

PART III
MORPHOLOGY

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John U. Wolff

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Chapter Eight: Inflectional Affixes

8.0 Introduction

The morphology is treated in Chapters 8 - 12:

Chapter 8 Inflectional affixes

Chapter 9 Derivational affixes forming transient bases

Chapter 10 Derivational affixes forming nominal bases

Chapter 11 Derivational affixes forming adjective bases
 and qualifiers

Chapter 12 Paradigms

8.01 Definitions

Any form occurring with the ~~inflectional~~ affixes (listed Sec. 8.051 ff.) is a transient. The base of a transient is the form less the inflectional affixes. However, the base is considered adjective, transient or nominal depending upon the following criteria. (The vocabulary indicates ~~what~~ type of base the lexical item is.)

8.011 Adjective bases forming transients

A base is considered adjective if it fulfills two conditions:

1) it occurs by itself as a predicate; 2) it also occurs preceded by ka- in exclamatory sentences meaning "how V!" (Sec. 3.61).

E.g. qitum is considered an adjective base because it occurs by itself as a predicate.

P		S	
qitum		siya	"He is black."

It also occurs preceded by ka- in exclamatory sentences.

kaqitum niqa:naq "How black that is!"

On the other hand, bala:ka "concern" is not an adjective base because it does not occur by itself as a predicate (although it does occur with a ka- prefix in an exclamatory sentence). For examples of forms meeting these two criteria which are not adject-

tive bases, cf. Sec. 8.014.

8.012 Transient bases forming transients

Other bases occurring with inflectional affixes are transient or nominal. A base is considered transient if it is not a common noun when used by itself. For example, tu:lug "put to sleep", is not used as a CN. Therefore, transients formed to the base tu:lug are to transient bases. However, a base used by itself as a common noun is still a transient base if it has one of the following three meanings:

- 1) thing V⁻⁻⁻-ed
- 2) action of V⁻⁻⁻-ing or state of being V⁻⁻⁻
- 3) instrument by which one V⁻⁻⁻ 's

For example dala "thing carried" is a common noun. However, the base dala with transient affixes is considered a transient base because the meaning of the common noun is 1) "thing V⁻⁻⁻-ed". Similarly, kata:wa "laugh" is considered a transient base because when used by itself as a common noun, the meaning is 2) "action of laughing". Similarly, qutaw "iron" is a transient base because when used as a CN by itself, the meaning is 3) "instrument with which one irons". Further examples of these are given in Secs. 10.51 - 10.52 and their subsections and in Sec. 10.92 and its subsections.

8.013 Nominal bases forming transients

On the other hand, buntag used as a transient means "do until morning", and used as a CN, it means "morning". In this case we say the transient is formed to a nominal base.

8.014 Transient bases forming adjectives

In a few cases a given base is not considered adjectival even though it fulfills the conditions of Sec. 8.011 above. If

it occurs as a base to a transient and does not mean "cause V", "become V", or "be affected by V", it is not an adjective base, but a transient base. For example tulug "sleepy" is an adjective for it occurs as a predicate by itself.

P	S	
tulug	siya	"He is sleepy."

It also occurs with ka- in exclamatory predicates.

katulug ni:ya "How sleepy he is!"

However, when used as the base of a transient it means "put to sleep". (It does not mean "become V" or "cause to be V" or "be affected by V".) Therefore, tu:lug is considered a transient base (from which the adjective is formed with (→)). Cf. Sec. 11.151 and its subsections.)

On the other hand gitum is an adjective base because it fulfills the conditions of Sec. 8.011, and the meaning of the base used as a transient is "cause to be black".

gigitum ni:ya qang qa:ku ng sapa:tus "He made my shoes black."

8.015 Transients formed to other bases

There are some forms used as bases to transients which occur by themselves as qualifiers, pronouns or other forms. Transients formed to these types are considered to be formed to qualifier bases, etc.

8.02 Inflectional affixes

The inflectional affixes are those listed in the chart, Sec. 8.05. These are considered to be the inflectional affixes on the basis of their distribution: their distribution is limited by certain qualifiers. (Cf. Sec. 6.72.) Also these occur freely with the greatest number of bases (derived or roots). Those inflectional elements which are of limited occurrence (e.g. gina-

/qiga - instrumental) are still considered inflectional because of their distribution with bases and the limitations of distribution with certain qualifiers (Sec. 6.72). For the criteria by which bases are determined cf. Sec. 9.0.1.

8.03 Real, unreal, subjunctive

The unreal is used for action which is going to or may take place or takes place habitually. The real is used for action which has taken place or is taking place. (There are some exceptions described in the individual sections following in this chapter.) Also, there is no distinction between real - unreal under the conditions described in Sec. 6.7. The unreal is used in three other ways. In a sequence consisting of three or more transients meaning "action which was done in the past" the second to last may be unreal.

- a. giduqu:lan man qaku sa buqa:ya sa qa:ku ng pagkali:guq
unreal
maqu nga qa:kuq pa ng sakwa:tun qug gila:bug na:kuq sa
mamala "A crocodile came near me as I was swimming, so I
picked it up and threw it on dry land." (32.1)

The unreal is also used for a transient in a second predicate (Sec. 6.13).

- b. qunsa:qun ni:la pagpatay qang qi:la ng qanak nga qimbis
unreal
patyun sa buqa:ya maqu man hinu:qun qang mipatay sa buqa:ya
"How could they kill their son, who instead of being killed
by the crocodile, was the one who killed the crocodile?"
(32.7)

The unreal is also optionally used in the apodosis of conditions contrary to fact. The unreal is obligatory in the protasis.

- c. kun waq ku pa siya maki:taq malumus quntaq siya "If I
unreal
had not seen him, he would have drowned." (nalumus also
occurs in this environment.)

The subjunctive is used under the conditions described in Sec. 6.72.

Except where specifically stated otherwise every inflectional base occurs with every derivative base described in Chapter 9.

8.04 Other definitions

8.041 "Same" meanings

The meanings of two forms are called "the same" if the only difference in meaning between the two is one of style. "The same" is symbolized by "=".

8.042 Specialization of meanings

If a form has a different meaning from the combination of the meanings of its affix and its base, it is considered to have a "specialized meaning". Most affixes occur with numbers of bases in specialized meanings, but no attempt is made to give an exhaustive list of specialized meanings but rather one or two examples to show what direction the specialization takes.

8.043 Productivity of affixes

An affix is considered "productive" if it occurs with a large proportion of forms having a certain meaning. Bases newly borrowed into Cebuano from other languages may occur with these. An affix is considered to be "restricted" if it occurs with a smaller number of bases than the "productive". It is considered to be "dead" if it occurs with a limited number of bases. For inflectional affixes only "restricted" and "dead" types are indicated. If there is no indication, the affix is "productive". For derivational affixes degrees of productivity are indicated for all types.

8.044 Bases and affixes

Affixes are grouped on the basis of meaning and

form^{*}. Two affixes are the same if they have the same meaning and the same form^{**}. Otherwise they are different. Bases are the words less the affix^{***}. If two affixes have the same meaning and distribution or differ in distribution only with respect to forms with which they occur in a word, they are called "alternants" of each other. Thus pag- and ka- in gipagqawa:yan "reason on account of which two people quarreled" and gikasabu:tan "thing on which two people agreed" are considered to be alternants of each other because their meaning is the same, and the only difference in their distribution is the forms with which they occur in a word. (Some words have pag- in this meaning; some have ka-; and some have both.)

8.045 Zero

A form ab is considered to have an affix zero, alternant of affix c, when /abc/ occurs with the same meanings as /ab/ (or the difference in meaning is one of specialization -/ ^{Sec. 8.042}). The affix zero, however, is not analyzed unless it is an alternant of another affix. (Cf. Sec. 8.044.) E.g., gigawa:yan "thing fought together about" (with a zero alternant of pag-) and gipagqawa:yan "thing fought together about" (with a pag- affix, the alternant of zero).

8.046 (→) and (←) as part of the affix

As is explained in Sec. 2.23 the symbol (→) means that the

^{*}Included in the form is 1) the phonemic shape and 2) the alternant of the base which occurs with the form. Thus the maka- prefix which is always followed by an alternant with a short penult is not the same as the maka- which is followed by an alternant with a long penult. (E.g., the maka- (→) of makakaqun V ka:qun is not the same as the maka- of makalu:tug.)

^{**}These are not necessarily the same morphemes, for forms with different shapes in complementary distribution belong to the same morpheme but are called "different" affixes. Also many affixes are composed of several morphemes.

^{***}For the criteria by which the base is determined cf. Sec. 9.0.1.

base has an alternant with a short penult and (←) means the base has an alternant with a long penult. If a given affix occurs only in words with a long or closed penult, (←) is considered part of the affix. Thus for -a (←) exclamatory (Sec. 3.64) the (←) is considered part of the affix because it occurs only in words with a long or closed penult. Thus the form lipa:ya is analyzed as li:pay + -a (←), even though the base already has a long penult. Similarly (→) is considered part of an affix if it occurs only in words with a short or closed penult. Thus for -an (→) "place of V" (Sec. 10.2621), the (→) is considered part of the affix because it occurs only in words with short or closed penult. Thus the form sinihan "theater" is analyzed as sini + -an (→), even though the base already has a short penult.

8.05 Inflectional affixes listed

The following tables present the inflectional affixes. The morphophonemics of these affixes with the bases is discussed in Sec. 2.225 and Sec. 8.1182 and its subsections. These affixes are used both with the bases consisting of one morpheme (roots) and those consisting of more than one morpheme (derived bases). There is also an infix -um-* which is used in TP's (transient phrases - Sec. 4.22) which are in the predicate in a declarative sentence with a subject ka or kamu (mu) - i.e., second person singular and plural. The usage of the -um- infix in this meaning is common only with a few bases of high frequency.

TP	S	
<u>qumari</u>	ka	"Come here!" V qari "here"

Otherwise this usage of -um- is fancy style.

*Infixes in Cebuano occur immediately following the first phoneme of the word except the infix -l-. (Cf. Sec. 2.227.)

8.051 Active

	Real	Unreal	Abstract
		Subjunctive	
Volitional - Punctual	{ mi- ming- ni- ning- } qina- *	mu- * -um- *	
Nonvolitional - Durative	nag-	mag-	{ base alone pag- }
Specifically durative	{ naga- ga- }	maga-	
Potential	{ naka- ka- }	{ maka- ka- }	{ ka- pagka- }

Legend: *Used only regionally (except -um- with ka, kamu, mu)

} Either of the forms is used with same meaning and in the same environment (with exceptions discussed under specific treatment).

or with
Bases occurring/affixes above the line occur also with affixes below the line and vice versa.

x- Form is prefixed.

-x- Form is infix (follows first consonant).

-x Form is suffixed.

===== Forms for which bases occurring with one above may or may not occur with one below.

..... Bases occurring with affixes to the right occur also with affixes to the left and vice versa.

----- Except for a few exceptions bases occurring with affixes above occur also with affixes below and vice versa.

8.052 Passive

Some bases occur only with active affixes, others only with passive affixes. Most bases occur with both.

		: Real	: Unreal	: Subjunctive	: Impera- tive
Direct	: Nonpo-	: gi-	: -un	: -a	: {pag- -a}
	: tential	:	:	:	: -a}
	: Progres-	:	: pag- **	: pag- -a **	: paga- -a
	: sive	:	:	:	:
	: iterative	: gina-	: paga--un	: paga- -a	:
	: Potential	: na-	: ma-	: ma-	: none
Local	: Nonpoten-	: gi- -an	: -an	: -i	: {pag- -i}
	: tial	:	:	:	: -i}
	: Progres-	:	: pag- -an	: pag- -i **	:
	: sive	:	:	:	:
	: iterative	: gina--an	: paga--an	: paga- -i	: paga- -i
	: Potential	: na- -an	: {ma- -an}	: {ma- -i}	: none
		: gika--an	: {ka- -an}	: {ka- -i}	:
Instru- mental-	: Nonpoten-	: gi-	: qi-	: qi-	: {pagqi-}
	: tial	:	: qig- **	: qig- **	: qi-}
	: Ablative	: gina-	: qiga- ***	: qiga- ***	: qiga- ***
	: Potential ₁	: gika-	: qika-	: qika-	: none
	: Potential ₂	: na-	: ma-	: ma-	: none

(Same legend as for Sec. 8.051.)

**Dead affixes, confined to a limited number of bases.
*** rarely used

8.1 Active

Not every base occurs with the prefixes described below. Almost all underived transient bases occur with mi- / mu-, nag- / mag- and naka- / maka- (except those of Secs. 8.135 and 8.112), but derived transient bases and adjective, nominal, and other bases are restricted as to type of affix. (These are discussed in the sections on individual affixes, Chapter Nine.) Cf. the discussion in Chapter 12.

8.11 mi- / mu- (mi- = ni-, ming-, ning-, qina-)

mi- and ni- are used with every base in the following sections. ming- and ning- are not used with every base. qina- is dialectic. The suffixes with mi- / mu- described in the following sections are different. Bases with one type of mi-/mu- may or may not occur with another type. A chart in Sec. 8.114 summarizes the various principal meanings of mi-/mu- as opposed to nag-/mag-.

8.111 Future/past with volition

Bases which occur with mi-/mu- in this meaning also occur with nag-/mag- / naga-/maga-. The nag-/mag- / naga-/maga- is neutral * with respect to the meaning of volition, nag-/mag- often has a meaning of continuing action. (The naga-/maga- always has a meaning of continuing action.) mi-/mu- with meaning volitional is neutral with respect to the meaning continuing action.

muginum ka ba "Do you want to drink?" V qinum "drink"

*Neutral means that the form is noncommittal on the meaning in question, whereas some other form indicates it. Usually, in high style, the form which indicates the meaning in question is the one which is used in the context calling for that meaning, but in colloquial style the neutral form is often preferred. (These cases will be specified.)

qug qa:ku ng giprangkahan qang hi:pi nga di:liq qaku mupaha:waq
bi:san qunsa y mahitabuq "And I told the chief frankly that
I would not clear out, no matter what happened." V[—] paha:waq
"clear out" (65.12)

kita kunu saqap ri:ya qug walaq muha:tag sa ba:hin "He says
we are his tenants and would not give him his share." V[—]
ha:tag "give" (50.6)

8.112 mi-/mu- "begin action"

The forms with mi-/mu- mean "start action" whereas the
forms with nag-/mag- mean "be doing V[—]". (Cf. Chart
Seq. 8.114.)

mita:guq qang kawatan didtu sa kakugnan "The thief hid him-
self in the cogon grass."

(Cf. nagta:guq siya sa kakugnan "He was hiding in the cogon
grass.") V[—] ta:guq "cause to be hidden"

qunyaq kay mibahakhak lang quruy qang tikasan "Then, Kay, the
cheater just up and laughed out loud." V[—] bahakhak "laugh
boisterously" (65.8)

8.1121 To noun bases (restricted)

pagkidlap sa ki:lat mikala:yu qang kakugnan "When the
lightning struck, the grasslands burst into flames." V[—]
kala:yu "fire"

8.113 mi-/mu- neutral as to volition

8.1131 To transients with meaning of "an action that
happens to something"

Cf. Sec. 8. 1224 for these bases with nag-/mag-.

qapan sa qusa niqa:naq ka nanahun diha y pahibalu nga may qusa
ka dakuq kaqa:yu ng qisdaq nga midagsaq ngadtu sa qusa ka lung-
sud "But one time there was an announcement that there was a
very big fish which was washed aground in a certain town."
V[—] dagsaq "wash aground" (32.12)

qapan sa pagla:bug pa ni:ya sa pita:ka may mitagingting nga
manga salapiq "But when he threw the purse away, there was
money which jingled." V[—] tagingting "jingle" (6.8)

kun mulibkas qang ba:wug qi:guq gyu ng di:liq mutugkad qang
manga tiqil sa ba:buy "If the spring pole snaps back into
place, it will be just the right length so that the pig's

feet do not touch the ground." V[—] libkas "snap into place"
V[—] tugkad "touch the ground" (61.12)

8.11311 mi-/mu- neutral as to volition with bases with which it undergoes morphophonemic alternation

Note that mi-/mu- of Sec. 8.111 above does not have volitional meaning when it occurs with the prefixes with which it undergoes morphophonemic alternations (Sec. 8.1182). (In those cases mi-/mu- is neutral with respect to volition and continuing action.)* Cf. examples Sec. 8.1182.

8.1132 mi-/mu- to adjectives, numbers and words meaning time "become V[—]."

8.11321 Nonspecialized meaning

The meaning of this mi-/mu- is "become V[—] "

a. kun di:liq ka muka:qun mugamay qang qi:mu ng la:was "If you do not eat, you will become thin." (Lit.: "Your body will become small.") V[—] gamay "small"

b. mipula qang na:wung ni dyu human siya makaqinum qug tulu ka butilya ng bir "Joe's face became red after he drank three bottles of beer." V[—] pula "red"

c. qug muqalas qutsu na qug waq pa siya maqanhi qihatud ni ng sula:ta da:yun sa ka mari:ya "If it gets to be eight and he still has not come, take this letter to Mary's at once." V[—] qalas qutsu "eight o'clock"

8.11322 Specialized meaning with mi-/mu- "approximately V[—]."

This meaning of mi-/mu- occurs with bases meaning length of time or space. In this case mu- is used to mean past tense as well as present and future tenses.

muduha na siya ka bu:lan dinhi sugbu "He has been here in Cebu for almost two months." V[—] duha "two"

*Most of these bases do not occur with nag-/mag-.

mutu:hud na qang tu:big sa paglabay ni piping "The water was nearly knee-deep just as Peping came through." V tu:hud "knee"

8.1133 To noun bases (restricted)

labi na gayud kay qang gubirnadur sa lalawi:gan maqu qang mukuru:na sa rayna "Especially since the governor of the province would be the one to crown the queen." V kuru:na "crown" (18.10)

8.114 Meanings of mi-/mu- as opposed to nag-/mag-

The following chart shows the differences among the meanings of mi-/mu- and nag-/mag-.

Bases with <u>mi-/mu-</u> meaning	volitional action (<u>Sec. 8.111</u>)	start V (<u>Sec. 8.112</u>)	become V (<u>Sec. 8.113</u>)
These bases occur with <u>mag-/nag-</u> meaning	1) neutral as to volition (<u>Sec. 8.1212</u>) and 2) action continuing (<u>Sec. 8.1211</u>)	action continuing (<u>Sec. 8.1211</u>)	either no <u>mag-/nag-</u> or <u>nag-/mag-</u> action continuing (<u>Sec. 8.1211</u>)

8.1141 Bases which occur with mi-/mu- but not with nag-/mag-

Bases with derivative affixes with which mi-/mu- undergo morphophonemic alterations (Sec. 8.1182) do not occur with nag-/mag- except some of those with ka- and those with paN- in nonplural meaning. Cf. Section 12.01 for further discussion.

8.115 mi-/mu- to other noun bases

8.1151 To noun bases which occur with a large number of inflectional affixes

The different types of noun bases are described in Sec. 9.10 ff. If mi-/mu- is used at all, it is confined to bases in a limited number of contexts where the meaning of "volitional

action" is brought out. (Otherwise nag-/mag- is used with these for active nonpotential meanings. Cf. examples Sec. 9.10 ff.)

8.1152 To nouns that occur with paN- transient derivative prefixes with approximately the same meaning

This type of base is described in Sec. 9.224. (Cf. examples there.)

8.1153 mi-/mu- "go to V" "

The meaning "go to V" occurs with noun bases but rarely with affixes other than mi-/mu-.

mula:wud qang mananagat bi:sa g tingbagyu "The fishermen go to sea even during the typhoon season." V la:wud "sea"

bana:waq bay di:liq ra ba mugra:hi man ku "Banawa, driver." "Sorry, no. I am headed for the garage". V gra:hi "garage"

8.116 Meanings peculiar to mu-

8.1161 Iterative action (neutral as to volition and time)

Cf. the discussion Sec. 8.03. For transients which occur with mi-/mu- it is mu- which expresses the meaning of iterative action. (For bases for which mag- has this meaning cf. Sec. 8.127.)

maqa:yu kunu qaku muqimbintu qug kataru:ngan "He said I was good at making up explanations." V qimbintu "make up" (65.8)

8.1162 Iterative action to nontransient bases

Note that with nontransient bases mag- is also used in this meaning (Sec. 8.127).

na qunyaq ni ng ta:wu ng qamirika:nu ku:mu walaq kaqi:la bi:san siya maqa:lam mubinisayaq nagalingkud la:mang gyud "Then this American man, since he did not have any friends, even though he knew how to speak Visayan well, just sat." V binisayaq "Visayan" (38.10)

(In this example we have mu- with a past time meaning.)

8.1163 mu- meaning "capable of"

This is an extension of the habitual meaning.

kini ng barku mukarga g lima ka tunila:da "This boat carries five tons." V— karga "load"

8.117 Meanings peculiar to mi-

The real is used in giving stage directions. (I.e., it is considered that the actions of stage directions have already happened.)

qunyaq miluksu qang ba:taq qug mihi:lak "Then the child jumps up and down and bursts out crying." V— luksu "jump"
V— hi:lak "cry"

8.118 mi-/mu- with derived bases

8.1181 Those that do not undergo morphophonemic alternations

8.11811 mi-/mu- to bases with paki-

di:liq siya gustu ng mutugan qapan mupakisu:si lang ku giha:pun "She does not want to tell, but I will ask her anyway." V— pakisu:si "investigate, ask questions"

didtu sa pulis mipakilu:quy qang qu:nguq "The witch asked the policeman to take pity." V— pakilu:quy "ask for pity"

8.11812 mi-/mu- to ka-

The optional use of mi-/mu- to bases with ka- without morphophonemic alternations is confined to those bases with which ka- has the meaning "action performed by the agent" (Sec. 9.321). mika-/muka- has the meaning of "volitional action" whereas na-/ma- is neutral with respect to the meaning of volition. muka- is also used in the meaning of habitual action.

qayaw mu pagbanhaq dihaq kay mukatu:lug na ku. "Don't you make any noise over there because I want to go to sleep now."
V— katu:lug "sleep"

qunyaq ningkana:qug si karangkál gi:kan sa tru:nu sa ha:riq
 "Then Karangkal went down from the king's throne." V—
 kana:qug "go down" (35.7)

The use of mika-/muka- is fancy style.

8.1182 Those that undergo morphophonemic alternations

The mi-/mu- is neutral with respect to volitional meaning when it undergoes morphophonemic alternation together with a derivative affix. (mi-/mu- is also neutral with respect to duration of action.) Thus na-/ma- (= mi- + ka-/mu- + ka-) is neutral with the meaning of volition and durative action. Note that for some of those with ka-, there are forms which explicitly express volition and durative action. (Cf. Sec. 8.11812 immediately preceding.) However, in colloquial style with most bases the mi-/mu- which is neutral in volitional and durative meanings is preferred to those forms which express them explicitly. Thus matu:lug is preferred to mukatu:g; natu:lug, to mikatu:lug (Sec. 8.11712 and Sec. 8.12122).

qinigqabut ni:mu matu:g na ku "When you arrive, I will be sleeping."
 (magkatu:g has the specific meaning of durative action but is fancy style.)

qayaw g banhaq dihaq kay matu:g na ku "Do not make any noise there because I want to sleep now."

(mukatu:g specifically has the meaning of volition, but is confined to fancy style.)

8.11821 mi-/mu- + pakig- = nakig-/makig- (Sec. 9.7)

makigqa:way qang liyun kun kuha:qan sa qi:ya ng qituy "A lion will fight if its cub is taken." V— pakigqa:way "to fight with another"

qang qa:tu ng katigula:ngan nakigbugnuq qarun sa pagkabqut sa qa:tu ng kagawa:san "Our forefathers fought in order to gain our freedom." V— pakigbugnuq "to struggle with another in a fight"

8.11822 mi-/mu- + paN- = naN-/maN- (Sec. 9.2)

samtang sa qusa ka dyu:tay ng ba:y sa midyu hilit nga da:pit qang qasa:wa la:mang qang nahibilin nga nanghi:pus sa kusi:na "While in a small house located at a somewhat deserted place, the wife was the only one left behind cleaning the kitchen." V panghi:pus "put things in their proper place" (19.2)

muqadtu qaku sa qibabaw kay mangisdaq qaku didtu qaku mamingwit "I am going upstream because I will fish. There I will fish with a pole." V pangisdaq "go fishing" V pamingwit "fish with a pole" (30.14)

8.11823 mi-/mu- + ka-

mi-/mu- + ka- = na-/ma- (Sec. 9.3).

qug sa walaq madu:gay qang ha:riq namatay "And not long after, the king died." V matay "die" (17.7)

8.11824 mi-/mu- to other bases

mi-/mu- + $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{hi-} \\ \text{ha-} \end{Bmatrix}$ = $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{nahi} \\ \text{naha} \end{Bmatrix}$ / $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{mahi} \\ \text{maha} \end{Bmatrix}$ (Sec. 9.4)

mi-/mu- + pani- = nani-/mani- (Sec. 9.973)

mi-/mu- + paniN- = naniN-/maniN- (Sec. 9.974)

mi-/mu- + panig- = nanig-/manig- (Sec. 9.977)

mi-/mu- + panggi- = nanggi-/manggi- (Sec. 9.78)

mi-/mu- + pag- = nag-/mag- (Sec. 9.92)

For examples cf. sections referred to.

8.119 mi-/mu- "action devolving on agent" (restricted)

This occurs with a few bases which occur also with nag-/mag- "action devolving on agent" (Sec. 8.123 and its subsections) and naka-/maka- (Sec. 8.1341). However, nag-/mag- occurs with more bases in this meaning than mi-/mu-.

The difference in meaning is parallel to the other differences between mi-/mu- and nag-/mag-.*

*The meaning "do to oneself" is assigned to the base as well as to the affixes.

(intentional meaning)

gug qi:mu ku ng duqu:lun mupatighulug ku s qubus "If you come near me, I will hurl myself down." V⁻⁻⁻ patighulug "go downward"

(Cf. the second example of Sec. 8.1232.)

mi-/mu- meaning "begin action"

mita:guq qang kawatan didtu sa kakugnan "The thief hid himself in the cogon grass." V⁻⁻⁻ ta:guq "cause to be hidden"

(Cf. the second example of Sec. 8.112.)

8.12 nag-/mag-

The following suffixes with nag-/mag- are different except for the meaning of Secs. 8.1211 and 8.1212 (continuing } (nonvolitional)
action of V⁻⁻⁻). Bases with one type of nag-/mag- may or may not occur with another type.

8.1211 Continuing action

The nag-/mag-, naga-/maga- in this section occur with bases that also occur with mi-/mu- "volitional" (Sec. 8.111). The meaning of this nag-/mag-, naga-/maga- is neutral with respect to the meaning "volition". With some bases nag-/mag- specifically means "action continuing". With others it may not have this meaning. (Cf. the chart Sec. 8.114 for meanings of nag-/mag- vs. mi-/mu-.) naga-/maga- always means "continuing action".

8.12111 To underived bases

8.121111 No shift

samtang qang qinahan naghi:pus sa manga pinggan gug nanghinluq sa kusi:na qang ba:taq la:mang qang qusa ra didtu sa su:d sa kwartu "While the mother was putting away the plates and was cleaning up the kitchen, just the child was alone in the room." V⁻⁻⁻ hi:pus "put things in their proper place". (19.5)

qunyaq qang baba:yi nga qatbang naglingkud sya:git "Then, the woman that was sitting opposite shouted." V⁺ lingkud "sit" (42.7)

dihaq maglingkud qang ba:taq sa batu nagkalingaw qug dwaqdu:waq "The child was sitting on a rock amusing itself by playing." V⁻ lingkud "sit" (55.1)

galingkud dihaq qang pa:riq qug gipa:ris qusa ka dala:ga diri "The priest was sitting over there and was paired off with a girl here." V⁻ lingkud "sit" (39.11)

8.121112 (→)

qang manga karabaw nagaguyud sa kurma:ta ng gisudlan sa salapiq "The carabaos were pulling the carts containing the money." V⁻ gu:yud "pull" (16.10)

qug qang qinahan nga nagkurug qug qunyaq naghilak qusab miqingun "Then the mother, who was trembling and then crying as well, said.." V⁻ hi:lak "cry" V⁻ ku:rug "tremble" (11.11)

With bases with paN-, nag-/mag- / naga-/maga- always have (→).

(Of. example Sec. 8.12311.)

8.12112 To derived bases

(to base with pa-)

qapan si karangkāl bi:san sa ba:taq pa nagpaki:taq qug talagsaun nga qabilidad kay daghan siya g nahi:mu nga daw katingala:han "But Karangkāl even when he was still a child, showed unusual abilities, because there was much he did ~~that~~ seemed amazing." V⁻ ki:taq "see" (25.8)

(to base with ka-)

dihaq maglingkud qang ba:taq sa batu nagkalingaw qug dwaqdu:waq "The child was sitting on a rock amusing itself by playing." V⁻ kalingaw "amuse oneself" (55.1)

(to base with paN-)

nag-/mag- meaning "action going on" does not occur with paN- plural (Sec. 9.21 and subsections). (Instead naN-/maN- is used for the meaning of durative action with bases having paN- plural.) For bases with other paN-'s nag-/mag- / naga-/maga- is used but with them the meaning is "plural (action of agents or goals)" as well as "action continuing".

qa kinsa pa y la:qin kun diq si mistir qalug tubag ni qinting nga nagpangusmu qug mika:gut qang qi:ya ng bagqang "'Ah, who else but Mr. Alog?" answered Inting, snorting, and he gnashed his teeth." V⁻ pangusmu "snort" (50.4)

8.12113 To nominal bases (→)

nagkalayu qang lasang "The forest was on fire." V⁻ kala:yu "fire"

8.1212 nag-/mag- action not necessarily volitional

qunyaq nagsu:gud qang gu:tum "Then the famine started."

V— su:gud "start"

8.1213 nag-/mag- to derived bases which do not occur

with mi-/mu-, naka-/maka-

mi-/mu- do not occur with bases having the prefix paka- (Sec. 9.74), -in- (Sec. 9.96), and the dead prefixes of Sec. 9.97, for which it is not specifically stated that they occur with mi-/mu-. For these bases nag-/mag- is used in contexts which call for meaning "volitional". (Cf. examples in the sections referred.) These also do not occur with naka-/maka- (Sec. 8.13 and subsections). Cf. Sec. 12.01 for a further discussion of this topic.

8.122 nag-/mag- meaning "be V—"

8.1221 To adjective bases

8.12211 No shift

nagpula qang qi:ya ng na:wung kay nabulad siya sa qi:nit
"His face is red because he stayed in the sun." V— pula "red"

maghi:lum ta kay natu:lug si pa:pa "Let us be quiet because
Dad is asleep." V— hi:lum "quiet"

8.12212 (←)

nagku:sug qang pamalit sa linata run kay musa:ka kunu
qang prisyu "Tinned goods are selling fast now because they
say the price is going up." V— kusug "fast"

8.12213 To derived adjective bases

qug maghanginha:ngin qugmaq di:liq ku mudayun sa mani:laq
"If it is windy tomorrow I will not proceed to Manila."

V— hanginha:ngin "somewhat windy"

bula:han qang maqadtu s la:ngit kay magmalipa:yun sila didtu
 "Blessed are those that go to heaven because they will be
 happy there." V— malipa:yun "happy"

dagha ng ta:wu sa sini qang quban magsinardinas qug tindug
 "There were many people in the movie house; some were standing,
 packed in like sardines." V— sinardinas "like sardines"

8.1222 To adjective bases with specialized meaning

8.12221 Underived

qinday maqa:yu tinga:li niqi:ni qa:kuq na la:mang patyun
 kini si karangkál kay maglisud kita niqi:ni "Dear, probably what
 would be good in this situation is for me to kill Karangkal,
 for we will be hard up now." V— lisud "difficult" (26.13)

8.12222 To derived bases

diq ka ga:niq magbinuqutan magma:hiq si pa:pa ni:mu g
 tu:gut sa qi:mu ng gihangyuq "If you do not behave, your
 father will be reluctant to grant you your request." V—
 maga:hiq "hard"

nagmasakit qaku kay hinga:ri ku g qinum qug qa:lak "I am
 sickly because I always drink liquor." V— masakit "sick"

8.1223 To noun bases "be like V—"

8.12231 Underived bases

8.122311 No shift

qug dihaq qang kahumayan ni qiyuq qisyut nga sa qi:ya ng
 pananqaw nagla:wud sa kaha:yag sa kabunta:gun "And there Iyo
 Esyut beheld his rice field, a sea in the morning light."
 V— la:wud "sea"

8.122312 With shift (→)

human sa pu:luq ka gutling qang puthaw ng gisugba magbaga
 na hustu na ng piqpi:qun "After ten seconds the iron that was
 put in the fire will be glowing. It will be just right for
 hammering into shape." V— ba:ga "embers"

8.12232 To derived bases

qang qabaka giqalkuhi:ris sa diha ng nagdumalaga na "The
 abaca was affected with disease just as it was maturing."
 V— dumala:ga "pullet" (54.6)

8.1224 nag-/mag- to transient bases (transient meaning
 state or condition)

those that
These are the same bases as/occur with the ni-/mu-
(neutral as to volition) of Sec. 8.1131 and naka-/maka- of
Sec. 8.1342.

nagqabri qang pultahan kay nalimta g sira ni lu:ling "The
door is open because Loling forgot to close it." V[—] qabri
"open".

8.12241 nag- "become V[—] " (dead)

gihinumduman qikaw kanu:nay sa qa:ku ng nagmahilak nga
kasingka:sing "You are always remembered by my heart that
has become eternally crying." V[—] mahilak "always crying"

8.123 nag-/mag- "actor does V[—] to himself"

This affix is restricted except with bases having prefix
pa- (Sec. 8.1232).

8.1231 To transient bases

quy nga:nu gu ng mutugpa ka s pir gustu ka ng maglumus
"Hey, why are you jumping off the pier? Do you want to drown
yourself?" V[—] lumus "cause to drown"

qayaw g su:d nagqi:lis pa ku "Do not come in. I am still
changing." V[—] qi:lis "change"

8.12311 nag-/mag- (->)

nagtuyuk giha:pun qang manga ligid sa bisikli:ta bisan
sa naghayang na kini "The wheels of the bicycle were still
turning even when it was already upside down." V[—] tu:yuk
"cause to turn"

nagpanilap qang liyun nga humahambat sa karni "The lion
licked his chops about to take a bite from the meat."
V[—] pani:lap "lick (several actions)"

8.12312 To noun bases

gustu siya ng magpa:riq kay ni:ya pa tu di:liq lisud
qang pagpalangit "He wants to become a priest because he
says it will be easy to go to heaven." (Lit.: "make himself
a priest") V[—] pa:riq "priest"

8.1232 To bases with pa- "cause V[—] to devolve on one-
self"

(Cf. Sec. 9.13.)

gustu ku ng magpahaya:hay kadyut "I want to refresh myself a bit." V— pahaya:hay "to refresh"

kay giqa:pas man siya sa ta:qas sa lubi nagpatighulug qang halu sa yu:taq "Because someone was climbing up the coconut tree after him, the lizard went to the ground." V— tighulug "downward"

magpatudluq ku g qininglis ni qartur "I will have Arthur teach me English." V— tudluq "teach" V— patudluq "cause to teach"

8.12321 nag-/mag- "action devolving on agent" to bases with pa- plus statives (dead)

These are described in Sec. 9.134 and subsections.

nagpakamatay siya sa kagawa:san sa yu:ta ng natawhan "He died for the freedom of his native land." V— kamatay "die" V— pakamatay "cause oneself to die"

8.1233 nag-/mag- "action devolving on agent" with bases having other derivatives

si pa:riq pidru naghinamhinam qug nagpanilap sa:ma sa liyun nga nagpadulung paghambat sa qusa ka matambuk nga tuk-bunun "Father Pedro was eagerly awaiting (the moment) and was licking his chops like a lion approaching a fat prey ready to take a bite from it." V— pani:lap "lick" (several actions)

Cf. nani:lap qang manga qituy sa la:ta "The puppies licked the cans." = paN- + ti:lap "lick"

8.1234 nag-/mag- "action of two or more agents V— each other"

This nag-/mag- prefix is considered to consist of mi-/mu- plus pag- described in Sec. 9.921.

8.124 nag-/mag- To noun bases other than those described above

8.1241 To noun bases which occur with a number of inflectional affixes

This type of noun base is described in Sec. 9.10.1 ff. (Cf. examples there.)

8.1242 nag-/mag- "to do something on V-'s"

The transients in this group require infinitive complements (Sec. 4.68).

8.12421 To underived bases

magdumingu siya g qanhi sa syudad kay maqu ra ma y qadlaw ng waq siya y traba:hu "He comes here on Sundays because that is the only day he does not have work." V' dumingu "Sunday"

8.12422 To derived bases

kung qanhi siya s syudad magqadlawqadlaw la g tanqaw g sini "If he comes to the city, he will just go to the show every day." V' qadlawqadlaw "every day"

nagbinulan mi g su:hul qug maghalakut qug tu:big kay lisud kaqa:yu g walaq ta y gri:pu "We are paying a water carrier by the month because it is very difficult if you do not have a faucet." V' binulan "monthly" V' bu:lañ "month"

8.1243 nag-/mag- "work as a V' "

didtu siya magqartista sa mani:laq "He was an actor in Manila." V' qartista "actor"

8.1244 nag-/mag- in other meanings with noun bases

sanglit dinhi man magkampu qang manga trabahadur sa gubyirnu sa pagtraba:hu sa da:baw kutaba:tu rud "For the government workers had camped here in the building of the Davao-Cotabato Road." V' kampu "camp" (51.8)

8.12441 (→)

dagha ng tagasibu gustu ng magyuta s mindanaw "Many Cebuanos would like to farm in Mindanao." V' yu:taq "soil"

nanglaba si qangkay sa subaq quban sa qi:ya ng ba:ta ng baba:yi nga nagpanuqigun qug pitu ka tu:qig "Angkay was washing at the river with her seven-year-old daughter." V' panuqi:gun "age" (54.16)

8.125 nag-/mag- to other types of bases

8.1251 "be nearly V' "

With these mag- is used for past time. (I.e., both nag- and mag- are used for past time.)

magiikapitu na sa gabi:qi siya mahiqabut sa bugu "It {was
almost seven when he {arrived } at Bogo." {will be }
arrives }

8.1252 "at around V"

magqalas syi:ti na ga:niq qihatud ni ng sula:ta da:yun
sa ka mari:ya "At about seven take this letter to Mary's at
once." V qalas syi:ti "seven o'clock"

(Cf. example c Sec. 8.11321 for the difference between this and
mi-/mu-.)

8.1253 To other qualifiers

waq ku magkinahangla g la:qi ng tumata:bang dinhi s
tinda:han "I do not need any more helpers here in the store."
V kinahanglan "need"

8.126 Meanings peculiar to mag-

8.1261 mag- injunctive "let us } "
"should }

magba:yad ka niqi:ni ng qi:mu ng gibu:hat "You must pay
for this thing that you have done." V ba:yad "pay for" (23.5)

8.1262 To derived bases

Note that to derived bases of the type described in Sec.
8.1162 (in which mi-/mu- with the derivative affix undergoes
morphophonemic alternations) mag- is not used in this meaning.
Instead mu- is used:

manglingkud ta "Let us sit down."

quy pirla mama:na ka qarun di:liq ka hiba:qan sa trin "Perla,
you had better get married so you won't miss the boat." (Lit.:
"be left behind by the train") V ba:na "husband"

8.127 mag- "iterative action"

The meaning of this affix is the same as the meaning of
mu- Sec. 8.1161. It is confined to nontransient bases and to
transient bases which do not occur with mi-/mu-.

si pidru maqa:yu ng magbinisayaq sa waq pa maputul qang qi:ya ng

di:laq "Pedro spoke Visayan well before his tongue was cut out."
V binisayaq "Visayan language"

nagpu:nay la:mang siya g lingkud qug bagduybagduy "All he used to do was sit around or roam about." V pu:nay "always" (does not occur with mi-/mu-)

8.128 $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{naga-} \\ \text{ga-} \end{array} \right\} / \text{maga-}$

$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{naga-} \\ \text{ga-} \end{array} \right\} / \text{maga-}$ is used with the same bases as nag-/mag- except in the meanings of Sec. 8.126. $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{naga-} \\ \text{ga-} \end{array} \right\} / \text{maga-}$ has a meaning of "continuing $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{action} \\ \text{state} \end{array} \right\}$ ". In the meanings of Sec. 8.1212 and Sec. 8.125 the meaning is different for nag-/mag-. Otherwise the meaning is the same.

8.129 Meanings peculiar to nag-

The real is used in giving stage directions.

naghilak qang tigu:lang qi:ni ng dapi:ta "The old woman cries at this point." V hi:lak "cry" (Cf. Sec. 8.117.)

8.13 naka-/maka- "potential"

naka-/maka- has four meanings. ka- is used in the same place as naka-/maka- but is of more colloquial style. (Cf. Sec. 8.136.)

However, the potential forms are not always used in colloquial speech in contexts which call for them, especially when there is something in the context to indicate the potential, accidental or perfective meaning. The mi-/mu- forms (nonpotential forms for the passives) are used as well.

8.131 naka-/maka- $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{can} \\ \text{able to} \end{array} \right\}$ V "

8.1311 To transient bases

8.13111 Underived bases

8.131111 No shift

kung kinsa kadtú ng makagu:yud niqi:ni ng qisdaq qug makabalibag ngadtú sa malayu ng dapít hata:gan sa ha:riq qug dakuq kaqa:yu ng bahandi "Whoever can drag this fish and throw it to a distant place will be given a huge treasure by the king." V gu:yud "drag" V balibag "throw" (33.4)

The unreal maka- is also used in past time meanings in the meaning of "was able to V". (naka- has the nuance of "succeeded in V").

makaqagaw bi:taw sadna g bunal si ba:kir "Wouldn't you know it, Baker was able to get hold of the club." V qa:gaw "snatch away" (42.13)

8.131112 Shift (→)

ha:qin ka man makakuhaq qug kwarta "Where did you get money from?" V ku:haq "get" (8.4)

8.13112 Derived bases

Note that naka-/maka- does not occur with statives (i.e., with bases with ka-) except those of Sec. 9.321 ("action performed by agent").

waq man siya y mahi:mu qarun siya makapangi:taq qug makata:bang sa qa:tu ng kahintang "He cannot do anything in order to earn something to help our situation." V pangi:taq "earn" V ki:taq "earn" (30.4)

makapakata:wa ka ni:ya nga murha:nun man naq siya "Can you make him laugh? For he is a sourpuss." V pakata:wa "cause to laugh"

qapan qusa niqa:naq maqu y nakapasubug sa qi:ya ng manga ginika:nan kay dakuq siya g ka:qun "But one of these was what made his parents sad, for he had a huge appetite." V subug "sad" (25.11)

8.131121 To bases with ka-

^{some}
With/stative bases (Sec. 9.321) the base has an alternant without/ka / with naka-/maka-.

walaq ku makatulug gabi:qi kay banhaq kaqa:yu qang qiring sa qa:mu ng sili:ngan "I was not able to sleep last night because our neighbor's cat was very noisy." V katu:lug "sleep"

8.1312 naka-/maka- to adjective bases

With adjective bases the potential usually has an additional meaning "cause to be V" (but not "allow to be V").

qayaw g panabakuq kay makadaqut man naq sa qi:mu ng pangla:was
 "Do not smoke, for it can ruin your health." V- daqut "bad"

8.132 naka-/maka- completed action

8.1321 To transient bases

kun waq pa lang qang hi:pi nakapatay na qaku qug ta:wu "If
 the chief had not been there, I would already be a murderer."
 (Lit.: "I would have already killed someone.") V- patay "kill"
 (64.13)

8.1322 To noun bases

nakahigayun siya g lakaw kay tu:qa ma s lungsud si ma:ma
 ni:ya "He had a chance to go out because his mother was in town."
 V- higayun "occasion"

nakaqitlug na ng manuk maqu ng nagputak siya "The hen has laid
 an egg; that is why it is cackling." V- qitlug "egg"

8.1323 To adjective bases

nakadaqutan kani:ya qang qi:ya ng pagsi:gi g qinum qug
 qalak "His constant drinking of liquor was what made him bad."
 V- daqutan "bad"

8.133 naka-/maka- "accidental action"

"Accidental action" covers three meanings:

1) Action not intentional on the part of the agent;

kinsa y nakamansa qa:ni "Who happened to stain this?"

2) Action coincidental with another event;

qang litqag nakasinggit si qinting diha ng nati:nuq ni:ya nga
 didtu gi:kan qang kabanhaq "The trap! shouted Inting when he
 was sure that the noise came from there." V- singgit "shout"

3) Action which occurred due to outside influence;

pagkadungug ni:ya s prisyu nakatihul siya kay mahal man kaqa:yu
 qang sapa:tus "When he heard the price he whistled, for the
 shoes were very expensive." V- tihul "whistle"

8.1331 To transient bases

8.13311 Underived bases

nakapusta ka ba sa kang saryu ng manuk "Did you happen
 to bet on Sario's cock?" V- pusta "bet"

qayaw g du:laq qa:na ng tanu:na kay qang taguk niqa:naq makamansa
tinga:li "Do not play with that plant because the sap might
stain." V—mansa "stain"

8.13312 Derived bases

qug magba:sa ku s la:wum nga gabi:qi makatulug ku da:yun
 "If I read late at night, I fall asleep right away." V katu:lug
 "sleep"

qang binuhiq sa mayur maqu y { nakapangasawa } sa manghud ni
 turyu "The mayor's adopted son was the one who happened to
 marry Torio's younger sister." V qasa:wa "wife"

(Note that the base occurs with and without paN-. Cf. Sec. 9.244)

8.134 naka-/maka- "action devolving on agent" (dead)

nakabalitaq si pidru nga namatay qang qamaha ng tasyu
 "Pedro heard the news that Tasio's father had died." V balitaq
 "news"

daw qusa ka panun nga ka:baw nga nakabuhig sa turil nagsu:ngay
 "Like a herd of carabao that had escaped from the corral,
 butting each other." V- buhig "free" (66.8)

(Note that these also have the other meanings of the naka-/maka-.)

may nakabalitaq kana:kuq nga qikaw gipasanginla ng nanga:wat
 "Somebody told me that you were accused of stealing." V
 balitaq "news"

8.1341 naka-/maka- "action devolving on agent" to bases

which occur with nag-/mag- "action devolving on agent"

These bases also occur with nag-/mag- of Sec. 8.123 and its subsections, but not all bases in 8.123 occur with naka-/maka-. The difference in meaning is parallel to the difference between other types of nag-/mag- and naka-/maka- except naka-/maka- "accidental".

(action completed)

nakata:gug na mu larga na "Are you hidden? Here I come!"
(Lit.: "get going".) V ta:gug "hide"

(Cf. the second example of Sec. 8.112.)

(potential meaning)

di:liq ka kapabuy kay wa y muda:wat ni:mu "You cannot hire yourself out as a servant because no one will accept you."

V⁻⁻⁻ pabuy "hire oneself out as a houseboy"

(Cf. the example of Sec. 9.133.)

8.1342 naka-/maka- "action that happened to something"

These are the bases which occur with mi-/mu- of Sec. 8.1131 and nag-/mag- of Sec. 8.1224.

nakabagting na gang kampa:na sa simbahan "The church bell has rung now."

8.135 naka-/maka- with nonpotential meanings

This usage occurs with bases which for the most part have no mi-/mu- or nag-/mag- or have a meaning with the potentials radically different from the bases with other affixes. E.g., nakakitaq "saw" (nagki:taq "met"), nakabatiq "heard" (miba:tiq "felt"), etc.

nakakitaq siya g qusa ka kashuy nga may daku ng buhuq "He saw a tree with a big hole." V⁻⁻⁻ ki:taq "see" (4.4)

8.136 ka- for naka-/maka-

In colloquial style ka- is used in the meaning of naka- and maka- (though in some contexts ka- tends not to be used.)
waq man ku kasabut kani:mu "I^{do}_{did} not understand you."
V⁻⁻⁻ sabut "understand" (8.3)

8.137 Potentials to nominal bases

(Cf. also the examples of Sec. 8.1322.)

8.1371 To nouns which occur with a number of inflectional affixes

This type of noun base is described in Sec. 9.10.1 ff.
(Cf. the examples there.)

8.1372 "To be able to obtain" V "
"Have obtained"

maqa:yu na lang ni ng mamasul kay makaqisdaq ku "Line fishing is good enough because I can get fish that way." V qisdaq "fish"

nagdu:da qang manga ta:wu nga si kadyu nakasangud maqu nga siya kusgan "The people suspected Cadio of possessing charms. That is why he is strong." V sa:ngud "charm"

8.13721 This meaning to bases with (→)

wala y kala:ki ni ng trabahu:qa kay di:liq ku makasininaq ga:niq "This job is no good because I cannot even clothe myself with what I earn." (Lit.: "obtain clothing") V sini:naq "clothes"

8.138 Potentials to bases with pag- (Sec. 9.921)

The potential active of the base with a pag- prefix has the shape nagka-/magka-.

8.1381 In meaning "can V "

di:liq na lisud kay managkasa:but ^{si:la} "It is not difficult any more because they can agree." V pagsa:but "agree"

di:liq magkasinabta:nay qang duha kay nagakala:hiq qang qi:la ng hunaghu:naq qug manga pu:lung "The two cannot agree with each other because their thoughts and their words are growing apart." V pagsinabta:nay "understand one another" V pagla:hiq "be different from one another"

8.1382 In meaning "perfected action"

walaq pa kami managkasa:but "We have not come to an agreement yet." V pagsa:but "agree"

8.1383 In meaning "accidental V "

nagkaki:taq ba mu gaha:pun si husi "Did you and José happen to meet yesterday?" V pagki:taq "meet"

8.1384 Potential forms with nonpotential meanings

nagkasikbit mi s pidru g yu:taq "Pedro's and my land are contiguous." V pagkasikbit "be contiguous"

8.139 nakag-/makag- "have moral power to V "

(restricted)

This is used in fancy style. In colloquial speech naka-/maka-

is used instead.

8.1391 To transient bases

8.13911

kana ng qi:mu ng pagqubanqu:ban ni:la maqu y makagdu:hig
sa manga daquta ng bata:san "Your going around with them can
influence you with bad manners." V[—] du:hig "smear"

si duray sa pagpakabatiq niqa:na ng manga pulu:nga walaq makagpugung
sa manga lu:haq nga nanaligdig sa qi:ya ng kaqapi:ngan "Doray,
on hearing those words, could not hold back the tears which trickled
down her cheeks." V[—] pugung "hold back"

8.13912

qang tagduma:la maqu ra y makagdiliq sa matag qusa kana:tuq
"The manager is the only one who can forbid all of us." V[—]
diliq "forbid"

8.13913 To bases with a dead pag- prefix (Sec. 9.922)

di:liq ku makagbuqut niqa:naq kay qusa ra qaku ka sulugu:qun
"I cannot decide on that because I am only a servant." V[—]
pagbuqut "decide"

8.14 Bases with the active having a causative meaning

These occur with the mi-/mu-, nag-/mag- and naka-/maka-
prefixes described in Secs. 8.11 - 8.13 above. For these bases
the passives also have a causative meaning.

8.141 Adjective bases

This usage occurs with adjective bases and with potentials.
It occurs with few bases with nag-/mag- and mi-/mu-. (Usually a
pa- causative prefix occurs with the adjective bases in transients
with mi-/mu- or nag-/mag-. Cf. Secs. 9.122 and 12.124.)

si dyu maqu y mulimpyu sa blakburd "Joe is the one who cleans
the blackboard." V[—] limpyu "clean"

8.1411 Adjectives with (←) when used as bases to
transients meaning "cause V[—]"

siya na pu y nagsakit sa qi:ya ng qinahan kay wanga ma ng
qi:ya ng magulang "Now he is the one making his mother suffer
again because his elder brother is not there any more." V[—]
sakit "be sick"

8.142 Actives of passives of the type described Sec.

8.21142

mubinugtung siya g bungkag sa qi:ya ng quma "He will start his farm alone." V binugtung "do alone"

mibinulan siya g qanhi na:kuq "He came to me once a month."
V binulan "by the month"

8.143 Bases with the active having a meaning "do V to oneself"

With a few bases the active also means "do V to oneself" as well as "causative" (e.g., ta:guq "hidden"). However, the meaning "do V to oneself" has been assigned to the affix as well. (Cf. Secs. 8.119, 8.123 [and its subsections] and 8.1341.)

8.15 nagka-/magka- (←) "covered with V"

8.151 To noun bases

nagkaba:las qang qi:la ng manga pagka:qun qug mipalit sila g litsu g lu:tuq pagqusab "Their food got sand all over it, and they bought roast pork and cooked rice again." V balas "sand"

8.1511 To bases which do not occur by themselves

miqundang siya g labyug sa wa:say nangaghu g lalum qug nama:hid sa nagkadusi:ngut ni:ya ng la:was "He stopped swinging his axe, heaved a deep sigh and wiped his body covered with sweat."
V *dusingut

8.152 To adjective bases "be V all over"

maqu gyud na ng magkaqun ka g lumaya:gan magkaqi:tum na ng qi:mu ng nga:bil "That is what happens when you eat squid. Your lips get black all over." V qitum "black"

8.16 Zero for inflectional affixes

For a definition of zero cf. Sec. 8.045.

8.161 Zero = mi-/mu-

The base is used alone in colloquial style for forms with

mi-/mu- with underived bases in any context except after qualifiers. The meaning of the forms with mi-/mu- and of the base alone is the same.

8.1611 With underived bases

qa: su:kul ka s pa:riq "So! you defy priests!" (= musu:kul)
(Cf. 41.11.)

na qunyaq qang baba:yi nga qatbang naglingkud sya:git "Then the woman sitting opposite shouted." (= misya:git) (42.7)

(meaning "action that happened to something" (Sec. 8.1131))

qanusqa bagting qang kampa:na "When does the bell ring?"
(= mubagting)

libkas na ba qang balagqung "Did the trap spring?" (= milibkas)

(meaning "become/became")

gamay ka nyaq basta di:liq ka muka:qun "You will become small if you do not eat." (= mugamay)

(in habitual meaning Sec. 8.1161)

qug di:liq tugnaw qunya ng gabi:qi qayaw la g habu:li qang manga ba:taq "If it does not get cold tonight, do not put a blanket on the children." (= mutugnaw)

karga ni ng pu:luq ka ta:wu ni ng qi:mu ng sakayan $\left. \begin{array}{c} \text{Does} \\ \text{Will} \end{array} \right\}$ your boat hold ten persons?" (= mukarga)

8.1612 With derived bases

If the base occurs with mi-/mu- without morphophonemic alterations, the base alone occurs in contexts ~~where~~ mi-/mu- + base occur.*

pada: ku g ga:sa sa qa:ku ng manghud "I will send a gift to my younger brother." (= mupada:)

pada: siya na:ku g krismaskard qi:tung disimbri "He sent me a Christmas card last December." (= mipada:)

*In dialectical usage zero is used for mi-/mu- with bases with paN-, even when qualified by walaq, di:liq.
walaq si:la panghibalu "They did not know." However, this is not the usage of Cebu City.

pakiluguy lagi siya na:kuq sa diha ng giki:ha ku siya "He asked me for sympathy when I filed a complaint against him."
(= mipakiluguy)

With pa- meaning "go in the direction of V" (Sec. 9.15)

zero for mu- occurs after walaq, di:liq and gustu.

walaq siya padaplin bi:sa g dagha ng tra:k gustu ng muqa:gi "He did not move to the side even though many buses wanted to go by."
(= mupadaplin)

8.16121 Special comment on bases with pa- causative

Most bases with pa- "causative" (Sec. 9.11) are not used in contexts in place of mupa-/mipa- if there is homonymy with the base alone for passive (Sec. 8.1642).

mupatanqaw ku niya g sini "I will allow her to go to the show."

In this case, patanqaw ku niya g sini, means "She allowed me to go to the show." (with patanqaw = gipatanqaw Sec. 8.1642)

8.162 Zero = nag-/mag-

The base is used alone in colloquial style for forms with nag-/mag- plus base (derived or underived - except bases with paN- or ka-).

8.1621 With underived bases

The base alone for the base with mag- is not used after di:liq, walaq and gustu except for the types described in Sec. 8.1623 and its subsections.

dala nyaq ku g sa:ging qugmaq kay qa:tu ng qisugba "I will bring bananas tomorrow because we will roast them over the fire."
(= magdala "durative meaning" Sec. 8.1221)

hi:lum na ba si:la si dyunyur qug si tu:ni s ta:qas "Are Junior and Tony quiet upstairs?" (= naghi:lum nag- in the sense of "be V" Sec. 8.122)

sungkaq gani:ha kami si tibuy "I played 'sungka' with Tibuy."
(= nagsungkaq with nag- to nominal base Sec. 9.10.1)

bantay ta dinhi sa qa:tu ng manga butang kay la:qin ra ba ni ng manga ta:wu dinhi "We should keep an eye on our things because the

people here are not of a nice type." (= magbantay mag- in the meaning of "should V" " Sec. 8.126)

8.1622 With derived bases

8.16221 Zero = nag-/mag- to bases with pag- " V

each other"

ki:taq lang qunyaq ta sa prugram "We will see each other at the program later." (= magki:taq) V pagki:taq "meet" (Sec. 9.921)

pu:yuq lang mi kay nagpada:yun qang qa:mu ng paghigugma "We were living together, because we continued being in love." (= nagpu:yuq) V pagpu:yuq "live together"

8.16222 Zero = nag-/mag- to bases with paka-

pakada:tuq diqay siya nan dagha ng manga dala:ga ng mabi:hag "Suppose he pretends to be rich. Then he can attract many girls." (= magpakada:tuq)

8.16223 Zero = nag-/mag- to bases with other derivatives

where zero is not used after walaq, di:liq

pasigarbu ka giha:pun nga waq na man ga:niq ka y gikaqun "You are still proud when you do not even have anything to eat any longer." (= nagpasigarbu)

8.1623 To bases where zero = nag-/mag- which occur also

after di:liq, walaq, gustu

8.16231 pa- in meaning "action devolving on agent"

(Sec. 9.13)

walaq qusab patimqaw hangtud nga gipulqan na qang manga sulugu:qun sa bala:qud "He did not show himself until the servants of the law got tired (of watching for him)." (= magpatimqaw) (57.4)

walaq siya pabuy sa ka dun simyun kay nahadluk siya ng palabilabi:han siya "He did not hire himself out to Don Simeon because he was afraid that he would be treated with contempt." (= magpabuy)

walaq pa ku padiqansi kay lu:ya pa ku "I have not had my womb scraped because I am still weak." (= magpadiqansi)

8.16232 pa- in meaning "go to V" (Sec. 9.15)

di:liq pa ku palungsud run "I will not go to town yet."
(= magpalungsud)

8.16233 To bases with paki-

waq siya pakiluquy kay taqas man siya garbu "He did not ask for pity, for he was very proud." (= magpakiluquy)

8.163 Zero = na-/ma- (stative)

These do not occur qualified by di:liq, walaq, or gustu.

8.1631 To statives from transient bases (Sec. 9.32)

tu:lug na ta kay tungaq na ng gabi:qi "Let us sleep now because it is already midnight." (= matu:lug)

didtu gayud tumba rumbu kani:ya "There it fell right smack at him." (= natumba) (29.5)

8.16311 To bases with hi-/ha-

hibalu ka ng muqanhi si hwan "Do you know that John is coming here?" (= nahibalu)

hibu:lung tinga:li si qi:da qinigkakitaq ni:ya ng piping
'nakigku:yug ni birta "Ida will probably be puzzled to see Pepe going with Berta." (= mahibu:lung)

8.1632 To statives from adjective bases

li:pay si ma:ma pagkahibalu ni:ya ng gipatubuyan qang
qa:ku ng swildu "Mama will be happy when she knows that I got a raise." (= mali:pay)

dakuq na si hwan qapan maqu giha:pun tapulan "John was grown up now, but as always, he was lazy." (= nadakuq) (3.12)

8.164 Zero for passive affixes

8.1641 To bases not with pa- "causative"

With these bases zero for passive affixes is confined to certain bases. Zero is usually used with a real meaning. With bases human, ta:pus, dala, nunut and some others, this usage is literary style. Zero for passive affixes is not used after qualifiers.

8.16411 Zero for direct passive

walu ka pulisi:ya qa:ku ng dala "I took along eight police-men." (= gidala)

gunyaq taqnaw lang ni ba:kir "Then Baker just watched them."
(= gitagnaw [gitangaw]) (39.14)

8.16412 Zero for local passive

With the local passive gi- = zero, but -an is used.

qug tu:qud man sugdan da:yun ni hwan qug taktak gang qi:ya ng pita:ka "And so John began to shake his purse right away."
(= gisugdan) (15.2)

8.16413 Zero for instrumental passive

ku:yug ku gang prisidinti "I had the president come along."
(= giku:yug)

waq na ku ba:la^{*} ha:tag ku s pulisi:ya "I did not have any bullets any more. I had given them to the police." (= giha:tag)

(To base with paN-)

na panambug gang manga si:ya "Anyway, they threw the chairs out." (= gipanambug) (46.8)

8.1642 To bases with pa- causative

With many bases having pa- causative the base alone is used for (gi-/un direct passive or gi-/qi- instrumental)

(direct)

patangaw ni:ya gang mutsatsa g sini "He allowed his maid to go to the show." (= gipatangaw)

(instrumental)

gubirnadur su:guq kana:kuq nga padakup si ba:kir "The governor ordered me to have Baker captured." (= qipadakup)

8.2 Passive

A given base may occur with one, two, or all three of the passives. Cf. Chapter 12 for paradigms.

*Dialectic for "waq na ku y ba:la"

8.21 gi-/un/-a direct passive

The various meanings for the direct passive are the same from the Cebuano point of view with the exception of the meanings "purpose for which" (Sec. 8.2113) and "affected by V" (Sec. 8.213). For the others the difference in meaning is merely a difference from the point of view of the translation, and these are all considered to be the same affix.

8.211 gi-/un/-a direct meaning

8.2111 Transient bases meaning "thing V-ed"

hala dakpun patyun si ba:kir "Come on! Let us catch and kill Baker!" V dakup "capture" V patay "kill" (46.3)

8.21111 To derived transient base

The direct passive occurs less with derived bases than the other passives. There are no direct passives to bases with derivative ka- (Sec. 9.3), pakig- (Sec. 9.6), paki- (Sec. 9.91) and hi- (Sec. 9.4) (except hiqu:sa).

qang qi:ya ng qasawa pud gipalakaw "He had even had his wife go away." V palakaw "cause to go out" (46.5)

papahawa:qun kunu kita kay "He says we will be kicked off, Kay." V papaha:waq "cause to clear out" (50.6)

pangasawoun ku qang qi:ya ng qanak "I will marry his daughter." V pangasawa "take a wife" (10.4) (For bases with pag- cf. Sec. 8.2115)

8.2112 "place to which V"

This meaning occurs with transients having a meaning of motion in a direction.

8.21121 To bases where local (Sec. 8.22) means "place on which" and direct means "place to which"

lakwun ta qang bana:waq "Let us walk to Banawa."

[Cf. lakwan ta qang baggu ng da:lan "Let us walk on the new road." (local passive)]

8.21122 To bases where direct means "person V-ed to" whereas local has other meanings

laba:yun ta ka ru g batu "I will throw a rock at you."
V- la:bay "to throw"

laba:yi ra ku g buqu:ngun ning "Toss me a pomelo, Ning."
(local)

8.21123 Bases with same meaning for local and direct

{katka:tan
katka:tun} ta kani ng taqas nga ka:huy "Let us climb this tall tree." V- katkat "to climb" (katka:tun also has the meaning of Sec. 8.2113) Cf. Sec. 8.221111 for other examples.

8.21124 To bases which have no local

gili:ngiq ku qang baba:yi sa qa:ku ng luyu "I turned to the woman in back of me." V- li:ngiq "turn"

8.21125 To noun bases "person V- is aimed at"

[gi-/-un/-a (→)]

qayaw ku g darlingdarli:nga dihaq bakyaqun t ikaw run
"Don't you darling me! I will hit you with this wooden slipper now."

8.2113 Direct passive meaning {reason on account of
purpose for} which "

This meaning occurs with transients having a meaning of motion in a direction. In this meaning the transient is not used in a transient phrase (Sec. 4.22).

qunsa ma y qi:mu ng qubanun "What are you going along for?"

qunsa y qi:mu ng qadtu:qun sir "What is the reason you are going, sir?"

8.2114 Direct passives to bases with causative meaning
without pa-

8.21141 Adjective bases

With adjective bases the transient has a causative meaning
"make something be V⁻". (This differs from the meaning of pa-;
cf. Sec. 9.11.)

gituma qang qi:mu ng sapa:tus "Make your shoes black." V⁻
qitum "black"

qug giga:yu gyud ni:ya qarun di:liq mali:wag "And he saw to it
that it could not be pushed aside." V⁻ qa:yu "good" (60.3)

(With derived adjective)

binugtu:ngun ni:ya pagbungkag qang qi:ya ng quma "He will open
up his farm alone." V⁻ bugtung "lone"

8.211411 To adjective bases with (←)

nga:nu ma ng qi:mu ng saki:tun si tasya nga waq man siya y
salaq ni:mu "Why do you make Tasya suffer when she has not done
anything to you?" V⁻ sakit "painful"

8.211412 To adjective bases with paN- "plural"

gipangasgad ni:la qang manga sudqa g timpla "They made the
side dishes salty in seasoning them." V⁻qasgad "salty"

8.21142 Direct passives with qualifiers
are

Words meaning time/used as bases of transients with infinitive complements parallel to the usage with adjectives (Sec. 8.21141 immediately preceding). (These words occur as qualifiers Sec. 6.2125 or 6.221121.)

niqadtu sulusimana:hun ku g bisi:ta sa qa:ku ng qanak piru karun
talagsa na lang "Formerly my son used to visit me every week,
but now, just once in a while." V⁻ sulusima:na "every week"

tinagsagun ni na:ku g dala "I will take them one by one." V⁻
tinagsa "one by one"

8.21143 Direct passives to qualifiers meaning

"caused to be done V⁻"

diq na lagi mahi:muq na ng qugma:qun "That just cannot be put off until tomorrow." V⁻ qugmaq "tomorrow"

8.21144 To qualifiers consisting of ka- plus unreal

(Sec. 6.221122) "thing to be done V⁻ times"

katuluga g hu:gas naq qu:saq qibuwad sa qadlaw "That is to be washed three times before it is to be dried in the sun."
V⁻ katulu "three"

8.21145 Direct passives with numeral bases meaning

"cause to be V⁻ "

V⁻ qupata na ng turta "Divide that omelette into four parts."
qupat "four"

8.2115 Direct passive to bases with pag- (9.921)(dead)

This direct passive occurs only with a few of the bases with pag-. The pag- has a zero alternant. (Cf. Sec. 9.921.)

8.21151 Meaning "person with whom V⁻-ed"

kita:qun na:tuq si pidru "Let us meet with Pedro." V⁻
pagki:taq "meet"

giqa:way ku qang ba:taq "I quarrelled with the child." V⁻
pagqa:way "quarrel"

8.21152 Meaning "thing people V⁻-ed with one another"

gili:sun na:tuq qang pawntinpin "Let us exchange fountain pens." V⁻ pagqi:lis "exchange"

8.21153 Meaning "people caused to V⁻ with each other"

kuyni:gun na:tuq qang qa:tu ng manga ba:taq ngadtu simbahan
"Let us have our children go to church together." V⁻ ku:yug
"go together with"

8.2116 Direct passive to noun bases

8.21161 To nouns which occur with other transient affixes

This type of noun base is described in Sec. 9.10.1 ff.

(Of. examples there.)

8.21162 "make into V⁻ "

kini ng panaptu:na maqa:yu ng karsuni:sun "This cloth is

good to make into pants." V⁻ karsu:nis "pants"

muttsatsu:ha lang ku basta diq lang ku kastigu:hun "Make me into a servant, just so long as I am not punished." V⁻ muttsatsu "servant"

8.21163 "person to whom V⁻ is said"

swayan lang mari ta:pus qaku ni:ya litsilitsi:ha nga wala y sala ng nabu:hat kani:ya "We will just see, comadre, after I was scolded when I did not even do anything wrong to her." (Lit.: "I was said 'leche' to") V⁻ litsi "a curse"

8.21164 "person who was called V⁻"

qayaw na lang ku g mulumisti:ra dihaq ka:puy na naq kaqa:yu tawga lang ku g piping "Do not call me 'Mr.'. It will be much easier just to call me Peping."

8.21165 Specialized meanings

qug makigda:ma ka na:kuq qa:ku ng babu:yun qang qi:mu ng da:ma "If you play checkers with me, I will corner your king." V⁻ ba:buy "pig"

qayaw g galinga qang pinusuq kay qa:kuq na ng binhi:qun "Do not grind the big ears of corn because I will use that for seed." V⁻ binhiq "seed"

8.211651 gi-/un/-a (←) with noun bases in specialized meaning

gigi:ruq lang ku ni:ya g hatagha:tag libru "He acted as if he were going to give me the book." V⁻ qiruq "dog"

8.2117 gi-/un/-a with additional intentional meaning

With some bases the direct passive has an intentional meaning as opposed to the potential.

tu:qud man gida:wat sa qinahan qang salapiq "And so the mother accepted the money." V⁻ da:wat {receive
accept} " (8.11)

(Cf. nada:wat ba ni:mu qang qa:ku ng swat "Did you get my letter?")

8.212 gina-/paga- -un/-a {action continuing
iterative} "

These forms are used only in fancy style except with a few set expressions. They go with the same bases as the affixes

described in Sec. 8.211 above and its subsections above. These forms are also used without an iterative or durative (meaning of action continuing).

8.2121 Underived bases

human kasulti:hi kun qunsa y qi:la ng pagabuha:tun "After telling them what they were to do" V⁻ bu:hat "do" (60.6)

8.21211 pag- -un/-a (used with some bases)

This affix has the same meaning as paga- -un/-a.

maqu na y pagqingnun nga wala y subu "That is what is usually called 'untried'." V⁻ qingun "tell, say to be"

8.2122 To derived bases

gina-/paga- -un/-a occurs with few derived bases. To express the meaning plural actors (usually expressed by the derivative prefix paN- Sec. 9.21) continuing action the derivative prefix panag- is used for the direct passive with most bases (Sec. 9.933). However, gina-/paga- -un occurs with some derived bases.

ginapamu:lut qang manga pulak nga lubi sa manga ba:taq "The fallen coconuts are being gathered by the children." V⁻ pu:lut "gather"

8.2123 paga- -un (->) "iterative action" (dead)

This affix is confined to high style speech and occurs only with a few bases.

qayaw la g kabala:ka qug tu:qa ka s huspital kay pagagadtuqun ka na:kuq "Do not worry when you are in the hospital because I will always visit you." (Lit.: "always go to you") V⁻ qadtu "go to"

8.213 gi-/un/-a "affected" { with } by }

8.2131 To noun bases(productive)

8.21311 Underived

8.213111 No shift

qang qabaka nga qi:la ng kanu:nay gitisuk ku:tub sa qi:la ng maqabut paghinluq giqalkuhi:ris sa diha ng nagdumalaga na "The abaca which they always planted as far as they had been able to clear was affected with abaca disease." V qalkuhi:ris "a disease which strikes abaca" (54.6)

8.213112 With shift (→)

si li:tu ginuka kay si:gi ng su:ruy sa kalibunan "Lito got infected with sores because he always goes around in the woods." V nu:ka "sore "

8.21312 Derived bases

gi/-un/-a occurs with a noun base which has a paN- prefix "plural" which occurs only with these prefixes. (Cf. Sec. 9.2171.)

gipaningut si qinting qug qingu g bawgbug human sa makalili:sang nga bugnuq sa kamata:yun "Inting sweated marbles after the dreadful struggle with death." V singut "sweat" (68.11)

8.21313 Specialized meaning

gidugug siya rung baggu "She has recently menstruated." V dugug "blood"

8.2132 To adjective bases

8.21321 Underived

8.213211 No shift

qang manga nanghibilin sa manga kabalayan nga maqu y nanghi:pus bu:saq gika:puy qug tinu:qud nakamata "Those left in the houses, who were the ones who had been clearing the things away and therefore very tired, woke up." V ka:puy "tired" (20.1)

8.213212 With (→)

maqu ra g gidimalas si tibuy sa qi:ya ng pamu:lang "It looks as though Tiboy is having bad luck in his betting." V dima:las "bad luck"

8.2133 To transient bases (dead)

This type of passive requires a goal complement with qug or sa (Sec. 4.63).

wala y kukahadluk nga manungkab sa manga hayu:pan sa manga ta:wu

kanang bati:gun na sa kagu:tum maqadlaw kun magabi:qi "He had no fear at all to steal people's animals whenever he felt hungry day or night." V—ba:tiq "feel" (56.16)

8,214 na-/ma- direct passive

The potential meanings are "ability", "completion of action", and "accidental" (described in Sec. 8.13). The potentials occur with the direct passives in the meanings described in Sec. 8.211 and its subsections. However, for bases with the prefix pa- the direct passive has no potential.

gipaqaadtu na ba ni:mu si lu:ling sa ka lu:lu waq ra ba "Have you sent Loling to grandpa's yet?" "No, I have not." V paqaadtu "cause to go"

In this case napagadtu could not be used. However, napagadtu ^{is used} for the instrumental passive (Sec. 8.23 ff.).

napadala
gikapadala
gikapadala
mapadala
it yet." } na ba ni:mu qang sulat waq ra ba waq pa na:kuq
"Have you sent the letter?" "No, I have not sent

However, the potential forms are not always used in colloquial speech in contexts which call for them, especially when there is something in the context to indicate the potential, accidental or perfective meaning. The ordinary (**nonpotential**) forms are used as well.

8.2141 Potentials in meaning "able to V"

8.21411 To transient bases

di:liq na kini maku:haq sa lu:haq "This cannot be gotten
by tears." V— ku:haq "get" (50.13)

8.21412 To adjective bases "can be made V—"

malimpyu ba ni:mu ni ng qa:ku ng tra:hi qarun maga:wiq .
ku sa bayli qunyaq sa duminggu "Can you clean my suit so that I
can use it for the dance on Sunday?" V- limpyu "clean"

8.2142 Potential in meaning "completed action"

8.21421 To transient bases

naki:taq ni:ya qang qi:ya ng hininu:gu ng kamunggay nga naputul "She saw her cherished kalamunggay tree cut down."
V⁻ putul "cut" (49.7)

8.21422 To adjective bases

nahubug na ni:ya si husi sa pagpinaqinum qug bir "He has already gotten Joe drunk drinking beer." V⁻ hubug "drunk"

8.2143 Potentials in meaning "accidental action"

8.21431 To transient bases

maqa:yu ga:niq kay qang ka:huy nga handa:may maqu y naqiguq kay dihaq man maduqul si qinting "Luckily, however, it was the handalamay bush that was hit, for Inting happened to be near it."
V⁻ qiguq "hit a mark" (56.8)

qang manga sinya:git nga mahu:g ku sa kagwang maqu kanunay qang masawud sa qi:la ng dalunggan "The shouts of 'maho-og ko' of the flying lemurs is what filled their ears." V⁻ sa:wud "catch" (51.16)

(to derived bases)

didtu mapa:naq na:kuq ni ng qisda:qa du:qul sa daku ng batu "I happened to spear this fish near the big rock." (The paN- of the derived base is 'dropped'. [Cf. Sec. 9.244]) V⁻ pama:naq "spear fishing"

8.21432 To adjective bases "has been made V⁻"

natamqis na:ku g timpla qang qi:mu ng kapi punqi lang na g dyu:tay ng tu:big qug kapi "I happened to make your coffee sweet; just add a little water and coffee." V⁻ tamqis "sweet"

nadugqul ba ni:mu pagtanum qang manga sa:ging "Did you happen to plant the bananas near each other?" V⁻ dugqul "near (each other)"

8.21433 To noun bases

nata:tay lagi ni:ya si husi sa gibugtaw na siya sa qirug "He called Joe daddy (when he should not have) when he was chased by a dog." V⁻ ta:tay "dad"

8.2144 na-/ma- to bases that do not have gi-/un/-a

(These are the same bases that do not occur with mi-/mu- or nag-/mag- but occur with naka-/maka- Sec. 8.135)

naki:tag ba ni:mu qang ta:wu ng nagdala g bukag "Did you see the man bringing a basket?" V⁻ ki:tag "see"

8.2145 na-/ma- to derived bases

na-/ma- occurs freely to derived bases.

(To paN- [not in plural meaning])

napani:qid ba ni:mu qang kahimu:qan sa qusa ng balay "Were you able to observe the goings-on in that house?" V⁻ pani:qid "observe"

8.21451 na-/ma- to bases with paN- plural (dead)

The potential passives occur with paN- in meaning "plural" with only a small number of bases. They have shape nanga-/manga-, (I.e., na- + paN- → nanga / ma- + paN- → manga- .)

qang manga pati ng di:liq qayu:hu g tagad mangabi:hag sa quba ng pati "Pigeons not well kept can be attracted by other pigeons." V⁻ pami:hag "attract (win over between domestic animals and fowls)"

8.22 Local passives

The various local passives are the same affix with the exceptions of the meaning direct (Sec. 8.2211) and meaning "reason on account of which" (Sec. 8.2214), and a given local passive form may be translated in any of the various meanings depending upon the context.

gipalitan ku si mari:ya g ka:may "I bought sugar for Maria." (Sec. 8.2213)

qang tinda:han ni mari:ya maqu y qa:ku ng gipalitan sa ka:may "I bought the sugar in Maria's store." (Sec. 8.2212)

gipalitan ku qang ka:may ni mari:ya "I bought some of Maria's sugar." (Sec. 8.2214)

8.221 gi- -an/-an/-i

8.2211 Local passive "thing that was V⁻ed"

8.22111 To transients that have a direct passive

8.221111 With the same meaning

These are bases meaning "open" and "close".

gibuksan ni:ya qang tambuqa:nan qarun ni:ya maki:taq qang
nanghara:na sa si:lung "She opened the window so that she could
see the serenaders downstairs." V[—] bukas "open"

There are also other bases of this type. (Cf. Sec. 8.21123.)

8.221112 With a different meaning

These are bases meaning "wipe, sweep" and the like. The
direct passive means "the thing wiped off" whereas the local
means "the thing wiped". This type is treated under Sec. 8.22122
below.

8.221113 Local passives with direct meaning to causative
bases

These also have a direct passive with a direct meaning. For
such bases the local passives have three meanings:

- 1) "action caused to become V[—]"
 - 2) $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{thing} \\ \text{person} \end{array} \right\}$ caused to be V[—]-ed (by someone)"
 - 3) "thing caused to become V[—]"
- a. pahina:yi qang da:gan sa kaba:yuq "Cause the gait of the
horse to become slow." V[—] hi:nay "slow"
 - b. pahina:yi ni pidru qang makina "Have Pedro slow the machine
down."
 - c. pahina:yi qang qi:mu ng kaba:yuq "Make your horse go slow."

For most of these bases the direct passive has the meaning
number 1 and 3.

- d. pahina:ya qang da:gan sa kaba:yuq (same meaning as a)
- e. pahina:ya qang qi:mu ng kaba:yuq (same meaning as c)

The instrumental has the meaning 2.

f. qipahi:nay ni pidru gang makina (same meaning as b)

8.22112 To transients that have no direct passive

The local passive occurs in a direct meaning to most bases which have the meaning "do things to the body (kiss, wash, shave and the like)" and also to bases meaning "wash".

gihagkan ku qang ba:taq "I kissed the child." V— haluk "kiss"

mubqi piru qayaw g balba:si "Make it short, but do not shave it." V— mubuq "make short"

ginusnu:san ku na naq piru di:liq mada: qang buling "I rubbed it, but the dirt would not come out." V— nusnus "rub hard"

Also many bases meaning "touch, take hold of, let go of" and the like have a local passive in the direct meaning.

kini ng buhu:ka gihawi:ran sa qamirika:nu "This hair was held by the American." V— ha:wid "hold" (42.1)

gihapsan da:yun ni:ya qang bukubuku "He immediately hit him on his back." V— hapus "strike" (56.2)

Also, bases with other meanings have local passives in a direct meaning.

8.22113 To stative bases

Many statives (described Sec. 9.3) occur with local passives meaning "thing on account of which one becomes V—".

mikalit qug buthuq gang gikalisa:nga ng buqa:ya sa subaq sa marbil "The dreaded crocodile suddenly appeared in the river at Marbel." V— kali:sang "fear" (54.15)

walaq na y gita:hud nga ta:wu nga sarang ni:ya ng kahadlu:kan "There was no man he respected who was capable of inspiring him with fear." V— kahadluk "fear" (56.15)

With statives na- -an/ma- -an/-i may optionally replace gika- -an and ka- -an/-i.

nagulqan (= gikagulqan)

nahadlu:kan (= gikahadlu:kan)

qapan qang qa:ku ng { gikagulqan
 nagulqan } "But what gets me down..."
 V— kaguqul "be sad" (66.3)

8.22114 Direct meaning with (→)

qunyaq qa:ku ng gitubag nga gigaplayan man na:kuq "Then I replied that I really had applied." V qaplay "apply" (65.4)

8.22115 Local passives with hi- = zero having direct meaning

(These do not occur with direct passives.) Local passives with hi- often have direct meaning even for bases for which the direct meaning is expressed by the direct passive. When hi- = zero (Sec. 9.401), then it looks as though the local passive has an accidental meaning. However, the accidental meaning is because of the hi- = zero. hi- is described in Sec. 9.421 ff.

{hikitqan} ni:ya qang qusa ka ka:huy ng may buhuq "He happened
{kitqan} to see a tree with a hole."

naki:taq ni:ya qang qusa ka daku ng ka:huy nga may buhuq "He saw a large tree with a hole." V ki:taq "see" (4.4)

8.22116 Local passive direct meaning to noun bases
(various meanings)

giyaw:han ni:ya qang kwartu gaha:pun s ha:pun "He locked the room yesterday afternoon." V ya:wi "key"

qang qa:ku ng pagtu:qu gikaluha:qa g pagduhadu:ha "My belief was linked with doubt." V kalu:ha "twin"

8.221162 Noun bases direct in specialized meaning

kasabqan qang mirika:nu si ba:kir "The American Baker was cussed out." V kasa:baq "scold" (40.11)

8.22117 To qusa/duha "do with one (two) hands"

qi:mu ng duhaqan ka kamut pagqaswat kanaq "You should lift that up with both hands." V duha "two"

8.2212 Local passive "place from, to, at which"

8.22121 To transient bases

tagu:ran na:tu g bumbilya qang qi:mu ng kwartu "Let us in-
stall a bulb in your room." V⁻ ta:qud "install, attach"

qug qi:la pa gayu ng giduga:ngan qang qi:la ng paningka:mut
kada:sig qug kaku:gi qinay mabugnaw "And they added to their
strivings, enthusiasm and industry instead of losing interest."
V⁻ du:gang "add" (54.1)

qang qi:ya ng na:wung namugtuk kasabqu:ngan qug bukag "His face
was sullen. A basket could be hung from it." V⁻ sabqung "hang"
(48.2)

bu:saq gipamutlan ni minggu sa manga sanga "Therefore, Mingo cut
the branches off of it." V⁻ pamutul "cut (several things)"
(60.12)

walaq siya katakta:ki qug balhi:bu "Not a feather fell off him."
V⁻ kataktak "fall off" (58.8)

8.22122 To transient bases translated by a
direct in English

These are bases meaning "wipe, sweep" and the like . The
local passive means "thing wiped" (i.e., place where the wiping
is done) whereas the direct means "thing which is wiped off".

gisunud ni:ya pagsablig qang qi:ya ng linantip da:yun gitrapu:han
sa qi:ya ng wala ng kamut "Next he splashed water on his bolo,
then wiped it with his left hand." V⁻ tra:pu "wipe" (Lit.:
"The bolo was the place he wiped.") (48.10)

gitra:pu ni:ya qang tu:big sa sa:wug "She wiped up the water
on the floor." (direct passive)

Similar^{ly}/bases meaning "to ride" and the like are translated
by a direct in English, but have a local in Cebuano.

gikabayqan ni:ya qang qa:ku ng ka:baw "He rode my carabao."
V⁻ kabayuq "ride on the back"

8.22123 To noun bases in meaning "place"

gibanigan ni:ya g ti:kug qang katri "He spread a straw mat
on the bed." V⁻ banig "mat"

8.22124 The meaning "place <sup>{from
at
to}</sup>" which is extended to
mean "thing part of which"

gikanqa g gamay qang qa:ku ng turta "Someone has taken a bite out of my cake." (Lit.: "eaten a small part from") V⁻ ka:qun "eat"

gikitkitan qang ki:su sa qilagaq gabi:qi kay walaq qibutang sa qaparadur "The cheese was nibbled at by the mouse last night because it was not put in the cupboard." V⁻ kitkit "gnaw"

8.22125 Local passive with transients meaning "motion"

With transients meaning motion for which the direct passive means "place V-ed to" (Sec. 8.21121) the local passive means "place V⁻ -ed on".

gilakwan ni piping qang bagqu ng simintu "Pepe walked on the new cement." V⁻ lakaw "walk"

qadtu has a special meaning where the direct passive means "purpose for which, person to whom", and the local passive, "place to which".

tali:say qang qila ng qadtu:qan "Talisay was where they went to."

Cf. qunsa y qinyu ng qadtu:qun s tali:say "What will you go to Talisay for?" V⁻ qadtu "go to"

8.22126 Local passive meaning "place" with specialized meaning

qang pagpugung s qa:tu ng sa:piq maqu y gibarugan ni qanhi ng magsaysay "The late Magsaysay stood for currency control." V⁻ barug "stand"

8.2213 Local passive "person for whom"

kay gihata:gan qaku qug qusa ka pita:ka nga qingkanta:du "For I was given an enchanted purse." V⁻ ha:tag "give" (9.6)

qang qi:la ng manga qanak naglu:kuq lang qinta:wun sa sa:wug nga walaq ga:niq kabanigi "Their children were just curled on the floor, poor things, without even having had a mat spread for them." V⁻ banig "mat" (62.12)

di:liq kay makaqusa ra nga qi:la kini ng gipangan qug qusa ka baktin "More than once, they baited him with a small pig." V⁻ paqun "bait" (57.7)

8.22131 Local passive with bases meaning "speak", etc.

With most bases meaning "speak" and the like and bases meaning "teach" the local means "person spoken to, taught".

(The instrumental means "thing said, taught")

qug gisaysa:yan ku qang hi:pi kay sa nahitabuq qug sa gibushat ni mistir qalug "And I told the chief, Kay, about what had happened and what Mr. Alog had done." V—saysay "relate" (64.11)

tudlu:qi siya g da:ma "Teach him now how to play checkers." V—tudluq "teach"

8.22132 Local passive meaning "person to whom" with (→)

qug qa:ku ng giprangkahan qang hi:pi nga di:liq qaku mupaha:waq bi:san qunsa y mahitabuq "And I told the chief frankly that I would not clear out, no matter what happens." V—prangka "frank" (65.12)

8.2214 Local passive "reason for or on account of which"

8.22141 (→)

qunsa ma y gihilakan sa ba:taq "What is the child crying for?" V—hi:lak "cry"

8.22142 To adjective bases

waq man kahaq ka y gidaligan manginum saq ta g bir "If you are not in a hurry, let us drink beer." V—daliq "hurry" (Lit.: "If you have nothing on account of which to hurry")

8.2215 {person
thing} affected by "

8.22151 To adjective bases

banha:qan ka ba s manga ba:ta ng nagdu:laq "Will you be disturbed by the children playing?" V—banhaq "noisy"

walaq qusab patimqaw hangtud nga gipulqan na qang manga sulugu:qun sa bala:qud "He also did not show up until the servants of the law were fed up." V—puqul "boring" (57.4)

8.22152 To transient bases

qang qi:ya ng ba:na daw nalisu:qan sa buqut "Her husband seemed to have lost his senses." (Lit.: "affected by a turning of his will") V—li:suq "turn" (49.7)

di:liq ku gustu siya ng pakalitan "I do not wish to take her unawares." V—pakalit "take unawares"

8.221521 Local meaning "^{person}_{thing} affected" causative

to transient bases compared with direct and instrumental passives

With this type the local meaning is "person who was affected by the action of causing someone to V- ". The direct passive means "person who was caused to V- ". The instrumental passive means "person who was caused to be V- -ed" (i.e., nearly the same as the local passive).

gipasugu:gan ku si mari:ya ng paqanhi:qun siya "I had word sent to Maria that she should come here." (Lit.: "caused Maria to be affected by my command"). V- su:guq "command"

di:liq gyud na:kuq siya pasugu:qun sa mutsatsa "I will not let him command the servant."

With the causative prefix this meaning is expressed by the instrumental passive with a large number of bases. (Cf. Sec. 8.2311221.)

diq ku gipasu:guq si mari:ya sa mutsatsa "I will not let Maria be commanded by the servant."

8.2216 gi- -an/-an/-i "one who considers ^{something}_{a person}

as V- "

(to adjective base).

gigwapu:han siya ng pulding "He considers Polding handsome."
V- gwa:pu "handsome"

(to noun base)

mikagiqkiq si ti:tiq qusting gibata:gan ka quruy sa qanak ma purusa "Uncle Osting snickered. 'You consider your boy a child, Porosa?'" V- ba:taq "child"

8.2217 Local passives to noun bases which occur with other inflectional affixes

This type of noun base is described in Sec. 9.10 ff. The meanings vary according to types: "place of V- " and "person

for whom" depending on the type. (Cf. discussion and examples in Sec. 9.10 ff.)

8.222 gina- -an/paga- -an/-i ^{iterative}_{continuing} "action"

maqa:yu nga:niq kay sa ka:da ti:baw ni:ya pagadadqan ni:ya qug pinusu ng maqis qang ba:buy "Luckily, however, every time he went there he brought large ears of corn to the pig." V dala "bring" (62.2)

qang nahitabuq nagpabi:lin nga ginasulti:han sa manga ta:wu "The incident has remained a topic of conversation for the people." V sulti "speak" (23.11)

8.2221 paga- -an (→) "habitual place"

qang da:qa ng pugaran maqu y pagaqitlugan sa himunga:qa ng qugis "The old nest is where the white hen usually lays her eggs." V qitlug "lay eggs"

8.223 Potential local passives na- -an/{ma-ka-} -an/{ma-ka-} -i

Note that the potentials are not always used in colloquial speech in contexts which would call for them. (Cf. Sec. 8.13.)

Potentials occur with all the meanings of the local passives.

8.2231 Potential local "able to, can V"

qang qi:ya ng na:wung namugtuk kasabqu:ngan qug bukag "His face was sullen. A basket could be hung from it." V sabqung "hang" (48.2)

kalimpyu:han ba ni:mu ni ng qa:ku ng karsu:nis "Can you clean my pants?" V limpyu "clean"

qarun qi:la ng kasuhu:lan sa pagta:bang "So that they could hire (them) to help." V su:hul "hire" (59.16)

8.2232 Potential local "completed action"

qang qi:la ng manga qanak naglu:kuq lang qinta:wun sa sa:wug nga walaq ga:niq kabanigi "Their children were just curled on the floor, poor things, without even having had a mat spread for them." V banig "mat" (62.12)

nalimpyu:han na na:kuq qang salug sa may qalas qunsi "I had already cleaned the floor by about eleven o'clock." V limpyu "clean"

human kasulti:hi kun qunsa y qi:la ng pagabuha:tun "After they had been told what they were to do ..." V sulti "say" (60.6)

8.2233 Potential local "accidental action"

naqatul nga qang bus nga qi:ya ng gisakyan maqu sa y qa:ku ng nasakyan "It happened that the bus he was riding in was the one I happened to be riding." V sakay "ride"

8.2234 nahi-/ha- -an/ mahi-/ha- -an/ -i = na- -an/ma- -an/-i

In the meaning "accidental action" the potential local with a base has a zero alternant of hi- (Sec. 9.401). This is the interpretation if there is no ka- -an/-i for the unreal. For most of these bases there is (→) as well.

manga sagbut nangaha:piq kanang maligiran sa qi:ya ng naglimbaglimbag nga la:was "Grass was flattened when it was rolled upon by his body tossing about in pain." V li:gid "roll over" (67.4)

8.2235 Potential locals to derived bases

The potential local occurs freely with derived bases as does the local passive.

8.22351 To bases with pag-

To bases with a prefix pag- (Sec. 9.92) the potential local has the form gika- -an, ka- -an (with a zero alternant of pag-). gikasabu:tan "thing happened to be agreed to" (with zero alternant of pag- and ka- potential).

kay nagdaliq sila dyis qi:la ng gikasabu:tan "Because they were in a hurry, they happened to agree to ten." V sa:but "agree"

The potential local is homonymous with the local having ka- alternant of the prefix pag-.

gikasabu:tan "thing agreed to" (with ka- alternant of pag-)

diq ba dyis qang qa:tu ng gikasabu:tan gani:ha "Did we not agree to ten cents at first?"

8.22352 To bases with paN- "plural" (dead)

Passive potentials occur with very few bases with paN- meaning "plural". (Cf. Sec. 8.21451.) na- + paN- = nanga-/
ma- + paN- = manga-.

qang qi:mu ng dyip nangawadga g twirka "Your jeep has lost some screws."

8.2236 gika- -an

This affix is used with some bases in colloquial style by the older generation.

gikahata:gan ku na siya g tulu ka pi:sus qunyaq manga:yuq pa giha:pun "I have given him three pesos already. Still he has to ask for more."

gikalutu:gan ku siya g ba:tir kik kay walaq man ku y sankis "I cooked butter cake for him because I did not have any oranges."

Cf. na- -an for gika- -an with stative bases Sec. 8.22113.

8.23 Instrumental-ablative passive

The various meanings of the instrumental-ablative* passive are different affixes, and bases occurring with the instrumental in one of the meanings may or may not occur in the other meanings.

8.231 Shapes gi-/qi-

8.2311 gi-/qi- ablative (direct) meaning

The instrumental forms with an ablative meaning mean "thing V-ed in a direction away from agent". With bases meaning "give, reply, return, throw, put" and the like, the instrumental means "thing given, replied, returned, thrown, put", etc.

8.23111 Bases with no direct passive

buynu kay gisa:qad ku man matu:man qang qi:mu ng gipanga:yuq "All right, since I promised, what you are asking for will be granted." V sa:qad "promise" (17.4)

*We refer to this as the "instrumental passive" but the meaning "ablative" is as important.

walaq na ma y lunaq nga yu:taq nga qipangha:tag sa kagamha:nan
 "There was no more land to be given away by the government." V
pangha:tag "give (several things)" (52.2)

8.23112 Bases having ablative meaning in the instrumental
 and direct meaning in the direct passive

8.231121 Instrumental and direct passive with nearly the
 same meaning

{qigandam
ganda:mun} ku ni ng sulat pa:ra ng piping "I will prepare
 this letter for Peping." V andam "prepare"

8.231122 Instrumental which has an ablative meaning
 different from the direct passive

In such cases the meaning of the instrumental is similar
 to one of the meanings listed in Sec. 8.2311.

gisu:guq "thing to be commanded"

sugu:qun "person ~~to~~ be commanded"

direct passive

di:liq masu:guq kun sugu:qun ni:mu di:liq ni:ya buha:tun
 ins. passive

qang gisu:guq "He could not be commanded. If you told him
to do something he would not do what he was told to." V
su:guq "command" (1.11)

gisa:gul "thing to be mixed in with something else"

qayaw g gisa:gul qang bulingun sa manga qinutaw "Do not mix
 the dirty things in with the ironed things."

sagu:lun "things to be mixed together"

qang pasa:yan qug karni sagu:lun paglu:tuq "The shrimp and the
 meat are to be cooked together."

8.2311221 With bases having pa- "causative" prefix

With bases with a causative prefix the instrumental means

the {person}
 {thing} affected by the action" and the direct means

the {person}
 {thing} caused to do the action".

qipaka:qun "thing caused to be eaten"

ti:qaw mu ba y mangi:taq qug dagha ng qipaka:qun qa:lang sa
qi:la ng qanak nga dakuq qug ka:qun "Imagine looking for so much
to feed their child who had a huge appetite." V paka:qun
"cause to eat" (26.9)

pakanun "person caused to eat"

pakanqun ku si karangkál "I will feed Karangkal."

qipapangasa:wa "person caused to be taken as wife"

la:but pa niqa:naq qipapangasa:wa qang qi:ya ng qanak nga
prinsi:sa "Aside from that, his daughter, the princess will be
given away in marriage." V pangasa:wa "take a wife" (33.7)

papangasawqun "person caused to take a wife"

diq ku siya papangasawqun ni tasya miqingun qang qamahan
 "'I will not let him marry Tasia,' said the father."

8.231123 Instrumental with causative and direct with

noncausative meaning

(Cf. Sec. 8.23113.)

qapan kadtú ng kanyun qari pud gisulud sa baqbaq qang pulbura
 "But those cannons, they were loaded here at the mouth." (Lit.:
 "The powder was put in here at the mouth.") V sulud "enter"

sudlun ku qang la:ngub "I will enter the cave." (direct passive)

8.231124 Instrumental passive with ablative meaning to bases

meaning "naming, calling, etc."

To bases meaning "naming, calling," etc., the instrumental has the meaning "thing someone is called".

qambir kun qunsa y qi:la ng qitawag kana:kuq tutal waq man sab
ku makagustu kani:la "Let us see what they call me. Anyway, I
do not like them either."

(For these bases the direct passives have the meaning "person
thing")

v-ed".

gitawag kini qug kampu "It was called 'Campo'." V tawag
"call" (51.8)

8.23113 gi-/qi- with additional causative meaning

With some bases the instrumental passives also have a causative meaning as well as the ablative meaning $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{thing} \\ \text{person} \end{array} \right\}$ caused to V⁻ ". This causative meaning is parallel to the causative meaning of the adjective bases used as transients and different from the causative meanings of pa- (Sec. 9.11) in that it does not have the meaning "allow". (Cf. Sec. 8.231123 for further examples.)

ti:qaw mu ba y walaq man siya sukad qiku:yug sa qi:ya ng qamahan sa lasang qarun mami:lay qug ka:huy "Imagine, he had never before been taken along by his father to the forest to fell trees." V⁻ ku:yug "go together with someone" (27.13)

si mari:ya maqu y gipu:yug ni tasyu "Tasio will have Maria live with him." V⁻ pagpu:yug "live together as man and wife" (gipu:yug has a zero alternant of pag-. Cf. Sec. 9.921.)

qayaw g qisi:gi g warawa:ra ng bandilaq "Do not keep waving the flag." (Lit.: "cause the flag to be waved")

(to bases with derivative affixes)

qikana:qug qang qirug kay malibang nyaq sa ta:qas "Put the dog out because it might make a mess inside." V⁻ kana:qug "go out"

8.2312 gi-/qi- meaning "thing used as"

8.23121 To transient bases

kini ng qa:ku ng katapu:sa ng dus pi:sus qa:ku ng qipalit qug basahun "I will use my last two pesos to buy something to read." V⁻ palit "buy"

kini ng qa:ku ng kabta:ngan qa:ku ng qihina:bang ni husi qa:lang sa qi:ya ng pagqiskuyla "My property will be used to help José with his schooling." V⁻ hina:bang "aid"

8.23122 Instrumental passive to stative bases meaning

"thing which causes subject to be V⁻ (thing used by agent to V⁻)"

qikali:pay ku qang qi:ya ng pagkamanggiqhunaqhuna:qun "Her thoughtfulness makes me happy." V⁻ kali:pay "be happy"

8.23123 To noun bases

8.231231 To nouns which occur with a number of inflectional affixes

This type of noun base is described in Sec. 9.10 ff. The meanings vary according to the type. (Cf. the examples in Sec. 9.10 ff.)

8.231232 gi-/qi- to other nouns (miscellaneous meanings)

gipaypay ni:ya qang qi:ya ng gisiqu ng ka:lu ng buli "He fanned himself with his torn hat made of buri palm." V⁻⁻⁻ paypay "fan" (68.12)

8.23124 Instrumental meaning "wear as"

karun qi:ya na ng gitakin qang qi:ya ng linantip "Now he wore his bolo in his belt." V⁻⁻⁻ takin "wear on the waist" (62.8)

This meaning is common with nouns used as transients. (Cf. Sec. 9.10 ff.)

8.2313 gi-/qi- "person for whom"

This meaning of the instrumental passive with many bases is confined to the imperative, and as imperative it is used with a large number of bases.

qipunit ku qa:na ng papil nga nahu:lug "Pick up that piece of paper that fell for me."

For transients used this way the instrument can also be used with a pronoun agent qualified by walaq.

waq ni:ya qipunit si pidru sa papil "He did not pick the paper up for Pedro."

The meaning "person for whom" is used with a few bases with the instrumental passive in other than the above two usages (i.e., with other than imperative and not qualified by walaq).

human na ni:ya qikapanumpaq sa ha:yaq sa qi:ya ng pinangga ng qanak nga qipanimalus ni:ya kini "He had already sworn over the

dead body of his beloved child that he would avenge it." V⁻
panimalus "avenge" (58.14)

8.23131 To adjective bases

qiha:yag ku sa sugaq kay di:liq ku kabasa diri "Make the
lamp bright for me because I cannot read here." V⁻ ha:yag
"bright"

8.2314 qi- "time to (time one ^{should}_{may}) V⁻ "

The meaning "time to" with qi- occurs with most transient
bases.

ha:pun qa:ku ng qigi:kan kay di:liq qi:nit "I will start in the
afternoon because it will not be hot." V⁻ gi:kan "leave for"

This use is confined to the unreal. This usage of the instru-
mental passive is particularly common in maqu type sentences

(Sec. 3.54) meaning "the time one V⁻ 's".

qiniggabut na:kuq maqu pa y qi:mu ng qilu:tuq sa qitlug kay diq
man ku layhan muka:qu g bugnaw "You should not cook the eggs
before I come home, for I do not feel like eating them cold."
V⁻ lu:tuq "cook"

(to derived bases)

maqu pa y qipangitlug sa himungaqa g matingqinit "The hen will
not lay eggs until summer." V⁻ pangitlug "lay eggs"

maqu pa y qa:ku ng qikatu:lug sa qalas du:si "I will not go
to sleep before twelve." V⁻ katu:lug "sleep"

maqu pa y qi:mu ng qikaminyuq qug maminyuq na qang qi:mu ng
magulang "You cannot get married before your older sister has."
V⁻ kaminyuq "get married"

8.23141 qig- (= qi-)

With a few bases in this type of instrumental passive, qig-
is used with the same meaning as qi-. (qi- may also be used with
these bases.) The bases which occur with qig- are those of Sec.
8.2315 and some others as well.

qinighimungtud ni:ya sa tagaytay maqu pa y qi:ya ng qigqabut
sa ka lu:lu ni:ya "He would not reach his grandfather's place

until he had climbed the ridge." V⁻ qabut "reach"

8.23142 Extension of this usage

This usage is extended to contexts where the meaning "time to" is not present and is translated into English by the infinitive.

la:qay qunta ng qigadtu sa ka lu:lu ni:ya sanglit musaka pa man siya niqadtu ng bakilid qug qinighimungtud ni:ya sa tagaytay maqu pa y qi:ya ng qigqabut sa ka lu:lu ni:ya "It was tiresome to go to his grandfather's because he still had to go up the slope, and he would not reach his grandfather's place until he had reached the crest of the ridge."

8.23143 Instrumental meaning "action done while agent is in a certain emotional state"

qilugum ku na lang qang qa:ku ng manga kaguqul "I will just choke back my sorrows." V⁻ luqum "choke on air (as when crying)"

gihi:lak na lang na:kuq qang qa:ku ng kahiqubus "I wept out my hurt feelings."

8.2315 qig-/qi- in meaning "thing V⁻-ed with" (dead)

With these qig- or qi- is used with: **the same meaning.***

qi:mu ng qigki:taq ba ru ng ha:pun si guryu sa parki "Will you and Gorio meet in the park this afternoon?" V⁻ ki:taq "see"

walaq na qigdu:ngug qang ba:na ng karya sukad niqadtu ng daku ng bagyu "Karya's husband was not heard from since that big typhoon." V⁻ dungug "hear"

8.232 gina-/qiga- $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{iterative} \\ \text{action continuing} \end{array} \right\}$ instrumental

These are forms confined to set expressions.

maqu na y qi:la ng qigaba:lus sa qa:tu ng kaqa:yu kani:la "That is how they repay our kindness to them." (Lit.: "things which they return") V⁻ ba:lus "return"

*The meaning is the same as the passive qi- and pag- "V⁻ each other" (Sec. 9.921) and occurs to bases which also occur with pag-.

In very high style they are used with a large number of bases.

hinu:qun nahibalu qaku nga bi:san karun qang tanan nga qi:mu ng pangayu:qun sa dyus kini qigaha:tag kani:mu sa dyus "But I know that even now, whatever you ask of God, God will give you."
V ha:tag "give"

8.2321 qiga- (dead)

qiga- is also used with bases of the type Sec. 8.2315.

sa pagpakabasa ni:ya niqadtu ng sula:ta nanganduy da:yun nga muqabut qang kagabhi:qun qarun qigaki:tag ni:ya qang kapi:kas sa qi:ya ng kalag "After reading that letter, she longed for the evening to arrive, so that she might meet with the other half of her soul." V ki:tag "meet"

8.233 Instrumental potential na-/ma- or gika-/qika-

The two instrumental potential affixes are used with most bases. With bases having a causative meaning the na-/ma- affix is rarely used in the instrumental meaning. gika-/qika- is preferred.

walaq ku siya qikaquban sa qa:muq kay walaq man musugut qang qi:ya ng ginika:nan "I was not able to take him along to our place because his parents did not agree to it." V quban "go along" (maquban would not be used in this context.)

gika-/qika- is usually used for a potential instrumental passive following y; na-/ma- is not used after y.

qunsa ma y qi:mu ng qikasulti niqa:naq "What can you say to that."
V sulti "speak" (masulti would not be used here.) (63.14)

The potential occurs with the instrumental passive in the ablative meaning (Sec. 8.2311), instrumental meaning (Sec. 8.2312) and temporal meanings (Sec. 8.2314). The potential does not occur in the meaning "person for whom" (Sec. 8.2313). ^{Note} that the potential is not always used in contexts which would call for it in colloquial speech. (Cf. Sec. 8.13.)

8.2331 na-/ma- or gika-/qika- "able to"

8.23311 To transient bases

kun di:liq ni:ya { maha:tag
 qikaha:tag } kana ng napu:luq ka kurma:ta
 nga bula:wan sulud sa baynti kwatru ka qu:ras punggu:tan ku siya
 sa li:qug "If he cannot give those ten cartloads of gold within
 twenty-four hours, I will cut off his head." V ha:tag "give"
 (13.5)

8.23312 To adjective bases

di:liq kanaq qikalimpyu s salug kay mabaq naq "That cannot
 be used in cleaning the floor because it is too short." V
 limpyu "clean"

8.23313 To noun bases

{ masapa:tus
 qikasapa:tus } na ba ni ng qa:ku ng bagqu run "Can I wear
 my new pair of shoes now?" V sapa:tus "shoes"

8.2332 na-/ma- or gika-/qika- "completed action"

didtu { mabi:tay
 qikabi:tay } sa qi:la ng qamahan qang qi:la ng pu:sud
 sa sagunting sa qi:la ng payag. "Their father had hung their
 umbilical ~~cords~~ from the rafters of their huts." V bi:tay
 "hang" (51.2)

human na ni:ya { mapanumpaq
 qikapanumpaq } sa ha:yaq sa qi:ya ng pinangga
 ng qanak "He had already sworn over the body of his beloved
 child." V panumpaq "vow" (58.14)

8.2333 na-/ma- or gika-/qika- accidental meaning

maqu na ng libru:ha nga qa:ku ng { naha:tag
 gikaha:tag } ni:ya "That is
 the book I happened to give him." V ha:tag "give"

qang qi:mu ng plu:wid sa laytir { nalimpyu
 qikalimpyu } na:kuq sa
 makinilya "I happened to use your lighter fluid in cleaning the
 typewriter." V limpyu "clean"

8.2334 Instrumental potentials to derivatives

na-/ma- or gika-/qika- occurs with bases having derivative
 prefixes except statives (Sec. 9.3), those ^{with} ha-/hi-/hing- (Sec.
 9.4), those with pakig- (Sec. 9.7) and paka- (Sec. 9.74).

gikasultiqa:nay na:kuq si husi didtu sa qiskuylahan "José and I happened to speak to each other at school." V⁻ sulti "talk to"

(to base with pa-)

sigi gikapaka:qun na naq sa qiruq ba:haw na bi:taw naq "Go ahead. That can be fed to the dogs; it is not fresh anyway." V⁻ paka:qun "feed"

(to base with hiN-)

dyu:tay ra ku g gikinahanglan duha ka butilya ng kukaku:la qi:guq na gikahingu:haw "I just need a little. Two bottles of coke are enough as a thirst quencher." V⁻ quhaw "thirst for"

(to base with pag-)

In the case of derivative bases with pag- (Sec. 9.921), the pag- usually has an alternant ka- so that the instrumental potential is the same in form as the ~~non~~potential instrumental.

gikahinagbuq ku siya sa qiski:na "I met him at the corner." V⁻ paghinagbuq "meet with some" (This has the same meaning as gihinagbuq.)

8.23341 Instrumental potential to bases with paN- "plural"
the

With/instrumental potential the paN- "plural" affix is more productive than with the local and direct passive. (Cf. Secs. 8.21451 and 8.22352.)

diq pa gikapangha:tag ni ng qa:ku ng manga libru kay qa:kuq pa ng maga:wiq sa qa:ku ng pagqiskuyla "I cannot give these books of mine away yet because I can still use them in my studies." V⁻ ha:tag "give"

the
8.234 Potentials to instrumentals of type Sec. 8.2315

maqu ra y gigkaki:tag sa qasa:wa g ba:na sa panahun nga muqabut qang daku ng pangi:lin sa tibuquk lungsud "The only time the husband and the wife can see each other is at the time the fiesta of the whole town arrives." V⁻ ki:tag "see"

8.235 gikag- (= qika-) (dead)

This usage is very high style. The meanings are the same as for qika-.

qang qi:ya ng kagwa:pa qikagtandiq sa kagwa:pa sa manga ha:ra

"Her beauty can be compared to the beauty of the queens." V—
tandiḡ "compare"

di:liḡ qikagga:suy qang qi:ya ng kaqa:gi "His experiences
cannot be told." V— qa:suy "tell"

8.3 Abstracts

Abstracts are composed of pag- plus base or of the base alone. The two have the same meaning. The abstract is used in the constructions described in Secs. 3.541, 4.68, 6.2122.

The base alone, however, is used only in the infinitive construction (Sec. 4.68) and as a qualifier under the conditions described in Sec. 6.2122. Otherwise the pag- abstract is used.

8.301 ginig-/gig- for pag-

When used as a qualifier (Sec. 6.2122) the abstract also may be prefixed by ginig-/gig- instead of pag- meaning "at the moment of". ginig-/gig- occurs with the same bases as pag- except hi-. ginig-/gig- does not occur with hi- (Sec. 9.4151).

8.31 To underived bases

qinigqabut ni:la sa bu:kid qang qamahan misu:gud da:yun
{qug pi:lay } qug manga ka:huy "When they arrived at the mountains,
{pagpi:lay }
the father began cutting trees down right away." V— pi:lay
"fell" (2.11)

8.311 Meanings of abstracts corresponding to the various meanings of mi-/mu-, nag-/mag-

The abstract is neutral with respect to the various meanings which contrast mi-/mu- and nag-/mag- with each other: intentional, durative, action coming into being, habitual action.

For the various other meanings of mi-/mu-, nag-/mag- the abstracts have corresponding meanings.

misu:gud siya pagdakuḡ qug qang qi:ya ng pagka:qun midakuḡ qusab
"He began to grow big, and the amount he ate increased as well."
midakuḡ "became big" (Cf. Sec. 8.1132)

su:gud siya g qi:lis da:yun miqadtu sini "He began to get dressed and then at once went to the show." nagqi:lis "dressed" (Cf. Sec. 8.123.)

maqu ra y pagbinuqutan ni li:tu kun hata:ga g dulsì "Lito is only good if he is given candy." magbinuqutan "is good" (Cf. Sec. 8.122.)

maqu pa y qi:ya ng pagsapa:tus pagsu:gud qug qiskuyla "The first time he wore shoes was when he started going to school." nagsapa:tus "is wearing shoes" naggiskuyla "went to school" (Cf. Sec. 9.10.11.)

8. 312 pag- meaning "V" each other

This pag- is considered a derivational affix (Sec. 9.921).

8.32 Abstracts to derived bases

Abstracts occur freely with all bases formed from transients derived or not.

8.321 Derived transient bases other than with ka-

If the base has a derivative pag- (Sec. 9.92), the derivative pag- prefix has a zero alternant after qug or pag-.

misu:gud sila { qug qa:way } "They began to fight with one
 { pagqa:way }
 another." (There is no*[pagpagqa:way] or*[qug pagqa:way])

However, if there is an -an- infix (Sec. 9.93), the pag- derivative does not have a zero alternant.

misu:gud qang duha pagpanagqa:way human hikitqi qang qusa ng nanga:wat qug manuk "The two started to fight after one was caught stealing a chicken." V qa:way "fight"

(with other derivatives)

waq pa gyud matagbaw { qug pani:kas } kana:tuq "Has he not cheated
 { pagpani:kas }
 us enough yet?" V pani:kas "cheat (several actions)"
 (50.10)

pagkaqalas qutsu misu:gud siya {qug paka:qun
pagpaka:qun} sa ba:taq
"At eight o'clock she started feeding the child." V paka:qun
"feed"

pagkahibalu ni:ya g kinsa y qi:ya ng giquat:bang mihu:nung da:yun
siya {qug pakigsulti
pagpakigsulti} "The moment she knew whom she was
facing, she at once stopped her talking." V pakigsulti "talk:
with"

sa pagqanhi sibuni ma:ma niqadtu ng bakasyun maqu pa y
paghibalagay ni:la ni qinsi turya "Mother and Aunt Turya met
for the first time when mother went to Cebu last vacation."
V hibalagay "meet"

misu:gud siya {sa pagpakilugay
qug pakilu:qay} diha ng miqabut qang qi:ya ng
qamahan sa qi:la ng balay "He started to ask for pity when his
father arrived at their house." V pakilugay "ask for pity"

8.33 Abstracts to bases with ka-

misamut si qanduy {kasukug
pagkasukug} human mawa:laq qang qi:ya ng
ka:baw "Andoy got more and more angry after his carabao disap-
peared." V sukug "be angry"

8.331 Abstracts to bases with panga- (paN- + ka-)

pagpangahu:lug sa manga lubi qi:gu ng natungud si tasyu
"Tasyo was under the tree just as the coconuts fell." V kahu:lug
"fall"

8.332 To bases which have hi- instead of ka-

With some stative bases the abstract has paghi- V in-
stead of pagka- V. These are most of the bases which have
ha-/hi- (Sec. 9.412). (The ha-/hi- meaning agent doing involun-
tary action/9.41111 or with passive na-/ma- does not have paghi-.)

The

paghi- form in some contexts has an explicit accidental meaning.

qusa na ka bu:lan sukad sa {paghilakaw
paglakaw} ni tankri:du "It
has been a month since Tancredo left." V lakaw "go away"

Note, however, that pagka- is used with these bases in construc-
tions described in Sec. 3.7.

8.333 Abstracts to statives with noun bases

The stative with noun ~~bases~~ means "become V⁻⁻⁻". (Cf. Sec.

9.331.) However, the pagka- abstract is also extended to mean "being V⁻⁻⁻" and is more widely used than the other forms of the stative.

qang sugila:nun sa qa:ku ng pagkahi:pi qang mahitungud niqadtu ng qamirika:nu ng si ba:kir sa bulhuqun "The story about the time I was chief is the one about that American Baker from Boljo-on." V⁻⁻⁻ hi:pi "chief" (37.1) (Cf. other examples Sec. 10.9222.)

8.34 pagka- to nonstatives (potential abstracts)

Bases which occur with potential affixes (active or passive) take a prefix pagka-.

pagkakitaq ni:ya ng dihaq na y dagha ng hapun mipaqu:liq siya "Upon seeing that there were many Japanese already there, he went home." V⁻⁻⁻ ki:taq "see"

8.341 pag- for pagka-

With some bases in some constructions, pag- V⁻⁻⁻ is used in the same meanings as pagka- V⁻⁻⁻.

{ paghibalu } ni:ya ng qipapatay gayud siya paqu:liq sa qila
{ pagkahibalu }
"Upon learning that he was to be killed, he went home." V⁻⁻⁻
hibalu "know" (45.7)

8.342 pagpaka- for pagka-

An abstract pagpaka- formed to the potential paka- (Sec. ff.)
9.742/ has the same meaning as pagka-.

si simun sa pagpakabatiq sa tana ng gisulti ni silsu nangaghu qug hala:wum nga pangaghu qug miqingun "Simon, having heard all that was said by Celso, sighed a deep sigh and said."
(pagkabatiq could also be used here.) V⁻⁻⁻ ba:tiq "hear"

8.343 Other meanings of pagka- to transient base

pagka- is used freely with all bases. They occur in the construction described in Sec. 3.7.

maqa:yu ng pagkamusmus "He got a good dunking." V⁻ musmus
"push face into" (42.6)

8.35 pagka- to bases with paN-

pagka- is used to bases with paN- in the construction of Sec.

3.7.

maqa:yu ng pagkapamutu:la ninyu g ka:huy daq kay walaq dinhaq
qang magbalantay "Good job, cutting the wood! For the watch-
man was not around." V⁻ pumutul "cut"

(Otherwise pagpanga- is used; i.e. pag- to stative bases with
paN-. Cf. Sec. 8.331.)

8.36 Voice of abstracts

Abstracts are not active or passive, and the element following
the abstract may be the agent or the goal.

maqa:yu ng pagkalu:tuq ni mari:ya "Maria's cooking is good."

maqa:yu ng pagkalu:tuq sa sa:ging "The banana was well cooked."
V⁻ lu:tuq "cook"

The goal of the action of the construction de-
scribed in 3.7 may be preceded by qang or sa whereas the agent
is only preceded by sa. (Cf. Sec. 3.7.)

maqa:yu ng pagkalu:tuq qang sa:ging "The banana was well cooked."

8.4 Imperatives

8.41 Active imperatives

The active imperatives have the same form as the abstracts
(Sec. 8.3). There are no potential imperatives.

8.411 Imperative with pag-

For some bases occurring with nag-/mag- (→) pag- also has
(→) when with imperatives.

pagkaqun na pilang qarun mangutaw huma g panghu:gas manga pla:tu
"Come on and eat, Pilang, so that you can iron after washing the
dishes." V⁻ ka:qun "eat"

pagpalit ngadtu g maka:qun "Buy something to eat over there."
V⁻ palit "buy" (7.14)

hwan hala pagqi:lis sa qi:mu ng purul "John, go on, change into your short pants." V⁻ qi:lis "change" (2.5)

8.412 Imperative without pag-

The imperative without pag- has the same meaning as the imperative with pag-. However, the form without pag- is used when the command is forceful.

hala su:yup na ng sabaw "Go on. Drink that soup." V⁻ su:yup "suck in" (42.5)

8.413 Imperative with derived bases

Active imperatives occur freely with derivative bases except those with hi- or hiN-.

pama:tiq kamu "Hear ye!" V⁻ pama:tiq "hear" (45.3)

katu:lug dihaq "Go to sleep." V⁻ katu:lug "sleep"

qayaw g pakigqa:way sa qi:mu ng manga kaqu:ban "Do not fight with your companions." V⁻ pakigqa:way "fight with"

qayaw g pakilimus "Do not beg." V⁻ pakilimus "ask for alms"

qayaw g qa:way mu dihaq "Do not quarrel." V⁻ pagqa:way "quarrel"

8.42 Passive imperative

8.421 Without pag-

The passive imperative without pag- has the same form as the subjunctive.

8.4211 Direct passive

hwan qayaw qinta:wun qaku g putla "John, please do not cut me." V⁻ putul "cut" (5.5)

8.4212 Local

qug suginli ng ha:riq nga pangasawqun ku qang qi:ya ng qanak "And tell the king that I will marry his daughter."
V⁻ sugi:lun "tell" (10.3)

8.4213 Instrumental

qiku:qut kana ng qi:mu ng kamut kay qadu:na ku y qiha:tag
kani:mu "Reach your hand in because I have something to give
you." V— ku:qut "reach hand into" (5.11)

8.422 With pag-

With passives pag- with imperative occurs only with qayaw
"do not". This usage is fancy style, but otherwise the meaning is
the same as without pag-. (pag- does not occur before paga-)

8.4221 Direct

qayaw la:mang qaku pagputla "Just do not cut me." V—
putul "cut" (5.12)

8.4222 Local

qayaw pagsulti:hi si numir nga dinhi s luqis gaha:pun "Do
not tell Nomer that ~~Louis~~ was here yesterday." V— sulti
"tell"

8.4223 Instrumental

bi:sa g qunsa y mahitabuq qayaw pagqiha:tag kang bi:san
kinsa kini ng libru:ha "Whatever happens do not give this book
to anybody." V— ha:tag "give"

8.423 Imperative passives to derived bases

pasakqa na na ng manga bisi:ta luling "Let the guests come
up, Loling." V— saka "come up"

qayaw g pakuha:qi ni ng qa:ku ng sa:ging kay dadqun na:ku s
talamban "Do not let anybody take any of these bananas of mine
because I am taking them to Talamban." (Lit.: "Do not let a part
of these bananas be taken.") V— kuhaq "get"

qipahi:pus na ri ng manga pla:tu sa manga mutsatsa "Have the
maids clear the table." V— hi:pus "clear up"

qayaw pagpakuha:qi ni ng qa:ku ng sa:ging "Do not let anybody
take any of these bananas of mine." V— ku:haq "get"

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Chapter Nine : Affixes Forming Transient Bases

9.0 Introduction

The following paragraphs list the derivative affixes which occur with transient bases. These do not include the common nouns used as transient bases which are described in Chapter Ten. (Cf. the discussion Secs. 8.012, 8.013.) A transient base is one which occurs with the inflectional affixes described in Chapter Eight. Not all transient bases occur with all inflectional affixes. Paradigms are described in Chapter Twelve, and a summary table of which inflectional affixes occur with bases having certain derivative affixes is given in Sec. 12.01. A summary of which derivative affixes occur with bases having derivative affixes is given in Sec. 12.02.

9.0.1 Determination of the base

The base is determined by immediate constituent analysis. Given a form xyz, where x, y, and z are morphemes, there are three possibilities:

- a.
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{x} \quad \overset{1}{\mid} \quad \text{yz} \end{array}$$
- b.
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{xy} \quad \overset{1}{\mid} \quad \text{z} \end{array}$$
- c.
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{x} \quad \overset{1}{\mid} \quad \text{y} \quad \overset{1}{\mid} \quad \text{z} \end{array}$$

The choice of which cut to make depends on the occurrence and meaning. If yz occurs by itself in the same meaning as it does in xyz* then a is the correct cut. (In such cases xyz will usually

* If yz are the same morphemes as the yz of xyz then the meaning yz is the same (for morphemes are classes of forms with the same meaning in complementary distribution).

be in a paradigm with xy_1z_1 where y_1z_1 also occurs by itself in the same meaning as in xy_1z_1). If xy occurs by itself in the same meaning as it does in xyz , then b is the right cut. If neither a nor b, then c is the right cut. (There are no cases in Cebuano where both a and b could be considered the right cut.)

E. g. a b c d e
pagka manggi hunag hunag un "thoughtfulness"

Since manggihunaghuna:qun "thoughtful" occurs by itself in the same meaning as in pagkamanggihunaghuna:qun the first cut is a|bcde. This form is in paradigm with other forms pagka-x (Sec. 10.922) which have the same immediate constituent structure.

 b c d e
 Similarly for manggi hunag hunag un we have a cut b|od|e because cde* does not occur/ by itself it does in the same meaning as/ in bode; nor do bod, be, de, bd, or eo. However, cd does occur in the same meaning as in bode. This form is in paradigm with other forms manggi-un with parallel immediate constituent structure (Sec. 11.357).

For forms with the inflectional affixes the first cut is made between the inflectional affixes and the base on the basis of the above criterion.

9.1 pa-

9.11 pa-'causative'(productive)

The causative has either the meaning "allow" or "make (have) someone V" depending on the context. (Cf. examples of Sec. 9.1111.) Bases with pa- "causative" and active affixes (Sec. 8.1 and subsections) may occur with "second goals" (Sec. 4.631).

9.111 pa- "causative" to transient** bases

With some transient bases in conjunction with instrumental passives there is a causative meaning without pa-. Also the bases have a causative meaning without pa-. These are the

*hunaghuna:qun "thing to be thought of" occurs by itself, but the meaning is different than in manggihunaghuna:qun "thoughtful" and the -un of the former is not in the same morpheme as the -un of the latter.

**Cf. Sec. 8.012 for the criteria by which to determine the type of base.

bases which also occur with the affix ka- (Sec. 9.3).

9.1111 pa- to underived bases

palutu:gun ku si mari:ya g paniqudtu "I will have Mary cook dinner." V[—] lu:tuq "cook"

nagpasalsal si qinting sa ka saryu qug qingun kadakuq sa kumagkuq sa kamut nga qasi:ru "Inting had a piece of steel as big around as a thumb, forged at Saryo's." V[—] salsal "forge" (59.9)

sinyur ha:riq qaku y mupasa:lig sa pagbira niqi:ni ng qisdaq "Your Majesty, I will guarantee to pull this fish out." V[—] sa:lig "to have trust in"

9.1112 With derived transient bases

(With paN-)

papangahu:ya na si lu:ling kay ha:pun na "Have Loling gather firewood now because it is late." V[—] panga:huy "gather firewood"

(With ka-)

maqu ni ng tamba:la makapakatu:lug na:kuq "This is the medicine which can make me sleep." V[—] katu:lug "sleep"

9.11121 pa- to potential formations (dead)

The potential formations (Secs. 8.13, 8.214, 8.223, 8.233, 8.33) are considered inflectional affixes and not derivational affixes ~~forming~~ derived bases. (Cf. discussion Sec. 9.32.) Yet with bases of the type which occur only with potential prefixes (Sec. 8.135) pa- "causative" occurs as a derivative prefix.

mita:maq sa qi:ya ng qapapa:ngig qang qusa ka suntuk nga nakapakakitaq ni:ya g qanini:put "He was hit squarely on the jaw by a blow with the fist that made him see stars." (literally "fireflies") V[—] nakakitaq "saw"

nakapakakitaq " caused someone to see"

Similar usage is with the bases which occur only with the potentials. (Cf. Sec. 8.135.)

nakapakasalaq "caused someone to sin"

nakapakabatiq "caused someone to hear"

9.112 pa- "causative" to noun bases

9.1121 Meaning " {make into
allow to become} V "

diq siya papari:qun ni pa:pa ni:ya kay siya ra ma y lala:ki
sa manga magsu:qun "His father will not allow him to become a
priest because he is the only son among the brothers and sisters."
V pa:riq "priest"

9.1122 pa- to nouns that occur as bases to transients

These noun bases are discussed in various sections of Chapter Eight and also in Sec. 9.10 and its subsections.

kay sayu pa man gud siya ng mipagra:hi sa traktu:ra kay gilabdan
siya sa qi:ya ng qu:lu "For he put his tractor in the garage
earlier than usual because he had a headache." V gra:hi "garage"
migrā:hi "went to the garage" (Sec. 8.1153) pagra:hi "cause to
go to the garage"

di:liq ka pabakya:qun sa sulud kay banhaq kaqa:yu "You are not allowed to wear wooden slippers inside becausethey are very noisy."
V bakyaq "wooden slipper" V pagbakyaq "wear wooden slipper"
(Sec. 9.10.11)

9.1123 To nouns that do not occur as bases to transients

qug nasa:yud na karun nga qang manduq sa ha:riq sa pagpabuhis
di:liq qikatakliq "And you know now that the king's command to
impose taxes cannot be set aside." V buhis "taxes" V
pabuhis "make people pay taxes"

9.113 pa- "causative" to bases with causative meaning

(productive)

These bases are adjective bases and transient bases which also occur with stative (ka-) derivatives (Sec. 9.3).

Note that with most adjective bases the passive and the mi-/mu- and naka-/maka- have causative meaning without the prefix pa-*

*However, the causative meaning does not include the meaning "allow". E.g.

qunsa y nakadaqutan ni:ya "What went wrong with him?" (Lit.
"caused him to be bad")

gilayug qang tana ng makada:qut kani:ya "Keep all things which
can harm him far away." V layug " far"

9.1131 pa- with passive affixes

With bases having a causative meaning

"{have } {someone }
{allow } {something }

make something V "

qipagitung qang qa:ku ng sapa:tus ni di:yu "Have Deo make my shoes black." V qitung "blacken" V paqitung "have someone blacken"

qipahu:lug ni ng sula:ta ni pidru s pusqu:pis "Have Pedro mail this letter at the post office." V hu:lug "drop" pahu:lug "have someone drop"

9.1132 To bases with no inflectional affixes

When the base has no inflectional affix the pa- means "cause

V ". (This is the reflexive meaning of the pa- described in Sec. 9.13 and its subsections)

bi:san qang manga wati qug mangliw nahikalimut qusab sa qi:la ng naqanda ng patili:qis sa ti:ngug "Even the earthworms and the katydids also forgot to sing their usual shrill songs." (Lit.: "make shrill") V tili:qis "shrill" (62.14)

9.1133 With active affixes

With some stative bases the pa- in the active has the same meaning as the passive (have {something } make {someone } V)
{someone } {something }

nakapahu:lug ku ng pidru s qi:mu ng paki:ti didtu s pusqu:pis "I had Pedro mail your package at the post office." V hu:lug "drop" V pahu:lug "have someone drop"

With other stative bases and adjective bases the active pa- plus base means "cause something to be V " (I.e., the meaning is the same as without pa-.)

qapan qusa niqa:naq maqu y { nakasubug } sa qi:ya ng manga
{ nakapasubug }
ginika:nan "But one of those caused his parents to be sad."
V subug " sad" (25.11)

maqu y { nakapahi:muq } ni:ya ng qaduna:han qang qi:ya ng
{ nakahi:muq }
paningka:mut "It was his effort that made him rich." V hi:muq
"become"

9.1134 Extension to transients (restricted)

With some active transients with the meaning "cause" or a similar meaning the base is used with pa- in the same meaning as the base without :

kini maqu y { nakapaha:tag } kaguqul sa qi:ya ng qinahan "This is what caused grief for his mother." V ha:tag "give"

9.1135 pa- (→) to adjective bases (restricted)

bu:saq nagpalaqin sila kay walaq man sila y swirti sa pananum nidaagup sila sa pamuhigun "So they tried something else. Because they had no luck in raising crops, they turned to raising animals." V palaqin "change" V la:qin "different" (54.11)

9.12 "Causative" to stative bases (with a prefix ka- Sec. 9.3)

Some stative bases do not occur without ka- when with causatives. (I.e., they occur only with paka- if there is a pa- causative.) Some do not occur with ka- at all (i.e., occur with pa- alone) if there is a pa- causative. (Some statives have a double causative meaning with pa-. Causatives to these bases are described in Sec. 9.113 and its subsections.)

9.121 Stative bases with paka- in causative meaning

walaq ku pakatulga s manga ba:taq banhaq sila kaqa:yu "I could not sleep on account of the children. They were very noisy." (Lit.: "I was not allowed to sleep by the children.") V pakatu:lug "could allow to sleep" V katu:lug "sleep" V tu:lug "cause to sleep"

9.122 Stative bases with pa- in the causative

With these bases the meaning of the base alone or with pa- is the same (although the pa- does not tend to occur with certain prefixes). (Cf. further examples in Sec. 9.1133.)

si:gi siya ng qinum qarun { pagpamala } sa tu:big s subaq "He kept on drinking in order to dry up the water of the river." V kamala "be dry" V pamala "make dry" V mala "make dry"

9.13 pa- "agent cause V to himself" (productive)

The meaning of these differs from those of Sec. 9.11 in that in this usage the agent causes V⁻ to be done to himself (whereas for the pa- of Sec. 9.11 the action need not be done to the causer).

di:liq siya magpaki:taq "He will not show himself." V⁻ ki:taq "see" (Here the base has the pa- of this section.)

di:liq siya magpaki:taq niqa:na ng qi:ya ng nakitqan "He is not going to show what he has found." (Here the base has the pa- in the usage of Sec. 9.11.)

All bases with the pa- of Sec. 9.11 also occur with this pa-, but not all bases with the pa- of this section occur with the pa- of Sec. 9.11.

Bases with this pa- do not occur with passive affixes, (However, when used as bases to other derived forms, they occur with passive affixes.)*

9.131 Transient bases

sa walaq pa mugi:kan si tunyu nagpakasal na lang sila si durya "Tonyo and Doria got married before he went away." V⁻ nagpakasal "cause to be married" V⁻ kasal "wedding"

9.132 Adjective bases

didtu ka nagpahaya:hay sa gawas karu ng mudtu "Did you refresh yourself outside this noon?" V⁻ pahaya:hay "cause to refresh" V⁻ haya:hay "refreshing"

di:liq siya qa:ngay ng magpasa:kit niqa:naq kay tatal walaq pud siya y la:but "He should not torture himself with that, because after all, it is no concern of his." V⁻ pasa:kit "to cause pain" V⁻ sakit "pain"

9.1321 With doubled bases (productive)

With doubled bases nagpa-/magpa- has a specialized meaning: " $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pretend to be V} \\ \text{act like V} \end{array} \right\}$ " (These occur only with nag-/mag- or zero for nag-/mag-.) (The meaning "act like V⁻" for noun bases is

* papahayaha:ya qang manga bisi:ta didtu s balkun "Let the visitors refresh themselves on the balcony." V⁻ papahaya:hay "cause someone to refresh himself" V⁻ pahaya:hay "refresh oneself"

expressed by paka- Sec. 9.741 and its subsections.)

kun siya sampi:tun qarun papanguluhun sa mi:ting muqikyas qug magpasakitsa:kit da:yun "If he is called to preside at the meeting he gets out of it and pretends right away to be sick." to be sick" V⁻ sakit "sick" V⁻ pasakitsa:kit "pretend kinsa ma y pabugangbu:qang qug hikut sa li:qug sa buqa:ya "Who would be so crazy as to tie something around the crocodile's neck?" V⁻ bu:qang "foolish" (58.3)

9.13211 pa- with doubled bases other than statives or
adjectives

nagpadiliqdi:liq quruy siya ng gitaga:qan sa mansa:nas piru gustu bayaq "He said he did not want any when he was given the apples, but really he wanted them." V⁻ di:liq "no"

9.133 To noun bases

diq siya gustu ng magpabuy kay muqiskuyla pa kunu siya "He does not want to hire himself out as a servant because he still wants to go to school." V⁻ pabuy "to cause oneself to be a servant" V⁻ buy "servant"

9.134 pa- agent "cause V⁻ to himself" with stative bases
(dead)

9.1341 Meaning {do
become} V⁻ on purpose "whereas the stative
means {do
become} V⁻ "

gipakamatyan ni risa qang qi:ya ng paghigugma sa qi:ya ng yu:ta ng natawhan "Rizal gave his life on account of his love for his fatherland." (Lit.: "The love of his fatherland was the thing on account of which (local passive Sec. 8.2214) Rizal made himself die.") V⁻ pakamatay "die for a cause" V⁻ kamatay "die" (pakamatay is also used in the same meaning as kamatay.)

nagpakaha:naw si qupilya sa diha ng walaq mugu:waq sa bar qang qi:ya ng nga:lan "Ophelia did not show herself after her name failed to appear on the list of those who passed the bar exams." V⁻ pakaha:naw "cause oneself to drop out of sight" V⁻ kaha:naw "disappear"

Cf. naha:naw siya sa kangitngit sa kahapu:nun "He disappeared into the evening darkness." V⁻ ha:naw "disappear "

9.1342 Meaning the same as the stative

qunsa y qi:ya ng pakabuhi:qan "What does he do for a living?" V⁻ pakabu:hiq "live" V⁻ kabu:hiq "live"

9.1343 (→)

maqa:yu ng magpakahilum na lang ta kay di:liq gustu s tatay g manga ba:ta ng banhaqan "Let us be quiet because Dad does not like noisy children." V⁻ pakahilum "be quiet" V⁻ hi:lum "quiet"

9.14 pa- "cause oneself to be at V⁻" (noun bases)

nasukuq qang draybir sa dyip kay waq mupadaplin qang tartanilya "The driver of the jeep got mad because the rig would not move to the side of the road." V⁻ daplin "edge"

ninggu:waq da:yun ku dihaqdihaq qug nagpaqulan ku nga wa y ningsampit kana:kuq "I went out then and there and walked in the rain without anyone calling after me." V⁻ qulan "rain"

9.141 Specialized meaning

qikaw ma y nagqantug sa hantak/^{run}paha:riq ka kami pakuru:na "You are the one tossing (the coins) now. You take heads; we will take tails." V⁻ ha:riq "heads" V⁻ kuru:na "tails"

9.15 pa- "go in the direction of" (to noun and adjective bases)

human ta g panaygun s ka siluy magpalungsud ta kay dagha ng ta:wu didtu "After carolling at Siluy's place, let us go towards the town because there are many people there." V⁻ lungsud "town"

nagpaduqul siya qapan gabi:qi "He went near, but it was night." V⁻ duqul "near" (45.10)

9.151 pa- "go in direction of" (specialized meaning) {→←}

Many roots which take this pa- also occur without pa- in the same meaning.

sa daplin sa subaq nga maqu y qagiq:nan sa qi:la ng tu:yuq sila padu:lung "They went towards the edge of the river where their quarry usually passed." V⁻ du:lung "go toward" (60.10)

9.2 paN-

9.21 paN- "plural"

9.211 "Several {actors
goals}"

9.2111 Without shift

qang manga maqistra manglu:tuq qug manga pagka:qun "The teachers will cook things to eat." V- lu:tuq "cook"

pinadukuq qang qu:lu masulubqu ng namalhin qang magtiqa:yun ngadtu sa yu:taq nga gitudluq kani:la ni mistir qalug "With bowed heads the couple sadly moved to the land which Mr. Alog had pointed out to them." V- balhin "to move (to another place)" (53.12)

9.2112 With shift (←)

qang manga ba:buy nanglu:sut sa kural "The pigs slipped through the fence." V- lusut "slip through"

9.212 Several actors only

9.2121 To underived bases

9.21211 Several actors only

du:gay na ng katuqi:gan nga nanga:gi may qusa ka magtiqa:yun "Many years ago there was a couple." V- qa:gi "pass by" (1.1)

9.21212 With shift (←)

mangla:kaw lang mi kay walaq mi qikapli:ti "We will just walk because we do not have fare money." V- lakaw "to walk"

9.2122 paN- (plural) to nouns **not** forming a transient

pangatulgun ta ru ng gabi:qi kay du:ru ta g traba:hu ru ng qadla:wa "We will feel sleepy tonight because we worked hard today." (paN- to katulgun "about to sleep" Sec. 10.1572)

9.213 Several goals only

nanglaba si qangkay sa subaq quban sa qi:ya ng ba:ta ng baba:yi "Angkay was washing clothes in the river together with her little girl." V- laba "to wash clothes" (54.16)

9.214 paN- several acts only

qang buwa:han nga qingun kadakuq sa bati:qis qang tungaq maqu y qi:la ng napi:liq nga himu:qu ng ba:wug bu:saq gipamutlan ni minggu sa manga sanga "A lanzones tree as big around as the lower leg was what they had chosen to make a spring pole; so Minggo cut off the branches." V- putul "cut off" (60.13)

9.215 paN- to derived bases

paN- occurs with some bases with ka- and to bases with doubling. It also occurs with a few bases with hiN- (described in Sec. 9.2312) and to bases with empty pa-. Otherwise paN- does not occur with derived bases.

9.2151 Bases with ka-

daghan na qang paqa:gi nga gihi:muq qapan qang tanan
nangapakyas "Many ways have been tried, but all failed." V
kapakyas "to fail" (57.5)

9.2152 To bases with doubling

didtu sila manuruysu:ruy qimbis mutunghaq "There they walked around instead of going to school." V suruysu:ruy "go around"

9.2153 To bases with empty pa-

mamaqu:liq na ta "Let us go home now." V paqu:liq "go home"

9.2154 To bases with hi-/ha-

paN- occurs to bases with hi-/ha- which are of high frequency. In a very fancy style paN- is used with bases with hi-/ha- which are of less frequent occurrence.

qang manga nanghibilin sa manga kabalayan nakamata tungud sa lakusug sa dangyunguy qug sya:git sa qinahan "Those who were left behind in the houses woke up because of the loud wailing and shrieking of the mother." V hibilin "remain" (20.1)

9.216 paN- "occupation" (cf. paN- 9.22)

9.217 paN- occurring with passive transients

Bases with paN- plural affixes in some cases appear only with passive affixes. These are to adjective or noun bases which in themselves are bases of transients occurring only with passive affixes.

9.2171 With direct passives, meaning "affected by"
(Sec. 8.213) (dead)

The meaning in this case is usually "affected by V to a great extent".

human siya muqinum sa qi:nit kapi gipaningut siya pagqa:yu
"After he drank the hot coffee, he sweated profusely." V
singut "sweat" V gisingut "person who sweated"

9.2172 With local passives meaning "affected with V to a great extent" (dead)

gipanguyawan si li:tu sa diha ng naki:taq ni:ya qang baki ng nagluksuluksu ngadtu kani:ya "Lito was terrified upon seeing the frog jumping at him." V kuyaw "fear" V gikuyawan "person affected by fear"

9.2173 paN- in other cases with the passive

In other cases with the passive the paN- has the meaning plural agents, plural goals or plural actions.

sa timpu sa gi:ra basta tingtugnaw na ga:niq qang qa:mu ng gipangha:bul sa:ku sa kala:may kay nihit man kaqa:yu qang panaptun "During the war when cold weather set in, sugar sacks were what we used as blankets, for cloth was very scarce." V ha:bul "blanket" V qiha:bul "thing used as blanket"

9.22 paN- "occupation"*

This paN- has two meanings: 1) "the agent does V " and 2) "the agent does V for a living". These are with nominal bases.

labi na qang qamahan nali:pay gayud pagqa:yu tungud kay du:na na man siya y qikata:bang sa pagpanga:huy "Especially the father was happy because now he would have someone to help him in gathering firewood." V ka:huy "wood" (1.6)

9.23 paN- "perform action on part of the body" (restricted)

9.231 To noun bases

9.2311 Underived "to use V "

9.23111 Without shift

manipilyu ku ka:da huma g ka:qun "I brush my teeth after each meal." V sipilyu "toothbrush"

* Note that paN- in other than plural uses, has a plural meaning if with nag-/mag-, naga-/maga-. (Cf. Sec. 8.12112.)

9.23112 (←)

miqingun qang ba:taq nga di:liq siya kahiba:wu ng mangi:lu
 "The child said he did not know how to wipe himself." V
 qilu {toilet paper
 {something used for toilet paper} "

9.23113 "Get the V out"

di:liq maqa:yu ng mangiqkiq kung na:qa pa sa lami:sa "It is
 not good to pick your teeth while still at the table." V kikiq
 "particles of food stuck in teeth after eating"

9.2312 To bases with hiN- "to clean the V"

9.23121 Without shift

si hil qug si ni:na kanu:nay manghimati:qis kung ha:pit na ng
 matu:lug "Gil and Nena always wash their feet just before going
 to sleep." V biti:qis "legs" V himati:qis "to wash the
 feet"

9.23122 With (←)

manghingu:ku tinga:li ku karu ng gabi:qi "I think I will cut
 my nails tonight." V kuku "nails" V hinguku "care for
 nails"

9.24 paN- other transients to nouns (various meanings)
 (productive)

9.241 Underived

qunsa:qun gud ni:mu pagpangasa:wa niqa:na ng qanak sa ha:riq
 nga qikaw qanak man la:mang sa pubri ng magtiqa:yun "How could
 you ever marry the king's daughter when you are nothing but the
 son of a poor couple?" V qasa:wa "wife" (10.7)

9.242 To derived bases (with other affixes dropped) (dead)

si guryu qang mangu:lu sa gru:pu nga mangi:taq sa nalu:nud
 nga sakayan "Gorio will head the group which will search for the
 boat that sank." V pangu:lu "chief"

9.243 With specialized meaning

mana:wu nyaq mi sa qinyu qugmaq "We will visit your place
 tomorrow." V ta:wu "man"

9.244 "Dropping" of paN-

Some of the nominal bases occurring with paN-. paN- "occupa-

tion" Sec. 9.22 and Secs. 9.24 ff. also occur without paN- in the same meaning or nearly the same meaning. (In some cases the form with paN- is used in different contexts than the form without

paN-. E.g. panganak "give birth" (V qanak "child") nanganak (= miqanak) nakapanganak (= nakaqanak) gipanganak (= giqanak) gipanganakan (= giqanakan)

didtu { manganak } qang ba:buy sa kalibunan "The pig gave birth in
the thicket." { muqanak }

walaq pa makapanganak si gunsa:lis naqa:na ng huspita:la "Mrs. Gonzales has never had a baby in that hospital."

swirti ng waq siya makaqanak qug ba:ta ng lintiq "It is lucky she did not happen to have an incorrigible child for a son."

(These makapaN- V and maka- V have slightly different meanings.

maqu na ng kwartu:ha ng { gipanganakan } sa qasa:wa ng di:yu "Deo's
wife delivered in that room." { giqanakan }

kami ng tana ng magsu:qun didtu { gipanganak } sa ba:y "All of
us children were born at home." { giqanak }

With some affixes paN- does not occur. These are affixes of the nouns meaning person.

gumaga:nak na si mari:ya qapan waq pa didtu qang mananabang "Maria was about to deliver but the midwife was not yet there."
V panganak "deliver" V pana:bang "assist in delivering"

9.25 paN- transient former with other parts of speech

as bases

9.251 With adjective bases

sigu:ru siya ng mangha:wud kay naqa:nad na man siya g kanta "He will surely come out the winner because he is already used to singing." V ha:wud "superior"

9.252 With interrogative bases

gipangumusta ku ng li:tu qug magki:taq mu ha "Give my regards to Lito if you see each other." V kumusta "how are you"

9.253 With qualifier bases

mama:sin lang ta niqi:ni ng higayu:na kay di:liq ku makapanigu:ru "Let us just hope in this case because I cannot be sure." V[—] ba:sin "hoping for something to occur"

9.254 With pronoun bases

di:liq ku manga:ku kay walaq ku y naqantiguhan niqa:naq "I will not take that on because I do not know anything about that." V[—] qaku "I"

9.26 paN- { ^{be}
become } V[—] (bases from adjectives)

9.261 No plural meaning

qang qi:ya ng manga mata nagliraw[—]liraw qug namula daw mata sa qiring kumagat "His eyes stared wildly and were red like the eyes of a vicious cat." V[—] pula "red" (48.2)

9.2611 No plural meaning (≠)

hubag pa kaqa:yu qang qi:ya ng dagway qug nangla:gum qang qi:ya ng manga mata "His face was still very swollen, and his eyes were discolored." V[—] lagum "discolored from injury" (23.7)

9.262 Specific plural meaning

tinu:qud gyu ng sadqan qang qi:ya ng manga nga:bil nangluspap "He is really guilty. His lips became pale." V[—] luspap "pale"

9.2621 Plural meaning (with adjective having -g- infix)

nanagkuq ni ng qa:ku ng manga buktu g binugha g ka:huy "My arms have grown large splitting wood." V[—] dagkuq "big"

9.27 paN- empty

9.271 To bases which occur without paN- but with different meaning

9.2711 To adjective bases

mahadluk ku kung mangi:sug qang qa:ku ng qinahan "I am frightened when my mother is angry." V[—] pangi:sug "be angry" V[—] qi:sug "brave"

9.2712 To transient bases

qikapanimbang na siya karun sa ba:y kay masu:guq na man

"He now can be used as help in the house because he can already be made to run errands." V panimbang "help" V timbang "weigh"

9.272 paN- to bases which do not occur without paN- or when with paN- with the same meaning as without paN-

9.2721 To bases that do not occur without paN-

may nanga panahun nga manganduy qaku qug duguq "There are times when I long for blood." V panganduy "to long for" (22.11)

9.2722 To bases that occur without paN- with no difference in meaning

9.27221 To bases which alone have a restricted usage

buynu kay gisa:qad ku man matu:man qang qi:mu ng gipanga:yuq "Well, since I promised it, your wish will be granted." V ka:yuq "ask for something" (17.4)

The base ka:yuq also occurs in a few forms.

di:liq siya gustu qa:na ng qamigu:ha kay kayuqan kaqa:yu "He does not like that friend because he always asks for things."

9.27222 To bases which alone occur freely

namu:law siya g tahi q sa qi:ya ng sini:naq "He sewed his shirt late into the night." V pamu:law "do something until late at night" V pu:law "do something until late at night"

nagpu:law ku g tuqun gabi:qi hangtud sa qalas dus "I studied until two last night."

Transients formed to noun bases with a paN- derivative which occur also without paN- are of this type (Sec. 9.244).

9.2723 To derived bases

qi:la pa gayu ng giduga:ngan qang qi:la ng paningka:mut "And they added to their striving as well." V singka:mut "strive" Cf. also Sec. 9.9741. (54.1)

9.3 ka- (stative)

The forms na-/ma- are considered to be mi-/mu- to bases with ka- (Sec. 8.11823) if they are not passives (direct potentials Sec. 8.214 or instrumental potentials Sec. 8.233).

A form is considered passive if it occurs with a genitive such that the genitive means "agent". Otherwise it is a stative. Also if a form has a meaning described for the passive, it is a passive.

nahubug si pidru gani:na ng buntag "Pedro got drunk this morning."

This is a stative because the meaning "become drunk" is one of those described for the statives (Sec. 9.31) and does not occur with a genitive (in that meaning). This nahubug is considered to be ni- plus a base kahubug. On the other hand, the following is a passive:

nahubug ni:ya si pidru "He got Pedro drunk."

Here we have a genitive meaning agent (ni:ya), and the meaning for nahubug is one described for the direct passive "person caused to be V" (Sec. 8.21432).

The bases without ka- usually have a meaning "cause V".

9.31 To adjective bases $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{be} \\ \text{become} \end{array} \right\} \text{V}$

naparat qang sabaw human qasini ni mari:ya "The soup became salty after Maria seasoned it." V parat "salty"

(Cf. Sec. 8.011 for criteria as to when a form is considered an adjective base.)

9.32 To transient bases

9.321 ka-"action performed by agent"(intentionally or not)

(restricted)

qang qi:ya ng gamay ng qanak nga wa:wu pa ka bu:wan natu:lug sa du:yan "Her small eight-month-old child was sleeping in the hammock." V tu:lug "sleep" (19.4)

9.322 ka- "action which happened to agent (i.e., without agent's intention)"

qang tibuquk nga ginhari:qan natinga:la "The whole kingdom was surprised." V- tinga:la "surprise" (36.1)

sa nagatubuq si hwan nali:pay qusab qang qi:ya ng manga ginika:nan "As John grew up, his parents were happy." V- li:pay "make happy" (1.3)

9.33 ka- "become V- "

9.331 To noun bases

napa:riq si husi sa tu:qig sa qa:ku ng pagkata:wu "José became a priest the year I was born." V- pa:riq "priest"

(With (←))

ma:ngiq si tisyu diha ng nabanggaq qang dyip nga qi:ya ng bungkyan "Tacio became a harelip when the jeep he was riding crashed." V- bungiq "harelip"

9.3311 To derived noun bases

qug mamagbalantay ka s qa:mu ng kla:si qayaw g qinistriktu "If you become our class watcher, do not be strict." V- magbalantay "watcher"

9.3312 Specialized meaning

nata:wu ku sa tyimpu sa gi:ra "I was born during the war." V- ta:wu "man"

9.3313 Other meanings to noun bases (dead)

nahospital si piping human siya tabangi sa manga buguy "Peping was put in the hospital after being attacked by a bunch of hoodlums." V- huspital "hospital"

9.332 To pronominal bases (restricted)

qug mata:pus na ni:mu g ba:yad qang katapu:sa ng qinstulmin maqa:tuq na ni "After you have finished paying the final installment, this will be ours." V- qa:tuq "ours"

9.333 To nouns meaning time (dead)

nagabi:qi na lang qang manininda g qutanun waq pa giha:pun maquliq "It was already night, and the vegetable seller still had not gone home." V- gabi:qi "night"

The unreal forms of these are used as qualifiers (Sec.
6.221122.)

wala y kukahadluk nga manungkab sa manga hayu:pan sa manga ta:wu
kanang bati:qun na sa kagu:tum maqadlaw kun magabi:qi "He had
no fear at all to steal the people's livestock whenever he felt
hungry, day or night." V⁻ qadlaw "day" V⁻ gabi:qi "night"
(56.16)

9.334 ka- to qualifier "become V⁻" (dead)

pata:bug lang siya g tubag sa sukut qapan namaqu bayaq
"She took a guess at the answer to the question, but it turned
out right." V⁻ maqu "correct"

9.34 Potential meanings with the statives

The statives except those described in Sec. 9.321 are neutral
with respect to the potential meanings.

diq siya mani:wang kay dakuq siya g ka:qun "He could not become
thin because he had a big appetite." V⁻ ni:wang "thin"

(Translated as "perfected action")

pagqabut ni:ya s pilipi:nas naduktur na siya g tutu: ka tu:qig
sa qamirika "When he arrived in the Philippines, he had already
been a doctor in America for three years."

(Translated as "accidental")

namaqistru ni:ya si husi g qusa ka tu:qig sa didtu pa ku s sibu
"Joe happened to be his teacher for a year while I was still in Ce-
bu." V⁻ maqistru "teacher"

9.35 ka-/paka- "accidental", "potential" and "completed
action"

The potentials (Secs. 8.13, 8.214, 8.223, 8.233, 8.33) are
treated as single affixes (except for the nagpaka-/magpaka- type
Sec. 9.742) although they might be treated as two affixes — as
derivative affix ka- or paka- plus the inflectional affixes.
However, the analysis of the potentials as a single prefix is
preferable because their distribution is parallel to the other
inflectional affixes (except for the nagpaka-/magpaka- of Sec.

9.742 and the nakapaka-/makapaka- causatives Sec. 9.11121 which are dead formations).

9.351 ka-"potential" to bases with derivative pag-
(Sec. 8.138)

These have the shape nagka-/magka- but are not the same as the statives.

nagkaki:tag mu s binansyu gaha:pun s ha:pun didtu s tinda:han
 "Did you happen to meet Venancio yesterday afternoon at the
 store?" V ki:tag "see"

9.36 Empty ka-

These are bases which do not occur by themselves for which ka- has no meaning.

9.361 Bases that occur with other affixes (restricted)

qadu:na giha:pu y manga ta:wu nga bula:wanu g kasingka:sing
nga maqanti:gu ng malu:quy kani:ya "There are still people with
golden hearts who know how to sympathize with him." V
kalu:quy "pity" (69.13)

9.362 Bases that always occur with ka-

pulus kagidlay lang qang saput sa tigu:lang kay walaq na siya y manga paryinti ng makata:bang kani:ya "The old man's clothes are in tatters because he has no relatives any longer who can help him." V— kagidlay "ragged"

9.363 na-/ma- (= nahi-/ha-/mahi-/ha-) (productive)

With bases having nahi-/ha-/mahi-/ha-, na-/ma- is used in the same meaning. (Cf. Sec. 9.417.)

midasdas qang manga masali:gun qug manga la:was qug gitabangan
ni:la qug puspus qang ta:wu hangtud nga { nahibuhigan
nabuhigan } ni:ya
qang ba:taq qug natumba siya sa la:puk sa sapaq "The able-bodied
attacked the man and teamed up to beat him until he let go of the
child and fell into the mud of the creek." V bu:hiq "to let
go" (21.8)

9.4 ha- / hi- / hing- (\rightarrow)*

The affixes ha- / hi- / hing- have accidental meanings (action

* In most cases forms with the prefix have a short penult (if it is open). Exceptions will be marked separately.

coincidental to something else or action unintentional on part of agent) ha-, hi-, hing-, hig-, hag-, are all of similar meanings with a distribution such as described in the following paragraphs.

9.401 Dropping of ha-, hi-, hing- (restricted)

In most cases words with ha-, hi-, hing-, have the same meanings as the same words without ha-, hi-, hing-. (Cf. Secs. 9.417 and 9.42). However, hi-/ha- with some bases of Secs. 9.41111 and 9.4112 are not dropped.

9.41 ha-/hi- (productive)

Forms occurring with hi- occur with ha- and vice versa except if there is a prefix ka-, pag-, nag- or mag- (Secs. 9.415, 9.4151 and 9.418) with no difference in meaning.

9.411 ha-/hi- "accidental"

9.4111 Action happened to take place (productive)

qang litqag nahasinggit si qinting diha ng nati:nuq ni:ya nga didtu gi:kan qang kabanhaq "'The trap!' shouted Inting when he had ascertained that that was where the noise had come from." V[—] singgit "shout" (66.9)

9.41111 Agent doing action involuntarily

A specialized meaning of ha-/hi- is accidental action involuntary on the part of the agent.

kalit ka man la g tunghaq dinhaq mahikurug man lang ta g diq tyimpu "Boy! You gave me a scare. I could not help trembling." (Lit.: "You just appeared suddenly there. We just trembled involuntarily when it was not the time to.") V[—] ku:rug "tremble"

9.41112 Accidental meaning weakened (restricted)

With many bases hi-/ha- occurs in contexts with no accidental meaning.

qayaw kana g buha:ta kay nahasu:pak kana s bala:qud "Do not do that because that is against the law." V[—] su:pak "contrary to"

9.41113 To derived bases (dead)

bi:sa:n ga:niq qang manga wati qug mangliw nahikalimut qusab sa qi:la ng naqanda ng patili:qis sa ti:ngug "Even the earth-worms and the katydids also forgot to sing their usual shrill songs." V⁻ kali:mut "forget" (62.14)

9.4112 State happened to come about (productive)

qang qi:la ng ka lu:lu nahiqibabaw g dyu:tay s qi:la ng ka saryu "Grandfather's place is a bit farther up than Sario's." V⁻ qibabaw "above"

9.4113 Action accidentally done to subject (passive)

(restricted)

qang qa:ku ng sapa:tus nahapasuk qila:lum sa katri "My shoes got put underneath the bed." V⁻ pasuk "put in a place hard to get out of"

9.4114 Accidental meaning weakened

gitawag da:yun ni qinting qang qi:ya ng manga nahibili ng sili:ngan "Inting immediately called his remaining neighbors." V⁻ bi:lin "leave behind" (67.11)

9.412 nahi-/ha-/mahi-/ha- "action completed"

With forms having nahi-/ha-/mahi-/ha- a meaning "perfected action" occurs with no accidental meaning. These are bases which occur both with active potentials naka-/maka- and with hi-/ha-.*

pagqabut na:kuq waq pa mahilakaw si prid "When I arrived Fred had not left yet." V⁻ lakaw "leave"

With these bases ha-/hi- also occur with an accidental meaning. mahilakaw ku g na:qa y qayrupla:nu ng mubya:hi "I might leave if there is an airplane going."

9.413 hi-/ha- with specialized meaning (dead)

9.4131 No shift

nahiqubus qang ba:taq sa qi:mu ng bali:bad "The child was hurt by your refusal." V⁻ qubus "below"

* For these bases the potential also has the meaning "action completed".

pagqabut na:kuq waq pa makalakaw si prid (same meaning)

9.4132 (←)

human sa piliqay nahiqu:sa qang qi:la ng nagkalaqinla:qi ng paqa:gi sa pagtu:kud sa tayta:yan "After the election they reconciled their different ways of constructing the bridge."
(Lit.: "was united") V qusa "one"

9.414 hi-/ha- empty (with bases that always have hi-/ha- or zero* for hi-/ha-) (restricted)

qunsa man gyu y nahitabuq ninyu sa qupisi:na sa hi:pi ting
"What actually happened to you at the chief's office, Ting?"
V hitabuq "to happen" (63.4)

9.415 pagka-/ka- to bases with hi- (restricted)

The abstract to bases with hi- is restricted. Most bases with hi- have pagka- without hi- for the accidental meaning, but a few have pagkahi-.

pagkahiduqul ni:ya mipaghut qang qirug qug gipa:qak siya "When he came near, the dog barked; and he was bitten." V duqul "near"

9.4151 pag- to bases with hi- (restricted)

For some bases with hi- the abstract is formed with pag- alone. This type is more common than pagkahi-.

qusa na ka tu:qig sukad sa qi:ya ng paghilakaw "It has been a year now since he left."

paghisaka ni:ya sa ta:qas maqu pu y pagkana:qug sa kawatan sa binta:naq "At the same time as he went upstairs, the thief went out of the window." V saka "go up"

Many of them also have the pagka- of Sec. 9.415.

{ paghibalu
pagkahibalu } ni:ya nga qipapatay gayud siya paqu:liq sa qi:la
"Upon learning that he was really going to be killed, he went home." V hibalu "to know" (45.7)

9.416 pa- to bases with ha-/hi- (dead)

pa- ("causative or action devolving on agent" [Sec. 9.13])

* I.e. forms without ha-/hi- have the same meaning as forms with ha-/hi- (Sec. 9.417).

occurs with bases having ha-/hi- in the meaning of "involuntary action on the part of the agent" (Sec. 9.41111) and "state happened to come about" (Sec. 9.4112).

qunsa kaha y nakapahiluksu ni:ya "What could it be that made him jump?" (startled) V⁻ paluksu "cause to jump" V⁻ hiluksu "jump involuntarily"

sa tantu ng layugla:yug ni:la nakapahiqibabaw gyud si ru:ni "After wrestling for a time Rony was able to get on top." V⁻ paqibabaw "cause to get on top" V⁻ hiqibabaw "be on top involuntarily"

9.4161 pa- "action devolving on agent" (Sec. 9.13) to other

bases with ha-/hi- (dead)

With bases other than those of Secs. 9.41111 and 9.4112, paha-/pahi- is used to mean the same as pa- or has a specialized meaning.

maqu nga siya nagpahinunut na la:mang sa qi:ya ng pa:lad sa:ma sa gapnud nga gibanlas sa manga balud "Therefore he submitted himself to his fate like seaweed washed ashore by the waves." V⁻ nagpanunut "had someone follow"

karun kay human na qang piliqay qipahiqu:liq qang qa:tu ng maqa:yu ng pagbinatiqay "Now that the election is over, let us return to our good feelings." V⁻ pahiqu:liq "reconcile oneself" V⁻ paqu:liq "return home"

9.4162 paN- to bases with hi-

These are described in Sec. 9.2154.

9.417 mahi-/ha- / nahi-/ha- = ma-/na- (productive)

Most base forms with ma-/na- plus ha-/hi- have the same meaning as forms with ma-/na-, except that the former (the forms with ha-/hi-) are fancier. An exception is adjective bases where the form with na-/ma- means "become/became V⁻ (coincidentally or not)" whereas mahi-/nahi- means "become/became V⁻ coincidentally with something else" (Sec. 9.4112) E.g. nataqas "be-

came tall" nahitaqas "accidentally became tall". Also with most transient bases where ha-/hi- has an involuntary meaning (Sec.

9.41111) na-/ma- is not the same in meaning as nahi-/mahi-.

maqa:yu ng pagkatanqaw ni:ya na:tuq kay {nahasunud
nasunud} man siya

"He got a good view of us because he happened to be following us."
V sunud "follow"

9.418 hi- to bases with nag-/mag- (dead)

naghiduqul na qang pista ng qi:ya ng gipaqa:but "The fiesta he was looking forward to was approaching." V duqul "near"

9.42 Local passives with hi-/hing- (→) (restricted)

hi-/hing- occurs in forms having local passive affixes, potential or otherwise. Forms with hi- occur with hing- and vice versa with no difference in meaning. gi- (prefix of real passive forms) does not occur with hi-/hing-. Rather, local passives with hi-/hing- are neutral with respect to the meaning real vs. unreal. (The examples of this section are translated by future, whereas the second example for Sec. 9.4211 is translated by the past.)

Forms with hi-/hing- also occur without these in the same meaning. (Cf. Sec. 9.401 for "dropping" of hi-/ha-.)

qayaw g du:qul kay {banhaqan
hingbanhaqan
hibanhaqan} qunyaq qang pasyinti ng
natu:lug "Do not go near them because the sleeping patient might
get disturbed." V banhaq "noise" V banha:qan "be disturbed."
V {hibanhaqan
hingbanhaqan
banhaqan} "get disturbed"

The forms with hi-/hing- are used in colloquial and in fancy style, whereas forms without hi-/hing- are used only in colloquial.

Note that local passives are formally different from the local passives with hi-/hing- (→) that has been "dropped" if the local passive to the underived base has

a long penult. E.g. banha:qan vs. banhaqan (Also the form with a "dropped" hi-/hing- (→) is neutral with respect to real vs. unreal meaning.)

9.4201 Potentials to local passive with hi-/ha- (productive)

In addition to the forms described in ^{Sec.} 9.42 above, there is also a local accidental potential used with bases having hi-/ha- (\rightarrow) (not hing-) (i.e. naha-/hi- / maha-/ha-). The meaning is the same as hi-/hing- except that the meaning of real or unreal is expressed. In ordinary style hi-/ha- is "dropped", whereas nahi-/ha- -an/ mahi-/ha- -an is confined to a very fancy style. (In any case nahi- -an/mahi- -an is more frequent than naha- -an/ maha- -an.)

gitabangan ni:la qug puspug qang ta:wu hangtud nga nabuhigan
ni:ya qang ba:taq "They teamed up in beating the man until he let
go of the child." V- bu:hiq "release" (21.9)

nahibuhigan [or nahabuhigan] is possible in this context but is used only in fancy style. [nahabuhigan is rare.]

9.421 hi-/hing- "action $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{happen to} \\ \text{might} \end{array} \right\}$ take place"

(restricted)

qayaw g kusga qang qi:mu ng ti:ngug kay hidunggan nyaq ta
 "Do not speak loudly because we might be heard." V dungug
 "to hear"

misamut qang kahadluk sa manga ta:wu diha ng nasakit si sinuy
human ni:ya hipusili qang buqa:ya "The fear of the people be-
came more intense when Sinuy became sick after he had shot at
the crocodile." V pusil "gun" (58.5)

9.4211 hi-/hing- to derived bases (dead)

pagnga na lang qang radyu kay hingkatulgan lang ni:mu nyaq
naq "Just shut off that radio because you might doze off on it."
V katu:lug "sleep"

sa dalanda:lan nga gigagiqan ni sinsyu nakapanghapit siya g

pamusil sa manga langgam nga qi:ya ng hipangagigian "While walking over the small trails Cencio happened to pass by some birds which he had a chance to shoot." V⁻ panga:gi "go by several things"

9.422 Weakened meaning of hi-/hing-

di:liq ka magsuruysu:ruy g magabi:qi kay hidakpan ka ga:niq sa pulis qikaw ra "Do not go out for strolls at night because if you are arrested by the police, you will be on your own." V⁻ dakup "catch"

maqu ba na y qi:mu ng nahikatqunan sa qi:mu ng pagqiskuyla "Is that what you learn in school?" V⁻ katqun "learn"

9.423 Derived bases (dead)

di:liq ku gyud qikaw hikalimtan "I will never forget you." V⁻ kali:mut "forget"

9.424 To noun bases

qayaw g qibutang na ng libru dihaq kay hitubigan nyaq naq "Do not lay your book there because water might get on it." V⁻ tu:big "water"

9.425 paga- -an to bases with hi-/hing- (→) "continuing accidental" (dead)

This form is parallel to the gina- -an and paga- -an of the local passive (Sec. 8.222).

gingu g pagahitanqawan ni:ya nga si salud nagba:sa sa surat nga kinudlit sa qi:ya ng kamut "It was as if he could see Salud reading the letter that was written by his hand." V⁻ tanqaw "see"

9.426 hi-/hing- empty (same bases as Sec. 9.414) (dead)

kini ng manga pulu:nga ni duray lansi la:mang qusab nga gitudluq ni silsu suma:laq sa qa:tuq na ng hingbawqan sa quba ng ba:hin ni ng sugila:nun "These words of Doray's were also nothing more than the lies which Celso had taught her, as we have already learned in another portion of this story." V⁻ hibalu "know (facts)"

9.43 Dead prefixes with similar meaning

9.431 hag-/hig- "happened to"

This affix is confined to a small number of bases.

qayaw g banhaq kay mahigmata qang ba:taq "Do not make noise because the child might wake up." V- mata "wake up"

9.432 "Able to"

walaq siya mahagtingug human siya kasabqi sa qi:ya ng magulang "He was not able to say anything after being scolded by his elder brother." V- ti:ngug "utter sound"

9.433 hag-/hig- to derived bases

qipahagnunut lang ni ng qa:ku ng tu:yuq sa qi:mu ng manga gustu "I will make my purpose conform to your wishes." V- nunut "go together with"

9.5 hiN-

9.51 hiN- (→) {about to
about to become } V- "(restricted)"

9.511 To transient bases "about to V- "

(Cf. Sec. 9.512 for this hiN- to noun bases.)

maqu qang pagqabut ni qinggu qi:gu ng naghinapus qang pangadyiq sa qi:ya ng giqingu ng pagkamatay "Ingo walked in just as the prayer for his supposed death was about to end." V- ta:pus "finish"

9.512 To noun bases (dead)

9.5121 "Becoming V- "

sa naghinigulang na si ta:tay badung waq giha:pun siya hiwadqi sa qi:ya ng pananqaw qug makatuhug pa ga:niq siya g da:gum "When Daddy Badung was already growing old, he still had not lost his eyesight; and he could even thread a needle." V- tigu:lang "old man"

nahinungaq na qang sulud sa la:ta qu:saq pa qiha:tag ni:ya qang manti:kaq "The can was already half full when he gave the lard away." V- tungaq "half"

9.5122 "About to become V- " (dead)

This type occurs with nouns meaning "time".

naghingudtu g ka:wus qug tu:big qang ba:na dungan sa pagpalu:nang sa ka:baw qinay maghigda s pantaw "The husband fetched water at about noon while he put his carabao out to wallow instead of lying down on the stoop." V- hingudtu "do at noon" V- qudtu "noon"

9.52 hiN- {intense
continuous} V" (to transient bases) (restricted)

9.521 "V" intently"

qang ba:taq nga dinha s gawas naghinangaw lang sa manga dula:qan didtu sulud naghinumdom nga qug walaq pa quntaq mamatay si pa:pa ni:ya hipalitan quntaq siya g munyi:ka "The girl outside was intently looking at the toys inside, remembering that had her father not died, she might have had a doll bought for her." V tanqaw "look"

9.522 {Frequent
Continuous} V" (restricted)

9.5221 hiN- no shift

tungaq na kadtu ng gabi:qi qug qa:kuq sila ng naqabta ng naghinugi:lun sa manga kaqa:gi s tyimpu s gu:bat "It was already midnight, and I came upon them continuously telling stories of their experiences during the war." V sugi:lun "tell"

9.5222 hiN- (→) (restricted)

naghingasuy siya ba:hin sa panginabu:hiq sa qi:la hangtud pagqabut sa tra:k "He told about what they did for a living in his home town until the bus arrived."

9.5223 hiN- (←)

qikali:pay ku qang pagsulti kani:mu nga qang qinyu ng balasahu ng si:law gihimali:tan diri sa qa:muq "I am happy to tell you that your magazine Silaw' is widely bought here in our place." V palit "buy"

9.523 hiN- (←) "very V" (dead)"

naghinga:pin ni ng qi:ya ng giha:tag na:kuq dadqi g dyu:tay "He has given me much too much; take some." V kapin "extra"

9.524 hiN- forming stative bases (to transient bases)

(dead)

The meaning of the base differs in varied ways from the meaning of the root without hiN-.

9.5241 No shift

sa diha ng nahibawqan s tigu:lang nga si girli ng nagpadala ni:ya g ga:sa nahimuqut siya kaqa:yu "When the old man knew that it was Girlie who sent him the present, he was very pleased." V buqut "mood, will"

walaq mahimuyug si siryu sa pagkahibalu ni:ya nga nakadaqug siya s swipstik "Sergio was not at ease when he knew he had won the sweepstakes." V- puyug "settle down"

9.5242 hiN- (→)

sa tyimpu s gi:ra si ti:ta nahimulag sa qi:ya ng ba:nay "During the war Tita was separated from her family." V- u:lag "separate"

9.5243 hiN- (←)

nahimu:tang sila sa qi:la ng balay "They were settled in their house." V- butang "put down, set"

With this base haN- also occurs. hamu:tang (same meaning)

9.525 hiN- to noun bases (restricted)

qug daghan qang manga ginika:nan nga nagpahimulus niqi:ni ng kahadluk "And many parents make use of this fear." V- pulus "use" (24.3)

hingukqan gyud ni:mu qang ba:taq run kay tagqas na kaqa:yu qang qi:ya ng manga kuku "You must clip the boy's nails now because they are very long." V- hingu:ku "cut nails" V- kuku "nail"

9.5251 Those usually preceded by paN-

9.52511 Of the types of Sec. 9.2312

sigi na panghimati:qis na mu manga ba:taq kay mangatu:lug na ta miqagda si tunya sa qi:ya ng manga manghud "All right, children, wash your feet now because we are going to sleep," Tonia told her younger brothers and sisters." V- himati:qis "wash legs" V- bati:qis "lower legs"

9.52512 Other panghiN-

For these bases, forms with panghiN- and paN- have meanings specialized in different directions.

nanghimakak si pidru nga siya y nanga:wat sa kwarta "Pedro denies that he is the one who stole the money." V- bakak "lie"

Cf. namakak si pidru kay siya man gyud "Pedro was lying because he was the one."

9.526 hiN- empty (dead)

9.5261 To bases which occur without hiN- in the same

meaning

nawadqan na ku sa pagla:qum diha ng gikahinagbug ku qang qusa ni:ya ka sili:ngan "I already lost hope when I happened to meet one of her neighbors." V tagbug "meet with" (gikatabug is also used in this same meaning)

9.5262 To bases which do not occur without hiN-

qang sulugu:qun walaq maglimpyu s salug hinga:ri lang siya g tambuq sa binta:naq "The servant did not clean the floor. All he did was look out of the window."

9.5263 Specialized meaning (dead)

qang manga ba:taq walaq magtuqun naghinu:gay la g du:laq "The children are not studying; all they do is play." V du:gay "long (time)"

9.6 Derivatives with -ay, -in- -ay, -anay, -in- -anay

These bases do not occur with any passive inflectional affixes except those meaning reciprocal action Sec. 9.921 which have an instrumental passive.

9.61 Action by several agents, the action of each one affecting the others (productive)

Transients with this class have a prefix pag- (Sec. 9.921) or pakig- (Sec. 9.7). (For examples with pakig- cf. Sec. 9.714.) The forms without pakig- are considered to have a pag- prefix because of the shape of the potential magka-/nagka- (the shape of the potential for forms with a prefix pag- . [Cf. Sec. 8.138])^{*}

9.611 To bases with -ay (productive)

magsulatay lang qunyaq ta "Let us just write to each other." V sulat "write"

9.6111 -ay (→)

nagdutdutay qang qi:sig kapi:kas diha ng nagku:sug na ng qi:la ng panagqa:way "Each side pushed at the other when the fighting grew strong." V dutdut "move pushing with the body"

* walaq sila si pidru magkasinabta:nay tungud sa qi:la ng pagkagahiyan "Pedro and his companions were not able to understand each other because of their stubbornness." V sinabta:nay "understand each other"

9.6112 Specialized meaning

tu:qa sila magtigbakay sa qi:la ng gabi:nu "They are having an illegal cockfight at Gabino's place." V⁻ tigbak "illegal cockfight"

9.612 To bases with -in- -ay (productive)

qang qa:ku ng qirug qug qang qirug ni guryu nagpinaqakay kay nagqi:lug sa bukug "My dog and Gorio's dog are biting each other because they are fighting over a bone." V⁻ pa:qak "bite"

9.613 -anay (restricted)

9.6131 No shift

si:gi lang mu ng nagsultiga:nay qug walaq mu y nabu:hat "You are always talking with each other, and you have not done anything." V⁻ sulti " {speak} {talk} "

9.6132 -anay (→)

walaq na sila magkatawanay human ni:la hibawqi nga magqa:gaw diqay sila "They have stopped laughing at each other since they found out that they are really cousins." V⁻ kata:wa "laugh"

9.614 -in- -anay (restricted)

lu:haq sa kasukuq kayugut qug kaguqul naginukda:nay pagpangambak sa qi:ya ng manga mata "Tears of anger, ranoor and sorrow leaped from her eyes one after another." V⁻ gu:kud "chase" (50.11)

9.615 Base with -ay in the same meaning as base without -ay (dead)

tinagsaqay ta g gu:waq qarun di:liq ta himatngunan sa qa:tu ng maqistru "Let us go out one by one so that our teacher will not notice us." V⁻ tinagsa "one by one"

lagmit magtabanay sila s mari:ya g qi:ya ng tra:tu kay si qingku qisyung qistriktu kaqa:yu "Maria and her sweetheart will probably elope because Uncle Isiong is very strict." V⁻ ta:ban "elope"

9.62 "Intense/several action of V⁻" (productive)

9.621 -ay

si:gi ng hikayay run s ka pidru kay bunyag man s qi:ya ng

ba:taq "There are a lot^{of}/fixings at Pedro's place now because it is the baptism of his child." V hi:kay "give a banquet"

si:gi g piligay sila sa manga lansu:nis lataq kay qibaligyaq
qugmaq qang manga maqa:yu "They keep on taking out the rotten
lanzones because the good ones will be sold tomorrow." V
pi:liq "choose"

9.622 -in- -ay

giguni:tan ni:ya qang la:was sa ba:taq qug nagbinira:hay
sila qug qang buqa:ya "She held the child's body, and she and the
crocodile tugged against each other." V bira "pull" (55.6)

9.623 -anay

qug du:na y patyanay dinhi qaku y mupatay "If there is
going to be any killing around here, I will be the one who is
going to do it." V patay "kill"

9.63 Empty -ay etc. in words that have no reciprocal
or intensive meaning (dead)

9.631 -ay

di:liq ku muquban ni:mu maqunsa:qay pa la:mang qaku "I will
not go along with you because something might happen to me."
V qunsa "what"

9.632 -anay

magtinudqanay ta g traba:hu ru ng qadla:wa qarun madakuqdaquq
qa:tu ng qa:gi "Let us work seriously today so that we will
accomplish more." V tinu:qud "serious"

9.7 pakig- "to V with someone else (action initiated
by agent)" (productive)

Bases with pakig- and active affixes (Sec. 8.1 and subsec-
tions) may occur with "second goals" (Sec. 4.631).

9.71 To transient bases (productive)

9.711 Underived transient bases

gustu ku ng makigdu:laq ni:mu run kay walaq si ma:ma sa
qa:muq "I would like to play with you now because my mother is
not at home." V du:laq "play"

9.712 To derived transient bases

makigpamasi:yu si ti:ta sa parki karu ng ha:pun "Tita would like to go strolling with someone in the park this afternoon."
V⁻ pamasi:yu "to stroll"

makigpangisdaq si sibyu ku:yug ni:mu qugmaq "Sebio would like to go along fishing with you tomorrow." V⁻ pangisdaq "to fish"

qayaw qug pakighuguyhu:guy sa tagabungtud kay daqutan naq sila
"Do not go around with those hill people because they are bad."
V⁻ huguyhu:guy "to go around"

9.713 pakig- (←)

di:liq siya gustu ng makigpu:yuq sa qi:ya ng ba:na "She does not want to live together with her husband." V⁻ puyug
"live (in a place)"

9.714 pakig- to derived bases with -ay (restricted)

(Cf. Sec. 9.61.)

qunyaq nakigsinumbagay diqay ka ni:ya bi:sa g gamay siya ng
ba:taq "So you picked a fight with him even though he was a
small child." V⁻ sinumbagay "fight with each other (first fight)"

9.72 pakig- to noun bases (restricted)

9.721 To underived bases

di:liq ku makigpa:ris ni husi kay hinayan siya "I do not
want to pair up with José because he is slow." V⁻ pa:ris
"pair"

makigqa:bin kang tiryu kay maqa:yu siya ng mukanta "Team up with
Terio because he sings well." V⁻ qa:bin "team"

Some of the noun bases of Sec. 9.10.11 occur with pakig-

gustu ku ng tigti:nis ni li:na "I would like to play tennis with
Lena." V⁻ ti:nis "tennis"

9.73 kig- or tig- for nakig-/makig- (productive)

kig- or tig- is used in the meaning of nakig- or makig-
in informal speech. (Cf. ka- for naka-/maka- Sec. 8.136.) There
is no restriction of occurrence except that with some bases kig-
is preferred and with others tig- is preferred.

gustu siya ng $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{makigdu:laq} \\ \text{tigdu:laq} \\ \text{kigdu:laq} \end{array} \right\}$ na:ku s pwinti duluduminggu

"He likes to play with me at the fountain on Sundays." V—
du:laq "play"

{ kigla:kaw
tigla:kaw
nakigla:kaw } lang siya sa qa:mu ng pagpamaqu:liq gaha:pun
"He just wanted to walk along on our way home yesterday." V—
lakaw "walk"

9.74 paka-

Transients with paka- do not occur with potentials or with
mi-/mu-.

9.741 paka- "take form :/act like V—" (passive "considered V—") (productive)

9.7411 With nominal bases (productive)

sayup qang qi:ya ng gibu:hat kay nagpakaba:taq siya nga may
gapu na man taq siya "What he did was wrong because he acted like
a child when he already has grandchildren." V— pakaba:taq
"pretend to be a child" V— ba:taq "child"

kun magpakatigu:lang ka matigu:lang ka da:yun "If you act like
an old man, you will grow old quickly." V— pakatigu:lang
"act like an old man" V— tigu:lang "old man"

makatarunga:nun gyud nga qang qusa ka qanak pakamutya:qun sa
qusa ka qinahan "It is but right that a child be considered a
jewel by its mother." V— mutyaq "jewel"

9.7412 With nonnominal bases (restricted)

gipakasalaq ni pilimun qang qi:ya ng qasa:wa sa mapaqit
ni:la ng kahintang "Filemon blamed his wife for the difficulty
of their situation." V— salaq "be at fault"

This meaning is usually expressed by pa- plus doubling
(Secs. 9.1321 and 9.13211) for bases other than nominals.

9.7413 With a phrase (restricted)

nakapangasa:wa siya g qanak qug sapi:qan kay sa qi:ya ng
pagpa:naw sa mindanaw nagpaka daku ng magyuyutag "He happened
to marry the daughter of a rich man because in his travels in
Mindanao, he pretended to be a great landowner." V—
daku ng magyuyutag "great landowner"

9.742 paka- potential meanings (productive)

These are only used with the actives pag-/nag-/mag-. The meaning is similar to the active potentials naka-/maka- (Sec. 8.13).

This usage is dead in the speech of the younger generation though it is used with a large number of bases in the speech of older people. It is confined to fancy style.

9.7421 Without shift

dagha ng manga ta:wu ng nagpakapusta sa manuk ni si:suy
 "Many people happened to bet on Sisuy's cock." V- pusta "to
 bet"

nagpaka-/magpaka- is used in fancy speech to express accidental continuing action.

mapasalama:tun sila nga qang nanagpakasaksi kani:la di:liq
maqanti:gu ng musulti "They were thankful that those who were
witnesses to what they were doing did not know how to speak."
V saksi "witness" V {naka-
nagpaka-} saksi "happened to wit-
ness" V nagpakasaksi "happened to be witnessing"

9.7422 With shift (\rightarrow)

(These are bases that take (→) with naka-/maka-.)

kun si ma:ma gug si pa:pa magpakabatiq sa qi:mu ng balitaq
 sigu:ru ng mangi:sug sila "If mother and father happen to hear
 what you have to tell, they will surely get angry." V ba:tiq
 "hear"

mamaqa:yu siya sa qi:ya ng sakit qinigpakakitaq sa nahidla:wan
ni:ya ng qanak "She will get cured of her sickness the minute
she sees her son, for whom she longs." V- ki:taq "see"

9.7423 With meaning "able"

qang nanagya:yung sanglit gipanggu:tum qug sanglit walaq
qinta:wun managpakatimuq niqadtu ng bunta:ga nangawadqan sa
kusug qug ha:lus managpakala:kang "The pole bearers because they

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9.7424 ka- potential alternant of paka-

The ka- potential might be considered an alternant of paka-.

(Cf. discussion Sec. 9.35.)

9.7425 paka/ka- "stative" (dead)

Some bases with ka- stative prefix (Sec. 9.3) also occur with paka- with approximately the same meaning. This type is considered to consist of pa- "action devolving on agent" to a base with ka- "stative" (treated in Sec. 9.134 and its subsections.)

9.743 paka- "to be overtaken by V" (dead)

9.7431 Without shift

qanhi siya magpakaha:pun sa baybay kay sayu pa ng qiba:lik
sa syudad "He will stay here on the beach until afternoon
because it is too early to go back to the city." V ha:pun
"afternoon"

9.7432 With (\rightarrow)

di:liq ka qa:ngay ng magpakagabiqi kay baba:yi ka "You ought not to be overtaken by night because you are a girl." V
gabi:qi "night"

9.7433 paka- to bases that do not occur without (dead)

qayaw lang pakabanaq sa qi:ya ng gisulti "Pay no heed to
what he said." V- banaq "take heed"

9.74331 pagka- for pagpaka- (dead)

With this type ka- is used as well as paka- with the prefix nag-/mag-/pag-. This usage is only with "empty" paka- (Sec. 9.7433).

sa qi:ya ng pagpanga:yam makadaghan na siya makadungug qug
tuktuga:quk sa manuk qiha:las qapan waq lang siya { magpakabanaq
magkabanaq }
"While hunting he had heard the crowing of wild cocks many
times, but he paid no attention." V *banaq

9.8 Doubling and Culu-

Whether the base takes Culu-^{*} or doubling depends on the base. Bases of more than two syllables take Culu-. Bases with less than two syllables take doubling. Some occur with Culu- as well in the same meaning.

9.81 "To V⁻ around (i.e., do V⁻ without an end to the action)" (productive)

9.811 No shift

du:gay na siya ng tindugtindug sa qiski:na g hinulat ni ti:ta "He has been standing around on the corner waiting for Tita for a long time." V⁻ tindug "stand"

9.812 With shift (←)

di:liq maqa:yu ng maglakawla:kaw g magabi:qi kay dagha ng manga daquta ng ta:wu ng magsuruysu:ruy "It is no good to go around at night because there are many bad people going around." V⁻ lakaw "walk"

9.82 "To V⁻ playfully" (productive)

(With shift (←))

si:gi ni:ya ng kusiqkusi:qun si ti:ta kun mamisi:ta qang ba:taq ni:ya "He always pinches Tita playfully whenever the child visits him." V⁻ kusiq "pinch"

9.83 "Doing false V⁻" (productive)

hi:lum dihaq hilakhi:lak mu ra g di:liq siya maqu y nakasalaq "Quiet there! Crying crocodile tears, as though he were not at fault." V⁻ hi:lak "cry"

9.833 Culu- plus walaq y "do V⁻ at all"

This usage is with transient bases with doubling used as a noun (described in Sec. 10.822).

sa wala y pupasumbi:ngay qug kataru:ngan gisulti:han qang magtiqa:yun nga di:liq maqu kadtu ng yuta:qa qang qi:la ng napalit "Without hinting any reason at all, the couple was told

^{*}/Cu/ is far more frequent than /Culu/ even for speakers who do not "drop" /l/'s in other words.

that that was not the land they had bought." V⁻ pasumbi:ngay
"hint" (52.15)

9.84 Repetitive action (productive)

9.841 Repetitive action

gisulti:han ku qusab siya nga kadaghan ga:niq kami
pabalikbali:ka sa qispiktur "I also told him that the inspector
had even made us come back many times." V⁻ ba:lik "return"
(65.6)

9.842 Repetitive action

qusa na ka sima:na nga tibawti:baw ni qinting sa qi:ya ng
pana:gat "Inting had been visiting his fish trap for a week
now." V⁻ ti:baw "make inspection visit" (62.1)

9.843 "Do V⁻ in succession"

nagkalaqinla:qi ng katalagman qang mipulipu:li pagba:bag
sa qi:la ng kalampu:san "Various calamities took turns in
hindering their success." V⁻ pu:li "take a turn" (54.4)

9.8431 (←)

nindut kaqa:yu tu ng dula:qa labi na kadtu ng nagtubagtu:bag
qug panganta qang duha ka hinigugma "That play was very good,
especially when the two lovers sang to each other." V⁻ tubag
"answer"

9.8432 With Culu-

si li:nu si guyut qug si luqis nanagpabi:lin qug
nagsulusa:but sa qi:la ng pagahimu:qun "Lino, Goyut and Louis
remained, discussing back and forth what they would do." V⁻
pagsa:but "discuss"

9.85 Doubling "continuous action"

gapan bi:san qug qunsa:qun niya g lugnutlugnut
lumpayatlumpa:yat walaq gayud mabugtuq qang kasya:hu ng pi:siq
"No matter how it strained and jumped about, the rope would not
snap." V⁻ lugnut "pull" V⁻ lumpayat "jump" (67.6)

9.86 "Pass time by doing V⁻" (productive)

walaq sila y nabu:hat kay hinga:ri sila g sultisulti "They
had not accomplished anything; they were always chatting." V⁻
sulti "talk"

dung pagligugli:guq qusaq dihaq sa daplin "Son, swim around
awhile there at the edge." V⁻ di:guq "bathe something"
(30.14)

9.861 Culu-

magsulusulti saq ta dinhi samtang walaq pa magsu:guḍ qang
kla:si "Let us talk awhile here until classes begin." V—
sulti "talk"

9.87 Doubling empty

9.871 Doubling to V—'s which do not occur without

qunyaq qang ha:riq naghunaqhu:naq nga kini qusa ka daku ng
ti:qaw "And the king thought that this was a great joke." V—
hunaqhu:naq "think" (12.14)

9.872 Doubling with specialized meaning

didtu giga:yu g kusiḡkusiḡ sa buqa:ya "There he was,
completely torn to pieces by the crocodile." V—kusiḡ "pinch"
(31.7)

qayaw g qapilqapil ni ng qa:mu ng qa:way "Do not butt into this
quarrel of ours." V—qapil "be included"

9.88 Doubling plus Culu- (restricted)

Bases with doubling in the above meanings occur with a
prefix Culu- with a meaning of belittling the action.

kumusta si tyaq lusing ni:mu qa maqu giha:pun tu:qa
gagugansilyugansilyu man tu "How is your Aunt Lucy? Just the
same as always. She is still spending her days crocheting odds
and ends." V—gansilyugansilyu "spend time crocheting"

(This type of doubling is described in Sec. 9.86.)

9.9 Miscellaneous restricted types

9.91 paki- (dead)

Transients with paki- occur only with nag-/mag- forms in
active.

9.911 paki- "ask for"

maqa:yu ga:niq kay miqabut qang manga sili:ngan ni:la ni
qinting nga nakabatiq sa singgit pakita:bang ni qangkay
"Fortunately Inting's neighbors came, having heard Ankay's cry for
help." V—ta:bang "help" (56.12)

9.912 paki- specialized meaning

gustu taq ku ng magpakisa:yud ba:hin sa balayranan sa qiskuylahan "I would like to ask for information regarding the costs of schooling." V⁻ pakisa:yud "ask for information" V⁻ sa:yud "know"

9.9121 paki- (→) specialized meaning

qarun pasaylu:qun ka s qi:mu ng qamahan magpakiluquy ka kani:ya hangtud mawa:laq qang qi:ya ng pangi:sug "So that you might be forgiven by your father, you must ask him for sympathy until his anger is gone." V⁻ pakiluquy "ask for forgiveness" V⁻ lu:quy "sympathy"

9.92 pag-

9.921 pag- "do with each other" (restricted)

mi-/mu- combines with pag- to form nag-/mag- (Sec. 8.11824). In passives pag- has a restricted occurrence. It occurs only with the local passive*. With some bases it has an alternant zero**. (It always has a zero alternant if there is a potential Sec. 8.2236.)

gipagqawa:yan "thing over which two persons quarrelled"

gigabu:tan "place two people met" (with zero alternant of pag-).

qunsa y qinyu ng gipagqawa:yan "What are you fighting with each other over?" V⁻ pagqa:way "fight with each other"

gigabu:tan ni:la qang qusa ka qawa:qaw ng da:pit "They met in a deserted place." V⁻ pagqa:but "meet"

With the local passive and the instrumental passive the pag- may have an alternate ka-. (This is not considered to be "potential" ka- because the potential meaning is not present.)

gikagawa:yan "reason on account of which two people fought"

With the instrumental passive, pag- has an alternant ka-

* An exception is gipanagtagbuq "persons with whom one meets" gipanagtagbuq ni:la qang manga qupisyalis sa gubyirnu didtu sa pir "They met the government officials at the pier." (There is no unreal of this; nor does this form occur without the -an- infix)

** Cf. Sec. 8.045 for definition of zero alternant.

with all except a few bases.

gikaqa:way ku si pidru "I fought with Pedro." V pagqa:way
"fight with one another"

pag- also has an alternate zero when used as an infinitive
after qug. (Cf. Sec. 4.68)

nagsu:gud kami { g pu:yuq } sa waq pa y gi:ra "We began to
live together (as man and wife) before the war." V pagpu:yuq
"live together as man and wife"

Also the alternant zero occurs in constructions of the type
described in Sec. 3.7.

si:gi kami ng ki:taq didtu s magalya:nis "We always meet on
Magallanes."

9.211 No shift

di:liq mu magki:taq si baldu s qiskuylahan karun kay wala y
kla:si siya "You will not meet Baldo in school now because he has
no classes." V ki:taq "see"

9.9212 pag- (←)

nagkasa:kay kami si tunyu s dyip paqingun sa lahug "Tony
and I happened to ride together in a jeep going to Lahug."
V sakay "ride"

9.9213 To nominal bases (dead)

magkumpa:ri kamu s qisku kay qikaw ma y pakugu:sun sa bunyag
sa qi:ya ng ba:taq "You will be cofathers with Esco because
you will be made sponsor at the baptism of his child." V
kumpa:ri "person who is godfather of another's child or one
whose child was sponsored by another"

9.9214 pag- with derived bases

qug mugi:kan ka run qadtu mu s manda:wi maghinagbuq "If
you leave now, you will meet in Mandawe." V hinagbuq
"meet"

9.9215 Specialized meaning

kun magkada:yun s tasya qug si husi qang qi:la ng kinabu:hiq
wala y kahu:say "If Tasya and José get married, their lives will
have no peace." V da:yun "forever"

9.922 pag- (confined to pagbuqut)

wa y la:qi ng ta:wu ng magbuqut kun di:liq qaku "No other person will decide but me." V[—] buqut "will"

gipagbutqan siya sa qi:ya ng qamahan nga di:liq siya pagwaqun sa lawak "He was ordered by his father not to go out of the room." (Lit.: "He was affected by his father's will that he was not to be allowed out of the room.")

9.93 -an- "plural agents" (productive)

This infix occurs with some forms having affixes of the shape nag-/mag-/pag-. The nag-/mag- affixes which occur with -an- are those described in the following sections and their subsections: 8.1211, 8.1212, 8.1213, 8.123, 8.1241, 8.1243, 8.1244, 8.1253, 8.126 and 9.92*. The -an- with the abstract and infinitive occurs with the pag-'s corresponding to the nag-/mag- of the above section (Sec. 8.311). The -an- is a hallmark of fancy style except in certain set expressions (the form without -an- being the one usually used).

9.931 -an- to bases with nag-/mag- in meaning "continual" or "nonvolitional" (Secs. 8.1211 and 8.1212)

si pidiri:ku qana:qa sa kamut sa manga qagtaq niqa:na ng manga di:waq nga karun nanagtangaw qug nagpamatiq kana:tuq qapan walaq maki:taq sa qa:tu ng manga mata "Federico is in the hands of the 'agta', those spirits which are looking at us and listening to us now, but which are not seen by our eyes." V[—] tangaw "look"

(Note that nanagpamatiq can also be used in this context with the same meaning but ^{is} artificial in style.)

(-an- with pag-)

* There are some bases, however, occurring with the nag-/mag- of these sections which do not occur with nanag-/manag- e.g. magkahulug Sec. 8.12112. nanag-/manag- is most usual with the nag-/mag- of Sec. 8.1213 and the nag-/mag- of Sec. 9.92, and occurs with all bases of these groups.

gang nahibilin sa kumbintu maqu na la:mang gang manga sugarul nga sa daku ng kada:sig nagpada:yun sa panagsu:gal "The only people left in the convent were the gamblers who with great enthusiasm continued their gambling." V su:gal "gamble"

9.9311 -an- to nag-/mag- to bases with paka-, paki-, etc.

(Sec. 8.1213)

kana ng manga tawha:na nanagpakaqarun qingnu ng sapi:qan "Those people are pretending to be wealthy." V qarun qingnun "pretending to be"

kana ng manga tu:qa sa qatuba:ngan sa simbahan nanagpakilimus kay byirnis man "Those people in front of the church are begging because it is Friday." V pakilimus "to beg"

9.932 -an- to nag-/mag- "action devolving on agent"

(Sec. 8.123)

nanagpanilap qang manga buqa:ya sa pagpakakitaq ni:la kang karangkál nga nagkaduqul "The crocodiles licked their chops upon seeing Karangkal getting closer." V pani:lap "to lick"

9.933 -an- to nag-/mag- with noun Secs. 8.1241, 8.1243,

and 8.1244

nanaggunipurmi sila g ka:ki "They were wearing khaki uniforms." V qunipurmi "uniform"

9.934 -an- to reciprocals (Sec. 9.921)

nagpaqa:but si pa:riq pidru sa si:lung sa kumbintu qarun managku:yug ngadtú sa ginghari:qan sa manga qagtaq "Father Pedro waited on the ground floor of the convent so that they could go together to the kingdom of the 'agtas'." V ku:yug "to go with"

9.935 panag- in passives

A derivative prefix panag- occurs with direct passive non-potentials (Sec. 8.21). For those bases which occur with

nanag-/manag- the meaning is "plural agent, action continuing".

(I.e., gipanag- is the passive corresponding in meaning to nanag-

[nag- plus -an- Sec. 9.931] and panag- -un is the passive cor-

responding in meaning to manag- [mag- plus -an- Sec. 9.931]).

This usage is confined to high style.

tibuquk qadlaw gipanagku:haq ni:la qang manga batu dinhaq sa quma "They spent the whole day removing the stones from the field."
V—ku:haq "take, remove"

This panag- is also used with the local passives (Sec. 8.22) with some bases.

gipanagsugdan ni:la g putul qang manga ka:huy sa libun gamqu ng baskitbulan "They were beginning to cut down the trees in the thicket to make a basketball court." V—su:gud "begin"

gipanagkuha:qa g manga batu qang quma "The field was being cleared of stones." V—ku:haq "get, remove"

9.936 nanag-/manag- vs. nagpaN-/magpaN-

If paN- has a meaning of plural agent, it has the same meaning as -an-. If the base is of the type listed in Sec. 9.93, -an-

is usually preferred. Otherwise nag-/mag- plus paN- is used. nag-/mag- to paN- plural is rare. (Cf. Sec. 8.12112.)
miha:rung siya sa daku ng salamin qug naki:taq ni:ya qang nagpangaputiq ni:ya ng buhuk "He faced the huge mirror and looked at his hair which was becoming white." (kaputiq does not occur with nanag-.)

nahimuqut siya ng nagtenqaw sa qi:ya ng nanagkadaku ng manga qanak "He took pleasure in watching his children grow up."
V—dakuq "big"

9.9361 nanag-/manag- to bases with paN-

nanag-/manag- is used to bases with paN- meaning plural.

(This is not usual but confined to a fancy or turgid style. Of course, with other meanings of paN-, nanag-/manag- is free to occur.) (Cf. Sec. 8.12112.)

gawas sa manga bungtud nga latasun qadu:na y manga lugutlugut nga la:wum nga qang qagiq:nan maqu qang manga tigka:huy nga nanagpangatumba qug gihi:mu ng lataya:nan sa manga nanagpuyug sa maqu ng da:pit "Aside from the hills to be traversed, there are deep crevices, the passage over which is fallen logs made into catwalks by the residents of that place." V—pangatumba "fall down (plural)"

9.94 -an /-anan (→) "to V^{the} habitually" (productive)

This is only used in/active and with prefixes nag-/mag-/pag- and with tig- (Sec. 10.131).

samtang ni:qa pa qikaw dinhi sa huspital magqanhiqan ku dinhi matag buntag "While you are still here in the hospital, I will come here every morning." V^{the} qanhi "come"

The alternant with -anan occurs with bases having a closed penult.

qug muqadtu siya sa qu:pun maghagkanan siya sa birhin "When he goes to Opon, he kisses the Virgin." V^{the} haluk "kiss"

9.941 To nontransient bases

dinhi na lang pagqatang sa karti:ru kay magkanunayan man siya dinhi g' mabuntag "Just wait for the postman here because he comes here every morning." V^{the} kanu:nay "always"

9.95 nagsig-/magsig- "each do separately" (restricted)

qug nagsigpadu:ng sila ngadtu sa balay nga gigika:nan sa manga singgit "And each of them went to the house from which the cries originated." V^{the} padu:ng "go toward" (20.4)

However, with these bases naggisig-/maggisig- or qi:si plus g plus base also occurs with the same meaning and is less fancy style.

qang manga ta:wu qi:sig pana:gan nanampung sa qi:la ng qilung "The people were all running about covering their noses." (34.1)

9.96 -in- "continuous V^{the}" (productive)

This type of base is most frequently used by itself either as a noun meaning "continuous action" or in the constructions of the type described in Sec. 3.7.

* The meaning of this type of transient is habitually do an action which has a person or place goal. This meaning would point to an interpretation that these types are nag-/mag-/pag- to nominal bases of the type described in Sec. 10.24 (similar to the unreal local passives in meaning). However, since most forms following nag-/mag-/pag- do not occur by themselves as nouns, this interpretation is rejected.

9.961 Meaning "continuous action of V—" (productive)

taqudtaqud na ng sinamqid ni qinting sa qi:ya ng linantip
"Inting had been sharpening his bolo for a long time now."
V—samqid "sharpen" (48.1)

tayaqun kay hagba:ya pa ng gikina:qun sa panahun nga walaq na
maga:mit "It was rusty because it had for a long time been eaten
continuously by time after it was no longer used." V—ka:qun
"eat"

9.962 Meaning "continuous sound of V—"

qunyaq gipuli:han sa hinagtub qug linagubu daw qusa ka panun
nga ka:baw nga nakabuhig sa turil "Then it was replaced by the
continuous booming and thudding sounds like a herd of carabao
that had escaped from the enclosure." V—lagubu "boom" V—
hagtub "thud" (66.7)

9.963 Meaning "continuous having the quality of V—"

(to noun bases) (dead)

walaq siya makatulug tungud sa dinaga:qang sa qi:ya ng la:was
"He could not sleep because of the fever in his body." V—
daga:qang "warmth"

9.97 Dead transient formers

9.971 pasi-

kini ng piging qusa ka pasidungug qa:lang sa qi:mu ng
paglampus sa pasu:lit "This party is in honor of your success
in the examination." V—dungug "honor"

9.972 sing-/siN-

9.9721 sing-

dinhi ni ng yuta:qa gisugdan na qusab ni:la qug qugba qug
qi:la pa gayu ng giduga:ngan qang qi:la ng paningka:mut "In this
land they started farming all over from scratch, and they added to
their strivings." V—singka:mut "to strive" V—kamut "hand"
(53.16)

9.9722 siN-

singulan siya g baligyaq sa qi:ya ng pu:tu pi:ru wa y
namalit "He was selling poto out in the rain but there were no
buyers." V—qulan "rain"

9.973 pani-

pani- does not occur with nag-/mag-. mi-/mu- + pani-

becomes nani-/mani-.

kaqusa walaq makatiwas si qinting sa qi:ya ng paniqudtu "One time Inting could not finish eating his lunch." V—qudtu "noon" (55.13)

9.974 tiN-

pagsu:d na:kuq nakatimahug ku g patay ng qilaqag "Upon entering, I smelled a dead rat." V—ba:huq "smell"

9.9741 paniN- (=paN- + tiN-)

Cf. Sec. 9.2723.

9.97411 To transient bases

maqu ng gipugaq ni:ya qang qi:ya ng qu:tuk pagpangi:taq gug paqa:gi qarun matu:man qang qi:ya ng panimalus "Therefore, he racked his brains looking for a way to take his revenge." V—panimalus "take revenge" (59.5)

9.97412 To adjective bases

kung walaq dihaq qang qinahan si husi maningalit gug du:qaw sa dala:ga "When the mother was not there José would surreptitiously visit the girl." V—paningalit "to do something fast with the aim of not being caught or seen" V—kalit "sudden"

9.97413 To noun bases

bi:sa g qunsa:qun gug ta:guq sa duryan manima:huq gyud "No matter what you do to hide it, durian will smell." V—ba:huq "smell"

9.9742 paniN- to bases with no tiN-

naninga:qun qang qi:mu ng kanding sa manga tanum ni qiyag tirya "Your goat is feeding on Aunt Teria's plants." V—ka:qun "eat" V—paninga:qun "feed (eat - said of animals)"

9.975 tig- (→)

kaqanti:gu ka ba ng mulanguy gug tighayaq "Do you know how to swim on your back?" V—ha:yaq "to be caused to lie on one's back as when one is made to lie in state"

9.976 panig-

panig- does not occur with nag-/mag- mi-/mu- + panig- becomes nanig-/manig-

qayaw g paniggingun sa ta:wu ng wala y bata:sa "Do not be like a person with no manners." V⁻⁻⁻qingun "like"

9.9761 To noun bases (with (→))

nanighawak si qi:da g bantay sa qi:ya ng mutsatsa ng nagtra:pu sa salug sa makapila ng diq na maqihap "Ida stood with her hands on her hips, watching her maid cleaning the floor for the nth. time." V⁻⁻⁻ha:wak "waist"

9.977 panggi- (dead)

sa barbiri:ya ng qikuq dagha ng ta:wu ng nanggida:ma "In Eco's barbershop there were many persons playing checkers." V⁻⁻⁻dama "checkers"

niqadtu sa qa:ku ng pagtu:qu qaku ra y qa:ngay ng masa:yud nga:nu ng qi:ya pa ng panggilabu:tan "Formerly, I believed I was the only one who should know. Why did he have to butt in?" V⁻⁻⁻la:but "concern"

9.9771 manggi-

nga:nu ng nagmanggila:qin man ka tutal kitaki:ta ra bi:taw "Why do you feel yourself a stranger? After all it is only us." V⁻⁻⁻manggila:qin "to feel oneself {a stranger }
unrelated"

9.978 paha-

buqut ku ng magpahali:pay kang du:dung sa qadlaw sa qi:ya ng kasal "I would like to congratulate Dodong on his wedding day." V⁻⁻⁻pahali:pay "congratulate"

9.979 -um- (←) (dead)

The -um- infix is used with the active. This infix occurs only with pag-/nag-/mag-/naka-/maka- in the active.

nagdumi:liq si ma:ma sa pagtanqaw na:ku g sini "Mama would not allow me to go see the movie." V⁻⁻⁻dumi:liq "refuse" V⁻⁻⁻di:liq "no"

kinsa y nagduma:la sa mantala:qa ng bisayaq "Who manages the journal Bisaya?" V⁻⁻⁻duma:la "manage" V⁻⁻⁻dala "carry"

9.10. Nominal bases used as bases of transients

Bases of transients are considered to be nouns if they occur as nouns and if the meaning is not "thing that has been V⁻⁻⁻-ed";

"action of V-ing" or "means of V-ing" (Cf. the discussion Secs. 8.011 and 8.013.) In this section we will consider nominal bases which have a number of inflectional affixes with the meaning of the base remaining the same. Those which occur with passive affixes may also occur as bases to which the nouns similar to the passives (Sec. 10.2) are formed. (Cf. the example Sec. 10.24323.) Those types which occur with only one affix are not considered here but are listed under the affix with which they occur.

9.10.11 Meaning "wear, use as V-ing" (productive)

These nouns occur with mi-/mu-, nag-/mag-, naka-/maka-, local passive and instrumental passive.

mikarsu:nis siya sa qi:ya ng bagqu qug nana:qug "He put on his new pants and went out." V karsu:nis "trousers" When used as base of transient, "wear trousers"

nagkarsu:nis qaku "I am wearing pants."

qang baba:yi di:liq makakarsu:nis niqi:ni ng syuda:ra kay su:pak man sa bala:qud "Women cannot wear trousers in this city because it is against the law."

karsuni:san si du:dung kay mangadtu na ta s' sini "Dodong should have pants put on him because we are going to the show."

qikarsu:nis ku qang qa:ku ng bagqu "I will put on my new pants."

qikarsu:nis saq ku qi:ni gustu ku ng mutanqaw s hitsu:ra "First put these trousers on for me. I want to see how they look."

manday manggi:kan na ta maqu pa y qi:ya ng qikarsu:nis "He does not put on his trousers until just before we are about to leave."

9.10.12 "Season with V-ing" (productive)

These nouns occur with mi-/mu-, nag-/mag-, naka-/maka- local passive, and instrumental meaning "person for whom".

misili si ma:ma sa qinunqu:na ng bansi:kul "Mama put chili in the mackerel stewed in vinegar." V si:li "chili pepper"

(Note that si:li has a (→) when used as a base of a transient.)

kinsa y nagsili qi:ni ng bingka "Who put peppers in these rice cakes?"

waq ra ba ku makasili sa tinu:wa kay waq ma y baligyaq "I was not able to put chili in the stew because there was none for sale."

waq ku tuyu:qa nasilihan na:kuq qang turta "I unintentionally put pepper into the omelette."

qa:ku ng qisili kini ng qi:mu ng kulikut kay walaq ku kapalit gi:kan sa tyanggi "I will use your chili pepper because I was not able to buy any from the market."

qisili ku qa:ri ng su:kaq "Put chili in this vinegar for me."

9.10.13 "Ride a V—" (productive)

These bases occur with nag-/mag- and gi-/un/-a.

maggayrupla:nu lang ta kay qarun makaqabut ta s pista "Let us just take an airplane so as to make the fiesta." V— gayrupla:nu "airplane"

kana ng gilayqu:na qi:guq gyu ng gayruplanu:hun "That distance is so far one should take a plane."

9.10.14 "Play V—" (productive)

This affix occurs with mi-/mu-, nag-/mag-, naka-/maka-, gi-/an, gi-/qi-

gustu ka ng muti:nis ru ng ha:pun "Do you want to play tennis this afternoon?" V— ti:nis "tennis"

qunya g muqabut si maryu gi:kan s mani:laq magti:nis ta qadlawqadlaw "When Mario arrives from Manila, we will play tennis every day."

nasukuq si qiyuq supru kay gipingpu:ngan sa manga ba:taq qang bagqu ni:ya ng lami:sa "Uncle Sofro got mad because the children played pingpong on his new table." V— pingpung "pingpong"

kini ng sapatu:sa qa:ku ng qiti:nis kay da:qan "I will play tennis in these shoes because they are old."

hustu na ru ng qiti:nis "Now is the time to play tennis."

9.10.15 "Do something until V—" (restricted)

These bases occur with nag-/mag- with the direct, local and instrumental passives.

sunud bagqu ng tu:qig magbuntag ta g bayli "Next New Year we

will dance till morning." V—buntag "morning"

bunta:gun na:tuq qang bayli tutal waq man ta y kla:si qugmaq
"Let us make this dance last till morning because we do not have
classes tomorrow anyway." [Lit.: "cause to be done to morning"]

bunta:gun na:tuq qug hara:na si qu:ping "We will serenade Oping
till morning."

qi:ya ng gibunta:gan qang sugaq "He burned the light until
morning."

kini ng sugaq maqu y qibuntag "This light is to be used until
morning."

9.10.16 "Hold V—" (restricted)

Nouns of this type occur with nag-/mag-, naka-maka- (but not
all) and local passives.

sa qa:muq sa qamirika qug du:na y magkumbira di:liq ga:niq
qimbitahun sa tagqi:ya sa kumbira di:liq gyud mi muqadtu "At home
in America, whenever anyone holds a banquet, we never go unless we
are invited by the host of the banquet." V—kumbira "banquet"
(38.1)

walaq sila makakumbira kay sila naglu:tu "They were not able to
hold the banquet because they were in mourning."

gikumbirahan qang paglampus ni syaning sa pasu:lit "They held a
banquet to celebrate Syaning's success in the examination."

9.10.17 "Close with a V—" (restricted)

Nouns of this type occur with nag-/mag-, naka-/maka- and
instrumental passives.

si hwan maqu y magtrangka sa gawang ka:da gabi:qi "John is the
one who bolts the door at night." V—trangka "crossbar"

nakatrangka ka na ba sa gawang "Have you bolted the door?"

trangka:han qang matag pulta g magabi:qi "Each door is to be
bolted at night."

qitrangka ni:ya qang daku ng barati:ha sa binta:naq "He will bolt
the window with a large board." (Lit.: "used a board to bolt")

maqu pa y qitrangka ni:ya s gawang nga nakabuhig na ng kaba:yuq
"Now he locks the door after the horse has gotten away."

qitrangka ku qa:ni ng pultahan ha "Bolt this door for me."

9.10.18 Miscellaneous types

magbalay ku s lahug "I will build a house in Lahug." V
balay "house" (When used as a transient "build a house".)

makabalay ba ku dinhi mananghid ku ni:mu kay "May I build a house here? I am asking permission because..."

maqu ni ng yuta:qa qi:mu ng balayan "Is this the land you will build on?"

qikabalay ba ni ng ka:huy nga maqu ra g gabuk "Can this wood be used to build a house, for it seems rotten?"

9.10.2 Derivatives to nominal bases

Derivatives occur with nominal bases used as transients, but these are restricted.

9.10.21 paN- "plural"

sa tyimpu sa gi:ra basta tingtugnaw na ga:niq qang qa:mu ng qipangha:bul sa:ku sa kala:may "During the war when cold weather set in, we used to use blankets made from sugar sacks." V ha:bul "blanket" (as T base: "use as a blanket")

9.10.22 pa-

di:liq ku pabalayan ni:ya qang qa:ku ng yu:taq "I will not allow him to build a house on my land." V pabalay "have someone build a house"

9.10.23 Other derivatives

nagsilihay qang duha ka mananagat "The two fishermen were hurling sharp words at each other." V silihay "hurl sharp words at each other"

makigti:nis ku ni:mu ru ng ha:pun "I would like to play tennis with you this afternoon." V pakigti:nis "play tennis with someone"

Chapter Ten: Affixes with Nouns (Summary)

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- 10.6 "Manner of action"
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Outline of Chapter Ten: Affixes with Nouns

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 - 10.12 "Person who does V by nature or occupation"
 - 10.121 maN- -r- (productive)
 - 10.1211 To bases with paN- (paN- dropped) (→)
 - 10.1212 To underived base
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 - 10.1213 maN- -l- (dead)
 - 10.122 mag- -r- (to transient base) (productive)
 - 10.1231 mag- -r- (→) (to transient base)
 - 10.1232 mag- -r- (←)
 - 10.124 mag- -r- (→) (to noun base)
 - 10.1241 mag- -r- (→) (to noun base) specialized meaning
 - 10.125 mag- -l- (productive)
 - 10.126 mag- -l- (→)
- 10.128 r- -um- "one who V"
- 10.129 Dead types
 - 10.1291 maki- -r- (←)
 - 10.1292 tig-
 - 10.1293 -iru (←)
 - 10.1294 -dur (→)
- 10.13 "Person who does V often"

10.131	<u>tig-</u> (productive)
10.1311	<u>tig-</u> (\rightarrow)
10.132	<u>tag-</u> (dead)
10.133	<u>tig- -r-</u> "one who does an action repeatedly"
10.1331	<u>tig- -r-</u> (\leftarrow)
10.1332	<u>tig- -r-</u> (\rightarrow)
10.1333	<u>tig- -r-</u> (specialized meaning)
10.134	<u>tig- -l-</u> "one who does an action repeatedly"
10.1341	<u>tig- -l-</u> (\rightarrow)
10.1342	<u>tig- -l-</u> (\leftarrow)
10.1343	<u>tig- -l-</u> (\leftarrow)(specialized meaning)
10.14	"Person doing a particular action"
10.141	<u>r- -um-</u> (productive)
10.1411	<u>r- -um-</u>
10.1412	<u>r- -um-</u> (\leftarrow)
10.1413	<u>r- -um-</u> (\rightarrow)
10.142	<u>maN- -r-</u> (restricted)
10.1421	<u>maN- -r-</u>
10.1422	<u>maN- -r-</u> (\rightarrow)
10.1423	<u>maN- -r-</u> (\leftarrow)
10.1424	<u>maN- -r- -ay</u> (dead)
10.143	<u>tag-</u> (restricted)
10.1431	<u>tag-</u>
10.1432	<u>tag-</u> (\leftarrow)
10.1433	<u>tag-</u> to nontransient base
10.15	"One about to V"
10.151	<u>r- -um-</u>
10.1511	<u>-um-</u> to nominal base "about to be V" (dead)

- 10.152 r- -um- (\leftarrow)
- 10.153 r- -um- (\rightarrow)
- 10.154 -um- -l- (\leftarrow) (restricted)
- 10.155 r- -um- extended to impersonal phenomena (restricted)
- 10.1551 r- -um- (\leftarrow) (restricted)
- 10.156 Cumu- "about to V" (productive)
- 10.1561 Cumu-
- 10.1562 Cumu- (\leftarrow)
- 10.1563 Cumu- (\rightarrow)
- 10.157 ka- -un (\rightarrow) "one who is on the verge of V" (productive)
- 10.1571 ka- -un (\rightarrow)
- 10.1572 ka- -un (\rightarrow) to derived base
- 10.1573 ka- -un (\rightarrow) extended to impersonal phenomena (dead)
- 10.158 ka- -unun (\rightarrow) (restricted)
- 10.1581 ka-unun (\rightarrow) to derived base
- 10.159 tali- "one about to" (dead)
- 10.1591 tali- (\leftarrow)
- 10.1592 tali- (\rightarrow)
- 10.1593 tali- extended to impersonal phenomena (to nominal base) (dead)
- 10.16 Name formers (restricted)
- 10.161 -ay (used in storytelling)
- 10.162 qaN- -r- (\rightarrow) "one who"
- 10.17 Persons miscellaneous (dead types)
- 10.171 -an (\rightarrow)
- 10.172 ma- (\rightarrow)
- 10.173 Doubling of base with specialized meaning of "one who V"
- 10.1731 Doubling to nonnominal base

- 10.174 paN- "agent"
- 10.18 "Persons who are related" (restricted)
- 10.181 qig- (←)
- 10.182 mag- (←)
- 10.183 manag- (←)
- 10.184 -un (←) "god-" (dead)
- 10.185 -in- "god-" (dead)
- 10.19 "Person who or thing which is one of a pair" (restricted)
- 10.191 ka- to noun base
- 10.1912 ka- to transient base
- 10.19121 ka- (←)
- 10.1913 ka- to derived base
- 10.19131 ka- to base with tagi-
- 10.1914 ka- to qualifier base
- 10.1915 ka- with specialized meaning
- 10.19151 ka- (←)
- 10.1916 ka- plus base qualified by qi:sig "fellow V—"
- 10.19161 qi:sig ka-
- 10.191611 qi:sig ka- to derived base
- 10.191612 qi:sig ka- (to object not person; base meaning "both_____")
- 10.192 masig ka- (noun) (restricted) "each one of the V— in a group"
- 10.2 Nouns similar to the passives
- 10.21 Direct passives - action completed (productive)
- 10.211 -in- "thing that has been V—ed"
- 10.2111 -in- to derived base
- 10.2112 -in- used in specialized meaning

- 10.2113 -in- (\leftarrow) "something caused to be V⁻⁻⁻" (specialized meaning)
- 10.212 -in- "person who was V⁻⁻⁻-ed"
- 10.2121 -in- specialized meaning
- 10.213 -in- to noun base
- 10.22 "Action to be done"
- 10.2211 -un (\rightarrow) (restricted)
- 10.22111 -un (\leftarrow) (dead)
- 10.2212 -un (\rightarrow) to noun base
- 10.22121 -un (\leftarrow) with no meaning (dead)
- 10.2213 -un (\rightarrow) specialized meaning
- 10.222 -l- -un (productive)
- 10.2221 -l- -un
- 10.22211 -l- -un to derived base
- 10.2222 -l- -un (\rightarrow)
- 10.2223 -l- -un specialized meaning
- 10.223 -unun (productive)
- 10.2231 -unun
- 10.2232 -unun (\leftarrow)
- 10.2233 -unun (\rightarrow)
- 10.22331 -unun (\rightarrow) to derived base
- 10.224 -l- -unun (restricted)
- 10.2241 -l- -unun
- 10.2242 -l- -unun (\rightarrow) (dead)
- 10.225 Dead types
- 10.2251 gim- -un (\rightarrow)
- 10.2252 panggi- -un (\rightarrow)
- 10.2253 -anun

- 10.226 Nouns similar to direct passives in meaning "reason for which"
- 10.2261 -unun
- 10.227 paN- -un (dead) specialized meaning
- 10.23 Local passives "action completed"
- 10.231 -in- -an "thing V⁻⁻⁻ed" (restricted)
- 10.2311 -in- -an to derived base (restricted)
- 10.2312 -in- -an specialized meaning
- 10.232 -in- -an "person on whom V⁻⁻⁻devolved" (restricted)
- 10.2321 -in- -an to derived base
- 10.2322 -in- -an specialized meanings
- 10.233 -in- -an "place at which V⁻⁻⁻was done" (restricted)
- 10.2331 -in- -an "place" to nontransient base (restricted)
- 10.2332 -in- -an "reason on account of which" (restricted)
- 10.2333 -in- -an specialized meaning
- 10.234 -in- -anan (dead)
- 10.2341 -in- -anan (←)
- 10.235 gin- -an or ging- -an (dead)
- 10.24 Nouns parallel to unreal local passives
- 10.241 -an (productive) "place where activity is $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{to be} \\ \text{usually} \end{array} \right\}$ held" (restricted)
- 10.2411 -an
- 10.2412 -an (→)
- 10.24121 -an (→) to derived base
- 10.24122 -an (no shift) to derived base
- 10.24123 -an (←)
- 10.2413 -an with specialized meaning
- 10.24131 -an (→)

- 10.24132 -an (no shift)
- 10.2414 r- -an (various meanings) (dead)
- 10.2415 -an to nominal base
- 10.242 -anan " { place where activity {is to be } held "
 { person on whom action devolves {is usually }
 (productive) }
- 10.2421 No shift
- 10.24211 "Place"(productive)
- 10.24212 "Person on whom action devolves"(restricted)
- 10.24213 To nominal base
- 10.2422 -anan (\rightarrow) (restricted)
- 10.24221 "Place"
- 10.24222 "Person"
- 10.2423 -anan "place" (\leftarrow) (restricted)
- 10.24231 -anan to derived base
- 10.24232 -anan (no shift) specialized meaning
- 10.24233 -anan (\leftarrow) specialized meaning
- 10.24234 -in- -anan (\leftarrow) meaning the same as -anan (dead)
- 10.243 -l- -an
- 10.2431 To transient base "place where action is {to be }
held" (productive) {usually}
- 10.24311 No shift
- 10.24312 -l- -an (\rightarrow)
- 10.24313 -l- -an (\leftarrow)
- 10.2432 -l- -an with other meanings (productive)
- 10.24321 "thing to be V-ed"
- 10.24322 "thing {for }which something is V-ed"
- 10.24323 "Person for whom"

- 10.24324 pag- -l- -an (dead)
- 10.244 -l- -anan (→) (restricted)
- 10.2441 To transient base
- 10.2442 -l- -anan (→) meaning "thing to be V-ed" (dead)
- 10.25 Nouns similar to instrumental passives
- 10.251 -in- nouns similar to instrumental (dead)
- 10.252 Instrumental "thing with which to V"
- 10.2521 qig- -r- (restricted)
- 10.25211 qig- -r- (→)
- 10.25212 qig- -r- (←)
- 10.2522 qig- -l- (productive)
- 10.25221 qig- -l- (→)
- 10.25222 qig- -l- (←)
- 10.253 Similar to instrumental passive in ablative meaning
 "thing {to be V-ed}
 {habitually}"
- 10.2531 qig- -r-
- 10.25311 qig- -r- (→)
- 10.25312 qig- -r- (←)
- 10.2532 qig- -l- (→)
- 10.25321 qig- -l- (→) to derived base
- 10.254 Similar to instrumental passive in meaning "time to V"
- 10.2541 qig- -r- (restricted)
- 10.2542 qig- -l-
- 10.25421 qig- -l- (→)
- 10.25422 qig- -l- (←)
- 10.2543 qig- -r- or qig- -l- extension of temporal meaning
 to "one desirous of V"
- 10.26 -an to nominal base

- 10.261 -an "place where activity is held"
- 10.2611 -an (no shift) specialized meaning
- 10.2612 -an (→) (productive)
- 10.2613 -an (→) specialized meaning (instrumental)
- 10.262 "Place where V is found, grown, kept or made"(productive)
- 10.2621 -an (→)
- 10.26211 Specialized meaning
- 10.2622 -an (←)
- 10.2623 -anan "place where V is found" (dead)
- 10.26231 -an (←) specialized meaning
- 10.263 -an (→) "place where V is sold"
- 10.2631 -an (←) "place where V is sold"
- 10.264 "Part of the body where V is located" (restricted)
- 10.2641 -an (→)
- 10.2642 -an (←)
- 10.265 "Direction or vicinity of V"(restricted)
- 10.2651 -an (→)
- 10.2652 -an (←) (dead)
- 10.266 -an (→) "relation (older generation)" (dead)
- 10.27 -an "group of V"
- 10.28 -anan (dead)
- 10.3 "Group or collection of V " (to nominal base)
- 10.31 ka- -an (productive)
- 10.311 ka- -an "place where V is found"
- 10.312 ka- -an to transient base
- 10.313 ka- -an to other bases (dead)
- 10.314 Specialized meaning
- 10.32 ka- -an meaning "all of V " (restricted)
- 10.321 ka- -an "V as a whole"
- 10.322 ka- -an (no shift) to transient base specialized meaning

- 10.33 ka- -anan (←) (dead) "all of V—"
- 10.331 ka- -anan "V— as a whole"
- 10.34 ka- -r- -an (dead)
- 10.35 Dead affixes meaning "collection of V—"
- 10.351 gin- -an
- 10.352 -an
- 10.3521 -an (→)
- 10.4 Names of places
- 10.41 pa- (restricted)
- 10.42 ka- -an (restricted)
- 10.43 ka- -an "place where a collection of V— is found"
(productive)
- 10.431 ka- -anan
- 10.432 -un (dead)
- 10.5 Nouns formed from transients and adjectives
- 10.51 Transient bases used as nouns
- 10.511 Meaning "thing V—-ed"
- 10.5111 To derived bases
- 10.51111 To bases with ka-
- 10.5112 With specialized meanings
- 10.512 Meaning "action of V—"
- 10.5121 "Action of V—" to derived base
- 10.5122 Base of transient with doubling or Culu- after walaq y
- 10.513 Meaning "instrument for doing V—"
- 10.5131 To derived base
- 10.52 Transient base plus (→)
- 10.521 Meaning "thing which has been V—-ed"
- 10.522 With stative base

- 10.523 Meaning "instrument for doing V—" "
- 10.5231 With specialized meaning
- 10.53 Adjective base used as a noun (dead)
- 10.531 (\leftarrow)
- 10.532 qi- (\leftarrow)
- 10.54 Qualifier forming noun (dead)
- 10.541 (\leftarrow)
- 10.6 "Manner of action"(productive)
- 10.61 -in- -an
- 10.62 -in- -an (\rightarrow) (productive)
- 10.63 paN- (restricted)
- 10.7 Instrument formers
- 10.71 pa- (dead)
- 10.72 paN-
- 10.721 paN- to transient base (dead)
- 10.722 paN- to transient base "sense of V—" " (dead)
- 10.723 paN- "means of obtaining V—" " to noun base (dead)
- 10.73 hiN- "instrument" (dead)
- 10.731 hiN- (\leftarrow) "instrument" specialized meaning
- 10.8 Doubling and Culu- forms (productive)
- 10.81 Doubling meaning "something like V—" "
- 10.811 No shift
- 10.812 Doubling with (\leftarrow)
- 10.813 Doubling with specialized meaning of "something like V—" "
- 10.8131 No shift
- 10.8132 (\leftarrow)
- 10.8133 Doubling with meaning "one who"

- 10.82 Culu- "something like V—" (productive)
- 10.821 Specialized meaning (something like V—")
- 10.822 Doubling and Culu- after walaq y
- 10.83 Empty doubling
- 10.831 Bases that do not occur without doubling
- 10.8311 Names of plants and animals
- 10.832 To bases that occur without doubling in a different meaning
- 10.9 Abstract noun formers
- 10.91 Nouns expressing quantity or quality
- 10.911 gi- -un (→) "degree of V—-ness" (restricted)
- 10.912 ka- -un (→) to adjective base "degree of V—-ness" (restricted)
- 10.913 paN- "way in which V— is" (to noun base)
- 10.9131 paN- to derived noun base
- 10.914 taga- (→) "up to the V—" (productive)
- 10.92 "State of being V—" "
- 10.921 ka- (to adjective base) (productive)
- 10.9211 ka- to phrases
- 10.9212 ka- to transient base
- 10.92121 ka- plus base = base alone (dead)
- 10.92122 ka- (←) (dead)
- 10.9213 ka- to derived transient base
- 10.9214 ka- to derived adjective base
- 10.922 pagka- (productive)
- 10.9221 pagka- to adjective base (= ka-)
- 10.92211 pagka- to derived adjective base
- 10.9222 pagka- to noun base (productive)
- 10.92221 pagka- to derived noun base

- 10.923 panag- "state of being V with someone else" (dead)
- 10.924 ka- -an (←) "quality of V " (to adjective base)
(productive)
- 10.9241 ka- -an (←) to derived adjective base
- 10.9242 ka- -an (←) to adjective base specialized meaning
- 10.9243 ka- -an (←) to transient base
- 10.925 kina- -an "superlative" (productive)
- 10.9251 To adjective base
- 10.9252 To nonadjective base
- 10.9253 ka- -an superlative (dead)
- 10.93 pag- (productive) (to transient base)
- 10.94 Dead formations of abstract nouns
- 10.941 ka- -anan (←)
- 10.942 ka- -l- -an
- 10.943 -l- -an
- 10.944 -in- -an
- 10.945 paN- -an
- 10.946 gim- -an
- 10.947 paN- -un
- 10.948 hiN- -an
- 10.949 ting- -an
- 10.94.10 ka- -un "state of" (dead)
- 10.94.101 ka- -r- -un
- 10.94.102 ka- -l- -un
- 10.94.11 paniN-
- 10.95 Other miscellaneous dead formations
- 10.951 tig- -un (←)
- 10.952 tig-

- 10.953 paN-
- 10.954 Isolated forms of transients used as nouns
- 10.9541 ma-
- 10.9542 pag-
- 10.9543 ka- -an
- 10.9544 -um-/mu-
- 10.955 -in-
- 10.956 kina- -an
- 10.10 "Time (for something which occurs regularly)"
- 10.10.1 ka- -un (restricted)
- 10.10.2 ka- -an (dead)
- 10.10.21 ka- -an (→) ka- -anan (→)
- 10.10.22 -an "time of V" (dead)
- 10.10.3 tali- (dead)
- 10.10.4 ting- (productive)
- 10.10.41 ting- (→) (restricted)
- 10.10.42 ting- (←) (restricted)
- 10.10.43 ting- to transient base (restricted)
- 10.10.5 paN- "harvest of the year" (dead)
- 10.10.6 tali- "season" (dead)

Chapter Ten: Affixes with Nouns

10.0 Bases to which nouns are formed

Nouns are formed to derived and underived nominal and adjectival bases and to transient bases underived or derived with affixes paN-, ka- or doubling*. Nouns are not formed to transient bases with other affixes**. In the case of bases with paN- when the paN- is "dropped" (Sec. 9.244), the criterion as to whether the affix is to the base alone or to the base with paN- is semantic. Thus manunu:nud "heir" is to a base panunud "inherit" whereas magsulu:nud "follower" is to a base spanud "follow".

10.1 Affixes forming names of persons

10.11 "Person from" (to nominal bases)

10.111 taga- "one from" (productive)

^{manga}
daghan na qang/paqa:gi qang gihi:muq sa tagabala:ngay
qarun pagsi:kup sa mabangis nga mananap "The barrio people had
already tried many ways of capturing the ferocious animal."
V bala:ngay "barrio" (57.5)

dinha y tagaqadwa:na nga nangi:ta ng du:dung gani:ha "There was
a man from the customs who was looking for Dodong a while ago."
V qadwa:na "customs bureau"

10.112 tagi- "resident of" (dead)

qang manga tagilungsud nagpunduk didtu s pla:sa "The
townspeople gathered at the plaza." V lungsud "town"

10.12 "Person who does V by nature or occupation"

10.121 maN- -r- (productive)

10.1211 To bases with paN- (paN- dropped) (→)

This affix is productive only with bases with paN-. On the

*For the criteria for determining the bases cf. Sec. 9.0.1.

**There are a few exceptions, but these are dead formations.

other hand, bases with paN- do not occur with the other affixes forming names of persons. It usually occurs with ^a/short penult if the penult is not closed. This maN- -r- occurs to all bases which occur with a prefix paN- "occupation" (Sec. 9.22).

manginginhas qang manga baba:yi sa pulambatu kay qang bala:ngay nahimutang sa daplin sa da:gat diqin daghan kaqa:yu ng kinhasun
"The women of Pulambato are shell gatherers because the village is located by the sea where there are very many sea shells."
V⁻⁻⁻panginhas "gather shells for a living"

tawga qang mananabang kay manganak na si silya "Call the mid-wife because Celia is going to deliver." V⁻⁻⁻pana:bang "help a woman deliver"

10.1212 To underived base

nakabasa ka na ba ba:hin sa maninintal nga si salumi "Have you read about Salome, the temptress?" V⁻⁻⁻tintal "tempt"

10.12121 (←)

qang buqa:ya sa sa:lug qusa ka manunu:kub "The crocodile in the river is a predatory animal." V⁻⁻⁻tukub "eat predatorily"

10.1213 maN- -l- (dead)

miqadtu sila sa manalagnaq qarun pagti:nuq qug kinsa y nanga:wat sa kalabaw "They went to the seer to find out who stole the carabao." V⁻⁻⁻tagnaq "foretell"

10.122 mag- -r- (to transient base) (productive)

nakagustu qang manga tinunqan sa baggu ng magtutudluq
"The students liked the new teacher." V⁻⁻⁻tudluq "teach"

10.1231 mag- -r- (→) (to transient base)

nagqabli qug baggu ng tinda:han qang magpapatigayun "The merchant opened a new store." V⁻⁻⁻patiga:yun "engage in business"

10.1232 mag- -r- (←)

qaku qunta y maghaha:tud sa balasahun ngadtu s qiskuylahan qapan giqili:san na ku ng kadyu "I was the one who used to bring the reading materials to school, but now Kadyo has replaced me," V⁻⁻⁻hatud "bring"

10.124 mag- -r- (→) (to noun base)

qang magbabalaqud kinahangla ng musunud sa bala:qud nga

qi:ya ng gimugnaq "The lawmaker should obey the law which he has created." V bala:qud "law"

nindut qang manga ku:lu ng hini:mu sa magkukulun nga tagatali:say "The pots made by the pot maker from Talisay are pretty." V ku:lun "pot"

10.1241 mag- -r- (→) (to noun base specialized meaning)

si badung qusa ka daku ng magyuyutag sa mindanaw "Badung is a big landowner in Mindanao." V yu:taq "land"

10.125 mag- -l- (productive)

gipatay sa tulisan qang magbalantay sa budi:ga "The robber killed the warehouse guard." V bantay "watch"

10.126 mag- -l- (→)

qang magbuluhat sa maqa:yu ng saput qatu:qa sa mani:laq "The good dressmakers are in Manila." V bu:hat "make"

10.128 r- -um- "one who V"

qubayqubay na ng manga lumulupyug qang namalhin sa pinuyqa:nan tungud sa kahadluk "Quite a number of the inhabitants moved away now because of fear." V *lupyug (57.13)

10.129 Dead types

10.1291 maki- -r- (←)

qang makilili:mus si:gi ng qanhaq sa qa:muq mabirnis kay qa:kuq ma ng pagahataga g tagdyis "The beggar always comes to my place on Fridays because I give him ten cents each time." V pakilimus "beg"

10.1292 tig-

si manang maqu y tigqali:ma sa ba:taq "Big Sister is the one who takes care of the child." V qali:ma "take care"

si santus na karun qang tigduma:la sa tinda:han "Santos is the store manager now." V duma:la "manage"

si bituy qang tigalam sa manga manuk "Bitoy is the one who takes care of the chickens." V galam "take care"

10.1293 -iru (←)

Note that with this affix the base has an alternant without

final vowel or vowel + /q/.

gihatud mi sa bangki:ru ngadtu s tabuk sa sa:lug "The boatman took us to the other side of the river." V— bangkaq "boat"

nyaq qang manga kusini:ru nagdala g bunal "Then the cooks were carrying clubs." V— kusi:na "kitchen" (42.9)

10.1294 -dur (→)

dinhi magkampu qang manga trabahadur sa gubyirnu "Government workers camped in this place." V— traba:hu "work" (51.8)

10.13 "Person who does V— often"

10.131 tig- (productive)

qang tigqinum dinhi s qa:tu ng tinda:han namatay "The one who often comes to drink here in our store died." V— qinum "drink"

(to derived base)

sukad mahilayuq qang hinigugma ni li:na di:liq na siya tigkaqunka:qun "Since her beloved went away, Lena does not usually eat between meals any more." V— kaqunka:qun "eat between meals"

(to base with -an (→))

tigqanhigan siya s syudad qug maduminggu kay muhapit siya g panyanggi huma g simba "She usually comes to the city Sundays because she drops by the market after going to church." V— qanhigan "come to a place habitually"

(to nominal base)

tigpamaslanan si pidru duqul s daku ng batu daplin sa pangpang matag sabadu "Pedro usually fishes near the big rock beside the cliff every Saturday." V— pamaslanan "fish **somewhere** habitually"

10.1311 tig- (→)

qadtu ku tigkaqun sa ka wa:na "I always eat at Juana's place." V— ka:qun "eat"

10.132 tag- (dead)

muqabut na karun qang taghangyuq sa basi:yu ng la:ta "The one who usually asks for the empty tin cans will come now." V— hangyuq "ask a favor"

10.133 tig- -r- "one who does an action repeatedly"

qaku y tiglulunggag sa kanqun qug kamu na la y hi:kay sa quban "I usually cook the rice, and you prepare the rest." V—

lungqag "cook"

10.1331 tig- -r- (←)

qang qa:ku ng manghud baba:yi maqu y tiglala:ba sa qa:ku ng sini:naq "My younger sister is the one who usually washes my clothes." V- laba "wash clothes"

10.1332 tig- -r- (→)

karu ng simanahu:na si qaliks maqu y tiglalabay g sagbut "This week Alex is the one who will throw away the trash." V- la:bay "throw"

10.1333 tig- -r- (specialized meaning)

siya y tigdudumbul ni pa:pa sa pagpalit qug dulsi sa manga ba:taq "She is the one who always talks daddy into buying candy for the children." V- dumbul "poke with a large stick"

10.134 tig- -l- "one who does an action repeatedly"

qikaw ba y tigbuluqbuq sa tanum qug maha:pun "Are you the one who waters the plant every afternoon?" V- buqbuq "pour water on"

10.1341 tig- -l- (→)

qaha qikaw diqay tigbulunal sa qa:ku ng qirug "Aha! So you are the one who always beats my dog!" V- bu:nal "beat"

10.1342 tig- -l- (←)

qadtua s ma:nuy mu kay siya ma y tigbala:nig kun mangatu:lug na mu "Go ask your elder brother because he is the one who usually spreads the mat out when you all go to sleep." V- banig "spread a mat"

10.1343 tig- -l- (←) (specialized meaning)

ting kinsa ma y tigsala:ka s qinyu ng lubi "Ting, who usually gathers your coconuts?" V- saka "climb"

10.14 "Person doing a particular action"

10.141 r- -um- (productive)

10.1411 r- -um-

qug qang ta:wu kansa ng kalawa:san nabunqug sa pinuspup sa manga tumatabang waq na la:mang magtingug "And the man, whose entire body was bruised by the blows given him by his attackers, did not say a word." V- tabang "to gang up on a person" (23.6)

nalingaw gayud kaqa:yu qang manga tumatanqaw sa sa:yaw sa manga ba:taq "The spectators were really entertained by the dancing of the children." V tanqaw "see"

10.1412 r- -um- (←)

pitu ka sumasa:kay qang nasa:mad sa paghibanggaq sa trak nga qi:la ng gisakyan sa qusa ka dyip "Seven passengers were injured when the bus they were riding collided with a jeep." V sakay "ride"

10.1413 r- -um- (→)

nagdumli:liq qang pumipiliq sa pagbaligyaq sa qi:ya ng bu:tu "The voter refused to sell his vote." V pi:liq "elect, choose"

10.142 maN- -r- (restricted)

10.1421 maN- -r-

qang manga maninimba nagdala qug kandi:laq sa simbahan "The churchgoers were taking candles to church." V simba "go to church"

10.1422 maN- -r- (→)

daghan qang mananayaw karu ng gabhiqu:na "There are many dancers tonight." V sa:yaw "dance"

10.1423 maN- -r- (←)

qug labaw pa niqa:naq mahi:mu ng manunu:nud sa qi:ya ng qinhari:qan "And furthermore, he would become the heir to his kingdom." V panunud "inherit" (33.8)

10.1424 maN- -r- -ay (dead)

qang quba ng maninimba:hay namaqu:liq na lang tungud kay taqas kaqa:yu qang sirmun sa pa:riq "Some of the churchgoers just went home because the priest's sermon was so long." V simba "go to church"

10.143 tag- (restricted)

10.1431 tag-

qang tag^salaq maqu y magba:yad sa nangabu:qak nga manga pinggan qug ba:su didtu sa kanqanan "The guilty party is the one who should pay for the broken plates and glasses at the restaurant." V salaq "guilt"

10.1432 tag- (←)

si risal maqu y tagsu:lat sa duha ka libru nga nakapala:gut

sa manga pa:ri ng katsi:laq "Rizal is the author of the two books which angered the Spanish priests." V sulat "write"

10.1433 tag- to nontransient base

paghiqagi na:muq sa qusa ka balay gipasaka mi sa tagba:lay qarun makapahu:way "When we passed by a certain house, we were invited in by the owner in order to rest." V balay "house"

du:na y dagha ng dala nga papil qang duha ka ta:wu papi:lis kunu kadtu sa yu:taq timaqilhan nga qang tagqi:ya maqu qang yagpisun "The two men had many papers with them, documents, they said, which were proof that the thin man was the owner of the land." V qi:ya "his" (53.4)

10.15 "One about to V"

10.151 r- -um-

kumakana:qug na quntaq ku sa diha ng miqabut qang qa:ku ng qigsu:qun nga du:gay na ng walaq ku qigki:taq "I was about to go out when my brother, whom I had not seen for a long time, arrived." V kana:qug "go out of a house"

10.1511 -um- to nominal base "about to be V" (dead)

Cf. Sec. 8.11322.

sa manga pisuq nga giqali:ma ni li:tu duha na qang dumala:ga "Of the chicks Lito takes care of, two are already pullets." V dala:ga "mature female"

10.152 r- -um- (←)

naghi:kay siya g pagka:qun qa:lang sa manga qumaga:but "She is preparing food for those who are about to arrive." V qabut "arrive"

10.153 r- -um- (→)

This type with (→) is the most productive.

qang manga tumatapus naghi:kay na qa:lang sa pasu:lit "The graduating students were already getting things ready for the exams." V ta:pus "end, finish"

10.154 -um- -l- (←) (restricted)

This has the same meaning as r- -um-.

kami qang pumulu:yug niqa:na ng balay ng bagqu "We shall be the residents of that new house." V puyug "reside"

10.155 r- -um- extended to impersonal phenomena (restricted)

mu ra g bumabagyu kini ng ha:ngin "The wind seems as though we are going to have a typhoon." V— bagyu "storm"

10.1551 r- -um- (←) (restricted)

gumugu:lan kini ng qadla:wa kay dagqum qang la:ngit "Today is likely to be rainy because the skies are dark." V— qulan "rain"

10.156 Cumu- "about to V—" (productive)

The meaning of this is the same as r- -um-.

10.1561 Cumu-

lumulangyaw kadtú si pidru qapan gipugngan siya sa qí:ya ng qinahan "Pedro was about to go abroad, but his mother stopped him." V— langyaw "go to other places"

10.1562 Cumu- (←)

si qínting nga sumusa:kay na quntaq sa trak miba:lik sa qí:la kay du:na ma y nabyaqan "Inting, who was about to get on the bus, went home because there was something he left behind." V— sakay "ride"

10.1563 Cumu- (→)

si ginang ru:sis maqu y humuhatag sa midalya qapan waq siya makaqanhi kay nasakit man "Mrs. Roces would have been the one to give the medal, but she could not come because she was sick." V— ha:tag "give"

10.157 ka- -un (→) "one who is on the verge of V—"

(productive)

This form differs from the r- -um- and Cumu- in that the action occurs because of something outside of the agent or against his will, whereas for r- -um- or Cumu- the action is neutral as to the will of the agent.

10.1571 ka- -un (→)

kahilakun si li:na nga nagdumi:liq sa pagqa:wit "Lena was on the verge of tears as she refused to sing." V— hi:lak "cry"

kasyagitun na quntaq siya s pagpanga:yu g pakita:bang sa diha ng miqabut qang qi:ya ng ba:na "She was on the verge of shouting for help when her husband arrived." V- sya:git "shout"

10.1572 ka- -un (→) to derived base

pagulqa qang qituy kay kaqihicun na tinga:li kini "Let the puppy out because it probably has to urinate now." V- pangi:hiq "urinate" (With the derived base occurring without paN-.)

kapangayugun na quntaq ku sa qi:ya ng rilu qapan qi:ya na ng naha:tag sa la:qi ng ta:wu "I was about to ask for his watch, but he had already given it to someone else." V- panga:yuq "ask for something"

naghilakhi:lak si maring kay katulgun na man siya kaqa:yu "Maring is crying because she is very sleepy." V- katu:lug (with the derived base occurring without ka-) "sleep"

10.1573 ka- -un (→) extended to impersonal phenomena (dead)

pagdaliq kay kaqulanun na "Hurry! For it is about to rain." V- qulan "rain"

10.158 ka- -unun (→) (restricted)

This type is rare with underived bases.

katawqunun kaqa:yu ku gani:ha didtu s simbahan "I was at the verge of laughing a while ago in church." V- kata:wa "laugh" (The ka- of the base is dropped.)

10.1581 ka- -unun (→) to derived base

This type tends to occur more with derived bases than that of Sec. 10.1572.

qi:tu ng panahu:na kapangasawqunun na quntaq tu siya qapan si mari:ya wala y gustu qug milakaw "At that time he was on the verge of getting married, but Maria did not want to and went away." V- pangasa:wa "take a wife"

10.159 tali- "one about to" (dead)

bagqu pa ng mibagting qang qalas du:si qug si pa:pa ni:mu taliqabut na ru ng qura:sa "Twelve o'clock has just rung, and your father is about to arrive at this hour." V- qabut "arrive"

10.1591 tali- (←)

kanu:nay siya ng naglantaw sa layug daw nagqani:naw kun du:na ba y ta:wu nga taliqa:but "He kept looking in the distance"

as though looking for someone about to arrive." V⁻⁻⁻qabut
"arrive" (62.6)

10.1592 tali- (→)

naqabut hinu:qun si mistir qunraw sa diha ng talikaqun na
quntaq ku sa qa:ku ng qusa ka buquk mangga "Mr. Unrau arrived
just as I was about to eat my one mango." V⁻⁻⁻ka:qun "eat"

10.1593 tali- extended to impersonal phenomena (to nominal
base) (dead)

taliqudtu na siya ng paqu:liq sa ba:y " { He will come
He comes } home
He came
just a little before noon." V⁻⁻⁻qudtu "noon"

10.16 Name formers (restricted)

10.161 -ay (←) (used in storytelling)

gikuptan ni danga:way sa qi:kug si baqu:hay qug gigit sa s
da:gat "Mr. Dangaw took hold of Mr. Turtle's tail and tossed
him into the sea." V⁻⁻⁻baqu "turtle" V⁻⁻⁻da:ngaw "measurement
(span from thumb tip to tip of middle finger)"

This type frequently occurs with doubling: dangawdanga:way;
baqubaqu:hay.

10.162 qaN- -r- (→) "one who" (dead)

This affix is used to form names of animals, mythological
beings, etc. which do the V⁻⁻⁻.

qang manga tinungan nanakup qug manga qananaklaw qug qanunugba
qarun qi:la ng tungan sa kla:si "The students are catching spi-
ders and moths to be studied in their class." V⁻⁻⁻saklaw "grab"
V⁻⁻⁻sugba "burn in fire"

10.17 Persons miscellaneous (dead types)

10.171 -an (→)

Adjective forms with -an in the same meaning are productive.

Cf. Sec. 11.331.

qang diwatahan di:liq makatambal kun walaq qang qugis "The
medicine man cannot cure you unless he has a white rooster."
V⁻⁻⁻diwa:ta "a type of rite"

10.172 ma- (->)

lisud qang pagbya:hi nga magdala g masusu "It is difficult to travel with an infant." V⁻⁻⁻su:su "suckle"

10.173 Doubling of base with specialized meanings of "one who V⁻⁻⁻ *s"

Cf. Sec. 10.8133.

gipatay qang pulis sa bataqba:taq ni kadyu ng matun "The policeman was killed by the bodyguard of Cadio, the ruffian V⁻⁻⁻ba:taq "child"

nangi:taq kami qug ba:ta ng mahi:mu ng tabangta:bang sa panimalay "We are looking for a child who can help around the house." V⁻⁻⁻ta:bang "help"

qusa si linda sa manga quluqu:lu sa manga kapunu:ngan sa qiskuy-lahan "Linda is one of the leaders of school organizations." V⁻⁻⁻qu:lu "head"

10.1731 Doubling to nonnominal bases

si ti:nu na karun qang dakuqda:kuq sa qi:la ng buhatan "Tino is the boss in their office now." V⁻⁻⁻dakuq "big"

10.174 paN- "agent"

Cf. Sec. 10.72 .

qunyaq mikata:wa lang quruy qang panway nga qalug "Then the devil Alog just up and laughed." V⁻⁻⁻sway "tempt" (64.12)

10.18 "Persons who are related"(restricted)

10.181 qig- (←)

nga:nu ng makigminyuq ka man kang li:na nga di:liq man naq siya na:tuq qigla:qin "Why do you want to marry Lina when she is still a relative of ours?" V⁻⁻⁻la:qin "different"

qang qa:ku ng qigqa:gaw nga si li:ta miqabut na "Lita, my cousin, has already arrived." V⁻⁻⁻qagaw "cousin"

10.182 mag- (←)

These are dead transient formations of the type described in Sec. 9.921.

namisi:ta sa pa:riq qang duha ka magqa:gaw "The two cousins visited the priest." V⁻⁻⁻qagaw "cousin"

may qusa ka magtiqa:yun du:gay na ng katuqi:gan nga nanga:gi nga
may qusa ka qanak nga lala:ki. * "There was once a couple many
years ago who had a son." V tiqa:yun (1.1)

10.183 manag- (←)

This is the type mag- (Sec. 10.182) with -an- plural infix
(Sec. 9.93).

nan napugus gayud kay managqami:gu si:la "So he was forced
(to go) because they were friends." V qami:gu "friend"
(38.9)

10.184 -un (←) "god-" (dead)

This is for qama:qun "godfather" and qina:qun "godmother";

gihata:gan ku g dagha ng pinasku:han sa qa:ku ng qina:qun niqadtu
ng miqa:gi ng pasku "I was given many toys by my godmother last
Christmas." V qina "mother"

10.185 -in- "god-" (dead)

This is confined to qinanak "godchild".

pasku na pud qug kadtu ng qa:ku ng qinanak diq gyud tu mali:mut
na:kuq "It is Christmas again, and that godson of mine will be
sure not to forget me." V qanak {son
daughter}

10.19 "Person who or thing which is one of a pair"(restricted)

10.191 ka- to noun base

pagba:lik pa ni:ya sa lungsud waq na siya hiqilhi sa qi:ya ng
manga kanhi ng kaba:taq "When he returned to town, his former
childhood contemporaries did not recognize him any more."
V ba:taq "child"

10.1912 ka- to transient base

Note that most of the bases that go with the pag- prefixes
(Sec. 9.92) go with this ka-.

gipangi:taq da:yun ni:ya qang kaqa:way qarun qikapanimalus qang
qi:ya ng pinalangga ng qanak. "He at once looked for the enemy
so that he could avenge his beloved child." V qa:way "fight"
(55.10)

10.19121 ka- (←)

kasa:kay na:kuq si li:ta sa tartanilya "Lita was my copassen-
ger in the rig." V sakay "ride"

10.1913 ka- to derived base

10.19131 ka- to base with tagi-

maqu kini si linda qang qa:ku ng katagilungsud "This is Linda, my fellow townsman." V tagilungsud "resident of the town"

10.1914 ka- to qualifier base

walaq siya mahadluk sa qi:ya ng kaqatbang "He was not afraid of his opponent." V qatbang "side facing"

10.1915 ka- with specialized meaning

gimahal ni:ya qang qi:ya kapi:kas sa kinabu:hiq "He cherished his spouse ." V pi:kas "half of a whole"

giqina:nay pagbira sa qita:qas samtang nagagunit qang kaputul sa baksan sa daku ng ka:huy "It was pulled up gradually to the top while half of the python held on to the huge tree." V putul "cut"

10.19151 ka- (←)

ha:qin man qang qi:mu ng kalu:ha "Where is your twin brother?" V duha "two"

kita ng manga kadu:guq ni lapula:pu mahigugma:qun qusab sa kagawa:san "We, who are Lapulapu's kinsmen, are also lovers of liberty." V duguq "blood"

10.1916 ka- plus base qualified by qi:sig "fellow V "

Cf. Sec. 6.511.

Many bases with ka- do not occur except when qualified by qi:sig (qi:si).

10.19161 qi:sig ka-

malu:quy ka sa qi:sig ni:mu kata:wu "You should sympathize with your fellow men." V ta:wu "man"

10.191611 qi:sig ka- to derived base

malumus quntaq siya kung waq pa siya tabangi sa qi:ya ng qi:sig kamananagat "He would have drowned had his fellow fisherman not come to his aid." V mananagat "fisherman"

10.191612 qi:sig ka- (to object not person; base meaning "both ____'s")

qang qi:sig kaligid nga luyu sa trak pulus baggu "Both rear tires of the truck are new." V[—] ligid "wheel, tire"

10.192 masig ka- (noun) (restricted) "each one of the V[—] in a group"

tungud sa qi:la ng pangahu:lug nangaba:liq qang qi:la ng masig kali:qug "Because of their fall both of their necks were broken." V[—] li:qug "neck"

maqika:gun kaqa:yu sila ng nama:tiq sa matag sibyaq nga himu:qun sa magtutudluq pagta:liq sa manga bu:tus nga maku:haq sa masig kakandida:tu "They listened with great concern to every broadcast which the teacher made counting the votes obtained by each of the candidates." V[—] kandida:tu "candidate"

10.2 Nouns similar to the passives

In this group are nouns similar in meaning to the transients which mean the names of things or persons to which an action is, will be, or has been done or which are indirectly affected by an action. The meanings of these nouns are parallel to those of the passives (Sec. 8.12). The following table presents a summary of these noun formers:

		Action completed	Action {habitually to be done}
		-in -	-un (→)
			-unun (↔)
	Direct		-l- -un (↔)
			-l- unun (↔)
			panggi- -un
Parallel			gim- -un
to			-anun
		-in- -an	-an (→)
			-anan (↔)
	Local		-l- -an (↔)
			-l- -anan (↔)
Passives			
	Instru-mental	-in-	qig- -r- (↔)
			qig- -l- (↔)

10.21 Direct passives - action completed (productive)

10.211 -in- "thing that has been V-ed"

dagha ng nakakitaq qug nanumpa^q gayud nga may hikut nga
lina:maq sa li:qug qang mananap "Many saw and swore that the
animal wore a dyed thread around its neck." V la:maq "to dye"
(57.17)

10.2111 -in- to derived base

di:liq maqa:yu qang qa:ku ng kinatu:lug kagabi:qi "I did
not have a good sleep last night." V katu:lug "sleep"

10.2112 -in- used in specialized meaning

qadu:na kamiqinasal kay qadlaw man na:kuq "We have a roasted
pig because it is my birthday." V qasal "roast"

10.2113 -in- (←) "something caused to be V" (specialized
meaning)

taqudtaqud na ng sinamqid ni qinting sa qi:ya ng pinu:tiq
"Inting had been sharpening his bolo for a long time."
(Lit.: "one-made white") V putiq "white"

10.212 -in- "person who was V-ed"

This affix is the same as that of Sec. 10.211.

nakigki:taq qang sinumbung sa qi:ya ng hinigugma sa walaq pa siya
qisulud sa karsil "The accused person went to see his beloved
before he was put in jail." V sumbung "tell on, report"
V higugma "love"

10.2121 -in- specialized meaning

hinumdumi la:mang nga qadu:na y qusa ka binu:hat nga
kanu:nay naghandum kani:mu "Just remember that there is a
creature who always remembers you." V bu:hat "make"

10.213 -in- to noun base

These are parallel to the transients formed to noun bases.

(Cf. Sec. 9.10)

gitaga:qan siya ni na:nay g qinasin nga karni "Mother gave him
some salted meat." V qasin "salt"

sila ng tanan gipapasqan sa manga butang nga walaq ni:la hibalqi g
qunsa manga kinahun qug quban pa ng karga "All of them were made

to carry things they did not know what; crated, and other materials"
V kahun "box"

In this last meaning this type is extended to nouns which
do not occur as bases to transients meaning "things put in V"
mipalit siya g linata "He bought canned goods." V la:ta "can"

10.22 "Action to be done"

10.2211 -un (→) (restricted)

qinigba:lik ni:mu nganhi dadqi ku g basahun "When you come
back, bring me some reading materials." V ba:sa "read"

10.22111 -un (←) (dead)

qug qubayqubay na qusab sa manga buhi:qun ni:la ni qinting
qang nasubad sa buqa:ya "And quite a number of Inting's animals
had been devoured by the crocodile." V buhiq "to raise"
(57.14)

10.2212 -un (→) to noun base

These are parallel to the transients formed to noun bases

(Sec. 9.10.1).

palitan na:kuq qang qa:ku ng ba:na qug karsunisun "I will buy
my husband some cloth to make into a pair of pants." V
karsu:nis "a pair of pants"

tambung karu ng gabi:qi sa salusa:lu qarun maqilaqi:la ni:mu qang
qa:tu ng qumagarun "You come to the get-together tonight so that you
will become acquainted with our future son-in-law." V quma:ga
"son-in-law"

di:liq na:kuq qiha:wun kana ng bayi kay qa:kuq na ng qanayun
"I will not slaughter that female , because I will make it into
a sow." V qanay "sow"

10.22121 -un (←) with no meaning (dead)

tulu ka buquk gana:yun ni karya naqa:nud sa bahaq gabi:qi
"Three of Karya's sows were swept away by the flood last night."
V qanay "sow"

10.2213 -un (→) specialized meaning

qayaw kali:mut niqadtu ng matahum nga pulungun nga miqingun
qang mata:rung maqi:sug "Do not forget that beautiful proverb
which says, 'The righteous are brave.'" V pamu:lung "speak"

10.222 -1- -un (productive)

10.2221 -1- -un

sa pla:sa karun dagha ng manga talanga:wun qug maqa:yu ng kalanqun qug qilimnun "At the park today there are lots of things to watch and good food and drinks." V tanqaw "see"
V qinum "drink" V ka:qun "eat"

10.22211 -1- -un to derived base

maqu na y la:na ng panulundun gi:kan sa qi:la ng ginika:nan "That is an oil handed down from their parents." V panunud "inherit"

10.2222 -1- -un (→)

qaku qang manga:ku sa buluhatur sa qusa ka qinahan "I will assume the duties of a mother." V bu:hat "work"

10.2223 -1- -un specialized meaning

qutu:kan qusab nga hayu:pa kay sa diha ng gikugi:han sa qusa ka platun nga pi:si sa pagbantay walaq qusab patimqaw hangtud nga gipulqan na qang manga sulugu:qun sa bala:qud "It was a clever animal, for one time when a platoon of the P.C. patiently watched for it, it did not show up until the servants of the law got tired." V su:guq "command" (57. 3)

10.223 -unun (productive)

10.2231 -unun

taba:ngi si ta:tay s pagdala sa qi:ya ng dadqunun "You help Father carry his baggage." V dala "bring"

10.2232 -unun (←)

dagha ng palitu:nun didtu s magalya:nis "There are many things to buy on Magallanes." V palit "buy"

10.2233 -unun (→)

qang qa:tu ng kanqunu ng pan gitangag sa qituy "The puppy snatched away the bread we were going to eat." V ka:qun "eat"

10.22331 -unun (→) to derived base

maqanyag qang pangasawqunun ni kardu "Cardo's bride-to-be is beautiful." V pangasa:wa "to take a wife"

qi:ya ng naki:taq qang qaslunun nga nagkisikisi qug nagpiliqik dihaq sa baqbaq sa buqa:ya "He saw the pig of roasting size wriggling and squealing in the crocodile's mouth." V⁻ qasal "to roast" (55.16)

10.224 -1- -unun (restricted)

10.2241 -1- -unun

kana ng manga bulingun dihaq balasqunun pa naq kay waq ma y tu:big gani:ha "Those soiled clothes there are still to be wetted because there was no water before." V⁻ basaq "wet"

10.2242 -1- -unun (→) (dead)

dakuq ni ng balayrunun kay nahurut ma g kabuqak qang tana ng pla:tu "This is a big thing to be paid off because all the plates are broken." V⁻ ba:yad "pay"

10.225 Dead types

10.2251 gim- -un (→)

qinigkahuman ni:la s qi:la ng gimbuhatun magdu:laq sila g bu:la "After they are through with their chores, they play ball together." V⁻ bu:hat "work"

10.2252 panggi- -un (→)

qu:saq musu:gud sa pagtraba:hu qang baggu ng binatang gipasabut siya ba:hin sa manga panggibuhatur "Before the new maid started to work, she was made to understand about her duties." V⁻ bu:hat "work"

10.2253 -anun

qiqa:suy ku qang sugila:nun mahitungud kang karangkál "I will relate the story about Karangkal." V⁻ su:gid "to tell" (25.1)

10.226 Nouns similar to direct passives in meaning "reason for which"

Bases which take this suffix also occur with the direct passive in this same meaning (Sec. 8.2113). The nominals are used to refer to habitual actions, whereas the transient forms are usually used to refer to actions which are not habitual.

10.2261 -unun

may sudlunun ka sa simbahan qunsa man diqay qi:mu ng
 sudlun qug di:liq mangadyiq "Do you have business in church?
 What do you go to church for if not to pray?" V⁻⁻⁻sulud "enter"

10.227 paN- -un (dead) specialized meaning

ligqun kaqa:yu ni ng panaptun "This cloth is very durable."
 V⁻⁻⁻saput "clothes"

10.23 Local passives "action completed"

10.231 -in- -an "thing V⁻⁻⁻-ed" (restricted)

These are to bases which have local passives in the direct
 meaning (Sec. 8.2211).

nakahiba:wu na ku kung qunsa y qi:mu ng tinagu:qan "I already
 know what your secret is." V⁻⁻⁻ta:guq "be hidden"

10.2311 -in- -an to derived base (restricted)

qang sa:piq nga qa:tu ng pinaningkamu:tan di:liq madaliq-
 da:liq qug gastu "The money we earn [Lit. "which is the result
 of our effort"] is not easily spent." V⁻⁻⁻paningka:mut "exert
 effort"

gitaga:qan si li:na ni na:nay qug pinasku:han "Lena was given
 a Christmas present by Mother." V⁻⁻⁻pamasku "ask for Christmas
 presents"

10.2312 -in- -an specialized meaning

tinuyu:qan ra qusab ni:ya qang qi:ya ng pagdaqut "Her
 being sick is her own fault." V⁻⁻⁻tu:yuq "on purpose"

10.232 -in- -an "person on whom V⁻⁻⁻ devolved" (restricted)

This meaning is to bases for which the local passives have
 similar meanings (Sec. 8.2213).

si tibug maqu y pinyalan sa balay ni lawra "Tibo is the one
 trusted in Laura's house." V⁻⁻⁻piyal "trust"

gipapatay ni dumisya:nu qang manga binunya:gan "Domitian ordered
 the Christians (baptized persons) to be killed." V⁻⁻⁻bunyang
 "baptize"

10.2321 -in- -an to derived base

gisu:gat sa masi:pa ng pakpak qang pinasidungga ng dina:pit
 "The guest of honor was met with thunderous applause." V
 pasidungug "honor"

10.2322 -in- -an specialized meanings

qang manga tinunqan sa sankarlus nangadtu s bugu "The
 students of San Carlos went to Bogo." V tuqun "study"

10.233 -in- -an "place at which V was done" (restricted)

qang pagbawgba:wug sa sanga maqu y sinugdan s pagkaba:liq
 "The constant bending of the branch was the beginning of its being
 broken." V su:gud "start"

10.2331 -in- -an "place" to nontransient base (restricted)

kana ng kahu:ya ng qi:mu ng naki:taq maqu y kinutu:ban sa
 qa:ku ng yu:taq "That tree which you see is at the boundary of
 my land." V ku:tub "limit"

10.2332 -in- -an "reason on account of which" (restricted)

kaqu:sik sa qi:mu ng lu:haq maqu ra na y qi:mu ng hinila:kan
 qusa ka buquk ra ng dulsi "What a waste of tears! Is that all
 you are crying about - a piece of candy?" V hi:lak "cry"

10.2333 -in- -an specialized meaning

labi na kung waq dihaq qang qi:ya ng manga ginika:nan
 magpu:nay la:mang siya g lingkud "Especially when his parents
 were not there, he would just sit around all the time." V
 gi:kan "from" (1.13)

10.234 -in- -anan (dead)

qang hagwaqhagwaq maqu y kasaga:ra ng sinugda:nan sa qa:way
 "Horseplay is usually the beginning of a quarrel." V su:gud
 "begin"

10.2341 -in- -anan (←)

qusa ka bula:wa ng singsing maqu y kinupta:nan sa qi:la ng
 panaghinigugmaqay "A gold ring was the token of their love for
 each other." V kuput "possess"

10.235 gin- -an or ging- -an (dead)

diha y pahibalu nga may qusa ka dakuq kaqa:yu ng qisdaq nga
 midagsaq ngadtu sa qusa ka lungsud sa qusa ka ginhari:gan
 "There was an announcement that a very big fish was washed ashore
 at a certain town of a certain kingdom." V ha:riq "king"
 (32.12)

10.24 Nouns parallel to unreal local passives

10.241 -an "place where activity is {
to be
usually
}

held" (restricted)

10.2411 -an

tu:qud man gida:wat sa qinahan qang salapiq qug lakaw siya
ngadtu sa tinda:han "And so, the mother accepted the money, and she
went to the store." V—tinda "goods to be sold" (8.11)

10.2412 -an (→)

gisabli:gan ni:ya g tu:big qang baqiran "He sprinkled
water on the whetstone." V—ba:qid "sharpen" (48.9)

qusa niqa:naq ka duminggu didtu si ba:kir sa bulangan "One Sun-
day, Baker went to the cockpit." V—bu:lang "cockfight"
(37.8)

10.24121 -an (→) to derived base

qang manga pla:tu tu:qa pa s panghugasan qug waq pa kapang-
huga:si "The plates are still in the sink and have not been
washed yet." V—panghu:gas "wash"

qadtu ku s pangisdaqan kay tu:qa si ta:tay mangisdaq "I will go
to the fishing place because Daddy is there now, fishing." V—
pangisdaq "to fish"

maqa:yu ng pahayahayan dinhi kay kusugkusug qang ha:ngin "This is
a good place to refresh oneself, for the wind is a bit stronger
here." V—pahaya:hay "refresh oneself"

10.24122 -an (no shift) to derived base

qang qa:tu ng gamay ng yu:taq maqu ra gayud qang qa:tu ng
kabuhi:qan "Our small parcel of land is our only source of
livelihood." V—kabu:hiq "live"

10.24123 -an (←)

buqbu:qi qang kaliba:ngan kay bahuq kaqa:yu "Flush the
toilet, because it smells very much." V—kalibang "defecate"

10.2413 -an with specialized meaning

10.24131 -an (→)

mupalit ku g qusa ka parisa ng qi:tik s ka husi pa:ra qa:ku ng
pasana:yun "I will buy a pair of ducks at Joe's for breeding."
Vpa:ris "to pair" Vparisan "a pair"

nagla:qin qang qa:ku ng ginhawaqan pagkakitaq na:kuq sa duguqu ng
la:was sa duha ka ta:wu ng patay "I felt sick inside when I saw
the bloody bodies of the two dead persons." V—ginha:wa "to
breathe" V—ginhawaqan "insides"

10.24132 -an (no shift)

taga:qi qang ba:taq qug dagha ng dula:qan "Give the child
many toys." V du:laq "play"

qang kadi:na qug qang pi:siq naghadyunghadyung sa:ma sa harsya sa
sakayan nga giqabutan sa subasku "The chain and the rope whizzed
 like the guy rope of a boat overtaken by a tempest." V sakay
 "to ride" (67.8)

10.2414 r- -an (various meanings) (dead)

manga duguq qang miqa:gas sa baqbaq duguq sa ba:buy nga didtu
sa tutunlan sa:gul sa kaqugali:ngun ni:ya ng duguq "Blood rolled
from his mouth - the pig's blood in his throat mixed with his own."
V—tulun "swallow" (66.34)

tanqa:wun na:tuq kung qunsa y dadanga:tan sa qi:mu ng binu:qang.
 "We shall see what your foolishness will come to." V—da:ngat
 "arrive"

10.2415 -an to nominal base

-an is a productive suffix to nominal bases in meanings closely akin to the -an parallel to the local passive and is treated in Sec. 10.27.

10.242 -anan" { place where activity { is to be
 { person on whom action devolves { is usually } held }

(productive)

10.2421 No shift

10.24211 "Place"(productive)

sa daplin sa subaq nga maqu y qagiqa:nan sa qi:la ng tu:yuq
sila padulung "They went towards the edge of the river where
the one they were looking for usually went by." V qa:gi
"go by" (60.10)

qinigquwan mana:gan da:yun sila ngadtu sa qakasya nga qi:la ng silunga:nan "When it rained they would quickly run to the acacia tree where they would take shelter." V— pasi:lung (with an alternant of the base without pa-) "take shelter"

10.24212 "Person on whom action devolves"(restricted)

qang manga sanlahun sa manda:wi maqu y hataga:nan sa manga siminarista g pinasku:han "The lepers of Mandawe are usually the ones given Christmas gifts by the seminarians." V— ha:tag "give"

10.24213 To nominal base

qiqanhi qang gagiwa:nan kay manaba:kuq ku "Bring me the ashtray for I am going to smoke." V— qa:giw "ash from cigarettes or cigars "

10.2422 -anan (→) (restricted)

10.24221 "Place"

qang qi:la ng pilar maqu y qa:mu ng sakqanan didtu s sibu "Pilar's place is where we usually lodge in Cebu." V— saka "lodge"

gilanit ni qinting qang qi:ya ng pinu:tiq nga dihaq qi:ya ng gibi:tay sa hali:gi duqul sa qi:la ng kanganan "Inting quickly pulled out his bolo which he hung on a post near their eating place." V— ka:qun "eat" (55.14)

10.24222 "Person"

karun nga walaq na qang qi:ya ng qinahan walaq na sab qang qi:ya ng parayganan "Now that his mother is gone, {one from the object whom he gets his affection} is also gone." V— para:yig "caress" of his affection

10.2423 -anan "place" (←) (restricted)

layuq ba gi:kan dinhi qang kawsa:nan "Is the place where you get water far from here?" V— kalus "fetch water"

10.24231 -anan to derived base

gidu:qaw sa manga ba:taq qang qitluga:nan sa manuk qapan walaq na didtu qang manuk qug qang qi:ya ng manga qitlug "The children visited the place where the chicken lays her eggs, but the chicken, together with her eggs, was already gone." V— pangitlug "lay eggs" (base with alternant without paN-)

10.24232 -anan (no shift) specialized meaning

di:liq maqu qang sukdanan nga qi:mu ng giga:mit "You used the wrong measuring instrument." V—sukud "measure"

kanu:nay si mari:ya mahi:mu ng sanglita:nan sa kaku:gi "Mary is always made an example of diligence." V—pananglit "example"

10.24233 -anan (←) specialized meaning

kini qang dukumintu nga maqu y baruga:nan sa qa:ku ng sumbung "This is the document which is the basis of my complaint." V—barug "to stand"

10.24234 -in- -anan (←) meaning the same as -anan (dead)

qang bala:ngay sa la:naw sa qi:la ng pagqabut maqu pa qang pinuyqa:nan sa manga ha:yup nga lasangnun "Lanao at the time of their arrival was still the home of jungle animals." V—puyug "dwell" (51.6)

10.243 -l- -an

10.2431 To transient base "place where action is {to be usually}

held" (productive)

10.24311 No shift

sakit sa balati:qan sa qusa nga kuha:qan sa qi:ya ng manga butang nga wa y pananghid "It hurts one's feelings if his things are taken from him without asking permission." V—ba:tiq "to feel"

10.24312 -l- -an (→)

di:liq ku muqadtu karun sa tulunghagan kay sakit qang qa:ku ng qu:lu "I will not go to school today because I have a headache." V—tunghaq "attend school"

10.24313 -l- -an (←)

tingaw kaqa:yu sa qi:ya ng salabutan qang buqut qipasabut sa tigu:lang "It was very clear in his mind what the old man meant." V—sabut "understand"

10.2432 -l- -an with other meanings (productive)

10.24321 "Thing to be V—ed"

daghan pa qang qa:tu ng tulungan ba:hin sa kinabu:hiq "We still have much to learn about life." V—tuqun "learn"

10.24322 "Thing^{from}_{for} which something is V-ed"

dakuq siya g galastuhan sa pagqiskuyla s qi:ya ng manga ba:taq
 "He has big expenses for the schooling of his children." V
 gastu "spend"

10.24323 "Person for whom"

halabulan pa qang ba:taq kay diritsu ra ma ng natu:lug nga
 walaq hitagdi "We still have to put a blanket on the child
 because he went to sleep unnoticed." V habul "wear a blanket"

Note that this base is a TP from a nominal base (Sec. 9.10).

10.24324 pag- -l- -an (dead)

qang nahitabuq nagha:tag qug maqa:yu ng pagtulungan sa qi:ya ng
 qigsu:qun "What happened gave her sister a good lesson."
 V tuqun "study"

10.244 -l- -anan (→) (restricted)

10.2441 To transient base

waq kami makapamaqu:liq da:yun kay waq ma y salakyanan "We
 could not come home early because there was no transportation."
 V sakay "ride"

human ni:la g pamalit misulud sila sa qusa ka kalanganan "After
 shopping, they went into an eating place." V ka:qun "eat"

10.2442 -l- -anan (→) meaning "thing to be V-ed" (dead)

daghan qang balayranan sa qusa ka tumatapus nga tinungan
 "A graduating student has many things to pay for." V ba:yad
 "pay"

10.25 Nouns similar to instrumental passives

10.251 -in- nouns similar to instrumental (dead)

qang pagtahi q ni ng qa:ku ng karsu:nis kinamut lang kay walaq
 mi makina "The sewing of my pants was done by hand because we do
 not have a sewing machine." V kamut "hand"

10.252 Instrumental "thing with which to V"

The instrumental noun has two shapes (besides shifts):

qig- -r- and qig- -l-. For some bases both affixes occur, and it
 is a matter of style which is used. -l- is predominant in some

areas, whereas -r- is more predominant in others. Other bases occur only with -r- or only with -l-.

10.2521 gig- -r- (restricted)

karangkál pagqi:lis sa qi:mu ng sini:naq nga qigtatraba:hu
quban kana:kuq "Karangkal, change into your working clothes.
Come along with me." (27.10)

10.25211 gig- -r- (→)

qambi ra gud na ng qigkukutaw sa qarmirul "Please hand me
that thing to stir starch with." V ku:taw "stir liquid"

10.25212 gig- -r- (←)

kini ng trapu:ha qigbaba:saq qug magtra:pu s lami:sa "This
rag is used to make the table wet in wiping." V basaq "wet"

10.2522 gig- -l- (productive)

kini maqu y qigtulusluk sa qisdaq qug magtapqan ku "I use
this as a spit when I roast fish over a fire." V tusluk "pierce"

10.25221 gig- -l- (→)

ha:qin man tu ng kawa:yan ng qigtuluhug sa karni "Where is
the bamboo used for skewering the meat?" V tu:hug "to pierce
through"

10.25222 gig- -l- (←)

paghwam kang qawring qug qigbala:til sa qitlug "Borrow
Aurora's eggbeater from her." V batil "beat (eggs or batter)"

10.253 Similar to instrumental passive in ablative meaning

"thing { to be
habitually } V -ed"

10.2531 gig- -r-

maqu na y qi:ya ng qigsusulti basta mangi:sug siya "That is
what he says if he gets mad." V sulti "say something"

10.25311 gig- -r- (→)

kini ng libru:ha qaku ng qigtutunul ni prid qapan milarga
da:yun gang dyip "This is the book I was to hand to Fred,
but the jeep left right away." V tu:nul "hand"

10.25312 gig- -r- (←)

kini ng kupra:sa gigsusu:lud pa ni sa:ku kay qipatimbang ni ru ng ha:pun "This copra has to be placed in sacks yet because it is to be weighed this afternoon." V sulud "put into"

10.2532 gig- -l- (→)

maqu ba na ng libru:ha qang qi:mu ng qighalatag na:kuq "Is that the book you are going to give me?" V ha:tag "give"

10.25321 gig- -l- (→) to derived base

du:na taq ku y qigpalangutana qapan natubag na man sa qi:mu ng sulat "I had something to ask you, but it was already answered by your letter." V panguta:na "ask (a question)"

10.254 Similar to instrumental passive in meaning "time to V"

10.2541 gig- -r- (restricted)

wala y giqila ng taknaq qang magtiqa:yun nga qigpabahu:lay "The couple knew no time for rest." V pahu:lay "rest" (52.8)

10.2542 gig- -l-

di:liq pa run hustu ng qigqaladtu sini kay mudtu pa "It is not yet time to go to the show because it is still noon." V qadtu "go (to place far from speaker)"

10.25421 gig- -l- (→)

karu ng qura:sa maqu y qigtalarbahu sa manga tagapantalan "This hour is the time the people at the pier go to work." V traba:hu "work"

10.25422 gig- -l- (←)

karu ng panahu:na maqa:yu ng qigtulu:bag sa manga da:qa ng sulat "This is a good time to answer old letters." V tubag "answer"

10.2543 gig- -r- or gig- -l- extension of temporal meaning
"one desirous of V"

This is used only with ginha:wa "breathe" as subject.

qigqaladtu gyud ni ng qa:ku ng ginha:wa sa karnabal kay waq pa ku kasulud bi:sa g kasqa "I want very much to go to the

carnival because I was never able to go, even once." V qadtu
"to go there"

10.26 -an to nominal base

The affixes -an in this section are closely akin in meaning to the nouns similar to local passives. However, these are with noun bases and do not have temporal meanings.

10.261 -an "place where activity is held" (for nouns which are names of activity)

10.2611 -an (no shift) specialized meaning

sa panahun sa hapun dagha ng manga la:ki qang nangadtu sa buluntaryu:han qarun sa pagsilbi sa qi:la ng yu:ta ng natawhan
"During the Japanese time, many men went to the place where volunteers presented themselves in order to serve their native land." V buluntaryu "volunteer"

10.2612 -an (→) (productive)

didtu sila magki:taq sa baylihan "They met at the dance hall." V bayli "dance"

human sila mananqaw sa du:laq didtu sa baskitbulan nangadtu sila sa sinihan "After seeing the games at the basketball court, they went to the movies." V baskitbul "basketball" V sini "movie"

10.2613 -an (→) specialized meaning (instrumental)

manga sya:quk sa manga ka:law nga maqu y qurasan sa tagabu:kid maqu kanu:nay qang masa:wud sa qi:la ng dalunggan
"The cries of the hornbill which are the mountaineers' timepiece always filled their ears." V qu:ras "hour" (51.13)

(Specialization of place)

qi:ya ng gipadayun qang manga dumudu:qung ngadtu sa hawanan "She bade the visitors to enter the sala." V ha:wan "clear space"

kana ng wa y su:d nga kinhasun himu:qu ng balayan sa qu:mang
"Those empty sea shells will be used as a shell by snails."
V balay "house"

(Empty -an (dead))

qang ba:taq naglingkud didtu sa hagdanan "The child was sitting on the stairs." V hagdhan "stairs"

(thing from which V is gotten)

qang ba:ka ng gatasan ni kadyu gidala sa manga kawatan kagabi:qi
 "Kadyu's milk cow was taken last night by thieves." V ga:tas
 "milk"

10.262 'Place where V is found, grown, kept or made'

(productive)

10.2621 -an (→)

gipamatay ni:la qang manga qilagaq didtu sa humayan "They
 killed the mice in the ricefield." V humay "rice"

qug pagqabut ni:ya sa palasyu miqa:gi siya sa pultahan gipahu:nung
 siya sa gwardya "And when she arrived at the palace, she passed
 through the gate. She was stopped by the guard." V pulta
 "door" V pultahan "doorway" (11.3)

10.26211 Specialized meaning

-an (→) is extended to mean "business of raising V".

nagsulay sila g manukan qapan napakyas "They tried chicken
 raising, but it failed." V manuk "chicken" V manukan
 "raising chickens"

10.2622 -an (←)

qang buga:san wanga y su:d "The rice container is already
 empty." V bugas "rice (husked)"

10.2623 -anan "place where V is found" (dead)

waq mi magdahum nga dinhaq sa wala ma y naglukluk nga sawa s
balilinhana "We did not expect that there to the left of us would
 be a snake in the balili grass." V balili "a kind of grass"

10.26231 -an (←) specialized meaning

wa y kala:yu qang qabu:han "There is no fire in the stove."
 V qabu "ash"

10.263 -an (→) "place where V is sold"

sayu siya ng miqadtu sa qisdagan qarun pagpalit qug bangus
 "She went to the fish market early in order to buy milk fish."
 V qisdaq "fish"

10.2631 -an (←) "place where V is sold"

qang manga lala:ki qadtu magpunduk sa tuba:qan ni ni:na
 "The boys gather at Nena's tuba store." V tubaq "palm toddy"

10.264 "Part of the body where V is located" (restricted)

10.2641 -an (→)

kinahangla ng gami:tu ng qutukan sa bi:san qunsa ng traba:hu
 "It is necessary to use the brain in any kind of work." V—
 qu:tuk "brain"

10.2642 -an (←)

nanakit qang luta:han sa tigu:lang kay bugnaw qang panahun
 "The old man's joints ached because it was cool." V—luta
 "joint"

10.265 "Direction or vicinity of V" (restricted)

10.2651 -an (→)

didtu sila matu:lug sa tiqilan sa qusa ka bu:kid, "They
 slept at the foot of a mountain." V—tiqil "foot"

mili:ngiq siya sa likud mili:ngiq siya sa qi:ya ng kiliran
 mitanqaw siya sa quna:han qapan walaq man siya y naki:taq "He
 turned his head in back of him; he turned to his sides; he looked
 ahead of him, but he saw no one." V—ki:lid "side" (4.14)

sa habagatan maki:taq na:tuq qang qusa ka gamay ng puluq nga may
 pangpang "To the south we can see a small island with cliffs."
 V—haba:gat "southwest wind"

10.2652 -an (←) (dead)

du:na y gamay ng balay sa qatuba:ngan sa simbahan "There is
 a small house across from the church." (Lit. "on the place facing")
 V—qatubang "to face"

10.266 -an (→) "relation (older generation)" (dead)

qapan niqingun qang qinahan hwan qunsa gud na ng qi:mu ng
 gisulti "But the mother said, 'John what is it that you are
 saying?'" V—qina "mother" (8.2)

10.27 -an "group of V"

This affix is treated in Sec. 10.322.

10.28 -anan (dead)

sa pagkasal sa qa:ku ng manang waq mi ha:guq kay
tagababayingan man mi "At the wedding of my elder sister we had
 no trouble, for we were members of the bride's family." V—
 ba:yi "female"

10.3 "Group or collection of V" (nominal base)

10.31 ka- -an (productive)

qang manga ba:buy ha:pit na lang musaka sa kabalayan "The pigs would almost go into the houses." V balay "house" (51.10)

10.311 ka- -an "place where V is found"

With bases meaning plants or other objects found in nature the ka- -an affix also has a meaning of "place where V is found". (Cf. Sec. 10.43.)

10.312 ka- -an to transient base

maba:sa mu qang kasaysa:yan sa pilipi:nas didtu s libru ng griguryu "You can read the history of the Philippines in Gregory's book." V saysay "narrate in detail"

10.313 ka- -an to other bases (dead)

(to adjective base)

kini ng huma:ya didtu ni matanum sa kamadqan kay qispisyal nga ma:tang man ni "This rice was planted on dry land because it is a special type." V mala "dry"

(to nominal base)

gikarga qang qi:la ng kabta:ngan sa dakuqaku ng trak "Their possessions were loaded on a large-sized truck." V butang "things"

10.314 Specialized meaning

karun maqu na y katapu:san niqi:ni ng sawa:ha miqingun si sibyu "'Now this snake has met its end,' said Sebio." V ta:pus "end"

10.32 ka- -an meaning "all of V" (restricted)

qang qi:ya ng pulusirt nga kulur kapi walaq na makaqatu sa pagsinu:yup sa maqasgad ni:ya ng singut nga midahi:liq sa qi:ya ng kalawa:san "His coffee-colored polo shirt could no longer absorb all of the salty perspiration which rolled down his body." V la:was "body" (48.4)

nanakit qang qi:ya ng kagunuran human sa tibuquk qadlaw ni:ya ng traba:hu "His muscles ached after a day's work." V qunud "flesh"

10.321 ka- -an " V as a whole"

dagha ng balay sa kahila:yan sa ri:lis "There are many dens of vice at the railroad tracks." V hi:lay "vice"

10.322 ka- -an (no shift) to transient base specialized

meaning

human qaku manga:yu g katahu:ran sa hi:pi qi:ya da:yun qaku ng gisulti:han "After I greeted the chief, he told me immediately...."
V ta:hud "respect" (63.8)

10.33 ka- -anan (←) (dead) "all of V"

tinga:li nakasabut qusab sila sa kaguqul sa magtiqa:yun bu:saq midu:yug sa qi:la ng kasubqa:nan "Maybe they also understood the sorrow of the couple. Therefore, they joined them in their sadness." V subuq "sad" (63.2)

10.331 ka- -anan " V as a whole"

kini ng qi:mu ng bulpin di:liq magpulus qisulat kay bagtuk qug tinta:q pi:ru may kapusla:nan pa ni kay mamaqa:yu pa "Your ballpoint pen cannot be used for writing because the ink has coagulated, but it still is good (Lit.;has usefulness) because it can be repaired." V pulus "use"

10.34 ka- -r- -an (dead)

sa kapupudqan sa pilipi:nas qang mindu:ru ra qang may tamaraw "In the Philippine archipelago only Mindoro has wild carabao."
V pu:luq "island"

10.35 Dead affixes meaning "collection of V"

10.351 gin- -an

qang manga ginsaku:pan sa kapunu:ngan mipi:liq sa qi:la ng pangu:lu "The members of the organization elected their chairman." V sa:kup "member"

10.352 -an

wala y kukahadluk nga manungkab sa manga hayu:pan sa manga ta:wu kanang bati:qun na sa kagu:tum "It had no fear at all to steal the people's domestic animals whenever it felt hungry."
V ha:yup "animal" (56.16)

10.3521 -an (→)

may manga sunda:lu ng hapun pa sa bukiran sa pu:luq sa lubang

"There still are Japanese soldiers in the mountains of Lubang Island." V bu:kid "mountain"

10.4 Names of places

Most names of places are formed like nouns similar to local passives unreal and are with -an. (Cf. Secs. 10.24 and 10.26 and their subsections.)

10.41 pa- (restricted)

sa pali:but naki:taq ni:ya qang dagha ng bu:lak "He saw many flowers in the surroundings." V li:but "be around"

10.42 ka- -an (restricted)

hina:qut quntaq nga tu:qa na siya sa kahitasqan "I hope she is already in heaven." V hitaqas "be high up"

10.43 ka- -an "place where a collection of V is found"

(productive)

qug midanguynguy sa hilabihan kakusug hangtud nga napu:kaw qang tibuquk kasilinga:nan "And she wailed very loudly until the entire neighborhood was awakened." V sili:ngan "neighbor" (19.14)

maqu nga gisuqtsu:qut ni:la qang manga kasapaqan qug manga kanipa:qan "Therefore, they wound back and forth through the creeks and the nipa groves." V ni:paq "nipa palm" V sapaq "creek" (20.12)

10.431 ka- -anan

gisuqtsu:qut ni:la ng kalubinhnan sa pagpamunit ni:la qug pulak "They crisscrossed the coconut grove picking up the fallen nuts." V lubi "coconut tree"

10.432 -un (dead)

didtu sa bayba:yun naghwat qang manga ta:wu "The people waited on the beach." V baybay "beach"

10.5 Nouns formed from transients and adjectives

Nouns formed from transients with prefix ka- are described in Sec. 10.92.

10.51 Transient bases used as nouns

Cf. the discussion in Sec. 8.01.

10.511 Meaning "thing V—ed"

qilu:gun na qusab qang qa:tu ng yu:taq mamaha:yu ng tubag
ni qinting "'Our land will be taken from us again,' Inting
answered regretfully". V—tubag "answer" (49.15)

tiqaw mu ba y mangi:taq qug dagha ng qipaka:qun qa:lang sa qi:la ng
qanak nga dakuq qug ka:qun "Imagine looking for so much to feed
their child who had such a big appetite." V—ka:qun "eat"
(26.9)

10.5111 To derived bases

na:qa ba y qi:mu ng panguta:na ba:hin s pagba:hin s qa:tu ng
kayuta:qan "Do you have a question regarding the division of our
land?" V—panguta:na "ask"

midagsang qang manga huhungi:hung labi na gayud sa matuhuqtuhuqun
nga kunu qang buqa:ya buhiq sa di:liq qingun na:tuq "The rumors
multiplied especially among the gullible, that the crocodile was
a pet of one who is not like us." V—huhungi:hung "whisper
about" (57.18)

10.51111 To bases with ka-

With stative bases when the meaning is "thing which has become
V—", the base occurs without ka-.

qang yu:taq nalukup s dalag "The earth was covered with fallen
leaves." V—kadalag "become yellow"

10.5112 With specialized meanings

du:na y sulat nga miqabut gi:kan sa sa:mar "A letter
arrived from Samar." V—sulat "write"

qusa:hay qang panga:nud mu ra g hitsu:ra g ta:wu qusa:hay mu ra g
langgam "Sometimes the clouds resemble a man, sometimes a bird."
V—panga:nud "be driven along by wind or water"

10.512 Meaning "action of V—"

labiha ng kata:wa sa ha:riq "How the king laughed!"
V—kata:wa "laugh" CN "laughter" (12.7)

10.5121 "Action of V—" to derived base

mila:lin sila ng magtiqa:yun nganhi sa yu:taq sa manga sa:qad
gumi:kan sa hataqas ni:la ng panganduy qug paglantaw sa
kaqugma:qun sa qi:la ng kabata:qan "The couple migrated to the
land of promise because of their big yearnings and foresight for
the future of their children." V—panganduy "long for"
(51.3)

With stative bases (i. e., ka-) this meaning is very frequent.

Cf. Sec. 10.92 and its subsections for examples.

10.5122 Base of transient with doubling or Gulu-after walaq y

This type has a specialized meaning "without any V— at all".

Cf. Sec. 10.822 for examples.

10.513 Meaning "instrument for doing V—"

This type of formation is not so common as the other two types; however, it is widespread enough to be considered productive.

manga bu:huq nangaba:liq kanang mawiktan sa daw gabas nga qi:kug
"Bamboos broke as they were lashed at with his saw-like tail."
V—gabas "saw" (67.4)

10.5131 To derived base

qusa na ka sima:na ng tibawti:baw ni qinting sa qi:ya ng
pana:gat "For one week now Inting had been visiting his fish
trap." V—pana:gat "fish" (62.1)

10.52 Transient base plus (—>)

10.521 Meaning "thing which has been V—ed"

qadtu ku sa subaq run qarun manga:tang ku g qanud nga lubi
"I am going to the river now to wait for the drifted coconuts to pass
by to pick them up." V—qa:nud "drift"

10.522 With stative base

karu ng tingqinit ~~daga~~ ng pulak sa kalubinh~~an~~ "This coming
hot season there will be many fallen nuts in the coconut groves."
V—pu:lak "fall down"

10.523 Meaning "instrument for doing V—"

diq walaq muba:tiq sa bunal "So, he did not feel the clubs."
V—bu:nal "to club" (42.13)

10.5231 With specialized meaning

nana:qug qang mananaggut kay nata:gak qang qi:ya ng hugas
"The tuba gatherer came down because his cleaning stick had
fallen." V—hu:gas "clean"

10.53 Adjective base used as a noun (dead)

10.531 (←)

miqabut sa ta:qas qang ba:hug sa patay ng taliga:tus "The dead mouse could be smelled upstairs." "Lit.: "The smell of the dead mouse reached upstairs." V—taqas "high" V—bahug "smelly"

10.532 qi- (←)

ngitngit kaqa:yu sa qila:lum sa daku ng ka:huy "It is very dark underneath the big tree." V—lalum "deep"

10.54 Qualifier forming noun (dead)

10.541 (←)

tu:qa si pa:pa s qiba:baw "Dad is { up in the hills }
V—qibabaw "above" { upstream }

10.6 "Manner of action" (productive)

10.61 -in- -an

katawqanan kaqa:yu qang qi:ya ng kinatawqan "His way of laughing is very funny." V—kata:wa "laugh"

maqu na y qi:ya ng tinangan s qi:ya ng bu:buq qanhaqra sigi s mabaw kay hadluk siya g maqa:nud "That is his way of setting his fish trap - always at the shallows because he is afraid it will be swept away." V—taqun "set a trap"

10.62 -in- -an (→) (productive)

makahuluga:nun kaqa:yu kadtu ng qi:ya ng tinangawan kani:mu "The way she looked at you was very meaningful." V—tanqaw "look"

10.63 paN- (restricted)

mabinagqu:hun kaqa:yu ng qi:ya ng panaput "Her mode of dressing is truly modern." V—saput "dress (clothes)"

nindut tanqa:wun qang panghayun ni lidya "Lydia's way of swinging her arms when she walks is nice to look at." V—hayun "swing one's arms"

10.7 Instrument formers

Most instrumentals to nouns are formed similarly to the instrumental passives, so that most of them are treated as nouns

similar to the passives. (Cf. Sec. 10.25) Those treated in this paragraph are the irregular forms.

10.71 pa- (dead)

These are bases with pa- "cause V to oneself" (Sec. 9.13 and subsections) used by themselves in an instrumental meaning (Sec. 10.513 and 10.523).

gidali:tan siya g pabugnaw "She was served some refreshments."
V bugnaw "cool"

10.72 paN-

Forms with this paN- are bases of transients used as nouns meaning "instrument" (Secs. 10.513 and 10.523) for which the other forms of the transient are not in use. (Cf. also in Sec. 10.174.)

10.721 paN- to transient base (dead)

qang sabu ng pirla maqa:yu sa panglaba "Perla soap is good for washing." V laba "wash"

10.722 paN- to transient base "sense of V" (dead)

dakuqdakuqa qang qi:mu ng ti:ngug kay di:liq na maqa:yu
qang qa:ku ng pandungug "Raise your voice a bit, for my sense of hearing is not so good." V dungug "hear" (Note the irregular alternant of paN-.)

daw mangalimyun qang duguq sa qa:ku ng panimhut "Blood seems to give off a fragrance to my sense of smell." V simhut "smell" (22.11)

10.723 paN- "means of obtaining V" to noun base (dead)

qiya:wat na lang nga may du:gang panalapiq qang panudlanan sa baryu "It will be useful so that the barrio treasury might have an additional source of revenue." V salapiq "money"

10.73 hiN- "instrument" (dead)

midahi:liq qang maqasgad ni:ya ng singut sa qi:ya ng kalawa:san bi:san pa sa hina:bang sa hapu:nu ng hutu:hut gi:kan sa nabantug nga muntiqapu "His sour sweat rolled down his body despite the aid of the afternoon breeze from the famous Mt. Apo." V ta:bang "help" (48.6)

10.731 hiN- (←) "instrument" specialized meaning

dala la g kuk pa:ra s hingu:haw "Bring along some coke to
to quench (your) thirst." V quhaw "thirsty"

10.8 Doubling and Culu-forms (productive)

10.81 Doubling meaning "something like V"

10.811 No shift

nagdu:waq qang ba:taq sa bagu ni:ya ng traktra:k "The
child is playing with his new toy truck." V tra:k "truck"

10.812 Doubling with (←)

nagbu:hat qang manga ba:taq qug qusa ka balayba:lay nga
du:na y lawakla:wak "The boys made a playhouse which had small
rooms." V balay "house" V lawak "room"

10.813 Doubling with specialized meaning of "something like

V"

10.8131 No shift

diq gud naq sila kinasal qug banaba:na lang naq si tiryu
"They are not really married, and Tiryu is just her common-law
husband." V ba:na "husband"

10.8132 (←)

bula:han si ni:na kay buqu:tan qang qi:ya ng qinaqi:na
"Nena is lucky, for her stepmother is kind." V qina "mother"

10.8133 Doubling with meaning "one who"

(Cf. Sec. 10.173 for example.)

10.82 Culu- "something like V" (productive)

Some nouns occur with doubling, some with Culu- and some with
either. Nouns of three or more syllables occur with Culu-.

Doubling and Culu- have the same meanings.

naghi:mu si ma:nuy g lulami:sa qa:lang kang ti:ta "Big Brother
is making a toy table for Tita." V lami:sa "table"

10.821 Specialized meaning "something like V"

nagki:taq si gi:nang ba:haw qug qang guluqasa:wa sa qi:ya ng
ba:na "Mrs. Bajao met her husband's mistress." V qasa:wa
"wife"

10.822 Doubling and Culu- after walaq y

Extension of the meaning "similar to V—" is used after walaq plus y meaning "there ^{was}_{is} no V—" at all". This is used with nouns derived from transients meaning "action of V—" (Sec. 10.5122).

gina:mit qang tana ng kusug gihapak ni:ya qang kaqa:way sa qi:ya ng wa:say sa wala y kukalu:quy. "Using all his strength, he beat his enemy mercilessly with an ax." V—kalu:quy "pity" (68.2)

10.83 Empty doubling

10.831 Bases that do not occur without doubling

daku g kasingka:sing si gami:lu "Gamelo has an enlarged heart." V—kasingka:sing "heart"

10.8311 Names of plants and animals

qang tanganta:ngan maqa:yu ng tanum kay maga:mit sa panambal "Castor plants are good plants because they have medicinal value." V—tanganta:ngan "castor plant"

pagkakitaq ni:ya sa daku ng tapaytapay sa banyu nahikurat siya "She was startled upon seeing the large spider in the bathroom." V—tapaytapay "house spider"

10.832 To bases that occur without doubling in a different meaning

mingtubag qang tungactu:ngaq qay manang qayaw pagsa:baq "The middle sister answered, 'Ay, Big Sister, stop fussing.'" V—tungaq "half"

10.9 Abstract noun formers

10.91 Nouns expressing quantity or quality

10.911 gi- -un (→) "degree of V—-ness" (restricted)

With gi- -un (→) occurs when possible.

nagpasalsal si qinting sa ka saryu qug qingun kadakuq sa kumagkuq sa kamut nga qasi:ru nga duha ka tiqil qang gitasqun "Inting had a piece of steel forged at Saryu's, which was as big as a thumb and two feet in length." V—taqas "long" (59.9')

10.912 ka- -un (→) to adjective base "degree of V—-ness"

(restricted)

ka- -un (→) has the same meaning as gi- -un and is used with nearly the same bases.

pari:hu g kagulangun qang qa:ku ng qamahan qug qang qinahan ni husi
 "My father's age is the same as that of José's mother." V—
 gu:lang "old"

10.913 paN- "way in which V— is" (to noun base)

in occurrence

This usage is restricted/with noun bases, but is productive with transient bases used as nouns (Sec. 10.512).

dalaygunqang pama:nit ni qinday "Inday's complexion is admirable." V— pa:nit "skin"

di:liq la:mang maqa:yu qang pangu:tuk ni linda kun diq nindut pa
 gayud qang qi:ya ng pani:ngug "Linda not only has intelligence,
 but she also has a nice voice." V— qu:tuk "brain" V—
 ti:ngug "voice"

10.9131 paN- to derived noun base

gitudlu:qan siya sa qi:ya ng ginika:nan sa maqa:yu ng
pamata:san "His parents taught him good manners." V— bata:san
 "manners"

qang pangutukan ni risal di:liq mala:lis "Rizal's intelligence
 cannot be disputed." V— qutukan "brains"

10.914 taga- (→) "up to the V—" (productive)

tagatuhud qang tu:big sa karsa:da "The water in the streets
 was up to the knees." V— tu:hud "knee"

10.92 "State of being V—"

This is the base of transients with an affix ka- (Sec. 9.3) used as a common noun meaning "state of being V—". (Cf. discussion of Sec. 8.012.)

10.921 ka- (to adjective base) (productive)

Bases with this prefix enter the stative conjugation, Secs. 9.3 and 8.33.

gitanqaw niya qang swab qang kaha:qit qug kaha:mis niqi:ni

miqa:mag "He looked at the blade; its sharpness and smoothness "gleamed." V ha:qit "sharp" V ha:mis "smooth" (48.12)

10.9211 ka- to phrases

tungud sa qi:ya ng ka wala y hinungda ng pagkata:wu wa y nalu:quy kani:ya "Because of his being a good-for-nothing person, no one took pity on him." V wala y hinungdan "there is no usefulness"

10.9212 ka- to transient base

ha:pit mabu:qang si qinting sa kaguqul "Inting almost went crazy with sorrow." V kaguqul "be sad" (55.10)

10.92121 ka- plus base = base alone (dead)

With certain frequent bases the base alone is used in the same meaning and construction as ka- + base.

wala y kukahadluk nga manungkab sa manga hayu:pan sa manga ta:wu kanang bati:qun na sa {kagu:tum} maqadlaw kun magabi:qi "It had no fear to steal the people's domestic animals whenever it felt hungry day or night." V gu:tum "hungry" (56.16)

10.92122 ka- (←) (dead)

sa qu:na ng kama:tay namatudqan nga kulira y nakaqingun "In the first wave of deaths it was confirmed that cholera was the cause." V matay "die"

10.9213 ka- to derived transient base

(ka- to base with hi-)

mika:giw siya tungud sa daku ng kahigubus "She ran away because of her deeply hurt feelings." V qubus "down"

(ka- to base with empty hiN-)

waq man siya y mahi:mu qarun siya makapangi:taq qug makata:bang sa qa:tu ng kahintang "There is nothing he can do in order to earn something that can help us in our situation." V himutang "place" (30.4)

(ka- to base with -in-)

di:liq matu:kib qang kahinangup nga qi:ya ng giba:tiq "The joy

she felt was unknowable." V hinangup "be overjoyed"

10.9214 ka- to derived adjective base

(ka- to base with -anun)

pahimusli karun qang qi:mu ng kabatanqun "Make use of your
youthfulness now." V batanqun "young"

(ka- to base with -l- -un)

qang kabililhun sa qi:ya ng dungug di:liq kabayluqa g salapiq
"The pricelessness of her virtue cannot be exchanged for money."
V bililhun "having value"

(ka- to base with ma- -un)

qang kamabinagqu:hun sa qa:tu ng kababayingan nakapaquswag sa
qa:tu ng na:sud "The modernism of our women has improved the
country." V mabinagqu:hun "fond of new things"

(ka- to base with -an)

bantug sa tibuquk na:sud qang kakusgan ni ti:nu "Tino's strength
was known throughout the nation." V kusgan "strong"

10.922 pagka- (productive)

10.9221 pagka- to adjective base = (ka-)

This is the abstract to potentials formed to adjective bases
(Sec. 8.33).

may pagkatabunuk ni ng yuta:qa "This land is somewhat fertile."
V tabunuk "fertile"

10.92211 pagka- to derived adjective base

(to base with -un)

kali:guq dihaq quy makaququ:law ng qi:mu ng pagkabulingun "Take
a bath! Your dirtiness is shameful!" V bulingun "dirty"

may pagkabagba:qun qang qa:ku ng qasa:wa "My wife is somewhat
talkative." V bagba:qun "talkative"

10.9222 pagka- to noun base (productive)

This is the abstract to potentials formed to noun base
(Sec. 8.333) with the meaning shifted to "being V".

qang qi:ya ng pagkaha:ra maqu y nakapagarbu kani:ya "What made her stuck-up was being chosen queen." V ha:ra "queen"

10.92221 pagka- to derived noun base

(to base with -iru)

waq siya makuntintu sa qi:ya ng pagkakahi:ru la:mang "He was not contented with being nothing more than a cashier." V kahi:ru "cashier"

(to base with -l- -un)

gilaqa:yan na siya sa pagkasulugu:qun sa qi:ya ng kaqugali:ngu ng balay "She was tired of being a servant in her own home." V sulugu:qun "servant"

10.923 panag- "state of being V with someone else" (dead)

These are abstracts corresponding to the type of Secs. 10.182 and 10.183.

mata:pus gyud qang qa:tu ng panaghiga:la kung di:liq mu bakwi:qun tu ng qi:mu ng gisulti ng mari:ya "Our friendship will surely end if you do not take back what you told Maria." V higa:la "friend"

10.924 ka- -an (←) "quality of V" (to adjective base)

(productive)

qang qi:ya ng kadali ng masukuq maqu y qusa ka kasukwahi:qan sa qi:ya ng pamata:san "His irritability was not in harmony with his manner." V sukwahiq "contrary"

10.9241 ka- -an (←) to derived adjective base

(to base with -an)

qangayan ka ng magpasala:mat sa kabulaha:nan nga mida:ngat kani:mu "You should give thanks for the fortune that has come to you." V bula:han "fortunate"

10.9242 ka- -an (←) to adjective base specialized meaning

maqa:yu kunu qaku ng muqimbintu qug kataru:ngan "He said I was very good at making up explanations." V ta:rung "straight" (65.8)

10.9243 ka- -an (←) to transient base

nagkalaqinla:qi ng katalagman qang mipulipu:li pagba:bag sa
qi:la ng kalampu:san "Various calamities one after another barred
their success." V lampus "succeed" (54.4)

10.925 kina- -an "superlative" (productive)

10.9251 To adjective base

qug didtu sa kinatasga ng ka:huy gidala qang pisuq sa banug
"And the hawk brought the chick to the highest tree." V taqas
"high"

10.9252 To nonadjective base

miqabut na ta sa kinatunggan sa qa:tu ng pa:naw "We have
arrived at the halfway point of our journey." V tungaq
"middle" (Lit.: "middlemost")

10.9253 ka- -an superlative (dead)

siya y kamagula:ngan sa qi:la ng ba:nay qug kani:ya nasandig
qang pagqatiman sa qi:ya ng manga manghud "He is the eldest in
the family, and on him rests the care of his younger brothers and
sisters." V magulang "person older than someone"

10.93 pag- (productive) (to transient base)

binuhiq qu di:liq walaq gayud makatibhang sa pagdumut ni
qinting "Enchanted or not, it could not lessen Inting's hatred."
V dumut "hate" (58.13)

10.94 Dead formations of abstract nouns

10.941 ka- -anan (←)

(This form has nearly the same meaning as ka- -anan of Sec.

10.33.)

tungud kay walaq na ma y lunaq sa yu:taq nga qipangha:tag sa
kagamha:nan maqu y nakapugus ni:la ni qinting sa paga:mit sa
dyu:tay ni:la ng ba:lun qarun qikaba:yad sa qusa ka lunaq nga
yu:taq nga qi:la ng napalit "Because there were no more lots
which the government could give, Inting and his family were forced
to use the little money they had brought, in order to pay for a
piece of land which they bought." V gahum "power" (52.2)

10.942 ka- -l- -an

nagkalaqinla:qi ng katalagman qang mipulipu:li pagba:bag sa
qi:la ng kalampu:san "Various calamities took turns in barring

their success." V tagam "learn from bitter experience"
(54.4)

10.943 -l- -an

walaq mutu:gut qang qi:ya ng galamhan nga magbu:hat siya g
daqutan "His conscience did not permit him to do something bad."
V gahum "power"

10.944 -in- -an

qang kinagadman gahum "Knowledge is power." V kaqa:lam
"knowledge"

10.945 paN- -an

qang qi:mu ng hulagway gitanum ku na sa qa:ku ng panumdu:man
"I implanted your image in my memory." V dumdum "recall"

10.946 gim- -an

di:liq ku masu:pak kana ng sugu:qa kay maqu na y gimbutqan
sa qa:tu ng ha:riq "I cannot go against that order because that
is the will of our king." V buqut "will"

10.947 paN- -un

pila na man qang panuqi:gun niqadtu ng bayha:na "How old
do you think that woman was?" V tu:qig "year"

10.948 hiN- -an

qang makalulu:quy nga kamunggay napu:kan nga walaq qinta:wun
masa:yud sa hinungdan "The pitiful kamunggay tree fell, poor
thing, without knowing the cause." V tungud "reason of"
(49.3)

10.949 ting- -an

wala y kala:ki ng tarbahu:qa naq kay walaq ta y
tingqusba:wa ng mahi:muq "That job is no good because we can
make no progress." V qusbaw "increase"

10.94.10 ka- -un "state of" (dead)

tungud sa manga pangiliyu:puq qug luhudlu:hud ni dwardu ng
miriku naluwas siya sa hinana:ling kamata:yun "Because of the
implorations and kneelings of Dwardu, the folk doctor, he was
saved from sudden death." V matay "to die" (58.9)

10.94.101 ka- -r- -un

qang kabubutqun s ta:wu mu ra g kadungga:nan mahal qapan

di:liq mapalit "A man's good will is like honor- dear, but cannot be bought." V buqut "will"

10.94.102 ka- -l- -un

maqu nga walaq madu:gay qang manga ginika:nan maqu ra g miba:tiq sa kabapdus tungud sa kawaladqun "Therefore, it was not long before the parents seemed to feel the sting of poverty." V walaq "none" (26.7)

10.94.11 panIN-

nali:pay qusab qang qi:ya ng ginika:nan quban qang pagtu:qu nga qadu:na na sila y qikata:bang sa panimalay "His parents were also happy with the thought that now they had a helper in the household." V balay "house" (1.4)

10.95 Other miscellaneous dead formations

10.951 .tig- -un (←)

qang kang di:duy ng tigbala:yun gipalit ni qisyung qug mil syiti "Isiong bought Didoy's house frame for a thousand seven hundred." V balay "house"

10.952 tig-

qang tigka:huy nga qi:mu ng gihi:pus gipanga:wat sa manga luqug "The savages stole the logs you have gathered." V ka:huy "wood"

10.953 paN-

qang pami:tay sa sunuy kasaga:ran pula "The wattles of a cock are usually red." V bi:tay "hang"

10.954 Isolated forms of transients used as nouns

Note that Secs. 10.182 and 10.183 are also isolated forms of transients.

10.9541 ma-

pagpalit ngadtu g maka:qun bi:san qunsa y qi:mu ng gustu hala palita "Go buy something to eat. Whatever you want, go ahead; buy it." V ka:qun "eat" (7.14)

10.9542 pag-

may manga pagka:qun sa tyanggi nga bara:tu madumingu kay ta:buq man "There is food for sale cheap at the market on

tana ng balay maggi:haw g ba:buy "Then on the day of the feast of Saint Vincent almost all households will slaughter a pig."
V qadlaw "day"

10.10.22 -an "time of V" (dead)

This is a specialized usage of the adjectives of the types described in Sec. 11.32 and its subsections.

gadle:wan na maqu pa y pagpaqu:liq ni qisyut sa dalipugaq
"Esyot did not return to Dalipuga until it was already daylight."
V qadlaw "sun"

10.10.3 tali- (dead)

This is an extension of tali- Sec. 10.159 "about to V".

taliquidtu na sa qa:mu ng pagqabut sa lungsud "It was already just a little before noon when we arrived in town." V qudtu "noon"

10.10.4 ting- { regular time } of (productive)
season

qug daghan qang manga ginika:nan nga magpahimulus niqi:ni ng kahadluk qarun sa pagpasulud sa qi:la ng manga kabata:qan sa basy sa panahun nga tingsawmsum na "And many parents make use of this fear to make their children come into the house at the time when twilight sets in." V salunsum "twilight" (24.3)

sa tingadlaw qang gri:pu dyu:tay ra g tu:big bu:saq qa:ngay ng magdagi:nut ta s tu:big "During the hot season the faucet has little water, so we should use as little water as possible." V qadlaw "sun" (Note alternant of qadlaw without "q".)

10.10.41 ting- (→) (restricted)

tingbunga na karun sa mangga "It is the mango season now."
V bu:nga "fruit"

10.10.42 ting- (←) (restricted)

di:liq maqa:yu ng qipangali:guq sa tingba:lud "It is not good to bathe during the season of big waves." V balud "waves"

10.10.43 ting- to transient base (restricted)

human qug panghi:pus sa qinahan misu:d siya qarun sa pagpasu:su sa ba:taq kay panahun na ni:ya ng tingkaqun "After the mother had cleared away the things, she went in in order to feed the baby because it was feeding time now." V ka:qun "eat" (19.7)

10.10.5 paN- "harvost of the year" (dead)

daghan ta g masanggiq kay panu:qig run "We will harvest
much corn because it is the time of the first harvest of the year."
V tu:qig "year"

Cf. also panguli:lang "second harvest", paninyur "third harvest".

10.10.6 tali- "season of" (dead)

taliqu:lan karun "This is a rainy time of the year."
V qulan "rain"

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- 11.84 -an (dead)
- 11.85 ka- (maka-)
- 11.86 -un "to take V-"
-a "make it V-"
- 11.87 Affixes for amount of money
- 11.871 -un (→) 1) "V- piece, bill"
 2) "V- apiece"
- 11.872 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{maN-} \text{ } \underline{-un} (\rightarrow) \\ \underline{maN-} (\rightarrow) \end{array} \right\}$ "V- bill" (dead)
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Chapter Eleven: Affixes with Adjectives

11.0 Introduction

Adjectives are formed to underived transient, nominal and adjectival bases. Adjectives are also formed to derived transient bases with pa- and paN-. A form is considered an adjective if it occurs preceded by ka- in exclamatory sentences (Sec. 3.61) and occurs in the predicate. Cf. the discussion Sec.8.011. For the criteria for determining the base cf. Sec. 9.0.1.

11.1 Descriptive adjectives

11.11 ma- to adjective base (productive)

Note that bases in this section do not occur with ha- (Sec. 11.13) except luqag. The bases with ma- mean "to V to a strong degree" (This prefix is formal.)

qusa ka mapaqit nga pahiyum qang mikiwiq sa qi:ya ng manga nga:bi1
"His lips twisted into a bitter smile." V paqit "bitter"
(49.1)

11.111 ma- to base which do not occur without prefix when used as an adjective (dead)

sa:ma sa wala y nahitabuq qang buhuk walaq mana:ngit
maga:yu ng pagkaputul "As though nothing had happened his hair did not catch. It was well cut." V maga:yu "good" (48.17)

11.112 With specialized meaning (restricted)

maga:hiq ku ng tugtan qikaw sa qi:mu ng gihangyuq "I am reluctant to grant you your request." V ga:hiq "hard"

11.12 ma- (→) "fond of V" to T base

Cf. Sec. 11.25.

11.13 ha- "V to strong degree"

Note that bases in this group do not occur with ma- (Sec. 11.11) except luqag. Adjectives of this group are those meaning measurements, "far, near, deep, wide" and the like.

manga

mila:lin sila ng magtiqa:yun nganni sa yu:taq sa/sa:qad gumikan sa hataqas ni:la ng panganduy qug paglantaw sa kaqugma:qun sa qi:la ng kabata:qan "The couple migrated to the land of promise because of their high yearnings and foresight for the future of their children." V taqas "high" (51.3)

11.14 -g- plural former (to adjective base) (restricted)

Adjectives of this group use those meaning size, measurements, distances and the like.

sa diha ng ha:pit na ni:la mahurut pagpami:lay qang manga dagku ng ka:huy qug ha:pit na malukup qug tanum sa qabaka qang qi:la ng yu:taq mibuthuq si mistir qalug "When they had cut almost all of the trees and when most of their land had been planted with abaca, Mr. Alog appeared." V dakuq "big" (52.12)

11.141 -g- "several things V from each other" (adjective base) (restricted)

kini ng qi:mu ng manga lubi dugqul kaqa:yu ng pagkatanum "Your coconut trees are planted very near each other." V duqul "near"

11.142 -g- used for singular or plural

kini ng kalyi:ha pigqut kaqa:yu qug di:liq maqa:yu ng pagkaqispaltu "This street is very narrow and not well paved." V pi:qut "narrow"

11.143 -g- used only in derivatives

walaq siya kapugung sa qi:ya ng giba:tiq qug nanibugquk qang lu:haq sa qi:ya ng manga mata "He was not able to control his feelings and tears welled up in his eyes." V tibuquk "whole"

11.15 (→)

11.151 (→) plus T base forming adjectives

tulug na kaqa:yu si li:tu "Lito is very sleepy now." V tu:lug "cause to sleep"

11.1511 (→) specialized meaning

kadaqut niqa:na ng bataqa:na quy "How thin that child is!" V da:qut "ruin"

11.152 (→) noun base

It is considered that nouns are formed to adjective bases. (Cf.

11.2 "Fond of V" (productive)

11.21 Shape hiN- "fond of doing V"

11.211 hiN- (to transient base) (restricted)

qiquban nganhi qang hina:yaw mu ng higa:la "Bring along your friend who is fond of dancing." V sa:yaw "dance"

11.212 hiN- with optional (→) to transient from noun base

"fond of doing V" (restricted)

Cf. Sec. 9.10.1 for the meanings of nouns used as bases to transients.

sus { hinapiq } kaqa:yu na s dya:ni bi:sa g qami:gu mu kaqa:yu
 hina:piq
 pangwarta:hun ka gyud kay diq man ka muyawyaw "My, how money-minded Johnny is! Even though he is a good friend, he will be sure to charge you more than usual because he knows you will not make a fuss." (Lit.: hina:piq "fond of obtaining money") V sa:piq "money" (used as base to transient base) "obtain money"

11.2121 hiN- to noun base meaning "fond of V" (dead)

nagla:gut siya sa hina:bung ni:ja ng ba:na "She was angry with her husband who was fond of cockfighting." V sa:bung "cockfight"

sugut ra na ng batqa:na g wa y sudqansudqan kay hinglu:tuq naq siya "That child makes do without any side dishes because he is fond of cooked rice." V lu:tuq "cooked rice or cooked corn grits"

(to derived noun base)

nahiba:wu sila nga di:liq sila magli:sud pagsulud sa balay kay qang magtiqa:yun hingatulgun "They knew that they would have no difficulty getting into the house because the couple was fond of sleeping." V katulgun "one who is sleepy"

11.213 hiN- (→) (dead)

qang qa:mu ng magtutudluq himasa g libru ba:hin sa panglantu:giq "Our teacher is fond of reading books about debating." V ba:sa "read"

11.214 hiN- (←) (dead)

kana ng tawha:na pirmi ng musulti g bakak hima:kak siya "That man always tells lies. He is a liar." V pamakak "tell lies"

11.215 hiN- -un "fond of doing V" (dead)

11.2151 hiN- -un

kini ng batqa:na himanta:yun kaqa:yu s li:huk sa qi:ya ng
manga magulang "This child is fond of watching the actions of his
elders." V bantay "watch"

11.2152 hiN- -un (←)

du:na ku y sili:ngan nga hinawa:yun kaqa:yu "I have a
neighbor who is very fond of criticizing." V saway "criticize"

11.22 -iru (←)

magla:gut gyud ku sa ta:wu ng hambugi:ru "I really dislike
braggarts." V hambug "brag"

11.221 -iru (←) specialized meaning

nga:nu nga sa tana ng ta:wu butangi:ru ma y qi:mu ng napi:liq
"Why of all people did you choose a ruffian?" V butang "hit"

11.23 pala- "usually V-ing as a habit" (restricted)

11.231 pala- (no shift)

gipahi:lak qang ba:taq sa palasu:ngug ni:ya ng qigsu:qum
"The child was made to cry by his brother who always teases."
V su:ngug "tease"

11.232 pala- (←)

magulqa:nun si linda kay palahu:bug man qang qi:ya ng ba:na
"Linda is sad, for her husband is a drunkard." V hubug "drunk"

11.233 pala- (→)

qayaw pakigdu:laq sa ba:ta ng palaqaway "Do not play with a
quarrelsome child." V qa:way "quarrel"

11.24 maki- "fond of V"

11.241 maki- to noun base (productive)

nga:nu ng di:liq gud naq siya maguqul nga qang qi:ya ng ba:na
makibaba:yi man "Why should she not be sad when her husband is
fond of women?" V baba:yi "woman"

11.25 ma- (→) to T base "always doing V" (restricted)

di:liq ku gustu g ba:ta ng mahilak "I do not like a child
who is always crying." V hi:lak "cry"

Note that for bases beginning with ka- the base has an alternant without the ka-.

matawa = "always laughing" V kata:wa
matulug = "always sleeping" V katu:lug

11.3 Adjectives meaning "characterized by having" V "

11.31 -anun to noun base meaning "person or object from like person or object from" V "

(productive)

qang bala:ngay sa la:naw sa qi:la ng pagqabut maqu pa qang pinuyqa:nan sa manga ha:yup nga lasangnun "The barrio of Lanao at the time of their arrival was still the home of jungle animals."
V lasang "forest" (51.6)

11.32 "Person or thing having V" (to noun base)

11.321 -an (productive)

qutu:kan qusab nga hayu:pa "That animal was also brainy."
V qu:tuk "brainy" (57.3)

11.3211 -an specialized meaning

buqu:tañ si li:na nga ba:taq "Lena is a good child." V
buqut "consciousness, will"

11.3212 -an (←) specialized meaning

qug qang duguq sa ba:taq maqu gayu y qa:ku ng pangita:qun kay lami:qan qang duguq sa ba:taq "And I always look for the blood of a child because the blood of a child is delicious." V lamiq "taste" (22.13)

11.322 -anan (productive)

si dun manwil qusa sa manga ta:wu ng gamha:nan sa qa:tu ng na:sud "Don Manuel is one of the powerful persons in our country" V gahum "power"

11.323 -un "having V" (productive)

11.3231 -un (no shift)

miquntul lang qang qi:ya ng pinu:tiq walaq magpulus sa mabagaq qug himbi:su ng pa:nit "His bolo just bounced off; it was useless against the thick and scaly skin." V himbis "scales" (56.3)

nahadluk si kulas sa pagkakitaq ni:ya sa dugugun ni:ya ng kamut
 "Kulas was frightened when he saw his bloody hand." V⁻ dugug
 "blood"

11.3232 -un (→)

di:liq maqi:sip qang manga gabi:qi ng bulanun nga maki:taq
 qang magtiqa:yun nga nagtambaya:yung qug qu:ngad sa qi:la ng
 la:was "On countless moonlit nights the couple could be seen
 laboring together." V⁻ bu:lan "moon" (52.8)

11.33 "Having quality of V⁻"

11.331 -an (→) (productive)

11.3311 To adjective base

di:liq maqa:yu ng qiku:yug sa sini ni ng bata:qa kay sabagan
 kaqa:yu qug di:liq ra ba siya gustu ng pabuyag "This child is not
 good for a companion in the show because he is very noisy, and he
 does not like to be told to stop." V⁻ sa:baq "noise"

11.3312 To transient base "characterized by doing V⁻"

qang tikasan waq pa gyud matagbaw pagpani:kas kana:tuq "The
 cheat! Has he not cheated us enough yet?" V⁻ ti:kas "to
 cheat" (50.10)

dakuq na si hwan qapan maqu giha:pun tapulan "John was grown up
 now, but, as always, he was lazy." V⁻ ta:pul "to laze" (3.12)

11.332 -an to adjective base "to greater degree than
 expected or desired" (dead)

dakuqan na quya:mut qang qu:tang ni ta:nu kang pilar "Tano
 owes Pilar quite a large amount already." V⁻ dakuq "big"

11.3321 -an to adjective (no meaning) (dead)

dagha:nan nga manga tu:qig qang milabay qapan walaq giha:pun
 si ti:nu "Many years passed, but still Tino did not come." V⁻
 daghan "much, many"

11.3322 -an (→) shifted meaning

kun di:liq ka pa gahigan qug qu:lu di:liq ka quntaq maqunsa
 "If you had not had such a stubborn head, nothing would have
 happened to you." V⁻ ga:hiq "hard"

11.333 -un "having the quality of V⁻ -ness" (productive)

11.3331 -un to adjective base

mibuthuq si mistir qalug quban niqadtu ng ta:wu nga yagpisun
 qang la:was "Mr. Alog appeared together with that thinnish man."

V yagpis "thin" (52.14)

qang ~~makahahasu:lu~~ ng pagyu:bit musangkil kanu:nay kani:ya
 pagha:git sa qi:ya ng katakus "The bothersome disparagement
 always goaded him into questioning his ability." V makahaha:sul
 "bothersome"

11.3332 -un (→)

namalit siya g baratuhu ng sini:naq "She bought a {dress
 of cheap quality." V bara:tu "cheap" {shirt}

11.3333 -un to noun base

qang qi:ya ng singut midahi:liq sa qi:ya ng kalawa:san bi:san
 pa sa hina:bang sa hapu:nu ng hutu:hut gi:kan sa nabantug nga
 muntiqapu "His perspiration rolled down his body despite the help
 of the afternoon breeze from the famous Mt. Apo." V ha:pun
 "afternoon" . (48.6)

11.33331 -un to noun base specialized meaning

sa katapu:san qi:ya ng gibayran qang kalibuta:nun ni:ya ng
 manga salaq "In the end, she paid for her worldly sins." V
 kalibu:tan "world"

qadu:na giha:pu y manga ta:wu nga bulawa:nu g kasingka:sing nga
 maqanti:gu ng malu:quy kani:ya "There are still people with
 golden hearts who know how to sympathize with him." V bula:wan
 "gold" (69.13)

11.3334 -un (→) to noun base

gida:yig qang qabugaduhu ng pangataru:ngan sa ba:taq "The
 lawyer-like reasoning of the child was praised." V qabuga:du
 "lawyer"

11.33341 -un (→) "something gathered in the V"

This is with nouns meaning time of day.

kana ng tubaq ni pisyung tamqis kay buntagun man naq "Picio's
 tuba is sweet because it is the type gathered in the morning."
 V buntag "morning"

11.3335 -un (→) to numeral base "worth V apiece"

(productive)

taga:qi ku g bayntihun "Let me have the twenty cent size."
 V baynti "twenty"

11.33351 maN- -un (→) (dead)

taga:qi ku g mamisusun "Give me the one peso size." V[—]
pi:sus "one peso bill"

11.3336 -un "cock colored like V[—]" (dead)

The affix -un has a specialized meaning with certain bases meaning "fighting cock colored like V[—]". These are extensions of the meanings in Secs. 11.3331 - 11.3334.

qang tubaqun maqu y giqila ng ha:wud sa manga qigtatarig "The fighting cock colored like palm toddy is known as the champion fighter." V[—] tubaq "palm toddy" (colored red)

With some of these forms the base does not occur by itself.

gibaligyaq ni tatyung qang qi:ya ng talisa:yun qug singkwinta kang pablu "Tatyung sold his multicolored cock for fifty pesos to Paul." V[—] [tali:say]

11.34 -anun (←) to noun base (productive)

11.341 "Having the quality of V[—]"

(22.3) batangun pa siya "He was still young." V[—] ba:taq "child"

11.342 -anun (←) with specialized meaning

di:liq siya malipa:yun didtu sa hariqa:nu ng balay sa qi:ya ng ba:na "She was unhappy in her husband's regal mansion." V[—]
ha:riq "king"

11.35 ma--un "having the quality of V[—]" (productive)

The ma- -un affix is most productive with bases which occur with ka- statives (Sec. 9.3), but it occurs with large number of bases of other types as well.

11.351 ma--un to adjective base

qunsa man gyu y nahitabug ninyu sa qupisi:na sa hi:pi ting gibuqak ni qangkay qang kahi:lum sa maluya:hu ng ti:ngug "What really happened to you at the chief's office, Ting?' Ankay broke the silence with a weak voice." V[—] lu:ya "weak" (63.4)

11.3511 To derived adjective base

11.35111 To base with -in-

qang panaput sa manga kababayingnan karun mabinaggu:hun na kaqa:yu "Women dress in a very modern way now." V baggu "new"

11.35112 To doubled base

diliq maqa:yu qang madaliqdali:qun sa paghukum "It is not good to be hasty in one's judgement." V daliqdaliq "hurry"

11.3512 ma- -un (→) (dead)

maluyahun pa kaqa:yu qang qa:ku ng la:was "My body still feels weak." V lu:ya "weak"

11.3513 ma- -un (←) (dead)

sa kalangi:tan naki:taq ni:ya qang masana:gu ng bitu:qun "In the skies she saw the brilliant star." V sanag "bright"

11.352 ma- -un to transient base

qilu:gun na sab qang qa:tu ng yu:taq mamaha:yu ng tubag ni qinting "'Our land will be taken from us again,' Inting ruefully replied." V ma:hay "regret" (49.15)

11.3521 ma- -un to derived T base

(to base with -in-)

gisu:gat siya sa qi:ya ng qanak quban sa qusa ka mahinangpu ng haluk sa qa:ping "Her daughter met her with a fond kiss on the cheeks." V hinangup "overjoyed"

(to base with pa-)

mapasali:gun qang balitaq gani:ha ba:hin sa nawa:la ng qayrupla:nu "The news about the lost plane a while ago was reassuring." V pasa:lig "inspire confidence"

(to base with paN-)

miba:lik qang qi:ya ng qanak nga mapangilyupu:qun na "His son returned, humbled now." V pangilyu:puq "implore"

11.3522 ma- -un (→) to T base

midagsang qang manga huhungi:hung labi na gayud sa matuhugtuqugun nga kunu qang buqa:ya buhiq sa di:liq qingun na:tuq "The rumors multiplied, especially among the gullible, that this crocodile was the pet of one unlike us." V tuqutu:qu "believe without reason" (57.18)

11.3523 Specialized meaning

si ta:tay mahigugma:gun kaqa:yu sa pamusil "Dad is very
fond of shooting." V hígugma "love"

11.353 ma- -un noun base

pagba:sa kanu:nay sa manga matulunga:nu ng sugila:nun
"Always read stories that give moral lessons." V tulungan
"lesson"

11.354 ma- -in- -un to transient base (restricted)

qang qistranyu nakasugat gug ba:ta ng matinaba:ngun nga maqu y
nagtudluq kani:ya sa hustu ng da:lan "The foreigner met a
helpful boy who told him which road was the right one." V
ta:bang "help"

11.355 Dead types with ma- -un

11.3551 ma- -l- -un

misaka sila sa qi:la ng balay midyu masulubqun kay qanak man
lagi ni:la "They went into their house rather sad, for he was,
after all, their son." V kasubuq "be sad" (29.7)

11.3552 ma- -r- -un

maqu gyud ni ng wala y qanak maluluyqun sa manga ba:taq
"That is the case of childless people. They are sympathetic with
children." V kalu:quy "have pity"

11.356 ma- -anun (←) (restricted)

nga:nu ng masukqa:nun man si li:na karu ng manga qadla:wa
"Why is Lena irritable these days?" V kasukuq "get mad"

11.3561 Specialized meaning

walaq makasu:pak si li:na sa mahugta:nu ng pagdiliq sa qi:ya ng
qamahan nga siya magminyuq "Lena could not go against her
father's firm prohibition against getting married." V hugut
"tight"

11.3562 ma- -in- -anun (dead)

11.35621 ma- -in- -anun (←)

masinabta:nun si pa:pa sa pagsulti na:kuq ni:ya nga gustu na
ku ng magminyuq "Daddy was understanding when I told him I wanted
to get married." V sabut "understand"

Note that with derived bases there are two alternants of the word:

the -in- infix occurs following the first phoneme of the root as well as following the first phoneme of the base:

{mapinagubsa:nun
mapaginubsa:nun} kaqa:yu qang pangu:lu sa kapunu:ngan "The president of the organization is very humble." V paqubus "be humble"

11.3563 ma- -in- -unun (←)

mapasalama:tun qaku nga qaku gadu:na y manga ginika:nan nga masinabtu:nun kaqa:yu "I am grateful that I have very understanding parents." V sabut "understand"

11.357 manggi- -un to T base (restricted)

These bases occur also with ma- -un. With manggi- -un they are very formal style.

manggiqula:wun qang manga dala:ga sa bu:kid "The mountain maidens are very shy." V qu:law "shame"

11.3571 manggim- -un to T base (dead)

nangi:taq kami qug manga manggimbuha:tu ng trabahadur nga makata:bang kana:muq "We are looking for industrious workers who can help us." V bu:hat "work"

11.3572 manggi- -an to T base (dead)

si qi:da y patamna kay manggibuhi:qan man naq siya "Have Ida do the planting for she is good at raising things." V buhiq "raise"

11.358 maki- -un "V-minded" (dead)

maqu na y ta:wu ng maqa:yu ng qisili:ngan kay makiqanga:yun kaqa:yu siya "He is a good person to have as a neighbor because he is very fair." V qa:ngay "proper"

11.3581 maki- -un specialized meaning

makiqanga:yun si li:na maqu nga daghan siya g higa:la "Lena is sociable (in an indiscriminating way); that is why she has many friends." V qa:ngay "proper"

11.3582 maki- -anun "V-minded" (dead)

qang pagdagi:nut sa tu:big maqu y qusa ka makilungsudnu ng li:huk "The sparing use of water is a civic-minded act." V lungsud "town"

11.4 "Manner of"

11.41 -in- "in a V way" (productive)

11.411 To adjective base

nga:nu gu ng qi:mu man qaku ng gisu:guq niqa:na ng daku ng
binu:qang "Why did you send me on that foolish errand?" V
 bu:qang "fool" (14.4)

11.4111 -in- to derived base

di:liq ka gyud mulampus niqa:na ng dinaqutan mu ng paqa:gi
 "You will never succeed in your evil ways." V daqutan "bad"

11.412 To noun base

nalu:quy siya sa baba:yi ng qala:qut qug qi:ya ng gitaga:qan
 sa qi:ya ng ginigsu:qu ng tambag "She pitied the unfortunate
 woman and gave her some sisterly advice." V qigsu:qun "brother,
 sister"

11.413 Specialized meaning

11.4131 "Way of speaking"

na qunyaq ni ng ta:wu ng qamirika:nu ku:mu walaq kaqi:la bi:sa
 siya maqa:lam mubinisayaq ~~magalingkud~~ lang dihaq sa daplin "Then,
 this American having no friends, though he spoke Visayan well, just
 sat in the corner." V bisayaq "Visayan" (38.10)

11.4132 Other specialized meanings

dawa:ta kini ng qa:ku ng kinasingka:sing nga pahali:pay kani:mu
 "Accept my sincere congratulations to you." V kasingka:sing
 "heart"

11.414 -in- (→)

11.4141 To adjective base

qayaw kabala:ka kay makasapiq lang giha:pun ta sa minaqayu ng
 paqa:gi "Do not worry for we shall still make money in a nice
 way." V maqa:yu "good"

11.4142 To noun base

lami:qan kaqa:yu qang tinagalug nga linutuqan "The tagalog
 way of cooking is very delicious." V taga:lug "Tagalog
 (ethnic group in Luzon)"

11.4143 -in- (→) specialized meaning

gipakigsulti:han ku sa misyunaryu sa binisaya ng binayabas "The

missionary spoke to me in pidgin Visayan." V baya:bas "guava "

11.42 -in- -an to adjective base only

(Cf. Secs. 10.61 and 10.62 -in- -an to T bases "manner of V")

pagsakay g taksi kay dinaligan kini ng su:guq "Take a cab, for this is a rush order." V daliq "fast"

11.5 Doubling and Cul-

11.51 " {Somewhat}
 {Seems } V " (productive)

lami:qan qang duguq sa ba:taq tamqistamqis "Children's blood is tasty, somewhat sweet." V tamqis "sweet" (23.1)

11.511 Cul- in meaning of "somewhat V "

nangi:taq mi g bulubantuk nga qa:mu ng qagiqan qarun di:liq mabi:lin qang qa:mu ng tu:nub "We looked for somewhat firm places to walk on so that we would not leave footprints." V bantuk "hard"

11.512 Doubling (→)

waq mi makahiba:wu g ha:qin siya kay dugaydugay na man tu siya ng milakaw "We do not know where he is, for it seems a long time since he left." V du:gay "long time"

11.52 "More V " (productive)

kusugkusug pa si kardu muda:gan kay kang kulas "Cardo runs faster than Kulas." V kusug "fast"

11.521 Doubling (→)

hanginhangin karun kay sa gaha:pun "Today is windier than yesterday." V ha:ngin "wind"

11.522 To nonadjective base

maqumagu hinu:qun qang bushat sa ba:taq "The child's work, on the other hand, is more nearly correct." V maqu "the one, the correct one"

11.5221 Specialized meaning with (→)

nga:nu ka ma ng di:liq magta:ru g sulti mu ra ka man hinu:qu g kyulangulang "Why do you not speak properly? You sound moronic instead." V ku:lang "lack"

11.53 Specialized meaning

nakadungug sila sa laqinla:qin nga qa:wit sa manga bansa
 "They heard the various songs of the nations." V la:qin
 "different"

11.54 Empty doubling

qubayqubay na ng manga lumulupyug qang namalhin sa
 pinuygasnan tungud sa kahadluk "Quite a number of the inhabitants
 changed their residence now because of fear." V qubayqubay
 "quite a number" (57.13)

11.6 maka- -r- (to stative base) "causing V to a great
 extent" (restricted)

11.61 maka- -r- (no shift)

qug qang makalulu:quy nga kamunggay nga qingu g bati:qis
 kadakuq nga dihaq sa qi:ya ng duqul napu:kan nga walaq qinta:wun
 masa:yud sa hinungdan "And the pitiful 'kalamunggay' tree near
 him which was as big around as a leg, fell without knowing the
 reason, poor thing." V lu:quy "pity" (49.3)

11.62 maka- -r- (←)

human niqadtu ng makasusu:bu ng hitabuq walaq na gyud sila
 magki:taq. "After that saddening incident, they never met again."
 V subuq "sad"

11.63 maka- -r- (←) to nonstative T base (dead)

giqingun sa qa:mu ng tinuhu:qan nga qang makasasa:laq di:liq
 makasulud sa la:ngit "It is said in our religion that the sinful
 cannot enter heaven." V salaq "sin"

tinga:li gustu sa makagaga:hum sukdun kun ha:qin ku:tub qang
 qi:la ng pagqantus qug pagpaqi:lub "Perhaps the Almighty wanted
 to measure how far their suffering and patience could go." V
 gahum "power" (54.5)

11.7 Dead adjective formations

11.71 Affixes similar to passives used to form adjectives
 (dead)

Cf. Sec. 10.2 and its subsections.

11.711 -l- -un

buqut ku ng susi:hun qang manga tuluki:bu ng hitabuq sa
 qa:mu ng lungsud. "I would like to investigate these mysterious
 events in our town." V tu:kib "know something previously"

unknown"

11.712 -l- -unun specialized meaning

qadtu ng gabhiq:na naki:taq na qusab ni:ya qang salabtunu ng pahi:yum sa qi:ya ng ba:na. "That night, she again saw her husband's meaningful smile." V- sabut "understand"

11.713 hi- -l- -un

kay waq na ma y mahi:muq gitanqaw na la:mang ni:ya qang qi:ya ng himalatyu ng kaqu:ban "Because nothing else could be done, he just watched his dying companion." V- matay "die"

11.72 Affixes forming agent nouns used to form adjectives

(dead)

Cf. Sec. 10.14 and its subsections.

11.721 'maN- -r- (←)

qang kulira qusa ka manana:kud nga sakit. "Cholera is a contagious disease." V- takud "infect"

11.73 -adu (-awu) (←)

nga:nu ng kanu:nay man ka ng qatrasa:wu? "Why are you always late?" V- qatrasar "delay"

sukad karun hamuga:way na kita kay gihata:gan qaku qug qusa ka pita:ka nga qingkanta:du "From now on we shall be comfortable, for I was given an enchanted purse." V- qingkantu "fairy"

11.741 -ay (←) (no meaning) to adjective base

Cf. Sec. 10.161 for nouns with -ay.

qadu:na y manga gabi:qi nga dyu:tay ra siya qug kinatulgan "There were nights when he had but little sleep." V- diyut "little" (59.6)

hiqapsan pa ni:mu s paking kay baghu:qay pa lang tu ng migi:kan "You can still overtake Paking because he left just a short while ago." V- bagqu pa "just now"

11.742 -ay to Q base

si butyuk kunu:hay muqanhi qugma g di:liq mudayun s bilyung qug lakaw "Butyuk says he will come tomorrow if Beliong does not go." V- kunu "he says"

sa kanhi:qay giqingun nga qang la:ngit duqul ra sa yu:taq "In
the olden days it was said that heaven was near the earth." V
kanhi "former"

11.8 Affixes to numeral base

11.81 tag- (forms numerals) "each, apiece"

Note that some numerals have irregular alternants when with
tag-.

maqu nga nagpada:yun qang qi:la ng kasubuq kay hangi:taq na
pud sila g pagka:qun tagsa ka sa:ku tagurha ka sa:ku qarun
qipaka:qun kang karangkal "Therefore, they continued to be sad,
for they were looking for food again, a sack each time, two sacks
each time in order to feed Karangkal." V qusa "one V duha
"two" (32.9)

The Cebuano numerals one through ten have irregular alternants
with tag-.

tagsa - "one each"

tagurha - "two each"

tagutlu - "three each"

tagupqat - "four each"

tagilma - "five each"

tagunqum - "six each"

tagpi:tu - "seven each"

tagwa:lu - "eight each"

tagsi:yam - "nine each"

tagpuluq - "ten each"

11.811 tag- (→) to adjective base

kini ng gidakqu:na maqu y tagsingkuhun sa ka qalinggurya
"This size is five centavos apiece at Aling Gorias." V
singkuhun "five cent piece"

When used in a sentence having a qualifier meaning "when V
occurs", the meaning of tag- V is "V each time". In this
meaning it can also be added to other forms than numerals.

qa:kuq siya ng hata:ga g tagtris pi:sus matag qanhi ni:ya
 "I give her three pesos every time she comes here." V⁻ tris
 "three"

(tag- + qalas)

si danyil mahiquiliq sa balay tagqalas qunsi na sa gabi:qi
 "When Daniel comes home, it is already eleven o'clock at night."

11.8111 tag- (→) to adjective base

di:liq na lang ku muhwat kang ti:nuy kay tagdugay ra ba naq
 siya mulakaw maqatrasa:wu qunyaq ku sa kla:si "I will
 not wait for Tinoy any longer because he usually stays long
 when he goes out, and I might be late for school." V⁻ du:gay
 "long time" Cf. also tagpuluq V⁻ pu:luq "ten"

11.812 tagi- (dead)

da:wuq'kaqa:yu si li:tu kay qang qi:ya ng gipangha:tag
 nga surbi:ti tagidyut lang "Lito is very selfish because
 the ice cream he gave was in very small amounts." V⁻ diyut
 "little"

11.82 ka- -an (→) "V⁻-ty" (numeral formers)

Cf. Sec. 10.312 "collection of"

kapqatan ka manga ta:wu qang nangama:tay sa bagyu "Forty
 people died in the typhoon." V⁻ qupat "four"

Numeral bases with irregular alternants with this affix are:

kaluhaqan - "twenty"

kaluwaqan - "twenty"

katluqan - "thirty"

kapqatan - "forty"

kalimqan - "fifty"

kanquman - "sixty"

(These forms could be taken to be dead forms of transients
 potential local passives. Cf. kaduhaqan "Thing which can
 be done with two at a time".

kaduhaqan ba na:kuq paguhit qang bugsay "Can the paddle be
 held with both hands?")

11.83 gika- "ordinal former"

gika-occurs with any numeral not with prefix tag- except gusa. The ordinal is either a CN or numeral (i.e., linked either with ka- or nga).

si ru:has qang gikaduha ng pangu:lu sa qa:tu ng na:sud "Roxas was the second president of our country."

11.84 -an (dead)

qang qi:ya ng hunaghu:naq giku:taw sa gatusan ka panguta:na
"His mind was stirred by hundreds of questions." V gatus
"hundred"

11.85 ka- (maka-)

This prefix occurs with numerals ^{forming} / qualifiers (Sec. 6.2125).

{maka-
ka-} pila ka na:kuq sulti:hi ng diq naq ni:mu hilabtan
"How many times did I tell you that you were not to touch that."
V pila "how many"

11.86 { -un { "to take V" }
 { -a { "make it V" } }

These are forms of transients but used only with these two affixes and ^{have} /no subject in this meaning. These affixes are used with the Cebuano numerals, one through ten, and Spanish numbers above that. Also they are used with gatus "one hundred" and li:bu "one thousand"

tulu qi:mu qa:kuq lang qupatun ha "You want three? I will just make it four, all right?" V qupat "four"

libu:ha lang qarun waq na y ki:da "Just make it a thousand to round it off." V li:bu "thousand"

11.87 Affixes for amount of money

11.871 -un (→) 1) "V -piece bill"

2) " worth V apiece"

1) qiqi:lis ku qa:ri ng singkuhun "Change me this fiver."
V singku "five"

In the second meaning -un (→) is the same affix as that described in Sec. 11.333.

2) taga:qi ku g bayntihun "Let me have the twenty-cent size."
 V baynti "twenty"

11.872 { maN- (→) }
 { maN- -un (→) } "V bill" (dead)

di:qa y qa:ku ng { mamisusun } qu sinsiyu:hi qu "Here.
 { mamisus }
 Here is a peso. Give me the change." V pi:sus "one peso
 bill"

(For maN- -un in the meaning "worth V a piece" cf. Sec.

11.33351)

11.873 dya-"bill worth V " (dead)

hingkitqan na:kuq si pasyu nga naglukluk sa qi:ya ng bulsa
 qug lini:kit nga manga dyabaynti "I happened to see Pacio stuffing
 his pocket with rolls of twenty peso bills." V baynti
 "twenty"

11.9 Derivative affixes forming qualifiers

These affixes form qualifiers of the type described in
Sec. 6.2125.

11.91 -in- (→) "by the, in groups of"

11.911 To nominal base

V giswilduqan sila g binulan "They are paid by the month."
 bu:lan "month"

11.912 To adjective base (adjectives meaning "quantity")

gika:qun ni:ya g ginagmay qang qi:ya ng bukha:yuq "He ate
 his coconut candy little at a time." V gagmay "little
 (plural)"

11.913 To numerals

nanggu:waq sila g tinagsa qarun di:liq sila himatikdan
 "They went out one at a time in order not to be noticed."
 V tagsa "one a piece"

11.9131 Specialized meaning

gipi:siq ni:ya qang qi:ya ng lugway g tinulu "He made
 his tether using three strands." V tulu "three"

11.92 Doubling and Culu-forms " ^{{every} _{{by the} } V- "

This affix occurs with words meaning "recurring period of time" (dead). If the action is a different action each time, matag is used.

11.921 Doubling

This is with words of two syllables.

giswildu:han siya g qadlawqadlaw "He is paid by the day."

V- qadlaw "day"

11.922 Culu-

This is used for words of more than two syllables.

magtagbuq kami dinhi duluduminggu "We meet here on Sundays."
V- duminggu "Sunday"

11.93 ginig-, qig, pag-

These form qualifiers of the type described in Sec. 6.2122 and are abstracts (Sec. 8.3).

11.94 maka- / ka- (to numerals)

These prefixes are described in Sec. 11.85.

Chapter Twelve: Paradigms

12.0 Introduction

The following paragraphs give the basic types of paradigms of the Cebuano transient bases in terms of the inflectional affixes and some of the derivative affixes with which they occur. These relationships cannot be said to be either "one-way" or "two-way transformational" (Sec. 1.312) because not all bases in a given paradigm have all members of the paradigm. Not all derivative affixes have been taken into account in analyzing the paradigmatic types, because for those affixes which have not been taken into account, their occurrence or nonoccurrence does not seem to be correlated with the occurrence or nonoccurrence of other affixes.

12.01 Summary of which inflectional affixes occur with which derivational affixes

The following tables describe which inflectional affixes occur with bases having certain derivative affixes. (Only the unreal forms are listed, but the real and abstract forms are implied.) Examples of these are given in Chapter Eight. (-in- and -ay* are not listed in the chart, as the bases with the latter do not occur with inflectional affixes; and bases with -in- occur with inflectional affixes only in isolated cases.)

*Bases with -ay always have a derivative affix pag- (Sec. 9.921) or pakig- (Sec. 9.7).

| Occurs with most bases having the derivative affix | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------|--------|-------|-----------|----------|--|
| Inflectional: | : | : | : | : | : | : | : | : | :Culu- | :pani- | |
| Affix | :pa- | :paN- | :ka- | :hi- | :hiN- | :pakig- | :paka- | :pag- | Doubling: | :panggi- | |
| | : | : | : | : | : | : | : | : | : | :panig- | |
| mu- | : ✓ | : (1) | : (1) | : (1) | : | : (1) | : | : (1) | : ✓ | : (1) | |
| mag- | : ✓ | : ✓ | : ✓ | : | : ✓ | : | : ✓ | : | : ✓ | : | |
| maka- | : ✓ | : ✓ | : (2) | : (2) | : (2) | : (2) | : | : ✓ | : ✓ | : ✓ | |
| -un | : ✓ | : ✓ | : | : | : | : | : ✓ | : ✓ | : ✓ | : | |
| -an | : ✓ | : ✓ | : ✓ | : ✓ | : ✓ | : ✓ | : | : ✓ | : ✓ | : ✓ | |
| qi- | : ✓ | : ✓ | : ✓ | : | : (3) | : | : ✓ | : ✓ | : ✓ | : ✓ | |

1) Note the morphophonemic alternations which these prefixes undergo when occurring together with mi-/mu- (Sec. 8.1182 ff.).

2) The potentials occur only with a few bases with this affix.

3) The instrumental passive is used with a few bases having this affix.

12.02 Distribution of derivative affixes with respect to each other

Only some of the derivative affixes occur with derived transient bases and only with bases having certain affixes. The following chart shows the distribution of derivative affixes with derived transient bases. (There are a few exceptions, but these are dead formations.) Cf. Chapter Nine for examples.

| : Occurs with bases having an affix: : | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------|-------|------|------|-------|-------|---------|--------|-------------|
| Affix having: | : | : | : | : | : | : | : | : | :(doubling) |
| shape | :pa- | :paN- | :ka- | :hi- | :hiN- | :-ay: | :pakig- | :paka- | :Culu- |
| <u>pa-</u> | : | : | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | : | : | : | ✓ |
| <u>paN-</u> | : | : | : | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | : | : | ✓ |
| <u>ka-</u> | : | : | : | : | ✓ | ✓ | : | : | : |
| <u>pakig-</u> | : | : | ✓ | ✓ | : | : | ✓ | : | ✓ |
| doubling }
<u>Culu-</u> | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | : | : | ✓ | : | ✓ |
| <u>pag-</u> | : | : | : | : | : | ✓ | : | : | ✓ |
| <u>-ay</u> | : | : | ✓ | ✓ | : | : | : | : | : |

12.1 Derivative and active paradigms

12.11 Class I

This class includes bases which do not occur with pag- "do V" to each other" (Sec. 9.921).

mi-/mu- {volitional } " (Sec. 8.111)
 {begin action } (Sec. 8.112)

nag-/mag- {nonvolitional } " (Sec. 8.1211)
 {continuing action }

naka-/maka- "potential" (Sec. 8.13)

For derived bases which do not occur with mi-/mu- cf. Sec. 8.1141. For derived bases which do not occur with nag-/mag- cf. Sec. 8.1213.

12.111 Class IA

This class contains those that follow Class I with no exceptions*.

mipalit siya g kadi:na "He bought a chain." (59.13)

kinsa y nagpalit qa:na ng qi:mu ng rilu "Who bought that watch of yours?"

*Footnotes are placed at the end of the sections to which they apply.

walaq siya makapalit qag bisikli:ta kay mahal "He was not able to buy a bicycle because they were expensive."

These forms occur to nominal base, e.g. V karsu:nis "wear pants". (Cf. the examples in Sec. 9.10.11.)

Some transients of this type are also used with affixes of the type in Class IB.

-
- *1) V da:gan "run" and others have (→) with nag-/mag-.
 - 2) V hi:lak "cry" and others have (→) with nag-/mag- and optional (→) for imperative pag-.
 - 3) V ka:qun "eat" and others have optional (→) with nag-/mag- and pag- imperative.
 - 4) V hunaqhu:naq "think" and others have (→) with naka-/maka-.
 - 5) V ku:haq "get" and others have optional (→) with naka-/maka-.
 - 6) V kata:wa "laugh" and others optionally ^{have} a base without ka- and (→) with naka-/maka-.
 - 7) V balitaq "report" and others have a meaning of "action devolving on agent" with naka-/maka-. (Cf. Sec. 8.134.)

12.112 Class IB

The transients in this class differ from those in IA above in that the active has the meaning "action happened to V".*

mi-/mu- "action happened" (Sec. 8.1131)

nag-/mag- "is V (-ing)" (Sec. 8.1211)

naka-/maka- "has V-ed" (Sec. 8.1341)

mibagting qang lingga:nay sa paghurus sa ha:ngin "The bell rang when the wind blew hard."

lurdis nagbagting na qang kampa:na "Lourdes, the bell is already ringing."

nakabagting na ba diqay qang kampa:na "Has the bell rung already?"

Bases in the paradigms of Class IB may also occur in Class IIA or IA. They are in Class IIA if they occur with ka- stative, (Sec. 9.3), and they are in Class IA if they do not.

*1) V⁻ ba:tiq "feel" and others have no nag-/mag-, naka-/maka-.
e.g.,

miba:tiq siya g daku ng gugma kang li:na "He felt a great love for Lena."

2) V⁻ dakuq "be big" and others do not occur with naka-/maka- "has V⁻-ed".

3) V⁻ ku:rug "tremble" and others have (→) with nag-/mag-.

12.113 Class IC

This class includes those with no mi-/mu- or nag-/mag- or with mi-/mu-, nag-/mag- with the base in a different meaning from those of the base with naka-/maka-.*

qug nakadungug si karangkál niq:ni "And Karangkal heard this."
(33.9)

makasalaq man ga:niq qang manga dagkuq qang manga ba:taq pa ba "If adults commit wrong, how much more likely are small children to do so?"

*1) V⁻ qasa:wa "take wife" and other bases have (→) with naka-/maka-.

siya y nakaqasawa sa qanak sa mayur "He married the mayor's daughter."

12.114 Class ID

This subclass contains those which have bases occurring only with mi-/mu- and naka-/maka-.*

miki:taq siya qug dyis pi:sus gaha:pun "He earned ten pesos yesterday."

nakakitaq qang draybir qug traynta pi:sus sa miqa:gi ng pyista
"The driver earned thirty pesos last fiesta."

*1) V⁻ sulud "enter" and others occur with nag-/mag- in a causative meaning.

kinsa y nagsulud sa tu:big qa:ni ng butilya "Who put the water in this bottle?"

misulud siya sa tangkal qug misignit qug qusa ka qaslunun "He went into the pigpen and caught a pig." (60.1)

12.115 Class IE

This subclass contains those which occur only with nag-/mag-.

Transient V[—] pu:nay "always"

magpu:nay lang siya qug lingkud "He kept on sitting down." (1.14)

12.12 Class II

This class contains bases which have a causative meaning without pa- (Sec. 8.14) and occur with ka- stative.

mi-/mu- "cause x"

naka-/maka- "cause x"

ka- $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{"be} \\ \text{become} \\ \text{do} \end{array} \right\} x$ (Sec. 9.3)

12.121 Class IIA

This subclass consists of bases for which nag-/mag- means "be V[—] "*.

sagdi lang kay qaku la y muhi:lum sa ba:taq "Never mind. Let me be the one to make the child quiet."

maghi:lum ta kay natu:lug si pa:pa "Let us be quiet because Daddy is asleep."

qikaw galam sa ba:taq kay qikaw ra ma y makahi:lum ni:ya "You take care of the baby because only you can make him quiet."

hata:gi na ng ba:ta g dulsi qarun mahi:lum "Give the child candy so that it will be quiet."

* 1) V[—] dakuq "be big" and others do not occur with mi-/mu- "make V[—] ".

2) V[—] lisud "cause to be difficult" and others have optional (\leftarrow) with nag-/mag-.

qa:kuq na la:mang patyun kini si karangkàl kay $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{magli:sud} \\ \text{maglisud} \end{array} \right\}$ kita

niqi:ni "I will just kill Karangkal for we are having a hard time now." (26.13)

12.122 Class IIB

This contains those bases which occur with nag-/mag- "do x to oneself" *.

qaku la y muli:gid sa baril qug lakat lang "I will roll the barrel along, and you just walk."

nakitqan ku si maryu ng nagli:gid sa sa:wug "I saw Mario {rolling} on the floor."
{lying}

di:liq ku makali:gid sa baril kay dakuq ra kaqa:yu "I cannot roll the barrel because it is too big."

qug di:liq ga:niq magbantay qang draybir sigu:ru gayu ng mali:gid qang trak ngadtu sa qubus "If the driver is not careful, the truck will surely roll to the bottom."

Adjective base V— hubug "be drunk"

qaku y muhubug sa qamahan qug qikaw mangulita:wu sa qanak "I will make the father drunk, and you court the daughter."

human siya bulagi naghubug siya "After he was jilted, he made himself drunk."

maqu y nakahubug qang ram nga gisa:gul sa kuk "The rum in coke was what made me drunk."

nahubug kaqa:yu gani:ha si tiryu "Terio was very drunk a while ago."

* 1) V— ta:guq "be hidden" and others have a meaning with mi-/mu- "do x to oneself" as well as the causative meaning. muta:guq ku sa lasang "I will hide in the forest."

2) V— ta:guq "hidden" and others have a meaning "do x to oneself" with naka-/maka-.
walaq siya makata:guq qug nadakpan siya "He was not able to hide, and he was caught."

3) V— pi:lay "cause to bend over" and others have nag-/mag- (→) for reflexive meanings.

nakitqan ku qang manga kawa:yan nga nanagpilay "I saw the bamboos bending over."

12.123 Class IIC

This subclass contains those bases which occur with nag-/mag- meaning "cause x" *.

kinsa y mutu:lug sa ba:taq run "Who will put the child to
sleep now?"

nagtu:lug si qiyay sa ba:taq di:liq makaqanhi "Eyay is putting
the child to sleep; she cannot come."

makatu:lug ka ba sa ba:taq "Can you put the child to sleep?"

mangi:taq siya hinu:qu g landung qug didtu matu:lug "He would
look for shade instead, and there he would sleep." (3.2)

* 1) V⁻ katu:lug "sleep" and others occur with naka-/
make- to the base without ka-

1a) naka-/maka- has (\rightarrow) with katu:lug and optional dropping of ka.

12.124 Class IID

This class consists of forms occurring with pa- with a meaning similar to base without pa-*. (Cf. the discussion Secs. 9.1131 and 9.122.)

kinsa ba y { mupamala } sa tinisan "Who will dry the tennis court?"
 mumala

kinsa y { nagpamala } sa suyming pul "Who dried the swimming
pool up?" { nagmala }

kini ng qadla:wa di:liq { makapamala
cannot dry the ground." makamala } sa yu:taq "This sun

si:gi siya ng qinum piru waq giha:pun mamala qang subaq "He kept on drinking, but the river still did not dry up."

*1) V bu:hiq "live" and others occur only with naka-/
maka- when with pa-

qang ginu:qu ra y {makapabu:hi
makabu:hi} g patay "Only the Lord can bring
a dead man to life."

2) V bi:lin and others have meaning "action devolving on agent" with pa- .

qang nahitabuq nagpabi:lin nga ginasulti:han sa manga ta:wu
 "The event remained a subject of conversation for the people."
 (23.11)

12.125 Class IIE

This class contains those occurring with paka- with a meaning similar to the base without paka- *. (Cf. Sec. 9.121.)

qaku y { mupakatu:lug
mutu:lug } sa ba:taq ru ng gabi:qi "I will be the one to put the child to sleep tonight."

kinsa y { nagpakatu:lug
nagtu:lug } sa ba:taq waq man papanihapu:na "Who put the child to sleep? He was not given his supper."

waq pa ku { makapakatu:lug
makatu:lug } ni bi:bi diq siya gustu na:kuq
"I have not put Baby to sleep yet. He does not like me."

*1) V bu:hiq and others have a meaning of "action devolving on agent" with paka-. They occur only with nag-/mag-.
nagpakabu:hiq qang qinahan qa:lang la:mang sa kaqayu:han sa qi:ya ng manga qanak "The mother lived only for the welfare of her children."

12.126 Class IIF

The bases in this class do not occur with mi-/mu- or nag-/mag-.

qunsa ma y nakabala:ka ni:mu "What makes you worry?"

nabala:ka qang qinahan pagkabatiq sa gisulti sa ha:riq "The mother was worried upon hearing what the king said."

12.127 Class IIG

This subclass contains those which do not occur with other active affixes other than the statives (~~forms~~ with ka- 9.3)*.

gulanggulang na siya kay nata:wu siya s waq pa y gu:bat "He is rather old now because he was born before the war."

*1) qunsa and others occur with paN- (Class V C) for the causative meaning.

qayaw g kahadluk diq naq mangunsa ni:mu "Do not be afraid. That will do you no harm."

12.13 Class III

This class contains those with bases which have the prefix pa- "causative"* (Sec. 9.11.).

| | |
|--|--|
| <u>mi-</u> / <u>mu-</u> + <u>pa-</u> | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{"do V"} \\ \text{"cause V"} \end{array} \right\}$ to oneself " |
| <u>nag-</u> / <u>mag-</u> + <u>pa-</u> | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{"do V"} \\ \text{"cause V"} \end{array} \right\}$ to oneself " |
| <u>naka-</u> / <u>maka-</u> + <u>pa-</u> | $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{"do V"} \\ \text{"cause V"} \end{array} \right\}$ to oneself " |

si qi:da di:liq mupaki:taq samtang basaq pa qang qi:ya ng buhuk
"Ida won't show herself while her hair is wet."

qaku y mupaki:taq ni:ya sa qi:ya ng manga sayup "I will point
out his faults to him."

si qi:da di:liq magpaki:taq samtang basaq pa qang qi:ya ng
buhuk "Ida won't show herself while her hair is wet."

qapan si karangk'al bi:san sa ba:taq pa nagpaki:taq qug
talagsaqu ng qabilidad "But Karangkal, even as a child, showed
unusual abilities." (25.8)

sukad siya mahagbung sa bar waq na makapaki:taq si qupilya
kana:muq "After she failed the bar exam, Ophelia did not show
herself any more."

qaku y nakapaki:taq ni:ya sa qi:ya ng manga sayup "I was the
one who showed him his errors."

*1) V[—] gulahi "be late" and others have no causative
meaning with mi-/mu- plus pa-, but just have the reflexive
meaning.

12.14 Class IV

This includes bases occurring with the prefix pag-/nag-/
mag- (←) meaning "do V[—] to each other" (Sec. 9.921) and
pakig- (←).

12.141 Class IVA

This class includes bases which have pag- and pakig- and
which have the affixes of Class IA *.

musakay lang ku s dyip miqingun si guryu "'I will just take the
jeep,' said Gregorio."

kay layuq man na ng qa:tu ng qadtu:qan magsakay ta g dyip "Let
us take a jeep, because the place we are going to is far."

nagsa:kay mi s tu:ni gani:ha ng buntag sa pagpaqingun naku s
kapitulyu "Tony and I rode together this morning when I went

to the Capitol."

naqatrasa:wu qaku sa qupisi:na karun kay walaq da:yun qaku makasakay "I am late to work because I could not get a bus right away."

diq ku gustu ng makigsa:kay ni:mu "I do not want to ride with you."

*1) V[—] ki:taq "see" and others occur only with nag-/mag- "do to each other" and naka-/maka- (→) in the active with meaning "V[—]-ed".

2) V[—] ku:yug and others have (→) with naka-/maka- .

3) V[—] qabut has no nag-/mag- meaning durative action.

4) V[—] qi:lis has a meaning "do V[—] to oneself" with nag-/mag- and naka-/maka- .

12.142 Class IV B

This subclass contains those without the affixes of Class IA. The majority in this class are those which have affix -ay (Sec. 9.6 and its subsections).

magsula:tay mu s maring qug qadtu na ka s mani:laq "You and Maring write to each other when you are in Manila."

gustu ka ng makigsula:tay qug pinpal sa qamirika "Do you want to correspond with a pen pal from America?"

12.15 Class V

This class contains those bases which have a paN- prefix.

12.151 Class VA

This class contains those with naN-/maN-, nagpaN-(→)/magpaN-(→) and with nakapaN-/makapaN- .

nanguta:na ku sa qa:mu ng maqistra qug nga:nu ng waq siya magminyuq "I asked our teacher why she has not gotten married."

nagpangutana qang tigu:wang ba:hin sa qi:ya ng qanak "The old man kept asking about his daughter."

walaq pa ku makapanaguta:na sa qa:mu ng maqistra "I have not yet asked my teacher."

(Note that with nag-/mag- bases with paN- have a plural meaning.

Cf. Sec. 8.12112,)

12.152 Class VB

This subclass contains those bases which do not occur with nag-/mag- but occur with naka-/maka- and naN-/maN-.

human sa qi:la ng pamasi:yu nanglingkud sila sa parki "After having strolled around, they sat down in the park."

pagqabut sa dina:pit nga mamumulung nakapanglingkud na qang manga nanambung "When the guest speaker arrived, the audience had already sat down."

12.153 Class VC

This subclass contains bases with paN- which do not occur with nag-/mag- and naka-/maka-.

qang qi:ya ng manga mata namula daw mata sa qiring kumagat "His eyes were red like the eyes of a vicious cat." (48.2)

12.16 Class VI

This type comprises those which occur with the hi-/ha-, nahi- ha-/mahi- ha-.

12.161 Class VIA

This subclass contains bases which have the prefix naka-/maka- to base with hi-.

nahibalu si pa:pa nga si minti walaq muqiskuyla "Daddy knew that Mente had not gone to school."

nakahibalu na si ma:ma pagsulti ku s balitaq "Mother already knew when I told her the news."

12.162 Class VIB

This group contains bases with hi- not occurring with naka-/maka-. (This group contains the majority of bases with hi-.)

ma:tud pa ni puru nahigugma siya ni mi:na pagqa:yu "According to Poro, he is in love with Mina very much."

12.17 Class VII

This group contains bases with the prefix hiN-.

12.171 Class VIIA

This group consists of those which occur with na-/ma-.

human ni:ya g diga:mu sa qi:la ng pama:haw gidu:qul ni:ya qang
qi:ya ng nahina:nuk pa ng ba:na "After she had fixed breakfast
she moved toward her husband who was still sleeping soundly."

12.172 Class VIIB

This group occurs only with nag-/mag- *.

nakitqan ku si pilar naghina:big samtang si qisang nanglaba
"I saw Pilar talking while Isang was washing clothes."

*1) hinagbuq and others occur only with pag- "do V to
each other" (Sec. 9.92).

12.2 Passive paradigms

12.21 Class I

This class includes those forms which have direct passives
with direct meaning, local passives with local meaning ("local"
or "person for whom"), and instrumental passives with instrumental
meaning.

| | |
|--------------|---|
| direct | "thing V -ed" (<u>Sec. 8.211</u> and subsections) |
| local | {place where } V is done" (<u>Sec. 8.2212,</u>
{person for whom } 8.2213 and subsections) |
| instrumental | { "thing with which" (<u>Sec. 8.312</u> and subsections
{ "person for whom" (<u>Sec. 8.2313</u>)
(imperative only) |

12.211 Class Ia

misa:qad si karlus nga palitun ni:ya kadtu ng qawtu
"Charles promised that he would buy that automobile."

muba:lik ku ngadtu sa tinda:han nga qa:ku ng gipalitan qug sini:maq
"I will go back to the store where I bought a dress."

malipa:yun si na:nay kay gipalitan siya ni ta:tay qug makina
"Mother is happy because Dad bought a sewing machine for her."

instrumental (temporal meaning)

maqa:yu ru ng gipalit qug libru kay bubaratu na "It is good to
buy books because they are cheaper now."

Instrumental (instrumental meaning)

taga:qi ku g kwarta ng qipalit qug karni "Give me money to buy meat with."

Instrumental (person for whom)(in imperative only))*

qipalit ra gud si li:na qug qaspirin kay gilabda g qu:lu "Please buy aspirin for Lena because she has a headache."

*1) The instrumental meaning "person for whom" is also used other than imperative (cf. 8.2313) for some bases e.g. V[—] ku:haq "get" qiku:haq ku siya qug tambal "I will get some medicine for him."

12.212 Class 1b

This subclass contains those bases which have only direct passives and no other passives. The words in this class belong to the types described in Secs. 8.211225 and 8.21162 - 4.*

mangi:taq ku qug panaptun nga maqa:yu ng karsuni:sun "I will look for cloth that will be good to make into pants."

*1) V[—] hunaghu:naq "think" and others are also used in the instrumental. qihunaghu:naq ra ku g maqa:yu ng pasa:ngil qikaha:tag sa qa:ku ng qasa:wa "Think of a good excuse to give my wife."

2) V[—] ka:las "waste" and others have a local meaning "person who considers something as V[—]".

magdagi:nut ta s papil kay kala:san nyaq si hwan "Let us economize on paper because John will consider it a waste."

12.213 Class 1c

This subclass includes bases which mean motion. The direct passive of these bases means "place to which"; the local passive means "place on which". The instrumental has an instrumental meaning.

layuq kaqa:yu qang qa:ku ng lakwun qugmaq "The place I am going tomorrow is very far."

di:liq maqa:yu ng lakwan ni ng kalsa:da kay lapu:kun "This road is not good to walk on because it is muddy."

kini ng da:qa ng sapa:tus maqa:yu ng qilakaw "These old shoes are good to walk in."

12.214 Class 1d

This subclass includes those with only potential forms in the passives.* Bases of this type are described in Sec.

8.2144.

qang qa:mu ng panagsulti maba:tiq ni ta:tay "Dad will hear our conversation."

*1) Some have nonpotentials in other meanings: kita:qun "person met with" Cf. Sec. 8.21151.

12.215 Class 1e

This subclass includes those with local passives meaning "affected by". The direct passive has the meaning "thing caused to be V—". The local passive of words in this class are described in Sec. 8.2215 and its subsections.

direct passive

nga:nu ng saki:tun pa man ni:mu qang qi:mu ng kaqugali:ngun sa paghandum sa nanga:gi "Why inflict pain upon yourself by thinking of the past?"

local passive

gisakitan si lulu sa qu:lu "Lulu has a headache."

12.216 Class 1f

This subclass includes those with direct meaning "thing caused to be V—". The local means "person who considered something as V—". Instrumental if used at all is used in the imperative and temporal meanings (Secs. 8.2313, 8.2314).

gwapu:hun ku ni ng parul kay qa:ku ng qiqintra sa bangga "I will make this lantern beautiful because I will enter it in the contest."

gigwapu:han gayud ku ni ruhilyu "I really think Rogelio is handsome."

12.217 Class 1g

This subclass contains bases for which the direct passive

means "person affected by".

wala y kukahadluk nga manungkab sa manga hayu:pan sa manga ta:wu
kanang bati:qun na sa kagu:tum maqadlaw kun magabi:qi "He had
no fear at all to steal the people's animals whenever he felt
hungry, day or night." (56.16)

12.22 Class 2

This class includes those which have no direct passives, have local passives with direct meaning and have instrumental passives with instrumental meaning.

12.221 Class 2a

This class includes bases that follow the above type (Sec. 12.22).

Local with direct meaning*

gibayran na:kuq qang qa:ku ng qu:tang "I paid my debt."

Instrumental passive with instrumental meaning

ni:qa qang kwarta ng qa:ku ng qiba:yad sa qa:ku ng qu:tang
 "Here is the money that I will pay my debt with."

*1) V— maqu "know" occurs only with local potential in direct meaning.

waq ku y kamaquhan ba:hin sa manga makina "I know nothing about machinery."

2) V — ti:pig "set aside" and others have local in the direct meaning and no instrumental.

12.222 Class 2b

This subclass includes those forms with direct passives in the same meaning as the local passive. The local passives of bases of this type are described in Sec. 8.21123. The instrumental of these has an instrumental meaning.*

direct and local passive
 kupti ni ng qa:ku ng bag key {qabli:han} ku ni ng pultahan
 {qabli:hun}
 "Hold my bag because I will open the door."

instrumental passive

kini ng yawi:ha maqu y qigabli sa pultahan "This is the key to open the door."

*1) V — tu:qu {believe
obey} "and others do not have an instrumental passive in the instrumental meaning."

12.223 Class 2c

This subclass includes those bases with a local passive meaning "reason for which V — is done" and with an instrumental-ablative meaning "action done while agent is in a certain emotion". The local and instrumental of bases of this type are described in Secs. 8.2214 and 8.23143 respectively.*

qunsa ma y qi:mu ng gihilakan "What are you crying about?"

gihi:lak ku na lang qang qa:ku ng kahiqubus kay di:liq man ku makasu:kul "I just cried along with my hurt feelings because I could not fight back."

*1) V — hi:lak "cry" and other bases have optional (→) with the local passive.

2) V — ku:rug "tremble" and others have no instrumental except in the temporal meaning.

12.224 Class 2d

This subclass includes those with local passives to derived bases with direct meanings. These are bases with hi-/hing- (Sec. 9.4) and pakig- (Sec. 9.7). Local passives of bases of the type with hi-/hing- are described in Sec. 8.22115.

hingkitqan na:muq si du:dung nga natu:g sa sinihan "We saw Dodong sleeping in the movie house."

pakigkita:gan na:kuq si gulyas qugmaq "I will see Gullas tomorrow."

12.225 Class 2e

This class includes those with only a local passive in a local meaning.*

nga:nu ng qi:mu ng gibilakagan qang katri "Why are you sitting on the bed?"

*1) V[—] lingkud "sit" and others have an instrumental passive. qayaw g qilingkud kana ng qi:mu ng baggu ng karsu:nis "Do not sit in your new trousers."

2) V[—] tagingting "jingle" and others have local passives only in meaning "thing affected by".

kana ng tawha:na laqug kaqa:yu g kwarta tagingti:ngan lang ni:mu g sinsilyu da:yu g du:qul "That man is very greedy for money. If he hears the tingling of coins, he immediately comes near you."

12.23 Class 3

This class includes those forms with instrumental passives with ablative (direct) meaning and local passives with the meaning "person for whom", "place at which".

12.231 Class 3a

This subclass includes those which have no direct passive.

The instrumental means "thing V[—] -ed" and the local means {person
place }
to whom V[—] -ed". Instrumental passives of this type are described in Sec. 8.23111.

local passive

kun di:liq mupaha:waq mapri:su pa sila qug di:liq pa sila hata:gan ni mistir qalug qug yu:tag "If they would not clear out, not only would they be put into jail, but also they would not be given any land by Mr. Alog." (539) instrumental
maqu kanaq qang qa:ku ng qiha:tag kani:mu "That is what I am going to give you." (75)

12.232 Class 3b

This subclass includes those which have direct passive with direct meaning and instrumental with ablative-causative meaning.* Bases of this type are described in Sec. 8.23112 ff.

direct passive

sudlun ku qang kwartu ni:ya karun nga waq siya dinhi "I will enter his room now that he is not here."

instrumental

qisulud ku ni ng kwarta sa qa:ku ng pita:ka "I will put this money in my purse."

*1) V— su:guq "command" and others have a direct meaning for both the direct and the instrumental with no extra causative meaning in the instrumental where the instrument means "thing V— -ed" and the direct "person V— -ed".

si hwan kun sugu:qun ni:mu di:liq ni:ya buha:tun qang gisu:guq
"If you told John to do something, he would not do what he was told." (1.12)

1a) V— qingun "say" and others of this type have a local passive in the meaning "person V— -ed". { qingna } si hwan "Tell John." { qingni }

2) V— qandam "prepare" and others have the same meaning for the instrumental and direct.

{ qanda:ma } ni ng kahu:ya pa:ra sa panday "Make this wood ready
{ qiqandam }
for the carpenter."

3) V— ku:qut "reach in" and others have a direct meaning in the direct and ablative (motion away from speaker) in the instrumentals.

walaq kuqu:ta ni hwan qang pita:ka "John did not reach for the purse."

giku:qut kana ng qi:mu ng kamut kay qadu:na ku y qiha:tag kani:mu
"Put in your hand, for I have something to give you." (5.11)

4) V— sulud "go in" and others have a causative meaning in the local passive.

qang manga karabaw nagaguyud sa kurma:ta ng gisudlan sa salapiq
"The carabaos pulled the carts which were filled with gold."
(Lit: "place gold was put in") (16.10)

12.233 Class 3o

This group includes those with direct passives in meanings other than direct, instrumental with an ablative causative meaning, and local in the local meaning.

direct with meaning of "purpose" (Sec. 8.2113)

qunsa pa ma y qi:mu ng gubanun ngadtu sa lilu:qan nga nangali:guq
na man mu didtu gaha:pun "What are you going along to Lilo-an for when you already went swimming there yesterday?"

local in the local meaning

gigubanan pa man ga:niq qaku sa tininti sa bala:ngay "The barrio lieutenant had even gone along with me." (65.5)

instrumental with ablative-causative meaning

pusta ni ng libru kay qa:kuq ni ng qiguban qug ha:tag kang li:na "Wrap this book up because I will have it go with those I am giving to Lina."

12.24 Class 4

This class includes those bases with pa- "causative". Instrumentals to bases of this type are described in Sec. 8.2311221.

pa- -un "person caused to V"

qipa- "thing caused to be V-ed"

12.241 Class 4a

This class includes those with local passive meaning

"place at which one caused V" or "person for whom one caused V"

direct

papalitun ku qug mangga si pilar "I will have Pilar buy some mangoes."

local

gipapalitan na:kuq gang manga ba:taq qug pan "I had some bread bought for the children."

instrumental

gipapalit ku kana ng sapa:tus kang ta:tay "I will have Dad buy those shoes."

12.242 Class 4b

This subclass contains those with local meaning nearly the same as instrumental. The locals of bases of this type are described in Sec. 8.221521.

direct

pasugu:qun ku si mari:ya kang li:na pagpanglaba "I will have Mary command Lina to do the laundry."

local

pasugu:qan lang na:tuq si maryu qug ba:taq "Let us just have a boy sent for Mario."

instrumental

gipasugug ku lang naq si li:na sa qa:mu ng kasi:ra ng si lurna "I will just allow Lorna, our boarder, to command Lina."

12.243 Class 4c

This subclass has local passives with the same meaning as direct or instrumental. Bases of this type are described in Sec. 8. 221113.

pahina:yun
pahina:yan
qipahi:nay } ni:ya qang qawtu kay dagha ng ta:wu sa kalsa:da "He
 will slow down his car because there are many people in the
 street."

12.25 Class 5

This class contains those passives to bases with the affix ka- (Sec. 9.3).

12.251 Class 5a

This subclass contains those with local passives in direct meaning and those with qi- instrumental. The locals for this type are described in Sec. 8.22113.

local
 qang pagba:lik sa qanak nga maqusi:kun moq y gikalipa:yan sa
 qamahan "The return of the prodigal son was the cause of the
 father's joy."

instrumental
gikali:pay ku qang qi:mu ng kalampu:san "Your success will make
 me happy."

12.252 Class 5b

This class includes those bases with ka- that have no instrumental passive. The locals to these are described in Sec. 8.22113 and mean "reason on account of which one V 's"*.
 *

mikalit qug buthuq qang gikalisa:nga ng buqa:ya sa subaq sa marbil
 "Suddenly the fearful crocodile appeared in the river at Marbel."
 (54.15)

*1) V- katu:lug "sleep" and others also have a local meaning in the local passive.

gikatulgan ni ni:niq qang baggu ng katri "Nene slept on the new bed."

2) V kabu:hiq "live" and others have a meaning "thing from which one V " in the local passive.

qunsa y qi:mu ng gikabuhi:qan "What is your means of livelihood?"

3) V kata:gak "fall" and others have a local meaning "person on whom something V's"

natagakan si qustu g lubi "A coconut fell on Osto."

12.26 Class 6

This class contains those passives with prefix pag- meaning "do with" (Sec. 9.21). Bases of this type are described in Sec. 9.21.

12.261 Class 6a

This subclass includes those passives with pag- used in the direct and local passives. Words of this type may have zero alternants of pag-. They are described in Sec. 9.21. The direct passive of these, "person with whom one V-ed"*, is described in Sec. 8.2115 ff.

giki:taq na:kuq si padri dama:su gaha:pun "I went to see Fr. Damasus yesterday."

local passive "place where people V-ed with each other"

kana ng punu:qan sa qakasya maqu y gikita:qan sa managtra:tu
"That place under the acacia tree is where the lovers met."

*1) Some forms have direct passives with a different meaning.
minyu:qun "persons caused to V with each other"

minyu:qun na lang na:tuq si ti:ta qug guryu "Let us just marry Tita and Gorio off."

2) Other forms have direct meaning "thing people V with each other".

gili:sun na:tuq qang qa:tu ng la:pis "Let us exchange pencils."

12.262 Class 6b

This subclass includes those with pag- used with instrumental and local passives. Bases of this type are described in Sec. 9.21.

local passive "place people V-ed with each other"

maqu ni dinhi qang gipanaggawa:yan sa manga sunda:lu ng pilipi:nu qug hapun "This is where the Filipino and Japanese soldiers fought each other."

instrumental passive "person with whom one V-ed"

tu:qa ra si pisyang qang baba:yi ng qa:ku ng gikaqa:way kaniqadtu "There goes Pisyang, the woman with whom I fought one time."

*1) V- qa:way "fight" and others have alternants gika- -an for local passives.

maqu ni ng dapi:ta qang qi:la ng gikaqawa:yan "This is where they fought."

2) V- qa:way and others have alternants gi- -an for the local passives.

nagtindug qang manga sibuwa:nu qug bantayug sa da:pit nga gigawa:yan ni lapula:pu qug magalya:nis "The Cebuanos put up a monument at the place where Lapulapu and Magellan fought."

3) V- ki:taq "meet" and others have alternants qig- in the instrumental (Sec. 8.2315)

bi:san kinsa y qi:ya ng qigki:taq qi:ya ng lamanu:hun "He shook hands with whomever he met."

4) V- pu:yuq "live together" and others have alternants gi-/qi-.

si nurma gipu:yuq ni birtu niqadtu ng tinggu:bat "Berto had Norma live with him as his mistress during the past war."

5) V- tagbuq "meet" and others have gipanag- for the instrumental.

qa:mu ng gipanagtagbuq sa lahug qang pangu:lu qug manga magbabalaqud "We met the president and the congressmen at Lahug."

12.263 Class 6c

This subclass includes forms of local passives of bases with pag- having nonlocal meaning.*

local meaning "reason on account of which"

qang pagpi:liq qug baggu ng pangu:lu nga maqu y gipanagkita:qan sa manga sa:kup walaq mahi:mu kay naglalisay man sila "The **election** of a new president which was the reason for their meeting could not be carried out because the members argued too much."

*1) V- sulti "say" and others have a local passive in direct

meaning.

gipanagsulti:gan ni:la si bu:buy "They talked about Boboy."

12.27 Class 7

This class contains those bases with a direct meaning in all three passives.

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{padayu:na} \\ \text{padayu:ni} \\ \text{qipada:yun} \end{array} \right\}$ qang qinyu ng gikasabu:tan "Continue what you have agreed to."⁴

12.28 Class 8

This class contains bases which have no passives e.g. tangaq "stare into space"