

THE CLASSIFICATION OF CEBUANO VERBS

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Cebuano,¹ like the other languages of the Philippines, has a rich and complicated system of verb-formation. There is a sizable number of morphemes which are added to roots to form verbs, and a given verb may contain more than one verb-forming affix. Thus, the total number of affixes and combinations of affixes to which a root could, in theory be subject is astronomical, although, in fact, no root does more than choose a small subgroup of the total number of verb-forming affixations. As it turns out, in their choice of the subset of affixations with which they occur, Cebuano roots behave systematically and almost predictably in terms of their meanings: it is possible to specify a small set of conjugation classes which contain all the Cebuano roots which occur as verbs. These classes are further divided into subclasses according to individual peculiarities of affixational processes. It is our task here to show these classes and thus shed light on an important feature of a Philippine grammatical system of a type which has hitherto been largely ignored.

1.1 MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE VERB

The Cebuano *verb* consists of an inflectional affix and *base*, and any form which contains an inflectional affix is a *verb*. The base may consist of one morpheme, in which case it is a *root*, or it may consist of more than one morpheme, in which case it is a *stem* containing one or more *derivational affixes*. E.g. *palutúqa*² 'have him cook it' consists of the root *lútuq* 'cook' to which the derivative affix *pa-* 'causative' has been added forming the stem *palútuq* 'cause to cook'. To this stem the inflectional affix *-a* 'imperative, agent focus' is added, giving the form *palutúqa* 'have him cook it'. Further, bases which occur with the inflectional affixes occur unaffixed in certain constructions. Such

¹ Cebuano is spoken in the central and southern Philippines: on the island of Cebu, Bohol, the western half of Leyte, the eastern half of Negros, the northern coasts of Mindanao, the islands in between these places, and in various other places in Mindanao. It is the native language of between one-third and one-quarter of the total population of the Philippines (and thus surpasses Tagalog in the number of native speakers). It has a wide currency as the language of trade, the broadcasting and television industries, the movie industry, and the publications in Cebuano-speaking and adjacent areas. Cebuano is often called Visayan (as are other languages and dialects of the Visayas) or Sugbuanon. The native name is *Sinibuwanu*, *Sinugbuqanun*, or *Binisayaq*.

² The phonemes of Cebuano are illustrated on the following chart. We follow the

bases without inflectional affixes are also *verbs*, e.g. in the sentence *qakuy lútuq*, 'I'll do the cooking', the unaffixed base *lútuq* 'do the cooking' is a verb.

1.11 INFLECTIONAL AFFIXES

The inflectional affixes are specifiable by a short list, which we give here. There are inflectional affixes other than those we shall list here, but they are not used in ordinary conversation, or their use is confined to a dialectal subarea in the Cebuano speech area. What we give here is complete for Cebuano as normally spoken over the greatest portion of the Cebuano speech area. The inflectional affixes are grouped into four subjects: the *real*, *unreal*, *dependent*, and *abstract* forms. The real and unreal forms express tense: the *real* refers to past or present time; the *unreal* to future and general time:

Real: *Gipalit* níya qang qisdaq. 'He *bought* the fish.'

Unreal: *Palitun* níya qang qisdaq. 'He *will buy* the fish'.

The *dependent* forms occur in imperative constructions and in a constituent with and following a form which itself indicates tense. (Adverbial type forms which refer to time or which refer to a place usually also indicate tense.)

Dependent: *Palita* qang qisdaq! 'Buy the fish!'

Didtu níya *palita* qang qisdaq. 'He *bought* the fish there.'

Adu níya *palita* qang qisdaq. 'He *will buy* the fish there.'

The *abstract* form is used as a nominal derivative meaning 'the action of [doing so-and-so]', as the verbal constituent of a temporal clause, 'when [so-and-so] happened, will happen, happens', and as an imperative:

Abstract: Mahal nga *pagkapalit* níya 'He *bought* the fish for a high price.'
qang qisdaq.

Pagpalit qug qisdaq! 'When he *bought* the fish.'

Pagpalit níya sa qisdaq. 'Buy some fish!'

The set real, unreal, dependent and abstract is without lacunae for every base, —that is to say, given a real form it is possible to predict with one-hundred per

convention that glottal stop is represented by *q* and a dorso-velar nasal stop, by the diagraph *ng*.

CONSONANTS

	<i>bilabial</i>	<i>apico-dental</i>	<i>dorso-velar</i>	<i>glottal</i>
Voiceless Stops	p	t	k	q
Voiced Stops	b	d	g	
Spirants		s		h
Nasals	m	n	ng	
Liquids		l, r		
Semi-vowels	w	y		

VOWELS

	<i>short</i>		<i>long</i>	
	i	u	i	ú
	a		á	

Chart 3. Phonemic Inventory of Cebuano

cent certainty that there will be a corresponding unreal, dependent, and abstract form, and *mutatis mutandis*, the real can be predicted on the occurrence of one of the other forms:

Transverse to this real, unreal, dependent, abstract matrix is a matrix of sets of affixes which express case or voice and aspect. The meanings of these sets are numerous and complicated and will be set forth in detail as the affixational classification is present. We list them here in chart form with a label of each case-aspect set, which in only the most general terms is indicative of their meanings. Commas separate forms which are in free variation (nearly synonymous and mutually substitutable).

	<i>Real</i>	<i>Unreal</i>	<i>Dependent</i>	<i>Abstract</i>
Active				
Punctual	mi-, ni-, ning-	mu-	mu-	pag-
Durative	nag-, naga-, ga-	mag-, maga-	mag-, maga-	pag- pagka-
Potential	naka-, ka-	maka-, ka-	maka-, ka-	same as active
Direct passive				
Nonpotential	gi-	-un	-a	forms
Potential	na-	ma-	ma-	" " " "
Local passive				
Nonpotential	gi--an	-an	-i	" " " "
Potential	na--an	ma--an, ka--an	ma--i, ka--i	" " " "
Instrumental				
Conveyance-Passive				
Nonpotential	gi-	qi-	qi-	" " " "
Potential	gika-, na-	qika-, ma-	qika-, ma-	" " " "

CHART 1: INFLECTIONAL AFFIXES

Not all of these sets occur with each type of base. Some classes occur with all nine, some with eight, some with seven . . . some occur with only one set.

1.12. MOPHOPHONEMICS OF THE INFLECTIONAL AND DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES

The affixes shown in Chart 1 are added to roots with little or no morphophonemic alternation. (If there is any morphophonemic alternation, only the root undergoes it, and the formation is invariably quite transparent.) However, when added to stems containing derivational prefixes the active punctual real, unreal and dependent morphemes in many cases combine with the derivational morpheme to form portmanteau morphs, such that it is impossible to discern the shape of the inflectional morph. The shape of the portmanteau morph con-

being of a derivational morpheme and the active real, unreal and dependent morpheme is shown in the following chart:³

together with prefix	<i>ni-</i> (<i>mi-</i> , <i>ning-</i>) becomes	<i>mu-</i> becomes
hi-, ha-	nahi-, naha-	mahi-, maha-
hiN -	nahiN-	mahiN-
ka-	na-	ma-
pa-	nipa- (<i>mipa-</i> , <i>ningpa-</i>)	mupa-
paN- ⁴	naN-	maN-
pakig-	nakig-	makig-
paniN-	naniN-	maniN-
pani-	nani-	mani-
panggi-	nanggi-	manggi-

Chart 2. Morphophonemics of the Inflectional and Derivational Morphemes
The other derivative affixes do not occur with the active punctual morphemes.

1.2 SHIFTS

Another morphophonemic process which is important in verbal formation is one we term here *shift*. *Shift* involves one of two processes: shortening the penult in an affixed form where the unaffixed stem has a closed or a long penult, symbolized by (→); (2) lengthening of the penult in an affixed form where the unaffixed stem has a short open penult, symbolized by (←):

(→): *nag-* (→) added to *hunaqhúnaq* 'think' forms *naghunaqhunaq* 'thought'

(←): *nag-* (←) added to *sakay* 'ride' forms *nagsákay* 'rode together'.

³ The meanings of these affixes are discussed only insofar as they are relevant to the classification of the root. However, the following sentences show examples of roots affixed with these derivational affixes compared to roots which lack the derivational affixes:

- Misulud siya sa kwartu.* 'He entered the room.'
Nahasulud qang takub sa butilya. 'The top slipped into the bottle.'
- Gibutang niya qang butilya sa lamisa.* 'He put the bottle on the table.'
Nahimutang sa bungtud qang qilang payag. 'Their hut is located on the mountain.'
- Gihúlug niya qang sulat.* 'She mailed (dropped) the letter.'
Nahúlug qang papil. 'The paper fell.'
- Kinsay mulútuq sa qisdaq?* 'Who will cook the fish?'
Kinsay mangúhaq sa manga hinayhav. 'Who is going to take in the laundry?'
- Diliq ku musulti nga búqang siya.* 'I won't say he is a fool.'
Diliq ku makigsulti niya. 'I will not talk to him.'
- Qilábay básig mubahuq qunyaq.* 'Throw it away, it might smell.'
Nanimáhuq nga bulad qang qiyang bisti. 'Her clothing smells of dried fish.'
- Naniqudtu na ba mu?* 'Have you had lunch yet?'
- Nanggidáma qang duha ka tigúwang.* 'The two old men played checkers.'

⁴ The phonemic value of the morphophonemic symbol *N* is given in the following chart:

For roots beginning with	<i>N</i> plus the initial consonants of the root produces
p, b	m
t, d, s	n
k, q, ng	ng
l	ngl or, alternatively, nl
other consonants or a cluster of consonants	ng plus initial consonant

Chart 5. PHONEMIC VALUE OF *N*.

1.3 ROLE OF DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES IN CLASSIFICATION

In the classification of roots into conjugation types it is not necessary to take into consideration all of the derivational affixes which form verb stems. The unproductive types of affixes (the type that occurs only with a small set of roots) are not found with roots of only one or two conjugation subclasses: they occur with roots quite independently of other aspects of their affixational configuration. Thus the consideration of unproductive affixes would only needlessly multiply the number of subclasses without shedding any light on how Cebuano roots group themselves. On the other hand, some of the productive types of derivational affixes are so productive—that is, they occur with almost all roots and have completely predictable effects on the meaning of the root, that they do not distinguish any classes. Or if they behave at all irregularly (unpredictably), the formation is isolated, irrelevant to the classification of the verb as much as the other unproductive formations are. Thus, these productive affixes are not taken into consideration in analyzing conjugation classes. These productive affixes are *hi-*, *ha-*, *pa-*, *paN-*, *panggi-*, and root doubling.

However, the productive affixes *hi-*, *ha-*, and *paN-* have special meanings apart from the normal meaning which they give a root when they occur with stems of certain classes (to be described), and in those cases a consideration of the formations containing these affixes enters into the classification of the root. Further, productive affixes *ka-* and *pakig-* have an important role in determining the conjugation: these affixes *ka-* and *pakig-* do not occur with all roots, but do occur with all roots of a certain type and tie in closely with other aspects of the conjugation. The other derivative affixes of Cebuano are nonproductive and thus have no role in the classification of the roots. Stems which contain them are classified into subclasses along with unaffected roots.

2.0 CLASSIFICATION INTO ACTIVE AND PASSIVE CONJUGATIONS

Stems are classified according to their active conjugation (the set of the active inflectional affixes and the meanings which the affixed forms have) and their passive conjugation. On the whole, the active and passive conjugation classes are independent of each other. The few correlations I have noticed will be mentioned in passing.

2.1 ACTIVE CLASSES

We divide active verbs into three main conjugation classes: Class A, the *action verbs*, Class B, the *stative verbs*, and Class C, the *mutual action verbs*. There is a fourth class which is given no active class symbol. It does not occur with active affixes. Each of the classes A, B, and C has a number of subclasses which can be indicated by numerals. Many stems are members of more than one class.

2.11 ACTION VERBS

Verbs of Class A, the action verbs, refer to an action. If they are predicate of the sentence, the subject is the agent of the action. If they are in attribute construction, the head is the agent of the action. They occur with the active punctual, durative, and potential affixes.⁵ The following list characterizes the meanings which action verbs have (though not exhaustively): Verbs in this class are those which refer to conveyance or motion: put, go, throw, sell, give, pay, etc.; verbs which refer to speaking, thinking: ask, say, read, dream, write, etc.; verbs meaning do, make, form, bring something into a state: divide, break, cut, raise, scare; verbs meaning see, hear, look at, watch, perceive, and the like; verbs meaning touch, catch, take, gather, harvest, and the like. This is only a partial list of the various meanings which action verbs have. The following sentences exemplify verbs of this class with various active affixes:

Walaq siya *muhátag* sa íyang bahin, maqu nga gipapaháwaq siya.

'He *refused to give* his share, so he was expelled.' (siya 'he')

Kinsa kanang batang *nagdagan* dihaq? 'Who is that child that *is running* there?' (kanang bátang 'That child which . . .')

Diliq ku *makapalit* ánaq kay mahal. 'I *cannot buy* that because it is expensive.'

Mag-init kug túbig. 'I'll *heat* some water.' (ku 'I')

Stems with derivative prefixes also are in this class:

Nakapangutána ka na ba níya? 'Have you *had a chance to ask* him yet?'

(root: kutána; stem: pangutána); ka 'you')

Nagpamatiq sila sa manga púlung sa tigúlang. 'They listened to the old man's words.' (root: bátiq stem: pamatiq; sila 'they')

Adu ku didtu *manihapun*. 'I will *eat supper* there.' (root: hápun; stem: panihapun; ku 'I'; adu . . . didtu 'will [do] there')

Most action verbs are regular, that is, they occur with the active punctual, durative and potential affixes. However, there are some subclasses. One subclass is the class of verbs which lacks the punctual affixes. A good number of the action verbs formed from roots which are basically nouns are not affixed with the punctual affixes (*mi-* or *mu-*) but are affixed with the durative and the potential affixes:

Nagqikspidisyun sila ngadtu sa búlan. 'They *had (are having) an expedition* to the moon.'

Makaqayruplánu na ta ngadtu sa Katarman. 'We *can go* to Catarman by airplane now.' (ta 'we')

Action verbs which lack the punctual active affixes may be designated Class A1.

⁵ A thorough going description of the meanings which the various aspect and case-voice affixes carry is more than can be presented in this paper. I hope to have a full description published soon in the form of a reference grammar of Cebuano, in which data is given sufficient to impart an understanding of the semantic system of the verb, better than what can be conveyed with these few examples. A good deal of information about the verb is given in my *Beginning Cebuano*, Yale University Press, Part I, 1966, Part II, 1967.

A small number of action verbs occur only with potential affixes. These may be designated Class A12 (failing to occur both with the punctual and the durative affixes). Examples of verbs of this sort are *kítaq* 'see', *bátiq* 'hear', *salaq* 'sin', et al.:

Nakakítaq siyag káhuy ug *nakabatiq* siyag títug. 'He saw a tree and he heard a voice.' (siya 'he')

A small number of action verbs occur only with durative affixes. These may be designated as Class A13 (failing to occur both with the punctual and the potential affixes).

Walaq ku *magdahum* nga magbudhiq ka. 'I did not imagine that you would be unfaithful.' (ku 'I')

Verbs with the derivational prefixes *paka-* and *paki-* are in Class A13:

Nagpakaduktur siya. 'He pretended to be a doctor.'

Nagpakitábang siya. 'He called for help.'

Further subclassification could be done on the basis of whether or not there is a shift with the durative and/or the potential affix. I have not been able to find any correlation between the occurrence of shift and any other feature of the verb (semantic or formal).

2.11 ADDITION OF A DERIVATIVE AFFIX *paN-* TO ACTION VERBS

With most roots in class A, the addition of *paN-* forms another action verb which refers to plural action. However, with a small subclass, the addition of *paN-* forms a stem which does not differ in meaning from the root without *paN-* to which the volitional and the potential affixes (but not the durative affixes) may be added. The volitional active of the root without *paN-* (i.e., *mi-* or *mu-* plus the root) is in competition with the volitional active or the stem containing *paN-* (i.e., *maN-* or *naN-* plus the root [Section 1.12]), and the form consisting of the potential affixes added to the root alone is in competition with the potential affixes added to the root plus *paN-*. The subclass of roots of this type may be symbolized AN: A root in Class AN is *sanghid* 'ask permission do to something'. (Forms separated by a comma are nearly the same in meaning:)

Walaq siya *musanghid*, *mananghid* nga mulakaw. 'She did not ask permission to go.' (siya 'she')

Walaq pa ku *makasanghid*, *makapananghid* nga mugámit sa qíyang bisiklíta. 'I have not had a chance to ask permission to use his bicycle.' (ku 'I')

2.12 STATIVE VERBS

Verbs of Class B, the stative verbs, refer to a state or condition in which someone or something is (was, etc.) or into which it got. If they are the predicate of the sentence, the subject is the person or thing in the state or condition. If they are in attribute construction, the head is the thing or person to which

the state refers. Verbs of this class are those which are formed from nouns and adjectives and mean 'become, be [such-and-such]': 'be a doctor, be angry, be red,' etc.; verbs which refer to something which something undergoes: 'swell, increase, roll, fall, break,' etc.; verbs which refer to a noise which something emits: 'ring, jingle, clank,' etc. This list is not exhaustive. Verbs of the stative type normally occur with the punctual, durative, and potential affixes and with a derivative affix *ka-*, to which the punctual forming affixes (that is, forming *na-* or *ma-* [Section 1.12] and the durative affixes (i.e. forming *nagka-* or *magka-*) are added. With punctual affixes stative verbs mean 'become (became, etc.) [such-and-such]'; with the durative affix, stative verbs mean 'be [such-and-such]'; with the potential affixes stative verbs mean 'cause to be, become [such-and-such]'; with the affix *ka-* and the punctual affixes stative verbs mean 'happen to become [such-and-such]'; and with the durative affixes plus *ka-* they mean 'be gradually becoming [such-and-such]'. Further, stative verbs also occur with a derivative affix *pa-* to which the potential active affixes are added (i.e. are affixed with *makapa-* and *nakapa-*) and mean 'cause to be, become [such-and-such]' (and thus are no different in meaning from the form composed of the potential affix added to the unaffixed root). In the following examples, forms in parentheses are in competition. This conjugation is exemplified by the adjective *pula* 'red' to which the affixes listed are added to form verbs meaning 'become, be red':

Mipula dáyun qang qiyang qúlu human níyag qinum sa qálak. 'His head turned red immediately after he drank the liquor.' (qang qíyang qúlu 'his head')

Walay lamiq kadtung mansánas. *Nagpula lang.* 'Those apples are tasteless. They're red, but that's all.' (Katdtung mansánas 'Those apples')

Qang lipstick *nakapapula, nakapula* sa íyang ngábil. 'The lipstick is what made his lips red.'

Qayaw pagbulad kay *mapula* qunyaq qang qímung pánit. 'Don't expose yourself to the sun. Your skin might turn red.' (qang qímung pánit 'your skin').

Qinigbanagbánag *magkapula* qang subangan. 'As dawn breaks the East gradually becomes red.' (qang subárgan 'the East').

2.121 SUBCLASSES OF THE STATIVE VERBS

Stative verbs often deviate the pattern described in that they lack one or more of the sets punctual, durative, potential, *ka-* plus durative, *ka-* plus punctual. Those lacking punctual affixes may be called B1, e.g. *bagqu*; 'become better'. (In the meaning 'become new' this root occurs with the punctual affixes, but not in the meaning 'become better');

Hináqut quntaq nga magbagqu qang qímung kinaqíya. 'I hope your character changes for the better.' (qang qímung kinaqíya 'your character')

Nabagqu siya nga naminyuq. 'He reformed when he got married.'

Ang *nakabagqu, nakapabagqu* ni Pidru maqu qang kursilyu. 'The cursillo reformed Pedro.'

Stative verbs which do not occur with durative affixes are a large subclass and may be symbolized B2, e.g. *tigúlang* 'be, become old':

Mutigúlang kang tanqáwun qug magtaqas kag sinínaq. 'You will look old (get old-looking) if you wear a long dress.' (ka 'you', tangáwun 'be')
Natigúwang siyag daliq tungud sa daghan níyang problíma. 'He grew old quickly because of his many problems.' (siya 'he')

Sa *nagkatigulang* siya, nagkaháp qang qíyang pananqaw. 'As he grew older, his sight grew dim.'

Qang qímung gibúhat *makatigúlang*, *makapatigúlang* nákuq. 'What you do is causing me to grow old.' (qang qímung gibúhat 'what you did')

Another smaller subclass is the class of roots which do not occur with the potential affix or the derivational affix *pa-* plus a potential affix in a form meaning 'cause to become [so-and-so]'. Verbs of this subclass occur with potential affixes, but their meaning is 'happen to become [so-and-so]', 'manage to become [so-and-so]'. This subclass may be symbolized B3. Usually verbs of B3 do not occur with *ka-* (*na-*, *ma-*, [1.12] or *nagka-*, *magka-*):

Nakabuhig qang prísu. 'The prisoner escaped.'

Another subclass of stative verbs is the class of verbs which do not occur with *ka-* (*na-*, *ma-* or *nagka-*, *magka-*):

Nidahan qang qíyang kabúqang sa madyung. 'Her craze for mahjong got worse and worse.'

Nagdahan na nang bataqa kay pinatuyangan sa gustu. 'That child is getting worse and worse because you give him whatever he demands.'

Qang pagsígi níyag daqug sa madyung *nakadahan*, *nakapadahan* sa qíyang yagkasugarul. 'Her constant winning at mahjong caused her craze for gambling to get worse.'

2.122 PaN- WITH STATIVE VERBS

A large number of the stative verbs may occur with the derivational prefix *PaN-* to which the durative affixes may be added (forming *maN-* and *naN-* [Section 1.12]). The subclass of these verbs may be symbolized BN. The form with *paN-* means 'be, become [so-and-so]'. With *paN-* there is less emphasis on the inchoative nature of the event that is the case with the punctual affixes, nor is there stress on the accidental nature of the event, as is the case of the form with the prefix *ka-*. Compare the following example with the examples containing the root *pula* 'red' in Section 2.12, above:

Qang qíyang manga mata *namula* sa walay kinatúlug. 'His eyes were red because of lack of sleep.'

2.13 MUTUAL ACTION VERBS

Verbs of Class C, the mutual action verbs, refer to an action undertaken by two or more persons or things with each other as a state which two things came into together. If a mutual action verb is in the predicate construction, the subject

is the persons or things which interacted; if the verb is an attribute, the head is the persons or things which interacted. Verbs of this class usually have a long penult. They occur with the durative affixes, *nag-* (←), *mag-* (←), *pag-* (←), (but not with the alternative forms of the durative affix *naga-*, *ga-* and *maga-*). They also occur with a special form of potential active affix: *nagka-* and *magka-* (←) (but not with the ordinary form of the potential affix *naka-* and *maka-*). And they occur with the derivational affix *pakig-* to which the durative active affixes may be added (forming *nakig*, *makig-* [1.12]). An example of a verb in this class is *kítaq* 'meet'.⁶

Nagkítaq mi didtu sa Magalyánis. 'We met downtown.'

Walaq mi *magkakítaq*. 'We did not get to meet.'

Makigkítaq qaku nímu didtu. 'I will go to meet you there.'

Some mutual action verbs fail to occur the durative and/or the potential and/or the *pakig-* affixes. These verbs are considered to be in subclasses of Class C. For example, *balíqus* 'pass each other' fails to occur with durative active affix and thus can be said to be in Class C1):

Waq mi *magkakítaq* kay *nagkabalíus* mi sa dálan. 'We did not meet because we passed one another on the street.'

Púyuq 'live together without benefit of marriage' does not occur with the potential affix (and thus can be said to be in Class C2):

Nagpúyuq lang sila. *Waq* pakasal. 'They are just living together. They have not gotten married.'

2.14 ROOTS WHICH ARE IN MORE THAN ONE ACTIVE CLASS

Many roots form verbs of more than one conjugation. The most common type of overlap is the case of verbs which mean both 'be in [such-and-such a state]', and 'bring into [such-and-such a state]'. Such verbs are said to be Class AB (i.e. both in Class A and in Class B). E.g., *abri* 'open up' and 'open something'; *túyuk* 'turn, be rotating' and 'turn something'; *libkas* 'spring, become sprung' and 'make something be sprung'; *bakud* 'get up' and 'raise something'; *sulud* 'enter', and 'put something in', etc.

2.141 VERBS IN THE AB CONJUGATION

An example of a verb which is in the AB conjugation,—i.e., an action verb and at the same time a stative verb is *mala* 'become dry' or 'make something dry'. The following examples show *mala* with affixes of the B conjugation:

Daliq rang *mumala* qang hinayhay qug qínit. 'The laundry will get dry quickly if the sun is out.'

Nagmala qang qíyang baqbaq túngud sa kaquhaw. 'Her mouth was dry because of her thirst.'

⁶ We have also had an example of this root *kítaq* as an action verb (in Class A12) in Section 2.11.

Walaq man nímu bisbísi qang manga linadlad. *Namala* na hinúqun. 'You didn't wet the laundry you were bleaching. Now it's all dry because

On the other hand, *mala* can also occur with the affixes of the A conjugation:

Qang qínit *mumala* sa karsáda. 'The sun will dry the street.'

Túqa siya sa qabúhan, *nagmala* sa basaq níyang sinínaq. 'He is standing next to the stove, drying his wet shirt.'

*Nakamala*⁷ qang qínit sa qíyang bisti. 'The sun dried out his clothing.'

With *mala* and many, but not all, verbs in Class AB the addition of *pa-* forms a verb which means 'bring to the state of [such-and-such]', i.e. has the same meaning as the action conjugation with no derivational affix. Thus, the stem *pamala* can be substituted in the above three sentences for the root *mala* without changing the meaning:

Qang qínit *mupamala* sa karsáda. 'The sun will dry the street.'

Túqa siya sa qabúhan, *nagpamala* sa basaq níyang sinínaq. 'He is standing next to the stove, drying his wet shirt.'

*Nakapamala*⁷ qang qínit sa qíyang bisti. 'The sun dried out his clothing.'

2.142 VERBS IN THE AC AND IN THE BC CONJUGATION

Another frequent type of overlap is the case of verbs which mean both 'do [so and so]' and 'do [so-and-so] with each other'. These verbs are in both the action and in the mutual action conjugations, that is, in Class AC. An example of a Class AC verb is *sakay* 'ride':

Misakay siyag paráda. 'He got on a buggy.'

Nagsakay siyag paráda pagkítaq námuq. 'He was riding a buggy when we met.'

Walaq qaku *makasakay* dáyun kay daghang nangítang taksi. 'I was not able to get a ride right away because there were lots of people who were looking for taxis.'

Nagsákay mi paqingun nganhi. 'We rode together on our way here.'

Nagkasákay kami kasqa. 'We happened to ride together once.'

Makigsákay qaku nímu. 'I would like to ride together with you.'

A few roots enter into both the stative and the mutual action conjugation, i.e., are in Class BC. An example of this type is *paríhu* 'be similar'.

Muparíhu na sa Bítuls qang qímung buhuk. 'Your hair is going to look like the Beatles.'

Qug *maparíhu* qang qímung tubag sa qákuq, nangupya ka. 'If your answer comes out like mine, you copied.'

Qang *makaparíhu*, *makagagaríhu* nímug qartista qang qímung hinápáy. 'Your hair style makes you look like an actor.'

Nagparíhu qang qílang sinínaq. 'They had the same dress on.' (Literally, their dresses were the same.)

Nagkaparíhu qang qílang grádu. 'They got the same grade.' (Lit., Their grades happened to be the same.)

⁷ The potential affix occurs with all verbs of the stative conjugation in the meaning, 'cause something to become [so-and-so]' (Section 2.12, above).

Makigparíhu giyud naq siya sa qákung sinultihan. 'He wants to talk like me (*wants to be the same with me* in by way of speech).'

2.2 PASSIVE CONJUGATION CLASSES

There are three main classes of passive conjugations: Class a, the *Direct Passive Class*, stems which occur with direct passive affixes; Class b, the *Local Passive Class*, stems which take local passive affixes to form verbs which refer to the recipient of the action, *Instrumental-Conveyance-Passive Class*, stems which take the instrumental-conveyance affixes to form verbs which refer to the recipient of the action.⁵

2.21 DIRECT PASSIVE CLASS

The largest passive class is Class a. For verbs of Class a, the Direct Passive form refers to a focus which is the recipient of the action (i.e., if the verb is the predicate, the subject is the recipient of the action):

Palitun ku qang sapátus. 'I will buy the shoes.' (Focus: qang sapátus 'the shoes')

Verbs of Class a also have a Local Passive form, and the Local Passive form refers to a focus which is the place, beneficiary, or partial recipient of the action:

Palitan ku qang tindáhan ni Mariya qug sapátus. 'I will buy shoes from Maria's store.' (Focus: qang tindáhan ni Mariya 'Maria's store').

Palitan ku qang qákung manghud qug sapátus. 'I will buy some shoes for my younger brother.' (Focus: qang qákung manghud 'my younger brother').

Palitan kuq pipila ka buqk qang qímung sangkis. 'I will buy a few of your oranges.' (Focus: qang qímung sangkis 'your oranges').

Verbs of Class a also have an Instrumental-Conveyance Passive form, and the Instrumental-Conveyance Passive form refers to a focus which is the instrument, the beneficiary, or the time of the action:

Kwartang miniq qang qákung *qipalit*. 'I will use counterfeit money to buy it with.' (Focus: kwartang miniq 'counterfeit money').

Qipalit ra qakug sapátus. 'Please buy some shoes for me.' (Focus: qaku 'me').

Maqáyu run *qipalit* qug ságing. 'Now is a good time to buy bananas.' (Focus: run 'now').

2.211 VERBS OF MOTION

Verbs which refer to motion to a place are also in the Direct Passive Class, Class a. For verbs of motion, the direct passive refers to a focus which is the place the agent has gone to (is going to, etc.) or the thing which the agent has gone to get:

Lakwun ku qang Banáwaq. 'I will walk to Banawa.' (Focus: qang Banáwaq).

Balikun ku qang qákung nalimtan. 'I will go back to get what I forgot.'
(Focus: qang qákung nalimtan 'what I forgot').

Again the Local Passive refers to a focus which is the place or beneficiary of the action, and the Instrumental-Conveyance Passive refers to a focus which is the instrument, the beneficiary, or the time of the action:

Lakwan nátuq qang bagqung simintu. 'Let's walk on the fresh cement.'
(Focus: qang bagqung simintu 'the fresh cement').

Kining qákung tiqil diq na *qikalakawg* layuq. 'My feet cannot carry me far (literally, cannot be used to walk far with). (Focus: Kining qákung tiqil 'these feet of mine')

(Many verbs which refer to motion are in Class a and in Class c [Section 2.23, below] at the same time, and thus they also have an Instrumental-Conveyance Passive form with another meaning.)

2.212 VERBS FORMED FROM NOUN ROOTS

Most of the verbs formed from noun roots are of Class a passive conjugation. The meanings of the direct passive forms of verbs formed from noun roots are 'make focus into [noun]' or 'call [focus] [noun]':

Kining panaptúna maqáyung *karsunísun*. 'This cloth is good to make trousers out of.' [*karsúnis* 'trousers'] (Focus: kining panaptúna 'this cloth').

Diliq siya mutingug kun diliq *sinyúrun*. 'He will not answer if he is not called "senyor".' (Focus: siya 'he').

Duktúrun ku qang qákung qanak. 'I will make my son into a doctor.'

The Local Passive of verbs of this type, like other verbs of Class a refers to a focus which is the place or the beneficiary of the action:

Tinísan nátuq qang qímung nataran. 'Let's play tennis in your yard.'
(Focus: qang qímung nataran 'your yard').

Karsunísan ku qang qákung manghud. 'I will put trousers on my little brother.' (Focus: qang qákung manghud 'my little brother').

Karsunísan ku siyag maqung. 'I will make denim pants for him.' (Focus: siya 'him').

The Instrumental-Conveyance Passive of verbs of this type, like other Class a verbs, refers to a focus which is the instrument, time, or beneficiary of the action:

Kining purul maqáyung *qitínis*. 'These shorts are good to play tennis in.'
(Focus: kining purul 'these short pants').

Maqáyu run *qitínis*. 'Now is a good time to play tennis.' (Focus: run 'now').

Ikarsúnis ra qakug maqung. 'Please make a denim pair of pants for me.'
(Focus: qaku 'me').

2.213 VERBS FORMED FROM ADJECTIVES

Verbs derived from adjectives are also in Class a. The Direct Passive form refers to a focus which is the thing caused to 'become [adjective]' or which was 'done in an [adjective] manner':

Giqitum níya qang qákung sapátus. 'He *made* my shoes *black*.' (Focus: qang qákung sapátus 'my shoes').

Giqitum níya pagtínaq qang qákung sapátus. 'He *dyled* my shoes *black*.'

The Local Passive verb form of adjective stems refers to a focus which is **the** person who considers something to be [adjective]:

Giqituman si Huwan sa qímung pamánit. 'John *considers* your complexion *to be black*.' (Focus: si Huwan 'John').

The Instrumental-Conveyance Passive, as usual, refers to a focus which is the **time**, beneficiary, or instrument of the action.

2.214 CLASS A CONJUGATION OF MUTUAL ACTION VERBS

Many mutual action verbs (in the Class C Active Conjugation) also are in **Class a**, passive conjugation. The Direct Passive forms of such verbs refer to **the** two things which were (are, will be, etc.) [verbed] with each other:

Sakáyun nátuq sila ngadtu. 'Let's *have* them *travel* there *together*.' (Focus: sila 'them').

As usual the Local Passive refers to a focus which is the place or beneficiary of the action, and the Instrumental-Conveyance Passive refers to a focus which **is** the time, instrument or beneficiary of the action.

2.215 SUBCLASSES OF CLASS A VERBS

Some stems of Class a do not take the local passive affixes. Such stems **are** said to be in Class al. Some stems of Class a do not take instrumental-conveyance passive affixes. Such stems are said to be in Class a2. Stems which **lack** both local and instrumental-conveyance passive affixes are in Class a12. This subclass is fairly large and contains verbs with the derivational prefix *paka-* 'consider to be [root]' and many others: e.g., *daug* 'overcome':

Gidaug ku si Huwan sa qámung qáway. 'I *beat* John in our fight.'

Gipakabathálaq ku si Huwan. 'I worship John (literally, *consider* John a god).'

Verbs in the Active Class A12 (Section 2.11—i.e., those which occur only with potential affixes) occur only with potential passive affixes and are in Class a3:

Nakítaq ku qang káhuy. *Nabátig* ku qang títugug. 'I *saw* the tree. I *heard* the voice.'

The final subclass, Class a4, is the class of verbs the direct passive of which refers to a focus which is the person or thing affected by some sort of condition (hunger, sickness, pestilence, etc.):

Gihulmígas qang qasúkar. 'The sugar *is swarming with ants*.' (hulmígas 'ant').

Some of these bases may add a derivational prefix *paN-* to form a verb which means 'be severely affected by /so-and-so/'. Such verbs are in Subclass a4(1):

Gitugnaw qaku. 'I am cold.'
Gipanugnaw qaku. 'I am very cold.'

2.22 LOCAL PASSIVE CLASS

A stem which takes local passive affixes to form a verb which refers to a focus which is the recipient of the action is in the local passive class, Class b. Verbs of Class b are those which refer to actions which happen to a place or area: clean, sweep, wipe, wash, shave, rub, et al.; hit, grab, touch, et al.; tie, untie, set free, loosen, et al.; add to, deduct from, et al.; open, close, look at, watch. Also stems which contain certain of the derivational affixes are in this class: *hi-*, *hing-*, *hiN-*, *pakig-*, and some other nonproductive types.

Gihugásan níya qang pinggan. 'He washed the plate'. (Focus: qang pinggan 'the plate').
Gihawíran níya qang buhuk sa páriq. 'He took hold of the priest's hair.'
Gibuhian níya qang qákung kwarta. 'He added to my money.'
Gisirhan níya qang bintánaq. 'He closed the window.'
Gipakigsultíhan níya si Mariya. 'He spoke with Maria.'

There are verbs in Class b other than these types: e.g. *sígi* 'continue doing', *qaplay* 'apply for something', *sulay* 'try', *bantay* 'watch' and many others:

Giqaplayan ku kadtung trabahúqa. 'I applied for that work.'

Verbs in Class b do not have a direct passive (unless they are simultaneously in Class a and in Class b [Section 2.222 below]). The Instrumental-Conveyance Passive refers to a focus which is the beneficiary, time, or instrument for doing the action:

Qihúgas qaku sa pinggan. 'Please wash the dish for me.' (Focus: qaku 'me').
Maqáyu run *qihúgas*. 'Now is a good time to wash them.' (Focus: run 'now').
Kining sabun *maqáyung qihúgas*. 'This is a good soap to wash with.' (Focus: sabun 'soap').

2.221 SUBCLASSES OF CLASS B

For some stems in Class b there are two meanings of the Local Passive: the Local Passive refers to a recipient of the action and also refers to the place or person for whom the action is done, e.g., *páhid* 'wipe' and *báyad* 'pay'. Such verbs are said to be in Class b1.

Gipahíran ku qang sipqun. 'I wiped away my nasal discharge.'
Gipahíran ku qang lamisa. 'I wiped the table.'
Gibayran ku qang qútang. 'I paid off the debt.'
Gibayran ku siya. 'I paid him.'

Another subclass of Class b, called Class b2, is the class of roots which are in Class a, but which occur with the derivative affix *hi-* or, alternatively, *hing-* to form stems to which the local passive affixes are added and the Local Passive form of which refers to a focus which is the recipient of action accidentally. In the following examples the first two sentences illustrate the root *bása* 'read' used as a member of the Class a, Direct Passive, conjugation; and the third sentence illustrates the same root with derivational affix *hi-* as a member of Class b2:

Gibása ku qang libru. 'I read the book.' (Focus: qang libru 'book').
Gibasáhan ku si Huwan. 'I read to John.' (Focus: si Huwan 'John').
 Tagúqi qang sulat básig *hibasahan* qunyaq níya. 'Hide the letter, lest he happen to read it.' (Focus: sulat 'letter').

Another subclass of the Local Passive class is the class of verbs the Local Passive of which refers to the reason for the action. Verbs in this class are those referring to feelings: be happy, sad, crying, laughing, afraid and the like. E.g., *hílak* 'cry':

Qunsa may qímung *gihilákan*? 'What are you crying about?' (Focus: qunsa 'what').
 Díliq kanaq qángay *kabalakqan*. 'That's not worth worrying about.' (Focus: kanaq 'that').

Another subclass of Local Passive verbs is the class of verbs the Local Passive of which refers to a focus which is the one to whom it happened that something came about. E.g., *labad* 'have a headache':

Gilabdan siya. 'He has a headache.' (Focus: siya 'he').
Nahutdan siyag kwarta. 'He ran out of money.'
Namatyan siyag qamahan. 'He lost his father.'

Another subclass of Local Passive Verbs is the class of verbs which have no passive other than the Local Passive, and the Local Passive refers to a focus which is the place or the beneficiary of the action:

Gikumbitáyan qang sanga. 'He was hanging down from the branch.'
 (Focus: qang sanga 'the branch').

2.222 VERBS IN BOTH CLASS A AND CLASS B

A small number of stems occur with both local and direct passive affixes to form a verb which refers to a focus which is the recipient of the action, and there is no difference in meaning between the local and the direct passive forms:

Qabríhan, *qabríhun* níya qang bintánaq. 'He will open the window.' (Focus: qang bintánaq 'the window').

2.23 INSTRUMENTAL-CONVEYANCE CLASS

A stem which takes instrumental-conveyance passive affixes to form a verb which refers to a focus which is the recipient of the action is in the Instrumental-

Conveyance Passive Class, Class c. Verbs which are in this class are those which refer to a focus which is something which is conveyed or refer to an action which is in a direction away from the agent: 'put, deliver, throw, give, sell, say, order, ask,' and the like:

Qibutang kanaq dihaq. 'Put that down there.' (Focus: kanaq 'that').

Qihátag qang libru kaákuq. 'Give the book to me.' (Focus: qang libru 'the book').

Qunsay qákung *qisulti* kaníya. 'What shall I say to him?' (Focus: qunsa 'what').

Qihatud siya sa qíla. 'Bring him to his house.' (Focus: siya 'him').

Some verbs with no conveyance meaning are nevertheless in this class:

Qisulqub qang bagqu nímung sinínaq. 'Put on your new shirt.' (Focus: qang bagqu nímung sinínaq 'your new shirt').

Direct passive affixes are not added to stems in Class c unless the stem is simultaneously in Class a (as discussed in Section 2.231, immediately following). The local passive affixes are added to verbs in Class c and refer to a focus which is the place or beneficiary of the action:

Butangi qang lamisa qug mantil. 'Put a tablecloth on the table.' (Focus: qang lamisa 'the table').

Hatági qakug libru. 'Give a book to me.' (Focus: kinsa 'who').

Kinsay qímung *gisultíhan?* 'Who did you say it to?' (Focus: kinsa 'who').

Hatdi siyag litsi. 'Deliver milk to him.' (Focus: siya 'him').

Sulqúbi qang bátaq qug karsúnis. 'Put trousers on the child.' (Focus: qang bátaq 'the child').

2.231 VERBS IN CLASS A AND IN CLASS C SIMULTANEOUSLY

Most verbs which refer to motion to a place are in both Class a (i.e., both in Class a and Class c.). The direct passive conjugation of such verbs is described above, 2.211. The instrumental-conveyance passive of such verbs refer to a focus which is the thing conveyed. Verbs in Class ac are *qadtu* 'go', *bálik* 'go, bring back', *hapit* 'stop in', *kanáqug* 'go down' and many others. In the following examples the first sentence of each pair contains a direct passive form; the second contains an instrumental-conveyance passive form:

a. *Qadtúqa* si Huwan. 'Go get John.' (Focus: Si Huwan 'John')

Qiqadtu kanaq ngadtu. 'Bring that over there.' (Focus: kanaq 'that').

b. *Balikun* du qang libru. 'I'll go back to get the book.' (Focus: qang libru 'the book')

Qibálik ku qang libru. 'I'll bring the book back.'

c. *Hapitun* ku si Huwan sa qíla. 'I'll stop by to get John at his house.' (Focus: si Huwan 'John')

Qihapit ku qang libru sa qílang Huwan. 'I'll stop by John's house to deliver the book.' (Focus: *qang libru* 'the book').

There are other semantic types of verbs in Class ac. E.g., verbs meaning 'say': *suguq* 'order', *qingun* 'say' and others.

- d. *Kanaqúgun* ku qúsaq tung qákung linadlad. 'I'll go downstairs first to get my laundry' (Focus: tung qákung linadlad 'my laundry') *Qikanáqug* ku qang manga silya. 'I'll bring the chairs downstairs.' (Focus: qang manga silya 'the chairs').
- e. *Kinsay qákung sugúqun* ngadtu? 'Who shall I order to go there?' (Focus: kinsa 'who').
Qunsay qímung qisúgup nákg? 'What will you order for me to do?' (Focus: qunsa 'what').
- f. *Qingnun* ku siya. 'I will tell him.' (Focus: siya 'him')
Qunsay qímung qiqingun níya? 'What will you tell him?' (Focus: qunsa 'what').

Many Mutual Action Verbs, Class C, are in Class a and in Class c. (The Class a conjugation of this type is discussed above in Section 2.214.)

- g. *Sagúla* qang qasúkar qug qang túbi. 'Mix the sugar and the water together.'
Qiságul qang qasúkar ngadtu sa túbig. 'Mix the sugar into the water.'

2.232 SUBCLASSES OF THE INSTRUMENTAL-CONVEYANCE CLASS

For a large number of stems in the Stative Conjugation Active the instrumental-conveyance passive affixes and the direct passive affixes form verbs of nearly the same meaning: 'make [focus] become [so-and-so]'. Such verbs are said to be in Class c1:

Qiqandam, *qandáma* qang bálun. 'Get the food ready.'

For a small number of bases the Local Passive forms and the Instrumental-Conveyance Passive forms are synonymous and refer to a focus which is the recipient of the action. Such verbs are in Class c2. E.g., *panagqing* 'think something to be like something else':

Qipanagqing, *pangqíngan* man qaku nímun kang Pidru nga daqug nímu. 'Evidently you think me to be similar to Pedro, whom you can beat.'
 (Lit. *I am taken to be like. . . by you.*) (Focus: qaku 'me').

2.233 INSTRUMENTAL-CONVEYANCE PASSIVE FORMS OF MUTUAL ACTION VERBS

Most mutual action verbs (verbs in the Class C conjugation) occur with instrumental-conveyance passive affixes to form verbs which refer to a focus which is the person with whom the agent did the action. The Instrumental-Conveyance Passive forms of verbs of this sort are formed with special affixes: Real Nonpotential: *gi-* (←); Unreal Nonpotential: *qig-* (←); Real Potential; *gika-* (←); Unreal Potential: *qigka-* (←):

Dúgay nga walaq ku siya *qigkítaq*. 'I had not met him for a long time.'
 (Focus: siya 'him'; Agent: ku 'I').