

CEBUANO VERB MORPHOLOGY
an application of Case Grammar*

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Part I

1. Introduction

Case is a linguistic notion that describes the underlying or semantic relationships that exist between verbs and nouns or noun phrases. The existence of case is revealed in surface structure by the affixation of the verb and the determiner-markings of the accompanying nouns.

This paper will attempt to do two things:

- a) develop a set of phrase structure rules that will show the derivational history of the verb and all possible types of affixation; and
- b) formalize the transformations that map underlying or semantic structures onto surface verbal morphological structures.

This study was based on a corpus composed of approximately 1,400 verbs selected from Wolff's Cebuano dictionary (Wolff 1971). Only the verbs in the writer's speaking vocabulary were included. Before a) and b) above could be accomplished the following had to be done:

- a) The allowable cases that occur with each verb had to be determined.
- b) The verbs were categorized according to the nature of their case environments.
- c) The non-case non-aspectual affixes (the specialization affixes) were determined for each verb.

Case Grammar was the model used for analysis. Fillmore's (1968, 1970) and Cook's (1971) models were extended and modified to be able to handle the problems under consideration. One important deviation from Fillmore has to do with the treatment of case. Fillmore assigns case in the Phrase Structure; this study considers it as features of verbs, that is, case belongs in the lexicon.

The study has shown that Cebuano verbal morphology is rule-governed. It also has shown that semantics plays a significant part in dictating the final surface form of the verb. This means that verbal affixation is semantically motivated; that is, there is a corresponding

*This article was based on my dissertation (Luzares 1975). This issue includes only the discussion on Phrase Structure Rules; Transformations will be included in the next issue.

semantic reason behind the verb's choice of affix.

The language features that have been found to affect verbal affixation are: case, aspect, and specialization. Plurality also does, to a limited extent.

There are two kinds of specializations that the study came up with: the Basic specialization and the Secondary specialization. Basic specialization refers to the change in the affixation of the verb when the Agentive, the Neutral or the Motive case is marked +Topic. This rule accounts for the difference between

- (1) kanqun nakuq ang mangga
'I'll eat the mango.'

and

- (2) ilabay nakuq ang mangga
'I'll throw away the mango.'

where the topicalized (or the surface subjects) actants are both Neutral cases yet the verbs are affixed differently (i.e., -un and i-). The explanation is that the verbs affect the Neutral mangga differently in these two sentences; it is Directly Affected in (1) while it is the object transferred (Portative) in (2). The other Basic specializations are Casual and Volitional which pertains only to the Agentive when it is chosen +Topic. Casual and Volitional account for the difference between mag- and mu-. Directly Affected, Indirectly Affected and Portative respectively account for the difference in -un, -an, and i- when the topicalized actant is a Neutral or a Motive. (These Basic specializations are discussed in 3.11.)

Secondary specialization refers to the non-case non-aspectual means by which the meaning of the verb may be 'specialized' or made more specific. There are twelve secondary specializations: Ability, Ability/Involuntary, Intensive, Intensive Accidental Result, Moderative, Frequentative, Destructive Action, Habitual/Occupational, Transitory, Simultaneous Involuntary Reciprocal, Reciprocal and Simultaneous Involuntary Reciprocal/Reciprocal. Many of these secondary specializations are realized as affixes; some involve reduplication and stress shifts. (The Secondary specializations are discussed in 3.12.)

The study came up with ten transformational rules that explain the derivation of a surface affix verb. Two significant related transformations were formulated to account for the similarities of sentences like (3) and (4).

- (3) magpabalay sila sa sunud tuqig
(4) magpahimuq sila ug balay sa sunud tuqig

Both (3) and (4) mean

- (5) They will have a house built next year.

Both also contain the abstract verb CAUSE (an abstract verb is defined as a verb that exists in the semantic consciousness of the speakers but which does not receive lexicalization in the language). The difference lies in that (3) does not contain the higher verb himuq while (4) does. Before (4) can become (3) the following transformations have to take place:

Unspecified Actant Deletion - This deletes the unspecified Agent of himuq 'make'.

Case Copying - This copies balay 'house' under the V node (the node of himuq).

Original Case Deletion - This deletes the original balay after it has been copied under the V node.

V Raising - This raises balay (which has been attached to the V node) to the right of CAUSE.

CAUSE is realized in surface structure as the affix pa-.

In the above example, the verb himuq has been replaced in surface structure by the accompanying actant balay. In this study, a verb like himuq is called a replaceable verb, i.e., it is a verb that allows itself to be replaced by one of its accompanying actants. A number of replaceable verbs exist in Cebuano. A number of abstract verbs have also been posited for this language.

This study has shown that morphology is not independent of syntax and semantics. Although it has not clearly given an answer to the question regarding the place of morphology in the linguistic framework, it has shown that wherever it is located, it must have access to semantics and syntax.

2. The Cases Used

This study found it necessary to posit 21 cases to define the different verb-actant relations identified in the analysis of the 1,400 verbs. These cases are defined and illustrated in this section.

Agentive (A), the case that designates the 'object or being which carries out the action identified by the verb' (Diller 1971:400). This definition includes both volitional and non-volitional Agents.

nagkaqum ang bataq ug dulse
'The child is eating candy.'

gihigtan niya ug lastiku ang iyang buhuk
'She tied her hair with a rubber band.'

gipalid sa hangin ang papil
'The wind blows away the paper.'

Associative (As), which expresses the animate being who joins or associates with another animate being in carrying out the action identified by the verb.

nakigqinum siya sa mga bisita
'He joined the guests in drinking.'

ibayli ni Juan si Teresa
'Juan will dance with Teresa.'

muquban ku niya sa tyanggi
'I will accompany him to the market.'

Benefactive (B), 'the case of the animate being for whose benefit the action identified by the verb is carried out' (Diller 1971:179).

palitan ku siya ug munyika sa iyang adlaw
'I will buy her a doll on her birthday.'

maglutuq aku ug biku para nimu ugmaq
'I will cook biku for you tomorrow.'

salinan ku siya ug pagkaqun
'I will leave him some food.'

Cause (C), which 'provides the reason why the action or state identified by the verb has, is, or will occur' (Diller 1971:187).

mitambuk siya sa bitamina
'He became stout because of the vitamins.'

nahubug aku sa tubaq
'I got drunk because of the tubaq.'

Experiential (E), the case of the animate noun that is affected by the psychological state or condition expressed by the verb.

nasukuq siya nakuq
'She is/was angry with me.'

gimingaw siya sa iyang manga anak
'She misses/missed her children.'

Goal (G), the case of the actant 'which indicates either (a) the object, being, or place toward which the action or state is directed, or (b) the actual recipient of the action indicated by the verb' (Diller 1971:244).

gihatag nila sa irug ang panqus nga pagkaqun
'They gave the spoiled food to the dog.'

nidagan ang bataq ngadtú sa iyang nanay
'The child ran to his mother.'

gisulatan niya ang iyang tratu
'He wrote to his girlfriend.'

Instrumental (I) 'which marks the actant which expresses the object or being which is used as an instrument in carrying out the action or state identified by the verb' (Diller 1971:250).

gibumalan niya sa lipak ang bataq
'He beat the child with the stick.'

giputul niya ug kahuy ang sundang
'He cut wood with the bolo.'

gihadluk niya ang manga bataq sa aswang
'He frightened the children with a witch.'
(e.g. by means of witch stories)

Locative (L), 'the case which identifies the location or spatial orientation of the state or action identified by the verb' (Fillmore 1968:25).

naghilak siya sa kwartu
'She is/was crying in the room.'

gipakatulgan niya sa bataq ang supa
'She made/allowed the child to sleep on the sofa.'

nananqaw sila ng sini sa Town.
'They want to see a movie at the Town theater.'

Mensural (ME), the case of the actant which expresses the 'extent or amount of the activity identified in the verb' (Diller 1971:267).

iquswag ug usa ka dupa ang atup
'Raise the roof by a fathom.'

lakwun lang niya ang lima ka kilumitru ngadtú sa lungsud
'He will just walk the five kilometers to town.'

hangyuqun nakug pisu ang saging
'I will bargain the banana for one peso.'

Motive (MO), the case that expresses the motive for which an agent performs the action indicated by the verb.

kanaqugun nakuq ang bula
'I will go down for the ball (i.e., to get the ball).'

adtuqun ku si Dolores sa bangku
'I will go to the bank to see Dolores.'

pamasiyuhan ta ka sa sunud simana
'I will come around to see you next week.'

Motive is not to be confused with Neutral (Fillmore's Objective) although the verb receives the same surface affix when they are chosen Topic. The Neutral actant cannot occur in the slot para sa X 'for X'. That is, (6) is grammatical but (7) is not. Only an actant fulfilling a Motive role can occur in the environment of para sa X in (6) and (7).

(6) mukanaqun aku para sa bula
'I will go down for the ball.'

(7) *mukaqun aku para sa saging
*'I will eat for the banana.'

Sentences (8) and (9), however, are both grammatical.

(8) kanaqugun nakuq ang bula
'I will go down for the ball.'

(9) kanqun nakuq ang saging
'I will eat the banana.'

Neutral (N), which indicates the object, being, or place 'affected by the action or state identified by the verb' (Diller 1971:167).

giqinum niya ang tambal
'He took the medicine.'

namatay ang babuy kay gihiluqan
'The pig died because it was poisoned.'

nagkagwapa si Perla
'Perla is/was becoming pretty.'

Norm (NO), the case of the actant which expresses the object or being which is used as a standard or norm with which another being or object is compared.

nakalapaw na sa saging ang lubi
'The coconut tree has grown taller than the banana tree.'

niliwat siya sa iyang inahan
'He took after his mother.'

parihuqun nakuq ang akung sininaq sa imu
'I will make my dress like yours.'

Partitive (PT), the case of the actant which expresses the body-part which is affected by the action or state identified by the verb.

naglabad ang akung ulu
'My head aches.'

gisakitan aku ug tiyan
'I have a stomachache.' (Literally, I feel pain
in my stomach.)

gisumbag niya si Pedro sa likud
'He boxed Pedro in the back.'

Product (PR), expresses the object that results from the action identified by the verb.

lutuqun na'ng biku ang pilit
'I will make biku out of the malagkit.'

himuqun nilang lungsud ang baryu
'They will make the barrio into a town.'

maghimuq kug munyika aning tinabas
'I will make a doll out of these strips of cloth.'

Referential (R), which designates the object, being or situation 'which the action or state identified by the verb is expressed to be in relation or reference to' (Diller 1971:288).

gikaqulqan niya ang paglayas sa iyang anak
'She grieves over her son's leaving home.'

gitugqanan ku siya sa tinuqud
'I told him the truth.'

nagkasabut na nila sa prisyu
'They have already agreed about the price.'

Reservational¹ (RV), the case of the actant which expresses the object reserved for use only in performing the action identified by the verb or in observing the event identified by the time actant.

ipamayli ni Jose ang iyang bagqung barung
'Jose will wear his new barung to the dance.'

ikaliguq niya ang iyang bikini
'She will swim (lit. take a bath) in her bikini.'

giqiskuyla lang niya ang iyang bulingung sininaq
'He went to school in his dirty clothes.'

Source (SO), which 'expresses the object, being or place which is the origin of the action or state identified by the verb' (Diller 1971:309).

mangayuq akug pinaskuhan sa akung maninay
'I will ask my godmother for a Christmas present.'

muqabut si Pedro gikan sa syudad ugmaq
'Pedro will arrive from the city tomorrow.'

gikuhaqan niya ug ulud ang rusis
'She removed the worms from the roses.'

Substitutive (SU), 'the case of the animate being in whose place the ACTOR (i.e., the actant in the Agentive case) performs the action identified in the verb' (Diller 1971:179). (The examples below are in the imperative because it is in imperative sentences that the Substitutive is most distinguishable).

idala ku sa libru dinhi
'Bring the book here for me.'

ibantay ku sa bataq ug kadyut
'Watch the child for a while for me.'

ibasa ra ku aning sulata
'Please read this letter for me.'

The Substitutive and the Benefactive are indistinguishable when the Agentive is Topic. For example, in

- (10) nagpalit si Bert ug saging para kang Rosa
'Bert bought bananas for Rosa.'

Rosa is either the person for whom the bananas were bought (Benefactive) or in whose stead they were bought (Substitutive). However, when Rosa is topic the meaning becomes disambiguated.

- (11) palitan ni Bert ug saging si Rosa
'Bert will buy bananas for Rosa (i.e., he will spend his money but will give the bananas to Rosa).'
- (12) ipalit ni Bert ug saging si Rosa
'Bert will buy bananas for Rosa (i.e., Rosa will give him money for the bananas).'

Time (TM), the case of the actant which refers to the temporal orientation of the state or action expressed by the verb.

sa sunud simana siya muqabut
'He will arrive next week.'

matulug siyag adlaw mutrabahu siyag gabiqi
'He sleeps during the day; he works at night.'

naghilak siya sa paggabut ku
'She was crying when I arrived.'

Title (T), 'the case of the actant which refers to the name given to a person or to the office, or position that a person holds, held, or is seeking' (Diller 1971:275).

ginganlan siyag bayut sa iyang mga amigu
'His friends called him sissy.'

mulansad siya pagkagubirnadur
'He will run for governor.'

mubutu ku niya pagkaprisidinti
'I will vote for him for president.'

Victim (V), the case of the actant which designates the being who suffers the consequences of the action identified in the verb.

namatyan sila ug lima ka babuy
'They lost five pigs.'

nesunugan sila niqadtung usang tuqig
'They were victims of a fire the other year.'

nakuqutan aku sa Quiapo
'I was a victim of a pickpocket in Quiapo.'

3. The Phrase Structure Rules

This section gives the set of rules that is responsible for generating the verb in its different types of affixed states. These rules generate only the verbal affixes that are included in the writer's dialect.

3.1. S -----> Mod Prop

This initial rule rewrites a sentence as a Modality and a Proposition. An embedded sentence (i.e., a lower S in the phrase structure tree) may be generated from an actant that is either +N, +C, or +R, or +I.

3.2. Prop -----> V AC_n

Proposition is rewritten as a verb and an n array of actants. Cebuano allows only 4 cases, aside from the Cause, Time and Locative, in any one sentence. The occurrence of Cause, Time and Locative are unrestricted when they occur as subordinate clauses or time and locative adverbials.

Proposition is not developed further in this paper since the concern here is primarily the morphological problem and since cases are to be indicated as features of verbs.

3.3. Mod -----> (Imp) (Neg) Affix

Modality is rewritten with Imperative and Negative as optional constituents and with Affix as an obligatory constituent. Imperative and Negative both affect the morphology of the verb as is shown by the fact that on the surface the verb is marked differently when the S is Imperative and/or Negative.

3.3.1. Imperative

An imperative S contains an Agentive (the 'understood you') in the underlying structure. Except when the addressee is plural, this 'understood' Agent does not surface in Cebuano, unlike in Tagalog. In Cebuano, only (13) is truly an imperative S, (14) may also be interpreted as declarative S.

(13) ihatud si Eden sa iskuylahan
'Take Eden to school.'

(14) ihatud nimu si Eden sa iskuylahan
'You will take Eden to school.'

The verb in imperative sentences like (13) takes one of three affixes (other forms follow the affixation of non-imperative non-negative verbs):

-a when the topicalized actant is N and the verb specialized as DA²

-i when the topicalized actant is AS, SO, B, G, L or N when the verb is specialized as IAF

i- when the topicalized actant is I, SU or N when the verb is specialized as P

3.3.2. Negative Imperative

Verbs in negative imperative S's have the following form:

$$\text{ayaw} + \text{Base} + \begin{Bmatrix} \text{i-} \\ \text{-i} \\ \text{-a} \end{Bmatrix}$$

The restrictions concerning the choice of affix are the same as those in non-negative imperative S's discussed above. (3.3.1.)

(15) ayaw ihatag sa bataq ang kutsilyu (N-Portative)
'Don't give the knife to the child.'

(16) ayaw siyag (SU) ikuhaq ug tubig
'Don't get water for him.'

- (17) *ayawg idukduk sa lansang ang sundang (I)*
'Don't pound the nail with the bolo.'
- (18) *ayawg ibayli si Rosa (AS)*
'Don't dance with Rosa.'
- (19) *ayawg hugasi ang iyang gikanqan (N-IAF)*
'Don't wash the utensils he ate with.'
- (20) *ayawg hiwaqi ang cake (SO)*
'Don't slice a portion of the cake.'
- (21) *ayawg hatagi ug kwarta ang bataq (C)*
'Don't give the child money.'
- (22) *ayawg lingkuri ang gubang silya (L)*
'Don't sit on the old chair.'
- (23) *ayawg imna ang akung Pepsi (N-DA)*
'Don't drink my Pepsi.'

3.3.3. Negative Non-Imperative

Negative sentences take different negative markers depending on the aspect of the verb. Cebuano has three negative markers:

diliq, which goes with -Perfective verbs

walaq, which goes with +Perfective verbs

ayaw, which appears only in imperative S's

When diliq or walaq appears in S's where the Agentive actant is marked +Topic, the verb appears in the infinitive form. This seems to suggest that whenever these two negative markers appear, either aspect moves from the verb to the negative marker or the verb loses its aspect.³

- (24a) *muqadtu siya sa Manila ugmaq*
'He will go/is going to Manila tomorrow.'
- (24b) *niqadtu siya sa Manila kagahapun*
'He went to Manila yesterday.'
- (25a) *diliq siya muqadtu sa Manila ugmaq*
'He won't go/isn't going to Manila tomorrow.'
- (25b) *walaq siya muqadtu sa Manila kagahapun*
'He didn't go to Manila yesterday.'
- (25c) **walaq siya niqadtu sa Manila kagahapun*
'He didn't go to Manila yesterday.'

The same phenomenon exists in the following situations:

- (a) When the neutral actant is +Topic and when the verb is specialized as Portative
- (b) When the Substitutive actant is +Topic
- (c) When the Instrumental actant is +Topic

Observe the following sentences.

- (26a) ibilin nakuq ang libru (N-Portative) kang Rebecca
'I will/am going to leave the book with Rebecca.'
- (26b) gibilin nakuq ang libru (N-Portative) kang Rebecca
'I left the book with Rebecca.'
- (27a) diliq nakuq ibilin ang libru (N-Portative) kang Rebecca
'I will not/am not going to leave the book with Rebecca.'
- (27b) walaq nakuq ibilin ang libru (N-Portative) kang Rebecca
'I didn't leave the book with Rebecca.'
- (28a) ipalit nakuq ug sapatus ang kwarta (I)
'I will/am going to buy shoes with the money.'
- (28b) gipalit nakuq ug sapatus ang kwarta (I)
'I bought shoes with the money.'
- (29a) diliq nakuq ipalit ug sapatus ang kwarta (I)
'I won't/am not going to buy shoes with the money.'
- (29b) walaq nakuq ipalit ug sapatus ang kwarta (I)
'I didn't buy shoes with the money.'
- (30a) ikuhaq niya aku (SU) ug tubig
'He will get water for me.'
- (30b) gikuhaq niya aku (SU) ug tubig
'He got water for me.'
- (31a) diliq niya aku (SU) ikuhaq ug tubig
'He won't/is not going to get water for me.'
- (31b) walaq niya aku (SU) ikuhaq ug tubig
'He didn't get water for me.'

The following table summarizes the verbal affixes and the markers that occur in negative S's when the topicalized actant is not an Agentive.

Table I

Verbal Affixes in Negative Non-Imperative Sentences
(only when Topic is not +A)

Affix	Aspect		Topic									
i-	+Perf (walaq)	-Perf (diliq)	<div>+N+Mo</div> <div>DA IAF P</div>	+E	+I	+SU	+B	+SO	+G	+L		
	x	x	x									
	x	x			x							
	x	x				x						
-i	x									x		
	x								x			
	x							x				
	x						x					
	x		x									
-a	x		x									
	x			x								
-un		x	x									
		x		x								
-an		x							x			
		x	x									
		x						x				
		x								x		
ma-	x	x		x								

The following sentences illustrate -un, -a and -i, and -an (i- has been given illustrations above).

- (32) diliq ni Jose basahun ang libru
'Jose won't/isn't going to read the book.'
- (33) walaq ni Jose basaha ang libru
'Jose didn't read the book.'
- (34) diliq siya gutumun dayun
'He doesn't get hungry easily.'
- (35) walaq siya gutuma kay daghan ang iyang gikaqun kaganina
'He isn't hungry because he ate a lot earlier.'
- (36) walaq nila ugbuki ug balay ang ilang yutaq
'They didn't build a house on their land.'
- (37) walaq niya agawi ug bula ang bataq
'He didn't take away the ball from the child.'
- (38) walaq niya tapaki ang iyang karsunis
'He didn't patch his trousers.'
- (39) walaq niya himuqi ug balaybalay ang bataq
'He didn't make the child a toy house.'
- (40) walaq ni Ramon dadqi ug ilimmun si Marta
'Ramon didn't bring Marta a drink.'
- (41) diliq niya sulatan ug balak si Rosita
'He won't/isn't going to write a poem for Rosita.'
- (42) diliq ni Pedro ilisan ang iyang sininaq
'Pedro won't/isn't going to change his clothes.'
- (43) diliq pugasan ug maqis ang ilang uma
'They won't/aren't going to plant corn in their farm.'
- (44) diliq nakuq hatagan ug kwarta ang tigulang
'I won't/am not going to give the old man/woman money.'
- (45) diliq siya mahadluk ug ilagaq
'She is not afraid of rats.'
- (46) walaq siya mahadluk sa ilagaq
'She wasn't afraid of the rat(s).'

3.4. Affix -----> { Aspect
Tense } Topic (Specialization)

Affix has two obligatory constituents (Aspect or Tense and Topic) and one optional constituent (Specialization). Aspect is chosen by non-

state verbs; state verbs choose Tense. Tense indicates whether the state is past or present; aspect indicates whether the action is completed or not, and if not, whether it has been begun or not. While kaqun 'eat' can be described as whether it is completed or not, begun or not, tambuk 'fat' cannot. It can only be described as whether the state is present or it is not.

Topic, as used in this paper, is a semantic construct which entails one or all of the following: emphasis (Zorc and Cruz 1968), definitization (Schachter and Otnes 1972:60), or -new information (Chafe 1970).⁴ It is different from subject in that while subject is a surface grammatical function, topic is a deep structure function. In other words, the notion topic is whatever the answer may be to the question: Why does the speaker choose to subjectivize actant X instead of actant Y? At the surface, topic is realized as the actant preceded by ang/si and is reflected in the verb by its affix.

This study accepts the assumption that transformations are meaning-preserving. This means that all meanings are to be indicated in the deep structure and that transformations do not change the semantic make-up of the sentence. The subjectivization transformation, for example, should merely attach the proper determiners to the proper actants and the proper verbal affix to the verb.

There are two sources of the topic information - the Topic node (this takes care of the proper surface marking of the verb) and the particular actant node chosen as topic (this takes care of the proper choice of determiners in surface structure). (Please refer to 3.14 for illustration).

3.5. Aspect -----> + Perfective

A Cebuano verb is either in the perfective or imperfective aspect. Verbs which have a +perfective aspect denote action or state that has been begun and completed while those which have a -perfective aspect denote action or state that either has been begun but not completed or has not been begun at all.

3.6. + Perfective -----> + Recent

Verbs in the +recent come out in the surface as maqu pa + y (remnant of ang) + pag- + verb base. This aspect has to be indicated because it has consequence in the detopicalization transformation (cf. 3.9).

3.7. - Perfective -----> + Begun

A verb with a -perfective aspect may either be begun or not begun.

The table that follows summarizes the aspectual affixes of the Cebuano verb.

Table II

Aspectual Affixes of Cebuano Verbs

- Perfective		+ Perfective
Not Begun	+ Begun	
ma-	nagka-	
mu-	nag(a)-	
mag-	nag(a)-	
-an	gi(na)-...-an	
-un	gi(na)-	
i-	gi(na)	
maN-	naN-/nagpaN-	na-
		ni-/mi-/hing-
		nag-
		gi- ... -an
		gi-
		gi-
		naN-

The following are sample sentences to illustrate these affixes:

(47a) matulug ang bataq ug sayu

'The child sleeps early.'

(47b) nagkatulug pa ang bataq

'The child is/was still sleeping.'

(47c) natulug ku ug sayu kagabiqi

'I slept early last night.'

(48a) mukaqun ku ug paniqudtu

'I'll/am going to eat lunch.'

(48b) nagkaqun pa kug paniqudtu

'I'm/I was still eating lunch.'

(48c) nikaqun na kug paniqudtu

'I already ate lunch.'

(49a) maghulat ku ug dyip sa iskina

'I'll wait for a jeepney at the corner.'

(49b) naghulat pa aku sa imung tubag

'I'm still waiting for your answer.'

(49c) naghulat ku nimu ug traynta minutus

'I waited for you for thirty minutes.'

(50a) lungqagun nakuq ang kamuti

'I will boil the camote.'

- (50b) ginalungqag na niya ang kamuti
'She is already boiling the camote.'
- (50c) gilungqag na ang kamuti
'The camote has already been boiled.'
- (51a) tilapan niya ang iyang tudluq
'He will lick his finger.'
- (51b) ginatilapan niya ang iyang tudluq
'He is licking his finger.'
- (51c) gitilapan sa iruq ang hugaw
'The dog licked off the dirt.'
- (52a) ihatag kini niya sa maqistra
'He will give this to the teacher.'
- (52b) ginahatag niya sa bataq ang iyang dulsì
'He is giving his candy to the child.'
- (52c) gihatag ni Pedro kang Perla ang libru
'Pedro gave the book to Perla.'
- (53a) manglaba ka ugmaq
'You will wash clothes tomorrow.'
- (53b) tuqa sa subaq si Petra nagpanglaba
'Petra is at the river washing clothes.'
- (53c) nanglaba ku dinhi kagahapun
'I washed clothes here yesterday.'

3.8. Tense -----> + Past

State verbs are ambiguous as to Tense in surface structure. That is, (54), (55) and (56) may be interpreted as +past or -past. However, there is no doubt that the speaker chooses one of these tenses when he utters these sentences.

- (54) kagwapa sa babayi
'How beautiful the woman is/was!'
- (55) maqistra si Soledad
'Soledad is/was a teacher.'
- (56) tambuk ang babuy
'The pig is/was fat.'

3.9. Topic ----->

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} +A \\ +N \\ +G \\ +B \\ +SO \\ \vdots \\ \vdots \\ \vdots \end{array} \right\}$$

One of the actants accompanying the verb will be chosen + Topic in the underlying structure. This actant surfaces as the subject; that is, it is marked by the determiner ang or si. There are a number of instances when the surface sentence does not exhibit a subject. Two of these are when the sentence is exclamative or when the aspect is + recentive. When this happens the Detopicalization Transformation operates so that sentences like the following are produced:

- (57) *kalamiq sa imung adubu*
'How delicious your adobo is/was!'

- (58) *maqu pay pagqabut sa manga bisita*
'The visitors have just arrived.'

The following sentences are ungrammatical because the Detopicalization Transformation has not operated:

- (59) **kalamiq ang imung adubu*
'How delicious your adobo is/was!'

- (60) **maqu pay pagqabut ang manga bisita*
'The visitors have just arrived.'

The other instances when the surface sentence does not contain a surface subject may be explained as a result of a deletion transformation (cf. 4.4.).

The Cebuano surface sentence is characterized by the presence of one subject (i.e., one "underlying topic") or by the absence of a subject. The latter case is explained as resulting either from the detopicalization transformation or from the deletion of the actant which should have surfaced as the subject. One however, finds a few sentences that contain two subjects - one coming from the higher S and the other from the embedded S. These are illustrated by the following sentences.

- (61) *gustu siyang patyun ang tulisan*
'He wants/wanted the robber killed.'

- (62) *gustu niyang patyun ang tulisan*
'He wants/wanted to kill the robber.'

(63) gustu siyang maliguq (siya)

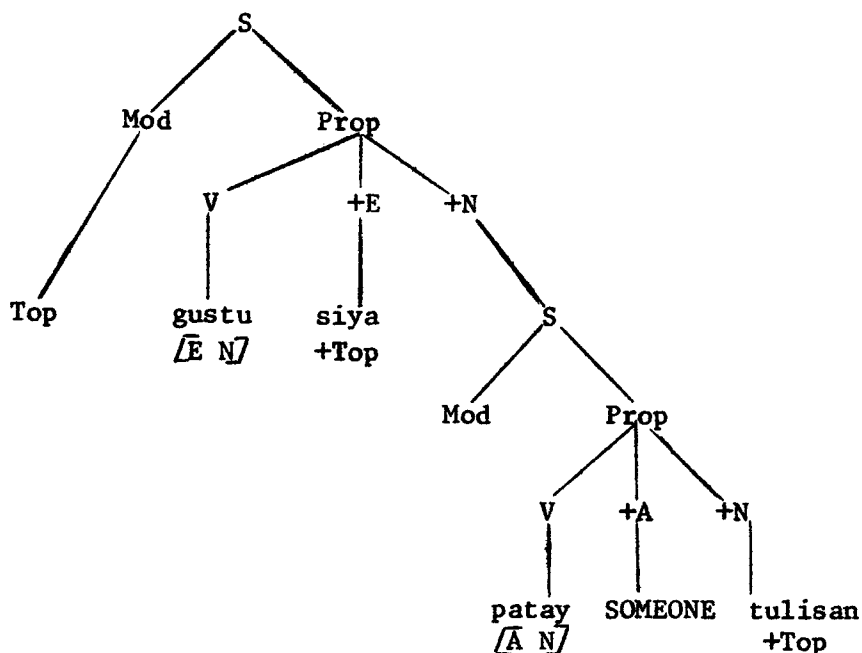
'He likes to take a bath (i.e., it is his habit to take a bath).'

(64) gustu niyang maliguq (siya)

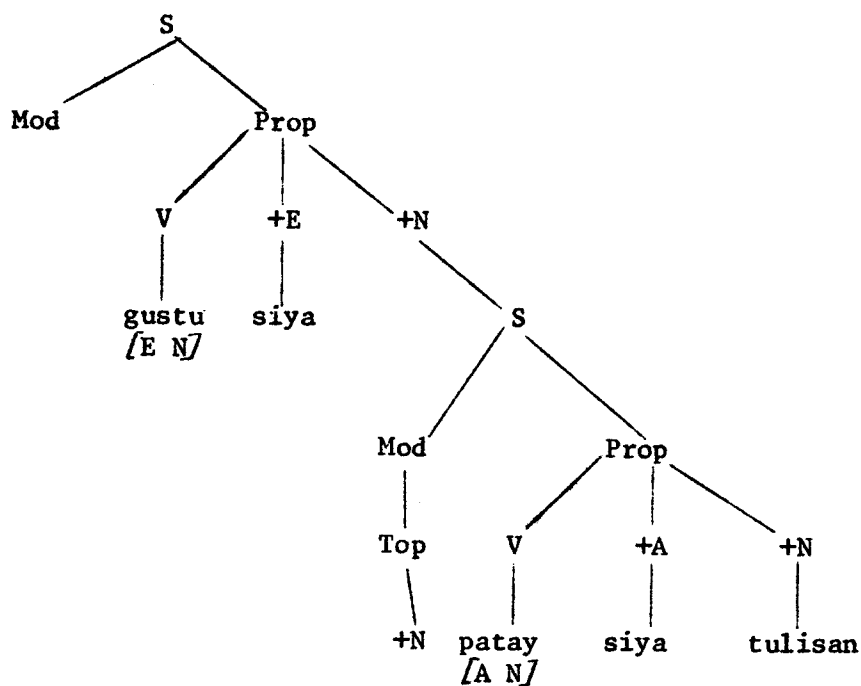
'He wants/wanted to take a bath (e.g., now/yesterday).'

Obviously, (61) and (63), which both contain two underlying topics, are different from (62) and (64), which contain only one underlying topic. The underlying structures of these sentences are (65), (66), (67) and (68) respectively.

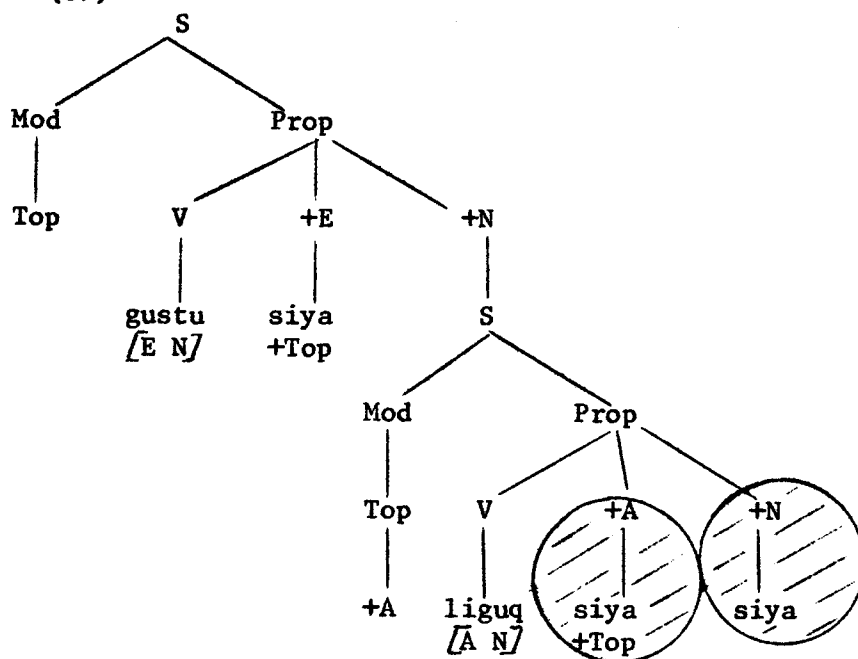
(65)

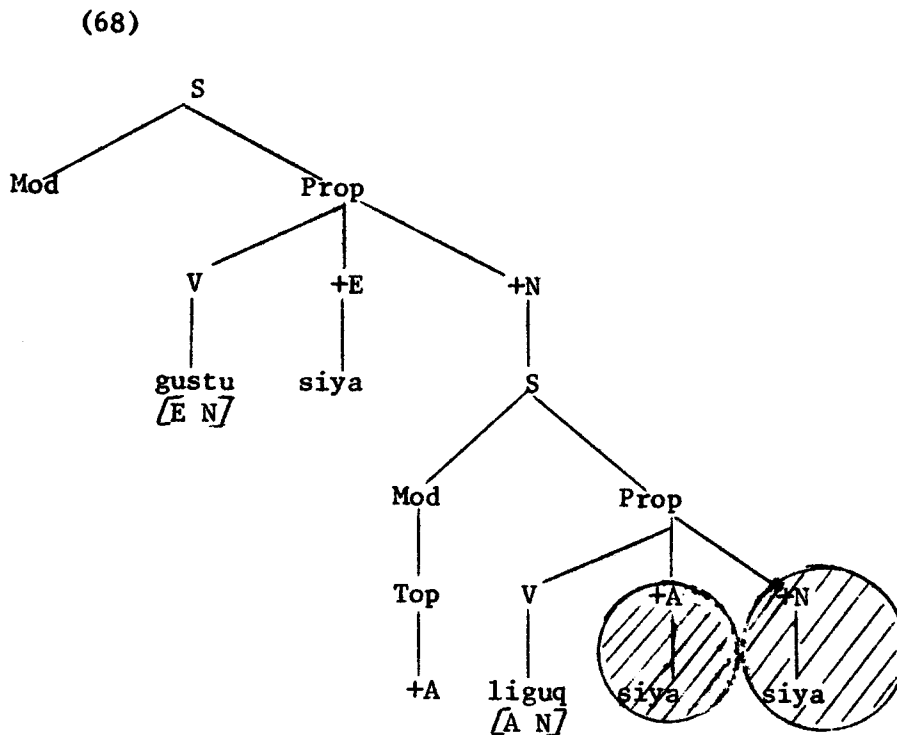


(66)



(67)





The shaded areas are later deleted by appropriate transformational rules.

On the basis of the preceding discussion, one can assume that Cebuano allows two underlying topics to surface as subjects provided they do not come from the same simplex. This constraint does not allow the generation of sentences like (69).

(69) *gikuhaq ang bataq ang bula
'The child got the ball.'

3.10. Specialization -----> {Basic
Secondary}

The meaning of the verb is specialized in two ways - by means of the Basic Specialization and/or by means of the Secondary specialization. Basic specialization is chosen to account for the change in the affixation of the verb when the Agentive, the Neutral or the Motive case is marked +Topic.

For example, mu-, ma-, mag- and maN- may be used to signal that the underlying topic (or the surface subject) is the Agentive actant. What the verb chooses from among these four affixes is explained by the Basic specialization rule. In other words, the choice is semantically motivated. These affixes are therefore not freely substitutable.

The following table shows how the different case-related verbal affixes are distributed among the cases.

Table III

Distribution of Case-Related Verbal Affixes

Affixes Topic- alized Actants	mu-	ma-	mag-	maN-	i-	-un	-an	ma ka-	ma -an	ma kiq-
+A	x	x	x	x						x
+AS					x					
+B							x			
+C								x		
+E		x				x				
+G							x			
+I					x					
+L							x			
+ME						x				
+MO					x	x	x			
+N	x	x			x	x	x			
+NO							x			
+PR						x				
+PT					x					
+R					x					
+RV					x					
+SO							x			
+SU					x					
+V							x		x	

The table shows that except for Experiential, the only topicalized actants that are signalled in the surface structure by more than one affix are the Agentive, the Neutral and the Motive. The topicalized Experiential actant

takes ma- when it does not occur with an Agent; otherwise it takes -un.

The secondary specialization is not limited to the Agentive, the Neutral or the Motive only, although some of them have co-occurrence restrictions with certain cases.

3.11. Basic -----> { Casual (C)
Volitional (V)
Indirectly Affected (IAF)
Directly Affected (DA)
Portative (P) }

Casual and Volitional specializations indicate the nature of the action exercised by the actant in the Agentive case. Casual surfaces as the prefix mu- and Volitional as mag-. In many instances this distinction seems to be justified more by syntactic rather than semantic considerations. For example, (70) and (71) seem to be synonymous.

(70) muqabli kug sardinas
'I'll open a can of sardines.'

(71) magqabli kug sardinas
'I'll open a can of sardines.'

However, we find a sentence like (72) where the implied Agent is human (and therefore cannot exercise volition).

(72) muqabli ang pultahan ug kusug ang hangin
'The door opens when the wind is strong.'

The prefix mag- cannot be used in the same sentence.

(73) *magqabli ang pultahan ug kusug ang hangin
'The door opens when the wind is strong.'

The writer made a list of human activities and found out that these activities may be grouped into two classes: the exertive and the non-exertive. The exertive activities are symbolized by the verb base and the prefix mag- while the non-exertive are symbolized by the verb base and mu-.

	<u>EXERTIVE</u>		<u>NON-EXERTIVE</u>
lungqag	'cook rice'	lakaw	'walk'
lutuq	'cook'	lingkud	'sit'
adqad	'slice into fine pieces'	tindug	'stand'
hukad	'take food out of the utensil it was cooked in'	luhud	'kneel'
		piyung	'close the eyes'

basiyo	'set the table'	kaqun	'eat'
tanum	'plant'	hilak	'cry'
limpiyu	'clean'	lihuk	'move'
laba	'wash clothes'	higdaq	'lie down'
hugas	'wash'	bangun	'get up'
hiwaq	'slice'	suruy	'take a leisurely stroll'
silhig	'sweep'	sulti	'speak'
lampasu	'scrub the floor'	katawa	'laugh'

Ramos (1972) classifies these verbs as +centrifugal (exertive) and -centrifugal (non-exertive). Llamzon (1973) calls them executive and subitive respectively. Pittman (1956) lists several meaning-contrasts between mu- and mag- like impulsive versus deliberate or volitional.

Mu-, the surface symbolization of the underlying Casual specialization, is also used when the only case that occurs with the verb is the Neutral. The writer made a count of all verbs in the lexicon that accompanies the full study on which this paper is based, which choose mu- or mag- or which choose both mu- and mag-. This investigation revealed that whenever the N is -human and -animate the Casual rather than the Volitional specialization is chosen. The following verbs choose Casual rather than Volitional.

agas	'flow from an opening'
alim	'heal'
alisngaw	'evaporate, give off smell'
andar	'for something mechanical to run'
angka	'for something to get loose, give way'
aslay	'splash up, for grains to bounce up'
awas	'for liquid to boil, spill over the top of a container'
banda	'for something heavy to strike and bounce off'
buhagay	'pour forth in large quantities'
buka	'for the eyes to open'
bukad	'for grains or beans to expand and crack open when cooked'
bukal	'for something to boil'
bukhad	'for something to open up'

buluqbuluq	'bubble'
burut	'inflate, small'
buswak	'for a pod containing grain to open prior to the development of the grain'
butu	'burst'
butud	'for flesh to swell'

Another semantic difference between mu- and mag- is pointed out in the following sentences:

(74) mubasa kug kumiks ug walaq nay laqing mabasa
'I read comics when there's nothing else to read.'

(75) magbasa kug kumiks ug walaq nay laqing mabasa
'I am going to/will read comics if there's nothing else to read.'

(74) implies that the Agent does not usually read comics; when he does, it is not because of any serious reason but because there is no other material which he can read. (74) answers the question: Do you (usually) read comics? (75) answers the question: What are you going to read if there's nothing else to read (i.e., you've finished reading what you're supposed to read)?

It seems then that there is some semantic motivation behind the speaker's choice of mu- or mag-. However, since up to this point the distinction is not yet very clear (i.e., it is not rigidly applied in the language), Casual and Volitional are taken in this paper more as syntactic than as semantic labels. For example, what distinguishes ampuq 'pray' from ampuq 'surrender' is that the former arbitrarily chooses mag- while the latter chooses mu-. One cannot say that there is no volition involved in surrendering.

Directly Affected, Indirectly Affected and Portative indicate how the action affects the accompanying Neutral or Motive case, which is the actant chosen as underlying topic. The DA specialization indicates that the N or MO is the object or being directly or totally affected by the action. The IAF specialization indicates that the N or MO is only partially or indirectly affected by the action. A P specialization indicates that the N or the MO is the object or being that gets transported as the result of the action expressed by the verb. To illustrate, compare the following sentences:

(76) kanqun nakuq ang mangga (N -Direct Affected)
'I will/am going to eat the mango.'

(77) hugasan nakuq ang mangga (N -Indirectly Affected)
'I will/am going to wash the mango.'

- (78) *ihatag nakuq nimu ang mangga* (N -Portative)
 'I will/am going to give you the mango.'

The DA, IAF and P specializations present very few inconsistencies, unlike the C and V specializations. Of the 820 verbs in the accompanying lexicon which take DA, IAF or P, only 42 presented problems. (These problems are discussed in the next issue.)

The following sentences illustrate the use of the above specializations:

(79) Casual

- (a) *muqadtu siya sa simbahan ugmaq*
 'She will go to church tomorrow.'
- (b) *muhilak ang bataq ug biyaqan*
 'The child cries when it is left behind.'
- (c) *muqinum kug tubig*
 'I will drink water.'

(80) Volitional

- (a) *magtawag ku ug duktur*
 'I will call a doctor.'
- (b) *magtuqun ka kada adlaw*
 'You study every day.'
- (c) *magbantay ku sa tindahan ugmaq*
 'I will watch the store tomorrow.'

(81) Directly Affected

- (a) *paqakun ka sa iruq ug muduqul ka*
 'The dog will bite you if you go near.'
- (b) *gisiquun sa bataq ang libru*
 'The child will tear the book.'
- (c) *dakpun sa pulis ang kawatan*
 'The police will catch the thief.'

(82) Indirectly Affected

- (a) *higtan nila ang iruq maqadlaw*
 'They tie the dog during the day.'
- (b) *gibuhiqan sa tawu ang langgam*
 'The man freed the bird.'
- (c) *kuptan niya pagqadyu ang kwarta*
 'He will hold on to the money tightly.'

(83) Portative

- (a) *ibaligyaq nila ang balay*
 'They will sell the house.'

- (b) ipadala niya sa America ang iyang anak
'He will send his child to America (the U.S.).'
(c) iqitsa ngari ang bula
'Throw the ball here.'

3.12. Secondary ----->

Ability (A)
Ability/Involuntary (AI)
Intensive (I)
Intensive Accidental Result (IAR)
Moderative (M)
Frequentative (F)
Destructive Action (DSA)
Habitual/Occupational (HO)
Transitory (T)
(Simultaneous Involuntary Reciprocal) (SIR)
(Reciprocal (R))

3.12.1 Ability

This type of derived specialization is realized on the surface as the prefix ika- (perfective gika-). It specializes verbs whose topic is either N, AS or I. It is often interchangeable with the Ability/Involuntary ma- except in existential sentences whose topic is I and in sentences whose topic is AS.

Compare the following:

- (84) mahatag ku kini kaniya ugmaq
'I can give this to him tomorrow.'
(85) ikahatag ku kini kaniya ugmaq
'I can give this to him tomorrow.'
(86) *walaq/duna kuy mapalit sa bugas
'I have nothing/something with which to buy rice.'
(87) walaq/duna kuy ikapalit sa bugas
'I have nothing/something with which to buy rice.'
(88) walaq/duna akuy mapalit sa kwarta
'I cannot/can buy something with the money.'
(89) *nasakay ku siya kagahapun
'We were able to ride together yesterday.'
(90) gikasakay ku siya kagahapun
'We were able to ride together yesterday.'

3.12.2. Ability/Involuntary

In Cebuano, Ability and Involuntary are ambiguous when the surface realization is maka-, ma- or ma...an. The prefix maka- is used when the topic is an A, ma- when the topic is an N and the verb is specialized as Directly Affected and ma...-an when the topic is an N and the verb is specialized as Indirectly Affected.

The following illustrates these uses of Ability/Involuntary:

(91) maka-

- (a) nakasinggit siya sa kahikurat
'He shouted out of surprise.'
- (b) makakitaq kag daghang aswang didtu
'You will be able to see a lot of witches there.'

(92) ma-

- (a) walaq nakuq mabasa ang imung surat
'I was not able to read your letter
(i.e., either intentionally or unintentionally).'
- (b) nahuman ra gud ang trabahu
'At last the work is finished.'

(93) ma...-an

- (a) napalitan na siya ug sininaq
'She has been bought a dress.'
- (b) nakuhaqan nag lima ka kilu ang bugas
'Five kilos has been taken out from the rice.'
- (c) nahatagan na siya nakuq ug pagkaqun
'I already gave him food.'
- (d) natubuqan na ug sagbut ang daruhan
'Weeds have grown on the field.'
- (e) natupngan na sa lubi ang saging
'The coconut tree has grown to the height of
the banana tree.'
- (f) napatiran niya ang bula
'He kicked the ball.'

3.12.3 Intensive

Intensive does not surface as an affix. It is realized as the reduplication of the base plus a shift of stress to the ultima, if it is not there already. The intensive specialization indicates that the action is repeated over and over. Examples of verbs specialized as Intensive are given in the following sentences.

- (94) gisunudsunúd (< sunúd) siya sa iyang iruq
'His dog kept following him.'

- (95) gihiwaqhiwáq (< híwaq) niya ang karni
'He sliced the meat finely (lit. sliced repeatedly).'
- (96) gisulatsulatán (< sulát) niya ang bungbung
'He wrote all over the wall.'
- (97) gisiqgisiqún (< gísiq) sa bata ang papil
'The child will tear the paper into fine pieces.'

3.12.4. Intensive Accidental Result

IAR is realized as the prefix magka- plus a reduplication of the base and a shift of stress to the ultima. It only specializes verbs in whose case frame only an N is obligatory. The following are illustrative sentences of verbs specialized in this manner.

- (98) nagkahulughulúg ang iyang dala
'The things he is carrying kept falling.'
- (99) nagkahagbunghagbúng siya sa klasi
'He kept failing from his classes.'
- (100) nagkagisiqgisiq ang manga kurtina
'The curtains were torn all over.'
- (101) nagkadugmuqdugmúq kug agpas nimu
'I kept stumbling catching up with you.'

3.12.5. Moderative

To show that an action is not carried out seriously the speaker specializes the verb with the Moderative specialization. It is expressed by the reduplicated base plus a penult stress if the base is disyllabic and by the prefix C₁ (lu) u- if the base is polysyllabic. (Subscript₁ refers to the first consonant of the base.) A base of the structure $S_1 S_2 S_1 S_2$ (S means syllable) does not allow a Moderative specialization.

The following sentences illustrate the Moderative specialization:

- (102) gihiwaqhiwáq niya ang karni
'He sliced the meat playfully.'
- (103) basabasáhun ku ang libru sa trak
'I'll try to read the book on the bus.'
- (104) nagpulupadála siyang kwarta sa ila
'He sends money home once in a while.'
- (105) nagkantakánta siya sa banyu
'He sings in the bathroom.'

3.12.6. Frequentative

A Frequentative specialization indicates that an action occurs frequently. It is expressed on the surface as mag-...-an. It occurs only with verbs whose topic is +A.

(106) magkantahán siya sa choir
'He frequently sings in the choir.'

(107) maghatagán siya nakug kwarta
'He frequently gives me money.'

(108) magqanhiqán siyag maDominggo
'He comes on Sundays.'

The Frequentative does not allow the verb to take on aspect. Aspect has to be indicated by a time adverbial as in (109).

(109) magkantahán siya sa choir nigadtu
'He used to sing in the choir.'

3.12.7. Destructive Action

DSA indicates that the action expressed by the verb is destructive. In surface structure it is shown by the prefix maN-.

(110) mangaqun ug pisuq kining babuya
'This pig eats chicks.'

(111) nanguhaq siya sa diliq iya
'He got what was not his.'

(112) manglibak siya ug mutalikud ka
'She will speak against you if you turn your back.'

(113) mamunal naq siya ug dunay magminalditu
'He beats anyone who makes foolishness.'

3.12.6. Habitual/Occupational

The prefix maN- expresses habitual or occupational meaning as shown in the following sentences.

(114) manglampasu siya kada buntag
'He scrubs (the floor) every morning.'

(115) mangutluq mi didtu sa bukid
'We will participate in the (rice) harvest in the mountain.'

(116) manghilamqus dayun siya inigmata niya
'He washes his face as soon as he wakes up.'

3.12.9. Transitory

T occurs with verbs which require only the N as the obligatory Case. It indicates that the state which is expressed by the verb is transitory. It is realized in surface structure as maN-.

- (117) namula siya sa kapungut
'He turned red because of anger.'
- (118) nangurug ang iyang tuhud
'His knees trembled.'
- (119) manglagum ang imung mata ug waq kay tulug
'Your eyes will have dark wings if you don't sleep.'
- (120) nanindug ang akung balhibu
'My hair stood on end.'

3.12.10. Simultaneous Involuntary Reciprocal

This specialization surfaces as magka- and occurs only when the verb is mutual action, i.e., when it essentially means "X and Y do Z together." Some mutual action verbs have non-mutual counterparts, for example, away 'fight; quarrel' and haluk 'kiss'. When the verb is used in a non-mutual sense it does not take an SIR specialization. The following sentences illustrate verbs in their mutual and non-mutual senses.

- (121) nihaluk siya sa kamut (N) sa babayi
'He kissed the lady's hand.'
- (122) naghaluk si Pedro ug si Maria (A=AS)
'Pedro and Maria kissed/are kissing each other.'
- (123) awayun nakuq ang nanghilabut (N) sa akung butang
'I will fight whoever touched my things.'
- (124) nagqaway sila (A=AS) sa ilang panulundum
'They fought/are fighting over their inheritance.'

The following sentences illustrate the verb specialized as SIR.

- (125) nagkatagbuq si Boy ug ang iyang tatay sa paradahan
'Boy and his father met accidentally at the terminal.'
- (126) nagkaqaway ang magtiqayun tungud sa tabiq
'The couple quarrelled (without their intending to) because of the gossip.'
- (127) nagkatapad mi sa sinihan
'We happened to sit together in the movie.'

SIR does not specialize mutual action verbs that have to be carried out by mutual consent, i.e., actions that could not be done involuntarily or accidentally by A=AS. Observe for example the following sentences.

- (128) *nagkaháluk si Pedro ug si Maria
'Pedro and Maria accidentally kissed each other.'
- (129) nahalukán ni Pedro si Maria
'Pedro was able to kiss/kissed accidentally Maria.'
- (130) *nagkahálug ang magtiqayun
'The couple accidentally embraced each other.'
- (131) nakahalúg sa asawa ang bana
'The wife involuntarily (spontaneously) embraced the husband.'

3.12.11. Reciprocal

Reciprocal specializes verbs whose case frame is either $\bar{[A\ N]}$ or $\bar{[A\ G]}$. A Reciprocal specialization enables an A to be also a G and vice-versa and an A to be also an N and vice-versa. Reciprocal essentially means "X does to Y what Y does to X". The Reciprocal specialization should not be confused with verbs that inherently allow certain actants to fulfill dual roles. Reciprocal surfaces as the affix man... (in) ...ay.

- (132) nagsinulatay si Esther ug si Gloria
'Esther and Gloria write/wrote/are writing to each other.'
- (133) nagsumbagay ang duha ka kawatan
'The (two) thieves boxed/are boxing each other.'
- (134) naghulamanay sila ug libru
'They borrow books from each other.'
- (135) nagtinnanqaway lang sila
'They simply looked at each other.'

3.12.12. Simultaneous Involuntary Reciprocal - Reciprocal

Verbs that take the Reciprocal specialization may also take the involuntary or accidental meaning. The SIR-R specialization is marked in surface structure as magka- ...(in)...ay. The following sentences show the verb in the SIR-R specialization.

- (136) nagkatinanqaway sila sa pagsulud ni Nora
'Their eyes accidentally met (lit. they looked at each other accidentally) when Nora entered.'

(137) nagkasumbagay ang magsuqun
'The brothers boxed each other accidentally.'

(138) nagkalamanuhay ang magkuntra
'The opponents/enemies shook hands unwillingly.'

3.13. Other Affixes.

There are other affixes that are not generated by rules 3.1 - 3.12. One of these is the plural marker maN. There are two reasons that explain this. First, although it has a widespread distribution, pluralization in the language is an optional rule. Second, the writer considers the plural to be initially a feature of the noun and is only copied onto the V. When the N is marked [+plural], the grammar takes one of two options: it may trigger off a distributive segment transformation to provide a node under which maN- may be inserted, or it may not do anything at all. (Restrictions concerning the distributive segment transformation are discussed in the next issue.)

Other affixes that the rule ignores are maha-/mahi- and hi-...-an. These affixes express sudden and/or non-volitional action. However, these are excluded in this paper because these are not in the writer's dialect. These are stylistic variants of maka-, ma- and ma-...-an. (Cf. 3.12.2.)

3.14. Sentence Derivation

The following phrase structure tree illustrates how the rules generate a sentence.

(139) mupalit si Puring kang Imelda ug kursunisun para kang Ben.
'Puring will buy pants material for Ben from Imelda.'

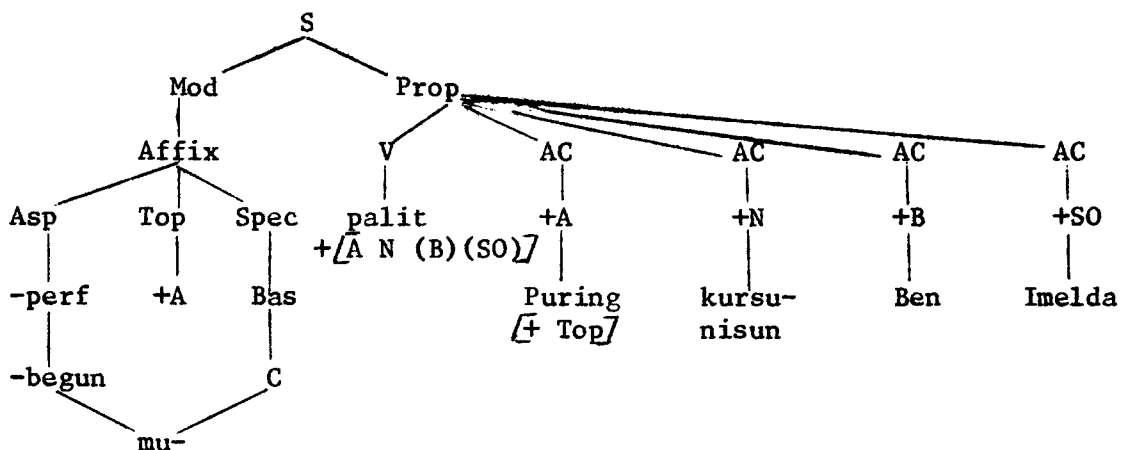


Table IV

Summary of Aspectual, Topical and Specialization
Meanings of Cebuano Verbal Affixes

Aspect			Specialization		
-Perfective -Begun	-Perfective +Begun	+Perfective	Topic	Basic	Secondary
ma-	nagka-	na-	+E		
mag-	nag (a)-	nag-	+A	V	
mu-	nag (a)-	ni-/mi-/	+A	C	
		hing-	+N		
-an	gina-...-an	gi-...-an	+MO +N +NO +SO +L	IA	
-un	gi (na)-	gi-	+E +ME +MO +N +PR	DA	
i-	gi (na)-	gi-	+AS +MO +N +PT +R +RV +SU	P	
maN-	naN-/nagpaN-	naN-	+A		HO
maka-		naka-	+C		
ma-...-an		na-...-an	+V		
makig-		nakig-	+A		
ma-		na-	+N +AS +I		A
maka-		naka-	+A		AI
ma-		na-	+N		AI
ma-...-an		na-...-an	+B +SO +G +L +NO +N	IA	AI

Aspect			Specialization		
-Perfective -Begun	-Perfective +Begun	+Perfective	Topic	Basic	Secondary
Base+R+sn +affix	Base+R+sn +affix	Base+R+sn +affix			I
magka-		nagka-	+N		IAR
(Base+R+sn +affix)	(Base+R+ sn+affix)	(Base+R+sn +affix)			M
(Base+C ₁ (lu) u-+affix)	(Base+C ₁ (lu) u-+ affix)	(Base+C(lu) u-+affix)			
mag-...-an			+A		F
maN-		naN-			DSA
maN-	nagpaN-	naN-			T
magka-		nagka-	+A=AS		SIR
mag-... (in)...-ay	naga-... (in)...-ay	nag-...(in) ...-ay			R
magka-... (in)...-ay		nagka-...(in) ...-ay			SIR-R

R = reduplication of Base

sň = stress is on ultima syllable

C₁ = first consonant of Base

sň = stress is on penultimate syllable

NOTES

¹Reservational is a term borrowed from Schachter and Otones (1972). This case is distinct from the Instrumental case although they are marked by the same affix in surface structure. Instrumental is the tool which an Agent uses to carry out an act; Reservational refers to the thing the Agent uses or wears while performing an act. Notice the difference in the semantic functions of barung and gunting in the following sentences:

ipamayli ni Jose ang iyang bagqung barung
'Jose will wear his new barong to the dance.'

iputul ni Jose sa pisiq ang gunting
'Jose will cut the string (or rope) with the scissors.'

The real Instrumental can answer the question: What did X use to do Y? One can ask: What did Jose use to cut the rope? But not: What did Jose use to dance?

Another evidence for the existence of Reservational distinct from the Instrumental is the use of the preposition pinaqagi sa 'by means of'. Notice the difference between the following sentences.

giputul niya sa pisiq ang gunting
'He cut the string with the scissors.'

-----> giputul niya ang pisiq pinaqagi sa gunting
'He cut the string by means of the scissors.'

giqiskuyla niya ang iyang bulingung sininaq
'He went to school in his dirty clothes.'

-----> *niqiskuyla siya pinaqagi sa iyang bulingung sininaq
'*He went to school by means of his dirty clothes.'

English also seems to show the difference between these two cases. By means of and with are associated with the Instrumental case while in and also with are associated with the Reservational case. The following sentences illustrate this:

They destroyed the lock by means of the hammer.

He broke the string with his teeth.

He went to the party in his pajamas.

She went to the meeting with her new bag.

²DA means directly Affected, IAF means Indirectly Affected, and P means Portative. These terms are explained in full in 3.11.

³This problem is discussed in Luzares (1972).

⁴In 'Language and Consciousness' Chafe uses given for -new.

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