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A GRAMMAR OF AKLAN.

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A GRAMMAR OF AKLAN

Nemia Melgarejo Chai

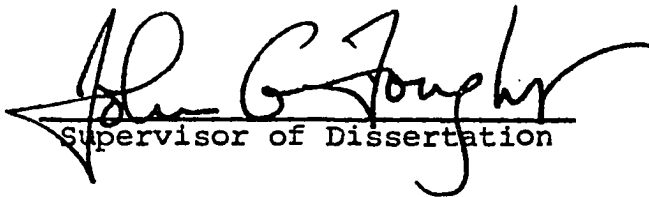
A DISSERTATION

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Supervisor of Dissertation


Graduate Group Chairman

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In a very personal way, I dedicate this final version of my dissertation to our parents, in Kalibo, Aklan, Philippines, and in Seoul, Korea, for their constant encouragement and unwavering patience in waiting through the years for its completion. Words fail me in thanking my husband, Nam-Yearl, who has shared fully the anxieties and hardships throughout the research with me; in a way, he relived his days of dissertation-writing over again. To my children, Kyu-Ho and So-Yeung, goes my deepest love for having conducted themselves well most of time during my tense working hours.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

I. The Aklan Language

The Aklan language is spoken by approximately 360,000 people¹ in Aklan, a province in the northwestern portion of Panay Island of the Republic of the Philippines. It is one of the central Philippine or Visayan dialects, of Indonesian genealogy. Like other Philippine dialects, Aklan is of the Malayo-Polynesian stock. Having its beginning as a province in 1955, when it was created from the western section of Capiz province, Aklan consists of the municipalities of Altavas, Balote, Banga, Batan, Buruanga, Ibajay, Kalibo (the provincial capital), Lezo, Libakao, Madalag, Malay, Makato, Malinao, Nabas, New Washington (the inter-island port), Numancia, and Tangalan.

The contiguously located dialects which seem closely related to Aklan are Hiligaynon or its variants, which are spoken southeast of Aklan municipalities (e.g. Sapi-an and Mambusao, municipalities of Capiz province), and Kinaray-a or its dialects (e.g. Pandan, a municipality of Antique province). Of these, Hiligaynon seems to have literary influence over Aklan; this is observed in the use of Hiligaynon

in prayers and in various popular serialized magazines in circulation in Kalibo and other municipalities near by.

Throughout the province, however, multi-lingualism seems quite widespread, especially in the use of Tagalog, a major Luzon dialect on which the so-called Filipino National Language is based, English, and Spanish. The various domestic dialects were given recognition in public instruction effective June, 1957, when Philippine vernaculars in general were utilized as media of instruction in the first three grades in their respective communities. This was one of the provisions in Department Order No. 1, s. 1957, which was issued by the then Secretary of Education, Gregorio Hernandez, Jr.:

Beginning Grade III English shall be used as medium of instruction with the vernacular as auxiliary medium in the primary and with the Filipino language as an auxiliary medium in the intermediate and high schools. 2

English is now the medium of instruction from Grade III; the Filipino National Language is introduced in the intermediate grades, and Spanish is considered a required foreign language in college.

With this perspective, the Aklan language may be considered a dominated language, in the sense that it has been used mostly as a household tongue. As far as this researcher-informant is able to determine, literary composition is chiefly done in English, perhaps in a limited degree in the Filipino National Language, and in Spanish at times, es-

pecially among elderly speakers.

Yet, in another sense, Aklan does have its unique prestige. It is used and preferred in important legal transactions, such as deeds, presumably in order that concerned parties who may not be well-versed in English or any other rather widely used language can understand the terms and provisions in these documents. "Pure" Aklan speech is also attempted by political speakers in their campaigns; and perhaps the outstanding feature of this dialect is the use of /ɣ/, a dorso-velar fricative which is equivalent to /l/ in Hiligaynon and to /r/ in Kinaray-a: e.g. Aklan /túɣug/ - Hiligaynon /túlug/ - Kinaray-a /túruga/. 'sleep.'

Written literature in Aklan³ may be said to be mostly in the form of folklore, and in some cases, maxims. Samples of these are Mga Sugilanon sa Aklan [Stories in Aklan] (1957), by [Simoun Q. Akean], and Mga Bilisad-on [Sayings] (1957), by [Tente Undoy]. A small pamphlet, Sungka-an sa Pagsueat, Pagbasa, ag Paghambae it Inakeanon [Rules in Writing, Reading, and Speaking Aklan] (Manila, 1916), may be cited as an example of a prescriptive handbook on the levels of usage of Aklan as well as for adjusting Spanish spelling for Aklan orthography. The Aklan language is also used in newspapers, although these seem to circulate only intermittently. An example of such materials is The Aklan Times, an English-Aklan bi-lingual fortnightly which was in circulation in the 1950's. In addition to these, the lan-

guage is also currently used as the medium of radio communication from Kalibo.

Aklan, as used in the Philippines, functions as the most commonly used medium for daily conversation; then Hiligaynon, read or recited as in group prayer; then English and the Filipino National Language, spoken, written, and read in varying degrees of fluency among the educated; and finally Spanish, spoken and read especially among some of the elderly and at times recited in group prayer.

The informants, whose speech constitutes the corpus for this research, are native speakers of the Kalibo dialect, almost all of whom presently reside in the bay area of San Francisco and neighboring communities. Ranging from twenty to sixty-five in age, most of these informants were interviewed in early September, 1969. These speakers, including this researcher-informant, make up a special group, in that (1) they are educated, mostly professionals with college degrees received in the Philippines and some are students pursuing graduate studies in the U.S.; and (2) they reside in an English-speaking country, outside their native Aklan speech-community, and hence they speak English more than any other language. Hiligaynon and the Filipino National Language are used in company of speakers of these languages. Aklan, it should be said, however, is still quite freely used in conversations as when these informants are together.

In ordering examples, especially for this report, paradigms which were not supplied by the other informants were completed by this researcher-informant.

II. Objectives of the Study

In the present research, we attempt

(a) to describe the syntactic feature of focus in Aklan--Focus in this language may be characterized as a type of concord by which a specific verbal marker indicates the prominence of the role of a particular nominal which occurs as the topic of the sentence, as well as the specific types of function of other nominals in the sentence.

(b) to introduce the application of string analysis to certain selected sentence samples--String analysis, formalized by Zellig S. Harris, is a procedure whereby an elementary sentence or center string is isolated from other elements in a longer sentence by means of excisions.

(c) to describe the morphological composition of the grammatical categories of verbals, nominals, and modifiers, and the patterns characterized by the use of function words.

FOOTNOTES IN PART I

- 1 This figure is stated in Beato A. de la Cruz and R. David Paul Zorc, A Study of the Aklanon Dialect, Vol. One: Grammar (Kalibo, Aklan, Philippines: Aklan Printing Center, 1968), p. 7. The official population as of the 1960 census was 226, 232; cf. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 1 (Chicago: William Benton, 1970), p. 480.
- 2 Cf. Maximo Ramos, "Better English for Filipinos," Philippine Free Press (Manila, Philippines, December 14, 1957), p. 159.
- 3 Research has been pursued on the literary writings in the language. Among these studies are "Contributions of the Aklan Mind to Philippine Literature," an unpublished M.A. thesis, by Beato A. de la Cruz (Manila: Far Eastern University, 1952), and "Aklan Sayings and Maxims," an unpublished M.A. thesis, by Josefina I. de la Cruz (Kalibo, Aklan: Aklan College, 1967).

PART II

PHONOLOGY

The present phonemic inventory of the Kalibo dialect of Aklan, as well as much of the grammar which will follow, is based upon the spoken utterances of the informants. The Aklan language has been exposed to Sanskrit, Chinese, Spanish, and English, to mention some of the sources.

Educated speakers of Aklan, the informants for this study included, incorporate borrowings in their speech and, in the tradition of prescriptive usage, tend to regard the use of these borrowings as an index of erudition.

I. Segmental Phonemes

I.A. Consonants

Types of Sounds	Points of Articulation				
	Labial	Apico-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop voiceless voiced	p b	t d		k g	ʔ
Fricative voiceless voiced		s		ʃ	h
Nasal voiced	m	n		ŋ	
Lateral voiced		l			
Vibrant voiced		r			
Glide voiced	w		y		

I.B. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Low		a	

II. Description and Exemplification of Consonants and Vowels

II.A. Consonants

II.A.1. /p/ and /b/--/p/ is an unaspirated voiceless bilabial stop. /b/ is an unaspirated voiced bilabial stop.

Initially:

pukú	'restrain'	bukú	'node'
paná?	'bow and arrow'	baná?	'you know' (limiting particle)
pá?pa?	'chew'	bá?ba?	'mouth'

Medially:

tupás	'erode'	tubás	'harvest'
dapdap	'aphid'	dábdab	'flame'
sípa?	'kick'	síba?	'swallow' (by fish)

Finally:

sápsap	'small fish'	sábsab	'drink' (by animal)
kápkap	'search'	kábkab	'fan'
tuhúp	'saturated'	tuhúb	'hole'

II.A.2. /t/ and /d/--/t/ is an unaspirated voiceless apico-alveolar stop; /d/ is an unaspirated voiced apico-alveolar stop.

Initially:

tágum	(a medicinal plant)	dágum	'needle'
tú?tu?	'harvest'	dú?du?	'touch' (with finger)
taǵúm	'sharp'	dáǵum	'deep'

Medially:

tú <u>tuy</u>	'dog' (honorific)	dú <u>duy</u>	(nickname for a male)
but <u>ung</u>	'bamboo; young coconut'	bud <u>ung</u>	(name of a male)
kú <u>tkut</u>	'dig'	kú <u>dkud</u>	'scrape'

Finally:

pát <u>pat</u>	'stick'	pád <u>pad</u>	'remove' (corn from cob)
ʒun <u>út</u>	'rotten'	ʒun <u>úd</u>	'sunk'
sá <u>pat</u>	'animal'	sá <u>pad</u>	'bunch' (bananas)

II.A.3. /k/ and /g/--/k/ and /g/ are both unaspirated dorso-velar stops; the former is voiceless and the latter is voiced.

Initially:

<u>ka-</u>	'ability' modal (ab.)	<u>ga-</u>	'present progressive' aspect
<u>kamú</u>	'you (pl.)'	<u>gamú</u>	'dirt'
<u>kútaw</u>	'wet' (hands, feet in water)	<u>gutáw</u>	(a vegetable plant)

Medially:

bá <u>ka</u>	'cow'	bá <u>ga</u>	'ember'
suk <u>út</u>	'ask for payment'	sug <u>út</u>	'give permission'
dú <u>kduk</u>	(an insect)	dú <u>gdug</u>	'repair thatched wall, roof'

Finally:

búsʔak 'chop' (wood) búsʔaq 'known throughout'
 ʔumúk 'fisted' ʔumúq 'dirty' (clothes)
 túguk 'stare' túguq 'sleep'

II.A.4. /ʔ/--The phoneme /ʔ/ as a glottal stop is clearly distinct from the velar stops /k/ and /g/, and since it occurs with different vowels it is also changed by features of tongue-height and jaw-aperture of these vowels.

Initially:

kútaw 'wet' (hands, feet in water) gutáw (a vegetable plant) ʔútaw 'soybean'
 kalít 'try' galít 'eczema' ʔalít 'coward'

Medially:

bákbak 'strip, debark' (tree) bágbag 'demolish' (boat) báʔbaʔ 'mouth'
 bakúg 'cook' (in bamboo tube) bagúg 'shell' baʔúg 'chest' (furniture)

Finally:

sugúk 'hungry' sugúq 'cook' sugúʔ 'torch'
 ʔurúk 'pig litter' ʔurúq 'shaven' ʔurúʔ 'gently persuade'

II.A.5. /s/--The phoneme /s/ is an alveolar voiceless slit fricative.

Initially:	Medially:
<u>s</u> ápat 'animal'	ba <u>s</u> á? 'wet'
<u>s</u> áya 'skirt'	?i <u>s</u> út 'small'
<u>s</u> ibát 'spear'	pa <u>s</u> úk 'container' (made of bamboo tube)

Finally:

tá <u>b</u> as 'tailor v.'
?i <u>b</u> ís 'small fish'
bu <u>g</u> ás 'rice' (uncooked)

II.A.6. /h/ and /g/--The phoneme /h/ is simply a voiceless vocoid; /g/ is a voiced dorso-velar fricative. Examples below show the contrastive nature of /h/ and /g/:

Initially:	
<u>h</u> ánut 'whip, spank'	<u>g</u> ánut 'hemp'
<u>h</u> umán 'finished'	<u>g</u> umán (portmanteau of <u>g</u> un 'already' and <u>man</u> 'also')
<u>h</u> a?úm 'ready'	<u>g</u> á?um 'suppose'

Medially:	
ba <u>h</u> á? 'flood'	ba <u>g</u> á? 'cause'
bú <u>h</u> u? 'hole'	bú <u>g</u> u? 'bamboo pole'
sa <u>h</u> á? 'prune v.'	sa <u>g</u> á? 'err'

In the final position, /h/ is shown as distinctly

contrastive with /ø/ and /ɣ/:¹

táhtah	'rip'	táøtaø	'uncle' (honorific for older man)	táɣtaɣ	'remove'
píhpih	'brush off powder'	pípi	'Pepe'		
púhpuh	'gather grain'			púɣpuɣ	'plaster'

II.A.7. /m/, /n/, and /ng/--These nasal phonemes differ from each other according to the point of articulation as already shown on the chart.

Initially:

ma	(clipped form of <u>ma</u> má 'Mother')
n-a	(clipped form of <u>n-á</u> na (n- + -ána) 3 p. sg. post-positive non-topicalized actor or possessive 'by him')
nga	'that, which, who' (ligature)

Medially:

bán?aw	'prophecy'	báng?aw	'mad-dog'
panút	'bald'	?ámút	'contribute'
		pangút	'bite'
		samít	'taste v.'
		sángit	'entangle'

Finally:

?áɣan	'satisfy'	?áɣam	'knowledge'	?áɣang (in ?aɣang- ?áɣang 'hardly')	
?uɣán	'rain'	?uɣám	'avoid'	?uɣáng	'shrimp'
buyún	'mute'			buyúng	'thug'
?uɣán	'light'	?uɣám	'gum'	?uɣáng	(clipped form of ?uɣáling 'but')

II.A.8. /l/ and /r/--These two phonemes are described in contrast with each other in forms which are believed to be native in Aklan paired with native forms also or with loan forms. The sound /l/ is articulated with the tongue quite relaxed, its tip touching the alveolar region and its sides gently against the palate thus providing narrow slits for air passage. The phoneme /r/ is produced with the lateral region of the tongue pressed against the palate; the tip, slightly retracted, flaps downward with a gentle trill. Although many examples can be listed to show /l/ and /r/ as existing sounds in present-day Aklan speech, the following few simply demonstrate where contrast does exist with the use of native words (with or without loan-mates):

<u>l</u> imá	'five'	<u>r</u> íma	'breadfruit'
<u>l</u> ikú?	'veer'	<u>r</u> ikú	(a man's name)
hal <u>l</u> á	'come on' (particle)	har <u>l</u> á	'here' (expletive)
	of entreaty)		

Some examples of minimal pairs involving especially Spanish loans are:

b <u>l</u> á	'bullet'	b <u>r</u> á	'crowbar'
s <u>l</u> á	'living room'	s <u>r</u> á	'close'
p <u>l</u> á	'shovel'	p <u>r</u> á	'for'

In Aklan the phoneme /r/ occurs in free variation with /d/ as documented also in other Malayan languages. Examples

of this type of occurrence, of assimilatory nature, are listed in the following chapter on morphophonemics.

II.A.9. /w/ and /y/--The common feature shared by the phonemes /w/ and /y/ is the glide movement, in transition either from their onset to the following vocalic or from the preceding vocalic to their articulation. In particular, the glide feature in both /w/ and /y/ involves the raising of the tongue--somewhat upward and downward in the former plus relative lip-rounding, and somewhat upward and forward in the latter.

Initially:

wáya 'dangle'	yáya 'nursemaid'
wásay 'axe'	yásay 'heck' (interjectory particle, euphemism for <u>yáwaq</u> 'devil, hell')

Medially:

báwi? 'take back'	báyí 'woman, female'
káwa? 'giant skillet'	kayá? 'lie face up'
ǵawá? 'cobweb' (in <u>ǵawá?</u> - <u>ǵawá?</u>)	ǵayá? 'wilted'

Finally:

?úhaw 'thirst'	?úhay 'stalk of grain'
lasáw 'molasses'	lasáy (a woman's name)
?isíw 'chick'	káhuy 'wood' ²

Especially in borrowed words, /w/ and /y/ occur in semi-vocalic capacity; in the native Aklanon way of pronouncing these words there tends to be a syllabic addition, as is seen in the following examples:

/pwírta/ 'door' (from Spanish puérta) occasionally becomes /puwírta/ or at least /pwírta/

/twínti/ 'twenty' (from English) tends to become /tuwínti/ or /twínti/

/dyús/ 'God' (from Spanish diós) tends to become /diyús/ or reduced to /dyús/

/pyánu/ 'piano' tends to become /piyánu/ or /pyánu/

To the above list must be added the similar nature of /l/ and /r/:

/pllátu/ 'plate' (from Spanish pláto) tends to become /pallátu/ or at least /plátu/

/pllansa/ 'flatiron' (from Spanish pláncha) tends to become /pallánsà/ or at least /plánsà/

/prlínda/ 'mortgage, pawn' (from Spanish prénda) tends to become /pirlínda/ or at least /plíndà/

/prlítu/ 'fry' (from Spanish fríto) tends to become /pirlítu/ or at least /plítu/

II.B. Vowels

II.B.1. /i/--/i/ is a high front unrounded vowel.

Allophonically, /i/ is relatively more tense and longer in open syllables and more lax and shorter in close syllables. Examples below show minimal contrast of /i/ with /a/ in medial and final positions.

Medially:

p <u>í</u> tu	'whistle'	p <u>ǎ</u> tu	'goose'
? <u>í</u> sug	'courage'	? <u>á</u> sug	'tomboy'
s <u>í</u> pa?	'kick'	s <u>á</u> pa?	(barrio of New Washington)
pa <u>í</u> ?	'lame'	pa <u>á</u> ?	'frog'
b <u>á</u> ti?	'news, knowledge'	b <u>á</u> ta?	'young'

Finally:³

?a <u>mí</u> h	(planting season)	am <u>á</u> h	'father'
? <u>á</u> níh	'harvest'	?- <u>á</u> nah	(3 p. sg., prepositive non-topicalized actor or possessive)
p <u>í</u> lih	(a kind of nut)	p <u>í</u> lah	'welt, bed-sore'

In diphthongal use, /i/ patterns as follows:

Medially:

k <u>í</u> wkiw	'chore' (slang)
? <u>á</u> lis <u>í</u> wsiw	'locust'
t <u>í</u> wtiw	'chick' (endearment)

Finally:

?is <u>í</u> w	'chick'
sil <u>í</u> w	'sharp point'

Aklan orthography observes the spelling of e as the loans have it; such spellings as bérde (from Spanish vérde) 'green,' pwéde (from Spanish puede 'can,' possible,' lamésà (from Spanish la mésa) 'table,' and pen (from English 'pen'), ten (from English 'ten'), and so on, constitute only a handful of otherwise common examples. If any contrast is observed between /i/ and /e/ in Aklan, it must be pointed out that such a contrast exists within the particular foreign language and hence no justification can be brought forth to include /e/ in our inventory of Aklan phonemes. In speech, Aklan speakers, even educated ones, frequently substitute the high front unrounded Aklan vowel /i/ [i] for the e [e] or [ɛ] of Spanish and English borrowings.

II.B.2. /u/--/u/ is a high back rounded vowel; it tends to be higher and longer in open syllables. Examples below show the contrastive feature of /u/ with /a/ in medial and final positions:

Medially:

súdsud	'plow-blade'	sádsad	'drag feet'
túhud	'knee'	táhud	'respect'
búybuy	'kapok'	báybay	'beach'

Finally:⁴

<u>ku</u> h	(1st p. sg. post-positive non-topicalized actor or possessive)	<u>ka</u> h	(2nd p. sg. post-positive topic)
<u>ma</u> tsuh	'sterile' (animal)	<u>ma</u> tsah	'like' (limiting particle)
<u>ba</u> tuh	'work slowly; do things one by one'	<u>ba</u> tah	'housedress'

In diphthongal use the /u/ is patterned as follows:

Medially:

<u>bú</u> ybuy	'kapok'
<u>pú</u> ypuy	'numb, tired'
<u>sú</u> yla?	'burp, vomit'

Finally:

<u>sakú</u> y	'fritter'
<u>patú</u> y	(a man's name)
<u>?úkuy</u>	'hold' (baby)

In Aklan writing, effort is generally made to observe the spelling of loans. For example, words like gústo 'want, desire,' púro 'pure,' and tóro 'bull' keep their Spanish orthographic forms; and 'bus,' 'boss,' 'boy,' and 'toy' keep their English spelling forms too. Once, fragmentary spelling rules were formulated, and among others, the letter o was used in the last of a series of u or o

vowels in a word.⁵ These orthographic u and o in the examples above tend to be pronounced like the high back rounded Aklan vowel /u/, as [̠̚].

II.B.3. /a/--The phoneme /a/ in Aklan is a low, central, unrounded vowel, tending to be rounded in the immediate environment of /w/. In the examples below, its contrastive nature with /i/ and u/ is shown again in medial and final positions:

Medially:

p <u>á</u> tu	'goose'	p <u>í</u> tu	'whistle'	p <u>ú</u> tu	'rice cake'
sap <u>á</u> ?	'pond'	s <u>í</u> pa?	'kick'	sup <u>á</u> ?	'chew'
bal <u>í</u> ?	'broken' (limb)	bil <u>í</u>	'value'	bul <u>í</u> ?	'abdomen'

Finally:

but <u>á</u> h	'blind'	bút <u>ih</u>	'bottle'	but <u>ú</u> h	'hatch'
kút <u>ah</u>	'quota'	kút <u>ih</u>	'chore'	kút <u>uh</u>	'lice'
sánt <u>ah</u>	'saint, f.'	sánt <u>ih</u>	(a man's name)	sánt <u>uh</u>	'saint, m.'

In diphthongal use, the /a/ is seen in the examples as follows:

Medially:

k <u>á</u> wkaw	'touch' (with hand)	b <u>á</u> ybay	'beach'
g <u>á</u> wgaw	'conrstarch'	p <u>á</u> ypay	(gesture with hand for one to come)
t <u>á</u> wtaw	'dip'	s <u>á</u> ylu	'move'

Finally:

ʔisáw	'Esau'	sakáy	'ride'
sílaw	'bright, blinding'	patáy	'kill'
		ʔúkay	'spread out'

II.C. Syllable Structure

Reflected in the phonemic distribution in morphemes and word-formation are the following syllable-types:

II.C.1. C₁V₁--All consonants and vowels occur in C₁ and V₁ positions respectively: píliʔ 'choose'; bilí 'cost'; túhuʔ 'pierce'; dúhuʔ 'bring up, fetch'; kuhít 'pole'; guhít 'mark, line'; ʔúhaw 'thirst'; sápad 'bunch'; ʔápad 'width'; hatúd 'send off'; má 'Mother'; n-i 'by, etc.' (structure word); nga 'that, who, which' (ligature); límuʔ 'voice'; wárang 'wander'; yáwaʔ 'devil, hell.'

II.C.2. C₁V₁C₂--All consonants in different positions occur in C₂ followed by C₃: púʔpuʔ 'harvest'; bíʔbiʔ 'edge'; túktuk 'chop'; dúkdúk (an insect); sikúp 'fish' (by hand); qáʔkun 'debris'; sapáʔ 'pond'; sípsip 'graze'; búhbuh 'douse'; ʔinúm 'drink'; sapín 'shoes'; mánga 'manga'; batíl 'sailboat'; bírdi 'green'; (in diphthongal combination) sabáw 'soup'; and báybay 'beach.'

II.C.3. $C_1S_1V_1$ --The syllable structure of this type contains a semi-vowel identified by S, and the forms exemplifying it are borrowed. C_1 is realized by /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /g/, and /s/: plátu 'plate'; prínda 'mortgage, pawn'; pwídi 'can, possible'; pyánu 'piano'; brúha 'witch'; bwínu 'well'; byúda 'widow'; trápu 'mop'; tyára 'tiara'; trísi 'thirteen'; klíma 'climate'; kríma 'cream' (color); kwidáhù 'dare'; glúbu 'globe'; grapún 'glass jar'; gwápa 'beautiful, f.'; swábi 'suave'; syíti 'seven'; and C as /l/ in lyábi 'key'!

II.C.4. $C_1S_1V_1C_2$ --The consonants listed in 3. above occur in C_1 ; among those which occur in C_2 are /p/, /n/, /l/, /r/, /s/, /d/, /m/, and /ng/: plánsa 'flat-iron'; pránga 'frank'; pwístu 'place'; pyísta 'fiesta'; blángu 'blank'; brilyánti 'brilliant'; byírnis 'Friday'; tránga 'lock'; twínti 'twenty'; dríl 'drill'; dwíndi 'evil'; ?iklípsti 'eclipse'; krístu 'Christ'; kwínta 'account'; swírti 'luck'; swíldu 'salary'; syímpri 'of course'; and C_1 as /m/ in myímbru 'member.'

In a fuller word-list the types of consonant clusters should be expected to expand, especially when other borrowed lexicons are liberally accommodated.

III. Suprasegmental Phonemes⁶

III.A. Stress

Stress refers to the relative prominence, measured impressionistically, of the voice on certain vocalic elements.

The loudest stress, signified by /^ˈ/ over the vocalic element which receives it, may be shown in the given root-pairs:

pú ^ˈ tut	'entangle' (when fighting)
putú ^ˈ t	'short' (height)
pí ^ˈ tu	'whistle'
pitú ^ˈ	'seven'
sú ^ˈ gud	'fine comb' (for removing lice)
sugú ^ˈ d	'room, inside'
?á ^ˈ gat	'salty'
?agá ^ˈ t	'bamboo basket'

In words consisting of three syllables, the secondary stress, signified by /^ˋ/ over the vocalic element which receives it, is noted in:

halí ^ˋ gì	'post' (support)
bitú ^ˋ ?ùn	'star'
tariyá ^ˋ	'plot' (farming)

as well as in:

?àmirúg 'fabric starch'
 sàngkurút 'little' (amount)
 g̀àngkugá? (a sweet delicacy made of sweet rice balls,
 brown sugar, coconut milk, etc.)

The third degree of stress is unmarked. Examples immediately preceding illustrate its use.

III.B. Juncture and Pitch Contour

III.B.1. Juncture--In constructions hierarchically lower than a sentence, the single bar juncture or /// is observable. In the following examples it is clearly evident that pause in such an instance compensates for the absence of 'topic-comment' 'ligature' (hereafter as 'ligature' or 'lg')

ru ?ungá? hay na-g-hámpàng
 the child lg played
 'The child played.'

ru ?ungá? / na-g-hámpàng
 the child / played
 'The child played.'

III.B.2. Pitch Contour

III.B.2.a.--A statement without any of its components emphasized appears to have the following contour: observing that the levels of pitch assume a 1-2-3-4-5 scale with 1 representing the lowest and 5 the highest, we note the

prosody of a Kalibo-dialect statement to be 3-2-4. This pattern is punctuated by a relatively sustained pitch contour, and can be signified by the juncture symbol /→/. The breakdown should be understood to designate the pitch level of a syllabic unit or form rather than morphemic.

3	2	4	→
?i-yá	s-i ná	nay	mu
/?-yá	s-i nanay	mu /	
here	Mother your		'Your Mother is here!'

ru ?ungá?	hay	nà-g-da	ǵá	gan
/ru ?ungá?	hay	na-g-dagágan /		
the child	lg	ran		'The child ran'

III.B.2.b. Two meanings of command sentences are illustrated under this section: the type which is a polite request and the type unmistakably giving an order.

III.B.2.b.i. A polite request in the Kalibo dialect seems to have a 3-2-3 pattern punctuated with a relative rise of the voice, which may be recorded with the juncture type /↑/.

3	2	3	↑
tu?ún	?ábi	?it	m- ayád
/ tu?ún	?ábi ?it	m-ayád /	
study	please	much	'Please study very much.'

mús sa ka lí bù
 / mús sa kalíbù /
 let's to Kalibo 'Let's go to Kalibo.'

III.B.2.b.ii. An order type of command sentence appears to have a 3-3-2 pattern punctuated by a drop of the voice, thus the juncture type / ↓ /.

 3 3 2 ↓
 bakáǵ ?it t-in-á pày
 / bakáǵ ?it t-in-á-pày /
 buy bread 'Buy (some) bread.'

?áǵtu sa tin dá hàn
 / ?áǵtu sa tindá-hàn / 'Go to the market.'

III.B.2.c. Interrogative sentences of two types are illustrated in this section with particular attention to their prosodies: the Q-word and yes-no interrogative types. The Q-word interrogative sentence contains a question word usually occurring in the beginning of the sentence. The pitch contour of this type is identical to the statement type illustrated in a. above, except that its terminal is a relative rise, marked by the juncture type / ↑ /.

 3 2 4 ↑
 si?ín s-i ná nay mu .
 / si?ín s-i nánay mu /
 where the Mother your 'Where is your Mother?'

kán?u s-ánda ma-g-pá nàw
 / kán?u s-ánda ma-g-pánàw /
 when they went 'When did they go?'

For the yes-no interrogative sentence in Kalibo dialect, there seems to be a 3-2-3 pattern, punctuated by an intense rise of the voice, thus the juncture symbol / ↗ /.

3 2 3 ↗
 ?-iyá s-i nánay mú
 /?-iyá s-i nánay mú /
 here the mother your 'Is your Mother here?'

nà-g-?ulí? ka ?áy
 / nà-g-?ulí? ka?áy /
 went home you (sg) 'Did you go home?'

FOOTNOTES IN PART II

- 1 Instances in which /h/ is non-phonemic finally may be as follows: butúh 'hatch' but no *butúh - butúh 'full-grown louse'; bakāh 'cow' but no *bakah - baka 'sale.'
- 2 The word-pair cisíw 'chick' and káhuy 'wood' is given with the purpose of exemplifying what appears to be a deficiency of the final /w/ before /u/ and of the final /y/ before /i/.
- 3 In /píhpih/ 'thump' - /pāhpah/ 'wedged footrest on tree for climbing' the phonemic status of the final /h/ is noted, in contrast with /pípi/ 'pepe' and /pāpa/ 'pope.'
- 4 The final /h/ in these examples is non-phonemic as no contrast is evidenced in these pairs between the presence and absence of /h/. The following, on the hand, amply show a definite contrast of /h/, /ø/, and /?/ in the final position: búhbuh 'douse' - búøbuø 'dumb' (from Spanish bóbo) - bú?bu? 'pour out.' /h/ is 'phonemic' wherever it occurs, not only where there is a form it contrasts minimally with.
- 5 Manuel Laserna, Sunckaon sa Pagsueat, Pagbasa aq Paghambae it Inakeanon [Rules for Writing, Reading, and Speaking Aklan] (Manila, 1916).
- 6 Throughout this research, examples are given with indications of degrees of stress as they are observed within word-units. Further, juncture and pitch contour are cited only in this section and at points whenever deemed relevant.

PART III

MORPHOPHONEMICS

I. Consonant Change

I.A. Assimilation, Fusion, and Reduction--Common to all the examples below are the two observed features: -NG- alternates with /m/, /n/, and /ng/¹; in turn, C₁ of the root or stem fuses completely with the nasal alternant. Formulaically, the rule which generates the examples given below is stated in two parts:

(i) [velar] → (labial, alveolar) / [—] - [labial, alveolar]
[nasal] [stop]
[spirant]

(ii) [labial, alveolar] → ∅ / [labial, alveolar] - —
[stop] [nasal]
[spirant]

Or, in actual phonemic correspondences, according to the formulaic rule:

(i) $[ng] \rightarrow (m, n) / [(p, b), (t, d, s)]$

(ii) $[(p, b), (t, d, s)] \rightarrow \emptyset / [m, n]$

By this two-part rule, we treat the morphophoneme -NG- phonetically as a velar nasal; and since the examples below consist of some variant sets, each part of the rule is optional and ordered as above. This, e.g., will derive pà-ng-punú? by skipping both parts, pà-m-punú? by part (i), and pà-m-unú? by both (i) and (ii); for glosses, cf. p. 33.

Morphological conditioning governs the distribution of these alternants since their occurrence is not predictable in all the forms. Widespread in the language, for example, is the use of the 'process' morpheme $\{-NG-\}$ in the archaic 'distributive' -si-NG-, the 'causative' pa-NG-, and the nominalized forms derived from the 'future' ma-NG-. In the series of examples in (a), the occurrence of assimilation and fusion is uniquely characteristic of the forms.

(a)

-si-NG-²RootDerived Form³

-NG-	<u>b</u> ánwa	'town'	kà-si- <u>m</u> -ánwa	'townmate'
-NG-	<u>b</u> áryu	'barrio'	kà-si- <u>m</u> -áryu	'barriomate'
-NG-	<u>ba</u> gáy	'house'	kà-si- <u>m</u> -ágay	'housemate'

pa-NG-

-NG-	<u>p</u> áhid	'wipe'	pa- <u>m</u> -áhid	'go wiping'
-NG-	<u>ba</u> tí?	'listen'	pà- <u>m</u> -atí?	'go listening'
-NG-	<u>t</u> imbang	'weigh'	pa- <u>n</u> -imbang	'go weighing; go being cautious'
-NG-	<u>d</u> úmdum	'think'	pa- <u>n</u> -úmdum	'go thinking'
-NG-	<u>s</u> íksik	'feel for lice with fingers'	pa- <u>n</u> -íksik	'go feeling for lice'
-NG-	<u>k</u> áblit	'touch'	pa- <u>ng</u> -áblit	'go touching'
-NG-	<u>?</u> awáy	'fight'	pà- <u>ng</u> -awáy	'go fighting'

ma-NG-4

(a.i) nominalized forms

-NG-	pugún	'stove'	mà-m-ugún	'migratory laborer' ⁵
-NG-	búlig	'help'	mà-m-ulíg	'helper'
-NG-	tákaw	'steal'	mà-n-akáw	'thief'

(a.ii) 'future' verb forms

-NG-	pilá?	'spit'	mà-m-ilá?	'will go spitting'
-NG-	bakáǵ	'buy'	mà-m-akáǵ	'will go shopping'
-NG-	tindá-hàn (tinda 'sell')	'market'	mà-n-indá-han	'will go marketing'
-NG-	đútdut	'crowd'	ma-n-útdùt	'will go crowding'
-NG-	sirá	'close'	mà-n-irá	'will go closing'
-NG-	ká?un	'eat'	ma-ng-á?ùn	'will go eating'
-NG-	?asáwà	'spouse'	mà-ng-asáwa	'will go courting to marry'

Irregularities are found within each of these sets.

In the -si-NG- group, at least one form is observed to deviate from the above-illustrated assimilation-fusion features: in kà-si-n-túbu?, which alternates with ka-túbù? 'contemporary' with the root túbu? 'grow,' /n/ assimilates with C₁ /t/ but does not fuse with it.

In the pa-NG- group, scattered forms which do not follow the assimilation-fusion pattern exist.

(b)

<u>pa-NG-</u>	<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived Form</u> ⁶	
-NG-	<u>punú?</u>	'fill'	pà- <u>m</u> -unú?) pà- <u>m</u> -punú?) pà- <u>ng</u> -punú?)	'go filling'; all forms are used but the second and third are preferred to keep contrast with <u>bunú?</u> 'stab'
-NG-	<u>bunú?</u>	'stab'	pà- <u>m</u> -unú?) pà- <u>m</u> -bunú?) pà- <u>ng</u> -bunú?)	'go stabbing'; all forms are used but the second and third are preferred to keep contrast with <u>punú?</u> 'fill'
-NG-	<u>tágu?</u> ₁	'hide'	pà- <u>n</u> -agú?	'go hiding oneself'
-NG-	<u>tágu?</u> ₂	'hide'	*pà- <u>n</u> -agú?) pà- <u>n</u> -tágù?) pà- <u>ng</u> -tágù?)	'go hide something'
-NG-	<u>dihú?</u>	'defecate'	*pà- <u>n</u> -ihú?) pà- <u>n</u> -dihú?) *pà- <u>ng</u> -dihú?)	'go defecating'
-NG-	<u>?ayú?</u> ₁	'ask'	pà- <u>ng</u> -ayú?) *pà- <u>ng</u> -?ayú?)	'go asking'
-NG-	<u>?ayú?</u> ₂	'haggle'	*pà- <u>ng</u> -ayú?) pà- <u>ng</u> -?ayú?)	'go haggling'

I.B. Consonant Replacement

I.B.1. /r/ replaces /d/ in intervocalic position.

<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>	
páhi <u>d</u>	'wipe'	pahír-à	'wipe') -a G _t (topicalized goal)
báku <u>d</u>	'strong'	bakúr-à	'strengthen')
subá <u>d</u>	'swallow'	sùbar-á	'swallow') in 'command'
sugi <u>d</u>	'tell'	sùgir-ì	'tell') -i R _t (topicalized referent)
sábu <u>d</u>	'feed'	sabúr-ì	'feed')
bádb <u>a</u> d	'ravel'	badbār-ì	'ravel') in 'command'

I.B.2. /d/ replaces /r/

I.B.2.a. When it precedes a consonant; note that the examples given below also show vowel loss. The suffixation of -i and -hi precedes consonant replacement.

<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>	
tur <u>u</u> s	'crush louse with finger-nails'	tú <u>d</u> s-i	'crush louse with finger-nails') -i R _t in 'command'
sar <u>a</u>	'close'	sá <u>d</u> -hi	'close')

I.B.2.b. In the topic marker ru, /r/ alternates with /d/ when following apico-alveolar sounds other than /l/:

<u>Full Form</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>
yukút <u>ru</u> gámbung wrinkled the dress 'The dress is wrinkled.'	yukút <u>du</u> gámbung wrinkled the dress 'The dress is wrinkled.'

na-g-ká?ùn ru báyi
ate the woman
'The woman ate.'

na-g-ká?ùn du báyi
ate the woman
'The woman ate.'

na-g-báktàs ru táwu
hiked the man
'The man hiked.'

na-g-báktàs du táwu
hiked the man
'The man hiked.'

na-g-à-tukár ru mùsikú
is playing the band
'The band is playing.'

na-g-a-tukár du mùsikú
is playing the band
'The band is playing.'

but

ma-dáldàl ru báyi
talkative the woman
'The woman is talkative.'

ma-dáldàl ru báyi
talkative the woman
'The woman is talkative.'

I.B.3. /l/ replaces /ǵ/ before /a/, /u/, and /i/.

<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>		
kasáǵ	'wed'	kás <u>l</u> -an -un	'wed'))	- <u>an</u> R _t in 'future' aspect
kutúǵ	'nip'	kut <u>l</u> -an -un	'nip'))	- <u>un</u> G _t in 'future' aspect
ǵágnat	'fever'	<u>l</u> -in-ágnàt	'had fever'	
ǵagás	'chase'	<u>l</u> -in-agás	'was chased'	

I.B.4. /r/ replaces /ǵ/ in intervocalic position. The only known examples are:

<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>	
sugáǵ	'gamble'	sùgar-úǵ	'gambler'
bínggag	'provoke'	bínggar-úǵ	'provoker'

I.C. Consonant Loss--In the examples below /r/ in Spanish loans is lost intervocalically.

<u>Root</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>	
tukár 'play' (music)	tùka-hí 'play'	) -i R _t in) 'command'
?istar 'live'	?ìsta-hí 'live'	
?asírtàr 'be lucky'	?asìrta-hí 'be lucky'	

I.D. Consonant Addition--Already demonstrated in some of the preceding examples is the occurrence of /h/ with the suffix when preceding a vowel.

<u>Root</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>	
tínda 'sell'	tindá-hàn 'place for selling; market'	
símba 'worship'	simbá-hàn 'place for worship; church'	
birá 'pull'	bìra-há 'pull')	) -a G _t in 'command'
túga 'cook' (vegetable)	tugá-há 'cook')	
sáku 'hurry'	sakú-hùn 'hurry')	) -un G _t in 'future' aspect
lukú 'fool'	lùku-hùn 'fool')	
bisá 'kiss' (hand)	bìsa-hí 'kiss')	) -i R _t in 'command'
kúr _t i 'cut'	kùr _t i-hí 'cut')	

I.E. Epenthesis--This one known example of epenthesis illustrates the occurrence of an excrescent phoneme, apparently to keep semantic contrast with another form.

<u>Root</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>	
?àtubáng 'face, v.'	?atubá <u>ḅ</u> ng-an 'face')	) -an R _t in) 'future' aspect

The same root occurs without the excrescent /d/ in the form ʔatùbang-án 'genitals,' considered taboo in general speech.

I.F. Metathesis--This process is characterized by the transposition of two vowels or two consonants, the latter being quite widespread in the language.

I.F.1. Simple Metathesis-- $C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3 \rightarrow C_1V_1C_3C_2-$.

<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>	
gahúm	'rule'	gámh-an	'rule')
tanúm	'plant'	támh-an	'plant')
			-an R _t in 'future' aspect
buʔúg	'take'	búgʔ-i	'take')
káʔun	'eat'	kánʔ-i	'eat')
			-i R _t in 'command'

Inasmuch as the pattern does not occur throughout the language, it becomes necessary to list the forms rather than predictive. Later examples in vowel loss will illustrate the absence of metathesis.

Consonant metathesis also occurs in stem-forms; in the examples below the transposition is observed under two conditions: in roots ending with /ʔ/, and in roots ending with a vowel. Formulaically:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} -ʔ\#V_1C_1 \rightarrow C_1ʔ\#- \\ -V\#C_1V_1C_2 \rightarrow V\#C_2C_1- \end{array} \right]$$

<u>Root</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>
balítì? 'Balete' (municipality)	*baliti?-an-un ⁷) 'one from Balete' baliti-n?-un)
makatu? 'Makato' (municipality)	*makatu?-an-un) 'one from Makato' makatu-n?-un)
kalíbù 'Kalibo' (municipality)	*kalibu-han-un) 'one from Kalibo' kalibu-nh-un)

I.F.2. Metathesis with Consonant Replacement--The replacement of /g/ by /l/ as seen in I.B.3. above also occurs in metathesis. Suffixation precedes metathesis and consonant replacement.

<u>Root</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>
kugús 'chill'	kúsl-an 'chill') -an R _t in 'future'
báꞑus 'respond'	básl-an 'respond') aspect

I.G. Other Forms of Reduction

I.G.1. Reduction in the Use of ?it

I.G.1.a. The partial ?i of the form ?it and the final consonant /n/ or /ʔ/ of the preceding form are lost:

<u>Full Form</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>
na-g-ká?ùn <u>git</u> kárni 'ate meat'	na-g-ká?ùt kárni 'ate meat'
bukún <u>?it</u> sapín 'not shoe'	bukút sapín 'not shoe'
nà-g-suká? <u>?it</u> kamúti 'dug out yam'	nà-g-sukát kamúti 'dug out yam'
?uwá? <u>?it</u> gámbung 'no dress'	?uwát gámbung 'no dress'

I.G.1.b. The form ?it reduces to t when preceded by a form with a final vowel:

<u>Full Form</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>
nà-g-batí <u>?it</u> ?ítlug 'beat (p) egg'	nà-g-batít ?ítlug 'beat (p) egg'
g-in-básà <u>?it</u> báyi 'was read by a woman'	g-in-básàt báyi 'was read by a woman'

I.G.2. Reduction in the Use of nga

I.G.2.a. The partial a of the ligature nga 'who, which, that' and the final consonant /n/ or /?/ of the preceding form are lost:

<u>Full Form</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>
?-áku- <u>n nga</u> gámbug mine which dress 'mine which is a dress'	?aku- <u>ng</u> gámbug mine which dress 'mine which is a dress'
tukún <u>nga</u> ma-hábà? pole which long 'pole which is long'	tukung ma-hábà? pole which long 'pole which is long'
?ungá? <u>nga</u> nà-g-tangís child who cried 'child who cried'	?ungáng nà-g-tangís child who cried 'child who cried'

I.G.2.b. The form nga reduces to ng when preceded by a form with a final vowel.

<u>Full Form</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>
báka <u>nga</u> pakí? cow which lame 'cow which is lame'	bákang pakí? cow which lame 'cow which is lame'

kukú ngá ma-tág?ùd
 nails which short
 'nails which are short'

kukúng ma-tág?ùd
 nails which short
 'nails which are short'

II. Vowel Change

II.A. Simple Vowel Loss--Vowels in the final closed syllables which receive the main stress in root-forms are lost in certain instances; morphologically conditioned, simple vowel loss is shown in the following:

<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>		
puyú <u>ng</u>	'tie' (sack)	púyng-un	'tie')	- <u>un</u> G _t in 'future' aspect
tawá <u>g</u>	'call'	táwg-un	'call')	
baká <u>g</u>	'buy'	bákǵ-un	'buy')	
sugú <u>t</u>	'permit'	súgt-i	'permit')	- <u>i</u> R _t in 'command'
ǵakú <u>t</u>	'mix'	ǵákt-i	'mix')	

The forms below represent those which occur with no vowel loss:

butá <u>ng</u>	'place'	bùtang-án	'place') - <u>an</u> R _t in 'future' aspect
		*butng-an		
sabú <u>d</u>	'feed, n.'	sàbur-án	'feed, v.'))
		*sabr-an		
pilá <u>k</u>	'throw away'	pìlak-án	'throw away'))
		*pilk-an		

Vowel loss as observed in stem-forms are found in examples similar in meaning to those locative-stems above.

The roots in the examples below end in consonants, such as /w/ and /s/.

<u>Root</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>
malínàw 'Malinao' (municipality)	*malinaw-an-un) 'one from Malinao' màlināw-n-un)
kápis 'Capiz' (prov. capital)	*kapis-an-un) 'one from Capiz' kapís-n-ùn)

Morphological conditioning govern the occurrence quite strongly in these cases; for instance, forms like pándan 'Pandan' (municipality) - pándan-án-un 'one from Pandan,' tangágàn 'Tangalan' (municipality) - tàngagán-un 'one from Tangalan,' and others defy prediction.

II.B. Vowel Metathesis--The known example involves the transposition of /i/ with /a/ in two consecutive syllables.

<u>Root</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>
hìlamún 'weed, v.' *halimun	hìlamun-ún or) 'grass, weed, n.' hàlìmun-ún)

II.C. Vowel Loss with Metathesis--Examples listed in I.F.1. above illustrate the co-occurrence of these two features.

II.D. Vowel Replacement

II.D.1. /w/ replaces /u/ in certain final open syllables.

<u>Root</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>
butú 'blister'	bútw-an 'blister') -an R _t in
pugú 'foster-care' (pet)	púgw-an 'foster-) 'future' aspect care')

II.D.2. /y/ replaces /i/ in certain cases of suffixation.

<u>Root</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>
?ági 'pass'	?ágy-a 'pass') -a G _t in
pìlipítì 'crush' with fingers'	pìlipítý-a 'crush') 'command'

III. Some Stress Features

While stress is unquestionably phonemic as well as grammatical in Aklan, its patterning is erratic in many instances because of dialectal factors. Certain regular patterns, however, are evident with root-types (i) C₁V₁C₂(C₃)V₂(C₄) and (ii) C₁V₁C₂(C₃)V₃(C₄).

III.A. Affixations Characterized by Original Stress Position in Root--Examples below are drawn from the use of -um- A_t (topicalized actor) 'past posterior,' -in- I_t (topicalized instrument) and G_t 'past' and 'past posterior',

and C₁V₁- 'augmentative.'

<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>	
bása	'read'	b-um-ásà	'read'
pánaw	'go'	p-um-ánàw	'went'
puká	'stay up late'	p-ùm-uká	'stayed up late'
tabúk	'cross' (river)	t-ùm-abúk	'crossed'
bukáǵ	'boil'	b-ùm-ukáǵ	'boiled'
bátu	'piece'	b-in-átù	'pieced'
ǵá?ga?	'boil'	l-in-á?gà?	'boiled'
púkaw	'wake up'	p-in-úkàw	'awakened up'
butáng	'place'	b-in-utáng	'placed'
dúǵa?	'lose'	nà-ǵu-dúǵa?	'lost'
suyák	'sliver'	hà-su-suyák	'slivered'

III.B. Affixations Characterized by Root V#-V--Both root-types occur with this stress pattern in the use of -in- 'continuative'; root-type (i) also occurs here in the use of -a G_t and -i R_t of the 'command' form.

<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>	
sá?ut	'dance'	s-in-á?ùt	'dancing'
?áway	'fight'	?-in-áway	'fighting'
habúǵ	'weave'	h-in-ábùǵ	'weaving'
bahúǵ	'big'	b-in-áhùǵ	'enlarging'
bítbit	'hand-carry'	bitbít-à	'hand-carry'
sípa?	'kick'	sipá?-à	'kick'
hímus	'tidy up'	himús-à	'tidy up'
bása	'read'	basá-hì	'read'
túǵ?un	'steam rice'	tug?ún-ì	'steam rice'
híkut	'cook'	hikút-ì	'cook'

III.C. Affixations Characterized by Root V#-V--Both root-types occur with this stress pattern in the use of -an I_t in the 'command'; root-type (ii) occurs here in the use of -a G_t and -i R_t in the 'command.'

<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>	
sũka	'vomit'	sũka-hán	'vomit'
tâpuk	'dispose of'	tâpuk-án	'dispose of'
sũksuk	'put on' (dress)	sũksuk-án	'put on'
taháç	'sharpen' (pencil)	taháç-án	'sharpen'
butáng	'place'	bùtang-án	'place'
batú	'stone'	bàtu-há	'stone'
birá	'pull'	bìra-há	'pull'
tukár	'play' (music)	tũka-hí	'play'
balík	'return'	bàlik-í	'return'

FOOTNOTES IN PART III

- 1 The digraph /ng/ is used throughout this research to designate what is commonly rendered as /ŋ/ in phonology. When there is a need to indicate the sequence /ng/ and /g/, the phonemic symbolization will be /ngg/.
- 2 These examples listed under -si-NG- are the only forms known to establish the paradigm.
- 3 The term "derived" here refers to the forms resulting from the affixation being illustrated; no intention is made to distinguish between derivation and inflection.
- 4 These ma-NG- forms are the only ones known which feature the morphophonemic phenomena being illustrated.
- 5 It appears that the word mà-m-ugún 'migratory laborer' dates to the past when farm-hands used to work in sugarcane plantations and the cauldron then was used to process brown sugar and molasses.
- 6 In the examples which follow, the asterisked forms are either nonexistent in the language or members of different paradigms.
- 7 In II.A., see also semantically similar forms but with simple vowel loss only. Another bound form which indicates one's original place in Aklan in ta-q-a-Root; this is used in instances in which the other forms are awkward: e.g. ta-q-à-manílag but *manila-n?-un or *manílag-an-un 'one from Manila.' Still other commonly used forms with similar meaning appear in such expressions as kàlibínyu 'one from Kalibo,' sibuwánu or sibuhánu 'one from Cebu.'

PART IV: CHAPTER 1

FEATURE OF FOCUS

This chapter deals with the syntactic functions of verbals and nominals, especially as they enter into the description of the syntactic feature of Aklan called 'focus' (cf. II below).

I. Characterization of Sentence Samples

On the basis of intonational features (cf. Pt. II, pp. 23-27), it may be said that sentences in Aklan have the following constituents:

I.A. Single Morphemes--These are exemplified by command utterances, questions, answers, and interjectory expressions:

1. ká?un 'Eat!'
2. si?ín 'Where?'
3. ?iyá 'Here.'
4. ?arúy 'Ouch!'

I.B. Phrasal Utterances--Certain questions, answers, and interjectory utterances usually introduced by function words belong in this category:

5. sa kusinà 'In the kitchen?' or 'In the kitchen.'
6. ?ay ginú?ù 'Oh, God!'

I.C. Utterances Consisting of More Than One Elementary Sentence--Classed under this category are sentences which consist of more than one elementary sentence (cf. I.D. ff.) joined by coordinators or subordinators:

7. nà-g-pa-manila? ru bāyi ?ag g̃-um-á?às s-ánda dāyun
went to Manila the woman and fled they later
'The woman went to Manila and they fled later.'
8. kun ?uwá? ?it ?ugán (hay) ma-simbà ru ?ungá?
if no rain (ligature) will go the child
to church
'If there is no rain, the child will go to church.'

I.D. Utterances Consisting of One Elementary Sentence--The examples of this group consist of one elementary sentence with or without adjuncts which are not themselves elementary sentences.

I.D.1. Sentences Without Verbals--Common in Aklan, sentences under this category contain no verbals as predication or comment:

9. ?àbugádu s-i piping
lawyer Piping
'Piping (is) a lawyer.'

10. gwápa ru daǵǵà
 beautiful the maiden
 'The maiden (is) beautiful.'
11. sa tindá-hàn du s-uǵ-ùgu?-ún
 in market the servant
 'The servant (is) in the market.'
12. ku lúnis du pyísta
 last Monday the fiesta
 'The fiesta (was) last Monday.'

I.D.2. Sentences with Verbals--The sentences in this group consist of verbals as center of the predication or comment; all are in some way associated with the feature of focus which will be treated later in this chapter. They subdivide into:

I.D.2.a. Sentences with Verbals Requiring No Non-topicalized Nominal--A 'non-topicalized' nominal is a nominal structure which functions as an actor, an instrument, a goal, or a referent as a verbal requirement in the predication or 'comment.' The verbals called "irregular"--i.e. they occur only with the actor focus inflection or with some one other type of inflectional focus for idiomatic usage--are classed together. In 13, for instance, the verbal occurs with the actor focus inflection and requires no other nominal besides that which is the topicalized actor; in 14, the goal focus inflection is the only type of focus used in order to express the idea idiomatically in the language.

13. ru táwu (hay) nà-matáy
 the man (ligature) died
 'The man died.'
14. g-in-à-ǵágnat ru ǵápsag
 is fevered the infant
 'The infant is being fevered.'
 'The infant is having fever.'

I.D.2.b. Sentences with Verbals Requiring Non-topicalized Nominal(s)--The sentences in this class consist of transitive verbals which require specific nominal structures in non-topicalized function and inflect according to three or all the four foci, namely, actor, instrument, goal, and referent, all of which will be amply exemplified later. In the examples below, the actor is topicalized, marked by ru, and the required non-topicalized nominals, underlined, are labeled accordingly:

15. ru báyi (hay) nà-g-pilák ?it papil (instrument)
 the woman (ligature) threw away paper
 'The woman threw a paper away.'
16. nà-g-bakáǵ ?it t-in-ápày ru báyi (goal)
 bought bread the woman
 'The woman bought bread.'
17. ma-sílhìg ru báyi ?it saǵúq (referent)
 will sweep the woman floor
 'The woman will sweep a floor.'

Sentences 13 through 17 are also intended to model the different collocations of the sentence components; for the present purpose, in order to characterize the constituent structure and order of the sentence components in those

sentences, we may give the following: ru + Nominal = N_t ; ?it + Nominal = N_{nt} ; and tense-focus-aspect + Stem (TE/F-AS + S) = Verbal (V). Thus:

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{Sentence (Se)} = \left[\begin{array}{l}
 N_t + (\text{hay}) + V + -N_{nt} \quad (13) \\
 N_t + (\text{hay}) + V + +N_{nt} \quad (15) \\
 V + -N_{nt} + N_t \quad (14) \\
 V + +N_{nt} + N_t \quad (16) \\
 V + N_t + -N_{nt} \quad (14) \\
 V + N_t + +N_{nt} \quad (17)
 \end{array} \right.
 \end{array}$$

Characterizing a sentence as a sequence of topic and comment, we identify hay in 13 and 15 above as a marker of the comment; in this use, hay itself may be deleted but its loss is compensated by a 'single bar juncture' (///) (e.g. the alternant sequences of 13 and 15--ru táwu / nà- matáy 'The man died' and ru báyi / nà-g-pilák ?it papíl 'The woman threw a paper away'--are also sentences). When V, with or without the required N_{nt} appears before the topic, then hay becomes obligatorily absent (e.g. *g-in-à-ǵágnat ru ǵápsag hay; the occurrence of hay in hay g-in-à-ǵágnat ru ǵápsag 'Well, the infant is having fever' illustrates its use as a discourse opener, as in hay ru ǵápsag (hay) g-in-à-ǵágnat, also 'Well, the infant is having fever').¹

II. Focus as Determined by Verbal Markers

II.A. Verbal Markers of Focus--We define 'focus'² in Aklan as a morphological and syntactic feature by which the exact grammatical relationship of the verbal to the nominals is stated. By occurring with specific affixes, for instance, a particular verbal indicates which nominal function is topicalized and how the other nominal functions, in their non-topicalized capacity, relate to it.

For example, given the sentence

na-gà-hádluk ru báyi ?it ?ungá?
 is frightening the woman a child
 'The woman is frightening a child.'

the feature of focus designates the following:

báyi 'woman' as (the topic as marked by ru
 (the actor as marked by verbal
 affix na-

?ungá? 'child' as (a non-topicalized nominal as marked
 (by ?it
 (the goal as required by verb hádluk
 'frighten' used transitively

In the sentence

g-in-à-hádluk ru ?ungá? ku báyi
 is being the child by the woman
 frightened
 'The child is being frightened by the woman.'

focus indicates the following:

?ungá? 'child' as (the topic as marked by ru
 (the goal as marked by verbal
 (affix -in-

báyi 'woman' as a non-topicalized agent nominal as
 marked by ku

Or, given the sentence

g-in-à-hadluk-ān du ʔungá?
 is feeling the child
 frightened
 'The child is feeling frightened.'

focus indicated that the nominal ʔungá? 'child' is the topic as marked by ru; further, this nominal functions as a referent as marked by the verbal suffix -an.

In these examples given, the terms 'actor,' 'goal,' and 'referent' are explained on pp. 76, 78, and 79 below.

Along with focus, the term 'topicalization' is used to refer specifically to the device which singles out one nominal in the sentence, namely, that which functions as the topic as marked by ru or s-i.

Our concern in this section is mainly to show that focus is shared by all verbs, irregular and transitive alike. In order to do so, we need to describe the affixal morphemes which are directly involved in the focus inflection in the language. On the basis of Chart 1, which will be studied further later in connection with tense and aspect inflectional features, it can be said that the affixes of tense in general are the same morphemes which indicate focus. It must be made clear, in addition, that the tense affixes, in turn, overlap with aspect affixes in terms of form. The following lists the morphemes which function as markers of

Chart 1: Tenses and Aspects of Finite Verbs According to Focus:

Tense and Aspect	Actor A	Instrument I	Goal G	Referent R
1. Actual past (p)	(i) na-g-S (ii) na-S	(i) g-in-S (ii) -in-S	(i) g-in-S (ii) (na-)-S	(i) g-in-S-an (ii) (na-)-S-an
2. Actual past posterior (ppst)	-um-S	-in-S	-in-S	-in-S-an
3. Actual present progressive (prg)	na-ga-S	g-in-a-S	g-in-a-S	g-in-a-S-an
4. Actual present posterior (prpst)	na-(ga-)S	(g-i)n-a-S	(g-i)n-a-S	(g-i)n-a-S-an
5. Potential future (fu)	(i) ma-S (ii) ma-S	(i) ?i-S (ii) ?i-S	(i) S-un (ii) (ma-)-S	(i) S-an (ii) (ma-)-S-an
6. Unmarked command	S	S-an	S-a	S-i

(The markers in 6 which are introduced here belong to the set of semi-finite verbal markers listed in Chart 2, p. 203.)

focus as they occur with verbals in the sentence:

	<u>A</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>R</u>
1. p	(i) na-	(i) -in-	(i) -in-	(i) -an
	(ii) na-	(ii) -in-	(ii) (na-)	(ii) -an
2. ppst	-um-	-in-	-in-	-an
3. prg	na-	-in-	-in-	-an
4. prpst	na-	-n-	-n-	-an
5. fu	(i) ma-	(i) ?i-	(i) -un	(i) -an
	(ii) ma-	(ii) ?i-	(ii) (ma-)	(ii) -an
6. cm	-	-an	-a	-i

These markers occur as follows:

A. Actor Focus

/na-/ occurs, as alternant of the 'actual' tense {na-}, as ladj of -g- in A-1(i); as ladj of -ga- in A-3 and A-4; as ladj of S in A-1(ii). It alternates with -um-, as ladj of S in A-2.

/ma-/ occurs, as alternant of the 'potential' tense {ma}, as ladj of S in A-5(i) and (ii).

/∅/ occurs in the tenseless command in A-6.

I. Instrument Focus

/-in-/ occurs, as alternant of the 'actual' tense {na-}, as radj q- and ladj of S in I-1(i); as ladj of S in I-1(ii) and I-2; as infixal adjunct (inj) of ga- in I-3. It alternates with -n-, partial of -in-, as radj of /i/ and ladj of /a/ of ga- in I-4.

/?i-/ occurs, as alternant of the 'potential' tense {ma-}, as ladj of S in I-5(i) and (ii).

/-an/ occurs, as alternant of the 'semi-finite' instrument focus marker {-an}, as radj of S in I-6.

G. Goal Focus

/(na-)/ optionally occurs, as alternant of the 'actual' tense {na-}, as ladj of S in G-1(ii). It alternates with -in- as radj of q- and ladj of S in G-1(i); as ladj of S in G-2; as inj of ga- in G-3. It also alternates with -n-, partial of -in-, as radj of /i/ and ladj of /a/ of ga- in G-4.

/(ma-)/ optionally occurs, as alternant of the 'potential' tense {ma-}, as ladj of S in G-6(ii). It alternates with -un as radj of S in G-5(i).

/-a/ occurs, as alternant of the 'semi-finite' instrument focus marker {-a}, as radj of S in G-6.

R. Referent Focus

/-an/ occurs, as alternant of the 'finite' referent focus marker $\{-an\}$, as radj of S in R-1(i) and (ii), R-2, R-3, R-4, and R-5(i) and (ii).

/-i/ occurs, as alternant of the 'semi-finite' referent focus marker $\{-i\}$, as radj of S in R-6.

II.B. Sub-Categories of Verbals Related to Focus

II.B.1. Irregular Verbals--By their focus distribution, irregular verbs are restricted especially because of their idiomatic use in the language. The subdivision may be:

V_{ir}	[$+A_t$ (topicalized actor)
		$+G_t$ (topicalized goal)
		$+R_t$ (topicalized referent)

By focus distribution, the use of V_{ir} occurring with A_t is restricted, in that

(a) they require no non-topicalized nominal:

<u>Root or Stem</u>	<u>In Sentential Use</u>
-matáy 'die'	nà-matáy ru báyi died the woman 'The woman died.'
	*nà-matáy ru báyi ?it sápat died the woman an animal 'The woman died with an animal.'

Other intransitive verbals similarly used:

-língkuđ 'sit'
 -ká-tuǵúg 'sleep'
 -sákdát 'squat'

These verbals may be used in other foci.

(b) their object is incorporated; these forms may be called
 'noun' substantives:

<u>Root or Stem</u>	<u>In Sentential Use</u>
-sipa? ' "kick" game'	na-gsípà? ru mangá ?ungá? played the children "kick" game 'The children played the "kick" game.'
-kúmbu? 'banana fritter'	s-i nánay (hay) na-g-kúmbù? Mother (lg) made banana fritters.' 'Mother made banana fritters.'

Similarly used are:

-sakúy 'fritter'
 -pa-ng (← -NG-) ísdà? 'go fishing'
 -túǵa 'stew vegetables'

The use of V_{ir} occurring with G_t marks idiomatic Aklan speech, one of the many features which a descriptivist finds baffling at first. Below are some examples, forms which seem to semantically indicate diseases, and may be called

'noun' type substantives:

<u>Root or Stem</u>	<u>In Sentential Use</u>
-saǵápu? 'stomach-ache'	g-in-à-saǵápu? ru ǵápsag is stomach- the infant ached 'The infant is having a stomach- ache.'
-ǵágnat 'fever'	ǵágnat-ún s-i núnuy will be Nonoy fevered 'Nonoy will have a fever.'

Other similarly used irregular verbals:

-kúnyag	'chill'
-píking	'cramp'
-trangásù	'flu'

In idiomatic Aklan speech, the use of V_{ir} occurring with R_t presents difficulties in translation:

<u>Root or Stem</u>	<u>In Sentential Use</u>
-kuǵús 'chill'	g-in-kúsl-àn du báyi was chilled the woman 'The woman was chilled.'
-hádluk 'frighten'	g-in-à-hádluk-án ru mangá ?ungá? are frightened the children 'The children are being frightened.'

Some other verbals in the same subset:

-ǵás?ay	'bland' (seasoning)'
-támad	'lazy'
-?áyaw	'satiating'

These R_t irregular verbals seem to indicate a feeling or condition as expressed by the topicalized referent, e.g., 'one feels chilled,' 'one feels frightened,' 'one feels lazy,' etc. On this basis, these forms may be called 'attributive' type substantives.

An overview of these irregular verbals seems to point out that these types complement each other in terms of focus distribution; no examples of irregular verbs are found which occur with I_t .

II.B.2. Transitive Verbals--The Aklan transitive verbal is not restricted to a 'direct object' for its "receiver of action." Rather, its object may be an instrument, a goal, or a referent. In the paradigms to follow, "*" indicates "nonexistent" and "(" denotes "non-obligatory," i.e. adjunctive or optional to the sentencehood of the sentence modeled. The nominal structures in the sentences are described in III in this chapter. In the transitive group, there are three 'focus' classes:

II.B.2.a. Focus Class 1:

$V_{tr} F1$	[	$+A_t$
	-	$+I_t$
	-	$+G_t$
	]	$+R_t$

This formula indicates that there exists in Aklan a focus class of transitive verbals which can topicalize the actor, the instrument, the goal, and the referent; this is to say that the verbals in this group can take the TE/F-AS verbal affixes in Chart 1 in the four foci. Examples of verbals in this set are:

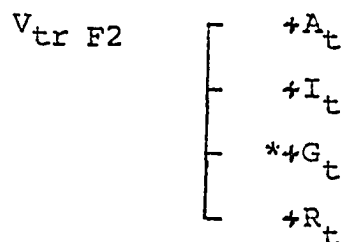
-bakáz	'buy'
-tawág	'call'
-patáy	'kill'
-sipa?	'kick'
-hibut	'cook'

Of the possible collocations of sentence components

shown on p.49 above, the sequence $Se = V + N_t + \begin{bmatrix} -N_{nt} \\ +N_{nt} \end{bmatrix}$

is selected for the models not wholly arbitrarily but because native Aklan speakers (this informant included) generally feel the sequence to be native and natural especially with transitive verbals. This formula characterizes a sentence as a sequence of a verbal followed by a topicalized nominal plus either an optional non-topicalized nominal or an obligatory non-topicalized nominal. Paradigms using $V_{tr} F_1$ are found on p.63 below.

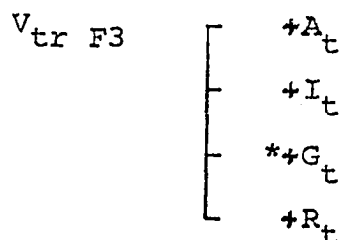
II.B.2.b. Focus Class 2:



This formula for the second focus class of transitive verbals states that verbals in this set can topicalize the actor, the instrument but not the goal, and the referent. In the paradigms using $V_{tr} F2$ on p.64 below, the nominal structure marked by ?it is ascertained to an instrument when topicalized by the fact that the verbal occurs with the appropriate TE/F-AS markers under 'Instrument Focus' on Chart 1. Some examples of verbals in this set are:

-tagānà 'save; reserve'
 -hatúd 'send off'
 -ta?ú 'give'
 -butáng 'place; put'

II.B.2.c. Focus Class 3:



By this formula we state that the third focus class or transitive verbals observed in Aklan can topicalize the actor, the instrument, and the referent but not the goal. In the paradigms using $V_{tr} F_3$ on p.65 below, the nominal structure marked by ?it is ascertained to be a referent for, when topicalized, the verbal occurs with the appropriate TE/F-AS affixes under "Referent Focus" in Chart 1. Some examples of verbals representing this class are:

-tarápù	'mop'
-balibàd	'refuse v.'
-báylu	'exchange'
-kilís	'wash (rice)'

In all the paradigms illustrating these focus classes, all the four focal nominal structures or three of these are used in order for the reader to note their uses, even though they may simply be non-obligatory to the sentencehood of the sentences modeled.

Paradigm A: $V_{tr} F_1$ (V_{tr} which can topicalize all focal nominal structures):

Actor Focus or A_t (underlined):

nà-g-putús ru báyi ?it ?ísda? (ku dáhun) (pára sa ?ungá?) (CS 1)³
 wrapped the woman a fish (with the leaf) (for the child)
 'The woman wrapped a fish (with the leaf) (for the child).'

Instrument Focus or I_t (underlined):

?i-putús ru dáhun ?it ?ísda? (ku báyi) (pára sa ?ungá?) (CS 2)
 will be the leaf a fish (by the woman)(for the child)
 used for
 wrapping
 'The leaf will be used (by the woman) for wrapping a fish (for the child).'

Goal Focus or G_t (underlined):

púst-un ru ?ísda? (ku dáhun) (ku báyi) (pára sa ?ungá?) (CS 3)
 will be the fish (with the leaf) (by the woman) (for the child)
 wrapped
 'The fish will be wrapped (with the leaf) (by the woman) (for the child).'

Referent Focus or R_t (R_B) (underlined) (R_B = referent(benefactor)):

púst-an ru ?ungá? ?it ?ísda? (ku dáhun) (ku báyi) (CS 4)
 will be the child a fish (with the leaf) (by the woman)
 wrapped-
 for
 'The child is the one for whom a fish will be wrapped with the leaf by the woman.'

Paradigm B: V_{tr} F2 (V_{tr} which topicalizes the actor, the instrument rather than the goal, and the referent):

Actor Focus or A_t (underlined):

mà-ǰubúng ru táwu ?it patáy (sa kútkut) (CS 5)
 will bury the man a dead one (in the hole)
 'The man will bury a dead one (in the hole).'

Instrument Focus or I_t (underlined):

?ì-ǰubúng ru patáy (ku táwu) (sa kútkut) (CS 6)
 will be buried the dead one (by the man)(in the hole)
 'The dead one will be buried (by the man)(in the hole).'

*Goal Focus or G_t (underlined):

ǰúbng-un du pátay (ku táwu)(sa kútkut) (non-CS 7)

Referent Focus or R_t (R_{IL}) (underlined) (R_{IL} = referent (indirect object/locative)):

ǰúbng-an du kútkut ?it patáy (ku táwu) (CS 8)
 will be the hole a dead one (by the man)
 buried-in
 'The hole is where a dead one will be buried.'

Paradigm C: V_{tr} F3 (V_{tr} which topicalizes the actor, the instrument, and the referent rather than the goal):

Actor Focus or A_t (underlined):

mà-tarápu ru s-uǝ-ùgu?-ún ?it saǝúg (ku kátsa) (pára sa báyi) (CS 9)
 will mop the servant a floor (with the flour-bag)(for the woman)
 'The servant will mop a floor (with the flour-bag)(for the woman).'

Instrument Focus or I_t (underlined):

?ì-tarápu ru kátsa ?it saǝúg (ku s-uǝ-ùgu?-ún) (pára sa báyi) (CS 11)
 will be the flour-bag a floor (by the servant) (for the woman).
 used for
 mopping
 'The flour-bag will be used (by the servant) for mopping a floor (for the woman).'

*Goal Focus or G_t (underlined):

*tàrapú-hun ru kátsa ?it saǝúg (ku s-uǝ-ùgu?-ún)(pára sa báyi) (non-CS 12)

Referent Focus or R_t (R_{IO}) (underlined) (R_{IL} = referent (indirect object)):

tàrapú-han ru saǵúg (ku kátsa) (ku s-uǵ-ùgu?-ún) (pára sa báyi) (CS 13)
 will be the floor (with the flour-bag) (by the servant) (for the woman)
 mopped

'The floor will be mopped (with the flour-bag) (by the servant) (for the woman).'

Referent Focus or R_t (R_B) (underlined):

tàrapú-han ru báyi ?it saǵúg (ku kátsa) (ku s-uǵ-ùgu?-ún) (CS 15)
 will be the woman a floor (with the flour-bag) (by the servant)
 mopped-for

'The woman is the one for whom a floor will be mopped with the flour-bag by
 the servant.'

III. Markers of Nominal Structures Related to Focus

Mainly, this section has two parts: one describes the feature of 'number' which is morphologically bound to the markers of focus, and another describes those markers of focus.

III.A. Nominal Markers of 'Number'

Morphemes of 'number' should be described according to whether they designate proper nominals (N_{ppr}) or common nominals (N_C). These morphemes marking both types of nominals may be listed as follows:⁴

	Singular	Plural
N_{ppr}	-i / $\begin{bmatrix} s- \\ n- \end{bmatrix} N$ -a-y / $\begin{bmatrix} n- \\ k- \end{bmatrix} N$	-a-y / s- N -ánda-y / $\begin{bmatrix} s- \\ n- \\ k- \end{bmatrix} N$
N_C	- N	mangá N

In allomorphic distribution, these may be described as follows:

(a) Singular

(a.i) N_{ppr}

(i) /-i/ occurs, as an allomorph of the 'determiner' $\{-y\}$, as right adjunct (radj) of $\underline{s-}$ and $\underline{n-}$.

(ii) /-a-y/ occurs, as a sequence of the allomorphs of the '3 p.sg.' pronoun $\{-ana\}$ and $\{-y\}$, as radj of $\underline{n-}$ and $\underline{k-}$.

(a.ii) N_c \emptyset occurs, as a structural zero, as left adjunct (ladj) of N.

(b) Plural

(a.i) N_{ppr}

(i) /-a-y/ occurs, as a short form of the sequence of the allomorphs of the '3 p.pl.' pronoun $\{-\acute{a}nda\}$ and $\{-y\}$, as radj of $\underline{s-}$.

(ii) /- $\acute{a}nda$ -y/ occurs, as a sequence of the allomorphs of the '3 p.pl.' pronoun $\{-anda\}$ and $\{-y\}$, as radj of $\underline{n-}$ and $\underline{k-}$.

(a.ii) N_c /mangá/ occurs, as an allomorph of the

'plural' morpheme {mangá}, as
ladj of N.

Some examples of the use of 'number' markers in the
singular are:

1. s-i núnuy (hay) nà-g-pa-maníla?
Nonoy (lg) went to Manila
'Nonoy went to Manila.'
2. g-ìn-bakág n-i pínin ru t-in-ápáy
was bought by Pining the bread
'The bread was bought by Pining.'
3. g-in-à-ká?un n-a-y níni? ru humáy
is eaten by Nene the rice
'The rice is being eaten by Nene.'
4. na-g-sínggit ru báyi k-a-y nánay
shouted the woman Mother
'The woman shouted at Mother.'
5. g-ìn-ta?ú sa ?ungá? ru hampáng-àn
was given to child the toy
'The toy was given to the child.'

By the examples it should be clear that n-i and n-a-y
are free variants of each other: the form -a-y in this in-
stance derives from the '3 p.sg.' pronoun {-ána} and {-y},
and must be distinguished from the form -a-y which derives
from the '3 p.pl.' pronoun {-ánda} and the 'determiner'
{-y} and which occurs in s-a-y but n-ánda-y and k-ánda-y.
Examples illustrating the use of the 'number' markers in the

plural should also help to clarify:

6. s-a-y nánay nà-g-?-aǵ-ágtu sa báybay
Mother and others went to beach
'Mother and others went to the beach.'
7. *s-i- nánay nà-g-?-aǵ-ágtu sa báybay
8. s-ánda-y nánay nà-g-?-aǵ-ágtu sa báybay
Mother and others went to beach
'Mother and others went to the beach.'
9. g-in-híkùt n-ánda-y nánay tsidíng ru ?i-lábàs
was cooked by Aunt Cheding and others the lunch
'The lunch was cooked by Aunt Cheding and others.'
10. g-in-híkùt n-a-y nánay tsidíng ru ?i-lábàs
was cooked by Aunt Cheding the lunch
'The lunch was cooked by Aunt Cheding.'
11. na-g-súgàng ru táwu k-ánda-y ?íma
fetched the man Emma and others
'The man fetched Emma and others.'
12. na-g-súgàng ru táwu k-a-y ?íma
fetched the man Emma
'The man fetched Emma.'
13. na-gà-pa-nagú? ru mangá ?ungá?
hiding the children
'The children are hiding.'

The notion of 'plurality' in Aklan with N_{ppr} expresses that the N_{ppr} as head of the nominal structure is in company with others (thus the gloss ' N_{ppr} and others!'), and the appropriate 'plural' morphemes are used whenever that N_{ppr} exceeds one in number. Proper nominals refer to person only. No distinction is made, except in conventional orthography, between proper and common place names; for instance, sa manílà? (sa Manila) 'to, from, in Manila,' sa lamísà

(sa lamesa) ('to, from, on, at table') 'to, from, on, at the table.' The concept of 'plurality' with N_c applies when more than one individual is specified; otherwise, when referring to a group without singling individual members, a native speaker uses the 'singular' marker. For example, the nominal ságing 'banana' may refer to one banana as well as to a bunch or stock; mangá ságing refers to the pieces individualized, or bunches, stocks, or kinds particularized. In the examples, therefore, the English glosses may simply be made as natural in English, rather than to accurately express these notions.

III.B. Nominal Markers of 'Focus'

III.B.1. Topicalized Nominals--In their focus distribution, some nominals are used by verbals in focus or are 'topicalized,' and hence serve as the 'elementary topic' of a sentence; as has already been amply hinted, the morphemes of 'focus' which mark nominal structures are bound to the 'number' markers of N_{ppr} but are independent of the 'number' markers of N_c . The chart on p. 74 below lists the markers of these topicalized nominals, which are of the following functions:

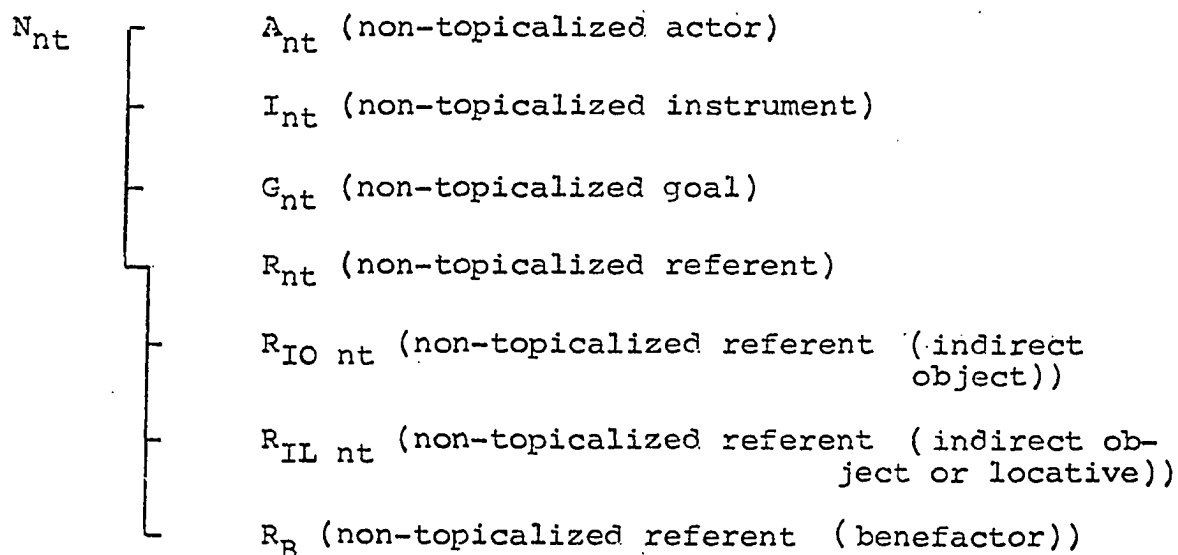
N_t	{	A_t (topicalized actor)
		I_t (topicalized instrument)
		G_t (topicalized goal)
		R_t (topicalized referent)

The stylistic effect of a topicalized nominal can be explained in both structural and notional ways: structurally, N_t is always a nuclear or obligatory element of a sentence since it is never excisable and is crucial to the sentencehood of the string. Notionally, a native Aklan speaker using this device to ensure the contextual significance of what he wants to tell about. One may understand the concept of the topicalized nominal as he notes the rather basic idea of rhetoric that a communicator does not convey a message about the actor, or the instrument, or the goal, or the referent at all times.

III.B.2. Non-topicalized Nominals--At other times, the nominals which occupy the topic position also function in non-topicalized capacity, and hence they belong to the 'comment' of a sentence. These non-topicalized nominals are marked by function words which differ from those marking topicalized nominals, as the chart on p. 74 shows. Structurally, an obligatory N_{nt} is the object of a transitive verb, and it may be the instrument, goal, or the referent in the sentence. Notionally, a N_{nt} , if obligatory as in the capacity just described, can be noted when it contributes a significant meaning to a sentence (e.g. nà-g-pa-ligús ru báyi (bathed the woman) 'The woman bathed' in contrast with nà-g-pa-ligús ru báyi ?it ?unqá? (bathed the woman a child) 'The woman bathed a child' illustrates the use of ?it ?unqá? 'a child'

as a required referent object; its status as a referent is confirmed by the fact that, when topicalized, the verbal takes the 'referent focus' marker: g-in-pa-lígs-an ru ?uncá? ku báyi (was bathed the child by the woman) 'The child was bathed by the woman.'

The nominals in their non-topicalized capacity are:



The morphemes marking all these nominal structures in

different foci may be listed as follows:⁵

Focus Function	N _{ppr}		N _c		
	sg and pl		sg and pl		
			definite (def)	indefinite (idef)	non definite (ndef)
1. N _t	s-		ru		
2. N _{nt}					
a. A _{nt}	n-		ku	?it	-
b. I _{nt}	k-		ku	?it	-
c. G _{nt}	k-		ku	?it	-
d. R _{nt}					
i. R _{IO nt}	k-		ku	?it	-
ii. R _{IL nt}	k-		-	-	sa
iii. R _B	(pára)k-		-	-	(pára)sa

The distribution of these markers may be stated in the following:

(a) N_{ppr}

(a.i) N_t /s-/

occurs as ladj of -i in sg:
s-i; as ladj of -a-y or
-ánda-y in pl: s-a-y,
s-ánda-y.

(a.ii) N_{nt}

(i) A_{nt} /n-/ occurs as ladj of -i or -a-y in sg: n-i, n-a-y; as ladj of -ánda-y in pl: n-ánda-y.

(ii) I_{nt} } /k-/ occurs as ladj -a-y in sg:
 G_{nt} } k-a-y; as ladj of -ánda-y
 R_{nt} } in pl: k-ánda-y.

(b) N_c

(a.i) N_t /ru/ occurs as ladj of N in sg: ru N; as ladj of mangá in pl: ru mangá N.

(a.ii) N_{nt}

(i) A_{nt} } / $\left[\begin{array}{l} ku_{def} \\ ?it_{idef} \end{array} \right]$ / occurs as ladj of N
 I_{nt} } in sg: ku N, ?it N;
 G_{nt} } as ladj of mangá in
 R_{IO} } pl: ku mangá N,
?it mangá N.

We have indicated above that a nominal which participates in focus occurs in both topicalized and non-topicalized functions. In regard to R, the same verbal focus marker is used to designate it as R_t ; however, as R_{nt} , especially with N_c , its different markers indicate its subdivision as R_{IO} , R_{IL} , and R_B .

As we illustrate the uses of the various types of N_t and their equivalent N_{nt} , we also indicate which of these nominal structures are excisable, as in II of this chapter, by '()'. These same sentence samples will subsequently be used to establish certain center strings in the language. Throughout the samples here, the sentence pattern to be utilized is $Se = V + N_t + \begin{bmatrix} -N_{nt} \\ +N_{nt} \end{bmatrix}$ introduced on p.

above. By this formula we indicate two subcategories of the transitive verbals: those which require objects--either as instrument, goal, or referent--as obligatory sentence components; and those which permit object-adjoinings--these also as either instrument, goal, or referent--as optional sentence components. For instance, in Harris' axiomatic string theory, the first subcategory may be compared to the English verb wear in He wears a hat but *He wears; the second subcategory may be likened to the English verb read in He read the letter as well as He read.

In the examples which follow, it is important to recall from II.B.2. in this chapter that there are three focus classes of transitive verbals which are labeled F1, F2, F3, and F4 (cf. p. 59. ff.).

The term 'actor' designates that which effects the action; when used as the topic or A_t , it is intended by the native speaker to receive prominence over any other nominal

used in the sentence. In this function, it is indispensable; in non-topicalized function, or as A_{nt} , however, it can be excised without sacrificing the sentencehood of the string. The verbals used here belong to transitive verbal-Focus Class 1 (or F1):

- 1.a. $n\grave{a}$ -g-dakúp s-i tátay ?utíng ?it ?ísda? (CS 1)
 caught Uncle Oting a fish
 'Uncle Oting caught a fish.'
- 1.b. g-ín-dakúp (n-i tátay ?utíng) ru ?ísda? (CS 3)
 was caught by Uncle Oting the fish
 'The fish was caught (by Uncle Oting).'
- 2.a. na-gà-háling ru mangá báyi ?it kaǵáyù (CS 1)
 building the women fire
 'The women are building a fire.'
- 2.b. g-in-à-háling ($\left[\begin{array}{c} ku_{def} \\ ?it_{idef} \end{array} \right]$ mangá báyi) ru kaǵáyù
 is built by women the fire (CS.3)

'The fire is being built by $\left[\begin{array}{c} the \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right]$ women.'

The grammatical term 'instrument' identifies a nominal which is used to effect the action, and it may be animate or inanimate. When used as I_t , it is intended by the native speaker to be the most important nominal to which the verbal refers; it is also indispensable to the sentencehood of the string. As I_{nt} , it is obligatory when it occurs as a required object-adjoining as with -pilák 'throw away,' -hatúd 'send off,' and others; or it is an optional object-adjoining when it occurs with such verbals as -kútkut 'dig a hole,'

ʒabá 'launder,' and so on. The verbals used below belong to transitive verbal-Focus Class 2 (or F2):

- 3.a. ʔi-pilák (n-ánda-y prudín) du tsíku (CS 6)
 will be thrown (by Prudin the chico
 away and others)
 'The chico will be thrown away (by Prudin and others).'
- 3.b. mà-pilák s-ánda-y prudín ʔit tsíku (CS 5)
 will throw Prudin and others a chico
 away
 'Prudin and others will throw a chico away.'
- 4.a. ʔi-tanúm (ʔit táwu) ru maní (CS 6)
 will be planted (by a man) the peanut(s)
 'The peanut(s) will be planted (by a man).'
- 4.b. mà-tanúm ru táwu ʔit maní (S 17)
 will plant the man peanuts
 'The man will plant peanuts.'

In Aklan, the term 'goal' denotes a nominal which is customarily called the 'receiver' of the action. As G_t , this nominal is intended by the native speaker to be the subject to which the verbal refers in the sentence, and in this function it is indispensable to the sentencehood of the string. As G_{nt} , it functions as an obligatory sentence component when it occurs with a required -object-adjoining, as with -háling 'build (fire),' -bakáŋ 'buy,' and others; or it functions as an optional object-adjoining, as when it occurs with such verbals as -káʔun 'eat,' -hámpang 'play,' and others of this class. The verbals used below are

members of transitive verbal-Focus Class 1 (or F1):

- 5.a. $bák\acute{g}$ -un (it ?ungá?) ru hámpanq-àn (CS 3)
 will be by a child the toy
 bought
 'The toy will be bought by the child.'
- 5.b. $mà$ -baká \acute{g} ru ?ungá? ?it hámpanq-àn (CS 1)
 will buy the child a toy
 'The child will buy a toy.'
- 6.a. g -in-ká ?ùn (ku s-u \acute{g} -ù $\text{gu?}-\acute{u}$ n) du ságing (CS 3)
 was eaten (by the servant) the banana
 'The banana was eaten by the servant.'
- 6.b. na -g-ká ?ùn ru s-u \acute{g} -ù $\text{gu?}-\acute{u}$ n (?it ságing) (S 17)
 ate the servant (a banana)
 'The servant ate (a banana).'

The term 'referent' designates a nominal which, when topicalized, is characterized by the occurrence of the verbal affix -an (in the 'referent' focus set). As R_t , a nominal is singled out as the main subject which the comment of the sentence describes or tells about, and in this function it is obligatory to the sentential status of the string. As R_{nt} , its functions become more clearly defined on the basis of the markers which distinguish them. First, we illustrate the use of R_{IO} , a nominal which functions like an 'indirect object'; if N_{ppr} , it is marked by k-, and if it is N_c , it is preceded by ku or ?it. It functions as an obligatory sentence component when it occurs with a required object-adjoining as with the verbals -higút 'tie,' -pà-liqús 'bathe,' and others; or it functions as an optional object-adjoining component such as with the verbals -túqbung 'come

used here are members of Focus Class 3 (or F3):

- 9.a. g-in-à-?atubádgn-an (n-i níni?) ru mangá táwu (CS 14)
 being confronted (by Nene) the people
 'The people are being confronted (by Nene).'
- 9.b. na-gà-?atubáng s-i níni? sa mangá táwu (CS 10)
 confronting Nene people
 'Nene is confronting the people.'
- 10.a. ?ugtás-àn (ku ?iná) s-ánda-y núnuy (CS 14)
 will be (by the mother) Nonoy and others
 fussed at
 'Nonoy and others will be fussed at (by the mother).'
- 10.b. ma-?úgtàs ru ?iná (k-ánda-y núnuy) (S 17)
 will fuss the mother (at Nonoy and others)
 'The mother will fuss (at Nonoy and others).'

Finally, we illustrate the third R, namely R_P ; this nominal is the benefactor of an action, that for which or whom the action is effected. Its contrast with R_{IL} is in the presence of the Spanish-loan prepositive preposition pára as ladj of sa in R_{nt} function. It is only in its topicalized function when it is obligatorily present to preserve sentencehood of a sentence string; in non-topicalized function, it is always optional. The verbals used here are also members of Focus Class 1 (or F1):

- 11.a. hikút-àn (?it s-uǵ-ùgu?-ún) ru táwu (CS 16)
 will be (by a servant) the man
 cooked-for
 'The man is the one for whom a servant will cook.'
- 11.b. ma-híkùt ru s-uǵ-ùgu?-ún (pára sa táwu) (S 17)
 will cook the servant for the man
 'The servant will cook (for the man).'

FOOTNOTES IN PART IV: CHAPTER 1

- 1 With the foregoing description and with our concern limited to simple sentences, we may characterize the term 'sentence' as follows:

Se = T and C (topic and comment)

T = N_t (topicalized nominal)

If Se = T + C, then

C = (hay) + VP (verbal phrase)

If Se = C + T, then

C = VP

If VP = V_{tr} + +N_{nt} (obligatory non-topicalized nominal), then

Se = V_{tr} + N_t + +N_{nt}

If VP = V_{in} + -N_{nt} (non-occurring non-topicalized nominal), then

Se = V_{in} + N_t

It will be apparent later that we need to particularize the nominals according to their focus functions: as actor (A), as instrument (I), as goal (G), and as referent (R).

- 2 The term 'focus' is also used in Lawrence A. Reid, An Ivatan Syntax, Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication No. 2 (Honolulu: Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute, 1966); it is also used in Beato A. de la Cruz and R. David Paul Zorc, A Study of the Aklanon Dialect, Vol. One: Grammar (Kalibo, Aklan, Philippines: Aklan Printing Center, 1968). Describing similar syntactic features of Maranao, Howard McKaughan uses the term 'voice.' Cf. Howard McKaughan, The Inflection and Syntax of Maranao Verbs (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1959). Also referring to the same feature, Charles J. Fillmore is one of the linguists who has used the term 'topicalization.' See Universals in Linguistic Theory, ed. by Emmon Bach and Robert T. Harms. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968), p. 57.

- 3 The designations '(CS 1)' and similar others refer to the types of center strings or elementary sentences which are collated in Pt. IV, Ch. 2 on the basis of the sentence samples presented in these paradigms and those in 1 through 11 on pp. 77-81 below.
- 4 The 'determiner' feature of {-y} may be seen in the following paradigms:

na-g-?ágtù s-ánda sa tinda-hàn
 went they to market
 'They went to market.'

na-g-?ágtù s-ánda-y núnuy sa tinda-hàn
 went Nonoy and others to market
 'Nonoy and others went to market.'

The short form /-a/ of the '3 p.sg.' pronoun {-ana} may be seen in other examples on pp. 99-102, in Pt. IV, Ch. 2: String Analysis in Selected Sentence Samples.

5. We must point out that the function words ku, ?it, and sa are used to signal different structures in Aklan. One such use of the first two is to indicate possession: ru ká'u? ku/?it táwu 'the hat of the/a man'; the contrast between the use of these function markers in the focus context and the possessive context can easily be shown by focus. Given g-in-putús ru ?ísda? ku báyi (was wrapped the fish by/of the woman), one may note the ambiguity as to the status of ku báyi; as 'by the woman' in focus, ku báyi as a possessive may be topicalized but differently: may ?ísda? ru báyi (has a fish the woman) 'The woman has a fish.' These two functions of ku báyi are not interchangeable.

PART IV: CHAPTER 2

STRING ANALYSIS IN SELECTED SENTENCE SAMPLES

I. Center Strings from Simple Sentences

This section is a description of selected elementary sentences in Aklan according to the basic operational procedures of string analysis, a method of syntactic analysis formalized by Professor Zellig S. Harris in his String Analysis of Sentence Structure.¹ The main purpose of this analysis is to isolate an elementary sentence within a longer sentence.² The syntactic structures which concern us here are (a) the focus-related nominal structures which have been described in the preceding section; (b) the nga adjectival-like nominal subordinators; and (c) the excisability of certain non-topicalized locative and temporal phrases.

An 'elementary sentence' or 'center string' is defined here as a structured sequence of words all of which are obligatory and exhibit definable properties of occurrence.³ It is arrived at by excising an adjunct, i.e. a word⁴ or sequence of words, one by one until no further excision may be made without destroying the sentencehood of the remaining

sequence. An adjunct of the string or any of its parts is analyzed as occurring either to the left or to the right of that string or other element to which it is adjoined; or an adjunct may be located noncontiguously from its head, as in the case of the discontinuous sequences.

Underlying this limited application of string analysis is the assumption that, as Harris states:

The elementary part A_0 of a sentence or adjunct A is that part of A which is an elementary member of the class $\{A\}$ to which A belongs. To be a member of $\{A\}$, A_0 must have as its segments a sequence of classes which is present in the other members of $\{A\}$ and A_0 must occur in the same position relative to other sentences and adjuncts as do the other members of $\{A\}$: A_0 must have the same structure and the same properties of occurrence as the other members of $\{A\}$. 4

For instance, then, an adjunct which we identify as a non-topicalized actor in a given sentence must have the same features of adjunction as other non-topicalized actors in its class.

The paradigms illustrating the use of the three focus classes of transitive verbs in II.B.2, Pt. IV, Ch. 1, as well as sentence samples 1 through 11 in III.B, Pt. IV, Ch. 1, can be analyzed to describe their string structures and their adjunctive components. The model which may be used for the excision operation is: given the sentence in the

actor focus in paradigm A (Pdgm A:A_t)

nà-σ-putús du báyi ?it ?ísda? ku dáhun pára sa ?ungá?
 wrapped the woman a fish with the leaf for the child
 'The woman wrapped a fish with the leaf for the child.'

we state that the center string (CS) is

nà-σ-putús du báyi ?it ?ísda?
 wrapped the woman a fish
 'The woman wrapped a fish.'

and that

ku dáhun 'with the leaf' is a sentential adjunct adjoined to
 the left of pára sa ?ungá? 'for the
 child'

pára sa ?ungá? 'for the child' is a sentential adjunct ad-
 joined to the right of ku dáhun
 'with the leaf'

No further excision can be made in the remaining sequence,
 thus CS Pdgm A:A_t is the elementary sentence, which is char-
 acterized by the sequence of transitive verbal-Focus Class 1
 + topicalized actor + required non-topicalized goal, or by
 formula, V_{tr} Fl + A_t + +G_{nt}.

In order to understand the strings below, we review the
 following characteristics of the focus classes:

Focus Class 1--transitive verbals in this class topi-
 calize all focal nominal structures,
 namely, instrument, goal, and referent
 (cf. focus markers in Chart 1, p. 53).

Focus Class 2--transitive verbals in this class topicalize the actor, the instrument rather than the goal, and the referent.

Focus Class 3--transitive verbals in this class topicalize the actor, the instrument, and the referent rather than the goal.

We also restate that identical nominal markers may be used to introduce these focal nominal structures; the crucial distinction is indicated by the focus markers.

We now proceed to list the center string structures in Paradigms A, B, and C, pp. 63-66, and sentence samples 1 through 11, pp. 77-81, both in Pt. IV, Ch. 1.

CS 1: $V_{tr} F_1 + A_t + G_{nt}$ (transitive verbal-Focus Class 1 + topicalized actor + required non-topicalized goal)

nà-g-putús ru báyi ?it ?ísda? (pdgm A:A_t)
 wrapped the woman a fish
 'The woman wrapped a fish.'

nà-g-dakúp si tátay ?utíng ?it ?ísda? (1.a)
 caught Uncle Oting a fish
 'Uncle Oting caught a fish.'

na-ga-haling ru mangá báyi ?it kaǵáyù (2.a)
 building the women a fire
 'The women are building a fire.'

mà-bakáǵ ru ?ungá? ?it hampáng-àn (5.b)
 will buy the child a toy
 'The child will buy a toy.'

CS 2: V_{tr} Fl + I_t + G_{nt} (transitive verbal-Focus Class 1
+ required non-topicalized goal)

?ì-putús ru dáhun ?it ?ísda? (pdgm A:I_t)
will be the leaf a fish
used for
wrapping

'The leaf will be used for wrapping a fish.'

CS 3: V_{tr} Fl + G_t (transitive verbal-Focus Class 1 + topi-
calized goal)

púst-un du ?ísda? (pdgm A:G_t)
will be the fish
wrapped

'The fish will be wrapped.'

g-ìn-dakúp ru ?ísda? (1.b)
was caught the fish

'The fish was caught.'

g-in-a-haling ru kaǵáyù (2.b)
is built the fire

'The fire is being built.'

g-in-ká?ùn du ságing (6.a)
was eaten the banana

'The banana was eaten.'

bákǵ-un du hampáng-án (5.a)
will be bought the toy

'The toy will be bought.'

CS 4: V_{tr} Fl + R_B t + G_{nt} (transitive verbal-Focus Class 1
+ topicalized referent (bene-
factor) + required non-topi-
calized goal)

púst-an du ?ungá? ?it ?ísda? (pdgm A:R_t)
will be the child a fish
wrapped-for

'The child is the one for whom a fish will be wrapped.'

- CS 5: V_{tr} F2 + A_t + I_{nt} (transitive verbal-Focus Class 2
+ topicalized actor + required
non-topicalized instrument)

mà-gubúng ru táwu ?it patáy (pǝgm B:A_t)
will bury the man a dead one
'The man will bury a dead one.'

mà-pilák s-ánda-y prudín ?it tsíku (3.a)
will throw Prudín and others a chico
away
'Prudín and others will throw a chico away.'

- CS 6: V_{tr} F2 + I_t (transitive verbal-Focus Class 2 + topi-
calized instrument)

?ì-gubúng ru patáy (pǝgm B:I_t)
will be buried the dead one
'The dead one will be buried.'

?ì-pilák ru tsíku (3.a)
will be the chico
thrown away
'The chico will be thrown away.'

?i-tanúm ru maní (4.a)
will be the peanut(s)
planted
'The peanut(s) will be planted.'

- CS 7: *V_{tr} F2 + G_t (cf. pǝgm B:G_t) (non-sentential se-
quence of transitive
verbal-Focal Class 2 +
topicalized goal)

- CS 8: V_{tr} F2 + R_{IL} t^{*} + G_{nt} (transitive verbal-Focus Class 2
+ topicalized referent (in-
direct object/locative) + re-
quired non-topicalized goal)

gúbng-an du kútkut ?it patáy (pǝgm B:R_t)
will be the hole a dead one
buried-in
'The hole will be used for burying a dead one.'

- CS 9: V_{tr} F3 + A_t + +R_{IO} nt (transitive verbal-Focus Class
3 + topicalized actor + re-
quired non-topicalized ref-
erent (indirect object))

mà-tarápu ru s-ug-ùgu?-ún ?it saǵúg (pdgm C:A_t)
will mop the servant a floor
'The servant will mop a floor.'

- CS 10: V_{tr} F3 + A_t + +R_{IL} nt (transitive verbal-Focus Class
3 + topicalized actor + re-
quired non-topicalized ref-
erent (indirect object or
locative))

na-gà-?atubáng s-i níni? sa mangá táwu (9.b)
confronting Nene people
'Nene is confronting the people.'

nà-g-higút du táwu k-a-y mading (7.b)
tied the man Mading
'The man tied Mading.'

- CS 11: V_{tr} F3 + I_t + +R_{IO} nt (transitive verbal-Focus Class
3 + topicalized instrument +
required non-topicalized ref-
erent (indirect object))

?ì-tarápu ru kátsa ?it saǵúg (pdgm C:I_t)
will be the flour-bag a floor
used for
mopping
'The flour-bag will be used for mopping a floor.'

- CS 12: *V_{tr} F3 + G_t (cf. pdgm C:G_t) (non-sentential sequence
of transitive verbal-
Focus Class 3 + topi-
calized goal)

CS 13: $V_{tr F3} + R_{IO} t$ (transitive verbal-Focus Class 3
+ topicalized referent (indirect
object))

tàrapú-han du saǵúǵ (pdgm C:R_{IO} t)
will be the floor
mopped
'The floor will be mopped.'

g-in-hígt-àn s-i mading (7.a)
Mading
'Mading'

g-in-à-hibáyǵ-an du mangá kà-lisúd (8.a)
laughed at the worries
'The worries are being laughed at.'

CS 14: $V_{tr F3} + R_{IL} t$ (transitive verbal-Focus Class 3 +
topicalized referent (indirect ob-
ject or locative))

g-in-à-?atubáǵng-an du mangá táwu (9.a)
being confronted the people
'The people are being confronted.'

?ugtás-àn s-ánda-y núnuy (10.a)
will be Nonoy and others
fussed-at
'Nonoy and others will be fussed at.'

CS 15: $V_{tr F3} + R_B t + R_{IO} nt$ (transitive verbal-Focus Class
3 + topicalized referent
(benefactor) + required non-
topicalized referent (in-
direct object))

tàrapú-han du báyi ?it saǵúǵ (pdgm C:R_B t)
will be mopped- the woman a floor
for
'The woman is the one for whom a floor will be
mopped.'

CS 16: $V_{tr} F3 + R_B t$ (transitive verbal-Focus Class 3 + topicalized referent (benefactor))

híkùt-àn du táwu (11.a)
will be the man
cooked-for
'The man is the one who will be cooked for.'

S 17: $V_{tr} + A_t$ (transitive verbal + topicalized actor)

na-g-ká?ùn du s-uǵ-ùgu?-ún (6.b)
ate the servant
'The servant ate.'

ma-híkùt du s-uǵ-ùgu?-ún (11.b)
will cook the servant
'The servant will cook.'

mà-tanúm ru táwu (4.b)
will plant the man
'The man will plant.'

na-gà-hibayág ru ma-gúǵàng (8.b)
laughing the old one
'The old one is laughing.'

ma-?úgtàs du ?iná (10.b)
will fuss the mother
'The mother will fuss.'

The group of elementary sentences under S 17 occur with transitive verbals with the actor focus; these verbals permit but do not require object-adjoinings. We may re-classify the sentences according to their focus class, as follows:

The verbals na-g-ká?ùn 'ate' and ma-híkùt 'will cook' in the sentences

na-g-ká?ùn du s-uǵ-ùgu?-ún (6.b)
ate the servant
'The servant ate.'

ma-híkùt du s-uǵ-ùgu?-ún (11.b)
will cook the servant
'The servant will cook.'

can topicalize all local nominals, and identify these verbals to be members of the transitive verbal-Focus Class 1. The center string then is $V_{tr F1} + A_t$, i.e. as a sequence of a transitive verbal-Focus Class 1 + topicalized actor. This may be given as CS 1(a).

The verbal mà-tanúm 'will plant' in the sentence

mà-tanúm ru táwu
will plant the man
'The man will plant.'

represents a set of transitive verbals which can topicalize the actor, the instrument rather than the goal, and the referent, and therefore we identify it to be a member of the transitive verbal-Focus Class 2. The center string illustrated above is $V_{tr F2} + A_t$, i.e. as a sequence of a transitive verbal-Focus Class 2 + topicalized actor. This may be given as CS 5(a).

The verbals na-gà-hibayág 'laughing' and ma-?úgtàs 'will fuss' in the sentences

na-gà-hibayág ru ma-gúgàng
is laughing the old one
'The old one is laughing.'

ma-?úgtàs du ?iná
will fuss the mother
'The mother will fuss.'

represent a class of verbals which topicalize the actor, the instrument, and the referent rather than the goal, and therefore we identify them to be members of the transitive verbal-Focus Class 3. The center string in the above

sentences is $V_{tr\ F3} + A_t$, i.e. as a sequence of a transitive verbal-Focus Class 3 + topicalized actor. This type can be given as CS 10(a).

As modeled on pp. 77-81, this description of the center strings also included statements concerning the adjunction of the various N_{nt} structures which are excised. The matter of adjuncts of certain other structures is to be treated in the following sections, however, and therefore the nominal adjuncts in the above-described sentence samples will not be discussed.

II. Nominal Structures Characterized by Modifying Subordination

Identical morphological markers appear with many word-stems in the different grammatical classes. Thus, that by morphological analysis alone one is not able to determine which affixes characterize verbals, nominals, and types of modifiers, as one can, for instance, in English, and furthermore, syntactic distribution becomes a very significant, and perhaps the only reliable index for such grammatical classes.

One of the syntactic characteristics of nominals is, of course, their capacity to function as topic of a sentence. We have amply demonstrated the use of markers signaling the topical function. One other characteristic to interest us

is that nominals may be expanded by a modifying structure, such as the relative phrase which adjoins to the right of a minimal nominal structure and which is introduced by the ligature nga 'who, which, that.' E.g. the nominal ru bakírù in the sentence nà-g-dagáagan òu bakírù (ran the shepherd) 'The shepherd ran,' may be subordinated by nga ma-támàd⁵ (who lazy) 'who is lazy,' thus nà-g-dagáagan òu bakírù nga ma-támàd (ran the shepherd who lazy) 'The shepherd who is lazy ran.' It is clear here that nga ma-támàd and other relative subordinators are adjunctive since their absence is not crucial to the sentential status of the remaining string. The question which is to be described shortly has to do with the non-excisability of a nga-structure whose head-word is an actor pronoun,⁶ encoded here as 'Pr_{M(a)},' which happens to be morphologically and syntactically like the possessive pronoun, encoded as 'Pr_{poss(a)}.'

The data being examined in this section deal specifically with the use of certain personal pronouns in particular derived partials of the sentence. To recall, we characterize a sentence as follows: Se = Topic (T) + (hay) + Comment
(C) (the (hay) form) or
Se = C + T (the non-hay form)

In this sentence-type, T is either a possessive personal pronoun form(a) or an actor pronoun form(a), both of which are followed by nga which, in turn, introduced a subordinative

structure. Personal pronouns(a) under discussion are listed in the chart "Forms and Functions of Personal Pronouns." 7

These pronouns marked "(a)" occur prepositively with the nominal possessed or the verbal which is introduced by nga.

Example of Se = T + (hay) + C or Se = C + T with

Pr_{poss(a)} and its nominalized partial:

ru	T	?-imu	(hay)	C
		Pr _{poss(a)}	lg	kàgábása
the		yours (sg.)		N
				squash
'Yours is a squash.'				

or

C	T
kàgábása	ru ?-imu
N	Pr _{poss(a)}
squash	the yours (sg.)
'Yours is a squash.'	

becomes nominalized as

T _{H-pr}	(RC)
ru ?-imu	(nga kàgábása)
Pr _{poss(a)}	(lg N)
the yours (sg.)	(which squash)
'yours (which is a squash)'	

In the nominalized form the symbol "H" indicates 'head-word' and "RC" indicates 'relative construction'; it is also worth noting that nga kàgábása 'which is a squash' is optional and is therefore excisable as the later section on string analysis will show.

Example of Se = T + (hay) + C or Se = C + T with
Pr (a) and its nominalized partial:

T		(hay)	C
^T H-Pr	poss(a)	RV	
ru	?-ána	nga ?i-pilák	(hay) papíl
	PrM _(a)	lg fu-I	lg N
the	by him	which will be thrown away	paper
'That which will be thrown away by him is a paper.'			

or

C	T		
	^T H-PrM	RV	
papíl	du	nga	?i-pilák
	poss(a)	lg	fu-I
	PrM _(a)		
paper	the by him	which will be	thrown away
'That which will be thrown away by him is a paper.'			

becomes nominalized

T				
^T H-PrM	poss(a)	RV		(RC)
ru	?-ána	nga	?i-pilák	(nga papíl)
	PrM _(a)	lg	fu-I	lg N
the	by him	which will be	thrown away	which paper
'that which will be thrown away by him which is a paper.'				

In the nominalized form with PrM_(a), the symbol 'RV' designates an exocentric structure which is not excisable; this construction, it will also be shown later, does not derive from the complement; from the sentence

ru	?-ána	nga	?i-pilák	(hay)	papíl
the	by him	which will be	thrown away		paper
'That which will be thrown away by him is a paper.'					

we do not derive

*ru ?-ána (hay) ?i-pilák
 the his lg will be thrown away
 'His will be thrown away.'

although this new sentence is a perfectly acceptable sentence which contains for its topic $Pr_{\text{poss}(a)}$. Nor do we produce the sentence

*ru ?-ána (hay) papíl
 the his lg paper
 'His is a paper.'

Now, having presented the two constructions which look alike in their surface structure but differ in deep structure, we proceed to show how the $\begin{bmatrix} Pr_{\text{poss}(a)} \\ PrM(a) \end{bmatrix}$, especially with the singular forms of personal pronoun(a), undergo assimilation, fusion, and reduction.

Full and Reduced or Assimilated Forms of Derived Pr_{poss(a)} and PrM_(a) (the element following nga in both full and reduced forms should be indicated by ' . . . , ' which is deleted in the examples below):

Full Form

A. Topicalized Pr_{poss(a)} and PrM_(a)

Singular

1sg	S _{in} -H _{ex}	ru ?-áku-n nga	'my' or 'by me'
2sg	S _{ex} -H _{in}	ru ?-ímu nga	'your(sg.)' or 'by you(sg.)'
3sg	S-H _{ex}	ru ?-ána nga	'his' or 'by him'

Plural

1pl	S-H _{in}	ru ?-átun nga	'our(in.)' or 'by us(in.)'
1pl	S _{in} -H _{ex}	ru ?-ámun nga	'our(ex.)' or 'by us(ex.)'
2pl	S _{ex} -H _{in}	ru ?-ínyu nga	'your(pl.)' or 'by you(pl.)'
3pl	S-H _{ex}	ru ?-ánda nga	'their' or 'by them'

Reduced or Assimilated Form

Singular

1sg	S _{in} -H _{ex}	ra?áng; rang	'my' or 'by me'
2sg	S _{ex} -H _{in}	ri?íng; ring	'your(sg.)' or 'by you(sg.)'
2sg	S-H _{ex}	ra?á; ra	'his' or 'by him'

Plural

1pl	S-H _{in}	ra ?-átung	'our(in.)' or 'by us(in.)'
1pl	S _{in} -H _{ex}	ra ?-ámung	'our(ex.)' or 'by us(ex.)'
2pl	S _{ex} -H _{in}	ri ?-ínyung	'your(pl.)' or 'by you(pl.)'
3pl	S-H _{ex}	ra ?-ándang	'their' or 'by them'

Full FormB. Non-Topicalized Pr_{poss(a)} and PrM_(a)

(i) Pr_{poss(a)} and PrM_(a) functioning as I_{nt}, G_{nt},
and R_{IO nt}

Singular

1sg	S _{in} -H _{ex}	ku ?-áku-n nga	'my' or 'by me'
2sg	S _{ex} -H _{in}	ku ?-ímu nga	'your(sg.)' or 'your(sg.)' or 'by you(sg.)'
3sg	S-H _{ex}	ku ?-ána nga	'his' or 'by him'

Plural

1pl	S-H _{in}	ku ?-átun nga	'our(in.)' or 'by us(in.)'
1pl	S _{in} -H _{ex}	ku ?ámun nga	'our(ex.)' or 'by us(ex.)'
2pl	S _{ex} -H _{in}	ku ?-ínyu nga	'your(pl.)' or 'by you(pl.)'
3pl	S-H _{ex}	ku ?-ánda nga	'their' or 'by them'

Reduced or Assimilated Form

Singular

1sg	S _{in} -H _{ex}	ka?áng; kang	'my' or 'by me'
2sg	S _{ex} -H _{in}	ki?íng; king	'your(sg.)' or 'by you(sg.)'
3sg	S-H _{ex}	ka?á; ka	'his' or 'by him'

Plural

1pl	S-H _{in}	ka ?-átung	'our(in.)' or 'by us(in.)'
1pl	S _{in} -H _{ex}	ka ?-ámung	'our(ex.)' or 'by us(ex.)'
2pl	S _{ex} -H _{in}	ki ?-ínyung	'your(pl.)' or 'by you(pl.)'
3pl	S-H _{ex}	ka ?-ándang	'their' or 'by them'

Full Form(ii) $Pr_{poss(a)}$ and $PrM_{(a)}$ functioning as R_{IL} nt

Singular

1sg	$S_{in}^{-}H_{ex}$	sa ?-áku-n nga	'my' or 'by me'
2sg	$S_{ex}^{-}H_{in}$	sa ?-ímu nga	'your(sg.) or 'by you(sg.)'
3sg	$S^{-}H_{ex}$	sa ?-ána nga	'his' or 'by him'

Plural

1pl	$S^{-}H_{in}$	sa ?-átun nga	'our(in.)' or 'by us(in.)'
1pl	$S_{in}^{-}H_{ex}$	sa ?-ámun nga	'our(ex.)' or 'by us(ex.)'
2pl	$S_{ex}^{-}H_{in}$	sa ?-ínyu nga	'your(pl.)' or 'by you(pl.)'
3pl	$S^{-}H_{ex}$	sa ?-ánda nga	'their' or 'by them'

Reduced or Assimilated Form

Singular

1sg	$S_{in}^{-}H_{ex}$	sa?áng; sang	'my' or 'by me'
2sg	$S_{ex}^{-}H_{in}$	si?íng; sing	'your(sg.)' or 'by you(sg.)'
3sg	$S^{-}H_{ex}$	sa?a; sa	'his' or 'by him'

Plural

1pl	$S^{-}H_{in}$	sa ?-átung	'our(in.)' or 'by us(in.)'
1pl	$S_{in}^{-}H_{ex}$	sa ?-ámung	'our(ex.)' or 'by us(ex.)'
2pl	$S_{ex}^{-}H_{in}$	sa ?-ínyung	'your(pl.)' or 'by you(pl.)'
3pl	$S^{-}H_{ex}$	sa ?-ándang	'their' or 'by them'

Full Form(iii) $Pr_{poss(a)}$ and $PrM_{(a)}$ functioning as R_B nt

Singular

1sg	S _{in} -H _{ex}	pára sa ?-áku-n nga	'for my'
2sg	S _{ex} -H _{in}	pára sa ?-ímu nga	'for your(sg.)'
3sg	S-H _{ex}	pára sa ?-ána nga	'for his'

Plural

1pl	S-H _{in}	pára sa ?-átun nga	'for our(in.)'
1pl	S _{in} -H _{ex}	pára sa ?-ámun nga	'for our(ex.)'
2pl	S _{ex} -H _{in}	pára sa ?-ínyu nga	'for your(pl.)'
3pl	S-H _{ex}	pára sa ?-ánda nga	'for their'

Reduced or Assimilated Form

Singular

1sg	S _{in} -H _{ex}	pára sa?áng; pára sang	'for my'
2sg	S _{ex} -H _{in}	pára si?íng; pára sing	'for your(sg.)'
3sg	S-H _{ex}	pára sa?á; pára sa	'for his'

Plural

1pl	S-H _{in}	pára sa ?-átung	'for our(in.)'
1pl	S _{in} -H _{ex}	pára sa ?-ámung	'for our(ex.)'
2pl	S _{ex} -H _{in}	pára si ?-ínyung	'for your(pl.)'
3pl	S-H _{ex}	pára sa ?-ándang	'for their'

In the case of the singular forms, the formulaic statement may be given as:

$$C_1V_1 + C_2V_2C_3V_3(C_4) + C_5V_4 \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} C_1V_2C_2V_2C_5 \\ C_1V_2C_2V_2 \end{bmatrix}$$

With partial examples:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ru} \\ \text{ku} \\ \text{sa} \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} \text{?-áku-n} \\ \text{?-ímu} \\ \text{?-ána} \end{bmatrix} + \text{nga} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{ra?áng} \\ \text{ki?íng} \\ \text{ka?á} \end{bmatrix}$$

In the case of the plural forms, the formulaic statement may be:

$$C_1V_1 + C_2V_2C_3V_3C_4 + C_5V_4 \rightarrow C_1V_2C_2V_2C_3V_3C_5$$

As applied:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ru} \\ \text{ku} \\ \text{sa} \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} \text{?-átun} \\ \text{?-ámun} \end{bmatrix} + \text{nga} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{ra ?-átung} \\ \text{ka ?-átung} \\ \text{sa ?-átung} \end{bmatrix} \\ \begin{bmatrix} \text{ra ?-ámung} \\ \text{ka ?-ámung} \\ \text{sa ?-ámung} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

and

$$C_1V_1 + C_2V_2C_3C_4V_3 + C_5V \rightarrow C_1V_2C_2V_2C_3C_4V_3C_5$$

With examples:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ru} \\ \text{ku} \\ \text{sa} \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} \text{?-ínyu} \\ \text{?-ánda} \end{bmatrix} + \text{nga} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} \text{ri ?-ínyung} \\ \text{ki ?-ínyung} \\ \text{si ?-ínyung} \end{bmatrix} \\ \begin{bmatrix} \text{ra ?-ándang} \\ \text{ka ?-ándang} \\ \text{sa ?-ándang} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

III. The Adjunctive and Obligatory Status of Certain Locative and Temporal Nominals

Locative and temporal nominals in Aklan, in general, differ from the focus-related nominals in that they cannot be topicalized. For instance, the locative nominal sa kalíbù (contextually, 'in Kalibo') in the sentence nà-g-pa-buǵúng ru s-uǵ-ùgu?-ún sa kalíbù (was treated the servant in Kalibo) 'The servant was treated (medically) in Kalibo' cannot be topicalized; thus *g-ín-pa-búǵng-an ðu kalíbù ku s-uǵ-ùgu?-ún (was treated-in the Kalibo by the servant) *'The Kalibo is where the servant was treated.' Similarly, the temporal nominal sa sàbadú 'on Saturday' in the sentence mà-bakáǵ míri ?it t-in-ápày sa sàbadú (will buy Mary bread on Saturday) 'Mary will buy bread on Saturday' cannot be placed in focus, and therefore *bákǵ-an ru sàbadú ?it t-in-ápày n-i míri (will be bought the Saturday bread by Mary) *'The Saturday is when bread will be bought by Mary.' In those two correct sentences, the locative and temporal nominals, sa kalíbù and sa sàbadú are adjunctive since their absence does not affect the sentencehood of their respective strings.

In our examination of focus-related nominal functions, we have tried to point out that topicalization and transitive verbal object are two devices by which a nominal may become obligatory in an elementary sentence. Contrary to

this, however, certain paradigms in Aklan seem to point out that the exclusion of certain locative and temporal nominals from the topic position does not necessarily exclude them from being obligatory center string components. The following illustrations show word order and the use of semi-finite verbal affixes as syntactic devices crucial for the obligatory occurrence of locative and temporal components. Excision is applied to demonstrate that without the locative or temporal component the residue becomes a non-sentence.

In order to proceed with the illustrations, we first introduce a set of semi-finite TE/F-AS verbal affixes according to the four foci--actor, instrument, goal, and referent--and observe that their occurrence requires the presence of the locative and temporal nominals used.

<u>A</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>R</u>
ma-g-S	pa-g-S-an	pa-g-S-a	pa-g-S-i

These affixes are used here in the 'actual past,' which uses the following affixes in the finite set:

<u>A</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>G</u>	<u>R</u>
na-g-S	g-in-S	g-in-S	g-in-S-an

1. Actor Focus or A_t (locative and temporal nominals (N_{loc} and N_{tmp}) in adjunctive and obligatory use underlined):

nà-g-bakáǵ bought	$\left[\begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{sa tindá-hàn}} \\ \text{in market} \\ \underline{\text{ku dumínggù}} \\ \text{last Sunday} \end{array} \right]$	ru báyi ?it sakúy the woman fritters
----------------------	---	---

'The woman bought fritters $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{in the market} \\ \text{last Sunday} \end{array} \right]$.'

Excise N_{loc} and N_{tmp} , thus CS = $\frac{V_{tr Fl} + A_t ++ G_{nt}}{\text{(cf. CS 1)}}$.

This center string consists of a transitive verbal-Focus Class 1 + topicalized actor + required non-topicalized goal.

$\left[\begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{sa tindá-hàn}} \\ \text{in market} \\ \underline{\text{ku dumínggù}} \\ \text{last Sunday} \end{array} \right]$	mà-g-bakáǵ bought	ru báyi ?it sakúy the woman fritters
---	----------------------	---

' $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{In the market} \\ \text{Last Sunday} \end{array} \right]$ was $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{where} \\ \text{when} \end{array} \right]$ the woman bought fritters.'

Excise N_{loc} and N_{tmp} , thus non-CS = $*V_{tr nf Fl} + A_t ++ G_{nt}$.

This is a non-sentential sequence of a transitive verbal semi-finite Focus Class 1 + topicalized actor + required non-topicalized goal.

2. Instrument Focus or I_t (N_{loc} and N_{tmp} in adjunctive and obligatory use underlined):

g-ín-pilák was thrown away	[sa pántaw in scullery ku lúnis last Monday]	ru tsíku n-i pruđin the chico by Pruđin
----------------------------------	---	---	---	--

'The chico was thrown away [in the scullery
last Monday].'

Excise N_{loc} and N_{tmp} , thus CS = $V_{tr} F2 + I_t$ (cf. CS 6).

This center string is a sequence of a transitive verbal-Focus Class 2 + topicalized instrument.

[sa pántaw in scullery ku lúnis last Monday]	pà-g-pilák-an ru tsíku was thrown the chico away
---	---	---	--

'[In the scullery
Last Monday] was [where
when] the chico was thrown
away.'

Excise N_{loc} and N_{tmp} , thus non-CS = $*V_{tr, nf} F2 + I_t$;

this non-sentential string is a sequence of a transitive verbal-semi-finite Focus Class 2 + topicalized instrument.

'Tonyo was tied $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{in the room} \\ \text{yesterday} \end{array} \right]$.'

Excise N_{loc} and N_{tmp} , thus CS = $\frac{V_{tr F3} + R_{IO t}}{\text{(cf. CS 13)}}$;

this center string is a sequence of a transitive verbal-Focus Class 3 + topicalized referent (indirect object).

$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{sa suʔúʔ} \\ \text{in room} \\ \text{ka-hápùn} \\ \text{yesterday} \end{array} \right]$	pa-g-hígt-ì	s-i túnyu
	was tied	Tonyo

' $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{In the room} \\ \text{Yesterday} \end{array} \right]$ was $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{where} \\ \text{when} \end{array} \right]$ Tonyo was tied.'

Excise N_{loc} and N_{tmp} , thus non-CS = $*\frac{V_{tr nf F3} + R_{IO t}}{\text{'}}$

this non-sentential string is of the sequence transitive verbal-semi-finite Focus Class 3 + topicalized referent (indirect object).

FOOTNOTES IN PART IV: CHAPTER 2

- 1 Zellig S. Harris, String Analysis of Sentence Structure (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1965). Professor Harris had an earlier publication in connection with the Transformations and Discourse Analysis project entitled Strings and Transformations in Language Description (Department of Linguistics, University of Pennsylvania, 1961), in which he introduced the basic operations of string analysis.
- 2 That is, from the standpoint of decomposition, string analysis is used in this limited description with the immediate purpose of illustrating its power in helping us discover elementary sentences in the language.
- 3 On the basis of the data collected for this research, one can attempt to define the term 'word' in Aklan to be a syntactically free unit, morphologically composed of a root or two roots with or without affixes--prefix, infix, and suffix or a combination of these--and is potentially bordered by pause. Recorded samples of raw texts are available which illustrate that when hesitation expressions, such as náyang, náyang nga, equivalent to 'uh,' 'er' in English, are said between the prefix(es) and the stem or root, these prefixes are repeated before the speaker utters the word. E.g. na-g-náyang- nà-g-daxágan du zungá? (r-uh- ran the child) 'The child r-uh-ran'; na-g-náyang- nà-g-ka?ùn-ká?un du táwu (sort of er-ate the man) 'The man sort of -er-ate.' Repetition does not occur when hesitation expressions are said between syntactically free forms.
- 4 Harris, String Analysis of Sentence Structure, op. cit. p. 22.
- 5 The prefix ma- in ma-támád 'lazy' may be considered to derive from the verbal prefix ma- 'potential' tense. The unit ma-támád, however, may be ascertained as a modifier rather than a verbal since it may, in turn, be modified by a modifying intensifier, nga m-ayád 'very': thus nà-g-daxágan du bakírù nga ma-támád nga m-ayád (ran the shepherd who lazy very) 'The shepherd who is very lazy ran.' This is one indication that the same morphemes are used in different aspects of the grammar.
- 6 Aklan has a quite complex system of pronouns and deictics which are not included in this research. However, because of the focus-related nominal markers, especially of the

N_{ppr}' some mention is made here especially of personal pronouns. Personal pronouns in Aklan inflect according to number and point of view or person, and share similar functions with nouns. For instance, they occur like nouns in the various syntactic focus functions (e.g. actor, instrument, goal, and referent) as will be seen later. According to number, personal pronouns fall into two groups: singular and plural. In terms of point of view, the singular group break down into three subgroups and the plural group into four. These may all be summarized as follows:

a. Singular

- i. The first-person singular point of view indicates the speaker alone included, hence the notation "1sg S_{in}-H_{ex}" and the gloss 'I,' 'my,' 'mine,' or 'me.'
- ii. The second-person singular point of view indicates the speaker excluded and the hearer included, hence "2sg S_{ex}-H_{in}," glossed as 'you sg.,' 'your sg.,' or 'yours sg..'
- iii. The third-person singular point of view indicates both the speaker and hearer excluded, hence "2sg S-H_{ex}" and its gloss 'he,' 'his,' or 'him.' This gloss makes use of the generic 'he'; in Aklan the third-person pronouns themselves are marked and are distinguished as 'he, she, it' only when they occur with nouns which clarify which gender they correspond to.

b. Plural

- i. The first-person plural point of view indicates both the speaker and others included, hence the notation "1pl S-H_{in}," glossed as 'we in.,' 'ours in.,' or 'us in.'
- ii. The first-person plural point of view of this type indicates the speaker included and the hearer excluded, thus "2pl S_{in}-H_{ex}" and glossed as 'we in.' 'our in.,' or 'ours.'
- iii. The second-person point of view indicates the speaker excluded and the hearer included, hence "2pl S_{ex}-H_{in}" and glossed as 'you pl.' or

'yours pl.'

- iv. The third-person plural point of view indicates both the speaker and hearer excluded, thus "3pl S-H_{ex}" and its gloss 'they,' 'their,' 'theirs,' or 'them.'

7 Forms and Functions of Personal Pronouns

Type of Nominal Function	Singular			Plural			
	1 S _{in} -H _{ex}	2 S _{ex} -H _{in}	3 S-H _{ex}	1 S-H _{in}	1 S _{in} -H _{ex}	2 S _{ex} -H _{in}	3 S-H _{ex}
1 Pr _t	?-akú			kitá	kamí		
		(a)?ikáw (b) ka				kamú	
			?imáw				s-ánda
2 Pr _{poss} FrM _{nt}	a)?-áku-n b)n-áku-n c) ku			(a)?-átun (b)n-átun	(a)?-ámun (b)n-ámun		
		(a)?-ímu (b)n-ímu (c) mu				(a)?-ínyu b)n-ínyu	
			(a)?-ána (b)n-ána (c) n-a				(a)?-ánda (b)n-ánda
3 PrI _{nt} FrG _{nt} FrP [IO IL B(pára___)]	k-áku-n			k-átun	k-ámun		
		k-ímu				k-ínyu	
			k-ána				k-ánda

PART V: CHAPTER 1

VERBALS

This chapter describes the forms which function as verbs in Aklan according to their inflectional categories of tense, aspect, mode, and modulative affixes, in this order.

In attempting to describe the overall configuration of verb inflection, it becomes necessary to set up the distinction between finite and semi-finite verbal forms. Setting the latter aside for the time being, we proceed to point out that the Aklan verb structure has three main sets of affixes: (a) the tense-focus and aspect¹ affixes or "TE/F-AS" which occur externally in a verb construction and are directly involved in the focus inflection; (b) the modal affixes, abbreviated here as "MOD," which occur between the TE/F-AS and the root-stem and do not, in general, participate in the focus inflection; and (c) the modulative affixes, or "MO" hereafter, which occur in different positions depending upon which form they modulate.

I. Tenses

The manner in which Aklan verbs represent the sense of

time reference² may be illustrated in the following diagram:

Time scale	Past	Present	Future	
	Actual <u>na-</u>		Potential <u>ma-</u>	Unmarked

With this illustration we mean to indicate that the 'actual' tense morpheme {na-} occurs with a 'past' aspect marker {-g-} which denotes an action completed, and it occurs also with a 'present progressive' aspect marker {-ga-} which signifies an action in progress at the time of speaking. The 'potential' tense, in the form of {ma-}, indicates that an action has not begun. Finally, there is a verbal form which occurs without a tense marker.

I.A. The 'Actual' Tense

The 'actual' tense in Aklan indicates that an action begins or has begun. Denoted by {na-}, the 'actual' tense is used in examples such as the following in the actor focus:

- 1.a. na-hámpàng ru ?ungá? kun táw?-an ?it búla
 plays the child when will be a ball
 given
 'The child plays when he is given a ball.'
- 1.b. ma-hámpàng ru ?ungá? kun táw?-an ?it búla
 will play the child when will be a ball
 given
 'The child will play when he is given a ball.'
2. na-g-hámpàng ru ?ungá?
 played the child
 'The child played.'

3. na-gà-hâmpang ru ?ungá?
 is playing the child
 'The child is playing.'

In sentence 1.a, the action -hâmpang 'play' begins when the stated condition, namely, the giving of the ball, has been satisfied. The use of na- here also indicates some certainty that the child will play. In contrast, sentence 1.b, with the use of ma-, indicates a sense of simple future of 'will play' without implication of certainty.

In sentence 2, the 'actual' morpheme na- indicates that the action -hâmpang 'play' has begun, and with the marker -q-, that it has been completed.

In sentence 3, na- expresses that the action has begun, and the use of -qa- indicates that it is continuing.

In some cases, the meaning of a verb may be such as to blur this distinction. For example, when the losing of an object has begun, it has also been completed:

4. na-dúgâ? ru dágum
 was lost the needle
 'The needle was lost.'

It must be pointed out that in this use, the stem -dúgâ? 'lose' does not take either -qa- or -q- not only in the actor focus but also in the other corresponding foci.

In Chart 1 above, it is evident that the markers of tense and focus, as well as of aspect, overlap in several cases, hence making segmentation a less-than-ideal operation.³ The allomorphs of the 'actual' tense morpheme {na-} may be given as follows:

- (a) /na-/ occurs as left adjunct (ladj) of -g- in A-1(i); as ladj of the stem (S) in A-1(ii), and optionally present in G-1(ii), and R-1(ii); and as ladj of -ga- in A-4.
- (b) /-in-/ occurs as right adjunct (radj) of g-- and ladj of S in I-1(i), G-1(i), and R-1(i); as ladj of S in I-1(ii), I-2, G-2, and R-2; as infix adjunct (inj) of -ga- in I-3, G-3, and R-3.
- (c) /n-/ occurs as radj of its optionally present component /i/ and ladj of /a/ of -ga- in I-4, G-4, and R-4.
- (d) /-um-/ occurs as ladj of S in A-2.

I.B. The 'Potential' Tense

The 'potential' tense morpheme {ma-} indicates an action which has not yet begun. In contrast with the 'actual' tense exemplified in I.A above, the 'potential' tense may be illustrated in the following:

4. ma-hâmpàng ru ?ungá?
 will play the child
 'The child will play.'

In its allomorphic distribution, {ma-} occurs with semantic meaning indicating aspect and focus in several cases; we may attempt to give the following:

- (a) /ma-/ occurs as ladj of S in A-5(i) and (ii), and optionally present in G-5(ii), and R-5(ii). This is designated as the allomorph in R-5(ii) since it occurs in full, overt form.
- (b) /?i-/ occurs as ladj of S in I-5(i) and (ii).
- (c) /-un/ occurs as an allomorph of aspect and focus as radj of S in G-5(i).

- (d) /-an/ occurs as an allomorph of marker of aspect and focus as radj of S in R-5(i). Its contrast with -an in I-6 will be demonstrated later.

I.C. The 'Unmarked' Tense

The 'unmarked' tense which is considered here belongs to the group of command utterances; the specific type referred to in this study is characterized by the absence of a tense marker in the actor focus. An example is:

5. ká?un 'Eat!'

Below we illustrate the contrast between the -an in R-5(i) and the -an in I-6:

6. -an in R-5(i): taw?-an ku báyi ?it búla ru ?ungá?
 will be by the woman a ball the
 given child
 'The child will be given a ball
 by the woman.'
7. -an in I-6: taw?-an ru búla sa ?ungá?
 be given the ball to child
 'Give the ball to the child.'

It should be mentioned now that the -an in I-6 appears in the semi-finite verbal forms which will be treated later.

II. Aspects

Aspect, or "the temporal distribution or contour" of an

action, event or state of affairs,"⁴ falls into a general four-part division: the 'past' range which designates that an action has begun and is completed; the 'present' range which spreads between the 'past' range and that of the 'future'; the 'future' which signifies that an action has not begun; and the 'unmarked' aspect which characterizes the verbal form which occurs in the type of command utterance being included in this study. Although these terms do not neatly abide by traditional usage, their use in this study of a non-Indo-European language reflects an effort toward what might be a more apt description. The subdivisions of the aspects below follow the order set in Chart 1, with most of the illustrations in the actor focus.

II.A. The 'Past' Aspect

In Aklan the 'past' aspect expresses an action which has begun and is completed. It is apparent in this language that the TE/F-AS morphemes are, in a way, semantically portmanteau: on the one hand, the 'past' aspect occurs in overt form as {-g-} in the sequence na-g-S; on the other hand, it occurs covertly, in the sequence na-S. This sort of alternation is conditioned by the fact that some verb-stems occur with {-g-} while others occur with na-. The examples below illustrate this:

8. (i) nà-g-putús ru báyi ?it ?ísda?⁵
 wrapped the woman a fish
 'The woman wrapped a fish.'

- 9.(ii) nà-matáy ru táwu
 died the man
 'The man died.'

In Chart 1 the allomorphic distribution of {-g-} may be given as follows:

- (a) /-g/ occurs as radj of na- in A-1(i); as ladj of -in- in I-1(i), G-1(i), and R-1(i).
- (b) /na-/ occurs as allomorph of markers of tense and focus as ladj of S in A-1(i), G-1(i), and R-1(i).

II.B. The 'Past Posterior' Aspect⁶

The 'past posterior' aspect in Aklan, indicated by the polymorphic {-um-} in the actor focus, denoted a 'past' action which is completed after another 'past' action. To illustrate this feature of the 'past posterior' aspect, we give two sentences both in the 'past' aspect and then, expressing that the action in the second sentence occurs later than the action in the first, we combine them into one sentence:

10. na-g-ká?ùn du táwu
 ate the man
 'The man ate.'
11. nà-g-?ulí? ru báyi
 went home the woman
 'The woman went home.'
12. na-g-ká?ùn du táwu bágu? ?-ùm-ulí? ru báyi
 ate the man before went home the woman
 'The man ate before the woman went home.'

The allomorphic distribution of {-um-} is found to overlap with the distribution of the allomorphs of tense and focus also, so that we are able to report as follows:

- (a) /-um-/ occurs as an allomorph of morphemes of tense and focus as ladj of S in A-2.
- (b) /-in-/ occurs in portmanteau with allomorphs of tense and focus as ladj of S in I-2, G-2, and R-2.

II.C. The 'Present Progressive' Aspect

The 'present progressive' aspect in Aklan designates an action which is in progress at the time of speaking. It is overtly expressed by the morpheme {-ga-}, and may be exemplified in the following:

13. na-gà-dáp?ung s-i prudín
 building a Prudin
 trash-fire
 'Prudin is building a trash-fire.'

The allomorphic distribution of {-ga-} may be reported as follows:

- (a) /-ga-/ occurs as radj of na- and ladj of S in A-3.
- (b) /g...a-/ occurs as l-radj of -in-, with /a/ as radj of S, in I-3, G-3, and R-3.

II.D. The 'Present Posterior' Aspect⁷

This aspect indicates a 'present' action which is conditioned by a 'future' action. It is marked by a formal blend of the 'actual' tense morpheme {na-} and the 'present progressive' marker {-ga-}. We may illustrate this aspect by giving two sentences, the first one in the 'present progressive' aspect and the second in the 'future'; then we combine these into one sentence, expressing that the first action takes place when the future action begins.

14. na-gà-dáp?ung s-i prudín
 building a Prudin
 trash-fire
 'Prudin is building a trash-fire.'
15. táw?-an s-i prudín ?it pùspurú
 will be Prudin match
 given
 'Prudin will be given some matches.'
16. nà-(ga-) dáp?ung s-i prudín kun táw?-an ?it pùspurú
 builds a Prudin when will be match
 trash-fire given
 'Prudin builds a trash-fire when she is given some matches.'

The allomorphic distribution of the 'present posterior' aspect morpheme which may be given in notation as {-ga-} as follows:

- (a) /(-ga-)/ occurs optionally as radj of na- and ladj of S in A-4.

- (b) /-a-/ occurs as radj of -n- of -(i)n- and ladj of S in I-4, G-4, and R-4; its optionally present component (g-) occurs as radj of -i- of -(i)n- in all these positions.

II.E. The 'Future' Aspect

In Aklan the 'future' aspect indicates an action which has not begun as has already been mentioned. It occurs in portmanteau with the 'potential' tense marker {ma-}, another evidence that tense and aspect in this language intersect. In this particular aspect, as in the 'past' aspect, there are two sets of forms which certain verb-stems require. It is possible to state that the verb-stems which occur with set (i) in the 'future' aspect belong to the same group to which set (i) in the 'past' aspect belong, and the verb-stems which occur with set (ii) in the 'future' aspect are of the same type as those which take set (ii) in the 'past' aspect. In the following sentence samples we show the inflectional difference between set (i) and set (ii) in the 'future' aspect by using the actor and goal foci:

17. set (i) A mà-bakáǵ ru báyi ?it ?ísda?
 will buy the woman a fish
 'The woman will buy a fish.'
18. G bákǵ-un ku báyi ru ?ísda?
 will be by the the fish
 bought woman
 'The fish will be bought by the woman.'
19. set (ii)A ma-kà-kíta? ru báyi ?it ?ísda?
 can see the woman a fish
 'The woman will see a fish.'

20. G (mà-)hi-kíta? ku báyi ru ?ísda?
 can be by the woman the fish
 seen
 'The fish can be seen by the woman.'
21. *hi-kíta?-un ku bayi ru ?ísda?

It must be understood in these examples that the gloss 'can' in set (ii) indicates the modal nature of the morpheme {-ka-} (i.e. with allomorphs /-ka-/ and /-hi-/ in the focus inflection here). One might do as well, for instance, by giving the gloss 'The woman will be able to see a fish' for A and 'The fish will (ability) be seen by the woman' for G.

The allomorphic distribution of the polymorphic {ma-} may be given as that of the distribution of the 'potential' tense, with the clear understanding of the portmanteau feature.

- (a) /ma-/ occurs as ladj of S in A-5(i) and (ii),
 G-5(ii), and R-5(ii).
- (b) /?i-/ occurs as ladj of S in I-5(i) and (ii).
- (c) /-un/ occurs as an allomorph of the morphemes of
 aspect and focus as radj of S in G-5(i).
- (d) /-an/ occurs as an allomorph of the markers of
 tense and focus as radj of S in R-5(i).

II.F. The 'Unmarked' Aspect

The 'unmarked' aspect in our examples refers to the verbal form in a type of command utterance in which no marker of tense or aspect appears with it. We recall the example from 5 above: ká?un 'Eat!'

II.G. Selectional Features of Verbs

II.G.1. Morphologically Significant Selectional Features--

There are selectional features which characterize the combination of the TE/F-AS markers and the stems. First, the TE/F-AS markers may be grouped as follows:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{na-g-} \\ \text{-um-} \\ \text{na-ga-} \\ \text{na-(ga-)} \end{array} \right] = \text{TE/F-AS 1}$$

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{na-} \\ \text{ma-} \end{array} \right] = \text{TE/F-AS 2}$$

Second, the stems which occur with these TE/F-AS markers are subgrouped into:

Stem A = the forms which occur either in bare root forms or with certain secondary derivations: the roots

-bakǎǎ	'buy'
-pusǎ?	'break'
-?abút	'reach'

may occur with TE/F-AS 1 and TE/F-AS 2 as they are or with stem-affixes, such as:

-pǎ-NG-akǎǎ	'go buying'
-kǎ-pusǎ?	'break together'
-hì-NG-abút	'try reaching'

Stem B = the forms which occur with TE/F-AS 1 and TE/F-AS 2 only with obligatorily present

stem-affixes: the roots

-maníla?	'Manila'
-likúd	'back'
-káhuy	'wood'

occur with TE/F-AS markers as

-pà-maníla?	'to Manila'
-tà-likúd	'turn away'
-pà-NG-ahúy	'go gathering fire-wood'

Stem C = the forms which occur obligatorily without stem-affixes and with TE/F-AS 2 only: the roots

-bágu	'become widowed'
-matáy	'die'

do not admit any of the stem-affixes in the example above (to be described as 'modals' shortly).

The summary of these statements may then be formularized

as:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{TE/F-AS 1} \\ \text{TE/F-AS 2} \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} \text{Stem A} \\ \text{Stem B} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{TE/F-AS 2} \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} \text{Stem C} \end{bmatrix}$$

II.G.2. Syntactically Significant Selectional Features⁸

II.G.2.a. Verbs

[	Van (animate)
	Vin (inanimate)
	Vne (neutral)

By this formula is meant that certain verbs occur only with animate actors, others only with inanimate actors, and still others with both animate and inanimate actors. Some examples of such roots are:

<u>Van</u>		<u>Vin</u>		<u>Vne</u>	
-kámang	'crawl'	-búgtu?	'sever'	-húgug	'fall; drop'
-sínngit	'shout'	-gísi?	'tear'	-túmba	'topple'
-hámpang	'play'	-?úgá?	'spill'	-dúgá?	'lose'

II.G.2.b.	Van	[	Vh (human)
			Vnh (non-human)

In Aklan, certain verbal forms occur with human actors and others with non-human actors; a few examples of these two sub-classes are:

<u>Vh</u>			<u>Vnh</u>
-bása	'read'	-tuká?	'eat, referring to chicken'
-púril	'tell lie'	-gukúh	'recline on all fours'
-hìbayág	'laugh'	-?iwík	'oink'

II.G.2.c.	Verbs	[	Vsg (singular)
			Vpl (plural)

Verbal forms may be marked as singular or plural either by their morphological make-up or simply by the arbitrary patterning:

<u>Vsg</u>			<u>Vpl</u>
-hámpang	'play'	-h-ag-ámpàng	'play (pl.)'
-timú?	'eat with hand'	-t-il-ímù?	'eat (pl.) with hands'
-putús	'wrap'	-kíta?	'see (pl.)'
		-súbgang	'meet (pl.)'

III. Paradigms Using Tense and Aspect Morphemes in Foci

In the following paradigms we illustrate the use of the TE/F-AS affixes in the actor, instrument, goal, and referent foci as these affixes appear in Chart 1 above. It is important to remember that not all the verbal forms participate in all the foci; e.g. in nà-matáy ru táwu 'The man died' the only inflectional slot satisfied is A-1(i). As much as possible, the models used use the following syntactically marked lexical forms:

verb: -putús 'wrap'

nominals (restricted to singular, common):

báyi	'woman'
?ísda?	'fish'
dáhun	'leaf'
?ungá?	'child'

When an example does not go by the model sentence exemplified, translations of two or three levels are given. Further, the syntactic roles of these nominals are marked as follows:

	<u>Actor</u>	<u>Instrument, Goal, NR₁₀</u>	<u>NR_{1L}, NR_B</u>
Actor Focus	ru	[ku (def) ?it (ndef)]	sa
Instrument, Goal, NR ₁₀ Focus	[ku (def) ?it (ndef)]	ru	sa
NR _{1L} , NR _B Focus	[ku (def) ?it (ndef)]	[ku (def) ?it (ndef)]	ru

Paradigms Using Tense and Aspect Morphemes in the Actor Focus

Model: 'The woman wrapped a fish with the leaf for the child.'

1. Actual past
 - (i) nà-g-putús ru báyi ?it ?ísda? ku dáhun pára sa ?ungá?
wrapped the woman a fish with the leaf for the child
 - (ii) na-kà-putús·ru báyi ?it ?ísda? ku dáhun pára sa ?ungá?
was able to the woman a fish with the leaf for the child
wrap
2. Actual past posterior

nà-g-putús ru báyi ?it ?ísda? ?ag k-um-á?ùn du ?ungá? dáyun
wrapped the woman a fish and ate the child later
'The woman wrapped a fish and the child ate later.'
3. Actual present progressive

na-gà-putús ru báyi ?it ?ísda? ku dáhun pára sa ?ungá?
is wrapping the woman a fish with the leaf for the child
4. Actual present posterior

nà-(ga-)putús ru báyi ?it ?ísda? kun táw?-an ?imáw ku dáhun
wraps the woman a fish when will be she the leaf
given
'The woman wraps a fish when she will be given the leaf.'
5. Potential future
 - (i) mà-putús ru báyi ?it ?ísda? ku dáhun pára sa ?ungá?
will wrap the woman a fish with the leaf for the child
 - (ii) ma-kà-putús ru báyi ?it ?ísda? ku dáhun pára sa ?ungá?
will be able the woman a fish with the leaf for the child
to wrap

6. Unmarked command putús ?it ?ísda? ku dáhun pára sa ?ungá?
wrap a fish with the leaf for the child

Paradigms Using Tense and Aspect Morphemes in the Instrument Focus

Model: 'The leaf was used by the woman for wrapping a fish for the child.'

1. Actual past
(i) g-ín-putús ku báyi ?it ?ísda? ru dáhun pára sa ?ungá?
was used for by the woman a fish the leaf for the child
wrapping
(ii) k-in-à-putús ku báyi ?it ?ísda? ru dáhun pára sa ?ungá?
was (ab.) used by the woman a fish the leaf for the child
for wrapping
2. Actual past posterior
nà-g-putús ru báyi ?it ?ísda? bágu? n-ána p-ín-ilák ru dáhun
wrapped the woman a fish before by her was thrown the leaf
away
'The woman wrapped a fish before the leaf was thrown away by her.'
'The woman wrapped a fish before she threw the leaf away.'
3. Actual present progressive
g-in-à-putús ku báyi ?it ?ísda? ru dáhun pára sa ?ungá?
is being used by the woman a fish the leaf for the child
for wrapping
4. Actual present posterior
(g-i)n-à-pilák ku báyi ru dáhun kun ma-húgùg ru ?ísda?
is thrown away by the woman the leaf when will drop the fish
'The woman throws the leaf away when the fish will drop.'

5. Potential (i) ?ì-putús ku báyi ?it ?ísda? ru dáhun pára sa ?ungá?
future will be by the woman a fish the leaf for the child
used for wrapping
- (ii) ?i-kà-putús ku báyi ?it ?ísda? ru dáhun pára sa ?ungá?
will (ab.) be by the woman a fish the leaf for the child
used for wrapping
6. Unmarked púst-an ?it ?ísda? ru dáhun pára sa ?ungá?
command be used a fish the leaf for the child
for wrapping
'The leaf be used for wrapping a fish for the child.'

Paradigms Using Tense and Aspect Morphemes in the Goal Focus

Model: 'The fish was wrapped with the leaf by the woman for the child.'

1. Actual (i) g-ìn-putús ku báyi ru ?ísda? ku dáhun pára sa ?ungá?
past was wrapped by the woman the fish with the leaf for the child
- (ii) (na-)hà-putús ku báyi ru ?ísda? ku dáhun pára sa ?ungá?
was (ab.) by the woman the fish with the leaf for the child
wrapped
2. Actual nà-g-bu?úŋ ru báyi ?it dáhun ?ag p-ìn-utús dáyun n-ána ru ?ísda?
past took the woman a leaf and wrapped later by her the fish
posterior 'The woman took a leaf and the fish was wrapped by her later.'
'The woman took a leaf and later she wrapped the fish.'
3. Actual g-in-à-putús ku báyi ru ?ísda? ku dáhun pára sa ?ungá?
present is being by the woman the fish with the leaf for the child
progressive wrapped

4. Actual present posterior (g-i)n-à-putús ku báyi ru ?ísda? ?agúd táw?-an ?imáw ?it kwárta
is wrapped by the woman the fish so that will be given she money
'The fish is wrapped by the woman so that she will be given money.'
5. Potential future (i) púst-un ku báyi ru ?ísda? ku dáhun pára sa ?ungá?
will be by the woman the fish with the leaf for the child wrapped
- (ii) (ma-)hì-putús ku báyi ru ?ísda? ku dáhun pára sa ?ungá?
will (ab.) be by the woman the fish with the leaf for the child wrapped
6. Unmarked command púst-a ru ?ísda? ku dáhun pára sa ?ungá?
be wrapped the fish with the leaf for the child
'The fish be wrapped with the leaf for the child.'

Paradigms Using Tense and Aspect Morphemes in the Referent Focus

Model: 'The child was the one for whom the woman wrapped a fish with the leaf.'

1. Actual past (i) g-in-pust-an ku báyi ?it ?ísda? ku dáhun ru ?ungá?
was wrapped- by the woman a fish with the leaf the child
for
- (ii) (na-)ha-púst-àn ku báyi ?it ?ísda? ku dáhun ru ?ungá?
was wrapped- by the woman a fish with the leaf the child
for (ab.)

2. Actual
past
posterior
- na-g-ká?ùn du ?ungá? ?ag p-in-úst-àn dáyun ?imáw ?it ?ísda?
ate the child and was wrapped- later a fish
for
'The child ate and later a fish was wrapped for him.'
3. Actual
present
progressive
- g-in-à-púst-an ku báyi ?it ?ísda? ku dáhun ru ?ungá?
is being by the woman a fish with the leaf the child
wrapped-for
4. Actual
present
posterior
- (g-i)n-a-pust-an ku báyi ?it ?ísda? ru ?ungá? ?agúd ma-ká?ùn
is wrapped-for by the woman a fish the child so that will eat
'The child is the one for whom the woman wraps a fish so he will eat.'
5. Potential (i)
future
- pust-an ku báyi ?it ?ísda? ku dáhun ru ?ungá?
will be by the woman a fish with the leaf the child
wrapped-for
- (ii)
- (ma-)hi-púst-àn ku báyi ?it ?ísda? ku dáhun ru ?ungá?
will (ab.) be by the woman a fish with the leaf the child
wrapped-for
6. Unmarked
command
- púst-i ?it ?ísda? ku dáhun ru ?ungá?
be wrapped- a fish with the leaf the child
for
'The child be wrapped a fish with the leaf.'

IV. Modes⁹

Between the TE/F-AS markers and the root in a verbal construction in Aklan there occur certain stem-forming affixes which we will call 'modal' affixes or 'MOD'; the semantic meanings of these affixes hardly agree with those identified in well-studied languages and may therefore elude the descriptivist's attention and concern, except that one of these modal markers happens to be the 'ability-actor' morpheme {-ka-}, a good enough lead to label it and the rest with similar structural features as the 'modal' affixes in this language.

In attempting to comprehend the modal system of Aklan verbal forms, we observe that certain roots which occur with appropriate TE/F-AS affixes also obligatorily occur with a specific type of MOD when they are used in verbal forms; other roots are used without such stem-forming affixes when they occur in verbal forms. There, then, are two general sets of verbal forms under consideration on the basis of mode: the 'modal' group and the 'non-modal' or 'unmarked' group.

IV.A. The 'Modal' Verbal Forms

In addition to the fact that certain roots require certain MOD affixes when these roots are used in verbal forms, some of these MOD affixes are repeatable; it appears that the MOD marker which adjoins as an immediate ladj of the

root serves the function of an obligatory MOD and that which adjoins as its immediate ladj functions as an optional MOD: the symbol for the obligatory MOD will be '+MOD' and that for the optional modal affixes '+MOD.' The diagram below serves to illustrate the structural lay-out being described:

Verbal Form = TE/F-AS + ±MOD + +MOD + Root

IV.A.1. The Obligatory Modal Affixes or '+MOD'--The obligatory modal affixes or '+MOD' may be listed below; the first three of these will be shown later as repeatable along with the morphologically optional or '+MOD' affixes:

TE/F-AS	+	±MOD	+	<table style="border-collapse: collapse; width: 100%; height: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">+MOD</td> <td style="padding: 0 10px;">+</td> <td style="padding: 10px 10px 10px 10px;">Root</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 10px 10px 10px 10px;"> <table style="border-collapse: collapse; width: 100%; height: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">-ka-</td> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">ab-A</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">-pa-</td> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">ca</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">[-pa-NG-</td> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">ca pr]</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">[-hi-NG-</td> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">ab-0 pr]</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">-ta-</td> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">d</td> </tr> </table> </td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	+MOD	+	Root	<table style="border-collapse: collapse; width: 100%; height: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">-ka-</td> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">ab-A</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">-pa-</td> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">ca</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">[-pa-NG-</td> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">ca pr]</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">[-hi-NG-</td> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">ab-0 pr]</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">-ta-</td> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">d</td> </tr> </table>	-ka-	ab-A	-pa-	ca	[-pa-NG-	ca pr]	[-hi-NG-	ab-0 pr]	-ta-	d		
+MOD	+	Root																		
<table style="border-collapse: collapse; width: 100%; height: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">-ka-</td> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">ab-A</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">-pa-</td> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">ca</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">[-pa-NG-</td> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">ca pr]</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">[-hi-NG-</td> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">ab-0 pr]</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">-ta-</td> <td style="padding: 5px 10px 5px 10px;">d</td> </tr> </table>	-ka-	ab-A	-pa-	ca	[-pa-NG-	ca pr]	[-hi-NG-	ab-0 pr]	-ta-	d										
-ka-	ab-A																			
-pa-	ca																			
[-pa-NG-	ca pr]																			
[-hi-NG-	ab-0 pr]																			
-ta-	d																			

IV.A.1.a. The 'ability-actor focus' $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -ka- \\ ab-A \end{array} \right\}$ as +MOD--In

its uses, $\begin{array}{l} -ka- \\ ab-A \end{array}$ indicates the notion of 'ability,' 'per-

fective' as well as the sense that the action is shared by

more than one nominal-topic. Some of the examples in which this morpheme is used are:

<u>Root</u>		<u>-ka-Form</u> ab-A	
-lisúđ	'difficult'	kà-lisúđ	'worry'
-lípáy	'happy'	kà-lípáy	'be happy'
-kíta?	'see'	kà-kíta?	'see (ab.)'
-sákáy	'ride'	ka-sákáy	'ride together'

Derived Form

nà-g-ka-lisúđ	'worried'
nà-g-ka-lípáy	'became happy'
na-kà-kíta?	'could see'
na-kà-sákáy	'rode together'

Hierarchically, as the diagram above indicates, the combination of -ka- precedes the affixation of the TE/F-AS markers to the stem; this is supported by the fact that forms such as kà-lisúđ 'worry n.,' ka-lípáy 'happiness,' and ka-sákáy 'co-passenger,' occur without the TE/F-AS markers.

IV.A.1.b. The 'causative' $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -pa- \\ ca \end{array} \right\}$ as \rightarrow MOD--It is apparent that when used obligatorily in the examples below, -pa- is used in intransitive verbal forms, and perhaps the gloss 'cause oneself' conveys the semantic notion appropriately. Before giving examples, we define two grammatical functions: 'causer' = one who causes the action; and 'agent' = the one caused to do the action.

<u>Root</u>		<u>-pa-</u> ca	<u>Form</u>
-maníla?	'Manila'	pà-	maníla? 'go to Manila'
-libánaw	'wash hands'	pa-	libánaw 'go to wash hands'
-ligús	'bathe'	pà-	ligús 'go take a bath'

Derived Form

na-gà-pa-maníla?	'going to Manila'
na-gà-pa-libánaw	'washing hands'
na-gà-pa-ligús	'taking a bath'

In syntactic context, the topicalized nominal functions as both the 'causer' and 'agent' of the action as the above-listed derived forms are used:

- (i) na-gà-pa-maníla? s-i núnuy
 going to Manila Nonoy
 'Nonoy causes himself to be going to Manila.'
 'Nonoy is going to Manila.'
- (ii) na-gà-pa-libánaw ru s-uǵ-ùgu?-ún
 washing hands the servant
 'The servant causes himself to be washing hands.'
 'The servant is washing his hands.'

In hierarchical structure, -pa- in this instance combines with the root prior to the affixation of the TE/F-AS markers. The secondary derivation is meaningful without the TE/F-AS markers as in the command utterances pà-maníla? 'Go to Manila!', pa-ligús 'Take a bath'!

IV.A.1.c. The 'causative + process' {-pa-NG-} as +MOD--This combination conveys the meaning of 'go V-ing,' and its use

may be exemplified in the following:

<u>Root</u>	<u>-pa-NG-Form</u>	
	ca pr	
-?ayú? 'ask'	pà-ng(← -NG-)	ayú? 'go asking'
-káhuy 'wood'	pà-ng(← -NG-)	ahúv 'go gathering firewood'
-?ísda? 'fish'	pa-ng(← -NG-)	ísda? 'go fishing'

Derived Form

nà-g-pa-ng-ayú?	'went asking'
ma-kà-pa-ng-áhuy	'will(ab.) go gathering firewood'
mà-pa-ng-ísda?	'will go fishing'

In hierarchical structure, the combination of -pa- and -NG- becomes an inner derivation, prior to the -pa-NG- affixation to the root and finally the affixation of the TE/F-AS markers to the verb-stem. A meaningful combination in Aklan, a pa-NG-stem is also used as a word-form in command utterances such as pa-ng(← -NG-)ádyì? 'Pray!', pa-n(← -NG-)ìndá-han 'Go to the market!' (or 'Go marketing!').

IV.A.1.d. The 'ability-objective focus + process' $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -hi-NG- \\ ab-0 pr \end{array} \right\}$ as +MOD--The unit -hi- in Aklan derives from the allomorph -hi- of the morpheme $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -ka- \\ ab-A \end{array} \right\}$ which occurs in the goal and referent foci and future aspect (cf. Paradigms Using Tense and Aspect Morphemes in different foci, p. ff. in this chapter). Its combination with the 'process' morpheme -NG- indicates the semantic meaning of 'try V-ing' as may be

evident in the following:

<u>Root</u>	<u>-hi-NG-Form</u>	
	ab-0 pr	
-kútu 'louse'	-hì-ng(< -NG-)utú	'try finding lice'
-kúha? 'take'	-hi-ng(< -NG-)úhà?	'try taking, achieving'

Derived Form

nǎ-g-hi-ng-utú	'went trying to find lice'
nǎ-g-hi-ng-úhà	'went trying to take, achieve'

As in the case of -pa-NG-, the combination of -hi- and -NG- with the root precedes the affixation of the TE/F-AS markers with the stem. Command utterances, such as hi-ng(< -NG-)utu 'Try finding lice!' and hi-ng(< -NG-)úhà? 'Try achieving!', are meaningful combinations in the language.

IV.A.1.e. The 'directional' +MOD or $\{-\underline{ta}_d-\}$ —This morpheme is a non-productive modal and occurs only in the two known examples below. It conveys the meaning of 'turn to' referring to bodily movement.

<u>Root</u>	<u>-ta- Form</u>	
	d	
-likúd 'back'	tà-likúd	'turn backward'
-kílíd 'side'	-ta-kílíd	'turn sideward'
	ta-líkìd	

Derived Form

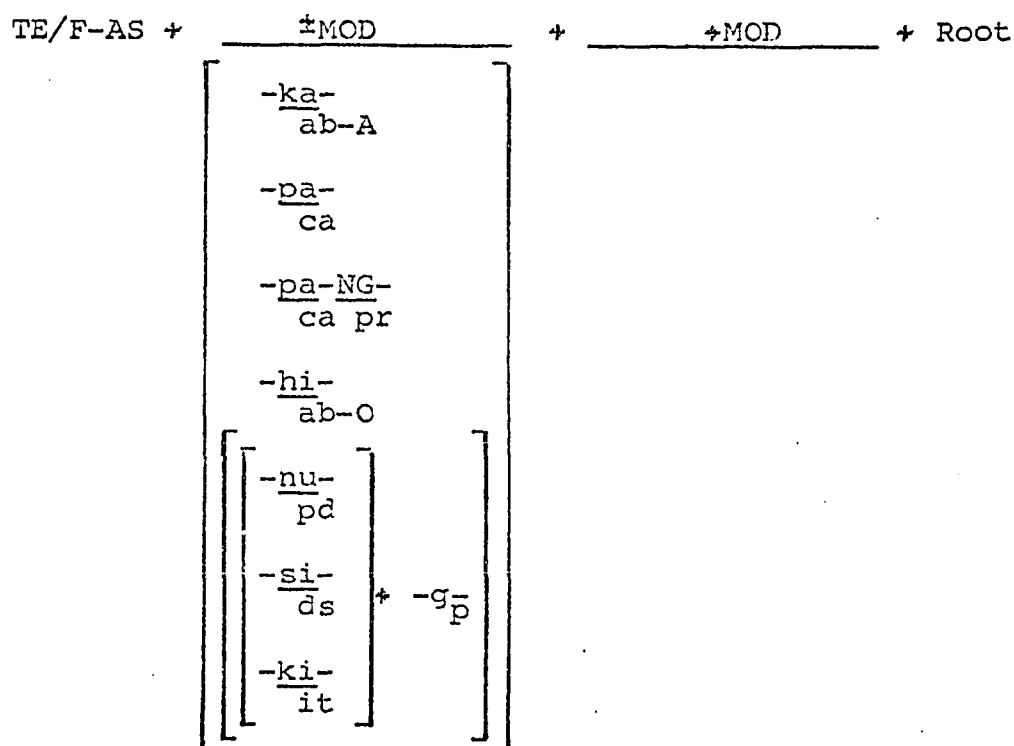
mà-ta-likúd	'will turn backward'
nà-g-ta-kílíd	'turned sideward'

As the diagram indicates, the combination of -ta- with d

the root hierarchically precedes the affixation of TE/F-AS with the stem. Utterances in command form such as tà-likúd 'Turn backward!' and ta-kílíd 'Turn sideward!', are found in Aklan.

In all the instances of these +MOD affixes, their occurrence is obligatory in that the exemplified verbal forms never occur without them. In the following section those +MOD will be described, including -ka-
ab-A', -pa-
ca and -pa-NG-
ca pr in their optional occurrence.

IV.A.2. The Optional Modal Affixes or '+MOD'¹⁰--The modal affixes which occur optionally may be listed as follows:



IV.A.2.a. The 'ability-actor focus' $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -ka- \\ ab-A \end{array} \right\}$ as \neq MOD--The examples in which the unit $\begin{array}{c} -ka- \\ ab-A \end{array}$ is repeatable may be given as follows:

<u>Root</u>		<u>-ka- Form</u>	
		$\begin{array}{c} ab-A \end{array}$	
-sakáy	'ride'	ka-sákây	'co-passenger'
-klási	'class'	ka-klási	'classmate'

<u>TE/F-AS-ka-Form</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>	
nà-g-ka-sákây	'became co-passengers'	na-g-kà-ka-sákây	'became co-passengers'
nà-g-ka-klási	'became classmates'	na-g-kà-ka-klási	'became classmates'

No remarkable semantic difference between the last two forms may be sensed, except that the -ka-ka- forms seem to convey the 'perfective' notion. It is in the fact that the TE/F-AS-ka- forms exist in the language that the first ka- is said to function as a \neq MOD.

IV.A.2.b. The 'causative' $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -pa- \\ ca \end{array} \right\}$ as \neq MOD--On p.137 in this chapter, the morpheme $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -pa \\ ca \end{array} \right\}$ as shown as a \neq MOD. In the examples below, there are two nominals used, one as the 'causer' and the other as the 'agent' of the action.

<u>Root</u>		<u>-pa- Form</u>	
		$\begin{array}{c} ca \end{array}$	
-manílà?	'Manila'	-pà-maníla?	'go to Manila'
-libánaw	'wash hands'	-pà-libánaw	'go to wash hands'
-ligús	'bathe'	-pà-ligús	'go take a bath'

TE/F-AS-pa- Form
caDerived Form

nà-g-pa-maníla? 'went to Manila'	na-g-pà-pa-maníla? '(ca) went to Manila'
nà-g-pa-libanâw 'went to wash hands'	na-g-pà-pa-libánaw '(ca) went to wash hands'
nà-g-pa-ligús 'went to take a bath'	na-g-pà-pa-lígus '(ca) went to take a bath'

In syntactic context, the derived forms are used as follows:

- (iii) na-g-pà-pa-maníla? ru báyi ku táwu
caused to go to the woman the man
Manila 'causer' 'agent'
'The woman caused the man to go to Manila.'
- (iv) na-g-pà-pa-libánaw ru báyi ku táwu
caused to go to the woman the man
wash hands 'causer' 'agent'
'The woman caused the man to wash (his) hands.'
- (v) na-g-pà-pa-lígus du ?áyam sa báyi
let to be bathed the dog the woman
'causer' 'agent'
'The dog let the woman bathe it.'

Inasmuch as the TE/F-AS-pa- forms can occur morphologically, the later -pa- can be said to be a +MOD.
ca

IV.A.2.c. The 'causative + process' {-pa-NG-} as +MOD--The
ca pr
optionally present -pa-NG- may be seen in the examples below with a semantic meaning of reinforcing the notion of 'go V-ing':

<u>Root</u>		<u>-pa-NG-</u> Form
		ca pr
-sabún 'soap'		-pà-n(← -NG-)abún 'go soaping'
-pyísta 'fiesta'		-pa-m(← -NG-)yístà 'go to fiestas'

TE/F-AS-pa-NG- Form
ca pr

na-gà-pà-n-abún 'goes
soaping'

na-gà-pa-m-yísta 'going
to fiestas'

Derived Form

na-ga-pà-ng-pa-n(← -NG-)abún
'goes on soaping'

na-ga-pa-ng-pa-m(← -NG-)yísta
'going to fiestas'

The status of the later -pa-NG- may be said to be that of \neq MOD since the verbal form with the obligatory -pa-NG- can occur in the language.

IV.A.2.d. The 'ability-objective focus' MOD or $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -hi- \\ ab-0 \end{array} \right\} --$

The unit -hi- in Aklan is an allomorph of the morpheme

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -ka- \\ ab-A \end{array} \right\}$ which occurs in the goal and referent foci and future aspect (e.g. 'past' actor focus na-ka-S as compared with 'future' goal focus ma-hi-S; cf. Paradigms Using Tense and Aspect Morphemes in different foci, p.130 ff. in this chapter). Its use as a \neq MOD is evidenced by the fact that a verbal form is possible without its occurrence. In the examples below, -hi- indicates what may be glossed in English as 'try to V':

<u>Root</u>		<u>-hi- Form</u>	
		ab-0	
-ǵápít	'near'	-hi-lápít	'become neighbors'
-tú?un	'match v.'	-hi-tú?ùn	'become matched'

TE/F-AS-hi-Form
ab-0

na-g-hi-lapít 'became
neighbors'
na-g-hi-tú?un 'became
matched'

TE/F-AS-∅-Form

na-g-ǵápít 'became near'
na-g-tú?ùn 'matched'

These examples should clarify the status of -hi in this use as a ±MOD.

IV.A.2.e. The '-g-' ±MOD Forms

IV.A.2.e.i. The 'predictive + past' MOD or $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -\text{nu-g-} \\ \text{pd p} \end{array} \right\}$ --This set occurs with TE/F-AS ma-(ii) in Chart 1, its semantic meaning indicates an action expected or predicted to happen. A productive verbal-stem form, it may be illustrated as in:

<u>Root</u>	<u>TE/F-AS-nu-g-S Form</u>
	pd p
-?arádù 'plow'	ma-nù-g-?aradú 'expected to plow'
-kánta 'sing'	ma-nù-g-kánta 'about to sing'

TE/F-AS-Ø-S Form

mà-?arádu	'will plow'
ma-kánta	'will sing'

The unit -nu-g-, a combination of the predictive morpheme $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -\text{nu-} \\ \text{pd p} \end{array} \right\}$ and the 'past' aspect morpheme $\{-g-\}$ may be said then to be an optionally present modal marker.

IV.A.2.e.ii. The 'distributive + past' MOD or $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -\text{si-g} \\ \text{ds p} \end{array} \right\}$ --A verbal form containing -si-g- indicates the sense of each one doing the action. This modal set is somewhat non-productive in the language, and when used, it conveys an archaic character. Some examples:

<u>Root</u>	<u>TE/F-AS-si-g-S Form</u>
	ds p
-hímus 'tidy up'	ma-sì-g-hímus 'will each tidy up'
-pánaw 'go'	ma-sì-g-pánaw 'will each leave'

TE/F-AS-Ø-S Form

ma-himus 'will tidy up'
 ma-pánàw 'will leave'

As in the case of ma-nu-g-S, the TE/F-AS marker which occurs with -si-g- is also ma-(i) in Chart 1, since the verbal forms participate in focus with the inflectional affixes characterizing ma-(i). Since the unit -si-g- is not required in a verbal stem as in TE/F-AS-Ø-S, it may be said to be an optional modal marker.

IV.A.2.e.iii. The 'initiative + past' MOD or $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -ki-g \\ \text{it p} \end{array} \right\}--$
 This set is characterized by the combination of the 'initiative' morpheme -ki- and the 'past' aspect marker -g-.
 In combination with an appropriate root, it conveys the meaning of an action initiated by the actor-topic. Some examples of the use of -ki-g- are:
 it p

<u>Root</u>		<u>TE/F-AS-ki-g-S Form</u>	
		it p	
-hámbaḡ	'speak'	ma-kì-g-hámbaḡ	'will initiate to speak'
-?amígu	'friend'	ma-kì-g-?amígu	'will initiate to befriend'

TE/F-AS-Ø Form

ma-hámbàḡ 'will speak'
 mã-?amígu 'will befriend'

Without the unit -ki-g- a verbal form is possible, and on this basis this modal form may be said to be optional.
 it p

In closing this section, some verbal forms may simply be listed in order to show, even in the form of models, some possibilities of order when modal affixes are combined.

na-ka-pà-ta-likúd = TE/F-AS + +MOD + +MOD + Root
'causer caused (ab.) agent to turn backward'

na-g-pà-pa-NG-a-lisúd = TE/F-AS + +MOD + +MOD + Root
'causer caused agent to go V-ing'

k-ìn-a-pà-hi-NG-abút = TE/F-AS + +MOD + +MOD + Root
'was (ab.) caused to try V-ing'

IV.B. The 'Non-Modal' or 'Unmarked' Verbal Forms

Those verbal forms in which the roots occur without any of the stem-forming affixes described in A immediately above may be called the 'non-modal' or 'unmarked' forms; in traditional terminology these verbal forms belong to the so-called 'indicative' mode. Only a few examples should suffice to illustrate this group:

<u>Root</u>		<u>TE/F-AS-Root Form (cf. Chart 1)</u>	
-bakǎǎ	'buy'	b-ùm-akǎǎ	'bought' (A-2)
-sǐpa?	'kick'	na-g-sǐpǎ?	'kicked' (A-1)
-patáy	'kill'	páty-un	'will be killed' (R-5)(i)
-súgu?	'command'	g-in-à-súgu?	'being commanded' (I/G-3)

V. Modulative Verbal Affixes

The affixes which belong in this section are those which may be said to add characterizing features to both the modal and unmarked verbal forms.

V.A. {C₁uǵ-} or Root Reduplication 'diminutive'--The notion of diminution here indicates lessened meaning of the affix or root with which the morpheme occurs. This semantic feature may better be exemplified in the nominal use:
lamísà 'table' - lùǵ-lamísa 'small, humble table; doll table'; baǵáy 'house' - baǵáy-báǵay 'small, humble house; doll house.' In its stylistic effect, C₁uǵ- or root reduplication expresses a rather apologetic tone, as in

lùǵ-lamísa ra píru límpyu ma-t?á
 small, humble this but clean also really
 table
 'This is a small, humble table, but it is quite clean.'

It can also suggest an action which is done with less serious intent, as in:

na-gà-buǵ-balígya? ru báyi ?it sakúy
 sort of selling the woman fritter(s)
 'The woman is sort of selling (just as a small business) fritters.'

C₁uǵ- and root reduplication may be considered morphologically conditioned allomorphs of the same morpheme, {C₁uǵ-_{dm}}, for while C₁uǵ- generally occurs with roots of three or more syllables and root reduplication occurs with roots with two syllables, the pattern is not entirely automatic: that is, given the root balígyà? 'sell,' bùǵ-balígya? is common but balígya?-balígya? 'sort of sell' is also possible.

Positionally, C₁uǵ- is prefixed to the stem or root with

which it occurs: root reduplication needs no explanation. In the examples below the use of both allomorphs is illustrated with TE/F-AS na-g-:

<u>Root</u>			
-?arádù	'plow'	[na-g-?ùǰ-?arádu nà-g-?aradù-?arádu]	'sort of plow'
-kánta	'sing'	[nà-g-kuǰ-kánta nà-g-kánta-kánta]	'sort of sing'

It is worth commenting, in connection with root reduplication, that Aklan abounds in iterative root forms; only a few examples can be listed to represent them:

báybay	'beach'	bí?bi?	'edge'
pú?pu?	'harvest'	kútkut	'dig'
túktuk	'rust'	kukúh	'nail'

V.B. {-V₁ǰ-} 'pluralizer'¹¹--In the examples below, this morpheme requires a plural actor-topic; a plural actor-topic, however, does not necessarily require -V₁ǰ- as the examples below show. When used, -V₁ǰ- indicates more than one actor performing the action.

ru ?ungá?	(hay) ¹²	na-g-hámpàng
the child	lg	played
'The child played.'		
ru mangá ?ungá?	(hay)	na-g-hámpàng
the children	lg	played
'The children played.'		

ru mangá ?ungá? (hay) nà-g-h-aʒ-ámpang
 the children lg played (pl.)
 'The children played (pl.).'

but *ru ?ungá? (hay) nà-g-h-aʒ-ámpang
 'the child lg played (pl.)'

V.C. {-in-} 'continuative'--This morpheme indicates a
 cn
 continuous action, and it is perhaps because of this durative
 feature that the action may also be described as 'intensive.'
 In use, -in-, which contrast with TE/F-AS 'actual past' -in-,
 cn
 occurs immediately following C₁ of the root or stem; some
 examples are:

Root or Stem

-hānut	'spank'	nà-g-h-in-ānut	'spanked continuously'
-kā?un	'eat'	nà-g-k-in-ā?un	'ate continuously'
-bāsa	'read'	nà-g-b-in-āsa	'read continuously'
-kā-lisúd	'worry'	nà-g-k-in-ā-lísud	'worried continu- ously'

To show that -V₁ʒ- 'pluralizer' and -in- 'continuative'
 occur together, even though in basic instances they position
 identically in relation to the root or stem when present
 singly, we see below that, on the one hand, -V₁ʒ- 'plura-
 lizer' hierarchically follows the affixation of -in- and, on
 the other hand, the affixation of these two may be inde-
 pendent of each other:

Root or Stem

Derived Form

-hāmbaʒ	'speak'	nà-g-h-aʒ-āmbaʒ	'spoke (pl.)'
		nà-g-in-āmbaʒ	'spoke continuously'
		nà-g-h-il-in-āmbaʒ	'spoke continuously'

-pà-ng(← -NG-)-ísda? nà-g-p-aǵ-a-ng(← -NG-)-ísda?
 'go fishing' 'went fishing (pl.)'
 nà-g-p-in-a-ng(← -NG-)-ísda?
 'went fishing continuously'
 nà-g-p-in-àǵ-a-ng(← -NG-)-ísda?
 'went (pl.) fishing continuously'

With the use of C₁uǵ- to the last derived forms above:

hùǵ-h-il-in-ám̄baǵ 'sort of speak (pl.) continuously'
 pùǵ-p-in-àǵ-a-ng(← -NG-)-ísda? 'sort of go (pl.)
 fishing continuously'

As far as these three modulative affixes are concerned, a native speaker rarely strings all these together in a single verbal form, any more than he would use all the modal affixes in one verbal form. One would need to list the meaning of the individual affixes in a pun form like

na-g-puǵ-p-in-a-p-aǵ-a-ng(← -NG-)-a-lisud, for instance to attempt to understand the word-meaning which eludes him.

V.D. {C₁V₁-} 'augmentative'--This morpheme is unlike the preceding three modulative affixes, in that its occurrence is restricted to the use with the 'ability' modal {-ka-}. It indicates an action not done on purpose or that which is done necessarily under given circumstances, perhaps to be glossed as 'happen to V.' Some examples in which C₁V₁- occurs are:

<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>	
-bakáǵ	'buy'	na-kà-ba-bakáǵ	'happened to buy'
-dúsmu?	'fall'	ma-hì-du-dúsmu?	'happened to fall'

In the examples above, C₁V₁- occurs immediately preceding the root. Perhaps a sentence example will help illustrate its stylistic use:

kán?-un ku táwu ru sugá? nga ma-hì-ba-bakág
 will be by the man the viand which happens to be bought
 eaten
 (ká?un 'eat)

sa tindá-hàn
 in market
 'The viand which happens to be bought in the market
 will be eaten by the man.'

FOOTNOTES IN PART V: CHAPTER 1

- 1 Such linguistic terms as 'tense,' 'aspect,' and 'mode' or 'mood' do not always refer to the same features; for examples of different uses of these terms, cf. Howard McKaughan, The Inflection and Syntax of Maranao Verbs (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1958), p. 25 ff.; and Beato A. de la Cruz and R. David Paul Zorc, A Study of the Aklanon Dialect, Vol. One: Grammar (Kalibo, Aklan, Philippines: Aklan Printing Center, 1968), p. 60 ff.
- 2 For a definition of 'tense' the following excerpt from John Lyons seems appropriate: "The category of tense has to do with time-relations in so far as these are expressed by systematic grammatical contrasts. . . . The essential characteristic of the category of tense is that it relates the time of the action, event or state of affairs referred to in the sentence to the time of utterance (the time of utterance being 'now'). Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 304-305. I am indebted to Professor John Fought, supervisor of this research, for his enlightening suggestions in determining the nature of tense and aspect of Aklan.
- 3 The forms which occur with different semantic features in different contexts are considered in this study to be allomorphic in their distribution.
- 4 Lyons, op. cit., p. 313.
- 5 See p.120ff. below for paradigms illustrating the use of sets (i) and (ii) of the 'past' aspect.
6. In languages in which tense is characterized by 'completion' vs. 'non-completion' of action, the term for the aspect which we call 'past posterior' here has customarily been 'present perfect.'
- 7 Similarly, our term 'present posterior' is somewhat equivalent to 'future perfect' in those languages in which 'completion' vs. 'non-completion constitutes the crucial distinction in tense.

- 8 As already shown, word-stems in Aklan potentially occur in different syntactic classes (verbal, nominal, adjectival, and adverbial) to an extent that only their syntactic distribution in specific paradigms make the setting of these classes possible. E.g. a verbal form is as well a nominal form or an adjectival form or adverbial form. The word-stem ma-bákàs 'fast' is one such example among many which satisfies the functions of all these classes. Chapter illustrates this.
- 9 The morphemes which we identify here as 'modal' are equivalent to what McKaughan calls 'aspectuals'; see McKaughan, op. cit., p. 25 ff.
- 10 That these affixes are optional is seen in the morphological sense. In syntactic use they are required by certain nominal structures which occur with them in the sentence; sentence examples illustrating -pa- amply clarify this feature. ca
- 11 There is another $\{-V_1\}$ which will be described in the following chapter on nominals; it occurs in the focus inflection as allomorph of $\{-nu-\}$, as in ma-nu-g-S, indicating 'predictive' sense. pd
- 12 The form hay is used in these examples as a topic-comment ligature.

PART V: CHAPTER 2

NOMINALS

I. Basic Nouns

I.A. Iterative syllable roots:

báybay	'beach'
bú?bu?	'pour out'
pá?pa?	'stake n.'
bá?ba?	'mouth'
síngsing	'ring'
kukúh	'nail'

I.B. Common but non-iterative roots:

pàrakú?	'axe'
manúk	'chicken'
?ibís	'small fish'
báyi	'woman'
?ánwang	'carabao'

The samples below fall under I.B.; these forms are borrowings which may be morphologically analyzed within the languages of origin but are not analyzed here within Aklan as their formations are not native to the language:

From Spanish:

with gender markers:

ma?ístrũ	ma?ístrà	'teacher'
đúktur	đuktùrà	'doctor'
?àbugádu	?àbugáda	'lawyer'

with 'agentive' suffix:

báka	'cow'	bakírù	'shepherd'
báŋka	'boat'	bangkírù	'ferry-man'
matánsà	'slaughter'	matànsíru	'butcher'
múda	'fashion'	mudístà	'seamstress'
árti	'art'	artístà	'artist'
ritrátù	'photo'	ritratísta	'photographer'

other nouns:

lamísà	'table'
líbru	'book'
pádri mabásà	'Father Mabasa'
tínti ?únduy	'Lieut. Undoy'

From English:

?ínglis	'English'
bikírí	'bakery'
síntins	'sentence'

From Chinese:

tsa	'tea'
pítsay	'Chinese cabbage'
syúpaw	'roll with pork and vegetable filling'

From Sanskrit:

tumbágà	'copper'
pánday	'-smith'
mútya?	'gem'

II. Derived Nouns

Derived nouns are forms from all the other syntactic classes in Aklan, namely, the verbal, adjectival, and adverbial classes. To illustrate briefly, the syntactic position of táwu 'man' in the topicalized structure below may be filled by any one of the members representing different

syntactic classes:

ru	<u>tāwu</u>	'the man' (basic N)
	nā-g-daŋāgan	'the one who ran' (V, A _t finite)
	?uwā? mā-g-daŋāgan	'the one who didn't run' (V, A _t semi-finite)
	ma-tāmbük	'the fat one' (M or modifier)
	ma-dāsìg mā-g-daŋāgan	'the one who runs fast'
	(from <u>na-gā-daŋāgan</u> ?it ma-dāsìg	'running fast')
		(M or modifier)

The great number of word-forms which syntactically qualify as nominals cannot be completely reported in this chapter; it then becomes necessary to restrict this morphological description of Aklan nominals, as much as possible, to those forms whose morphological combinations which are not duplicated in the morphological make-up of the forms in the other syntactic classes. It should be apparent as the description progresses that the subdivisions within each morphological set report the underlying stem-forms as verbal or nominal. It should also be apparent that since roots cannot be categorized as nouns, verbs, adjectives, or adverbs in many instances, the term 'root' is used.

In the overall inventory of nominals throughout this chapter, the forms are listed according to three general groupings: (a) nominals occurring with prefixes--members of this group occur with prefixes and with or without infixes and/or suffixes; (b) nominals occurring with infixes--members of this set occur with infixes and with or without suffixes; and (c) nominals occurring with suffixes only.

II.A. Nominals Occurring with Prefixes

II.A.1. The $\frac{ka-}{ab}$ Group--The morpheme {ka-} derives from the 'ability' modal $\frac{ka-}{ab}$ which was reported in Pt. V, Ch. 1.

Since it patterns with members of different stem-forms, its semantic glosses also differ, as will be seen below.

II.A.1.a. Verbal-Derived $\frac{ka-}{ab}$ Forms

As far as can be determined, the following lists the verbal-derived nominals; this is ascertained from the focus-related stem-forming affixes already shown in Pt. V, Ch. 1.

$\frac{ka-}{ab}$	<div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">V-stem $\frac{-un}{Fu-G}$</div> </div>	<div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">$\frac{-an^1}{sbt}$</div>
	<div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">V-stem $\frac{-an}{Fu-R}$</div>	
	<div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">V-stem $\frac{-an}{Fu-R}$</div>	<div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">$\frac{-un^2}{st}$</div>
	<div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">V-stem + $\left[\frac{-V_1 \emptyset}{pd} + \frac{-an}{Fu-R} \right]$</div>	
	<div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;"> $\left[\frac{k-in-a-}{ab \ p-I} + V-stem \right] + \frac{-an}{R}$ </div>	<div style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">-∅</div>

II.A.1.a.i. The $\frac{\text{ka-}}{\text{ab}}$ + $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{V-stem } \frac{-\text{un}}{\text{fu-G}} \\ \text{V-stem } \frac{-\text{an}}{\text{fu-R}} \end{array} \right]$ + $\frac{-\text{an}}{\text{sbt}}$ Subset--

This subset consists of two types of verbal stems, namely, one with the 'future-goal focus' suffix $\frac{-\text{un}}{\text{fu-G}}$, and the other with the 'future-referent focus' $\frac{-\text{an}}{\text{fu-R}}$. Hierarchically, the affixation of the verbal markers to the root in both types precedes the affixation of both $\frac{\text{ka-}}{\text{ab}}$ and the 'substantive' suffix $\frac{-\text{an}}{\text{sbt}}$ at the same level of structure. This $\frac{-\text{an}}{\text{sbt}}$ indicates 'collective' or 'plural' sense. Some of the examples representing the $\frac{-\text{un}}{\text{fu-G}}$ group are:

	<u>Root</u>		<u>V-stem</u> $\frac{-\text{un}}{\text{fu-G}}$	
dāpat	'use'	dāpāt-ún	'will be used'	
gāsta	'spend'	gāsta-hún	'will be spent'	
?awát	'bother'	?awat-ún	'will be bothered'	

Derived Form

kā-dapat-ún-an	'necessities'
kā-gasta-hún-an	'expenditures'
kā-?awat-ún-an	'chores'

Examples representing the $\frac{-\text{an}}{\text{fu-R}}$ group are:

	<u>Root</u>		<u>V-stem</u> $\frac{-\text{an}}{\text{fu-R}}$	
gahúm	'rule'	gámh-an	'will be ruled-for'	
dungúg	'honor'	dúngg-an	'will be honored'	
bakáŋ	'buy'	bákŋ-an	'will be bought-for'	

Derived Form

kà-gamh-án-an	'realm of rule'
kà-dungg-án-an	'realm of honor'
kà-bakg-án-an	'proceeds from sale'

II.A.1.a.ii. The $\frac{ka-}{ab} + \left[\text{V-stem } \frac{-an}{Fu-R} \right] + \frac{-un}{st}$ Subset--

In this nominalization, the underlying form is a verbal stem with the 'future-referent focus' $\frac{-an}{Fu-R}$. This stem formation precedes the affixation of $\frac{ka-}{ab}$ and the 'stative' suffix $\frac{-un}{st}$ at the same level of hierarchical structure. The morpheme $\left\{ \frac{-un}{st} \right\}$ denotes 'quality, state, or time of.' A low functional load-type of combination, this sort of nominalization is illustrated with only one known example:

<u>Root</u>		<u>V-stem</u> $\frac{-an}{Fu-R}$	
hāpun	'afternoon'	hapún-àn	'will be late-for'

Derived Form

kà-hapun-án-un 'time of the afternoon'

II.A.1.a.iii. The $\frac{ka-}{ab} + \left[\text{V-stem} + \left[\frac{-V_1g-}{pd} + \frac{-an}{Fu-R} \right] \right] + \emptyset$

Subset--The form $\frac{-V_1g-}{pd}$ has been described elsewhere as an alternant of MOD $\left\{ -nu- \right\}$ which indicates the sense of 'predictive' or 'anticipative' action. In this nominalization, the root may be described as occurring with both $\frac{-V_1g-}{pd}$ and $\frac{-an^3}{Fu-R}$ in the referent focus of the 'predictive' modal. The verbal stem formation then precedes the prefixation of

$\frac{ka-}{ab}$; and the structural \emptyset here represents the absence of either $\frac{-an}{sbt}$ or $\frac{-un}{st}$ which are observed in the previous examples.

<u>Root</u>		V-stem	$\left[\frac{-V_1 \emptyset -}{pd} + \frac{-an}{Tu-R} \right]$
-tamúd	'be grateful'	t-a \emptyset -ám \emptyset -àn	'expected to be grateful-for'
-m-ayád	'well; good'	m-a \emptyset -áyr-àn	'well-being-for'
-tagám	'avoid'	t-a \emptyset -ágm-àn	'avoidance-from'

Derived Form

kà-t-a \emptyset -ám \emptyset -an	'gratefulness'
kà-m-a \emptyset -áyr-an	'well-being; welfare'
kà-t-a \emptyset -ágm-an	'danger'

II.A.1.a.iv. The $\left[\left[\frac{k-in-a-}{ab \ p-I} + V\text{-stem} \right] + \frac{-an}{R} \right] + \emptyset$

Subset--In the TE/F-AS formation, the occurrence of the +MOD $\frac{ka-}{ab}$ in the instrument focus in the 'past' aspect with the root is shown in the inner bracket; and the affixation of the suffix $\frac{-an}{R}$, in this use indicating 'location,' to the verbal stem is shown in the outer bracket, thus denoting a later hierarchical combination. Some of the examples in this subset may be listed as follows:

<u>Root</u>		$\left[\frac{k-in-a-}{ab \ p-I} \right]$	V-stem ⁴
-matáy	'die'	k-in-à-matáy	'that which one died of'
-táwu	'born'	k-in-a-táwu	'that which one is born of; genitals'

Derived Form

k-in-à-mátý-an	'place of death'
k-in-à-tawú-han	'place of birth'

II.A.1.b. Nominal-Derived $\frac{ka-}{ab}$ Forms

The only subset which comes under this group may be characterized as non-productive, and the description of the stem as being nominal seems to be supported by the fact that the formation occurs only in examples below. The formulaic scheme of this nominalization may be given as:

$$\frac{ka-}{ab} + \left[\left[\frac{C_1V_1-}{N-stem} \right] + \frac{-an}{sbt} \right] + \frac{-an}{sbt}$$

The examples show that the penultimate $\frac{-an}{sbt}$ undergoes vowel-zeroing, metathesis, and consonant replacement. The form $\frac{C_1V_1-}{N-stem}$ which occurs prefixally to the root can be described as an archaic use of the 'augmentative' morpheme $\{C_1V_1-\}$. It should be noted also that when the penultimate $\frac{-an}{sbt}$ occurs without the final $\frac{-an}{sbt}$ no morphophonemic change takes place. As previously said, the form $\frac{-an}{sbt}$ indicates 'collective' or 'plural' sense.

	<u>Root</u>		<u>$\frac{C_1V_1-}{N-stem}$</u>	
	ʒáki	'man; male'	ʒa-ʒáki	'man; male'
	báyi	'woman; female'	ba-báyi	'woman; female'
		<u>Penultimate $\frac{-an}{sbt}$</u>	<u>with and without Morphophonemic Change</u>	
	kà-ʒa-ʒáki-han	but	*ka-ʒa-ʒáki-n?-	'menfolk'
	kà-ba-báyí-han	but	*ka-ba-báyí-h?-	'womenfolk'
		<u>Derived Form</u>		
	kà-ʒa-gakí-n?-an		'menfolk'	
	kà-ba-báyí-n?-an		'womenfolk'	

II.A.1.c. Root-Derived $\frac{ka-}{ab}$ Forms

In the following inventory of nominally used forms in which the $\frac{ka-}{ab}$ affixation can be described as direct from the root, the term 'root,' rather than 'V,' 'N,' and so on, is used.

$$\frac{ka-}{ab} + \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Root} \end{array} \right] \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Root} \end{array} \right] \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{Root} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \begin{array}{l} + -\frac{an}{sbt} \\ + -\frac{un}{st} \\ + -\emptyset \end{array}$$

II.A.1.c.i. The $\frac{ka-}{ab} + \text{Root} + -\frac{an}{sbt}$ Subset--

In the following examples illustrating the $-\frac{an}{sbt}$ group, with this suffix indicating 'collective' or 'plural' sense, the affixation of $\frac{ka-}{ab}$ and $-\frac{an}{sbt}$ takes place at the same hierarchical level of structure.

	<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>
baǵǵáy	'house'	kà-baǵǵáy-án	'row of houses'
sugǔd	'content'	ka-súdl-àn	'entrails'
?ibā	'accompany'	kà-?ibā-han	'companion(s)'

It is quite important to state that these roots cannot be arbitrarily assigned as N or V since they can be used as both; the following illustrate their use as nominals

and as verbals:

- 1.a. mà-gahúg ru baǵáy
big the house
'The house (is) big.'
- 2.a. búsuǵ ru suǵúǵ
seed the content
'The content (is) a seed.'
- 3.a. ?ungá? ru ?ibá
child the companion
'The companion (is) a child.'
- 1.b. baǵáy pára sa báyi
build for woman
house
'Build a house for the woman.'
- 2.b. suǵúǵ sa simbá-hàn
go inside church
'Go inside the church.'
- 3.b. ?ibá sa ?ungá?
go with child
'Accompany the child.'

II.A.1.c.ii. The ka- + Root + -un Subset--Similar reason-
ab st

ing goes for the examples below illustrating the -un group. We describe the affixation of ka- and -un as occurring at the same level of structure, and the 'stative' suffix -un is also used with the meaning of 'quality, state, or time of.'

	<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>
?ínit	'heat'	kà-?ínit-un	'degree of heat'
ǵahúg	'naughty'	kà-ǵahúg-un	'state of naughtiness'
hilúng	'drunk'	kà-hilúng-un	'state of drunkenness'

In the samples which follow, we show the nature of the problem in assigning the roots to N or V or Adj:

- 4.a. ma-sǎngkàǵ ru ?ínit
 too much the heat
 'The heat (is) too much.'
- 5.a. hústu ǵún du ǵahúǵ
 enough already the naughtiness
 'The naughtiness (is) enough.'
 'That's enough naughtiness.'
- 6.a. na-húǵùǵ ru hilúǵ
 fell the drunk
 'The drunk fell.'
- 4.b. ?ínit ?it sabáw
 heat soup
 'Heat some soup.'
- 5.b. ?ayáw ?it ǵahúǵ
 don't be naughty
 'Don't be naughty.'
- 6.b. hilúǵ ru táwu
 drunk the man
 'The man (is) drunk.'

II.A.1.c.iii. The ka- + Root + -∅ Subset--Regarding the -∅ subset, samples can likewise be found which pose the same problem of assigning roots to V or N. Here, the use of ka- indicates the meaning '-mate':

<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>	
sakáy	'ride'	ka-sákàǵ	'co-passenger'
?áway	'fight'	ka-?áwàǵ	'enemy'
baǵáy	'house'	ka-báǵàǵ	'house-mate'

Used as both V and N in syntactic samples, these roots pattern as follows:

- 7.a. piligrúsu ru sakáy
 dangerous the ride
 'The ride (is) dangerous.'
- 8.a. píirmi ru mangá ?awáy
 frequent the fights
 'The fights (are) frequent.'
- 9.a. mà-bahúŋ ru baŋáy
 big the house
 'The house (is) big.'
- 7.b. sakáy sa áwtu
 ride in car
 'Ride in the car.'
- 8.b. ?ayáw ?it ?áway
 don't fight
 'Don't fight.'
- 9.b. baŋáy sa kalíbù
 build in Kalibo
 house
 'Build a house in Kalibo.'

II.A.2. The ma- Group--The morpheme $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ma-} \\ \text{fu-A} \end{array} \right\}$, it will be remembered, marks the 'potential' tense of verbal forms. It also indicates 'future-actor focus,' hence the formula 'ma- .'. The nominal forms listed under this heading are those which show characteristically nominal affixation.

$$\frac{\text{ma-}}{\text{Fu-A}} + \left[\left[\frac{\text{pa-}}{\text{ca}} - \emptyset + \frac{-\text{NG-}}{\text{Pr}} + \text{Root} \right] + \underline{\text{C}_1\text{V}_1-} \right]$$

$$\frac{\text{ma-g-}}{\text{Fu/p-nf-A}} + \left[\begin{array}{l} \left[\text{Root} \right] \\ \left[\frac{\text{?i-g-}}{\text{Fu/p-nf-I}} + \text{Root} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

II.A.2.a. The $\frac{\text{ma-}}{\text{Fu-A}}$ Subset--The nominalization of this type is characterized by the reduplication of the 'process' morpheme $\{-\text{NG-}\}$ in the $\underline{\text{C}_1\text{V}_1-}$ manner. In order to illustrate this reduplication feature, however, we need to explain first the zeroed 'causative' $\frac{\text{pa-}}{\text{ca}}$. Evidence for the zeroing should be drawn from a sentence paradigm such as the one below in which $\frac{\text{pa-}}{\text{ca}}$ can be said to be optionally zero and in which it is obligatorily present in verbal use:⁵

10. mà-pa-n($\leftarrow -\underline{\text{NG-}}$)-ákaw ru táwu ?it manúk

or

11. ma- \emptyset -n($\leftarrow -\underline{\text{NG-}}$)-ákaw ru táwu ?it manúk
will go stealing the man chicken
'The man will go stealing a chicken.'

12. ?índi? mà-g-pa-n($\leftarrow -\underline{\text{NG-}}$)-ákaw ru táwu ?it manúk
(?índi? 'volitional' negative)
not go stealing the man chicken
'The man will not go stealing a chicken.'

but 13. *?índi? ma-g- \emptyset -n($\leftarrow -\underline{\text{NG-}}$)-ákaw ru táwu ?it manúk

In the examples below, we present the different hierarchical levels of derivation from the root to the -NG- /C₁V₁- formation; this nominalization indicates 'agentive' sense.

<u>Root</u>		<u>pa-NG- Form</u>	
-pugún	'stove'	pà-m-ugún	'go migrating for labor'
-búlig	'help'	pa-m-úlig	'go helping'
-tákaw	'steal'	pa-n-ákaw	'go stealing'
-?ísda?	'fish'	pa-ng-ísda?	'go fishing'
-káhuy	'wood'	pà-ng-ahúy	'go gathering firewood'

ma-pa-NG- Form

mà-pa-m-úgun	'will go migrating for labor'
mà-pa-m-úlig	'will go helping'
mà-pa-n-ákaw	'will go stealing'
mà-pa-ng-ísda?	'will go fishing'
mà-pa-ng-áhuy	'will go gathering firewood'

Derived Form⁶

ma-mù-m-ugún	'migratory laborer'
ma-mù-m-úlig	'helper; farm-hand'
ma-nà-n-akâw	'thief'
ma-ngi-ng-ísda?	'fisherman'
ma-ngà-ng-ahúy	'firewood gatherer'

II.A.2.b. The ma-q- Subset--The form ma-q- is seen as the non-finite alternant of the finite-form of the 'actual past' na-q- as well as the 'potential future' ma-, as will be described in Pt. V, Ch. 3. The semantic meaning of the nominal forms in this group indicates 'kinship.'

II.A.2.b.i. The ma-q- + Root Subset--The 'kinship' relationship expressed by the nominal form characterizing this subset is a 'twosome' type.

	<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>
-?asáwà	'spouse'	mà-g-?asawá	'husband-wife'
-máŋghud	'sibling'	ma-g-máŋghùd	'two persons, sibling to each other'
-batá?	'relative'	mà-g-batá?	'two persons, relatives to each other'

When used to designate kinship of this sort referring to more than two, the morpheme $\{-V_{1\frac{p}{1}}\}$ is used, thus:

mà-g-?-aŋ-asawá	'husbands-wives'
mà-g-m-aŋ-áŋghud	'siblings, more than two'
mà-g-b-aŋ-atá?	'relatives, more than two'

Although one might suspect the roots to be N, it should be made clear that these are also used verbally, as in:

- 14.a. nà-matáy ru ?asáwà ku báyi
died the spouse of the woman
'The woman's spouse died.'
- 15.a. gwápa ru máŋghud n-i níni?
pretty the sibling of Nene
'Nene's sibling (sister) (is) pretty.'
- 14.b. ?asáwà ŋun
have spouse already
'Have a spouse now.'
- 15.b. máŋghúr-ì s-i níni?
have sibling Nene
'Nene be given a sibling.'
'Have a sibling for Nene.'

II.A.2.b.ii. The $\frac{ma-g-}{fu/p-sf-A}$ + $\left[\frac{?i-g- + \text{Root}}{fu/p-sf-I} \right]$ Subset--The

new element in this nominalization is ?i-g-, the semi-finite form which alternates with the finite forms of the 'actual past' g-in- and of the 'potential future' ?i- in the instrument focus.

To briefly illustrate the manner of alternation, we use ?i- and ?i-g- in verbal functions:

- 16.a. ?i-pilák ru papíl ku báyi
 will be the paper by the woman
 thrown away
 'The paper will be thrown away by the woman'
- 16.b. ?uwá? ?i-g-pilák ru papíl ku báyi
 not thrown away the paper by the woman
 'The paper was not thrown away by the woman.'

In nominal forms, the use of ?i-g- seems non-productive; its meaning also indicates twosome 'kinship.'

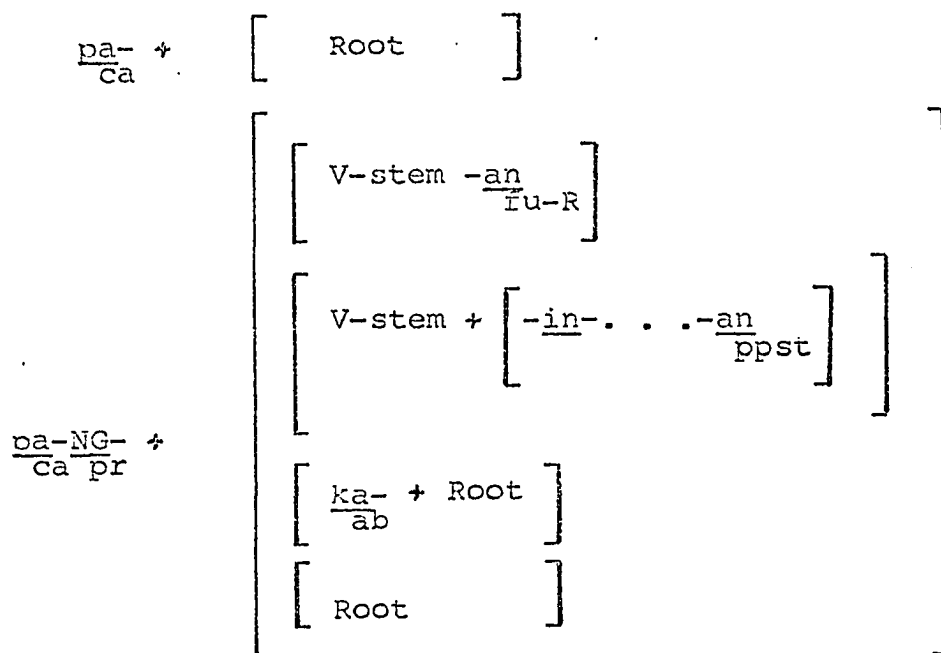
<u>Root</u>		<u>?i-g- Form</u>	
		<u>Iu/p-sf-i</u>	
-sú?un	'god-child'	?i-g-sú?ùn	'god-child'
-batá?	'relative'	?i-g-batá?	'relative'

Derived Form

mà-g-?i-g-sú?un	'co-god-child' ⁷
mà-g-?i-g-batá?	'co-relative'

The roots in these nominalization are bound forms and are restricted in their use to these forms only in the language; we therefore do not attempt to assign them to any lexical class.

II.A.3. The pa-_{Ca} Group--In this class the characteristically nominal forms share the stem-forming 'causative' affix pa-. Examples will show how some pa-_{Ca} forms may also be used in more than one syntactic function.



II.A.3.a. The pa- + Root Subset--In this type of nominal-

ization the 'causative' pa- occurs with the root, a form which cannot be ascertained as belonging to specific lexical classes by morphological analysis. Some examples of nominals are:

<u>Root</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>
-tunúg 'sound; noise'	pa-túnùg 'whistle'
-limús 'alms'	pà-limús 'alms; tithe'

The sentence samples below show the problem of assigning the roots to N or V:

17.a. ma-báskùg ru tunúg
 loud the sound
 'The sound (is) loud.'

18.a. ?abú? ru limús
 plenty the alms
 'The alms (are) plenty.'

- 17.b. tunúg ?ábi
make sound please
'Make a sound please.'
- 18.b. limús sa púbrí
give alms to poor
'Give alms to the poor.'

II.A.3.b. The pa-NG- Forms--Common to this group is the occurrence of the stem-forming affixes 'causative' pa- and 'process' -NG-.

II.A.3.b.i. Verbal-Derived pa-NG- Forms

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{pa-NG-} + \\ \text{ca pr} \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\text{V-stem } \text{-an} \\ \text{Fu-R} \right] \\ \left[\left[\text{pa-NG-} + \text{Root} \right] + \text{-in-} \dots \text{-an} \\ \text{ca pr} \text{Ppst-R} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

II.A.3.b.i.(a). The pa-NG- + V-stem -an Subset--The
ca pr Fu-R

verbal stem consisting of the root and the 'future-referent focus' -an is described as a formation preceding the affixation of pa-NG-. In the examples the 'referent' sense is evident:

<u>Root</u>		<u>V-stem -an</u> <u>Fu-R</u>	
-dúgáng	'add'	dugáng-àn	'will be added-to'
-batás	'endure'	batás-àn	'will be endured-for'
 <u>Derived Form</u>			
pà-n-ugáng-an			'someone to add-to; parent-in-law'
pà-m-atás-an			'something to endure-for; etiquette'

II.A.3.b.i.(b). The $\left[\frac{\text{pa-NG-}}{\text{ca pr}} + \text{V-stem} \right] + \text{-in-} . . \text{-an}_{\text{ppst-R}}$

Subset--By this formula the combination of $\frac{\text{pa-NG-}}{\text{ca pr}}$ with the root precedes the affixation of the 'past posterior-referent focus' $\text{-in-} . . \text{-an}$ markers. The nominalization expresses the 'referent' sense, as in:

<u>Root</u>		<u>pa-NG- Form</u>	
		ca pr	
-bakáŋ	'buy'	pà-m-akáŋ	'go buying'
-kíta?	'find'	pa-ng-íta?	'go finding'

Derived Form

p-in-a-m-akg-an 'that which has been bought; goods bought'
 p-in-a-ng-íta?-an 'that which has been found; earning'

II.A.3.b.ii. Root-Derived $\frac{\text{pa-NG-}}{\text{ca pr}}$ Forms

II.A.3.b.ii.(a). The $\frac{\text{pa-NG-}}{\text{ca pr}} + \left[\frac{\text{ka-}}{\text{ab}} + \text{Root} \right]$ Subset--The

morpheme $\left\{ \frac{\text{ka-}}{\text{ab}} \right\}$ has previously been mentioned as indicating the notion of '-mate' in one of its uses. This notion, as in the examples to follow, may be said to mean 'with' in combination with $\frac{\text{pa-NG-}}{\text{ca pr}}$.

<u>Root</u>		<u>ka- Form</u>	
		ab	
-buhí?	'live'	kà-buhí?	'live with'
-búdlay	'tired'	ka-búdlày	'effort'

Derived Form

pà-ng-a-búhi? 'that with which to go living; life'
 pà-ng-a-búdlay 'that with which to go tiring; effort'

It should be evident that the affixation of $\frac{ka-}{ab}$ to the root in this nominalization precedes that of $\frac{pa-NG-}{ca\ pr}$ to the stem.

II.A.3.b.ii.(b). The $\frac{pa-NG-}{ca\ pr}$ + Root Subset--In the following examples in this subset, the use of $\frac{pa-NG-}{ca\ pr}$ seems to indicate 'instrumental' sense.

<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>	
-bunít	'fish hook'	pà-m-unít	'go fishing with a hook'
-kutánà	'ask'	pà-ng-utána	'that with which to ask; question'

These roots, it must be pointed out, may be used as N and as V:

- 19.a. na-dúǵà? ru bunít
lost the fish hook
'The fish hook got lost.'
- 20.a. hústu ru kutánà
right the question
'The question (is) all right.'
- 19.b. bunít ?it ?ǵǵùgsùk
catch mudfish
with fish hook
'Catch a mudfish with a fish hook.'
- 20.b. kutánà sa dǵǵan
ask on way
'Ask on the way.'

II.A.4. The $\frac{?i-si-q-}{fu/p-sf-ds-I}$ + $\left[\frac{ka-}{ab} + \text{Root} \right]$ Group--As this diagram shows, the meaningful segmentation in hierarchical terms of the forms under this group combines $?i-$, the 'future-instrument focus' marker; $-si-$, the 'distributive'

morpheme; and -g-, the 'past' aspect marker which occurs with -si- in a rather non-productive nominalization; and ka-_{ab} and the root form the inner or secondary derivation. The combination conveys the meaning 'fellow-.'

<u>Root</u>		<u>ka-</u> <u>ab</u>	<u>Form</u>
-sakáy	'ride'	ka-sákày	'co-passenger'
-?amígu	'friend'	kà-?amígu	'co-friend'
 <u>Derived Form</u>			
?i-sì-g-ka-sákay			'fellow-passenger; each a passenger'
?i-sì-g-ka-?amígu			'fellow-friend; each a friend'

II.A.5. The ta-_c Group--In the discussion of verbals, the form ta- has been shown as a modal affix indicating 'direction.'

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\frac{\text{ta-g-}}{\text{d} \quad \text{p}} \right] \\ + \text{ Root} \end{array} \right]$$

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\frac{\text{ta-ga-}}{\text{d} \quad \text{prg-}} \right] \\ + \text{ N} \end{array} \right]$$

II.A.5.a. $\left[\frac{\text{ta-g-}}{\text{d} \quad \text{p}} \right]$ + Root Subset--The nominals of this derivation express 'ownership,' as in:

<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>	
-baǎy	'house'	tà-g-baǎy	'house-owner'
-?-ána	(3 p. sg. pronoun possessive)	ta-g-?-ána	'owner'

In this nominalization the combination of the 'directional' ta- with the 'past' aspect -g- precedes the combination of

these stem-forming affixes with the root. As for the lexical class of the roots, we have already shown in what way baǵáy occurs as N and V.

II.A.5.b. The $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{ta-ga-} \\ \text{d} \quad \text{prg} \end{array} \right] + N_{\text{loc}}$ Subset--The form $\frac{\text{ta-}}{\text{d}}$ here

occurs with the 'present progressive' aspect -ga-, and in this combination with a locative nominal the meaning designates the place from which one hails:

<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>	
-kalíbù	'Kalibo'	ta-gà-kalíbu	'one from Kalibo'
-lísu	'Leso'	ta-gà-lísu	'one from Leso'
-bákhaw	'Bakhaw'	ta-gà-bákhaw	'one from Bakhaw'

II.B. Nominals Occurring with Infixes

II.B.1. The $\underline{-V_1\text{ǵ-}}$ Group--It should be apparent that under

this category the 'pluralizer' $\underline{-V_1\text{ǵ-}}$ and the 'predictive' modal $\underline{-V_1\text{ǵ-}}$ are used, hence the following sub-categories:

$$\left[\text{V-stem} + \underline{-V_1\text{ǵ-}}_{\text{pl}} \cdot \cdot \cdot \underline{-\text{an}}_{\text{R}} \right] + \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\underline{-\text{an}}_{\text{sbt}} \right] \\ \left[\underline{-\text{un}}_{\text{st}} \right] \\ \left[\underline{-\text{un}}_{\text{st}} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

$$\left[\text{V-stem} + \underline{-V_1\text{ǵ-}}_{\text{pd}} \cdot \cdot \cdot \underline{-\text{un}}_{\text{fũ-g}} \right] + \left[\begin{array}{c} \left[\underline{-\text{un}}_{\text{st}} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

II.B.1.a. The $-V_1\text{g}-$ Forms
 $\frac{\text{pl}}{\text{pl}}$

II.B.1.a.i. The $\left[\text{V-stem} + \frac{-V_1\text{g}-}{\text{pl}} \dots \frac{-\text{an}}{\text{R}} \right] + \frac{-\text{an}}{\text{sbt}}$ Subset--

The combination of the verbal stem which consists of the root plus the affixes $-V_1\text{g}-$ and $\frac{-\text{an}}{\text{R}}$ hierarchically precedes that of the verbal stem with the 'substantive' suffix $\frac{-\text{an}}{\text{pl}}$ which indicates 'collective' or 'plural' sense.

<u>Root</u>		<u>V-stem</u>	$\frac{-V_1\text{g}-}{\text{pl}}$	\dots	$\frac{-\text{an}}{\text{R}}$
sabát	'answer'	s-aḡ-	ábt-	-àn	'answer (pl.)'
patáy	'kill'	p-aḡ-	áty-	-àn	'kill (pl.)'

Derived Form

s-aḡ-	àbt-	án-an	'repartee'
p-aḡ-	áty-	án-an	'mutual killings'

II.B.1.a.ii. The $\left[\text{V-stem} + \frac{-V_1\text{g}-}{\text{pl}} \dots \frac{-\text{an}}{\text{R}} \right] + \frac{-\text{un}}{\text{st}}$ Subset--

The derivation in this nominalization proceeds from the formation of the verbal stem which consists of the root plus the $-V_1\text{g}-$ and $\frac{-\text{an}}{\text{R}}$ to the affixation of the 'stative' morpheme $\frac{-\text{un}}{\text{st}}$ to that verbal stem. Perhaps the only known example may be glossed as 'state of being V-able-for':

<u>Root</u>		<u>V-stem</u>	$\frac{-V_1\text{g}-}{\text{pl}}$	\dots	$\frac{-\text{an}}{\text{R}}$
pusá?	'break'	p-uḡ-	ús?	-àn	'breakable (pl.)-for'

Derived Form

p-uḡ-	ús?	-án-un	'that which is breakable-for; seashell food'
-------	-----	--------	--

II.B.1.b. The $-V_1\text{Ø}-$ Subset--In this nominalization the pd combination of the root with the 'predictive' modal $-V_1\text{Ø}-$ and the 'future-goal focus marker' $-\text{un}$ precedes the affixation of the 'stative' $-\text{un}$. Since this 'predictive' morpheme also conveys an action which "should" be effected, the nominal forms below express a somewhat 'ameliorative' sense.

	<u>Root</u>	<u>V-stem</u>	$-\text{un}$ Fu-G
hámbaŋ	'speak'	h-aŋ-àmbáŋ	-un 'that which should be said'
ká?un	'eat'	k-aŋ-án?-ùn	-un 'that which should be eaten'

Derived Form

h-aŋ-àmbaŋ-ún-un	'maxim'
k-aŋ-àn?-ún-un	'delicacy'

II.C. Nominals Occurring with Suffixes Only

The nominalizations which are described in this group have the following formations:

$$\left[\text{V-stem } \frac{-\text{an}}{\text{Fu-R}} \right] \quad + \quad \frac{-\text{an}}{\text{sbt}}$$

$$\left[\text{V-stem } \frac{-\text{an}}{\text{Fu-R}} \right] \quad + \quad \frac{-\text{un}}{\text{st}}$$

$$N_{\text{loc}} \quad + \quad \left[\frac{-\text{an}}{\text{R}} \quad + \quad \frac{-\text{un}}{\text{st}} \right]$$

II.C.1. The $\left[\text{V-stem } \frac{-\text{an}}{\text{fu-R}} \right] + \frac{-\text{an}}{\text{sbt}}$ Group--The make-

up of the nominal in this set is characterized by the formation of the verbal stem, which consists of the root plus the 'future-referent focus' suffix -an, preceding the affixation of the 'substantive' suffix -an. As has been previously mentioned, $\frac{-\text{an}}{\text{sbt}}$ indicates 'collective' or 'plural' sense. Only one known example is reported here:

<u>Root</u>		<u>V-stem</u> $\frac{-\text{an}}{\text{fu-R}}$	
gubúng	'bury'	gúbng-an	'will be buried'

Derived Form

gubng-án-àn 'graveyard'

II.C.2. The $\left[\text{Stem} + \frac{-\text{an}}{\text{R}} \right] + \frac{-\text{un}}{\text{st}}$ Group

II.C.2.a. The $\left[\text{V-stem } \frac{-\text{an}}{\text{fu-R}} \right] + \frac{-\text{un}}{\text{st}}$ Subset--In this non-

productive form of nominalization the derivation proceeds from the affixation of the 'future-referent focus' marker -an to the root to the affixation of the 'stative' -un.

Exemplification of this by one known example is:

<u>Root</u>		<u>V-stem</u> $\frac{-\text{an}}{\text{fu-R}}$	
súgid	'tell'	sugír-àn	'will be told-for'

Derived Form

sùgil-án-un 'that which has the quality to be told-for; story (folklore)'

II.C.2.b. The $N_{loc} + \left[\begin{array}{l} -\underline{an} \\ \underline{R} \end{array} + \begin{array}{l} -\underline{un} \\ \underline{st} \end{array} \right]$ Subset-Nominals under this productive form are described as consisting of a 'place' nominal and the suffixes $-\underline{an}$ and $-\underline{un}$, which combine with the nominal at the same hierarchical level of structure. This combination expresses the meaning 'having the quality of one coming from _____'; in the examples below, the suffixation of $-\underline{an}$ along to N_{loc} is not meaningful, and therefore both $-\underline{an}$ and $-\underline{un}$ are used at the same level of derivation. Three subtypes belong here:

II.C.2.b.i. Those in which $-\underline{an}$ and $-\underline{un}$ occur in full form:

<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>	
?ibaháy	'Ibajay'	?ibàyh- <u>án</u> -un	'one from Ibajay'
bánwa	'town'	bánwa- <u>hán</u> -un	'one from town'

II.C.2.b.ii. Those in which $-\underline{an}$ occurs with vowel zeroing:

<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>	
malínàw	'Malinao'	màlináw-n-un	'one from Malinao'
libákàw	'Libakao'	libakáw-n-un	'one from Libakao'

II.C.2.b.iii. Those in which the final root consonant or the /h/ in -han (an alternant of $-\underline{an}$) undergo metathesis following vowel zeroing:

<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>	
balítì?	'Balete'	bàlití-n?-un	'one from Balete'
kalíbù	'Kalibo'	kàlibú-nh-un	'one from Kalibo'

FOOTNOTES IN PART V: CHAPTER 2

- 1 The 'substantive' suffix -an contrasts with the 'future-referent focus' -an, in that the former never occurs in the focus paradigm. Its occurrence as the outer suffix in many cases, as in the examples above, also seems to characterize many nominal derivations here and in other instances in this chapter. In A Study of . . ., pp. 130-141, the affixes are simply listed, and perhaps our description of nominalization in Aklan is a first attempt at an immediate constituent analysis of the forms. Following the customary procedures in IC analysis, we assign together those units which are meaningful combinations in the language.
- 2 The 'stative' -un, like the 'substantive' -an, does not seem to occur in the focus paradigm. In the subsequent description of modifiers, -un will be shown as a suffix characterizing certain adjectival formations.
- 3 That is to say, the 'pluralizer' -V₁∅-, rather than the 'predictive' -V₁∅- plus the 'future-referent focus' -an, will yield: t-a∅-ámùċ 'be grateful(pl.)', and so on; this semantic meaning, however, does not agree with the meaning of the derivation being described.
- 4 The forms listed under k-in-a- are also used nominally but since they are morphologically identical with verbal forms, they are not reported in our description.
- 5 In Hiligaynon, a regional dialect which has considerable influence upon Aklan, the zeroing of pa- does not seem to occur, and in that dialect sample 13 will be asterisked.
- 6 Of the nominals listed in this derivation, the first three optionally occur without the C₁V₁- feature, thus:

mà-m-ugún	'migratory laborer'
mà-m-ulíg	'helper; farm-hand'
mà-n-akáw	'thief'

The last two forms represent those in which the C₁V₁- feature is obligatory in nominal forms. The alternation is morphologically conditioned.

*mà-ng-ahúy
*ma-ng-ísda?

- 7 In Aklan culture, which is predominantly Roman Catholic in religion, the honorific term ʔi-q-súʔun is used by a person in addressing another who has been baptized or confirmed with the same god-parent as the former's. No such gloss seems to exist in English for this form.

PART V: CHAPTER 3

MODIFIERS

I. Modifiers Introduced by nga

Common to the modifiers (or M) of this general class are (a) their morphological forms, which will be listed below, and (b) their occurrence in the structure nga ___ 'who, which, that ___' following a nominal head.

I.A. Basic Forms

putút	'short (height)'
sutíl	'naughty'
ʔáagi	'old; worn out'
ʔámpaʔ	'pug-nosed'
libát	'cross-eyed'

Borrowed forms also fall under this category.

From Spanish:

in absolute form:

pínu	'fine'
kálbu	'bald'
ʔasúl	'blue'
tírsu	'straight (posture)'
túntu	'foolish'

with gender markers:

bísyu	'vice'	bisyú-sù/-sà	'vicious'
malísyù	'malice'	malísyù-su/-sa	'malicious'
karínyù	'charm'	karínyù-su/-sa	'charming'

with 'participial' marker:

bindítà	'bless'	bìnditá-du	'blessed'
pisár	'weigh'	pisá-dù	'weighed'
?aríglàr	'organize'	?aríglá-du	'organized'

From English:

lúnli	'lonely'
sád	'sad'
hápi	'happy'
káynd	'kind'

I.B. Derived Forms

In describing the selectional features of the derived modifiers which occur in the nga ___ structure, we indicate that these modifiers may be 'animate,' 'inanimate,' or 'neutral' (i.e. used as both 'animate' and 'inanimate')¹; their occurrence is conditioned by whether their nominal heads are correspondingly 'animate,' 'inanimate,' or 'neutral':

M	[	Man (animate)
		Min (inanimate)
		Mne (neutral)

Additionally, within this animate sub-class the modifiers may be sub-grouped further according to whether their heads are 'human' or 'non-human'; thus:

Man	[	Mh (human)
		Mnh (non-human)

Examples of these occurrences are given in the various morphological sub-classes which follow.

There are four morphological sub-classes reported here: (a) those occurring with prefixes--members of this group occur with prefixes and with or without infixes and/or suffixes; (b) those occurring with infixes--members of this group occur with infixes and with or without suffixes; (c) those occurring with suffixes only; and (d) those which are characterized by stress feature.

I.B.1. Modifiers Occurring with Prefixes

I.B.1.a. The $\frac{ma-}{Fu-A}$ Group--Common to this group is the occurrence of the morpheme {ma-} which has previously been shown as the marker of the 'potential' tense as well as of the 'future' aspect in the actor focus. The forms occurring with $\frac{ma-}{Fu-A}$ have the following structures:

$$\frac{ma-}{Fu-A} + \left[V\text{-stem} + \left[\frac{-V_1g-}{pd} \cdot \cdot \cdot \frac{-un}{Fu-G} \right] \right]$$

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \frac{ma-}{fu-A} + \\
 \left[\begin{array}{l}
 \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{V-stem} \quad \frac{-in-}{cn} \end{array} \right] \\
 \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Root} \end{array} \right] \\
 \left[\begin{array}{l} \frac{-ka-}{ab} + \text{V-stem} \end{array} \right] \\
 \left[\begin{array}{l} \frac{-ka-}{ab} + \text{V-stem} \end{array} \right] \\
 \left[\begin{array}{l} \frac{-ka-}{ab} + \text{V-stem} \end{array} \right]
 \end{array} \right] + \begin{array}{l}
 \frac{-un}{st} \\
 \\
 \frac{-V_1\phi-}{pd} \\
 \frac{-C_1V_1-}{-} \\
 \text{root reduplication}
 \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

$$\text{I.B.1.a.i.} \quad \frac{ma-}{fu-A} + \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{V-stem} + \left[\begin{array}{l} \frac{-V_1\phi-}{pd} \dots \frac{-un}{fu-G} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

In this subset the 'predictive' modal $\frac{-V_1\phi-}{pd}$ combines with the 'future-goal focus' marker $\frac{-un}{fu-G}$; this combination, in turn, combines with the root, and thus the formation of the verbal-stem. The following hierarchical combination is the affixation of $\frac{ma-}{fu-A}$ to the verbal-stem:

Root

-ʔúgtas	'fuss'
-tamúd	'grateful'

$$\text{V-stem} + \left[\left[\frac{-V_1\emptyset}{p\bar{d}} \dots \frac{-un}{fu-G} \right] \right]$$

-ʔ-uʔ-ùgtás-un	'that which is to be fussed at'
-t-aʔ-ámú-ùn	'that which is to be grateful for'

Derived Form

mà-ʔ-uʔ-ùgtás-un	'fussy'
mà-t-aʔ-ámú-un	'grateful; appreciative'

The combination indicates the meaning 'being predictably ___, ' and its use in a phrase structure may be seen in:

ru báyi	<u>nra</u>	<u>mà-ʔ-uʔ-ùgtás-un</u>	
the woman who		fussy	'the woman who (is) fussy'

I.B.1.a.ii. $\left[\frac{ma-}{fu-A} + \left[\text{V-stem} \frac{-in-}{cn} \right] \right] + \frac{-un}{st}$ --The form

$\frac{-in-}{cn}$ has previously been described as indicating 'continued action'; this combines with the root in a verbal-stem, followed by the prefixation of $\frac{ma-}{fu-A}$, and finally by the suffixation of the 'stative' $\frac{-un}{st}$. The descriptive meaning of this combination indicates 'being constantly ___.'

Root

$$\left[\text{V-stem} \frac{-in-}{cn} \right] + \frac{-un}{st}$$

-támád	'lazy'	t-in-amád	'being lazy'
-búlig	'help'	b-in-úlig	'helping'
-sádyà	'joyful'	s-in-ádyà	'being joyful'

Derived Form

mà-t-in-amar-ún	'being lazy'
mà-b-in-uliq-ún	'being helpful'
mà-s-in-adyá-hun	'being joyful'

In phrasal use, this form may have either an animate or an inanimate head and hence is labeled a 'neutral' form of modifier:

ru ?ungá?	<u>nga</u>	<u>mà-t-in-amar-ún</u>	'the child who (is) being lazy'
the child	who	being lazy	
ru ?áyam	<u>nga</u>	<u>mà-b-in-uliq-ún</u>	'the dog which (is) being helpful'
the dog	who	being helpful	

I.B.1.a.iii. $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{ma-} \\ \text{-Fu-A} \end{array} + \text{V-stem} \right] + \begin{array}{c} \text{-un} \\ \text{-st} \end{array}$ --With the occurrence

of $\begin{array}{c} \text{ma-} \\ \text{-Fu-A} \end{array}$ with the root, there is a basis for calling the result a verbal-stem; to this stem at another level of structure the 'stative' suffix -un is affixed. The meaning of this combination indicates 'state of being ____.' Some of the examples under this subset are:

<u>Root</u>		$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{ma-} \\ \text{-Fu-A} \end{array} + \text{V-stem} \right]$	
-lípáy	'happy'	ma-lípày	'be happy'
-lipát	'forget'	mà-lipát	'will forget'

Derived Form

mà-lipáy-un	'being happy'
mà-lipát-un	'being forgetful'

These modifier-types usually occur with 'neutral' nominal heads, as in:

s-i	tútu?	<u>nga</u>	<u>mà-lipáy-un</u>	'Toto who (is) being happy'
	Toto	who	being happy	

ru sápat nga mã-lipát-un
 the animal which forgetful 'the animal which (is)
 being forgetful'

I.B.1.a.iv.
$$\left[\frac{\text{ma-}}{\text{fu-A}} + \left[\frac{-\text{ka-}}{\text{ab}} + \text{V-stem} \right] \right] + \frac{-\text{V}_1\text{g-}}{\text{pd}} \text{ ---}$$

Derivation proceeds from the prefixation of $\frac{\text{ma-}}{\text{fu-A}}$ to the verbal stem formed by the affixation of $\frac{-\text{ka-}}{\text{ab}}$ to the root followed by the infixation of the 'predictive' $-\text{V}_1\text{g-}$. The meaning of the combination expresses 'being predictably able to arouse ____.'

Root

-huyá?	'shame'
-busúg	'satiating'
-hilúng	'drunk'

$$\frac{\text{ma-}}{\text{fu-A}} + \left[\frac{-\text{ka-}}{\text{ab}} + \text{V-stem} \right]$$

ma-kà-huyá?	'can arouse shame'
ma-kà-busúg	'can satiate'
ma-kà-hilúng	'can arouse drunkenness'

Derived Form

ma-kà-h-uy-úya?	'shameful'
ma-kà-b-uy-úsug	'satiating; filling'
ma-kà-h-iy-ilung	'stuporous'

Typically occurring as modifiers of 'neutral' nominal heads,, their use may be illustrated as in:

ru búhat nga ma-kà-h-uy-úya?
 the deed which shameful 'the deed which (is)
 'shameful'

I.B.1.a.iv.
$$\left[\frac{\text{ma-}}{\text{fu-A}} + \left[\frac{-\text{ka-}}{\text{ab}} + \text{V-stem} \right] \right] + \frac{-\text{C}_1\text{V}_1\text{---}}{\text{ag}} \text{ ---As in}$$

the immediately preceding formation, the prefix $\frac{\text{ma-}}{\text{fu-A}}$

combines with the verbal stem of the 'ability' -ka- plus root, and to the stem the 'augmentative' -C₁V₁- is infixed as ladj of the root at another level of structure. In this subset the meaning indicates 'being probably ____.'

<u>Root</u>		$\frac{ma-}{Fu-A} + \left[\frac{-ka-}{ab} + V\text{-stem} \right]$	
-huyá?	'shame'	ma-kà-huyá?	'can arouse shame'
-ngáwa	'surprise'	ma-kà-ngáwa	'can surprise'
-sáǎ?	'wrong'	ma-kà-sáǎ?	'can be wrong'

Derived Form

ma-kà-hu-húya?	'shameful'
ma-kà-nga-ngawá	'surprising'
ma-kà-sa-sáǎ?	'sinful'

In phrasal use, these modifiers can be said to occur with 'neutral' nominal heads; for instance:

ru táwu	<u>nga ma-kà-sa-sáǎ?</u>	
the man who	sinful	'the man who (is) sinful'
ru balítà?	<u>nga ma-kà-hu-húya?</u>	
the news	which shameful	'the news which (is) shameful'

I.B.l.a.vi. $\left[\frac{ma-}{Fu-A} + \left[\frac{-ka-}{ab} + V\text{-stem} \right] \right] + \text{root redupli-}$

cation--The hierarchical order of affixation begins with the prefixation of $\frac{ma-}{Fu-A}$ to the verbal stem, which consists of $\frac{-ka-}{ab}$ plus root, to the infixation of the root by reduplication at another level of structure. The diminutive' sense of the reduplicated root may be illustrated with the use of a verbal paradigm:

<u>Root</u>		$\frac{\text{ma-}}{\text{fu-A}}$	+	$\left[\frac{-\text{ka-}}{\text{ab}} + \text{V-stem} \right]$	
-bakáʃ	'buy'	ma-kà-		bakáʃ	'can buy'
-káʔun	'eat'	ma-kà-		káʔun	'can eat'

Derived Form

ma-kà-bakáʃ-bakáʃ	'can sort of buy'
ma-kà-kaʔun-káʔun	'can sort of eat'

This 'diminutive' sense, though not clearly or accurately caught in English, seems to characterize the meaning of the derived modifiers in this set.

<u>Root</u>		$\frac{\text{ma-}}{\text{fu-A}}$	+	$\left[\frac{-\text{ka-}}{\text{ab}} + \text{V-stem} \right]$	
-huyáʔ	'shame'	ma-kà-		huyáʔ	'can arouse shame'
-ngáwa	'surprise'	ma-kà-		ngáwa	'surprising'
-buʃúʔ	'laugh'	ma-kà-		buʃúʔ	'can arouse laughter'

Derived Form

ma-kà-huyáʔ-huyáʔ	'sort of shameful'
ma-kà-ngáwa-ngáwa	'sort of surprising'
ma-kà-buʃúʔ-buʃúʔ	'sort of funny'

When used with nominal heads, modifiers of this subset are typically of the 'neutral' type:

ru sùgil-án-un	nga	ma-kà-buʃúʔ-buʃúʔ
the story	which	sort of funny
'the story which (is) sort of funny'		
ru ʔungáʔ	nga	ma-kà-huyáʔ-huyáʔ
the child	who	shameful
'the child who (is) shameful'		

The stylistic effect of these formations characterized by $-\text{V}_1\text{ʃ}-$, $-\text{C}_1\text{V}_1-$, and root reduplication defies accurate translation in English; one may give the gloss '-ful' and yet this is not entirely satisfactory. Morphological conditioning seems to govern the use of these modulative forms;

e.g. ma-kà-h-iŋ-ílung 'stuporous' but ma-kà-sa-sáŋa? rather than *ma-kà-s-aŋ-áŋa? or *ma-kà-saŋá?-saŋá? 'sinful.'

I.B.1.b. The paŋa-_{na} Group--In this group the morpheme {paŋa-_{na}} indicates 'habit of ____,' and is prefixed to the root:

<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>	
-ŋúmíð	'bed-wet'	paŋà-ŋúmíð	'habit of bed-wetting'
-libák	'gossip'	paŋà-libák	'habit of gossiping'
-hámbaŋ	'talk'	paŋà-hámbaŋ	'talkative'

In phrasal use, these modifiers typically occur with 'animate' nominal heads, as in:

ru báyi nga paŋà-libák
 the woman who in the habit of gossiping
 'the woman who (is) in the habit of gossiping'

To illustrate that these modifiers consist of roots which occur as both N and V:

- 1.a. ma-ŋáŋsù ru ŋúmíð
 smelly the bed-wet
 'The bed-wet (is) smelly.'
- 2.a. ru libák (hay) ma-ŋáŋ?in
 the gossip (lg) bad
 'The gossip (is) bad.'
- 3.a. ma-báskùg ru hámbaŋ
 loud the talk
 'The talk (is) loud.'
- 1.b. ?ayáw ?it ŋúmíð
 don't bed-wet
 'Don't bed-wet.'
- 2.b. ?ayáw ?it libák sa simbá-hàn
 don't gossip in church
 'Don't gossip in church.'
- 3.b. hámbaŋ ?it h-ìn-apún
 speak Japanese
 'Speak Japanese.'

On the basis of the above-illustrated syntactic distribution of the roots, we are not able to assign them to either lexical class by morphological analysis alone; this then justifies our category 'root' in this description.

I.B.2. Modifiers Occurring with Infixes--The 'continuative' infix -in- expresses 'in the manner of.' This infix simply combines with the root.

<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>	
?amú?	'monkey'	?-in-amú?	'monkey-like'
púril	'tell a lie'	p-in-uríl	'lying'
hapún	'Japan'	h-in-apún	'Japanese (speech)'

These modifiers are commonly used with 'inanimate' nominal heads, as in:

ru ?úbra nga ?-in-amú?
 the work which monkey-like
 'the work which (is) monkey-like'

ru hámbag nga h-in-apún
 the speech which Japanese
 'the speech which (is) Japanese'

All the derived forms in this set of examples can be used verbally. All of the forms, roots and derived, can be used nominally. On this basis, we may simply designate the formula as Root + -in-, observing that it is an inj to the right of C_1 of the root.

I.B.3. Modifiers Occurring with Suffixes Only--In this general group the 'substantive' suffix -an and the 'stative' suffix -un are used:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Root} + \text{-an} \\ \text{sbt} \end{array} \right]$$

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Root} + \text{-un} \\ \text{st} \end{array} \right]$$

I.B.3.a. $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Root} + \text{-an} \\ \text{sbt} \end{array} \right]$ --Unlike the 'referent-focus' suffix

-an, the 'substantive' suffix -an does not occur in the context of focus. Further, -an appears to occur with roots which may be said to pattern nominally, and the meaning it expressed is 'that which has ____.'

<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>	
búy?un	'pot-belly'	buy-ún-àn	'pot-bellied'
đálit	'toxin'	đalít-àn	'toxic'
bá?ba?	'mouth'	ba?bá?-àn	'blabbermouth'

In phrasal use, these modifiers occur with 'neutral'

nominal heads:

ru ǵáki nga buy?ún-àn
 the man who pot-bellied
 'the man who (is) pot-bellied'

ru súgud nga đalít-àn
 the sting which poisonous
 'the sting which (is) poisonous'

Syntactically, the roots in these modifiers may be used

also as N:

4. may búy?un s-i nàpuling
 has pot-belly Napoling
 'Napoling has a pot-belly.'

5. may đálit ru ǵamáng
 has poison the spider
 'The spider has poison.'

6. may bá?ba? ru báyi
 has mouth the woman
 'The woman has a mouth.'

I.B.3.b. $\left[\text{Root} + \frac{-\text{un}}{\text{st}} \right]$ --The 'stative' suffix -un differs from the 'future-goal focus' suffix -un in that the former does not occur in the focus paradigm. Like the 'substantive' -an, $\frac{-\text{un}}{\text{st}}$ occurs with roots that may be shown as being used syntactically as nominals; its meaning also indicates 'that which has _____,' and the use of $\frac{-\text{an}}{\text{sbt}}$ and $\frac{-\text{un}}{\text{st}}$ appears to be morphologically conditioned as ba?bá?-àn as well as ba?bá?-ùn occur with the meaning 'blabbermouth.' The others listed above and those which follow, however, do not permit this permutation.

<u>Root</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>
?ú/úǎ 'worm; maggot'	?uǎ/úr-ùn 'wormy; maggoty'
bugáǎ 'ego'	bùgáǎ-ún 'egoistic'
yáwa? 'devil'	yawá?-ùn 'devilish'

These modifiers typically occur with 'neutral' nominal heads, as illustrated in:

ru bá/úǎ nga ?uǎ/úr-ùn
 the dried-fish which maggoty
 'the dried-fish which (is) maggoty'

ru táwu nga yawá?-ùn
 the man who devilish
 'the man who (is) devilish'

Syntactically used, these roots are used below with the 'existential' may with which all except yáwa? 'devil' occur:

7.a. may ?úǎ/úǎ ðu bá/úǎ
 has maggots the dried-fish
 'The dried-fish has maggots.'

8.a. may bugáǎ ru táwu
 has ego the man
 'The man has ego.'

- 9.a. *may yáwa? s-i ríku
has devil Rico
'Rico has a devil.'
- 7.b. ʔugúr-ùn du bá/ug
maggoty the dried-fish
'The dried-fish (is) maggoty.'
- 8.b. bùgaʔ-ùn ru táwu
egoistic the man
'The man (is) egoistic.'
- 9.b. yawáʔ-ùn s-i ríku
devilish Rico
'Rico (is) devilish.'

I.B.3.c. [Root + -ug] --The suffix -ug in this set

characterizes a non-productive form of modifier; its meaning may be glossed as 'being ____.' The only known examples are:

<u>Root</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>	
sugáʔ	'gamble'	sùgar-úʔ	'one having the quality of a gambler'
bínggaʔ	'provoke'	bínggar-úʔ	'one having the quality of a provoker'

I.B.4. Modifiers Characterized by Stress Feature--What may be considered modifier form of certain participial verbal forms are characterized by the use of the main stress in the final syllable:

<u>Verbal Root-Stem</u>		<u>Derived Form</u>	
g-in-gáʔùý	'was tired'	gaʔúý	'tired'
g-in-ʔáhàʔ	'was cooked'	ʔáhàʔ	'cooked'
na-báliʔ	'was broken'	balíʔ	'broken (branch)'
na-ʔúnùt	'was rotten'	ʔunùt	'rotten'

These modifiers are used with 'neutral' nominals, as in:

ru táwu nga ga?úy
 the man who tired
 'the man who (is) tired'

ru mángga nga gúnút
 the mango which rotten
 'the mango which (is) rotten'

II. Modifiers Introduced by nga and ?it

The modifiers described in this section pattern in complementary distribution: the forms which occur in the nga ___ structure have nominal heads, whereas those which are used in the ?it ___ structure have verbal heads.

II.A. Comparison

II.A.1. Positive Degree--The 'positive' degree is characterized by the occurrence of the prefix ma- which derives from the 'potential' tense marker {ma-}²; in the context of comparison, its meaning indicates 'characteristic of.'

<u>Root</u>		<u>Positive Form</u>	
-libúnùg	'round'	mà-libúnug	'round'
-támbuk	'fat'	ma-támbùk	'fat'
-bákas	'fast'	ma-bákàs	'fast'
-hínay	'slow'	ma-hínày	'slow'

In use, the forms occurring with nga, the ligature which means 'who, which, that,' and those occurring with ?it are illustrated as in:

ru ?ùyahún nga mà-libúnug
 the face which round
 'the face which (is) round'

ru báka na ma-támbùk
 the cow which fat
 'the cow which (is) fat'

nà-g-daḡágan ?it ma-bákàs
 ran fast
 'ran fast'

ma-ká?ùn ?it ma-hinày
 will eat slowly
 'will eat slowly'

II.A.2. Comparative Degree-- This is indicated by the 'diminutive' C₁uḡ- which alternates with root reduplication. Occurring immediately following ma-, this morpheme may be said to convey the meaning 'little less,' as in the nominal lamísà 'table' - lùḡ-lamísà 'small, humble table,' as well as 'little more,' as is evident in the comparative forms below:

Positive Form

nà-taḡáwis	'sharp (point)'
mà-linúḡ	'peaceful'
ma-námít	'tasty'
ma-báskùḡ	'loud; strong'

Comparative Form

[ma-tùḡ-taḡáwis *mà-taḡáwis-taḡáwis]	'a little sharper' or 'a little more sharply'
[ma-lùḡ-linúḡ mà-linúḡ-linúḡ]	'a little more peaceful' or 'a little more peacefully'
[mà-námít-námít *ma-nùḡ-námít]	'a little tastier' or 'a little more tastily'

ma-bùg-baskúg mà-baskúg-baskúg]	'a little louder' or 'a little more loudly'
-----------------------------------	---	--

Examples of their uses:

ru saǵúg nga ma-tùg-taǵawís
 the stick which a little sharper
 'the stick which (is) a little sharper'

g-ìn-haǵút-an ?it ma-tùg-taǵawís
 was whittled a little more sharply
 'was whittle a little more sharply'

II.A.3. Superlative Degree--This is expressed in Aklian by means of two alternants: the p-in-a-ka-S form and the ka-S-an form. Some examples follow:

Superlative Form

p-ìn-a-kà-ma-taǵawís	but	*kà-taǵawís-án	'sharpest' or 'most sharply'
p-ìn-a-kà-ma-libúnug	but	*kà-libunug-án	'roundest' or 'most roundly'
p-ìn-a-kà-ma-hába?	or	kà-haba?-án	'longest'
p-ìn-a-kà-ma-bákas	or	kà-bakas-án	'fastest'
p-ìn-a-kà-ma-hínay	or	kà-hinay-án	'slowest' or 'most slowly'

To illustrate their nga ___ and ?it ___ structures:

ru ǵámbung nga p-ìn-a-kà-ma-hába?
 the dress which longest
 'the dress which (is) longest'

na-g-ká?ùn ?it p-ìn-a-kà-ma-bákas
 ate fastest
 'ate fastest'

The p-in-a-ka-S forms may be described in their hierarchical structure as follows:

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{pa-} \\ \text{Ca} \end{array} + \begin{array}{c} \text{-in-} \\ \text{ppst-G} \end{array} \right] + \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{-ka-} \\ \text{ab} \end{array} + \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{-ma-} + \text{Root} \\ \text{Tu-A} \end{array} \right] \right]$$

The morphemes in this combination are the 'causative' pa-, the 'past posterior-goal focus' -in-, the 'ability' -ka-, and the prefix ma- which derives from the 'potential' tense and is used in portmanteau as the 'future-actor focus' marker. In actual form:

ma-hábà? 'long'
 kà-ma-hába? 'very long'
 pa-kà-ma-hába? 'causative-very long'
 p-in-a-kà-ma-hába? 'caused-very long; longest'

Perhaps the more appropriate gloss for the p-in-a-ka-S forms according to the morphemic combination can be stated as 'that which is considered -est.'

As for the ka-S-an forms, the hierarchical order of affixation seems to be:

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{ka-} \\ \text{ab} \end{array} + \text{Root} \right] + \begin{array}{c} \text{-an} \\ \text{sbt} \end{array}$$

thus:

ka-hábà? 'very long'
 kà-haba?-án 'longest'

Although previous examples have shown that certain stems occur with either p-in-a-ka- or ka-...-an, an observation pointing to morphological conditioning, it also seems that the p-in-a-ka- sequence appears frequently with three-syllable stem-forms.

II.B. Intensification

II.B.1. Intensive 1--The degree of 'intensive 1' may be glossed as 'very' in English; this is indicated by ka-, an

occurrence of the 'ability' marker with roots used in modifier forms.

<u>Root</u>		<u>Intensive 1 Form</u>	
-taʒáwìs	'sharp'	kà-taʒáwìs	'very sharp' or 'very sharply'
-libúnùg	'round'	kà-libúnùg	'very round' or 'very roundly'
-bákàs	'fast'	ka-bákàs	'very fast'
-hínay	'slow'	ka-hínày	'very slow' or 'very slowly'

In use, they pattern as follows:

ru pá/paʒ nga kà-taʒáwìs
 the stake which very sharp
 'the stake which (is) very sharp'

nà-α-ʔarádu ʔit ka-bákàs
 plowed very slowly
 'plowed very slowly'

In addition to the forms of intensive 1 above, the expressions m-ayád and ʔunqúd, both meaning 'very' or 'well,' also indicate a similar sense:

ma-támʔìs nga m-ayád
 sweet very
 'very sweet'

mà-nipís nga ʔunqúd
 thin (fabric) very
 'very thin'

na-g-káʔùn ʔit m-ayád
 ate very much
 'ate very much'

na-ʔákìg ʔit ʔunqúd
 became angry very
 'became very angry'

II.B.2. Intensive 2--'Intensive 2' forms indicate the meaning 'very, very'; the marker for this is alternant set C₁uʒ- and root reduplication, either of which, if appropriate,

occurs immediately following ka-
ab

Intensive 1 Form

kà-taʒáwis	'very sharp' or 'very sharply'
kà-libúnug	'very round' or 'very roundly'
ka-bákàs	'very fast'
ka-hínày	'very slow' or 'very slowly'

Intensive 2 Form

ka-tùʒ-tagáwis	or	kà-taʒawís-tagáwis	'very, very sharp' or 'very, very sharply'
ka-lùʒ-libúnug	or	kà-libunúg-libúnug	'very, very round' or 'very, very roundly'
kà-bakás-bakás	but	*ka-bùʒ-bákas	'very, very fast'
kà-hináy-hínay	but	*ka-hùʒ-hínay	'very, very slow' or 'very, very slowly'

Some examples of the uses of these forms in the nga ___
 and ?it ___ structures:

ru súnɣay nga kà-taʒawís-taʒáwis
 the horn which very, very sharp
 'the horn which (is) very, very sharp'

na-g-pánàw ?it kà-hináv-hínay
 walked very, very slowly
 'walked very, very slowly'

III. Modifiers of Semi-Finite Verbals

III.A. Semi-Finite Verbal Markers

In order to illustrate the obligatory function of the modifiers in sentences, we need to introduce the semi-finite (or 'sf') equivalents of the finite verbal markers listed in Chart 1 which have been illustrated in several sections throughout this research. In Chart 2 below, we re-list the finite markers (indicated as 'f') on the first line of each

Chart 2: Tenses and Aspects of Finite (F) and Semi-Finite (sf) Verbals in Foci

Tense and Aspect	Focus			
	Actor A	Instrument I	Goal G	Referent R
1. p F	(i) na-g-S	(i) g-in-S	(i) g-in-S	(i) g-in-S-an
	(ii) na-S	(ii) -in-S	(ii) (na-)-S	(ii) (na-)-S-an
sf	(i) ma-g-S	(i) pa-g-S-an	(i) pa-g-S-a	(i) pa-g-S-i
	(ii) ma-S	(ii) ?i-S	(ii) (ma-)-S	(ii) (ma-)-S-i
2. ppst F	-um-S	-in-S	-in-S	-in-S-an
	-um-S	?i-g-S-an	?i-g-S-a	?i-g-S-i
3. prg F	na-ga-S	g-in-a-S	g-in-a-S	g-in-a-S-an
	na-ga-S	g-in-a-S-an	g-in-a-S-a	g-in-a-S-i
4. prpst F	na-(ga-)-S	(g-i)n-a-S	(g-i)n-a-S	(g-i)n-a-S-an
	(na-)ga-S	g-i(n-a)-S-an	g-i(n-a-)-S-a	g-i(n-a-)-S-i
5. fu F or	(i) ma-S	(i) ?i-S	(i) S-un	(i) S-an
	(ii) ma-S	(ii) ?i-S	(ii) (ma-)-S	(ii) (ma-)-S-an
6. cin F or	S	S-an	S-a	S-i
	S	S-an	S-a	S-i

set and give their semi-finite equivalents on the second line of the same set. We will illustrate some of these only in the context of focus.³

III.A.1. Semi-Finite Verbal Markers of Tenses--A general comment which may be drawn concerning the occurrence of finite and semi-finite verbal markers is that the 'actual' tense marker in the finite set alternates with the 'potential' tense marker in the semi-finite set.

(a) The 'actual' tense morpheme {na-} and its finite alternants, which are reported in Pt. V, Ch. 1, pp. 53,117, now acquire ma-, allomorph of the 'potential' tense morpheme {ma-}, and its distribution with its semi-finite alternants is as follows:

- | | |
|-------|---|
| /ma-/ | occurs as ladj of <u>q-</u> in sf A-1(i), and as lađj of S in sf A-1(ii). |
| /pa-/ | occurs as ladj of <u>q-</u> in sf I-1(i), sf G-1(i), and sf R-1(i). |
| /-i-/ | occurs, as partial of -in-, as radj of <u>q-</u> of <u>qa-</u> , in sf I-4, sf G-4, and sf R-4. |

(b) No new alternant of the 'potential' tense marker {ma-} in the finite set is found in the semi-finite set. This means that the 'potential' tense form in the semi-finite set uses the same markers as those in the finite set; cf. finite and semi-finite forms in A-6, I-6, G-6, and R-6.

III.A.2. Semi-Finite Verbal Markers of Aspects

III.A.2.a. The 'Past' Aspect--The 'past' aspect morpheme {-g-} in the finite set occurs with the following alternants in the semi-finite set:

- /-g-/ occurs as radj of pa- in sf A-1(i), I-1(i), sf G-1(i), and sf R-1(i).
- /ma-/ occurs, as an allomorph of the 'potential' tense marker {ma-}, as ladj of S in sf A-1(ii), optionally present in sf G-1(ii), and sf R-1(ii).
- /?i-/ occurs, as an allomorph of the 'potential' marker {ma-}, as ladj of S in sf I-1(ii).

III.A.2.b. The 'Past Posterior' Aspect--The 'past posterior' aspect morpheme {-um-} in the finite set has the following alternants in the semi-finite set:

- /-um-/ occurs as ladj of S in sf A-2.
- /-g-/ co-occurs with ?i-, allomorph of the 'potential' tense marker {ma-}, as its radj in sf I-2, sf G-2, and sf R-2.
- /?i-/ co-occurs with -g- as its ladj in sf I-2, sf G-2, and sf R-2.

III.A.2.d. The 'Present Progressive' Aspect--The verbal markers of this aspect in the finite set are the same as those in the semi-finite set.

III.A.2.e. The 'Future' Aspect--The verbal markers of the 'future' aspect, both in (i) and (ii), are the same in the finite and semi-finite sets.

III.A.3. Semi-Finite Verbal Markers of Foci

III.A.3.a. Actor Focus--The actor focus markers in the finite set are the same as those in the semi-finite set; it must be stated, however, that the form na- in the finite set alternates with ma- in the semi-finite set.

III.A.3.b. Instrument Focus--The semi-finite instrument focus marker {-an} which was introduced in Chart 1 in the command form is seen in Chart 2 as occurring as radj in sf I-1(i), sf I-2, sf I-3, sf I-4, and of course I-6.

III.A.3.c. Goal Focus--The semi-finite goal focus marker {-a} which is introduced in Chart 1 in the command form is seen in Chart 2 as occurring as radj of S in sf G-1(i), sf G-2, sf G-3, sf G-4, and G-6.

III.A.3.d. Referent Focus--The semi-finite goal focus marker {-i} which was first listed in Chart 1 is now seen in Chart 2 as occurring as radj of S in sf R-1(i), sf R-2, sf R-3, sf R-4, and R-6.

III.B. Paradigms Illustrating Semi-Finite Verbal Markers in Foci--We proceed to use most of the semi-finite verbal markers in Chart 2 in the different foci, using the follow-

ing nominal markers:

- ru as marker of topicalized nominal
- ?it as indefinite marker of focus-related non-topicalized nominal
- ku as definite marker of focus-related non-topicalized nominal
- sa as non-definite marker of focus-related non-topicalized indirect object or (focusable) locative or benefactor

In the sentences to be used, the sentence in the finite set is characterized as:

$$Se = V_f + \begin{bmatrix} N_{loc} \\ N_{tmp} \\ M_m \\ M_d \end{bmatrix} + N_t + \begin{bmatrix} -N_{nt} \\ +N_{nt} \end{bmatrix} . \text{ This}$$

formula indicates that in the sentence in the finite set, the sequence is that of finite verbal plus either a locative nominal (N_{loc}), a temporal nominal (N_{tmp}), a modifier of manner (M_m), or a modifier of degree (M_d), plus a topicalized nominal plus either an optionally present focus-related non-topicalized nominal (object-adjoining) ($-N_{nt}$) or a required non-topicalized nominal (object-adjoining) ($+N_{nt}$). All the nominals labeled "N" function in specific capacities; thus N may be an actor (A), an instrument (I), a goal (G), or a referent (R).

In the semi-finite set to be described, the sentence is characterized as having the following arrangement:

$$Se = \begin{bmatrix} N_{loc} \\ N_{tmp} \\ M_m \\ M_d \end{bmatrix} + V_{sf} + N_t \begin{bmatrix} -N_{nt} \\ +N_{nt} \end{bmatrix}$$

The reader should also observe that in both the finite and semi-finite sentence patterns, the following markers are used to indicate the elements in the modifier slot:

sa as marker of N_{loc} and N_{tmp-fu} (temporal nominal signifying 'future')

ku as marker of N_{tmp-p} (temporal nominal signifying 'past')

Further, in the finite sentence pattern the marker ?it introducing M_m and M_d is dropped in the semi-finite sentence equivalent.

Paradigm 1: Use of Semi-Finite Verbals in 'p'(i)

Actor Focus (A_t) (V and N_{loc} underlined):

f nà-g-putús sa subá? ru báyi ?it ?ísda?
 wrapped in river the woman a fish
 'The woman wrapped a fish in the river.'

sf sa subá? mà-g-putús du báyi ?it ?ísda?
 in river wrapped the woman a fish
 'It was in the river where the woman wrapped a fish.'

Instrument Focus (I_t) (V and N_{tmp} underlined):

f g-ìn-putús ku lúnis ru dáhun ?it ?ísda?
 was wrapped last Monday the leaf a fish
 'The leaf was used for wrapping a fish last Monday.'

sf ku lúnis pa-g-púst-àn du dáhun ?it ?ísda?
 last Monday was wrapped the leaf a fish
 'It was last Monday when the leaf was used for wrapping a fish.'

Goal Focus (G_t) (V and N_{in} underlined):

f g-ìn-putús ?it ma-bákàs du ?ísda?
 was wrapped fast the fish
 'The fish was wrapped fast.'

sf ma-bákàs pa-g-púst-à ru ?ísda?
 fast was wrapped the fish
 'Fast was how the fish was wrapped.'

Referent Focus (R_t , illustrated by R_D) (V and M_D underlined):

f σ -in-púst-àn ?it kà-bakás-bákas ðu báyi ?it ?ísda?
 was wrapped-for very, very fast the woman a fish
 'The woman is the one for whom a fish was wrapped very, very fast.'

sf kà-bakás-bákas pa- σ -púst-ì ru báyi ?it ?ísda?
 very, very fast was wrapped-for the woman a fish
 'Very, very fast is how a fish was wrapped for the woman.'

Paradigm 2: Use of Semi-Finite Verbals in 'p'(ii)

Actor Focus (A_t) (V and M_n underlined):

f na-kà-bakáŋ ?it mà-dalí? ru ?ungá? ?it sugá?
 bought (ab.) quickly the child viand(s)
 'The child bought (ab.) some viand(s) quickly.'

sf mà-dalí? ma-kà-bakáŋ ru ?ungá? ?it sugá?
 quickly bought (ab.) the child viand(s)
 'Quickly is how the child bought (ab.) some viand(s).'

Instrument Focus (I_t) (V and N_{loc} underlined):

f k-in-à-bakáŋ sa tindá-hàn ðu kwárta ?it sugá?
 was used for in market the money viand(s)
 buying (ab.)
 'The money was used for buying (ab.) some viand(s) in the market.'

sf sa tindá-hàn ?i-kà-bakáŋ ru kwárta ?it sugá?
 in market was used for the money viand(s)
 buying (ab.)
 'In the market is where the money was used for buying (ab.) some viand(s).'

Goal Focus (G_t) (V and N_{tmp} underlined):

f (na-)hà-bakáǵ ku sàbadú ru sugá?
 was bought (ab.) last Saturday the viand(s)
 'The viand(s) was/were bought (ab.) last Saturday.'

sf ku sàbadú (ma-)hì-bakáǵ ru sugá?
 last Saturday was bought (ab.) the viand(s)
 'Last Saturday was when the viand(s) was/were bought (ab.).'

Referent Focus (R_t , illustrated as R_B) (V and M_d underlined):

f (na-)hà-bákǵ-àn ?it kà-dalí? ru ?ungá? ?it sugá?
 was bought-for (ab.) very quickly the child a fish
 'The child was the one for whom some viand(s) was/were bought.'

sf kà-dalí? (ma-)hì-bákǵ-ì ru ?ungá? ?it sugá?
 very fast was bought-for (ab.) the child viand(s)
 'Very quickly is how some viand(s) was/were bought for the child.'

Paradigm 3: Use of Semi-Finite Verbals in 'fu'

Actor Focus (A_t) (V and N_{tmp} underlined):

f mà-putús sa mǎrtis ðu báyi ?it ?ísda?
 will wrap on Tuesday the woman a fish
 'The woman will wrap a fish on Tuesday.'

sf sa mǎrtis mà-putús ðu báyi ?it ?ísda?
 on Tuesday will wrap the woman a fish
 'On Tuesday is when the woman will wrap a fish.'

Instrument Focus (I_t) (V and N_{loc} underlined):

- f ?i-putús sa tindá-hàn du dáhun ?it ?ísda?
 will be used in market the leaf a fish
 for wrapping
 'The leaf will be used for wrapping a fish in the market.'
- sf sa tindá-hàn ?i-putús du dáhun ?it ?ísda?
 in market will be used the leaf a fish
 for wrapping
 'In the market is where the leaf will be used for wrapping a fish.'

Goal Focus (G_t) (V and M_m underlined):

- f púst-un ?it mà-dalí? ru ?ísda?
 will be quickly the fish
 wrapped
 'The fish will be wrapped quickly.'
- sf mà-dalí? púst-un du ?ísda?
 quickly will be the fish
 wrapped
 'Quickly is how the fish will be wrapped.'

Referent Focus (R_t , illustrated as R_B) (V and N_{tmp} underlined):

- f púst-an sa dumínggù ru báyì ?it ?ísda?
 will be next Sunday the woman a fish
 wrapped-for
 'A fish will be wrapped for the woman next Sunday.'
- sf sa dumínggù púst-an du báyì ?it ?ísda?
 next Sunday will be the woman a fish
 wrapped-for
 'Next Sunday is when a fish will be wrapped for the woman.'

As shown in Chart 2, some of the verbal markers do not show contrasts between finite and semi-finite sets. Nevertheless, we can still show in what way the modifiers occurring to the left of the verbal, or "foregrounded" by the verbal, become compulsory sentence components in such cases in which no morphological difference is observable. The test here is the possibility of occurrence of the topic-comment ligature hay when the topic and comment are re-arranged. For instance: given

f mà-putús sa duminggù ru báyì ?it ?ísda?
 will wrap next Sunday the woman a fish
 'The woman will wrap a fish next Sunday.'

sf sa duminggù mà-putús òu báyì ?it ?ísda?
 next Sunday will wrap the woman a fish
 'Next Sunday is when the woman will wrap a fish.'

we re-arrange the topic-comment elements in f into the hay structure, thus:

f sa duminggù ru báyì hay mà-putús ?it ?ísda?
 next Sunday the woman lg will wrap a fish
 'Next Sunday the woman will wrap a fish.'

We observe that sf does not permit hay in the position immediately above:

sf sa duminggù ru báyì mà-putús ?it ?ísda?
 next Sunday the woman will wrap a fish
 'Next Sunday is when the woman will wrap a fish.'

*sa duminggù ru báyì hay mà-putús ?it ?ísda?
 next Sunday the woman lg will wrap a fish
 *'Next Sunday is when the woman will wrap a fish.'

FOOTNOTES IN PART V: CHAPTER 3

- 1 The modifiers in their basic forms also follow this sub-classification:

<u>Man</u>		<u>Min</u>	
busúg	'full'	púdpud	'crumbly'
?ámpaǵ	'pug-nosed'	pusá?	'broken'
<u>Mne</u>			
tádlung	'straight'		
sádyá?	'nice'		

- 2 The other forms of modifiers which occur without the prefix ma- may be characterized as being in their positive degree forms, provided that they are of the forms described in the other inflectional patterns of modifiers below. E.g. ?ingganvú-sa 'charming f.,' ga?úy 'tired,' ?uǵúr-ún 'maggoty,' and so on, may be listed in the positive degree. Their patterning in the comparative degree, however, vary; ?-úǵ-?ingganvú-sa 'a little more charming,' ga?úy-ga?úy 'a little more tired,' ?uǵúǵ-?uǵúr-ún 'a little more maggoty.' Their superlative forms are of the p-in-a-ka-S pattern, as is seen below.
- 3 When one attempts to complete the illustrations in sentential paradigms of the finite and semi-finite verbals, he may do so by using any of the verbals used in the paradigms given below to model after and use appropriate nominals and their markers. All the verbals used in the paradigms below belong to the transitive verbal-Focus Class 1--the main reason for the occurrence of the verbals in all foci in the examples.

PART V: CHAPTER 4

FUNCTION WORDS

This chapter summarizes the uses of the function words or constants seen thus far mostly in their focus-related roles as well as in their other main uses which have not been dealt with in this research.¹

I. Markers of Topicalized Nominals

I.A. Common Nominals--The form ru indicates a common nominal which is used in the topicalized function. It positions as ladj of the nominal in the 'singular' and as ladj of the 'plural' marker mangá in:

ru báyi 'the woman'

ru mangá báyi 'the women'

I.B. Proper Personal Nominals--The form s- indicates a proper personal nominal in the topicalized function. Positionally, it occurs as ladj of the 'determiner' -i, thus s-i, which in turn occurs as ladj of the nominal in the 'singular'; it occurs as ladj of the '3 p. pl.' pronoun -ánda plus s-ánda, as a marker of a topicalized '3 p. pl.' pronoun.

s-i	nānay	'Mother'
[	s-ānda-y pīning	] 'Pining with others'
	s-a-y pīning	
s-ānda		'they'

II. Markers of Non-Topicalized Nominals and Their Prepositional Uses

II.A. The Form n-

II.A.1. The form n- indicates a proper personal nominal as a non-topicalized actor. It occurs as ladj of the 'determiner' -i, thus n-i, or with -a, which is the clipped form of the '3 p. sg.' pronoun -āna, and the 'determiner' -y, thus n-a-y, in the singular. It also occurs as ladj of the '3 p. pl.' pronoun -ānda plus the 'determiner' -y, thus n-ānda-y in the plural. When occurring with personal pronouns only, n- positions as ladj of the '3 p. sg.' pronoun -āna or its clipped form -a, thus n-āna or n-a, as a marker of the singular non-topicalized pronoun actor; it occurs as ladj of the '3 p. pl.' pronoun -ānda, thus n-ānda, as a marker of the plural non-topicalized actor.

[g-īn-bakāŋ	<u>n-i</u>	nīni?] 'was bought by Nene'
	g-īn-bakāŋ	<u>n-a-y</u>	nīni?	

g-in-putús n-ānda-y lītu 'was wrapped by lītu
with others'

g-in-súŋāng n-ānda 'was fetched by them'

II.A.2. The form n- is also used, in identical morphological composition as above, as a marker of a proper nominal or pronominal possessor which follows the possessed:

gámbug n-i nánay
dress of Mother 'Mother's dress'

barútù n-ánda-y rubín
boat of Rubín and others 'Rubín and others' boat'

báka n-ána
cow of his 'his cow'

II.B. The Form ku or k-

II.B.1. The form ku is used as a definite marker of a common nominal which functions as a non-topicalized actor, a non-topicalized instrument, a non-topicalized goal, a non-topicalized referent (indirect object). It positions as ladj of the nominal in the singular, and as ladj of the 'plural' marker manqá in the plural. This free variant alternates with its bound form k- as follows: k- marks a proper personal nominal used as a non-topicalized instrument, a non-topicalized goal, a non-topicalized referent (indirect object, indirect object/locative (although locative is inapplicable with proper personal nominals), and benefactor). In the singular, k- occurs as ladj of -a, clipped alternant of the '3 p. sg.' pronoun -ána plus the 'determiner' -y, thus k-a-y; in the plural, k- occurs as ladj of the '3 p. pl.' pronoun -ánda plus the 'determiner' -y, thus k-ánda-y. For the distribution of these non-topicalized nominals, we simply refer to p. 72 ff., in Pt. IV, Ch. 1.

[	<u>ku</u> táwu	'the man']
	<u>ku</u> mangá báyi	'the women'	

These examples are used in the above-listed non-topicalized functions of common nominals.

[	<u>k-a-y</u> pipíng	'Pipíng']
	<u>k-ánda-y</u> nita	'Nita with others'	

These illustrations are used in the above-listed non-topicalized functions of proper personal nominals.

When occurring with personal pronouns only, k- is used in the same non-topicalized functions as those of the proper personal nominals listed above:

[	<u>k-ána</u>	'him']
	<u>k-ánda</u>	'them'	

These examples are used in the above-listed non-topicalized functions of proper personal nominals.

II.B.2. The form ku is also used as a definite marker of a common nominal functioning as possessor following the element possessed.

ʔiná	<u>ku</u>	nà-matáy	
mother	of	the died	'mother of the dead one'
sapín	<u>ku</u>	ʔungáʔ	
shoe(s)	of	the child	'shoe(s) of the child' or 'the child's shoe(s)'

II.B.3. The form ku also functions as a definite relator of location; it positions as ladj of the relator nominal:

sa suǵúǵ	<u>ku</u> láta	
inside	the can	'inside the can'
sa ʔubús	<u>ku</u> háǵdan	
under	the stairs	'under the stairs'

II.B.4. The form ku is also used with its bound alternant k- to designate 'temporal past'; the free form occurs quite commonly while the bound form occurs mostly with deictics, except in the examples below. Both forms pattern as ladj of the temporal nominal:

<u>ku</u> sàbadú	'last Saturday'
<u>ku</u> ʔinírù	'last January'
<u>ka-</u> háǵpùn ²	'last afternoon; yesterday'
k-abíʔì ³	'last night'

II.C. The Form ʔit

II.C.1. The form ʔit functions as an indefinite marker of a common nominal as a non-topicalized actor, a non-topicalized instrument, a non-topicalized goal, and a non-topicalized referent (indirect object). In the singular, it occurs as ladj of the nominal; in the plural, it positions as ladj of the 'plural' marker mangá. Illustrations showing the distinction among these various functions are given on p.74 ff., in Pt. IV, Ch. 1. We will only show below the characteristic structure:

[	<u>ʔit</u> ʔísda?	'fish']
[	ʔit mangá	sáǵing	'bananas'
]]

These examples are used in the above-listed non-topicalized functions of common nominals.

II.C.2. The form ?it is used as an indefinite marker of a common nominal which functions as possessor following the element possessed:

hampáng-àn	<u>?it</u>	?ungá?	
toy	of	a child	'a child's toy'
kúgun	<u>?it</u>	ma-gúgàng	
pot	of	an old one	'pot of an old one'

II.C.3. The form ?it is also used as an indefinite relator of location; it positions as ladj of the relator nominal:

sa ?ig-dáŋŋùm	<u>?it</u>	baŋŋáy	
under	of	a house	'under a house'
sa ?i-bábàw	<u>?it</u>	lamísà	
on top	of	a table	'on top of a table'

II.C.4. The form ?it functions as a marker of a modifier of manner and a modifier of degree; it occurs as ladj of that modifier:

nà-g-dáŋŋágan	<u>?it</u>	ma-hínày	
ran		slowly	'ran slwoy'
na-g-básà	<u>?it</u>	ma-bùŋŋ-baskúg	
read	a little more	loudly	'read a little more loudly'

II.C.5. The form ?it is used in various transformational ways, especially in interrogative and negative equivalents.

II.C.5.a. In interrogative equivalent of modifier of intensification:

1.a. ma-bákàs nga m-ayád ma-g-ká?ùn du bakirù
 fast very ate the shepherd
 'Very fast was how the shepherd ate.'

1.b. ma-?únù ?it bákas ma-g-ká?ùn du bakirù
 how fast ate the shepherd
 'How fast did the shepherd eat?'

II.C.5.b. In interrogative equivalent of modifier of cause:

2.a. na-gà-ǵubúg ru ?ungá? ?ay may ǵágnat
 lying down the child because has fever
 'The child is lying down because he has a fever.'

2.b. hám?an ?it na-gà-ǵubúg ru ?ungá?
 why lying down the child
 'Why is the child lying down?'

II.C.5.c. In negative equivalent using the 'privative'
 negative ?uwá?: ?uwá? negates the existence of that which is
 stated in the affirmative.

3.a. may pyísta sa kalíbù
 there is fiesta in Kalibo
 'There is a fiesta in Kalibo.'

3.b. ?uwá? ?it pyísta sa kalíbù
 there is no fiesta in Kalibo
 'There is no fiesta in Kalibo.'

II.C.5.d. In negative equivalent using the 'opposite'
 negative bukún: bukún conveys negation in the sense of
 contrast:

4.a. ru líbru (hay) sa lamísà
 the book (lg) on table
 'The book (is) on the table.'

4.b. ru líbru (hay) bukún ?it sa lamísà
 the book (lg) not on table
 'The book (is) not on the table (but somewhere
 else).'

II.C.5.e. In negative equivalent using the 'prohibitive'

negative ʔayáw; the form ʔayáw is used mostly in negatively expressed commands:

5.a. káʔun 'Eat!'

5.b. ʔayáw ʔit káʔun 'Don't eat!'

II.D. The Form sa

II.D.1. The form sa functions as a nondefinite marker indicating a common nominal as a non-topicalized referent (indirect object/locative) or a non-topicalized referent (benefactor). In the singular, sa positions as ladj of the non-topicalized nominal in question; in the plural, it occurs as ladj of the 'plural' marker mangá. Uses of sa in these distinct roles are illustrated on p. 80 ff., in Pt. IV, Ch. 1. We simply show the characteristic structure below:

[sa táwu 'man'
sa mangá báyi 'women']

These examples illustrate the use of non-topicalized referent (indirect object/locative).

[sa baǵáy 'home; house'
sa tinda-hàn 'market']

These are examples using locative, either in focusable or non-focusable function.

pára sa ǵápsag 'for the infant'

This illustrates the function of non-topicalized referent (benefactor).

II.D.2. The form sa is also used to indicate certain modifiers of cause; in this function it occurs as lađj of the nominal used as cause:

na-gà-níwang si pránsing. sa kà-lisúd
 becoming thin Prancing from worries
 'Prancing is becoming thin from worries.'

nà-matáy ru s-ug-ùgu?-ún sa gútum
 died the servant from hunger
 'The servant died from hunger.'

II.D.3. The form sa also functions to convey directional or locative meaning of prepositions.

sa bađáy 'at home'

sa manilà? 'to Manila'

sa tindá-hàn 'in the market'

sa tungá? ?it gawúd 'in the middle of an ocean'

sa kílíd ku táwu 'at the side of the man'

In these examples the glosses given are simply arbitrary; the non-linguistic as well as linguistic contexts clarify which gloss is appropriate.

II.D.4. The form sa is also found to indicate 'temporal future'²; some examples are:

sa lúnis 'next Monday'

sa ?inírù 'next January'

III. The 'Plural' Marker manqá

III.A. The form manqá is used to indicate the 'plural' sense, as when expressing more than one in a group; it occurs

as lađj of the nominal which is pluralized:

ru báyi 'the woman'

ru mancá báyi 'the women'

III.B. The form mancá also functions to indicate 'approximate' number or time; it positions as lađj of number or temporal nominal.

limá 'five' mancá limá 'about five'

mártis 'Tuesday' mancá mártis 'about Tuesday'

IV. Ligatures

IV.A. The Ligature nga

IV.A.1. The form nga, glossed as 'who, which, that,' is used as a marker of relative structures with nominally used heads:

ru táwu nga hilúŋg
the man who drunk 'the man who (is) drunk'

sa subá? nga nà-g-bahá?
river which flooded 'river which flooded'

IV.A.2. The form nga also functions as a marker of an intensifier; it positions as lađj of the form m-ayád 'very' in this function.

ma-bákàs nga m-ayád
fast very 'very fast'

gwápa nga m-ayád
beautiful very 'very beautiful'

IV.A.3. The form nga can also be used to mark a relative-

like structure which is not excisable; this structure, identified as 'RV' in Pt. IV, Ch. 2, is characterized by the occurrence of the non-topicalized actor, in the form of a pronoun, preceding the verbal:

?-ána nga g-in-bakág ru t-in-ápày
 by him was bought the bread
 'The bread was bought by him.'

but

g-in-bakág n-ána ru t-in-ápày
 was bought by him the bread
 'The bread was bought by him.'

IV.A.4. The form nga is used in certain exocentric object-adjoining, much like the sequence 'that John left' in the sentence 'Mary said that John left' in English:

nà-g-sugíd s-i nini? nga na-húgùg ru ?ungá?
 told Nene that fell the child
 'Nene said that the child fell.'

IV.B. The Ligature hay

IV.B.1. The form hay functions as a topic-comment ligature when the topic occurs to the left of the comment. Although optionally present in this structure, it is always possible to use it, thus marking what may be characterized as a marker of a finite sentential string.

ru báyi (hay) ma-pà-maníla?
 the woman lg will go to Manila
 'The woman will go to Manila.'

but

ma-pà-maníla? ru báyi
 will go to Manila the woman
 'The woman will go to Manila.'

In the second structure, hay is not possible: *ma-pà-maníla?
hay ru báyi.

IV.B.2. The form hay also occurs as a 'discourse opener,'³
 as in:

hay si?ín du dágum
 well, where the needle
 'Well, where (is) the needle?'

hay sa simbá-hàn s-i súsing
 well, in church Susing
 'Well, Susing (is) in church.'

V. Conjunctives and Subordinators

V.A. Conjunctives--The forms ?aq, píru, and ?u 'and, but,
 and or' respectively, are used between sentential strings
 or between sentential parts:

g-in-à-bahug-án du bábuy	<table border="0" style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; padding: 2px 5px;">?aq</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 5px;">and</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; padding: 2px 5px;">píru</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 5px;">but</td> </tr> </table>	?aq	and	píru	but
?aq					
and					
píru					
but					
is being fed the pig					

g-in-à-sabúr-an du manúk
 is being fed the chicken

'The pig is being fed [and but] the chicken is being fed.'

In this example, the gloss should express two different
 lexical meanings for 'feed,' one referring to the pig and
 the other to the chicken.

s-i núnuy	<table border="0" style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; padding: 2px 5px;">?aq</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 5px;">and</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; padding: 2px 5px;">?u</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px 5px;">or</td> </tr> </table>	?aq	and	?u	or	s-i ?íma (hay)	nà-g-pa-kalíbu
?aq							
and							
?u							
or							
Nonoy	Emma lg	went to Kalibo					

'Nonoy [and or] Emma went to Kalibo.'

V.B. Subordinators

V.B.1. The form ?ay 'because' may be singled out in one set of subordinators, in that it occurs only to the right of a sentence:

ma-tá?às s-i tútu? ?ay ma-ta?as s-i tátay n-a
 tall Toto because tall Father his
 'Toto (is) tall because his Father (is) tall.'

ru báyi (hay) sa manílà? ?ay nà-g-pa-bugúng ?imáw
 the woman lg in Manila because went to be she
 treated
 'The woman (was) in Manila because she went to be
 (medically) treated.'

V.B.2. The forms hásta 'until,' máskin (or maski) 'even though,' kun 'if, when,' bácu? 'before,' and ?aqúd 'so that' introduce a subordinating clause to the right of a sentence or at the beginning of a sentence; in the sentence sample below, all these subordinators can occur in the position of hásta 'until' and máskin 'even though':

nà-g-d-in-aqágan du ?ungá? hásta hà-pangút ?imáw
 kept running the child until was bitten(ab.) he

?it báng?aw
 a mad-dog
 'The child kept running until he was bitten(ab.) by a
 mad-dog.'

máskin na-kà-tánum du táwu ?uwá? ?imáw ?it ?úbra
 although was able the man no he work
 to plant
 'Although the man was able to plant, he doesn't have
 any work.'

I.B.3. The forms ?uqáling 'however,' ngáni? 'therefore,' and sumá? occur differently from those listed above, in that they introduce the subordinating clause to the right of a

sentence and may be followed by hay; these subordinators can occur in the position of ?uqáling 'however' below:

g-in-kángay ru báyi sa pyista ?uqáling (hay)
 was invited the woman to fiesta however

nà-g-balíbad s-i nánay n-a
 refused Mother her

'The woman was invited to a fiesta; however, her Mother refused.'

FOOTNOTES IN PART V: CHAPTER 4

- 1 Other function words exist in Aklan; these are not considered in this study, however, since they may be more aptly described as "utterance particles," rather than directly related to focus.
- 2 In Aklan, there then seems to be concord between the grammatical function of tense and the prepositions ku (or k-) and sa. For instance, the string *nà-q-bakāŋ ru bāyi ?it t-in-āpāy sa sàbadú (bought the woman bread) 'The woman bought bread next Saturday' is non-existent in Aklan as it is odd in English. Cf. John Lyons, Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 349.
- 3 The gloss 'well' for hay functioning as 'discourse opener' does not express the colloquial meaning of the form.