

A DESCRIPTION OF HILIGAYNON SYNTAX

ELMER WOLFENDEN



[inside front cover]

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**SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS PUBLICATIONS
IN
LINGUISTICS AND RELATED FIELDS
PUBLICATION NUMBER 46**

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**A DESCRIPTION
OF
HILIGAYNON SYNTAX**

by
ELMER WOLFENDEN

**A Publication of the
SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS
of the
University of Oklahoma
Norman
1975**

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0-88312-056-9

Printed in U.S.A. by

Wycliffe Bible Translators, Inc.

19891 Beach Blvd.

Huntington Beach, California 92648

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was the author's doctoral dissertation at the University of Hawaii in 1972. I am especially appreciative of the counsel and encouragement rendered by Howard McKaughan, the chairman of my dissertation committee, who often paused in the midst of his busy schedule to share my problems. Lawrence Reid, another member of the committee, read through a draft of the paper and made helpful suggestions. The remaining members of the committee, Byron Bender, George Grace, Albert Schutz, and Ruth Crymes, contributed in various ways to the completion of the work. I hasten to absolve all of these of any errors in the final form of the description and duly acknowledge my own responsibility for the choices made.

The men and women who gave of their time to teach me Hiligaynon, Cora Alkalde, Arnaldo Amar, Amado Flores, Leonila Lopez, and Cecile Motus, are deserving of special thanks.

I also acknowledge the willing cooperation of the administration of the Philippine Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, who granted me extended study time free from Branch responsibilities for this work. I owe a debt of gratitude for the financial and spiritual support of many friends throughout the study. My wife, Beverly, shared the task, typing and retyping until the final page was letter-perfect. Without her assistance and encouragement the work would never have gotten done. Finally, I am grateful to God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, for the daily strength and guidance He gave to the end of the study.

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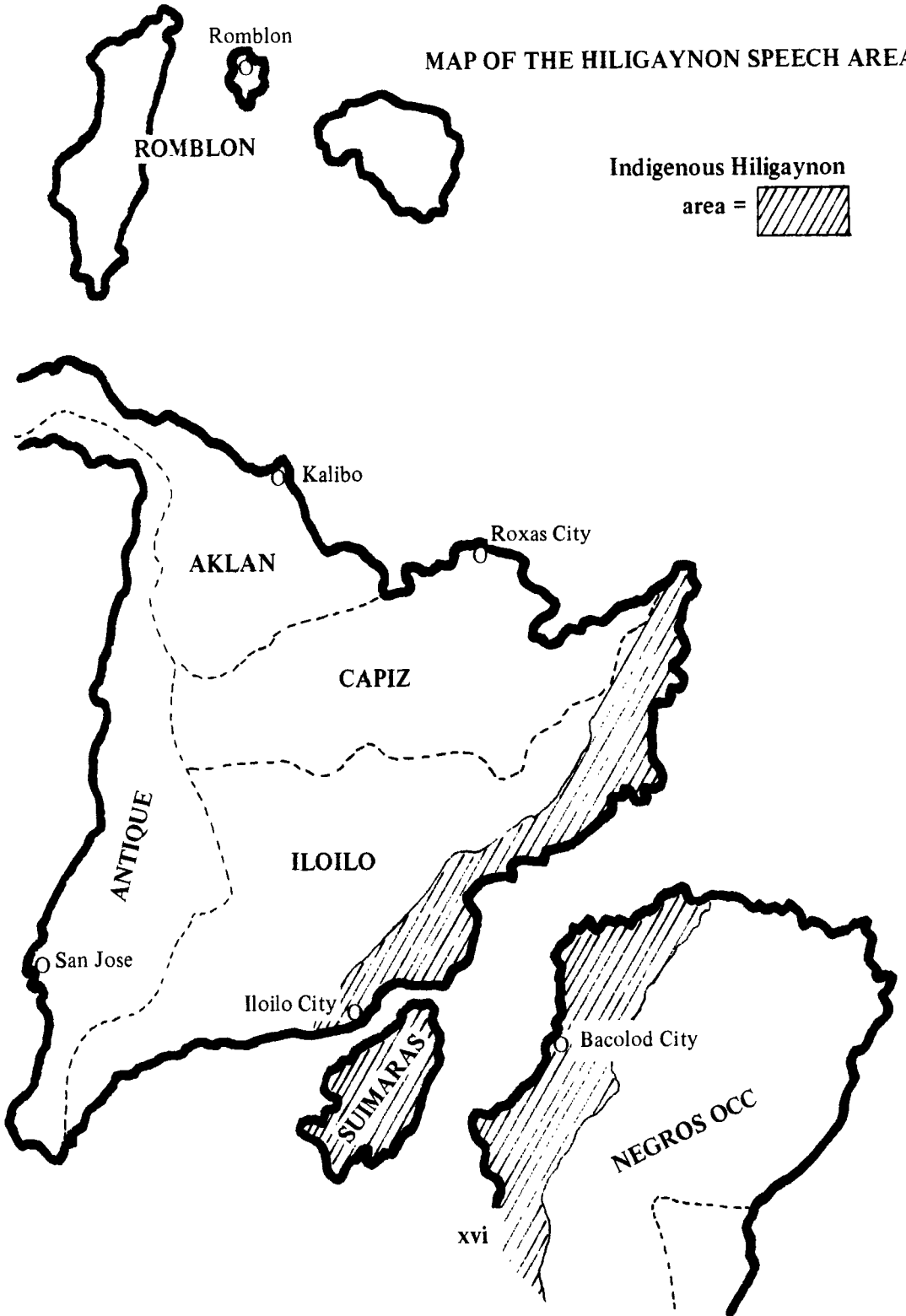
ABBREVIATIONS

A	aposition	Cp	comparative
ac	actor	Cpa	comparison
Act/act	action	CPR	clitic permutation rule
Acs	accessory	C1, C2	causative clause 1, causative clause 2, etc.
Ad/ad	adjunction/adjunctive	C ₁ , C ₂	complement 1, etc.
Adv/adv	adverbial	D	descriptive
Ag/ag	agent	Dat/dat	dative
Alt	alternate	day	time-of-day
Ap/ap	appositive	De/de	delimitative
AS	action status	dec	decease
As/as	associate	Decl	declarative
Aser/aser	assertion	Den/den	denial
Atten	attentive	Der	derived
AV	accessory voice	Desc/desc	description
Ax	axis	dir	direction
@	concord	Dir	direct
B/b	beneficiary	Dsc/dsc	descriptive
Caus	causative	D1, D2, etc.	declarative clause class 1, etc.
Cd	caused	E	emphasis
Cl	clause	Emp	emphatic
clsf	classification	Eqn/eqn	equational
Clt/clt	clitic	ER	exponent rule
Cmt/cmt	comment	EV/ev	event
Cn	conveyant	excl	exclusive
Cng	causing	exp	experiencer
Co/co	coordinative	Exp	expanded
Com	common	Exs/exs	existential
Comp	complement, complementation	Ext/ext	existent
Con	conjunct	Feat	feature
Cond	conditional	G/g	goal
Conj/conj	conjunction	Gen/gen	genitive
Conn	connection	Gnl	general
Coor/coor	coordinate	Gr	group

H	head	num	numeral
Hlg	Hiligaynon	O	objective
Hr/hr	hour	Obj	object
I/i	instrument	OV	objective voice
Id/id	identification	∅	zero manifestation
In	introducer	P	phrase
in	introduction	Par	particle
incl	inclusive	part	participative
Indf	indefinite	Pass	passive
Infl	inflection	Peri	peripheral
Instig	instigator	Perm	permutation
Int/int	intensification	pers	personal
Intrr	interrogative	Ph	phrasal
IO/io	indirect object	Pl/pl	plural
It/it	item	Po/po	possession/possessor/possessive
Iter/iter	iterative	PR	permutation rule
Ju	junction	Pre	precedent
K/k	causer	Pred	predicate
L/l	location	Prep	preposition
Lim	limiter	Pr	primary
LIR	lexical insertion rule	Prn	pronoun
Lo/lo	locative	Pur	purpose
Loc/loc	location	Q/q	question
Man/man	manner	Qa/qa	quantity
Mat	matrix	Qu	quotative
Mo	modifier	R/r	referative
Mod	modal	recip	reciprocal
N/n	nominal	Ref	referent
Neg	negative	Rel	relator
Nonpers	nonpersonal	Rem/rem	remainder
nom	nominalization	Rest	restriction
Nom	nominalizer	Rq/rq	request
Nmv/nmv	nominative	RR	reading rule
Nu/nu	number		

RV	referative voice	Var/var	various
S	subject	Vb	verb/verbal
Sec	secondary	X, Y,	unspecified linguistic
Sg/sg	singular	X + Y	environment
Si	site	/	item on left of slash occurs
So/so	source		simultaneously with item on
Sp	Spanish		right
Spec/spec	specification	() ⁿ	repeatable tagmeme
St/st	stative	+	concatenation symbol in
Sub	substitute		formulas
Subj	subject	()	optional occurrence in
SV	subjective voice		formulas
l-syl	monosyllabic	[]	obligatory presence in some
T	topic		constructions, obligatory
Te	temporal		absence in others
Ter	tertiary		
Ti/ti	time	< >	item in bracket represents a
TLT	topic/locative/temporal		class
Top	topicalization	=	indicates that the item to the
U	units		left of equals sign is rewritten
UP	underlying pattern		as the item(s) to the right
UPCN	underlying pattern of	:	indicates that the item to the
	clause nuclei		left of the colon is correlated
UPCS	underlying pattern of		with the item to the right
	clause structure		

MAP OF THE HILIGAYNON SPEECH AREA



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0. ABSTRACT. The description presented in the following pages accounts for the syntactic structure of Hiligaynon phrases and clauses by means of a modified tagmemic approach. Surface structure is described by the conventional tagmemic method, but an underlying structure is also recognized and described here by a modified tagmeme concept.

The underlying structure consists of patterns of correlation between semantic and grammatical functions. The semantic functions are what Fillmore refers to as case relationships such as agent and goal. In this study I retain the earlier tagmemic designation of situational role meanings. These semantic functions correlate in the underlying structure with grammatical functions such as subject and object. The correlations are different from Fillmore's case frames, however, since the case functions are here matched with grammatical functions.

The modification produces two benefits. First, recognition of an underlying structure provides one way to show relationship between semantic and grammatical information. The second benefit is that grammatical functions can be discussed before they are related to surface forms and, thus, underlying relationships between contrastive surface structures are also seen. This is so because the underlying patterns turn out to be general statements of functional relationships which appear unchanged for sets of surface structures. That is, where conventional tagmemics emphasizes contrasting surface structures, an effort is being made here to show how those structures can be derived from underlying patterns which are common to more than one contrastive surface structure. This, in turn, shows relationships between those surface structures. This description emphasizes the latter benefit.

The patterns of correlation are shown to be signaled by the semantic content of word roots. An analysis of three hundred roots into classes is the basis of the description of the clause constructions. Changes in the correlations sometimes occur as a result of derivational transformations. In order to present the description in a uniform way, a notation is used for the underlying patterns which is similar to that used in conventional tagmemic formulas.

The balance of the discussion in this chapter, (1) identifies Hiligaynon geographically and linguistically in relation to other Philippine languages, (2) explains the theoretical framework in which the description is presented, and (3) briefly summarizes certain phonological and morphological features of Hiligaynon which contribute to the description of its phrase and clause constructions.

1.1. THE HILIGAYNON LANGUAGE. Distributionally, Hiligaynon, spoken as a lingua franca by approximately one million people in the sugar-producing lands of the Western

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Visayas in the central Philippines, is native to the twin cities of Iloilo and Bacolod situated on either side of the Guimaras Strait which separates Panay and Negros Islands.

This description of Hiligaynon syntax is based on that lingua franca as used by five different informants from four different geographical locations within the area.¹ One informant is a native of Iloilo City, two are natives of the Bacolod area, and the other two are natives of Antique and Aklan, respectively, but are also fluent speakers of Hiligaynon as it is used both in Iloilo City and in their home areas.

The language data upon which the description is based include voluntary texts, recorded and transcribed from the native speakers, published stories and news articles from *The Hiligaynon*, a weekly magazine published in Hiligaynon in Iloilo, and elicited material from the five informants. The informants also commented on the language usage in the published stories and articles. The published material was processed by computer, producing a word concordance, which was very useful in the research.²

1.2. RELATION TO OTHER LANGUAGES. Spain's 300-year rule of the Philippines left its mark on Hiligaynon, as on many other lowland Philippine languages. Spanish influence is seen in the numerous loan words which have been incorporated into the Hiligaynon lexicon, in certain aspects of the sound system, and in the syntax of count phrases. Hiligaynon is distinctly a Philippine language, most closely related to Cebuano and Tagalog. Cebuano is the major trade language of central and southern Philippines, while Tagalog is spoken in Manila and the provinces of central Luzon in northern Philippines, and is the basis of the national language called Pilipino. Hiligaynon, Cebuano, and Tagalog are all members of the Austronesian family of languages and have wider relationships with those spoken in Indonesia, Formosa, Malaya, and islands of the Pacific. Dyen (1965) assigns Hiligaynon to his Bisayan Cluster of the Mesophilippine Hesion and relates it to some languages of Formosa and North Borneo through his Northwest Hesian of the Malayopolynesian linkage of Austronesian.

Hiligaynon does not play a large role in the older comparative works, but Brandstetter (1902), Conant (1912), Blake (1906, 1907), and Dempwolff (1938) all used Philippine languages in their comparisons. Brandstetter included Bisaya, presumably Cebuano Visayan, in the group of languages he used to demonstrate the Pepet Law in Indonesian languages.

Conant also used something he called Bisaya in his comparisons of the reflex of the Pepet vowel in various Philippine languages. From his articles, it is evident his term Bisaya

¹I am indebted to the men and women who have been my language assistants in Hiligaynon. Cecile Motus and Cora Alkalde, graduate students at the University of Hawaii, were the chief sources of language material during the early stages of the study. Arnaldo Amar and Amado Flores assisted me in Bukidnon, where they had emigrated from the Bacolod area. Leonila Lopez, of Iloilo City, assisted in the verb study during a study trip to that city.

²The concordance was compiled at the Computing Center of the University of Hawaii.

represents three Visayan languages, one of which was Hiligaynon. The other two were Cebuano, spoken in Cebu, and Waray-waray, which is spoken in the Samar-Leyte region.

Dempwolff (1938) used Tagalog as one of his criterion languages to establish, first, Proto-Indonesian, and then Proto-Malayo-Polynesian. Since Hiligaynon is cognate with both Bisaya (Cebuano) and Tagalog, it is also a member of the Indonesian subfamily of the Austronesian family of languages.

More recent work in Hiligaynon has been done by Juntado (1961) and Ruiz (1968). Juntado concentrates on a comparison of number concord in Hiligaynon and English as the main part of the work, but a brief outline of the markers of syntactic relations is also included in the introduction. Ruiz classifies verb roots according to their potential for co-occurrence with the focus-marking (case-marking) affixes. His introductory discussion of syntactic features deals exclusively with verbal clauses, since they are the embedding matrix in which the verb roots are examined.

Previous to this description of the phrase and clause structures of Hiligaynon, the author prepared a Hiligaynon reference grammar (Wolfenden 1971). That work describes the major features of Hiligaynon phonology and morphology, but refers only to a small, representative number of phrase and clause constructions. There is no comprehensive description of Hiligaynon phrase and clause constructions in the current literature. This description, therefore, is intended to fill that gap.

1.3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND. As has been stated briefly above, this study accepts as a valid linguistic approach the tagmemic theory developed by Pike (1954, 1967), as modified by Longacre (1964) and others. A review of the salient features of the approach follows.

The particular form of the theory adopted postulates that language consists of three hierarchies: the phonological, the grammatical, and the lexical. The hierarchies consist of minimal units that form succeeding larger units on ascending levels. In the grammatical hierarchy, for example, the minimal unit is the morpheme. Morphemes are combined to form words, words combined to form phrases, phrases to form clauses, and so on. However, units of one level are not always composed of units from the level immediately below it. A clause, for example, may consist of a single word (level-skipping). Again, units of one level may occur within units of the same level, or they may occur within units of a lower level. Thus, phrases may occur within phrases (recursive embedding), or clauses may occur within phrases (back-looping).

A construction type and its variants is described by means of a tagmemic formula, with a different formula produced for each contrasting construction type. The formulas label both the slot and class of units 'filling the slot'. For example, a formula S:NP indicates that there is a class of noun phrases which fits into the slot, **subject**. That is, there is a subject tagmeme. Longacre prefers to refer to the slot as 'function', and to the class as 'set', and speaks of sets of units which expound certain functions (1964.15-16).

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As an important part of his modification of tagmemic theory, Longacre (1964) adds rules to formalize the generative nature of the formulas. He outlines three kinds of rules, all of which are used in this description. Reading rules state the strings which may be derived from a tagmemic formula. Permutation rules are added to give the rearrangements which may be made in the order of the tagmemes in a string. Exponence rules identify the specific class of units (exponents) for each tagmeme in the syntagmeme if the class is not already fully identified in the formula. Exponence rules also may be followed by statements of any restrictions on the co-occurrence of the exponents in different tagmemes of a syntagmeme. The rules are utilized in this description for tagmemes in both underlying patterns and surface structure formulas when they are required.

Semantic correlation rules and lexical insertion rules are formed especially for use in this description. The former state the correlation between grammatical and semantic functions in the underlying patterns. Lexical insertion rules are added to account for choices of specific lexical items in certain samples of Hiligaynon sentences.

The introduction and description of underlying patterns in this study by means of an all-function tagmeme is an innovation in tagmemics. This is intended to emphasize a distinction between deep and surface structures. Though this emphasis may be new to some linguists working with tagmemics, it is not new in general linguistics. Sapir, for example, discusses underlying relations in language. He distinguishes a language's 'inner form' from its 'outer form' (1921:125). Harris (1957) also recognizes deep and surface levels by relating sentences that have similar lexical content and surface structure through derivational processes. From his research came the emphasis on grammatical transformations as a way to show these relationships. Hockett refers to a distinction between deep and surface grammar (Hockett 1958:246), a distinction similar to that made by Sapir earlier. Chomsky later adopted Hockett's terms *deep* and *surface*, but not his concept. Instead, he formulates a deep-structure level of abstract symbols generated in the base subcomponent of the syntactic component of the grammar. This syntactic component determines the semantic representation, and processes it through stages of transformations to surface structure. Others are developing what is called a 'generative' semantic theory of transformational grammar.³ Generative semanticists (Ross, Lakoff, McCawley, Fillmore, Postal, and others) consider that deep structure is the level of semantics, and that syntax and semantics cannot be separated.⁴ Although neither of these viewpoints is followed in this description, I am indebted to the transformational grammarians for the stimulus their writings have given.

³Katz (1970) defines the two variants more specifically: "Generative semantics assigns this role [the primary link between sound and meaning] to the syntactic relations expressed by the lexicon and transformational components, whereas interpretive semantics assigns this role to the syntactic relations expressed by the rules of the base subcomponent of the syntactic component" (257).

⁴Lakoff (1969, footnote 1) says, "...semantics plays a central role in syntax. The generative semantics position is, in essence, that syntax and semantics cannot be separated."

Fillmore (1968) has discussed the need to consider 'case' relations in the deep structure. His theoretical thrust is in the direction of a deep structure which consists of a proposition made of a set of relationships involving verbs and nouns, and a modality constituent. The basic relationships in the proposition are the case environments or 'case frames' of the sentence (Fillmore 1968.23-27). Verbs are inserted into the slots of a case frame according to the frame features indicated in the lexical entries for individual verbs. Nouns also have lexical features which must agree with the case environment.

A clause is derived from this deep structure by first choosing a clause pattern, then, from the lexicon, selecting a verb which has as one of its case features the corresponding case frame of the clause.⁵ Afterwards, noun phrases appropriate to the co-occurrence restrictions in the verb are chosen and transformations applied to bring the clause to its surface structure.

In its original form, tagmemic theory was oriented towards describing the functions and formal constituents of contrastive surface structures. Although the theory did not include deep structure, Pike has recognized that functions, such as subject, could be ambiguous if their 'structural meanings' were not noted. He identifies as different subject tagmemes, for example, 'actor-as-subject-of-the-sentence' and 'recipient-of-the-action-as-subject-of-the-sentence' (1954, now 1967). In his description of a portion of Bilaan (Philippines) grammar (Pike 1963), he suggests indicating this subcategorization by attaching subscripts to the function symbol of a tagmeme. The formula $S_{ac}:NP$, for example, indicates that there is a subject-as-actor tagmeme which is manifested by a noun phrase.⁶

In a later article on discourse analysis, Pike labels the distinction between grammatical functions and their structural meanings as a difference between grammatical role and situational role (1964). That he does not regard the latter as underlying structure is evidenced by the fact that he continues to regard the distinction as a feature of the grammatical hierarchy (1964.15) and ties both types of role information directly to surface elements by means of the tagmeme symbolization.

Chomsky's use of deep structure to show the relationships between sentences challenged Pike to search for ways to show such relationships between sentences from a tagmemic view. That search led him to introduce what he has called matrices. These matrices are equivalent to paradigmatic arrangements of information and are constructed

⁵Fillmore (1968) sets up a base rule which 'rewrites' a sentence. He says, "The first base rule, then, is 28, abbreviated to 28' (23)."

28. Sentence \Rightarrow Modality + Proposition.

28'. S \Rightarrow M + P.

He continues, "The P constituent is 'expanded' as a verb and ..." (24). And, further on, he is more specific, "The insertion of verbs ... depends on the particular array of cases, the 'case frame', provided by the sentence" (27).

⁶This is incorporated into a description of Ivatan syntax by Reid (1966).

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so as to show relationships between clauses by indicating such information at the parameters (1962). No concept of underlying structure is necessary, however, to this view.

Pike utilizes his grammatical matrix presentation extensively in describing clause structure in several West African languages (1966). The matrices, however, seem to highlight the contrastive differences between clauses rather than their similarities. It is true that the similarities are noted in the parameters of the matrix arrays, but Pike does not elaborate on these similarities. Further, we learn nothing through the matrices about the place of underlying generalizations or patterns from which surface structures can be derived.⁷

Becker (1967), however, seems to be dissatisfied with the overall formalization of the tagmeme and its emphasis on surface structure. His revision of the tagmeme concept, seen in the matrix of Chart 1 (1967:116), expands the tagmeme into a four-part unit in place of the original two-part unit.

Chart 1

Becker's four-part tagmeme

	Grammar	Lexicon
Form (Surface Structure)	A (e.g., Subject)	C (e.g., Noun Phrase)
Meaning (Deep Structure)	B (e.g., agent)	D (e.g., male, single, human, etc.)

The upper half of Becker's new tagmeme, represented by the top row of the chart, restates the conventional tagmemic symbolization of form and function as the surface structure form only. The bottom half, represented by the bottom row of the chart, is a set of deep structure meanings: a situational role in B cell, and a set of lexical features in D cell. Both the grammatical and lexical aspects of a tagmeme now have both surface and deep structure. Thus, for example, underlying the surface structure of the grammatical subject (A in Chart 1) is the deep structure grammatical meaning, agent (B in Chart 1).

Some tagmemicists have accepted Becker's concept of deep structure in tagmemic theory. Longacre incorporates it in his studies of Philippine languages (1968.I.vi) and continues to hold that view (Ballard 1971). Pike, however, rejects it in favor of the revised tagmeme concept suggested by Wise.

⁷Liem employs extensive use of matrix arrays in a tagmemic description of English syntax on the clause and phrase level (Liem 1966).

Taking advantage of Becker's theoretical work, Wise has suggested permuting the parameters of Becker's tagmeme matrix to give a different representation by combining the 'meaning' and 'lexicon' parameters into a single lexemic parameter which becomes her deep structure, and then relabeling the column parameters as 'function' and 'manifestation' (1968.40). Wise's tagmeme structure is shown in Chart 2.

Chart 2
Wise's revision of Becker's tagmeme

	Function	Manifestation
Grammatical Unit (Surface)	A (e.g., Subject)	C (e.g., Noun Phrase)
Lexemic Unit (Deep)	B (e.g., agent)	D (e.g., single, male, human, etc.)

Note that, although the cells of Wise's chart have the same sample fillers, the cells represent the intersections of different parameters. Cell A in Becker's chart, for example, symbolizes the grammatical form. In Wise's, the grammatical form, or manifestation, is symbolized by cell C. But Wise has not simply adjusted the parameters of Becker's matrix. She has made a basic change in the orientation of Becker's scheme by reinterpreting his deep structure meaning as a distinct tagmeme, a 'lexico-tagmeme' (41).

Wise's diagram is interpretable as two distinct tagmemes in the following way. The upper row represents the grammatical tagmeme in which a grammatical function, such as **subject**, is correlated with a set of exponents, such as **noun phrases**. The bottom row represents the lexical tagmeme in which a semantic function, such as **agent**, is correlated with a set of lexical features, such as **single, male, human**, etc., which identifies a real-world referent.

In this description, the semantic functions and their correlations are introduced into the underlying structure from the lexical entities functioning as predicate exponents. The correlations are idiosyncratic to some verbs, and characteristic of classes of exponents in other instances. Lexical features are part of the description of entries in the lexicon.

I accept the general content of Wise's four-part diagram given in Chart 2, including her intention that it represent two different tagmemes, one grammatical and one lexical. She does leave unsolved, however, the problem of how one maps lexemic structures onto the grammatical. Since she could find no way in her explorations to connect the two types of constructions, she describes each type separately.

The modification of tagmemic theory suggested in this description is an intermediate level of structure where semantic function is correlated with grammatical function. To do

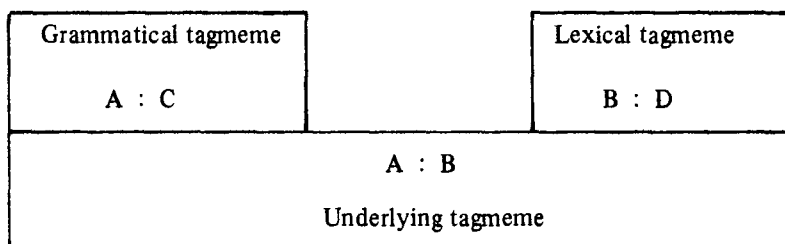
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this, it is necessary to set up an abstraction called an **all-function tagmeme**. Such a modified tagmeme will correlate one type of function with the other in much the same way as surface exponents correlate with grammatical functions in Pike's original tagmeme. For example, the semantic function of **goal** correlates in the underlying pattern of certain Hiligaynon clauses with the grammatical function of **object** (Obj:g). The same grammatical function of **object** correlates in the surface structure with a genitive nominal phrase exponent (Obj:GenNP) which manifests it.

Chart 3 shows the relation of the underlying all-function tagmeme to the conventional surface tagmemes. The lettered blocks on Chart 3 are the same as those on Chart 2.

Chart 3

Relation of underlying tagmeme to conventional tagmemes



In Chart 3, the grammatical and semantic (or lexical) tagmemes are seen to be distinct units, but they possess a common underlying structure expressed by an all-function tagmeme (A:B). From the chart it appears that there is a one-to-one relation between the elements of the all-function tagmeme. In actual use, however, a single grammatical function may correlate simultaneously with more than one semantic function whenever the features of the predicate exponent require it.

The underlying all-function tagmeme thus represents a form of deep structure below the level represented by the conventional tagmeme. In other words, the conventional tagmeme can be derived from the all-function tagmeme. In this way, contrastive surface constructions are shown to be related to each other. As will be seen in the following chapter, most Hiligaynon phrases are related to each other through successive derivations. From an underlying general phrase formula of all-function tagmemes, underlying patterns for specific phrase types are derived. These patterns, in turn, account for specific surface structures. The patterns are described by utilizing tagmemic formulas similar to those utilized by other linguists writing in this framework.

The process of derivation used in this study has been called matrix multiplication by Pike (1962). He suggests treating syntagmemes as special instances of matrices to which matrix multiplication operations can be applied. He conceives of a linguistic construction as a special type of "...derived matrix [which] is the product [of] a small matrix multiplied by a constant" (1962:226). The underlying general patterns described here are the equivalent of Pike's small matrix, and the deriving elements are his constants.

The process has been found useful in the description of both the **phrases** and the clauses.

In this study, then, underlying patterns, ordered by predicate **exponents**, are presented first by means of all-function tagmemes. A constant added to these patterns (Pike's multiplication) derives a new pattern from which, in as many **steps** as needed by applying the processes, a derivation can be stipulated for surface **tagmemes**. Conventional tagmemes are noted in the conventional format to describe the surface **structures** of Hiligaynon phrases and clauses.

There are several reasons for the approach utilized in this description. First, as has been mentioned already, there is the desire to emphasize the similarities between contrastive surface constructions. This has led to the formulation of **underlying patterns** and the derivation of surface structure from those patterns.

Secondly, is the desire to describe the surface structures of Hiligaynon with maximum comparability to several other descriptions of Philippine languages formulated in the tagmemic framework. In addition, I want to retain the emphasis this framework affords for contrasting surface structures and for stating the patterns of those structures.

Lastly, this approach seeks to respond to some of the criticisms of tagmemics. The specific criticisms to which this description suggests answers are as follows: Although the tagmeme is a linguistic symbolization of the correlation between a class of forms and their function, an early criticism, which has been largely ignored, faults tagmemic theory for not describing functions before discussing them together with the forms which manifest them as tagmemes. Pittman charges tagmemic theory with failure to focus on functions. He says, "...most [tagmemic] treatments still focus on the open classes as exponents instead of featuring ... the functors which structure the content words into classes and/or constructions" (1969:370). He maintains that "we must require that analysis precede synthesis, that form and function be distinguished before they are united" (372).

Cook, a tagmemicist, sees a need for identifying functions in addition to naming them. He says, "The isolation, identification, and definition of ... functions, particularly with regard to the structural or grammatical meanings which they signal, would be a significant advance in the theory of tagmemics" (1964:26).

The introduction into tagmemic theory of underlying structure, as is done in this description of Hiligaynon syntax, may partially meet Pittman's and Cook's criticism in that the functions are identified and described in that underlying structure before they are correlated with the surface forms which manifest them.

Another criticism is that tagmemic theory is not really **generative**, since it only embodies a single phrase marker formula for any given construction. One of its recent critics, Huddleston (1971), finds what he considers a failure to incorporate adequately Pike's linguistic matrix theory to be one reason for doubting the generative capacity of tagmemics. Huddleston does not find matrix theory used for relating clause syntagmemes as Pike had suggested would be the case. Says Huddleston, "...those generative

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formalizations [of Longacre 1964, and Cook 1967, 1969] take the syntagmeme as basic [but] the relationships between the syntagmemes are not explicitly accounted for by the grammar" (1971.42). Huddleston contends that tagmemicists (e.g., Cook 1969.143) have explicitly adopted the aims of generative grammar without telling us how these can be expressed formally in tagmemic terms. He suggests using matrix theory to establish structural types in place of the dual structural criterion.

Here, an attempt is made to show the relationships between surface structures by means of matrices, and matrix multiplication derivations. The process is also considered generative in its account of the relations between syntagmemes.

A further criticism of tagmemics comes from those who contend that the framework does not recognize both deep and surface structure. In her tagmemic description of Mexican Spanish clause syntagmemes, Brend acknowledges the advantages of an analysis of the pronouns which would treat them uniformly (1968.53), but she did not so treat them. Such an analysis would require a common underlying base from which the different surface structures of the two sets of pronouns could be derived. Postal (1966) claims that he could not find any distinction between deep and surface structure in Longacre's procedural text (1964), although Longacre (1967) explains the distinction as one between the feature and manifestation modes. Postal says, "...the trouble is that Longacre and tagmemics generally have not recognized the fact, which is the central insight of transformational grammar, that syntactic structure consists of two distinct aspects: **deep structure** ... and **surface structure**" (1966.97). He further charges that, "tagmemics is still firmly wed to the wrong idea that [grammatical relations] can be characterized in terms of labeled positions in the actual sentence, i.e. ...by some sort of single labeled bracketing of the phonetic form of the sentence itself" (1966.96).

Fillmore (1968.88) also sees his modifications of transformational grammar, though superficially like aspects of tagmemic theory, crucially different in that he insists on discovering the deepest level of the deep structure.

It is doubtful that these men will be satisfied with the concept of the underlying structure postulated here, but this approach does nevertheless provide a base such as Brend needed and also provides an intermediate level where semantic and grammatical information can be correlated. It also supplies a form of deep structure suited to the particular needs of the description of Hiligaynon syntax presented here.

1.4. HILIGAYNON PHONOLOGY AND THE PRACTICAL ORTHOGRAPHY. The Hiligaynon sentences used to illustrate the constructions described in this description are written in the practical orthography used by Hiligaynon speakers. The following discussion summarizes the significant sounds of Hiligaynon and their representation by the practical orthography. A fuller discussion of the phonology is found in Wolfenden (1971).

There are twenty-six distinctive sounds in the Hiligaynon sound system, five vowels, twenty consonants, and accent. Chart 4a gives the consonants, and Chart 4b gives the vowels.

Chart 4a

Consonants of Hiligaynon

p	t	k q
b	d	g
	c	
	j	
f	s	h
v		
m	n	ɲ
	l	
	r	
w	y	

Chart 4b

Vowels of Hiligaynon

i	u
e	o
a	

In the vowel system, *i* is a high front vocoid, *a* is a low central vocoid, and *u* is a high back vocoid. The three are in phonemic contrast in both native and loan words. In loan words, *e*, a mid front vocoid, and *o*, a mid back vocoid, are also contrastive and thus distinct vowels. In native words, *e* occasionally varies with *i*, and *o* varies with *u*. The loan words are from either Spanish or English.

In the practical orthography used by Hiligaynons, and followed in this work, *e* is written only in loan words or proper names. The symbol *o* is in general written in final syllables as a variant of *u*, and *u* is written in the nonfinal syllables. However, in loan words and proper names, *o* is not restricted in occurrence. Proper names have a arbitrary spellings.

Vowels are lengthened in predictable environments. Long vowels occur only in conjunction with accent in open syllables. Compare the following words: *pa:la shovel*, *tu:lok stare*, *lintaq leech*.

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Accent is a combination of stress and length when it occurs with open syllables, but it is only stress elsewhere. Accent is contrasted in the following words: 'i:la *they* versus il'a: *wild*, 'a:mo *master* versus am'o: *that is it*, 'pa:nit *skin* versus pa'nit *tuna*. There is one primary accent in a word, but secondary accents (with less prominence) occur on alternate syllables from the primary accented syllable. Compare the accents on the following words: 'abu'ka:do *avacado*, ka''tapo'san *the end, finish*.

There are seven stop consonants, including a voiced and voiceless pair at the bilabial (b, p), alveolar (d, t), and velar (g, k) points of articulation respectively. The glottal stop (q) contrasts with other consonants and with zero in both word-medial and word final positions but is noncontrastive with zero in word-initial position, since all words begin with a consonant.

Two affricates, voiced (j) and voiceless (c), occur at the alveolar point of articulation. They are limited in distribution to borrowed words, however. Of the four fricatives, two occur only in borrowed words: the labio-dentals f and v. The other two are s, a voiceless alveolar fricative and h, a voiceless glottal fricative.

The three nasals (m, n, ŋ) are produced at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar points of articulation respectively. Of the alveolars l and r, l is a lateral, and r is a flap. The consonantal vocoid (w) is a high back vocalic sound accompanied by strong lip rounding and some friction. The other consonantal vocoid, y, is a high front vocalic sound with noticeable friction.

The practical orthography used by Hiligaynons under-differentiates certain of the phonemic contrasts. Accent is normally not written. Glottal stop (q) is written as a hyphen (-), but only in word-medial position as the second member of a consonant cluster, e.g., *gub-on to destroy something*. Although not predictable in word-final position, it is not written. The affricates c and j are usually written ts and dz. The velar nasal ŋ is written ng. The illustrations in this dissertation are written in this practical orthography unless otherwise indicated.

1.5. SUMMARY OF GRAMMATICAL ELEMENTS. The summary of the main features of Hiligaynon morphology which follows will orient the reader to the grammatical elements signaled by word formation in this language and provide background for understanding later discussions of syntactic structure.

A word in Hiligaynon may be roughly defined as a minimal utterance bounded by points of potential pause and having internal structure distinct from that found in phrases and clauses. A word consists of one or more morphemes, one of which must be a root. Morphemes are either bound or free. Bound morphemes are either inflectional or derivational affixes. Inflectional affixes mark such categories as voice (e.g., -ag-, subjective voice, -an, location voice) and aspect (e.g., m- *action not begun*, gin- *action begun*). Derivational affixes are the means of making nouns from verb roots (e.g., panid *to divide* + -in- ==> pinanid *piece*; dungkol *to float* + -an ==> dungkulan *something which floats*) or effecting other noninflectional changes (e.g., tabang *help* ==> mananabang *lawyer*; balay *house* ==> balay-balay *doll house*).

Free morphemes are roots which may occur as whole words or as stems of longer words (e.g., **arado** *plow*, **tudlo** *to teach*, **balay** *house*). Roots divide into three classes: particles, substitutes, and bases. Particles are small, closed classes which never occur with affixes and are of two general kinds, either relational particles, which mark grammatical constructions (e.g., **ang**, topic nominal phrase introducer, **kag** *and*), or nonrelational, i.e., lexical (e.g., **na** *already*, **anay** *before*, **first**, **daw** *probably*). Substitutes are small, closed classes which replace nominal phrases introduced by a particle, and are either inflected (e.g., **ako** *I*, **sia**, 3rd person pronoun, **ini** *this*, **sini** *of this*) or uninflected (e.g., **yari** *here*, **yara** *there*).

The remainder of the roots are identified as bases which occur both with and without affixation, either derivational or inflectional, and which are the basic elements underlying the morphological classes of verbs and descriptives, as well as the syntactic classes of nominals.

Interrogatives are a small, closed class of question words such as **sin-o** *who* and **diin** *where*. They function as nominals expounding the head tagmemes of certain types of nominal phrases. They also expound the relative tagmeme in the indefinite-relative phrase.

Descriptives are bases which are either (1) inflectable for comparative degree, or are (2) numerals, or (3) function as adverbs in descriptive and verb phrases. The base **tahom** *beauty*, for example, becomes a descriptive when inflected with **ma-** *state of being*: **matahom** *beautiful*. In the same way, **pula** *red* plus **ma-** becomes **mapula** *reddish*. Although some bases appear to be descriptives on the basis of their meaning alone, they cannot be set up as a class, since they may also appear as nominals or verbs. In the same way, bases which appear to be verbs on the basis of their meaning, may appear as bases in nominal or descriptive functions. The **tama** class is a syntactic subclass of descriptives that function as adverbs which modify other descriptives and verbs, as well as also modifying nominals as normal descriptives. Not all descriptives, apparently, are members of the **tama** class, since it has been observed that some cannot occur in this distribution.

Verbs are words inflected for verbal categories such as voice and aspect. The base **luto** *cook* may be inflected with **i-**, accessory voice; thus, **iluto** *to cook something* is an example of a verb. Another example is **kaon** *eat* plus **maga-**, subjective voice, not-begun aspect, intensive mode, which becomes **magakaon**, a verb meaning *someone will eat hungrily*.

There is no subclass of stems clearly identifiable as nouns. The term nominal is used to refer to syntactically defined axes of phrases introduced by substantivizing phrase markers, or as heads of phrases which may be marked for substantive plural. The phrases are, therefore, nominalized phrases (NP). Uninflected and derived stems may be nominals when functioning in such phrases. Descriptives and verbs may also be nominalized by the same phrase introducers. The base **kahoy** *tree* in the phrase **sa kahoy** *to-the tree* is an uninflected substantive. The word **pakaisa** *cousin* is a derived substantive in the phrase **ang pakaisa** *the cousin*. The word **matahom** *pretty* is a descriptive which is substantivized

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in the phrase **ang matahom** *the pretty-one*. The word **ginisip** *counted* is a verb which is substantivized in the phrase **ang ginisip** *the counted-thing*.

The syntactic constructions of phrases and clauses are described in the following chapters. Phrases are described first, since they are the building blocks of clauses, and an understanding of them provides background for the description of the clauses. The underlying patterns of structure on each level consist of those minimal features of both grammatical and semantic functions which are common to all the surface constructions derived from them.

CHAPTER TWO

PHRASE CONSTRUCTIONS

This attempt to describe the correlation of the grammatical and semantic functions in phrase constructions is a carry-over from the work done on the same type of phenomenon in Hiligaynon Clause constructions which appears in Chapter III. The clause analysis was done first, and then the phrase constructions later.

The source of the functions described here is the individual grammatical and lexical entries which appear in the lexicon. They will have to be marked for the functions they permit, as well as for co-occurrence restrictions on the lexical notions which may accompany them, in the same way verbs are marked, as suggested by both Fillmore and Chafe. Linguists have been describing grammatical functions as signaled by grammatical markers for a long time. Semantic functions have only recently been revived in the work of Fillmore, Chafe, and others.

Lexical items, such as 'dog', can be marked for a restricted set of semantic functions with which they may occur. The Hiligaynon word *ido dog*, for example, may occur with the semantic functions of 'denial', 'quality' or 'quantity' modifiers, 'possessor', or 'agent'.

In Hiligaynon some grammatical markers appear to have both grammatical and semantic functions. The marker *sang the*, for example, indicates a grammatical function of nominal attribution, referred to in this description as *genitive*. It has the semantic functions of *possession* and *classification* in phrase constructions. On the clause level, it introduces a predicate complement phrase as either a semantic agent, goal, or conveyant.

In this description, underlying patterns are obtained by taking the further step of recognizing similarity of patterns and subgrouping those items with same or similar patterns of function correlations. These intermediate steps are not detailed for the description of phrases as they are for the clause constructions, since it was felt that the details given in the latter cases would also exemplify what must be done for phrase exponents.

The description of the phrase constructions, therefore, assumes those intermediate steps of analysis and begins with the resulting subgroups of underlying patterns. They serve as the bases which account for the surface structure, but they derive their validity from the semantic content of individual dictionary entries.

2.0. THE UNDERLYING GENERAL PHRASE. Hiligaynon phrases are related to each other in this description by derivational layers, onion-like. At the core, underlying the minimal phrases, is a simple pattern of syntacto-semantic functions identified as the **general phrase pattern**. Primary phrases, in turn, consist of the **general phrase pattern** plus a derived layer of modifiers. Then, minimal secondary phrases consist of the primary phrases with a derived layer of preposed introducers or relators. Finally, minimal tertiary

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phrases consist of the primary phrases with a derived postposed layer of secondary phrases,

The underlying grammatical pattern is distinguished from the underlying pattern of semantic functions before the patterns are correlated. The pattern of underlying grammatical functions found in all primary phrases is given in Formula 1 as Part 1 of the general phrase (Gn1P).

Formula 1

$$\text{Gn1P-1} = (\text{Neg}) + \text{Head}$$

General phrase, Part 1, has two grammatical functions; the negative is optional, but the head is obligatory. The underlying pattern of semantic functions is given in Formula 2 as Part 2 of the general phrase.

Formula 2

$$\text{Gn1P-2} = (\text{Den}) + \langle \text{Aser} \rangle.$$

$$\langle \text{aser} \rangle = \text{id, desc, ev.}$$

General phrase, Part 2, has two semantic functions: denial is optional and the semantic counterpart of the negative grammatical function. Assertion is obligatory and the semantic counterpart of the head grammatical function. The assertion label represents a class of semantic functions which consists of identification, description, and event. In Formula 3, the two parts of the general phrase are correlated with each other.

Formula 3

$$\text{Gn1P} = (\text{Neg:den}) + \text{H:}\langle \text{aser} \rangle.$$

$$\langle \text{aser} \rangle = \text{id, desc, ev.}$$

The general phrase is an underlying pattern which consists of an optional negative grammatical function correlated with the denial semantic function, and an obligatory head grammatical function correlated with the assertion semantic function.

Throughout the remainder of this description underlying patterns will indicate the correlation of the two sets of functions as shown in Formula 3, and will be designated by prefixing the letters UP to the label of a formula. Grammatical function is shown by the left-hand symbol of each constituent tagmeme, and the semantic function by the right-hand symbol, and in lower case. As noted in the Introduction, this is a departure from the conventional tagmeme symbolization which indicates grammatical function together with the class manifesting it. Originally, semantic functions were not symbolized in the conventional tagmeme, but later analysts have inserted them as subscripts to the grammatical function symbol.

2.1. PRIMARY PHRASES. The underlying patterns of the primary phrases are derived from the general phrase by a matrix multiplication operation. The general phrase is multiplied by the matrix of modifier functions given in Chart 4.

The modifier function labels of Chart 4 are representative of classes of functions. The modifier functions are **number**, which modifies nominal exponents, **intensification** which modifies descriptive exponents, and **manner**, which modifies verb exponents. Although modifiers are optional tagmemes in the surface constructions, the matrix of modifier functions is the deriving factor by which contrastive types of nominal, descriptive, and verbal phrases are produced. Derivational Statement 1 gives the process.

Chart 5
Matrix of modifier functions

Phrase heads:	Modifiers
Nominal	Number
Dsc	Intensification
Verb	Manner

Derivational Statement 1

$$UPPrP = Gn1P \times (Mo).$$

Derivational Statement 1 says that the underlying pattern of primary phrases is derived from the multiplication of the general phrase by the matrix of modifier functions. The underlying pattern of primary phrases now given in Formula 4 is a general statement which summarizes the functions held in common by the contrastive surface structures of primary phrases.

Formula 4

$$UPPrP = (Neg:den) + (Mo:\langle spec \rangle) + H:\langle aser \rangle.$$

$$\langle spec \rangle = nu, int, \langle man \rangle.$$

$$\langle aser \rangle = id, desc, ev.$$

$$\text{Rest.} \quad \text{If } H: \begin{bmatrix} id \\ desc \\ ev \end{bmatrix}, \text{ then } Mo: \begin{bmatrix} nu \\ int \\ \langle man \rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

Formula 4 indicates that the underlying pattern of primary phrases consists of a grammatical function of negative correlated with the semantic function of **denial**.

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Negative is optional. The optional modifier function is correlated with the semantic function of **specification**, which represents a class of functions. The grammatical function of **head** is correlated with the semantic function of **assertion**, which also represents a class of functions.

The class of semantic specification functions consists of the number, intensification, and manner functions. The last named is also a class of functions, and will be described more fully in connection with the description of its surface structure phrase type.

The class of assertion semantic functions consists of the identification, description, and event semantic functions. The co-occurrence restriction orders the semantic functions of the modifier and head tagmemes. If the head is correlated with the semantic function of **identification**, then the modifier is correlated with **number**. If the head is correlated with the semantic function of **description**, then the modifier is correlated with **intensification**. If the head is correlated with event, then the modifier is correlated with **manner**.

The co-occurrence restrictions result in three underlying contrastive primary phrase patterns: a nominal phrase (NP), a descriptive phrase (DscP), and a verb phrase (VbP). The phrases contrast in the correlation of functions in both the modifier and head tagmemes, and by having different classes of exponents in the surface constructions, as will be shown in the separate descriptions for these phrase types in the following sections. Chart 6 presents a comparison of the underlying patterns of the primary phrases.

Chart 6

Matrix of the underlying patterns of primary phrase types

Primary phrase type:

UPNP	=	(Neg:den)	+	(Mo:nu)	+	(H:ld)
UPDscP	=	(Neg:den)	+	(Mo:int)	+	H:desc
UPVbP	=	(Neg:den)	+	(Mo:man)	+	H:ev

The underlying pattern of the **primary nominal phrase (UPPrNP)** results from one set of co-occurrence restrictions on the underlying pattern of primary phrases as given in the rules of Formula 4. The UPPrNP is repeated below as Formula 5 to state co-occurrence restrictions which are limited to this phrase type. The restrictions distinguish personal from nonpersonal PrNPs.

Formula 5

$$\text{UPPrNP} = (\text{Neg@:}\langle\text{den}\rangle) + (\text{Mo@:nu}) + \text{H@:}\langle\text{id}\rangle.$$

$\langle\text{den}\rangle$ = denial, deceased, deficit.

$\langle\text{id}\rangle$ = person, nonperson, hour.

Rest. If H: $\begin{bmatrix} \text{person} \\ \text{non person} \\ \text{hour} \end{bmatrix}$, then Neg: $\begin{bmatrix} \text{deceased} \\ \text{denial} \\ \text{deficit} \end{bmatrix}$

Here the underlying pattern of a primary nominal phrase consists of three tagmemes, an obligatory head tagmeme, and optional negative and modifier tagmemes.

The negative grammatical function is correlated with a class consisting of the denial, deceased, and deficit semantic functions. The modifier is correlated with the semantic function of **number**. The head is correlated with a class of identification semantic functions consisting of the person, nonperson, and hour identifications. There is a co-occurrence restriction, marked by @, indicating that the three tagmemes must agree in function correlations. If the head is correlated with a person identification, then negative must be correlated with the deceased semantic function. If the head is correlated with the nonperson identification, then the negative must be correlated with the denial semantic function. If the head is correlated with the hour semantic function, then negative is correlated with the deficit semantic function. All three tagmemes are subject to further agreement restrictions on the choice of surface structure exponents.

One of the co-occurrence restrictions of Formula 5 gives the underlying pattern of the **nonpersonal primary nominal phrase** type. The pattern is stated below as Formula 6A. The surface structure is described by Formula 6B.

Formula 6A

$$\text{UPNonpersPrNP} = (\text{Neg@:den}) + (\text{Mo@:nu}) + \text{H@:nonpers id}.$$

Formula 6B

$$\text{NonpersPrNP} = (\text{Neg@:indi}) + (\text{Mo@:}\langle\text{mga}\rangle) + \text{H@:}\langle\text{Base}\rangle.$$

$\langle\text{mga}\rangle$ = *manga* (or *mga*) plural, *kada each*,

$\langle\text{dos}\rangle$ set of Spanish numerals.

$\langle\text{Base}\rangle$ = Nonpers base, Vb, Dsc, Intrr.

Rest-1. Mo: $\langle\text{dos}\rangle$ only when Base:SpUBase.

Rest-2. If $\langle\text{Base}\rangle$ = Intrr, then Mo:*mga*.

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Negative is correlated with the semantic function of **denial** in the underlying pattern of Formula 6A, and is expounded by **indi** *not* in the surface structure as given in Formula 6B. Modifier is correlated with the semantic function of **number** in the underlying pattern, and is expounded by a class of words represented by **manga**, or **mga**, which includes the words **manga**, plural, **kada** *each* and the set of Spanish numerals indicated by **dos**. The head tagmeme is correlated with the semantic function of **identification** in the underlying pattern, and is expounded by either a nonpersonal base, a verb, a descriptive, or an interrogative in the surface structure.

Co-occurrence Restriction 1 says that the modifier can be expounded by the **dos** class of Spanish numerals when the head is expounded by Spanish units.¹ The latter are a subclass of bases, and are such words as **sentimo** *cent* or **mil** *thousand*. Co-occurrence Restriction 2 says that the modifier function is expounded by **mga**, plural, if the head is expounded by an interrogative. In both these restrictions, the modifier is still optional.

In Sentences 1-4 the primary nominal phrases are underlined.

- (1) **Indi mga ido ang ginapalangoy niya.**
not pl dog the making swim by-him
It isn't dogs that he is training to swim.
- (2) **Ang ginsulat niya libro.**
the wrote by-him book
What he wrote is a book.
- (3) **Mga saging ang ginaisip niya.**
pl banana the thinking by-him
He is thinking about bananas.
- (4) **Si Tatay nagapauli sa balay kada Domingo.**
the-pers Tatay return-home to-the house every Sunday
Tatay returns home every Sunday.

The phrases having a Spanish number expounding the modifier tagmeme are borrowed from Spanish, but they pattern as primary NPs. Hiligaynon numerical modifiers pattern differently from this. In Sentences 5 and 6 this type of PrNP is underlined.

- (5) **Makaginansya ako sini mga tres pesos.**
will-be-able-to-gain I of-this about three pesos
I will be able to gain about three pesos from this.

The particle **manga** (abbreviated **mga** in Sentence 5) is not the plural marker but a lexical particle meaning *approximately, about*.

¹The Spanish counting system as used by Hiligaynons is generally restricted to use with money or time.

- (6) Mabakal sing beinte sentimos ang isa ka bilog nga itlog.
 is-costing of-a twenty centavos the one Ad piece Ad egg
One egg costs 20 centavos.

In Examples 7-9 the primary nominal phrases are expounded by interrogatives, which are underlined.

- (7) Diin ang libro?
 where the book
Where is the book?
- (8) Mga ano ang gusto mo makaon?
 plural what the want by-you to-eat
What (things) do you want to eat?
- (9) Wala dira sila?
 not at-there they
Aren't they there?

The second co-occurrence restriction of Formula 5 gives the underlying pattern of the personal primary nominal phrase type as Formula 7A. Formula 7B describes the surface structure of this phrase type.

Formula 7A

$$\text{UPersPrNP} = (\text{Neg@:dec}) + (\text{Mo@:nu}) + \text{H@:pers id.}$$

Formula 7B

$$\text{PersPrNP} = (\text{Neg@:anhing}) + (\text{Mo@:-anday}) + \text{H@:pers id.}$$

Rest. Neg and Mo may occur only when a PersPrNP expounds the axis of a RelNP.

MoPR. If PersPrNP expounds the axis of a RelNP, then
 $(\text{Neg}) + (\text{Mo}) + \text{H} \implies (\text{Mo}) + (\text{Neg}) + \text{H}.$

In the underlying pattern of the personal primary nominal phrase, the negative grammatical function is correlated with the semantic function of **deceased** and is expounded in the surface structure by the single word **anhing deceased**. The modifier function is correlated with the semantic function of **number** in the underlying pattern, and is expounded in the surface structure by the bound morpheme **-anday**, plural. The head is correlated with the semantic function of **personal identification** in the underlying pattern, and is expounded in the surface structure by a class of exponents consisting of personal names and titles, such as **tsip chief**, or **donya Mrs.**, and **Pilar Pilar**, or **Reynaldo Reynaldo**.

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The restriction specifies that negative and modifier may occur only when the personal primary nominal phrase expounds the axis of a relator nominal phrase. The modifier permutation rule permutes the modifier to the phrase-initial position when the phrase is embedded as the exponent of an axis tagmeme in a relator nominal phrase. The modifier exponent is a bound morpheme which occurs joined to variants of the NP relators.

The personal primary nominal phrase expounds a vocative tagmeme in Sentences 10 and 11.

- (10) **May kotse bala ikaw, Rey?**
there-is car question you, Rey
Do you have a car, Rey?
- (11) **Pasalubong ko ini sa imo, Tsip, hambal ni Rey.**
greet-with by-me this to-the you, Chief, said by-the-pers Rey
"I greet you with this, Chief," said Rey.

In Sentence 12, the underlined PersPrNP expounds the axis of a relator nominal phrase, and the negative tagmeme is present. In 13, the modifier is present in the PersPrNP which expounds the axis of a relator nominal phrase.

- (12) **Sia ang anak ni anhing Pablo Nava.**
he the child of-the-pers deceased Pablo Nava
He is the child of the late Pablo Nava.
- (13) **Indi ka maluoy sa pagtan-aw kanday Tatay kag Nanay?**
not you sad at-the seing to-the-pl-pers Tatay and Nanay
Are you not sad at the sight of Tatay and Nanay?

A third co-occurrence restriction of Formula 5 gives the underlying pattern of the hour primary nominal phrase as Formula 8A. Formula 8B describes the surface structure of this phrase type.

Formula 8A

$$\text{UPHrPrNP} = (\text{Neg@:deficit}) + \text{Mo@:nu} + \text{H@:hr id.}$$

Formula 8B

$$\text{HrPrNP} = (\text{Neg:wala}) + \text{Mo:(dos)} + \text{H:oras, minutos.}$$
$$\text{dos} = 1-59, \text{ medya half, kwarto quarter.}$$

The hour primary nominal phrase (HrPrNP) has three tagmemes. The negative grammatical function is optional and is correlated with the semantic function of **deficit**. In the surface structure, negative is expounded by **wala not**. The modifier is obligatory and in the underlying pattern is correlated with the semantic function of number. In the surface structure, the modifier is expounded by certain members of the class of

Spanish numerals represented by *dos two*, *medya half*, and *kwarto quarter*. The numerals are limited to those which are relevant for telling time, which includes the numerals from 1-59. In the underlying pattern, the head grammatical function is correlated with the semantic function of **hour identification**, and in the surface structure it is expounded by the single word *oras hour*. However, the head is usually deleted in the surface structure and the modifier stands as representative of both modifier and head.

Examples of the HrPrNP are underlined in Sentences 14 and 15.

- (14) **Mga alas dyes imedya kami maghalin.**
 approximately the-time ten and-half we-excl to-return
We will return about ten thirty.
- (15) **Napatay ini sa alas nuwebe sa gab-i.**
 died this-one at-the the-time nine in-the night
This one died at nine in the evening.
- (16) **Wala pa diyees minutos para alas nuwebe kag nagabot sia.**
 not yet ten minutes before time nine and arrived he
It was not yet ten minutes to nine when he arrived.

The underlying pattern of the **primary descriptive phrase (UPPrDscP)** results from a different co-occurrence restriction in Formula 4 than that which produces the primary nominal phrase. The UPPrDscP is given below as Formula 9A. Formula 9B describes the surface structure of this phrase type.

Formula 9A

$$\text{UPPrDscP} = (\text{Neg:den}) + (\text{Mo:int}) + \text{H:desc.}$$

Formula 9B

$$\text{PrDscP} = (\text{Neg:indi}) + (\text{Mo:(tama)}) + \text{H:Dsc.}$$

(tama) = Adv I, Adv II, mga approximately.

Rest. If H:NumDsc, then Mo:mga.

AdvPR. If Mo:Adv II, then Neg + Mo + H ==> Neg + H + Mo.

Formula 9 indicates that the first two of the tagmemes in the primary descriptive phrase type are optional. Negative is correlated in the underlying pattern with the semantic function of **denial**, and is expounded in the surface structure by **indi not**. Modifier is correlated with the semantic function of **intensification**, and is expounded in the surface structure by the **tama** class of adverbs. The members of the class are **Adverb Classes I and II**, and the word *mga approximately*. The two classes of adverbs are distinguished by position, and their members are listed in Appendix A.3.

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Head is correlated with the semantic function of **description**, and is expounded in the surface structure by descriptives. There is a co-occurrence restriction which says that the modifier is expounded by **mga** if the head is expounded by numerals.

Modifier and head are permuted by the adverb permutation rule if the modifier is expounded by adverbs of Class II.

In Sentence 17, the underlined phrase is a simple descriptive phrase having no optional tagmemes. In Sentence 18, **kaayo** is a Class II adverb in the underlined phrase. In Sentence 19, **tama** is a Class I adverb. Sentence 20 has a numeral expounding the head of the underlined descriptive phrase.

- (17) **Barato** ang bakal ko sang bayo.
cheap the buy by-me of-a dress
The dress I bought was cheap.
- (18) **Indi dako kaayo** ang iya kabudlay sa pagtaklad sa bungyod.
not big good the his difficulty in-the climbing at-the hill
He does not have very great difficulty in climbing the hill.
- (19) **Sa tama kadako nga pangaman** nagkamang siya.
in-the very great Ad caring crawled he
With very great care he crawled away.
- (20) **Makaginansya** ako sini mga tres pesos.
will-be-able-to-gain I of-this about three pesos
I will be able to gain about three pesos from this.

The third type of phrase which results from the co-occurrence restrictions in Formula 4 is the **primary verb phrase**. The underlying pattern of the primary verb phrase (UPPrVbP) is given below as Formula 10A. Formula 10B describes the surface structure of this phrase type.

Formula 10A

UPPrVbP = (Neg:den) + (Mo:(man)) + H:ev.

⟨man⟩ = manner, time, degree.

Formula 10B

PrVbP = (Neg:⟨indi⟩) + (Mo:⟨Adv⟩) + H:Vb.

⟨indi⟩ = **indi not, wala not.**

⟨Adv⟩ = Adv I, Adv II.

AdvPR. If Mo:Adv II, then Neg + Mo + H ==> Neg + H + Mo.

In the underlying pattern of the primary verb phrase the optional negative tagmeme is correlated with the semantic function of **denial**, and is expounded in the surface structure by either **indi** or **wala**, both meaning *not*. The optional modifier tagmeme is correlated with a class of semantic functions indicated as **manner**, **time**, and **degree**. The modifier is expounded in the surface structure by a class of adverbs, either Class I or Class II. The members of the classes are listed in Appendix A.4.

Head is correlated with the semantic function of **event** in the underlying pattern, and is expounded in the surface structure by verbs.

In Sentence 21, the underlined verb is a simple primary verb phrase having no optional tagmemes. In 22, **masami** is a Class I adverb in the primary verb phrase.

- (21) **Makabusog ang pansit.**
will-make-full the pansit
The pansit will fill (the eater).
- (22) **Diri ako indi masami nagapahuway.**
here I not often resting
I do not often rest here.

In Sentence 23 **dayon** is a Class II adverb in the underlined primary verb phrase.

- (23) **Ang tao nga mapatyan dayon sing paglaom walay banihot.**
the person Ad loses continue of-a hope not-exist persistence
The person who easily loses hope lacks persistence.

There are two phrases which cannot be derived from the general phrase by any of the procedures which produce the primary phrases. These two phrases are included here since their structure parallels that of the primary phrases. The first is the **indefinite-relative phrase**, and the second is the **expanded-nominalizer phrase**.

The underlying pattern of the indefinite-relative phrase is given as Formula 11A. Formula 11B gives the surface structure of this phrase type.

Formula 11A

$$\text{UPIndfRelP} = \text{QI:cond} + \text{Rel:indf}$$

Formula 11B

$$\text{IndfRelP} = \text{QI:(kon)} + \text{Rel:(ano)}.$$

(kon) = *kon if, bisan even, although.*

(ano) = *(ano), (kaagahon).*

As indicated by Formula 11B, the underlying pattern of the indefinite-relative phrase consists of two obligatory tagmemes. The qualifier grammatical function is

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correlated with the semantic function of **conditional**, and is expounded in the surface structure by the words, **kon** or **bisan**. The relative grammatical function is correlated with the semantic function of **indefinite** and is expounded in the surface by a class of interrogatives represented by **ano what?** (Appendix A.2) or by an open class of time words, such as **kaagahon morning** and **kagab-ihon night**. The class also includes indefinite seasons such as **kaanihon harvest time**.

Lexically, this phrase type indicates 'indefiniteness', and corresponds to English indefinite pronouns. The indefiniteness of words like 'morning' can be shown by the possibility of indicating time more specifically by stating the exact hour of the morning. In Sentences 24-28 the indefinite-relative phrase is underlined.

- (24) **Makapatindog kita sa aton kaugalingon sa bisan ano nga pagkinahanglanon.**
will-cause-to-stand we-incl to- the ourselves in-the even what Ad is-being-needed
We will depend on ourselves for whatever is needed.
- (25) **Daw subong bala sang ginasunod niya ako bisan diin ako magkadto.**
probably now question of-the is-following by-him I even where I will-go
It is as if he is following me wherever I go.
- (26) **Kon ano ang ginamando niya nagapaganot ang mga ini.**
if what the is-ordering by-him are-ignoring the plural this
These people ignore whatever he orders.
- (27) **Ginapamangkot ni Eddie sa iya kaugalingon kon kagab-ihon.**
is-asking by-the-pers Eddie to-the his self if night-time
Eddie questions himself at night.
- (28) **Natultulan na niya kon diin ang kusina.**
understand already by-her if where the kitchen
She already understood where the kitchen was.

The expanded-nominalizer phrase, described by Formula 12, provides a way to restrict the specification of semantic function for certain of the nominalizer introducers. The introducer *sa (dative)-the*, for example, is restricted in **para sa** to the meaning *for the*.

Formula 12

ExpNomP = Prep:spec + Nom:dir

ER1. Prep = **halin** *from* **tubtob** *until*
 gikan *from* **asta** *unto*
 para *for* **tungod** *for, so that*

ER2. Nom = <sa>, <sang>

Rest: When Prep:para, then Nom:sa, kay

Formula 12 indicates that the underlying pattern of the expanded-nominalizer phrase consists of two obligatory tagmemes. The preposition tagmeme is correlated with the semantic function of **specification** and is expounded on the surface by a small closed class of exponents consisting of lexical particles as indicated in ER1. The nominalizer function is correlated with the semantic function of **direction** in either space or time and is expounded in the surface structure by the **sa** and **sang** classes of introducers. When the preposition is expounded by **para**, nominalizer can only be expounded by either **sa** or **kay**.

In Sentences 29-36 the expanded-nominalizer phrases are underlined. Extra examples have been supplied for this phrase type in order to exemplify the various possibilities.

- (29) **Pila ka oras ang biyahe diri asta sa Baguio?**
 how-many Ad hours the trip from-here until to-the Baguio
How many hours is the trip from here to Baguio?
- (30) **Sa apartment ka na magpadayon gikan sa airport.**
 to-the apartment you already will-continue from from-the airport
You will continue to the apartment from the airport.
- (31) **Ina nga kuwarta gintago para sa akon pageskwela.**
 that Ad money kept for the my schooling
That money was kept for my schooling.
- (32) **Dako kaayo ang imo pagantos tungod sa akon.**
 big good the your suffering because-of to-the me
You have also sacrificed very much because of me.
- (33) **...indi lamang tubtob sa hapon kundi bisan man sa gab-i.**
 not only until in-the afternoon but even also in-the evening
...not only through the afternoon, but also even at night.
- (34) **Ini nga estorya halin sang diutay pa ako.**
 this Ad story from of-the small still I
This story is from the time when I was still small.
- (35) **Para kay Clarita, ang paghimo sadto wala sing bale sa iya.**
 for for-the-pers Clarita the doing of-the none of-a value to-the her
For Clarita, doing that is of no consequence to her.
- (36) **Nakabaton sia liwat sing sulat halin kay Rizal.**
 received he again of-a letter from the-pers Rizal
He received a letter again from Rizal.

2.2. **SECONDARY PHRASES.** Derived phrases are of two types. The secondary phrases are relator-axis types of phrases which are derived from one or another of the primary phrase patterns by processes which modify those patterns with relator functions. The tertiary phrases are head-modifier types of phrases, which are derived by processes of embedding or conjoining.

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Secondary phrases in Hiligaynon are relator-axis phrases and are derived by multiplication of the primary phrase matrix seen in Chart 6 by the relator-semantic functions of Chart 7 below.

Chart 7

Matrix of relator semantic functions

Relator semantic functions:

Relator forms:

$\langle \text{ang} \rangle =$	Nominalization
$\langle \text{alas} \rangle =$	Time
$\langle \text{kag} \rangle =$	Conjoining

The cells of Chart 7 contain the functions which are the deriving factors in the derivation of the secondary phrases. The nominalization function is expounded by the **ang** class of relators; the time function is expounded by the **alas** class of relators; and the conjoining function is expounded by the **kag** class of relators. These classes are described together with the phrases in which they occur. The derivational process is stated in Derivational Statement 2.

Derivational Statement 2

$$\text{UPRelAxP} = \text{PrP} \times \text{Rel.}$$

Derivational Statement 2 indicates that relator-axis phrases are derived by the multiplication of the matrix of primary phrases by the matrix of relator functions.

The underlying pattern of the relator-axis phrases is a general statement of the functions held in common by the various phrases of this type. The underlying pattern is described by Formula 13.

Formula 13

$$\text{UPRelAxP} = \text{Rel: } \langle \text{in} \rangle + \text{Ax: } \langle \text{aser} \rangle, \text{ hr, id.}$$

$$\langle \text{in} \rangle = \langle \text{nom} \rangle, \text{ ti, } \langle \text{conj} \rangle.$$

$$\langle \text{aser} \rangle = \text{id, desc, ev.}$$

$$\text{Rest. If Rel: } \begin{bmatrix} \langle \text{nom} \rangle \\ \text{ti} \\ \langle \text{conj} \rangle \end{bmatrix}, \text{ then Ax: } \begin{bmatrix} \text{id} \\ \text{hr} \\ \langle \text{aser} \rangle \end{bmatrix}.$$

Formula 13 says that the underlying pattern of the relator-axis phrases consists of a relator grammatical function which is correlated with a class of semantic functions identified by the label, **introduction**. The axis grammatical function is correlated with the semantic functions of **assertion**, **hour making**, and **identification**.

Members of the introduction class of functions are the nominalization, time, and conjoining functions. Nominalization and conjoining labels represent classes of functions which are explained in the description of the surface constructions of these phrases, which are given in the following sections.

The co-occurrence restrictions result in three types of contrastive surface constructions. If the relator grammatical function is correlated with the nominalization class of semantic functions, then the axis is correlated with the identification semantic function. If the relator is correlated with the time semantic function, then the axis is correlated with the hour-marking semantic function. If the relator is correlated with the conjoining semantic function, then the axis is correlated with the assertion class of semantic functions.

The underlying patterns of the various secondary phrase types are compared in Chart 8.

Chart 8

Matrix of secondary phrase types

Secondary Phrase type:

- UPRelNP = Rel:(nom) + Ax:id
- UPRelHrP = Rel:ti + Ax:hr
- UPRelJuP = Rel:(conj) + Ax:(aser)

Chart 8 compares the underlying patterns of three secondary phrase types resulting from the co-occurrence restrictions on Formula 13. The phrase types are the **relator nominal phrase**, the **relator hour phrase**, and the **relator junction phrase**.

The relator nominal phrase and the relator junction phrase appear to be only variants of a single phrase type at this stage of their derivation. They contrast, however, on the basis of additional, individual derivations which distinguish their axes. These are described in connection with each particular phrase type.

The underlying pattern of the **relator nominal phrase** (UPRelNP) results from one set of co-occurrence restrictions given in Formula 13. The underlying pattern is restated in order to specify co-occurrence restrictions which apply to this phrase type alone. These restrictions result in contrastive surface constructions of relator nominal phrases. The restatement is given a new formula number in order to accurately locate these co-occurrence restrictions in future references.

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Formula 14

$$\text{UPRelNP} = \text{Rel}_{@}:\langle \text{nom} \rangle + \text{Ax}_{@}:\text{id.}$$

$$\text{Rest. } \langle \text{nom} \rangle = \text{nmv, gen, dat.}$$

The underlying pattern of the relator nominal phrases, as given by Formula 14, consists of two obligatory tagmemes. The relator function is correlated with the nominalization class of semantic functions. The axis function is correlated with the semantic function of **identification**. Concord, indicated by subscript (@), is required between them such that if the axis is correlated with the semantic function of **personal identification**, then the relator must be correlated with the personal nominalization function.

The restriction indicates that the class of nominalization functions consists of nominative, genitive, and dative types. At this stage of the derivation, the phrases are all variants of the relator nominal phrase pattern. These variants become contrastive surface structure nominal phrases based on differences in exponents for the two tagmemes, correlated with the differences in nominalizing functions of the relators, and in differences in external distribution.

The relators mark the phrase they introduce as a substantive nominal phrase and also relate the phrase to its grammatical environment. Each of the relators in the subpatterns represents, in turn, a subclass of relators defined by the parameters of **common** versus **personal**, **singular** versus **plural**, and **simple relator** versus its complex substitute; the latter is a pronominal form.

In one variant of Formula 14, the relator grammatical function is correlated with the genitive nominalization function, thus giving the underlying pattern of the **genitive nominal phrase (GenNP)**. That underlying pattern is repeated below as Formula 15A and matched with the surface structure of this phrase type given in Formula 15B.

Formula 15A

$$\text{UPGenNP} = \text{Rel}_{@}:\text{gen} + \text{Ax}_{@}:\text{id.}$$

Formula 15B

$$\text{GenNP} = \text{Rel}_{@}:\langle \text{sang} \rangle + \text{Ax}_{@}:\text{PrP, DatNP, TerP.}$$

In the underlying pattern of the genitive nominal phrase, the relator function is correlated with the semantic function of **genitive nominalization**, and the axis function is correlated with the semantic function of **identification**. In the surface structure, the relator function is expounded by the **sang** class of markers, and the axis is expounded by either a primary phrase, a dative nominal phrase, or a tertiary phrase. The relator and axis tagmemes must agree in person. According to Derivational Statement 2 the axis of this phrase type is expounded by primary phrases. Formula 15B indicates that

embedded phrases also occur as exponents of this axis.³ The members of the **sang** class which expounds the relator function in this phrase type are given in the matrix of Chart 9.

Chart 9
The relators of the genitive phrases

	Relator	Substitute
Common, sg:	<sang>	<sini>
Common, pl:	sang mga	sang mga <ini>
Personal, sg:	ni	<nia>
Personal, pl:	nanday	<nila>

The common genitive relator is expounded by a class of two members. **Sing** occurs only rarely, and for some (younger) informants it overlaps completely with **sang**. When a contrast is made, **sang** indicates an indefinite but tangible referent. **Sing** indicates an abstract or unreal referent. **Sang** contrasts with the relator **ang** (cf. Chart 13) which indicates a definite referent. The personal relators are **ni** for singular, and **nanday** for plural. When the substitutes (Sub), represented by **sini** and **nia**, occur, they replace the whole phrase string and represent both the relator and axis simultaneously. The variants of the genitive nominal phrase are compared by formulas in Chart 10.⁴

Chart 10
Variant formulas of the genitive nominal phrases

- A. ComGenNP = Rel:(sang) + Ax:PrP, ComDatNP, TerP, RelHrP.
- B. ComGenSub = Rel/Ax: <sini>.
- C. PersGenNP = Rel:ni + Ax:PersPrNP, PersDatNP, PersTerP.
- D. PersGenSub = Rel/Ax: <nia>.

Genitive phrases are distributed to both nominal and verbal heads. In attributive relation to a nominal head, they fill the semantic functions of either **possession** or **classification**. Sentence 37, below, illustrates the possession function, and 38, the classification function.

³Inclusion in the tagmemic formula of exponents of the axis, in addition to those specified by the derivational statement, is a recognition of embedded constructions. No separate derivational statements for embedding, other than specifying in the tagmemic formula what exponents are embedded, are considered necessary.

Recognition of embedding here, and elsewhere in the description, provides for an infinite generation of constructions on these levels by this finite grammar.

⁴The different classes of substitutes and their membership are listed in Appendix A:1.

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- (37) **Sia ang anak ni anhing Pablo Nava.**
he the child of-the-pers deceased Pablo Nava
He is the child of the late Pablo Nava.
- (38) **Gintusik sang pispis ang bunga sang bayabas.**
pecked by-the bird the fruit of-the guava
The bird pecked the fruit of the guava tree.

Functioning as constituents on the clause level, genitive nominal phrases expound the nontopic predicate complement functions of **subject**, **object**, and **conveyant**. The semantic functions underlying the surface exponents vary depending on the stem expounding the predicate verb.

In Sentence 39, the underlined genitive nominal phrase is a subject complement. In 40, it is an object complement. In 41, it is a conveyant complement.

- (39) **Gintusik sang pispis ang bunga sang bayabas.**
pecked by-the bird the fruit of-the guava
The bird pecked the fruit of the guava tree.
- (40) **Nagpatawag si Bing sang barbero.**
caused-to-be-called the-pers Bing of-a barber
Bing had a barber called.
- (41) **Naglampos ako sang kahoy sa man-og.**
hit I with-the wood at-the snake
I struck at the snake with the wood.

Pronominal forms of this phrase are illustrated in Sentences 42 (as possessor) and 43 (as subject complement).

- (42) **Nawala ang tanan nia nga manggad.**
lost the all of-his Ad wealth
All his wealth was lost.
- (43) **Natinloan na sini ang apartment.**
cleaned already by-this the apartment
The apartment was already cleaned by this one.

Sentences 44-46 illustrate a few plural number GenNP's. Sentence 44 illustrates a plural object complement. In Sentence 45, a plural subject complement appears. In Sentence 46, there is a plural possessor.

- (44) **Mapasayod sila ni Enrico sang mga tulumanon.**
 will-explain they by-the-pers Enrico of-the pl responsibility
Enrico will explain the responsibilities to them.
- (45) **Ining mga bayo naggumon kay ginbayo sang mga ina.**
 this-Ad pl dress scattered because dressed of-the pl that
These dresses are scattered because those (people) were dressing.
- (46) **Nakadulog gid man ang kotse nanday Loleng.**
 stopped really also the car of-the-pl Loleng
The car of Loleng and her companions actually stopped.

When the axis of a ComGenNP is expounded by an embedded ComDatNP, the ComGenNP functions as a tagmeme of a comparative construction, marking an item as the direct contrast of another item. Such constructions are illustrated in the underlined examples of 47-49.

- (47) **Ginpakamahala niya ang trumpeta ni Turbi sang sa akon.**
 valued by-her the trumpet of-the-pers Turbi than-the to-the me
She valued the trumpet of Turbi more than me.
- (48) **Maigpat pa sang sa brilyante ang ugali ni Fe.**
 sparkle still of-the to-the diamond the character of-the-pers Fe
More sparkling than a diamond is the character of Fe.
- (49) **Ginsiling niya nga ang pagkampanya karon iban sang sa una.**
 said by-him Ad the campaign present another of-the to-the one
He said that the present campaign is different than the first one.

Tertiary verb phrases (Sec. 2.3.2) expound the axis of the genitive nominal phrases of Sentences 50 and 51. A tertiary descriptive phrase (Sec. 2.3.3) expounds the axis of the underlined genitive nominal phrase of 52.

- (50) **Nalipay sila sang mga ginapanghambal ni Juan.**
 happiness they of-the plural talking of-the-pers Juan
They were gladdened by the things Juan was saying.
- (51) **Daw indi ako luyag sang ginasiling mo nga ina, Rosy.**
 probably not I want of-the is-saying by-you Ad that, Rosy
I probably don't like what you are saying, Rosy.
- (52) **Ara ako sa idalom sang magapa nga bayabas.**
 there I in-the underneath of-the thick Ad guava-tree
I was there under the thick guava tree.

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A different variant of Formula 14 than the one which produces the genitive nominal phrase, now leads to the **dative nominal phrase (DatNP)**. This variant of the underlying pattern of the relator nominal phrases is repeated below as Formula 16A, matched with the surface structure for the dative nominal phrase given in Formula 16B.

Formula 16A

$$\text{UPDatNP} = \text{Rel}@:\text{dat} + \text{Ax}@:\text{id}.$$

Formula 16B

$$\text{DatNP} = \text{Rel}@:\langle \text{sa} \rangle + \text{Ax}@:\text{PrP, PersDatNP, TerP, NonVbCl}.$$

In the underlying pattern of the dative nominal phrase, the relator function is correlated with the semantic function of **dative nominalization**. The axis is correlated with the semantic function of **identification**. In the surface structure, as given in Formula 16B, the relator is expounded by the **sa** class of relators. The axis is expounded by either a primary phrase, a personal dative nominal phrase, a tertiary phrase, or a nonverbal clause. The relator and axis must agree in person.

The members of the **sa** class of relators are shown in Chart 11.

Chart 11

The relators of the dative phrases

	Relator	Substitute
Common, sg. :	sa	⟨diri⟩
Common, pl. :	sa mga	sa mga ⟨ini⟩
Personal, sg. :	kay	sa ⟨iya⟩
Personal, pl. :	kanday	sa ⟨ila⟩

The common dative relator is **sa**. The personal relator is **kay** for the singular, and **kanday** for the plural. The common dative phrase substitute is the **diri** class of deictic pronouns. A distinct personal dative phrase substitute is lacking, but a common dative phrase is used with its **axis** expounded by the **iya** class of genitive personal substitute alternates.

The various forms of the dative nominal phrases are given in Chart 12.

The relators of the dative nominal phrases indicate a general grammatical function referred to here as **directional**, relating the phrase to some other element in the linguistic environment as the **location** or direction of the action or location of an object. Their semantic function is to mark the phrase they introduce as substantival. These phrases occur attributive to **both** nominal and verbal heads.

Chart 12

Variant formulas of the dative nominal phrases

- A. ComDatNP = Rel:sa + Ax:PrP, DatNP, TerP, NonVbCl, RelHrP.
 B. ComDatSub = Rel/Ax:(diri).
 C. PersDatNP = Rel:kay + Ax:PersPrNP, PersDatNP, PersTerP.
 D. PersDatSubP = Rel:sa + Ax:(iya).

A PrNP expounded by an interrogative can expound the axis of a DatNP, as in the underlined phrases of Sentences 53 and 54.

- (53) Sa diin kita mangyapon?
 at-the where we-incl eat-supper
Where shall we eat supper?
- (54) Sa ano makaabot sing madali sa Bruselas?
 in-the what to-arrive of-a quick to-the Brussels
What's the quickest way to get to Brussels?

Attributive to nominal heads, this phrase type marks the grammatical relation of **direction** and semantic relations of either **location** in Sentence 55, **possessor** in Sentence 56, or **time** in Sentence 57. The illustrative phrases are underlined in each sentence.

- (55) Igadeposito niya ang padya sa bangko sa ila siyudad.
 deposit by-him the reward in-a bank in-the their city
He will deposit the reward in a bank in their city.
- (56) Sa imo na ina.
 to-the you already that
That is yours.
- (57) Bumagting ang alas seis sa gab-i.
 struck the hour six in-the night
Six in the evening struck.

Attributive to verbal heads, the DatNP expounds the grammatical predicate complements of **referent** and **object** depending on the verb root class expounding the predicate. The semantic functions also vary depending on the predicate verb. In Sentence 58 the underlined DatNP expounds the referent predicate complement correlated with a semantic function of **indirect object**. In Sentence 59, it is the object predicate complement correlated with the semantic function of **goal**.

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- (58) Ina ang akon ginpangako sa abugado.
that the of-me promised to-the lawyer
That is what I promised the lawyer.
- (59) Ginkimpit nia sa akon ilong ang kamot nia.
pinched by-him on-the my nose the hand his
He pinched my nose with his hand.

In Sentence 60 the underlined DatNP is a pluralized object complement of a substantivized verb.

- (60) Indi ka bala maluoy sa pagtan-aw kanday Tatay kag Nanay nga wala sing kalipay?
not you question pitiful in-the looking at-the-per-plural Tatay and Nanay Ad none
of-a happiness
Will you not be sorrowful seeing Father and Mother without happiness?

A nonverbal clause may also expound the axis tagmeme of common DatNPs as in Sentences 61 and 62 below. The illustrative phrases are underlined.

- (61) Nakilala ko na bisan sa madulom pa ang akon mga mata.
knew by-me already though in-the dark yet the my plural eye
I already knew (it), though my eyes were still not able to see well.
- (62) Sa may maayo nga irigasyon 165 ka pasong ang kina-andan nga patubas.
in-the there-is good Ad irrigation 165 Ad cavan the normal Ad cause-to-produce
With good irrigation the normal production is 165 cavans.

A personal dative nominal phrase may be embedded in a common dative nominal phrase as exponent of the axis tagmeme.

- (63) Among boto sa kay Marcos namon ihatag.
our vote to-the to-pers Marcos we will-give
We will cast our vote for Marcos.
- (64) Ang pihak nga aritos amo ang nakapadakop sa kriminal, sa kay Eulalia Castro.
the ear Ad ring it the able-to-catch of-the criminal, to-the the-pers Eulalia Castro
The earring was his clue for catching the criminal, Eulalia Castro.

A third variant of Formula 14 produces the underlying pattern of the **nominative nominal phrase** (NmVNP) as Formula 17A. Formula 17B gives the description of the surface structure.

Formula 17A

$$\text{UPNmVNP} = \text{Rel@:nmv} + \text{Ax@:id}$$

Formula 17B

$$\text{NmVNP} = \text{Rel}_{@}:\langle \text{ang} \rangle + \text{Ax}_{@}:\text{PrP, DatNP, PersNP, TerP, RelHrP.}$$

In the underlying pattern of the nominative nominal phrase, the relator function is correlated with the semantic function of **nominative nominalization**. The axis is correlated with the semantic function of **identification**. In the surface structure, the relator is expounded by the **ang** class of relators. The axis is expounded by a primary phrase, a dative nominal phrase, a personal nominative nominal phrase, or a tertiary phrase. The relator and axis must agree in person.

The members of the **ang** class of relators are shown in Chart 13.

Chart 13

The relators of the nominative phrases

	Relator	Substitute
Common, sg :	ang	⟨ini⟩
Common, pl :	ang mga	ang mga ⟨ini⟩
Personal, sg :	si	⟨sia⟩
Personal, pl :	sanday	⟨sila⟩

The common relator, as given in Chart 13, is **ang**. The personal relator is expounded by **si** in the singular and **sanday** in the plural. These relators mark the phrase as substantive and show that the phrase is in predicational (rather than phrasal) relationship with some other element, usually the predicate, but sometimes the topic, of a sentence.

The common nominative phrase substitute is expounded by the class of **ini** deictic pronouns. The personal nominative phrase substitute is expounded by the **sia** class of personal pronouns. The nominative phrase substitutes simultaneously represent both the relator and the axis functions as seen in the comparative display of the variant formulas of the nominative phrase in Chart 14.

Chart 14

Variant formulas of the nominative nominal phrases

- A. $\text{ComNmVNP} = \text{Rel}_{@}:\text{ang} + \text{Ax}_{@}:\text{PrP, ComDatNP, PersNmVNP, TerP, RelHrP.}$
- B. $\text{ComNmVSub} = \text{Rel}/\text{Ax}:\langle \text{ini} \rangle.$
- C. $\text{PersNmVNP} = \text{Rel}_{@}:\text{si} + \text{Ax}_{@}:\text{PersPrNP, PersDatNP, PersTerP, sin-o.}$
- D. $\text{PersNmVSub} = \text{Rel}/\text{Ax}:\langle \text{sia} \rangle.$

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The personal nominative nominal phrase has one exponent not available to the common phrase. It is the interrogative pronoun *sin-o who?*.

The nominative nominal phrases occur in grammatical relation to verbal predicates in verbal clauses, and in relation to various types of predicates in nonverbal clauses.

In Sentences 65-69 the nominative nominal phrases are underlined.

- (65) **Ipahamtang mo sa akon ang silot**
cause-to-happen by-you to-the me the punishment
You impose the punishment on me.
- (66) **Ano ini diri nga duog?**
what this here Ad place
What place is this here?
- (67) **Ang mga panguna nga bida sanday Andy Poe kag Pilar Pilapil.**
the plural used-first Ad star the-pers-pl Andy Poe and Pilar Pilapil
The leading stars are Andy Poe and Pilar Pilapil.
- (68) **May baligyaan sila sang ila produkto.**
there-is is-selling-to they of-the their product
They have sales for their products.

The axis of the nominative phrase in Sentence 69 is expounded by a primary descriptive phrase.

- (69) **Lima ka pasong ang mapiyerde sa kada ektarya.**
five Ad cavan the destroyed in-the each hectar
The destroyed (quantity) in each hectar was five cavans.

The common nominative phrases may have embedded dative and personal nominative nominal phrases as exponents of their axis tagmemes. The embedded dative nominal phrases have the semantic function of **possession assertion**, as in the underlined phrase of 70.

- (70) **Ang sa imo bugtong nga babae kag ang sa akon bugtong naman nga lalaki.**
the to-the you sole-born Ad girl and the to-the my sole-born in-turn Ad boy
Yours is an only daughter and mine is an only son.

Embedded personal nominative phrases are correlated with the semantic function of **referred topic**, as in the underlined phrase of 71.

- (71) **Diin ang si Imelda?**
where the the-pers Imelda
Where is the one called Imelda?

In examples 72 and 73 the axes of the nominative nominal phrases are expounded by tertiary verb phrases.

- (72) Sila ang mga magahatag sing kalisod sa imo mga ginikanan.
 they the pl will-give of-a sorrow to-the your pl parents
They are the ones to give sorrow to your parents.
- (73) Ang mga nagasulugat sa mga pasahero makita mo sa puertahan.
 the plural welcomes to-the plural passenger will-see by-you at-the door
You will see the welcomers of the passengers at the door.

The interrogative *sin-o* *who* may expound the axis of a personal nominative phrase, as in 74.

- (74) Sanday sin-o ang maupod?
 the-pl-pers who the will-accompany
Who are the ones who will go along?

The underlying pattern of the **relator hour phrase** (UPRelHrP) results from a different set of co-occurrence restrictions in Formula 13 than the set that produces the relator nominal phrases.

The underlying pattern of the relator hour phrase is given below as Formula 18A. Formula 18B gives the surface structure of this phrase type.

Formula 18A

$$\text{UPRelHrP} = \text{Rel:ti} + \text{Ax:hr.}$$

Formula 18B

$$\text{RelHrP} = \text{Rel:alas}^5 + \text{Ax:HrPrNP, HrTerP.}$$

The relator hour phrase is described by Formula 18A as having two tagmemes in its underlying pattern. The relator is correlated with the semantic function of **time**, and in the surface structure it is expounded by **alas**. The axis is correlated with the semantic function of **hour-marking** and is expounded in the surface structure by the hour primary nominal phrase.

In Sentences 75 and 76 the relator hour phrase is underlined.

- (75) Mga alas diesimedyá kami nag-abot. .
 about intr 10-Ad half we-excl arrived
We arrived about 10:30.
- (76) Bumagting na ang alas seis sa gab-i.
 struck already the intr six in-the night
Six in the evening struck.

⁵When the head of the HrPrNP is expounded by una 'one', then ala, morphophonemic variant of alas, expounds Rel.

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By contrast, the underlying semantic function of time-of-day is expressed in Hiligaynon numerals as a descriptive nonverbal clause (Sec. 3.2.3). The predicate of such a clause is correlated with the semantic function of **clocking**, and is expounded on the surface by Hiligaynon numerals. The topic is correlated with the semantic function of **hour-marking** and is expounded on the surface by a nominative nominal phrase indicating the general period of the day, such as morning, afternoon, or night.

In Sentences 77 and 78 the **topic**, indicating the general period of the day, is underlined.

- (77) Mga ikaapat na ang takna sa hapon.
about fourth already the point in-the afternoon
It was about four o'clock in the afternoon.
- (78) Ang talana sang ila kasal ikan-om ang takna sa aga.
the arrangement of-the their wedding 6 o'clock the point in-the morning
The arrangement for their wedding is 6 in the morning.

The underlying pattern of the **relator junction phrase** (UPRelJuP) is the result of the final set of co-occurrence restrictions in Formula 13, and is given again here as Formula 19 in order to state additional co-occurrence restrictions limited to this phrase type.

Formula 19

$$\text{UPRelJuP} = \text{Rel}:\langle \text{conj} \rangle + \text{Ax}:\langle \text{aser} \rangle.$$

$\langle \text{conj} \rangle$ = coor, ad.

$\langle \text{aser} \rangle$ = id, desc, ev.

Formula 19 indicates that in the underlying pattern of the relator junction phrase, the relator grammatical function is correlated with the class of semantic functions represented by the label, **conjoning**. The members of the class are the coordinate and adjunction functions. The axis grammatical function is correlated with the class of assertion semantic functions: **identification**, **description**, and **event**. This phrase type contrasts with the other relator-axis phrases in having distinct exponents in the surface structure for both relator and axis tagmemes.

There are two kinds of conjoning relationships in this Hiligaynon category: coordination and adjunction or apposition. Bloomfield (1917) classified the latter as an attributive relationship for Tagalog which has almost the same marker, even to the phonological variants, as appears in Hiligaynon. McCaughan (1958), however, classifies both of these for Maranao as coordinate. Hockett (1958) classifies apposition as a special type of coordinate relationship in his description and defining of structural types. The coordination and apposition relations in Hiligaynon are marked by contrastive

coordinate and adjunctive phrase types. Both of these types are introduced in this section since they are products of the same derivational processes which generate the relator-axis phrase types, but the description is completed in the next section on tertiary phrases.

One form of the relator junction phrase which comes from the UPRelJuP results in a contrastive coordinate phrase surface structure. The underlying pattern of the **coordinate phrase** is given below as Formula 20A. Formula 20B describes the surface structure of this phrase type.

Formula 20A

$$\text{UPCoorP} = \text{Rel:coor} + \text{Ax:}\langle\text{aser}\rangle.$$

Formula 20B

$$\text{CoorP} = \text{Rel:}\langle\text{kag}\rangle + \text{Ax:}\langle\text{PrP}\rangle.$$

$\langle\text{kag}\rangle$ = **kag** *and*, **i** (used between the Spanish numers as the coordinate relator), **ukon** *or*, \emptyset (variant of both **kag** and **ukon**; occurs in nonfinal CoorP of a series).

$\langle\text{PrP}\rangle$ = PrP, RelNP, TerP.

In the underlying pattern of the coordinate phrase the relator function is correlated with the semantic function of **coordination**, and is expounded in the surface structure, as given in Formula 20B, by members of the **kag** class of markers. The members of this class are **kag** *and*, **i** (coordinate relator between Spanish numbers), **ukon** *or*, and \emptyset (zero). Zero occurs in the nonfinal coordinate phrases of a series of coordinate phrases. (See Example 107.) The relator **i** has an alternate, **y**, which appears when the word preceding the phrase ends in a vowel; **y** is suffixed to that vowel-final word. Otherwise, **i** is prefixed to the axis exponent it introduces.

The axis function is correlated with the same class of assertion semantic functions given in Formula 19, and is expounded in the surface structure by a class of exponents represented by PrP in the formula. Members of the PrP class here are the class of primary phrases, relator nominal phrases, and the tertiary phrases.

The coordinate and alternate phrases differ only in the relator tagmemes, the former expounded by **kag** or **i**, and the latter by **ukon**. Isolated examples of the phrases are given in 79-89. Full examples in a clausal context are given in the sections on the tertiary phrases (Sec. 2.3) where the second part of the derivation is described.

- (79) CoorNP: ... **kag** *amay* ...
 and *father*
 ... *and father* ...

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- (80) CoorVbP: ... **kag nagkabit** ...
 and grasped
 ... *and grasped* ...
- (81) CoorDscP: ... **kag maanyag** ...
 and beautiful
 ... *and beautiful* ...
- (82) CoorRelNP: ... **kag ang adlaw sang ila kasal.**
 and the day of-the their wedding
 ... *and the day of their wedding.*
- (83) CoorIndfRelP: ... **kag kon paano** ...
 and if how
 ... *and however* ...
- (84) AltNP ... **ukon nalimot** ...
 or forgetfulness
 ... *or forgetfulness* ...
- (85) AltVbP: ... **ukon nagasalimuang**
 or delirious
 ... *or delirious.*
- (86) AltDscP: ... **ukon mahapos** ...
 or easy
 ... *or easy* ...
- (87) AltRelNP: ... **ukon sa manunudlo.**
 or to-the teacher
 ... *or to the teacher.*
- (88) CoorSpNuP: ... **dies iotso** ...
 ten coor-eight
 ... *eighteen* ...
- (89) CoorSpNuP: ... **singkuwentay seite** ...
 fifty-coor seven
 ... *fifty-seven* ...

The second form of the relator junction phrase which comes from the UPRelJuP results in a contrastive **adjunctive phrase** surface structure. The underlying pattern of the adjunctive phrase type is given as Formula 21A. Formula 21B describes the surface structure of this phrase type.

Formula 21A

UPAdP = Rel:ad + Ax:(aser).

Formula 21B

AdP = Rel:(nga) + Ax:(TerP).

⟨nga⟩ = nga adjunction, ka adjunction to Num or Adv, Ø adjunction to Adv.

⟨TerP⟩ = PrP, TerP, ⟨ini⟩, Cl.

The underlying pattern of the relator adjunctive phrase has two obligatory tagmemes. The relator is correlated with the semantic function of **adjunction** and is expounded on the surface by either **nga** or the alternates **ka** or **zero**. The alternate relator **ka** marks adjunction to either numbers or adverbs. **Zero** indicates that the surface form of the relator is usually deleted when the phrase is in adjunction to adverbs, although some speakers allow the use of the **ka** relator in that distribution.

The axis tagmeme is correlated with the same class of assertion semantic functions given in Formula 19 and is expounded in the surface structure by primary phrases, tertiary phrases, a member of the *ini* class of substitutes, or by an independent clause. There does not appear to be any restriction on the type of clause permitted. The relator adjunctive phrase is a dependent phrase. Its distributions to various head tagmemes are described in the sections on tertiary phrases (Sec. 2.3).

Phrases in 90-94 are isolated examples of the adjunctive phrase.

- (90) nga + NP: ... nga imo kahagugma ...
 Ad thy sweetheart
 ... *your sweetheart* ...
- (91) nga + DscP ... nga kaatubang ...
 Ad facing
 ... *facing (someone)* ...
- (92) nga + VbP: ... nga nagapamaypay ...
 Ad is-waving
 ... *waving* ...
- (93) ka + NP: ... ka balay ...
 Ad house
 ... *house* ...
- (94) nga + Cl: ... nga indi ko nahibal-an ang akon ginabuhat.
 Ad not by-me knew the my doing
 ... *that I did not know what I was doing.*

In Sentences 95-98 the phrase is underlined.

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- (95) Maabtik nga mga tiil madasig magdalagan.
swift Ad plural feet quick to-run
Swift feet can run fast.
- (96) Ang atay nga matam-is nagahulid sa apdo nga mapait.
the liver Ad sweet dwells-near to-the bile Ad bitter
The sweet liver is situated near the bitter bile.
- (97) Ina nga mga laragway ang dala namon pauli.
that Ad plural picture the brought by-us returned
Those pictures are the ones we brought back.
- (98) Kalimtan mo ang lalaki nga ina.
forget by-you the man Ad that
You forget that man!

The relator adjunctive phrase contrasts with other phrase types in having distinct exponents and functions for both the relator and axis tagmemes. The phrase also has distinct distributions in tertiary phrases.

2.3. TERTIARY PHRASES. When the head of a primary phrase is modified by a secondary phrase the resultant construction is described as a **tertiary phrase** to distinguish it from other types. Derivational Statement 3 gives the process.

Derivational Statement 3

$$\text{UPTerP} = \text{PrP} \times \text{SecP}$$

By Derivational Statement 3, tertiary phrases are derived by multiplication of the primary phrase matrix (Chart 6) by the secondary phrase matrix (Chart 8). The underlying pattern of tertiary phrases is described in Formula 22. The rules accompanying Formula 22 are **semantic correlation rules (SCR)** which specify co-occurrence restrictions on this underlying pattern. The co-occurrence restrictions eventually result in contrastive phrase types in the surface structure. Statements of the actual surface exponents are separated from this deeper structure formula and deferred to subrules which are part of the individual description of each derived tertiary phrase type.

Formula 22

$$\text{UPTerP} = \text{H} + \text{Con}^n$$

SCR1. H: id, act, desc, day

SCR2. Con^n : ap, po, man, lo, co, de, part, clsf

Rest-1. If H: $\begin{bmatrix} \text{id} \\ \text{act} \\ \text{desc} \\ \text{day} \end{bmatrix}$, then Conⁿ: $\begin{bmatrix} \text{ap, po, lo, co, clsf} \\ \text{ap, man, lo, co, part} \\ \text{ap, co} \\ \text{de} \end{bmatrix}$

Rest-2. If Con:co, then H@ + Con@.

Formula 22 says that the underlying pattern of tertiary phrases consists of two obligatory tagmemes, the **head** and the **conjunct**. The superscript (ⁿ) on the conjunct symbol indicates that that tagmeme may be repeated indefinitely, and that tertiary phrases are open constructions which provide for another type of infinite expansion in this finite description. In practice, three or four conjuncts in relation to a single head tagmeme is normal.

SCR1 specifies the semantic functions which correlate, one at a time, with the head grammatical function as either **identification**, **action**, **description**, or **time-of-day**. SCR2 specifies the semantic functions which correlate with the conjunct grammatical function as ap(positive), po(ssessive), man(ner), lo(cative), co(ordinative), de(limitative), part(icipative), and classificative (clsf).

Restriction 1 is a conflation of co-occurrence restrictions which become the underlying patterns of various types of contrastive surface structure tertiary phrases.

If the head is correlated with the identification function, then the conjunct is correlated with ap, po, lo, co, or clsf functions. This becomes the underlying pattern of tertiary nominal phrases. If the head is correlated with the action function, then the conjunct is correlated with ap, man, lo, co, or part functions, or any combination of these. This becomes the underlying pattern of tertiary verb phrases. If the head is correlated with the description function, then the conjunct is correlated with ap or co functions. This becomes the underlying pattern of the tertiary descriptive phrases. If the head is correlated with the time-of-day function, then the conjunct is correlated with a delimitation function. This becomes the underlying pattern of the tertiary time particle phrases.

Restrictions 2 says that there is concord between the head and conjunct tagmemes if the conjunct manifests the coordinative function.

Among the statements of derivation and description of the underlying pattern of tertiary phrases there are statements completing the derivation of coordinate and adjunctive phrases. In the previous section, the coordinate and adjunctive relator-axis phrases are derived from the underlying relator-axis pattern of secondary phrases. In the following descriptions, the coordinate and adjunctive phrases are joined to head tagmemes, thus completing coordinate and adjunctive tertiary phrase constructions.

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2.3.1. **TERTIARY NOMINAL PHRASES.** One restriction on the correlation of functions given in Formula 22 results in the pattern underlying tertiary nominal phrases. That reading is stated below as the **underlying pattern** of tertiary nominal phrases in Formula 23A. An exponential statement, given as Formula 23B, gives the surface structure of tertiary nominal phrases.

Formula 23A

$$\text{UPTerNP} = \text{H:}id + \text{Con}^n:\text{ap, po, clsf, lo, co.}$$

Formula 23B

$$\text{TerNP} = \text{H:PrNP, Prn, Pers Base} + \text{Con}^n:\text{AdP, GenNP, DatNP, CoordP.}$$

Rest-1. When Con^n :	ap po clsf lo co), then Con^n :	AdP GenNP GenNP DatNP CoordP
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Rest-2. When H:PersPrn, then Con:AdP, PersGenNP.

Rest-3. When H:ComPrn, then Con:AdP, GenNP, DatNP.

Rest-4. When H:IntrPrNP, then Con:AdP.

The underlying pattern of tertiary nominal phrases consists of two obligatory tagmemes. The head is correlated with the semantic function of **identification**, and is expounded in the surface structure by a primary nominal phrase. Restriction 1 specifies the surface structure exponents of the underlying conjunct functions. The conjunct tagmeme is expounded in the surface structure by an adjunctive phrase when correlated with the semantic function of **apposition**.⁶ The conjunct is expounded by a genitive nominal phrase when correlated with the semantic function of **possession** or **classification**. The conjunct is expounded by a dative nominal phrase when correlated with the semantic function of **location**, and it is expounded by a coordinate phrase when correlated with the semantic function of **coordination**.

Restriction 2 says that the conjunct is limited to adjunctive phrase and genitive personal nominal phrase exponents when the head is expounded by a personal pronoun. Restriction 3 says that the conjunct is limited to adjunctive phrase, genitive nominal phrase, and dative nominal phrase exponents when the head is expounded by a common pronoun.

Restriction 4 says that the conjunct tagmeme is limited to an AdP when the head is expounded by an IntrPrNP.

⁶In other Philippine languages analysts vary in their handling of the apposition construction. Healey (1960) separates apposition, coordination, and attribution as distinct structural functions of the same rank for Agta. Reid (1966) analyzes the equivalent of the Hiligaynon apposition relation as an attribution function in Ivatan. Coordinate relations are all considered to be equivalent here.

The tertiary nominal phrase is distinct from other phrases in that both the functions and exponents of the head and conjunct tagmemes contrast with other phrases.

Sentences 99-111 illustrate various combinations of head and conjunct tagmeme exponents for this phrase.

(a) Apposition, H:PrNP + Con:AdP

(99) **Ako si Alex nga kahagugma niya.**

I the-pers Alex Ad suitor of-her

I am Alex, her suitor.

(100) **Ang madre nga nagtawag kaina nagtawag liwat.**

the nun Ad called earlier called again

The nun who called earlier called again.

(b) Possession, H:PrNP + Con:GenNP

(101) **May tao sa guwa sang ganhaan.**

there-is person on-the outside of-the door

There is someone outside the door.

(102) **Nabukas ang ganhaan sang eroplano.**

opened the door of-the airplane

The door of the airplane opened.

(c) Location, H:PrNP + Con:DatNP

(103) **Gintulok sia sang mga tao sa dalan.**

seen-by he of-the pl man on-the road

He was seen by the men on the road.

(d) Location in Time, H:PrNP + Con:DatNP

(104) **Ang bapor nag-abot sang alas dies sa aga.**

the ship arrived of-the time 10 in-the morning

The ship arrived about ten in the morning.

(e) Location-as-source, H:PrNP + Con:DatNP

(105) **Wala gid sing balita kay Betina.**

none really of-a news from-the-pers Betina

There was really no news of Betina.

(f) Coordination, H:PrNP + Con:CoorP

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- (106) **Ginasunod sila sang iya amay kag utod.**
is-following they by-the her father and sibling
They are being followed by her father and brother.

In Sentence 107, the underlined TerP consists of a head plus a series of coordinate phrases expounding multiple conjunct tagmemes. The relator is marked by zero in all the nonfinal coordinate phrases of the series.

- (107) **Tabangan naton ang iban nga mga tao, ang ilang mga asawa, bana, ukon bata.**
will-help by-us the other Ad pl person, the their pl wife, husband, or child
We will help other people, their wives, husbands, or children.
- (108) **Pangabay niya si Rizal nga pasayuron sia kon kasan-o kag kon paano ang pag-usisa.**
request by-him the-pers Rizal Ad be-informed he if when and if how the investigation
He requested Rizal to inform him of the when and how of the investigation.
- (109) **Wala pa mag-abot ang bulan sang Abril kag ang adlaw sang ila kasal.**
not yet to-arrive the month of-the April and the day of-the their wedding
The month of April and the day of their wedding has not yet come.

The following examples illustrate multiple attribution of the two conjunct tagmemes to the same head.

- (g) H:PrNP + Con:GenNP + Con:AdP
- (110) **Naghambal sia sa tanhaga niya nga baston.**
spoke he to-the miracle his Ad cane
He spoke to his miracle cane.
- (h) H:PrNP + Con:CoorP + Con:GenNP
- (111) **Yara ang utod kag amay sang babae.**
there the brother and father of-the woman
There is the brother and father of the woman.

In Sentence 112 the underlined tertiary nominal phrase illustrates successive embedding in which the axis of one phrase becomes the head to a following embedded phrase. The number of successive embeddings is unlimited but in practice seldom reaches more than four phrases.

- (112) **Indi lahog-lahog nga kapalaran ang manginasawa sang hari sang mga mina sang brilyante.**
not frequent Ad fortune the become-wife of-the king of-the pl mine of-the diamond
It is rare fortune to marry a king of diamond mines.

To illustrate the derivational processes for phrases, the underlined phrase of 112 is accounted for by the progressional derivation of its surface structure from underlying patterns in the following steps. A summary statement is given after each lexical insertion to assist the reader in following the progress of the description. The phrase to be described:

(ang) maginasawa sang hari sang mga mina sang brilyante. (*the*) *to-marry a king of diamond mines.*

- (1) UPTerP from Formula 22 :
H:id + Con:po = TerNP
- (2) Surface structure of TerNP from Formula 23B
H:PrNP + Con:GenNP
- (3) UPPrP from Formula 4 :
H:id = PrNP
- (4) Surface structure of PrNP from Formula 6B :
H:Base
- (5) Operation of LIR from lexicon:
Base = **maginasawa**

Summary of description to this point:
maginasawa + Con:GenNP

- (6) UPReNP from Formula 14 :
Rel:gen + Ax:id = GenNP
- (7) Surface structure of GenNP from Formula 15B:
Rel:sang + Ax:TerP

Summary:
maginasawa + **sang** + Ax:TerP

- (8) UPTerP from Formula 22:
H:id + Con:po = TerNP
- (9) Surface structure of TerNP from Formula 23B:
H:PrNP + Con:GenNP
- (10) UPPrP from Formula 4:
H:id = PrNP
- (11) Surface structure of PrNP from Formula 6B:
H:Base
- (12) Operation of LIR from lexicon:
Base = **hari**

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Summary:

maginasawa + sang + hari + Con:GenNP

(13) UPRelNP from Formula 14:

Rel:gen + Ax:id = GenNP

(14) Surface structure of GenNP from Formula 15B:

sang + TerP

Summary:

maginasawa + sang + hari + sang + TerP

(15) UPTerP from Formula 22:

H:id + Con:clsf = TerNP

(16) Surface structure of TerNP from Formula 23B:

H:PrNP + Con:GenNP

(17) UPPrP from Formula 4:

Mo:nu + H:id = PrNP

(18) Surface structure of PrNP from Formula 6B:

Mo:mga + H:Base

(19) Operation of LIR from lexicon:

Base = mina

Summary:

maginasawa + sang + hari + sang + mga + mina + Con:GenNP

(20) UPRelNP from Formula 14:

Rel:gen + H:id = GenNP

(21) Surface structure of GenNP from Formula 15B:

sang + PrP

Summary:

maginasawa + sang + hari + sang + mga + mina + sang + H:PrP

(22) UPPrP from Formula 4:

H:id = PrNP

(23) Surface structure of PrNP from Formula 6B:

H:Base

(24) Operation of LIR from lexicon:

Base = brilyante

String completed:

maginasawa+sang+hari+sang+mga+mina+sang+brilyante.
marrying a king of diamond mines.

Certain additional restrictions apply to this phrase type when the head tagmeme is expounded by pronouns. The restrictions are stated in Formula 23. Restriction 2 says that if the head is expounded by a personal pronoun, then the conjunct is restricted to an adjunctive phrase, or to a personal genitive nominal phrase. Only one conjunct at a time may occur. The underlined phrases in Sentences 113-117 illustrate this variant.

(i) Apposition, H:PersPrn + Con:AdP

- (113) **Ipakita naton nga kita nga mga Bisaya, indi man ignorante.**
 will-show by-us Ad we-incl Ad plural Visayan not also uneducated
Let's show that we Visayans are not backward either.

(j) Numeral Appositive, H:PersPrn + Con:AdP

- (114) **Wala ako sing labot sa inyo nga duha.**
 none I of-a thing to-the you Ad two
I'm not involved with you two.

- (115) **Nagkinadlaw sila nga tatlo.**
 laughed they Ad three
They three laughed.

(k) Identification, H:PersPrn + Con:Pers GenNP

- (116) **Kaslon na kami ni Baron Bernal.**
 will-be-married already we-excl of-the Baron Bernal
We, Baron Bernal and I, will be married.

- (117) **May ginkaisahan sila ni Clarita.**
 there-is agreement they of-the-pers Clarita
They, he and Clarita, had an agreement.

Restriction 3 of Formula 23 says that if the head is expounded by a common pronoun, then the conjunct is restricted to either an adjunctive phrase, which, from Rest-1, correlates with the semantic function of **apposition**, to a genitive nominal phrase, which, from Rest-1, correlates with the semantic functions of either **possession** or **classification**, or to a dative nominal phrase, which, from Rest-1, correlates with the semantic function of **location**. Only one conjunct may occur at a time. The underlined phrases in Sentences 118-123 illustrate this variant.

(l) Apposition, H:ComPrn + Con:AdP

- (118) **Nagbagyo sing mabaskog sadto nga adlaw.**
 stormed of-a strong of-that Ad day
It stormed fiercely that day.

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- (119) **Handa sia nga maglakat bisan ano nga duog.**
 prepare he Ad to-walk/go even what Ad place
He is prepared to go anywhere.
- (m) Identification, H:ComPrn + Con:GenNP
- (120) **Suluguon sia lang sadto sang iya napangasawa karon.**
 servant he only of-that of-the his married now
He was just a servant of that one to whom he was now married.
- (121) **Lalaki nga amo gid ang ginahandom ko nga ibun-ag sadto sang napatay ko nga asawa.**
 male Ad same really the desired by-me Ad to-be-born by-that of-the dead my
 Ad wife
I really wanted a boy to be born from that (womb) of my deceased wife.
- (n) Location, H:ComPrn + Con:DatNP
- (122) **Ang akon paglaom yara sa anak ko.**
 the my hoping there in-the child of-mine
My hope is there in my son.
- (123) **Napatay si Enrique didto sa bukid.**
 died the-pers Enrique there in-the field
Enrique died there in the field.

Restriction 4 specifies the form of the TerNP when an IntrrPrNP expounds the head tagmeme. In that case, an AdP, correlated with the semantic function of **apposition**, expounds the conjunct. In Sentences 124 and 125 this variant of the TerNP is shown as the axis exponent of secondary relator-axis phrases. The IntrrTerNP is underlined.

- (124) **Kay sin-o nga babae sia kaslon?**
 to-the-pers who Ad woman he will-be-married
To which woman will he be married?
- (125) **Ginhimo mo ang ano nga balay, Angel?**
 made by-you the what Ad house, Angel
You made which house, Angel?

2.3.2. **TERTIARY VERB PHRASES.** Another restriction on Formula 22 gives the deep structure pattern underlying tertiary verb phrases. The formula is repeated below as Formula 24A. Formula 24B is the exponential statement which gives the surface structure of the tertiary verb phrase.

Formula 24A

$$\text{UPTerVbP} = \text{H:act} + \text{Con}^n:\text{ap, man, lo, co, part.}$$

Formula 24B

TerVbP = H:PrVbP + Conⁿ:AdP, singGenP, CoorP, DatP, GenP.

Rest-1. When Conⁿ: $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{ap} \\ \text{man} \\ \text{lo} \\ \text{co} \\ \text{part} \end{array} \right]$, then Conⁿ: $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{AdP} \\ \text{singGenP} \\ \text{DatP} \\ \text{CoorP} \\ \text{GenP} \end{array} \right]$.

The underlying pattern of a tertiary verb phrase has two obligatory tagmemes. The head is correlated with the semantic function of **action**, and is expounded in the surface structure by a primary verb phrase.

Restriction 1 specifies the surface structure exponents of the underlying functions of the conjunct tagmeme. The conjunct is expounded by an adjunctive phrase when correlated with the semantic function of **apposition**; by a **sing** genitive phrase when correlated with the function of **manner**; by a dative phrase when correlated with the semantic function of **location**, by a coordinate phrase when correlated with the function of **coordination**, and by a genitive nominal phrase when correlated with the semantic function of **participation**.

The tertiary verb phrase contrasts with all other phrase types in having distinctive head and conjunct tagmemes, although there is partial overlap with the exponent classes of conjunct tagmemes in other tertiary phrases.

Sentences 126-131 illustrate tertiary verb phrases.

(a) Infinitival apposition, H:PrVbP + Con:AdP

- (126) **Indi ko ikagtugot nga magpadayon ang malin nimo nga buko.**
not by-me permit Ad to-continue the different of-you Ad plan
Your different plan I will not permit to continue.
- (127) **Ginapang-ako ko sa imo nga himulatan ko ini nga mapamatud-an.**
promising by-me to-the you Ad will-try by-me this Ad truly
I promise you that I will truly try this.

(b) Manner, H:PrVbP + Con:singGenP

- (128) **Himua ini sing madali.**
do this by-a quick
Do this quickly!
- (129) **Luyag ako makahibalo sing pat-od nahanungod sa akon maleta.**
want I to-know of-a certain about to-the my suitcase
I want to know for certain about my suitcase.

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(c) Coordination, H:PrVbP + Con:CoorP

- (130) **Sulusinggitan kag buyayawon sia.**
being-shouted-at and be-cursed he
He was shouted at and cursed.
- (131) **Tinurisek niya ini gilayon kag buyayawon.**
pointed-the-finger by-her this immediately and cursed
She immediately pointed her finger at him and cursed.

The immediately preceding examples illustrate the conjoining of diverse actions by the coordinate verb phrase construction. Sentences 132-133 illustrate repetitious action with the same construction.

- (132) **Gintusik kag gintusik sang pispis ang kapayas.**
pecked and pecked by-the bird the papaya
The bird pecked and pecked the papaya.
- (133) **Pinadayon nila nga ginakaon kag ginakaon ang ila mga tanom.**
continued by-them Ad eating and eating the their plural plant
They continued eating and eating their plant.

A variant of the coordinate construction is the alternate choice phrase in which the conjoining phrase exponent is introduced by **ukon or**. Sentences 134 and 135 illustrate this variant.

- (134) **Wala gid ako makabati ukon makamutik nga may nobyo si Manang.**
none really I hear or notice Ad there-is suitor the-pers Manang
I really have neither heard nor noticed that Manang had a suitor.
- (135) **Luyag niya pat-odon kon sia nagadamgo ukon nagasalimuang.**
wants by-her certain if she dreaming or delirious
She wants to be certain whether she is dreaming or delirious.

When the conjunct tagmeme of the underlying pattern of tertiary verb phrases is correlated with the semantic function of **participation**, the tertiary verb phrase is distributed in a clause on the surface as a predicate verb with its nontopic complements. In Sentence 136, the tertiary verb phrase expounding the predicate plus nontopic predicate complement functions is underlined.

- (136) **Bayuhon ko sang hal-o ang humay.**
OV-will-pound by-me with-the pestle the rice
The rice is what I will pound with the pestle.

When a tertiary verb phrase functions as a predicate plus its nontopic complements in a clause with obligatory absence of topic, the tertiary verb phrase functions as a clause. In Sentence 137, the clause is expounded by a tertiary verb phrase.

- (137) Nagbagyo sing mabaskog sadto nga adlaw.
 stormed of-a strong of-that Ad day
It stormed fiercely that day.

2.3.3. **TERTIARY DESCRIPTIVE PHRASE.** A third restriction on Formula 22 gives the underlying pattern of the tertiary descriptive phrase. The formula is repeated below as Formula 25A. Formula 25B is the matching exponential statement which gives the surface structure of the tertiary descriptive phrase.

Formula 25A

$$UPTerDscP = H:desc + Con^n:ap, co$$

Formula 25B

$$TerDscP = H:PrDscP + Con^n:AdP, CoordP$$

$$\text{Rest-1. When } Con^n: \begin{bmatrix} ap \\ co \end{bmatrix}, \text{ then } Con^n: \begin{bmatrix} AdP \\ CoordP \end{bmatrix}.$$

$$\text{Rest-2. When } H:PrDscP(HigNu), \text{ then } Con^n:kaAdP, CoordP(Nu).$$

$$\text{Rest-3. When } H:PrDscP(SpNu), \text{ then } Con^n:SpNuCoordP.$$

The underlying pattern of the tertiary descriptive phrases consists of two obligatory tagmemes. The head is correlated with the semantic function of **description**, and is expounded in the surface structure by a primary descriptive phrase. Restriction 1 says that the conjunct is expounded by an adjunctive phrase when it is correlated with the semantic function of **apposition**. The conjunct is expounded by a coordinate phrase when it is correlated with the semantic function of **coordination**. Restrictions 2 and 3 apply to exponents of the conjunct tagmeme when the head is expounded by numbers.

The tertiary descriptive phrase contrasts with all the other phrase types in that it has distinctive head and conjunct tagmemes, although this phrase, too, has partial overlap with the exponent classes of other conjunct tagmemes.

If the axis tagmeme of the adjunctive phrase expounding the conjunct has a substantive exponent, then the semantic function of the head is adjectival-description. See the underlined illustrations in Sentences 138 and 139.

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(a) Adjectival-description.

- (138) **Karon lang ako makakita sang matahom nga nawong.**
now only I able-to-see of-the beautiful Ad face
Just now I see the beautiful face.
- (139) **Malum-ok nga kamot nagatongtong sa iya abaga.**
soft Ad hand is-touching on-the his shoulder
A soft hand is touching his shoulder.

In the underlined TerDscP examples of 140-142, the conjunct tagmeme is expounded by coordinate phrases.

(b) Coordinate-description.

- (140) **Maligdong kag maanyag pa ang umagad nila.**
modest and beautiful still the daughter-in-law of-them
Their daughter-in-law is still modest and beautiful.
- (141) **Maambong, manggaranon kag maalam si Baron.**
handsome rich and intelligent the-pers Baron
Baron is handsome, rich, and intelligent.
- (142) **Mahapos ukon madali pa gid magbakal kita sang bomba.**
easy or quick still really to-buy we of-the pump
It is still really easy or quick for us to buy a pump.

Restriction 2 adds another co-occurrence restriction for this phrase type. If the primary descriptive phrase which expounds the head tagmeme is a Hiligaynon number, then the conjunct tagmeme is expounded by either a ka-introduced adjunctive phrase (cf. Formula 21) or by a coordinate phrase (cf. Formula 20) having a Hiligaynon number expounding its axis tagmeme (CoorNuP). Tertiary descriptive phrases having this construction are the basic phrases of the Hiligaynon counting system.⁷ The higher numbers are stated by means of recursive embedding. The underlying pattern of the count tertiary descriptive phrase is described by Formula 26A. Formula 26B gives the surface structure.

Formula 26A

$$\text{UPCount TerDscP} = \text{H:count} + (\text{Con}_1^{\text{ka}}:\text{qa}) + (\text{Con}_2^{\text{ka}}:\text{rem}) + \text{Con}_3:\text{count item.}$$

⁷That is, it is the basic phrase used in counting objects other than money or time, for which the Spanish count phrase is most commonly used.

Formula 26B

$$\text{CountTerDscP} = \text{H:NuPrDscP} + (\text{Con}_1^{\text{pl}}:\text{QaAdP}) + (\text{Con}_2^{\text{pl}}:\text{CoorNuP}) \\ + \text{Con}_3:\text{AdP}.$$

RR. H+Con₁, H+Con₂, H+Con₃, H+Con₁+Con₃, H+Con₂+Con₃,
 H+Con₁+Con₂, H+Con₁+Con₁+Con₃, H+Con₂+Con₂+Con₃,
 H+Con₁+Con₂+Con₃, H+Con₁+Con₁+Con₂+Con₃,
 H+Con₁+Con₂+Con₂+Con₃.

Rest-1. Con₃ may be deleted in the surface structure.

Formula 26A says that the underlying pattern of the count tertiary descriptive phrase has two obligatory tagmemes, the head and the conjunct₃ tagmemes. Conjunct₁ and conjunct₂ are optional tagmemes. The head is correlated with the semantic function of **counting**, and is expounded on the surface by a number primary descriptive phrase (cf. Formula 9), which is a subtype of descriptive phrases limited to numbers from one to ten, the decades from thirty to ninety, and the interrogative pronoun *pila how much?*⁸

The conjunct₁ tagmeme is correlated with the semantic function of **quantity**, and is expounded on the surface by an adjunctive phrase which is limited to words for units such as *pulo tens*, *gatos hundreds*, and *libo thousands*. The conjunct₂ tagmeme is correlated with the semantic function of **remainder**, and is expounded in the surface structure by a number coordinate phrase, which is a subset of coordinate phrases, whose axis is expounded by a number primary descriptive phrase. The conjunct₃ tagmeme is correlated with the semantic function of **counted item**, and is expounded on the surface by an adjunctive phrase whose axis is expounded by a primary nominal phrase indicating what it is that is being counted. This tagmeme may be deleted, as stated in Restriction 1, if the lexical content is signaled by the rest of the context.

The possible readings of the formula are given by the reading rule (RR). Only a few of the possibilities are illustrated by the underlined phrases of the examples which follow.

(a) CountTerDscP = H+Con₃.

(143) Duha ka balatian ang gidala ni Enrico.
 H Con₃
 two Ad disease the brought by-the-pers Enrico
Enrico had brought two diseases (with him).

(144) Lumigad ang pila ka adlaw.
 H Con₃
 passed the how-many Ad day
A few days passed.

⁸The number twenty is expounded by a phrase in Hiligaynon and thus is not included in the class of words to which the rule applies.

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The pattern of H+Con₁+Con₃ gives a count in multiples of tens, hundreds, or thousands. In Sentences 145 and 146 the count phrases are underlined.

(b) CountTerDscP = H+Con₁+Con₃.

(145) Isa ka gatos ka pisos ang iya padya.

H Con₁ Con

one Ad hundred Ad pesos the his reward

His reward was one hundred pesos.

(146) Malapit sa duha ka libo ka pisos ang iya nabaton.

H Con₁ Con

near to-the two Ad thousand Ad pesos the her received

She received almost two thousand pesos.

The pattern of H+Con₁+Con₁+Con₃ gives a count which is a combination of multiples of tens or hundreds and thousands. In Sentences 147 and 148, the count phrases are underlined.

(c) CountTerDscP = H+Con₁+Con₁+Con₃.

(147) Makuha niya ang iya padya nga isa ka gatos ka libo ka pisos.

H Con₁ Con₁ Con

will-take by-him the his reward Ad one Ad hundred Ad thousand Ad pesos

He will get his reward of one hundred thousand pesos.

(148) Duha ka pulo ka libo ka pisos ang bili sang hiniro.

H Con₁ Con₁ Con

two Ad ten Ad thousand Ad pesos the cost of-the cloth

The cloth cost 20,000 pesos.

In Examples 149 and 150, Con₃ is deleted. The lexical content of Con₃ is signaled by the context in each case.

(d) CountTerDscP = H+Con₁+Con₂+Con₃.

(149) Ang edad niya duha ka pulo kag walo.

the age of-him two Ad ten and eight

His age is 28.

The adjunctive phrase *ka tuig years*, which expounds Con₃ in this context, has been deleted.

(e) CountTerDscP = H+Con₁+Con₂+Con₂+Con₃.

- (150) Isa ka gatos kag kap-atan kag tatlo ang tanan nga isda.

H Con₁ Con₂ Con₂
 one Ad hundred and forty and three the all Ad fish
There were 143 fish in all.

The pattern of H+Con₁+Con₁+Con₂+Con₃ gives a count which is a number between the combination of multiples of hundreds and thousands. Examples are given in Sentences 151 and 152.

- (f) CountTerDscP = H+Con₁+Con₁+Con₂+Con₃.

- (151) Ang nahalitan sang peste ang duha ka pulo ka libo kag siyam ka ektaryas.

H Con₁ Con₁ Con₂ Con
 the damaged-of-the pests the two Ad ten Ad thousands and nine Ad hectares
20,009 hectares were damaged by the pests.

In 152 conjunct₂ has a CountTerDscP embedded as the exponent of the axis of the coordinate phrase which expounds conjunct₂.

- (g) CountTerDscP = H+Con₁+Con₂+(H+Con₁)+Con₃.

- (152) Hatagan niya ang isla sing kalim-an ka libo kag anom ka gatos ka binhi sang karpa.

H Con₁ Con₂(H Con₁). Con₃
 will-give by-him the island fifty Ad thousand and six Ad hundred Ad fingerling
 of-the carp
He will give 50,000 fingerlings of carp to the island (inhabitants).

Sentences 153 and 154 illustrate counts between multiples of ten.

- (h) CountTerDscP = H+Con₂

- (153) Mapulo kag apat sila.

H Con₂
 ten and four they
There are fourteen of them.

- (154) Kan-uman kag anom ang apo ko.

H Con₂
 sixty and six the grandchildren of-me
My grandchildren are 66 in number.

Sentence 155 illustrates embedding of an adjunctive phrase within a tertiary descriptive phrase.

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- (155) Ini nga pamilya may isa ka anak nga dalaga.
 $H \text{ Con}_3(H \text{ Con})$
 this Ad family there-is one Ad child Ad maiden
This family has a daughter.

The surface structure of the underlined phrase in Sentence 155 is described in tagmemic terms as a progressional derivation from underlying patterns in the following set of steps. The progress of the derivation is summarized following each lexical insertion.

The phrase to be described:

isa + ka + anak + nga + dalaga *a maiden*

- (1) UPTerP from Formula 22:
 $H:\text{desc} + \text{Con}:\text{ap} = \text{TerDscP}$
- (2) Surface structure of TerDscP from Formula 25B:
 $H:\text{PrDscP} + \text{Con}:\text{AdP}$
- (3) UPPrP from Formula 4:
 $H:\text{desc} = \text{PrDscP}$
- (4) Surface structure of PrDscP from Formula 9B:
 $H:\text{NumDsc}$
- (5) Operation of LIR from lexicon:
 $\text{NumDsc} = \text{isa}$

Summary:

isa + Con:AdP

- (6) UPRelJup from Formula 19:
 $\text{Rel}:\text{ad} + \text{Ax}:\text{id} = \text{AdP}$
- (7) Surface structure of AdP from Formula 21B:
 $\text{Rel}:\text{ka} + \text{Ax}:\text{TerP}$

Summary:

isa + ka + Ax:TerP

- (8) UPTerP from Formula 22:
 $H:\text{id} + \text{Con}:\text{ap} = \text{TerNP}$
- (9) Surface structure of TerNP from Formula 23B:
 $H:\text{PrNP} + \text{Con}:\text{AdP}$
- (10) UPPrP from Formula 4:
 $H:\text{id} = \text{PrNP}$
- (11) Surface structure of PrNP from Formula 6B:
 $H:\text{Base}$

(12) Operation of LIR from lexicon:

Base = anak

Summary:

isa + ka + anak + Con:AdP

(13) UPReJJuP from Formula 19:

Rel:ad + Ax:id = AdP

(14) Surface structure of AdP from Formula 21B:

Rel:nga + Ax:PrP

Summary:

isa + ka + anak + nga + Ax:PrP

(15) UPPrP from Formula 4:

H:id = PrNP

(16) Surface structure of PrNP from Formula 6B:

H:Base

(17) Operation of LIR from lexicon:

Base = dalaga

Summary:

isa+ka+anak+nga+dalaga a maiden

Restriction 3 is a restriction on the tertiary descriptive phrase when a Spanish number primary nominal phrase (cf. Formula 5) expounds the head tagmeme. In this case, the conjunct tagmeme is expounded by a Spanish number coordinate phrase (cf. Formula 20).

The Spanish number tertiary descriptive phrase is a variant of the tertiary descriptive phrase, and is described by Formula 27.

Formula 27A

SpNuTerDscP = H:Count + (Con:Units)

Formula 27B

SpNuTerDscP = H:SpNuPrDscP + (Con:SpNuCoorP).

Formula 27A says that the underlying pattern of a Spanish number tertiary descriptive phrase consists of two tagmemes, an obligatory head tagmeme and an optional conjunct. The head is correlated with the semantic function of **count** and is expounded in the surface structure by a Spanish number primary descriptive phrase. The conjunct is correlated with the semantic function of indicating the units below ten. The conjunct is expounded by a Spanish number coordinate phrase in the surface structure.

Sentences 156-157 illustrate this variant tertiary descriptive phrase by the underlined phrases.

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- (156) **Sang mga dies iotso anyos na ako nagpabinturar ako sa Guam.**
 when about ten Coor-eight year already I traveled I to-the Guam
I went to Guam when I was about eighteen years old.
- (157) **Singkuwentay siete ang akon pensyon.**
 fifty-coor seven the my pension
My pension is fifty-seven.

2.3.4. THE TERTIARY TIME PARTICLE PHRASE. A fourth variant of Formula 22 gives the deep-structure pattern underlying the tertiary time particle phrase. The formula is repeated below as Formula 28A. Formula 28B is the exponential statement which gives the surface structure of the tertiary time particle phrase.

Formula 28A

$$\text{UPTerTiParP} = \text{H:day} + \text{Con:de}$$

Formula 28B

$$\text{TerTiParP} = \text{H:⟨TiPar⟩} + \text{Con:AdP, GenNP, DatNP.}$$

$$\langle \text{TiPar} \rangle = \text{karon, kaina, buas}$$

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Rest-1.} \\ \text{Rest-1. When Con:} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{past} \\ \text{present} \\ \text{future} \end{array} \right], \text{ then Con:} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{GenP} \\ \text{AdP} \\ \text{DatP} \end{array} \right]$$

The underlying pattern of the time particle phrase, consists of two obligatory tagmemes. The head is correlated with the semantic function of **time-of-day**, and is expounded by a class of time particles: **karon** *today, now*, **kaina** *awhile ago*, and **buas** *tomorrow*. The conjunct is correlated with the general semantic function of **delimitation**, and is expounded by an adjunctive phrase when the time is delimited as present, by a genitive nominal phrase when the time is delimited as past, and by a dative phrase when the time is delimited as future. The underlined phrases in Sentences 158 through 163 illustrate the tertiary time particle phrase.

(a) $\text{TerTiParP} = \text{H:TiPar} + \text{Con:AdP}$

- (158) **Indi ako matulogan karon nga gab-i.**
 not I will-be-able-to-sleep now Ad night
I can't sleep tonight.
- (159) **Buas nga daan duawon ko ikaw.**
 tomorrow Ad way will-visit by-me you
First thing tomorrow I'll visit you.

(b) TerTiParP = H:TiPar + Con:GenNP

(160) **Nakita sia sang mga alas 4 kaina sang kaagahon.**
 was-seen she of-the about hour 4 awhile-ago of-the dawn
She was seen about four this morning.

(161) **Matawhay ang ila opisina sulod na karon sang mga isa ka simana.**
 quiet the their office inside already now of-the about one Ad week
Their office had been quiet now for the past week.

(c) TerTiParP = H:TiPar + Con:DatNP

(162) **Lubiran ko si Jose karon sa hapon.**
 will-entwine by-me the-pers Jose today in-the afternoon
I will twine (abaca) for Jose this afternoon.

(163) **Tabu-on mo ako karon sa hapon sa simbahan.**
 will-meet by-you I today in-the afternoon at-the church
I will meet you this afternoon at the church.

2.3.5. CLITIC PERMUTATION RULE. Clitics are particles that are phonologically tied to preceding roots. The clitic permutation rule (CPR) is an obligatory movement of clitics which applies to elements of both phrase and clause levels. The permutation is stated first as an underlying pattern from which specific surface permutations are derived. The surface permutations involve both nominal and verbal tertiary phrases. The elements moved are the clitics which are attributive to phrase heads. Some of the clitics are clause-level particles.

The underlying general pattern is described by the clitic permutation rule.

CPR. $H_2 + R + H_1 + Clt^5 \implies H_2 + Clt^5 + R + H_1.$

$H_1 = N, Vb.$

$Clc = (\langle As \rangle), (\langle Emp \rangle), (\langle Lim \rangle), (\langle GenSub \rangle), (\langle NmvSub \rangle).$

$H = Neg, Ti, PrP.$

$R = Ad, \#$

Rest-1. At least one clitic must occur for the rule to operate.

Rest-2. If $H_1: \begin{bmatrix} N \\ Vb \end{bmatrix}$, then $Clc^5: \begin{bmatrix} ParGr, GenSub \\ ParGr, GenSub, NmvSub \end{bmatrix}$.

Rest-3. If $H_2: \begin{bmatrix} Neg \\ Ti \end{bmatrix}$, then $R: \#$.

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The clitic permutation rule says that if a phrase head (H_1) having a clitic attributive to it comes into relation (R) to a preceding head (H_2), then the clitic is permuted to postposition following the new head (H_2). However, a dependent genitive substitute retains its semantic relation to the original head (H_1).

H_1 is expounded by either a nominal or a verb. Its clitic is expounded by up to five members of the classes which make up its exponents. The classes consist of the particle group, the genitive substitutes, and the nominative substitutes. The particle group consists of the action status, emphatic, and limiter classes of praticalles (Appendix 2).

H_2 is expounded by the negative particles, time particles, or primary phrases. The relation is expounded by either the adjunctive relator or it is an unmarked primary phrase internal relation.

All of the clitics are marked optional, but Restriction 1 says that at least one must occur. Up to five clitics, one from each set, may occur at one time. Restriction 2 states the co-occurrence restrictions on the nominal and verbal exponents of head₁. If H_1 is expounded by a nominal, then the clitic is expounded by members of either the particle group or the genitive substitutes. If H_1 is expounded by a verb, then the clitic function can be expounded by any of the exponents given for clitic.

Restriction 3 says that if H_2 is expounded by either a negative or time particle exponent, then the relation is the unmarked primary phrase internal relation. Otherwise, the relation is expounded by the adjunctive relator.

In one variation of the clitic permutation rule, Restriction 2 specifies that H_1 is expounded by a nominal, and the clitic is expounded by either members of the particle group, or a member of the genitive substitute classes.

In the underlined tertiary descriptive phrase of 164, H_1 is expounded by *nawong face* and the conjunct, by *ni Clarita of Clarita*, a genitive nominal phrase. CPR does not apply because no clitic occurs. In 165 a genitive substitute clitic replaces the genitive nominal phrase, and CPR applies to move the substitute, *niya her*, to postposition immediately following H_2 , *matahom beautiful*.

- (164) **Makit-an ko ang matahom nga nawong ni Clarita.**
see by-me the beautiful Ad face of-the-pers Clarita
I see the beautiful face of Clarita.
- (165) **Makit-an ko ang matahom niya nga nawong.**
see by-me the beautiful of-her Ad face
I see her beautiful face.

In the second variation permitted by Restriction 2 of the clitic permutation rule, H_1 is expounded by a verb, and any one of the clitic exponents may occur.

In Sentence 166, H_1 is expounded by a verb, *makabakasyon to vacation*, and the topicalized subject is expounded by a nominative substitute clitic, *ako I*.

CPR does not apply, however, because there is no H₂ present. In 167, H₂ is expounded by *wala not*, and the particles *pa yet, still* (Action Status), and *gid really* (Emphatic), and the nominative substitute clitic *ako I* are permuted to immediate postposition following H₂.

- (166) **Makabakasyon pa gid ako sa aton.**
 Sv-able-to-vacation still really T:ac/I R:loc/in-the our
I am still really planning to vacation in our town.
- (167) **Wala pa gid ako makabakasyon sa aton.**
 not still really T:ac/I SV-able-to-vacation R:loc/in-the our
I still cannot really vacation in our town.

In 168, a time particle expounds H₂.

- (168) **Karon ko lamang makit-an ang matahom nga nawong ni Clarita.**
 now I only see the beautiful Ad face of-the-pers Clarita
Only now do I see the beautiful face of Clarita.

2.3.6. **PHRASAL EMPHASIS OF A PRONOUN CONJUNCT.** There is an optional emphasis permutation in the surface structure of tertiary phrases which is derived by matrix multiplication of the tertiary phrase by the feature of phrasal emphasis. The process is given in Derivational Statement 4.

Derivational Statement 4

$$\text{ConPerm} = \text{TerP} \times \text{PhEmp.}$$

The effect of Derivational Statement 4 is to prepose a conjunct tagmeme before the head tagmeme in tertiary phrases. The preposed conjunct is expounded only by the *iya* class of pronouns. This derivation applies specifically to the tertiary nominal and verb phrases, and applies vacuously to tertiary descriptive phrases since genitive pronouns do not expound conjunct tagmemes in nonpermuted tertiary descriptive phrases.

The permutation is stated below as the **conjunct permutation rule**.

$$\text{ConPR. } H + \text{ Con/PEmp} \implies \text{Con/PEmp} + H.$$

$$\text{Con/PEmp} = \langle \text{iya} \rangle.$$

In Sentences 169-171 the conjunct permutation rule has already been applied. In Sentences 169 and 170 the rule applies to tertiary nominal phrases. In 171 it applies to a tertiary verb phrase.

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- (169) **Napat-od gid sang akon asawa ang akon panam-id.**
 surely really of-the my wife the my taste
My wife certainly knows my taste.

The phrase **sang akon asawa** comes from **sang asawa ko**.

- (170) **Ginuksan niya ang iya maleta.**
 opened by-him the his suitcase
He opened his suitcase.

The phrase **ang iya maleta** comes from **ang maleta niya**.

- (171) **Bugtong ka nga babae nga ila ginapakaanak.**
 only-child you Ad girl Ad they are-adopting
You are the only girl whom they are adopting.

The phrase **ila ginapakaanak** comes from **ginapakaanak nila**.

Both CPR and ConPr apply when an emphasis function is added to the genitive personal pronoun in a construction such as occurs in 165. Sentence 172 is the same as 165 except for the pronoun change. The underlined phrase in 172 illustrates the application of both CPR and ConPR.

- (f) TerDP = H:D + Con:AdP + Con:GenNP (+PR1 and PR2).

- (172) **Makit-an ko ang iya matahom nga nawong.**
 see by-me the her beautiful Ad face
I see her beautiful face.

The Hiligaynon phrase types are summarized in Chart 15.

Chart 15

Summary of Hiligaynon phrase types

1. Primary Phrases		2. Secondary Phrases	
GnlP x Mo =	PrP =	PrNP	GenNP DatNP NmVNP
		PrVbP	
		PrDscP	
IndefRelP		RelHrP	RelCoorP RelAdP
ExpNomP		RelJuP =	
3. Tertiary Phrases.			
PrP x RelP =	TerNP		
	TerVbP		
	TerDscP		
	TerTiParP		

CHAPTER THREE

CLAUSE STRUCTURES

3.0. INTRODUCTION. The general description of Hiligaynon clauses presented here posits distinctions between underlying patterns and surface constructions in the same way as in the description of phrases. Clause types are distinguished on the basis of contrastive correlations between syntactic and semantic functions in them and are illustrated by actual surface constructions, although the phonological processes which generate them are not considered in this description.

A Hiligaynon clause is a string of linguistic units having referents in the real world as well as interdependent grammatical and semantic functions appropriate to the structural level of clauses. It differs from the sentence construction, to which it is most similar, in the types of tagmemes which appear in the utterance string. It is distinct from the phrase constructions both in the tagmeme content of the string and in the intonation contours. The latter are phonological features and are not discussed further in this description.

Underlying the different types of clauses is a general pattern from which are derived both verbal and nonverbal constructions. Verbal clauses are distinguished by the variety of case functions which may be topicalized. Nonverbal clauses are distinguished by the variety of predication types which occur.

A distinction is made between nuclear and peripheral elements of clauses. Nuclear elements may be either optional or obligatory, but are nuclear in the sense that they contribute to the contrastive status of clauses. Peripheral elements do not contribute to the contrastive status of clauses, and, in general, have the potential to occur in any clause.

The description of clauses presented on the following pages is confined to the basic clause constructions, that is, those clauses having a single proposition. A construction having multiple propositions, such as a construction of conjoined clauses, is considered a sentence-level construction and is outside the scope of this dissertation.

To report the matching of semantic functions with grammatical, the modified tagmemic description used in the previous chapter is continued in this one. In sum, the modifications consist of (1) recognizing underlying patterns of clause structure which represent the features held in common by groups of Hiligaynon clauses, and (2) describing these underlying patterns by a modified tagmeme to show the correlation of syntactic and semantic functions. The conventional tagmeme representation showing a grammatical function and the class of exponents which manifest, or expound, it is used to describe surface features. A few general statements can and will be made about the exponents in connection with certain of the underlying patterns, since the specification of some functions is the same for all the clause types in which

they occur. In Hiligaynon it is the variation in the correlation of semantic roles with the syntactic functions which distinguishes the clause classes, however, since the surface structure is often ambiguous.

Fillmore (1968b) discusses ways the concept of a 'predicate' with its 'arguments', taken from symbolic logic, can be utilized in organizing the lexical features of a verb in a dictionary entry. His suggestion that a verb be considered comparable to 'predicate' and the nouns associated with it to the 'arguments' provides a way to subcategorize verbs according to the function of the nominals which may appear with them in a syntactically complete expression. In his article, *The case for case* (1968a), Fillmore develops this viewpoint as a revived concept of case, which takes into account the deep structure semantic functions as well as the grammatical structure of the surface. The various clausal case frames provide, in his theory, a basis for subcategorizing verbs.

Although Fillmore's concept has facilitated the description of the causative clause types in this work, a position opposite to Fillmore's is taken as the underlying organizing factor in Hiligaynon clause structure. This position is that verb stems determine the relation of the nominals to the predicate verb by specifying the correlation of grammatical and semantic functions for those nominals. Clauses, then, are viewed as constructions which are organized, as Chafe (1970) suggests, by the features of the predicate verb.¹

As an illustration of the generative capacity of the description presented in this work, Appendix B gives the stages in the derivational process of a sample Hiligaynon sentence from underlying pattern to surface structure in order to show how its components are accounted for.

3.1. GENERAL INVENTORY OF FUNCTIONS UNDERLYING HILIGAYNON CLAUSES. Underlying Hiligaynon clause structure, there are general sets of functions, both grammatical and semantic, which can be stated as a general **underlying pattern of clause structure (UPCS)**. The labels identifying both grammatical and semantic functions in the pattern, given as Formula 29, summarize the inventories of functions which underlie Hiligaynon clauses. Underlying patterns of surface structures are derived from this general pattern by processes which impose co-occurrence restrictions on the correlation of the grammatical and semantic functions.

¹Chafe (1970) proposes to make the verb central to the formation of a sentence. He concludes his discussion with, "The creation of a well-formed semantic structure—conceived of in terms of the structure of a sentence—was held to begin with a central semantic element which I called a verb" (346), and "...[I believe] that general picture of language...is essentially correct" (346).

Fillmore (1968) had earlier conjectured such a theoretical possibility when he noted, "One is almost willing to allow these facts to be expressed by a generative process which chooses a verb, then the cases required by that verb, then the other cases that are compatible with the cases originally chosen" (87).

Formula 29

$$\text{UPCS} = \text{Pred:cmt} + (\text{C}_1:\text{theme})^3 + (\text{C}_2:\text{dir})^2 + (\text{Peri:var}).$$

Rest. $C_1, C_2 =$ pers exponents, nonpers exponents.

Formula 29 says that the underlying pattern of clause structure consists of four all-function tagmemes. In the first, a class of predicate grammatical functions is correlated with a class of comment functions. In the second, a class of complement functions is correlated with a class of theme semantic functions. In the third, a different class of complement functions is correlated with a class of directional semantic functions. In the fourth, a class of functions labeled **periphery** is correlated with a class of semantic functions labeled **various**. The restriction says that the exponents of C_1 and C_2 may be either personal or nonpersonal.

Chart 16 gives the inventory of function classes for the underlying pattern of clause nuclei (UPCN). The UPCN consists of the UPCS minus the periphery tagmeme, which does not contribute to contrastive status. The exponents of the periphery tagmeme are described separately in the next section. All the semantic functions of a given tagmeme in the formula do not correlate with all of the grammatical functions of the same tagmeme. Predicate exponents specify the permitted correlations in the string of tagmemes for each clause type.

Chart 16
Grammatical and semantic function potential in
Hiligaynon clause nuclei

	Predicate:cmt	$(C_1: \text{theme})^3$		$(C_2: \text{dir})^2$	
NonVbPred	Description	Subject	Agent	Referent	Location
VbPred	Existence	Object	Experiencer	Object	Source
StPred	Equivalence	Conveyant	Causer	Site	Indirect Object
	Event	Adverbial	Instrument	Comparative	Beneficiary
	Query		Location		Possessor
	State		Possessor		Comparison
			Beneficiary		
			Manner		
			Item		
			Existent		

As observed in Chart 16, grammatical functions are fewer than semantic in the UPCN. There are three grammatical functions represented by the predicate symbol, **nonverbal**, **verbal**, and **stative** predication. The semantic functions represented by 'comment' are **description**, **existence**, **equivalence**, **event**, **query**, and **state**. Four

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grammatical functions are represented by the C_1 symbol, **subject, object, conveyant and adverbial**. The semantic functions represented by 'theme' are, **agent, experiencer, causer, instrument, location, possessor, beneficiary, manner, item, and existent**.

Four grammatical functions are represented by the C_2 symbol, **referent, object, site, and comparative**. The semantic functions represented by the direction symbol are **location, source, indirect object, beneficiary, possessor, and comparison**. The overlap in the lists of functions is also resolved by the selected correlating of functions by specific predicate exponents.

All the tagmemes of the pattern, except the predicate, are repeatable within limits set by the surface structure exponents, or inherent features of various predicate exponents. There are eight types of peripheral tagmemes represented by the periphery label in the pattern of Formula 29.

The topic function is not a general feature of all clauses and, consequently, is not represented in the UPCS, but is introduced by processes nearer to the surface structure as described in Sec. 3.1.4.

In the following section, the class of peripheral tagmemes is described separately from the pattern of clause nuclei since those tagmemes are optional to all clauses and are not diagnostic of any type.

3.1.1. PERIPHERAL TAGMEMES OF CLAUSES. Peripheral tagmemes consist almost entirely of sets of lexical particles. Most have a fixed distribution with reference to the other elements of the clause. Since peripheral tagmemes have no case functions, they are described by means of the usual tagmeme display which shows the grammatical function plus the class of items which expound the function for each tagmeme.

Formula 30 displays the peripheral tagmemes of the underlying clause pattern in an incomplete formula (introduced by ...), i.e., minus the nuclear tagmemes.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{CIPeri} = & \dots\text{AS}:(\text{na}) + \text{Emp}:(\text{gid}) + \text{Lim}:(\text{lamang}) + \\ & \text{Qu}:\text{kuno} + \text{Mod}:(\text{basi}) + \text{Pre}:\text{anay} + \text{Loc}:\text{DatNP} + \\ & \text{Te}:\text{GenNP, IndfRelP, TiPar.} \end{aligned}$$

The exponents of the tagmemes given in Formula 30 are all small classes of particles with the exception of those expounding the **locative** and **temporal** tagmemes. Locative is expounded by dative nominal phrases, and temporal by genitive nominal phrases, indefinite-relative phrases, or time particles.

A(ction) S(tatus) is expounded by a member of the class represented by *na already, completed*. **Emp(hatic)** is expounded by a member of the class represented by *gid very*. **Lim(ite)** is expounded by any member of the class represented by *lamang only*.

Qu(otative) is expounded by one member, *kuno it is reported*. Mo(dal) is expounded by members of the class represented by *basi might be*. Pre(cedent) is expounded by *anay first, preceding*. Loc(ation) is expounded by dative nominal phrases. Te(mporal) is expounded by a genitive nominal phrase, an indefinite-relative phrase, or by a time word. The specific membership of the various classes of exponents given in Formula 30 is listed in Appendix A.3. In the illustrative sentences given below the underlined words are examples of the peripheral type indicated.

(a) Action status.

- (173) **Nadakop na bala ang kriminal?**
 caught already question the criminal
Has the criminal been caught already?
- (174) **Apang sigi pa gihapon ang iya pagsido.**
 but continue-on still yet the his hiccupping.
But his hiccupping still persisted.

(b) Emphatic.

- (175) **Maayo nga ikaw gid ang maghatag sa iya.**
 good Ad you-sg really the to-give to-the him
It is really best for you to give it to him.
- (176) **Nakasal na gali kamo ni Sandra sa hukmanan?**
 married already really you-pl of-the Sandra at-the courtroom
You were really married to Sandra in the courtroom?

(c) Limiter.

- (177) **Kami lamang ni Bimbo ang ari diri sa apartment.**
 we-excl only of-the-pers Bimbo the here in-here in-the apartment
Only Bimbo and I were here in the apartment.

(d) Precedent.

- (178) **Maayo pa siguro manaog na anay ako.**
 good yet probably will-descend now first I
It is probably best for me to descend first.
- (179) **Indi anay ako magtulog.**
 not first I to-sleep
I won't sleep first.

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(e) Locative.

(180) **May baligyaan sila sang ila produkto sa Manila.**
 there-is is-selling-to they of-the their product in-the Manila.
They have sales for their product in Manila.

(181) **Sa guwa lang anay ako manyaga.**
 to-the outside only first I will-eat-breakfast
I'll just go out and eat breakfast first.

(f) Temporal.

(182) **Nagapamangkutanon si Eddie sa iya kaugalingon kon kagab-ihon.**
 asks by-the-pers Eddie to-the his self if night
Eddie asks himself at night.

(183) **Sang diutay pa sia masunson nga nagaduaw sia sa klinik.**
 when small still he often Ad is-visiting he at-the clinic
When he was still small he often visited the clinic.

There is a permutation involving a subset of the peripheral tagmemes, the particle group, and monosyllabic pronouns following the predicate tagmeme. The particle group normally occurs in immediate postpredicate position, followed by the pronouns in immediate postparticle group position. There is one exception, as given in the permutation rule for monosyllabic pronouns (PrnPR).

PrnPR. Pred + ParGr + Prn-1-syl ==> Pred + Prn-1-syl + ParGr

ParGr = na gid man lamang gali
 1 2 3 4 5

The pronoun permutation rule indicates that whenever pronouns are monosyllabic, they are permuted from the postparticle group position to preparticle group position and in immediate postpredicate position. The particles involved in this permutation, and their positions in relation to each other, are **na gid man lamang gali**.

Sentence 184 gives the normal order of the particle group and the pronoun in a clause.

(184) **Magdugay gid man ako sa tiendahan.**
 SV-remain really also I at-the market
I really intend to be awhile at the market also.

Sentence 185 gives the same clause, but with a monosyllabic pronoun replacing the original in 184 and thus triggering PrnPR.

- (185) **Magdugay ka gid man sa tiendahan**
 SV-remain you really also at-the market
You really intend to be awhile at the market also.

3.1.2. Having described the functions represented by the peripheral tagmeme of the UPCS, the remainder to be described consists of the **underlying pattern of clause nuclei (UPCN)**. Formula 31, which describes the UPCN, is similar to Formula 29, which describes the UPCS, except that the peripheral class of tagmemes has been eliminated.

Since the underlying patterns described here for Hiligaynon are not limited statements about semantic features, it is considered relevant to give general statements of exponent restrictions whenever they apply in connection with the correlation of the grammatical and semantic functions. One such statement can be made in conjunction with the UPCN. Formula 31 is given in two parts. UPCN-1 gives a statement in terms of general classes of all-function tagmemes. UPCN-2 gives a parallel statement containing limited general information regarding two restrictions on surface exponents for all clauses.

Formula 31

UPCN-1 = Pred:cmt + C₁:theme + C₂:dir.

UPCN-2 = Pred:var + C₁:GenNP + C₂:DatNP.

The formula of UPCN-1 gives the same information as Formula 29 regarding the correlation of grammatical and semantic functions in this general underlying pattern. UPCN-2 indicates nothing specific about the exponents of the predicate tagmeme, but says that Complement 1 is expounded by genitive nominal phrases, and that Complement 2 is expounded by dative nominal phrases.² The predicate tagmeme has a variety of exponents which must be specified separately for each clause construction type. Nonverbal clauses are derived from the underlying UPCS by multiplication of that pattern by the matrix of nonverbal predicate markers. Verbal clauses are derived from the same pattern by matrix multiplication of the pattern by the inflectional features of the verb voices. Nonverbal clauses are here considered the simpler constructions, since they are derived directly from the given pattern of the UPCS. Verbal clauses require modification of that pattern and are therefore described after the nonverbal.

3.1.3. The matching of the **semantic functions** or roles with the grammatical functions is information stored as syntacto-semantic features on lexical items. By these features, lexical items restrict the grammatical pattern of clauses. This suggests a modification of Thomas' (1964) concept of clause roots, with reference to Hiligaynon, by asserting that the predicate exponent exercises some restraint on the form of the clause at this

²The class membership of the genitive and dative phrases is given in Appendix A.1.

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underlying level.³ Thomas suggests only that clause roots, consisting of plot participants, underlie the syntactic paradigms of a language.

A lexical entry may be a root, a derived stem, a phrase, or a clause (resulting from idiom formations), but it is conceived of as a unit which has a central meaning that coordinates with a semantic structure of interrelated participants. The base **baligya** *sell*, for example, might be considered to have a central meaning of *action of exchanging an item for money*, and to require an obligatory set of participants such as seller, item, buyer, and money. Other optional participants, such as beneficiary, are also possible. The base **damo** *many* may be considered to have in its set of interrelated participants the central meaning of *many plus item, possessor, and location*. The base **balay** has a central meaning *house plus participants* such as possessor and location.

There are verbal and nonverbal sets of semantic roles or functions. The inventory of roles available in any given base seems to include some from both sets, although a thorough analysis of this feature in bases has not been made.

As an illustration of what a lexical entry might contain of semantic function information, the root **kuha**, with its central meaning and participant roles for a verbal clause indicated, is given in Chart 17.

Chart 17

Partial dictionary entry for the root **kuha** indicating the semantic roles which accompany it in verbal clauses.

kuha Nonpers: agent–item–instrument–location
get, take Pers: agent–person–beneficiary–IO

The participants are distinguished as to person or nonperson for **kuha**, since that may be important in clause structure. Nonpersonal roles are **agent, item, instrument, and location**. Personal roles are **agent, personal goal, beneficiary, and indirect object**. This root has other roles which appear in different constructions.

Sentence 186 illustrates agent, goal, and location roles in a clause having the root **kuha** in the predicate verb.

- (186) **Makuha niya ang iya karbaw sa bukid.**
 ag goal loc
 will-take by-him the his carabao to-the field
He will take his carabao to the field.
 ag goal loc

³Thomas speaks of clause roots which underlie syntactic paradigms. A root consists of "...the major-class morphemes or words to which the various minor-class morphemes or words can or must be added." In addition, he recognizes that the major-class morphemes of his clause roots have semantic functions such as identified here.

3.1.4. TOPICALIZATION. Hiligaynon topicalization, in both verbal and nonverbal clauses, is generated by features of the predicate exponents. As used here, topicalization refers to what Fillmore calls subjectivalization or primary topicalization (1968:57). Topicalization in Hiligaynon depends upon (1) inherent features of stems expounding the predicate nucleus, (2) grammatical features of verbal and nonverbal predicates, or (3) features associated with the presence of optional, nuclear constructions in the clause which are permitted by the predicate exponent.

The process of topicalization in Hiligaynon consists of substituting a nominative nominal phrase for the nontopic exponent of the function being topicalized, and, for verbal clauses, inserting an accompanying marker, in the form of a voice affix, in the predicate verb exponent to identify the function of the topic.

In Illustrations 187 and 188 the stem *ulan rain* prohibits topicalization in subjective voice, but permits it in referative.

- (187) **Nagulan sa Maynila kaghapon.**
 SV-rained R:loc in-the Manila yesterday
It rained in Manila yesterday.
- (188) **Ginulanan ang Maynila kaghapon.**
 RV-rained-at T:loc the Manila yesterday
It rained at Manila yesterday.

The underlying clause patterns resulting from the multiplication of the UPCS by root or stem feature matrices are then multiplied by different grammatical features to give the final topicalizational pattern in normal clauses having only obligatory nuclear elements, as presented in the following sections describing the nonverbal, stative, and verbal clause types. Optional clause patterns which effect topicalization are described in the sections on nonverbal and stative clauses.

In a context it is possible that topicalization is assigned with reference to higher level discourse constraints, but the actual topicalization process is a clause-level feature of the predicate.

3.2. NONVERBAL CLAUSES. Nonverbal clauses differ from verbal clauses in three ways: (1) Nonverbal clauses have nominal, descriptives, or interrogatives in the head of the predicate slot, and (2) the correlations between the syntactic and the semantic functions in the clause-level tagmemes are different. In addition, (3) the Hiligaynon nonverbal clauses are topicalized in different ways. By contrast, all Hiligaynon verbal clauses are topicalized the same way, as a feature of verb bases in immediate relation to verb voices.

Nonverbal clauses are considered to have a relationship to verbal clauses in that nonverbal clauses clarify the identity or character of individual participants of a plot rather than attempt to describe the action of the whole plot, as does the verbal predicate.

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3.2.1. THE DERIVATION OF NONVERBAL CLAUSES. The pattern of grammatical and semantic functions which underlies Hiligaynon nonverbal clauses is derived from the UPCN in two steps. The first is the multiplication of the UPCN by the matrix of nonverbal predicate functions which imposes a general restriction on the kinds of functions permitted in the nonverbal clauses which result, and also specifies the pattern of topicalization. Four nonverbal clause patterns result, corresponding respectively to the four classes of nonverbal predicate functions. The second step is the matching of feature matrices of lexical exponents with the predicate functions which, in turn, organizes the remainder of the tagmeme sequence in each clause.

The nonverbal predicate functions which are the deriving elements of nonverbal clauses are given in Chart 18. The nonverbal predicate functions shown in Chart 18 are **description, existence, equating, and query**. The description function is signaled by the **ma-** class of markers. The existence function is marked by the **may** class of markers. The equating function is signaled by the **ang** or **sa** classes of markers.

Chart 18

Matrix of Hiligaynon nonverbal predicate functions

(NonVbMat)

Nonverbal predicate functions:

Nonverbal predicate markers:

<ma->	=	desc
<may>	=	exs
<ang/sa>	=	eqn
<ano>	=	query

The set of functions given in Chart 18 order four different types of nonverbal clauses. The members of the marker classes are listed in Appendix A.6. The derivation of the patterns which underlie the nonverbal clauses is given by Derivational Statement 5.

Derivational Statement 5

$$\text{UPNonVbCl} = \text{UPCS} \times \text{NonVbPred}$$

Derivational Statement 5 indicates that the underlying patterns of nonverbal clauses (UPNonVbCl) are derived from the underlying pattern of clause structure by multiplication of the UPCS by the nonverbal matrix of predicate functions.

The underlying patterns of the four nonverbal clauses have almost identical sets of grammatical functions, but the grammatical functions do not have identical correlation with the underlying semantic functions. The correlations between grammatical and

semantic functions in the tagmemes of the four underlying patterns resulting from Derivational Statement 5 are compared in Chart 19. The grammatical functions are indicated by the parameter across the top of the matrix. The clause types form the parameter along the left side. The cells of the matrix are filled by the semantic functions which correlate with the grammatical functions for each tagmeme of the different clause strings.

Chart 19

Comparison of the correlation between the syntactic and semantic functions in the underlying patterns of the three nonverbal clauses.

Gram. functions:	Pred	Subj	Obj	Site	Cp
NonVbCl types:					
DscNonVbCl =	Desc	+	(It)	+	(Loc) + (Cpa)
ExsNonVbCl =	Exs	+	[po]	+	Ext + (Loc)
EqnNonVbCl =	Id	+	It	+	(Loc)
IntrNonVbCl =	Query	+	It		

Chart 19 indicates that the predicate of the descriptive nonverbal clause is correlated with the semantic function of **description**; the subject, with the semantic function of **marking the item described**; the site, with the semantic function of **location**, either abstract or concrete; and the comparative grammatical function, with the semantic function of **comparison**.

The predicate of the existential nonverbal clause correlates with the semantic function of **existence**; the subject, with the semantic function of **possessor**; the object, with the semantic function of **existent**; the site, with the semantic function of **location**, either abstract or concrete.

The predicate of the equational nonverbal clause correlates with the semantic function of **identification**; the subject, with the semantic function of the **item being identified**; and the site, with the semantic function of **location**, either abstract or concrete. Location is optional in all these clause types.

The predicate of the interrogative nonverbal clause correlates with the semantic function of **query**. The subject correlates with the semantic function of **item asked about**. These are the only two nuclear tagmemes in this clause type.

3.2.2. TOPICALIZATION IN NONVERBAL CLAUSES. In the nonverbal clauses, topicalization is determined by the predicate functions given in Chart 19, and the pattern of topicalization is shown in Chart 20.

By comparing Chart 19 with Chart 20, the subject of the descriptive nonverbal clause is seen to be optional to the clause and optionally topicalized when it does occur. In the

Chart 20

Pattern of topicalization in nonverbal clauses

Gram. functions:	Pred	Subj	Obj	Site	Cp
Clause type:					
DscNonVbCl =	DscPred	(T)			
ExsNonVbCl =	ExsPred	(T)			
EqnNonVbCl =	EqnPred	T			
IntrrNonVbCl =	IntrrPred	T			

existential nonverbal clause, the subject is optional to the clause, but when it does occur, it is topicalized. In the equational and interrogative nonverbal clauses the subject is obligatory and is always topicalized.

3.2.3. THE DESCRIPTIVE NONVERBAL CLAUSE TYPE. The underlying pattern of function correlations given in Chart 19 for the descriptive nonverbal clause is repeated below as Formula 32A. Formula 32B describes the surface structure.

Formula 32A

$$\text{UPDscNonVbCl} = \text{Pred:desc}+(\text{Subj:it})+(\text{Si:loc})+(\text{Cp:cpa}).$$

Formula 32B

$$\text{DscNonVbCl} = \text{Pred:DscP}+(\text{Subj:GenNP})+(\text{Si:DatNP})+(\text{Cp:DatNP}).$$

In the underlying pattern of the descriptive nonverbal clause, the predicate is correlated with the semantic function of **description**, and in the surface structure, it is expounded by a descriptive phrase. Subject is correlated with the semantic function of **item-described** in the underlying pattern and is expounded by a genitive nominal phrase in the surface structure. Site is correlated with the semantic function of **location** in the underlying pattern and is expounded by a dative nominal phrase in the surface structure. The comparative function is correlated with the semantic function of **comparison** in the underlying pattern and is expounded by a dative nominal phrase in the surface structure.

Of the class of nonverbal inflectional markers, the **ma-** affix is homophonous with the **ma-** objective voice marker. Nonverbal **ma-** does not indicate voice, but rather has the lexical denotation of *state or condition*.

Only the descriptive clauses have the optional comparative tagmeme. It does not appear in the other clause types, either nonverbal or verbal. In the following examples the comparative tagmeme is underlined. Sentences 189 and 191 are normal clauses. Sentences 190 and 192 are expanded by the comparative tagmeme.

- (189) **Maalam si Pedro**
intelligent T:it/the-pers Pedro
Pedro is intelligent.
- (190) **Mas maalam si Pedro sa kay Juan.**
more intelligent T:it/the Pedro Cp:cpa/than the Juan
Pedro is more intelligent than Juan.
- (191) **Mataas ang anak ni Mr. Reyes.**
tall T:it/the child of-the-pers Mr. Reyes
Mr. Reyes' child is tall.
- (192) **Mataas ang anak ni Mr. Reyes sa kay Kres.**
tall T:it/the child of-the Mr. Reyes Cp:cpa/than the-pers Kres
Mr. Reyes' child is taller than Kres.

In Sentences 193 and 194 the presence of topic is optional. Compare the underlined phrases.

- (193) **Madamo sang bato sa suba.**
many S:it/of-the stone Si:loc/in-the river
There are many stones in the river.

Or, it may be:

Madamo ang bato sa suba.
many T:it/the stone Si:loc/in-the river
(same meaning)

- (194) **Damo sang mga utod nga kahoy sa sawmill.**
many S:it/of-the cut Ad tree Si:loc/at-the sawmill
There are many cut trees at the sawmill.

Or, it may be:

Damo ang mga utod nga kahoy sa sawmill.
many t:it/the pl cut Ad tree Si:loc/at-the sawmill
(same meaning)

Sentences having a *ka-* descriptive predicate are sometimes exclamatory, but not always, as is seen in 198. In Sentences 195-198 the presence or absence of topic cannot be altered. In these cases the predicate base controls the occurrence of **topic**.

- (195) **Katahom sang bulak.**
beautiful S:it/of-the flower
How beautiful is the flower!

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- (196) **Kasadya sa ila nga duha.**
cheerful to-the they Ad two
How cheerful the two of them were!
- (197) **Kapalatuon sa imo.**
studying-hard S:it/to-the you-sg
How hard you study!
- (198) **Kapalaluto si Nanay.**
cook-hard T:it/the mother
Mother is fond of cooking.

In Sentences 199-202 topic is obligatorily present.

- (199) **Mabudlay ang pagluto sa kusina.**
difficult T:it/the cooking Si:loc/in-the kitchen
Cooking in the kitchen is difficult.
- (200) **Maambong sing panagway si Bimbo.**
handsome of-the facing T:it/the-pers Bimbo
Bimbo is handsome of face.
- (201) **Anom ka tuig ang kagulangon ni Noel sa akon.**
Pred:dsc/six Ad year T:it/the older of-the-pers Noel to-the me
Noel is older than I by six years.
- (202) **Taga-Pilipinas ako.**
Pred:dsc/from-the-Philippines T:it/I
I am from the Philippines.

3.2.4. The pattern of the **equational nonverbal clause** is distinct from other clauses in both its predicate and subject tagmemes. Both are obligatory, and both have sets of exponents which are distinct from other nonverbal clause predicate and subject tagmemes.

The underlying pattern of the equational nonverbal clause is given below from Chart 19 as Formula 33A. Formula 33B describes the surface structure of this clause type.

Formula 33A

$UPEqnNonVbCl = Pred:id .+ Subj:it + (Si:loc).$

Formula 33B

$EqnNonVbCl = Pred:\langle NP \rangle + Subj/T:NmvNP + (Si:DatNP).$

$\langle NP \rangle = NmvNP, DatNP, PrNP$

In the underlying pattern of the equational nonverbal clause, predicate is correlated with the semantic function of **identification**. In the surface structure, as indicated by Formula 33B, predicate is expounded by nominal phrases. Subject is correlated with the semantic function of **item-identified** in the underlying pattern, and in the surface structure it is expounded by a nominative nominal phrase, since subject is always topicalized in this clause type. Site is correlated with the semantic function of **location** in the underlying pattern, and in the surface structure it is expounded by a dative nominal phrase.

The nominal phrase, indicated as the exponent of the predicate, represents three classes of exponents: nominative nominal phrases, dative nominal phrases, and primary nominal phrases.

The primary nominal phrase exponents of the predicate do not have introductory markers, and thus indicate general identity of the subject, not specific. The other nominal phrase exponents of the predicate indicate specific identity, referring to a particular member of a class.

Sentences 203-326 are equational clauses expressing general identification.

- (203) **Saging ang gin-isip niya.**
 banana T:id/the counted by-him
Bananas are what he counted.
- (204) **Kasabay ko sia kagab-i sa tinikling.**
 partner of-mine T:it/she last-night Si:loc/at-the tinikling-dance
She was my partner at the tinikling dance last night.
- (205) **Kasunod niya ang iya mga kautoran.**
 follow her T:id/the her pl sibling
Her following consisted of her brothers and sisters.
- (206) **Bata pa ako.**
 child still T:id/I
I am still a youngster.

Sentences 207 to 210 are equational clauses expressing specific identification. Only topic is underlined.

- (207) **Si Rey ini.**
 Pred:id/the-pers Rey T:id/this
This is Rey.
- (208) **Sia ang tunay nga si Alex.**
 Pred:id/he T:id/the genuine Ad the-pers Alex
He is the real Alex.

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- (209) **Si Jose ang nagtuon sang Math.**
Pred:id/the-pers Jose T:id/the learned of-the Math
Jose is the one who learned Math.
- (210) **Ang ginbakal niya ang bayo.**
Pred:id/the bought by/her T:id/the dress
The dress is the thing she bought.

Sentences 211-213 are equational clauses expressing locational, possessive, or benefactive identification.

- (211) **Sa imo na ina.**
Pred:id/to-the you already T:id/that
That's yours now.
- (212) **Sa kusina ang mga tigulang niya.**
Pred:id/in-the kitchen T:id/the plural parent of-him
His parents are in the kitchen.
- (213) **Para kay Clarita ang paghimo sadto.**
Pred:id/for to-the-pers Clarita T:id/the doing of-that
That is being done for Clarita.

3.2.5. The pattern of the **existential nonverbal clause** contrasts with other nonverbal clauses in the distinct exponents of its predicate, by the presence of an object tagmeme, and by the semantic function correlated with the subject. Two contrastive surface constructions come from the underlying pattern of the existential nonverbal clause (ExsNonVbCl).

The underlying pattern of the ExsNonVbCl is given below from Chart 19 as Formula 34A. Formula 34B describes the surface structure of one type.

Formula 34A

$UPExsNonVbCl = Pred:exs + [Subj:po] + Obj:ext + (Si:loc).$

Rest. If Obj:pers ext, then Pred:neg exs +
Obj:pers ext; and delete Si:po.

Formula 34B describes the surface structure of an ExsNonVbCl not having a personal existent.

Formula 34B

$ExsNonVbCl = Pred:(ExsPar) + (Subj/T:NmvNP) + Obj:PrNP,$
 $GenNP + Si:DatNP).$

(ExsPar) = *may there is, (wala) there is none.*

(wala) = *wala, walay, waay.*

Rest-1. If Pred:may, then Obj:PrNP.

Rest-2. If Pred:(wala), then Obj:GenNP.

In the underlying pattern of the existential nonverbal clause, the predicate is correlated with the semantic function of **existence**, and in the surface structure the predicate is expounded by any member of the class of existential particles. The subject is correlated with the semantic function of **possessor** in the underlying pattern, and expounded in the surface structure by a nominative nominal phrase. The subject is optional, but when it occurs, it is always topicalized.

The object is correlated in the underlying pattern with the semantic function of **existent**, and is expounded in the surface structure by either a primary nominal phrase or a genitive nominal phrase. The site is correlated with the semantic function of **location** in the underlying pattern, and is expounded by a dative nominal phrase in the surface structure. Site is also optional.

The class of existential particles has two members: *may there is*, and *(wala) there is none*. *Wala* has two other variants *walay*, and *waay*. Their use seems to be determined by dialectal choice.

Restriction 1 says that if the predicate is expounded by *may*, then object is expounded by a primary nominal phrase. Restriction 2 says that if the predicate is expounded by *(wala)*, then object is expounded by a genitive nominal phrase.

Existential nonverbal clauses indicate the existence of some item, the **existent**, in the real world. Sentences 214-217 are examples of the existential clause type having a *may* exponent of the predicate.

- (214) **May banig sa katre.**
 Pred:exs/there-exists S:ext/mat Si:loc/on-the bed
There is a mat on the bed.
- (215) **May pamat-od sa paningog sang iya iloy.**
 Pred:exs/there-is certainty Si:loc/in-the voice of-the her mother
There is certainty in her mother's voice.
- (216) **May balay sila.**
 Pred:exs/there-exists S:ext/house T:po/they
They have a house.
- (217) **May baligya kamo nga banig?**
 Pred:exs/there-exists S:ext/sell T:po/you(pl) Ad mat
Do you have mats for sale?

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Sentences 218 and 219 are examples of the negative existential clause type.

- (218) **Wala sing banig sa katre.**
Pred:ngx/there-is-none S:ext/of-a mat Si:loc/on-the bed
There isn't any mat on the bed.
- (219) **Wala ako sing nakilala nga kupido.**
Pred:negx/none T:po/I S:ext/of-a known Ad cupid
I don't know any cupid.

The underlying pattern of the **personal existential nonverbal clause** (PersExsNonVbCl) is described by Formula 35A. Formula 35B gives the surface structure. This clause type results from the co-occurrence restriction on the underlying pattern of existential nonverbal clauses stated in Formula 34A.

Formula 35A

UPPersExsNonVbCl = Pred:neg exs + Obj:pers ext.

Formula 35B

PersExsNonVbCl = Pred:(wala) + Obj/T:NmvNP.

In the underlying pattern of the personal existential nonverbal clause, the predicate is correlated with the semantic function of **negative existence**, and in the surface structure it is expounded by a member of the **wala** class of negative existential particles listed with Formula 34B. The object is correlated with the semantic function of **personal existent** in the underlying structure, and is expounded by a nominative nominal phrase in the surface structure since it is simultaneously topic. Subject does not occur.

Sentences 220 and 221 illustrate the personal existential nonverbal clause.

- (220) **Wala na si Miss Alarcon.**
not-exist already the-personal Miss Alarcon
Miss Alarcon no longer existed.
- (221) **Natakopan na ina nga handom kay wala na si Betina.**
covered already that Ad present because not-exist already the-pers Betina
That present was put away because Betina was gone (she had died).

3.2.6. The **interrogative nonverbal clause** in Hiligaynon contrasts with other nonverbal clauses in having only predicate and subject tagmemes, and in having a different correlation of syntactic and semantic functions in the predicate. The underlying pattern of the InrrNonVbCl type is given below as Formula 36A. Formula 36B gives the surface structure.

Formula 36A

UPIintrrNonVbCl = Pred:query + S:it.

Formula 36B

IntrrNonVbCl = Pred: ⟨IntrrP⟩ + S/T:NmvNP.

⟨IntrrP⟩ = IntrrPrNP, IntrrTerNP.

In the underlying pattern of the interrogative nonverbal clause, the predicate is correlated with the semantic function of **query** and is expounded in the surface structure by an interrogative phrase. The interrogative phrase may be either an interrogative primary nominal phrase (IntrrPrNP) or an interrogative tertiary nominal phrase (IntrrTerNP). Subject is correlated with **item questioned** in the underlying pattern and is expounded in the surface structure by a nominative nominal phrase since it is always simultaneously topic.

Sentences 222 and 223 illustrate IntrrNonVbCl's having an IntrrPrNP expounding the predicate.

- (222) **Ano bala ang nakita mo sa libro?**
 Pred:1/what question T:g/the saw by-you in-the book
What did you see in the book?
- (223) **Sin-o ang maestro?**
 Pred:q/who T:id/the teacher-male
Who is the teacher?

Sentences 224 and 225 illustrate IntrrNonVbCl's having an IntrrTerNP expounding the predicate.

- (224) **Ano nga sala ang mabuhat ko sa imo?**
 what Ad wrong the did by-me to-the you
What wrong have I done you?
- (225) **Sin-o bala nga konde ang ginasiling mo?**
 Pred:q/who question Ad Count T:g/the are-telling by-you
Who is the Count you are telling (me) about?

3.3. THE STATIVE CLAUSES. In the Hiligaynon stative clauses, only an aspect-like inflection reporting how the action is done marks the predicate exponent. There is no reference to time or voice in the statives. Though the stative clauses are similar to the descriptive nonverbal clauses, they differ from those clauses in that they have a tagmeme string which parallels the declarative verbal clause string. However, stative clauses differ from the declarative verbal clauses (1) in derivation from the UPCN, (2) in topicalization processes, and (3) in the type of predicate exponent which occurs.

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3.3.1. DERIVATION OF STATIVE CLAUSES. The markers of the stative inflection are the deriving elements in the derivation of the stative clause types from the underlying pattern of clause nuclei (UPCN). The matrix of the stative inflection markers is given in Chart 21.

Chart 21
Matrix of the stative inflection

Caused state:	ka-
Causing state:	pa-
Attentive state:	pag-
Iterative state:	pang-
Request state:	pakig-

The stative inflection consists of five affixes as shown in Chart 21. The affix **ka-** indicates that the subject has been caused to be in the state specified by the predicate exponent. The affix **pa-** indicates that the subject is causing something to be in the state specified by the predicate exponent. The affix **pag-** indicates a durative state in which the participants are attentive to the diligent performing of the action specified by the predicate exponent. This type of stative also functions as a conditional clause in sentence structure. The affix **pang-** also indicates a durative state in which the action is repeatedly performed. The affix **pakig-** indicates a state of requesting that the action specified by the predicate exponent be done.

The underlying pattern of the stative clause type is derived by matrix multiplication of the UPCS (Formula 29) by the matrix of stative inflection as described by Derivational Statement 6.

Derivational Statement 6

$$\text{UPStCl} = \text{UPCS} \times \text{StInfl}$$

3.3.2. TOPICALIZATION IN STATIVE CLAUSES. Only two of the stative clauses, the **caused** and the **causing**, have topicalized tagmemes. The pattern of topicalization in stative clauses is given in Chart 22.

The **attentive**, **iterative**, and **request stative clauses** have no topicalization potential. The **caused stative** and the **causing stative** have differing topicalization potential. In the caused stative clause, the subject is usually the topic, but with certain bases the referent is topic. In the causing stative clauses, the object is topicalized.

The affixes of the stative inflection also occur with combinations of voice and mode inflection in complex verbal predicates. In such verbs, the stative inflection functions as inner-layer aspect-like inflection. Some of these are described later (Sec. 3.5) in connection with clause types derived from the UPCN by multiple derivations.

Chart 22

Topicalization in Hiligaynon stative clauses

Gram. functions:		Pred	Subj	Obj	Cn	Ref
Inflect. type:						
Caused Cl.	=	ka-	T	-	-	[T]
Causing Cl.	=	pa-	-	T	-	-
Attentive Cl.	=	pag-	-	-	-	-
Iterative Cl.	=	pang-	-	-	-	-
Request Cl.	=	pakig-	-	-	-	-

3.3.3. COMPARISON OF THE UNDERLYING PATTERNS OF THE INDIVIDUAL STATIVE CLAUSES. The correlation of syntactic with semantic functions in the underlying patterns of the five stative clauses is compared in Chart 23. Grammatical functions form the parameter across the top of the matrix. The stative clause types are indicated as the parameter along the left margin of the matrix.

Chart 23

Comparison of the underlying patterns of the stative clauses

Gram. functions:		Pred	Subj	Obj	Cn	Ref
Clause type:						
CdStCl	=	Cd	ag	(g)	(g)	(loc, io, g)
CngStCl	=	Cng	(ag)	g		io
AttenStCl	=	Atten	(ag)	g		
IterStCl	=	Iter		g		
RqStCl	=	Rq	ag	(g)	(g)	(loc, io)

Chart 23 indicates that all the clauses are in contrast. These underlying patterns are discussed in detail in connection with the description of the individual stative clause types given below.

There is considerable overlap in the membership of the stem classes which correlate with the various stative clauses, but not complete overlap.

The stative clauses do not have a high functional load in the texts of the concordance used for this description.

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3.3.4. DESCRIPTION OF THE INDIVIDUAL STATIVE CLAUSE TYPES. There are five types of stative clauses: the **caused stative**, the **causing stative**, the **attentive stative**, the **iterative stative**, and the **request stative clauses**.

The underlying pattern of the **caused stative clause** type is given as Formula 37A. Formula 37B describes the surface structure of this clause type.

Formula 37A

$$\text{UPCdStCl} = \text{Pred:cd state} + [\text{Subj:ag}] + (\text{Obj:g}) + (\text{Cn:g}) + (\text{Ref:loc, io, g}).$$

Formula 37B

$$\text{CdStCl} = \text{Pred:ka-StP} + [\text{Subj:GenNP}] + (\text{Obj:GenNP}) + (\text{Cn:GenNP}) + (\text{Ref:DatNP}).$$

Rest. Only one goal function may occur at a time.

In the underlying pattern of a **caused stative clause**, the predicate grammatical function is correlated with the semantic function of a **caused state** and, as indicated in Formula 37B, is expounded in the surface structure by a **ka-** marked stative. Subject is correlated with the semantic function of **agent** in the underlying pattern, and is expounded in the surface structure by a **genitive nominal phrase**. Subject does not occur with some predicate exponents.

Object, conveyant, and referent are optional in this clause type. Object is correlated with the semantic function of **goal** in the underlying pattern, and is expounded in the surface structure by a **genitive nominal phrase**. Conveyant is correlated with the semantic function of **goal** when it occurs, but it does not co-occur with object. Conveyant is expounded in the surface structure by a **genitive nominal phrase**. Referent is correlated with the semantic function of **location**, **indirect object** or **goal** in the underlying pattern. Referent does not occur with **goal** when either object or conveyant occur with that function. The referent function is expounded in the surface structure by a **dative nominal phrase**.

In the **caused stative clauses**, the state is usually translated to English as a just-completed action. Lee (1964) described a similar **ka-** class clause type in Maguindanao, except that he found the topicalization potential to be zero. He classified it as a nonfocus verbal clause, since the predicate verb exponent was inflected with both mode and tense. In the Hiligaynon type, the stative clauses have a nonverb predicate exponent together with a clause string having verbal clause grammatical function such as subject and object.

The **caused stative clauses** are correlated with Stative Stem Class I, whose members expound the stem of the predicate exponent in this clause type. A representative sample of stems in Stative Stem Class I is given in the following list.

tapos	<i>finish</i>	samo	<i>mix</i>
kibut	<i>surprise</i>	parte	<i>share</i>
plansa	<i>iron clothing</i>	himo	<i>make</i>
haboy	<i>throw</i>	siling	<i>tell</i>
basa	<i>read</i>	hampang	<i>play</i>

Sentences 226-228 are ka- class stative clauses. Topic is underlined in all of the following examples.

- (226) **Kaatop gid man ako sang akon balay kaghapon.**
 St-just-roofed really also T:ag/I O:g/of-the my house Te:ti/yesterday
I just roofed my house yesterday, too.
- (227) **Kapuno sang mga pasahero ang trak.**
 St-was-filled Cn:g/of-the pl passenger T:loc/the truck
The truck was filled with passengers.
- (228) **Kasala si Maria sa iya Nanay.**
 St-just-offended T:ag/the-pers Maria R:io/to-the her mother
Maria offended her mother.

The underlying pattern of the causing stative clause type is repeated below as Formula 38A. Formula 38B describes the surface structure of this clause type.

Formula 38A

$$\text{UPCngStCl} = \text{Pred:cng desc} + \text{Subj:ag} + \text{Obj:g} + (\text{Ref:io}).$$

Formula 38B

$$\text{CngStCl} = \text{Pred:pa-StP} + \text{Subj:GenNP} + \text{Obj/T:NmvNP} + (\text{Ref:DatNP}).$$

In the underlying pattern of the causing stative clauses, the predicate is correlated with the semantic function of a **causing state**. In the surface structure, as given by Formula 38B, the predicate is expounded by a pa- stative phrase. Subject function is correlated with the semantic function of **agent** in the underlying pattern, and is expounded in the surface structure by a genitive nominal phrase.

Object function is correlated with the semantic function of **goal** in the underlying pattern, and is expounded in the surface structure by a nominative nominal phrase since it is always simultaneously topic in this clause type. Referent function is correlated with the semantic function of **indirect object** in the underlying pattern, and is expounded by a dative nominal phrase in the surface structure.

The causing stative clauses are correlated with Stative Stem Class II. A representative sample of members of that stem class is given in the following list.

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dayon	<i>continue</i>	kadto	<i>go</i>
salubong	<i>greet</i>	ibabaw	<i>above</i>
lampus	<i>strike</i>	idalom	<i>below</i>
lihog	<i>want</i>	hibalo	<i>know</i>
langga	<i>love</i>	dulog	<i>stop</i>

Sentences 229 and 230 are causing stative clauses. Topic is underlined.

- (229) **Palangga gid sang mag-asawa ang ila subang.**
 St-love-exceedingly really S:ag/by-the couple T:g/the their first-son
The couple really love their first son very much.
- (230) **Pasalubong ko ini sa imo, Tatay.**
 St-greet-with S:ag/by-me T:g/this R:io/to-the you, Father
I greet you with this, Father.

The underlying pattern of the attentive stative clauses is repeated below as Formula 39A. Formula 39B describes the surface structure of this clause type.

Formula 39A

UPAttenStCl = Pred:atten state + (Subj:ag) + (Obj:g).

Formula 39B

AttenStCl = Pred:pag-StP + (Subj:GenNP) + (Obj:GenNP).

Rest. Either Subj or Obj must occur.

In the underlying pattern of the attentive stative clause, the predicate function is correlated with the semantic function of **attentive state**, and in the surface structure, as given by Formula 39B, it is expounded by a **pag-** stative phrase. The subject is correlated with the semantic function of **agent** in the underlying pattern, and is expounded in the surface structure by a genitive nominal phrase. Object function is correlated with the semantic function of **goal** in the underlying pattern, and is expounded in the surface structure by a genitive nominal phrase. There is one restriction, to the effect that either the subject or object must occur even though both are marked optional in the formula. No topic occurs in this clause type.

The attentive stative clauses are correlated with Stative Stem Class III. Representative members of that stem class are given in the following list.

buot	<i>desire</i>	katapos	<i>finished</i>
abot	<i>arrive</i>	likaw	<i>avoid</i>
amba	<i>pray</i>	salig	<i>trust</i>
bisita	<i>visit</i>	sulod	<i>enter</i>
bakal	<i>buy</i>	tatap	<i>take care of</i>

Sentences 231 and 232 are examples of the attentive stative clauses. In Sentence 231, there is a topic in the embedded sentence which expounds the axis of the nga-introduced adjunctive phrase, but the matrix sentence has no topic.

- (231) **Pagbuot ayhan sang langit nga makita niya si Sandra.**
 St-making maybe S:ag/by-the heaven Ad OV-will-see S:ag/by-him T:g/the-pers
 Sandra
It may be heaven's doing so that he can see Sandra.
- (232) **Pagbakal sang bulung.**
 St-buy O:g/of-the medicine
Buy some medicine.

The underlying pattern of the **iterative stative clauses** is repeated below as Formula 40A. Formula 40B describes the surface structure of this clause type.

Formula 40A

UPIterStCl = Pred:iter state + Obj:g.

Formula 40B

IterStCl = Pred:pang-StP + Obj:GenNP.

In the underlying pattern of the iterative stative clause, the predicate function is correlated with the semantic function of **iterative state**, and is expounded in the surface structure, as given by Formula 40B, by a **pang-** stative phrase. Object function is correlated with the semantic function of **goal** in the underlying pattern, and is expounded in the surface structure by a genitive nominal phrase.

The iterative stative clauses are correlated with Stative Stem Class IV. A representative sample of members of that stem class are given below from Motus (1971).

hugas	<i>wash hands</i>	ayo	<i>bargain</i>
kabay	<i>wish, request</i>	dumdom	<i>think</i>
ako	<i>promise</i>	kumusta	<i>greet</i>
laba	<i>launder</i>	pangkot	<i>ask</i>
kita	<i>look for</i>	batok	<i>oppose</i>

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Iterative stative clauses are not common as independent clauses. None are found in the concordance used for this description, and Motus has only one example, given below as Sentence 233.

- (233) **Panghugas sang imo kamot.**
St-wash O:g/of-the your hand
Wash your hands.

The **request stative clause** is a special clause type derived from the causing stative clause by vector multiplication of the **pa-** affix by **-kig-**, a dependent affix. The cluster **pakig-** indicates a request for an action to be done and permits an additional tagmeme, the conveyant, in the clause. In this type of clause, topic is obligatorily absent.

The underlying pattern of the request stative clause type is given below as Formula 41A. Formula 41B describes the surface structure of this clause type.

Formula 41A

$$\text{UPRqStCl} = \text{Pred:rq state} + \text{Subj:ag} + (\text{Obj:g}) + \text{Cn:g} + (\text{Ref:loc, io}).$$

Formula 41B

$$\text{RqStCl} = \text{Pred:pakig-StP} + \text{Subj:GenNP} + (\text{Obj:GenNP}) + \text{Cn:GenNP} \\ + (\text{Ref:DatNP}).$$

Rest. Only one Goal function occurs in a clause.

In the underlying pattern of the request stative clause, the predicate is correlated with the semantic function of **request state** and is expounded in the surface structure, as given by Formula 41B, by a **pakig-** stative phrase. Subject function is correlated with the semantic function of **agent** in the underlying pattern and is expounded by a genitive nominal phrase in the surface structure. Object is correlated with the semantic function of **goal** in the underlying pattern and is expounded in the surface structure by a genitive nominal phrase. Conveyant function is correlated with the semantic function of **goal** in the underlying pattern and is expounded by a genitive nominal phrase in the surface structure. Referent is correlated with the semantic function of either **location** or **indirect object** in the underlying pattern and is expounded by a dative nominal phrase in the surface structure. There is one restriction, to the effect that only one goal function occurs in a request stative clause.

The request stative clauses are correlated with Stative Stem Class V, whose members expound the stem of the predicate exponents. A representative sample of that stem class is given in the following list.

luto	<i>cook</i>	hambal	<i>say</i>
dala	<i>carry</i>	bakal	<i>buy</i>
sulat	<i>write</i>	sapul	<i>confer</i>
kuha	<i>get, take</i>	away	<i>fight</i>
upod	<i>cut</i>	buylog	<i>accompany</i>

Sentences 234 and 235 are examples of request stative clauses.

- (234) **Pakigluto ko sini para sa piesta.**
 St-request-cook S:ag/by-me O:g/of-this R:b/for the fiesta
Please have this cooked for me for the fiesta.
- (235) **Pakigdala ko sang basket kay Mr. Cruz.**
 St-request-carry S:ag/by-me Cn:g/of-the basket R:io/to-the Mr. Cruz
Please carry the basket to Mr. Cruz for me.

By way of contrast, a voice-focus affix is added to the verb of 235, and the clause is given again as 236. The conveyant predicate complement is now marked as topic.

- (236) **Ang basket ipakigdala ko kay Mr. Cruz.**
 Cn:g/the basket AV-request-send S:ag/by-me R:io/to-the-pers Mr. Cruz
I will request that the basket be sent to Mr. Cruz.

3.4. DECLARATIVE VERBAL CLAUSES.

3.4.1. The feature of **voice** in a verb indicates the grammatical orientation of the verb action which, in turn, imposes on the topic nominal, if one occurs, a specific case-like function which agrees with and reinforces the verb orientation. This feature is part of the external grammatical frame in which the lexical plots are encased. Though the participant roles in any given lexical plot tend to remain constant until the plot is changed (such as through replacement of the verb root), the grammatical orientation of the action can be varied through a limited range by use of the voice affixes.

There are four underlying voices in Hiligaynon verbs, and these are shown in Chart 24 with their particular orientations.

The four voices shown in Chart 24 are: (A) **Subjective voice**, which reflects grammatical orientation on performative action. The topic NP bears the function of **performer**. Performative action implies intransitive-like emphasis, even though there may also be an object or referent in the clause. The grammatical function of performer correlates with semantic functions of either **actor of an intransitive action**, **agent of a transitive action**, **experiencer of an action** in which the agent is not mentioned or is obligatorily absent as in acts of nature, and **causer** or **indirect performer** in causative clauses. **Objective voice** (B) indicates grammatical orientation on transitive action, and

Chart 24

The four voices in the Hiligaynon verbal inflection

Verb voice is:		Orientation is:	Topic NP is:
A. Subjective	=	Performative action	Performer
B. Objective	=	Transitive action	Direct object
C. Accessory	=	Transportive action	Conveyant
D. Referative	=	Referential action	Referent

the topic NP bears the function of direct object. Direct object correlates with the semantic functions of **goal** or **receiver of the action**, **location of the action**, **inanimate instigator**, and **agent of the action** in causative clauses.

Accessory voice (C) indicates grammatical orientation on transportive action, and the topic NP bears the function of **conveyant**, the item which is moved or involved by the verb action. The conveyant correlates with the semantic functions of **instrument**, **goal**, **associate**, and **beneficiary**. **Referative voice (D)** indicates grammatical orientation on referential action, and the topic NP bears the function of **referent**. The referent correlates with the semantic functions of **location**, **source**, **beneficiary**, **indirect object**, and **goal**.

The overlap in distribution of the semantic functions is resolved by the verb bases, whose features match the semantic functions with specific grammatical functions as required by the lexical features inherent in the verb bases.

The feature of verb voice in Hiligaynon is the phenomenon most frequently described as 'focus' in recent works on other Philippine languages.⁴ The description is similar to that given for voice above, except that it is usually limited to stating the syntactic relations between a predicate verb and the topic of the sentence.⁵ The verb, inflected by the appropriate focus affixes, is said to mark the topic as either (1) subject-as-actor, (2) object-as-goal, (3) instrument-as-instrument or beneficiary, or (4) referent-as-location or referent. This description is similar to that given for 'voice' at the beginning of this section, except that a description of focus does not usually include all the verbal predications in which focus affixes appear without topic phrases. Voice, as described above, includes the latter distributions as well, since in Hiligaynon the focusing effect of verb voice is one of its more important syntactic functions, but there are occurrences of voice which the term 'focus' does not readily describe. Clauses with the expected 'focus' (or voice) affixes in the predicate verb may fail to contract a topic: Note the examples of voice affix clauses without topics in 237 and 238.

⁴The term 'focus' is used by Healey (1960), Pike (1964), Forster (1964), Shand (1964), Miller (1964), and Newell (1964).

⁵The term 'voice' is also used by Morey (1961), Wolfenden (1961), Geiser (1963), Reid (1966), and Elkins (1967).

(237) Ihuyop ko palihog sang yab-ok sa lamesa.
 AV-will-blow by-me request of-the dust on-the table
I will request that the dust be blown from the table.

(238) Maayo sia sing ihibalo.
 good he of-a to-learn
He is a good learner.

In Example 237, the verb expounding the predicate is ihuyop *blow* (with the mouth), and it is inflected with the accessory voice affix *i-*. However, no topicalized complement is permitted in the clause.

In Example 238, the accessory voice affix is present in the nominalized verb ihibalo *know*, but a topicalized complement is obligatorily absent. Both Sentences 237 and 238 are distributions where focus functions cannot occur. In these cases, the verb voice indicates the grammatical orientation of the verb action as transporative action but does not contract a topicalizing relation with any nominal phrase.

There are other clauses with multiple-voiced verbs but only a single topic. In such cases, the 'extra' voices indicate only grammatical orientation. In Sentence 239 the verb has two voices.

(239) Ilutuan ko kamo sang paniudto.
 RV-will-cook-for by-me you-pl of-the lunch
I will cook lunch for you all.

In the verb ilutuan of 239 the voice affixes are *i-* *transporative action* and *-an* *referential action*. The latter contracts topicalization with the topic nominal phrase kamo as its referent.

In Sentence 240 the underlined verb also has two voices.

(240) Nagaduko si Puring samtang nagapanaysayon.
 looks-down the-pers Puring while is-explaining
Puring is looking down while explaining.

In 240 the verb nagapanaysayon has two voice affixes; nag- indicates performative action and contracts a grammatical relation with the topic nominal phrase si Puring as its performer. The affix *-on* indicates transitive orientation, perhaps implying that there are facts or questions which are the objects of the explanation, but it does not topicalize in this form.

The advantage of this description is that it accounts for topic-less sentences in Hiligaynon in the same general way as those having topics.

Blake (1925) used the term 'voice' instead of focus in his description of Tagalog grammar and described the phenomenon as a case-like function in which the case

relationship between verb and subject is marked by the verb affixes instead of by affixes in the subject nominal phrase. McKaughan (1958, 1962) revived the term 'voice' for Maranao and spoke of the case-like functions of the nominal phrases but did not consider that the verb voices also marked case-like functions. Kerr (1965:16) described a similar phenomenon in Cotabato Manobo with a Blake-like definition which considers that the case functions marked in nontopic nominal phrases are transferred to verb voice affixes when these phrases become topic, although he finds slippage in the transfer.

Fillmore (1968) reanalyzes the Maranao verb voice features as markers of case relationships in a manner similar to Blake's Tagalog description.⁶ McKaughan (1970) traces this history of the description and agrees with Fillmore's reanalysis of his Maranao material calling special attention to the value of Fillmore's distinction between deep and surface structure in description of case relations in Philippine languages for handling the numerous semantic distinctions.

In the description of Hiligaynon verb voice presented above, the function of voice is termed 'case-like', but it is not equated with the functions marked in the nontopic phrases. Verb voice and the grammatical functions of the nontopic nominal phrases are considered independent variables. This is because the grammatical orientations imposed by the Hiligaynon verb voices do not correlate consistently with the same nontopic phrases. On the other hand, there are only two nontopic nominal phrases, but neither phrase distinctively correlates with only one verb voice. These ambiguities are illustrated in the sample sentences below.

The sentences of 241-243 show that both genitive and dative nontopic phrases would have to be correlated with referative voice as markers of referent case for verbs like **lampos** *hit, strike*. That is, the topic of the referative voice clause in 241 can be replaced by either of the nontopic phrases as given in 242 and 243. The phrases in question are underlined.

- (241) **Lampusan ko sang kahoy ang man-og.**
 RV-will-strike by-me of-the wood the snake
I'll strike the snake with the wood.
- (242) **Naglampos ako sang kahoy sang man-og.**
 SV-struck I of-the wood of-the snake
I struck the snake with the wood.
- (243) **Naglampos ako sang kahoy sa man-og.**
 SV-struck I of-the wood at-the snake
I struck the snake with the wood.

⁶In their discussion of the Maranao system, both Fillmore and McKaughan seem to imply that there is a one-to-one equivalence between the case markers of the nontopic nominal phrases and the voice affixes in the Maranao verb.

In Hiligaynon, the situation is more complicated, since both verb voices and the nontopic nominal phrases function ambiguously to mark grammatical relations.

Sentences 244-246 illustrate situations in which the grammatical function of a nontopic dative case would have to be equated to two different verb voices with the same verb root. The nontopic dative phrase underlined in 244 is topicalized in 245 by accessory voice and in 246 by referative voice.

- (244) **Nagaasal ako sang isda sa lipak.**
 SV-is-piercing I of-a fish at-the skewer
I am piercing a fish with the skewer.
- (245) **lasal ko sang isda ang lipak.**
 AV-will-pierce-with by-me of-a fish the skewer
I will pierce a fish with the skewer.
- (246) **Gin-aslan ko sang isda ang lipak.**
 RV-pierced-on by-me of-a fish the skewer
I impaled a fish on the skewer.

Sentences 247-250 illustrate similar ambiguous constructions involving a genitive phrase. The underlined genitive phrase of 247 is topicalized in 248 by accessory voice, in 249 by objective voice, and in 250 by referative voice with the same verb root.

- (247) **Magabaylo ako sang bayo sa tiendahan.**
 SV-will-exchange I of-a shirt at-the market
I will exchange a shirt at the market.
- (248) **Ibaylo ko ang bayo sa humay.**
 AV-will-exchange by-me the shirt to-the rice
I will exchange the shirt for rice.
- (249) **Baylohon ta ang bayo.**
 OV-will-exchange we the shirt
We will exchange shirts.
- (250) **Baylohan ko ang bayo sa tiendahan.**
 RV-will-exchange-at by-me the shirt at-the market
I will exchange the shirt at the market.

In Sentence 251 the underlined genitive phrases ambiguously mark different case functions as seen by the topicalization of 252 and 253. In 251 the two genitive phrases expound instrument and object. In 252 the objective voice topicalizes the object, but in 253 the accessory voice topicalizes an instrument.

- (251) **Nagabayo ako sang hal-o sang humay.**
 SV-is-pounding I of-the pestle of-the rice
I am pounding rice with the pestle.

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- (252) **Bayuhon ko sang hal-o ang humay.**
OV-will-pound by-me of-the pestle the rice
The rice is what I will pound with the pestle.
- (253) **Ibayo ko ang hal-o sang humay.**
AV-will-pound-with the instrument of-the rice
The pestle is what I'll use to pound the rice.

Sentences 254 and 255 illustrate situations in which the same verb voice with the same verb root equates ambiguously with different nontopic phrases. In Sentence 254 accessory voice topicalizes the instrument. In 255 accessory voice topicalizes the conveyed object.

- (254) **Iasal ko sang isda ang lipak.**
AV-will-pierce-with of-a fish the skewer
I will pierce a fish with the skewer.
- (255) **Iasal ko ang isda sa lipak.**
AV-will-pierce by-me the fish at-the skewer
I will pierce the fish with the skewer.

The four voices in Hiligaynon verbs, subjective, objective, accessory, and referative, are now described in detail.

Referative voice (RV) describes the action of the predicate event as one having referential orientation toward or away from a referent, or taking place at a site or location as referent. If a referent actually occurs in a referative voice clause, it is topic. The situational role correlated with referent may be indirect object, location, source, beneficiary, or goal, depending on the semantic features of the predicate exponent. Referative voice is marked by the **-an** class of affixes. In the following illustrations, topic is underlined.

(a) Referative voice + topic-as-indirect object.

- (256) **Hatagan mo ako sang humay**
RV-give-to S:ag/by-you T:io/ne O:g/of-the rice
You give me some rice.

(b) Referative voice + topic-as-location.

- (257) **Lutuan niya sang sud-an ang kulon.**
RV-cook-in S:ag/by-her O:g/of-the viand T:loc/the pot
She will cook some viand in the pot.

- (c) Referative voice + topic-as-source.
- (258) **Kuhaan ako sang buhis sang SSS.**
 RV-get-from T:so/me O:g/of-the tax S:ag/by-the SSS
The SSS (Social Security System) will take tax from me.
- (d) Referative voice + topic-as-goal.
- (259) **Ginakadlawan ko ang iya binalaybay.**
 RV-laughing S:ag/by-me T:g/the his recitation
I am laughing at his recitation.
- (e) Referative voice + topic-as-beneficiary.
- (260) **Lutuan ko sang pagkaon si Tatay.**
 RV-cook-for S:ag/by-me O:g/of-the food T:b/the-pers father
I will cook some food for Tatay.
- (f) Referative voice + topic-as-goal.
- (261) **Buksan mo ang takop sang piyano.**
 RV-will-open S:ag/by-you T:g/the cover of-the piano
You open the cover of the piano.

There is a variant of the referative voice verb formation which imposes an additional restriction on the clause structure by prohibiting the occurrence of the subject predicate complement. In this construction, referative voice is marked by the suffix -i in the verb and indicates obligatory action.

Sentences 262-263 illustrate this variant clause type.

- (262) **Dugnoki sang pinggan ang lamesa.**
 RV-oblig-smash-on O:g/of-the plate T:loc/the table
Smash the plate on the table.
- (263) **Buksi sang liyabe ang ganhaan.**
 RV-oblig-open Cn:i/by-the key T:loc/the door
Open the door with the key.

Accessory voice (AV) describes the grammatical orientation of the predicate event as one which moves or involves an object. It sometimes appears that the action compels the object to act as an instrument used to accomplish a task. In other situations, an object is involved or implicated in the action. If there is a topic, it is the conveyant complement (distinct from object complement though marked like it) and it correlates

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with the semantic situational roles of either an instrument, goal, associate, or beneficiary.⁷
Accessory voice is marked by *i-*.

(a) Accessory voice without topic.

- (264) **Palihog ko ihuyop sang yab-ok sa lamesa.**
request S:ag/by-me AV-blow Cn:g/of-the dust R:loc/on-the table
I am requesting that the dust be blown from the table.

(b) Accessory voice + topic-as-instrument.

- (265) **Ipahid mo sa sapatos ang trapo.**
AV-wipe-with S:ag/by-you R:l/at-the shoes T:i/the rag
You wipe the shoes with the rag.

(c) Accessory voice + topic-as-goal.

- (266) **Ihatag ni Tatay kay Juan ina nga humay.**
AV-will-give-to S:ag/by-the Tatay R:io/to-the Juan T:g/that Ad rice
Tatay will give that rice to Juan.

(d) Accessory voice + topic-as-associate.

- (267) **Itabok niya ang bata sa suba.**
AV-will-cross-with S:ag/by-her T:as/the child R:g/at-the river
She will cross the river with the child.

(e) Accessory voice + topic-as-beneficiary.

- (268) **Isunog mo ako sang dahon.**
AV-will-burn-for S:ag/by-you T:b/I O:g/of-the leaf
You burn some of the leaves for me.

Objective voice (OV) indicates that the grammatical orientation of the predicate event is transitive action emphasizing its carry-over to a goal. If there is a topic, it is the direct object, and it correlates with semantic situational roles of either the goal, location, instigator, or the agent (causative). Transitive verbs do not occur solely with objective voice, however; they may occur with other verb voices, too. Objective voice indicates focus on that particular feature. Objective voice is marked by the *-on* class of affixes.

⁷The overlap in correlation of the voices with the semantic roles (beneficiary role correlates with both accessory and referative voices, for example) is resolved by the stem classes with which the voices occur.

(a) Objective voice + topic-as-direct object.

- (269) **Kuhaon mo ang gumamela sa kamot mo.**
 OV-will-take S:ag/by-you T:g/the hibiscus R:loc/in-the hand of-you
You will take the hibiscus in your hand.

(b) Objective voice + topic-as-location.

- (270) **Tabukon mo sang barota ang suba.**
 OV-will-cross-over S:ag/by-you Cn:as/with-the boat T:loc/the river
You will cross over the river with the boat.

(c) Objective voice + topic-as-instigator.

- (271) **Ginaantos ko ang kainit sang adlaw.**
 OV-suffering S:exp/by-me T:instig/the heat of-the sun
The heat of the sun is making me suffer.

There is a variant of the objective voice verb formation which imposes an additional restriction on the clause structure by prohibiting the occurrence of the subject predicate complement. In this construction, objective voice is marked by the suffix *-a* in the verb and indicates obligatory action.

Sentences 272 and 273 illustrate this variant.

- (272) **Dugmoka ang pinggan sa lamesa.**
 OV-oblig-smash T:g/the plate R:loc/on-the table
Smash the plate on the table.
- (273) **Dalha ining maleta sa awto.**
 OV-oblig-carry-away T:g/this-Ad suitcase R:loc/ to-the car
Carry this suitcase to the car.

Subjective voice (SV) indicates that the grammatical orientation of the predicate event is on performative action, with emphasis on how the performer accomplishes the action. The action is specified with such modal-like meaning as *deliberate*, *casual*, or *innate*, or *repetitive*. If there is a topic it is the subject, and it correlates with semantic situational roles of either actor (or agent), experiencer which endures the action, or causer as the indirect actor. Subjective voice is marked by a class of affixes represented by the affix *mag-* (Appendix A.6).

(a) Subjective voice without a topic.

- (274) **Magaulan pa karon sa gab-i.**
 SV-will-rain yet now Te:ti/in-the night
It will rain yet tonight.

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- (b) Subjective voice + topic-as-actor.
- (275) **Magsulat ka kay Jose** bwas.
 SV-write T:ag/you R:loc/to-the Jose tomorrow
You write to Jose tomorrow.
- (c) Subjective voice + topic-as-experiencer.
- (276) **Magabukal ang tubig sa lata.**
 SV-will-boil S:exp/the water R:loc/in-the can
The water will boil in the can.
- (d) Subjective voice + topic-as-causer.
- (277) **Nagpasunod ako sa iya.**
 SV-caused-to-follow T:k/I O:ag/by-the him
I had him follow me.

The patterns of **topicalization** imposed on the predicate complements by the verb voices are summarized in the matrix shown in Chart 25. The verb voices are the row parameters on the left side of the matrix. Across the top, the column parameters indicate the grammatical functions which are marked by the topicalized complements.

Chart 25

Topicalization patterns imposed by the Hiligaynon verb voices

Topic functions:	Subject	Object	Conveyant	Referent
Verb voices:				
Subjective	(T)			
Objective		(T)		
Accessory			(T)	
Referative				(T)

3.4.2. The underlying pattern of the declarative verbal clause type (UPDeclVbCl) is now derived by matrix multiplication of the underlying pattern of clause structure (UPCS) (Formula 29) by the topicalization matrix of the verb voices. The derivation is given as Derivational Statement 7.

Derivational Statement 7

$$\text{UPDeclVbCl} = \text{UPCS} \times \text{Verb Voices.}$$

The operation described by Derivational Statement 7 results in an underlying declarative verbal clause pattern which differs from the UPCS in that it has four clausal topicalization patterns (Chart 25), and four predicate complements (Chart 26) derived

from the two repeatable complements of the UPCS. The underlying pattern of the declarative verbal clause type is given as Formula 42.

Formula 42

$$\text{UPDeclVbCl} = \text{VbPred:}(\text{ev}) + (\text{S:}(\text{ag})) + (\text{O:}(\text{g})) + (\text{Cn:}(\text{i}) + (\text{R:}(\text{loc})) + (\text{Peri:}(\text{var})).$$

The description of the underlying declarative verbal clause pattern in Formula 42 indicates that a verbal clause consists of six classes of tagmemes. Although only the predicate is obligatory in this pattern, others of these tagmemes become obligatory in specific clause types. The verbal predicate grammatical function is correlated with a class of semantic event (ev) functions. Subject grammatical function is correlated with a class of semantic functions represented by agent (ag). Object grammatical function is correlated with a class of semantic functions represented by goal (g). Conveyant grammatical function is correlated with a class of semantic functions represented by instrument (i). Referent grammatical function is correlated with a class of semantic functions represented by location (loc). Periphery grammatical function is correlated with a class of semantic functions represented by various (var).

Chart 26 shows the four topicalizable predicate complement functions and the general nontopic exponents which expound them in surface structure. A distinction is made between nonpersonal and personal participant roles in the exponents of the object and conveyant complements.⁸ The way these four grammatical functions correlate with the more numerous semantic functions varies with the different clause types and is described in connection with them.

The chart indicates that subject is expounded by genitive phrases for both nonpersonal and personal participants. Object and conveyant are expounded by genitive phrases for nonpersonal participants but by dative phrases for personal. Referent is expounded by dative phrases for both kinds of participants.

Chart 26
Classes of phrases which expound the four topicalizable
predicate complements of the UPDeclVbCl

Complements:	Subj	Obj	Cn	Ref
Participants:				
NonPers:	GenP	GenP	GenP	DatP
Pers:	GenP	DatP	DatP	DatP

The chart indicates that subject is expounded by genitive phrases for both nonpersonal and personal participants. Object and conveyant are expounded by genitive

⁸Elkins also finds that a distinction between personal and nonpersonal objects in Western Bukidnon Manobo is correlated with a distinction in exponents as in Hiligaynon (Elkins 1967.18,19). Morey (1961) finds the distinction in Cebuano to be optional but a difference in exponents is the preferred pattern.

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phrases for nonpersonal participants but by dative phrases for personal. Referent is expounded by dative phrases for both kinds of participants.

That the grammatical exponents of **object** and **conveyant** are a set distinct from both subject and referent is demonstrated in the illustrations below, where the nonpersonal object complement of Example 278 is expounded by a **sang** genitive phrase, but personal referents which substitute for the nonpersonal in 279 and 280 are expounded by **sa** dative phrases. The object complement phrases are underlined.

- (278) Naglampos ako sang ido.
SV-struck S:ag/I O:g/of-the dog
I struck the dog.
- (279) Naglampos ako sa iya.
SV-struck S:ag/I O:g/on-the him
I struck him.
- (280) Naglampos ako kay Pedro.
SV-struck S:ag/I O:g/on-the Pedro
I struck Pedro.

Though these examples are of object complements, the same exponence is found in conveyant complements, but correlated with different semantic roles.

The object, conveyant, and referent predicate complements may be repeated if required by the predicate features. This is possible because (1) both personal and nonpersonal participants are permitted, as well as by the fact (2) that different situational roles are grammatically incorporated into the syntactic structure the same way, necessitating repeated occurrences of same grammatical tagmemes.

3.4.3. As has been noted earlier, bases affect the clause structure by specifying the way the grammatical predicate complement functions are matched with the semantic functions for any given clause. Chart 27 shows the correlation of some of the semantic functions marked by the root **kuha get** (see Chart 17) with the grammatical functions of the predicate complements in declarative verbal clauses. In Chart 27, the grammatical functions are the parameter across the top of the matrix. The semantic functions fill the cells. The left-margin parameter distinguishes between personal and nonpersonal types of roles.

Chart 27

Correlation of syntactic and semantic functions
as ordered by sample root kuha *get, take*

Gram. functions:	S	O	Cn	R
Sem functions:				
Nonpers:	Ag	G	I	Loc/IO
Per :	Ag	G	B	IO

For the root **kuha**, the semantic function of **agent** is correlated with the subject grammatical function for both personal and nonpersonal roles as seen in Chart 27. The semantic function of **goal** is correlated with the object grammatical function, but the conveyant grammatical function is correlated with the instrument semantic function only for nonpersonal roles. For personal roles it correlates with the beneficiary semantic function. The referent grammatical function correlates with the location and indirect object semantic functions for nonpersonal roles, but only with indirect object for personal roles.

The sequence of clauses below illustrates the syntacto-semantic correlation of functions in the predicate complements and the topicalization effected by the verb voices in the surface structure of a single underlying clause pattern. The root **kihah** *slice* expounds the predicate nucleus, and the function correlations are marked by a tagmeme symbol in the literal translation of each predicate complement.

In order to give a clearer picture of the grammatical changes, an artificial clause base is given initially. It is artificial in the following respects: (1) The predicate exponent of the clause base is uninflected, and (2) the clause base is artificially lengthened in order to display the range of focus highlighting. A normal clause usually has only two or three clause-level predicate complements.

Clause base:

- (281) ***Kihad ni Puring sang ahos sang kutsilyo sa lamesa para kay Nanay.**
 slice S:ag/by-the-pers Puring O:g/of-the garlic Cn:i/by-the knife R:loc/on-the table R:b/for to-the-pers Nanay
Puring slices garlic with a knife on the table for Nanay.

Sentence examples 282-287 which follow exhibit the various topicalization possibilities for this clause. The topic is underlined in each sentence.

- (282) **Kumihad si Puring sang ahos.**
 SV-slice-by T:ag/the-pers Puring O:g/of-the garlic
Puring will slice some garlic.

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- (283) **Kiharon ni Puring ang ahos.**
 OV-slice-of S:ag/by-the-pers Puring T:g/the garlic
Puring will slice the garlic.
- (284) **Kiharan ni Puring sang ahos ang lamesa.**
 RV-slice-on S:ag/by-the-pers Puring O:g/of-the garlic T:loc/the table
Puring will slice some garlic on the table.
- (285) **Kiharan ni Puring sang ahos si Nanay.**
 RV-slice-to S:ag/by-the-pers Puring O:g/of-the garlic T:io/the-pers Nanay
Puring will slice some garlic (and give it) to Nanay.
- (286) **Ikihad ni Puring ang kutsilyo.**
 AV-slice-with S:ag/by-the Puring T:i/the knife
Puring will slice with the knife.
- (287) **Ikihad ni Puring sang ahos si Nanay.**
 AV-slice-for S:ag/by-the-pers Puring O:g/of-the garlic T:b/the-pers Nanay
Puring will slice some garlic for Nanay.

Examples 284 and 285 have the same voice-focus but have alternate nonpersonal and personal topics. Examples 286 and 287 have the same voice-focus but likewise are distinguished by nonpersonal and personal topics.

3.4.4. Certain restrictions in surface structure are general to all clause constructions and are, therefore, included in these introductory statements of underlying patterns. They are stated below in three permutation rules.

The clausal order of the predicate complement tagmemes seen in Chart 26 and in Sentence 281, was arbitrarily chosen for discussion purposes, but it is not the only one possible. Permutation Rules 1 to 3 given below specify obligatory changes in order involving both nuclear and peripheral tagmemes.

When the complements are expounded by pronoun substitutes, their order in the clause string is restricted as given in PR1.

PR1. If comp=Sub, then Pred + Comp + Comp + Comp + Comp +
 Comp ==> Pred + Comp:GenSub + Comp:NmvSub
 + (Comp:X) + Comp:DatSub + Comp:Y.

Permutation Rule 1 says that if predicate complements are expounded by substitutes, then there is an obligatory order of those complements. Following the predicate, the order is genitive substitute, then the nominative substitute, then the dative substitute. Complements expounded by relator-introduced phrases may intervene before the dative substitute, but they usually follow.

In Example 288 the predicate complements are expounded by full nominal phrases. In 289, pronoun substitutes expound all the predicate complements. In 290, two complements are expounded by pronoun substitutes and two are expounded by full nominal phrases.

- (288) **Ginbaklan ni Puring sing bayo si Nanay sa tiendahan.**
 RV-bought-for S:ag/by-the-pers Puring O:g/of-the dress T:b/the Nanay
Puring bought a dress for Nanay at the market.
- (289) **Ginbaklan niya ina dira para sa iya.**
 RV-bought-for S:ag/by-her T:g/that R:loc/there R:b/for to-the him
She bought that for him there.
- (290) **Ginbaklan niya ako sing bayo sa tiendahan.**
 RV-bought-for S:ag/by-her T:b/I O:g/of-the dress R:loc/at-the market
She bought a dress for me at the market.

Secondary topicalization (SecTop). Certain tagmemes in Hiligaynon clauses may be permuted to clause-initial position preceding the predicate to give them more prominence than the other clause elements. Fillmore (1968:57) refers to this as 'secondary topicalization'. Longacre (1968:25) refers to it as a sentence topic permutation.⁹

Secondary topicalization is described in this monograph as a change in the positioning of the clause elements as specified in the permutation rule. Secondary topicalization is a permutation derived by matrix multiplication of any clause by a feature of clausal emphasis, labeled here TLT-E. The derivation is described by Derivational Statement 8.

Derivational Statement 8

$$\text{SecTop} = \text{Cl} \times \text{TLT-E.}$$

TLT-E = Emphasis applied to T, Loc, or Te.

Rest. One SecTop per clause.

Derivational Statement 8 says that secondary topicalization is a product of the multiplication of any clause matrix by the feature of TLT-E. The label TLT-E represents a potential for emphasis on three clause-level tagmemes: the topic, location, or temporal tagmemes. The permutation which repositions these tagmemes is given as Permutation Rule 2.

⁹Longacre (1968) discusses the conclusions of five analysts (Elkins, Reid, Ballard, Geiser, and Ruch) in his description of 'sentence topic' for five Philippine languages which he obtained from their unpublished individual studies of sentence structure. Their conclusion is that for their languages, secondary topicalization is a sentence-level phenomenon, rather than clause-level.

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PR2. Pred + X + Y + TLT-E \implies TLT-E + Pred + X + Y.

Permutation Rule 2 says that if a T, Loc, or Te tagmeme is emphasized, then it is permuted to a clause-initial position preceding the remainder of the clause.

In Sentences 291 and 292 the emphasized topic is underlined.

- (291) Si Puring kumihad sang ahos.
 T:ag/the-pers Puring SV-sliced O:g/of-the garlic
Puring sliced the garlic.
- (292) Ang lamesa kiharang ni Puring sang ahos.
 T:loc/the table SV-slice-on S:ag/by-the-pers Puring O:g/of-the garlic
Puring will slice some garlic on the table.

In Sentence 293 an emphasized temporal tagmeme is underlined, and in 294 an emphasized locative of manner.

- (293) Buas magaduaw sia sa tiendahan.
 tomorrow SV-visit T:ag/she R:loc/to-the market
Tomorrow, she will visit the market.
- (294) Sa iya katingala ginpukaw niya ang iya asawa.
 Loc:man/in-the his surprise OV-awoke S:ag/by-him T:g/the his wife
In his surprise he awoke his wife.

For the purpose of describing the permutation of the predicate complement tagmemes in verbal clauses, the normal order is taken to be a construction having the order:

Predicate	Subject	Object	Conveyant	Referent.
1	2	3	4	5

Though this is an arbitrary arrangement, since it is not based on a clause count, it is a common and frequent order.

The permutation of the nontopic exponents of the predicate complements resolves ambiguous constructions in which the attributive relationship of one of the exponents is not clear. The permutation is described by Permutation Rule 3.

PR3. Pred Subj Obj Cn Ref \implies 12534, 13245, 12435.
 1 2 3 4 5
 (Optional.)

Rest. PR3 does not apply to Nmv or Gen Subs.

The permutations of PR3 permit (1) referent to occur between subject and object (12534), (2) object to follow immediately after predicate (13245), and (3) conveyant to precede object (12435). The restriction prevents the permutation from applying to either nominative or genitive substitutes.

In 295, the normal order of 12345 appears. In 296, the order is permuted to 12534. In 297, the order is 13245.

(295) **Napagtugyanan ko sang balay si Jose.**

1 2 3 4

left-in-charge by-me of-the house the-pers Jose

I left Jose in charge of the house.

(296) **Baligyaan niya si Jose sang isda.**

1 2 5 3

will-sell-for by-him the-pers Jose of-a fish

He will sell some fish for Jose.

(297) **Makaluto sang pamahaw si Jose.**

1 3 2

can-cook of-the breakfast the-pers Jose

Jose can cook some breakfast.

3.4.5. TYPES OF CLAUSES. Actual constructions of verbal clauses can now be obtained by the operation of Derivational Statement 9.

Derivational Statement 9

$\text{SpecVbCl} = \text{UPDeclVbCl} \times \text{Verb Stem Class}$

Derivational Statement 9 says that the specific verbal clause types are derived by the multiplication of the underlying pattern of declarative verbal clauses by the verb stem classes which correlate with the clause types. That operation selects (1) the voice focuses permitted with the verb formed from that lexical item, (2) the permitted participants, and also specifies (3) the correlation between the grammatical and semantic functions for the clause-level tagmemes.

The final generalizations which can be made about the clauses result from this last derivation. They consist of the description of the subclasses of verbal clauses based on sets of features held in common. The product of each multiplication is an underlying clause pattern of all-function tagmemes which can then be restated by surface structure tagmemes. In the following sections, verbal clauses are described according to their type. Each type represents a subclass of clauses correlated with some subclass of verbs which orders the clause construction.

There are two main types of Hiligaynon verbal clauses, the **declarative** and the **stative-declarative**. Declarative clauses are derived by matrix multiplication of the underlying pattern of declarative verbal clauses by the semantic feature matrices of the individual verb stems. Stative-declarative clauses are derived by a two-step multiplication. First, the verb stem matrices are multiplied by the stative matrix, then, second, the result is multiplied by the underlying pattern of declarative verbal clauses.

Declarative clauses are described first. The stative-declarative clauses are described in Section 3.5.

Declarative clauses in Hiligaynon include all noncausative verbal clauses. Alternately, the declarative class might be subdivided as Newell (1964) does for Ifugao, or as Forster and Barnard (1968) do for Dibabawon. Newell distinguishes narrative from descriptive verbal clauses, and Forster-Barnard distinguish active from stative. Though Newell's types have different labels, they parallel Forster-Barnard's.

Descriptive/stative types of clauses as described by Newell, et. al., above, are classified in this description as subtypes of declarative clauses which differ only in choice of voice affixes. Submembers of the voice affix classes differ lexically in modal-like ways but do not result in grammatically different clause types in Hiligaynon, since the syntacto-semantic correlation of functions in the predicate complements is not thus altered.

Sentence 298 and 299 are both objective voice clauses, but in 298 the voice affix **-on** marks a simple transitive action, while in 299 the voice affix **ma-** marks an abilitative transitive action. Sentence 299 is the Hiligaynon equivalent of the descriptive/stative clause type in other Philippine languages.

- (298) **Lutuon mo ang adobo.**
 OV-will-cook S:ag/by-you T:g/the adobo
You will cook the adobo.
- (299) **Maluto mo ang adobo.**
 OV-can-cook S:ag/by-you T:g/the adobo
You can cook the adobo.

The subclasses of declarative clauses correlate with verb stem classes which, in turn, specify (1) the particular predicate complements inherent in each type of clause, (2) the correlation of semantic roles with the grammatical functions of the predicate complements, and indicate (3) the voice potential of the verb roots.

Although Ruiz, in his study of Hiligaynon verb roots (1968), is primarily concerned with the co-occurrence restrictions existing between verb roots and the verb voices, he also notes a few unusual clause constructions which, viewed from the perspective of Fillmore's predicate-argument concept, turn out to be normal clause constructions but showing

contrastive correlations between the grammatical and semantic functions of the predicate complements. These appear as separate clause types in the following description.

In this study, the semantic analysis of Hiligaynon verbal clauses was begun with a list of just over 300 verb stems (see Appendix C) and analyzed with the help of three different native speakers. Though this revealed an outline of verbal clause types, it did not give any clue as to the relative significance or functional load of the different types to the language as a whole. This lack is supplied in part by reference to Ruiz's (1968) study of the compatibility of the verb voices with 1580 roots. He does not include all the classes described here, but he is able to give class membership figures for the major classes which subdivide on the basis of verb voices. Though we do not always agree on the analysis of given roots, his larger list gives more indication of the functional load of the different classes of roots. His classifications, referred to in the following descriptions of clause types, are indicated by the symbols A (for subjective voice), B (for objective voice), C (for accessory voice), and D (for referative voice).

In the sample Hiligaynon sentences which illustrate the various clause types, all the underlying obligatory tagmemes are not always present in those surface structures. Their absence is attributed to processes of anaphoric deletion operating above the sentence level. The absent tagmeme(s) are known from the surrounding linguistic or cultural context and are readily supplied by informants. All the sample sentences have come either from actual texts or from native speakers. Unless otherwise noted, the topic is underlined in the sample sentences.

In addition to the predicate, **Declarative Clause Class I (Di)** has only one obligatory predicate complement, the subject, which is correlated with the semantic role of **experiencer** and topicalized by subjective voice. Experiencer is the person or object which undergoes the action. No other nuclear complements can occur, but the various peripheral tagmemes are optional. Formula 43A gives the underlying pattern of the declarative DI clause type. Formula 43B describes the surface structure of this clause type.

Formula 43A

UPDeclDICI = Pred:ev-1 + S:exp.

Formula 43B

SVDeclDICI = Pred:SVVbP + S/T:NmvNP.

In the underlying pattern of declarative DI clauses as given in Formula 43A, the predicate is correlated with the semantic events of Verb Stem Class I. Formula 43B says that the predicate is expounded in the surface structure by a subjective voice verb phrase. Subject is correlated with the semantic function of **experiencer** in the underlying pattern, and is expounded in the surface structure by a nominative nominal phrase, since it is always topicalized in this clause type.

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Only the predicate and the subject complement are obligatory, but peripheral tagmemes of location and temporal may also occur. Verb Stem Class I is made up largely adjective-like descriptives and constitutes only 1% of Ruiz's list, the smallest class of any. Representative members of Stem Class I are given in the list below.¹⁰

daan	<i>old, aged</i>	kusog	<i>strong</i>
kanay	<i>lessen, subside</i>	diutay	<i>few</i>
baw-as	<i>barren female</i>	damo	<i>many</i>
basag	<i>dull, hollow sound</i>	dako	<i>big</i>
luspap	<i>pale, wan</i>	bug-at	<i>heavy</i>

Sentences 300-302 illustrate the D1 clause type. Topics are underlined.

- (300) Nagadiutay na lang ang mga tuboran.
SV-becoming-few already only T:exp/the pl spring
The springs are already decreasing in number.
- (301) Nagakanay ang bagyo.
SV-is-subsidizing T:exp/the storm
The storm is subsiding.
- (302) Magabug-at ang humay ko basa.
SV-will-be-heavy T:exp/the rice if wet
The rice will be heavy if it gets wet.

In the underlying pattern of **Declarative Clause Class II (D2)** there are three obligatory nuclear tagmemes: the predicate, subject, and referent. No other nuclear tagmemes may occur. Formula 44A gives the underlying pattern of the declarative D2 clauses. Formula 44B describes the surface structures of this clause type.

Formula 44A

UPDeclD2C1 = Pred:ev-2 + S:ac, exp + R:loc.

Formula 44B

SVDeclD2C1 = Pred:SVVbP + S/T:NmvNP + (R:DatNP).

RVDeclD2C1 = Pred:RVVbP + S:GenNP + R/T:NmvNP.

In the underlying pattern, predicate is correlated with the semantic events of Verb Stem Class II, and is expounded in the surface structure by either a subject or referative voice verb phrase. Subject is correlated with the semantic functions of actor and

¹⁰Some members of Stem Class I have membership in other classes, but when functioning in Stem Class I they permit only a subject complement.

experiencer, and is expounded in the surface structure by a nominative NP when it is topicalized, and by a genitive NP when it is nontopic.

Referent is correlated with the semantic function of location in the underlying pattern, and is expounded in the surface structure by a nominative NP when it is topicalized, and by a dative NP when it is nontopic. Referent is optional when nontopic.

Class D2 clauses are equivalent to Ruiz's AD class, which comprises 23% of his list, the third largest group. This ranking, however, has to be modified here since his class results in two separate verbal clause types in my analysis: the D2 and D3 clause types. Both of these, however, are significant groups. Representative members of Stem Class II are given below.

akig	anger	ilig	flow
pungko	sit	tulog	sleep
halin	depart	dulom	dark
aga	morning	alagad	serve

Sentences 303-306 illustrate D2 clauses.

- (393) Nagapungko ako sa bangko.
 SV-is-sitting T:ac/I R:loc/on-the chair
I am sitting on the chair.
- (304) Pungkoan mo ang bangko.
 RV-will-sit-on S:ac/by-you T:loc/the chair
You will sit on the chair.

Some of the members of Stem Class II require an inanimate experiencer correlated with the subject complement as in the Examples 305 and 306.

- (305) Nagailig ang tubig sa kalong.
 SV-is-flowing T:exp/the water R:loc/to-the canal
The water is flowing in the canal.
- (306) Iligan sang tubig ang kalog.
 RV-flow-in S:exp/the water T:loc/the canal
The water will flow in the canal.

Declarative Clause Class III (D3) is similar to the D2 clause class in that it is limited to subjective and referative voices, but it contrasts with D2 in that it has only one predicate complement instead of two, and it is correlated with a different stem class. Formula 45A gives the underlying pattern of the declarative D3 clause type. Formula 45B describes the surface structures of this clause type.

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Formula 45A

UPDeclD3Cl = Pred:ev-3 + R:loc, te, g.

Formula 45B

SVDeclD3Cl = Pred:SVVbP + (R:DatNP).

RVDeclD3Cl = Pred:RVVbP + R/T:NmvNP.

In the underlying pattern of the declarative D3 clauses the predicate is correlated with the semantic events of Verb Stem Class III, and is expounded in the surface structure by either a subjective voice or a referative voice verb phrase. Referent is correlated with the semantic function of **location**, **temporal**, or **goal**, in the underlying pattern, and is expounded in the surface structure by a nominative NP when it is topicalized, and by a dative NP when it is nontopic. Referent is optional when it is nontopic.

Although D3 clauses appear in both subjective and referative voices, the subjective voice does not topicalize any complement. In this clause there is no subject complement.

Verb Stem Class III, which expounds the predicate in D3 clauses, is a very small class which consists of events of nature such as rain and wind. This class is a subgroup of Ruiz's class AD mentioned above for D2 clauses.

Representative members of Stem Class III are given in the following list.

ulan	<i>rain</i>	linog	<i>earthquake</i>
daguob	<i>thunder</i>	bagyo	<i>storm</i>
kilat	<i>lightning</i>	alipuok	<i>fog</i>
sanag	<i>bright</i>	talithi	<i>mist</i>
tun-og	<i>dew</i>	hangin	<i>wind</i>

Sentences 307 and 309 are subjective voice constructions without topics. Sentences 308 and 310 are referative voice constructions and have a normal topic.

- (307) **Magaulan pa karon sa gab-i.**
SV-will-rain yet today R:te/in-the night
It will rain yet tonight.
- (308) **Ginulanan ang Malaybalay.**
RV-rained-in T:loc/the Malaybalay
It rained in Malaybalay.
- (309) **Naghangin dira sa Nasuli kaghapon.**
SV-winded R:loc/there R:loc/at-the Nasuli yesterday
It was windy there at Nasuli yesterday.
- (310) **Hanginan ka gani sa uma.**
RV-will-be-winded T:g/you even Lo:loc/in-the cultivated-field
You will get wind-blown even out in the field.

Clauses of **Declarative Clause Class IV (D4)** have a predicate and three nuclear predicate complements but are inflected for only two voices. Formula 46A gives the underlying pattern of the declarative D4 clauses. Formula 46B describes the surface structures of this clause type.

Formula 46A

UPDeclD4Cl = Pred:ev-4 + S:ag + O:g + (R:loc, pur).

Formula 46B

SVDeclD4Cl = Pred:SVVbp + S/T:NmvNP + O:GenNP, DatNP
+ (R:DatNP).

OVDclD4Cl = Pred:OVVbP + S:GenNP + O/T:NmvNP + (R:DatNP).

Rest. If O:pers g, then O:DatNP.

In the underlying pattern of declarative D4 clauses the predicate is correlated with the semantic events of Verb Stem Class IV. In the surface structure the predicate is expounded by either a subjective voice or objective voice verb phrase.

Subject is correlated with the semantic function of **agent** in the underlying pattern, and is expounded in the surface structure by a nominative NP when topicalized, and by a genitive NP when nontopic. Object is correlated with the semantic function of **goal**, and is expounded in the surface structure by a nominative NP when topicalized and by a genitive NP when nontopic, except that the exponent of an object function which is correlated with a personal goal is restricted to a dative NP instead of a genitive NP.

Referent is correlated with the semantic functions of either **location** or **purpose**, and is expounded in the surface structure by a dative NP. Referent is optional in this clause type and cannot be topicalized.

Declarative Clause Class D4 parallels Ruiz's AB class which comprises only 2.8% of his list. This is a small class. Representative members of the class are given below.

baton	<i>accept, receive</i>	hagad	<i>participate</i>
hangop	<i>understand</i>	tusik	<i>to peck</i>
dayaw	<i>praise, honor</i>	mag-an	<i>light weight</i>
halab	<i>graze</i>	pilit	<i>force, urge</i>
tapok	<i>deteriorate</i>	apura	<i>hasten</i>

Topic is underlined in Sentences 311-314 which illustrate the D4 clause class.

- (311) **Ginbaton sang mabuot niya nga tinao ang hangkat.**
OV-accepted S:ag/of-the good his Ad person T:g/the invitation
His good people accepted the invitation.

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- (312) Nagbaton sa iya sa dalayunan nga hulot ang tao.
 SV-received O:g/the him Lo:loc/in-the continuing-place Ad wait the person
The man received him in the reception room.
- (313) Magapilit si Pedro sang iya kaugalingon sa pageskuwela.
 SV-force T:ag/the-pers Pedro O:g/of-the his self Lo:pur/in-the studying
Pedro will force himself to study.
- (314) Piliton ko ikaw sa pagpaligo sa ulan.
 OV-force S:ag/by-me T:g/you Lo:pur/in-the bathing in-the rain
I will force you to bathe in the rain.

Declarative Clause Class V (D5) has a predicate and three predicate complements, subject, object, and referent topicalized by three voices. Formula 47A gives the underlying pattern of the declarative D5 clauses. Formula 47B describes the surface structures of this clause type.

Formula 47A

$$\text{UPDeclD5Cl} = \text{Pred:ev-5} + \text{S:ag} + \text{O:g} + \text{R:loc}.$$

Formula 47B

$$\text{SVDeclD5Cl} = \text{Pred:SVVbP} + \text{S/T:NmvNP} + \text{O:GenNP} + (\text{R:DatNP}).$$

$$\text{OVDeclD5Cl} = \text{Pred:OVVbP} + \text{S:GenNP} + \text{O/T:NmvNP} + (\text{R:DatNP}).$$

$$\text{RVDeclD5Cl} = \text{Pred:RVVbP} + \text{S:GenNP} + \text{O:GenNP} + \text{R/T:NmvNP}.$$

In the underlying pattern of the declarative D5 clauses the predicate is correlated with the semantic events of Verb Stem Class V. The predicate is expounded in the surface structure by a subjective voice, objective voice, or referative voice verb phrase. Subject is correlated with agent in the underlying pattern, and is expounded in the surface structure by a genitive NP when nontopic.

Object is correlated with goal in the underlying pattern, and is expounded by a genitive NP in the surface structure when nontopic. Referent is correlated with location in the underlying pattern and is expounded by a dative NP when nontopic. When the predicate complements are topicalized, they are expounded by a nominative NP. Referent is optional when nontopic.

Verb Stem Class V is equivalent to Ruiz's ABD class, the largest class of verb stems in his data. The class comprises 43% of all stems in the list. Many verbs of motion and bodily actions are in the list, but there are many other kinds also. Representative members of this class are given in the list below.

butong	<i>pull</i>	dulot	<i>offer</i>
abot	<i>reach</i>	hambal	<i>speak</i>
sulod	<i>enter</i>	halin	<i>transfer</i>
saot	<i>dance</i>	lino	<i>shake</i>
hulog	<i>fall, drop</i>	kaon	<i>eat</i>

Sentences 315-317 illustrate Clause Class D5.

- (315) Nagakaon ako sang saging sa kalonan nga lamisa.
 SV-is-eating T:ag/I O:g/of-the banana R:loc/at-the dining Ad table
I am eating a banana at the dining table.
- (316) Kaunon ko ang saging sa kalonan nga lamisa.
 OV-will-eat S:ag/by-me T:g/the banana R:loc/at-the dining Ad table
I will eat the banana at the dining table.
- (317) Kaonan mo sang imo saging ang kalonan nga lamisa.
 RV-will-eat-at S:ag/by-you O:g/of-the your banana T:loc/the dining Ad table
You eat your banana at the dining table.

Declarative Clause Class VI (D6) has a predicate inflected for three voices and three predicate complements. It contrasts with all other clause types in its correlation of functions in the predicate complements, since object correlates with location or indirect object instead of goal, and goal is correlated instead with conveyant. Formula 48A gives the underlying pattern of declarative D6 clauses. Formula 48B describes the surface structures of this clause type.

Formula 48A

UPDeclD6Cl = Pred:ev-6 + S:ag + O:loc, io + Cn:g.

Formula 48B

SVDeclD6Cl = Pred:SVVbP + S/T:NmvNP + (O:DatNP) + (Cn:GenNP).

OVDDeclD6Cl = Pred:OVVbP + S:GenNP + O/T:NmvNP + (Cn:GenNP).

AVDeclD6Cl = Pred:AVVbP + S:GenNP + (O:DatNP) + Cn/T:NmvNP.

In the underlying pattern of the declarative D6 clauses, the predicate is correlated with the semantic events of Verb Stem Class VI, and is expounded in the surface structure by a subjective voice, objective voice, or accessory voice verb phrase. Subject is correlated with agent, and is expounded in the surface structure by a genitive NP when nontopic. Object is correlated with location or indirect object, and is expounded in the surface structure by dative NP when nontopic. Conveyant is correlated with goal, and is expounded in the surface structure by a genitive NP when nontopic. The predicate

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complements are expounded by a nominative NP when topicalized. Object and conveyant are optional when nontopic.

Verb Stem Class VI is not represented in Ruiz's lists and is only a small class here. The only members found are the ones listed below.

tabok	<i>cross over</i>	suk-ay	<i>dig earth</i>
tuktok	<i>knock</i>	haboy	<i>throw</i>
pukpok	<i>pound</i>	patik	<i>drum</i>

Sentences 318-320 illustrate the Declarative Clauses Class D6.

- (318) **Naghaboy ang bata sang bula kay Julio.**
 SV-threw T:ag/the child Cn:g/of-the ball O:io/to-the Julio
The child threw the ball to Julio.
- (319) **Haboyon sang bata si Julio sang bula.**
 OV-will-throw-to S:ag/by-the-child T:io/the Julio Cn:g/of-the ball
The child will throw a ball to Julio.
- (320) **Ihaboy sang bata kay Julio ang bula.**
 AV-will-throw S:ag/by-the child O:io/to-the Julio T:g/the ball
The child will throw the ball to Julio.

Declarative Clause Class VII (D7) has the same underlying pattern of voice inflection as Clause Class D6, but the syntacto-semantic correlation in the predicate complements is different. Declarative Clause Class D7 has the same pattern of verb voice inflections as the D6 clauses, but it contrasts with them in the correlation of functions in the predicate complements and in having a different verb stem class expounding the predicate. Formula 49A gives the underlying pattern of the declarative D7 clauses. Formula 49B describes the surface structure of this clause type.

Formula 49A

UPDeclD7Cl = Pred:ev-7 + S:ag + O:g + Cn:i.

Formula 49B

SVDeclD7Cl = Pred:SVVbP + S/T:NmvNP + O:GenNP, DatNP
 + (Cn:GenNP).

OVDclD7Cl = Pred:OVVbP + S:GenNP + O/T:NmvNP + (Cn:GenNP).

AVDeclD7Cl = Pred:AVVbP + S:GenNP + O:GenNP, DatNP
 + Cn/T:NmvNP.

In the underlying pattern, the predicate is correlated with the semantic events of Verb Stem Class VII. The predicate is expounded in the surface structure by a subjective

voice, objective voice, or accessory voice verb phrase. Subject is correlated with agent in the underlying pattern, and is expounded in the surface structure by a genitive NP when nontopic. Object is correlated with goal in the underlying pattern, and is expounded by a genitive NP when nonpersonal and by a dative NP when personal and nontopic. Conveyant is correlated with instrument in the underlying pattern, and is expounded in the surface structure by a genitive NP when nontopic. Conveyant is optional when nontopic. The predicate complements are expounded by a nominative NP when topicalized. Verb Stem Class VII is a very small class in the available data and is absent from Ruiz's lists. The class is based on the data from one informant. A second informant disagreed with the first in some details. The classification of Verb Stem Class VII is therefore set up tentatively until larger lists and wider informant testing can be obtained. All the members found in the data are given in the list below.

kibon	surround	tomar	take medicine
kibot	surprise	gamay	decrease, make small

Sentences 321-323 illustrate the Declarative Clause Class D7.

- (321) Nagkibot ako sang kuring sa imo.
SV-surprised T:ag/I Cn:i/by-the cat O:g/to-the you
I surprised you with the cat.
- (322) Kibuton ko ikaw sang kuring.
OV-will-surprise S:ag/by-me T:g/you Cn:i/by-the cat
I will surprise you with the cat.
- (323) Ikibot ko ang kuring sa imo.
AV-will-surprise-with S:ag/by-me T:i/the cat O:g/to-the you
I will surprise you with the cat.

Declarative Clause Class VIII (D8) has a predicate, three obligatory predicate complements, and one optional. This class contrasts with other classes in the correlation of functions in the predicate complements and in the stem class which expounds the predicate nucleus. Formula 50A gives the underlying pattern of declarative D8 clauses. Formula 50B describes the surface structures of this clause type.

Formula 50A

UPDeclD8Cl = Pred:ev-8 + S:ag + (O:g) + Cn:i, g + R:loc, io.

Formula 50B

SVDeclD8Cl = Pred:SVvBP + S/T:NmvNP + (O:GenNP) + (Cn:GenNP)
+ (R:DatNP).

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AVDeclD8Cl = Pred:AVVbP + S:GenNP + (O:GenNP) + Cn/T:NmvNP
+ (R:DatNP).

RVDeclD8Cl = Pred:RVVbP + S:GenNP + (O:GenNP) + (Cn:GenNP)
+ R/T:NmvNP.

In the underlying pattern of declarative D8 clauses, the predicate is correlated with the semantic events of Verb Stem Class VIII and is expounded in the surface structure by a subjective voice, accessory voice, or referative voice verb phrase. Subject is correlated with agent and is expounded by a genitive NP when nontopic. Object is optional and cannot be topicalized. Object is correlated with the semantic function of **goal** in the underlying pattern and is expounded by a genitive NP. Conveyant is correlated with the semantic functions of **instrument** or **goal** and is expounded by a genitive NP when nontopic. Referent is correlated with location or indirect object and is expounded in the surface structure by a dative NP when nontopic. When the predicate complements are topicalized, they are expounded by a nominative NP. Object, conveyant, and referent are optional when nontopic. Verb Stem Class VIII is part of Ruiz's ACD class. That class comprises only 3.5% of his list. Representative members of Verb Stem Class VIII are given below.

hatag	<i>give</i>	pili	<i>select</i>
hawan	<i>clear away</i>	hanas	<i>practice</i>
dan-ok	<i>throw</i>	tanyag	<i>offer</i>
simba	<i>worship</i>	singgit	<i>shout</i>
bayad	<i>pay</i>	butang	<i>put</i>

Sentences 324-326 illustrate the Declarative Clause Class D8.

- (324) **Nagahawan ako sang hilamon sa oma.**
SV-is-clearing T:ag/I O:g of-the weed R:loc/in-the planted-field
I am clearing away the weeds in the field.
- (325) **Ihawan mo sang hilamon ang binangon.**
AV-will-clear-with S:ag/by-you O:g/of-the weed Cn:i/the bolo
You clear away the weeds with the bolo.
- (326) **Hawanan mo ang palibot sa aton balay.**
RV-clear-off S:ag/by-you T:loc/the surrounding-area at-the our-incl house
Clear off the ground around our house.

Declarative Clause Class IX (D9) has a pattern of predicate and three predicate complements as in D8 clauses, but the D9 class contrasts with the D8 class in the correlation of syntacto-semantic functions in the predicate complements and in the verb stem class expounding the predicate. Formula 51A gives the underlying pattern of the declarative D9 clauses. 51B describes the surface structures of this clause type.

Formula 51A

UPDeclD9Cl = Pred:ev-9 +S:ag + Cn:i + R:g.

Formula 51B

SVDeclD9Cl = Pred:SVVbP + S/T:NmvNP + (Cn:GenNP) + R:DatNP.

AVDeclD9Cl = Pred:AVVbP + S:GenNP + Cn/T:NmvNP + R:DatNP.

RVDeclD9Cl = Pred:RVVbP + S:GenNP + (Cn:GenNP) + R/T:NmvNP.

In the underlying pattern of the D9 clauses, the predicate is correlated with the semantic events of Verb Stem Class IX and is expounded in the surface structure by a subjective voice, accessory voice, or referative voice verb phrase. Subject is correlated with agent and is expounded by a genitive NP when nontopic. Conveyant is correlated with the semantic function of **instrument** and is expounded in the surface structure by a genitive NP when nontopic. Referent is correlated with goal and is expounded in the surface structure by a dative NP when nontopic. The predicate complements are expounded by a nominative NP when they are topicalized. Conveyant is optional when nontopic.

Verb Stem Class IX is the other half of Ruiz's ACD verb root class, which also accounts for Verb Stem Class VIII. Representative members of Verb Stem Class IX are given in the list below.

pahid	<i>wipe</i>	butig	<i>falsehood, lie</i>
taklob	<i>cover</i>	takop	<i>cover over</i>
lampos	<i>strike at</i>	bantay	<i>watch over</i>
hugas	<i>wash utensils</i>	hambal	<i>talk</i>
ilis	<i>change</i>	sirado	<i>close</i>

Sentences 327-330 illustrate the declarative clause class D9.

(327) Naglampos ako sang kahoy sa man-og.

SV-struck T:ag/I Cn:i/with-the wood R:g/at-the snake

I struck the snake with the wood.

Sentence 328 differs from 327 only in the marking of goal. In 327 goal is expounded by a dative NP, but in 328, by a genitive NP.

(328) Naglampos ako sang kahoy sang man-og.

SV-struck T:ag/I Cn:i/of-the wood R:g/of-the snake

I struck the snake with the wood.

(329) Ilampos ko sa man-og ang kahoy.

AV-will-hit S:ag/by-me R:g/at-the snake T:i/the wood

I will hit the snake with the wood.

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- (330) **Lampusan ko sang kahoy ang man-og.**
 RV-will-hit S:ag/by-me Cn:i/with-the wood T:g/the snake
I will hit the snake with the wood.

Clauses of **Declarative Clause Class X (D10)** have a predicate and four predicate complements. The predicates are inflectable for all four voices. This class of clauses contrasts with the previous classes in having four voices and four complement relations, as well as in having a distinct verb stem class expounding the predicate. Formula 52A gives the underlying pattern of the declarative D10 clauses. Formula 52B describes the surface structures of this clause type.

Formula 52A

UPDeclD10Cl = Pred:ev-10 + S:ag +(O:g) + (Cn:i,b) + (R:loc, so, io, b).

Formula 52B

SVDeclD10Cl = Pred:SVVbP + S/T:NmvNP + O:GenNP + (Cn:GenNP)
 + (R:DatNP).

OVDclD10Cl = Pred:OVVbP + S:GenNP + O/T:NmvNP + (Cn:GenNP)
 + (R:DatNP).

AVDeclD10Cl = Pred:AVVbP + S:GenNP + (O:GenNP) + Cn/T:NmvNP
 + (R:DatNP).

RVDeclD10Cl = Pred:RVVbP + S:GenNP + (O:GenNP) + (Cn:GenNP)
 + R/T:NmvNP.

In the underlying pattern of the declarative D10 clauses, the predicate is correlated with the semantic events of Verb Stem Class X and is expounded in the surface structure by a subjective voice, objective voice, accessory voice, or referative voice verb phrase. Subject is correlated with agent and is expounded in the surface structure by a genitive NP when nontopic. Object is correlated with goal and is expounded by a genitive NP when nontopic. Conveyant is correlated with either instrument or beneficiary in the underlying pattern and is expounded in the surface structure by a genitive NP when nontopic. Referent is correlated with location, source, indirect object, or beneficiary in the underlying pattern and is expounded in the surface structure by a dative NP when nontopic. The predicate complements are expounded by a nominative NP when topicalized. All four predicate complements seldom occur at one time, although this is permissible. Object is optional in accessory voice clauses of this type. Conveyant and referent are optional in all clauses of this type when nontopic.

Verb Stem Class X is parallel to part of Ruiz's ABCD class, which is the second largest in his list. The other part of his ABCD class is parallel to Verb Stem Class XI (see next section). Representative members of Stem Class X are given in the list below.

dala	carry	kimpit	pinch, pluck
ligas	bathe	kuha	take, get
bakal	buy	ani	harvest
kihad	slice	bangkaw	spear
guba	destroy	lubid	twine

Sentences 331-334 illustrate the Declarative Clause Class D10.

- (331) Nagakimpit sia sang baga sa dapog.
 SV-is-picking-up T:ag/he O:g/of-the ember R:loc/from-the fireplace
He is picking up an ember from the fireplace.
- (332) Ginkimpit niya ang baga sa dapog.
 OV-picked-up S:ag/by-him T:g/the ember R:loc/from-the fireplace
He picked up the ember from the fireplace.
- (333) Ginkimpit niya sa ilong ko ang kamot niya.
 AV-pinched-with S:ag/by-him R:loc/on-the nose.my T:i/the hand of-him
With his hand he pinched me on the nose.
- (334) Ginkimpitan niya sang tinapay ang bata.
 RV-picked-up-for S:ag/by-her O:g/of-the bread T:b/the child
She picked up some bread for the child.

Declarative Clause Class XI (D11) is similar in construction to the D10 clause type but with some exceptions. D11 clauses have the same number of predicate complements and the same number of voices as D10 clauses, but there are differences in the correlation of goal semantic function with the predicate complements. In D11 clauses goal may correlate with either the object or the referent complement in subjective voice and be topicalized by either object voice or referative voice. When it is topicalized by referative voice, there is an obligatory absence of the object complement with which goal is otherwise in correlation. Formula 53A gives the underlying pattern of the declarative D11 clauses. Formula 53B describes the surface structures of this clause type.

Formula 53A

UPDeclD11Cl = Pred:ev-11 + S:ag + O:g + Cn:i + R:loc, g.

Rest. Only one goal is permitted in a clause.

Formula 53B

SVObjGDeclD11Cl = Pred:SVVbP + S/T:NmvNP + O:GenNP + (Cn:GenNP) + R:DatNP).

SVRefGDeclD11Cl = Pred:SVVbP + S/T:NmvNP + (Cn:GenNP) + R:DatNP.

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OVObjGDeclD11Cl = Pred:OVVbP + S:GenNP + O/T:NmvNP + (Cn: GenNP) + (R:DatNP).

AVRefGDeclD11Cl = Pred:AVVbP + S:GenNP + Cn/T: NmvNP + (R:DatNP).

RVRefGDeclD11Cl = Pred:RVVbP + S:GenNP + (Cn: GenNP)+ R/T:NmvNP.

In the underlying pattern, the predicate is correlated with the semantic events of Verb Stem Class XI and is expounded in the surface structure by a subjective voice, objective voice, accessory voice, or a referative voice verb phrase. Subject is correlated with agent and is expounded in the surface structure by a genitive NP when nontopic. Object is correlated with goal in the underlying pattern and is expounded in the surface structure by a genitive NP when nontopic. Conveyant is correlated with instrument in the underlying pattern and is expounded by a genitive NP when nontopic. Referent is correlated with either location or goal in the underlying pattern and is expounded in the surface structure by a dative NP when nontopic. Referent is only topicalized when it represents the underlying pattern goal. In that case, object complement is deleted, as it is whenever referent is representing goal. When referent represents location, it is optional. Conveyant is optional when nontopic.

Representative members of Verb Stem Class XI are given in the list below.

hakos	<i>embrace</i>	sunod	<i>follow</i>
kalot	<i>scratch</i>	pulpog	<i>pound</i>
tandog	<i>touch</i>	labo	<i>slash, cut</i>
taklad	<i>climb mountain</i>	saka	<i>ascend</i>
isdog	<i>drag</i>	tapak	<i>trample</i>

Sentences 335-339 illustrate clauses of Declarative Clause Class D11.

When the goal of D11 clauses is correlated with the referent predicate complement, as in 335, it is topicalized by referative voice as in 336. Goal is underlined.

- (335) **Nagahakos** *sia* **sa bata**.
 SV-is-embracing T:ag/he R:g/at-the child
He is embracing the child.

- (336) **Ginahakosan** *ni Manuel* **ang bata**.
 RV-is-embracing-at S:ag/by-the Manuel T:g/the child
Manuel is embracing the child.

When the goal is correlated with the object predicate complement, as in 337, it is topicalized by objective voice as in 338. Again, goal is underlined.

- (337) **Nagahakos sia sang bata.**
 SV-is-embracing T:ag/he O:g/of-the child
He is embracing the child.
- (338) **Ginahakos ni Manuel ang bata.**
 OV-is-embracing S:ag/by-the Manuel T:g/the child
Manuel is embracing the child.

The correlation noted above for goal is not binding in all verbal clauses, only those of Clause Class D11.

Although the instrument semantic function is incorporated in the features of the verb **hakos** *embrace*, an instrument can be stated redundantly and topicalized as in 339.

- (339) **Ginhakos nia sa bata ang iya butkon.**
 AV-embraced-with S:ag/by-him R:g/to-the child T:i/the his arm
He embraced the child with his arms.

3.5. THE DERIVED STATIVE-DECLARATIVE CLAUSE TYPES. Two distinct additional clause types result from combining the inflections which underlie the stative and declarative clauses. The combination is the result of the derivation from the UPCS as given in Derivational Statement 10.

Derivational Statement 10

- Step 1. $StStemClass = St \times Lexicon$
 Step 2. $DeclVbClPattern = UPCS \times Vb \text{ voice}$
 Step 3. $StDeclVbCl = StStemClass \times DeclVbClPat$

Derivational Statement 10 says that the stative-declarative verbal clauses result from a three-step derivation. In Step 1 a set of stative stem classes is derived from the lexicon by multiplication by the matrix of stative inflection (Chart 21). In Step 2, the declarative underlying verbal clause patterns are derived by multiplication of the UPCS by the matrix of verb voices (Chart 25). In Step 3, the stative-declarative verbal clause patterns are derived from the multiplication of the stative stem classes by the verbal clause patterns.

The stative stem classes consist of many of the same roots and stems which make up the declarative verb stem classes, but there is no evidence of a one-to-one equivalence between the classes. That is to say, that any given stative-declarative verb stem class contains roots and stems from a variety of declarative verb stem classes.

The matrix multiplication produces more than two clause patterns, of course, but only two are distinctly contrastive with all that have been described so far. The non-distinctive patterns result from combinations of the verb voices with the **pag-** and **pang-** stative inflections.

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Sentences 340 and 341 illustrate the combination of the attentive affix **pag-** with verb voices. The correlation of syntactic and semantic functions in the tagmemes of the clause strings for this combination has the same pattern as the simple declarative clause type correlated with the stem class of these **pag-** formations.

- (340) **Indi ko ikaw pagbasulon.**
not S:ag/by-me T:g/you OV-atten-will-blame
I will not blame you.
- (341) **Ipagluto mo kami sang pamahaw sa kusina.**
AV-atten-will-carefully-cook-for S:ag/by-me T:b/you O:g/of-the breakfast
R:loc/in-the kitchen
You will carefully cook some breakfast for us in the kitchen.

Sentences 342 and 343 illustrate the combination of the iterative affix **pang-** with verb voice. These clauses also pattern as the simple declarative clause types correlated with the stem class of these **pang-** formations.

- (342) **Ginpangkita niya ang nagpukaw sa iya.**
AV-iter-look S:ag/by-him T:g/the awakened to-the him
He searched for the one who had awakened him.
- (343) **Wala sia nagapanghanot sa kabataan.**
not T:ag/he SV-iter-whip O:g/to-the children
He doesn't whip the children.

3.5.1. The passive causative clause type is a distinct pattern resulting from the stative-declarative derivation. This pattern is so labeled because the subject is correlated with experiencer, the one who undergoes the action, and one of the other predicate complements is correlated with the semantic function of instigator. No animate agent occurs in this clause type.

The underlying pattern of the passive causative clause type is given in Formula 54, and the exponents are indicated in the exponent rules accompanying the formula.

Formula 54

PassCausVbCl = Pred:ev-XII + S:exp + (Cn,R:instig).

ER1. Pred = VbP

ER2. S = GenNP

ER3. Cn,R = DatNP

Formula 54 indicates that the underlying pattern of the passive causative verbal clause has an obligatory predicate marked for a passive causative semantic event and is

expounded by a member of Stem Class XII. The subject is obligatory and correlated with the function of **experiencer** and is expounded by a genitive phrase. Conveyant and referent are optional, but only one of the two may occur in a given clause. Conveyant and referent are correlated with the semantic function of **instigator** and are expounded by dative phrases.

Representative members of Stem Class XII are given in the following list.

luoy	<i>pity</i>	hangawa	<i>worry</i>
upod	<i>accompany</i>	lipay	<i>happy</i>
limot	<i>forget</i>	sadya	<i>cheerful</i>
hadlok	<i>fear</i>	ugot	<i>irritation</i>

Sentences 344 and 345 illustrate the passive causative clause type.

- (344) **Ginkalipay niya ang pagsiling ni Bimbo.**
 AV-made-happy S:exp/her T:instig/the saying of-the-pers Bimbo
Bimbo's talk made her happy. (Or, What Bimbo was saying made her happy.)
- (345) **Wala nagakaugot si Ida sa kamasuson mo?**
 not SV-irritated T:exp/the-pers Ida R:instig/from-the youngest of-you
Isn't Ida irritated by your oungest?

When the subject is plural, then the predicate function is correlated with additional semantic function of **reciprocity**. The plural experiencers of the subject interact with each other so that they represent both the experiencer and instigator reciprocally for each other.

Sentences 346 and 347 illustrate the passive causative clause type having a reciprocal semantic event.

- (346) **Magkasadya kita.**
 SV- recip-will-be-happy T:exp/we-incl
We will be happy together (i.e., will cheer each other.)
- (347) **Makaupod sila sa ospital.**
 SV- recip-will-accompany T:ag/they R:loc/in-the hospital
They will keep each other company in the hospital.

3.5.2. **Active causative verbal clauses** have a characteristic **pa-** derived verb stem in Hiligaynon, and they are also derived by the stative-declarative derivational processes. The general effect of the **pa-** derivation on the semantic features of the verb stems is to add one or more arguments to the sets inherent in the bases which, in turn, shifts

the correlation of syntactic and semantic functions specified for the clause structure by these verbs.¹¹

Though the general set of grammatical functions appearing in the underlying verbal clause patterns is not changed, multiplication of the VCP by the semantic features of *pa*-derived stems results in changed grammatical surface structure for some clauses. Those types of changes result from the *pa*-derivation of bases which have less than a full set of arguments in their inherent set. Clauses from such stems show both grammatical complement changes as well as undergoing the expected shift of function correlations seen in chart 28.

Chart 28

Shift of function correlations in active causative clauses

Gram. functions:	Subj	Obj	Cn	Ref
Sem. functions of:				
DeclCl =	Ag	G	I	L
ActCausCl =	K	(G-)Ag	G	L

The row parameter across the top of Chart 28 represents the same nuclear grammatical functions seen in the chart of predicate complement exponents (Chart 26). They are, from left to right, **subject**, **object**, **conveyant**, and **referent** predicate complement functions. These functions are the same for both declarative and active causative clauses. The symbols in the left-hand margin identify the clause types in which the rows of semantic functions occur. The top row of cells represents the declarative clause string, and the bottom row, the active causative clause string. A comparison of the two strings shows that the correlation of semantic roles with the first three complements (Subj, Obj, Cn) shifts one complement to the right (on the chart) from declarative to active causative clauses. That opens the subject complement for correlation with the causer (K) function.

The agent is also the goal of the 'causing', and this is reflected in its being

¹¹Other analysts (including Wolfenden (1961)) have described the 'verbal' *pa*-affix in Philippine languages—and it occurs with invariant 'causative' meaning in most of them—as a feature of the verbal inflection. McCaughan (1958) identifies it as the causative aspect of verb inflection. Morey (1961), Reid (1966), Elkins (1967), and Ward and Forster (1967) also describe the affix as verbal inflection. Healey (1960), Newell (1964), and Hall (1969) all describe this affix as a derivational feature of verb stems.

Because *pa*- is described here as a feature of the stative inflection system, it acts to modify the verb stem before the verbal inflection is added. Its primary effect is (1) the addition of semantic roles to a base, which in turn (2) changes the classification of the base, and (3) is the basis of later grammatical changes in the clause. At the same time it (4) accounts for the addition of new *pa*- derived stems to the category of verbs.

topicalized by objective voice and occurring in correlation with the object grammatical function. As agent, it represents the one who actually performs the action specified by the verb stem. That agent functions in two different lexical constructions here but in only one grammatical construction is an evidence for distinguishing semantic and grammatical constructions in the language, even though they frequently are coterminus.

The roles correlated with the declarative Cn complement shift into correlation with the active causative referent complement which is now ambiguously correlated with a large set of semantic roles, represented on the Chart by L. (This will be referred to as the K-shift of semantic roles in future discussion.) Multiple occurrences of the referent complement are already permitted for declarative clauses, and there is no change in this structure for active causative clauses.

Sentences 348 and 349 illustrate this shift of correlations with subjective and objective voice clauses. Sentences 348(a) and 348(b) are declarative clauses; 349(a) and 349(b) are active causative clauses.

(348a) Nagasugba ang bata sang isda sa baga.

SV-is-broiling T:ag/the child O:g/of-a fish R:loc/on-the embers

The child is broiling a fish on the embers.

(348b) Ginasugba sang bata ang isda sa baga.

OV-is-broiling S:ag/by-the child T:g/the fish R:loc/on-the embers

The child is broiling the fish on the embers.

(349a) Nagapasugba ako sang bata sang isda sa baga.

SVCaus-is-making-broil T:k/I O:g/ag/ /of-a child Cn:g/of-a fish R:loc/on-the embers

(349b) Ginapasugba ko ang bata sang isda sa baga.

OVCaus-am-having-broil S:k/by-me T:g/ag/ /the child Cn:g/of-a fish R:loc/on-the embers

I am having the child broil a fish on the embers.

In Sentence 348 the direct agent, *bata child*, is correlated with the subject complement in both the subjective 348(a) and objective 348(b) voices. In 349 the causer or indirect agent, *ako I*, is correlated with the subject complement. The direct agent *bata* is now correlated with the object complement and simultaneously fills two semantic roles, goal of the indirect agent's 'causing' action but agent of the 'broiling-fish' action.

Both Reid (1966) and Ruiz (1968) distinguish between a transitive derivational pa-

affix and a causative inflectional **pa-** affix.¹² When the two Hiligaynon affixes which correspond to these are compared in the light of Fillmore's predicate-argument concept, however, they are seen to have identical features. Each type of **pa-** adds an argument to the predicate's inherent set. When the predicate already has a full set to match with the grammatical complement functions, the **pa-** derived root orders a shift in the function correlations to make room for one more, the indirect actor or causer. This is the effect of the causative inflectional **pa-** mentioned above. When a root has less than a full set of arguments, the addition supplied by the **pa-** derivation may or may not be a causer. When it is not, the effect is that of the derivational **pa-** in the works cited above. In this description, therefore, all verbal clauses which have **pa-** derived roots functioning as exponents of the predicate nucleus are described as causative derivations, but some do result in declarative instead of causative clause types.

Although analysts describing other Philippine languages have found a transitive-intransitive dichotomy in declarative clauses highly relevant to the description of the transformational relations between them and causative clauses, this does not seem to be a very significant feature of the Hiligaynon clause types. Reid (1966) found that transitive clauses in Ivatan transform to one type of causative clause and intransitive transform to another. Ward and Forster (WF) (1967) distinguish intransitive from transitive in Maranao but do not find that all declarative transitives transform to a single causative type. They found, instead, a one-to-one transform relation between the declarative and causative types. Hall (1969) rejects the division entirely for Subanon verb stem classes in favor of a class by class description and does not find it advantageous to refer overtly to transformational relations between declarative and causative clauses which result.¹³ He does recognize, however, that causative clauses result from **pa-** derived stems, as is recognized here for Hiligaynon.

There are transitive and intransitive distinctions in Hiligaynon declarative clauses, but they do not have a one-to-one transform relation to causative clauses; that is, some intransitive clauses become transitive when they are transformed from declarative to

¹²Reid (1966) describes two types of **pa-** constructions for Ivatan. In some of his Type 2 causative constructions he recognizes two **pa-** affixes on the same stem. One he describes as a member of the verbal inflection paradigm and the other is a derivative transitivizing prefix (53). Ruiz (1968) describes three for Hiligaynon: the same two categories (one causative, one derivational) as Reid describes, plus a third indicating direction or motion toward a place.

¹³Although the studies cited do not represent languages which are geographically close neighbors, they are cognate both with each other and with Hiligaynon. Therefore, the similarity of stem classification is worth noting. Ivatan and Subanon are over one thousand miles apart and separated by numerous island groups, yet there are stem classes in each language which seem to be parallel, as reported by Reid and Hall respectively. Reid's verb Stem Class 6, for example, and Hall's actor-location verbs have some identical lexical items in addition to the classes being structurally parallel. Forster-Bernard's simple intransitive verb stem class, to take another example, is exemplified by seven roots, one of which also appears in Hall's actor verb class, which is structurally the equivalent of Forster-Bernard's class.

causative clause types. Since the direct agent is treated as the goal of the causative action initiated by the causer (agent is topicalized by objective voice), most causative clauses are transitive, but not all. The exceptions are those roots which are new verb stems resulting from the *pa-* derivation; they are directional verbs having only an inherent subject-as-agent complement tagmeme.

There are three stem classes resulting from the stative-declarative derivation which take the active causative inflection but which result in simple declarative verbal clauses instead of contrastive active causative clause types. The *pa-* inflection has the same effect on these stems as on others, that of adding to the verbal form of the stems syntactic and semantic features which control predicate complement functions, but the clauses which result from these stems do not undergo the K-shift of functions. The reasons for this constraint are found in the inherent semantic structure of the stems themselves.

Declarative Clause Class XIII (D13) has only two nuclear tagmemes, a predicate and a topicalized subject. This clause class is correlated with Verb Stem Class XIII, which consists of stems which cannot function as verbs at all unless inflected by *pa-*. Formula 55 describes the declarative D13 clause type.

Formula 55

$SVDeclD13Cl = SVCausPred:ev-XIII + S/T:ag.$

ER1. Pred = VbP-XIII.

ER2. S/T = NmvNP

Formula 55 indicates that the declarative D13 clause type consists of two obligatory nuclear tagmemes. The predicate is correlated with the semantic events of Stem Class XIII. The predicate is expounded in the surface structure by a member of Verb Stem Class XIII. Subject is correlated with the semantic function of *agent* and, because it is topic, is expounded by a nominative NP.

Since this clause type has only one predicate complement, the subject, it appears on the surface to be a variant of the declarative D1 clause type which also has only a subject predicate complement. Clause Class D13 contrasts with D1 clauses, however, in the semantic functions of the two nuclear tagmemes. This can be seen by a comparison of the D13 formula above with the D2 formula (Formula 43A).

Included in Stem Class XIII are those stems mentioned by Ruiz which indicate place or direction. Except for these, the class is small in the available data. Ruiz does not give figures for the size of the class in his data.¹⁴

¹⁴Ruiz (1968.45) classifies this clause type as non-causative and assigns it the meaning of 'go toward (a place)'. This would make a third category of *pa-* constructions in his analysis.

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Representative stems of Stem Class XIII are given in the list below.

langit	heavens	ibabaw	up, above
bukid	mountain	America	America
layo	distant	Manila	Manila
Jaro	Jaro	idalum	down
dalom	deepen		

Sentences 350-352 illustrate the declarative D13 clause type.

- (350) **Nagpa-Jaro ang polis.**
 SVCaus-went-to-Jaro T:ac/the policeman
The policeman went to Jaro (a town).
- (351) **Nagapaidalom sia.**
 SVCaus-is-going-down T:ac/he
He is going down(stairs).
- (352) **Magapa-Manila si Tito.**
 SVCaus-will-go-to-Manila T:ac/the-pers Tito
Tito will go to Manila.

Clauses of **Declarative Clause Class XIV (D14)** have three nuclear tagmemes, predicate, subject, and object, and correlate with Verb Stem Class XIV. Formula 56 describes the Declarative D14 Clause Class.

Formula 56

$SVDeclD14Cl = SVCausPred:ev-XIV + T:ag + O:g.$

$OVDeclD14Cl = OVCausPred:ev-XIV + S:ag + T:g.$

ER1. Pred = VP-XIV

ER2. S, O = GenNP

ER3. T = NmvNP

Formula 56 indicates that declarative D14 clauses have an active causative predicate correlated with the semantic events of Verb Stem Class XIV and expounded in the surface structure by a member of Stem Class XIV. Subject is obligatory and correlated with the semantic function of agent. Object is also obligatory and is correlated with the semantic function of goal. Both subject and object are expounded by genitive nominal phrases when they are nontopic. Topic is expanded by nominative nominal phrases.

The declarative D14 clause type is similar to the declarative D4 type but contrasts with it in the verb stem class which expounds the predicate nucleus and in the absence of a referent tagmeme in D14 clauses.

Members of Stem Class XIV also appear in Verb Stem Classes I or II, where they lack features for permitting an object-as-goal predicate complement tagmeme. This class is also omitted in Ruiz' description, so no estimate is given here for the functional load it carries.

Representative stems of Stem Class XIV are given in the list below.

dulom	<i>darken</i>	lain	<i>worsen</i>
dalom	<i>deep</i>	guwa	<i>outside</i>
tindog	<i>erect</i>	tawo	<i>give birth to a person</i>
damo	<i>multiply</i>		

Sentences 353-355 illustrate the declarative D14 clause class.

- (353) **Nagpadulom ako sang kwarto.**
 SVCaus-darkened T:ac/I O:g/of-the room
I darkened the room
- (354) **Nagpalain ang hilanat ko sang akon pamatiag.**
 SVCaus-made-worse T:instig/the fever my O:g/of-the my feeling
My fever worsened my feeling.
- (355) **Patindugon liwat ni Juan ang balay nga natumba.**
 OVCaus-will-stand-up again S:ag/by-the-pers Juan T:g/the house Ad fallen
Juan will erect the fallen house again.

A third group of **pa-** derived bases which result in declarative clauses is the residue of the data and consists of only two members. It is quite possible that more of these bases exist in Hiligaynon, but no further examples turned up in the concordance of over 4,170 lines of text, nor in any of the elicited data. However, given a fuller lexicon as input to the stative-declarative derivational processes described above, additional bases might be discovered.

The stem **pabug-at** *weigh down*, when derived by the stative-declarative processes, becomes a member of the D9 class, since it permits agent, instrument, and goal semantic roles. The correlation of syntactic and semantic functions in the clause is as given for D9 clauses, except for the predicate exponent.

Sentence 356 illustrates this derived clause type.

- (356) **Pabug-atan ko sang bato ang pihak nga namag-an.**
 RVCaus-will-cause-heavy S:ag/by-me Cn:i/of-the stone T:g/the other-part
 Ad lightweight
I will counterweight the light end with a stone.

The stem **pahangin** *winnow* is derived from **hangin** *wind*, a Class III verb stem. This derived stem results in a declarative D5 class clause when it functions as a predicate

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exponent. As a Class III root, **hangin** permits only a referent complement. But as a **pa-** derived stem, agent and goal complement functions may occur as well. The structural pattern of the clause which results is the same as that for a D5 clause. Sentence 357 illustrates the clause type correlated with this derived stem.

- (357) **Pahanginan ko sang humay ang amakan.**
 RV-cause-to-winnow-on S:ag/by-me O:g/of-the rice T:loc/the mat
I will winnow the rice on the mat.

The roots of Stem Class III which expound the predicate of D3 verbal clauses are almost wholly representative of acts of nature and do not usually undergo causative derivation unless a derived lexical meaning is possible. The example of a derived meaning given above for the root **hangin** *wind* is the only one found in the current lists.

There are six clause types having **pa-** derived stems as exponents of the predicate nuclei which also have changes in the correlations between their syntactic and semantic functions. These types of clauses have been referred to as **causative clauses** in most descriptions of Philippine languages inasmuch as they have two agent, or actor, functions. The first agent is the causer of the second agent's performance. The causer is correlated with the subject complement and the direct agent is correlated with either the object or conveyant complement.

Active Causative Clause Class I (C1) consists of those clauses which have members of Verb Stem Class XV expounding their predicate nucleus and have actor correlated with the conveyant predicate complement. Formula 57 describes the active causative C1 class.

Formula 57

$SVActCausC1Cl = SVCausPred:ev-SV + T:k + Cn:ac + (R:loc/io/b).$

$AVActCausC1Cl = AVCausPred:ev-XV + S:k + T:ac + (R:loc/io/b).$

$RVActCausC1Cl = RVCausPred:ev-XV + S:k + Cn:ac + T:loc/io/b.$

ER1. **Pred** = VP-XV

ER2. **S, Cn** = GenNP

ER3. **R** = DatNP

ER4. **T** = NmvNP

The predicate of a C1 clause is correlated with the semantic events of Stem Class XV. In the surface structure, the predicate is expounded by a verb phrase manifested by a member of Stem Class XV. The subject complement is correlated with the causer semantic role. The conveyant is correlated with the actor semantic role, and the referent is correlated with **the** location, indirect object, or beneficiary semantic roles. The subject and conveyant are expounded by genitive nominal phrases; referent, expounded by dative

nominal phrases, is optional when nontopic. Topic is expounded by a nominative nominal phrase.

The members of Verb Stem Class XV are derived from various declarative classes. Representative members of Stem Class XV are given in the list below.

ilig	<i>flow</i>	away	<i>fight</i>
hinay	<i>slow</i>	dulong	<i>stop</i>
bukal	<i>boil water</i>	padulong	<i>cause to approach</i>
sungay	<i>carabao fight</i>		

Sentences 358-360 illustrate the active causative C1 clauses.

- (358) **Nagapapadulong ang tatay sang bata sa iya nanay.**
 SV-is-causing-approach T:k/the father O:ag/by-the child R:loc/to-the his mother
The father is making the child approach his mother.
- (359) **Ginpasungayan ko sang mga karbaw ang uma.**
 RV-caused-to-fight-in S:k/by-me O:ag/of-the pl carabao T:loc/the field
I had the carabaos fight in the field.
- (360) **Ipailig ko ang tubig sa kalog.**
 AV-cause-to-flow-in S:k/by-me T:exp/the water R:loc/in-the canal
I will make the water flow through the canal.

Active Causative Clause Class II (C2) consists of those clauses which take subjective, objective, and referative voice inflection together with the active causative inflection. This clause type is correlated with Verb Stem Class XVI which expounds the predicate nucleus. The active causative C2 class is described by Formula 58.

Formula 58

SVActCausC2Cl = SVCausPred:ev-XVI + T:k + O:ac + R:loc.

OVActCausC2Cl = OVCausPred:ev-XVI + S:k + T:ac + R:loc.

RVActCausC2Cl = RVCausPred:ev-XVI + S:k + O:ac + T:loc.

- ER1. Pred = VP-XVI.
 ER2. S = GenNP.
 ER3. O, R = DatNP.
 ER4. T = NmvNP.

Formula 58 indicates that the active causative C2 class of clauses consists of three nuclear tagmemes, all obligatory. The predicate is correlated with the semantic events of Stem Class XVI. In the surface structure, the predicate is expounded by a verb phrase manifested by a member of Verb Stem Class XVI. The subject is correlated with the

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semantic function of **causer** and is expounded by a genitive NP in the surface structure. The object grammatical function is correlated with the semantic function of **actor** and is expounded by a dative NP in the surface structure. The referent grammatical function is correlated with the semantic function of **location** and is also expounded by a dative NP in the surface structure. Topic is expounded by a nominative NP.

This class of clauses is in contrast with all other types in being correlated with Verb Stem Class XVI and in being restricted to the subjective, objective, and referative voices with the causative derivation.

The members of Verb Stem Class XVI are also members of various declarative clause verb stem classes. Representative members of Stem Class XVI are given in the list below.

kadto	<i>proceed, go</i>	lingkod	<i>sit</i>
akig	<i>angry</i>	untat	<i>stop</i>
lakat	<i>walk</i>	duso	<i>push</i>

Sentences 361-363 illustrate clauses of the active causative C2 class.

- (361) **Magapalingkod ako sa iban sa siya.**
 SVCause-to-sit T:k/I O:ac/to-the other R:loc/in-the chair
I will have a different one sit in the chair.
- (362) **Pakadtuan ni Juan sa iya utod ang Kabangahan.**
 RVCause-to-go-to-S:k/by-the-per Juan O:ac/to-the his brother
 T:loc/the Kabangahan
Juan will send his brother to Kabangahan.
- (363) **Pakadtuan ni Juan ang iya utod sa Kabangahan.**
 OVCause-to-go S:k/by-the-per Juan T:ac/the his sibling
 R:loc/to-the Kabangahan
Juan will send his brother to Kabangahan.

Active Causative Clause Class III (C3) consists of those clauses inflected with subjective, objective, and accessory voice together with the causative **pa-**. The class is described by Formula 59.

Formula 59

SVActCausC3Cl = SVCausPred:ev-XVII + T:k + O:ag + Cn:g.

OVCausC3Cl = OVCausPred:ev-XVII + S:k + T:ag + Cn:g.

AVActCausC3Cl = AVCausPred:ev-XVII + S:k + O:ag + T:g.

ER1. Pred = VP-XVII.

ER2. S,Cn = GenNP.

- ER3. O = DatNP.
ER4. T = NmvNP.

Formula 59 indicates that the predicate of the active causative C3 clause type has the potential for three voice inflections, subjective, objective, and accessory. The predicate is correlated with the semantic events of Verb Stem Class XVII and is expounded by members of Verb Stem Class XVII in the surface structure. The subject grammatical function is correlated with the semantic function of **causer** and is expounded by a genitive NP in the surface structure. The object is correlated with the semantic function of **agent** or **actor** and is expounded by a dative NP in the surface structure. The conveyant is correlated with the semantic function of **goal** and is expounded by a genitive NP in the surface structure. Topic is expounded by a nominative NP.

Verb Stem Class XVII consists of derived members from various declarative verb stem classes, and no consistent pattern seems evident. The following list is representative of the class.

lapad	wide	kadlaw	laugh
tusik	peck at	gamay	few
baton	accept	antos	suffer
hibalo	know	hakos	embrace

Sentences 364-366 illustrate the active causative C3 clause type.

- (364) **Nagpahakos ako kay Nanay sa akon bata.**
SVC_{caused-to-embrace} T:k/I O:ag/by-the-pers Nanay Cn:g/to-the my child
I had Nanay embrace my child.
- (365) **Pahibaluon mo sia sang natabo.**
OV_{Cause-to-know} S:k/by-you T:ac/he Cn:g/of-the happened
You let him know what happened.
- (366) **Ipahibalo ko ini sa imo.**
AV_{Cause-to-know-about} S:k/by-me T:g/this O:ac/to-the you
I will let you know about this.

Active Causative Clause Class IV (C4) consists of those clauses having predicate exponents from Verb Stem Class XVIII. The active causative C4 class is described by Formula 60.

Formula 60

- SVActCausC4Cl = SVCaus Pred:ev-XVIII + T:k + O:ag + Cn:g + (R:loc/b).
OVActCausC4Cl = OVCausPred:ev-XVIII + S:k + T:ag + Cn:g + (R:loc/b).
AVActCausC4Cl = AVCausPred:ev-XVIII + S:k + O:ag + T:g + (R:loc/b).

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RVActCausC4Cl = RVCausPred:ev-XVIII + S:k + O:ag + Cn:g + T:loc/b.

Er1. Pred = VP-XVIII.
 ER2. S,Cn = GenNP.
 ER3. O, R = DatNP.
 ER4. T = NmvNP

Formula 60 indicates that the predicate of an active causative C4 clause is inflectable for all four voices together with the causative *pa-*. The predicate is correlated with the semantic events of Verb Stem Class XVIII and is expounded in the surface structure by a verb phrase manifested by a member of that stem class. The subject is correlated with the semantic function of **causer** and is expounded by a genitive NP in the surface structure.

The object grammatical function is correlated with the semantic function of **agent** and is expounded by a dative NP in the surface structure. The conveyant is correlated with the semantic function of **goal** and is expounded by a genitive NP in the surface structure. The referent is correlated with the semantic function of **location** and **beneficiary** and is expounded by a dative NP in the surface structure. The referent is optional when nontopic. Topic is expounded by a nominative NP.

This clause type contrasts with all the foregoing types in that it has four inflectional voices and is correlated with Verb Stem Class XVIII. Members of Verb Stem Class XVIII are derived from various roots which also occur in Verb Stem Classes IV, V, VII, VIII, and X.

Representative members of Stem Class XVIII are given in the list below.

halab	<i>graze</i>	hatag	<i>give</i>
duaw	<i>visit</i>	ani	<i>harvest</i>
guwa	<i>outside</i>	kaon	<i>eat</i>
daan	<i>old, age</i>	luto	<i>cook</i>
saot	<i>dance</i>	asal	<i>pierce</i>

Sentences 367-371 illustrate the active causative C4 class of clauses.

- (367) **Magapaluto si Nanay sang adobo kay Julio.**
 SVCause-to-cook T:k/the-pers Nanay Cn:g/of-the adobo O:ag/to-the-pers Julio
Nanay will have Julio cook some adobo.
- (368) **Palutuon ni Nanay si Julio sang adobo.**
 OVCause-to-cook S:k/by-the Nanay T:ag/the-pers Julio Cn:g/of-the adobo
Nanay will have Julio cook some adobo.
- (369) **Ipaluto ni Nanay ang adobo kay Julio.**
 AVCause-to-cook S:k/by-the-pers Nanay T:g/the adobo O:ag/to-the-pers Julio
Nanay will have Julio cook the adobo.

Sentence 370 illustrates a C4 clause in which referative voice topicalizes the referent-as-location tagmeme. In Sentence 371 the same voice topicalizes referent-as-beneficiary.

- (370) **Palutuan ni Nanay sang adobo kay Julio ang kalaha.**
 RVCause-to-cook-in S:k/by-the-pers Nanay Cn:g/of-the adobo O:ag/to-the-pers
 Julio T:loc/the frying-pan
Nanay will have Julio cook some adobo in the frying pan.
- (371) **Palutuan ako ni Nanay sang adobo kay Julio.**
 RVCause-to-cook-for T:b/I S:k/by-the-pers Nanay Cn:g/of-the adobo
 O:ag/to-the-pers Julio
Nanay will have Julio cook some adobo for me.

Certain **pa-** derived stems which generate declarative clauses instead of causative can be derived a second time by **pa-**. Then they undergo the K-shift of semantic functions as described in Chart 28 above and result in C4 causative clauses. Sentences 372-375 illustrate the second derivation for the stems **hangin wind**, **tindog erect**, and **dulom dark**.

- (372) **Magapapahangin ako sang humay sa ila.**
 SVCause-to-wind-blow T:k/I Cn:g/of-the rice O:ag/to-the them
I will have them winnow the rice.
- (373) **Papatindugon ni Juan si Jose sang balay nga natumba.**
 OVCause-to-stand S:k/by-the-pers Juan T:ag/the-pers Jose Cn:g/of-the house
 Ad collapsed
Juan will have Jose erect the house which fell.
- (374) **Papatindugan mo sang mga poste ang mga buho.**
 RVCause-to-stand-in S:k/by-you Cn:g/of-the pl post T:loc/the pl hole
You have someone set up the posts in the holes.
- (375) **Nagpapadulom ako sang kuwarto kay Jose.**
 SVCaused-to-darken T:k/I Cn:g/of-the room O:ag/to-the-pers Jose
I had Jose darken the room.

Active Causative Clause Class V (C5) consists of clauses having predicate exponents from Verb Stem Class XIX. The active causative C5 class is similar to the C4 clause class but contrasts with it in that it is correlated with a different verb stem class of predicate exponents, and it has a different correlation of functions in the conveyant and referent predicate complements. The active causative C5 class of clauses is described by Formula 61.

Formula 61

$$\text{SVActCausC5Cl} = \text{SVCausPred:ev-XIX} + \text{T:k} + \text{O:ag} + (\text{Cn:i}) + \text{R:g.}$$

$$\text{OVActCausC5Cl} = \text{OVCausPred:ev-XIX} + \text{S:k} + \text{T:ag} + (\text{Cn:i}) + \text{R:g.}$$

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AVActCausC5Cl = AVCausPred:ev-XIX + S:k + O:ag + T:i + R:g.

RVActCausC5Cl = RVCausPred:ev-XIX + S:k + O:ag + (Cn:i) +T:g.

ER1. Pred = VP-XIX.

ER2. S,Cn = GenNP.

ER3. O, R = DatNP.

ER4. T = NmvNP.

Formula 61 indicates that the predicate of a C5 active causative clause is inflectable for all four voices together with the causative *pa-*. The predicate is correlated with the semantic events of Verb Stem Class XIX and is expounded in the surface structure by a verb phrase manifested by a member of that stem class. The subject grammatical function is correlated with the semantic function of **causer** and is expounded by a genitive NP in the surface structure. The object is correlated with the semantic function of **agent** and is expounded by a dative NP in the surface structure. The conveyant is correlated with the semantic function of **instrument** and is expounded by a genitive NP in the surface structure. The conveyant is optional when nontopic. The referent is correlated with the semantic function of **goal** and is expounded by a dative NP in the surface structure. Topic is expounded by a nominative NP.

The membership of Verb Stem Class XIX partially overlaps with the membership of the declarative verb stem classes VI, IX, and XI. Representative members of Verb Stem Class XIX are given in the list below.

<i>pukpok</i>	<i>pound</i>	<i>han-os</i>	<i>whip</i>
<i>lampos</i>	<i>strike</i>	<i>hilamon</i>	<i>weed</i>
<i>gamit</i>	<i>use</i>	<i>tuytoy</i>	<i>lead</i>
<i>tabok</i>	<i>cross over</i>	<i>tapak</i>	<i>trample</i>

A few of these stems have an inherent instrument feature which need not be mentioned overtly unless it is some unusual variety of the instrument. Sentences 376-379 illustrate the active causative C5 clauses.

- (376) Nagpalampos ako sang kahoy kay Pedro sa ido.
 SVCaused-to-strike T:k/I Cn:i/with-the wood O:ag/by-the-pers Pedro
 R:g/at-the dog
I had Pedro hit the dog with a piece of wood.
- (377) Ipalampos mo kay Pedro inang kahoy sa ido.
 AVCause-to-strike-with S:k/by-you O:ag/to-the-pers Pedro T:i/thatAd wood
 R:g/at-the dog
You have Pedro strike the dog with that wood.

- (378) **Ginpahan-os ko si Pedro sang putik sa karbaw.**
 AVCaused-whip S:k/by-me T:ag/the-pers Pedro Cn:i/of-the crop
 R:g/to-the carabao
I had Pedro whip the carabao with the crop.
- (379) **Ginpalampusan ni Pedro sang kahoy ang ido.**
 RVCaused-to-strike S:k/by-the-pers Pedro Cn:i/with-the wood T:g/the dog
Pedro had (someone) use the wood to strike the dog.

There is a contrastive derivative of the active causative clause types which have a goal semantic function, that is, of the C3, C4, and C5 types. This is **Active Causative Clause Class VI (C6)**, and it correlates with Verb Stem Classes XVII, XVIII, and XIX. Active causative C6 class of clauses differs from other active causative clause classes in having an obligatory absence of the predicate complement expounding the goal and the simultaneous correlation of the goal and causer semantic functions with the grammatical subject complement. The resulting clause marks a caused-reflexive event in which the causer also functions as the goal of the action.

Formula 62 describes the Active Causative C6 Clause Type.

Formula 62

$$\text{ActCausC6Cl} = \text{Pred:ev-} \begin{bmatrix} \text{XVII} \\ \text{XVIII} \\ \text{XIX} \end{bmatrix} + \text{S/T:k/g} + \text{O:ag} + \text{X}.$$

- ER1. Pred = VP-XVII, XVIII, XIX.
 ER2. S = NmvNP.
 ER3. Cn = GenNP.
 ER4. O, R = DatNP.

$$\text{Rest. If} \begin{bmatrix} \text{C3} \\ \text{C4} \\ \text{C5} \end{bmatrix}, \text{ then X} = \begin{bmatrix} \# \\ \text{R:loc} \\ \text{Cn:i} \end{bmatrix}.$$

Formula 62 indicates that active causative C6 clauses consist of a predicate correlated with the semantic events of Verb Stem Classes XVII, XVIII, and XIX, and is expounded in the surface structure by a verb phrase manifested by a member of one of these classes. The subject grammatical function is correlated with both causer and goal semantic functions and is expounded in the surface structure by a nominative NP. The conveyant is correlated with the semantic function of **instrument** and is expounded in the surface structure by a genitive NP. The object is correlated with the semantic function of **agent** and is expounded by a dative NP in the surface structure.

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The functions marked X in the formula are identified by the co-occurrence restriction. If the clause is built from the C3 class, then X is zero. If the clause is built from the C4 class, then X represents referent predicate complement correlated with location semantic function. If the clause is built from the C5 class, then X represents the conveyant predicate complement correlated with the instrument semantic function.

Sentences 380 and 381 illustrate the active causative C6 class of clauses.

- (380) Nagpalampos ako sang kahoy kay Pedro.
SVCaused-to-strike S:k/I Cn:i/with-the wood O:ag/by-the-pers Pedro
I had Pedro hit me with a piece of wood.
- (381) Nagpaakig lang ang sulugon sa iyang amo.
SVCaused-to-anger only S:k/the servant O:ag/to-the his-Ad master
The servant just made his master angry (at him).

3.6. DERIVED INTERROGATIVE CLAUSE? All of the clauses discussed in the preceding pages can be derived by the question tagmeme to form a derived interrogative clause. Derivational Statement 11 gives the source of the derived interrogative clause type.

Derivational Statement 11

$$\text{DerIntrCl} = \text{Cl} \times \text{Q}.$$

Derivational Statement 11 says that the derived interrogative clauses come from the multiplication of any clause (left unspecified in the statement) by the question tagmeme. Formula 63 describes this type.

Formula 63

$$\text{DerIntrCl} = \text{Cl}:(\text{NonVb}) + \text{Q}:\text{RisInton} + (\text{QPar}:\text{bala}).$$

$$(\text{NonVb}) = \text{NonVbCl}, \text{StCl}, \text{DeclVbCl}, \text{St-DeclVbCl}.$$

Rest. QPar occurs last in the particle group.

Formula 63 indicates that a derived interrogative clause consists of any noninterrogative clause (represented in the formula by the NonVb class) to which a tagmeme of question rising intonation is added. The optional question particle **bala** can also be added. The restriction only specifies the distribution of that particle in the particle group. The distribution of the particle group is specified in Sec. 3.1.1.

Sentences 382-384 illustrate the derived interrogative clause type.

- (382) **Mabalik na bala ikaw sa Manila?**
 OV-will-return already question T:g/you R:loc/to-the Manila
Will you return to Manila now?
- (383) **Abogado sia?**
 Pred:id/lawyer T:it/he
Is he a lawyer?
- (384) **Paglutuan mo kami sang pamahaw?**
 RV-will-cook-for S:ag/by-you T:b/we O:g/of-the breakfast
Will you cook some breakfast for us?

The relationships between the Hiligaynon clause types are summarized in Chart 29.

Chart 29
 Summary of Hiligaynon clause types

1. Indicative clauses.

UPCS x NonVbFeat =	UPNonVbCl	Descriptive clause Equational clause Existential clause Pers existential cl. Interrogative clause
UPCS x StInfl =	UPStCl	Caused clause Causing clause Attentive clause Iterative clause Request clause
UPCS x Verb voice =	UPDeclVbCl	Declarative verbal D1. etc. Declarative verbal D11.
StStem x DeclVbCl =	StDeclCl	Pass-causative clause Declarative verbal D13 Declarative verbal D14 Active causative C1 etc. Active causative C6

2. Derived Interrogative clauses.

NonVb, St, DeclVb, StDecl Cl x Q = DerIntrrCl

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY

The goal set for this description has been to describe the structure of the phrase and clause-level constructions of Hiligaynon syntax in a comprehensive way. This has been accomplished for the phrases in Chapter Two, where seventeen contrastive phrase types are identified. Chapter Three contains a description of thirty-one contrastive Hiligaynon clause types.

The description has a limited generative capacity in that it has provided for an indefinite number of constructions which may be built on these contrastive types, but it has not taken into account all the possible co-occurrence restrictions contained in the details of the lexical items which may expound the various tagmemes. That is because the presentation has been limited to a description of grammatical constructions, without accounting for all lexical restrictions.

Finally this study has been presented by means of a modified tagmemic approach, an approach, which accounts for underlying similarities between constructions, as well as describing their contrastive surface features. It is hoped that besides accounting for surface contrasts in the usual tagmemic method, the modification has sufficiently demonstrated the possibility of accounting for deep as well as surface structure at all levels of the grammatical hierarchy, and also has stressed the importance of defining functions as fully as possible.

APPENDIX A

CLASS LISTS

(1) There are three types of **relator nominal phrases**, the nominative, the genitive, and the dative. Each phrase has common and personal types. The phrases are distinguished by the relators which introduce them. In the charts which follow the relators and the phrase substitutes are summarized.

The markers of the **nominative nominal phrase** (Nm_vNP) are as follows.

	Singular	Plural
Common Nm_vNP		
Introducers	ang _____	ang manga _____
	<i>the</i> _____	<i>the</i> _____-s
Substitutes		
<i>this</i>	ini	ang mga ini
<i>that (near)</i>	ina	ang mga ina
<i>that (far)</i>	adto/ato	ang mga adto/ato
Personal Nm_vNP		
Introducers	si (Jose) _____	sanday (Jose) _____
	<i>Jose</i>	<i>Jose and companions</i>
Substitutes		
First Person	ako <i>I</i>	kami <i>we, excl</i>
First & Second	ø* <i>(I & you)</i>	kita <i>we, incl</i>
Second	ikaw, ka <i>thou</i>	kamo <i>you</i>
Third	sia <i>he</i>	sila <i>they</i>

*No Hiligaynon form exists, but place in pronoun sets is identified for comparative study.

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The markers of the **genitive nominal phrases** (GenNP) are as follows.

	Singular	Plural
Common GenNP		
Introducers	A. sang _____ <i>of the</i> _____	sang mga _____ <i>of the</i> _____-s
	B. ExpNomP (pg. 26).	
Substitutes		
<i>of this</i>	sini	sang mga ini
<i>of that (near)</i>	sina	sang mga ina
<i>of that (far)</i>	sadto	sang mga adto/ato
Personal GenNP		
Introducers	ni _____ <i>of Jose</i>	nanday _____ <i>of Jose & companions</i>
Substitutes		
First Person	nakon, ko <i>of me, my</i>	namon <i>of us, our (excl)</i>
First & Second	∅ <i>of us (dual)</i>	naton <i>of us, our (incl)</i>
Second	nimo, mo <i>of you, your</i>	ninyo <i>of you, your</i>
Third	niya <i>of him, his</i>	nila <i>of them, their</i>

The markers of the **dative nominal phrase** (DatNP) are as follows.

	Singular	Plural
Common DatNP		
Introducers	A. sa _____ <i>at the</i> _____	sa mga _____ <i>at the</i> _____-s
	B. ExpNomP (pg. 26).	
Substitutes		
<i>at this</i>	diri	sa mga ini
<i>at that (near)</i>	dira	sa mga ina
<i>at that (far)</i>	didto	sa mga adto/ato

Personal DatNP	Singular	Plural
Introducers	kay _____ <i>at Jose</i>	kanday _____ <i>at Jose & companions</i>
Substitutes		
First Person	sa akon <i>me*</i>	sa amon <i>us, incl.*</i>
First & Second	∅ <i>us, dual*</i>	sa aton <i>us, excl.*</i>
Second	sa imo <i>thou*</i>	sa inyo <i>you*</i>
Third	sa iya <i>him*</i>	sa ila <i>them*</i>

*at, to, on, from, in.

(2) The class of **interrogatives** consists of the following members.

ano	<i>what</i>	pila	<i>how many</i>
diin	<i>where</i>	san-o	<i>when</i>
paano	<i>how</i>	sin-o	<i>who</i>
ngaa	<i>why</i>	wala (dini)	<i>not here?</i>
		wala (siya)	<i>not him?</i>

(3) **Particle** classes and their membership are given in the following list. These particles are the exponents of the clause peripheral tagmemes.

Emphatic:

gid	<i>(surprise) indeed!</i>
gali	<i>really</i>
gilayon	<i>immediately</i>

Action Status:

na	<i>completed</i>
pa	<i>incomplete</i>
lagi	<i>always</i>
dayon	<i>continue</i>
sige	<i>proceed</i>

Modal:

basi	<i>might be</i>	siyempre	<i>surely</i>
bakon	<i>would be</i>	kuntani or tani	<i>hopefully</i>
segurado	<i>surely</i>		
seguro	<i>maybe (uncertain)</i>		
gihapon	<i>probably (uncertain)</i>		
daw	<i>probably (practically certain)</i>		

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Limiters:

lamang, lang	<i>only</i>
halos	<i>almost</i>
manga	<i>approximately</i>
medyo	<i>somewhat</i>
husto	<i>enough</i>
mismo	<i>one's self</i>

Precedent:

anay	<i>firstly</i>
------	----------------

Quotative:

kuno	<i>it is reported</i>
------	-----------------------

Temporal:

karon	<i>now</i>
kaina	<i>a while ago</i>
buas	<i>tomorrow</i>
oras	<i>time</i>

tiontion	<i>in a few minutes</i>
----------	-------------------------

(4) Membership of the **adverb** class of words is divided into two classes depending on whether they precede (Class I) or follow (Class II) the word they modify.

Class I

tama	<i>correct</i>
labi	<i>superfluous</i>
masami	<i>often</i>
masyado	<i>very, much</i>
masangkolan	<i>successfully</i>
mahipid	<i>neatly</i>
malulu	<i>gently</i>

Class II

kaayo	<i>goodness</i>
matuod	<i>true</i>
masanag	<i>clearly</i>
madali	<i>quickly</i>
dayon	<i>continue</i>
mapamatud-an	<i>truly</i>

There may be some lexical or semantic feature running through each class which also unites the members into separate classes, but they have not yet been isolated.

(5) Spanish units:

sentimos	<i>centavo</i>
pisos	<i>peso</i>
oras	<i>hour</i>

sientos	<i>hundred</i>
mil	<i>thousand</i>

(6) Classes of verb voice affixes:

- | | | |
|---|----------------------|---|
| * | a. Subjective voice: | mag-
maga-
mang-
maka-
-um- |
| | b. Objective voice: | -on
-a
ma- |
| | c. Accessory voice: | i- |
| | d. Referative voice: | -an
-i |

(7) Classes of nonverbal predicate markers:

- | | |
|-----------------|---|
| a. Descriptive: | ma-, Ø-
ka- |
| b. Existential: | may
wala |
| c. Equational: | ang class of relators
sa class of relators
(-absence of relators) |
| d. Query: | The class of interrogatives seen in Appendix A.2. |

APPENDIX B

An example of clause description based on the tagmemic approach utilized in this description follows. A sample sentence from Hiligaynon is described below by accounting for its structure and component parts from the description of the Hiligaynon phrase and clause structure presented in this description.

Sentence to be described:

Ikuha mo ang kutsilyo sang gumamela para sa maestra.

AV-use-to-get by-you the knife of-a hibiscus for at-the female-teacher

You use the knife to get a hibiscus for the teacher.

Steps 1-8 specify the derivation of the clause-level tagmemes, such as predicate and subject, from the underlying patterns to surface structure. The succeeding steps (1) generate the phrase-level tagmemes, such as relators and modifiers, and (2) account for actual exponents by lexical insertion rules (LIR). Following each lexical insertion rule, the construction string is summarized to show the progress of the analysis.

1. The underlying pattern of clause structure (UPCS) comes from Formula 29.

$$\text{UPCS} = \text{Pred:cmt} + \text{C}_1:\text{theme}^3 + (\text{C}_2:\text{dir})^2 + (\text{Peri:var}).$$

2. The specific form of the UPCS which underlies the clause of B is a variant of Formula 29.

$$\text{UPCS} = \text{Pred:cmt} + \text{C}_1:\text{theme} + \text{C}_1:\text{theme} + \text{C}_1:\text{theme} + \text{C}_2:\text{dir}.$$

3. The underlying pattern of the declarative verbal clauses is derived from the UPCS by Derivational Statement 7.

$$\text{UPCS} \times \text{Verb Voices} = \text{UPDeclVbCl}.$$

4. Formula 42 gives the underlying pattern of the declarative verbal clauses in which the C_1 and C_2 complements are given verbal clause specification.

$$\text{UPDeclVbCl} = \text{VbPred:(ev)} + \text{S:(ag)} + \text{O:(g)} + \text{Cn:(i)} + \text{R:(loc)}.$$

5. Specific verbal clauses are derived from the UPDeclVbCl by Derivational Statement 9.

$$\text{UPDeclVbCl} \times \text{Vb Stem Class} = \text{SpecVbCl}.$$

6. The underlying pattern of declarative D10 verbal clauses, which is the clause type of B above, are thus derived by supplying Verb Stem Class X to Derivational Statement 9.

UPDeclVbCl x Verb Stem Class X = UPDeclD10VbCl.

7. Formula 52A gives the underlying pattern of the declarative D10 verbal clause which accounts for the correlations of functions in the clause of B above.

UPDeclD10Cl = Pred:ev-10 + S:ag + (O:g) + (Cn:i) + (R:b).

8. Formula 52B gives the surface structure of the declarative D10, accessory voice, verbal clause in B above. Note that the Cn tagmeme is now obligatory because it has been topicalized.

AVDeclD10Cl = Pred:AVVbP + S:GenNP + (O:GenNP) + Cn/T:NmvNP
+ (R:DatNP).

9. Formula 4 gives the variant of the underlying pattern of primary phrases (UPPrP), which underlies the predicate tagmeme, as:

H:ev = PrVbP

10. Formula 10B gives the surface structure for this primary verb phrase as:

H:Vb

11. Operation of a lexical insertion rule (LIR) gives:

Vb (with Acs voice inflection i-) = **ikuha**

Summary of the description to this point:

ikuha + S:GenNP + O:GenNP + Cn/T:NmvNP + R:DatNP.

12. Formula 13 gives the underlying pattern of the relator-axis phrases, which are the basis of the nominal phrases.

UPRelAxP = Rel:(in) + Ax:id.

13. Formula 14 gives the underlying pattern of the relator nominal phrases.

Rel@:(nom)+ Ax@:id = UPRelNP.

14. Formula 15A gives the underlying pattern of the genitive nominal phrase.

Rel@:gen + Ax@:id = UPGenNP.

15. Chart 9 gives one variant formula of the surface structure of the GenNP as:

PersGenSub = Rel/Ax:(nia).

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16. Member of ⟨*nia*⟩ from Appendix A.1.:

⟨*nia*⟩ = *mo*.

Summary:

ikuha + *mo* + O:GenNP + Cn/T:NmvNP + R:DatNP.

17. Formula 13 gives the UPRelAxP, which underlies the object tagmeme, as:

Rel: ⟨*in*⟩ + Ax:id = UPRelAxP.

18. Formula 14 gives the underlying pattern of the relator nominal phrases.

Rel@:⟨*nom*⟩ + Ax@:id = UPRelNP.

19. Formula 15A gives the underlying pattern of the genitive nominal phrase.

Rel@:gen + Ax@:id = UPGenNP.

20. Formula 15B gives the surface structure of GenNP:

Rel@: ⟨*sang*⟩ + Ax@:PrP.

21. Member of ⟨*sang*⟩ from Appendix A.1.:

⟨*sang*⟩ = *sang*

Summary:

ikuha + *mo* + *sang* + Ax:PrP + Cn/T:NmvNP + R:DatNP.

22. Formula 4 gives the underlying pattern of the primary phrases as:

H:⟨*aser*⟩ = UPPrP.

23. Formula 5 gives one variant of the underlying pattern of primary nominal phrases as:

H:id.

24. Formula 6B gives the surface structure of a nonpersonal primary nominal phrase which is derived from the underlying pattern of Formula 5.

H:Nonpersonal base.

25. Operation of LIR gives:

Nonpersonal Base = *gumamela*.

Summary:

ikuha + *mo* + *sang* + *gumamela* + Cn/T:NmvNP + R:DatNP.

26. Formula 13 gives the underlying pattern of the relator-axis phrases, which underlies the conveyant tagmeme, as:

Rel:⟨*in*⟩ + Ax:id = UPRelAxP.

27. Formula 14 gives the underlying pattern of the relator nominal phrases as:

$Rel@:(nom) + Ax@:id = UPRelNP.$

28. Formula 17A gives the underlying pattern of the nominative nominal phrase as:

$Rel@:nmv + Ax@:id = NmvNP.$

29. Formula 17B gives the surface structure of NmvNP as:

$Rel@:(ang) + Ax@:PrP.$

30. Member of $\langle ang \rangle$ from Appendix A.1.:

$\langle ang \rangle = ang.$

Summary:

$ikuha + mo + sang + gumamela + ang + Ax@:PrP + R:DatNP.$

31. Formula 4 gives the underlying pattern of primary phrases as:

$H:(aser) = UPPrP.$

32. Formula 6B gives a surface structure exponent of a nonpersonal primary nominal phrase derived from the underlying pattern of Formula 5 as:

$H:Nonpersonal\ Base.$

33. Operation of LIR gives:

$Nonpersonal\ Base = kutsilyo.$

Summary:

$ikuha + mo + sang + gumamela + ang + kutsilyo + R:DatNP$

34. Formula 13 gives the $UPRelAxP$, which underlies the referent tagmeme, as:

$Rel:(in) + Ax:id = UPRelAxP.$

35. Formula 14 gives the underlying pattern of the relator nominal phrases as:

$Rel@:(nom) + Ax@:id = UPRelNP.$

36. Formula 16A gives the underlying pattern of the dative nominal phrase, a variant of relator nominal phrases, as:

$Rel@:dat + Ax@:id = UPDatNP.$

37. Formula 16B gives the surface structure of DatNP as:

$Rel@:(sa) + Ax@:PrP.$

38. Member of $\langle sa \rangle$ from Appendix A.1.:

$\langle sa \rangle = ExpNomP.$

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39. Formula 12 gives the underlying pattern of the expanded nominalizer phrase (ExpNomP) as:

Prep:spec + Nom:dir.

40. The exponent rules of Formula 12 also give a surface structure of ExpNomP as:

Prep:para + Nom:<sa>.

41. Member of <sa> from Appendix A.1.

<sa> = sa

Summary:

ikuha + mo + sang + gumamela + ang + kutsilyo + para + sa + Ax@:PrP.

42. Formula 4 gives the underlying pattern of primary phrases as:

H:id = UPPrNP.

43. Formula 6B gives a surface structure exponent of a nonpersonal primary nominal phrase derived from the underlying pattern of Formula 5 as:

H:Nonpersonal Base.

44. Operation of LIR gives:

Nonpersonal Base = maestra.

Summary:

ikuha + mo + sang + gumamela + ang + kutsilyo + para + sa + maestra.

45. Permutation of object and conveyant from PR3:

PR3. 12345 ==> 12435.

Sentence completed:

Ikuha + mo + ang + kutsilyo + sang + gumamela + para + sa + maestra.

You use the knife to get a hibiscus for the teacher.

APPENDIX C

The following list of roots is the basis of the stem classes which correlate with the declarative clause classes in this description. The column of alphabetical symbols following the lexical items indicates the general verb voice classification of the individual roots. The column of letter-number symbols indicates the declarative clause type the root correlates with. The last column gives an approximate English gloss for each root. Multiple class membership is given when known.

abot	AD	D2	<i>to arrive</i> D2, D5
aga	AD	D2	<i>morning</i>
agay	AD	D2	<i>to flow, to run down</i>
agi	ABCD	D10	<i>to go by, pass through</i>
agsik	AD	D2	<i>to fly off, scatter, spray</i>
akig	AD	D2	<i>to be or become angry</i>
alagad	ABD	D2	<i>to serve</i> D2, D5
alam	AD	D2	<i>to be or become wise</i>
alangalang	A	D1	<i>immature, incomplete</i>
alipuok	A	D3	<i>fog</i>
amba	AD	D2	<i>sing</i>
amlig	ACD	D8	<i>to handle with care</i>
andam	A	D1	<i>to prepare, to care for</i>
angkon	ABD	D5	<i>to acquire, to get possession of</i>
ani	ABCD	D10	<i>to harvest rice</i>
antos	ABD	D5	<i>to bear, suffer</i>
apura	AB	D4	<i>to hasten, make haste</i>
asal	ABCD	D10	<i>to pierce</i>
asawa	AB	D4	<i>wife</i>
asoy	A	D1	<i>explain</i>
atop	ACD	D9	<i>roof, cover</i>
away	ABD	D5	<i>quarrel, fight</i>
ayam	ABD	D5	<i>to hunt with a dog (pang-)</i>
badlong	A	D1	<i>correct</i>
baga	ABCD	D10	<i>to light, coal of fire</i>
bagyo	AD	D3	<i>storm</i> D3, D2
bais	AD	D2	<i>argue</i>
bakal	ABCD	D10	<i>to buy with money</i>
balabag	ABCD	D10	<i>to block with ...</i>
balay	ACD	D9	<i>house</i>
baligya	ABD	D5	<i>to sell</i>
balik	ABCD	D10	<i>return</i>

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balita	ACD	D8	<i>report</i>
banihot	Apa-	DC1	<i>persist</i>
bantay	ACD	D9	<i>watch, guard</i>
bangkaw	ABCD	D10	<i>to spear</i>
bangon	AD	D2	<i>rise, get up</i>
basa	ABCD	D11	<i>read</i>
basag	A	D1	<i>to emit a dull hollow sound</i>
bata	AB	D4	<i>to bear a child, give birth</i>
bati	ABCD	D10	<i>beat an egg</i>
bati'	AD	D2	<i>to hear</i>
bato	ABCD	D10	<i>stone</i>
baton	AB	D4	<i>accept</i>
baw-as	A	D1	<i>to be or become barren</i>
bayad	ACD	D8	<i>to pay, settle</i>
bayaw	ABC	D6	<i>to raise one's hand</i>
baylo	ABCD	D10	<i>to barter, to trade</i>
bayo	ABCD	D11	<i>to pound rice</i>
binangon	ACD	D1	<i>a long bolo</i> D1, D8
bitay	ABCD	D10	<i>to hang up, suspend</i>
buad	ACD	D1	<i>increase</i> D1, D8
budhi	Ad	D2	<i>betray, faithless</i>
bug-at	A	D1	<i>heavy</i>
bugay	ACD	D8	<i>donate gift</i>
bugtaw	AD	D2	<i>awake</i>
buhin	ACD	D9	<i>reduce</i>
buho	ACD	D9	<i>to make a hole in something</i>
bukal	A	D2	<i>to boil water rapidly</i>
bukas	ACD	D8	<i>to open, unfold</i>
bulak	A	D1	<i>flower</i>
bunggo	ACD	D8	<i>to collide, bump</i>
busog	ABCD	D10	<i>full, swelling</i> D10, D1
butang	ACD	D8	<i>to put, place</i>
butig	ACD	D9	<i>to lie, tell lies</i>
butong	ABCD	D5	<i>pull away</i>
daan	A	D1	<i>to become old, aged</i>
dagu-ob	A	D3	<i>to thunder</i> D3, D1
dako	ABCD	D1	<i>to be or become big</i> D1, D10
dala	ABCD	D10	<i>to carry in hands</i>
dalagan	ABC	D6	<i>to run</i>
dalangdalang	A	D1	<i>to go astray, get lost</i>
damo	ABD	D1	<i>to be or become many</i> D1, D5
dan-ok	ACD	D8	<i>throw</i>

daog	AB	D4	<i>to overcome, win</i>
dayaw	AB	D4	<i>praise, honor</i>
dayon	AD	D2	<i>stay for awhile</i>
diutay	ACD	D1	<i>to diminish, to become few</i> D1, D8
duaw	AB	D4	<i>to visit, drop in</i>
dugang	AD	D2	<i>add to</i>
dugmok	ABCD	D10	<i>to smash</i>
dugo	AD	D2	<i>to bleed, blood</i>
dulog	A	D1	<i>to stop, stand, halt</i>
dulom	AD	D2	<i>to darken</i>
dulot	ACD	D8	<i>to offer, make a gift</i> D5, D8
dumdom	ABCD	D10	<i>to think, remember</i>
dumot	AD	D2	<i>to hate, detest</i>
dungog	Apa-	DC1	<i>to repute, honor</i>
duso	ACD	D8	<i>to push hard</i>
duso	ABCD	D10	<i>to break off charred end, push stick into fire</i>
estar	AD	D2	<i>to stay, abide</i>
gamay	ABC	D7	<i>to become small</i>
gamit	ABCD	D10	<i>to use</i>
gamo	AD	D2	<i>to cause disturbance</i>
gapus	ABC	D6	<i>to bind, tie</i>
guardya	ACD	D9	<i>guard</i>
guba	ABCD	D10	<i>to destroy or undo</i>
guwa	A	D1	<i>to go or come out</i> D1, D8
habok	ABCD	D10	<i>to heap or inflate</i>
habol	ABC	D6	<i>to be or make blunt</i>
haboy	ABC	D6	<i>throw, shoot</i>
hadlok	AD	D2	<i>to fear</i>
hagad	ABC	D6	<i>to informally ask to accompany</i>
hakos	ABCD	D11	<i>to embrace, hug</i>
hakot	ABCD	D10	<i>to carry, transport</i>
halab	AB	D4	<i>to chew, as a carabao</i>
halin	ABC	D5	<i>to transfer</i>
halin	ABD	D2	<i>to leave, depart</i> D2, D5
hambal	ABCD	D5	<i>to talk, speak</i> D5, D9
hampang	AD	D2	<i>play</i>
hanas	ACD	D8	<i>practice, train</i>
han-os	ACD	D9	<i>to slash, whip with a sweeping hand</i>
handom	AB	D4	<i>desire, long for</i>
hangin	AD	D3	<i>wind</i> D3, D2
hangop	AD	D4	<i>understand</i> D4, D2

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hatag	ACD	D8	<i>to give, make a gift to</i>
hawan	ACD	D8	<i>to clear away, clean</i>
hibalo	A	D1	<i>know</i>
hibi	AD	D2	<i>cry, weep</i>
higot	ABCD	D10	<i>to bind, tie, secure</i>
higugma	AB	D4	<i>to love, have affection</i>
hilamon	ACD	D9	<i>to weed</i>
hilam-os	ACD	D9	<i>to wash one's face</i>
himo	ABCD	D10	<i>to do, make, perform</i>
hinay	ABD	D5	<i>to be slow, leisurely</i>
hubad	ABD	D5	<i>open, untie</i>
hugas	ACD	D9	<i>to rinse utensils, wash</i>
hukom	ACD	D8	<i>to judge, try</i>
hulaw	A	D1	<i>to stop raining</i>
hulog	ABCD	D5	<i>to fall (fruit)</i>
hutik	ABCD	D10	<i>to whisper</i>
huya	A	D1	<i>ashamed</i>
huyop	ABCD	D10	<i>to blow, expel, to breathe upon</i>
ilig	AD	D2	<i>to flow, run, stream</i>
ilis	ACD	D9	<i>change</i>
inom	ABD	D5	<i>to drink</i>
isdog	ABCD	D11	<i>to push with friction as it moves</i>
isog	AB	D4	<i>to be brave</i>
itlog	AD	D2	<i>egg</i>
iwat	AD	D2	<i>to be scarce, rare</i>
kabayo	A	D1	<i>horse (Apang-)</i>
kadlaw	AD	D2	<i>to laugh</i>
kadto	ABD	D5	<i>to go there (not near)</i>
kagat	AB	D4	<i>bite</i>
kalot	ABCD	D11	<i>to scratch</i>
kanay	A	D1	<i>to subside, abate</i>
kaon	ABD	D5	<i>to eat, feed</i>
kapot	ACD	D8	<i>grip or grab</i>
kasal	A	D1	<i>wedding, marry</i>
kawat	ABCD	D10	<i>steal</i>
kibon	ABC	D7	<i>surround, besiege</i>
kibot	ABC	D7	<i>surprise</i>
kihad	ABCD	D10	<i>slice</i>
kilat	AD	D3	<i>lightning D3, D2</i>
kimpit	ABCD	D10	<i>to pinch with hand or instrument</i>
kinahanglan	AB	D4	<i>need</i>
kiskis	ABCD	D11	<i>to scrape with something sharp</i>

kita	AB	D4	<i>to see, find</i>
kuha	ABCD	D10	<i>to take or get</i>
kulang	ABD	D5	<i>lack</i>
kuot	ABCD	D10	<i>to thrust the hand into and get</i>
kusina	A	D1	<i>kitchen</i>
kusog	A	D1	<i>strong</i>
laba	ACD	D9	<i>wash clothes</i>
laho	ABCD	D11	<i>to strike with sharp instrument</i>
la-ga	ABD	D5	<i>to boil or cook slowly in water</i>
lagas	ABC	D6	<i>to chase, pursue</i>
lain	ABCD	D11	<i>to separate</i>
lain	A	D1	<i>worse</i>
lakat	ABC	D9	<i>to walk on foot</i>
lala	ABCD	D10	<i>to weave</i>
lambot	ABCD	D10	<i>reach, overtake, obtain</i> D10, D1
lampos	ACD	D9	<i>to strike with an object</i>
lanibot	ABCD	D11	<i>reach</i>
lansang	ACD	D8	<i>nail</i>
langoy	ABC	D6	<i>to swim</i>
laom	AD	D2	<i>hope</i>
lapad	A	D1	<i>wide</i>
lapas	A	D1	<i>disobey, rebel</i>
lapit	Apa-	DC1	<i>to be or become near</i>
lapsi	AD	D2	<i>to be or become pale</i>
latay	ACD	D9	<i>to pass over</i>
latid	ACD	D9	<i>mark, limit</i>
laom	AD	D2	<i>hope</i>
ligad	AD	D2	<i>pass, go by</i>
ligos	ABCD	D10	<i>to wash, bathe</i>
limolimo	AB	D4	<i>to cover, to forgive</i>
lino	ABCD	D11	<i>to shake in a container</i> D11, D5
linog	A	D3	<i>earthquake</i> D3, D1
lintang	ABCD	D11	<i>step (of stairs)</i>
lipat	ABD	D5	<i>forget</i>
liso	ABCD	D10	<i>to turn in place (screw)</i>
luak	ABCD	D11	<i>glean ears of corn from stalks</i>
lubid	ABCD	D10	<i>rope, to twine</i>
lubung	ACD	D9	<i>to bury, grave</i>
lumos	AD	D2	<i>drawn</i>
lunod	Apa-	DC1	<i>to be inferior to</i>
lunod	ABCD	D10	<i>to put under water, submerge</i>
luspap	A	D1	<i>pale, wan</i>

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luto	ABCD	D10	<i>to cook</i>
ma-ayo	AB	D4	<i>to become better</i>
mag-an	AB	D4	<i>to make lighter</i>
mais	ABD	D5	<i>corn</i>
manok	A	D1	<i>chicken</i>
nusnos	ACD	D8	<i>scrub, skate</i>
pahid	ACD	D9	<i>wipe dry, dust</i>
pakpak	ABCD	D11	<i>knock</i>
pala	AB	D4	<i>to erase, wipe out</i>
palapit	ABCD	D10	<i>to draw near</i>
palpag	ABCD	D11	<i>to hammer</i>
panaog	ACD	D8	<i>take down</i>
panday	A	D1	<i>carpenter</i>
panit	ACD	D9	<i>to skin</i>
pangako	ACD	D8	<i>promise</i>
pangahoy	ABCD	D10	<i>to gather firewood (ABCD pang-)</i>
pangayam	ABCD	D10	<i>to hunt with a dog</i>
pangisda	ABCD	D10	<i>to fish</i>
pangkot	AD	D2	<i>to ask information</i>
parte	ABCD	D11	<i>share</i>
pasyar	ACD	D8	<i>stroll</i>
patay	ABCD	D10	<i>kill</i>
tayon	ABCD	D10	<i>flow (ABCDpa-)</i>
pati	ABD	D5	<i>obey</i>
patik	ABC	D6	<i>to drum</i>
pihak	ABCD	D11	<i>divide into two</i>
pilak	ACD	D8	<i>throw away</i>
pilas	ABCD	D10	<i>to wound or inflict a wound</i>
pili	ACD	D8	<i>select, choose</i>
pilit	AB	D4	<i>to urge, insist force</i>
pisik	ABCD	D10	<i>to spring at, splash</i>
plansa	ABCD	D11	<i>to iron cloth</i>
puga	ABCD	D10	<i>to squeeze</i>
pugong	ACD	D8	<i>to prevent, not allow</i>
pukpok	ABC	D6	<i>to pound</i>
pulong	ABCD	D11	<i>to orate, make an address</i>
pulot	ABCD	D10	<i>to pick up, take up</i>
pulpog	ABCD	D11	<i>to hit by hammering</i>
puno	AB	D4	<i>fill</i>
pungko	AD	D2	<i>to sit down</i>
putos	ABCD	D11	<i>to wrap up and fasten together</i>
putot	A	D1	<i>to shorten, short (of people)</i>

puyo	AD	D2	<i>to live, dwell</i>
reklamo	AD	D2	<i>complain</i>
saad	AD	D2	<i>vow, promise</i>
sabat	A	D1	<i>answer</i>
sab-og	Apa-	DC1	<i>sow, spread</i>
sadya	Apa-	DC1	<i>cheerful</i>
sagop	A	D1	<i>save, rescue</i>
saka	ABCD	D11	<i>to ascend, to up</i>
sala	A	D1	<i>err, mistake, sin</i>
salig	AD	D2	<i>confide, trust in</i>
salog	ACD	D8	<i>floor</i>
sambol	ABD	D5	<i>pregnant, conceive</i>
samo	ACD	D8	<i>to mix</i>
sanag	A	D3	<i>to illuminate, make clear</i> D3, D1
sandok	AD	D2	<i>to dip up</i>
sangkap	AD	D2	<i>to equip, furnish</i>
saot	ABCD	D5	<i>to dance</i>
sapak	AB	D4	<i>to pay attention</i>
sapo	AB	D4	<i>to discover, find out</i>
sapot	AD	D2	<i>to dress, put on clothes</i>
saylo	ABCD	D10	<i>transfer</i>
sigá	AD	D2	<i>to shine, to give light</i>
silhig	ABCD	D11	<i>broom</i>
siling	ABC	D6	<i>say</i>
silot	AD	D2	<i>punish</i>
simba	ACD	D8	<i>worship</i>
singgit	ACD	D8	<i>shout</i>
singit	ABCD	D10	<i>to use something to pick fruit</i>
sirado	ACD	D9	<i>close</i>
sugba	ABCD	D10	<i>broil</i>
sugid	ACD	D8	<i>to tell, talk</i>
sugo	ABC	D6	<i>command, order</i>
sugod	AD	D2	<i>begin, start</i>
suhot	ABC	D4	<i>to go through, to crawl through</i>
suk-ay	ABC	D6	<i>dig earth</i>
sulat	ABCD	D10	<i>write</i>
suli	A	D1	<i>turn upside down</i>
sulod	ABCD	D5	<i>enter</i>
sunod	ABCD	D11	<i>to follow</i>
sunog	ABD	D5	<i>burn paper, wood</i>
supon	ACD	D9	<i>to block (of flowing material)</i>
taas	ABD	D5	<i>to be or grow high</i>

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tabog	ABCD	D10	<i>to drive away</i>
tabok	ABC	D6	<i>to cross over</i>
tabon	ACD	D9	<i>to cover by filling</i>
tago	ABD	D5	<i>to hide</i>
tahi	ABCD	D11	<i>sew</i>
takaw	ABCD	D10	<i>steal (corn)</i>
taklad	ABCD	D11	<i>to ascend, climb a mountain only</i>
taklob	ACD	D9	<i>to cover (pan lid)</i>
takop	ACD	D9	<i>to cover (door)</i>
takos	ABCD	D10	<i>measure</i>
talitha	AD	D3	<i>mist D3, D2</i>
talom	ABCD	D10	<i>sharp, to sharpen</i>
tampok	ACD	D9	<i>to fill up</i>
tandog	ABCD	D11	<i>to touch</i>
tanom	ACD	D9	<i>to plant</i>
tanyag	ACD	D8	<i>offer</i>
tapak	ABCD	D11	<i>to trample with feet</i>
tapok	AB	D4	<i>to deteriorate, become brittle</i>
tasak	ABCD	D11	<i>to squish with feet</i>
tawag	ABCD	D10	<i>to call</i>
tawo	A	D1	<i>person</i>
tayon	ABCD	D10	<i>flow (ABCDpa-)</i>
tigas	A	D1	<i>dry</i>
tigulang	A	D1	<i>to age, grow old</i>
tindog	ACD	D8	<i>to stand upright D8, D1</i>
tinguha	AD	D2	<i>try, make effort</i>
tipon	ABCD	D10	<i>gather</i>
tomar	ABC	D7	<i>take medicine</i>
tubo	A	D1	<i>to grow</i>
tukap	ACD	D9	<i>to patch, cover</i>
tukod	ABD	D5	<i>to erect or prop up</i>
tuktok	ABC	D6	<i>to knock</i>
tuktok	ABCD	D10	<i>to chop meat in small pieces</i>
tulo	AD	D2	<i>to drip, drop</i>
tulod	ACD	D5	<i>to push away (car)</i>
tulog	AD	D2	<i>sleep</i>
tulok	ABC	D6	<i>to focus on (eyes), gaze</i>
tun-og	AD	D3	<i>dew D3, D2</i>
tusik	ABC	D4	<i>to peck D4, D6</i>
tus-on	ABCD	D10	<i>to carry on head</i>
tuytoy	ACD	D9	<i>to lead, guide</i>
ulan	A	D3	<i>rain D3, D1</i>

uli	ACD	D8	<i>return</i>
unat	ABCD	D10	<i>to stretch</i>
untat	ABD	D5	<i>to stop, cease doing</i>
utod	ABCD	D10	<i>to cut</i>
uyog	ABCD	D10	<i>to shake</i>
wali	ACD	D8	<i>to preach</i>
yuhom	AD	D2	<i>smile</i>

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