are abstracts (Sec. 8.3).

**11.94 maka-/ka- (to numerals)**

These prefixes are described in Sec. 11.85.
Chapter Twelve: Paradigms

12.0 Introduction

The following paragraphs give the basic types of paradigms of the Cebuano transient bases in terms of the inflectional affixes and some of the derivative affixes with which they occur. These relationships cannot be said to be either "one-way" or "two-way transformational" (Sec. 1.312) because not all bases in a given paradigm have all members of the paradigm. Not all derivative affixes have been taken into account in analyzing the paradigmatic types, because for those affixes which have not been taken into account, their occurrence or nonoccurrence does not seem to be correlated with the occurrence or nonoccurrence of other affixes.

12.01 Summary of which inflectional affixes occur with which derivational affixes

The following tables describe which inflectional affixes occur with bases having certain derivative affixes. (Only the unreal forms are listed, but the real and abstract forms are implied.) Examples of these are given in Chapter Eight. (-in- and -ay are not listed in the chart, as the bases with the latter do not occur with inflectional affixes; and bases with -in- occur with inflectional affixes only in isolated cases.)

*Bases with -ay always have a derivative affix pag- (Sec. 9.921) or pakig- (Sec. 9.7).
Occurs with most bases having the derivative affix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inflectional:</th>
<th>Culu-</th>
<th>pani-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Affix</td>
<td>pe-</td>
<td>pan-</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>-gig-</td>
<td>-pani-</td>
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<th>mu-</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

1) Note the morphophonemic alternations which these prefixes undergo when occurring together with μi-/μu- (Sec. 8.1182 ff.).

2) The potentials occur only with a few bases with this affix.

3) The instrumental passive is used with a few bases having this affix.

12.02 Distribution of derivative affixes with respect to each other

Only some of the derivative affixes occur with derived transient bases and only with bases having certain affixes. The following chart shows the distribution of derivative affixes with derived transient bases. (There are a few exceptions, but these are dead formations.) Cf. Chapter Nine for examples.
12.1 Derivative and active paradigms

12.11 Class I

This class includes bases which do not occur with pag- "do V" to each other" (Sec. 9.921).

- **mi-/mu-**
  - "volitional begin action" (Sec. 8.111, Sec. 8.112)
- **nag-/mag-**
  - "nonvolitional continuing action" (Sec. 8.1211)
- **naka-/maka-**
  - "potential" (Sec. 8.13)

For derived bases which do not occur with mi-/mu- cf. Sec. 8.1141. For derived bases which do not occur with nag-/mag- cf. Sec. 8.1213.

12.111 Class IA

This class contains those that follow Class I with no exceptions*.

mipalit siya g kadi:na "He bought a chain." (59.13)
kinsa y nagpalit qa:na ng qi:mu ng rilu "Who bought that watch of yours?"

*Footnotes are placed at the end of the sections to which they apply.
walaq. siya makapalit qug bisikli:ta kay mahal  "He was not able to buy a bicycle because they were expensive."

These forms occur to nominal base, e.g. V~ karsu:nis "wear pants". (Cf. the examples in Sec. 9.10.11.)

Some transients of this type are also used with affixes of the type in Class IB.

1) V~ da:gan "run" and others have (→) with nag-/maq-.
2) V~ hi:lag "cry" and others have (→) with nag-/maq- and optional (→) for imperative pag-.
3) V~ ka:qun "eat" and others have optional (→) with nag-/maq- and pag- imperative.
4) V~ hunaqhu:naq "think" and others have (→) with naka-/maka-.
5) V~ kurhaq "get" and others have optional (→) with naka-/maka-.
6) V~ kata:wa "laugh" and others optionally have a base without ka- and (→) with naka-/maka-.
7) V~ balitaq "report" and others have a meaning of "action devolving on agent" with naka-/maka-. (Cf. Sec. 8.134)

12.112 Class IB

The transients in this class differ from those in IA above in that the active has the meaning "action happened to V~ ".

mi-/mu- "action happened" (Sec. 8.1131)
nag-/maq- "is V~ (-ing)" (Sec. 8.1211)
naka-/maka- "has V~ ed" (Sec. 8.1341)
mibagting qang lingg:naq sa paghurus sa haingin "The bell rang when the wind blew hard."
lurdís nagbagting na qang kampa:na "Lourdes, the bell is already ringing."
nakabagting na ba diqay qang kampa:na "Has the bell rung already?"

Bases in the paradigms of Class IB may also occur in Class IIA or IA. They are in Class IIA if they occur with ka- stative, (Sec. 9.3), and they are in Class IA if they do not.
1) V· bańiq "feel" and others have no nag-/mag-, naka-/maka-.

mibańiq siya g daku ng gugma kang li:na "He felt a great love for Lena."

2) V· dakuq "be big" and others do not occur with naka-/maka- "has V·-ed".

3) V· kuːrug "tremble" and others have (→) with nag-/mag-.

12.113 Class IC

This class includes those with no mi-/mu- or nag-/mag- or with mi-/mu-, nag-/mag- with the base in a different meaning from those of the base with naka-/maka-.

qug nakadungug si karangkāl niqiːni "And Karangkal heard this."

makasalag man gaːni qang manga dagkuq qang manga baːtaq pə ba "If adults commit wrong, how much more likely are small children to do so?"

1) V· qasaːwa "take wife" and other bases have (→) with naka-/maka-.

siya y nakaqasawa sa qanak sa mayur "He married the mayor's daughter."

12.114 Class ID

This subclass contains those which have bases occurring only with mi-/mu- and naka-/maka-.

mikiːtaq siya quq dyis piːsus gahaːpun "He earned ten pesos yesterday."

nakakitaq qang draybir quq traynta piːsus sa miqaːgi ng pyista "The driver earned thirty pesos last fiesta."

1) V· sulud "enter" and others occur with nag-/mag- in a causative meaning.

kinea y nagsulud sa tuːbig qaːni ng butilya "Who put the water in this bottle?"

misulud siya sa tangkal quq misignit quq qusa ka qaslunun "He went into the pigpen and caught a pig." (60.1)
12.115 Class IE

This subclass contains those which occur only with \texttt{nag-}/\texttt{mag-}.

Transient \texttt{V-} pu:\texttt{nay} "always"

\texttt{magpu:\texttt{nay}} lang siya qug lingkud "He kept on sitting down." (1.14)

12.12 Class II

This class contains bases which have a causative meaning

without \texttt{pa-} (Sec. 8.14) and occur with \texttt{ka-} stative.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{mi-}/**\texttt{mu-} "cause x"
  \item \texttt{naka-}/**\texttt{maka-} "cause x"
  \item \texttt{ka-} \begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{be}
  \item \texttt{become}
  \item \texttt{do}
\end{itemize} x (Sec. 9.3)
\end{itemize}

12.121 Class IIA

This subclass consists of bases for which \texttt{nag-}/\texttt{mag-} means "be \texttt{V-} ".*

\begin{itemize}
  \item sagdi lang kay qaku la y \texttt{muhi:} lum sa ba:\texttt{taq} "Never mind. Let me be the one to make the child quiet."
  \item \texttt{maghi:} lum ta kay natu:lug si pa:\texttt{pa} "Let us be quiet because Daddy is asleep."
  \item qikaw galam sa ba:\texttt{taq} kay qikaw ra ma y \texttt{makahi:} lum ni:ya "You take care of the baby because only you can make him quiet."
  \item hata:gi na ng\texttt{b}a:\texttt{ta} g dulsi qarun \texttt{mahi:} lum "Give the child candy so that it will be quiet."
\end{itemize}

*1) \texttt{V-} dakuq "be big" and others do not occur with \texttt{mi-}/**\texttt{mu-} "make \texttt{V-}".

2) \texttt{V-} lisud "cause to be difficult" and others have optional \texttt{V-} with \texttt{nag-}/\texttt{mag-}.

\begin{itemize}
  \item qa:kuq na la:mang patyun kini si karangk\texttt{a}l kay \texttt{magli:} sud \texttt{kita niqii:ni "I will just kill Karangkal for we are having a hard time now." (26.13)}
\end{itemize}
12.122 Class IIB

This contains those bases which occur with **nag-/mag-** "do x to oneself".

qaku la y muli:gid sa baril qug lakat lang "I will roll the barrel along, and you just walk."

nakitqan ku si maryu ng **nagli:gid** sa saiwug "I saw Mario [lying]"

di:liq ku **makali:gid** sa baril kay dakuq ra kaqa:yu "I cannot roll the barrel because it is too big."

qug di:liq ga:niq magbantay qang draybir sigu:ru gayu ng **mali:gid** qang trak ngadtu sa qubus "If the driver is not careful, the truck will surely roll to the bottom."

Adjective base **V** hubug "be drunk"

qaku y muhubug sa qamahan qug qikaw mangulita:wu sa qanak "I will make the father drunk, and you court the daughter."

human siya bulagi **naghubug** siya "After he was jilted, he made himself drunk."

maqu y **nakahubug** qang ram nga gisa: gul sa kuk "The rum in coke was what made me drunk."

**nahubug** kaqa:yu gani:ha si tiryu "Terio was very drunk a while ago."

1) **V** ta:guq "be hidden" and others have a meaning with **mi-/mu-** "do x to oneself" as well as the causative meaning.

muta:guq ku sa lasang "I will hide in the forest."

2) **V** ta:guq "hidden" and others have a meaning "do x to oneself" with **naka-/maka-.**

walaq siya **makata:guq** qug nadakpan siya "He was not able to hide, and he was caught."

3) **V** pi:lay "cause to bend over" and others have **nag-/mag-** for reflexive meanings.

nakitqan ku qang manga kawa:yan nga nanagpilay "I saw the bamboos bending over."

12.123 Class IIC

This subclass contains those bases which occur with **nag-/mag-** meaning "cause x".
kinsa y _mutu:lug_ sa ba:taq run "Who will put the child to sleep now?"

_nagtu:lug_ si qiyay sa ba:taq di:liq makaqanhi "Eyay is putting the child to sleep; she cannot come."

_makatu:lug_ ka ba sa ba:taq "Can you put the child to sleep?"

_mangi:taq_ siya hinu:qu g landung qug didtu _mutu:lug_ "He would look for shade instead, and there he would sleep." (3.2)

*1) V _katu:lug_ "sleep" and others occur with naka-/_maka_- to the base without ka-

la) naka-/_maka_- has (→) with _katu:lug_ and optional dropping of ka-

**12.124 Class IID**

This class consists of forms occurring with _pa_- with a meaning similar to base without pa-*. (Cf. the discussion Secs. 9.1131 and 9.122.)

kinsa ba y _{mupamala_ mumala_} sa tinisan "Who will dry the tennis court?"

kinsa y _{nagpamala_ nagmala_} sa suyming pul "Who dried the swimming pool up?"

kini ng qadla:wa di:liq _{makapamala_ makamala_} sa yu:taq "This sun cannot dry the ground."

si:gi siya ng qinum piru waq giha:pun _mamala_ qang subaq "He kept on drinking, but the river still did not dry up."

*1) V _bu:hiq_ "live" and others occur only with naka-/_maka_- when with _pa_-.

qang ginu:qu ra y _{makapabu:hi_ makabuihi_} g patay "Only the Lord can bring a dead man to life."

2) V _bi:lin_ and others have meaning "action devolving on agent" with _pa_-.

qang nahitabuq _nagpabi:lin_ nga _ginasulti:han_ sa manga ta:wu "The event remained a subject of conversation for the people." (23.11)
12.125 Class IIE

This class contains those occurring with paka- with a meaning similar to the base without paka- *(Cf. Sec. 9.121.)*

qaku y \{mutakatu:lug\} sa ba:taq ru ng gabi:qi "I will be the one to put the child to sleep tonight."

kinsa y \{nagpakatu:lug\} sa ba:taq waq man papanihapu:na "Who put the child to sleep? He was not given his supper."

waq pa ku \{makapakatu:lug\} ni bi:bi diq siya gustu na:kuq "I have not put baby to sleep yet. He does not like me."

12.126 Class IIF

The bases in this class do not occur with mi-/mu- or nag-/me-.

\*1) V bu:hiq and others have a meaning of "action devolving on agent" with peka-. They occur only with nag-/me-.

nagpakabu:hiq qang qinahan qa:lang la:smang sa kaqayu:han sa qi:ya ng manga qanak "The mother lived only for the welfare of her children."

12.127 Class IIG

This subclass contains those which do not occur with other active affixes other than the statives *(frms with ke- 9.3).*

gulanggulang na siya kay nata:wu siya s waq pa y gu:bat "He is rather old now because he was born before the war."

12.13 Class III

This class contains those with bases which have the prefix pa- "causative" *(Sec. 9.11).*
mi-/mu- + pa- to oneself

nau-/mag- + pa- "do V- to oneself"

reka-/maka- + pa- "do V- to oneself"

si qida diliiq mupaki:taq samtang basaq pa qang qi:ya ng buhuk "Ida won't show herself while her hair is wet."

qaku y mupaki:taq ni:ya sa qi:ya ng manga sayup "I will point out his faults to him."

si qida diliiq magpaki:taq samtang basaq pa qang qi:ya ng buhuk "Ida won't show herself while her hair is wet."

qapan si kerangkal bi:san sa ba:taq pa magpaki:taq qug talaga na ng qabilidad "But Karangkal, even as a child, showed unusual abilities." (25.8)

sukad siya mahagbung sa bar waq na makapaki:taq si qupilya kuna:muq "After she failed the bar exam, Ophelia did not show herself any more."

qaku y nakapaki:taq ni:ya sa qi:ya ng manga sayup "I was the one who showed him his errors."

$qulahi$ "be late" and others have no causative meaning with $mi-/mu-$ plus $pa-$, but just have the reflexive meaning.

12.14 Class IV

This includes bases occurring with the prefix pag-/nag-/

$mag-$ (-) meaning "do V- to each other" (Sec. 9.921) and

$nagig-$ (-). 

12.141 Class IVA

This class includes bases which have $pag-$ and $nagig-$ and

which have the affixes of Class IA *.

$musakay$ lang ku s dyip miqingun si guryu "I will just take the jeep," said Gregorio."

kay layuq man na ng qa:tu ng qadtu:qan $musakay$ ta g dyip "Let us take a jeep, because the place we are going to is far."

$pagpaqingun$ $musakay$ $ma$ $tu:ni$ gani:ha ng buntag sa pagpaqingun naku s kapitulyu "Tony and I rode together this morning when I went
to the Capitol."

naqatrasawu qaku sa qupisi:na karun kay walaq da:yun qaku
makasakay "I am late to work because I could not get a bus
right away."

diq ku gustu ng makigsa:kay ni:mu "I do not want to ride with
you."

1) V ki:taq "see" and others occur only with nag/-mag-
"do to each other" and naka/-maka- (→) in the active with
meaning "V-ed".

2) V ku:yug and others have (→) with naka/-maka-.

3) V qabut has no nag/-mag- meaning durative action.

4) V qi:lis has a meaning "do V to oneself" with
nag/-mag- and naka/-maka-.

12.142 Class IV B

This subclass contains those without the affixes of Class
IA. The majority in this class are those which have affix -ay
(Sec. 9.6 and its subsection).

magsula:tay mu s maring qug qadtu na ka s mani:laq "You and
Maring write to each other when you are in Manila."

gustu ka ng makigsa:tay qug pinpal sa qamirika "Do you want
to correspond with a pen pal from America?".

12.15 Class V

This class contains those bases which have a paN- prefix.

12.151 Class VA

This class contains those with naN/-maN-, nagpaN-(→)/
magpaN-(→) and with nakapaN/-makapaN-.

nanguta:na ku sa qaimu ng maqistra qug nga:nu ng waq siya
magminyuq "I asked our teacher why she has not gotten married."

nagpangutana qang tigu:wang bashin sa qirya ng qanak "The old
man kept asking about his daughter."

walaq pa ku makapangutana sa qaimu ng maqistra "I have not
yet asked my teacher."

(Note that with nag/-mag- bases with paN- have a plural meaning.
Cf. Sec. 8.12112,)
12.152 Class VB

This subclass contains those bases which do not occur with nag-/mag- but occur with maka-/maka- and naN-/maN-.

human sa qi:la ng pamasi:yu nanglingkud sila sa parki "After having strolled around, they sat down in the park."

pagqabut sa dinajpit nga mamumulung naka/panglingkud na qang manga nanambung "When the guest speaker arrived, the audience had already sat down."

12.153 Class VC

This subclass contains bases with pN- which do not occur with nag-/mag- and maka-/maka-.

gang qii:ya ng manga mata namula daw mata sa qiring kumagat "His eyes were red like the eyes of a vicious cat." (48.2)

12.16 Class VI

This type comprises those which occur with the hi/ha-, nahi- ha-/mahi- ha-.

12.161 Class VIA

This subclass contains bases which have the prefix maka- to base with hi-.

nahibalu si pa:pa nga si minti walaq muqiskuyla "Daddy knew that Mente had not gone to school."

nakahibalu na si ma:ma pagsultli ku s balitaq "Mother already knew when I told her the news."

12.162 Class VIB

This group contains bases with hi- not occurring with maka-. (This group contains the majority of bases with hi-)

ma:tud pa ni puru nakirugma siya ni mi:na pagqa:yu "According to Poro, he is in love with Mina very much."

12.17 Class VII

This group contains bases with the prefix hiN-. 
12.171 Class VIIA

This group consists of those which occur with na-/ma-. human ni:ya g diga:mu sa qi:la ng pama:shaw gidu:qul ni:ya qang qii:ya ng mahina:nuq pa ng ba:na. "After she had fixed breakfast she moved toward her husband who was still sleeping soundly."

12.172 Class VIIB

This group occurs only with nag-/mag-.

nakitqan ku si pilar naghina:big samtang si qisang nanglaban "I saw Pilar talking while Isang was washing clothes."

*1) hinagbuq and others occur only with pag- "do V— to each other" (Sec. 9.92).

12.2 Passive paradigms

12.21 Class I

This class includes those forms which have direct passives with direct meaning, local passives with local meaning ("local" or "person for whom"), and instrumental passives with instrumental meaning.

direct "thing V—ed" (Sec. 8.211 and subsections)

local \(
\begin{align*}
&\text{place where} V-\text{is done} \\
&\text{person for whom}
\end{align*}
\) (Sec. 8.2212, 8.2213 and subsections)

instrumental "thing with which" (Sec. 8.312 and subsections: "person for whom" (Sec. 8.2313) (imperative only)

12.211 Class 1a

misa:qad si karlus nga palitun ni:ya kadtu ng qawtu "Charles promised that he would buy that automobile."
muba:lik ku ngadtu sa tinda:han nga qa:ku ng gipalitan qug sini:maq "I will go back to the store where I bought a dress."
malipa:yun si na:nay kay gipalitan siya ni ta:tay qug makina "Mother is happy because Dad bought a sewing machine for her."

instrumental (temporal meaning)

maqa:yu ru ng gipalit qug libru kay bubaratu na "It is good to buy books because they are cheaper now."
Instrumental (instrumental meaning)

tagqi ku g kwarte ng qipalit qug karni "Give me money to buy meat with."

Instrumental (person for whom)(in imperative only)*

gipalit ra gud si li:na quq qaspirin kay gilabda g qu:lu "Please buy aspirin for Lena because she has a headache."

*1) The instrumental meaning "person for whom" is also used other than imperative (cf. 8.2313) for some bases e.g. V—
kuhaq "get" giku:haq ku siya qug tambal "I will get some medicine for him."

12.212 Class 1b

This subclass contains those bases which have only direct passives and no other passives. The words in this class belong to the types described in Secs. 8.211225 and 8.21162. *
mangit:tag ku qug panaptun nga maqa:yu ng karsuni:sun "I will look for cloth that will be good to make into pants."

*1) V— hunaqhu:naq "think" and others are also used in the instrumental.qihunaqhu:naq ra ku g maqa:yu ng pasa:ngil qikaha:tag
sa qaiku ng qasa:wa "Think of a good excuse to give my wife."

2) V— ka:las "waste" and others have a local meaning "person who considers something as V—".

magdagi:nut ta s papil kay kalaisan nyaq si hwan "Let us economize on paper because John will consider it a waste."

12.213 Class 1c

This subclass includes bases which mean motion. The direct passive of these bases means "place to which"; the local passive means "place on which". The instrumental has an instrumental meaning.

layuq kaqa:yu qang qa:ku ng lakwun qugmaq "The place I am going tomorrow is very far."

di:liq maqa:yu ng lakwan ni ng kalsada kay lapu:kun "This road is not good to walk on because it is muddy."

kini ng da:qa ng sapat:us maqa:yu ng qilakaw "These old shoes are good to walk in."
12.214 Class la

This subclass includes those with only potential forms in the passives.* Bases of this type are described in Sec. 8.2144.

*qang qa:mu ng panagsulti maba:tiq ni ta:tay "Dad will hear our conversation."

*1) Some have nonpotentials in other meanings: kita:gun "person met with" Cf. Sec. 8.21151.

12.215 Class le

This subclass includes those with local passives meaning "affected by". The direct passive has the meaning "thing caused to be V". The local passive of words in this class are described in Sec. 8.2215 and its subsections.

direct passive

nga:mu ng saki:tun pa men ni:mu qang qi:mu ng kaqugali:ngun sa paghandum sa nanga:gi "Why inflict pain upon yourself by thinking of the past?"

local passive

gisakitan si lulu sa qu:lu "Lulu has a headache."

12.216 Class lf

This subclass includes those with direct meaning "thing caused to be V". The local means "person who considered something as V". Instrumental if used at all is used in the imperative and temporal meanings (Secs. 8.2313, 8.2314).

gwapu:hun ku ni ng parul kay qa:ku ng qi:qintra sa banggaq "I will make this lantern beautiful because I will enter it in the contest."

gi:gwapu:hun gayud ku ni ruhilyu "I really think Rogelio is handsome."

12.217 Class lg

This subclass contains bases for which the direct passive
means "person affected by".

wala y kukahaluk nga manungkab sa manga hayupan sa manga tawu kanang batigun na sa kagu tum magsalaw kun magabiqi "He had no fear at all to steal the people's animals whenever he felt hungry, day or night." (56.16)

12.22 Class 2

This class includes those which have no direct passives, have local passives with direct meaning and have instrumental passives with instrumental meaning.

12.221 Class 2a

This class includes bases that follow the above type (Sec. 12.22).

Local with direct meaning

gibayran na:kuq qang qa:ku ng qutang "I paid my debt."

Instrumental passive with instrumental meaning

ni:qa qang kwarta ng qa:ku ng qiba:yd sa qa:ku ng qutang "Here is the money that I will pay my debt with."

*1) V maqu "know" occurs only with local potential in direct meaning.

waq ku y kamaquhan ba:hin sa manga makina "I know nothing about machinery."

2) V ti:plg "set aside" and others have local in the direct meaning and no instrumental.

12.222 Class 2b

This subclass includes those forms with direct passives in the same meaning as the local passive. The local passives of bases of this type are described in Sec. 8.21123. The instrumental of these has an instrumental meaning.

direct and local passive

kupti ni ng qa:ku ng bag kay qablihan ku ni ng pultahan qablihun "Hold my bag because I will open the door."
instrumental passive

kini ng yawi:ha maqu y gigablí sa pulchan "This is the key to open the door."

*1) $\overline{\text{tui-qu}}$ (believe) "and others do not have an instrumental passive in the instrumental meaning.

12.223 Class 2c

This subclass includes those bases with a local passive meaning "reason for which $\overline{\text{V}}$ is done" and with an instrumental-ablative meaning "action done while agent is in a certain emotion". The local and instrumental of bases of this type are described in Secs. 8.2214 and 8.23143 respectively.*

$qunsa ma y qi:mu ng gihilakan "What are you crying about?"

gihilak ku na lang qang qa:ku ng kahiqubus kay di:liq man ku makasu:kul "I just cried along with my hurt feelings because I could not fight back."

*1) $\overline{\text{hi:la}}$ "cry" and other bases have optional (→) with the local passive.

2) $\overline{\text{kurugi}}$ "tremble" and others have no instrumental except in the temporal meaning.

12.224 Class 2d

This subclass includes those with local passives to derived bases with direct meanings. These are bases with hi-/~hing~ (Sec. 9.4) and pakig- (Sec. 9.7). Local passives of bases of the type with hi-/~hing~ are described in Sec. 8.22115.

$hingkita:gan na:muq si du:dun nga natu:g sa sinihan "We saw Dodong sleeping in the movie house."

pakigkita:gan na:kuq si gulyas qugmaq "I will see Gullas tomorrow."

12.225 Class 2e

This class includes those with only a local passive in a local meaning.*
**511**

ngai:nu ng qi:mu ng gibilaka:gan qang katri "Why are you sitting on the bed?"

*1) *lingkud "sit" and others have an instrumental passive. qayaw g qilingkud kana ng qi:mu ng bagqu ng karsu:nis "Do not sit in your new trousers."

2) *tagingtiting "jingle" and others have local passives only in meaning "thing affected by".

Kana ng tawha:na laqqu ga:yu g kwarta tagingtitingan lang ni:mu g sinsilyu da:yu g du:qul "That man is very greedy for money. If he hears the tingling of coins, he immediately comes near you."

**12.23 Class 3**

This class includes those forms with instrumental passives with ablative (direct) meaning and local passives with the meaning "person for whom", "place at which".

**12.231 Class 3a**

This subclass includes those which have no direct passive.

The instrumental means "thing V—ed" and the local means "person, place" to whom V—ed. Instrumental passives of this type are described in Sec. 8.23111.

local passive

kun di:liq mupaha:waq mapri:su pa silla qug di:liq pa silla hatag:gan ni mistir qalug qug yu:taq "If they would not clear out, not only would they be put into jail, but also they would not be given any land by Mr. Alog." (539) instrumental

maqu kanaq qang qal:ku ng qilatag kani:mu "That is what I am going to give you." (7.5)

**12.232 Class 3b**

This subclass includes those which have direct passive with direct meaning and instrumental with ablative-causative meaning.* Bases of this type are described in Sec. 8.23112 ff.

direct passive

sudlun ku qang kwarta ni:ya karun nga waq siya dinhi "I will enter his room now that he is not here."

instrumental

qisulud ku ni ng kwarta sa qa:ku ng pita:ka "I will put this money in my purse."
*1) V— suguq "command" and others have a direct meaning for both the direct and the instrumental with no extra causative meaning in the instrumental where the instrument means "thing V—-ed" and the direct "person V—-ed".

si hwan kun sugun ni:mu di:liq ni:ya buha:tn gisuguq "If you told John to do something, he would not do what he was told." (1.12)

1a) V— qingun "say" and others of this type have a local passive in the meaning "person V—-ed". 

2) V— qandam "prepare" and others have the same meaning for the instrumental and direct.

3) V— kuqut "reach in" and others have a direct meaning in the direct and ablative (motion away from speaker) in the instrumentals.

4) V— sulud "go in" and others have a causative meaning in the local passive.

12.233 Class 3o

This group includes those with direct passives in meanings other than direct, instrumental with an ablative causative meaning, and local in the local meaning.

direct with meaning of "purpose" (Sec. 8.2113)

gubanun pa man qa:niq qaku sa tininti sa bala:ngay "The barrio lieutenant had even gone along with me." (65.5)
instrumental with ablative-causative meaning

pusta ni ng libru kay qa:kuq ni ng qiquban qug ha:tag kang li:na "Wrap this book up because I will have it go with those I am giving to Lina."

12.24 Class 4

This class includes those bases with pa- "causative". Instrumentals to bases of this type are described in Sec. 8.2311221.

pa- -un "person caused to V— "
qipa- "thing caused to be V— -ed"

12.241 Class 4a

This class includes those with local passive meaning

"place at which one caused V— " or "person for whom one caused V— " .

direct
pasalitun ku qug mangga si pilar "I will have Pilar buy some mangoes."

local
qipasalitan na:kuq qang manga ba:taq qug pan "I had some bread bought for the children."

instrumental
qipasalit ku kana ng sapa:tus kang ta:tay "I will have Dad buy those shoes."

12.242 Class 4b

This subclass contains those with local meaning nearly the same as instrumental. The locals of bases of this type are described in Sec. 8.221521.

direct
pasugugun ku si mari:ya kang li:na pagpanglaba "I will have Mary command Lina to do the laundry."

local
pasugugan lang na:tuq si maryu qug ba:taq "Let us just have a boy sent for Mario."

instrumental
qipasu:guq ku lang naq si li:na sa qa:mu ng kasi:ra ng si lurna "I will just allow Lorna, our boarder, to command Lina."
12.245 Class 4c

This subclass has local passives with the same meaning as direct or instrumental. Bases of this type are described in Sec. 8.22113.

\[
\text{pahina:yun, pahina:yan, qipahi:nav}
\]

ni:ya qang qawtu kay dagha ng ta:wu sa kalsa:da "He will slow down his car because there are many people in the street."

12.25 Class 5

This class contains those passives to bases with the affix ka- (Sec. 9.3).

12.251 Class 5a

This subclass contains those with local passives in direct meaning and those with qi- instrumental. The locals for this type are described in Sec. 8.22113.

local

qang pagba:lik sa qanak nga maqusi:kun moqu y gikalipa:yan sa qamahan "The return of the prodigal son was the cause of the father's joy."

instrumental

qikali:pay ku qang qi:mu ng kalampu:san "Your success will make me happy."

12.252 Class 5b

This class includes those bases with ka- that have no instrumental passive. The locals to these are described in Sec. 8.22113 and mean "reason on account of which one V- 's".

mikalit qug butuq qang gikalisa:nga ng buqa:ya sa subaq sa marbil "Suddenly the fearful crocodile appeared in the river at Marbel."

(54.15)

*1) V- katu:lug "sleep" and others also have a local meaning in the local passive.

gikatulgan ni ni:niq qang bagqu ng katri "Nene slept on the new bed."
2) $V$- kabuhiq "live" and others have a meaning "thing from which one $V$" in the local passive.

$qansa y qi:mu ng pikabuhigan "What is your means of livelihood?"

3) $V$- kata:gak "fall" and others have a local meaning "person on whom something $V$'s"

$nataga:kan$ si qustu g lubi "A coconut fell on Osto."

12.26 Class 6

This class contains those passives with prefix pag- meaning "do with" (Sec. 9.21). Bases of this type are described in Sec. 9.21.

12.261 Class 6a

This subclass includes those passives with pag- used in the direct and local passives. Words of this type may have zero alternants of pag-. They are described in Sec. 9.921. The direct passive of these, "person with whom one $V$-ed", is described in Sec. 8.2115 ff.

$gikita:qan$ na:kuq si padri dama:su gaha:pun "I went to see Fr. Damasu yesterday."

local passive "place where people $V$-ed with each other"

$kana ng punu:qan$ sa qakasya maqu y $gikita:qan$ sa managtraitu "That place under the acacia tree is where the lovers met."

**1) Some forms have direct passives with a different meaning.**

$minyu:qun$ "persons caused to $V$-with each other"

$minyu:qun$ na lang na:tuq si ti:ta qug guryu "Let us just marry Tita and Gorio off."

2) Other forms have direct meaning "thing people $V$- with each other"

$qili:qun$ na:tuq qang qa:tu ng la:pis "Let us exchange pencils."

12.262 Class 6b

This subclass includes those with pag- used with instrumental and local passives. Bases of this type are described in Sec. 9.21.

local passive "place people $V$-ed with each other"
maqu ni dinhi qang gipanagawayan sa manga sundalu ng pilipi:nu qug hapun "This is where the Filipino and Japanese soldiers fought each other."

instrumental passive "person with whom one V-ed"

tu:qa ra si pisyang qang babayi ng qas:ku ng gikaga:way kaniqadtu "There goes Pisyang, the woman with whom I fought one time."

*1) V qa:way "fight" and others have alternants gika- -an for local passives.

maqu ni ng dapi:ta qang qila ng gikagawaiyan "This is where they fought."

2) V qa:way and others have alternants gi- -an for the local passives.

nagtindug qang manga sibuwa:mu qug bantayug sa da:pit nga giga:wan ni lapula:pu qug magalyanis "The Cebuanos put up a monument at the place where Lapulapu and Magellan fought."

3) V kistaq "meet" and others have alternants qig-in the instrumental (Sec. 8.2315)

bissan kinsa y qi:ya ng qiskitaq qi:ya ng lamanuhun "He shook hands with whomever he met."

4) V pusyuq "live together" and others have alternants gi/-qi-/.

si nurma gipusyuq ni birtu niqadtu ng tinggu:bat "Berto had Norma live with him as his mistress during the past war."

5) V tagbuq "meet" and others have gipanag- for the instrumental.

qas:mu ng gipanatagbuq sa lahug qang pangu:lu qug manga magbabalaqu "We met the president and the congressmen at Lahug.

12.263 Class 6e

This subclass includes forms of local passives of bases with pag- having local meaning.*

local meaning "reason on account of which"

qang pagpiliq qug bagqu ng pangu:lu nga maqu y gipanagkita:gan sa manga sa:kup walaq mahimu kay naglalipay man sila "The election of a new president which was the reason for their meeting could not be carried out because the members argued too much."

*1) V sulti "say" and others have a local passive in direct
meaning.

*gipanagsulti:gan ni:la si bu:buy* "They talked about Boboy."

**12.27 Class 7**

This class contains those bases with a direct meaning in all three passives.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{padayu:na} \\
\text{padayu:ni} \\
\text{qipada:yun}
\end{align*}
\]

qang qinyu ng gikasabutan "Continue what you have agreed to."

**12.28 Class 8**

This class contains bases which have no passives e.g.

* tangaq "stare into space"*