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Part II

## 4.  Transformations

The string that comes out after the operation of the phrase struc-
ture rules may not yet correspond to the surface grammatical form.   In
such a case, transformational rules should apply to delete, permute,
substitute or adjoin constituents.

The transformations discussed in this chapter are only some of
those needed in the derivation of the Cebuano sentence.   Since this
paper does not attempt to account for a complete Cebuano syntax, the
transformations presented here are only those that are directly concerned
with the derivation of the Cebuano affixed verb.

The transformational rules are expressed in statements rather than
in mathematical formulations for the sake of uniformity, i.e., while
some rules lend themselves to a mathematical formulation, others do
not.   The transformational rules in this paper are therefore given
discursively.

## 4.1.  Detopicalization

A Cebuano surface sentence almost always contains a subject which
reflects an underlying topic.   This is a general rule.   However, one
finds a few sentence types that do not exhibit subjects.   This phenome-
non may be explained by one of the following possibilities.   First, the
actant that is marked as topic in the underlying structure was deleted
by a transformational rule.   Second, the constituent chosen as under-
lying topic underwent a detopicalization process.   Third, the topicali-
zation rule did not apply.

In this paper only the first and the second possibilities are
taken as plausible explanations.   The first possibility is discussed
at length in 4.4 therefore nothing more about it will be said in this
section.   The second possibility, rather than the third, is chosen to
account for the absence of the surface subject in Exclamative sentences
and in sentences whose verb take on the +recent aspect.   The reason for
the preference of the second to the third is to allow the base rule to
remain context-free.

There are two instances in Cebuano when a constituent undergoes
detopicalization.   One is when the Modality constituent dominates the

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*This is a continuation of the article started in Volume 1, Number
2 of this journal.

constituent Exclamative.[1] When this happens the sentence is called an exclamative sentence. In the analysis presented here exclamative sentences are limited to those whose verb nodes are filled by adjectives (i.e., state verbs) and which may or may not be accompanied by clitics such as ay or hisus, which are usually associated with exclamative sentences. In other words, sentences which are accompanied by these clitics but whose verb nodes are not filled by adjectives are considered declarative, not exclamative. In this analysis therefore, only (1) is Exclamative; (2) is not.

(1)  hilabihan kadakuq sa ilang balay
     'How big their house is!'

(2)  hisus nahulug ang bataq
     'Jesus, the child fell!'

The second instance of detopicalization occurs when +recent[2] is a constituent under Aspect. The surface realization of this type of aspect is maqu pa plus the nominalized form of the whole proposition.

(3)  maqu pay (pa + ang) pagqabut sa manga bisita
     'The guests have just arrived.'

(4)  *maqu pay pagkahinug ang saging
     'The bananas have just ripened.'

T1 - Detopicalization

The actant marked +Topic becomes -Topic when the constituents Exclamative or +recent are found under Modality.

4.2  Nominalization

This transformation follows the detopicalization transformation. The following sentences show the result of this transformation.

(5)  a.  gihatagan niya ang bataq ug kwarta
         'He gave the child money.'

==> b.  ang paghatag niya sa bataq ug kwarta
         'His giving money to the child'

The underlying topicalized actant which underwent detopicalization is accompanied by the surface marker sa/kang and never by ug. The former are +definite; the latter is -definite. Note the following sentences:

(6)  a.  gihatag niya sa bataq ang kwarta
         'He gave the money to the child.'

==> b.  ang paghatag niya sa bataq sa kwarta
         'His giving the money to the child'

(7)  a.  gibunuq niya ug batu si Pilar
         'He threw the stone at Pilar.'

===> b.  ang pagbunuq niya ug batu <u>kang Pilar</u>
          'He threw the stone at Pilar.'

(8)  a.  gibunuq niya <u>ang batu</u> kang Pilar
          'He threw the stone at Pilar.'

===> b.  ang pagbunuq niya <u>sa batu</u> kang Pilar
          'His throwing the stone at Pilar'

(7b) is the correct nominalized form of (7a) and (8b) is the correct nominalized form of (8a).

T2 - Nominalization

The propositional string becomes <u>ang pag-</u> plus the rest of the propositional string itself.

4.3  Identical Temporal Node Deletion

Temporal node refers to the Aspect and Tense nodes.  When the sentence exhibits embedding, the higher and the lower S's may choose different temporal nodes, i.e., the higher S may choose tense and the lower S may choose aspect, the higher S may choose aspect while the lower S may choose tense, or both the higher and lower S's may choose tense or aspect.  When the latter two options happen, the second tense or aspect node, as the case may be, is deleted.  The following sentences illustrate these four options.

Tense - Aspect

(a)  <u>gustu</u> kung <u>muhilak</u>

     - past        - completed
                    - begun
     ' I want to cry.'

     (See (12) for tree.)

Aspect - Tense

(b)  <u>niqingun</u> siya nga <u>gwapa</u> ka

     + completed        - past
     'He said that you are beautiful.'

Aspect - Aspect

(c)  nagpahimuq siya ug balay para kang Ben (with underlying verb
     CAUSE)
     'He had a house made for Ben.'

     (See (10) for tree.)
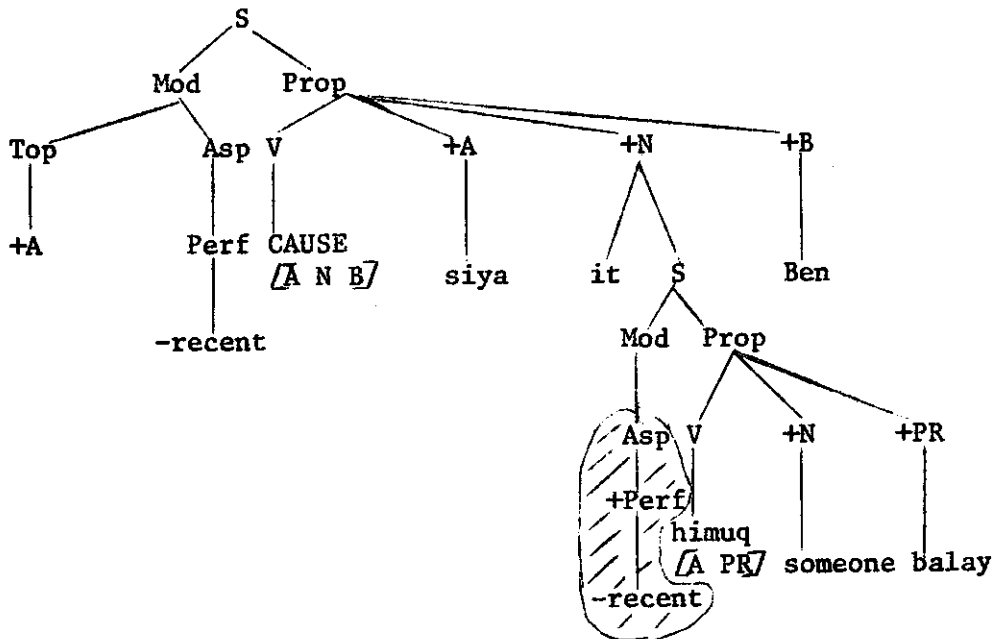
Tense - Tense

(d)  <u>gustu</u> kug <u>bugnaw</u> nga tubig

     - past     - past

The following sentence is shown to have the phrase structure tree of (10).

(9)  nagpahimuq siya ug balay para kang Ben
     'He had a house made for Ben.'

(10)

```
                    S
             /            \
          Mod             Prop
        /     \        /   |    \    \
     Top     Asp    V    +A   +N    +B
      |       |     |     |    / \    |
     +A     Perf  CAUSE  siya it  S  Ben
      |       |   /A N B/          / \
            -recent            Mod   Prop
                                |   /  |   \
                              Asp  V  +N  +PR
                               |   |   |    |
                             +Perf himuq someone balay
                               |  /A PR/
                            -recent
```

T3 - Identical Temporal Node Deletion
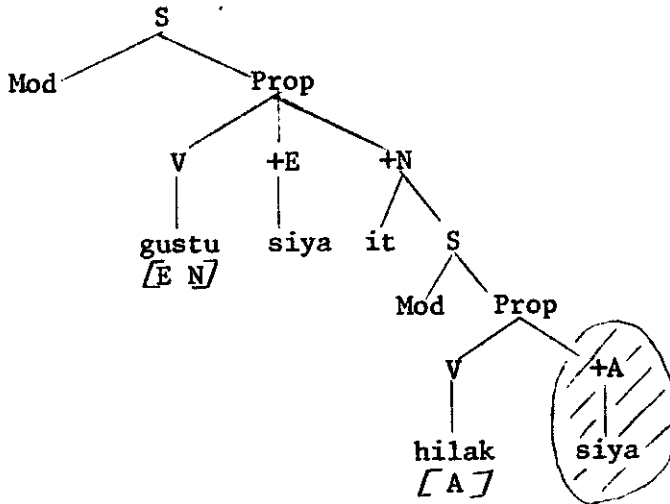
Delete the temporal node of the lower S when it is the same as the temporal node of the higher S.

## 4.4  Identical Actant Deletion

When two actants have the same referent, the second actant is either reflexivized or deleted. Notice how the lower siya in (12) has been deleted as shown in (11). ((12) is an abbreviated tree.)
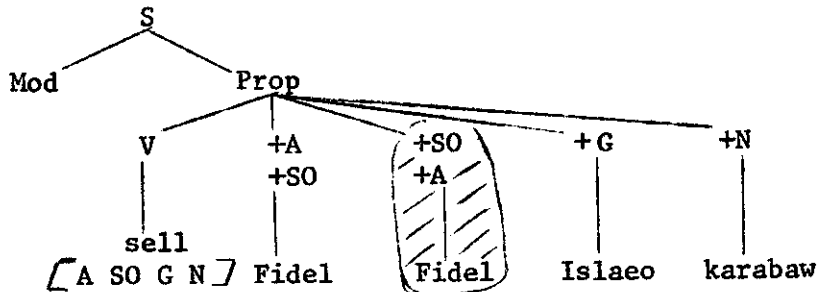
(11)  gustu siyang muhilak
      'She likes to cry.'

(12)

```
                    S
           _____/ _____
         Mod                 Prop
                        _____|_____
                       V    +E     +N
                       |     |    __|__
                     gustu  siya it    S
                     [E N]          ___/\___
                                  Mod      Prop
                                         ___|___
                                        V      +A
                                        |       |
                                      hilak    siya
                                       [A]
```

This rule also applies to actants that fulfill the same roles.
Notice that the second occurrence of <u>Fidel</u> in (14) has been deleted as
shown in (13).

(13)  gibaligyaq ni Fidel ang iyang karabaw kang Islao
      "Fidel sold his carabao to Islao.'
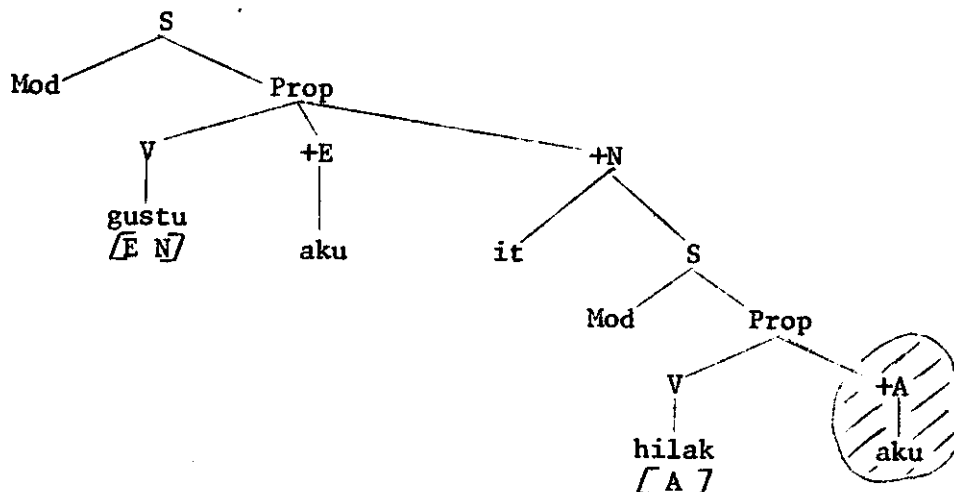
(14)

```
                  S
          _____/ _____
        Mod            Prop
                 _____/|_____
               V      +A    +SO      +G        +N
                      +SO    +A
               |       |      |       |          |
              sell   Fidel  Fidel   Islaeo    karabaw
           [A SO G N]
```

The following Cebuano sentences have the same underlying structure.

(15)  maqayung ihilak
      'I feel like crying/want to cry.'

(16)  gustu kung muhilak
      'I feel like crying/want to cry.'

These sentences share (17) as underlying structure.

(16) is arrived at after the lower <u>aku</u> has been deleted by the
Identical Actant Deletion rule, being identical to the Experiential
<u>aku</u> of the higher S.  (15) however, went through more transformations,
and is, therefore, more distant from the underlying structure than (16)
is.  What happened in (15) may be explained as follows.  In the second
lexical pass or lexical pick-up, the speaker chose <u>maqayu</u> in place of
<u>gustu</u>.  This triggers off a transformational process which automatically
chooses <u>i-</u> as the prefix for the lower V.  Later, the Experiential <u>aku</u>

(17)

```
                    S
         Mod              Prop
                    V      +E              +N
                  gustu                it       S
                  [E N]    aku                Mod      Prop
                                                  V        +A
                                                hilak     aku
                                                [ A ]
```

is deleted by another rule.[3]

(15) and other sentences whose verb is maqayu must be interpreted as referring to the speaker only and not to another person. That is, (18) is anomalous when meant to refer to a person other than the speaker.

(18)  *maqayung ihilak
       'She feels like crying/wants to cry.'

It is also interesting to note that (15) does not allow other aspects except -perfective, +begun. (19) and (20) are not grammatical sentences in Cebuano.

(19)  *maqayung ihilak kagahapun
       'I felt like crying/wanted to cry yesterday.'

(20)  *maqayung ihilak ugmaq
       'I will feel like crying/want to cry tomorrow.'

To express (19) grammatically one says either (21) or (22).

(21)  kahilakun ku kagahapun
       'I felt like crying/wanted to cry yesterday.'

(22)  gustu kung muhilak kagahapun
       'I felt like crying/wanted to cry yesterday.'

There is no -perfective, -begun equivalent of (21).

(23)  *kahilakun ku ugmaq
       'I will feel like crying/want to cry tomorrow.'

The dictionary will contain several entries maqayu. One of these means 'good' as will be seen in (32). Another means 'to feel like doing something or to want to do something'. It is in this latter meaning

that <u>maqayu</u> is synonymous with <u>gustu</u> and never appears with a subject in surface structure.

(24)    *maqayung ikaqun <u>ang mangga</u>
        'I want to eat mangoes/a mango.'

(25)    maqayung ikaqun ug/sa mangga
        'I want to eat mangoes/the mango.'

(26)    *maqayung iqinum <u>ang gatas</u>
        'I want to drink milk.'

(27)    maqayung iqinum ug/sa gatas
        'I want to drink milk/the milk.'

When the second actant is needed for reflexivization, it is not deleted but is replaced by the reflexive NP <u>ang iyang kaqugalinqun</u>. Compare (28) and (29).

(28)    *gidayig ni Perla$_1$ si Perla$_1$
        'Perla$_1$ praised Perla$_1$.'
(29)    gidayig ni Perla ang iyang kaqugalingun
        'Perla praised herself.'

T4 – Identical Actant Deletion

Delete the second occurrence of two co-referential actants when it is not needed for reflexivization.
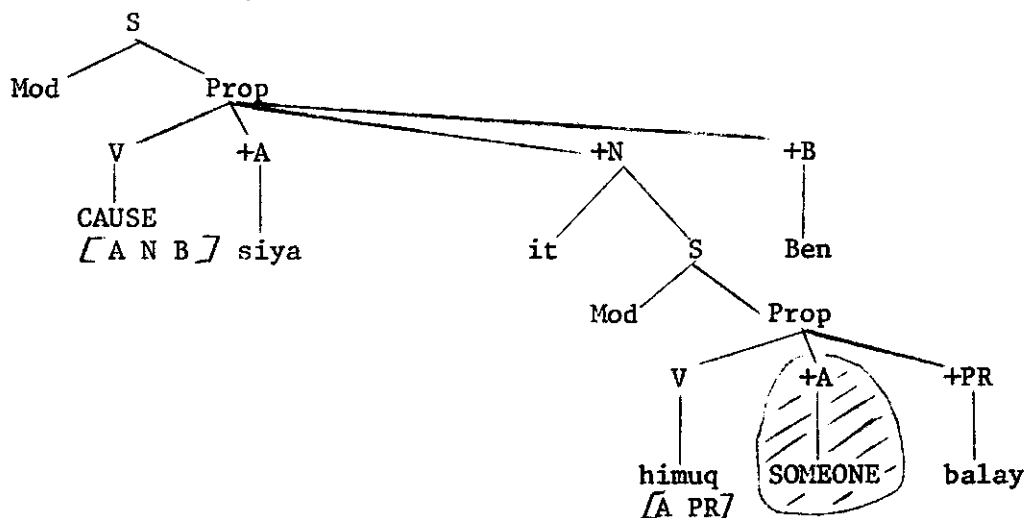
4.5  Unspecified Actant Deletion

Whenever the actant is unspecified (i.e., the speaker is not interested in the identity of the referent of the particular actant), this actant is deleted.  In this paper the unspecified actant is symbolized as SOMEONE, SOMETHING, or SOMEWHERE in the underlying trees.

(30)    nagpahimuq siya ug balay para kang Ben
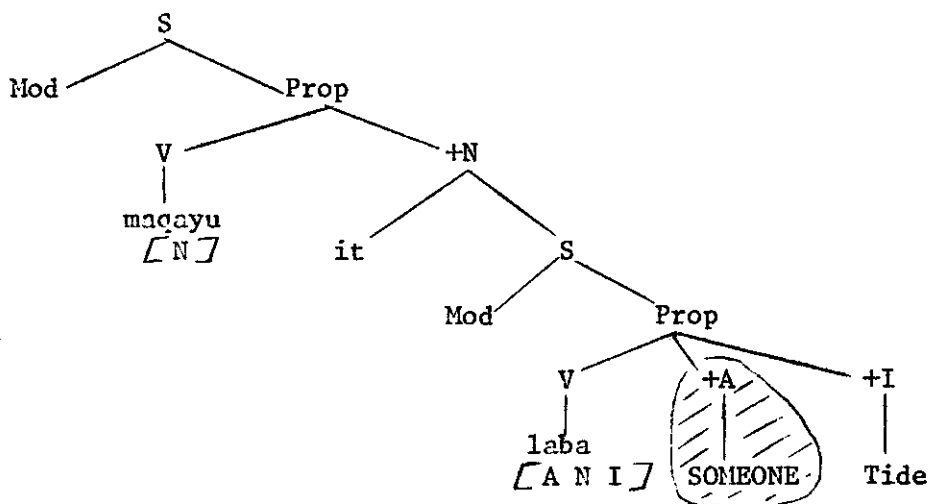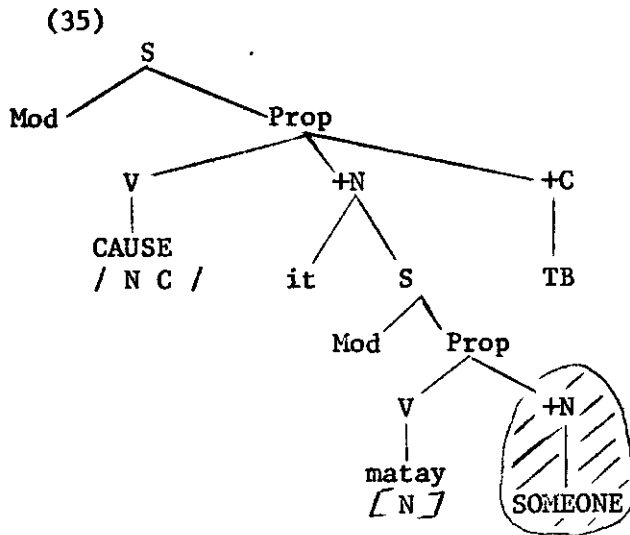        "He had a house made for Ben.'

(31)

```
                    S
            /              \
        Mod                 Prop
                    /    |        \         \
                   V    +A        +N        +B
                   |     |      /    \       |
                CAUSE   siya   it    S      Ben
               [A N B]            /     \
                              Mod       Prop
                               |      /    |      \
                               V    +A     +PR
                               |     |       |
                             himuq SOMEONE  balay
                            [A PR]
```

(32)  maqayung ipanglaba ang Tide
      'Tide is good for washing clothes.'

(33)

```
                S
          /            \
        Mod             Prop
                   /     |        \
                  V     +N
                  |    /    \
               maqayu it     S
                [N]       /      \
                        Mod      Prop
                          |    /    |      \
                          V  +A     +I
                          |   |       |
                        laba SOMEONE Tide
                      [A N I]
```

(34)  makamatay ang TB
      'Tuberculosis kills/can cause death.'

(35)

```
                    S
          Mod            Prop
           V       +N         +C
           |      /  \         |
         CAUSE   it   S        TB
         / N C /    Mod   Prop
                     V     +N
                     |      |
                   matay  SOMEONE
                   [ N ]
```

T5 - Unspecified Actant Deletion

   Delete the actant dominating the lexical item SOMEONE, SOMEWHERE, or SOMETHING.
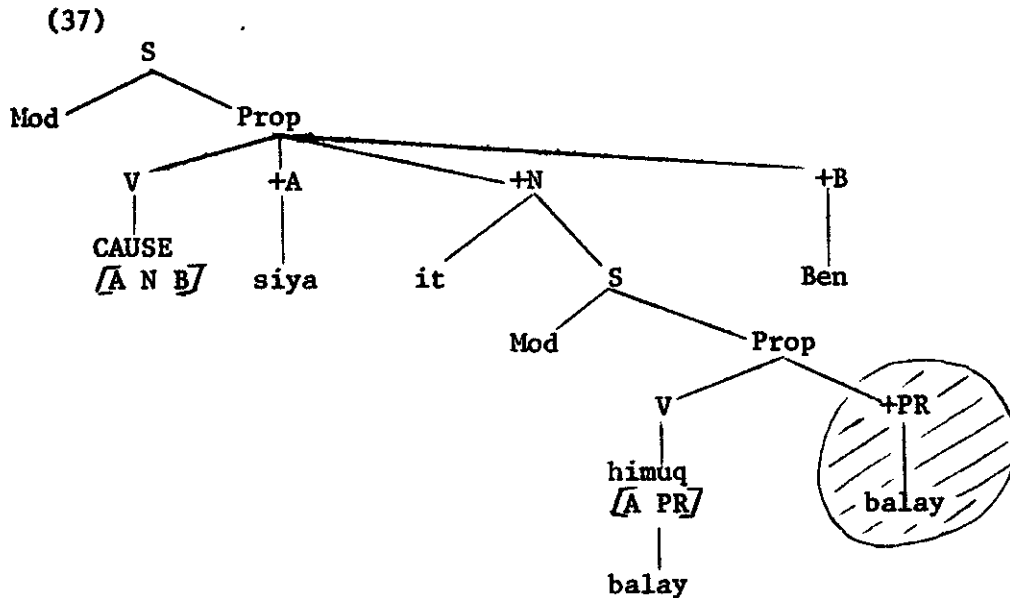
## 4.6 Case Copying Transformation

   The case copying transformation copies one of the cases onto the V node when the V node is filled by an abstract verb[3] or by an underlying verb that allows itself to be replaced by an accompanying actant.[4] Sentence (34) for example has the verb himuq 'to make' in underlying structure. In other words, the underlying structure of (36) is also (31).

   (36)  nagpabalay siya para kang Ben
         'He had a house made for Ben.'

This means that

   (30)  nagpahimuq siya ug balay para kang Ben
         'He had a house made for Ben.'

and (36) are synonyms. The difference is that while (36) replaced the verb with the accompanying Product case, (30) did not. The following tree shows the result of the application of this transformation on (36).
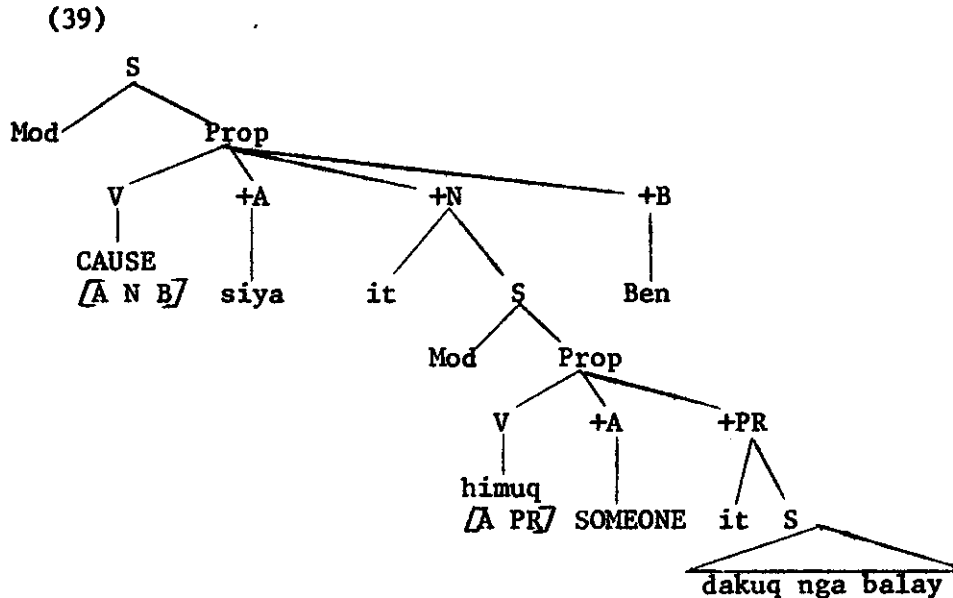
**(37)**



## T6 - Case Copying Transformation

Copy the lexical realization of N, I, C, or PR onto the V node of the same S if the V is an abstract verb or a replaceable verb.
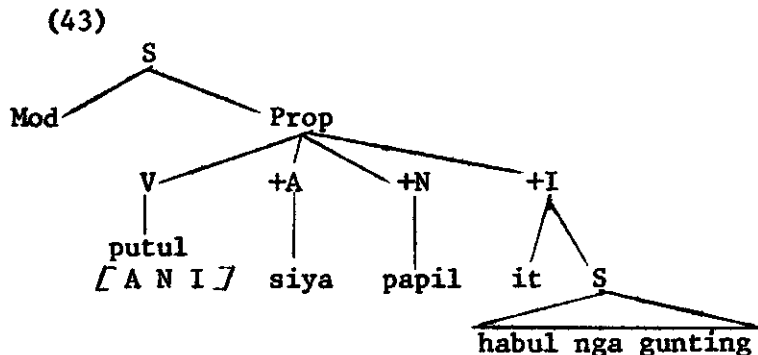
## 4.7 Original Case Deletion

This transformation rule has to follow the Case Copying Transformation rule. The original case is deleted after it has been copied onto the V unless the node which dominates it is an S. This means that the original _balay_ under the PR node in (37) above is deleted because that node does not dominate an S. On the other hand, _balay_ in (39) does not get deleted after it has been copied under the V node because the PR node dominates an S.

>(38)   nagpabalay siya ug dakung balay para kang Ben
>        'He had a big house made for Ben.'

(39)

```
                    S
             ／          ＼
         Mod              Prop
                    ／  ／  |  ＼＼＼＼＼＼
                   V      +A        +N              +B
                   |      |      ／    ＼           |
                 CAUSE   siya   it      S          Ben
                 [A N B]              ／  ＼
                                   Mod     Prop
                                        ／  |  ＼
                                       V    +A    +PR
                                       |    |    ／ ＼
                                    himuq SOMEONE it   S
                                    [A PR]              ／‾‾‾‾‾‾‾＼
                                                      dakuq nga balay
```
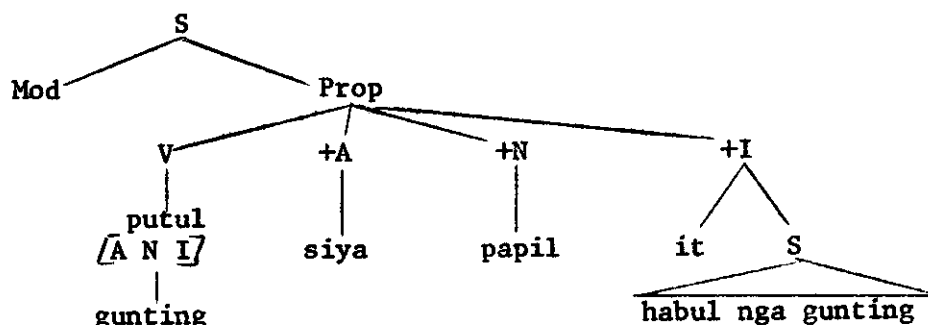
This transformation also accounts for the following sentences. (40)
underwent the transformation because I does not dominate an S; (41) is
ungrammatical because it did not undergo this transformation when it
should; (42) does not undergo the transformation because its I dominates
an S.

(40)   gigunting niya ang papil
       'He cut the paper with scissors.'

(41)   *gigunting niya ang papil sa gunting
       'He cut the paper with the scissors.'

(42)   gigunting niya ang papil sa habul nga gunting
       'He cut the paper with dull scissors.'

(43) and (44) show the derivation of (42).

(43)

```
                 S
          ／          ＼
       Mod             Prop
                 ／  |  ＼  ＼
                V    +A   +N    +I
                |    |    |    ／ ＼
              putul siya papil it   S
              [A N I]              ／‾‾‾‾‾‾‾＼
                                habul nga gunting
```

(44)



T7 - Original Case Deletion

Delete any of the nodes N, I, G or PR which has been copied onto the V node of the same S unless it dominates an S.
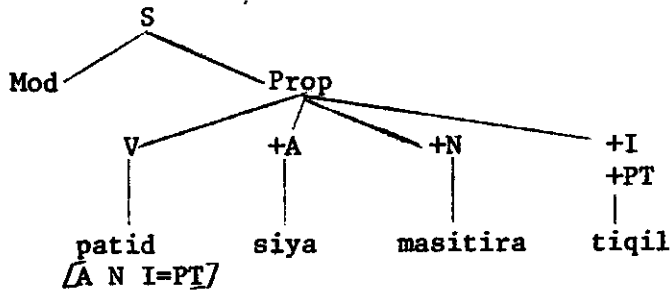
## 4.8 Instrumental-Partitive Deletion

When an Instrumental actant is at the same time a body-part of the Agent and is normally associated with the accomplishment of the action expressed by the verb, it is deleted unless the node under which it comes dominates an S. Some of the verbs that need the Instrumental-Partitive are the following. Notice that these verbs are accompanied by what may be categorized as 'inalienable possessions' following Fillmore (1968).

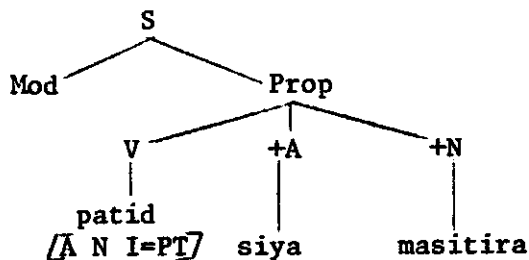| | |
|---|---|
| dagpiq | 'slap lightly (with the palm of the hand)' |
| haluk | 'kiss (with the lips)' |
| kablit | 'touch someone with a curling finger' |
| kidhat | 'wink (with the eyes)' |
| kuhit | 'touch someone or something with a curling finger' |
| kusiq | 'pinch (with the fingers)' |
| lamanu | 'shake hands with someone' |
| patid | 'kick (with the foot)' |
| sagpaq | 'slap (with the palm of the hand)' |
| simhut | 'smell (with the nose)' |
| sumbag | 'box (with the fist)' |
| tilap | 'lick (with the tongue)' |

(46) and (47) show the derivation of (45) and the result of the Instrumental-Partitive Deletion Transformation on (45).

(45)  gipatiran niya ang masitira
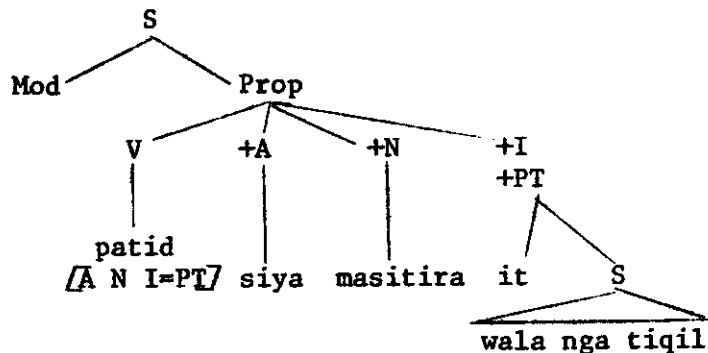      'He kicked the flower pot.'

(46)

```
                    S
              ⁄           ⁀
           Mod            Prop
                     ⁄    |   ⁀  ⁀
                    V    +A  +N    +I
                                   +PT
                    |    |    |     |
                  patid siya masitira tiqil
                 [A N I=PT]
```

(47)

```
                  S
              ⁄        ⁀
           Mod         Prop
                    ⁄    |    ⁀
                   V    +A    +N
                   |
                 patid
                [A N I=PT]  siya   masitira
```

The Instrumental-Partitive Deletion Transformation does not apply
on (48) because the I=PT node is an S.

(48) gipatiran niya ang masitira sa iyang walang tiqil
     'He kicked the flower pot with his left foot.'

(49)

```
                      S
                  ⁄         ⁀
               Mod          Prop
                        ⁄   |   |   ⁀
                       V   +A  +N   +I
                                    +PT
                       |
                     patid
                    [A N I=PT] siya masitira  it      S
                                                  ⁄‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾⁀
                                                  wala nga tiqil
```

T8 – Instrumental-Partitive Deletion

Delete the Instrumental actant when it is at the same time a body-
part of the Agent and is a part of the lexical meaning of the verb, i.e.,
it is normally associated with the accomplishment of the action ex-
pressed by the verb, unless it dominates an S.

4.9  V Raising

The V in the embedded sentence is raised to the right of the V in

the higher S when the verb in the higher S is CAUSE <u>TUGUT</u>. This transformation consequently erases the lower S node and raises the lower actants to the higher S. The application is illustrated by the derivation of (50) below.
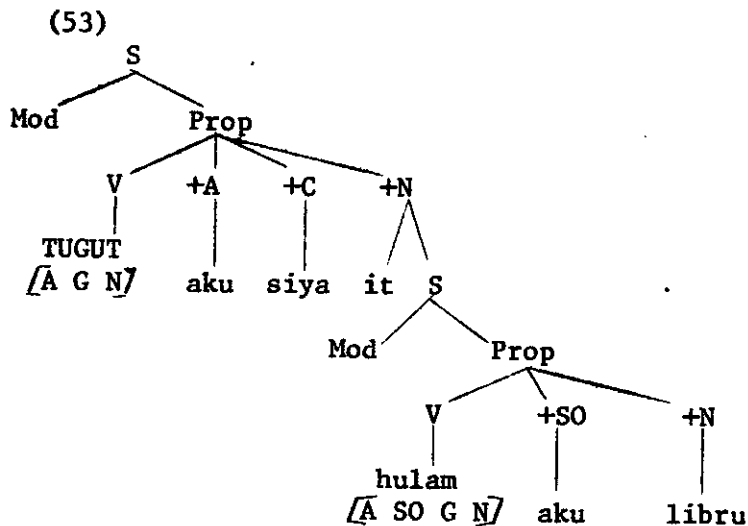
(50)  gipahulam ku siya ug libru
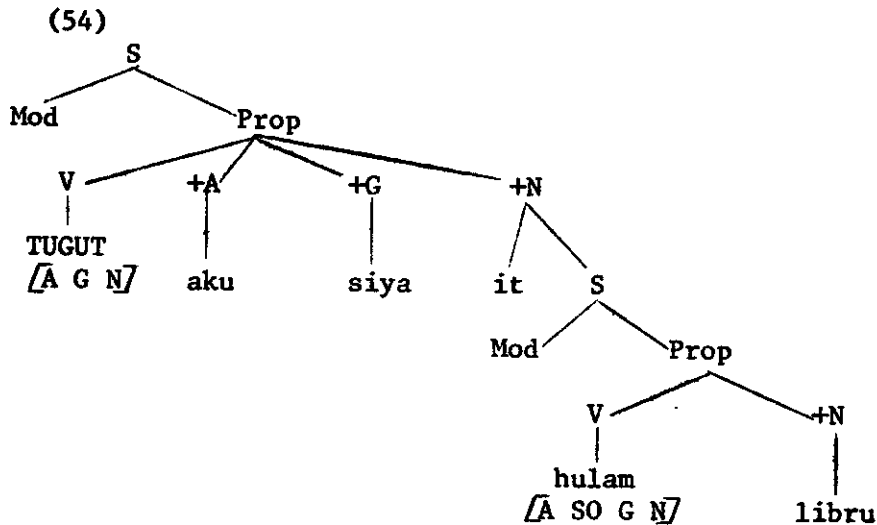      'I lent him (allowed to borrow) a book.'

(51)
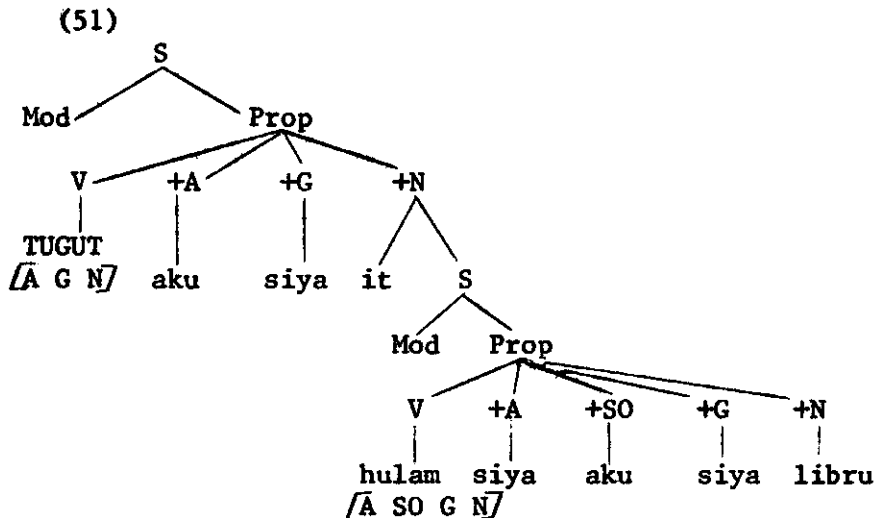


The Identical Actant Deletion applies on the lower S to delete the second occurrence of <u>siya</u>. The resulting tree is (52).

(52)
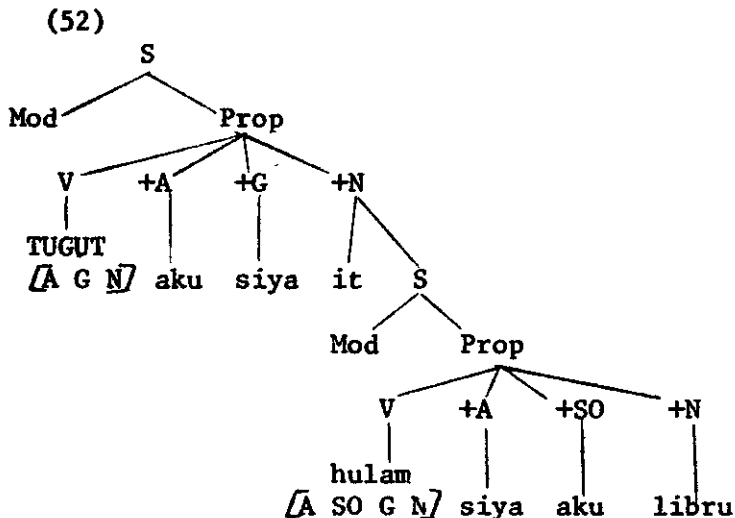


There remain two <u>siya</u>'s in the sentence - one in the lower S and another one in the higher S. The Identical Actant Deletion Transformation applies again to delete the second occurrence of <u>siya</u>, i.e., the <u>siya</u> in the lower S. The resulting tree is (53).

(53)

```
                    S
              _____
          Mod          Prop
                    ____|____
                 V   +A   +C   +N
                 |   |    |    |\
              TUGUT aku siya it  S
              [A G N]            __|__
                               Mod    Prop
                                    ___|___
                                   V   +SO   +N
                                   |    |     |
                                 hulam aku  libru
                               [A SO G N]
```

The Identical Actant Deletion has to apply once more to delete the second occurrence of aku in the sentence. The tree now becomes (54).

(54)

```
                 S
           _____
        Mod        Prop
                 ____|_____
              V   +A   +G    +N
              |   |    |     |\
           TUGUT aku siya   it  S
           [A G N]            __|__
                            Mod    Prop
                                 ___|___
                                V         +N
                                |          |
                              hulam      libru
                            [A SO G N]
```
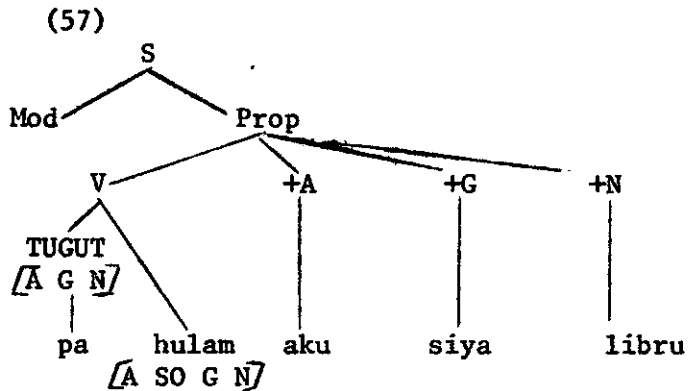
TUGUT does not come out in surface structure in order to arrive at (50). If it does, the V Raising Transformation will not operate as shown by the following sentences.

(55)  gitugutan ku siya nga muhulam ug libru (kanakuq)
      'I allowed him to borrow a book (from me).'

(56)  nitugut aku nga muhulam siya ug libru (kanakuq)
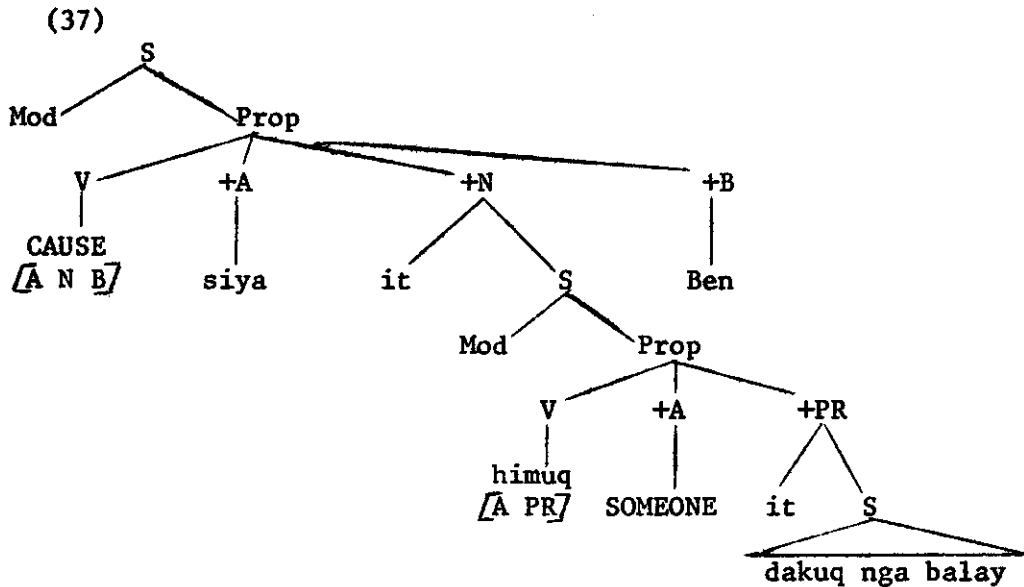      'I allowed him to borrow a book (from me).'

The application of the V Raising Transformation on (54) results in (57).
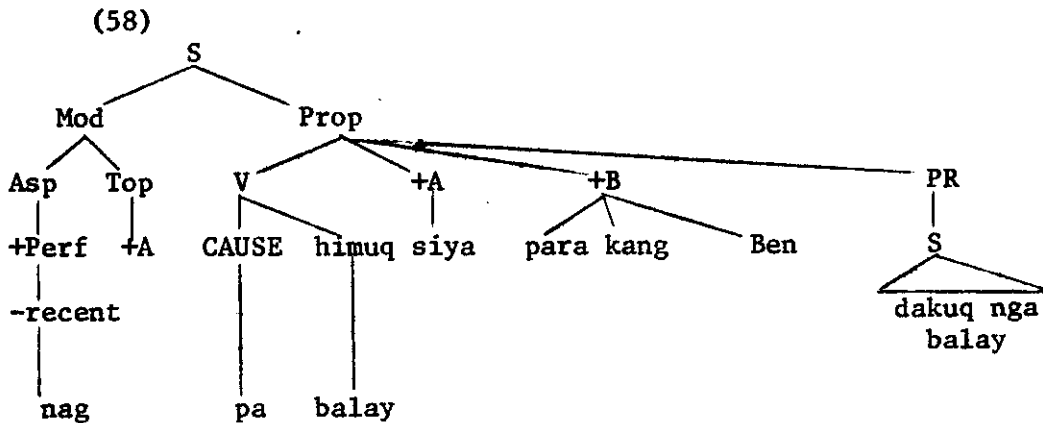
(57)

```
                    S
          Mod            Prop
                  V       +A    +G    +N
               TUGUT
               [A G N]
                 |
                pa  hulam  aku  siya  libru
               [A SO G N]
```

To give another illustration of the effect of the V Raising Trans-
formation, (36) and (37) are recalled here.  (37) is the deep structure
of (36).

(36)   nagpabalay siya ug dakung balay para kang Ben
       'He had a big house made for Ben.'

(37)

```
                  S
          Mod          Prop
                  V     +A      +N           +B
               CAUSE
               [A N B]  siya    it    S       Ben
                                  Mod      Prop
                                     V      +A      +PR
                                  himuq
                                  [A PR]  SOMEONE  it    S
                                                     dakuq nga balay
```

After all the necessary transformations have taken place, including the
V Raising Transformation, the resulting surface structure is (58).

(58)

```
                    S
          ┌─────────┴──────────┐
         Mod                  Prop ◄──────────────────────────────┐
        ┌─┴──┐        ┌────┬───┴──┬──────────┬──────────────────┐
       Asp   Top      V   +A     +B                            PR
        │     │     ┌──┴──┐ │   ┌─┴───┐      │                  │
      +Perf  +A   CAUSE himuq siya para kang    Ben             S
        │                                                     ╱───╲
     -recent                                              dakuq nga
        │                                                    balay
        │          │      │
       nag         pa   balay
```

T9 - V Raising Transformation

Raise the V of the lower S to the right of the V of the higher S
when the higher V is CAUSE or TUGUT.

4.10 Plural Copying

The working model followed in this paper assumes that the noun is
the initial source of the plurality transformation. This is indicated
as the feature /+plural/ under the noun. A copying transformation
copies this feature under the V so that when the V surfaces it is in-
flected with maN-, in the case of non-state verbs, or with -g- in the
case of a small number of state verbs. This transformation is optional
for non-state verbs, obligatory for a small set of state verbs and
unnecessary for the rest of the state verbs. Note the following sen-
tences:

(59) mulakaw/manglakaw sila ugmaq
     'They will leave tomorrow.'

(60) gagmay pa ang ilang manga bataq
     'Their children are still small.'

(61) limpyu ang manga karsada sa Makati
     'The streets in Makati are clean.'

The small set of state verbs that obligatorily take the plural
copying transformation are the following:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| dakuq ===> | dagkuq | 'big' |
| duqul ===> | dugqul | 'near' |
| gamay ===> | gagmay | 'small' |
| mabaw ===> | magbaw | 'shallow' |
| mubuq ===> | mugbuq | 'short' |
| lalum ===> | laglum | 'deep' |

| lapad ===> lagpad | 'wide' |
| layuq ===> lagyuq | 'far' |
| taqas ===> tagqas | 'tall' |

The following sentences illustrate the use of some of these verbs.

(62) a. dakuq ang balay
       'The house is big.'

     b. dagkuq ang manga balay niqanang kalyiha
        'The houses on that street are big.'

(63) a. duqul sa simbahan ang amung balay
       'Our house is near the church.'

     b. dugqul ang manga balay sa Manila
        'The houses in Manila are close to each other.'

(64) a. lapad ang karsada
       'The street is wide.'

     b. lagpad ug dahun ang kamuti
        'The camote has wide leaves.'

(65) a. taqas ang sininaq sa babayi
       'The woman's dress is long.'

     b. tagqas ang manga sininaq sa manga babayi karun
        'Women's dresses nowadays are long.'

The verb copies the /+plural/ feature from the Agentive and the Neutral actants. Verbs that require only the Agentive (i.e., other actants may be present but the Neutral is absent) copy this feature from the Agentive. Verbs that require only the Neutral, like the state verbs enumerated above, copy the feature from the Neutral. When both the Agentive and the Neutral are present, the verb copies the feature from the Neutral. Other plural actants do not affect the verb in the same way. The following sentences illustrate this.

(66) a. *mugbuq ang anak sa manga Reyes
       'The child of the Reyeses are short.'

     b. mugbuq ang manga anak sa manga Reyes
        'The children of the Reyeses are short.'

(67) a. *gipangaqun namuq ang usa ka saging
       'We ate the (one) banana.'

     b. gipangaqun namuq ang (manga) saging sa lamisa
        'We ate the bananas on the table.'

     c. gitabangan namug kaqun ang usa ka buquk saging (tabang 'help')
        'We all helped in eating the (one) banana.'

T10 - Plural Copying Transformation

Copy $[+plural]$ feature of A onto the V node when the V has the case frame $[A]$ , and of N when the V has the case frame $[N]$ or $[A\ N]$.

## 4.11 Some Problems in Transformations

In 4.4 a problem was brought up concerning the deletion of the Experiential actant in the underlying structure of the surface string of sentences like maqayung ihilak and other sentences of the same structure. At this point it is not yet clear to the writer why the deletion takes place.

Another problem concerning transformations in Cebuano has to do with the analysis of (68), whose underlying structure is presented in (69).

(68)  hustu nang iqadtu karun
      'It is time to go.'

(69)
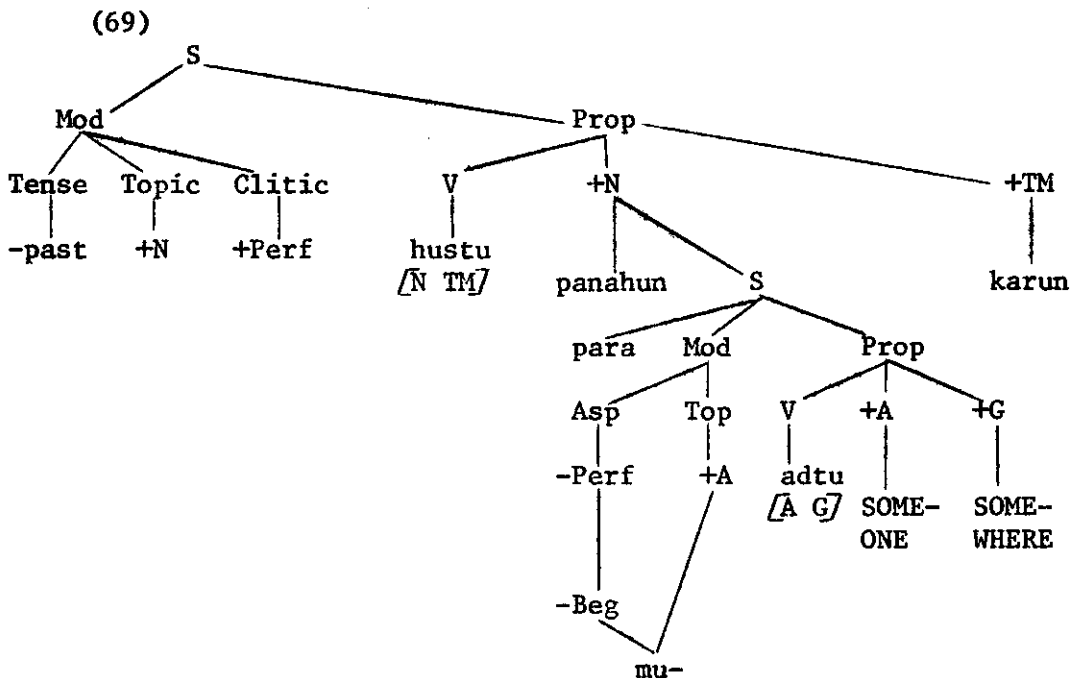


The underlying structure reads

(70)  hustu na ang panahun para muqadtu si X sa Y
      Literally:  'Right is the time for X to go to Y.'

X and Y (or SOMEONE and SOMEWHERE) of the embedded S are deleted by the Unspecified Actant Deletion Transformation.  The presence of hustu (like maqayu) invalidates the choice of mu- and dictates the choice of i- instead as the prefix for the lower V.  This leaves one problem:  How does panahun get deleted?  In other words, what conditions exist to motivate the deletion of panahun?

One possibility that may be offered as an explanation of this phenomenon is that since panahun 'time' is implicitly contained in the meaning of hustu this implied panahun is responsible for the deletion of the explicit occurrence of panahun. This means the panahun contained in hustu deleted the panahun under +N.

The two problems discussed in this section, i.e., the deletion of the Experiential in 4.4 and the deletion of panahun in (69), have to be accounted for more satisfactorily in a complete syntax of Cebuano. What are offered in this paper are just possible solutions inasmuch as these problems are more syntactic than morphological.

## 5. Other Problems

### 5.1 Problems in the Specialization Rule

The specialization rule is not a fool-proof rule. The following inconsistencies were discovered with regards to this rule when applied to some verbs.

A. Verbs which belong to the same semantic domain and which affect the N or E in the same manner take different affixes.

| -un (DA) | | =an (IAF) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| kusiq | 'pinch' | lambus | 'strike with something heavy' |
| latigu | 'whip' | bunal | 'strike with a club or whip' |
| tahiq | 'sew' | sursi | 'darn' |
| dispuga | 'sew a hem' | tapak | 'patch' |
| sunug | 'burn' | daqub | 'set on fire' |
| plansa (with underlying verb gamit 'iron, press clothes' | | pasa | 'press unlaundered clothes' |
| tiwas | 'finish' | tiwas | 'give the finishing blow' |
| lutuq | 'cook' | lapwa | 'blanch' |
| | | lataq | 'boil until tender' |
| gutum | 'be hungry' | kuyaw | 'feel scared, frightened' |
| | | kuyap | 'faint' |
| halug | 'embrace, hug' | haluk | 'kiss' |

B. DA and IAF specializations are neutralized in the free alternation of -un and -an in the following verbs:

abli         'open'

amuma        'take care of someone'

balik        'return for something'

| | |
|---|---|
| bulit | 'cover completely with viscious material' |
| buslut | 'make a hole' |
| hinumdum | 'remember' |
| kapun | 'castrate' |
| lakad | 'step over something' |
| masahi | 'massage' |
| simhut | 'smell' |
| sunud | 'follow' |
| taguq | 'hide, put away' |
| ukab | 'open' |
| witik | 'strike something with a flicking motion' |

C.  DA, IAF and P are neutralized in the free choice of -un, -an or i-.

| | |
|---|---|
| sira | 'close something, especially a window or door; cease to operate' |

D.  DA and P are neutralized in the free alternation of -un and i-.

| | |
|---|---|
| andam | 'prepare something' |
| anud | 'for something to be carried away by water current' |
| balhin | 'move something' |
| bilakaq | 'spread the legs while sitting' |
| dayun | 'proceed to carry something out' |
| takqum | 'close the mouth or purse the lips' |
| tikungkung | 'curl up the legs' |

The problem verbs enumerated above comprise only a small portion of the data – only 42 verbs out of the 820 verbs which take the DA, IAF or P specializations.  The writer believes that the problems involved in the analysis of these verbs are not too significant to influence the method or the results of the analysis.  Ballard (1974) also met this same problem – some of the 300 verbs he worked on did not fit the classification scheme which he developed.  However, the writer believes that there may exist other features that constrain these verbs to behave in the manner that they do.

The verbs listed above are marked (ID) in the lexicon that accompanies the full study, to indicate that they present discrepancies in their morphology and their semantics.

## 4.2 The Experiential Case

The Experiential case was one of the cases posited last in the course of the analysis. The reason was that there did not seem to be any need for it since its functions seemed to be handled very well by the Neutral case. However, instances were found where there would be two N's in one sentence; in the Fillmorean doctrine no second occurrence of a single case is allowed in the same simplex (Fillmore 1968: 22). This doctrine prohibits $AC_1$ and $AC_2$ from belonging to the same case.

> (1)  nasukuq siya ($AC_1$) sa manga binatunan ($AC_2$)
> 'She is/was angry with the maids. '

$AC_2$ is clearly N; therefore $AC_1$ could not be N also. It could not be Agent since it is different from $AC_3$ below.

> (2)  gikasabqan niya ($AC_3$) ang manga binatunan ($AC_4$)
> 'She scolded the maids.'

The verb is (2), kasabaq, is an action verb; it obligatorily requires an Agnt. The verb in (1), sukuq is a state verb; it does not require an A. If $AC_1$ is neither A nor N, it must be the case defined as Experiential.

The Experiential case has been defined as the animate being that is affected by a psychological state or condition. Chafe defines it as 'one whose mental disposition or mental processes were affected' (Chafe 1970:145). However, these definitions leave a lot of things unanswered. Where does one draw the line between a psychological state and a non-psychological one? Or, what is a mental disposition or process and what is a non-mental one? The writer tried to devise a syntactic test to isolate the Experiential case but even this does not leave all problems out. The test sentence was: He experienced being _____ . This test eliminated such verbs as cry (whose motivation must be psychological), shout and the other action verbs. However, it admitted such verbs as beautiful and sick as well as the verbs happy, sad and frightened (the real experiential verbs). For the present, the writer is not yet satisfied with the way the Experiential case has been handled, both in this paper and in other works. This problem still needs to be pursued so that a more adequate analysis of this case may be arrived at.

NOTES

[1]This phenomenon is also found in Tagalog. Note that the following sentences do not contain surface subjects.

> ang ganda nang babaqe
> 'How beautiful the woman is!'

ang init nang sabaw
'How hot the soup is!'

[2]This is also found in Tagalog.

kararating lang nang manga bataq
'The children have just arrived.'

kamamatay lang nang kanyang asawa
'His wife/Her husband has just died.'

[3]Abstract verbs are defined in this study as verbs which exist in
the semantic consciousness of the native speaker but which is not
given lexical realization in the language. Some examples of abstract
verbs in Cebuano are (English is used as the metalanguage in the fol-
lowing examples):

BEAR (the Product case surfaces as the verb)
      nanganak na ang iyang asawa
      'His wife has already given birth (to a child).'

      mamunga ang mangga ug daquban
      'The mango tree will bear fruit if it is smudged.'

CONSIDER (only the state verb of the lower S surfaces)
      gigwapahan siya sa babayi
      'He considers/considered the woman beautiful.'

      gilamiqan siya sa putu
      'He considered the puto delicious.'

      gigamyan siya sa balay
      'He considers/considered the house small.'

[4]Replaceable verbs are verbs that allow themselves to be replaced
in surface structure by one of their accompanying actants. Some examples
are:

adtu 'go'

diq ka malangit kay kriminal ka
'You will not go to heaven because you are a criminal.'

nipaDumaguete siya kagahapon
'He left for Dumaguete yesterday.'

aplay 'apply something to something'

nagplurwaks ku kagahapon
'I waxed the floor yesterday.'

butang 'add something to something'

gikalamayan ku na ang imung kapi
'I already put sugar in your coffee.'

bitsini ang tinula
'Put the vetsin in the <u>tinola</u>.'

dulaq 'play'

magbowling sila kada Sabado
'They go bowling every Saturday.'

nagbasketball ang manga lalaki
'The boys are/were playing basketball.'

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