BANTOANON (ASI) GRAMMAR ESSENTIALS

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PRONC	OUNS	and DEMONSTRATIVES	1
1. P	rono	uns	1
1.1	Pers	sonal Pronouns	1
1.2.	Ref	lexive Pronoun	3
1.3.	Inte	rrogative Pronouns	3
1.4.	Inde	efinite Pronouns	3
1.5.	Plur	ralization	4
1.6.	Atte	ention Directing Demonstratives	4
1.6	5.1.1.	Definite Demonstratives	5
1.6	5.2.	Locative Demonstratives	6
1.6	5.3.	Proximity	7
1.6	5.4.	Specifying Demonstrative	7
1.6	5.5.	Intensifying Demonstrative	8
NOMIN	JALS	AND THEIR EXPANSIONS	9
2. N	Noun	Phrase and Expansion	9
2.1	Pos	sessive Modifier	9
2.1	.1	Pronoun Modifier	9
2.1	.2	Proper Name	0
2.1	.3	Noun	1
2.2	Den	nonstratives1	2
2.2	2.1	Demonstratives linked by <i>nak/-ng</i>	2
2.2	2.2	Demonstratives with comparison	3
2.2	2.3	Locative demonstratives	3
2.3	Qua	ntifiers1	4
2.3	8.1	Quantifiers linked by <i>nak/-ng</i>	4
2.3	8.2	Quantifiers follow pronouns	4
2.4	Des	criptives1	5
2.4	.1	Adjectives	5
2.4	.2	Verbal Descriptives	6
2.4	.3	Noun Descriptives	7
2.4	.4	Relative Clauses	7
2.5	Non	ninal Clause1	8
2.6	Spe	cific Identification	9

2.7	App	oositives	20
2.8	Coo	rdinate Constructions	21
2.	8.1	Proper Names	21
2.	8.2	Nouns	21
ADJE	CTIVA	ALS AND THEIR EXPANSIONS:	22
3.	Nonve	erbal Sentences	22
3.1	Des	cription	22
3.	1.1	Adjectives	22
3.	1.2	Fact/Truth Statement	23
3.	1.3	Phenomenal	23
3.2	Clas	ssification	24
3.	2.1	Pronoun/Demonstrative	24
3.	2.2	Proper Name	24
3.	2.3	Time Classifier	25
3.3	Ider	ntification	26
3.	3.1	Pronoun	26
3.	3.2	Proper Name	26
3.4	Tim	e	27
3.5	Loc	ation	28
3.	5.1	Locative Demonstratives	28
3.	5.2	Locative Construction	29
3.6	Exis	stence	30
3.7	Pos	session	31
3.	7.1	Possession of Something	31
3.	7.2	Possession of Characteristic Parts	32
3.	7.3	Possession of Children of One's Own	33
3.	7.4	Ownership	33
VERB	ALS A	AND THEIR EXPANSIONS	34
4.	VERE	S	34
4.1	Mag	g Agentive Verbs	34
4.	1.1	Participants	34
4.	1.2	Focus	35
4.	1.3	Tense-Aspect	42
4.	1.4	Bases of Mag Verbs	44

4.1	.5	Causitive Aspect	. 51
4.1	.6	Aptative Aspect	. 58
4.2	Stat	ive Verbs	. 62
4.3	Cha	inge of State Verbs	. 65
4.3	8.1	Inherent Physical Change of State	. 65
4.3	8.2	Descriptive Change of State	. 68
4.3	8.3	Physical Feelings and Illness	. 69
4.3	8.4	Emotions	. 73
4.4	Ver	b Affixation and Kinds of Action	. 76
4.4	.1	Habitual Action	. 76
4.4	.2	Immediate Past Action and Inceptive Action	. 77
4.4	.3	Immediate Future Action	. 78
4.4	.4	Continuous Action	. 79
4.4	.5	Repetitive Action	. 80
4.4	.6	Intensive Action	. 81
4.4	.7	Diminutive Action and Pretense	. 81
4.5	Ver	b Affixation and Participants	. 82
4.5	5.1	Plural Action	. 82
4.5	5.2	Separate Action	. 83
4.5	5.3	Collective Action	. 83
4.5	5.4	Reciprocal Action	. 84
4.5	5.5	Social Action	. 85
4.5	5.6	Reflexive Action	. 86
4.6	Oth	er Constructions	. 86
4.6	5.1	Maging	. 86
4.6	5.2	Mag-, Magka	. 87
4.6	5.3	Mapasa	. 88
4.6	5.4	Compound Verbs	. 88
4.6	5.5	Substantives	. 88
4.7	Sente	ence Processes	. 91
4.7	'.1	Infinitive and Subjunctive Forms	. 91
4.7	.2	Imperatives and Prohibitives	. 91
4.7	'.3	Negation	. 95
4.7	'.4	Morphophonemics	. 98

4.7.5	Sentence Inversion (incomplete)	
4.8 Ve	rb Charts:	101
PREDICAT	E EXPANSIONS:PARTICLES	103
5. Partie	cles	103
5.1 Oc	currence of Particles	
5.2 Pre	edicate Expansion	
5.2.1	Order of Occurrence	106
5.2.2	Other Notes about Enclitics	107
5.3 Sei	mantic Groupings of Enclitics	108
5.3.1	Temporal Enclitics	108
5.3.2	Modal Enclitics	113
5.3.3	Limiting Enclitics	
5.3.4	Emphatic Enclitics	
5.3.5	Logical Enclitics	
5.3.6	Verbal Enclitics	
5.3.7	Social Enclitics	
5.3.8	Descriptive Enclitics	127
5.4 Mo	oveable Enclitics	128
5.4.1	Moveable Enclitics from the Verb Phrase Set	
5.4.2	Other Moveable Enclitics	
PREDICAT	E EXPANSION: ADVERBS	
6. Adve	erbs	136
6.1 Gr	oupings of Adverbs	136
6.1.1	Manner Adverbs	
6.1.2	Pa- Prefix of Manner	
6.1.3	Time Adverbs	
6.1.4	Verbalized Time Adverbs	
6.1.5	Time Gerunds (incomplete)	
6.1.6	Referential Adverbs	
6.1.7	Location, Beneficial, Instrument, Causal	149
6.1.8	Measurement and Numbers	150
6.2 Ve	rbal Clauses	152
6.2.1	Pseudo Verbs	152
6.2.2	Relative Clause	

6.2	.3	Subordinate Clause	. 160
6.2	.4	Optatives	162
SEMAN	ITIC	RELATIONS:	162
7. G	broup	ings of Semantic Relations	162
7.1	Con	junctive	162
7.2	Disj	unctive	163
7.3	Adv	versitive	164
7.4	Tem	nporal	167
7.4	.1	Sequence	167
7.4	.2	Simultaneous	171
7.4	.3	Co-occurrence	176
7.4	.4	Beginning-post-span	176
7.4	.5	Pre-span-end	176
7.5	Rea	son	177
7.5	.1	because	177
7.5	.2	just because	. 178
7.5	.3	that's why	178
7.5	.4	Contrafactual	182
7.6	Res	ult	182
7.6	.1	Therefore	182
7.6	.2	particle ganì	183
7.6	.3	Result agar (negative)	183
7.6	.4	Other Result Relations	184
7.6	.5	Other Reason-Result Constructions	184
7.6	.6	Other Constructions	186
7.7	Purp	pose	186
7.7	.1	Purpose: agór	186
7.7	.2	Linker: nak	187
7.8	Gro	unds-Conclusion	187
7.8	.1	Grounds-Conclusion	187
7.8	.2	Action on Planned Grounds	188
7.8	.3	Grounds-Conclusion: ay dî	188
7.8	.4	Grounds-Conclusion: kumo	189
7.9	Con	dition	189

7.9.1	Condition-Consequence	
7.9.2	Contingency	191
7.9.3	Contrafactual	192
7.10 C	Concession	193
7.10.1	Contra-expectation	193
7.10.2	Hypothetical	197
7.10.3	Contrafactual	197
7.11 C	Comparison	198
7.11.1	Comparisons of Equality	198
7.11.2	Comparisons of Inequality	199
7.11.3	Verbal Simile	
7.11.4	Verbal Comparison	
7.12 Q	Quotation	
7.12.1	Direct Quotation	
7.12.2	Indirect Quotation	
7.12.3	Reported Speech	
7.13 C	Other Complement Clauses	
7.13.1	Mental Processes	
7.13.2	Verbal Processes	
7.13.3	Perception	
7.13.4	Purpose	
7.13.5	Result	
7.13.6	Phase	
7.13.7	Manner	
QUESTION	S:	
8. Group	pings of Questions	
8.1 Yes	s/No Questions	
8.1.1	Descriptive/Identity	
8.1.2	Verbs	
8.1.3	Pseudo Verbs and Existentials	
8.1.4	Confirmation	
8.2 Alte	ernative Questions	
8.3 Idea	ntity	
8.3.1	What	

8.3	3.2	Which	223
8.3	3.3	Who	223
8.3	3.4	Which (person)	224
8.3	3.5	Whom	224
8.3	8.6	For whom, for what	226
8.4	Pos	ssession, Ownership	226
8.4	I .1	Possession	226
8.4	1.2	Ownership	227
8.5	Rel	ationship ???	227
8.6	Tin	ne	227
8.6	5.1	Past Tense	227
8.6	5.2	Future Tense	
8.7	Loc	cation	229
8.8	Am	nount and Extent	
8.9	Des	scriptive questions using <i>nio</i> :	
8.10	S	State	
8.11	Ν	Means and Manner	
8.12	R	Reason and Purpose	
8.13	C	Cause	
	-		

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PRONOUNS and DEMONSTRATIVES

1. Pronouns

1.1 Personal Pronouns

The **personal pronouns** occur in four cases which are nominative, genitive, oblique and possessive. They also occur in singular and plural number forms.

Pronoun	nommative	Semarc	oblique	possessive
	SI	INGULAR		
I	akó	(n)ákò	ákò	(n)ákò
you	ikáw/ka	(n)ímo	ímo	(n)ímo
he/she	sidá	(n)ída	ída	(n)ída
		PLURAL		
we(excl)	kamí	(n)ámò	ámò	(n)ámò
we(incl)	kitá	(n)átò	átò	(n)átò
you	kamó	(n)ínro	ínro	(n)ínro
they	sinrá	(n)ínra	ínra	(n)ínra

pronoun nominative genitive oblique possessive

The **singular nominative pronoun** *ikáw* has the variant *ka* which is sometimes used and is probably borrowed from Tagalog.

The **genitive pronouns** and **possessive pronouns** with an initial *n*-follow the verb or noun to which they most closely relate. The forms without the initial *n*-precede the verb or noun to which they relate.

topic and goal pronouns

When **two pronouns occur as topic and goal** of a verbal sentence the positions and order may vary.

Firstly, the two pronouns may occur in sequence immediately following the verb. Any sequence is possible for all pronouns of two syllables but if the one syllable form *ka* is used then it will always occur first in the sequence. The preferred order places the genitive pronoun first. Ingtaw-an *nako sida* it regalo./Ataw-an *ka nako* it regalo. give I her gift /give you I gift 'I gave her a gift./I will give you a gift.'

Secondly, the two pronouns may be separated with the genitive pronoun without the *n*- preceeding the verb and the nominative form following the verb.

Akò ingtaw-an sidá it regalo./Akò ataw-an ikáw it regalo. I give her gift /I give you gift 'I gave her a gift.'/'I will give you a gift.'

Thirdly, with negated sentences the sequence of pronouns may follow immediately after the negator with the genitive pronoun preferred in the initial position, or the pronouns may be separated. When the pronouns are separated, the preferred form is with the genitive pronoun following the negator and the nominative pronoun following the verb.

Indi *nákò ikáw* gitaw-an it pamaskwa./Indi *nákò* gitaw-an *ikáw* it pamaskwa. not I you give Christmas/not I give you Christmas 'I will not give you something for Christmas.'

Waya *nako sida* gitaw-i it pamaskwa./Waya *nako* gitaw-i *sida* it pamaskwa. not I her give Christmas/not I give her Christmas 'I did not give her anything for Christmas.'

genitive pronouns

Ingyuto *nída* kag tinapay. cook he bread 'He cooked bread.'

Ida ingyuto kag tinapay. he cook bread 'He cooked bread.'

possessive pronouns

Iro *nída* kali. dog his this 'This is his dog.'

Ida iro kali. his dog this 'This is his dog.'

Two **shortened possessive pronouns** have been found to occur preceeding the noun to which it relates.

ak (ákò) 'my'

at (átò) 'our(incl)'

1.2. Reflexive Pronoun

The **reflexive pronoun** is *saríli* which is modified by a possessive pronoun to indicate who the referent is. These pronouns then act as a descriptive in a noun phrase.

Nagkakalibog sinra sa inra *saríli*. worry they their self 'They worry about themselves.'

Nagmumuyat si Pedro it *saríli* nidang litrato. look Pedro self his photo 'Pedro is looking at a photo of himself.'

1.3. Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns substitute for nominal predicates.

sío/sín-o	'who'	hariín/riín	'where'
saunó/sín-o	'when(future)	kaunó/kág-uno	'when(past)'
nío/náo/inaó	'what'	ásì	'why'
pilá (quantity)'	'how many	pilá/tigpíla (price)'	'how much
paunó (quality)'	'how'	kamustá/maunó	'how

1.4. Indefinite Pronouns

Indefinite pronouns are formed in two ways. The first, has *aber* 'even' followed by the interrogative pronoun which in turn may be followed by the particle *man*. The second way to form the indefinite pronoun is by using only the interrogative pronoun followed by the particle *man*.

Ataw-an nako kali sa *abér sío* (*man*) nak mapali. give I this even who come 'I will give this to whoever comes.' *Sío man* ay pwedeng magpali. who possible come

'Anyone can come.'

1.5. Pluralization

Non-personal nouns are pluralized by the particle mga which precedes one.

```
mga lapis
pencil
'pencils'
mga bayay
house
'houses'
```

Proper names are pluralized by means of personal plural case marking particles.

```
sina Juan
    Juan
'Juan (and the others)'
kana Manang Ruth
    aunty Ruth
'at Aunty Ruth's (family's) house'
```

1.6. Attention Directing Demonstratives

Attention directing demonstratives occur preceeding the noun or pronoun, and are defined primarily by proximity to the speaker but they can also be used in relation to the listener. The distances can be relative to the situation involved, not merely geographical locations. They are especially used to draw attention to the referent, or to indicate locative and time features.

demonstra	ative	es form	here	near	far	distant
Definite		Complete	kií	kalí	kinâ	kató
		Short		lí	nâ	tó
Locative	(1)	Complete		rahalí	rahinâ	rahagtó
		Short		halí	hinâ	hagtó
	(2)	Complete		rilí/ dilí	rahâ	rotó

The **linkers** which can be used with these demonstratives are *nak/-ng/-ong*. There is a variant form of each demonstrative which may end with an *-o*, for example *Kalío* 'this', *hagtúo* 'there'.

1.6.1.1. Definite Demonstratives

Definite demonstratives can:

(1) stand alone as the **topic** of both actor and undergoer focus verbs, as well as in non-verbal sentences.

```
Maganda kalí.
beautiful this
'This is beautiful.'
```

Ingyuto nako *kalí*. cook I this 'I cooked this.'

(2) replace the **topic** marker kag indicating a definite or specific item.

Dar-a kaling pala sa inra. carry this spade them 'Take the spade to their place.'

(3) be used as an **adjective** either preceeding or following a noun.

Sio baga kag naghuman it *katóng* bangko? who question made that stool 'Who made that stool?'

Makagor kag iro nak *kinâ*. greedy dog that 'That dog steals food.'

(4) emphasize the specific item referred to when used twice or as a free form.

Makagor *kináng* iro nak *kinâ*. greedy that dog that 'That dog is the one that steals food.'

Kinâ nak kinâ kag iro nak makagor. that that dog greedy 'That dog is the one that steals food.'

Imaw kinâ kag iro nak makagor. that.one that dog greedy 'That dog is the one that steals food.'

Maganda *kató* sida. beautiful that she 'That one, she is beautiful.' (5) be used to specify **time** in the past. The most commonly used forms are *kinâ* and *kató* with *kató* referring to the most distant past.

Katóng usang adlaw pa ay hagto pa ako. that one day still there still I 'Two days ago I was still there.'

Katóng gab-i, nagrayan sida sa amo. that night came.by she us 'The other night she came by our place.'

Nag-iistar sida sa dormitoryo *katóng* hagto sida sa Kolehiyo. dwell he dormitory that there he college 'He lived in the dormitory when he was at college.'

Tong una pa ay puro kayhasan dili. that first still totally forrest here 'A long time ago it was all forrest here.'

1.6.2. Locative Demonstratives

There are **two sets of Locative demonstratives**, one of which has both a complete and a short form. Many speakers seem to use these sets interchangeably within the sentence, but the second set is not so common in the sentence initial locative position.

(1) The (1) **Locative** is the **initial** form in the locative sentence that answers the question *hariin/riin?* 'where is something?' The most common form in colloquial speech is the short form. The (2) **Locative** may also be used here, but it is not so common.

Rahinâ sida sa kusina./Hinâ sida sa kusina. there she kitchen/there she kitchen 'She is there in the kitchen.'

(2) Both locatives can occur as the oblique form in a sentence. Some speakers prefer the (2) locative in this position.

Igwa *dilí* it arina. is here flour 'There is flour here.'

Mapagto kita sa isla *rotó*. go we island there 'We will go to the island over there.'

Maado ka panahon *rotó* sa Maynila. good weather there Manila 'The weather is good in Manila.'

Igwa't baruto *hagtó* sa yawor. is boat there deep.sea 'There is a boat out there on the sea.' (3) The (2) **locative** can replace the topic marker *kag* to indicate a definite item as well as adding a descriptive feature of location. It precedes the noun and is linked to it by *nak/-ng/-ong*.

Rilíng lamesa ay nara. here table narra 'This table here is made of narra wood.'

(4) The (2) locative can be used as an adjective preceding the noun.

Mapagto kita sa *rotóng* isla. go we there island 'We will go to that island over there.'

1.6.3. Proximity

(1) In the chart (1.3), 'here' refers to something actually in one's possession or right near the speaker.

(2) In the chart (1.3), '**near'** is the most commonly used form to state close proximity, within reach of the speaker.

(3) In the chart (1.3), 'far' is a location which is just out of reach of the speaker or the hearer, to include one's immediate surroundings such as one's house.

(4) In the chart (1.3), 'distant' is any location outside the immediate surroundings of both the speaker and the hearer, say beyond 100 metres.

In the above categories, both 'here' and 'near' are translated as 'here' in the examples given in this paper, and both 'far' and 'distant' are translated as 'there'.

1.6.4. Specifying Demonstrative

The **specifying demonstrative** used to direct one's attention to a specific referent that is singled out from all others is *imáw*. It usually precedes the referent which may be a pronoun. It can also follow the referent, being linked to it by *it*. The phrase containing *imáw* may be linked to the remainder of the sentence by *it* or *kag*.

Imáw kina kag bag-o.
that.one that new
'That's the new one.'

Imáwsi Juan nak nagbaligya it karabaw.that.oneJuansell'That's Juan who sold the buffalo.'

Buko, si Rosa kag *imáw* nidang nakita. not Rosa that.one she see 'No, it's Rosa that she saw.' Kag mga libro it *imáw* kag nakita nida. book that.one see see 'It's the books that she saw.'

Si Juan it *imáw* it ingtaw-an it maestra it premyo. Juan that.one give teacher prize 'It's Juan that the teacher gave the prize to.'

This specifying demonstrative may also be separated from the referent by limiting particles *yang'ey* to express the English meaning' instead'.

Nagrarali sida kada imaw yang'ey ako kag naghuyat. hurry she therefore that.one just.already I wait

Nagrarali sida kada ako yang'ey it imaw it naghuyat. hurry she therefore I just.already that.one wait 'She was in a hurry (to leave) so I was the one who just waited (instead).'

1.6.5. Intensifying Demonstrative

The **intensifying demonstrative** *mismo* is a form used to intensify the referent which it follows. It may intensify a pronoun, locative, time word or noun phrase.

Ako mismó kag nagpagto. I indeed go 'I went myself.' Sa Maynila mismó sida nag-iistar.

Manila indeed he dwell 'He lives in Manila itself.'

Sa tungâ mismó it banwa sida nag-iistar. centre indeed town she dwell 'She lives right in the centre of town.'

Katong ako banig *mismó* kag ingraya nida. that my sleeping.mat indeed carry she 'It was my sleeping mat that she took.'

Katong banig nako mismó kag ingraya nida. that sleeping.mat my indeed carry she 'It was my sleeping may that she took.'

Itahapon *mismó* kag ida pag-abot. yesterday indeed he arrive 'It was really yesterday he arrived.'

Kaling bayay mismó kag ako inghahanap. this house indeed I look.for 'It's this house that I was looking for.'

NOMINALS AND THEIR EXPANSIONS

2. Noun Phrase and Expansion

Noun phrases may be formed by a noun modified by possessives, demonstratives, quantifiers, descriptives, and relative clauses. They may also be expanded by forming nominal clauses, by specific identification, apposition and coordination of nominals.

A minimal noun phrase contains a case marked noun. An expanded noun phrase will commonly have a demonstrative, a possessive, a quantifier, and one or more descriptives.

Minimal

bayay 'house'

Expanded

Kaling ako ruhang magandang baro nak puya. this my two beautiful dress red 'These two beautiful, red dresses of mine.'

The most commonly seen expanded phrase has one descriptive and/or one quantifier.

2.1 Possessive Modifier

Possessive modifiers include pronouns, proper names and other nouns.

2.1.1 Pronoun Modifier

A **possessive pronoun** may precede or follow the noun. When the possessive pronoun follows the noun it begins with n-.

```
ákò bayay / bayay nákò
my house / house my
'my house'

ímo iro / iro nímo
your dog / dog your
'your dog'

ínra karabaw / karabaw nínra
their water.buffalo water.buffalo their
'their buffalo'
```

sa imo kag bayay your house 'the house of yours' katong ida magandang bayay that her beautiful house 'That beautiful house of hers.' In complex constructions the pronoun may have various positions. Kaling ap-at nak lapis nákò / Kaling ákò ap-at nak lapis / this four pencil my this my four pencil 'These four pencils of mine' Kaling ap-at nákò lapis

this four my pencil 'My four pencils'

2.1.2 Proper Name

(1) There are two ways to show possession with a **proper name** (given name, surname, term of address), using either singular *ni/kang* or plural personal case markers *nina/kana*.

bayay *ni Ruth / kang Ruth* bayay house Ruth Ruth house 'Ruth's house'

bayay *ni Manang Ruth / kang Manang Ruth* bayay house aunty Ruth aunty Ruth house 'Aunty Ruth's house'

bayay nina Ruth / kana Ruth bayay house Ruth Ruth house 'Ruth's family's house'

tinrahan *ni Falqueza / kang Falqueza* tinrahan store Falqueza Falqueza store 'Falqueza's store'

kana Falqueza tinrahan Falqueza store 'Falqueza family's store' (2) There is another construction formed with the genitive case marker and a proper name. This construction is translated like a coordinated phrase 'x and y'. This type of construction includes a known referent who is included in the initial plural pronoun. The other referent(s) are then specifically named and conjoined to the pronoun with the genitive personal name case marker.

NagpaOdiongan *kamí ni Rose*. Odiongan we Rose 'Rose and I went to Odiongan.'

Hina'ey sinra nina Mary ag Juan. there.already they Mary and Juan 'Mary, Juan and he are there already.'

2.1.3 Noun

(1) The **possessive noun** follows the referent noun, and is linked to it by *it*.

Ka puno't nidog ay inggagamit sa pagpatinrog it mga bayay. trunk coconut use build house 'The trunk of the coconut is used for building houses.'

Intakaw nida kag manok *it katong maguyang*. steal he chicken that old.person 'He stole the old woman's chicken.'

Nasira kag gulong *it dyip*. broken wheel jeep 'The wheel of the jeep is broken.'

bunga it kahoy
fruit tree
'fruit of the tree/tree's fruit'

takyob it kaldero lid saucepan 'lid of the saucepan/saucepan's lid'

(2) When a **nominalized verb** is the actor in the event described in the phrase, the nominalized verb will precede the noun undergoer. These forms will be linked by *it*. When translated, this construction often resembles a relative clause.

Nakita nako kag manog-baligya it karabaw. see I one.who.sell water.buffalo 'I saw the seller of buffalos./I saw the one who sells buffalos.'

2.2 Demonstratives

Demonstratives specify or point to a definite referent. They always have some semantic component of proximity to enable distinction of various referents.

2.2.1 Demonstratives linked by nak/-ng

Demonstratives may precede or follow the noun and are linked by *nak*/-ng within a phrase. With a series of descriptives the demonstratives the demonstrative will be first.

Maganda katóng bayay. beautiful that house 'That house is beautiful.' Kalíng bayay ay maganda. this house beautiful 'This house is beautiful.' Sa kináng anak nida giparay-an kag bahog. that child her carry animal's.food 'She sent the animal's food with that child of hers.' nak anak *kinâ* kag ingtaw-an it dulse. Imaw that.one child that give candy 'That's the child that was given candy.' Kináng ida bayay ay maado. that her house good 'That house of her's is good.' Kináng marakong semento nak bayay ay ida. that big cement house her 'That big cement house is his.' Kináng marakong bayay nak semento ay ida. that big house cement her 'That big cement house is his.' Kalíng dyip kita masakay. This jeep we ride 'We will ride in this jeep.' Kináng ida bag-ong dyip ay puya. that his new jeep red 'That new jeep of his is red.' Katóng roto. that there 'That one over there.' Taw-an kag kapada sa kató nak anak. give papaya that child 'Give the papaya to that child.'

Tanuman kag payay sa kahon nak kató. plant rice box that 'Plant the rice in that paddy.'

Sa *kinâ* nak anak nida giparay-an kag bahog. that child her carry animal's.food 'The animal's food is carried by that child of hers.'

2.2.2 Demonstratives with comparison

Demonstratives may occur before or after the comparison.

Kalíng kahoy ay mas mataas kisa roto. this wood more tall than there 'This tree is taller than that one there.'

Kalíng raga ay mas maado kisa kinâ. this earth more good than that 'This soil is better than that.'

Kag usang karabaw ay mas maisut kisa (sa) kinâ. one water.buffalo more small than that 'A water buffalo is smaller than that animal.'

Kaling payay dili ay mas maado it tubo kisa (sa) katong roto. this rice here more good grow than that there 'This rice here is growing better than that one there.'

2.2.3 Locative demonstratives

Locative demonstratives may act as demonstratives by preceding a noun and being linked to it by *nak/-ng*.

Butangan kag baso *hináng* lamesa. put glass there table 'Put the glass on that table there.'

Rilíng kitang dyip masakay. here we jeep ride 'Let's ride this jeep here.'

Mapagto kita sa *rotóng* isla. go we there island 'We will go to that island over there.'

The locative may occur following the noun in unlinked form, or as an unlinked clause level locative.

Rahalí kitang dyip masakay./Halí kita masakay nak dyip. here we jeep ride /here we ride jeep 'Here is the jeep we will ride in.'

Mapagto kita sa isla *rotó*. go we island there 'We will go to the island over there.'

2.3 Quantifiers

Quantifiers include cardinal numbers, ordinal numbers and quantifying words, such as *maramo* 'much/many'.

2.3.1 Quantifiers linked by nak/-ng

Quantifiers precede adjectives and nouns, and may precede pronouns as well. They are linked to head nouns by *nak/-ng*.

ako *ap-át* nak lapis my four pencil 'my four pencils' tatlóng magandang anak three beautiful child 'three beautiful children' maisot nak kwarta small money 'a little money' súbrang kwarta extra money 'extra money/too much money' tatlóng gantang nak bugas three dry.volume.measure rice 'three gantas of rice'(6 kg.) ruháng kilong isra two kilos fish 'two kilos of fish' kaling ap-at nak lapis nako/kaling ako ap-at nak lapis / this four pencil my /this my four pencil/ kalíng ap-at nako nak lapis this four my pencil 'these four pencils of mine/my four pencils'

2.3.2 Quantifiers follow pronouns

When the **quantifier** refers to a pronoun it follows the pronoun.

kaming *ruhá* we two 'the two of us' kitang *tanán* we all 'all of us'

2.4 Descriptives

Descriptives include adjectives, verbal forms, nouns and relative clauses.

2.4.1 Adjectives

Adjectives can occur either before or after nouns although they most often occur before. They are linked to the noun by the linker *nak/-ng*. The norm is one or two adjectives but three may occur, with the third following the noun. Adjectives are contiguous with the noun and in larger phrase constructions they follow both the demonstrative and the pronoun.

marakóng bayay / bayay nak marakô big house / house biq 'big house' hinóg nak yangka / yangkang hinóg ripe jackfruit / jackfruit ripe 'ripe jackfruit' puyáng baro / barong puyá red dress / dress red 'red dress' marakóng berdeng bayay / berdeng bayay nak marakô big green house green house biq 'big green house' kaling yumang yamit / kaling yamit nak yumà this old clothes / this clothes old 'this old dress' ako masakít nak anak / ako anak nak masakít my sick child / my child sick 'my sick child' yumang baro nak mabuling / mabuling nak yumang baro old dress dirty / dirty old dress 'dirty old dress' tatlong marakô nak yangkang hinóg three big jackfruit ripe 'three big ripe jackfruit' kaling ida ap-at nak magandáng baro nak puyá this her four beautiful dress red 'these four, beautiful red dresses of hers'

2.4.2 Verbal Descriptives

(1) Verbal descriptives are most commonly in the unaffixed root form. When an adjective modifies the verbal descriptive, the adjective precedes the verbal form. In the sequence of an adjective and a verbal form, the verbal form is usually affixed with *pagka*- but following *bag-o* it occurs in the unaffixed form. The linker *nak/-ng* occurs between all forms.

```
yútò nak isra
cook fish
'cooked fish'
balígyà nak kambing
sell goat
'sold goat'
útoy nak kahoy
cut wood
'cut wood'
bag-ong yútò nak isra
new cook
            fish
'freshly cooked fish'
bag-ong abót nak anak
new arrive child
'newly arrived child'
mayain nak pagkalabá nak yamit / yamit nak mayain nak pagkalabá
bad launder clothes / clothes
                                         bad
                                                   launder
'poorly washed clothes'
subrang pagkaprítong isra / subra it pagkapríto nak isra
extra fry fish / extra fry
                                      fish
'over-fried fish'
subra it pagkahinóg nak kapada
extra ripe
                   papaya
'over-ripe papaya'
maado it pagkayútò nak lugit
good cook
                   copra
'well cooked copra'
maado nak pagkabuyár nak payay
    dry.in.sun rice
good
'well dried rice'
```

(2) Verbal descriptives may also be affixed with normal verbal affixation within a phrase that includes participant nominals all linked together by *nak/-ng*. When such a phrase is translated it may resemble a relative clause.

nabalígyà nida nak karabaw
sell his water.buffalo
'his sold buffalo'

Nakita nako kag *nabalígyà* nida nak kambing. see I sell his goat 'I saw his sold goat./I saw the goat which he sold.'

2.4.3 Noun Descriptives

Noun descriptives are formed by use of the prefix *pang*- used in the sense of the English 'for use on sth'. It may also precede or follow the referent noun.

Kag pangdyip nak gulong kag nasira. / Kag gulong nak pangdyip kag nasira. jeep wheel broken / wheel jeep broken 'The jeep wheel is broken./The wheel for the jeep is broken.'

pangkaldero nak takyob / takyob nak pangkaldero
saucepan lid / lid saucepan
'saucepan lid/lid for the saucepan'

2.4.4 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses follow a head noun which they modify. They are linked to the head noun by the linker *nak/-ng*. The focus of the verb in the relative clause and the case of the head noun agree as if they were the verb and topic in one clause. Non-nuclear referents such as time, price, reason, take different forms. The basic clause form is written in parenthesis under each example. Two other phrase constructions which can be translated like relative clauses are formed with affixed verbals.(see 2.1.3(2) and 2.4.2(2))

Nakita nako kag tawo *nak nagbalígyà it karabáw*. see I person sell(AF water.buffalo 'I saw the man who sold the buffalo.' (Basic Clause: Nagbaligya kag tawo it karabaw.)

Nakita nako kag karabaw nak ingbalígyà nidá. see I water.buffalo sell(UF) he 'I saw the buffalo which he sold.' (Basic Clause: Ingbaligya nida kag karabaw.)

Nakita nako kag tawo *nak ingbaligyaan nida it karabaw*. see I person sell(GF) he water.buffalo 'I saw the man to whom the buffalo was sold.' (Basic Clause: Ingbaligyaan nida kag tawo it karabaw.)

Nakita nako kag merkado *nak ingbaligyaan nida it karabaw*. see I market sell(GF) he water.buffalo 'I saw the market where he sold the buffalo.' (Basic Clause: Inbaligyaan nida it karabaw kag merkado.) Nakita nako kag baril *nak ingmatay it karabaw*. see I gun kill(IF) water.buffalo 'I saw the gun with which the buffalo was killed.' (Basic Clause: Ingmatay nida it karabaw kag baril.)

Nakita nako kag baril nak inggamit pagbaril it karabaw. see I gun use(UF) gun water.buffalo 'I saw the gun that was used to shoot the buffalo.' (Basic Clause: Inggamit nida kag baril pagbaril it karabaw. Inggamit nida kag baril nak imatay it/sa karabaw. Inggamit nida kag baril pagmatay it karabaw.)

Nakita nako kag tawo *nak nagpabaligya kang Juan it karabaw*. see I person sell(Caus.AF) Juan water.buffalo 'I saw the man whose buffalo was sold by Juan. (Basic Clause: Nagpabaligya kag tawo it karabaw kang Juan.)

Nakita nako kag tawo nak imaw ka tag-iya it ingpabaligya kang Juan see I person that.one owner sold(Caus.AF) Juan

nak karabaw. water.buffalo 'I saw the man who is the owner for whom Juan sold the buffalo.' (Basic Clause: Imaw kag tawo nak tag-iya it ingpabaligya nak karabaw sa ida.)

Ayam nako kag presyo *nak binaligyaan it karabaw*. know I price sell water.buffalo 'I know the price for which the buffalo was sold.' (Basic Clause: Binaligyaan nako sida it karabaw sa dos mil./ Kag binaligyaan it karabaw ay dos mil./ Ingbaligya nida kag karabaw it dos mil)

Ayam nako kag rason *nak ingbaligya nida kag karabaw sa tawo*. know I reason sell(GF) water.buffalo person 'I know the reason why he sold the buffalo to that man.' (Basic Clause: Dahil nahirapan sida, ingbaligya nida kag karabaw sa tawo.)

2.5 Nominal Clause

Nominalization of a head noun replaces the head noun with a **nominal clause**. The nature of the head noun is indicated by the interrogative pronoun which is used in the clause. The interrogative construction is used for this subordinate clause. The topic now occurs within the nominalized clause. The linker is *kung*.

Nakita nako *kung sio kag nagbaligya it karabaw*. see I who sell(AF) water.buffalo 'I saw who sold the buffalo.' Nakita nako *kung nio kag ingbaligya nida*. see I what sell(UF) he 'I saw what he sold.' Nakita nako *kung kanin-o gibaligyaan kag karabaw*. see I whose sell(GF) water.buffalo 'I saw to whom the buffalo was sold.'

Nakita nako *kung hariin gibaligyaan kag karabaw*. see I where sell(GF) water.buffalo 'I saw where the karabaw was sold.'

Naayam nako *kung nio kag ingpangmatay it karabaw*. know I what kill(IF) water.buffalo 'I know what the buffalo was killed with.'

Naayam nako *kung kanin-o nak karabaw kag ingpabaligya*. know I whose water.buffalo sell(Caus.AF) 'I know whose buffalo was sold.'

Naayam nako *kung para kanin-o nida gibaligyaan kag karabaw*. know I for whose he sell(GF) water.buffalo 'I know for whom he sold the buffalo.'

2.6 Specific Identification

Specific identification is made by the use of the demonstrative *imaw* with the referent, and the verb is topicalized by using the nominative case marker. The normal order is *imaw* si Juan which can be inverted to si Juan ay *imaw*.

Imaw si Juan kag nagbaligya it karabaw.
that.one Juan sell(AF) water.buffalo
'It was Juan who sold the buffalo.'

Imaw kag ida karabaw kag ingbaligya ni Juan. that.one his water.buffalo sell(UF) Juan 'It was his buffalo that Juan sold.'

Imaw si Pedro kag ingbaligyaan nida it karabaw. that.one Pedro sell(GF) he water.buffalo 'It was Pedro to whom he sold the buffalo.'

Imaw kag merkado kag ingbaligyaan it karabaw.
that.one market sell(GF) water.buffalo
'It was in the market that the buffalo was sold.'

Imaw kag baril kag ingmatay it karabaw.
that.one gun kill(IF) water.buffalo
'It was the gun with which the buffalo was killed.'

Imaw si Juan kag nagpabaligya it karabaw sa ida. that.one Juan sell(Caus.AF) water.buffalo him 'It was Juan whose buffalo was sold by him.'

Imaw si Juan kag tag-iya it karabaw nak ingpabaligya sa ida. that.one Juan owner water.buffalo sell(Caus.UF) him 'It was Juan for whom he sold the buffalo.' Imaw ngasing gibaligyaan kag karabaw.
that.one today sell(GF) water.buffalo
'It was today that the buffalo was sold.'

Imaw sa dos mil kag ida baligya/pagbaligya it karabaw. that.one two thousand he sell water.buffalo 'It was for two thousand that he sold the buffalo.'

Imaw sa ida kahirapan kada ingbaligya kag karabaw.
that.one his difficult therefore sell(UF) water.buffalo
'It was because of his poverty that he sold the buffalo.

2.7 Appositives

Appositives are composed of two noun phrases identifying the same referent. These may take two forms. The true appositive has two independent phrases with no linker between the two. One common use of apposition is where the locative demonstrative occurs in apposition with a sa locative phrase.

Kina ay si *Tang Saming kag mangingisra*. that Uncle Saming fisherman 'That is Uncle Saming the fisherman.'

Rahina sa kusina si Maria. there kitchen Maria 'Maria is there in the kitchen.'

However two phrases can be linked by *nak* to give the same semantic information as the unlinked appositive. Whether the presence of *nak* indicates that the translation should be 'who is....' is a possibility, but the information content is the same as in the unlinked form above.

Taw-an kag libro kang *Helen nak ako hali*. give book Helen my relative 'Give the book to Helen my relative.'

Kag ato kayungot nak si Linda ay nagpabanwa. our neighbor Linda town 'Our neighbor, Linda went down town.'

Imaw kato kag asembliman nak si Mr Beltran. that.one that assemblyman Mr Beltran 'That's the assemblyman, Mr Beltran.'

2.8 Coordinate Constructions

Coordinate constructions are two or more noun phrases of the same case conjoined by ag 'and'. When there is a series of nominals conjoined, each one may be conjoined by ag but often there is merely a pause (comma) and only the last member of the series is conjoined by ag.

2.8.1 Proper Names

Proper names are conjoined by *ag* and the personal case marker need not be repeated if it is plural in the first occurrence. However the personal case marker may be repeated if the speaker wishes. The construction which includes a known referent and is translated as 'x and y', where y is a proper name, is a genitive construction. (see 2.1.2)

sinra nina Mary *ag* Juan they Mary and Juan 'Mary, Juan and him'

Coordinate Construction

sina Cain ag Abel / si Cain ag si Abel Cain and Abel / Cain and Abel 'Cain and Abel'

sina Alan, Inday *ag* Neysa / si Alan, si Inday, *ag* si Neysa Alan, Inday and Neysa / Alan, Inday, and Neysa 'Alan, Inday and Neysa'

2.8.2 Nouns

When **nouns** are conjoined the case marker is usually not repeated following the conjunction *ag*, or the comma in a series.

Kag iro ag manok ay ida ingraya. dog and chicken he carry 'He carried a chicken and a manok'

Kag iro, manok ag baktin ay hina sa rayaag. dog, chicken and pig there yard 'The dog, chicken and the pig are there in the yard.'

ADJECTIVALS AND THEIR EXPANSIONS:

3. Nonverbal Sentences

Nonverbal sentences are composed of a nonverbal predicate plus a subject nominal. There are a few subjectless phenominal and existential predicates. Nonverbal predicates include description, classification, identification, time, location, existence, and possession.

3.1 Description

Descriptive sentences contain adjectives, numerals or phenomenal adjectives. A negated description is made with bukô and may be inverted with *ay*.

3.1.1 Adjectives

Descriptive adjectives form the initial predicate with subject nominals.

Masakít ka anak. sick child 'The child is sick.' Kasadya ka pista. enjoyable fiesta 'The fiesta is enjoyable.' Mainit kag tubi.

hot water 'The water is hot.'

Ka ida baruto ay *marakô*. his boat big 'His boat is big.'

Negative

```
Buko masakit ka anak.
not sick child
'The child is not sick.'
```

```
Buko kasadya ka pista.
not enjoyable fiesta
'The fiesta is not enjoyable.'
```

```
Buko mainit kag tubi.
not hot water
'The water is not hot.'
```

```
Ka ida baruto ay buko marakô.
    his boat    not big
'His boat is not big.'
```

3.1.2 Fact/Truth Statement

An existential *igwá* may optionally precede a descriptive nonverbal sentence making a **fact/truth statement** which is negated by *bukô*.

(Igwa't) ap-at nak gulong kag dyip. four wheel is jeep 'A jeep has four wheels.' Ka usang dyip ay (igwa't) ap-at nak gulong. one jeep is four wheel 'A jeep has four wheels.' (Igwa't) ap-at kag gulong it dyip. four wheel is jeep 'The jeep has four wheels.' (Literal: The jeep's wheels are four.)

Negative

Buko ap-at it gulong kag bisikleta. not four wheels bicycle 'A bicycle does not have four wheels.'

Buko *ap-at* kag gulong it dyip. not four wheel jeep 'The jeep does not have four wheels.' (Literal: The jeep's wheels are not four. e.g. only three)

3.1.3 Phenomenal

Phenomenal statements are about weather and time. In this instance descriptives may stand alone, perhaps with only a particle. They may also form a nonverbal clause with a time adverb as subject.

```
Maaga pa.
early still
'It's still early.
Mainit ngasing.
hot today
'It's hot today.'
```

Ngasing ay *mainit* kag panahon. today hot weather 'Today the weather is hot.'

Negative

Buko *mainit* ngasing. not hot today 'It's not hot today.'

3.2 Classification

Classification sentences contain predicates which are nominals of classification, including kinship terms. The subject is a nominal such as a pronoun, demonstrative proper name or time adverb. These sentences are negated by *bukô* and inverted by *ay*.

3.2.1 **Pronoun/Demonstrative**

Pronouns and demonstratives may be the subjects used with classification predicates.

Usang mangingisra *sida*. / *Sida* ay usang mangingisra. one fisherman he / he one fisherman 'He is a fisherman.'

Amerikano *sida. / Sida* ay Amerikano. American he / he American 'He is an American.'

Batag *kali. / Kali* ay batag. banana this / this banana 'This is a banana.'

Negative

Buko *sida* mangingisra. not he fisherman 'He is not a fisherman.'

Buko *sida* Amerikano. / *Sida* ay buko Amerikano. not he American / he not American 'He is not an American.'

Buko yangka *kali. / Kali* ay buko yangka. not jackfruit this / this not jackfruit 'This is not a jackfruit.

3.2.2 Proper Name

Proper names with the appropriate personal case marker can be subjects of classification predicates.

```
Maestra si Maria. / Si Maria ay maestra.
teacher Maria / Maria teacher
'Maria is a teacher.'
```

```
Magmanghor kami ni Rose.
younger.sibling we Rose
'Rose and I are sisters.'
Mga hali namo kag mga Falqueza.
```

relative our Falqueza 'Falquezas are our relatives.'

Negative

Buko doktor *si Juan. / Si Juan* ay buko doktor. not doctor Juan / Juan not doctor 'Juan is not a doctor.'

3.2.3 Time Classifier

Both the predicate classifier and the adverb subject denote time.

Lunes ngasing. Monday today 'Today is Monday.'

Nobyembre sa masunor nak buyan. November next month 'Next month is November.'

Domingo katong usang adlaw. / Katong usang adlaw ay Domingo. Sunday that one day / that one day Sunday 'The day before yesterday was Sunday.'

Negative

Buko Lunes ngasing. / Ngasing ay buko Lunes. not Monday today / today not Monday 'Today is not Monday.'

Buko Nobyembre sa masunor nak buyan. not November next month 'Next month is not November.'

3.3 Identification

Identification sentences have a nominal predicate including proper names, marked by nominative case. The subject is also marked by the nominative case and may be a classifying nominal, a kinship term or a locative phrase. These sentences are negated by *bukô* and inserted by *ay*.

3.3.1 **Pronoun**

The **pronoun** is the initial predicate with an identifying subject.

Sida ka doktor. / Ka doktor ay sida. he doctor doctor he 'He is the doctor.'

Kami ni Rose kag magmanghor. we Rose younger.sibling 'Rose and I are (the ones who are) sisters.'

Sida kag sa kusina. she kitchen 'She is (the one) in the kitchen.'

Negative

Buko *sinra* kag mga manghor nida. not they younger.sibling her 'They are not her younger brothers.'

Kag sa kusina ay buko *sida*. kitchen not she 'She is not the one in the kitchen.'

3.3.2 Proper Name

Proper names can be the predicate with an identifying subject.

Si Juan kag kapitan. / Kag kapitan ay si Juan. Juan captain / captain Juan 'The captain is Juan.'

Kag mga Falqueza kag inra hali. Falqueza their relative 'Their relatives are the Falquezas.'

Negative

Buko kag mga Falqueza kag inra hali. not Falqueza their relative 'Their relatives are not the Falquezas.'

Buko kapitan *si Juan. / Si Juan* ay buko kapitan. not captain Juan / Juan not captain 'Juan is not the captain'

3.4 **Time**

Nonverbal **time** sentences have a time phrase predicate and a nominal subject.(see also 2.1.3 and 3.2.3) These sentences are negated by $buk\hat{o}$ and inverted by ay.

(It) katong Lunes kag hanraan. that Monday prepare 'The party was last Monday.'

Ngasing kag programa. today program 'The program is today.'

Sa usang dominggo ka inra larga. / Ka inra larga ay |isa usang dominggo.
 one week their depart / their depart one week
'Their departure is in a week's time./Their departure is next week.'

Negative

Buko katong Lunes kag hanraan. not that Monday prepare 'The party was not last Monday.'

Buko *ngasing* ka programa. / Ka programa ay buko *ngasing*. not today program / program not today 'The program is not on today.'

Buko sa usang dominggo ka inra larga. not one week their depart 'Their departure is not next week.'

3.5 Location

Locative nonverbal sentences are of two kinds. The first, uses a locative demonstrative. This is often used along with a locative phrase in apposition with it. This construction is the most frequently used locative form.

The second, uses the locative marker *asa/nasa* preceeding the location nominal. Sometimes only the preposition *sa* is used.

Negation may appear to be ambiguous in locative sentences however if the identification of a particular location is incorrect then the negator *bukô* must precede the locative word. However, often the existential negator *wayâ* is used in the sense of 'it is not here (in this location)'.

The *asa/nasa* construction is always negated by *wayâ* since these are the forms which indicate the presence or absence of something in a certain location. All these sentences are inverted by *ay*.

3.5.1 Locative Demonstratives

Locative demonstratives are the preferred form used in locative sentence constructions. They often occur in apposition with a locative phrase. However the locative phrase may occur alone.

Rahali sida. here he 'He is here.'

Hina ka uning sa kusina. there cat kitchen 'The cat is there in the kitchen.'

Hagto sa Odiongan ka pista. there Odiongan fiesta 'The fiesta is in Odiongan.'

Kag libro ay *halí* sa lamesa. book here table 'The book is here on the table.'

Negative

Negative: These locatives are negated by *bukô* in the sense of 'it is not true' but often the existential negator *wayâ* is used in the sense of 'it is not here'.

Buko *hinâ* sa kusina ka uning. not there kitchen cat 'The cat is not in the kitchen.'

Buko sa liwas kag anak. not outside child 'The child is not outside.' Buko *roto* sa Odiongan kag pista. not there Odiongan fiesta 'The fiesta is not in Odiongan.

Kag libro ay buko *hali* sa lamesa. book not here table 'The book is not here on the table.'

Alternative Negative

Waya sida *rili*. none she here 'She is not here.'

3.5.2 Locative Construction

The *asa/nasa* locative construction precedes the noun of location and is negated by *wayâ*. Sometimes this is even shortened to the *sa* form. In this use of the negative the *asa/nasa* form is replaced by the negative rather than being added as in other usages of a negator.

Asa bayay sida. house she 'She is at the house.'

Nasa Odiongan sida. Odiongan he 'He is in Odiongan.'

Sa amo pa ka mga bisita. our still visitor 'The visitors are still at our place.'

Kag mga estudyante ay *asa* Maynila. student Manila 'The students are in Manila.'

Negative

Wayâ sida sa bayay. none she house 'She is not at the house.' Sida ay wayâ sa Odiongan. he none Odiongan 'He is not in Odiongan.' Wayâ sa amo kag mga bisita.

none our visitor 'The visitors are not at our place.'

3.6 Existence

Existential clauses are introduced by the existential *igwa* or by the negator *wayâ*. These forms are linked by the genitive case marker *it* to the nominal subject. There is a variant *di* which can be used in place of *igwa* and does not require the genitive marker and it must be immediately followed by the nominal subject. Existential sentences which have a nominative or oblique case marked nominal may be inverted by *ay*.

Igwa't Diyos. is God 'There is a God./God exists.'

Igwa pa't arina. is still flour 'There is still some flour.'

Igwa't Delia dili. / Dili ay igwa't Delia. is Delia here / here is Delia 'There is a (person by the name of) Delia here.'

Igwa't hanraan katong Lunes. / Katong Lunes ay igwa't hanraan. is prepare that Monday / that Monday is prepare 'There was a party last Monday.'

Igwa't anak sa liwas. / Sa liwas ay *igwa*'t anak. is child outside / outside is child 'There is a child outside.'

Igwa't ap-at nak gulong kag dyip. / Kag dyip ay igwa't ap-at nak gulong. is four wheel jeep / jeep is four wheel 'There are four wheels on the jeep.'

Igwa't dyip nak ap-at it gulong. is jeep four wheel 'There is a jeep with four wheels.'

Di bayay sa may tulay. / Sa may tulay ay di bayay. is house near bridge / near bridge is house 'There is a house near the bridge.'

Negative

Waya't Diyos. none God 'There is no God./God does not exist.'

Waya'ey it arina. none.already flour 'There is no more flour.'

Bantoanon Grammar

Waya't Delia dili. / Dili ay waya't Delia. none Delia here / here none Delia 'There is no(one by the name of) Delia here.'

Waya't programa ngasing. / Ngasing ay waya't programa. none program today / today none program 'There is no program today.'

Waya't anak sa liwas. none child outside 'There is no child outside.'

Waya't ap-at nak gulong kag dyip. none four wheel jeep 'There is not four wheels on the jeep.'

Waya't dyip nak ap-at it gulong. none jeep four wheel 'There is no jeep with four wheels.'

3.7 Possession

Statements of **possession** include possessing something temporarily, possessing certain characteristic parts, having children or one's own, and owning something. The existential or its negator is the clause initial predicate accompanied by a pronoun or noun phrase possessor. The genitive case marker *it* links the existential to the noun which is possessed, or when a pronoun subject occurs the genitive case marker follows the pronoun rather than the existential.

The existential variant *di* can replace *igwa* but it must occur immediately preceeding the item which is possessed. The pronoun identifying the owner cannot intervene between the *di* and the rest of the sentence. There is no linker used with *di*. These sentences can be inverted with *ay*.

3.7.1 Possession of Something

Possession of something does not necessarily imply ownership but it may. It does however assume at least temporary possession.

Igwa sida't dyip. / Di dyip sida. is he jeep / jeep he 'He has a jeep.' Igwa sida't katong kwarta. / Sida ay igwa't katong kwarta. is she that money / she is that money 'She has the money.'

Igwa't mani kag anak. / Kag anak ay igwa't mani. is peanuts child. / child is peanuts 'The child has some peanuts.'

Negative

Waya sida't dyip. / Sida'y waya't dyip. none he jeep / he none jeep 'He does not have a jeep.'

Waya sida't katong kwarta. / Sida'y waya't katong kwarta. none she that money / she none that money 'She does not have the money.'

3.7.2 Possession of Characteristic Parts

Possession of characteristic parts takes on some descriptive features which appear when the statement is negated. The existential *igwa* or *di* occur in the positive while *wayâ* states the absence of the part(s) and *bukô* states that not all the part(s) are there.

Igwa't ap-at nak gulong kag dyip./Igwa kag dyip it ap-at nak gulong. is four wheel jeep /is jeep four wheel 'The jeep has four wheels./There are four wheels on the jeep.'

Kag dyip ay igwa't ap-at nak gulong. jeep is four wheel 'The jeep has four wheels on it.'

Di ap-at nak gulong kag dyip./Kag dyip ay di ap-at nak gulong. is four wheel jeep / jeep is four wheel 'The jeep has four wheels.'

Igwa sinra it tatlong manog-idamo./Sinra ay igwa't tatlong manog-idamo. is they three one.who.play/they is three one.who.play 'They have three players.'

Negative

Waya't ap-at nak gulong kag dyip. none four wheel jeep 'The jeep does not have four wheels./None of the four wheels are on the jeep.' (There are no wheels on the jeep.)

Kag dyip ay waya't ap-at nak gulong. jeep none four wheel 'The jeep has none of its four wheels.'

Buko ap-at kag gulong it dyip. not four wheel jeep 'The jeep does not have four wheels./There are not four wheels on the jeep.' (There are less than four wheels on the jeep, perhaps only three.)

Waya sinra't tatlong manog-idamo.
none they three one.who.play
'They do not have three players./They have none of the three players.'
(There are no players.)

Buko sinra it tatlong manog-idamo kundi ay ruha yang. not they three one.who.play instead two only 'They don't have three players, instead they only have two.'

3.7.3 Possession of Children of One's Own

Possession of children of one's own is stated with the existential *igwa* or *di* and is negated by wayâ or *bukô*. There is an idiomatic usage of *bilog* 'whole item' which typically occurs when stating numbers of things, including children. These sentences are inverted with *ay*.

Igwa sinra it limang (bilog nak) anak. is they five (whole) child 'They have five children.'

Sinra'y *igwa*'t limang (bilog nak) anak. they is five (whole) child 'They have five children.'

Negative

Waya sinra it limang (bilog nak) anak. none they five (whole) child 'They do not have five children.' (They have no children.)

Sinra'y waya't limang (bilog nak) anak. they none five (whole) child 'They do not have five children./They have no children.'

Buko lima(ng bilog) ka inra anak. not five (whole) their child 'They do not have five children.' (They have less than five children, perhaps only two.)

Ka inra anak ay buko lima(ng bilog).
 their child not five (whole)
'They do not have five children.'(They have less than five.)

3.7.4 Ownership

Ownership is expressed with descriptive phrases and negated by *bukô*. (see 3.7.1 for the existential form which may also imply ownership) These sentences are inverted by *ay*.

Sa ida katong dyip. / Ida katong dyip. him that jeep / his that jeep 'That jeep is his.' Katong dyip ay sa ida. / Katong dyip ay ida. that jeep him / that jeep his 'That jeep is his.'

Negative

Buko sa ida katong dyip. / Buko ida katong dyip. not him that jeep / not his that jeep 'That jeep is not his.'

Katong dyip ay *buko sa ida*. / Katong dyip ay *buko ida*. that jeep not him / that jeep not his 'That jeep is not his.'

VERBALS AND THEIR EXPANSIONS

4. VERBS

Introduction

Bantoanon verbs can be divided into three classes according to the nature of the verb base, the participants which can occur with the verb, and the semantic notion which the speaker desires to express. These classes are: Mag Agentive Verbs, Stative Verbs, and Nonagentive Change of State Verbs.

Many verbs belong to more than one class. A verb may change class if the participants occurring with the verb are changed (eg. introduction of an Agent) or if the speaker desires to express a different semantic notion (eg. intentional action rather than unintentional). Therefore it can be said that this is primarily a semantic classification of verbs although morphological and syntactic considerations are also involved.

4.1 Mag Agentive Verbs

4.1.1 **Participants**

Mag Agentive Verbs are those verbs whose bases express an action and which can accept an Actor or Agent as one of the participants. The Actor/Agent of a Mag Verb is that participant which does the action expressed in the verb or which causes the action to occur. The Undergoer is the participant which undergoes the action of the verb and the Goal is that participant which is either the source or goal of the action. These three participants are nuclear to the verb and traditionally have been referred to as Subject, Direct Object, and Indirect Object respectively (Antworth, 19???).

Mag Verbs can also accept other non-nuclear participants, including Instrument, that which is used by the Actor/Agent to perform the action; Beneficiary, that for whom the action is done; and Location, the place where the action occurs.

Goal and Location differ in that the Goal is nuclear to the meaning of the verb while the Location is not. Compare the following:

I=butang nako kaling mga abukado *sa kahon*. (Goal) F=put(UF) 1SN these PL avokado PREP box 'I'll put these avocadoes in the box.'

Nag=bu=bunak sinra sa sapa. (Location) PROG=CV=wash.clothes(AF) 3PLN PREP river 'They are washing clothes at the river.'

Intransitive Mag Verbs are those whose only participant is the Actor; transitive
verbs have an Actor/Agent and Undergoer; bitransitives an Actor/Agent, Undergoer
and Goal; semitransitives an Actor and Goal;
simple transitives an Actor/Agent and optional Undergoer. An example of each verb
type is shown below:

intransitive:	<i>Nagrarangoy</i> kag mga anak sa ragat. The children are <i>swimming</i> in the ocean.
transitive:	<i>Ingutoy</i> nako kag isra it sipoy. I cut the fish with the knife.
bitransitive:	<i>Ingtaw-an</i> ni Nanay kag anak it batag. Mother <i>gave</i> the child a banana.
semitransitive:	Tong alas dose ay <i>naghalin</i> ako sa inra. I <i>left</i> their place at two o'clock.
simple trans:	<i>Nagbabasa</i> sida (it libro). She's <i>reading</i> (a book).

4.1.2 **Focus**

The topic of a verbal sentence is marked in two ways. In sentence inversion the topic is fronted to sentence-initial position. This is called the **thematic topic**. This thematic topic may or may not coincide with the topic of the verb. The **verb topic** is that nominal, noun phrase or clause which is marked by a Nominal case marker (see 4.8 Chartl). With most Mag Verbs, any of the aforementioned participants may become the topic, or **focus** of the verb.

(1) Actor/Agent Focus

Actor/Agent Focus is expressed in the verb by the mag prefixes (see 4.8 Chart2). The Actor/Agent is marked by the Nominative case marker, the Undergoer is marked by Genitive case, and the Goal is marked by Oblique case. In expanded verb sentences the Instrument is marked by Genitive Case, Beneficiary by the adverbial preposition para plus an Oblique case-marked nominal, and Location either by a locative prepositional phrase marked by sa or by a deictic pronoun.

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Nag=ka=katuyog pa sida.
PROG=CV=sleep(AF) still 1SN
'She is still sleeping.'
Ma=hiwa ako it kaling tinapay.
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F=slice(AF) 1SN G this bread f'll slice this bread.' Asing ikaw nag=tao it ako bolpen sa ida? why 2SN P=give(AF) G 1SO pen to 3SG 'Why did you give my pen to him?'

Nag=butang si Nanay it mga pinggan sa lamesa. P=put(AF) 1SN mother G PL plate on table 'Mother put the plates on the table.'

Nag=pagto ey baga ikaw sa merkado? P=go(AF) already Q 2SN 0 market 'Did you already go to the market?'

Ma=ihaw sinra it baktin sa inra rayaag. F=butcher(AF) 3PLN G pig PREP 3PLO yard 'They will butcher the pig in their yard.'

Nag=i=inum=an kag mga kayaki sa merkado kada hapon. PROG=CV=drink=REC N PL man O market every afternoon 'The men drink in the market every afternoon.'

Nag=guyot sida it isra it sipoy. P=slice(AF) 1SN G fish G knife 'He sliced the fish with a knife.'

Nag=basag kag mga anak it salamin it inra bola. P=break(AF) N PL child G glass G 3PLO ball 'The children broke the window with their ball.'

Ma=bakay ako it kaling relo para sa ako amiga. F=buy(AF) 1SN G this watch for 0 1SO friend Í'll buy this watch for my friend.'

Nag=ta=tahi si Nanay it baro para kang Inday. PROG=CV=sew(AF) N mother G dress for O Inday 'Mother is sewing a dress for Inday.'

(2) Undergoer Focus

In Undergoer Focus, the Undergoer is marked by Nominative case, the Actor/Agent is marked by Genitive case and the Goal is marked by Oblique case. Undergoer Focus is expressed in the verb by the affixes *a-on*, *i-* or *a-an* (see 4.8 Chart2). The prefix *i-* is primarily used with bitransitive verbs; *a-on* is primarily used with transitive verbs whose topics are directly affected by the action; the *a-an* affix is used with verbs which denote that only the surface or appearance of the topic is affected.

I=sugnar nako kag kaldero sa kalan. F=put.on.fire(UF) 1SG N pot 0 stove 1'll put the pot on the stove.'

A=buyar=on ni Nanay kag binunakan sa koray. F=dry.in.sun=UF G mother N washed.clothes O fence 'Mother will dry the washed clothes on the fence.'

Bantoanon Grammar

Ing=limpyu=han nida kag mga sayog ag gaha. P=clean=UF 3SG N PL floor and window 'She washed the floor and the windows.'

Ing=tao kaling tubor sa amo.
P=give(UF) N rooster 0 1PL0
'This rooster was given to us.'

Note that in the last example the Actor is not mentioned.

In the Undergoer Focus occurring with i-, this prefix can be attached to noun bases denoting the location where something has been placed. These forms substitute for the verb *ibutang* 'to put' plus a locative phrase. These nouns are usually limited to enclosed places such as bags, boxes, etc. Compare the following.

I=butang nako kag suya sa kaldero. F=put(UF) 1SG N viand PREP pot Í'll put the viand in the pot.'

I=kaldero nako kag suya. F=pot(UF) 1SG N viand Í'll (put) the viand in the pot.'

Ing=bulsa nida kag ida kwarta.
P=pocket(UF) 3SG N her money
'She (put) her money in her pocket.'

Other roots denote a vehicle or mode of transportation and substitute for the verb sakay 'to ride'.

I=sakay nako kag anak sa bisiklita.
F=ride(UF) 1SG N child PREP bike
1'll have the child ride on the bike.'

I=bisiklita nako kag anak. F=bike(UF) 1SG N child Í'll (ride) the child on the bike.'

Ing=dyip ninra kag lugit pa-San Agustin.
P=jeep(UF) 3PLG N copra DIR-San Agustin
'They (rode, put) their copra on the jeep going to San Agustin.'

These roots can also occur with Actor Focus.

Ma=kaldero ako it suya. F=pot(AF) 1SN G viand Í'll (put) the viand in the pot.'

Nag=kahon sida it mga abukado. P=box(AF) 3SN G PL avocado 'She (put) the avocadoes in the box.'

Nag=bi=bisiklita sida pag=hator it mga suyat. PROG=CV=bike 3SN GER=deliver G PL letter 'He's (riding) on a bike when delivering letters.' These roots can also occur with the naka- affix denoting position or placement.

Naka=butang kag Pepsi sa frige. POS=put N Pepsi PREP frige 'The Pepsi is placed in the frige.'

Naka=frige kag Pepsi. POS=frige N Pepsi 'The Pepsi is in the frige.'

Naka=kahon kag abukado. POS=box N avocado 'The avocadoes are in the box.'

Naka=kabayo sida pa=tukar. POS=horse 3SN DIR=up.to.farm 'He's on a horse going up to the farm.'

(3) Goal Focus

In Goal Focus the Goal is marked by Nominative case, the Actor is marked by Genitive case and the Undergoer is also marked by Genitive case. In semitransitive sentences there is no Undergoer.

A=pun-=an nako kag balde it tubi. F=fill=GF 1SG N bucket G water Í'll fill this bucket with water.'

A=pagtu=an nako kag bag-o=ng tinrahan isag sa hapon. F=go=GF 1SG N new=LK store later TI afternoon Í'll go to the new store later this afternoon.'

Ing=taw-=an kag mga anak it batag. P=give=GF N PL child G banana 'The children were given bananas.'

In the above the actor is not mentioned.

(4) Locative Focus

In Locative Focus the locative is marked by Nominative case and and Locative Focus is expressed in the verb by the *a-an* affix. Locative Focus is not very common and in these sentences the verb topic usually is fronted. It is more common to have sentence inversion where the locative phrase is fronted.

Kag sapa kag inra ing=bu=bunak=an. N river N 3PLO PROG=CV=wash=LF 'The river is where they wash clothes.'

Sa sapa ay sinra nag=bu=bunak. O river INV 3PLN PROG=CV wash.clothes(AF) 'At the river is where they wash clothes.' Kag M/V Fortuna ay inra ing=miting=an. N M/V Fortuna INV their P=meeting=LF 'The M/V Fortuna is where they had their meeting.'

(5) Instrument Focus

In Instrument Focus, the instrument used to perform the action becomes the topic and is marked by Nominative case. The Actor/Agent is Genitive case and the Undergoer is also Genitive case. Instrument Focus is expressed in the verb by either the *i*- or the *ipang*- affix.

Ing=utoy nida kag sipoy it karne.
P=cut(IF) 3SG N knife G meat
'She cut the meat with a knife.'

I=pang=limpyo nako kag suka it mga gaha. F=IF=clean 1SG N vinegar G PL window 'I'll clean the windows with vinegar.'

The *pang*- prefix is also used as a Nominalizer. The derived noun is an instrument used to perform the action of the base.

Waya ako't pang=guyot sa pag=intik it kali=ng karne. NEG 1SN:G NR=cut O GER=small G DEM1=LK meat 'I don't have anything to chop this meat up with.'

Na=wagit it anak kag pang=badar it merienda. APT,P=loss(UF) G child N NR=buy G snack 'The child lost his money to buy a snack with.'

The use of an object (instrument) for a particular activity can also be denoted by affixing the instrument with the IF affix *i*-. The topic can either be a demonstrative referring to the instrument denoted in the verb base, or a gerund expressing the action to be performed. The Aptative Aspect affix *naka*- can also be used. Here habitual action is being expressed and the topic is the actor which using the instrument denoted in the base. This is followed by a gerund construction optionally marked by Oblique case.

I=kaldero nako kali sa pag=yuto. F=pot(IF) 1SG DEM1 0 GER=cook 1'll use this as a pot in cooking.'

I=koriente nako kag pag=plantsa. F=electricity(IF) 1SG N GER=iron Í'll use electricity for ironing.'

Naka=banig sida pag=katuyog. ???=sleeping.mat 3SN GER=sleep 'She uses a sleeping mat when she sleeps.'

Naka=syiling ako sa pag=yuto ???=stove 1SN 0 GER=cook Í use a stove in cooking.' Naka=bag sida pa=eskul. ???=bag 3SN DIR=school 'She used a bag for going to school.'

(6) Beneficiary Focus

In Beneficiary Focus, the benefactor of the action is marked by Nominative case. This is expressed in the verb either by the a-an or less commonly the i- affix.

A=bak'y=an nako ikaw it tinapay kung matungon it tibaw. F=buy=BF 1SG 2SN G bread if stop G cry 'I'll buy you some bread if you stop crying.'

I=sandrok nako sida it suya.
F=dish.food(BF) 1SG 3SN G viand
'I'll dish up some of this viand for her.'

(7) Causitive Focus

In addition to Causitive Aspect (section 4.1.5) Bantoanon also has Causitive Focus (CF). The topics of Causitive Focus verbs are nominals expressing the cause of the action or condition. They occur with two sets of affixation. The first is identical to the *ikaka-* affix of Aptative Aspect in Instrument Focus (see 4.1.6). The second is identical to the *maka-* affix of Aptative Aspect in Actor Focus. (Actually the latter may simply be Aptative Aspect and not belong in this secton.)

The topic of a CF verb corresponds to the nominal of the corresponding causitive *dahil (sa)* phrase. The actor or undergoer in CF is marked by Genitive case with *ikaka-* (future tense), *ikina-* (past tense) and with Oblique case with *maka-*. The following are the most common sentence type constructions using Causitive Focus. Compare the following.

Nag=taba sida dahil sa keyk. P=fat(UF) 3SN because of cake 'She got fat because of cake.'

Kag ik=in=a=taba nida ay keyk. N CF=P=__=fat 3SG INV cake 'Cake is what caused her to become fat.'

Na=matay sida sa kanser. STAT,die=die(UF) 3SN because.of cancer 'He died of cancer.'

Kag ik=in=a=matay nida ay kanser. N CF=P=__die 3SG INV cancer 'What he died of was cancer.'

Nio kag naka=matay sa ida? what N CF,P=die O him 'what caused him to die?' (what did he die of?)

Nag=i=in=away kag mga anak sa idamu=an. PROG=CV=REP=fight(AF) N PL child because.of play=NR 'The children are fighting because of (over) the toy.' Ik=in=a=pakig=away it mga anak kag idamu=an. CF=P=__=SOC=fight G PL child N play=NR 'The children fought because of the toy.'

Maki=ki=pag=istorya sida sa ida kayungot dahil sa sanrukan. SOC,F=CV=_=converse 3SN 0 her neighbor because of share.food 'She'll be able to converse with her neighbor because of the food she will share.'

Ika=ka=pakig=istorya nida kag pag=sanrok sa ida kayungot. CF,F=CV=SOC=converse 3SG N GER=share.food 0 her neighbor 'The food she'll share will cause her to be able to converse with her neighbor.'

The following CF constructions have as their topic a verbal phrase followed by the subordinate conjunction *alang-alang sa* 'for the sake of'.

Mag=kaon ka't mga prutas alang-alang sa ika=ka=ado it imo yawas. INF=eat(AF) 2SN:G PL fruit for.the.sake.of CF,F=CV=good G your body □at fruit for the sake of your health.' (lit. to cause your body to be good).

Nag=b=in=ulig=an sinra alang-alang sa ika=ka=tahimik it banwa. P=help=REP=__=REC 3PLN for.the.sake.of CF,F=CV=peace G town 'They helped one another for the sake of peace in in their town.'

There are other variants of the CF but they are limited to certain verbs. With some verbs *ikaka-* varies with *i-*, and *ikina-* with *ging-* or *gingka-. naka-* can also occur as *naka- -an* where the undergoer is marked with Goal Focus rather than Undergoer Focus. (Again, this may not belong here but rather in the section on Aptative Aspect.) This can also occur as *gingka- -an*. Compare the following.

Ika=ka=tibaw/ I=tibaw nimo kag pagka=wagit it imo alahas. CF,F=CV=cry / CF,F=cry 2SG N GER=loss G your jewelry 'The loss of your jewelry will cause you to cry.'

Ging=tibaw nida kag ida pagka=wagit it ida alahas. CF,P=cry 3SG N her GER=loss G her jewelry 'The loss of her jewelry mad her cry.'

Ik=in=a=hangit/ Ging=ka=hangit nako kag ida ging=himo CF=P=__=angry P=CF=angry 1SG N her P=do(UF) 'What she did caused me to be angry.'

Ik=in=a=yuha/ Ging=yuha nako kag sebuyas. CF=P=__eye.water/ CF,P=eye.water 1SG N onion 'The onions caused my eyes to water.'

Nio kag naka=hadlok sa imo? / naka=hadlok ??? what N CF,P=fear O you APT,P=fear 'What caused you to be afraid?'

Nio kag naka=hadluk=an nimo? / naka=hadluk=an what N CF,P=fear=GF 2SG APT,P=fear=GF

Other examples like the above where the naka- affix can either be interpreted as Aptative Aspect or Causitive Focus include the following. Some of these can occur with the additional Causitive affix -pa-. Compare the following.

Naka=ka=taba kag keyk. APT=CV=fat N cake 'Cake is fattening.'

Naka=ka=pa=taba kag keyk sa ida. CF,PROG=CV=CAUS=fat N cake O her 'Cake is causing her to become fat.'

Naka=ka=matay kag kanser. APT=CV=die N cancer 'Cancer causes death.'

Naka=matay kag kanser sa ida. CF,P=die N cancer O him 'Cancer caused him to die.'

Nio kag naka=ka=pa=isay sa imo? what N CF,PROG=CV=CAUS=swollen.glands O you 'What is causing you to have swollen glands?'

Nio kag naka=ka=pa=tibaw sa imo? what N CF,PROG=CV=CAUS=cry O you 'What is causing you to cry?'

Naka=ka=pa=hinog it batag kag silak it adlaw. CF,PROG=CV=CAUS G banana N shine G sun 'The sunshine is causing the bananas to ripen.'

4.1.3 Tense-Aspect

(1) Future Tense-Aspect

Future (F) tense (contemplated aspect) denotes action that has not yet begun. It is expressed by the corresponding verb affixes for this tense (see 4.8 Chart3).

Ma=bunak baga si Norma insulip? F=wash.clothes(AF) Q NPS Norma tomorrow 'Will Norma wash clothes tomorrow?'

A=buyar=on ninra kag isra sa pantaw. F=dry=UF 3PLG N fish on porch 'They will dry the fish on the porch.'

(2) Progressive Tense-Aspect

Progressive (PROG) tense (incompleted aspect) denotes action that has begun but is not yet completed. Depending on the context and co-occurrence of time adverbials, Progressive Tense can express either present or past progressive action. It is expressed by the corresponding verb affixes for this tense.

Balik kamo isag nak nag=ka=kaon pa kami. return 2PLN later because PROG=CV=eat(AF) still 1PLN 'Come back later because we are still eating.'

Ing=pa=pakando ninra kag tubo it tubi sa habig it rayanan.
PROG=CV=fix(UF) 3PLG N pipe G water 0 side G road
'They are fixing the water pipe at the side of the road.'

Pag=abot ninra, nag=ka=katuyog pa kami. TI,GER=arrive 3PLG PROG=CV=sleep still 1PLN 'When they arrived, we were still sleeping.'

(3) Past Tense-Aspect

Past (P) tense (completed aspect) denotes action that has begun and is completed. It is expressed in the verb by the corresponding affixes for this tense. Note in Chart3 that the variants for past tense in Actor Focus (-um-) and Undergoer Focus (-in-) do not have corresponding future tense affixes as they do in Tagalog.

Nag=pa=Manila kami tong Hunyo. P=DIR=Manila(AF) 1PLN TI June 'We went to Manila last June.'

Ing=hator nida kag karne sa amo.
P=deliver(UF) 3SG N meat to our.place
'He delivered the meat to our place.'

T=um=ugrok sinra it bayay mayungot sa baybay. build=P=__(AF) 3PLN G house close PREP beach 'They built a house close to the beache.'

B=in=akay nako kali=ng sapatos sa Divisoria. buy=P=__(UF) 1SG DEM1=LK shoe PREP Divisoria Í bought these shoes in Divisoria.'

(4) Perfective Tense-Aspect

Perfective tense (PRF) also denotes action that has begun and is completed. However it is different from Past Tense in that it emphasizes the completion of the action. It is often translated 'has/have...already'. It is expressed by using the Aptative Aspect prefixes *naka*- (AF), *na*- (UF), and *na*-an (GF) and the completive particle ey 'already'. The Perfective Tense of some Undergoer Focus verbs looks very much like Stative Verbs.

Naka=kaon ey baga kamo? PRF=eat(AF) already Q 3PLN 'Have you already eaten?'

Na=yuto ey kag utan. PRF=cook(UF) already N vegetable 'The vegetable have finished cooking.' (i.e. are done, or 'cooked').

4.1.4 Bases of Mag Verbs

As has already been stated, the **bases of Mag Verbs** denote an action. These bases include roots which can occur elsewhere as unaffixed verbs and nouns and affixed and unaffixed adjectives, locatives and adverbs.

(1) Verbs as Bases

Mag verbs whose **bases are verbs** can occur as all verbs types (intransitive, transitive, bitransitive, etc.) and with all Focus types. The Actor of Actor Focus intransitive verbs can be either a human or non-human actor or an inanimate object.

Nag=si=sil-ip kag mga anak sa gaha sa ako. PROG=CV=peek(AF) N PL child PREP window O 1SO 'The children are peeking in the window at me.'

Ing=pilak nako kag likot sa bahug=an.
P=throw.out(UF) 1SG N garbage 0 pig.food=NR
f threw out the garbage where the pig's eat.'

Nag=yu=yup-og kag karabaw sa yungan. PROG=CV=wallow(AF) N carabao O mud 'The carabao is wallowing in the mud.'

Nag=pa=pang=liger kag mga nidog sa baguntor. PROG=CV=PL=roll.down(AF) N PL coconut O hill 'The coconuts are rolling down the hill.'

Some verbs in progressive tense with inanimate objects as their topic can also function as adjectives. In these forms the progressive tense takes on the semantic meaning of habitual action and is descriptive of the topic. Compare the following.

Nag=hu=hupot kag linta sa ida siki. PROG=CV=stick(AF) N leech 0 his foot 'The leech is sticking to his foot.' Nag=hu=hupot kag linta sa tawo. PROG=CV=stick(AF) N leech O person 'Leeches stick to people.'

Nag=tu=tunog kag radyo sa suyor. PROG=CV=play(AF) N radio PREP inside 'The radio is playing inside.'

Nag=tu=tunog pa kali=ng radyo aber yuma ey. PROG=CV=play(AF) still DEM1=LK radio even.tho old already 'This radio still plays even though it's old.'

Nag=ru=ruyot pa kali=ng bolpen. PROG=CV=sharp/write(AF) still DEM1=LK ball.pen 'This ball pen still writes.'

(2) Nouns as Bases

Mag Verbs which are formed from nouns are mostly Actor Focus intransitive verbs. The first two group however can also occur as non-Actor Focus verbs.

(a) Verb bases which are nouns of natural phenomenon and ambient conditions such as rain, wind, and earthquakes form verbal intransitive sentences which are composed of only a predicate; these are called **phenomenal** predicates. These bases occur with the *mag-* AF affix.

```
Nag=u=uyan.
PROG=CV=rain(AF)
'It's raining.'
```

These bases can also occur with Goal Focus. Compare:

Nag=li=linti.
PROG=CV=lightning(AF)
'It's lightning.'

Na=linti=an sida. APT,P=lightning=GF he 'He happened to be struck by lightning.'

Nag=u=uyan. PROG=CV=rain(AF) `It's raining.'

Na=uyan=an kag mga binuyar. APT,P=rain=GF the PL (clothes)drying 'The clothes that were drying got rained on.'

(b) Nouns which are inanimate objects upon which an action can be performed:

Nag=hi=himbis si Nanay it mga isra. PROG=CV=scale(AF) N mother the PL fish 'Mother is scaling the fish.' Nag=lu=lugit sinra kada tatlong buyan. PROG=CV=copra(AF) they every three months 'They make copra every three months.'

Ing=lu=lugit kag mga yaay yang.
PROG=CV=copra(UF) the PL old.coconuts only
'They only make copra from the old coconuts'

Ing=takyub=an nako kag asukar agor indi ma=gudom=an.
P=lid=GF 1SG N sugar so.that NEG F=ant=UF
'I put the lid on the sugar so it wouldn't get covered with ants.'

(c) Nouns which are inanimate objects and which occur only with the Plural Action affix -pang-.

Nag=pangahoy kag mga anak sa kanidugan. P=PL=wood(AF) the PL children in coconut.grove 'The children gathered wood in the coconut grove.

Kung maado kag panahon, mag=pamaroto kita, ha? If good the weather INF=PL=boat(AF) we ha 'If the weather is good, let's go boating, okay?'

(d) Nouns which are events or objects.

Nag=mi=miting pa kag Sanggunian Bayan sa barko. PROG=CV=meeting(AF) still the Council Town in boat 'The Town Council is still meeting in the boat.'

Nag=e=eswela kag mga anak dili pag an-om nak tuig'ey. PROG=CV=school(AF) the PL chil here when six LK years.already 'The children here go to school when they are six years old.

Nag=ba=baskitbol kag mga kayaki pag pista. PROG=CV=basket(AF) the PL male when fiesta 'The boys play basketball when it's fiesta.'

(e) In verbs where the base is a place or destination, there is also a -painfix of direction.

Ma=pa-=Manila kami ni Heather sa ikalima it Septembre. F=DIR-=Manila(AF) we O Heather on fifth of September 'Heather and I are going to Manila on the fifth of September.'

Ma=pa-=merkado ako isag sa alas kwatro.
F=DIR-=market(AF) I later at TI four
Í'll go to the market later at four o'clock.'

(f) Vehicles.

Nag=eroplano kami pa-=Manila. P=airplane(AF) we DIR-=Manila 'We took the airplane to Manila.'

Mahirap mag=bisiklita pa-=takor. difficult INF=bicycle(AF) DIR-=uphill Ít's difficult to bicycle uphill.'

These noun bases can also occur with the positional affix naka-.

Naka=bisiklita sida pag=halin. POS=bicycle he when=left 'He was on a bike when he left.'

(g) Clothing/Color of clothing. The mag- affix denotes the act of putting on the article of clothing whereas the positional affix naka- means that the actor is wearing/was wearing the article or color.

Nag=sa=saway pa kag anak. P=CV=pants(AF) still the child 'The child is still putting on his pants.'

Permi ako naka=saway. always I POS=pants Í always wear pants.'

Naka=itom kag mga namatyan. POS=black the PL bereaved 'The bereaved are wearing black.'

(h) Verbs whose bases are nouns denoting an occupation or role are translated by the expression 'to become'.

Nag=nars sida sa UST. P=nurse(AF) she at UST 'She became a nurse at UST.'

This construction is identical in meaning to the maging construction.

Naging nars sida sa UST. Became nurse(AF) she at UST. 'She became a nurse at UST.' (i) These **noun** bases denote **attainable things** such as employment, money, children, etc. They also occur with the -ka- infix meaning 'to acquire'.

Kabay pa nak mag=sweldo ako. hope still LK INF=salary(AF) I 'I hope I'll get (my) salary.'

Nag=ka=trabaho sida sa usang hotel sa Baguio. P=ACQ=job(AF) he at one hotel in Baguio 'He got a job in a hotel in Baguio.'

(j) Language spoken. This is often used with the Plural Action affix -pang-.

Maayam 'ey sida mag=panagalog. know.already he INF=PL=Tagalog 'He knows how to speak Tagalog.'

(k) Verbs whose bases are **insects** and which mean 'to be infested with' occur only with Undergoer Focus. The affixes used are either *a-on*, *a-an*, or *ma-an*. *ma-*does not seem to occur.

Ing=yangaw=an kag ako b=in=akay nak isra.
P=fly=UF N my buy=P=_(UF) LK fish
'The fish I bought became covered with flies.'

Takyub=i anay kag asukar nak sabaling ma=gu=gudom=an! IMP,lid=UF please N sugar because might F=CV=ant=UF 'Put the lid on the sugar because it might get covered with ants!'

Ing=bangag kag inra kanidugan.
P=coconut.beetle(UF) N their coconut.grove
'Their coconut grove was infested with coconut beetles.'

(1) Other bases using the **Goal Focus** *a*-*an* affixation denote that the substance denoted by the verbs is being put on the topic. This construction is primarily used with **food**.

A=asin=an nako kag isra agor indi ma=yagok. F=salt=GF 1SG N fish so.that NEG F=rotten(UF) 'I'll put salt on the fish so that it doesn't get rotten.'

Ing=tuyu=han nako kag pancit. P=soy.sauce=GF 1SG N pancit 'I put soy sauce on the pancit.' (m) Some noun bases affixed with *a-on* denote that the topic is to be made into another substance or object, i.e., the base.

A=suka=on it manogsanggot kag tuba. F=vinegar=UF G coc.wine.gather N coconut.wine 'The coconut wine gatherer will make the wine into vinegar.'

Ina=asukar ninra kag tubo.
PROG=sugar(UF) 3PLG N sugar.cane
'They are making the sugar cane into sugar.'

A=sementa=hon kono kato=ng baybay. F=cement=UF REP DEM3=LK sand 'They say that sand will be made into cement.'

A=lana=hon nako kali=ng nidog. F=oil=UF 1SG DEM1=LK coconut 'I'll make this coconut into (coconut) oil.'

These forms with the Causitive affix *pa* often take on a slightly different meaning. Compare the previous example with the following:

A=pa=lana=hon nako kag ni=yuto nak ginat-an. F=CAUS=oil=UF 1SG N P=cook(UF) LK coconut.milk Í'll cook the coconut milk (dish ???) until the oil comes out.'

(3) Adjectives Denoting Position or Spatial Distance

Some intransitive verbs occur with bases which are **adjective-like** and which can also occur as unaffixed adjectives or with the position affix *naka*-. These bases denote a position which the topic is in. These verbs can accept an Agent with the Causitive Aspect but this is very rare.

Nag=ya=yabaw kag ida kamison sa ida sada. PROG=CV=extend(AF) N her slip PREP her skirt 'Her slip is extending below her skirt.'

Ing=pa=yabaw nida kag ida kamison sa ida sada.
P=CAUS=extend(UF) 3SG N her slip PREP her skirt
'She let her slip extend below her skirt.'

Nag=lo=loyloy kag ida buhok./ Naka=loyloy kag ida buhok. PROG=CV=hang.free N her hair POS=hang.free N her hair 'Her hair is hanging down freely.'

Adjectives denoting spatial distance can also be verbalized.

A=buyag=on it bunak kaling sada nak nag=pu=pusaw. F=separate(UF) G wash DEM1 skirt because PROG=CV=stain(UF) 'I'll separate this skirt in washing because it stains.' (i.e. wash it separately). Ing=yagwat nida it tanom kag mga buyak sa rayaag.
P=space.apart(UF) 3SG G plant N PL flowers PREP yard
'She planted the flowers spaced apart in the yard.'

(4) Locatives as Bases

Locatives can also be verbalized as Mag Verbs. They may occur with the Directional affix -pa-.

Nag=pa=pa=habig kag mga anak pag narurunggan kag dyip. PROG=CV=DIR=side(AF) N PL child when hear N jeep 'The children get to the side of the road when they hear the jeep.'

Nag=pa=silong kami kana Famini tong nag=i=in=uyan. P=DIR=underneath(AF) 1PLN OPS Famini P P=CV=INT=rain(AF) 'We went underneath Famini's house when it was raining hard.'

(5) Adverbs as Bases

Verbal predicates can be modified by **moveable adverbs** of manner, time and measurement. Many of these adverbs can be verbalized in which case the verb appears in its root form preceded by the Genitive case marker *it*. In other constructions a gerund is used in place of the verb root. (see Section 6 on Adverbs). Compare the following:

Nag=bangon ako it gulpi./ Nag=gulpi ako it bangon. P=sit.up(AF) 1SN G suddenly P=suddenly(AF) 1SN G sit.up 'I sat up suddenly.' Í suddenly sat up.'

Ing=baoy nako it ragli kag ako nabiling padong sa tinrahan.
P=get(UF) 1SG G quickly N my left umbrella PREP store
'I went quickly and got my umbrella I left at the store.'

Ing=ragli nako it baoy kag ako nabiling padong sa tinrahan.
P=quickly(UF) 1SG G get N my left unbrella PREP store
'I quickly went and got my umbrella I left at the store.'

Tulin=a kag imo pag=panaw. IMP,fast=UF N your GER=walk 'Make your walking fast.'

Some of these verbs occur with Causative Aspect.

A=pa=rugay=on nako kag pa=hinog nak abokado. F=CAUS=long.time=UF 1SG N NR=ripe LK avocado 'I'll increase the time of the ripening avocadoes.' (i.e. I'll let them ripen longer.)

Na=ubos kag petrolyo dahil ing=pa=aga=han nida kag lampara. STAT=consume N kerosene because P=CAUS=morning=GF 3SG N lamp 'The kerosene was consumed because she let the lamp burn until morning.'

4.1.5 Causitive Aspect

Causitive Verbs are formed by affixing the derivational affix -pa- to a verb base. The resulting meaning can be translated as an Agent causing or permitting the action denoted by the verb base. Causitive Aspect occurs with Actor Focus, Undergoer Focus, Goal Focus and Beneficiary Focus. Causitive Aspect with Change of State Verbs is discussed fully in Section ???.

(1) Agent Focus

(a) Transitive Verbs

The initial actor of a transitive Actor Focus verb becomes the Agent of the Causitive Verb. This is Agent Focus (AF). This is expressed in the verb by the affix *magpa*- (see 4.8 Chart 2). The Undergoer is marked by Genitive case and the Actor whom the Agent causes/permits to do the action is marked by Oblique case. The Actor may or may not be mentioned in the sentence.

Ma=pa=human kami it kulungan. F=CAUS=make(A2F) 1PLN G chicken.coop 'We'll have a chicken coop made.'

Ma=pa=tawog ako it suwa sa mga anak. F=CAUS=climb/pick(A2F) 1SN G kalamansi G PL child 'I'll have the children pick kalamansi.'

Nag=pa=pang=hugas ako kang Suzanna it mga pinggan. P=CAUS=PL=wash(A2F) 1SN O Suzanna G PL plate 'I had Suzanna wash the plates.'

Nag=pa=tao ako kang Heather it kwarta Kang Norma. P=CAUS=give(A2F) 1SN O Heather G money O Norma 'I had Heather give some money to Norma.'

(b) Intransitive, semitransitive verbs

In these Causitive Verbs the Agent causes/permits the Actor to perform the action. The Actor can be marked by either Genitive or Oblique case.

Ma=pa=katuyog ako it anak sa katri. F=CAUS=sleep(AF) 1SN G child O bed 'I'll put the child to sleep on the bed.'

Nag=pa=huyat kag doctor sa mga di sakit sa liwas. P=CAUS=wait(AF) N doctor O PL EXT illness O outside 'The doctor had the patients wait outside.'

Nag=pa=pauli ako sa mga anak dahil magulo. P=CAUSE=go.home(AF) 1SN O PL child because noisey 'I sent the children home because they were noisey.'

(c) Intransitive verb, inanimate topic

In these Causitives the initial topic (Actor) was an inanimate object and the verb was an intransitive verb. When an Agent (human) is introduced, the initial topic takes the grammatical place of a direct object (Undergoer). However, the derived Causitive Verb is still considered an intransitive verb even though it occurs with a grammatical direct object. In cases where the Causitive Aspet is optional (signified by parenthesis) the verb may be considered to be transitive. Compare the following:

Nag=li=liger kag mga nidog sa baguntor. PROG=CV=roll(AF) the PL coconuts O hill 'The coconuts are rolling down the hill.'

Nag=(pa)=(pa)=liger sinra it mga nidog sa baguntor. PROG=(CAUS)=CV=roll(AF) 3PLN G PL coconut 0 hill 'They are rolling the coconuts down the hill.'

Nag=ba=baha kag tubi sa kanal. PROG=CV=flow(AF) N water O canal 'The water is flowing in the canal.'

Nag=pa=pa=baha sinra it tubi pa=pagto sa lanasan. PROG=CAUS=CV=flow(AF) 3PLN G water DIR=go O field 'They are causing the water to flow to the field.'

In some cases it can be unclear as to whether the Oblique case is the Goal or the Actor. However context and sentence order help to clarify this. For example in the first sentence the Causitive Aspect is focused on the Undergoer, the coconut, and the Oblique case is the Goal. In the second sentence Causitive Aspect focuses on the Actor, marked by Oblique case.

Nag=(pa)=huyog ako it nidog sa ida. P=CAUS=drop(AF) 1SN G coconut 0 he 'I dropped the coconut to him.' (goal)

Nag=pa=huyog ako sa ida it nidog. P=CAUS=drop(AF) 1SN O he G coconut 'I had him drop a coconut.' (actor)

(d) Reflexive Action with Causitive Aspect

There are two kinds of reflexive verbs with Causitive Aspect. The first ones are intransitive verbs and the Agent and the Undergoer are the same person. The Causitive form of these verbs are often used to express intentional action as opposed to unintentional or accidental action.

Nag=pa=basa ako sa uyan. P=CAUS=wet(UF) 1SN PREP rain 'I intentionally let myself get wet in the rain.'

Nag=pa=pa=taba sida. PROG=CV=fat(UF) 3SN 'She's letting herself get fat.' Indi ako mag=pa=hanagob. NEG 1SN INF=CAUS=late.night(UF) 'I won't let myself stay up late.' Nag=pa=pa=suhoy sida sa pag=tanom. PROG=CAUS=CV=wage 3SN 0 GER=plant 'He's causing himself to be paid for planting.' (lit. he's hiring himself out) Nag=pa=pa=rangrang ako sa kayado. PROG=CAUS=CV=warm 1SN PREP fire 'I'm warming myself by the fire.' Nag=pa=pa=tawhay ako. PROG=CAUS=CV=relax 1SN 'I'm (causing myself) relaxing.' ako sa pag=trabaho. Nag=pa=gaos P=CAUS=sweat(AF) 1SN O GER=work 'I caused myself to sweat in my working.' or 'I caused myself to work hard until I was sweating.' Stative Verbs of falling actions are affixed with -pati- to denote intentional reflexive action. Nag=pati=huyog kag anak sa hagranan agor ??? ni Nanay. P=CAUS=fall(AF) N child O stairs so.that G mother 'The child made himself fall down the stairs in order to attract Mother's attention.' Other reflexive verbs include an Actor which may or may not be mentioned. The Agent is also the Undergoer and allows the Actor to perform the action. Ma=pa=tupi ako insulip. F=CAUS=hair.cut(AF) 1SN tomorrow 'I will get a hair cut tomorrow.' Nag=pa=muyat ako sa doktor. P=CAUS=look(AF) 1SN 0 doctor 'I went to the doctor.' (lit. had the doctor look at me) Ma=pa=bati ako kang Heather isag sa alas tres. F=CAUS=wake.up(AF) 1SN 0 Heather later at TI three 'I'll have Heather wake me up later at three o'clock.' kag mananakaw sa pulis. Nag=pa=rakop P=CAUS=catch(AF) N theif O police 'The theif allowed himself to be caught by the police.' Nag=pa=bulig si Nanay mag=panilhig sa anak. P=CAUS=help(AF) N mother INF=sweep(AF) O child 'Mother allowed the child to help her sweep.' (lit. Mother allowed herself to be helped by the child)

(2) Undergoer Focus and Actor Focus

In non-Agent Focus Causitive verbs either the Actor which is allowed/caused to perform the action is in focus, or the Undergoer is in focus. In the former, the Actor Focus is designated as A2F to distinguish it from Agent Focus.

(a) Transitive and Bitransitive Verbs

Causitive verbs which were initially transitive and bitransitive verbs can occur with an Agent, an Actor, an Undergoer and a Goal. Causitive Verbs which were originally affixed with either *a-on* or *i-* for Undergoer Focus are affixed with *ipa*to denote derived Undergoer Focus and with *a-on* to denote derived Actor Focus. In the former the Agent is marked by Genitive case and the Actor by Oblique case. In the latter the Undergoer is marked by Genitive case.

In the following sets of examples the Undergoer Focus is given first and the Actor Focus second.

I=pa=human namo kang Tang Igo kag kulungan
F=CAUS=make(UF) 1PLG 0 Uncle Igo N chicken.coop
'We will have a chicken coop made by Uncle Igo.'

A=pa=human=on namo si Tang Igo it kulungan. F=CAUS=make=A2F 1PLG N uncle Igo G chicken.coop 'We will have Tang Igo make a chicken coop.'

I=pa=butang nako sa ida kag mga yamit sa koray. F=CAUS=dry(UF) 1SG O her N PL clothes PREP fence 'I'll have the clothes put on the fence by her.'

A=pa=butang=on nako sida it mga yamit sa koray. F=CAUS=dry=A2F 1SG her G PL clothes PREP fence Í'll have her put the clothes on the fence.'

I=pa=liwat nida it bunak kang Norma kag ida yamit. F=CAUS=repeat(UF) 3SG G wash 0 Norma N her clothes 'She'll have her clothes washed again by Norma.'

A=pa=liwat=on nida it bunak si Norma it ida yamit. F=CAUS=repeat=A2F 3SG G wash N Norma G her clothes 'She'll have Norma wash her clothes again.'

A=pa=tupi=hon nako si Rose it/sa ako anak. F=CAUS=cut.hair=A2F 1SG N Rose G/O my child `I'll have Rose cut my child's hair.'

When the actor is not mentioned in the sentence the Undergoer Focus sometimes occurs with the *a-on* affix rather than with *i*- affix. ???

A=pa=human=on namo kag kulungan. F=CAUS=make=UF 1PLG N chicken.coop 'We will have a chicken coop made.'

(b) Intransitive and Semitransitive verbs

As is the case with Agent Focus, if the initial Actor was an inanimate object it becomes the Undergoer of the derived Causitive verb. In many of these cases the Causitive Aspect is optional. A third participant, a secondary Actor, may occur with these verbs. Undergoer Focus can be marked by either *ipa*- or by *a*-on; if there is a secondary Actor mentioned the Undergoer Focus will be marked by *ipa*- and the secondary Actor Focus by *a*-on.

A=(pa)=liger=on ninra kag mga nidog sa tapahan. F=CAUS=roll=UF 3PLG N PL coconuts PREP drying.oven 'They will roll the coconuts down to the drying oven.'

A=pa=liger=on nako sinra it mga nidog sa tapahan. F=CAUS=roll=A2F 1SG 3PLN G PL coconut PREP drying.oven 'I'll have them roll the coconuts to the drying oven.'

I=pa=ligeron nako sa inra kag mga nidog. F=CAUS=roll(UF) 1SG 0 they N PL coconut 'I'll have the coconuts rolled down by them.'

I=pa=batlaw it mga anak kag inra bubaroto sa lagoon. F=CAUS=float(UF) G PL child N their toy.boats in lagoon 'The children will float their toy boats in the lagoon.'

A=pa=tikrag=on nida kag mga rahon pag mag=tawog. F=CAUS=fall=UF 3SG N PL leaf TI INF=climb.tree 'He will cause the leaves to fall when he climbs the tree.'

When the initial topic of the intransitive/semitransitive verb is a human (or animal) actor, the topic will also be an actor with the derived Causitive verb. Actor Focus is marked by *a-on*. In these constructions a third participant is not possible.

A=pa=balik=on nako sida sa tinrahan. F=CAUS=return=A2F 1SG 3SN 0 store Í'll have him return to the store.'

A=pa=huyat=on kamo kung karamo pasyente sa klinik. F=CAUS=wait=A2F 2PLN if many patients PREP clinic 'You will have to wait (i.e. be caused to wait) if there are many patients at the clinic.'

Ing=pa=tibaw sida it ida manghor.
P=CAUS=cry(A2F) 3SN G her older.sibling
'Her older sibling made her cry.'

A=pa=idamu=on nida kag mga anak sa karsada. F=CAUS=play=A2F 3SG N PL child PREP street 'She allowed the children to play on the street.'

A=pa=katuyog=on anay nako kag anak bag-o magkaon. F=CAUS=sleep=A2F first 1SG N child before eat 'I will put the child to sleep before I eat.'

Bantoanon Grammar

Note the differences in the following:

I=liwas/ or I=pa=liwas nako kag mga ingkoran.
F=outside(UF)/ F=DIR=outside(UF) 1SG N PL chairs
'I will take the chairs outside.'

In the above -pa- is the directional pa, not the Causitive and the meaning is to take something outside. In the following the meaning or -pa- is to allow (the cat) to go outside.

A=pa=liwas=on nako kag uning. F=CAUS=go.out=A2F 1SG N cat 'I'll let the cat go out.'

(c) Sense Verbs

Sense verbs are similar to intransitive verbs like *katuyog* 'sleep' and *huyat* 'wait' in that the Actoris a person caused to do or experience something by an Agent. The difference is that there is also a third participant involved, i.e. that which the actor senses or knows. This is called the Undergoer in these constructions.

A=pa=sadur=on ka nako it ako disisyon isag. F=CAUS=know=A2F 2SN 1SG G my decision later 'I'll let you know my decision later.'

I=pa=sador nako sa imo kag ako disisyon isag. F=CAUS=know(UF) 1SG O you N my decision later 'I'll let you know my decision later.'

(d) Undergoer, Goal, Locative, and Beneficative Focus

In these Causitive verbs the topics are marked in the verbs by the *apa-an* affixation just as they are in non-causitive verbs. Locative Focus is not possible with Causitive Aspect.

(1) Undergoer Focus

A=pa=limpyu=han nako kag bayay kang Norma. F=CAUS=clean=UF 1SG N house O Norma 'I'll have the house cleaned by Norma.'

A=pa=bunak=an nako kang Norma kaling mga yamit. F=CAUS=wash.clothes=UF I O Norma DEM1 PL clothes 'I'll have these clothes washed by Norma.'

(2) Goal Focus

A=pa=taw-=an nako sida it kaling yumang radyo. F=CAUS=give=GF 1SG 3SN G this old radio 'I'll have this old radio given to him.'

A=pa=butang=an nako kang Inday kag pantaw it mga paso. F=CAUS=placed=GF 1SG O Inday N porch G PL flower.pot 'I'll have Inday place flower pots on the porch.' A=pa=balik=an nida sa anak kag nabilin nak libro. F=CAUS=return=GF 3SG O child N leave LK book 'She had the child return for the book that was left.'

(3) Beneficiary Focus

A=pa=human=an nako kag manok it kulungan kang Tang Igo. F=CAUS=make=BF I the chicken G chicken.coop uncle Igo `I'll have Uncle Igo make a chicken coop for the chicken.'

A=pa=limpyu=han nako sinra it bayay kang Norma bag-o sinra mag-abot. F=CAUS=clean=BF 1SG 3PLN G house O Norma before 3PLN arrive 'I'll have Norma clean the house for them before they arrive.'

An alternative to these long Benefactive Focus sentences is simply to use the beneficiary phrase *para sa/kang*.

A=pa=limpyu=han nako kag bayay kang Norma para sa inra. F=CAUS=clean=BF 1SG N house O Norma for O 3PLN `I'll have Norma clean the house for them.'

(4) Dead Pa's

Some of the Causitive Verbs can be called 'dead Pa's' in that the occurrence of *pa* with the verb base has resulted in a verb which is widely used and which in some cases has a slightly different meaning than the unaffixed form. For example:

Ma=kaon kami sa inra. F=eat(AF) we O their 'We will eat at their place.'

Ing=pa=kaon nako kag anak it batag.
P=CAUS=eat(A2F) 1SG N child G banana
'I fed the child a banana.' (lit. caused to eat)

Nag=huyam ako it sunrang sa inra. P=borrow(AF) I G bolo O them 'I borrowed a bolo from them.'

Nag=pa=huyam sida it ida Aladin sa inra. P=CAUS=borrow(AF) 3SN G his Aladin O them 'He lent his Aladin to them.' (lit. permitted to borrow)

Nag=tawar ako it kaling tela. P=bargain(AF) 1SN G this material 'I bargained for this material.'

Nag=pa=tawar ako sa ida it ida ing=himo sa ako. P=CAUS=forgive(AF) 1SN G her G O P=do O me 'I forgave her for what she did to me.'

In the last two examples *patawar* 'forgive' has taken on a very different meaning from the original meaning of *tawar* 'bargain'.

4.1.6 Aptative Aspect

Aptative Aspect is marked in the verb by maka- (AF) and ma-, mai-, and ma- -an (non-AF) (see 4.8 Chart4). It expresses the closely related meanings of ability, opportunity and unintentional action. These three senses may be differentiated as follows.

(1) Innate Ability

Verb roots which occur with the progressive tense of Aptative Aspect *nakaka*express the internal, innate ability of the topic to perform a certain act. This form is really an adjective as it does not express tense in sentence construction.

Naka=ka=tawog si Joli sa nidog. APT=CV=climb(AF) N Joli O coconut.tree 'Joli can climb coconut trees.'

Naka=ka=kanta kono sida it maado. APT=CV=sing(AF) say 3SN G well 'The say she sings well.'

This affixation on adjectives expresses the topic's ability to cause a certain condition (see Causitive Focus, 4.1.2).

Naka=ka=taba kag keyk. APT=CV=fat(AF) N cake 'Cake is fattening' (lit. causes one to become fat)

Naka=ka=buyong kaling buyong. APT=CV=cure(AF) DEM1 medicine 'This medicine can cure.'

In Undergoer Focus the Aptative Aspect na- or na-#-an indicates that the topic is able to undergoe the change of state expressed by the root. These also can be considered to be adjectives.

Na=su=sunog kaling tela. APT=CV=burn(UF) DEM1 material 'This material can burn' (i.e., is combustible)

Na=basbasag kag unor it ako rayang kahon. APT=CV=break(UF) N contents G my carry=LK box 'The contents of the box I'm carrying can break' (i.e., are breakable)

Na=ru=rukt=an kag kugon APT=CV=burn=UF N kugon.grass 'Kugon grass burns easily.'

(2) Ability or Opportunity

Aptative Aspect verbs inflected for tense express the ability or opportunity to perform or undergo an action. In negated forms the Aptative affix is retained. However in the non-future forms the past subjunctive suffixes appear on the verb.

Naka=tawog si Joli sa nidog aber abang taas. APT,P=climb(AF) N Joli O coconut.tree even.tho very high 'Joli was able to climb the coconut tree even though it was very high.'

Maka=ka=nunot ako kung tapos ey kag ako trabaho. APT,F=CV=go.with(AF) 1SN if finish already N my work Í will be able to go if my work is finished.'

Naka=abot baga ikaw sa Romblon? APT,P=arrive(AF) Q 2SN PREP Romblon 'Have you been to Romblon?' (i.e., had the opportunity)

Naka=tagam ako it kugita. APT,P=taste(AF) 1SN G octopus 'I've (had the opportunity to) tasted octopus.'

Ma=ta=tanum=an ninra kag lanasan insulip kung masilak. APT,F=CV=plant=GF 3PLG N rice.field tomorrow if sunny 'They'll be able to plant the rice field tomorrow if it's sunny.'

Na=i=tuyor nida kag kariton aber ausa yang sida. APT,P=UF=push 3SG N cart even.tho one just he 'He was able to push the cart even though he was just one.'

Na=i=pa=yupar nako kag burador. APT,P=UF=CAUS=fly 1SG N kite 'I was able to fly the kite.'

Na=i=su=suyat pa nako kaling bolpen. APT,PROG=IF=CV=write still 1SG DEM1 ball.pen 'I'm still able to write with this ball pen.'

Kag imo panugon ay ako na=bakay sa Manila. N your order INV 1SO APT,P=buy(UF) PREP Manila 'I was able to buy your order in Manila.'

Indi nako ma=bakay kato=ng relo dahil abang mahay. NEG 1SG APT,INF=buy(UF) DEM3=LK watch because very expensive 'I can't buy that watch because it's very expensive.'

Waya ako naka=sakay dahil puno ey kag dyip. NEG 1SN APT,P=ride(AF) because full already N jeep 'I wasn't able to ride because the jeep was full.'

Waya nako sida na=taw-=i dahil kuyang. NEG 1SG 3SN APT,P=give=GF because lack Í wasn't able to give him any because there wasn't enough.'

Bantoanon Grammar

In non-Actor Focus verbs Aptative Aspect is often used when no Actor/Agent is mentioned.

Na=bu=buyar kag payay sa karsada. APT,PROG=CV=dry(UF) N rice PREP street 'The rice is being dried on the street.'

Ahat ma=abri=han kaling gaha. difficult APT,INF=open=GF DEM1 window 'It's difficult to open this window.'

Ma=i=i=rabok kaling mga bunot. APT,F=IF=CV=burn DEM1=LK PL coconur.husks 'These coconut husks can be burned as fuel.'

Waya pa na=ta=tapos kag ako trabaho. NEG yet APT,PROG=CV=finish(UF) N my work 'My work isn't finished yet.'

Aptative Aspect frequently is used in conjunction with the pseudo verb *pwede* 'able', 'can'. The Aptative Aspect appear in the infinitive form.

Indi sinra pwede nak maka=tabok sa sapa pag nagbabaha. NEG 3PLN able LK APT,INF=cross(AF) PREP river when flood 'The aren't able to cross the river when it's flooded.'

Pwede baga nimo ako=ng ma=bulig=an? albe Q 2SG 1SN=LK APT,INF=help=GF 'Can you help me?'

(3) Involuntary or Accidental Action

The non-AF focus affixes ma-(-an) also are used to denote involuntary or accidental action whereas the AF affix maka- only denotes ability or opportunity. Compare the following.

Na=basag it anak kag gaha. APT,P=break(UF) G child N window 'The child accidently broke the window.'

Naka=basag it 'hollow block' kag kayaki it ida damot. APT,P=break)AF) G hollow block N man G his hand 'The man was albe to break the hollow block with his hand.'

Na=tuyon it anak kag butones. APT,P=swallow(UF) G child N button 'The child accidently swallowed a button.'

Naka=tuyon it kayado kag kayaki sa 'circus.' APT,P=swallow(AF) G fire N man PREP circus 'The man in the circus was able to swallow fire.' In the above, the Actor Focus *naka*- affix can not be used in the sentence meaning 'The child *accidently* swallowed a button.' Only Undergoer Focus *na*- can be used to express this semantic notion.

When the agent is not mentioned, many of these verbs are stative verbs such as the following.

Na=basag kag gaha. STAT,P=break(UF) N window 'The window broke.'

Na=utoy kag ako tudlo sa sipoy. STAT,P=cut(UF) N my finger O knife 'My finger got cut on the knife.'

(4) ikaka-

There is an additional affix used to denote Aptative Aspect with Instrument Focus (i-) and the Undergoer Focus (i-). This is the *ikaka-* affix (similar to Causitive Focus, see Section 4.1.2). It may or may not occur in conjunction with the *ma-* affix. See Chart4.

Instrument: Ika=ka=bakay nako kali=ng 'dollars' aber dili. APT,F=CV=buy(IF) 1SN DEM1=LK dollars any here Í will be able to use these dollars anywhere here.'

Ma=ika=ka=tabok nato kaling baroto sa Simara. APT,F=APT=CV=cross(IF) 1PLG DEM1=LK boat PREP Simara 'We will be able to use this boat to cross over to Simara.'

Na=ika=ka=suyat pa nako kali=ng bolpen. APT,PROG=APT=CV=write(IF) still 1SG DEM1=LK ball.pen Í'm still able to use this ball pen to write.'

Na=ika=abri nako kag sipoy it lata. APT,P=APT=open(IF) 1SG N knife G can Í was able to use the knife to open the can.'

Undergoer Focus Ik=in=a=butang nako kag pinggan sa aparador. APT=P=_=put(UF) 1SG N plate PREP cupboard Í was able to put the plates in the cupboard.'

Ma=ika=ka=abot nako kag papel sa ibabaw it aparador. APT,F=APT=CV=reach(UF) 1SG N paper PREP top G cupboard Í will be able to reach the paper on top of the cupboard.

Na=ika=pa=raya nida kag kwarta sa mga eskwela sa Manila APT,P=APT=CAUS=carry(UF) 3SG N money O PL student PREP Manila 'She was able to have the money carried to the students in Manila.'

4.2 Stative Verbs

Stative Verbs are nonagentive verbs whose roots express an action. They occur with the Stative Verb affixes (See4.8 Chart4) which are morphologically identical to the Aptative Aspect affixes of Mag Verbs in Undergoer Focus. However Stative Verb affixes differ from the latter in that they do not occur with an Agent. They are more like adjectives in that their purpose is to describe the state or condition which the topic, the Undergoer, is in due to the action, rather than focusing on the action itself. Also, these verbs primarily describe destructive or accidental actions which are non-volitional or unintentional. Some of these actions may actually seem more like change of states (break, get wet, burn, etc.). However a direct or definite action is required to bring about these states. They are not inherent in the nature of the Undergoer as are the Inherent Change of State Verbs nor can they occur as *ma*- adjectives as can the Descriptive Change of State Verbs.

to	get wet
	break
to	bump/crash
to	snap in two
to	faint
to	fall
to	trip/fall forward
to	be destroyed/ruined
to	burn
to	fall over
to	be consumed
to	spill
to	be lost
to	drown
	to to to to to to to to to to

Some of these can occur in the unaffixed form.

Ubos ey kag amo bugas. consume already N our rice 'Our rice is all gone.'

Indi sida gi=pagto nak sira kono kag ida bisiklita. NEG 3SN VLK=go(AF) because destroyed RS N his bike 'He won't go because be says his bike is broken.'

Although these verbs do not occur with an Agent, they may occur with an Instrument or a causal or conditional phrase. These verbs seem to occur most frequently in Past tense. In Future tense they are often used as warnings and are preceded by *sabaling* or modified by a conditional phrase.

Na=basag kag itlog pagka=buhi nako. STAT,P=break(UF) N egg TI,GER=free/drop 1SN 'The eggs broke when I dropped them.'

Na=yumos kag anak sa ragat dahil waya't nag=ba=bantay sa ida. STAT,P=drown(UF) N child PREP ocean because NEG:LK PROG=CV=guard(UF) O her 'The child drown in the ocean because no one was guarding her.'

Na=udak kag kape sa lamesa. STAT,P=spill(UF) N coffee PREP table 'The coffee was spilled on the table.' Aya gi=huyt=i kinang sipoy nak sabaling ikaw ma=u=ugar. PROH VLK=hold=UF DEM knife because might 2SN STAT,F=CV=wound 'Don't hold that knife because you might get wounded.'

Pay igwa't na=wa=wagit nak lapis. as.if EXT:LK STAT,P=loss(UF) LK pencil 'It seems as like there are some pencils lost.'

Ma=hu=huyog ka! STAT,F=CV=fall(UF) 2SN 'You're going to fall!'

Tan-a ay waya sida narusmo pag waya sida gi=rayagan. CONF INV NEG 3SN STAT,P=trip(UF) TI,GER NEG 3SN VLK=run(AF) 'She wouldn't have tripped if she wouldn't have run.'

Ma=pa=paso kamo kung mag=suor sa kayado. STAT,F=CV=burn(UF) 2PLN if INF=come.near PREP fire 'You'll get burned if you come near to the fire.'

When an Agent is introduced, these verbs become Mag Agentive transitive Verbs. They can occur either in Aptative Aspect expressing unintentional action or in General Aspect expressing intentional action. This is an example of a verb changing class because of a change in participants and/or semantic notion. A few verbs occur optionally with Causitive Aspect in the latter.

Na=gisi kag mga libro it uning. APT,P=tear(UF) N PL book G cat 'The books were torn up by the cat.'

Na=basag kag salamin it mga anak. APT,P=break(UF) N glass G PL child 'The glass was accidently broken by the children.'

Tong na=sakro nako kag tasa, na=udak kag kape. P STAT,P=bump(UF) 1SG N cup STAT,P=spill(UF) N coffee 'When I accidently bumped the cup, the coffee spilled.'

Na=tu=tumba kag mga nidog it hangin. STAT,PROG=CV=fall.over(UF) N PL coconut G wind 'The coconut trees are being blown over by the wind.'

Ing=sira kag amo koray it napilyo nak binatilyo.
P=destroy(UF) N our fence G bad LK teen-age.boy
'Our fence was destroyed by the bad teen-age boy.'

Sio kag nag=ubos kag keyk? who N P=consume(AF) N cake 'Who consumed all the cake?'

A=pa=tumba=hon nako kag lamesa agor ma=pakando kag siki. F=CAUS=fall.over=UF 1SG N table so.that INF=fix N foot Í'll turn the table on its side to fix the leg.' Some Stative Verbs can also become intransitive Mag Verbs. In this form the action rather than the state or condition of the topic is foremost in the speaker's mind and the topic is considered to be an Actor rather than an Undergoer. The topic of these verbs are inanimate objects; human topics are not possible. These verbs are identical to other Mag intransitive verbs with inanimate objects.

Nag=hu=huyog kag abokado dahil hinog ey. PROG=CV=fall(AF) N avocado because ripe already 'The avocadoes are falling (off the tree) because they are ripe.'

Nag=bi=bika kag yelo sa sapa sa States pag-'Spring.' PROG=CV=crack(AF) N ice PREP river PREP States TI=Spring 'The ice cracks in the rivers in the States when it's Spring.'

Nag=basag kag salamin sa gaha pag nag=linog. P=break(AF) N glass PREP window TI,GER P=earthquake 'The glass in the window broke when there was an earthquake.'

Note the difference between the last example and the following one. In the previous one the verb is translated with active voice and in the following it is translated with passive voice.

Na=basag kag salamin sa gaha. STAT,P=break(UF) N glass PREP window 'The glass in the window was broken.'

Some of these verbs can occurr as semitransitive verbs with Goal Focus and Aptative Aspect. The Goal is that participant which experiences the outcome of the action.

Maramo=ng nag=ta=tao it bulig sa na=sunog=an it bayay. many=LK PROG=CV=give(AF) G help O STAT,P=burn=GF B house 'Many are giving help to the ones who lost their house in a fire.'

Na=wagit=an kami it manok. APT,P=loss=GF 1PLN G chicken 'We lost a chicken.' (i.e. it was stolen from us)

Na=u=ubos=an kami it kwarta. APT,PROG=CV=consume=GF 1PLN G money 'We are running out of money.'

Like other transitive verbs, these verbs can be affixed with the **na(CV)**- affix forming adjectives meaning to possess the ability to undergo the action described by the base.

Na=ba=basag kag unor it kaling kahon. APT,AJR=CV=break N contents G DEM1 box 'The contents of this box are breakable.'

Na=su=sunog kag tela nak naylon. APT,AJR=CV=burn N material LK nylon 'Nylon material is combustible.'

4.3 Change of State Verbs

Change of State Verbs are those verbs whose roots indicate a change of state or physical or emotional condition rather than an action. The topic is an Undergoer which experiences the change of state or condition described in the verb base. These bases include verbs, adjectives and adjective-like roots. Many of these can also occur as affixed and unaffixed adjectives, derived adjectives and derived abstract nouns. These verbs do not occur with Actor/Agent Focus except as the derived Causitive verb magpa-.

4.3.1 Inherent Physical Change of State

The bases of these intransitive, nonagentive verbs are adjectives or verbs which describe a change of state or process which the topic undergoes. Most of these processes are inherent in the nature of the Undergoer and include such things as growth, maturation and decay. Change of state is denoted in the verb by the magaffix meaning 'to become'. This affix is identical morphologically to the Actor Focus affix of Mag Verbs. However with change of state verbs it is semantically different in that it occurs only with Undergoer Focus and denotes a process rather that an action. Many of these roots can also occur as unaffixed or affixed maadjectives.

Ma=taba kag inro baktin! AJ=fat N your pig 'Your pig is fat!'

Hinog ey kaling ako b=in=akay nak batag. ripe already DEM1 my buy=P=_(UF) LK banana 'These bananas I bought are already ripe.'

Nag=taba sida sa Maynila. P=fat(UF) 3SN PREP Manila 'He became fat in Manila.'

Nag=hi=hinog kag mga abokado. PROG=CV=ripe(UF) N PL avocado 'The avocadoes are becoming ripe.'

Nag=tu=tubo kag mga buyak sa rayaag. PROG=CV=grow(UF) N PL flower PREP yard 'Flowers are growing in the yard.'

Some of these verbs can be semitransitive occurring with Goal Focus and Aptative Aspect. Here the topic is the participant which experiences the result of the change of state undergone by Undergoer.

Na=hi=hinug=an kami it abokado. APT,PROG=cv=ripe=GF 1PLN G avocado 'The avocadoes are ripening on us.' (i.e. we can't eat them fast enough)

Na=si=sira=an kami it bugas. APT,PROG=CV=ruin=GF 1PLN G rice 'Our rice is going bad on us.' Na=tu=tubu=an kag rayaag it hilamunon. APT,PROG=CV=grow=GF N yard G weed 'The yard is being overgrown with weeds.'

These Change of State Verbs can also occur with an Agent. The resultant verb is a derived Causitive Mag Verb, the verb being affixed with Causitive Aspect. The Agent is that participant which permits or causes the change of state to occur. As these are inherent changes in the Undergoer, the Agent's role is limited to indirect action. For example the Agent might allow fruit to ripen by leaving it in the sun, or cause plants to grow by planting and watering them. These are different from the direct actions of breaking, burning, destroying, etc. which the Agent performs in the verbs in the previous section.

A=pa=hinug=on anay nako kaling abokado bag-o kaun=on. F=CAUS=ripe=UF first 1SG DEM1 avocado before eat=UF 'I'll let these avocadoes ripen first before eating them.'

Nag=pa=pa=taba sida it inra manok. PROG=CAUS=CV=fat(AF) 3SN G their chicken 'She's fattening up their chicken.'

Ing=pa=tubu=an ni Nanay kag yudo nak rayaag it mga buyak.
P=CAUS=grow=GF G Mother N other.side LK yard G PL flower
'Mother grew the backyard with flowers.' (i.e. grew flowers in the backyard)

Ing=pa=pa=yamig nida kag ni=yaga=ng tubi bag-o inumon
PROG=CAUS=CV=cold(UF) 3SG N P=boil(UF)=LK water before drink=UF
'She's letting the boiled water cool off before drinking it.'

A=pa=uga=hon nako kag pintura bag-o mag=liwat it pintura. F=CAUS=dry=UF 1SG N paint before INF=repeat G paint 'I'll let the paint dry before applying a second coat.'

Some of these verbs can be reflexive. Since the topic is both the Agent and the Undergoer, these verbs can be considered to be Undergoer Focus. Compare this with the reflexives under Causitive Aspect.

Nag=pa=pa=taba sida. PROG=CAUS=CV=fat(UF) 3SN 'She's causing herself to become fat.'

Aptative Aspect can occur with some of these verbs and is most common in Undergoer Focus. The Agent may or may not be mentioned and the verbs occur without Causitive Aspect. These verbs also belong to the Mag class of verbs and the emphasis is on the implicit action being performed by the Agent rather than on the process undergone by the Undergoer. Compare the following:

Nag=u=uga kag mga yamit sa adlaw. PROG=CV=dry(UF) N PL clothes PREP sun 'The clothes are becoming dry in the sun.'

Na=u=uga kag payay sa karsada (+/- it tawo). APT,PROG=CV=dry(UF) N rice PREP street (G person) 'The rice is being dried on the street (by the people). Nag=hi=hinog kag abokado. PROG=CV=ripe(UF) N abocado 'The avocadoes are becoming ripe.'

Na=hi=hinog (+/- nida) kag abokado sa kahon. APT,PROG=CV=ripe(UF) (3SG) N avocado PREP box 'The avocadoes are being ripened (by her) in the box.'

Note that the above two forms are similar to Stative Verbs which can also change class in order to either emphasize the action itself (here, the process) using the intransitive **mag** affix, or in order to include the role of an Agent using the transitive Mag Verb affixes.

Compare the different affixations of the word yamig 'cold'.

Ma=yamig ngasing dahil tig-=ba=bagyo. AJ=cold now because TI=CV=typhoon 'It's cold now because it's typhoon season.'

Nag=yamig kag ako kape nak na=bilin sa pantaw. P=cold(UF) N my coffee LK APT=leave PREP porch 'My coffee that I left on the porch became cold.'

A=pa=yamig=on anay nako kag niyagang tubi bag-o inum=on. F=CAUS=cold=UF first 1SG N boiled water before drink=UF `I'll let the boiled water cool off first before drinking it.'

Na=ya=yamig kag Pepsi sa pridyader. APT,PROG=CV=cold(UF) N Pepsi PREP frige 'The Pepsi is being cooled in the frige.'

Causitive Focus can also occur with these verb bases. The Undergoer is marked by Genitive case and the topic, marked by Nominative case, it that which causes the Undergoer to experience the change of state described in the verb base.

Ika=ka=taba nimo kag subra=ng pagkaon. CF,F=CV=fat 2SG N too.much=LK food 'Too much food will make you fat.'

Ik=in=a=nimwang nida kag ida sakit. CF=P=___thin 3SG N her illness 'Her illness caused her to become thin.'

4.3.2 Descriptive Change of State

These verbs have as their roots descriptive adjectives of size, shape, color, quantity, and quality. They occur most frequently as **ma**- adjectives. They are nearly identical to the above except that the change of state expressed is not inherent in the nature of the Undergoer. Like the above, they can occur as intransitive or transitive verbs. As intransitive verbs they denote the change of state which the topic (the Undergoer) is undergoing and are translated 'to become.' ??? or should these be Mag intransitive Verbs where the emphasis is on the action?

Nag=li=lip-ot kag higot dahil nag=ru=rukot.
PROG=CV=short(UF) N rope because PROG=CV=burn(AF)
'The rope is becoming shorter because it's burning.'

Nag=i=itom kami sa pag=higra sa baybay. PROG=CV=dark(UF) 1PLN O GER=lie PREP beach 'We're becoming dark from lying on the beach.'

Nag=pu=puya kag taliuyang sa pag ina=yuto. PROG=CV=red(UF) N lobster O TI PROG=cook(UF) 'Lobsters turn red when they are cooked.'

Nag=ramo kag Azolla sa lagoon dahil waya gi=ani=a. P=many(UF) N Azolla PREP lagoon because NEG VLK=harvest(UF) 'The Azolla became many in the lagoon because it wasn't harvested.' (i.e. increased)

When an Agent is introduced, these verbs change class and become transitive Mag Agentive Verbs. The action performed by the Agent is foremost in the speaker's mind rather than the change of state resulting from the actions. These actions are more direct actions (eg. putting something on the stove to heat it, cutting and sewing something to shorten it) than actions performed by Agents with Inherent Change of State Verbs. The Causitive Aspect is required by some of these verbs in Actor/Agent Focus only.

A=init=on nako kag tubi sa abuhan. F=hot=UF 1SG N water PREP stove 'I'll heat the water up on the stove.'

Ina=basa nako kag mga yamit bag-o sapuon. PROG=wet(UF) 1SG N PL clothes before soap=UF 'I wet the clothes before I use soap on them.'

Ina=intik kag lugit bag-o bakita=hon.
PROG=small(UF) N copra before put.in.sack(UF)
'The copra is chopped into small pieces before being put
into the sack.'

A=lip-ut=on nako kaling ako sada nak subrang mahaba. F=short=UF 1SG this my skirt because too=LK long 'I'll shorten my skirt because it's too long.'

Sio kag nag=pa=rayom it inro kanal sa likor it bayay? who N P=CAUS=deep G your ditch PREP back G house 'Who made your ditch in back of your house deeper?' Hinay-i anay kag imo boses! weak=GF please N your voice 'Please lower your voice!

A=kus'g=an nako kag radyo. F=strong=GF 1SG N radio `I'll turn up the radio.'

A=adu=hon nako kag ako pag=yuto agor mag=muot kag ako asawa. F=good=UF 1SG N my GER=cook so.that INF=like(AF) N my husband 'I'll make what I cook (taste) good so that my husband likes it.'

As in the previous change of state verbs, these bases can also occur with Causitive Focus.

Ing=pa=pa=hadag kag mga iwag pag alas sais.
PROG=CAUS=CV=bright(UF) N PL light TI TI six
'The lights are turned on at six o'clock.'

I=k=in=a=itom nako kag kaligos sa ragat. CF=_=P_=dark 1SG N bathe PREP ocean 'Bathing in the ocean is what caused me to become dark.'

4.3.3 Physical Feelings and Illness

The bases of these intransitive nonagentive verbs describe a physical feeling or illness experienced by the Undergoer (a person or animal). Chart ??? shows the possible affixation of these verbs. These affixations are identical Morphologically to those of Mag Verbs in Undergoer and Goal Focus (both General and Aptatvie Modes). However they are different semantically when attched to these roots in that they denote a condition rather than an action and do not occur with an Actor/Agent. With most of these verbs there seems to be no semantic difference between the **a-on**, **a-an** set of affixes and the **ma-**, **ma-an** set as there is with Mag Verbs. In other words these affixes are not expressing General or Aptative Aspect and can be used interchangeably although with some roots one set may be preferred over the other. Neither does there seem to be any reason why some roots occur with the **-on** suffix and some with **-an**. The variant **ina-/ina-an** is most frequently used for Progressive Tense.

The topic of these verbs is an Undergoer marked by Nominative case. Although these verbs are nonagentive they can occur with the causal phrase **sa**, or **dahil sa** whose head is the cause or reason for the Undergoer's condition. In future tense the verb may be preceded by **sabaling** 'might' or it may be accompanied by a conditional phrase introduced by **kung** 'if.'

Ina=sip-on pa baga kag imo anak?
PROG=cold(UF) still Q N your child
'Does your child still have a cold?'

Ing=ubo ra ako tong igwa ako't malarya P=cough(UF) also 1SN P EXT 1SN:G malaria 'I also had a cough when I had malaria.' Ina=lipung=an kag ako uyo dahil sobrang trabaho.
PROG=headache=UF N my head because too.much work
'My head hurts because of too much work.'

A=sip-on=on kamo kung ma=sumo sa uyan! F=cold=UF 2PLN if F=go.out.in.rain(AF) PREP rain 'You'll get a cold if you go out in the rain!'

Ina=init=an ako sa ako suksok nak baro.
PROG=hot=UF 1SN because my wear.clothes LK clothes
I'm hot because of the clothes I'm wearing.'
(or 'the clothes I'm wearing are making me hot.')

Na=ya=yamig=an ako dahil waya ako't 'sweater'. PROG=CV=cold=UF 1SN because NEG 1SN:G sweater 'I'm feeling cold because I don't have a sweater.'

The following is similar to the above examples except that Genitive case is used to mark the cause of the Undergoer's feeling (compare with the verbs meaning \hat{I} find it to be-'.)

Na=ra=rangga=han kag mga kayaki it kayado. PROG=CV=warm=UF N PL man G fire 'The men are being warmed by the fire.'

Some roots like **hapros** 'pain/hurt' occur with a qualifier introduced by **it**, denoting the location of the pain.

A=haprus=an kamo it bituka kung mag=kaon it katong badabas! F=pain/hurt=UF 2PLN G stomache if INF=eat G DEM3 guava 'You'll get a stomache ache if you eat those guavas!'

Some roots can occur with the intransitive affix **mag**-. ??? Or should these be Mag Verbs denoting the action rather than what is experienced by the human Undergoer. The topic of these verbs is a body part which can also be considered an Undergoer although it is still actually the person who is experiencing the pain or discomfort. These **mag**- affixed verbs may be emphasizing the process/action itself rather that the condition that the Undergoer is in. In this respect they are similar to other Change of State Verbs occurring with the **mag**- intranstitive affix. Verbs of this type occur with the **a-an**, **ma-an** set of affixes when the Undergoer is the person. Compare the following:

Nag=ha=hapros kag ako ngisi. PROG=CV=hurt(UF) N my tooth. 'My tooth is hurting.'

Ina=haprus=an ako it ngisi. PROG=hurt=UF 1SN G tooth Í have a toothache.'

Nag=ayom kag ida braso tong na=tama it bato. P=bruise(UF) N his arm P APT,P=hit(UF) G rock 'His arm became bruised when it was hit by a rock.'

Na=ayum=an sida tong na=tama it bato. P=bruise=UF 3SN P APT,P=hit(UF) G rock 'He was bruised when he was hit by a rock.'

Nag=kuyba kag ako tagipus-on tong na=rungg=an nako kag na=tabo. PROG=CV=beat.fast(UF) N my heart P APT,P=hear=GF 1SG N APT,P=happen 'My heart beat fast when I heard what had happened.'

Na=kuyba=han ako tong na=rungg=an nako kag natabo. P=beat.fast=UF 1SN P APT,P=hear=GF 1SG N APT,P=happen 'My heart beat fast when I heard what had happened.'

Nag=yamhong kag ida siki pag na=huyug=an it 'hollow block.' P=swell(UF) N his foot TI APT=fall=GF G hollow block 'His foot became swollen when a hollow block fell on it.'

Na=ya=yamhung=an ako it siki. PROG=CV=swell=UF 1SN G foot 'I have a swollen foot.'

Some of the verbs which occur with the **a-an**, **ma-an** affixes can also occur with a **nagpa**- affix meaning 'to experience (a pain or feeling)' or 'to undergo (a process of healing).'

Ina=haprus=an ako it bituka.
PROG=pain=UF 1SN G stomache
'I have a stomache ache.'

Nag=pa=pa=hapros ako it bituka. PROG=???=CV=pain 1SN G stomache 'I'm experiencing pain in my stomache.'

Ina=yas-ay=an ako. PROG=loss.appetite=UF 1SN 'I have a loss of appetite.'

Nag=pa=pa=yas-ay ako.
PROG=???=CV=loss.appetite 1SN
'I'm experiencing a loss of appetite.'

Nag=pa=pa=pila ako it ako ugar. PROG=???=CV=heal/scar 1SN G my wound 'I'm healing of my wound.' (i.e. my wound is healing)

Nag=pa=pa=uli ako it ako ing=opera=han PROG=???=CV=return 1SN G my P=operate=GF 'I'm recovering from my operation.'

There are two other affixes which verbs expressing physical feelings or illnesses can occur with. The affix **maka**- means 'to get/catch' or 'to become' and the affix **magkaka**- means 'to feel/have the feeling' described by the root. (see e.8 Chart4 for these affixes.)

Nag=ka=sip-on ako sa Baguio. P=ACQ=cold(UF) 1SN PREP Baguio 'I caught a cold in Baguio.'

Sabaling ma=ka=yuya ako sa yawor. might F=ACQ=seasick(UF) 1SN PREP deep.sea 'I might become seasick out at sea.'

Nag=ka=lipong ako sa ako trabaho.
P=ACQ=headache(UF) 1SN because my work
'I got a headache from my work.'

Causitive Focus can also occur with these verbs. The Undergoer is marked by Genitive case and the topic, marked by Nominative case, is that condition/illness which causes the Undergoer to experience the condition described in the verb base. ??? Change order of sentence here to the natural form.

(Kag) ikinamatay nida ay kanser.

Ik=in=a=sakit nida kag waya pagkaon. CF=P=__=sick 3SG N NEG food 'Lack of food is what causes her become sick.' (i.e. she got sick from lack of food)

Ik=in=a=matay it ako lolo kag kanser. CF=P=__=die G my grandfather N cancer 'Cancer is what caused my grandfather to die.' (i.e. he died of cancer)

The above can also be expressed as:

Nio kag naka=matay sa ida? what N CF,P=die(AF) O 3SO 'What caused him to die?' (i.e. what did he die of)

Na=matay sida sa kanser. STAT,P=die(UF) 3SN because.of cancer 'He died of cancer.'

Some of the roots used to form verbs of physical feeling and illness can also occur as nouns and adjectives.

Aya gihudlot! Sungahan kag sip-on! PROH VLK=sniffle blow.nose N cold/mucous 'Don't sniffle! Blow out the mucous! (i.e. blow your nose)

Maramo=ng tawo ngasing nak igwa't malarya. many=LK people now LK EXT:G malaria 'There are many people now that have malaria.

Adjectives affixed with **nakak**a- express the topics ability to cause the condition/illness described by the base. Those affixed with **ma-on** describe the topic as being prone to experiencing the condition.

Nakaka=lipong kaling trabaho! APT,AJR=headache DEM1 work 'This work causes headaches!

Nakaka=gaos kaling panahon. APT,AJR=perspire DEM1 weather 'This weather causes one to perspire.'

Ma=sakit=on kag ida anak.

Bantoanon Grammar

AJR=sick=_ N her child 'Her child is sickly.' (prone to being sick)

Ma=gaos=on katong kayaki. AJR=perspire=__ DEM3 man 'That man perspires a lot.'

There are some other *ma- -an* verbs whose bases are adjectives describing taste such as 'delicious', 'salty', 'good', 'bad', etc. The topic of these verbs is a person who 'finds it (i.e., the food) to be -'. The food item is marked by Genitive case. Other verbs of this type may be descriptive of other things such as the weather, flowers, etc. They also express that the topic finds, or thinks, these things to have the quality expressed in the verb base.

Na=la=lasa=han ako it imo yuto. PROG=CV=delicious=UF 1SN G your cook Í find what you've cooked to be delicious.' (i.e., I think it's delicious)

Na=a=asin=an ako it pakasam. PROG=CV=salt=UF 1SN G salted.fish 'I find salted fish to be salty.'

Na=yain=an ako it inra pagkaon. P=bad=UF 1SN G their food 'I found their food to (taste) bad.'

Na=ga=ganda=han ako it imo mga buyak. PROG=CV=beautiful=UF 1SN G your PL flower 'I find (i.e., I think) your floweres are beautiful.'

4.3.4 Emotions

The bases of these verbs are adjective-like roots which describe an emotion experienced by the Undergoer which is usually a person (although animal topics are also possible). Chart4 shows the affixes occurring with these verbs. These affixes are the same as those verbs expressing physical conditions/illness. However with verbs of emotion the $ma \mid$, ma-an set of affixes is most common.

The cause of the Undergoer's emotion can be expressed either by the causal phrase *dahil* or *sa* 'because of', or by a nominal marked by Genitive case. This nominal can be thought of either as an Agent or an Instrument. Some verbs also occur with a goal; the goal is that participant towards which the Undergoer's emotion is directed or that which is the source (cause) of the Undergoer's emotion. Goal is marked by Oblique case.

Waya ako gi=ra=rayan sa inra nak na=ha=hadlok ako sa iro NEG 1SN VLK=PROG=pass(AF) PREP their because PROG=CV=afraid(UF) 1SN O dog. 'I didn't go past their place because I was afraid of the dog.'

Na=si=sina sida sa ako dahil naka='abroad' ako. PROG=CV=jealous(UF) 3SN 0 me because APT,P=abroad(AF) 1SN 'She is jealous of me because I was able to go abroad.' Ina=saput=an ako it gulo it mga anak. PROG=irritate=UF 1SN G noise G PL child 'I'm being irritated by the noise of the children.'

Na=hu=huda katong anak nak mag=bisaya sa ako. PROG=CV=shy(UF) DEM3 child LK INF=speak(AF) O me 'That child is shy to speak to me.'

Ma=bu=buyong ako sa imo pag mag=pa=Manila ikaw. F=sad(UF) 1SN PREP you TI F=DIR=Manila(AF) 2SN Í'll miss you when you go to Manila.'

Some verbs can also occur with Goal Focus.

Na=si=sina=an nako sida dahil igwa sida't bag-ong baro. PROG=CV=jealous=GF 1SG 3SN because EXT 3SN:G new=LK clothes 'I'm jealous of her because she has new clothes.'

When the Undergoer Focus occurs with the *ma-an* affixation, Goal Focus will appear the same except for the difference in case markings. Compare the following:

Na=sa=sawa=an ako it kaling trabaho. PROG=CV=irritate=UF 1SN G DEM1=LK work 'I'm irritated with this work.'

Na=sa=sawa=an nako kaling trabaho. PROG=CV=irritate=GF 1SN DEM1 work 'I'm irritated with this work.'

These verbs can occur with an Agent in which case the Causitive Aspect is usually required. These verbs are derived Causitive verbs and express intentional action. They can occur with both Agent Focus and Undergoer Focus although the latter is much more common. The instrument is often mentioned in these constructions.

Ing=pa=sina nako sida it ako bag-o=ng baro.
P=CAUS=jealous(UF) 1SG 3SN G my new=LK clothes
f caused her to be jealous of me by my new clothes.'

A=pa=hadlok=on kono ninra kag inra maestra it sawa. F=CAUS=afraid=UF REP 3PLG N their teacher G snake 'They said they would frighten their teacher with a snake.'

Instrument Focus can also occur with some of the above.

Ging=hadlok ninra kag sawa sa inra maestra. P=afraid(IF) 3PLG N snake O their teacher 'They used a snake to frighten their teacher.'

Sometimes an agentive verb will occur without Causitive Aspect; there can be a slightly different interpretation of the verb with and without the Causitive affix.

Ing=hadlok ako ninra it sawa.
P=afraid(UF) 1SN 3PLG G snake
'They frightened me with a snake.'

Ing=pa=hadlok ako ninra it sawa./ sa sawa.
P=CAUS=afraid 1SN 3PLG G snake/ 0 snake
'They caused me to be frightened
with a snake.' / of snakes.'

In the above the meaning of the first sentence is clear; the speaker was frightened with a snake. In the second, the meaning is determined by the case marker on sawa 'snake' and as many speakers are not particular about the use of either Genitive or Oblique case, the meaning of the sentence may be unclear.

Like verbs denoting physical conditons/illness, this verbs can also occur with other affixes. The *maka-* affix meaning 'to become' can denote intentional action.

Maka=libog ako sa imo kung ausa ikaw pa=Manila. F,BEC=worry(UF) 1SN O you if only.one 2SN DIR=Manila 'I will worry about you if your go to Manila alone.'

Aya gi=ka=libog sa amo. PROH VLK=BEC=worry O us 'Don't worry about us.'

Nag=ka=hadlok ako sa sawa pag=ka=kita sa sawa sa ako katri. P=BEC=afraid(UF) 1SN O snake TI,GER=PRF=see O snake PREP my bed 'I became afraid of snakes after I found one in my bed.'

Kag ako i=k=in=a=hadlok ay sawa. N my CF=_=P=_=afraid INV snake 'What I'm afraid of are snakes.'

I=ka=ka=huda nida kaling litrato. CF,F=_=CV=shame 3SG DEM1 picture 'She'll be embarrassed by this picture.'

Naka=ka=sapot kag anak sa ako. APT,P=CV=irritate(AF) N child O me APT or CAUS ??? 'The child is irritating me.'

Derived adjectives include those formed with the Aptative Aspect meaning 'able to cause' and those formed with the *ma-on* affixation. The latter describe the topic as having the quality described by the base:

Naka=ka=sapot kag mga magulo nak anak. APT,AJR=CV=irritate N PL noisey LK child 'Noisey children are irritating.'

Ma=sina=on kato=ng kabade AJR=jealous=_ DEM3=LK woman 'That woman is a jealous person.'

Ma=libug=on ikaw. AJR=worry=_ 2SN 'You are a worry wart!'

4.4 Verb Affixation and Kinds of Action

4.4.1 Habitual Action

Habitual Action is expressed either by the Progressive tense affix nag(CV)- or by the Habitual Action (HAB) affix na-. Both of these constructions must be accompanied either by the adverb *permi* 'always', by a qualifying adverbial phrase of time, location, or condition, or by the Time Gerund, *pag* meaning 'when' or 'whenever.' These sentences can also be negated with *waya* or *waya gador*. The latter denotes certaintly in which case they are translated 'never'.

Na=bakay si Ely it pang=tao sa ida mga anak. HAB=buy(AF) N Ely G NOM=give O her PL child 'Ely buys things to give to her children.'

Pag nag=ka=kaon kami, ina=pa=pauli=on anay kag mga anak. TI PROG=CV=eat(AF) we IPR=CAUS=go.home=UF first N PL child 'Whenever we eat, we first send the children home.'

Permi sinra=ng nag=pa=pauli kada alas kwatro. always they=LK PROG=CV=go.home(AF) every TI four 'They always go home at four o'clock.'

Waya gador sida na=bisita sa amo. NEG CERT she HAB=visit(AF) O we 'She never visits us.'

Waya ako nida gi=su=suyat=i. NEG 1SN 3SG SUBJ,PROG=CV=write=GF 'She doesn't write to me.'

Habitual Action can also be expressed with a variety of other sentence constructions. In some of these the Habitual Action is implicit rather than explicit.

With permi 'always' and the verb root:

Permi-permi sinra=ng away it inra maguyang. always(DBL) they=LK fight G their sibling.older 'They always fight with their older sibling.'

Permi sida=ang halin kada alas singko. always she=LK leave every TI five 'She always leaves at five o'clock.'

With sanay 'used to':

Sanay sinra mag=kaon pag alas dose. use.to they INF=eat(AF) TI,GER TI twelve 'They are used to eating at twelve o'clock.'

With pala- 'fond of':

Pala=pamasyar sida sa baybay. fond.of=stroll she PREP beach 'She's fond of strolling on the beach.' With *inog-*, manog-, *i-* 'time of':

Alas kwatro kag inra inog=halin. TI four N their TI=leave 'The time of their leaving is four o'clock.'

With hingan 'always,' 'only':

Hingan ey sida na=abot pag nag=me=merienda kami only already he HAB=arrive(AF) TI,GER PROG=CV=merienda we 'He only arrives when we are having merienda.'

4.4.2 Immediate Past Action and Inceptive Action

There are several verbal constructions that denote Immediate Past Action (IP) and Inceptive Action (IA). Some of these constructions are used interchangeably and thus only the context will show if the action is IP or IA. Those which are specific are:

(1) Immediate Past Action

Constructions specific for IP are those occurring with *tapos* 'to finish' and either the IP prefix *ka* or the Time Gerund prefix *pagka*-.

Ka=ta=tapos yang nako it kaligos. IP=CV=finish only I G bathe 'I've just finished bathing.'

Pag=ka=tapos pa yang nako it yuto kag karne. TI,GER=PRF=finish still only I G cook the meat 'I have just finished cooking the meat.'

(2) Inceptive Action

Constructions specific for IA are those occurring with *tuna* 'begin', *bag-o* 'then, next', *ngasing* 'now', or with Imperfective aspect.

Ka=tu=tuna pa yang nako mag=yuto it karne. IA=CV=begin still only I INF=cook(AF) G meat 'I've just begun to cook the meat.'

Pag=tuna pa yang nako mag=bunak. TI,GER=begin still only I INF=wash.clothes(AF) Í've just begun to wash clothes.'

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Nag=tuna pa yang ako mag=hilamunon.
P=begin(AF) still only I INF=pull.weeds(AF)
Í've just begun to pull weeds.'
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Ngasing pa yang nako ing=tuna=an kag pag=yuto. now still only I P=begin=GF N GER=cook Í've just now begun the cooking.' Ngasing pa yang ako gi=yuto. now still only I SUBJ,P=cook(AF) Í've just begun to cook.' Bag-o pa yang ako nag=yuto. then still only I P=cook(AF) Í've just begun to cook.' Imaw pa yang nako gi=yu=yutu=a kag karne. DER still only I SUBJ,PROG=CV=cook=UF N meat Imaw pa yang nako it pag=yuto ngasing it karne. DEF still only I G GER=cook now G meat

(3) Both IP both/either IA

Constructions which denote both/either IP and IA are those with the affixes ka(CV)-, pag- and pagka-. pagka- is more common as IP whereas pag- is more common as IA.

Ka=a=abot pa yang namo halin sa Manila. IP=CV=arrive still only we from PREP Manila 'We have just arrived from Manila.'

Ka=yu=yuto pa yang nako. IP/IA=CV=cook still only I Í have just finished/begun to cook.'

Ka=ka=kaligos yang nako. IP/IA=CV=bathe only I 'I have just finished/begun bathing.'

Pag=ka=yuto pa yang nako. TI,GER=PRF=cook still only I 'I have just finished cooking.' (primary meaning)

Pag=yuto pa yang nako. TI,GER=cook still only I 'I have just begun to cook.' (primary meaning)

4.4.3 Immediate Future Action

Constructions denoting Immediate Future action (IF) make use of the future (contemplated) tense affix ma- plus the particles ey, and pa yang; the Immediate Future affixes (IF) inog-, manog- and i-; and the words tuna 'begin' and ngasing 'now'.

```
Ma=yuto pa yang ako.
F=cook(AF) still only I
'I will start cooking now.'
```

Ma=tuna ey kag miting. F=begin(AF) already N meeting 'The meeting is about to begin.' Ma=tuna ey ako it yuto it karne. F=begin(AF) already I G cook G meat 'I'm about to begin cooking the meat.'

A=yutu=on pa yang nako kag karne. F=cook=UF still only I the meat 'I will cook the meat now.'

Inog=yuto ey nako ngasing.
IF=cook already 1SG now
'It's time for me to cook now.'

Ngasing pa yang ako ma=yuto. now still only I F=cook(AF) 'I will just cook now.'

Ngasing pa yang nako a=yuto=on kag karne. now still only I F=cook=UF the meat 'I will cook the meat now.'

Constructions denoting a past action using inog- are translated I was just about to--'. They express Immediate Future action which may or may not have been completed.

Inog=tabok ey nako pag=rayan it dyip.
IF=cross already 1SG TI,GER=pass.by G jeep
'I was just about to cross the street when the jeep passed by.'

Inog=larga ey it bapor pag=abot ninra.
IF=leave already G ship TI,GER=arrive 3PLG
'The boat was about to leave just as they arrived.'

4.4.4 Continuous Action

Continuous Action is expressed by constructions using *sige* 'continue to' or *bilin* 'remain' or *dayon* 'stay/continue'. These constructions only denote that the action was begun and is continuing. They do not also denote intensity as do some of the other affixes and constructions which express continuous, repetitive and/or intensive action.

Miski nag=-u=uyan, sige-sige sinra it tapas. even.tho P=CV=rain continue=DBL they G husk.coconut 'Even though it was raining, they continued to husk coconuts.'

Ma=sigepa kami it huyat sa ida.F=continue(AF)still weG wait'We'll continue to still wait for her.'

Mag=bilin kita mag=tinrog habang mag=pangamuyo. INF=remain(AF) 1PLN INF=stand while INF=pray 'Let's remain standing while we pray.'

Dayunon nato kag pag=trabaho. stay/continue 1PLG N GER=work 'Let's continue working.' Another construction that expresses Continuous Action (and perhaps intensity also) is made up of a verbal construction preceded by an adverb denoting a specific period of time. One of these verb constructions uses the intensive prefix ka- with reduplication of the first verb CV.

Maghapon it ka=i=idamo kag mga anak sa liwas. all.day G INT=CV=play N PL child PREP outside 'All day the children played outside.'

Buong adlaw it bunak kag inra kabulig. entire day G wash.clothes N their helper 'Their helper washed clothes the entire day.'

4.4.5 Repetitive Action

Repetitive Action can be expressed with constructions using *liwat* 'to repeat' and *ray* 'again'. These denote an action that has been done once and then is repeated a second time. Intensity (i.e., to repeat the action more than once) is expressed by the doubling of *liwat*.

Liwat-=liwat sida it bisaya. repeat-=DBL she G read 'She repeated what whe was saying again and again.'

Ing=pa=basa ray liwat kag eskwela dahil sala.
P=CAUS=read(A2F) again repeat N pupil because wrong
'The pupil was made to read again because he (read) wrong.'

Repetitive Action that is expressed in the verb by the Repetitive Action infix -indiffers from the latter two in that it expresses action that is done non-stop and intensely. This infix commonly occurs together with the Intensive Action and Plural Action affixes. There may be metathesis when the nasal and a lateral (y,l,r) in the stem come together in which case the *in* becomes *ni*. The *in* infix also causes penultimate shift on the derived verb.

Aber ing=ru=rudan kag anak, nag=ti=t=in=ibaw. even.tho PROG=CV=swing(UF) N child PROG=CV=cry=REP=____ 'Even though the child was swung, he continued to cry and cry.'

Nag=i=in=uyan buong gab-i kada nag=baha. PROG=CV=INT=rain all night therefore P=flood Ít kept raining and raining all night therefore it flooded.'

Nag=ni=ni=rayagan kag naka=buhi=ng iro. PROG=INT=CV=run N APT,P=free=LK dog 'The dog that got free kept on running and running.'

Repetitive action can also be expressed by reduplication.

Nag=ba=balik-balik kag amo uning kana Famini. PROG=CV=return=DBL N our cat O Famini Ñur cat keeps going back to the Famini's.'

Tungon=tungon kag uyan. stop=DBL N rain 'The rain keeps stopping' (i.e. and starting again).

4.4.6 Intensive Action

Intensive Action (INT) is expressed in the verb by the affix *-paka-*, or by entire reduplication of the verb, separated by the linker *nak*. The Intensive Action affix often expresses continuous or repetitive action as well as intensive action. The Repetitive Action infix *-in-* sometimes occurs together with *paka-*.

Nag=p=in=aka=uyan itahapon. P=INT=REP=__=rain yesterday It rained and rained intensely yesterday.'

Nag=paka=katuyog ako it gab-i nak abang pilay ako. P=INT=sleep(AF) I G night because INT tired I Í slept intensely last night because I was so tired.'

Ing=paka=bilang-=bilang nida kag mga tawo.
P=INT=count=DBL(UF) he N PL people
'He counted the people over and over again.'

Nag=basa nak nag=basa sida it libro dahil maganda kono kag istorya.
P=read(AF) LK P=read she G book because beautiful RS N story
'She read and read (i.e. continuously) the book because she said it was a good
story.'

Nag=lampso nak nag=lampaso sida agor marilag kag sayog P=skate.floor(AF) LK skate.floor she so.that shine the floor 'She skated and skated the floor so it would be shiney.'

Ging=puksi nak ging=puksi kag amo buyak it mga anak. P=pick(UF) LK P=pick)UF) N our flowers G PL child 'The children picked and picked our flowers.'

4.4.7 Diminutive Action and Pretense

Diminutive Action (DIM) denotes action which is done only moderately or not seriously (perhaps even carelessly or incompletely). It is expressed in the verb by the infix -u- and/or by reduplication of the verb stem.

Ma=ku=katuyog anay ako bag-o mag=trabaho.
F=DIM=sleep(AF) first I before INF=work(AF)
'I'll sleep a little first before working.' (i.e. nap, rest)

Ma=panaw-=panaw yang ako.
F=walk=DBL(AF) just I
'I'm just going out for a little walk.'

U=abri=hi anay kag gaha. DIM=open=IMP,UF please N window 'Please open the window just a little.'

Nag=ku=ku=kayarkar kag tubi.
PROG=INT=CV=boil(AF) N water
'The water is simmering.'

Ging=hu=himo nida kag basket it rali-=rali kada marali n=sira. P=DIM=make(UF) 3SG N basket G fast=DBL therefore quick STAT,P=destroy (UF) 'He carelessly made the basket very fast therefore it quickly become ruined.'

Pretense (PRET) is also expressed with the -u- infix and is similar to Diminutive Action. It is action that is not done seriously and which is used to attract attention or in pretending to be someone or something else, as in children's games or in drama.

Nag=tu=tibaw kag anak agor sawayon it nanay. P=PRET=cry(AF) N child so.that attract.attention G mother 'The child pretended to cry in order to attract mother's attention.'

Nag=ba=baril=baril=an kag mga anak. PROG=CV=gun=DBL=NR(AF) N PL child 'The children are pretending to have a gunfight.'

Nag=Ju=Juliet sida sa drama. P=PRET=Juliet she PREP drama 'She was Juliet in the drama.'

4.5 Verb Affixation and Participants

The following verb affixations express actions in which there are multiple actors or multiple undergoers or in which a reciprocal or social action is being performed.

4.5.1 Plural Action

Plural Action (PL) is expressed in the verb by the affix -pang- and denotes an action in which plural actors or plural undergoers are involved. With certain verb stems there is consonant loss after the nasal is assimilated. Past tense can be optionally expressed with the Past tense infix -in-.

Nag=pa=pangahoy kag mga anak sa kanidogan.
PROG=CV=PL:wood(AF) N PL child PREP coconut.grove
'The children are gathering wood in the coconut grove.'

Ging=pang=hakar it anak kag mga pinggan sa aparador. P=PL=remove(UF) G child N PL dish PREP cupboard 'The child removed the dishes from the cupboard.'

P=in=ang=limpyu=han ninra kag mga gaha. PL=P=__clean=UF 3PLG N PL window 'They cleaned the windows.'

Na=pa=pang=huli kag mga anak pag na=uyan. APT,PROG=CV=PL=late(UF) N PL child TI,GER HAB=rain 'The children are always late when it rains.'

Plural action or actors can also be denoted by the -kainfix (compare with Collective action, 4.5.3). Collective action can also occur with inanimate objects. The meaning expressed is that these objects are undergoing the action collectively. Plural actors is also a component of the meaning.

Nag=ka=tikrag kag mga rahon. P=PL=fall(AF) N PL leaf Cll the leaves fell off.'

Nag=ka=hadlok ako sa mga sawa. P=PL=fear(UF) 1SN O PL snake Í was afraid of the snakes.'

4.5.2 Separate Action

The infix -sig- is added to the verb to show that the action is done individually by a group of people. Although done individually, the action may also be done simultaneously. With this infix, the Future tense is *magsisig*- rather than *masig*-. *Masig*- is the adjective form.

Nag=sig=pauli kag mga anak pag=bagting it orasyon. P=SEP=go.home(AF) N PL child TI,GER=ring.bell G evening.prayers. 'The children all went home to their own houses when the bell for evening prayers rang.'

Nag=sig=haphap=an sinra tong na=payong kag iwag. P=SEP=feel.around=REC(AF) they P STAT,PRF=go.out N light 'They each felt around together in the dark when the lights went out.'

Ma=sig=pang=limpyo kami ni Heather it amo kwarto. AJ=SEP=PL=clean(AF) 1PL,EX,N GPS Heather G our room 'Heather and I each clean our own rooms.'

4.5.3 Collective Action

Collective Action is expressed in the verb by the affix -ka-. There is penultimate stress shift in the stem with this affix. Future tense like with *sig* is *magkaka*-. It is translated 'together with' or '(we, they) all'.

Nag=ka=ubay kag mga anak sa katri. P=COL=sleep.together N PL child PREP bed 'The children slept together on the bed.'

Mag=ka=ka=rungan kag mga rayaga it pamasyar isag sa gab-i. F=COL=CV=together(AF) N PL young.girl G stroll later 0 night 'The young girls will all go strolling together later tonight.'

Derived nouns denoting one's companion in an activity also occur with the ka affix.

Kanunot	the one who goes with you
Kaklase	your classmate
Kaubay	the one you sleep with
Kaibahan	the one who accompanies you

Reduplication (doubling) of the verb stem with multiple actors also denotes Collective Action.

Ma=kita-=kita sinra isag sa baylihan. F=see=DBL(AF) they later PREP dance 'They will all see each other later at the dance.'

Ma=rungan-=rungan kita pa-=Manila. F=together=DBL(AF) we DIR=Manila 'We'll be together going to Manila.'

4.5.4 Reciprocal Action

Reciprocal Action (REC) is expressed in the verb by the circumfix mag- -an. The Intensive infix -in- and the Collective infix -ka- commonly occur together with the Reciprocal circumfix. Also, the suffix -an may be reduplicated with some verbs. Reciprocal Action denotes action in which at least two actors do the action to or with each other. The topic nominals are all in nominative case, either in the plural form or in the plural form plus the genitive personal marker ni.

Nag=s=in=untok=an kag mga yango sa merkado. P=box=INT=__=REC N PL drunk PREP market 'The drunks boxed and boxed each other at the market.'

Nag=ka=sug't=an=an kami ni Heather nak kalimut=on kag imo utang. P=COL=agree=REC=CV(AF) 1PL,EX,N GPS Heather LK forget=UF N your debt 'Heather and I have decided to forget your debt.'

Nag=hi=h=in=ingot-=an=an sinra sa pantaw PROG=CV=look.for.lice.in.hair=INT=__=REC=CV they PREP porch 'They are looking for lice in each other's hair out on the porch.'

Abang rugay ag waya kita gi=k=in=ita=han! INT long.time and NEG we SUBJ,P=see=INT=__REC 'It's been a long time since we've seen each other!

Reciprocal Action can also be use with inanimate objects as the topic.

Nag=ru=ruot=an kag ruhang linya it korient. PROG=CV=touch=REC N two lines G electricity 'The two electrical wires are touching each other.'

Nag=hu=hupot=an kag dulce sa selapyen dahil na=tunaw. PROG=CV=stick=REC N candy PREP cellaphane because STAT,P=melt(UF) 'The candy is sticking together in the cellaphane because it melted.'

4.5.5 Social Action

Social Action (SOC) denotes action that is performed together with another person or persons, either in the sense of accompaniment or reciprocal action. It is expressed in the verb by the affixes makipag- (probably Tagalog), mapakig-, and maki-. The Reciprocal suffix -an can also occur with the first two. The topic nominal differ from those occurring with Reciprocal Action in that they include an actor topic in nominative case and the second participant (the goal) in obligue case. The actor is the initiator of the action even though it is usually a reciprocal action. Social Action is also used to express a polite request in which case the infinitive form maki- is used.

Gusto nako=ng makipag=istorya=han kang Tang Poli. want 1SG=LK SOC,INF=talk=REC(AF) O Uncle Poli 'I want to talk with Uncle Poli.'

Nakipag=suntuk=an si Cocoy sa ida kaaway. SOC,P=box=REC(AF) NPS Cocoy O his enemy 'Cocoy boxed with his enemy.'

Aya gi=pakig=away sa imo manghor! PROH SUBJ=SOC=fight O your younger.sibling 'Don't fight with your younger sibling!'

Maki=ki=kaon ako sa inra. SOC,F=CV=eat(AF) 1SN O them 'I will eat with them.'

Naki=yakot sida sa amo istorya=hon. SOC,P=join.in(AF) 3SN O our talk=NR 'He joined in our conversation.'

Naki=ki=ramay ako sa namatson it imo tatay. SOC,PROG=CV=grieve(AF) 1SN O death G your father 'I share in your grief of your father's death.'

Maki=ki=bakay ako it isra sa inra. SOC,F=CV=buy(AF) 1SN G fish 0 them 'I'll buy fish from what they have.' ???

Maki=angkas ako sa imo pa-=pauli? SOC,INF=ride.on.vehicle 1SN O you DIR=go.home 'Can I please ride with you going home?'

Maki=pa=raya anay sa imo kali=ng ako basket? SOC,INF=CAUS=carry please O you this=LK my basket 'Can I have you please carry my basket?'

4.5.6 **Reflexive Action**

In Relexive Action the Actor/Agent and the Undergoer are the same person. Reflexive Action can be expressed with or without the reflexive sarili 'self' or with verbs affixed with the Causitive Aspect affix -pa- (see Causitive Aspect, 4.1.5). The latter are most often used to denote intentional action whereas the others may denote either intentional or unintentional action.

Na=ugar nida kag ida damot sa sunrang. APT=wound(UF) 1SG N O hand PREP bolo 'She accidently wounded her hand of the knife.'

Nag=i=istorya=an kag buang-buang sa ida sarili. PROG=CV=convers=REC N crazy 0 0 self 'The crazy person is talking to himself.'

Nag=pa=pa=taba sida it ida sarili. PROG=CAUS=CV=fat(AF) 3SN G her self 'She's intentionally making herself fat.'

Nag=pa=pa=rangrang sinra sa kayado sa baybay. PROG=CAUS=CV=warm(AF) 3PLN PREP fire PREP beach 'They are warming themselves by the fire on the beach.'

4.6 Other Constructions

4.6.1 Maging

The verb *maging* is translated 'to become' and is accompanied by a noun or adjective describing what the topic is to become. These topics are considered Undergoers since they undergoe a change of state (see Section 4.3). Like other verbs *maging* it can be inflected for tense. It only occurs in Undergoer Focus.

Gusto nako nak ma=ging nars. want 1SG LK INF=become(UF) nurse. 'I want to become a nurse.'

Na=gi=ging yelo kag tubi pag mayamig. PROG=CV=become(UF) ice N water TI cold 'Water becomes ice when it's cold.'

Ma=gi=ging aboy mayor si Jun? F=CV=beomce(UF) think mayor N Jun 'Do you think Jun will become mayor?'

Na=gi=ging uga kag lugit sa tapuhan. PROG=CV=become(UF) dry N copra PREP drying.oven 'The copra is becoming dry on the drying oven.'

Na=ging buktot sida pagka=huyog sa nidog. P=become(UF) hunch.back 3SN TI,GER=fall 0 coconut.tree 'He became a hunch back after falling from the coconut tree.' Na=ging bungoy sida pag masakit. P=become(UF) deaf 3SN TI sick 'She became deaf when whe was sick.'

4.6.2 Mag-, Magka-

These prefixes when attached to noun or adjective bases is also translated 'to become' or 'to get, acquire'. With these prefixes the topic is considered either an Actor or an Undergoer depending on whether or not a change of state occurs (see Section 4.3).

Gusto nako=ng mag=nars. want 1SN=LK INF=nurse(UF) 'I want to become a nurse.'

Kapay pa nak mag=sweldo ako. hope LK INF=salary(AF) 1SN 'I hope I get my salary' (i.e., hope I get paid).

Nag=ka=trabaho ako sa Manila. P=ACQ=work(AF) 1SN O Manila 'I got a job in Manila.'

Nag=ka=igwa kami it tubor. P=ACQ=have(AF) 1PLN G rooster 'We acquired a rooster.'

Nag=ka=sagnat sida sa bukir. P=ACQ=fever(UF) 3SN PREP farm 'She got a fever at the farm.'

Compare the differences between the following.

Nag=ka=init kag anak. P=ACQ=hot(UF) N child 'The child got a fever.'

Nag=ka=init itahapon.
P=ACQ=hot(UF) yesterday
'It got hot yesterday.'

Nag=anak sida tong Septembre.
P=child(AF) 3SN TI September
'She had (specifically 'delivered') a child last September.

Nag=ka=anak sida. P=ACQ=child(AF) 3SN 'She (delivered or acquired, as in adoption) a child.'

4.6.3 Mapasa-

This affix is attached to bases which are pronouns, people, or animals which acquire or come to possess the topic. The affix can be analyzed as being composed of the Undergoer tense affix + directonal affix *pa* + Oblique case *sa* and the pronoun (in Oblique case) or the nominative.

Ma=pa=pa=sa=ako kag bayay kung ma=matay kag ako tatay. F=DIR=CV=O=1SO(UF) N house when F=die(UF) N my father 'The house will become mine when my father dies.'

Na=pa=sa=uning kag isra nak sobra. P=DIR=O=cat(UF) N fish LK extra 'The extra fish became the cat's.'

Ma=pa=pa=kang Tang Poli kag regalo. F=DIR=CV=O(UF) uncle Poli N gift 'The gift will become Uncle Poli's.'

4.6.4 Compound Verbs

Besides reduplication of the verb base their are other compound verbs. These usually are made up of two bases which are opposite in meaning.

Nag=sa=saka=pilhg kag anak sa hagranan. PROG=CV=do.up=go.down(AF) N child O stair 'The child gets going up and down the stairs.'

Nag=li=liwas=suyor kag mga anak sa bayay. PROG=CV=out=inside(AF) N PL child O house 'The children go in and out of the house.'

4.6.5 Substantives

Substantives are inflected verbs which are nouns in grammatical sentences and are marked by Nominative case. In Undergoer Focus the future tense affix a- is dropped and there is reverse stress shift.

Si Heather kag ma=yuto. N Heather N F=cook(AF) 'Heather is the one who will cook.'

Maramo=ng nag=ha=hagar it pamasko sa amo. many=LK PROG=CV=ask G Christmas.gift O us 'Many are asking us for Christmas gifts.'

A=un=hon nimo sa nag=sira sa imo koray? F=do=UF 2SG 0 P=destroy(AF) 0 your fence 'What will you do to the one who destroyed your fence?' Ka=ganda kag mga nag=ka=kanta. INT,AJ=beautiful N PL PROG=CV=sing(AF) 'The ones who are singing are beautiful.' Maramo nak b=um=aoy it buyak. many LK take=P=_(AF) G flower 'The ones who took flowers were many.'

Na=wagit kag ako i=badar sa bayay. STAT=lose N my F=pay(IF) O house Í lost the money for paying the rent.'

Na=gisi kag ida i=sukusok sa parti. STAT=tear N her F=wear(UF) O party 'What she will wear to the party is torn.'

Karamo kag ida plantsa=hon. many N her iron=F,UF 'The things she will iron are many.'

Abang buling kag mga bunak=an. very dirty N PL wash.clothes=F,UF 'The clothes to wash are very dirty.'

Nio kag imo ray=anon sa Manila? what N your take=F,UF PREP Manila 'What will you take to Manila?'

Hariin kag inra tugruk=an it bayay? where N their build=F,GF G house 'Where is the place they will build their house?'

Igwa ako't a=apagtu=an isag. EXT 1SN:G F=go=GF later 'I have somewhere to go later.'

Na=wagit kag ako b=in=akay. STAT=lose N my buy=P=__(UF) 'What I bought was lost.'

Ka=lasa kag imo ni=yuto. INT,AJ=delicious N your P=cook(UF) 'What you cooked is delicious!'

Makatoy kag ako mga k=in=agt=an it tagnok. itchy N my PL bite=P=_=GF G mosquito 'The place I was bit by mosquitoes (i.e. mosquito bites) are itchy.'

Waya nako na=ayam=i kag t=in=ugpa=an it sipoy. NEG 1SG APT=know=SUBJ,UF N land=P=__=GF G knife Í don't know the landing place of the knife.' (i.e. where it landed)

Na=baton nida kag ako s=in=anrok sa ida. APT,P=receive(UF) 3SG N my share.food=P=__ O her 'She received the food I shared with her.' A=init=on nako kag ako p=in=a=sanrok=an. F=hot=UF 1SG N my CAUS=P=__share.food=GF Í will heat up the food that was shared with me.' Ing=ba=basa it uyan kag ako b=in=unak=an.
PROG=CV=wet(UF) G rain N my wash.clothes=P=__=NR
'The clothes I washed are getting wet by the rain.'

A=pinaw=on nako kag ako p=in=a=bunak=an. F=bring.in=UF 1SG N my CAUS=P=__wash.clothes=GF Í'll bring in the clothes I had washed.'

Substantives in future tense, Undergoer Focus, can be pluralized by reduplication of the first CV. In these forms there is not reverse stress shift.

Ma=ramo kag ako ba=bak=yon sa Manila. AJ=many N my CV=buy=UF PREP Manila 'What I will buy in Manila is a lot.'

Hariin kag imo yu=yutu=on? where N your CV=cook=UF 'Where are the things you will cook?'

Substantives can also be grammatical adjectives as in the following.

Aya gi=tipig=a kag mga p=in=lantsang yamit nak ma=yuko. PROH SUBJ=fold=UF N PL iron=P=__(UF)=LK clothes LK F=wrinkle 'Don't fold the ironed clothes because they will become wrinkled.'

Ka=gastos kag ida b=in=akay nak regalo sa ida nubya. INT,AJ=expensive N his buy=P=_(UF) LK gift for his finance. 'The gift he bought his finance was very expensive.'

Pilak=an kag b=in=asag nak bote roto sa buho. IMP,throw.out=UF N break=P=_(UF) LK bottle there PREP hole 'Throw out the broken bottle there in the hole.'

Halo=a kali sa k=in=orkor nak nidog. IMP,mix=UF this O grate=P=_(UF) LK coconut. 'Mix this in with the grated coconut.'

A=ilis=on nako kag b=in=asaag nak gaha. F=remove=UF 1SG N break=P=__(UF) LK glass `I'll remove the broken window.'

4.7 Sentence Processes

4.7.1 Infinitive and Subjunctive Forms

Infinitive and subjunctive forms are found on Chart4. In Actor Focus the infinitive affix is *mag-*. In non-Actor Focus verbs the infinitive form is identical to future tense except that the prefix *a-* is optional. In Aptative Aspect the infinitive forms are similar to the future forms except that there is no CV reduplication. The infinitive forms are used in imperatives, after pseudo verbs, with future negation (AF only) and in some subordinate clause constructions.

The subjunctive form of the verb occurs only in prohibitives, negation and other constructions where the verb is preceded by certain interrogative words or adverbs (see Zork 1977).

The subjunctive form consists of the verb linker gi- or its variants (ni-, ig-) and a subjunctive suffix. In AF this suffix is a zero morpheme. In non-AF verbs the suffixes of the future subjunctive forms are identical to the suffixes of future tense; the suffixes of the past subjunctive forms are different. The Undergoer Focus suffix -*on* becomes -*a*, the Goal and Beneficiary Focus suffix becomes i e and the zero morpheme suffix of the *i*- affixation (Undergoer and Instrument Focus) becomes -*an* (see 4.8 Chart4).

4.7.2 Imperatives and Prohibitives

Imperatives and prohibitives are used to express commands, requests, suggestions, etc. They can be divided into two groups: those which occur with the infinitive forms and those which occur with past subjunctive forms. The prefix gi- does not occur with imperatives but does occur with prohibitives where the verb is preceded by a prohibitive particle.

(1) Infinitive: Imperatives

The infinitive form of AF verbs are usually used in strong commands. They may be followed by either polite request particles *anay*, *baga*, or by the emphatic particle *ngani*. The pronoun is optional but usually is included.

Mag=hipos ngani kamo! IMP=quiet emph. 2PLN 'You be quiet!'

Mag=punpon kamo it likot sa rayaag. IMP=pick.up 2PLN G garbage PREP yard 'Pick up the garbage in the yard.'

Mag=rungan kita. IMP=go.together 1PLN 'Let's go together.' In non-Actor Focus verbs the imperative consists of the infinitive form of the verb and an obligatory pronoun. The polite request or emphatic particles are seldom used with these construction which look very similar to future tense.

I=butang nimo kag mga yamit sa katri. IMP=put(UF) 2SG N PL clothes PREP bed 'Put the clothes on the bed.'

Taw-=an nimo sida it batag. give=IMP(GF) 2SG 3SN G banana 'Give him a banana.'

Basa=hon anay ninro kali, tapos apangutan-on nako kamo. read=IMP(UF) first 2PLG DEM1 after F=question=UF 1SG 2PLN 'Read this first and then I will question you.'

Tapus=on nato kali bag-o mag=halin. finish=IMP(UF) 1PLG DEM1 before INF=leave(AF). 'Let's finish this before we leave.'

(2) Infinitive: Prohibitive

The prohibitive forms occur with the negative particle *indi* which precedes the verb. In Actor Focus, either the infinitive form or the subjunctive form is used, the latter being more common. This construction looks very similar to the negated form of future tense.

Indi anay kamo mag=suyor ngasing. NEG please 2PLN INF=come.in now 'You can't come in now.'

Indi kamo gi=ingkor sa pantaw. NEG 2PLN SUBJ=sit(AF) PREP porch 'Don't sit on the porch.'

Indi kita mag=muyat sa sine. NEG 1PLN INF=watch O movie 'Let's not watch the movie.'

With non-AF the future subjunctive form of the verb is used and the second person pronoun is usually included.

Indi anay nimo gi=pilak kag likot sa rayaag. NEG please 2PLG SUBJ=throw.out(UF) N garbage PREP yard 'Please don't throw the garbage out in the yard.'

Indi nimo gi=pun-an kag balde it tubi. NEG 2PLG SUBJ=full=GF N bucket G water 'Don't fill the bucket full with water.'

Indi anay nimo gi=yaga=on kag utan. NEG please 2PLG SUBJ=boil=UF N vegetable 'Please don't boil the vegetable.'

(3) Past Subjunctive: Imperatives

In imperatives using the past subjunctive forms the prefix gi- is dropped since there is no word preceding the verb. Thus the imperative in Actor Focus consists only of the verb roots. This may or may not be followed by the polite request particles and pronouns. This form is considered more polite than the preceding *mag-* forms.

Suyor anay. inside please 'Please come in.'

Ingkor anay kamo. sit please 2PLN 'Please sit down.'

Rungan kita sa kasadyahan. go.together 1PLN O party 'Let's go together to the party.'

With non-AF verbs the pronoun is obligatorily absent. When accompanied by the polite request particle, this form is considered more polite that the infinitive form. However if no polite request particle accompanies the verb, it is considered less polite that the infinitive form.

Ray-=a anay kali=ng bayuong kang Manang Lily. carry=IMP(UF) please DEM1=LK basket 0 older.sister Lily 'Please carry this basket to Lily.' Taw-=e sida it kali=ng kapada. give=IMP(GF) 3SN G DEM1=LK papaya 'Give him this papaya.'

Hatur=an anay kag karne sa amo insulip. deliver=IMP(UF) please N meat PREP 1PLO tomorrow 'Please deliver the meat to our place tomorrow.'

Past Subjunctive: Prohibitive

The prohibitive consists of the complete past subjunctive form preceded by the prohibitive particle $ay\hat{a}$ 'don't.' the particle anay is possible but not common unless it is used to express time, i.e., 'don't (do it) yet.' The second person pronoun is optional with Actor Focus but obligatily absent with non-Actor Focus verbs.

Aya kamo gi=rayagan sa suyor. PROH 2PLN SUBJ=run(AF) PREP inside 'Don't run inside.'

Aya gi=ruya sa pantaw. PROH SUBJ=spit(AF) PREP porch 'Don't spit on the porch.'

Aya gi=sab-it=a kag Aladin sa lansang. PROH SUBJ=hang=UF N Alaldin PREP nail 'Don't hang the Aladin on the nail.' Aya gi=taw-=e kag anak it mani. PROH SUBJ=give=GF N child G peanut 'Don't give the child peanuts.'

Aya gi=butang=an kag imo kayo sa lamesa. PROH SUBJ=put=UF N your hat PREP table 'Don't put your hat on the table.'

Another prohibitive particle *badae* can also be used with these past subjunctive forms. This particle is translated 'stop (doing it),' or 'never mind' and is used in situations where the action is already going on or is planned to be done.

Badae kamo gi=rayagan sa suyor. stop 2PLN SUBJ=run(AF) PREP inside 'Stop running inside.'

Badae ikaw gi=yuto nak busog pa ako. never.mind 2SN SUBJ=cook because full still 1SN 'Never mind cooking because I'm still full.'

Badae gi=bubur=i kag manok. never.mind SUBJ=feed.chicken=GF N chicken 'Never mind feeding the chickens.'

There are two other particles which can be used to express requests or imperatives. These are *puria* and *pwera* and both are translated 'please don't'. They occur only with the verb root; pronouns and other particles are not possible.

Puria puksi it amo buyak. please.don't pick G our flower 'Please don't pick our flowers.'

Puria pilak it likot sa rayaag. please.don't throw.out G garbage PREP yard 'Please don't throw garbage in the yard.'

Pwera ingkor sa pantaw please.don't sit PREP porch 'Please don't sit on the porch.'

Pwera raya it libro sa liwas. please.don't take G book PREP outside 'Please don't take the books outside.'

4.7.3 Negation

Besides the prohibitives *aya*, *badae*, and *indi* there are there other negative particles in Bantoanon.

(1) Buko

buko is used to negate non-verbal phrases and sentences and coreferential predicates. It can also occur with some sense perception verbs when the verb root is used in the predicate.

Buko maestra kag ida nanay. NEGl teacher N her mother 'Her mother is not a teacher.'

Buko maganda kag ako buhok. NEG1 beautiful N my hair 'My hair is not beautiful.'

Buko isra kag ako im=bakay. NEG1 fish N my P=buy(UF) 'What I bought was not fish.'

Buko nako ayam kag ida ngayan. NEGl 1SG know N his name 'I don't know his name.'

(2) Indi

The negative particle *indi* is used to negate future tense. In Actor Focus the verb is in the infinitive form or less commonly in the future subjunctive form. In non-AF verbs the future subjunctive form is used. The negator appears first in the phrase follwed by any pronouns or enclitic adverbs. With Aptative Aspect the verb form is the infinitive form in all cases. The particle *ey* is used when the speaker is being asked the question for a second time. The particle *pa* is translated 'not yet'.

Indi kono sida mag=nunot sa ato sa Sabado. NEG2 says 3SN INF=go.with O us O Saturday 'She says she won't go with us on Saturday.'

Indi ey sinra mag=balik dili. NEG2 already 3PLN INF=return here 'They won't return here.'

Indi pa kami mag=saydo sa Banton. NEG2 yet 1PLN INF=move PREP Banton 'We won't move to Banton yet.'

Indi namo gi=ray-=on kinang abukado sa Manila. NEG2 1PLG SUBJ=take=UF DEM2 avocadoes PREP Manila 'We won't take those avocadoes to Manila.' Indi pa gi=suyor kag mga binuyar nak waya pa uga. NEG2 yet SUBJ=come.in N PL dry because NEG3 yet dry 'The things drying won't be brought in yet because they are not yet dry.'

Indi nako gi=sudl=an kaling kahon it batag nak buko matibay NEG2 1SG SUBJ=inside=UF DEM1 box G bananas because NEG1 sturdy 'I won't put the bananas in this box because it's not sturdy.' Indi ako maka=panha sa inro nak masakit kag ako anak NEG2 1SN APT,INF=go(AF) O your because sick N my child 'I won't be able to come to your place because my child is sick.'

Indi ma=buyar kag yamit nak nag-u=uyan pa. NEG2 APT,INF=dry(UF) N clothes because PROG=CV=rain yet 'The clothes won't be able to be dried because it's still raining.'

Indi nako kina ma=i=hator sa inro. NEG2 1SG DEM2 APT=UF=deliver PREP you 'I won't be able to deliver that to your place.'

(3) Waya

The negative particle waya is used to negate past, progressive and habitual tense. With Actor Focus verbs either the prefix nag(CV)- or the subjunctive prefix gioccurs on the verb, the latter being more common. With non-AF verbs the past
subjunctive form is used. Aptative Aspect verbs retain their Aptative prefix
although the subjunctive suffix usually occurs. The pronoun may precede or follow
the verb although the former is more common. In spoken speech waya is frequently
shortened to ya.

(a) Past Tense

In these constructions the action either did not ever begin or was begun but was not able to be completed.

Waya ako gi=rayan sa inro dahil kuyang kag oras. NEG3 1SN SUBJ=pass.by(AF) PREP your because lack N time 'I didn't come by your place because there wasn't time.'

Waya namo gi=ray-=a kag padong. NEG3 1PLG SUBJ=bring=UF N umbrella 'We didn't bring the umbrella.'

Waya nako sida gi=taw-=e it regalo. NEG3 1SG 3SN SUBJ=give=GF G gift 'I didn't give her a gift.'

waya nako gi=butang=an kag imo yamit sa aparador. NEG3 1SG SUBJ=put=UF N your clothes PREP cupboard 'I didn't put your clothes in the cupboard.'

Waya nako na=malayi kag ida pag-abot. NEG3 1SG APT=notice=GF N his arrival 'I didn't notice his arrival.' Waya naka=tawog si Joli kag mataas nak nidog. NEG3 APT=climb(AF) N Joli N high LK coconut.tree 'Joli was not able to climb the tall coconut tree.'

(b) Uncompleted and Discontinued Action

Constructions which imply that an action has either begun but is not yet completed or is anticipated to begin are accompanied by the particle pa 'yet'. In these constructions the verb affixation may be either past or progressive tense. In Actor Focus the progressive tense can alternately be marked by na- rather than gi(CV)-.

Waya pa na=ta=tapos kag ako trabaho. NEG3 yet APT=CV=finish N my work 'My work is not finished yet.'

Waya pa na=yuto kag otan. NEG3 yet APT=cook(UF) N vegetable 'The vegetables are not cooked yet.'

Waya pa napilay=a sida. NEG3 yet APT=tired=UF 3SN 'He is not tired yet.'

Waya pa nida gi=baky=i kag ida anak it eskul uniform. NEG3 yet 3SG SUBJ=buy=BF N her child G school uniform 'She hasn't yet bought her child a school uniform.'

Waya pa sida gi=a=abot/ na=abot
NEG3 yet 3SN SUBJ=CV=arrive(AF)/ HAB=arrive(AF)
'He hasn't arrived yet.'

Waya pa ako na=kaon. NEG3 yet 1SN HAB=eat Í haven't eaten yet.'

Waya pa naka=abot si Inday sa Sibuyan. NEG3 yet APT=arrive(AF) N Inday PREP Sibuyan Índay has not yet been able to go to Sibuyan.'

Waya pa na=badar=i ni Tony kag ida utang. NEG3 yet APT=pay=GF G Tony N his debt 'Tony hasn't been able to pay his debt yet.'

With the completive particle *ey* 'already' the meaning is that the action was begun but then discontinued.

Waya ey kami gi=pa=panao it baro nak waya ey. NEG3 already 1PLN SUBJ=CV=give.out(AF) G clothes because none already 'We aren't giving out clothes any longer because there are none left.'

waya ey nida gi=su=suyat=i ako. NEG3 already 3SG SUBJ=CV=write=GF 1SN 'She doesn't write to me anymore.'

(c) Present and Habitual Tense

Present tense and habitual tense are marked either by gi(CV)- or by na- (AF). The emphatic particle gador 'really' is used to emphasize the fact that an action is never done.

Waya ako gi=i=istar sa Manila. NEG3 1SN SUBJ=CV=live(AF) PREP Manila 'I don't live in Manila.'

Waya na=ra=raya-=a kag mga suyat sa bayay sa Calatrava. NEG3 APT=CV=take N PL letter O house O Calatrava 'Letters are not delivered to the houses in Calatrava.'

Waya gador ako nida gi=su=suyat=i. NEG3 really 1SN 3SG SUBJ=CV=write=GF 'She really never writes to me.'

Waya gador sida na=bisita sa amo. NEG3 really 3SN HAB=visit(AF) O 1PLO 'She really never visits us.'

Waya sida gi=ka=katuyog. NEG3 3SN SUBJ=CV=sleep(AF) 'She's not sleeping.'

4.7.4 Morphophonemics

There is a morphophonemic change across word boundaries with the gi- prefix which some speakers make in both spoken and written speech. The gi- prefix attaches to the word final vowel of the preceding word after which the i is lost.

```
Indi ra nako giyutuon kali /
Indi ra nakog yutuon kali
Indi pa giray-on kag lugit sa Manila /
Indi pag ray-on
Waya nako sida gitaw-an it mani /
Waya nako sidag taw-an
Waya ako gipagto sa inra /
Waya akog pagto sa inra
Aya gipilak kag likot sa liwas /
Ayag pilak kag likot
Aya ako gidisturbuha /
Aya akog disturbuha
Badae giparayan sa ida kag suyat /
Badaey parayan kag suyat
```

4.7.5 Sentence Inversion (incomplete)

Sentences can be modified by **inversion** in which one sentence component is fronted to sentence initial position. The function of sentence inversion is to indicate the fronted component as the **thematic topic**. The fronted component is followed by the inversion marker (IV) ay or by a pause marked by a comma.

(1) Verb Topic components

The **verb topic** is that nominal, noun phrase or clause which is marked by a Nominal case marker (see Section 4.1.2). These verb topics can also become the thematic topic of the sentence by means of inversion.

Kag karabaw ninra ay naka=buhi. N carabao 3PLG IV APT,P=free 'Their carabao got free.' (cf. Nakabuhi kag inra karabaw.)

Si Norma ay nag=bu=bunak sa rayaag. N Norma IV PROG=CV=wash O yard 'Norma is washing clothes in the yard.' (cf. Nagbubunak si Norma sa rayaag.)

Sida ay waya sa bayay. 3SN IV NEG O house 'He is not in the house.' (cf. Waya sida sa bayay.)

Kag mga anak ay ida ging=taw-=an it dulce. N PL child IV 3SO P=give=GF G candy 'She gave the children candy.' (cf. Gingtaw-an nida kag mga anak it dulce.)

Kag gaha ay na=basag it mga anak. N window IV STAT=bread G PL child 'The window was broken by the children.' (cf. Nabasag kag gaha it mga anak.)

(2) Actors marked by genitive case

Non-Actor Focus sentences may have the actor fronted to sentence initial position where they are marked by nominative case. A cross-referent pronoun can optionally be present in the main sentence where it is in the genitive case.

Si Jun ay ging=pa=hator kali=ng suyat sa ako. N Jun IV P=CAUS=deliver(UF) DEM1=LK letter O 1SO 'Jun had this letter delivered to me.' (cf. Gingpahator ni Jun kaling suyat sa ako.)

Kag nanay ay ging=lapo nida kag napilyo nak anak. N mother IV P=whip(UF) 3SG N naughty LK child 'Mother whipped the naughty child.' (cf. Ginglapo kag napilyo nak anak it nanay.)

(3) Indirect Objects marked by oblique case

Kang Ramon ay ako ging=itsa kag bola. O Ramon IV 1SO P=throw(UF) N ball 'I threw the ball to Ramon.' (cf. Gingitsa nako kag bola kang Ramon.)

Kana Famini ay na=bilin namo kag amo uning
O Famini IV APT,P leave(UF) 1PLG N our cat
'We left our cat with the Famini's.
(cf. Nabilin namo kag amo uning kana Famini.)

(4) Adverbials of time and location

Sa Lunes ay ma=balik ako sa trabaho. TI Monday IV F=return(AF) 1SN O work 'Monday I will return to work.' (cf. Mabalik ako sa trabaho sa Lunes.)

Tong usa=ng tuig ay nag=i=istar ako sa Manila. P one=LK year IV PROG=CV=live(AF) 1SN O Manila 'Last year I was living in Manila.' (cf. Nag=i=istar ako sa Manila tong usang tuig.)

Hali sa ako kwarto ay nag=hi=higra kag uning. here O 1SO room IV PROG=CV=sleep N cat 'The cat is sleeping here in my room.' (cf. Naghihigra kag uning hali sa ako kwarto.)

Roto sa may merkado ay maka=sakay kamo it dyip. there O EXT market IV APT,F=ride(AF) 2PLN G jeep 'There by the market is where you can get the jeep.' (cf. Makasakay kamo roto sa merkado.)

(5) Noun phrases

Si Betty ay maestra. N Betty IV teacher 'Betty is a teacher.' (cf. Maestra si Betty.)

Kag iro ninra ay abang isog. N dog 3PLG IV very brave 'Their dog is very brave.' (cf. Abang isog kag inra iro.)

Kag mga yamit ay mabasa pa. N PL clothes IV wet still 'The clothes are still wet.' (cf. Mabasa pa kag mga yamit.)

4.8 Verb Charts:

Chart 1. Case-marking Particles

	Ν	G	0
	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique
Nonpersonal	kag/ka	it	sa
Personal S	si	ni	kang
PL	sina/sa	nina/na	kana

Chart 2. Case-marking Particles and Verb Focus

This chart shows the case markers which occur with the various participants in a sentence depending on which participant is in focus (marked by nominative case <u>kag</u> or <u>ka</u>). For example if the Undergoer is in focus (kag/ka) the actor is marked by genitive case and the goal by oblique case.

Focus	Actor	Undergoer	Goal	Locative	Beneficiary	Instrument
Actor	kag/ka	it	sa	sa	para sa/kang	it
Undergoer	it	kag/ka	sa	sa	para sa/kang	it
Goal	it	it	kag/ka	sa	para sa/kang	
Location	it	it		kag/ka	para sa/kang	
Beneficiary	it	it		sa	kag/ka/si	it
Instrument	it	it		sa	para sa/kang	kag/ka

Chart 3. Regular Verb Aspect

	Infinitive	Future	Progressive	Past
AF	mag-	ma-	nag(R)-	nag-
UF	(a)on	aon	ging(R)-	ging-
			ina-	-in-
UF/ IF	i-	i-	ging(R)-	ging-
GF/ BF/ LF	(a)an	aan	ging(R)an	gingan
			inaan	-inan
IF	ipang-	ipang-	gingpang(R)-	gingpang-
CF	ika-	ika(ka)-	gingkaka-	gingka-
				ikina-

AF Actor Focus

UF Undergoer Focus

IF Instrument Focus

GF Goal Focus

BF Beneficiary Focus

CF Causitive Focus

Chart 4. Aptative Aspect

	Infinitive	Future	Progressive	Past
AF	maka-	makaka-	nakaka-	naka-
UF	ma-	ma(R)-	na(R)-	na-
UF/ IF	mai-	mai(R)-	nai(R)-	nai-
IF	maika-	maikaka-	naikaka-	naika-
GF/ BF/ LF/	maan	ma(R)an	na(R)an	naan
CF	maika-	maikaka-	naikaka-	naika-

Chart 5. Negation, Imperatives and Prohibitives

Negation

Tense	Negator	AF	UF	UF/IF	GF/BF
future	indi	mag-			
		gi-	gion	gi-	gian
progressive	waya	gi(R)-	gi(R)a	gi(R)an	gi(R)i
past	waya	gi-	gia	gian	gii

Imperatives, Prohibitives *

IMP, PROH		AF	UF	UF/IF	GF/BF
IMP1		mag-	-on	i-	-an
PROH1	indi	mag-			
		gi-	gion	gi-	gian
IMP2		root	-a	-an	-i
PROH2	aya	gi-	gia	gian	gii

*With the Imperative1 and Prohibitive1 the second person pronoun follows the negator; with Imperative2 and Prohibitive2 the pronoun does not occur in the construction.

PREDICATE EXPANSIONS: PARTICLES

5. Particles

The **particles** described in this section are limited to three kinds which are distinguished by position of occurrence within a sentence. They are:

- (1) Sentence Initial Particles
- (2) Sentence Final Particles
- (3) Enclitic Particles
 - a. second position in the verb phrase
 - b. moveable (enclitic to nouns, temporals, numerals etc.)

The particles group to express semantic categories including temporal, modal, limiting/specifying, emphatic, logical, verbal, social and descriptive.

Other forms which could be called particles are discussed elsewhere in the grammar where they are categorised as e.g. prepositions/locative markers sa 'to,at,on,from'; conjunctions pero/ugaling 'but,however'; exclamations hala 'Oh well,OK'.

5.1 Occurrence of Particles

Particles occur sentence initial, final and medial. Those which occur sentence medial are called *enclitics* since they follow certain parts of speech to which they relate. The same particle form may occur in different positions but carry different meanings. The different position may be in relation to the whole sentence, or in relation to the part of speech preceeding it. Even in the same position it has the potential for a range of meaning.

Sentence Initial

A large number of particles occur sentence initial, especially expressing modal aspects of the predicate. These particles are: hálos, pambihira/bihira, dî, permi, agár, bali baga/baling arâ, baka, sabaling/baling, ámat, ábat, dapat/ kahinangyan, kung pwede/kung maaari/kung sarang, halós, ahát, isutan'ey, kabay pa, ugaling/ugang/galing, marahil, seguro, sigurado, syempre, nupay/pay, tan-a, abi, kabi, patî, imaw, mismo, hingan, matuor, muyati/yati, ay, lalong-lalo'ey, ngani/gani.

sentence initial combinations

aboy ra man	'not really what you think!'
kungabi	'iffor example/suppose'
kada ngani	'that's why, so as I said, so consequently'

Sentence Final

A small number of particles occur sentence final, especially expressing logical and social meanings in a sentence. These particles are: nganì/ganì, a, ag, ay, e, be, hay, o, ha.

Sentence Medial

Enclitics occur sentence medial in two ways. Some occur in the expansion of the predicate and others called 'moveable enclitics' occur throughout the sentence in relation to other words. The meanings change in relation to where they occur and the words to which they refer.

5.2 **Predicate Expansion**

Enclitics are a limited set (though quite large) of particles which occur in specific positions within a sentence. Their position is dictated by the part of speech to which they are relating. Most enclitics express limiting/specifying, logical and social meanings in a sentence. These particles are: ey, pa, man, ngani/gani, ray, ra, abi, baga, kono, aboy, anay, yang, pati, tan-a, ara, yaki, gador, pay, nganat/ganat, gihapon, isutan'ey, hingan, uli/liwat, halos, mismo, imaw.

Enclitics in the Verb Phrase

In the verb phrase which occurs sentence initial, the enclitics occur in the second position. This means that they will follow either the negator or the verb. Potentially there are fifteen (15) positions which can be filled by ordered enclitics but commonly there are only up to three co-occurring. Less frequently there are up to five co-occurring. An enclitic expresses a range of meaning which may result in different translations when it follows the negator compared to when it follows the verb.

There are many two syllable particles and when many of these co-occur the order is reversible. When eliciting sentences to obtain the order of occurrence for enclitics, most examples given only contained two or three enclitics. Comparisons were therefore often limited to pairs of enclitics.

Nagtatrabaho *pa* ako. work still I 'I am still working.'

Waya *pa* ako gituna it trabaho. not yet I begin work 'I haven't yet begun work'

Waya *pa* ako it bugas. none yet I rice 'I haven't got rice yet.' Semantically, enclitics express temporal, modal, limiting/specifying, emphatic, logical, verbal, social and descriptive aspects. These enclitics are: ey, pa, man, ngani/gani, ray, ra, abi, baga, kono, aboy, anay, yang, pati, tan-a, ara, yaki, gador, nupay/pay, nganat/ganat, gihapon, isutan'ey, hingan, uli/liwat, halos???

Potentially there are fifteen (15) positions which can be filled by ordered enclitics but commonly there are only up to three co-occurring. Less frequently there are up to five co-occurring.

Nakikita'ey kita. see.already we 'I can see you now./We can see eachother now.'

Kaon *pa ngani* kamo. eat still really you 'Please eat some more.'

Nagtatrabaho *ngani ra kono* kamo roto. work really also they.say you there 'They say it's true that you're working there too.'

Waya *pa man yang pati* nakapamahaw si Juan. not yet indeed just including breakfast Juan 'Juan hasn't even had breakfast yet.'

Katong asawa *pa man yang abi kono* nida kag nabilin that spouse still indeed just I.think.so they.say he leave.so

sa inra tong nagin-abot kag mga bisita. their that arrive plural visitor 'I think they said that the wife was the only one at home when the visitors got there.'

There are many two syllable particles and when many of these co-occur the order is reversible. When eliciting sentences to obtain the order of occurrence for enclitics, most examples given only contained two or three enclitics. Comparisons were therefore often limited to pairs of enclitics.

Nagtatrabaho baga kono ikaw roto. / question they.say / Nagtatrabaho kono baga ikaw roto. work they.say question you there 'Do they say you work there?'

Indi kono aboy maado kato. / they.say do.you.think / Indi aboy kono maado kato. not do.you.think they.say good that 'Do you think they say that's not good?'

5.2.1 Order of Occurrence

4 56 7 8 9 1 2 3 10 11 12 13 14 15 ey man ngani ray ra abi kono aboy anay yang pati tan-a ara yaki gador baga pa pay When a particular member of this set is preposed to the first position in the sequence this sometimes causes restrictions on the possible enclitics that can follow because of impossible semantic combinations. This preposing is assumed to emphasise the meaning of that enclitic above the following members of a sequence. (a) When any one of the following enclitics is preposed, the order is unrestricted. 7 3 4 12 14 15 1 ey - ngani ray - - kono - - - - tan-a - yaki gador pa The meanings of these enclitics is approximately: 'already completed' kono 'they say' ey pa 'still continuing' tan-a 'would have..but!' 'really' yaki 'surprisingly!' ngani 'again' 'truly' ray gador 2 9 (b) When man and anay are preposed, ey and pa do not co-occur. The meanings of these enclitics is approximately: 'indeed' man ey 'already completed' anay 'in a while/first' pa 'still continuing' 5 (C) When ra is preposed, ray will not co-occur. The meanings of these enclitics is approximately: ra 'also' rav 'aqain' 6 6 (d) When abi or baga is preposed, man will not co-occur. The meanings of these enclitics is approximately: 'so that's why' abi man 'indeed' baga 'question/request' 8 (e) When aboy is preposed, ey and abi do not co-occur. The meanings of these enclitics is approximately: aboy 'do you think?' 'already completed' ey abi 'so that's why' 10 (f) When yang is preposed, pa will not co-occur. The meanings of these enclitics is approximately: yang 'just/only' 'still continuing' pa

11 (g) When pati is preposed, yang will not co-occur. The meanings of these enclitics is approximately: 'including' yang 'only/just' pati 13 (h) When ara is preposed, man, abi and anay do not co-occur. The meanings of these enclitics is approximately: man ara 'perhaps/let's try' 'indeed' abi 'so that's why' anay 'come on!'(social pressure) 2 (i) When pay is preposed, the following enclitics do not co-occur: ey/pa, man, aboy, anay, yang, and yaki. The meaning of these enclitics is approximately: pay 'seems' 'already completed' ey 'still continuing' pa 'indeed' man 'do you think?' aboy 'come on!'(social anay pressure) 'only/just' yang 'surprisingly' yaki

5.2.2 Other Notes about Enclitics

Four of these enclitics occur sentence initial also with the following meanings: pay 'seems'(no change of meaning) abi 'I think so'(one part of the range of meaning) Pati 'including'(no change of meaning) tan-a 'I hope'

```
There are other particles which seem to occur in close association with the verb
phrase enclitics (they may be part of the alternating forms in the list) such as:
nganat/ganat
               'I tell you to tell him'
               'nevertheless still so, even yet, the same up to now'
gihapon
               'about to, barely'
isutan'ey
                'only then, not much'
hingan
                'poor thing'
rabuno
uli/liwat
                'repeat/again'
halos
               'almost all'
???
```

There are some combinations of two or three enclitics which seem to co-occur to give specific meanings which differ slightly from the sum of their individual parts.

```
(literally: still just) 'just done recently'
pa yang
               (literally: also truly) 'finally, at last'
rang gador
                (literally: just already) 'just that one'
yang'ey
yang'ey pati
               (literally: just already including) 'might as well include'
                                                    'as a result'
                                                    `even′
man yang pati (literally: indeed just including) 'indeed just as well'
imaw pa ra
               (literally: that's still also) 'That's also the one'
                                                'That's also when'
???
Some members of this set of enclitics also occur elsewhere in the sentence, other
than within the verb phrase. In such cases they follow parts of speech such as
nouns, temporals, and numerals to which they relate. The meanings expressed by
these enclitics will sometimes differ from that of the same form within the verb
phrase. These enclitics are: ey, pa, man, ra, yang, pati, gador???
Hali yang'ey
                 ikaw makatuyog ngasing nak gab-i.
here just.already you sleep
                             now
                                            night
'You just sleep here tonight.(instead of going home.)'
           kag magpamaraka.
Ikaw'ey
you.specify
               shop
'You'd better do the shopping.(instead of me, as originally
                               planned.)'
Inghuyog nida yang sa hagran kag ida tsinelas.
drop
        he
             just
                     step
                               his thongs
'He just dropped his thongs through the steps.'
Nabakay nida katong baro tan-a mahay.
       she that dress would expensive
buy
'She would have bought that dress only it was expensive.'
```

5.3 Semantic Groupings of Enclitics

As previously mentioned, enclitics express temporal, modal, limiting, emphatic, logical, verbal, social and descriptive meanings. They also require slightly differing translations into English since they seem to cover a range of meaning which becomes evident when the preceeding part of speech changes.

5.3.1 Temporal Enclitics

The enclitics which encode temporal meanings are: ey, pa, ray, anay. Other forms which seem to be alternates within the set of potential enclitics, or additional forms/ combinations which occur in the same second position within the verb phrase are: gihapon, hingan, uli, liwat, rang gador, pa yang.

The meaning of	these enclitics is approximately:
еу	'already completed,now,(not) any longer'
pa	'still continuing,(not) yet'
ray	'again'
anay	<pre>'a while,first(for a while before)'</pre>
gihapon	'still so,up to this time'
hingan	'only then'

```
uli 'again'
liwat 'repeat'
rang gador 'finally,at last'(lit: also truly)
pa yang 'just done recently'(lit: still just)
```

a.1 ey 'already, now, (not) previously'

Naghalin'ey si Manuel. (cf. Naghalin si Manuel.) depart.already Manuel (depart Manuel) 'Manuel has already left.' ('Manuel left.') Nakaabot'ey si Manuel kag natabo kato. arrive.already Manuel happen that 'Manuel had already arrived when it happened.' Nakaabot'ey si Manuel bag-o matabo kato. arrive.already Manuel before happen that 'Manuel will already have arrived when it happens.'(/..before it happens) Kaon'ey ngani kamo. eat.now really you 'You eat now (please)./Do eat now./You go ahead and eat now.' Naqtatrabaho'ey yaki kamo roto. work.now surprisingly you there 'So you're working there now!' Natutuyog'ey ka anak. sleep.already child 'The child is sleeping now./The child is already sleeping.' Ainiton'ey nako kag pagkaon. hot.now I food 'I'll heat the food now.' Igwa'y ako it bugas. exist.now I rice 'I now have some rice.' Negative Waya'ey ako gihalin sa opisina. not.already I depart office 'I had not (already) left the office.' Waya'ey gitatrabaho si Manuel roto. not.now work Manuel there 'Manuel is not working there now./Manuel is no longer working there.' Indi'ey nako giiniton ka pagkaon. hot food not.now I 'I will not heat the food now./(I've decided) now I won't heat the food.' Indi'ey ako magpagto roto. not.now I go there

'I won't go there any more.'

Waya'ey dili si Juan. not.now here Juan 'Juan is not here any more./Juan is no longer here.'

Bada'ey ninro sida giawata. don't.now you him bother 'Don't bother him any more.'

Aya'ey gikaon kamo. don't.now eat you 'Don't (you) eat now.'

Waya'*ey* ako it bugas. none.now I rice 'I have no more rice./I'm already out of rice.'

a.2 pa 'still continuing, (not) yet'

Nagpagto pa ako sa Post Opis. (cf. Nagpagto ako sa Post Opis.) go still I Post Office(go I Post Office) 'I also went to the Post Office' (I went to the Post Office)

Nagtatrabaho pa yaki kamo roto. work still surprisingly you there 'So you're still working there!'

Igwa pa ako't usang pangutana. exist still I one question 'I've got one more thing to ask./I still have a question.'

Kaon pa ngani kamo. eat still really you 'Please eat some more./(You) Do have some more.'

Ainiton *pa* nako kag pagkaon. hot still I food 'I'll keep on heating the food.'

Mahuhuli ako it maisot, apakatuyugon *pa*nako ka anak. late I small sleep still I child 'I'll be a little late, I still have to put the baby to sleep.'

Negative

Indi pa sida gihalin.
not still he depart
'He hasn't left yet./He still hasn't left.'
Waya pa sida't amigo dili.
none still he friend here
'He has no friends here yet./He still doesn't have any friends here.'

a.3 ray 'again, next

Mapatukar ray ikaw? go.uphill again you 'Are you going up to the hills again?' Magpahuway ray ikaw! rest again you '(Next thing you do) Do rest!'(mildly emphatic imperative)

Mabakay ray ako liwat it libro ninra. buy again I repeat book their 'I will buy their books again./I will again buy their books.'

Gimbawi ray nida kag ida taong libro sa ako. nida ray give.back again.she her give book me 'She gave me back the book that I gave her.'

Imbisar-an ngani *ray* sida it ida Nanay. scold really again she her mother 'Her mother really scolded her again./She was really scolded again by her

mother.'

Abakyan *ray* ara kita nida it baro. buy again think.so we her clothes 'Do you think that he will buy clothes for us again?'

Nagtatrabaho ray ra baga kono ikaw roto. work again also question reported you there 'Do they say that you're working there again?/Do they say that you're working there instead?'

Negative

Asing waya *ray* ikaw napagto sa amo? why not again you go our 'Why didn't you come to our place again?'

a.4 anay 'a while, first'

Magpahuway *anay* kita. rest a.while we 'Let's rest for a while (first, then..).'

Butangan anay roto. put a.while there 'Put it there for the time being./Put it there for a while./Please put it there for a while.'(This is a polite construction which is often used when English would use 'please' eventhough it has a more literal time meaning.)

Bag-o sida mag-aray it liksyon, nagbabasa *anay* sida it dyaryo. before he study lesson read a.while he newspaper 'Before he studies his lessons he first reads the paper./Before he studies his lessons, he reads the newspaper for a while.'

Negative

Indi anay kita gihalin
not a.while we depart
'Let's not leave yet./Let's not leave for a while yet.'

Aya *anay* ikaw gikaon. don't a.while you eat 'Don't eat yet./Don't eat for a while yet.'

a.5 gihapon 'still so, up to this time'

Nahuyat pa gihapon sida sa kanto.??? wait still up.to.now she corner 'She was still waiting at the corner (up to that time).'

Nagtatrabaho sida gihapon sa municipyo.??? work he up.to.now town.council 'He is working for the town council up to this time./He is still working for the town council.'

Ayutuon pa gihapon nida katong mayagkit.??? cook still up.to.a.time she that sticky.rice 'She will still be cooking the sticky rice (then).'

Aparaugon namo *gihapon* sida sa paabutong eleksyon. win we up.to.a.time he arrive election 'We will still win the coming election.'

Negative

Waya gihapon sida nag-iistar sa Maynila.??? not up.to.now he dwell Manila 'He is no longer living in Manila./He is not living in Manila at this time.'

a.6 hingan 'only then'

(Sentence Initial not enclitic states the positive: Hingan kag anak natibaw pagnagugutom'ey. only.then child cry hungry.already 'The child only cries when he's hungry.')

Negative

Buko *nak hingan*'ey naplastar kung nag-abot'ey ka bisita. not only.then.already put.in.place if arrive.already visitor 'The table is not set just when the visitors are already arriving.' (This may rather be an adverbial construction since the relator *nak* occurs.)

a.7 uli 'again'/liwat 'repeat'

Nakapagto ray *uli /liwat* sida sa baybay.??? go again again/repeat he beach

Bantoanon Grammar

'He went to the beach again./He went back to the beach again.'

Nagbubulig sida *uli /liwat* it ida Lola.??? help she again/repeat her grandmother 'She is helping her grandmother again.'

a.8 rang gador 'finally, at last'

Natapos *rang gador* kag trabaho. finish also truly work 'The work is finally finished.'

a.9 pa yang/yang 'just done recently'

Kahahalin *pa yang* ni Pedro. depart still just Pedro 'Pedro has just left.'

Pagkakaon *yang* nako. eat just I 'I just ate./I've just eaten.'

Nakaabot *pa yang* kami halin sa Maynila. arrive still just we depart Manila 'We've just arrived from Manila.'

5.3.2 Modal Enclitics

The enclitics which encode modal meanings are: ngani/gani, ara, aboy, tan-a and an additional or alternative form: ugaling/ugang/galing.

The meaning of these enclitics is approximately: ngani/gani 'should really'(strongly coaxing) arâ 'perhaps,let's try to'(uncertain invitation/speculation) aboy 'perhaps,do you think that'(speculation) tan-a 'would,should'(contrafactual) ugaling/ugang/ 'maybe' galing

b.1 ngani/gani 'should really'(coaxing)

Alimpyuhon *ngani* nako ka bayay./Alimpyuhon nako *ngani* ka bayay. clean really I house /clean I really house 'I guess I should clean the house.(coaxing)

b.2 arâ 'perhaps, let's try to'(uncertain speculation, invitation)

Magpanaw ara kita roto. walk let's.try we there 'Let's try to walk there./Perhaps we should walk there.' Mabaoy ara kita it bag-ong lamesa. get let's.try we new table 'Let's see if we can get a new table.'

b.3 ara/aboy 'do you suppose, perhaps' (speculation)

Kung kag inro ingtao sa inra ay kali, naubos *ara /aboy* tan-a it tao? if your give them this use.up perhaps/you.think would give 'If you had given them this, do you suppose it would have all been given away by now?'(Assumption: It is not all gone yet.)

Nagbabaktas ara /aboy sinra, o nagsasakay? go.on.foot perhaps/you.think they or ride 'Do you suppose they walked or rode?'

Igwa ara /aboy it koryente sa inra ngasing? exist perhaps/you.think electricity their now 'Do you suppose they have electricity now?'

b.4 aboy 'perhaps, do you think that?'(speculation)

Kung ato anay *aboy* abuhian kag manok, indi mawagit./Kung ato *aboy* if we a.while you.think go.free hen not lose /if we you.think

abuhian anay kag manok, indi mawagit. go.free a.while hen not lose 'Do you think that if we let the chicken run free for a while it won't get lost?'

b.5 tan-a 'would, should'(contrafactual)

Nagraog tan-a kag kandidato nako. win would candidate my 'I hoped my candidate would have won.'(Assumption: ..but he didn't!)

Mapagto tan-a ako sa miting itahapon ugaling yang nagbaydo kag isip nako. go would I meeting yesterday however just change mind I 'I had intended to go to the meeting yesterday, but I changed my mind.'

Abakyon tan-a ninra ka bayay ugaling ay kuyang ka kwarta ninra. buy would they house however inadequate money they 'They would have bought the house but they didn't have enough money.'

Kung nagpagto sida sa miting, nakabisaya *tan-a* nida kag Mayor.' if go he meeting speak would he mayor 'If he'd gone to the meeting, he could have spoken with the Mayor.'

Nagpali *tan-a* ako kung waya sida giabot. come would I if not she arrive 'I would have come if whe hadn't arrived.'

b.6 ugaling/ugang/galing 'maybe'

Mapanha ugaling ako pagtapos'ey ka trabaho. come.there maybe I finish.already work 'Maybe I'll come by when I've finished work.'

5.3.3 Limiting Enclitics

The enclitics which encode limiting meanings are: ey, pa, ray, ra, yang, pati, hingan, yang'ey pati.

The meaning of	these enclitics is approximately:
еу	'(no) more'
ра	'more'
ray	'and now you!'(shift of viewpoint)
ra	'as well,also,too,(not) yet either'
yang	'just,only'
pati	'including'
hingan	'very little,not much'
yang'ey pati	'might as well include'

c.1 ey 'more'

Waya'*ey* sinra it bugas. none.already they rice 'They have no more rice.'

c.2 pa 'more,else'

Igwa pa sinra it bugas. exist still they rice 'They still have rice./They have more rice.'

Taw-e pa ako it limang lapis. give more I five pencil 'Give me five more pencils.'

Nagbasa pa sida't ruhang libro, bag-0 magkatuyog. read more she two books before sleep 'She read two more books before going to sleep.'

Negative

Waya *pa* sinra it bugas. none yet they rice 'They don't have rice yet.'

Buko pa lugiton kag mga nidog. not yet make.copra plural coconut 'The coconuts are not yet being made into copra.'

c.3 ray (ra) 'instead, and now you!' (shift of viewpoint)

Nagtatrabaho ray ra baga kono ikaw roto? work again also question reported you there 'Do they say that you're working there instead?'

c.4 ra 'as well, also, too, (not) yet either'

Nagtatrabaho ngani ra kono kamo roto. work really also reported you there 'They say it's true that you're working there too./They say you're really working there as well.'

Nagkakanta si Linda. Nagkakanta ra si Carmen. sing Linda. sing also Carmen 'Linda is singing. Carmen is also singing.'

Nakabati kag anak. Kagulo abi ra kamo, e. wake child noise that's.why also you 'The baby woke up. It's because you were noisy.'

Nagtatrabaho *ra* baga ikaw roto? work also question you there 'Are you working there as well? Do you work there too?'

Sa suyor man it bayay namong maisot ay makabaylihan ra kita. inside indeed house our small dance also we 'Even inside our little house, we can still hold the dance.'

Ingplite ra nida katong kwarta. pay.fare also he that money 'He also paid the fare with that money./He used the money to pay the fare too.'

Negative

Buko *ra* ikaw mabuyungon? not also you miss.st 'You aren't homesick too?'

Buko pa ra kato kag ato asakyan. not yet also that our ride 'Our ride isn't here not either./The one we will ride on isn't here yet either.'

c.5 yang 'just, only'

Huyat yang anay, masapatos yang ako. wait just a.while shoe just I 'Just wait a moment, I'll just put my shoes on.' Pagkakaon pa yang nako. eat still just I 'I've just eaten.' Siling gador yang nida ay 'Madiretso ako sa eskwelahan'. tell truly just she go.straight I school 'She truly just said, 'I will go straight to school'.

Pagto yang ra kamo sa inra. go just also you them 'You just go to their place as well.'

Mauna yang'ey ako sa imo. ahead just.now I you 'I'll just go on ahead of you.'

Negative

Waya man yang sida roto. not indeed just he there 'He just wasn't there./He just wasn't even there./He wasn't even there.'

c.6 pati 'including, might as well'

Imbakyan pati nida si Rosa it relo. buy include he Rosa watch 'He also bought Rosa a watch./He bought Rosa a watch as well.'

Rungan *pati* sinra pa eskwelahan. be.together include they still school 'They went together as far as the school./They were together till the school./They were still together at the school.'

Kag iro ay nagrungan pati sa ida. dog be.with include him The dog went with him./The dog was with him.'

c.7 hingan 'very little, not much'

Negative

Buko nida hingan ayam kag natabo sa ida hali. not she very.little know happen her relative 'She doesn't know very much about what happened to her relative.'

Waya nako hingan nakita kag ida pagsadaw dahil nag-iistoryahan kami not I very.little see her dance because talk we

it ako kayungot sa ingkoran. my neighbour seat 'I didn't see very much of her dancing because I was talking to the person on the seat next to me.'

Waya *hingan* it natumba nak nidog pagbagyo. none very.little fall.over coconut typhoon 'Not very many coconuts fell over during the typhoon.'

c.8 yang'ey pati 'might as well include'(logically included)

Mapagto ako sa banwa ag marayan yang'ey pati ako sa opisina. go I town and pass.by just.now include I office 'I'm going down town and while I'm at it, I might as well drop by the office./ I'm going down town so I'll just call by the office as well.'

Magpanilhig ikaw sa rayaag ag magbunyag ikaw yang'ey pati it tanom. sweep you yard and water.st you just.now include plant 'Sweep the yard, and you might as well water the plants at the same time.'

5.3.4 Emphatic Enclitics

The enclitics which encode emphatic meanings are: man, ngani, pati, gador, man yang pati, yang'ey pati.

The meaning of these enclitics is approximately: man 'indeed,even' ngani 'really' pati 'even'(unexpected qualification) gador 'truly' man yang pati 'even'(lit: even just including) yang'ey pati 'even'(lit: just already including)

d.1 man 'indeed, even'(corrects)

Kahuhuda'ey man kung pati nanay ag tatay nida ay manunot pa./ pa nida ay manunot. shame.already indeed if including mother and father still him go.with 'It would be really embarrassing if his mother and father still came with him.'

Indi ra ikaw magpati miski silinggon man nako ka matuor. not also you believe even.if tell indeed I true 'You still won't believe it even if I tell you the truth./ You won't believe either, even if I really tell you the truth.'

Negative

Waya *man yang* ikaw nakapamahaw. not even just you breakfast 'You didn't even get to eat breakfast.'

Indi man nida maubos kina.
not indeed he use.up that
'No he won't use it up./He will not use it up.'

Indi *man*! not indeed 'No indeed (I won't)'.

Waya *man* ra!' not indeed also 'It was not either!'

d.2 ngani 'really'

Oho *ngani*! yes really 'Yes indeed./Yes it really is.'

Nagtatrabaho *ngani* ra kono kamo roto. work really also reported you there 'They say it's true that you're working there too.'

Kapilay *ngani* ako. tired really I 'I'm really tired.'

Asi *nganing* imbuyag nimo sida?/Asing imbuyag *ngani* nimo sida?/ why really separate you him /why separate really you him 'Why was it you really separated from him?'

Imbisar-an ngani ray sida it ida Nanay. scold really again he his mother 'His mother really scolded him again.'

Taw-an anay *ngani* sa ida. give first really her 'Give it to her first!'

Nio ara *ngani* kung magrayan dili kag bagyo? what perhaps really if pass.by here typhoon 'What might really happen if the typhoon comes through here?'

Negative

Aya ngani gipakig-idamo roto. don't really play there '(I told you) not to play over there!/Don't play over there!.'

d.3 pati 'even'

Ginyuto'ey nida ngasing kag suya agor waya'ey kono gador pati cook.already she now viand so.that none.now reported truly even

it pagyuto isag. cook later 'She said she had already cooked the viand today so that she would not have to cook anything else later.'

d.4 man yang pati/yang'ey pati 'even'

Negative

Waya pa *man yang pati* nakapamahaw si Juan. not yet even just include breakfast Juan '(As a result) Juan hasn't even had breakfast yet.'

d.5 gador 'truly'

Siling gador yang nida ay 'Marayan ako isag'. tell truly just he pass.by I later 'He really said, 'I'll come by later'.

Mabaoy gador nako kag abang rakong mangga. get truly I very big mango 'I'll truly get a really big mango.'

Itao yang'ey yaki gador nako sa ida kag bag nako. give just.now surprisingly truly I her bag my 'Oh I will just give her my bag.'

Nagkuhil pa pati yaki *gador* sida it inogparaya sa ato. pick.fruit.by.pole still include surprisingly truly she send us 'Oh she just kept on picking fruit to send to us as well.'

5.3.5 Logical Enclitics

The enclitics which encode logical meanings are: ey, ey-pa/pa-ey, man ray, ra, abi, tan-a, yang'ey pati.

The meaning of	these enclitics	is app	proxima	tely:
еу	'instead'	(diss	similar	ity)
ey-pa/pa-ey	'anyway,despite	(••)
man	'either (or)'	(••)
ray	'instead'	(••)
ra	'(because) also			
abi	'that's why, be	cause	(I thi	nk so)'
tan-a	'would have but	'(cont	rafact	ual)
yang'ey pati	'as a result'			

e.1 ey 'instead'(dissimilarity)

Sa masunor nak Lunes ako ay malarga'y.
follow Monday I depart
'Next Monday is when I'll go./Next Monday I'll be going instead.'

e.2 ey-pa/pa-ey 'anyway/despite..still'(dissimilarity)

Nag-iinabot'ey kag mga bisita, naglilimpyo pa ikaw it bayay. arrive.already plural visitor clean still you house '(Despite the fact that) The guests are already arriving, and you're still going to clean the house./The visitors are already arriving but you're still going to go ahead and clean the house anyway!'

Di sakit pa sida nag-eskwela'ey sida. have sick still he school.already he 'He was still sick, but he went to school anyway./In spite of still being sick he went off to school.' Malimpyo pa ikaw it bayay nag-iinabot'ey kag mga bisita! clean still you house arrive.already plural visitor 'You're still going to clean the house when the guests are already arriving!/ You're still going to clean the house despite the fact that the guests are already arriving!'

Hilaw pa ka mangga ay impukse'y nida. unripe still mango pick.now he 'The mango was still upripe but he picked it anyway.'

e.3 man 'either (0r)'(dissimilarity)

Kung ri-ín kamóng banwa o baryo man mapagto, hanapa anay ninró kag usáng If where you town or village even go seek first you one

tawong mabu-ot. Person kind `Wherever you go whether into a town or village, first seek a person who is kind.'

Kag tanáng tawo ay asa irayom it gahóm it kasal-anan, lahì it Hudyo man o bukô. all person is.there under power of sin race of Jew even or not 'All people are under the power of sin, whether Jewish or not.'

Negative

Waya *man* yang ikaw nakapamahaw. not even just you breakfast '(as a result) You didn't even get to eat breakfast.'

Indi ka ra magpati (miski) silinggon man nako kag matuor. not you also believe (even.if) tell even I true 'You still won't believe it, even if I do tell you the truth./ You won't believe it if I tell you the truth either.'

Indi man nida maubos kina.
not even he use.up that
'He won't use that up either./No he won't use that up.'

(Miski) Mahay man kag sapatos, ingbakay ra nako. (eventhough) expensive even shoe buy also I 'Eventhough the shoes were expensive I still bought them./The shoes were expensive but I bought them anyway.'

e.4 ray 'instead'(dissimilarity)

Muyati *ray* raha. look instead there 'Look there instead (of where you're looking now)./Look there next.'

e.5 ra '(because) also'(reason)

Nakabati kag anak. Kagulo abi ra kamo, e. wake child noise that's.why also you 'The baby woke up. It's because you were noisy!'

e.6 abi 'that's why, because (I think so)'(reason)

Nakabati kag anak. Kagulo *abi*ra kamo, e. wake child noise that's.why also you 'The baby woke up. It's because you were noisy!'

Nahuli si Juan sa klase. Aga'ey ra *abi* sida nakabati, e. late Juan class morning.already also that's.why he wake 'Juan was late for class because he slept late.'(informal)

e.7 tan-a 'would have but'(contrafactual)

Kung nagpagto sida sa miting, nakabisaya *tan-a* nida kag Mayor. if go he meeting talk would he mayor 'If he had gone to the meeting he could have talked to the Mayor.'

e.8 yang'ey pati 'as a result'(result)

Nabadaan ako it bus. Nahuli *yang'ey pati* sa klase. leave.st.swh I bus late just.already include class 'I missed my bus. So, as a result I was late for class.'

5.3.6 Verbal Enclitics

The enclitics which encode verbal meanings are: abi, aboy, ara, baga, kono, nganat/ganat.

The meaning of	these enclitics is approximately:
abi	'I know/I think so'
aboy	'do you think so?'
ara	'do you suppose perhaps?/I surmised'(speculation)
baga	(question)
kono	'they say'(reported)
nganat	'I tell you to tell him'(command)

f.1 abi 'I know/I think so'

Siling *abi* ninra ay matayaw kono ikaw. say I.know they cowardly they.say you 'I know they said you were a coward!

Negative

Waya *abi* nimo gikandaduhi katong hagran kada nasuyor it mananakaw. not I.know you lock that door therefore come.in thief 'In know you didn't lock the door therefore the thief got in.'

f.2 aboy 'do you think so?'

Ingwa *aboy* it kuryenti sa inra ngasing? have you.think? electricity their today/now 'Do you think they have electricity at their place now?'

Negative

Waya *aboy* sinra nagpamuyat sa hospital? not you.think? they be.looked.at hospital 'Do you think they didn't go for a check-up at the hospital?

f.3 ara 'do you suppose perhaps?/I surmised'(speculation)

Sa ako sida mapahuman *ara* it basket? me she make you.suppose? basket Do you suppose she might make basket for me?

Inkanta yang tan-a anay ara ninro katong inro ayam nak kanta? sing only/just would first you.suppose? you that your know song 'I thought that first you would have just sung the song that you knew.'

Negative

Waya pa ara hina sida? not still you.suppose there he 'Do you suppose perhaps he's not there yet?'

f.4 baga 'question'(question)

Mahalin'ey *baga* ikaw? depart.already question you 'Are you leaving now?'

Ayam baga ninro kung niong oras ka halin it bus? know question you if what hour depart bus 'Do you know what time the bus leaves?/ Could you please tell me what time the bus leaves?'

Negative

Libro nimo kali, buko *baga*? book your this, not question 'This is your book isn't it?'

f.5 kono 'they say'(reported)

Siling ni Nanay, baoy *kono* ikaw it otanon. say mother get they.say you vegetables.to.cook 'Mother said you should get some vegetables.'

Negative

Waya'ey kono it gasul sa banwa. not.already they.say gas town 'They say there's no gas in town.'

f.6 nganat 'I tell you to tell him'

Silingga *nganat* sida nak mapanha ako sa ida. say tell.to.tell her visit I her 'Tell her I told you to tell her I'll visit her'

Negative

Bada'ey nganat gipa-Odiongan, silingga sida. don't.already tell.to.tell go.to.Odiongan say her 'Tell her I told you to tell her not to bother going to Odiongan.'

5.3.7 Social Enclitics

The enclitics which encode social meanings are: pa, man,ngani, ray, ra, anay, abi, baga, yaki, yang pati/yang'ey pati.

The meaning of	these enclitics is approximately:
ра	'the one'(displeasure)
man	'even' (unexpectedly)
ngani	'come on!' (social pressure)
ray	(mild imperative)
ra	'come on!' (social pressure)/
	'still' (skepticism)'
anay	'come on!' (social pressure)
abi	'come on!' ()
ara	'come on!' ()
baga	'come on!' ()
	'won't you please' (polite request)
yaki	'Oh!,by the way!'(surprise/unexpected)
yang('ey) pati	'even,also might as well'(unexpectedly)

g.1 pa 'still keep on, again'(displeasure)

Pag ingpilak *pa* nimo kaling baso, abisar-an'ey ka nako. when throw.out still you this glass scold.already you I 'If you throw away the glass once more I'll really scold you.'

Negative

Dapat nak matapos kaling ato inghuhuman ngasing habang waya *pa* must finish this our do/make today whild not still

it ibang trabahuon.
 other work
'We must finish doing this today while we don't have to keep on working on other
things.'

g.2 man 'even' (unexpectedly/adding another opinion)

Impatawag man sida it pulis. call.smb even he police 'The police even sent for him!'

Negative

Indi man nida maubos kina.
not even he use.up that
'He won't even use that up!' (another opinion)

Waya *man* yang ikaw nakapamahaw. not even just/only you have.breakfast 'You just didn't even get to eat breakfast!'

g.3 ngani 'come on!, told-you-so!' (social pressure)

Alimpyuhon *ngani* nako ka bayay. clean really I house 'I guess I really should clean the house.' (coaxing)

Oho *ngani*! yes really 'Yes that's what I told you!' (reply)

Negative

Aya *ngani* gipakig-idamo roto. don't really play there 'Well I told you not to play around there!'

g.4 ray (mild imperative)

Bakay ray! buy again 'Come on buy another one!'

g.5 ra 'come on!' (social pressure)

Negative

Aya *ra* kamo gigulo. don't also you noise 'Come on don't make any more noise.'

g.6 ra 'still' (skepticism)

Negative

Indi ra ikaw magpati miski silinggon man nako. not also you believe eventhough say even I 'You still won't believe even if I do tell you.'

g.7 anay 'come on!' (social pressure)

Suyor anay! come.in first 'Please come in for a while.'

Taw-an anay sa ako kinang martilyo. give first me that hammer 'Please give me the hammer for a while.'

Gulpiha anay it payong kag iwag. sudden first extinguish.light lamp 'Please hurry and put out the light first.'

Negative

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Aya anay yang!
don't first just/only
'Please wait a minute!'
```

Indi anay kita gihalin!
not first we depart
'Come on let's not leave for a while yet.'

g.8 abi 'come on!' (social pressure)

??? (incomplete)

Bantoanon Grammar

g.9 ara 'come on!' (social pressure)

Magpanaw ara kita roto? walk you.suppose? we there 'Suppose we walk there?/Let's walk there?'

g.10 baga 'come on!' (social pressure)

Amuyatan *baga* nato kato? look.at question we that 'How about our looking at that?/ Why don't we look at that?'

g.11 baga 'won't you please' (polite request)

Kaon *baga* ikaw. eat question you 'Please, you eat.'

g.12 yaki 'Oh! by the way!' (surprise/unexpected)

Abay-on yaki nimo ka martilyo. get surprise you hammer 'Oh and by the way, get the hammer!'

Itao yang'ey yaki gador nako sa ida kag bag nako. give just.already surprise truly I her bag my 'Oh I'll just truly give her the bag then.'

g.13 yang('ey) pati 'even, also might as well' (unexpectedly)

Mapagto ako sa banwa ag marayan *yang'ey pati* ako sa opisina. go I town and go.along just.already include I office 'I'm going to town so while I'm at it I might as well just go by the office too.'

Waya pa man *yang pati* nakapamahaw si Juan. not still indeed just include

5.3.8 Descriptive Enclitics

The enclitics which encode descriptive enclitics are: ey, pa, ra, abi.

The me	eaning	of	these enclitics is approximately:
ey			'now,the time when' (specifies)
pa			'still,keep on' (displeasure)
ra			'fairly,moderately' ???
abi			'this,for example' ???

h.1 ey (specifies)

Indi'ey ako magbakay.
not.already I buy
'I won't bother to buy.'

Kaon'*ey* ngani kamo. eat.already really you 'Yes you go ahead and eat now.'

Pag-abot'ey sida, mahalin'ey ra kita. when-arrive.already he depart.already also we When he arrives then we'll leave too.'

Hilaw pa ka mangga ay impuksi'*ey* nida. unripe still mango pick.already she 'The mango was still green but she picked it anyway.'

h.2 pa 'still, keep on' (displeasure)

Nag-iinabot'ey kag mga bisita, naglilimpyo pa ikaw it bayay. arrive.already visitor clean still you house 'The visitors are already arriving and you're still keeping on cleaning the house.'

h.3 ra 'fairly, moderately'

??? (maybe only with adj)

h.4 abi 'this, for example'

??? (maybe only with kung...abi)

5.4 Moveable Enclitics

Moveable enclitics are those which can occur in many different positions in the sentence, following different parts of speech. There are two classes of enclitics. One class includes those which occur within the verb phrase, most of which are also moveable and can occur following other parts of speech in a number of different positions within a clause. The other class of enclitics does not occur within the verb phrase but does occur in a limited number of positions within the clause.

5.4.1 Moveable Enclitics from the Verb Phrase Set

The moveable enclitics include most of the members of the set which occurs in the verb phrase, only they can occur in other parts of the sentence as well. In this case they follow parts of speech such as nouns, pronouns, adjectives, temporals, locatives, numerals, interrogatives and other particles to which they refer. The meanings expressed by these enclitics will often be similar to that expressed by the same form within the verb phrase but they will be influenced by the part of speech to which they refer.

```
These enclitics are: ey, pa, man, ngani, ray, ra, baga, kuno, aboy, yang, pati,
tan-a, ara, yaki, gador, gihapon, nganat???
The meanings of there enclitics are approximately:
ey
                'already'
                'now'
                'about to/almost'
                (specifying)
                (emphasizing)
                'still'
pa
                'next'
                'also/even more'
                (specifying/emphasizing)
                'indeed/really' (emphasizing)
man
                'whatever' (delimiting/general)
                (add another opinion/contradict)
                'really' (emphasizing)
ngani
                'so/must'
                'that's why'
                'again'
ray
                'next'
                'instead' (dissimilarity)
                'also'
ra
                '..though/either!'
                'fairly/moderately'
                (coaxing)
                (shift viewpoint)
                'know'
abi
                'I think'
                '(if) for example'
                (question)
baga
                'please won't you' (polite request)
                'they say' (reported speech)
kuno
                'do you think?'
aboy
                'first/a while'
anay
                'please/come on!'
                'just/only' (limiting)
yang
                'but/except for' (contradict/qualify)
                'on condition'
pati
                'also/include'
                'would/should/could'
tan-a
                'I think/I surmise'
ara
                'do you suppose?'
yaki
                (surprise)
                'by the way!'
gador
                'truly'
gihapon
                'still so, the same up to now'
nganat
                'tell.smb/ask.smb'
```

(a) ey 'already' 'about to/almost' (specifying) (emphasizing)

Insulip'ey nako nataposa kag pagtahi't imo baro. Tomorrow.already I finished.it sewing your dress 'I will have your dress finished by tomorrow./ Tomorrow is when I will have your dress finished.'

Tuna'ey ngasing kag ida pagmaestra. begin.about now her teaching 'She's about to start teaching now.'

Imbutangan nida'ey kag ako baro it sipir. put.in.it she.specify my dress zipper 'She's the one who put a zipper in my dress.'

Kag ako rayang kwarta pa man ay kuyang'ey. my carry money still even inadequate.emphasis 'Even the money I brought was still not near enough.'

(b) pa 'still' 'next' 'also/even more' (specifying/exphasizing)

Kung kato abi ay adlaw *pa*, mahuhuman pa nako. if that e.g. day still make still I 'If for example there had still been daylight I would have still made it.'

Sa Hwebes *pa* kag ida abot. on Thursday next he arrive 'He will arrive next Thursday.'

Nabasa sida it ruhang libro *pa*, bag-o magkatuyog. read she two book more before sleep 'She read two more books before going to sleep.'

Man-ong ako pa kag ida ingpasapoy sa ida anak? who.cares I emphasis she meet her child 'Why did she have me meet her child anyway?'

Rugay'ey man ra kuno katong ida sakit sa mata long.time.already indeed also reported that his sickness eye

ida ingtatago yang. he hide just 'They also said he's had that eye sickness for a really long time already, he'd just been hiding it.'

Kung nio *man* kag imo nakita ay umaan sa ako. if what ever you see tell me 'Whatever you see, tell me about it.'

Kada Martes *man* kag abot it bapor. every Tuesday contradict arrive ship 'No it's every Tuesday that the ship comes in.'

(d) ngani 'really'(emphasizing) 'so/must' 'that's why'

Imaw *ngani* kato kag istorya nida. That's.it really that say she 'That's really what she said.'

Maramo kag mapali sa ato kada *ngani* arakuon nato kag ato hanra. many come our therefore must big we our ready 'Many will come to our place therefore we must increase our preparations.'

Waya sida gisuyat-suyat kada *ngani* nalibugan ka ida mga maguyang none she write therefore that's.why worry her parents. 'She didn't write at all so that's why her parents are worried.'

(e) ray 'again' 'next' 'instead' (dissimilarity)

Pirmi *ray* sidang inom ngasing nak di kwarta. always again he drink now has money 'He always drinks again now when he has money.'

Sida pa man ngani *ray* kag masunor nak mapanglimpyo. She emphasis even really next follow clean 'She really is the next one after me to do the cleaning.'

Nagbakay ako it karne itahapon. Ngasing isra *ray*. buy I meat yesterday today fish instead 'I bought meat yesterday. Today I'll buy fish instead'

(f) ra 'also/as well' '..though/either' 'fairly/moderately'
(coaxing) (shift of viewpoint)

Abang ganda ra kag pinta nida. very beautiful also paint.pictures his 'His paintings are also very beautiful.'

Kag ako yang ngani gador *ra* indi gusto sa ida ay kag ida my just really truly though not like her her

pagiging mahadlukon.
make.become afraid
'What I really just don't like at all though about her is her making
people frightened.'

Kamusta ikaw? Maado *ra*. How.are.you.feeling? you good moderately 'How are you?' 'Quite well (thanks).'

Aya *ra* kamo gigulo. don't coaxing you noise 'Please don't be noisy.'

Kamustaikaw? Maado. Ikaw ra?How.are.you.feeling? yougoodyou'How are you?''Well (thanks), and you?'

(g) abi 'know' 'I think' '(if) for example'

Kada ikaw nida ingpatrabaho ay mahugor *abi* ikaw. therefore you she work industrious know you 'Therefore she gave you the work because you're known to be industrious.'

Nahuli si Juan sa klase. Aga'ey ra *abi* sida nakabati e. late John class morning.already also I.think he wake.up because 'Juan was late for class. I think it was because it was already late in the morning when he woke up.'

Kung ikaw *abi* kag nawagitan it kwarta, mauno ikaw? if you e.g. lose money what.do you 'If for example you were the one who had lost the money, what would you do?

(h) baga 'question' 'please won't you (polite request)'

Sida *baga* ka imo ing-iisip? he question you think 'Is he the one you're thinking about?'

Kaon ikaw ra *baga*! eat you also please.won't.you 'Please won't you also eat.'

(i) kuno 'they say'(reported speech)

Nagtuman sida anay *kuno* ra bag-o magreklamo. perform.a.command he first reported also before complain 'They also said that he did what he was told first before he complained.'

(j) aboy 'do you think'

Kina nak sapatos *aboy* ay matibay. that shoe you.think? durable 'Do you think those shoes are strong?'

(k) anay 'first/a while' 'please/come on!'

Kaling maisot anay kag kaligosi bag-o kinang marako. this small first bathe before that big 'Bath this small one first before that big one.'

Raha yang *anay* kamo. there just first/a while you 'You just wait there a while first.'

Moveable Enclitics

Sa huli anay kag badar, pwede? end please pay possible? 'Can we please pay at the end, if possible?' (1) yang 'just/only'(limiting) 'but/except for'(contradict/qualify) 'on condition' Hanggang sa katapusan it Oktubre *yan*g'ey kag ako bakasyon. until end October just.specify my vacation 'My vacation is just up until the end of October.' Gusto nida magbakay it karne kada yang ay pulos taba'ey like she buy meat therefore but total fat.emphasis ra kag nabilin. also leave.behind 'She wanted to buy meat but it was just all fat that was left.' Itao nako sida sa imo, kada yang imo ray ugaling ibalik give I him you therefore condition you again however return sa ako. me 'I will give it to you, on the condition however that you return it to me.'

(m) pati 'also/include'

Kag ida iro *pati* ay nagrungan sa ida. his dog also go.with him 'His dog also went along with him.'

(n) tan-a 'would/should/could'

Nabakay nida katong baro *tan-a* kung waya ka giabot ag buy she that dress would if not arrive and

nagsiling nak mahay. say expensive 'That dress would have been the one she bought if you hadn't arrived and said that it was expensive.'

Pirmi tan-a nimo sidang hayugon agor maamo sa imo. always should you him play.with in.order.to befriend you 'You always should have played with him so that he would make friends with you.'

(o) ara 'I think/I surmise' 'do you suppose?'

Kita ara kag masunor sa ida sa silhig. we I.think follow her sweep 'I think we are next after her to sweep.' Sa ako sida *ara* mapahuman it basket. me she suppose make basket 'Do you suppose she would make me a basket?'

(p) yaki 'surprisingly!' 'by the way'

Natungnan nida yaki kag pagtumar it buyong. stop she surprisingly take.medicine medicine 'It's surprising that she stopped taking the medicine.'

Pauno yaki kag imo pagyuto it banana cake? how by.the.way you cooking banana cake 'Oh by the way, how do you cook banana cake?'

(q) gador 'truly'

Sa ako sida giuma it problema gador nida. me she tell problem truly her 'She told me what her real problem was.'

(r) gihapon 'still so/the same up to now'

Pay ra gihapon waya't asawa sida. like also still.so none husband she 'She still behaves like she did when she had no husband.'

(s) nganat 'tell smb/ask smb'

Kung ako *nganat* it ida akamustahon ay maado ra. if I ask.smb she how.are.you.feeling? good also 'If she asks how I am, tell her that I'm well too.'

5.4.2 Other Moveable Enclitics

Moveable enclitics that occur outside the verb phrase and following various parts of speech are: isutan'ey, hingan, uli/liwat, halos, mismo, imaw, syempre, sigurado, sabaling, kung pwede/maaari, dapat/kahinangyan, ugaling/galing/ugang, ahat, busa, kundi ay, tama rang, lalo(ng)/tapat (nak), kutob, lalong lalo'ey/labing gador, kabay pa, abat/amat, rabuno.

Most of these particles are more limited in clause position than those from the verb phrase set. Some are also quite limited regarding the part of speech they follow.??? They provide reference which is typically either pre-referential or post-referential.

(1) The Pre-referential Particles (??? incomplete)

isutan'ey	`almost'
hingan	`right then'
uli/liwat	`again, repeat'
halos	`almost'
mismo	'itself, that exact one'

Moveable Enclitics

Bantoanon Grammar

<pre>imaw syempre sigurado sabaling kung pwede/maaari dapat/kahinangyan ugaling/galing/ugang ahat busa kundi ay tama rang lalo(ng)/tapat (nak) kutob lalong lalo'ey kabay pa abat/amat</pre>	<pre>`that's the one' `of course' `certain' `in case, might' `if permitted, if possible' `should, must, it is necessary' `however' ` `because, reason' `but, but rather' `right then' `moreso' `to there' `especially' `may it be so' `</pre>
rabuno	'poor thing'

(2) The Post-referential Particles (??? incomplete)

isutan'ey	`almost'
hingan	`right then'
uli/liwat	`again, repeat'
halos	`almost'
mismo	`itself, that exact one'
imaw	`that's the one'
syempre	'of course'
sigurado	`certain'
sabaling	`in case, might'
kung pwede/kung maaari	`if permitted, if possible'
dapat/kahinangyan	'should, must, it is necessary'
ugaling/galing/ugang	'however'
ahat	1
busa	'because, reason'
kundi ay	'but, but rather'
tama rang	`right then'
lalo(ng)/tapat (nak)	'moreso'
kutob	`to there'
lalong lalo'ey	`especially'
kabay pa	'may it be so'
abat/amat	N Contraction of the second seco
rabuno	'poor thing'

PREDICATE EXPANSION: ADVERBS

6. Adverbs

6.1 Groupings of Adverbs

6.1.1 Manner Adverbs

Manner Adverbs are moveable adverbs which describe how the action is done. They are marked by the Genitive case marker *it* when they occur after the verb predicate or after the topic. When these adverbs are fronted to sentence initial position there are several possible constructions using either the inflected form of the verb or the verb root. Compare the following.

Nag=kaligos sida it ragli nak ka=yamig
P=bathe(AF) 3SN G quick because INT,AJ=cold
'She bathed quicly because it was cold.'

Nag=guyot it rahan sida it isra. P=slice(AF) G careful 3SN G fish 'He sliced the fish carefully.'

Waya sida gi=kaon it maado. NEG 3SN SUBJ=eat(AF) G well 'She doesn't eat well.'

Nag=ti=tibaw it todo kag nabadaang anak. PROG=CV=cry G non-stop N neglect=LK child 'The child is crying non-stop.'

Todo sida it tibaw/ or Todo sida mag=tibaw. non.stop 3SN G cry non-stop 3SN INF=cry(AF) 'She's crying non=stop.'

Nag=kaon sida it buyag/ Buyag sida mag=kaon. P=eat(AF) 3SN G separate/ separate 3SN INF=eat(AF) 'She ate separately.'

Ing=abri=han nida kag hagranan it gulpi. P=open=GF 3SN N door G suddenly 'He opened the door suddenly.'

Gulpi ing=abri=han nida kag hagranan. suddenly P=open=GF 3SG N door 'He suddenly opened the door.'

Rugay sida nak nag=huyat sa bisita. long.time 3SN LK P=wait(AF) O visitor 'She waited a long time for the visitors.'

Rugay nak huyat nida sa bisita/ Rugay nida huyat sa bisita long.time LK wait 3SG O visitor 'She waited a long time for the visitors.'

Kaon kamo it maado. eat 2PLN G well 'Eat well.' Manner adverbs can be verbalized in which case they assume the position of the inflected verb while the verb root or infinitive form assumes the adverb's position. Compare the following. Nag=bangon ako it gulpi./ Nag=gulpi ako it bangon. P=sit.up(AF) 1SN G suddenly/ P=suddenly 1SN G sit.up 'I sat up suddenly.' 'Suddenly I sat up.' Nag=bi=bisiklita kag kayaki it matulin. PROG=CV=bike(AF) N man G fast 'The man is riding the bike fast.' it bisiklita kag kayaki. Nag=tu=tulin PROG=CV=fast(AF) G bike N man 'The man is riding the bike fast.' Ing=pa=pa=tulin it driber kag dyip. PROG=CAUS=CV=fast(UF) G driver N jeep 'The driver is driving the jeep fast.' Tulin=a it imo pag=panaw. fast=IMP,UF G your GER=walk 'Walk faster.' (lit. quicken your walking) Kusg=i kag inro basa. loud=IMP,UF N your read 'Read louder.' (lit. louden your reading) Nag=ra=ramo it tanom kag mangunguma. PROG=CV=many(AF) G plant N farmer 'The farmer is planting a lot.' Ing=pa=kusog nida kag tunog it radyo. P=CAUS=loud(UF) 3SG N play G radio 'He turned up the radio.' (lit. made the playing of the radio loud) In the following the adverb is not inflected for tense. It is descriptive of the way something is being done or is habitually done. The topic is either a verb root or the gerund form of the verb marked with Nominative case or the infinitive form of the verb. Marahan kag ida guyot it isra/ ida pag=guyot it isra careful N his cut G fish/ his GER=cut G fish 'His cutting of the fish is done carefully.' Abang kusog kag ukaw it mga nag=a=away very loud N shout G PL PROG=CV=fight(AF) 'The shouting of the ones fighting is very loud.' sida mag=tibaw. Todo non-stop 3SN INF=cry 'She cries non-stop.'

6.1.2 Pa- Prefix of Manner

The adverbial prefix of manner, *pa* can be affixed to verb roots followed by either a verbal predicate or a nominalized gerund construction. It describes the manner in which an action is done.

Pa=sagudor sida mag=tsinelas. AVR=drag 3SN INF=thongs(AF) 'She drags her feet when she walks.'

Pa=balik=balik sida it human it basket. AVR=return=DBL 3SN G make G basket 'She makes baskets again and again.'

Pa=baliskar sida mag=basa it libro. AVR=backwards 3SN INF=read G book 'She reads the book backwards.'

Pa=atras kag ida pag=panaw. AVR=backwards N her GER=walk 'She walks backwards' (lit. Her walking is backwards.'

6.1.3 Time Adverbs

Time adverbs are in unmarked and marked classes.

(1) The unmarked adverbs are:

ngasing	'today/now'
insulip	'tomorrow'
itahapon	'yesterday'
isag	'later'
it kuman	'earlier'
malagat-lagay	'in a little while'
mayagat-yagat	'in a little while'

The **unmarked** form *itahapon* 'yesterday' is ambiguous since it may have incorporated the genitive linker *it* which is used with many marked time adverbs. Some speakers will use *tahapon* sentence initially, but most prefer *itahapon* as one word.

Itahapon sida gi-abot. / *Itahapon* kag ida pag-abot. yesterday she arrive / yesterday her arrive 'Yesterday she arrived.' Time adverbs may take various positions in a sentence however the most unmarked form is sentence final and the inverted sentence initial position is the most marked formal position.

unmarked

Ataw-an nako sida it yamit *insulip*. give I she clothes tomorrow 'I will give her the clothes tomorrow.'

marked

Insulip ay aparay-an it suyat kang Maria si Juan. tomorrow send letter Maria Juan 'Tomorrow, Juan will send a letter to Maria.'

Other

Iparaya nako kang Maria *insulip* kag suyat para kang Juan. send I Maria tomorrow letter for Juan 'I will send a letter to Maria tomorrow, on behalf of Juan.'

Marayan ako *isag* sa inro. go.by I later your 'I will go by your place later.'

Frequency time categories are also unmarked.

adlaw-adlaw	'every day/daily'
gab-i-gab-i	'every night/nightly'
minsan	'once'
paminsan-minsan	'sometimes'
kung kausa/kung kaamat	'sometimes/once in a while'
permi	'always/often'
buko permi-permi	'occasionally'
bihira/pambihira	'seldom/rarely'
(ruhang) beses	'(two) times/twice'
Nagbubunak sida <i>adlaw-adlaw</i> it mga hamo it ida anak. launder she every.day diaper her child 'She washes her child's diapers daily.'	
Nagbisita sida sa inra visit she their 'She visited us once in	if one

Nagpa-Romblon sida *permi*. Romblon she always 'She often went to Romblon.'

Nakapali sinra dili *ruhang beses*. come they here two times 'They have come here twice.'

(2) The marked time adverbs include:

calendar dates, days of the week, clock time, and phases of the day such as morning, afternoon and night. Tims aspects in relation to the moment of speech are indicated by different markers. These marked time adverbs can occur either independently or as part of an expanded construction. Within an expanded construction the linker nak/-ng is used.

it Buong hapon itahapon / it bug-os nak hapon it hapon whole afternoon yesterday / whole afternoon afternoon 'all yesterday afternoon'

sa ngasing nak paabuton nak Lunes
 today arrive Monday
'this coming Monday'

sa alas tres sa masunor nak Sabado
 o'clock three follow Saturday
'at three o'clock next Saturday'

sa pitsa diyes it Disyembre
 date ten December
'on the 10th December'

it kuman kag *hapon* earlier afternoon 'earlier in the afternoon'

Present time is marked with *it*.

Mahalin kita *it ala-una*. leave we o'clock.one 'We will leave at one o'clock'

Nagpali sida dili *it kuman kag aga*. come he here earlier morning 'She came here earlier this morning.'

Past time is marked by *kag/kato*. When the time phrase is non-initial in the sentence it is often preceded by the marker *it* as well. The marker may also be used sentence initial but this is more rare.

Nagbati sinra *it kag alas kwatro pa*. wake they o'clock four still 'They woke up when it was only four o'clock.' Nagrayan sida dili *it kag pitsa dos it Nobyembre*. go.along he here date two November 'He came by here on the 2nd November.'

Nag-uyan it marako *katong usang adlaw*. rain big that one day 'It rained a lot the other day.'

Tong una pang gador giabot kag mga Kastila dili. that ahead.of still really arrive Spanish here 'A long time ago the Spanish arrived here.'

Nagsimba si Maria *kag alas otso*. church Maria o'clock eight 'Maria went to church at eight o'clock.'

Nagtatrabaho ako sa Maynila *kag tuig nak 1982*. work I Manila year 1982 'I worked in Manila in 1982.'

Kag alas kwatro it aga ay nagbati'ey sinra.
 o'clock four morning wake.already they
'At four o'clock in the morning they were already awake.'

Future time is marked by sa.

Mapa-Odiongan kita sa Hwebes mga alas singko it aga. Odiongan we Thursday o'clock five morning 'We will go to Odiongan on Thursday morning at about five o'clock

Maabot sida sa primero it masunor nak buyan. arrive she first follow month 'She will arrive on the first of next month.

Igwa't programa sa eskwelahan *sa masunor nak Biyernes it/nak aga*. is program school follow Friday morning 'There is a program at the school next Friday morning.'

General time categories are marked with it.

Asing sida ay magtatrabaho *it Domingo*. why he work Sunday 'Why is he going to work on Sunday.'

Nagpapasyar sinra dili *it Domingo*. stroll they here Sunday 'They stroll around on Sundays.'

A general time duration category is marked by sa.

Ingtapos nida kag trabaho sa suyor it usang semana. finish she work inside one week 'She finished the work in one week.'

(3) Other time adverbs

Other time adverbs which function as markers within a clause also function as temporal markers in complex sentences. They include:

(a) Recurrent time adverb kada 'everytime/whenever'.

kada oras everytime hour 'every hour'

kada Sabado everytime Saturday 'Every Saturday'

(b) Beginning-post-span time adverb tuna 'begin'.

In future time references this adverb is translated in the sense of 'from x on' while in the past it is translated by 'since x'.

Mag-aaray sinra *tuna* alas otso. study they begin o'clock eight 'They will study from eight o'clock on.'

tuna tong usang buyan
begin one month
'since last month.'

tuna sa Enero begin January 'From (next) January on'

Note kag is used as a marker only with the specific year.

tuna kag 1950 begin 1950 'since 1950'

(c) Pre-span-end adverbs include hanggang 'until', abot 'arrive', kutob and lampas 'up to'. The most generally used form is hanggang. Kutob is used with specific time (and space) limits.

Nagtiner ako roto *hanggang* Lunes. stay I there until Monday 'I stayed there until Monday.' Nag-iistar ako roto sa Maynila *abot it* 1980. dwell I there Manila arrive 1980 'I lived in Manila up until 1980.'

Hina'ey ako kutob sa pitsa diyes. there.already I up.to date ten 'I was there up to the 10th.'

Nagmiting sinra tuna ala-una lampas sa alas sais. have.a.meeting they begin o'clock.one up.to o'clock six 'They were at the meeting from one o'clock to six o'clock.'

(4) Time Expansions

(a) **Time adverbs** may form pseudo predicates with kung and pag in future or general time categories, and with *kag* and *kato* in past time categories.

Kung pista kag hanraan. if fiesta prepare 'The celebration is at fiesta time.'

Pag Paskwa kag ataw-an it regalo. Christmas give gift 'Gifts will be given at Christmastime.'

Pag tighabagat kag makusog nak ragat. SW.monsoon strong sea 'There are rough seas when the SW monsoon blows.'

Tong usang tuig kag linog. that one year earthquake 'The earthquake was last year.'

Present time, and phases of the present day are unmarked if they begin with an unmarked form. If they take a marked form it may be *it kuman* 'earlier'.

Isag nak alas dos it hapon kag seminar. later o'clock two afternoon seminar 'The seminar is later this afternoon at two o'clock.'

It kuman kag biniray. earlier boat.procession 'The procession of boats was earlier this morning.'

Ngasing nak mga adlaw it Nobyembre kag amihan.todaydayNovember'The NE monsoon blows during these days of November.'

(b) Time phrase expansion is a combination of marked and unmarked forms linked by both *nak* and *it*.

Present

it kumang hapon earlier afternoon 'earlier in the afternoon'

isag nak ala-una later o'clock.one 'later at one o'clock'

ngasing nak ala-una it hapon today o'clock.one afternoon 'today at one o'clock this afternoon.'

ngasing nak mga adlaw it Nobyembre today day November 'these days of November'

Past

katong Lunes nak hapon that Monday afternoon 'last Monday afternoon'

kag alas otso it aga
 o'clock eight morning
'at eight o'clock (earlier) this morning'

tong mga usang adlaw
that one day
'about the day before yesterday'

katong pitsa beynte it Enero
that date twenty January
'back on the 20th January'

tong nagligar nak tuig
that go.past year
'the past year'

Future

sa Lunes nak hapon Monday afternoon 'on (coming) Monday afternoon'

sa Lunes nak ala-una it hapon Monday o'clock.one afternoon 'on Monday afternoon at one o'clock'

Bantoanon Grammar

```
sa mga alas-dos
 o'clock.two
'at about two o'clock'
sa ngasing nak paabuton nak Lunes
  today arrive Monday
'this coming Monday'
sa alas tres sa masunor nak Sabado
  o'clock three follow Saturday
'at three o'clock next Saturday'
sa ap-at nak tuig
  four year
'in four years time'
sa pitsa beynte it Enero
  date twenty January
'on (coming) 20th January'
Duration
```

sa suyor it usang semana inside one week 'within one week'

(5) Other Time Adverbs

The adjectives *isot* 'small' and *tama* 'right' when used as adverbs express the meanings of 'almost, nearly' and 'just as' respectively.

Isotan ey ako ma=tama=an it nidog sa uyo. nearly already 1SN APT,INF=hit=GF G coconut O head 'I nearly was hit on the head by a coconut.'

Isotan ey ako mag=ukaw dahil abang yain kag ida uda almost alr. 1SN INF=scream(AF) because very ugly N his face 'I almost screamed because his face was so ugly.'

Pag=abot nida ay tama ra=ng naka=tapos ako't trabaho TI,GER=arrive 3SG INV just also=LK APT,P=finish 1SN:G work 'She arrived just as I finished my work.'

Kag ako sida ma=kita ay tama ra=ng nag=ha=hanap P 1SN 3SG INF=see(UF) INV just also=LK PROG=CV=look.for 'She saw me just when she was looking for a partner to

sida it ka=badaw sa bucket.
3SN G NR=carry O bucket
help carry the bucket.'

6.1.4 Verbalized Time Adverbs

Some time adverbs can be verbalized as in the following.

Sabaling ma=hu=huli kita sa miting. might F=CV=late(UF) 1PLN O meeting 'We might be late for the meeting.'

A=gab-i=han kamo sa rayanan. F=night=GF 2PLN PREP road 'You'll be overtaken by the night on the road.'

A=pa=rugay=on nako kag pa=hinog nak abukado. F=CAUS=long.time(UF) 1SG N NR=ripe LK avucado 'I'll let the avacadoes ripen longer.'

Ing=adlaw=adlaw nako kali=ng baro. PROG=day=DBL 12G DEM1=LK dress 'I wear this dress day after day.'

Na=temprano=han sinra it abot sa amo. APT,P=early=UF 3PLN F arrive PREP our 'They happened to arrive early at our place.'

Nag=pa=hapon kami sa bukir
P=CAUS=afternoon(A2F) 1PLN 0 farm.
'We'll stay late at the farm.' (lit. we'll cause ourselves
to stay late in the afternoon)

Nag=pa=ulihi ako't tao it pag=kaon nida.
P=CAUS=late(AF) 1SN:G give G GER=eat 3SG
'I gave him the food last.'

Nag=rugay kami sa kasayon. P=late(AF) 1PLN O wedding 'We stayed late at the wedding.'

6.1.5 Time Gerunds (incomplete)

Time gerunds are formed by prefixing a verb root with *pag-* or *pagka-*. They introduce subordinate clauses which modify the predicate of the sentence. *Pag-* is translated 'when...' and indicates that the action expressed in the gerund occurred or will occur at the same time as the action expressed in the predicate. *Pagka*denotes perfective action (PRF); the action expressed in the gerund has occurred after, or as a result of, the action expressed in the predicate. Tense is denoted by the verb in the predicate. In future tense *kung* 'if/when' may be used in place of the time gerund (see 4.4). The time gerund is followed by a nominal in genitive case (active voice) or by a nominal in oblique case preceded by *sa* or *kang* (passive voice). The subordinate phrase may occur before or after the sentence it is modifying although sentence initial position is more common. In this position the phrase is followed either by the inversion marker *ay* or by a comma.

Pag=abot ninra ay nag=kaligos sinra sa ragat. TI,GER=arrive 3PLG IV P=bathe(AF) 3PLN 0 ocean 'When they arrived they bathed in the ocean.' (i.e. upon their arriving...) Pag=halin ninra sa bayay ay nag=u=uyan. TI, GER=leave 3PLG 0 house IV PROG=CV=rain 'When they left the house it was raining.' (upon their leaving) Ma=katuyog ako pag=halin it mga anak. F=sleep(AF) 1SN TI,GER=leave G PL child 'I will sleep when the children leave.' Pag=ka=pilak it likot ay na=wagit kag ida relo. TI,GER=PRF=throw G trash IV STAT=lose N her watch 'When the garbage was thrown out her watch was lost.' Pag=ka=huyog nako sa bato, na=bali kag ako braso. TI,GER=PRF=fall 1SG O rock STAT=break N my arm 'When I fell on the rocks I broke my arm.' Pag=ka=lampos sa ida, nag=rayagan. TI,GER=PRF=hit O 3SO P=run(AF) 'When he was hit, he ran off.'

Pag=lampos nako sa ida, na=grayagan sida. TI,GER=hit 1SG O 3SO P=run(AF) 3SN 'When I hit him, he ran off.'

Kung 'when/if' and *pag* 'when' also introduce subordinate clauses of time or condition. In these sentences *pag* is unattached from the verb which can occur in any tense or focus.

Pag na=idamo sinra ay sa gab-i. TI HAB=play 3PLN IV O night 'They play at night.'/ 'It's at night that they play.'

Permi sida na=tu=tumba pag nag=pa=panaw. always 3SN PROG=CV=fall.over(UF) TI PROG=CV=walk 'He always falls over when he walks.'

Baky=i ako it gatas pag mag=pagto ikaw sa merkado. buy=IMP,BF 1SN G milk TI INF=go 2SN O market 'Buy me some milk when you go to the market.'

Pag nag=bi=bisaya si Mary, na=pa=pa=guya kami. TI PROG=CV=speak N Mary PROG=CAUS=CV=laugh(UF) 1PLN 'When Mary speaks, we are caused to laugh.'

Pag nag=rayan sida sa amo ay a=usa sida. TI P=pass.by 3SN O 1PLO IV ?=one 3SN 'When he passed by our place he was alone.'

Pag ina=yaga kag pusit ay nag=pu=puya. TI PROG=boil(UF) N octopus IV PROG=CV=red 'When the octopus is boiled it becomes red.' Kung indi kamo mag=hipos ay a=pa=pauli=on kamo. if NEG 2PLN INF=quiet IV F=CAUS=go.home=UF 2PLN 'If you don't be quiet you will be sent home.'

Ma=pa=muyat ako sa doktor kung ma=pa=Manila ako. F=CAUS=look 1SN O doctor when F=DIR=Manila 1SN 'I will go to the doctor when I go to Manila.'

6.1.6 Referential Adverbs

Referential adverbs convey the English sense of 'about/concerning' which is usually associated with speech or communication terms. Some verbs themselves convey this meaning without the addition of the referential adverbs. Where one wishes to add the specific referential adverb either tungor/parti 'about' can be used. The most common is tungor which can also be verbalized in two forms natungor and nahanungor 'to be about/to be concerning'.

Referential Adverb

Nagbisaya ako sa ida *tungor* kang Juan. speak I him about Juan 'I spoke to him about Juan.'

Parti sa negosyo ka inra istoriya. about business their talk 'Their conversation was about business.'

Ing-uma nida kang Maria *tungor* rotong problema. inform she Maria about there problem 'She informed Maria about that problem.'

Ingsilinggan nida kag ida nanay *parti* sa ida pag-eskwela. tell she her mother about her go.to.school 'She told her mother about her day at school'

Referential Verbs

Natutungor sa inra ka balita nako. about them hear.news I 'The news I heard was about them.'

Nahanungor sa pambuyong kag inra ingseminaran. about medicine their seminar 'Their seminar was about healing.'

Verbs with Implicit Reference

Nagpangutana ako it ida inghuman. question I her do/make 'I asked (about) what she had done.'

Nag-uma sida it ida sakit. inform he his sickness 'He told me about his sickness.'

Imbisaya nida si Juan. speak she Juan 'She talked about Juan.'

Ingbalita nida kag panahon para ngasing. hear.news he weather for today 'He heard news about the weather for today.'

Ingpasadura sida it pag-abot ni Neysa. know she arrive Neysa 'She let us know about Neysa's arrival.'

Ingsilinggan sida it katong miting. tell he that meeting 'He was told about the meeting.'

6.1.7 Location, Beneficial, Instrument, Causal

These have already been discussed under Focus (4.1.2). Many of the locatives can be verbalized as in the following examples.

Ing=pa=liwas nida kag uning sa bayay. P=CAUS=out(A2F) 3SG N cat PREP house 'She let the cat out of the house.'

Nag=pa=yungot kag yango sa ako.
P=DIR=close(AF) N drunk O me
'The drunk came close (i.e. approached) me.'

Ing=pa=irayom kag napkin sa tasa it kape.
P=DIR=underneath N napkin 0 cup G coffee
'The napkin as put underneath the cup of coffee.'

Nag=pa=silong sinra sa amo tong nag=u=uyan.
P=DIR=under(AF) 3SPL PREP our P PROG=CV=rain
'They took shelter under our place when it was raining.'

Ing=babaw nida kag ingkor=an sa lamesa tong nag=lampaso.
P=on.top(UF) 3SG N sit=NR O table P P=skate.floor
'She place the chairs on top of the table when she skated the floor.'

6.1.8 Measurement and Numbers

Verbal constructions which express a measurement or amount of something include verbs whose bases are either verbs or adjectives expressing distance, amount, etc. There are several ways to construct these sentences. The nominal expressing the amount is usually marked by Genitive case. Compare the following.

Nag=anam kag anak it ruha=ng pulgada. P=grow(AF) N child G two=LK inch 'The child grew two inches.'

Ing=liput=an nako it usa=ng metros kag pisi.
P=short=GF 1SG G one meter N rope
'I shortened the rope by one meter.'

Ing=baligya nida kag kapada sa tig-singko.
P=sell(UF) 3SG N papaya 0 ???=five
'She sold the papaya for five pesos.'

Ing=baligya nida it tig=singko kag kapada. P=sell(UF) 3SG G ???=five N papaya.

Nag=taas kag presyo't lugit it dos pesos. P=high(AF) N price:G copra G two pesos 'The price of copra went up two pesos.'

Nag=ka=ka=sukat it tres hektarya kag lute. PROG=???=CV=measure G three hectare N lot 'The lot measures three hectares.'

Kag sukat it lute ay tres hektaryas. N measure G lot INV three hectares 'The measurement of the lot is three hectares.'

In the following sentences expressing comparison, Oblique case is translated '(more/less) than' whereas Genitive case is translated 'by'.

Indi mag=baba sa P20,000 katong bayay. NEG INF=low(AF) O P20,000 DEM3 house 'The value of that house will not be less than P20,000.'

Kag amo kwarta ay kuyang it biente pesos. N our money INV lack G twenty pesos 'Our money is lacking by twenty pesos.'

Mas subra pa sa sanggatos pesos kag ida na=baton. more extra still O one.hundred pesos N his APT=receive(UF) 'What he received was more than one hundred pesos.'

Mas kuyang sa usang kilo kag amo karne. more lack O one=LK kilo N our meat Ñur meat is less than one kilo.'

Mas kuyang it usa=ng kilo ka amo karne kaysa sa inra.

more lack G one kilo N our meat than O their Ñur meat is less by one kilo than theirs.'

Na=bawas=an it P500 kag ida badar nak mga buhis. APT=reduce=GF G P500 N his pay LK PL tax 'His payable taxes were reduced by five hundred pesos.'

??? see Heather's notebook
Numbers can also be verbalized as in the following.

Usa=usa=hon nato it basa kag libro. One=DBL=UF 1PLG G read N book 'We'll read the books one at a time.'

Ing=tunga nida kag isra.
P=half(UF) 3SG N fish
'He halved the fish.'

A=ruha=on nako it tumar kal=ing buyong. F=two=UF 1SG G take.medicine DEM1 medicine `I'll take two of these pills.'

Ing=guyot nida it tatlo kag kayabasa.
P=slice(UF) 3SG G three N squash
'He sliced the squash into three pieces.'

Ing=tatlo nida it guyot kag kayabasa.
P=three(UF) 3SG G slice N squash
'He sliced the squash into three pieces.'

Tig=ruha kag ida raya it bangko. ???=two N his carry G stool 'His carrying of the stools was two at a time.'

Ing=tig=ruha=ruha nida it raya kag mga bangko.
P=???=two=DBL(UF) 3SG G carry N PL stool
'He carried the stools two at a time.'

Nag=tig=ruha=ruha it suyor kag mga hadop sa arko. P=???=two=DBL(AF) G inside N PL animal PREP ark 'The animals went into the ark two by two.'

Mag=i=ika=ruha it Disyembre.
F,BEC=???=?=two G December
'It will soon be the second of December.'

Numbers can also be nominalized or adjectivalized.

Ing=himo nida kag lima=han nak baroto./ pang=lima=han
P=make(UF) 3SG N five=AJR LK boat / INST=five=AJR
'He made the boat to hold five people.'

6.2 Verbal Clauses

The following sentence constructions are composed of a verb phrase follwed by a verbal clause introduced by the subordinate marker *nak*. These verb phrases include inflected verbs, pseudo verbs, and optatives.

6.2.1 Pseudo Verbs

Pseudo verbs are pre-clausal modal particles co-occuring with complements which may either be an object (a nominal) or an event (with the verb in the infinitive form). Some of these pseudo verbs can be inflected for tense in which case they can be considered to be true verbs.

(1) Dapat

The pseudo verb *dapat* meaning 'should' can be followed directly by the actor in the case appropriate to the focus of the verb, or by the ligature *nak* followed by the verb complement.

Dapat nak mag=buot si Juan. should LK INF=good N Juan 'John should be good.'

Dapat si Tang Poli nak Mayor. should N uncle Poli LK Mayor Önlce Poli should be the Mayor.'

Dapat nak mag=hipos kamo. should LK INF=quiet 2PLN 'You should be quiet.'

Dapat nak mag=nunot ka sa amo. should LK INF=come.with 2SN O 1PLO 'You should come with us.'

Dapat nak a=buyar=on nako kali./ Dapat nako=ng abuyaron kali. should LK F=dry=UF 1SG DEM1 / should 1SG=LK dry this 'I should dry this.'

(2) Kahinangyan

The pseudo verb kahinangyan (Tagalog=kailangan) can also function as an inflected verb, as a noun and as an adjective. As a pseudo verb it is similar to dapat. If the actor directly follows the pseudo verb it occurs in genitive case, otherwise the actor is in the case appropriate to the verb in the complement.

Kahinangyan nako nak mag=yuto ngasing./ nak magyuto ako need 1SG LK INF=cook(AF) now 'I need to cook now.'

Kahinangyan nak a=yut=on nako kali=ng pagkaon. need LK INF=cook=UF 1SG DEM1=LK food 'I need to cook this food.'

Kahinangyan nak mag=bakay anay kita it tiket. need LK INF=buy(AF) first 1PLN G ticket 'We first need to buy a ticket.'

Kahinangyan nak a=baky=an nako si Maria it baro. need LK INF=buy=BF 1SG N Maria G dress 'I need to buy Mary a dress.'

Kahinangyan nak i=hator nako kali=ing sanrok sa inra. need LK INF=deliver(UF) 1SG DEM1=LK food O 3PLO 'I need to deliver this food to them.'

Kahinangyan it panray kag marilyo./ it martilyo. need G carpenter N hammer / G hammer 'The carpenter needs the hammer.' a hammer.'

Kahinangyan nako kina./ it kina. need 1SG DEM2 / F DEM2 'I need that.' / some of that.'

Kahinangyan nak maging lider si Tony. need LK become leader N Tony 'Tony should/needs to become a leader.'

Kahinangyan nak mag=basa it libro insulip si May. need LK INF=read G book tomorrow N May 'May needs to read a book tomorrow.'

In some cases the verb in the complement may be inflected for tense as in the following.

Kahinangyan nak nag=ba=basa sida it libro ngasing. need LK PROG=CV=read(AF) 3SN G book now 'She should/needs to be reading a book now.'

Kahinangyan nak nag=basa sida it libro. need LK P=read(AF) 3SN G book 'She should have read a book.'

(b) As a Noun

As a noun the root kahinangyan is suffixed with on.

Na=taw-=an nida kita it amo tanan nak kahinangyan=on. APT=give=GF 3SG 1PLN G our all LK need=NR 'He has given us all that we need.'

Maramo kag inra mga kahinangyan=on. many N their PL need=NR 'Their needs are many.'

Igwa ako't kahinangyan=on. EXT 1SN:G need=NR 'I have a need.'

(c) As an Adjective

Na=kalimut=an nida kag kahinangyan nak mga papel. APT=forget=GF 3SG N need LK PL paper 'He forgot the needed papers.'

Buko ey kahinangyan kali. NEG already need DEM1 'This is no longer needed.'

(d) As an Inflected Verb

Kahinangyan can be inflected for tense and also for focus. Compare the following.

Nag=ka=kahinangyan kag hospital it mga yamit. PROG=CV=need(AF) N hospital G PL equipment 'The hospital needs equipment.'

Kahinangyan nak hagto sida sa amo pag alas otso. need LK there 3SN O our TI TI eight 'He needs to be at our place by eight o'clock.'

Ako sida ging=ka=kahinangyan sa alas otso roto sa amo. 1SO 3SN PROG=CV=need(UF) O TI eight there O our 'I need him to be at our place by eight o'clock.'

Kahinangyan nako nak si Heather nak mag=yuto it pagkaon. need 1SG LK N Heather LK INF=cook G food 'I need Heather to cook the food.'

Ako ging=ka=kahinangyan si Heather nak mag=yuto. 1SO PROG=CV=need(UF) N Heather LK INF=cook 'I need Heather to cook the food.' Nio kag imo a=kahinangyan=on kung mag=pagto ako sa Manila? what N 2SO F=need=UF when INF=go(AF) 1SN O Manila 'What do you need when I go to Manila?'

Waya nako gi=kahinangyan=a kato. NEG 1SG P,SUBJ=need=UF DEM3 'I didn't need that.'

Indi ey nako a=kahinangyan=on kina. NEG already 1SG F=need=UF DEM2 'I won't be needing that.'

Kahinangyan nak kahinangyan nako it kwarta. need LK need 1SG N money 'I really need some money!'

Kung k=ina=kahinangyan, ma=balik ako insulip. if need=PROG=__(UF) F=return 1SN tomorrow 'If it's necessary, I will return tomorrow.'

(3) Gusto

The pseudo verb *gusto* meaning 'like', 'want' usually takes an actor in the genitive case. With verb complements the verb is in the infinitive form and is preceded by the relator 'nak'. Negation of these constructions is also shown below.

(a) A nominal object complement:

These complements can denote something indefinite (marked by genitive case) or something definite (marked by nominative case).

Gusto nako it lapis./ Gusto nako kag lapis. want 1SN G pencil/ want 1SN N pencil 'I want a pencil.' / 'I want the pencil.'

Gusto nako it pila yang it kina./ Gusto nako kina. want 1SN G some only G DEM2 / want 1SN DEM2 'I want some of that.' / 'I want that.'

Gusto nako it prito=ng isra. like 1SN G fry=LK fish 'I like fried fish.'

Buko nako gusto kag na=tura./ Indi nako gusto kag na=tura. NEG 1SG like N STAT=left.over.food 'I don't like left-over food.'

Buko nako gusto kag ako maestra./ Indi nako gusto.... NEG 1SN like N 1SO teacher NEG 1SG like..... 'I don't like my teacher.'

(b) A directional or noun phrase:

Gusto nako sa program. want 1SN O program 'I would like to be at the program.'

Gusto ni Nanay nak hali sida. like G mother REL here 3SN 'Mother wants him to be here.' or 'Mother likes his being here.'

Gusto nida nak kayaki kag anak. want 3SN REL boy N child 'She wants the child to be a boy.'

Gusto it nanay nak ma=limpyo kag bayay. want G mother REL ADJ=clean N house 'Mother wants the house to be clean.'

(c) A verb complement:

Gusto nako nak mag=katuyog ngasing. want 1SG REL INF=sleep now 'I want to sleep now.'

Gusto it anak mag=nunot. want G child INF=come.with 'The child wants to come with.'

Gusto baga nimo nak mag=kaon ngasing? like Q 2SG REL INF=eat now 'Do you want to eat now?'

Indi pa nako gusto nak mag=kaon. NEG yet 1SG want REL INF=eat 'I don't want to eat yet.'

(d) A clause complement:

Gusto nako nak a=pintura=han kag koray. want 1SG REL F=paint=GF N fence 'I want the fence painted.'

Gusto nako nak si Badlong kag mag=pintura it koray. want 1SG REL N Badlong N INF=paint(AF) G fence 'I want Badlong to be the one to paint the fence.'

Gusto nako nak ma=kita sida. want 1SG REL INF=see(UF) 3SN 'I want to see him.'

Gusto nako nak a=baky=an si Lisa it baro. want 1SG REL F=buy=BF N Lisa G dress 'I want to buy Lisa a dress.' Gusto nako nak a=ray=an kami ni Saming it isra. want 1SG REL F=bring=GF 1PLN G Saming G fish 'I want Saming to bring us some fish.'

Gusto it nanay nak mag=tungon it away kag mga anak. want G mother REL INF=stop G fight N PL child 'Mother wants the children to stop fighting.'

Gusto nako si Bebelita nak mag=pa=merkado para sa ako. want 1SG N Bebelita REL INF=DIR=marker for 0 1SO 'I want Bebelita to go to the market for me.'

Indi nako gusto nak mag=halin ey ikaw. NEG 1SG want REL INF=leave already 2SG 'I don't want you to leave yet.'

Indi nako gusto nak imo a=idamu=an kina=ng ipit. NEG 1SG want REL 2SO F=play=GF DEM2=LK clothes.pin 'I don't want you to play with the clothespins.'

Indi nida gusto nak mag=nunot kita sa ida. NEG 3SG want REL INF=go.with 1PLN 0 3SO 'She doesn't want us to go with her.'

Indi nako gusto nak si Badlong kag mag=pintura it koray. NEG 1SG want REL N Badlong N INF=paint(AF) G fence 'I don't want Badlong to (be the one to) paint the fence.'

Gusto nako nak ma=bulig sa ako kag anak. want 1SG REL F=help(AF) O 1SO N child 'I want the child to help me.'

Gusto nako nak imaw sida kag mag=bulig sa ako. want 1SG REL DET 3SN N INF=help(AF) O 1SO 'I want him to be the one to help me.'

Gusto nako nak i=hator ni Heather kali sa inra. want 1SG REL F=deliver(UF) G Heather DEM1 O 3PLO 'I want Heather to deliver this to them.'

Gusto nako nak nag=ka=kaydo si Heather adlaw=adlaw. want 1SG REL PROG=CV=cook N Heather day=DB 'I want Heather to cook every day.'

Like *kahinangyan*, *gusto* can also be inflected for tense. In all cases only non-Actor Focus occurs. There are also other semantic equivalents to *gusto* in Bantoanon; these too can be inflected for tense.

Na=gu=gustu=han nida kag koray nak di pintura. PROG=CV=like=UF 3SG N fence LK EXT paint 'He likes the fence which is painted.'

Nag=tibaw kag anak dahil na=gustu=han nida nak mag=nunot. P=cry(AF) N child because P=want=UF 3SG LK INF=go.with 'The child cryed because he wanted to go with.' Na=gu=gustu=han nida dati kag kayk pero ngasing ay waya. PROG=CV=like=UF 3SG formerly N cake but now already NEG 'She used to like cake but not anymore.'

Kabay pa nak ma=gu=gustu=han ninra kag inra a=plite=han. hope still LK F=CV=like=UF 3SG N their F=rent=GF 'I hope that they like the place they will rent.'

Waya nako na=gustu=hi kag sine. NEG 1SG P=like=SUBJ,UF N show 'I didn't like the show.'

Waya nako na=gu=gustu=hi kag tuyo. NEG 1SG PROG=CV=like=SUBJ,UF N soy.sauce 'I don't like soy sauce.'

Indi nako ma=gu=gustu=han kag inra pagkaon kung ma=ayat. NEG 1SG F=CV=like=UF N their food if ADJ=spicey 'I won't like their food if it's spicey.'

??? add examples of udan, ila, etc. ***

(4) Pwede, Maaari

The pseudo verbs *pwede* and *maaari* (more formal) are borrowed from Spanish and Tagalog. They carry the meaning of 'able to', 'can'. They occur with verb complements in which the ligature *nak* usually precedes the verb. They can also occur with an object complement and an actor with the meaning 'be up to or capable or doing something.'

Pwede baga nimo kina? can Q 2SG DEM2 'Can you do that?'

Pwede kono sida nak mag=bunak insulip. can RS 3SN LK INF=wash tomorrow 'She says she can wash clothes tomorrow.'

Pwede=ng a=pakanu=hon ni Pedro kato=ng na=sira nak koray. can=LK F=fix=UF G Pedro DEM3=LK STAT=break LK fence 'Pedro can fix that broken fence.'

Pwede nako ikaw nak a=ibh=an can 1SG 2SN LK F=accompany=GF 'I can accompany you.'

Pwede ninra=ng a=buyar=on kag paya sa karsada. can 3PLG=LK F=cry=UF N rice 0 street 'They can dry the rice on the street.'

Indi pwede ikaw nak mag=nunot sa amo. NEG can 2SG LK INF=go.with O 1PLO 'You can't go with us.' *Pwede* cannot be inflected for tense. However tense can be expressed by inflecting the verb in the verb complement.

Pwede nak a=pakandu=hon ni Pedro kina. can Lk F=fix=UF G Pedro DEM2 'Pedro will be able to fix that.'

Pwede nak ging=pa=pakando ni Pedro kina. can LK PROG=CV=fix(UF) G Pedro DEM2 'Pedro is fixing (can fix) that.'

Pwede nak ging=pakando ni Pedro kina. can LK P=fix(UF) G Pedro DEM2 'Pedro was able to fix that.'

Pwede is often used together with Aptative Aspect to express the ability to do something. Aptative Aspect only is usually used to express tense. Other constructions which express the semantic notion of ability, or which are used to express a request ('may I..') are '*kaya* and the Social affix *maki*-. (see Section 4.5.5)

Indi pwede=ng ma=abri=han kali. NEG can=LK APT,INF=open=GF DEM1 'This can not be opened.'

Pwede nako=ng ma=intik kali=ng karne it kali=ng sipoy. can lSg=LK APT,INF=cut(UF) DEM1=LK meat G DEM1=LK knife 'I can cut this meat with this knife.'

Na=intik nako kali=ng karne it kali=ng sipoy. APT,P=cut(UF) 1SG DEM1=LK meat G DEM=LK knife 'I was able to cut this meat with this knife.'

Pwede=ng ma=ka=bisaya ikaw nako? can=LK APT,INF=SOC=speak(UF) 2SN 1SG 'Can I please speak with you?'

Pwede=ng ma=bulig=an nimo ako? can=LK APT,INF=help=GF 2SG 1SN 'Can you help me?'

Pwede nako nak ma=i=tao kali sa ida. can 1SG LK APT,INF=UF=give DEM1 0 3SO 'I can give this to him.'

Na=bunggo nako kag iro it bato. APT,P=hit(UF) 1SG N dog G rock 'I was able to hit the dog with a rock.'

Kaya nako kina. can 1SN DEM2 'I can do that.'

Pwede nak maka=panimati sa inro radyo? can LK APT,INF=listen(AF) O your radio 'Can I listen to your radio?' Makiki=panimati ako sa inro radyo? SOC=listen 1SN O your radio 'Can I please listen to your radio?'

6.2.2 Relative Clause

The relative clauses in these sentences describe the manner in which the action in the verb phrase is performed. They are introduced by *nak* and followed by a verb in Progressive tense. The actor may appear either in the head verb phrase or in the relative clause.

Nag=halin sida nak nag=ti=tibaw. P=leave(AF) 3SN SUB PROG=CV=cry 'She left crying.'

Nag=sunor sida it sugo nak nag=ngu=nguyob. P=follow(AF) 3SN G commond SUB PROG=CV=murmur 'She obeyed the command murmuring.'

Nag=pa=panaw sida nak nag=ka=katuyog. PROG=CV=walk(AF) 3SN SUB PROG=CV=sleep 'She's walking sleeping' (i.e., she's walking while sleeping/ she's sleep walking)

Nag=paning=gaha sida nak nag=u=ukaw it bulig. P=???=window(AF) 3SN SUB PROG=CV=shout G help 'She went to the window shouting help.'

Nag=liwas roto nak nag=ra=rayagan kag anak. P=outside(AF) there SUB PROG=CV=run N child 'The child came running out of the house.'

6.2.3 Subordinate Clause

(1) with nak

In these sentence constructions the verb phrase is followed by a subordinate clause introduced by *nak*. The verb in the subordinate clause occurs in the infinite form. It can also occur in a negated form.

Na=tintar si Ben nak mag=bakay it kotse. P=tempt(UF) N Ben SUB INF=buy(AF) G car 'Ben was tempted to buy a car.'

Nag=pa=bilin sida nak mag=aray it maado.
P=CAUS=continue(AF) 3SN SUB INF=study G well
'She continued to study well.'

Bantoanon Grammar

Ing=pa=bada=an it nanay nak mag=muyat kag anak it sine.
P=CAUSE=neglect=GF G mother SUB INF=watch N child G movie
'Mother allowed the child to watch the movie.'

Huyat=a nak mag=kayarkar kag tubi. wait=IMP,UF SUB INF=boil N water 'Wait for the water to boil.'

Ako kag nag=ikag sa ida nak a=tagm=an kag ako ni=yuto. 1SN N P=invite(AF) O her SUB INF=taste=GF N my P=cook(UF) 'I was the one who invited her to taste what I cooked.'

Nag=panaw sida nak waya gi=pamuhon. P=walk/go.out 3SN SUB NEG SUBJ=permission(AF) 'She went out without permission.'

Other subordinate clauses are not marked by *nak* when the verb in the clause is Actor Focus. These also are in the infinitive form. However if the verb is non-Actor focus the clause is always marked by *nak*. An alternate construction occurs with the verb in its root form preceded by the Genitive *it*.

Nag=porba ako mag=abri sa lata it sipoy. P=try(AF) 1SN INF=open(AF) O can G knife 'I tried to open the can with a knife.'

Nag=porba ako nak i=pang=abri kag sipoy it lata. P=try(AF) 1SN SUB F=IF=open N knife G can 'I used the knife to try to open the can.'

Na=ahat=an ako mag=pauli. P=hesitate=UF 1SN INF=go.home(AF) 'I hesitated to go home.'

Na=ahat=an ako nak a=pa=pauli=on kag mga anak. P=hesitate=UF 1SN SUB INF=CAUS=go.home=(A2F) N PL child 'I hesitated to send the children home.'

Nag=pi=pisan kami mag=bunak sa sapa. PROG=CV=together 1PLN INF=wash.clothes PREP river 'We wash clothes together at the river.'

Na=hu=huda sida mag=pangutana kang Mr. Perez. PROG=CV=shy(UF) 3SN INF=question O Mr. Perez 'She's shy to ask Mr. Perez a question.'

Nag=tungon sinra it trabaho tong alas kwatro./ mag=trabaho P=stop(AF) 3PLN G work P TI four INF=work(AF) 'They stopped work/ working at four o'clock.'

6.2.4 **Optatives**

Optative (??? action or mood) is expressed by either of two words, *kabay pa* or *tana*, both meaning '(I) hope that'. The first is followed by the subordinate marker *nak* and the latter by the inversion particle *ay*. These are both followed by the verb in its infinitive form.

Kabay pa nak maka=biyahe ikaw it maado. I hope SUB APT,INF=travel 2SN G well 'I hope you have a good trip.'

Tan-a ay maka=abot ka sa imo a=pagtu=an. hope INV APT,INF=arrive(AF) 2SN PREP your INF=go=GF 'I hope you arrive at the place that you're going to.'

Tan-a ay maka=ani kamo it maado. hope INV APT,INF=harvest(AF) 2PLN G well 'I hope you have a good harvest.'

Other optative like constructions make use of phrase meaning 'by God's mercy', ';f God is merciful', etc.

Sa kaluoy it Diyos ay maka=ka=ani kita it maado. O mercy G God INV APT,F=CV=harvest(AF) 1PLN G well 'By the mercy of God we will have a good harvest.'

SEMANTIC RELATIONS:

7. Groupings of Semantic Relations

This section of the grammar is based on the **semantic relations** between clauses in complex sentences. Such relations are usually marked by overt conjunctions. One conjunction may be used to link more than one semantic relation.

7.1 Conjunctive

Conjunction occurs when two parts of a sentence are conjoined with the conjunction *ag* 'and'.

(1) Conjunctive: and

It often joins two somewhat **unrelated activities** performed by the same actor(s). Sometimes the activities may be simultaneous but often they are sequential.

Ahugasan ag atrapuhan namo ka mga pinggan. wash and cloth we plate 'We will wash and dry the dishes.' Nagkaligos *ag* nag-ilis sida. bath and change she 'She bathed and changed.'

Nagkanta, nagsadaw ag nag-idamo sinra. sing dance and play they 'They sang, danced and played.'

(2) Conjunctive: and

This conjunction may also join activities performed by two **different actors**.

Nagbubunak si Nanay *ag* nag-iidamo ka mga anak. launder mother and play child 'Mother is washing clothes and the children are playing.'

Amerikano sida *ag* Pilipina ka ida asawa. American he and Filipina his spouse 'He is American and his wife is a Filipina.'

7.2 **Disjunctive**

Disjunction occurs when alternatives are presented by means of the conjunction o 'or'.

(1) Disjunctive: or

The disjunctive has two or more **alternatives** joined by *o* 'or'. This conjunction may also express the English alternative of 'either-or'.

Mahalin kamo o mapabilin dili? leave you or leave.behind here 'Will you leave or will you stay here?'

Bakay it tinapay *o* puya nak bugas. buy bread or red rice 'Buy either bread or brown rice.'

Silingga sida o kung buko ay suyati yang. tell her or if not write just 'Tell her, or if not just write to her.'

(2) Disjunctive: neither-nor

The two alternatives may be both **negative** and still be joined by *o* or they may take the repeated conjunctions *ni...ni* 'neither-nor' which occur, one before each alternative.

Waya sida it hali o maguyang. none he sibling or old.person 'He has no brothers and sisters or parents.'

Waya sida *ni* hali *ni* maguyang. none he sibling old.person 'He has neither brothers and sisters, nor parents.'

Ni ngasing ni insulip ay indi ako makakahalin.
today tomorrow not I leave
'I won't be able to leave either today or tomorrow.'

(3) Disjunctive: either-or

Other disjunctive constructions are:

aber...o/..man o.. 'either-or'

Aber ikaw o ako ay pweding maghimo it kina. you or I possible do that 'Either you or I can do that.'

Sa suyor *man o* sa liwas ay pweding kitang magsadaw. inside or outside possible we dance 'We can hold the dance either indoors or outdoors.'

... kung buko ay....yang 'or if not...then just'

Silingga sida o kung buko ay suyati yang. tell him or if not write just 'Tell him or if not then just write to him.'

7.3 Adversitive

Adversitive sentences have two parts contrasted by the conjunction pero 'but'.

(1) Adversitive: but

The most definite contrast is presented by **pero** 'but'.

Maayo si Rosa *pero* buko maado ka ida mga marka. intelligent Rosa but not good her mark 'Rosa is intelligent but her marks aren't good.'

Gusto nakong mapagto sa parti *pero* indi nida. want I go party but not she 'I want to go to the party but she doesn't.'

(2) Adversitive: however

Another adversitive conjunction is **ugaling** but this is not always interchangeable with *pero* and may have a milder usage somewhat like the English **'however'**. The variants *ugang* and *galing* also occur. There are also other contrastive constructions which use *kadâ* 'therefore' to express contrast.

Maayo si Rosa ugaling ay buko maado ka ida mga marka. intelligent Rosa not good her mark 'Rosa is intelligent however her marks are not good.'

Ako ay inggugutom it kumanugaling waya'eyngasing dahilnagkaon akoIhungerearliernone.already nowbecause eatI

it pilang saging. some bananas 'I was hungry earlier but I'm not any more because I ate some bananas.'

Inghanap nida kag kulintas *ugaling yang ay* waya'ey nida nakita. *kada ugaling ay kada yang ay ugaling ay* look.for she necklace none.already she see 'She looked for the necklace but she didn't find it.'

(3) Adversitive: but rather

Another construction is used in the sense of 'but instead/but rather'. The first clause is introduced by a negator and is joined to the second clause by *kundi ay*.

Buko dili kundi ay sa banwa ka miting. not here town meeting 'The meeting is not here, (but) it's in town instead.'

Buko si Juan ka maabot kundi ay si Pedro. not Juan arrive Pedro 'It's not Juan who's coming but it's Pedro instead.'

Indi ikaw makaigwa it kaling kapada o kaling kabugaw *kundi ay* batag yang. not you is this papaya or this pomelo banana just 'You can't have the papaya or the pomelo, but instead just have the banana.'

Ka inra mga bisita ay buko yang taga-rili kundi ay taga-Maynila ra. their visitor not only from.here from.Manila also 'Their visitors are not only from here but also from Manila.'

(4) Adversitive: except for

The construction *kundi ay* also expresses the sense of 'except for' when it is sentence medial. The conjunction *pwera* or its variant *puriya* also express the sense 'except for' but may occur both sentence initial and sentence medial.

Waya't tawo roto kundi ay si Ben. none person there Ben 'Except for Ben, there's noone there.'

Pwera sa ida kaaway tanan ay ida ingsuyatan./
except her enemy all she write /

Tanan ay ida ingsuyatan *pwera* kag ida kaaway. all she wrote except her enemy 'Whe wrote to everyone except her enemy.'

(5) Linkers: without

The **linkers** *it* and *nak* when followed by a negator may encode the adversitive 'without'.

Naghalin sida *nak waya* nakita kag prinsipal. leave he none see principal 'He left without having seen the Principal.'

Nakakabisikleta sida *it waya* hudot-hudot sa manubela. bicycle he none hold handlebars 'He can ride the bicycle without holding onto the handlebars.'

(6) Adversitive: would have but

The adversitive can state that one event is **contrafactual** in a clause encoded with the particle **tan-a** and the contrasting clause encoded with *pero* 'but'. (see 5.3.2 b5 Contrafactual Sentences)

Nagbunak *tan-a* ako *pero* naginuyan. launder I but rain 'I would have washed the clothes but it rained.'

7.4 **Temporal**

Temporal relations include those which are in sequence, simultaneous, co-occuring, beginning-post-span, and pre-span-end.

7.4.1 Sequence

(1) Sequence: then

A **sequence** of events is a number of events that occur one after the other. Depending on the point of perspective the sequence may be described as one event preceeding another, or as one event following another. The sequence is indicated by a number of conjunctions including those which mean 'then', 'before', 'after that', 'next', and 'now then'. (1) The sequence of events used in the English sense of 'then' is conjoined by the conjunction *tapos* (literally 'finish'). The second clause expresses the later event in the sequence.

Nakaon anay sida *tapos* nabasa it dyaryo. eat he read newspaper 'He eats first then reads the newspaper.'

Tong sinra'y maglugit, nagpatawog anay sinra *tapos* nagpakarusa it mga nidog that they copra climb first they then sled coconut

patapahan.

heat.dry

'When they got the copra, first they climbed the trees for the coconuts then they took the coconuts by sled to the drying rack.'

Tong natipon'ey kag mga nidog, ingpatapasan'ey ninra ag *tapos* that collect.already coconut dehusk.already they and then

ingpabuong.

split

'when the coconut's have been gathered, and they have dehusked them and then they are split.'

(2) Sequence: before

Another conjunction used to show sequence is *bag-o* used in the sense of 'before' (Spanish variant *praber*). The clause following the conjunction is the later event in the sequence.

Karpintero anay sida bag-onagtuna nak magtrabaho dili.carpenterhebeginworkhere'He was a carpenter first before he began to work here.'

Bag-o sida mag-aray, nagbabasa anay sida it dyaryo. she study read she newspaper 'Before she studies she reads the newspaper.'

Nabunak anay sida *bag-o* nakaydo. eat she cook.rice 'She washes the clothes before she cooks the rice.'

Some uses of *bag-o* cannot so easily be translated by 'before' but mark the sequence in the sense of 'then' and can often be easily substituted for *tapos*.

Pagkayuto't lugit inghaon ag *bag-o* ingyukar. cook copra take.off.fire and pry.out.copra 'When the copra is cooked enough it is taken off the fire and then the copra is pried out.'

(3) Sequence: after

The **sequence** expressing the English sense of 'after' is conjoined by *matapos* or *pagkatapos* (from the root 'finish') The event following this conjunction is the first in the sequence.

Pagkatapos nak limpyuhon it kabulig ka salas mag-aaray ako roto.cleanhelplounge studyI'After the maid cleans the lounge I'll study there.'

Matapos ninrang buongon kag mga nidog ingkamada ninra sa tapahan. after they split coconut arrange they heat.dry 'After they split the coconuts they arrange them on the drying rack.'

Mapaule'y sida *matapos* basahon ka mga suyat./ go.home.already he read letter/

Mapaule'y sida pagkatapos nida't basa it mga suyat. go.home.already he he read letter 'He will go home after he's read the letter.'

(4) Sequence: next

The **sequence** expressing the English 'next' is conjoined by *masunor/sunor* (from the root 'follow').

Nagpagto anay ako kana Linda *masunor* ay kana Enter. go I Linda Enter 'I first went to Linda's then to Enter's next.'

Sida anay ka ing-anak sunor ay ako. he give.birth I 'He was born first and then I was next.'

Matapos ninrang buongon kag mga nidog ingkamada ninra sa tapahan, bag-o after they split coconut arrange they heat.dry

masunor ay impambutangan ninra it bunot kag silong it tapahan. follow put they husk space.under heat.dry 'After they split the coconuts, they arrange them on the drying rack, then next they put the husk underneath the drying rack.'

(5) Sequence: and then

The **conjunction** ag 'and' may also link sequential events.

Nagkaligos ag nag-ilis sida. bath and change she 'She bathes and then changed.'

Pagkayuto't lugit inghaon ag bag-o ingyukar. cook copra take.off.fire and pry.out.copra 'When the copra is cooked enough it is taken off the fire then before the copra is pried out.'

Tong natipon'ey kag mga nidog, ingpatapasan'ey ninra ag tapos ingpabuong that collect.already coconut dehusk.already they and split 'When the coconuts have been collected, and they have dehusked them, then they are split.'

Pagkatapos it kina ingintik-intik'ey ninra ag sa kahuli-hulihan ay ingbutangfinishthat cut.small.already they andlateput

sa mga kostal para bakitahon. bag for pack.down 'After that they cut it in smaller pieces then lastly put it in bags for packing down.'

(6) Sequence: now

A **Common marker** of a sequential event, usually sentence initial is *ngasing* 'today/now', used in the English sense of 'then' or 'now what happened next was....'.

Ngasing ako ay ingpadar-an it suyat it tong ako manghor sa Simara today/now I carry letter that my younger.sibling Simara

para papagtuon sa Mindoro nak ako ay adar-on sa Maynila. for go Mindoro I carry Manila 'So then I sent a letter to my younger brother in Simara to have him come to Mindoro from where I would take him to Manila.'(11 Life Story: B.Moreno)

Ngasing ka ako siling ay 'Badyang roto'ey kami napaabot it gira today/now I tell never.mind there.already we arrive war

sa Maynila.' Manila 'So then I said, 'Never mind if there is already war in Manila we have to get there.'(18 Life Story: B.Moreno)

(7) Sequence: then

Other constructions that can be used in the sense of 'then' are *indî* ay, ay $d\hat{i}/d\hat{i}$ and ay. The ay is by far the most common sequence linker in oral prose, followed by $d\hat{i}$ and ay $d\hat{i}$.

(a) indî ay

Indi ay nakatuyog ray ako.
 sleep again I
'Then I went to sleep again.'(38 Haunted House: R.Fajutag)

Pag maramo kag isra indi ay mabislar kita. many fish dried.fish we 'When there are a lot of fish, then we will dry them.'

(b) *ay dî*

Ay di, aber tong ako yadag nak kababa, ako ingbatak.... even that my sail low/short I fold.sail 'Then, eventhough my sail was down I folded it up.' (50 Accident at Sea: B.Fernandez)

Ay di, nagrunggo ra kami kana Joving it mga alas-sais'y medya it gab-i. dock also we Joving o'clock.six half night 'Then, we docked at Joving's place at about half past six at night too.' (13 Accident at Sea: B.Fernandez) (c) dî

Di, naisip nako, pag indi nako makita si Joving syempre aimbistigahon ako. think I not I find Joving certain investigate me 'Then I thought, if I don't find Joving I will be investigated for sure.' (55 Accident at Sea: B.Fernandez)

Di sige ako nak bugsay. Di pay nawagit sa ako mata tong maitom,.... continue I paddle like lose my eye that black 'Then I kept on paddling. Then it was like I lost my eyes in that blackness..' (68-69 Accident at Sea: B.Fernandez)

(d) *ay*

Ay siling nako 'Hanapi, May ako it kaibahan'. tell I look.for Mom I companion 'Then I said, 'Look for a companion for me Mom.' (2 Accident at Sea: B.Fernandez)

Ay nakaonan ray kami't beynte otso bilog ray uli. eat again we twenty eight whole again again 'Then we pulled in twenty-eight more (fish) the next time.' (9 Accident at Sea: B.Fernandez)

7.4.2 Simultaneous

Simultaneous events are those which at some point cooccur. They include events that happen at the same point of time in the English sense of 'when', events that are concurrent over a period of time in the English sense of 'while', events which overlap in some way. Sometimes the events meet only at the point where one is ending and the other is beginning.

(1) Simultaneous: when

If **simultaneous events** occur in the past they are marked with *kag/katong* (variants *it kag/ it katong/tong*).

Kag nagtatrabaho kono sida sa Maynila, marako ka ida sweldo. work report he Manila big his wage 'When he was working in Manila they say he got a high wage.'

Nakaistar sida sa dormitoryo *katong* estudyante sida. dwell he dormitory that student he 'He stayed in the dormitory when he was a student.'

Another way of expressing simultaneous events is with *pag/pagka* whether in the past, present or future. The conjunction *kung* 'if' may also be used with the sense of 'when'. Simultaneous events may be indicated by the gerund where *pag* is prefixed to the verb, or it may stand alone as a free form introducing the clause. This is the usage that often refers to events which meet at a certain point such as when one event is ending and the next begins.

Paghagar nako, ingtao nida sa ako.ask.for Igive she'When I asked, she gave it to me.'

PangingisraniJuan, nagnununotkahalinida.go.fishingJuango.withrelative him'WhenJuangoesfishinghiscousingoeswith

Mahalin ako *pag-abot* nak pag-abot ninra. leave I arrive arrive they 'I'll leave as soon as they arrive.'

Maaslom kaling prutas *pagkahilaw*. sour this fruit unripe 'This fruit is sour when its unripe.'

Pag nagbibisaya it Tagalog si Juan, napapaguya kami. speak Tagalog Juan laugh we 'When Juan speaks Tagalog it makes us laugh.'

Pag indi'ey nimo kahinangyan kali, ataguon'ey nako. not.already you need this hide.already I 'When you don't need this I'll put it away.'

Nahuhuda sida magpayungot *pag* sida ay nakakasala. shame he near he sin 'He is ashamed to come close when he has done something wrong.

Pagka natapos'ey kag inra paglugit, ahakuton'ey it dyip sa pisaran. finish.already their copra carry.whole.already jeep weigh.and.sell 'When they've finished making the copra, it is transported by jeep to where it is weighed and sold.'

Nayain kag lasa't bislar *pagka* indi maasinan o mabuyar it maado. bad taste dried.fish not salt or sun.dry good 'Dried fish gets a bad taste when it's not salted or dried well.'

Magpalakpakan kamo *pagkarawat* nako kali sa ida. clap you hand.sth.to I this him 'You clap when I hand this to him.'

The conjunction *kung* 'if' may also be used in the sense of 'when' where other forms *pag* or *pagka* may replace it.

Kung makikita nako sida asilinggon nako sa ida kag natabo. if see I him tell I him happen 'When I see him I'll tell him what happened.'

Permi sinrang pasyar kang lola kung naghahalin sinra sa eskwelahan. always they stroll grandmother if leave they school 'They always visit their grandmother when they leave school.'

(2) Simultaneous: while

Events which are **simultaneous** over a period of time in the sense of the English 'while' are introduced or conjoined by *habang* (Spanish variant *miyentras*). Other forms used may include *hanggang* and *hastang*, though *hastang* is said by some to carry a Tagalog flavour.

Habang nagtatrabaho si Juan, nagkakanta sida. while work Juan sing he 'While Juan works, he sings.'

Nag-iidamo ka mga anak *habang* nagbubunak si Nanay. play child while launder Mother 'The children play while mother washes the clothes.'

Indi ako magbakay *hanggang* nagbibisaya ikaw. not I buy while speak you 'I will not buy while you are talking.'

Hastang sa inra pa kag inra bisita, indi sida makapanumbayay nak sahoy their still their visitor not she house busy

sida sa inra bayay. she their house 'While their visitors are still at their place she can't go visiting other houses because she's busy at their house.'

Hastang mainit pa kag sabaw ay maado gihigupon. hot still soup good drink.soup 'While the soup is still hot it's good to drink.

(3) Simultaneous: now

Simultaneous events may also be marked by *ngasing* 'today/now' and '*oras* 'hour' usually for overlapping events. Overlapping events may include some which continue over a period of time while others occur at point(s) of time during the time period.

Ngasing nak manggaranon'ey sida waya'ey sida gipapasayar sa amo. now rich.already he not.already he stroll us 'Now that he's rich he doesn't come by our place.'

Oras nak mag-abot sinra atawagan nako kamo. hour arrive they I you 'The minute they arrive I'll call you

Magpalakpakan kamo sa *oras* irawat nako kali sa ida. clap you hour hand.to.smb I this her 'You clap the minute I pass this to her.'

(4) Simultaneous: as soon as

The English sense of **'as soon as'** is indicated by *kag/katong* in the past or *pag*, *pagka* or *kung*.

Pag mag-uyan'ey pinawa kag mga binuyar.
rain.already bring.in sun.dry
'As soon as it rains, bring in the clothes off the line huh!'

Kag makita nako sida nakilaya nako sida nak raan. see I her recognize I her immediately 'As soon as I saw her I recognized her at once.'

Pagka natapos'ey kag inra lugit, ahakuton'ey it dyip sa pisaran. finish.already their copra carry.whole.already jeep weigh.and.sell 'As soon as they have finished preparing the copra it is transported by jeep to where it is weighed and sold.'

(5) Simultaneous: only when

The English sense of 'only then/it's only when' is indicated by hingan.

Hingan kag anak natibaw pagnagugutom'ey. only.then child cry hunger.already 'The child only cries when he's hungry.'

Hingan napinawa kag mga binuyar pag nag-uyan'ey. only.then bring.in sun.dry rain.already 'The dried clothes are brought in only when it's already raining.'

Buko nak *hingan*'ey naplastar kung nag-abot'ey kag bisita. not only.then.already put.in.place arrive.already visitor 'The table's not set only when the visitors have already arrived.'

Taw-an sa ida kag pamasahe pag *hingan*'ey sida mahalin. give him fare only.then.already he leave 'Give him the fare just when he's leaving.'

(6) Simultaneous: just when

Another construction used is *imaw pa* in the English sense of 'just then is when'.

Kung hariin pa giabot'ey kag mga bisita ay *imaw pa* ra if where still arrive.already visitor that.one still also

maglimpyo it bayay.

clean house 'When the visitors are already arriving, that's when you'll go on and clean the house!'

Imaw pa ra kag ida pagpasador sa ako nak maabot sida tong that.one still also she know me arrive she that

pahalinon'ey ako pa-Maynila. leave.already I Manila

'Just when I was leaving for Manila, that's when she let me know that she would be arriving.'

Tong pagbagting sa eskwelahan it pangreses ay *imaw pa* yang nida it that bell school recess that.one still just he

pagpaeskwelahan. school

'Just when the bell rang for school recess was when he got to school.'

Kung kauno nag-aandar ka bus, ay *imaw pa* mahagar it maiinom ka anak. if when start.engine bus that.one still ask.for drink child 'Just when the bus starts to go that's when the child asks for a drink.'

(7) Simultaneous: as long as

The English sense of 'as long as' is encoded by hanggang.

Hanggang nagtatrabaho sida waya ako't mabibisaya. work he not I speak 'As long as he does the work I have no objection.'

(8) Simultaneous: just as

The construction tama rang is used for the English sense of 'just as'.

Pag-abot nimo ay *tama rang* nakatapos kag rasay. arrive you finish pray 'You arrived just as I had finished praying.'

Tama rang sida maabot ay tapos'ey kag pagpanilhig. she arrive finish.already sweep 'I'd finished sweeping just as she arrived.'

Pagmuyat nako't ingyaya-ga ay *tama rang* mauubos'ey kag tubig. look I boil used.up.already water 'When I looked at the boiling food it was just as all the water had boiled away.'

7.4.3 Co-occurrence

Co-occurrence of events has a recurrent aspect as well and is encoded with *káda* 'everytime/whenever'.

Kada igwa kono sida it kwarta nagyayango sida.
 is report he money drunk he
'Whenever he has money they say he gets drunk.'

Nagtitibaw ka anak *kada* naghahalin sa bayay ka nanay. cry child leave house mother 'The child cries everytime the mother leaves the house.'

7.4.4 Beginning-post-span

This beginning-post-span refers to time where the beginning point of a continuing timespan is specified. The timespan follows that specific point so is called 'post-span'. The beginning point is marked with túnà/magtúnà 'begin' introducing clauses that carry the English sense of 'since/from now on'.

Magtunatong namatay kag ida asawa, waya'eysida nakahuman it trabaho.beginthat diehis spouse not.already hedowork'Ever since his wife died be hasn't been able to do any work.'

Tuna ngasing puat ninra ikakandado ka mga hagranan. begin now continuous they lock door 'From now on they will always lock the doors.'

Tuna mamatay si Akino nagmahay kag tanan. begin die Akino expensive all 'Since the death of Akino everything has become expensive.'

7.4.5 Pre-span-end

The *pre-span-end* refers to time where the end point of a continuing timespan is specified. The timespan preceeds that specific point so is called pre-span. The end point is marked with *hanggang* in the sense of 'until'. Some speakers also use *hastang* in this sense but it has been said to carry a Tagalog sound.

Hastang magpauli kag anak ay sigeng tinibaw. go.home child continue cry 'The child continued crying until he got home.'

Ingrabukan nida kag sinugnar nak karne *hastang* magpakaduta. fuel.a.fire she put.on.stove meat soft 'She kept on putting wood on the fire until the meat on the stove had become soft.'

Hanggang waya pa sinra it sarili nak bayay dili maistar sinra sa amo. until not still they own house here dwell they our 'Until they have a house of their own here they will live at our place.' (Literal: While they still don't have their own house...) Ingbuyar ninra sa adlaw *hanggang* mauga. dry.in.sun they day until dry 'They dried it in the sun until dry.'

Mabisaya nak mabisaya ako *hanggang* magbakay sida. speak speak I until buy she 'I'll talk and talk until she buys.'

It can be seen above that some uses of *hanggang* are close to the simultaneous meaning of 'while' when translated into English. The *hanggang waya* 'while there is not' is usually translated positively in English 'until there is' or as a condition 'unless there is'. (see 7.9 Condition)

Waya sida gitutungon it bisaya *hanggang* indi mabakay ka ida baligya. not she stop speak until not buy you she sell 'She wouldn't stop talking until they bought what she was selling.' (Literal: While they weren't buying what she was selling...)

Another variant of this construction has a positive statement preceeding the *hanggang*.

Mabisaya ako *hanggang* indi sida magbakay. speak I until not she buy 'I will talk until she buys it.' (Literal: While she is not buying it...)

7.5 Reason

Reason sentences usually carry the sense of 'because', encoded by *dahil*. A number of constructions encode reason or cause relations. Another common sense in which this relation is used is to say 'the reason why'/'that's why'.

7.5.1 because

The conjunction dahil 'because' introduced reason or cause clauses. (Spanish variant *komo*) The construction *bangor nak* seems to be synonymous with dahil. *Dahilan* 'because' occurs but it seems to be a more Tagalog form.

Dahil(sa) nahuli ako waya nako narungog kag inapaarayan.becauselateInotIhearstudy'BecauseI waslateIdidnothearwhathadtobestudied.'

Indi sida makakatambong sa miting *dahil* (sa) maramo sidang trabaho. not he attend meeting because much he work 'He won't be able to attend the meeting because he has a lot of work.'

Mag-aaray ako insulip *dahil* waya't panahon ngasing. study I tomorrow because none time today 'I'll study tomorrow because I haven't got time today.' Bangor kono nak nag-uuyan, ingpapaurong kag idamo. report rain postpone game 'They said that because it rained the game will be postponed.'

Bangor nak maado kag raga, nag-uswag kag mga bag-uhan. good earth prosper new 'Because the land was good, the immigrants prospered.'

7.5.2 just because

The English sense 'just because' is expressed by *sa ngayan nak* (Spanish variant *porke*) which only occurs sentence initial.

Sa ngayan nak pobre kami inro yang kami ugir-ugiron. name poor we you just we make.fun.of 'Just because we are poor you make fun of us.'

Sa ngayan nak sida'y nagbaton it maadong marka, waya'ey sida name he receive good mark not.already he

nakikipag-bisaya sa ato. speak us 'Just because he got a good grade, he doesn't speak to us any more.'

7.5.3 that's why

The English sense of 'that's why' is expressed by numerous constructions:		
kadâ ugaling	'therefore however'(see 7.6 Result)	
kadâ yang ugaling	'therefore just however'(see 7.6 Result)	
kadâ gáni	'therefore therefore/really'	
ugáe ay	'as it turned out the reason why'(see 7.6 Result)	
papáuno ay	'how'	
nak	'which'(Linker)	
búsàkadâ	'cause/faulttherefore'	
dahil búsà	'because cause/fault'	
nak búsà	'which cause/fault'	
ay sa	'because'	

(1) That's why: kadâ ugaling

Kada ugaling nako sida ingpapauli, basa sida. therefore however I him go.home wet he 'The reason why I sent him home is that he was wet.' (Result: (reason) He was wet so (result) I sent him home.)

Kada ugaling ingpukan kag nidog ay sira'ey ra. therefore however chop.down coconut rotten.already also 'The reason why the coconut was chopped down is that it was rotten.' (Result: (result) The coconut was chopped down because it was rotten.)

(2) That's why: kadâ yang ugaling

Kada yang galing waya kato nadayon nak nag-abot si Mayor. therefore just however not that continue arrive Mayor 'The reason why it didn't happen was that the Mayor arrived.' (Result: (reason) The mayor arrived so (result) it didn't happen.)

Kada yang ugaling impahuli kag suyat ay buko pa tapos kina. therefore just however late letter not yet finish that 'The reason why the letter was late is that it wasn't finished yet.' (Result: (reason) The letter wasn't finished yet therefore it was late.)

(3) That's why: kadâ gáni

Kada gani ikaw nako ingpatawag ay agor aumaan. therefore you I call in.order.to inform 'The reason why I phoned was to tell you.' (Result: (result of a prior impetus) I phoned (purpose) to tell you.)

Kada gani ikaw ingbinlan nida't suya ay ayam nidang waya ka't bayon. therefore you leave.swh she viand know she none you lunch 'The reason why she left you some food to go with your rice is that she knew that you didn't have any with you.' (Result: (reason) She knew that you didn't have anything in your lunch to go with your rice therefore she left you some.)

Waya sida gisuyat-suyat kada gani nalibugan ka ida mga maguyang. not she write.letter therefore worry her parent 'She didn't write any letters, that's why her parents were worried.' (Result: (reason) She didn't write any letters therefore her parents were worried.)

(4) So that's why: ugáe ay

Waya sida giabot ugae ay nakahalin'ey. not she arrive leave.already 'She didn't come because it turned out that she'd already left.' (Result: (reason) She'd already left so (result) she didn't come.)

Gutom'ey kag ida anak *ugae ay* nagtibaw. hunger.already her child cry '(It turned out that) her child was hungry so that's why he cried.' (Result: (reason) The child was hungry therefore he cried.)

Ugae ay nagpapakatibaw ka anak, ingkagat yaki it gudom. cry child bite ant 'So that's why the child was crying, (it turned out that) she was bitten by an ant.' (Result: (reason) She was bitten by an ant so (result) she was crying.)

Ugae ay waya sida kabalik nak raan ay nagmasakit sida. not he return immediately sick he 'It turned out that he didn't return straight away because he got sick.' (Result: (result) he didn't return straight away because he got sick.)

(5) That's why: papauno ay

Nawagit sida *papauno ay* waya nida naraya kag hawir it istaran. lose she how not she carry copy dwell 'She got lost because she didn't take a copy of the address.'

Naubos kag ako buyak *papauno ay* inghinagar. consume I flower how ask.for 'I'm out of flowers, that's why I asked for some.'

(6) That's why: nak

Indi kami magbakay it isra sa inro *nak* igwa sa amo it nagbabadar it isra not we buy fish you is our pay fish

sa inra huyam nak kwarta. them borrow money 'We won't buy fish from you because there is someone paying off their debt to us in fish.'

Hastang sa inra pa kag inra bisita, indi sida makapanumbayay *nak* while their still their visitor not she go.to.a.house

sahoy sida sa inra bayay. busy she their house 'While their visitors are still at their place she can't go visiting other houses because she's busy at their place.'

(7) That's why: búsà....kadâ / kadâ....búsà

Busa imong bakoy kag iro kada kinagat ka. / cause you hit dog therefore bite you /

Imo busa imbakoy kag iro kada kinagat ka. you cause hit dog therefore bite you 'Because you bit the dog (therefore) it bit you./It's your fault for hitting the dog, so it bit you./You caused the dog to bite you by hitting it.'

Masakit *busa* ka ako anak *kada* mapalta ako sa opisina. sick cause my child therefore be.absent I office 'Because my child is sick (therefore) I will be absent from the office.'

Kada ka busa inglapo ay nagbinakak ka ra. therefore you cause whip tell.lie you also 'The reason why you were whipped is because you told a lie.' (Result: You told a lie therefore you were whipped.)

Kada sida busa ingpapauli ay naggugulo. therefore he cause go.home noise 'The reason he was sent home is that he made a lot of noise.' (Result: He made a lot of noise therefore he was sent home.)

(8) That's why: búsà

Pahuyama ako it sunrang nak ako *busa* mapangahoy./ borrow me machete I cause get.wood /

Pahuyama ako it sunrang ay mapangahoy *busa* ako. borrow I machete get.wood cause I 'Loan me a machete because I am going to get wood.'

Buyara ngasing kag payay nak igwa pa busa it silak. sun.dry today rice is still cause sunlight 'Dry the rice in the sun today because it's still sunny.'

(9) That's why: dahil búsà

Waya ako nakapagto *dahil busa* ay sahoy sa bayay. not I go because cause busy house 'I didn't go because I was busy at home.'

Dahil busa sa inro pinilyo nabisar-an kamo nida. because cause your mischief speak you she 'Because of your mischief she scolded you./It's your fault for being naughty that she scolded you.'

Dahil busa raya-raya nida kag idamuan sa liwas, kada kali'y nawagit. because cause carry he play outside therefore this lose 'Because he kept taking the toy outside, therefore it got lost./It's his fault for keeping on taking the toy outside that it got lost.'

(10) That's why: ay sa

Sida'ey kag ako inghanap. Ay sa indi gihapon nako matakor. he.already I look.for not still I endure 'He's the one I was looking for. Because I still couldn't bear (to give up).' (48-49 Accident at Sea: B.Fernandez) Mapauli tan-a ako sa Calatrava ngasing ay sa igwa kami eksamin insulip, I Calatrava today is we exam tomorrow qo.home indi ako kapauli ngasing. kada therefore not I go.home today 'I was to go home to Calatrava today but because we have an exam tomorrow, (therefore) I won't be going home today.' ..ako ingbatak, gingpando nak ugae masyadong atras ako *ay sa* dahil I fold.sail fix very short.of.time I because

tong yadag ay masyadong kwan'ey.... that sail very what's.it 'I folded up the sail, and fixed it because it turned out that I was really getting short of time because the reason was that the sail was very what's it called...'(50 Accident at Sea: B.Fernandez)

7.5.4 Contrafactual

See Contrafactual. (6.3 (6))*** The contrafactual clause is encoded with *tan-a* and a reason clause can accompany it.

Inoghuyog'ey tan-a nako kag yangka pero waya natuloy *dahil* igwa't nagrayan. fall.already I jackfruit but not continue because is pass.by 'I would have dropped the jackfruit but I didn't because someone came by.'

7.6 Result

Result relations carry the English sense of 'therefore/so as a result' and are encoded by $kad\hat{a}$. A number of other particles and constructions encode relations of result also. This relation may also be understood as cause-effect with the result being the 'effect'.

7.6.1 **Therefore**

The conjunction **kadâ** 'therefore' most clearly expresses a result which is stated in the clause following it.

Kadanagtibaw kag anak dahiling-intrimis ni Juan.therefore crychild because jokeJuan'(Therefore) the child cried because Juan joked with him.'

Nag-uyan kada nagtiner kami sa bayay. rain therefore stay we house 'It rained therefore we stayed home.' Impapabadaan kag tatay sa ida anak *kada* ako nahilak sa ida mga anak. neglect father his child therefore I pity his child 'The father desserted his children therefore I pity his children.'

Kada ka nararapa ay waya nimo gimumuyati kag imo ingpapanawan. therefore you fall.on.face not you look you walk '(Therefore) you fell over because you weren't watching where you were walking.

7.6.2 particle gani

The particle gáni has two meanings which relate somewhat in result relations. Gáni/ngáni may be used on its own to mean 'therefore' or it may follow $kad\hat{a}$ to emphasize the meaning of $kad\hat{a}$. This is possible since another meaning of gáni is to emphasize in the sense of 'really' as well as being used to mean 'therefore'.

Gani nagtibaw kag anak dahil sa ing-agit-agit ni Juan. therefore cry child because tease Juan '(Therfore) the child cried because Juan teased him.'

Maabot'ey ka bisita *kada gani* mapanglimpyo'y kita. arrive.already visitor therefore clean.already we 'The visitors are already arriving so we must clean up.'

Kada gani ikaw nako ingpatawag ay agor anumaan. therefore you I call in.order.to inform 'That's why I phoned you, to tell you.' (Result: Therefore I phoned you, in order to tell you.)

7.6.3 Result agar (negative)

Result relations are also encoded with *agár...* (negative) in the sense of 'the result would not have been ...except for../a certain event did not occur, but another event resulted'. It may have a similar meaning to the English 'although'.

Agar waya ako gisisip-una, nagpauyan ra ako. not I have.a.cold rain also I 'I would not have got a cold except for the fact that I went out in the rain./ I wouldn't have got a cold only I went out in the rain.'

Agar indi sida marapa kung waya sida girayagan.. not she fall.on.face if not she run 'She won't fall over if she isn't running.'

Agar waya sida nararapa pag waya sida girayagan. not she fall.on.face not she run 'She wouldn't fall over if she wouldn't run.' The following occurrences encode result relations but they resemble concession relations.

Agar waya sida nahuhuyog, nagpahabig sida. not she fall side she 'Although she didn't fall (before), she went off the side (and as a result she fell).'

7.6.4 Other Result Relations

There are two synonymous constructions *ámat ay/ábat ay* which encode result relations in the English sense of 'the result might be/lest/in case a certain result occurs'.

Kung maado ka panahon *abat ay* makapa-Romblon kami. if good weather Romblon we 'If the weather is good (as a result) we might go to Romblon.'

Amat ay makapakarsada sinra pagnalinga ikaw it bantay sa inra. Abat ay

main.road they be.distracted you guard them
'In case (it results that) they go out on the road (if) you are distracted
while watching them./They might go onto the road if you are distracted while
you are watching them.'

Pagnalinga ikaw it bantay sa anak *amat ay* makapakarsada ag naligis. be.distracted you guard child main.road and run.over 'If you're distracted while you're watching the children they might go out on the road and get run over.'

7.6.5 Other Reason-Result Constructions

A number of other constructions are ambiguous in the that they are translated as reasons and yet incorporate a result relation also, 'the reason why....(result occurred) is....(reason)'. (see 6.4. Reason) These constructions are:

kadâ ugaling	'therefore however'
kadâ yang ugaling	'therefore just however'
kadâ gani	'therefore therefore'
ugáe ay	'it turned out that the reason why'

(1) Reason-Result: kadâ ugaling

Kada ugaling nako sida ingpapauli, basa sida. therefore however I him go.home wet he '(Therefore) I sent him home was because he was wet. (Reason: The reason why (result) I sent him home was (reason) he was wet.)

(2) Reason-Result: kadâ yang ugaling

Kada yang galing waya kato nadayon nak nag-abot si Mayor. therefore just however not that continue arrive Mayor '(Therefore) it didn't happen because the Mayor arrived.' (Reason: The reason why (result) it didn't happen was (cause) the Mayor arrived.)

(3) Reason-Result: kadâ gani

Kada gani ikaw ingbinlan nida't suya ay ayam nidang waya ka't bayon. therefore you leave.swh she viand know she none you lunch '(Therefore) she left you something to go with the rice because she knew that you had none in your lunch.' (Reason: The reason why (result) she left you something to go with the rice is (reason) she knew that you had none in your lunch.)

Maabot'ey ka bisita *kada gani* mapanglimpyo'y kita. arrive.already visitor therefore clean we 'The visitors will arrive soon so we must clean up.'

(4) Reason-Result: ugáe ay

Gutom'ey kag ida anak *ugae ay* nagtibaw. hunger.already her child cry 'She was hungry, so therefore she cried.' (Reason: It turned out that (reason) she was hungry so that's why (result) she cried.)

7.6.6 Other Constructions

The constructions $ind\hat{i}$ ay and ay $d\hat{i}$ can also encode result relations. Sometimes this relation is very close to the temporal sequence relation 'then' which is also encoded by these two constructions.

(1) Reason-Result: indî ay

Kung hina'ey sinra *indi ay* mahalin'ey kita. if there.already they leave.already we 'If they're there now then (result) we'll leave.'

Pag maramo kag isra indi ay mabislar kita. many fish dry.fish we 'When there's a lot of fish (result) we'll dry them.'

(2) Reason-Result: ay dî or ay dey

Waya nida ako gisilingga *ay di* indi ra ako magpagto sa inra. not she me tell not also I go their 'She didn't tell me therefore I won't go to their place with you (as an extra).'

Kung indi matapos ngasing kaling ako trabaho *ay di* sa usang domingo ray apadayunon. if not finish today this my work one week again continue 'If my work doesn't get finished today then (result) I'll continue with it next week then.'

Kung hina'ey sinra ay di mahalin'ey kita. if there.already they leave.already we 'If they are already there then (result) we'll leave.'

7.7 Purpose

Purpose relations express the English sense of 'in order to/so that/for the purpose of', and are encoded by *agór*, *para* and *adong*.

7.7.1 Purpose: agór

The primary conjunction to encode purpose is **agór**. Both *pára* 'for' and *ádong* can be used interchangeable with *agór* though *ádong* has been described by one speaker as a slang form.

Agor indi magutom ka mga anak, nagraya kami it tinapay. not hunger child carry we bread 'So that the children won't be hungry we brought some bread with us.'

Nagpagto sida sa banwa *agor* magbakay it mga gamit. go he town buy thing 'He went to town (in order) to buy some tools.'

Ingsiling nida agor yang apahangiton ikaw. tell she just angry you 'She said that just to make you angry.'

Makatuyog'ey kita *para* makahalin kita it aga pa insulip. sleep.already we for leave we morning still tomorrow 'Let's go to bet now so that we can leave early tomorrow.'

Nagpagto sida sa sementeriyo *para* magtugrok ag magrasay para sa ida asawa. go she cemetary for light.candle and pray for her spouse 'She went to the cemetary (in order) to light a candle and pray for her husband.'

7.7.2 Linker: nak

The linker nak can also encode purpose relations.

Nagpa-Odiongan sida *nak* mapisar it lugit. Odiongan he weigh.and.sell copra 'He went to Odiongan (in order) to weigh and sell copra.'

Sida ay nagpamuhon nak magrangoy. she ask.permission swim 'She asked permission (in order) to go swimming.'

7.8 Grounds-Conclusion

Grounds-conclusion relations include a known fact (grounds) on which a certain conclusion is drawn. The most overt encoding of this relation combines the modal particle *sabaling* 'might' with a result conjunction *kadâ* 'therefore'.

7.8.1 Grounds-Conclusion

The grounds may be unmarked if sentence initial, or marked with kadâ. The conclusion which is drawn is encoded with sabaling.

Waya gitrabaho si Juan ngasing (*kadâ*) sabaling masakit sida. not work Juan today therefore might sick he 'Juan didn't come to work today so he might be sick.'

Sabaling masakit sida kadâ waya sida gitrabaho ngasing. might sick he therefore not he work today 'He might be sick so that's why he didn't come to work today.'

Kadâsunor-sunuran yang'eysi Del rotokang Baby ay sabalingtherefore followjust.alreadyDel thereBabymight

ingpatumar sida't buyong. take.orally she medicine 'Since Del just followed Baby everywhere she might have been given drugs.'

Kadâ ingpanugon nida kag ida mga book ay *sabaling* indi'ey sida mapali. therefore ask.to.do she her book might not.already she come. 'Since she asked me to take care of her books, maybe she won't come.'

Sabaling indi'ey magbalik sida kada ida inaparaya kag ida mga suyat sa Maynila. might not return she therefore she send her letter Manila 'She might not come back since she had her letters sent to Manila.'

Sabaling katong si Baby ay membro it sindikato kadâ ida naluko si Del might that Baby member syndicate therefore she deceive Del

ag ingbaoy kag ida kwarta. and get her money 'That Baby might be a member of a syndicate because she deceived Del and took her money.'

7.8.2 Action on Planned Grounds

When an action is done/planned on grounds which are not (yet) fact the grounds are encoded with *sabaling* 'might' and the action is unmarked. In this relation the grounds are also a conclusion based on prior implied grounds in the communication situation.

Indi'ey ako magsuyat kang Neysa nak *sabaling* mag-abot'ey ra sida insulip. not.already I write Neysa might arrive.already also she tomorrow 'I won't write to Neysa because she will probably arrive tomorrow anyway.'

Waya nida girugangi't asin nak *sabaling* magpakaasin. not she add salt might salt 'She didn't add salt because it might make it too salty.'

7.8.3 Grounds-Conclusion: ay dî

The constructions $ind\hat{i}$ ay and ay $d\hat{i}$ also encode grounds-conclusion relations.

Dahil waya gisilak *indi ay* abuyaron sa hangin. because not sunshine sun.dry wind 'Because it's not sunny it will dry in the wind.'

Kung waya giabot kag Mayor *ay di* indi madayon ka miting. if not arrive Mayor not stay meeting 'If the Mayor doesn't arrive the meeting won't be held.'

7.8.4 Grounds-Conclusion: kumo

The construction kumo also encodes ground-conclusion relations. It may occur sentence initial or medial encoding the ground for a previously stated conclusion.

Ikáw yang kag nagtuga it tanán, *kumo* kabubut-on Nimó nak kalí ay matuga ag mabuhì. You alone create all will Your(sg) this create and live. 'You alone created all, because it was Your divine will that these would be created and live.' (Revelation translation)

Ikáw yang kag karapatdapat nak magpuksi it mga silyo. *Kum*o Ikáw kag ingmatáy, You alone worthy break.open seals You killed

ag kag Imo rugô ay nabuhos bilang pangtubós para sa kasal-anan it mga tawo. and Your blood gush.out as ransom for sin people 'You alone are worthy to break open the seals. Because You were killed, and Your blood was shed as a ransom for the sin of people.' (Revelation translation)

7.9 Condition

Condition clauses present a condition on which the rest of the sentence follows as a consequence or result. The most overt marker of a condition is *kung* or the variant *kon*. The kinds of condition relations are those that present a condition-consequence, an anticipated contingency, and contrafactual events.

7.9.1 Condition-Consequence

This sentence expresses a condition on which the remainder of the sentence will follow as a result.

(1) Condition-Consequence

The conjunction kung 'if' or the variant kon introduces the condition.

Kung waya't kwarta si Rosa, indi kita makakasuyor sa sine. if none money Rosa not we inside movie 'If Rosa has no money we won't be able to go to the movies.'

Kung ako ikaw, indi nako sida gipahalinon dili. if I you not I him leave here 'If I were you I wouldn't let him leave here.' Ataw-an ka nako't kwarta *kung* imo ibakay it papel ag buko dulse. give you I money if you buy paper and not candy 'I'll give you money if you'll buy paper and not candy.'

Waya kita't ibakay it isra *kung* indi mag-abot ka ato kwarta. none we buy fish if not arrive our money 'We have nothing to buy fish with if our money doesn't arrive.'

(2) Condition-Consequence

A condition which is **uncertain** will follow a cognitive or perceptual process. The verbal process will determine whether this condition is a fact or not.

Muyati raha *kung* hina'ey kag dyip. look there if there.already jeep 'Look and see if the jeep is there.'

(3) Condition-Consequence

Kung may also encode a relation that is as much **temporal** as conditional, similar to *pag* and *pagka*.

Kung mag-Inglis si Juan, nupay Amerikano. if English Juan like American 'When Juan speaks English, he sounds like an American.'

Matam-is kaling prutas *kung* mahinog. sweet this fruit if ripe 'This fruit is sweet when it gets ripe.'

(4) Condition-Consequence

See **Contrafactual**. Conditions can be both contrafactual and hypothetically contrafactual when co-occurring with with another clause containing the particle *tan-a*.

(5) Condition-Consequence

Some conditions in the English sense of 'unless' may be expressed with *hanggang* or *kung* and two negative clauses. One negative is in the condition, which if unfulfilled, then the following events will also not occur as a result. Such conditions are usually stated positively in English.

Hanggang waya't kwarta si Rosa, indi kita makakasuyor sa sine. until none money Rosa not we inside movie 'Unless Rosa has some money we won't be able to go to the movies.' (Literal: While/until Rosa has no money....) Indi ako mapagto roto *hanggang* indi nimo ako ginuntan. not I go there until not you I go.with.smb 'I won't go there unless you go with me.' (Literal: While/until you don't go with me....)

Waya sida gihahalin *hanggang* waya sida gisisilingga. not she leave until not she tell 'She doesn't leave unless she's told to.' (Literal: While/until she's not told to....)

Indi ako magbakay hanggang indi ikaw magbisaya.
not I buy until not you speak
'I won't buy unless you till me to.'
(Literal: While/until you don't tell me to...)

7.9.2 Contingency

Contingency here is understood as an anticipated event which may occur and therefore effects ones actions. It is conveyed in the English sense of 'in case/ lest/ in the event of...'.

(1) Contingency

A certain **Contingency** may be anticipated and is encoded by *ámat/ábat* in the English sense of 'in case/lest'.

Amat ay mauyan kada puminaw'ey kamo. rain therefore bring.in.already you 'In case it rains, have it brought inside.'

Abat mayagok kinang isra kung isag pa nimo yutuon. go.bad that fish if later still you cook 'In case the fish goes bad if you cook it later (just cook it now).'

Aya gibuyagi kag imo manghor, *amat* mayaag kina. don't separate your younger.sibling go.wrong.way that 'Don't get separated from your younger sister in case she gets lost.'

Pahabig kamo *abat* ay igwa't magrayang dyip. side you is pass.along jeep 'Go the side in case a jeep comes along.'

Pag nagrayagan ka sa hagran abat mapadalin-as ka. run you steps slip you 'When you run on the steps (watch out in case) you might slip.'

(2) Contingency

Other ways to encode a contingency are:

halimbawa nak 'for example which'

nak sabaling 'which might'

Halimbawa nak indi sida girayan, mauno ka? example not she pass.along do you 'In case she doesn't come by, what will you do?' (Literal: For example she doesn't come by....)

Raya it padong *nak sabaling* mag-uyan. carry umbrella might rain 'Take an umbrella in case it rains.' (Literal: Take an umbrella as it might rain.)

7.9.3 Contrafactual

Contrafactual sentences express something that is contrary to the actual events that happened. Statements about such events may be made positively or negatively. They may also combine with other semantic relations such as condition (*kung* 'if'), contrast (*pero/ugaling* 'but'), and reason (*dahil* 'because').

Contrafactual statements may be made about facts which will not occur in the future but other constructions refer to hypothetical events that will not occur even if the necessary conditions are fulfilled.

(1) Contrafactual: tan-a

Contrafactual clauses contain the particle **tan-a** used in the sense of 'would have'/'supposed to'.

One Contrafactual Clause:

Ikaw tan-a kag amo impili nak lider. you our choose leader 'You would have been our choice for leader.'

Ako *tan-a* kag mapa-Odiongan. I Odiongan 'I was supposed to be the one to go to Odiongan.'

Nag-abot *tan-a* si Neysa itahapon. arrive Neysa yesterday 'Neysa was supposed to arrive yesterday.'

Itahapon *tan-a* sida giabot. yesterday she arrive 'She was supposed to arrive yesterday.'

One Fact and One Contrafactual Clause:

Nagpali *tan-a* ako pero ay nag-uyan./Nagpali *tan-a* ako kada yang ay nag-uyan. come I but rain /come I rain 'I would have come but it rained.'

Tatlo tan-a ka ako raya ugaling ay nabilin. three you I carry however leave.swh 'I was supposed to bring three things but I left them behind.'

Two Contrafactual Clauses Conjoined:

Kung waya giuyan nagpali *tan-a* ako. if not rain come I 'It it hadn't rained I would have come.'

Tan-a ay nagbabaton sida it maadong marka kung nag-aaray sida. receive he good mark if study he 'He would have received a good grade if he had studied.'

Nag-ado *tan-a* ikaw nak raan kung ingtumar nimo kali nak buyong. good you immediately if take.orally you this medicine 'You would have got better straight away if you'd taken this medicine.'

(2) Contrafactual: miski

When the concession conjunction **miski** 'even if' expresses a contrafact then tan-a does not occur.

Miski sida ay nagpali waya nako sida gipasudla. even he come not I him inside 'Even if he had some I would not have let him in.' (2 Contrafacts)

This conjunction also expresses a hypothetical contrafact.

Miski sida magpali indi nako sida gipasudlon. even he come not I he inside 'Even if he comes I won't let him in.' (1 Contrafact)

7.10 Concession

Concession sentences present a concession which occurs but which will not influence the following action. These sentences include contra-expectation, hypothetical, and contrafactual relations.

7.10.1 Contra-expectation

This relation is one which runs contrary to expectation and usually conveys senses which include 'eventhough', 'although', 'besides the fact that...', 'instead of...', 'anyway/nevertheless', 'despite that', and 'but...even'.

(1) Contra-expectation Concession

The most **overt encoding** of a contra-factual concession clause is introduced by *miski* 'eventhough' (Spanish variant *aber*) or other variants such as *miskan*, *maskin*, and *bisan*. Some speakers have expressed doubts about the existence of *maskin*, and *bisan* may be a Hiligaynon loan. *miskan* has been said to have a specific and limited use in a reply which question the concession 'eventhough/even if...?'.

Miski di sakit sida nagpipilit nak magpali. even is sick he insist come 'Eventhough he's sick he insists on coming.'

Nagmamaneho sida it awto *miski* waya sa tamang idad. drive he car even none correct age 'He drives a car eventhough he's not of age.'

(2) Contra-expectation Concession

A **contra-expectation concession** can be introduced by *agár* conveying the sense of 'although...(isn't so) nevertheless'.

Agar waya sida nahuhuyog, nagpahabig sida. not she fall side she 'Although she didn't fall, (nevertheless) she was forced off the side.'

Agar indi ako magpali impatawag ra nimo. not I come call also you 'Although I hadn't (intended) to come (nevertheless I came because) you sent for me.'

(3) Contra-expectation Concession

Contra-expectation concessions may also be expressed in clauses which contain *man*, two clauses which will each have either one of the particles *ey...pa* but both will be present, and in the clause introduced by *kada yang ugaling ay*.

(a) man

Asilinggon nako man ka kamatuuran indi ka ra gihapon gipati sa ako. tell I true not you also still believe me 'Even if I tell the truth you still won't believe me.'

Kakabisayahon pa ra gihapon nako sida nahangit *man* sida sa ako. speak still also still I her angry she me 'I'll still talk to her eventhough she got angry with me.'

(b) 'ey...pa/pa...'ey

Naghalin'ey si Juan sa lamesa, nagkakaon pa (gihapon) ka mga iba. leave.swh.already Juan table eat still (still) other 'Juan left the table eventhough the others were still eating.

Ingsuksok pa nida kag yamit, yuma'ey. wear still she cloth old.already 'She still wore the dress eventhough it's old.'

(c) kadâ yang ugaling ay

Maado sida *kada yang ugaling ay* waya gipapanglihok. good she therefore just however not respond 'She's alright eventhough she doesn't talk much.'

(4) Contra-expectation Concession

The **construction** *pwera pa sa/puriya pa sa* introduces a contra-expectation concession in the English sense of 'as well as/besides (the fact that)' which states an additional fact which must unexpectedly be considered.

Nag-aalaga sida it hadop, *puriya pa sa* nagtatrabaho sida sa bukir. care.for he animal work he country 'He raises animals as well as working in the fields.'

(5) Contra-expectation Concession

The contraexpectation concession stated in the sense of 'instead of...(just)' is introduced by *imbis nak...* (yang'ey).

Imbis nak mag-aray sida nag-iidamo it besbol. instead study he play baseball 'Instead of studying he's playing baseball.'

Naghalin sinra *imbis nak* magbulig sa amo. leave.swh they instead help us 'They left instead of helping us.'

Imbis nak kaling planggana, kina yang'ey. instead this dish that just.already 'Instead of (using) this dish, just (use) that one.'

(6) Contra-expectation Concession

The **contra-expectation concession** clause in the sense 'anyway, nevertheless' is introduced by *kung sabagay*.

Kung sabagay ay waya it mawawagit sa ako pagnagpurba ako it negosyo. none lose I try I business 'Anyway I've nothing to lose for trying to run a business.'

Aber magpurba ako't negosyo *kung sabagay* waya ra it mawawagit sa ako. even try I business none also lose me 'Even if I try to run a business (anyway) there's nothing to lose.'

(7) Contra-expectation Concession: despite that

The **contra-expectation concession** in the sense of 'despite that' is introduced by *sa yudô it kinâ*.

Sa yudo it kina, maniraraugan gihapon kita. that win still we 'In spite of that we'll still win.'

(8) Contra-expectation Concession: but even more

A **contra-expectation concession** is also expressed when *lalo* and *tapát* occur in a comparison of inequality. In this case the concession is in the clause that does not contain *lalo/tapat*.

Waya sida gikakaon pero *lalo* sidang nagtataba. not she eat but she fat 'She doesn't eat but she gets even fatter.'

Ingsasaway nida katong nag-aaway pero *lalong* nagsinuntukan. pacify she that fight but punch 'She (tried) to pacify the ones fighting buy they just punched eachother all the more.'

Gusto nako nak pagandahon kag ako drawing kada ako ingliwat pero want I beauty my drawing therefore I repeat but

tapat nak nagyain.

bad

 $^{\prime}\ensuremath{\text{I}}$ wanted to make my drawing nicer so I did it over again but it was even worse.'

Nagramo kag ida manok kada *tapat* sidang nagpakaalaga it iba pa. many her chicken therefore she care.for other still 'Her chickens increased therefore she got even more to take care of.'

7.10.2 Hypothetical

The hypothetical concession is also introduced by *miski* and the formerly stated variants (6.10.1(1)) only in English this has the sense of 'even if' since the action is still hypothetically future. The clause which follows the concession states the action that will follow if the first occurs.

Miski sidang mahangit, apamuyatan ninra sida sa doktor. even she angry look they her doctor 'Even if she gets angry they will take her to see the doctor.'

Miski indi sinra mag-aray nag-aasa sinrang makapasa. even not they study hope they pass 'Eventhough they aren't going to study they expect to pass.'

Indi nako gitao kali sa ida *miski* abantaan nida ako. not I give this her even threaten he me 'I won't give this to him even if he threatens me.'

7.10.3 Contrafactual

Contrafactual concessions when encoded with *miski* do not have the contrafactual *tan-a* in the accompanying clauses as other contrafactual constructions do. (See 7.5.4 Contrafactual) Other constructions which encode contrafactual concessions and which have the contrafactual marker *tan-a* in the accompanying clause are:

kung (negative) yang	'if not just'
ugáling yang ay	'however just'
kadâ yang ay	'therefore just'
kadâ ayyang	'thereforejust'

kung bukô yang

Kung buko yang mayado, abakyon nako tan-a ka bayay. if not just far buy I house 'if it were not so far away I would have bought the house.'

Abakyon nako tan-a ka bayay *kung buko yang* mayado. buy I house if not just far 'I would buy the house if it were not so far away.

Kung indi yang maghalin ka mga bisita, matimpla pa tan-a ako it kape. if not just leave.swh visitor mix still I coffee 'If the visitors were'nt leaving soon I'd make some more coffee.'

ugáling yang ay/kada yang ay/kada ay...yang

Abakyon nako tan-a ka bayay ugaling yang ay mayado. kada yang ay mayado. kada ay mayado yang. buy I house far 'I would buy the house if it were not so far away.'

7.11 Comparison

Comparisons include those of equality, inequality, verbal similes and verbal comparisons usually with a word in the English sense of 'like/as'.

7.11.1 Comparisons of Equality

Comparisons of equality are encoded by a number of forms including the English senses of 'like', and 'as...as'.

(1) Comparisons of Equality

The **forms** pareho 'same' and tuyar 'like' are linked by *it* to the adjective root to give comparison. *Kasing* 'as...as' preceeds the adjective root without any additional linker. This form is also found in Tagalog and some say it is borrowed.

Sida ay *pareho* it taas nako. / Sida ay *tuyar* nako it taas. he same tall I / he like I tall 'He is the same height as I am.'

Sida ay *kasing* taas nako. he tall I 'He is as tall as I am.'

Kasing ayo ka mga kabade sa mga kayaki. intelligent female male 'The girls are as smart as the boys.'

Examples where *it/sa* can be the linker occur with nouns.

Tuyar sa sapatos nimo ka sapatos nako. like shoes your shoes my 'My shoes are same as yours.'

Tuyar sa uyan ka ida yuha. like rain her tear 'Her tears fall like rain.'

Negative: When negated this indicates a state of inequality exists but the form which is negated is the comparison of equality.

Buko sida *pareho* it ganda it ida manghor. not she same beauty her younger.sibling 'She is not as pretty as her younger sister.'

(2) Comparison of Equality

Comparison of equality can also be indicated by *nupay/pay* 'it seems like' in the sense of resemblance only.

Nupay (tuyar sa) Maynila ka siyudad nak kali. seems (like) Manila city this 'This city is like Manila.'

Pay si Juan ka ida manghor. seems Juan his younger.sibling 'The younger brother of Juan is like him.'

Pay palasyo ka inra bayay. seems palace their house 'Their house is like a palace.'

7.11.2 Comparisons of Inequality

A comparison of inequality expresses different degrees of comparison in the sense of the English 'more' or 'most'.

(1) Comparison of Inequality

A **comparison of inequality** may be expressed in a construction that corresponds to the English adverbs of degree 'more/-er...than'. Bantoanon encodes the comparison with *mas....kisa* 'more....than' along with the *ma*- form of the adjective.

Sida ay mas mataas kisa ako. he more tall than I 'He is taller than I am.'

Ka mga kabade ay *mas* maayo *kisa* mga kayake. female more good than male 'The girls are more intelligent than the boys.'

(2) Comparison of Inequality

A **comparison of inequality** may be expressed by a superlative like the English 'most/-est'. Three Bantoanon adjective forms can be used, for example on the root taas 'height' they are: pinaka mataas 'most tall', katutaas sa tanan and sometimes kataas-taas in the sense of 'tallest'.

Pinaka mataas sida sa tanan. most tall he all 'He is the tallest of all.' Ka inra baktin ka *katutaba sa tanan.* their pig fat all 'Their pig is the fattest of all.'

Ka *kaado-ado* nak manog sadaw ay si Maria. good one.who dance Maria 'Maria is the best dancer.'

(3) Comparison of Inequality

A **comparison of inequality** indicating a slight degree of difference uses a reduplicated form of the adjective, for example *kataas-taas* 'a little taller' (see (b) for a superlative use of this form)

Maganda-ganda si Rosa kisa sa kang Maria. beautiful Rosa than Maria 'Rosa is a little prettier than Maria.'

(4) Comparison of Inequality

A negated comparison of equality results in a comparison of inequality.

Buko sida pareho it ganda it ida manghor. not she same beauty her younger.sibling 'She is not as beautiful as her younger sister.'

Waya ako it baro nak tuyar it ramo sa ako maguyang. none I dress like many I older.sibling 'I don't have a many dresses as my older sister.'

Indi ako magrayagan it kasing tulin sa imo. not I run fast you 'I won't run as fast as you.'

(This negated construction shows a preference for *pareho* and *tuyar* over *kasing*, thereby leaving room to suspect the *kasing* has been borrowed from Tagalog.)

(5) Comparison of Inequality

A **comparison of inequality** can be expressed with *lalo* or *tapat* in the sense of contra-expectation.

Waya sida gikakaon pero *lalo* sidang natataba. not she eat but she fat 'She doesn't eat, but she gets even fatter.'

Ingsasaway nida katong nag-aaway pero *tapat* nak nagsinuntukon. pacify he that fight but punch 'He was pacifying the ones who were fighting but they just punched eachother all the more.'

(6) Comparison of Inequality

The **construction** raog pa also expresses a comparison of inequality.

Kung magtibaw sida ay *raog pa* ka anak nak maisot. if cry she child small 'She cries more than a small child./When she cries she's worse than a small child.'

7.11.3 Verbal Simile

Verbal similes are comparisons of verbal actions and are encoded with *nupay/pay* or the simile formula *raog pa*.

(1) Nupay/pay

Nupay/pay 'seems' is used where only similarity is indicated, not a total identification (as would be the case if *pareho* 'same' or *tuyar* 'like' were used.)

Nupay pato sida magpanaw. seems duck she walk 'She walks like a duck.'

Pay buang ka ida pagbisaya. seems crazy his speak 'He speaks like a crazy man.'

(2) raog pa

Another simile formula is raog pa used in the English sense of 'as if'.

Raog pa ka sida it tag-iya it kaling bayay. he owner this house 'He acts as if he owns this house.'

Sida ay *raog pa* ka mayaman kung magasto. she rich if spend 'She spends money as if she's rich.'

7.11.4 Verbal Comparison

Verbal comparisons are expressed similarly to comparisons of inequality using *mas...kisa*.

Mas maado magtumar it mapait nak buyong kisa mamatay. more good take.orally bitter medicine than die 'It's better to take bitter medicine than to die.' Some other idiomatic verbal comparisons use a contemplated verbal state with ey 'already' in one clause and a contrasting negated second clause.

Maputi'ey ka uwak (pero) indi sida gitungon it inom. white.already crow (but) not he stop drink 'Crows will turn white before he stops drinking.'

Mapautoy'ey ako it rila indi kina ako giuma. cut.already I tongue not that I inform 'I'll cut off by tongue before I tell.'

7.12 Quotation

Quotations include direct and indirect quotations, and reported speech. These latter two forms make use of particles.

7.12.1 Direct Quotation

A **direct quotation** replaces the undergoer in a clause. The quotative formula normally follows the quotation, often without the case marker *kag* and without affixed verb forms. When inverted, the quotative formula precedes the quotation. The most common quotative form is *siling nida* 'he said'.

'Riin ikaw mapagto?' (ka) pangutana nida.
where you go question she
''Where will you go?' (is what) she asked.'

Masabat sida sa ako, 'Waya ako't kwarta.' answer she me none I money 'She will answer me, 'I have no money.''

Siling namo'y 'Halin'ey ikaw!' tell we leave.swh.already you 'We said, 'You leave now!''

Ka pangutana nida'y, 'Pariin kamo?'
question she where.to you
'(What) she asked (was), 'Where are you going to?''

'Nakita kita roto', *ka ako siling*. saw we there I tell ''We saw eachother there', was what I said.' The verb most commonly used in the **quotative formula** is *siling* 'tell' used in the English sense of 'said'. Affixed forms are not as common as the root form.

Other speech verbs include:

bisaya 'speak'

istoriya 'converse'

uma 'inform'

as well as the specific forms including:

pangutana 'question'

pangabay 'request'

sabat 'answer'

sugo 'command'

are used in the quotative formula but less frequently.

7.12.2 Indirect Quotation

The **indirect quotation** replaces the undergoer in the clause but is linked to the quotative formula by *nak* or *kung*. The verbs and pronouns reflect indirect speech. The reported speech particle *kono* commonly occurs in indirect speech. *Nak* marks indicative and imperative quotations.

Ingsabat nida nak maaga pa.
answer she early still
'She replied that it was still early.'

Siling ni Nanay *nak* maghuyat kami. tell mother wait we 'Mother said that we should wait.'

Ka sabat nida'y *nak* mauna sinra. '(What) she replied (was) that they would go ahead.'

Interrogative Quotations

Nagpangutana ako sa ida *kung* hali ikaw. question I her if here you 'I asked her if you were here.'

Ka pangutana nako'y kung sauno sida maabot. question I if when he arrive '(What) I asked (was) when would he arrive.'

Indirect Quotation using kono

Huyat *kono* kamo siling nida. wait you tell she 'She said that you were to wait.'

Nagsiling sida nak huyat *kono* kamo. tell she wait you 'She said that you to wait.'

Huyat *kono* kamo nak ingsiling nida. wait you tell she 'She said that you were to wait.'

Huyat *kono* kamo kag ingsiling nida. wait you tell she 'What she said was that you were to wait.'

Indirect quotation uses the same speech verbs listed in the direct quotation but a greater variety of specific terms occurs in indirect quotation.

7.12.3 Reported Speech

There are **two important particles** used in a communication situation involving three or more participants. One is *kono* used in the English sense of 'they say' or of reported speech by a third party 'they/he said'. It commonly co-occurs with the quotative in indirect quotations.

Kono is always used by the last intermediary who reports a third party's speech to the one who finally receives it or for whom it is meant.

MESSAGE------(2)-----(3)--kono--(4)recipient goal

For example participant (3) may be reporting overheard speech or a specific message from (1) via (2) to the final recipient goal (4).

(1) kono

Maado *kono* ka tubas. good harvest 'They said the harvest was good.'

Makatuyog *kono* sinra, siling nida. sleep they tell she 'She said they should go to sleep.'

(2) nganat/ganat

The second particle in a used in a communication situation involving three or more parties is nganat/ganat. This plays a specific complementary role with kono. Kono is reserved for relating a message to the final recipient. Nganat is used by both the source of the message to be delivered to some third party who is not present. It is also used by intermediaries when quoting the speech of the source speaker to other intermediaries when quoting the speech of the source speaker to other intermediaries, who will in turn relay the message to the recipient.

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MESSAGE-----source(1)--nganat--(2)--nganat--(3)--kono--(4)recipient goal
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Silingga sida nak nagtugon *nganat* si Juan it tinapay. tell he(4) ask.to.do Juan(1) bread 'Tell him that Juan said (for me to tell you) to ask him to get bread.'

The above example is the speech of (2) intermediary talking to (3) intermediary, quoting the speech of (1) which is to be passed on to (4).

Siling nganat ni Juan ay nagtugon sida it tinapay. tell Juan(1) ask.to.do he(4) bread 'Juan told me (to tell you) to ask him to get bread.'

If only one intermediary is present the source of the message uses |inganat|r and the intermediary quotes the source person's speech to the recipient using |ikono|r.

Rayan anay kang lolo nak indi *nganat* ako makapagto roto. pass.along grandfather(3) not I(1) go there 'Go by Grandfather's place and tell him that I said I can't go there.' (1) speaking to intermediary (2)

Silingga nganat si Fred nak masakay kami. tell Fred(3) ride we(1) 'Tell Fred I said we'd go on the jeep.' (1) is speaking to intermediary (2)

Silingga si Fred nak siling *nganat* ni Gail ay masakay kami. tell Fred(4) tell Gail(1) ride we 'Tell Fred that (I told you to tell him that) Gail said we'd go on the jeep. (2) intermediary is telling (3) intermediary what (1) said.

Mapali nganat sida insulip nak indi nganat magpa-Odiongan. come she(3) tomorrow not Odiongan 'Tell her we said for her to come tomorrow because (we said to tell her) we're not going to Odiongan tomorrow.' **Reply** Siling ni Gail ay mapagto kono ikaw insulip nak nagbag-o kono tell Gail(1) go you(4) tomorrow new sinra it plano. they(1) plan

'Gail said you're to go there tomorrow because they said they'd made new plans.'

(3) **intermediary** is telling (4) recipient the message that (2) intermediary passed on to him from (1). (This is the speech which might follow the previous example using *nganat*.)

(3) Other References to Speech

Other specific references to speech may be encoded with:

súnô sa ida 'according to him'

bátay sa ida 'according to him'

Sunosa kang Tang Poli istoriya, kag mga naunang tawodili ay halinaccordingUncle Poli storyfirstperson hereleave

sa Bantoon.

Banton

'According to Uncle Poli's story the first people here came from Banton.'

Kag mga naunang tawo dili ay halin sa Bantoon, *batay sa* istoriya first person here leave Banton according story

ni Tang Poli.

Uncle Poli

'The first people here came from Banton, according to Uncle Poli's story.'

7.13 Other Complement Clauses

Complement clauses are embedded clauses fulfilling the roles of undergoer, goal etc. in relation to the verb. They are nominal expansions. They include the quotation forms which have been previously described, as well as mental processes, verbal processes, perception, purpose, result, phase and manner.

7.13.1 Mental Processes

Verbs describing **mental processes** often occur unaffixed as well as affixed. The verb occurs preceeding the content clause and is linked to it by *nak* for present or past actions, and by *kung* for future actions, and *ay* with nominalised forms.

When the case markers *kag* or *it* occur with these verbs it is a simple clause with the second verbal action being expressed by a gerund.

Simple clause with gerund:

Ayam nako kag *pag-abot* nida. Naayaman nakaayam ako it know I arrive her 'I know of her arrival.'

Complex Sentences

Ayam nako nak nag-abot sida. Naayaman Nakaayam ako know I arrive she 'I know that she arrived.'

Ayam nako kung mag-abot sida. Maaayaman know I if arrive she 'I will know when she arrives.'

Nominalization

Kag ayam nako ay nag-abot sida. naayaman know I arrive she 'What I know is that she arrived.'

Other mental processes

Nagpaabot sinra nak maabot ka mga bisita. expect they arrive visitor 'They expected the visitors to arrive.'

Ingpatihan nako nak nag-abot sinra. believe I arrive they 'I believed that they arrived.'

Kag ingplanuhan nida'y kung riin sinra mapagto.
 plan she if where they go
'What she planned was where they would go.'

Apatihan nako kung mag-abot sida. believe I if arrive she 'I will believe when she arrives.'

7.13.2 Verbal Processes

Verbal processes can also use unaffixed and affixed verbs, and are linked to the content clause by *nak* for present and past tense, by *kung* for future tense, and by *ay* for nominalization. There are examples of verbal processes in the Quotation section (6.11). The examples given here are of verbalized nominals.

Simple clause with gerund

Nagreklamo ako it *pag-abot* nida. Ingreklamo nako complaint I arrive her 'I complained about her arrival.'

Complex Sentences

Nagreklamo ako nak nag-abot sida. complaint I arrive she 'I complained that she arrived.'

Mareklamo ako kung mag-abot sida. complaint I if arrive she 'I will complain when she arrives.'

Nominalization

Kag ako reklamo ay pag-abot nida. I complaint arrive her 'My complaint was about her arrival.'

Kag reklamo nako ay nag-abot sida.' complaint my arrive she 'My complaint was that she arrived.'

7.13.3 Perception

Perception verbs also occur unaffixed and affixed, and are linked to the content clauses by *nak* for present and past tense, by *kung* for future tense, and by *ay* for nominalization.

(1) Perception

Simple clause with gerund

Narungog nako kag *pag-abot* nida. Narunggan Nakarungog ako it hear I arrive her 'I heard of her arrival.'

Complex Sentences

Rungog nako nak nag-abot sida. Narunggan Nakarunggog ako hear I arrive she 'I heard that she arrived.'

Rungog nako kung mag-abot sida. Marurunggan hear I if arrive she 'I will hear when she arrives.'

Nominalization

The verb can sometimes occur without the case marker kag.

Rungog nako ay nag-abot sida. Kag rungog Kag narunggan hear I arrive she 'What I heard is that she arrived.'

(2) Emotional Perception Examples.

Simple clause with gerund

Nasadyahan ako sa *pag-abot* nida. Nasadyahan ako it Ingkasadya nako kag Ingkasadyahan enjoy I arrive her 'I was happy about her arrival.'

Complex Sentences

Nasadyahan ako nak nag-abot sida. Ingkasadya nako enjoy I arrive she 'I'm happy that she arrived.'

Masasadyahan ako kung mag-abot sida. Ikakasadya nako enjoy I if arrive she 'I will be happy when she arrives.'

Nominalization with simple clause and gerund

Kag ingkasadya nako ay pag-abot nida. nasadyahan 'What made me happy is her arrival.'

(3) Perception using Verbalized Adjectives.

Simple clause with gerund

Nawili ako it *pag-abot* nida./Mawiwilihan nako kag *pag-abot* nida. nawilihan nako kag interesting I arrive her /interesting I arrive her 'I was interested in her arrival. /I will be interested in her arrival.'

Complex Sentences

Nawili ako nak nag-abot sida. interesting I arrive she 'I was interested that she arrived.'

Mawiwili ako kung mag-abot sida. interesting I if arrive she 'I will be interested when she arrives.'

Nominalization

Kag nawilihan nako ay pag-abot nida. interesting I arrive her 'What I'm interested in is her arrival.'

Kag kahuhuda'y waya ninra sida gibubuligi. shame none they him help 'What is shameful is that they didn't help him.'

7.13.4 Purpose

Purpose is expressed by either a future form of the verb linked to the main clause by *nak*, or by an infinitive form of the verb linked to the main clause by *para*. Of these two the *para* clause is the most overt form.

NagpaOdiongan sinra nak mapisar it lugit./ para magpisar Odiongan they weigh.and.sell copra 'They went to Odiongan (in order) to weigh and sell copra.'

Ingsugo nako sida nak mabakay it itlog./ para magbakay command I him buy egg 'I told him to go and (the purpose is to) buy eggs.'

Ingbakay ninra kag isra nak/para (a)bislaron. buy they fish dry.fish 'They bought the fish (in order) to dry them.'

Bantoanon Grammar

MapaOdiongan kita nak mabakay it buyong./ para magbakay Odiongan we buy medicine 'We will go to Odiongan (in order) to buy medicine.' Naghanra sinra nak/para ipakaon sa mga naggigiok. prepare they eat thresh.with.feet 'They prepared food (for the purpose) to feed the ones who were threshing.'

7.13.5 **Result**

Result is expressed with past tense verbs linked by *ag* 'and' or *bag-o* in the sense of 'then' in such a way that the kind of events conveys result.

Ingtuslok ni Bulog kag tubo ag/bag-o nagliwas kag mga nagbabara. pierce Bulog pipe outside block 'Bulog poked something down the pipe and then (as a result) what was blocking it came out.'

Inghilamunan namo kag lanas ag/bag-o impatubian. weed we rice.field water 'We weeded the rice fields and then (as a result) let the water in.'

7.13.6 **Phase**

Phase verbs include *túnà* 'begin', *síge* and *padáyon* 'continue' and *tápos* 'finish'. They can be linked to a second verb root or a gerund by *it* or *kag* thereby making the associated verbal idea part of the simple clause. Future actions are expressed in this form.

When the phase verb is linked to a second content clause the linker is *nak* and the associated verbal idea is in the infinitive. It expresses present or past actions. If a phase verb is linked by *kung* to another clause, the meaning changes to a condition or temporal point in the *kung* 'if/when' clause.

Nagtuna ako it arado. begin I plough 'I began to plough.'

Ingtunaan ako kag pag-arado. begin I plough 'I began ploughing.'

Atunaan nako it hilamon. begin I weed 'I will begin to weed.'

Asigihan nako kag paghilamon. Apadayunon continue I weed 'I will continue weeding.' Atapuson nako kag hilamon.

finish I weed
'I will finishe weeding.'
Atunaan nako it hilamon kag lanas.
begin I weed rice.field
'I will begin weeding the ricefield.'

Atapusan nako sida it hilamon. finish I him weed 'I will finish weeding for him.'

All phase verbs take -an when the locative goal and beneficiary are in focus. When there is no specific statement of the locative goal or the beneficiary, *tuna* and *sige* may take the -an affix but *padayon* and *tapos* take the -on

Ingtunaan ninra it patinrog nak tamong-tama sa pista. begin they build correct fiesta 'They began to build in time to have it ready for the fiesta.'

Natapos nida't buyar kag payay ngasing nak adlaw. finish he sun.dry rice today today 'He finished drying the rice today.'

Pagkabaton ninra it suhoy ingtapos ninra kag paghulip. receive they payment finish they mend.sth.woven 'Whey they received their pay they finished mending the roof.

Complex Sentences

Nagtuna ako nak mag-arado. Ingtunaan nako begin I plough 'I began to plough.'

Nagsige nida mag-arado miskan nag-uyan. continue he plough even rain 'He continued to plough eventhough it rained.'

Complex sentence with condition

Atunaon nako kung mag-arado sinra. Atunaan begin I if plough they 'I will begin when they plough.'

Asigihon nako kung indi mag-uyan. continue I if not rain 'I will continue if it doesn't rain.'

7.13.7 Manner

Manner is expressed with reduplicated forms of the verb or adverbs of manner. The verb in the accompanying main clause may be in the infinitive form or with the root form marked with the genitive case marker *it*.

Nagrali-rali sida magbakay it isra./ it bakay hurry she buy fish 'She hurried to buy fish.'

Nagguya sida it tudo-tudo ag nalimutan nida kag ida pagkaydo. laugh she continuous and forget she her cook.rice 'She laughed so much that she forgot the rice she was cooking.'

Ing-inut-inotninra it taktakkag sayappara indi makuyaglittle.by.littletheylower.fishing.netfishing.netnotstartle

ka isra. fish 'They lowered the fishing net little by little so as not to startle the fish.'

Arali-ralion nida it karga ka dyip para indi mabadaan. hurry he load jeep not leave.behind 'He hurried to catch the jeep so as not to be left behind.'

Ingyado-yado nimo kag distansya it imo pagbasa. far you distance your read 'You got further and further away from what you were reading.'

Ingrahan-rahan nida it gudor kag bangko nak iliwas sa salas. slow he drag stool outside lounge 'He slowly dragged the stool out of the lounge.'

QUESTIONS:

8. Groupings of Questions

Questions in Bantoanon are of two major types: Yes/No Questions and Information Questions which occur with interrogative nominatives.

8.1 Yes/No Questions

Yes/No Questions are marked by the interrogative particle *baga* and rising intonation. The interrogative particle is optional when it is understood from the context that the speaker is asking a question. If present, the particle follows the predicate, the second person pronoun *ka* and any enclitic adverbs. In inversion the particle is in a different position.

Yes/No Questions are of several types: (Answers to the questions are marked by ${\bf A}$ for affimative, ${\bf N}$ for negative.)

8.1.1 Descriptive/Identity

With these questions the predicate is a noun, an adjective, or a descriptive change of state verb. The affirmative answer is *oho* 'yes' and the negative is *buko* 'no'. The answer can optionally be expanded by repeated all or part of the basic sentence.

Mabuot baga kag imo maestra? kind Q N your teacher Ís your teacher kind?' A: Oho, mabuot sida. N: Buko. Manog=bunit baga kag imo tatay? NR=fish.line Q N your father Ís your father a fisherman?' A: Oho. N: Buko. ka baga? Ina=gutom PROG=hungry(UF) 2SN Q 'Are you hungry?' A: Oho. N: Buko. Kag inra baga bayay ay marako? N their Q house INV big 'Is their house big?'

Kag inra baga bayay kag na=sunog it gab-i? N their Q house N STAT=burn P night 'Was it their house that burned last night?'

Affirmative answers to questions like the preceding one are usually accompanied by the particle *imaw* meaning 'that's the one'

A: Oho, imaw (kag inra bayay). N: Buko (kag inra bayay).

Kato=ng kayaki baga kag imo tatay? DEM3=LK man Q N your father 'Is that man your father?'

A: Oho, imaw kato. N: Buko kato kag ako tatay.

Yes/No Questions which are occur with a substantive in the predicate are also answered with *oho* or *buko*.

Karne baga kag im=bakay ni Nanay? meat Q N P=buy(UF) G mother 'Was it meat that mother bought?'

A: Oho. N: Buko. Buko karne kag ida imbakay.

8.1.2 Verbs

Questions which are verbal interrogatives are answered in the affirmative with *oho* and in the negative with one of the negators *indi* (future tense) 'no', *waya* (past tense) 'no' or *waya pa* 'not yet'. (See also Section 4.7.3 on Negation). Part or all of the basic sentence may optionally be repeated in the answer.

Maka=ka=ligos baga kamo isag sa ragat? APT,F=CV=bathe(AF) Q 2PLN later PREP ocean 'Will you bathe later in the ocean?

A: Oho. Makakaligos kami. 'Yes. We'll go bathing.'

N: Indi kami makaligos nak abang yamig! 'No we won't go bathing because it's very cold!'

Nag=abot ey baga si Jun? P=arrive(AF) already Q N Jun 'Has Jun arrived already?'

A: Oho, nagabot ey sida. 'Yes, he has already arrive.' N: Waya- waya pa sida naabot. 'No- he hasn't arrived yet.'

Ging=tao baga nimo kag libro sa ida? P=give(UF) Q 2SN N book O him 'Have you given the book to him?' A: Oho, gingtao'y.
 'Yes, it's already been given.'
N: Waya pa.
 'Not yet.'

There are some verbs which can occur in the predicate in their root form. Questions using these root forms are usually answered in the negative with *buko* rather than with *waya*.

Ayam baga nimo kag ida ngayan? know Q 2SG N her name 'Do you know her name?'

A: Oho. N: Buko. Buko nako ayam.

8.1.3 Pseudo Verbs and Existentials

Answers to these questions are also *oho* and *waya* or *indi*. These are often followed by a reiterance of the verb or existential.

```
Gusto pa nimo mag=inom?
like still 2SG INF=drink
'Do you want more to drink?'
A: Oho, gusto pa.
N: Indi ey.
Kailangan baga kali?
need
              DEM1
       Q
'Is this needed?'
A: Oho, kailangan.
N: Waya- waya't kailangan.
Pwede baga nimo ako ma=ibh=an?
possible Q 2SG 1SN INF=accompany=UF
'Can you please accompany me?'
A: Oho, pwede.
N: Indi pwede.
Igwa pa baga't kan-on sa kaldero?
EXT still Q:G rice PREP pot
'Is there still rice in the pot?'
A: Oho, igwa pa.
N: Waya ey.
Igwa ka baga it asawa?
EXT 2SN Q G spouse
'Do you have a spouse?'
A: Oho, igwa'y.
N: Waya pa.
```

8.1.4 Confirmation

(1) With Negation

The preceding interrogative sentences can also occur in a negated form using one of the negators. In these questions the speaker is asking for confirmation of a fact supposed or assumed. The interrogative particle *baga* follows the negator.

Buko baga maestra ka imo nanay? NEG Q teacher N your mother 'Isn't your mother a teacher?'

Buko baga bayay ninra kag na=sunog? NEG Q house their N STAT=burn 'Wasn't it their house that burned?'

Waya pa baga si Inday na=pali? NEG yet Q N Inday HAB=come(AF) 'Hasn't Inday come yet?'

Indi baga ikaw mag=nunot sa ¢uting'? NEG Q 2SN INF=go.along O outing 'Won't you go along on the outing?'

Waya ey baga't isra sa merkado? NEG already Q:G fish PREP market 'Isn't there any more fish in the market?'

(2) With Tag Questions

These questions are also used for confirmation. They occur with the tag question particle *no* at the end of the sentence rather than using the interrogative particle *baga*. Tag sentences can also occur in the negated form as the above.

Manog=bunit kag imo tatay, no? NR=fish.line N your father Q 'Your father is a fisherman, isn't he?'

Buko manog=bunit kag imo tatay, no? NEG NR=fish.line N your father Q 'Your father isn't a fisherman, is he?'

Nag=abot ey sida, no? P=arrive(AF) already 3SN Q 'He has already arrived, hasn't he?'

Waya pa sida na=abot, no? NEG yet 3SN HAB=arrive(AF) Q 'He hasn't arrived yet, has he?'

Ma=saydo kamo sa Romblon, no? F=move(AF) 2PLN O Romblon Q 'You will move to Romblon won't you?' Indi kamo mag=saydo, no? NEG 2PLN INF=move(AF) Q 'You won't move, will you?'

Kag karne kag ida im=bakay, no? N meat N her P=buy(UF) Q 'It was meat that she bought, wasn't it?'

Buko karne kag ida im=bakay, no? NEG meat N her P=buy(UF) Q 'It wasn't meat that she bought, was it?'

Igwa kamo't Aladin, no? EXT 2PLN:G Alaldin Q 'You have an Aladin, don't you?'

Waya sinra't iro, no? NEG 3PLN:G dog Q 'They don't have a dog, do they?'

(3) With Matuor

A third construction uses the word *matuor* 'true' in confirmation questions. These also can occur in the negated form.

Matuor baga nak karamo=ng tupa sa Australia? true Q SUB many=LK sheep PREP Australia 'Is it true that there are many sheep in Australia?'

Buko matuor baga nak nayumos kag ida kaybhanan? NEG true Q SUB STAT=drown N his companion Ít's not true, is it, that his companion drown?'

In the following the position of *baga* changes the meaning to 'isn't it true' or 'isn't it obvious'.

Buko baga matuor nak mayamig sa Alaska? NEG Q true SUB cold PREP Alaska 'Isn't it true/obvious that it's cold in Alaska?'

8.2 Alternative Questions

In alternative questions the conjunction o 'or' is used.

Uga'y baga kag mga binuyar o basa pa? dry:already Q N PL wahsed.clothes or wet still 'Are the clothes dry or still wet?'

A: Uga'y.

Gusto baga nimo kag mangga o batag? like Q 2SG N manggo or banana 'Would you like a manggo or banana?' A: Batag (kag ako gusto).

Ma=pamasyar baga kita o sa bayay yang?
F=stroll(AF) Q 1PLN or O house only
'Will we go strolling or just stay at home?'

A: Sa bayay yang.

Maestra baga kag imo nanay o buko? teacher Q N your mother or NEG 'Is your mother a teacher or not?'

A: Buko.

Ma=nunot ka baga sa amo o indi? F=go.with(AF) 2SN Q O us or NEG 'Will you go with us or not?'

8.3 Identity

8.3.1 What

The interrogative nominative *nio* asks the question 'what' and substitutes for the predicate.

(1) Non-verbal Phrases

With non-verbal phrases and with substantives .

In these questions *nio* occurs in sentence initial position. It may optionally be followed by the interrogative particle *baga*. This particle is usually used when asking the question for a second time.

Nio kali? what DEM1 'What's this?' Nio baga kag imo ngayan? what Q N 2SO name 'What's your name again?' Nio kag imo a=baky=on? what N 2SO F=buy=UF 'What will you buy?' Nio kag imo gusto=ng inum=on/ Nio kag gustong inum=on nimo? what N 2SO like=LK drink=UF ' ' ' drink=UF 2SG 'What would you like to drink?' Nio kag imo ing=hu=human? what N 2SO PROG=CV=make(UF) 'what are you making?' Nio can also be preceded by the nominative case marker kag. Kag nio kag imo na=wayit? N what N 2SO STAT=lose 'What did you lose?'

Kag nio baga kag na=sunog? N what Q N STAT=burn 'What was the thing that burned?'

(2) Adverb Phrases and Existentials

Nio can occur with other adverb phrases and existentials in place of the nominative which it is substituting for. Sa norte it nio kag Estates?

0 north G what N States 'The States are north of what?'

Para sa nio baga kali? for O what Q DEM1 'What is this for?'

Tungor sa nio kag istorya? about 0 what N story 'What is the story about?'

Igwa't nio baga ikaw? EXT:G what Q 2SN 'What do you have?'

Many of these questions also can be formed with *nio* in sentence initial position. Compare the following:

Dahil sa nio sida na=matay? because O what 3SN STAT=die 'He died because of what?'

Nio kag nakamatay sa ida? what N APT=die O 3SO 'What did he die of?'/ 'What caused him to die?'

Sa nio sida gi=hi=higra? O what 3SN SUBJ=PROG=CV=sleep 'On what does she sleep?'

Nio kag ida ging=hi=higra=an? what N 3SO PROG=CV=sleep=GF 'What is her sleeping place?' Sa nio nimo a=purus=on kag regalo? O what 2SG F=wrap=UF N gift 'With what will you wrap the gift in?'

Nio kag imo i=pang=puros sa regalo? what N 2SO F=IF=wrap O gift What will you use to wrap the gift in?'

Sira ka nio sa kamera? destroy N what O camera 'What is broken on the camera?'

Nio kag sira sa kamera? what H destroy O camera 'What is broken on the camera?'

(3) Descriptive Substitute

Nio can substitute for a descriptive meaning 'what's it like', 'what kind', 'what time', etc.

Pay nio sinra? as.if what 3PLN 'What are they like?'

Nio baga kag panahon ngansing? what Q N weather now 'What is the weather like now?'

Nio=ng panahon kag imo gusto? what=LK weather N 2SO like 'What kind of weather do you like?'

Nio=ng klase it selyo kag kinahangyan nimo? what=LK class G stamp N need 2SG 'What kind of stamp do you need?'

Nio=ng oras sida gi=abot? what=Lk time 3SN SUBJ=leave 'What time did she leave?'

(4) Questions with uno.

Uno is a stem which can be adjectivilized and also inflected when used in interrogative sentences. In the former it substitutes for an adjective similar to the above; in the latter it substitutes for a verbal predicate.

Ma=uno kag mga Amerikano? ADJ=how N PL American 'What are Americans like?'

Napaka=uno sinra? INT,ADJ=how 3SN 'What are they very much like?'

Nag=u=uno ka? PROG=CV=do/make 2SN 'What are you doing?'

Na=uno ka? APT=do/make(UF) 2SN 'What happened to you?'

Ing=uno baga nimo kali? P=do/make(UF) Q 2SG DEM1 'What did you do with this?'

Ing=pa=uno baga nimo kali?
P=CAUS=do/make(UF) Q 2SG DEM1
'What did you do to this?'

Ing=unu=han nimo kali? P=do/make=GF 2SG DEM1 'What did you do in/on this?'

Nag=pa=uno ikaw sa ida? P=CAUS=do(AF) 2SN O 3SO 'What did you do for him?'

Ing=pa=uno ikaw it kato?
P=CAUS=do(A2F) 2SN G DEM3
'What did that cause you to do?'

Ing=pang=uno nimo kali? P=IF=do 2SG DEM1 'What did you use this to do?'

Mag=uno kamo ni Fred? INF=do/make 2PLN G Fred 'What is Fred to you?'/ 'How are you and Fred related?'

8.3.2 Which

Sentences that ask the question 'which' are prefaced with nio, kag nio, or riin.

Kag nio kag na=sunog? N what N STAT=burn 'Which is the thing that burned?'

Kag riin=g bayay kag inro? N where=LK house N 2PLO 'Which house is yours?'

Riin sa mga bayay kag inro? where O PL house N 2PLO 'Which of the houses is yours?'

Riin baga=ng parti ikaw ma=pagato? where Q=LK party 2SN F=go(AF) 'Which party will you go to?'

Riin=g karsada kag simbahan? where=LK street N church 'Which street is the church on?'

Riin sa mga kali kag mas guso nimo? where O PL DEM1 N more like 2SG 'Which of these do you like best?

Kag nio baga kag kapital it Pilipinas-kag Manila o Quezon? N what Q N capital G Phlippines-N Manila or Quezon 'Which is the capital of the Philippines- Manila or Quezon?'

8.3.3 Who

The interrogative nominative *sio* asks the question 'who'. Sio kato=ng kayaki nak nag=ra=rayan? who DEM3=LK man REL PROG=CV=pass.by 'Who is that man passing by?'

Sio kag imo maguyang' who N 2SO parent 'Who is your parent?'

Sio kag nag=tao it kina sa imo? who N P=give(AF) G DEM2 O 2SO 'Who gave that to you?'

Sio kag imo ing=taw=an it ako bolpen? who N 2SO P=give=GF G my ballpen 'Who did you give my ballpen to?'

Sio kag na=bunggo it bato? who N STAT=hit G rock 'Who got hit by the rock?' Sio kag ing=pa=tahi=an it kali=ng baro? who N P=CAUS=sew=GF G DEM1=LK dress 'Who was the one who was caused to make this dress?'

Sio kag imo ing=pa=huyam it basket? who N 2SO P=CAUS=make(UF) G basket 'Who did you have make the basket?'

8.3.4 Which (person)

Questions asking 'which person' also occur with sio or sin-o.

Sio si Pedro -kag mataas o kag mababa? who 1SN Pedro N tall or N short 'Which one is Pedro- the tall one or the short one?'

Sin-o=ng maestro kag mag=bisaya? who=LK teacher N INF=speak 'Which professor will speak?

Sio sa mga anak kag pinaka=maguyang? who O PL child N INT,ADJ=old 'Which of the children is the oldest?'

8.3.5 Whom

Questions asking 'to whom', 'from whom' are prefaced with the interrogative nominative *kani-o* or *kanin-o*. They take the place of the *sa/kang* + nominative phrase in declarative sentences. Verbs are affixed with the subjunctive affixation. In Goal Focus the *kanin-o* is replaced by the interrogative *sio* 'who' and the verb is affixed with the goal focus affixation. Compare the following:

Ging=tao nako kag imo bolpen sa ako manghor. P=give=GF 1SG N 1SO ballpen O 1SO sibling 'I gave your ballpen to my sibling.'

Kanin-o nimo gi=taw=-an kag ako bolpen? whom 2SG SUBJ,P=give=UF N 1SO ballpen 'To whom did you give my ballpen?'

Sio kag imo ging=taw=-an it ako bolpen? who N 2SO P=give=GF G 1SO ballpen 'Who is the one you gave my ballpen to?'

Si Tang Igo kag amo ging=pa=human it kulungan. N uncle Igo N 1PLO P=CAUS=make=A2F G chicken.coop Öncle Igo was the one that we had make the chicken coop.'

Sio kag inro ging=pa=human it kulungan? who N 2SO P=CAUS=make(A2F) G chicken.coop 'Who did you have make the chicken coop?'

Kanin-o nimo gi=pa=human=an kag kulungan? whom 2SG P,SUBJ=CAUS=make=UF N chicken.coop 'Whom did you have make the chicken coop?' Ging=huyam nako kaling pala kang Linda. P=borrow(UF) 1SG DEM1=LK shovel 0 Linda 'I borrowed this shovel from Linda.'

Kanin-o nimo gi=huyam=a kali=ng pala? whom 2SG P,SUBJ=borrow=UF DEM1=LK shovel 'From whom did you borrow this shovel?'

Kanin-o ikaw naka=runog nak na=matay sida? whom 2SN APT,P=hear(AF) LK STAT=die 3SN 'From whom did you hear that he died.?'

Kanin-o ra siling nak ma=abot sida insulip? whom also say LK F=arrive(AF) 3SN tomorrow 'According to whom will she arrive tomorrow?'

Batay sa kanin-o=ng istorya...? according O whom=LK story 'According to whose story....?'

Sio kag imo ging=ka=ka=bisaya? who N 2SO PROG=SOC=CV=speak(AF) 'Who is the one you are speaking to?'

Kanin-o ikaw gi=bi=bisaya?/ Kanin-o nimo gi=bi=bisaya=han? whom 1SN PROG,SUBJ=speak(AF)/ whom 2SG PROG,SUBJ=speak=GF 'To whom are you speaking?'

The shortened form *nino* occurs in non-initial sentence possession and takes the place of the genitive personal pronoun *ni* in declarative sentences. Compare the follwing:

Sio kag ida ka=tupar?/ kag ida ging=tu=tupar=an? who N 3SO SOC=next.to N 3SO PROG=CV=next.to=GF 'Who is he sitting next to?'

Kanin-o sida gi=tu=tupar? whom 3SN PROG,SUBJ=CV=next.to(AF) 'Whom is he sitting next to?'

Sa tupar nin-o sida? O next.to whose 3SN 'Whose side is he sitting next to?' (who is he sitting next to)

Sa atubangan baga nin-o naka=ingkor si Rudy? O front Q whose POS=sit N Rudy 'At whose front is Rudy sitting?' (who is Rudy sitting in front of)

Ging=human nin-o kato=ng sapatos? P=make(UF) whose DEM3=LK shoe 'Who made those shoes?'

Ging=tao nin-o kato=ng tinapay sa imo? P=give(UF) whose DEM3=LK bread O 2SG 'Who gave you that bread?

8.3.6 For whom, for what

Questions asking 'for whom' are prefaced by *para kanin-o*. The verb is usually in the subjunctive form.

Para kanin-o kato=ng regalo?
for whom DEM3=LK gift
'For whom is the gift?'

Questions asking for what purpose or what place an object will be used for are preceded by *para* plus *sa nio* or *riin*. Another construction asking this question is formed by the instrument affix *pang-* and the verb root *uno* 'do'.

Para sa nio kina=ng kawadan? for 0 what DEM2=LK bamboo 'For what is that bamboo?' (What is that bamboo for?)

Para riin kina=ng lamesa? for where DEM2=LK table 'For what place is that table?'

Pang=uno kina=ng imo ing=hu=huyt=an? I=do DEM2=LK 2SO PROG=CV=hold=GF 'What is that thing for that you are holding?'

8.4 Possession, Ownership

8.4.1 Possession

Questions asking in whose possession or where something is are prefaced by *kanin-o*, *sin-o* and *riin*. *Sin-o* occurs with the existential *di*.

Kanin-o baga kag kwarta? whom Q N money 'With whom is the money' (who has the money)

Sin-o kag di lapsag? who N EXT baby 'Who has the baby?'

Riin kag ako bolpen? where N 2SO ballpen 'Where/ who has my ballpen?'

8.4.2 **Ownership**

These questions also use the interrogative kanin-o 'whose'.

Kanin-o baga kag libro nak kali? whose Q N book LK DEM1 'Whose book is this one?'

Kanin-o=ng libro kali?/ Libro nin-o kali? whose=LK book DEM1 book whose DEM1 'Whose book is this?'

8.5 Relationship ???

8.6 **Time**

8.6.1 Past Tense

Questions asking about past time are introduced by the interrogatives kag-uno, kauno or kasan-o.

(1) Non-verbal sentences

Kag-uno kag miting? when N meeting 'When is the meeting?'

Kauno kag ida pag=abot? when N 3SO GER=arrive 'Whe was her arrival?'

(2) Verbal sentences

In these sentences the verb is usually in the subjunctive form.

```
Kag-uno ikaw gi=abot?
when 2SN P,SUBJ=arrive(AF)
'When did you arrive?'
Kauno nimo sida na=kita?
when 2SG 3SN APT=see(UF)
'When did you happen to see her?'
```

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Kauno na=tanum=i kag lanasan?
when APT,P=plant=SUBJ,GF N field
'When was the field planted?'
```

Kauno nimo gi=buyar=a kag payay? when 2SG P,SUBJ=dry=UF N rice 'When did you dry the rice?'

Kauno ikaw huli=ng nag=pagto sa Manila? when 2SN last=LK P=go(AF) O Manila 'When did you last go to Manila?'

Kauno kag imo huli=ng pag=pagto sa Manila? when N 2SO last=LK GER=go O Manila 'When was your last going to Manila?'

(3) Specific time

These questions ask such things as 'how long', 'what time' and 'since when'.

Kauno pa sida dili gi=ta=trabaho? when still 3SN here PROG,SUBJ=CV=work(AF) 'How long has he been working here?'

Tuna pa tong kauno sida gi=trabaho? start still P when 3SN P,SUBJ=work(AF) 'Since when has he been working here?'

Nio=ng oras kag sayap gi=abot what=LK hour N fish.net P,SUBJ=arrive(AF) 'What time did the net arrive?' (i.e. be pulled in)

Nio=ng buyan nag=a=ani kag tawo dili? what=LK month PROG=CV=harvest(AF) N people here 'What month do the people harvest here?'

Pila=ng semana ey ka dili? how.many=LK week already 2SN here 'How many weeks have you already been here?'

8.6.2 Future Tense

Questions of future tense are introduced by the interrogative sauno or san-o.

(1) Non-verbal sentences

Sauno baga kag tig=uyan dili? when Q N TI=rain here 'When is the rainy season here?'

(2) Verbal sentences

Sauno kamo ma=pagto liwat sa Manila? when 2SN F=go(AF) again O Manila 'When will you go to Manila again?' Sauno a=tanum=an kag lanasan? when F=plant=GF N field 'When will the field be planted?' Sauno nimo a=buyar=on kag paya?

when 2SG F=dry=UF N rice 'When will you dry the rice?'

Sauno ikaw ma=tungon it ka=hangit sa ako? when 2SN F=stop(AF) G NR=anger 0 1SO 'When will you stop being angry with me?'

Sauno ma=ta=tapos kag imo bag-o=ng bayay? when APT,F=CV=finish(UF) N 2SO new=LK house 'When will your new house be finished?'

Sauno ikaw maka=ka=tuon it pag=sira it hagranan? when 2SN APT,F=CV=learn G GER=shut G door 'When will you learn to shut the door?'

(3) Specific time

Pauno it rugay ikaw dili? how G long 2SN here 'How long will you be here?'

Pauno it rugay kag imo pag=buyar it payay? how G long N 2SO GER=dry G rice 'How long will your drying of the rice be?'

Hanggang sauno kamo ma=tiner roto? until when 2SPL F=live(AF) there 'How long will you live there?'

Nanggang sauno nimo a=buyar=on kag payay? until when 2SG F=dry=UF N rice Öntil when will you dry the rice?'

Pilang adlaw kag imo pag=buyar it payay? how.many=LK day N 2SO GER=dry G rice 'How long will be your drying of the rice?'

8.7 Location

Questions asking 'where' are introduced either by *hariin* or by the shortened form *riin*. Verbs are usually in the subjunctive form. The question 'from where' may be preceded by *halin* 'from'.

Hariin kag imo nanay? where N 2SO mother 'Where is your mother?'

Riin kag butangan it lamesa? where N place G table

'Where is the place of the table?' (where does the table belong) Hariin ka ma=pagto? where 2SN F=go(AF) 'Where are you going?' Hariin ka qi=halin? where 2SN P,SUBJ=leave(AF) 'Where did you just come from?' Hariin kamo gi=i=istar? where 2PLN PROG, SUBJ=CV=live(AF) 'Where do you live?' Hariin baga gi=bu=bunak kag mga kabade? where Q PROG,SUBJ=CV=wash.clothes(AF) N PL woman 'Where do the women wash clothes?' Hariin nimo gi=bay=a kina? where 2SG P,SUBJ=get=UF DEM2 'Where did you get that?' Hariin nimo sida qi=baky=i it tsinelas? where 2SG 3SN P,SUBJ=buy=BF G thong 'Where did you buy her the thongs?' Hariin ako maka=ka=bakay it dyaryo? where 1SN APT, F=CV=buy(AF) G newspaper 'Where can I buy a newspaper?' Hariin kag ako a=butang=an it kali=ng baso? where N 1SO F=put=GF G DEM1=LK glass 'Where should I put this glass?' Hariin nimo gi=butang=an kag baso? where 2SN P,SUBJ=put=UF N glass 'Where did you put the glass?' Hariin kag imo ging=butang=an it baso? where N 2SG P=put=GF G glass 'Where was your putting of the glass?' Other constructions denoting a question of location are as follows. Halin riin kag mga mansanas nak kali? leave where N PL apple LK DEM1 'Where are these apples from?' Pa=riin ka? DIR=where 2SN 'Where are you going?' Taga=riin baga ikaw? LOC=where Q 2SN 'Where are you from?' Hariin can also be used in constructions asking 'which one'.

Hariin baga=ng kaldero kag kan-on? where Q=LK pot N rice 'Which pot is the rice in?'

Harii=ng sapa sinra gi=bu=bunak? where=LK river 3PLN PROG,SUBJ=CV=wash.clothes(AF) 'Which river do they wash clothes at?'

Harii=ng maisot nak kahon nak hagto kag singsing? where=LK small LK box LK there N ring 'Which little box is the ring in?'

8.8 Amount and Extent

Questions which ask the description of something in terms of amount or extent are of two kinds: those which ask how big, how long, how cold, etc., and those which ask how many, how much. The former are introduced by the interrogative *pauno* followed by the genitive *it*; the latter are introduced by *pila* 'how much/many' or *tig-pila* 'how much each'.

(1) Pauno with non-verbal sentences

Pauno it yado kag sapa? how G far N river 'How far is the river?'

Pauno baga it hinog kag batag? how Q G ripe N banana 'How ripe is the banana?'

Pauno it rako kag inro bukir? how G big N your farm 'How big is your farm?'

Pauno it rayom kag sapa dili? how G deep N river here 'How deep is the river?'

Pauno it grabe sida? how G serious 3SN 'How sick is he?'

Pauno it rako kag na=bilin nak adobo? how G big N STAT=leave LK adobo 'How much adobo is left?'

Pauno it rugay kag biyahe pa-Manila sa barko? how G long N trip DIR-Manila O boat 'How long is the trip to Manila by boat?'

(2) Pauno with verbal sentences

Pauno it tulin mag=rayagan si Juan?/ kag pag=rayagan ni Juan? how G fast INF=run N Juan N GER=run G Juan 'How fast does Juan run?' / 'How fast is John's running?'

Pauno it ayo sida mag=bisaya it Tagalog? how G well 3SN INF=speak G Tagalog 'How well does he speak Tagalog?'

Pauno sida it ayo tong mag=bisaya it Tagalog? how 3SN G well P INF=speak G Tagalog 'How well did he speak Tagalog?'

Pauno it ragko kag asukar nak ako i=timpla sa imo kape? how G big N sugar REL 1SO F=mix(UF) O your coffee 'How much sugar should I mix in your coffee?'

Pauno it rugay pa bag-o kita mag=abot sa Manila? how G long still before 1PLN INF=arrive O Manila 'How much longer before we reach Manila?'

Pauno it rugay pa bag-o ma=tapos ka imo trabaho? how G long still before STAT=finish N your work 'How much longer before your work is finished?'

Pauno it ayo ikaw mag=kanta? how G well 2SN INF=sing 'How well do you sing?'

Questions referring to time often use the construction *hanggang sauno* 'until when' rather than the construction *pauno it rugay* 'how long'. Compare the following.

Hanggang sauno kag imo dumot sa ako? until when N your grudge O 1SO Öntil when will you keep your grudge against me?'

Pauno it rugay kag imo dumot sa ako? how G long N your grudge O 1SO 'How long will you keep your grudge against me?'

Hanggang sauno ka ray ma=bisaya sa ako? until when 2SN again F=speak O 1SO Öntil when will you speak to me again?' (i.e. how long before you start speaking to me again?)

(3) Pila

Many of these questions can be expressed- and are more commonly expressed- by using the interrogative *pila* 'how much/many' plus a noun of quantity. Compare the following.

Pauno it rugay kag kugon nak kuyungan? how G long N grass LK roof 'How long will a grass roof last?'

Pila=ng tuig kag kugon nak kuyungan? how.many=LK year N grass LK roof 'How many years will a grass roof last?'

Pauno it haba kali=ng pisi? how G long DEM1=LK rope 'How long is this rope?'

Pila=ng metro kali=ng pisi? how.many=LK meter DEM1=LK rope 'How many meters is this rope?'

Pauno it ragko kag inro bukir? how G big N your farm 'How big is your farm?'

Pila=ng hektarya kag inro bukir? how.many=LK hectare N your farm 'How many hectares is your farm?'

Pauno it ragko kag asukar nak ako i=timpla sa imo kape? how G big N sugar REL 1SO F=mix(UF) O your coffee 'How much sugar should I mix in your coffee?'

Pila=ng kutsara nak asukar nak ako i=timpla sa imo kape? how.many=LK spoons LK sugar REL 1SO F=mix(UF) O your coffee 'How many spoonfuls of sugar should I mix in your coffee?

other examples of the use of pila:

Pila baga kag kahinangyan nimo? how.much Q N need 2SG 'How much do you need?'

Pila=ng yarda nak tela kag imo im=bakay? how.many=LK yard LK cloth N 2SO P=buy(UF) 'How many yards of cloth did you buy?'

Pila it edad kag imo mga anak? how.much G age N your PL child 'How old are your children?'

Pila=ng bilog nak aspirin kag imo ing=tumar? how.many=LK piece LK aspirin N 2SO P=take.medicine(UF) 'How many aspirins did you take?' Pila=ng bilog kag imo estudyante? how.many=LK piece N your student 'How many students do you have?'

Pila=ng bilog kamo?/ Pila kamo? how.many=LK piece 2PLN how.many 2PLN 'How many are you?'

(4) Tig-pila

Tig-pila asks the questions 'how much for one/each one'.

Tig-pila baga kag pamasahe? each.how.much Q N fare 'How much is the fare each?'

Tig-pi-pila kag mansanas? each.CV.how.much N apple 'How much is an apple?'

8.9 Descriptive questions using nio:

The interrogative *nio* 'what' has already been discussed in 7.3.1. It can substitute for a descriptive meaning 'what time', 'what kind', 'what color', etc. In the following it is also used to ask questions such as 'what size', 'what shape', etc. and 'what is it made of'.

Nio=ng kulay kag imo bag-o=ng baro? what=LK color N your new=LK dress 'What color is your new dress?'

Nio kag sukat it imo siki? what N measure G your foot 'What size are your feet/shoes?'

Nio it kurte kag lamesa? what G design N table 'What design/shape is the table?'

Nio=ong klase kag inro radyo? what=LK class N your radio 'What kind of radio do you have?'

Nio it tabas kag ida baro? what G cut N her dress 'What cut/style is her dress?'

Human sa nio kag imo kuyungan? make O what N your chicken.coop 'What is your chicken coop made of?'

Human sa nio kali=ng basket? make O what DEM1=LK basket 'What is this basket made of?'

8.10 State

Question which ask the state of something/someone are introduced either by kumusta or mauno.

Kumusta ka imo nanay? how N your mother 'How is your mother?'

Kumusta kag pang=isra ngasing? how N PL=fish now 'How is the fishing now?'

Kumsta kag imo pamatsag ngasing? how N your feeling now 'How are you feeling now?'

Mauno kag imo kotse? how N your car 'What condition is your car in?'

8.11 Means and Manner

These questions ask how something was done/accomplished or the manner in which something is habitually done. They are introduced by *pauno* 'how'.

Pauno kono sinra naka=abot dili? how RS 3PLN APT,P=arrive here 'How did they say they arrived here?'

Pauno nimo gi=yutu=a kali? how 2SG P,SUBJ=cook=UF DEM1 'How did you cook this?'

Pauno kamo gi=ta=tanom it payay? how 2PLN PROG,SUBJ=CV=plant(AF) G rice 'How do you plant rice?'

Pauno nako a=bisaya=hon kato sa Bantoanon? how 1SG F=speak=UF DEM3 O Bantoanon 'How do I say that in Bantoanon?'

Pauno ninro na=ayam=i kag ida pagka=matay? how 2PLG APT,P=know=SUBJ,UF N his GER=die 'How did you find out about his death?'

Pauno nida gi=pakandu=a kag gulong? how 3SG P,SUBJ=fix=UF N tire 'How did he fix the tire?'

```
Pauno nimo i=takor
                    kag antenna sa kahoy?
     2SG F=attach(UF) N antenna O tree
how
'How will you attach the antenna to the tree?'
Pauno sida qi=panaw/maq=panaw/ Pauno sida kunq
                                                 mag=panaw?
how 3SN SUBJ=walk/INF=walk/ how 3SN if/when INF=walk
'How does he walk?'
A: Pay pato sida gi=panaw/ kung
                                    mag=panaw.
  as.if duck 3SN SUBJ=walk/ if/when INF=walk
   'He walks like a duck.'
Pauno gi=tawog kag amo?
how SUBJ=climb N monkey
'How does a monkey climb?'
```

8.12 Reason and Purpose

Questions which ask the reason for which something is done are introduced by the interrogative *asi* 'why'. Those which ask the question 'for what purpose' can also use this interrogative or are formed by other types of constructions as seen below.

```
Asi baga=ng nag=pauli sida?
why Q=LK P=go.home(AF) 3SN
'Why did she go home?'
```

Asi=ng waya sida gi=pagto sa parti? why=LK NEG 3SN P,SUBJ=go O party 'Why didn't he go to the party?'

```
Asi=ng ngasing ka gi=bu=bunak?
why=LK now 2SN PROG,SUBJ=CV=wash.clothes(AF)
'Why are you washing clothes now?'
```

```
Asi=ng imo i=takor kag antenna sa kahoy?
why=LK 2SO F=attach(UF) N antenna O tree
'Why will you attach the antenna to the tree?'
```

Asi=ng waya ey ikaw it na=bilin nak kwarta? why=LK NEG already 2SN G STAT=leave LK money 'Why don't you have any money left?'

Asi=ng nag=pali ka? why=LK P=come(AF) 2SN 'Why have you come here?'

Asi=ng nag=ku=kutkot ka? why=LK PROG=CV=dig(AF) 2SN 'Why are you digging?'

Mauno ka asi=ng nag=ku=kutkot ikaw? how N why=LK PROG=CV=dig(AF) 2SN 'Why are you digging?' Nio kag kabangranan nimo sa pag=kutkot?/ what N reason 2SG O GER=dig Nio kag kabangranan asi=ng nag=ku=kutkot ka? what N reason why=LK PROG=CV=dig(AF) 2SN 'What's your reason for digging there?'

A=un=hon nimo kina=ng imo k=in=utkot=an? F=do=UF 2SG DEM2=LK your dig=P=__=GF 'What will you do with that place you are digging?'

Para sa nio kali=ng kahoy? for 0 what DEM2=LK wood 'What is this wood for?'

A=un=hon kali=ing kahoy? F=do=UF DEM1=LK wood 'What will be done with this wood?'

I=pang=uno kali=ng kahoy?
F=IF=do DEM1=LK wood
'What will you use this wood for?'

A=gamit=on sa riin kali=ng kahoy? F=use=UF O where DEM1=LK wood 'Where will this wood be used?'

8.13 Cause

Questions asking the cause of an event can also be introduced by the interrogative *asi*. An alternative construction makes use of Causitive Focus and is introduced by *nio* 'what'. Compare the following.

```
Asi=ng na=matay sida?
why=LK STAT=die 3SN
'Why did he die?'
Nio kag naka=matay sa ida?
what N P,CF=die 0 3SO
'What caused him to die?'
Asi=ng na=hadlok sida?
why=LK P=fear(UF) 3SN
'Why was he afraid?'
Nio kag ik=in=a=hadlok nida?/ nag=pa=hadlok sa ida?
what N CF=P=__=fear 2SG / P=CAUS=fear(AF) 0 3SO
'What caused him to be afraid?'
Asi=ng nag=bati kag anak?
why=LK P=wake(AF) N child
'Why did the child wake up?'
Nio kag naka=bati sa anak?
```

what N P,CF=wake O child 'What caused the child to wake up?'

```
Asi=ng na=bangga kag dyip?
why=LK STAT=crash N jeep
'Why did the jeep crash?'
Nio kag naka=pa=bangga sa dyip?
what N APT,P=CAUS=crash O jeep
```

'Whay caused the jeep to crash?'

8.14 Embedding of Questions

One question can be embedded in another in the same way that nominalized subordinate clauses are embedded. (See Section 2.5).

Ayam baga nimo kung sio kato=ng kayaki? know Q 2SG if who DEM3=LK man 'Do you know who that man is?'

Ayam baga nimo kung riin sida gi=pagto? know Q 2SG if where 3SN P,SUBJ=go(AF) 'Do you know where whe went?'

Na=rungg=an baga nimo kung sio kag naka=raog sa eleksyon? APT=hear=GF Q 2SG if who N APT=win(AF) O election 'Have you heard who won the election?'

Na=rumrum=an baga nimo kung riin nako gi=butang=an kag baso? APT=remember=GF Q 2SG if where 1SG P,SUBJ=put=UF N glass 'Do you remember where I put the glass?'