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THE ARCHIVE

Vol. 6 No. 2 (2025)

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Editor-in-chief

Department of Linguistics

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University of the Philippines Diliman

The Archive is the official journal of the Department of Linguistics, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines Diliman. The Regular Series of the journal serves as a peer-reviewed publication for original works dealing primarily but not exclusively with Philippine languages and dialects.

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Editor's Notes

In the simplest terms, language is often described as the primary tool for communicative interaction. When we talk about interaction, we inevitably connect it to information about the human experience, where language is the most direct means of making sense of ourselves, and at the same time, our way of forging connections with others.

In understanding the mechanisms of communicative interaction, there is a tendency to overlook the smallest units of language, such as function words and affixes. However, these units serve central roles in facilitating and structuring information necessary to ensure effective communication. The papers featured in this issue of *The Archive* generally deal with the interaction within and across language systems, both at the micro-level of internal language structure, as well as the macro-level of information processing.

Leo Gregory Fordan investigates the nature and distribution of cross-referent pronouns in three Sambalic languages, Sambal, Botolan, and Bolinao. Cross-referent pronouns are elements that co-refer to a particular argument within a construction, and they generally serve pragmatic functions such as reference tracking. Moreover, their varying distribution across the three languages investigated suggests influencing factors such as language-specific phonological and morphological

structures. Such findings also demonstrate the crucial interaction of different components of grammar.

Ethan Nicholas Salvador describes the verbal paradigms of Masbatenyo that are used to encode parameters such as voice, aspect, and mode. As a canonical Philippine language, Masbatenyo exhibits what has been described in linguistic typology as a complex morphosyntactic system, which conveys information about *who* does *what* to *whom*, through small units that combine with the verb. These elements, moreover, are systematically organized within the language system, forming respective paradigms that interact with each other.

Jem Javier gives a nuanced treatment of how the Filipino language conceptualizes the idea of SPACE primarily through the function word *sa* as well as the suffix *-an*. Using the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the author treats grammatical structures as outcomes of metaphorical extensions, where expressions of time and location (through *sa* and *-an*) are said to be extensions of the metaphorical construct of space. The study effectively demonstrates how the domain of semantics interacts with the domains of morphology and syntax, as well as how information such as space is crucially encoded and extended through language.

Finally, Mark Kevin Reginio addresses the question of language choice in the perception of information. Particularly relevant to risk communication in contexts such as disaster and disease, language choice is a central factor in ensuring the effective and accurate transmission of information. The linguistic context of the community is also an important consideration when investigating the effects of language choice, and the author presents evidence that the degree of bilingualism

in Filipino and English contributes to how Filipinos generally perceive information in both languages.

This issue of the journal also contains abstracts of three recently completed graduate theses and dissertation, namely *A Grammar of Itneg Inlaud* by Ryn Jean Fe Gonzales (PhD Linguistics, supervised by Mary Ann Bacolod), *Imperative Constructions in Marinduque Tagalog* by Reb Nuñez (MA Linguistics, supervised by Mary Ann Bacolod), and *Complex Constructions in Pangasinan* by John Meynard Sanchez (MA Linguistics, supervised by Francisco Rosario, Jr.).

I took the liberty to write about interaction to highlight how the science of language is ultimately a social one. In writing this piece, I have been inspired by Stephen Levinson's book entitled *The Interaction Engine: Language in Social Life and Human Evolution*, published by Cambridge University Press in 2025. Language is deeply tied to the human experience, and our linguistic descriptions, no matter how esoteric, all ultimately take root in the fundamental goal of uncovering how humans are able to understand and interact with each other.

As the first issue of *The Archive* under my editorship, I reiterate the role the journal in providing space for scholarly ideas and discussions on social interaction, the human experience, and how language and linguistic structures are woven into them.

I thank our Editorial Board, Kyung Min Bae (Managing Editor), Brian Salvador Baran (Copyeditor, Layout Artist, and Cover Designer), Mai Andre Encarnacion (Copyeditor), Victoria Vidal, Marielle Eugenio, and Jefferson David (Administrative Staff), as well as the UP Department of Linguistics, for the efficient management of the journal. Last but not the least, I thank the authors and referees, whose contributions are the heart of this issue.

Maria Kristina S. Gallego

Editor-in-Chief

Microvariation in the Clitic Doubling Parameter: Comparative Evidence from the Sambalic Cross-Referent Pronouns¹

Leo Gregory A. Fordan

Abstract

This paper investigates the cross-referent pronoun (CRP) through a comparative study of its distribution in three Sambalic languages: Sambal (ISO 639-3 [*xsb*]), Botolan [*sbl*], and Bolinao [*smk*]. The CRP is a result of clitic doubling (CD), a phenomenon which has been extensively studied in the Romance and Balkan languages, but its manifestation in Philippine languages

¹This paper was originally presented at the 16th International Free Linguistics Conference (FLC) at the University of Santo Tomas, Manila. I'd also like to use this space to thank my language consultants: Tito Igo Campos for Sambal, Ma'am Harriet Villanueva for Botolan, and Ma'am Wena Buban for Bolinao.

remains underexplored. The CRP is defined here as a pronominal-like element that co-refers with a nominal argument within the same clause. Data for this study were gathered through a sentence list elicited in real time with native speakers, followed by judgment tests. My analysis shows that the CRP is subject to distinct language-specific licensing conditions: in Sambal, the CRP is largely licensed for a semantic AGENT having competing arguments; in Bolinao, the CRP acts more like an agreement marker; and in Botolan, what was previously described as a CRP (see Antworth, 1979) is actually a resumptive pronoun. This demonstrates that even closely related languages may nevertheless differ substantially in realizing a common feature, as with a parametric approach. This also suggests that although the CRP can serve a pragmatic function in reference tracking, its variation among the three languages is driven solely by language-internal (i.e., structural) factors such as individual phonologies and morphologies. Ultimately, the findings deepen our understanding of the nature of language as they demonstrate how CRP distribution is shaped not by syntax alone but by the interaction of different components of grammar.

Keywords: Sambalic languages, clitic doubling, cross-referent pronoun, syntax, parameters

1 Introduction

Human languages have long been viewed as being built from the same architecture, behaving only in different ways on the surface. This assumption is put to the test most clearly within closely related language groups where we expect to see greater similarity but are instead confronted by more variation. It is then the task of the linguist to uncover such variation and, in doing so, move us closer to understanding the nature of language itself. This paper is one such effort. Here, we examine a phenomenon in the Sambalic languages where a pronominal form appears alongside a DP, both referring to the same entity. Referred to here as the cross-referent pronoun (CRP), it is an element that may seem purely redundant at first but, upon closer inspection, reveals a systematic distribution across constructions and languages. In bringing attention to this phenomenon, the present study contributes to our ongoing effort to explain the morphosyntax of Philippine languages and, ultimately, to refine linguistic theory through the lens of underdocumented languages such as those in the Sambalic group.

This paper focuses on three (3) Sambalic languages: Sambal (ISO 639-3 [*xsbl*]),² Botolan [*sbl*], and Bolinao [*smk*]. These languages belong to the Central Luzon (CL) microgroup (Figure 1) which is further classified into (a) Kapampangan [*pam*], (b) Dumagat Remontado [*agv*], and (c) the Sambalic branch, to which the Sambal, Botolan, and Bolinao

²Usually called “Tina Sambal” in the older literature. Eberhard et al. (2026) claim that the term is pejorative. However, according to my various experiences with native Sambal speakers, it is merely an exonym. Nonetheless, I have decided against it for economy.

languages belong, along with the Ayta languages: Abellen [*abp*], Ambala [*abc*], Mag-antsi [*sgb*], Mag-indi [*blx*], and Magbukun [*ayt*] (Eberhard et al., 2026).

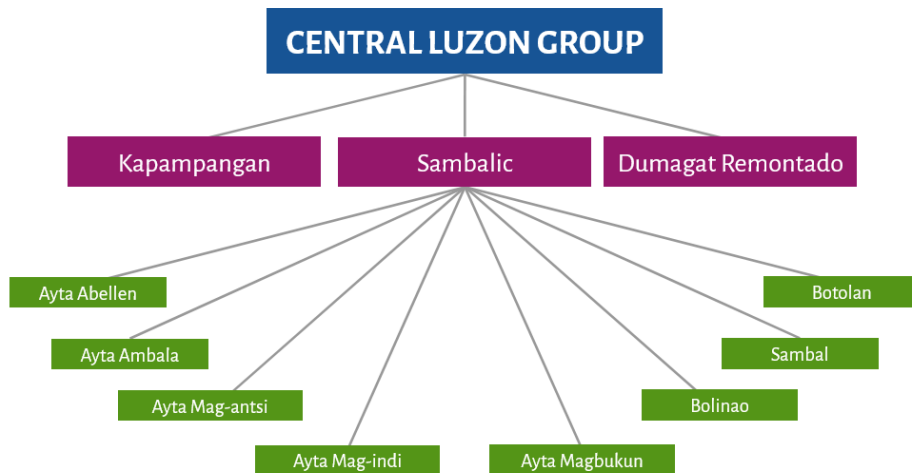


Figure 1. Genetic Relations within the Central Luzon Group³

In the earlier literature, the languages examined in this paper have not always been distinguished and are still usually confused for each other, with previous studies such as Himes (2012), Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino (KWF, 2016), and Viray and Schreerer (1929) having considered all three or at least two as different varieties of a single language. The Ethnologue (Eberhard et al., 2026), however, recognizes them as separate languages and the same is true here.⁴

³Created by the author based on Eberhard et al. (2026).

⁴Despite the high level of mutual intelligibility between Sambal and Botolan, the speakers usually assert that their variety is a different language and this is apparent with the differences even in basic vocabulary. Sambal speakers, for instance, would describe Botolan as a “purer” variety.

The speakers of Sambal are primarily found in five municipalities in northern Zambales: Iba, Palauig, Masinloc, Candelaria, and Sta. Cruz (Elgincolin et al., 1988). Moreover, it is also spoken in the Municipality of Infanta in Pangasinan, the western border of Tarlac Province, and the Panitian village in the Province of Palawan (Eberhard et al., 2026). This paper focuses on its dialect in Palauig. Meanwhile, Bolinao is spoken in the municipalities of Anda and Bolinao in western Pangasinan Province. Lastly, Botolan speakers are found in the municipalities of Botolan and Cabangan in Zambales Province.

Of the three languages, only Botolan is not endangered and is classified as EGIDS Level 5 where some standardized literature is used, although not widespread or sustainable (Eberhard et al., 2026). Meanwhile, Sambal is at Level 7 where it is no longer transmitted by the child-bearing generation, while Bolinao is at Level 6b, where it is losing speakers but still enjoys some use by all generations.

2 Methodology

The data analyzed for this paper were gathered from consultations with one native speaker each of Sambal, Botolan, and Bolinao through an online videoconferencing platform, where all sessions were recorded with consent. Prior to data collection, informed consent was obtained from all consultants through signed consent forms, which explicitly informed them that the data would be used for academic purposes, including conference presentations and potential publication in scientific journals.

For the elicitation tool, I made a 100-sentence list based on the 700+ sentence list of the UP Department of Linguistics, picking

sentences which specifically target possible CRP usage. A translation task using this list was then done in real time with each item followed by a judgment/intuition test whenever deemed necessary. Testing the consultants' judgment of hypothetical utterances—particularly by inserting a potential CRP or moving it around—informed me of the possible combinations and constraints which did not emerge spontaneously during the translation task. The data were transcribed using a practical orthography with the conventions being based on the KWF guidelines, including the use of <ë> to represent a schwa-like vowel.

Every consultant was an adult native speaker of a Sambalic language who acquired it as their first language and continues to use it regularly. While all the consultants are multilingual and also speak Tagalog and English, the data here is supposed to reflect their judgments for their respective languages in isolation, i.e., assuming an idealized speaker-hearer situated in a homogenous speech community.⁵ Therefore, with the focus of this paper being on the grammatical competence underlying CRP distribution, variables such as age, gender, level of education, language contact, etc. were not taken into account in the present study, as they are not directly relevant to the theoretical goals pursued.

⁵I acknowledge, however, that the consultants are multilingual and situated in complex sociolinguistic environments. Nonetheless, their judgments are treated here as reflecting an assumed stable underlying system. Alternative approaches would treat such multilingual and sociolinguistic knowledge as part of linguistic competence itself but the present analysis sets these factors aside in order to focus only on the structural conditions governing CRP distribution.

As for the author: I am a native speaker of Tagalog/Filipino [tɔl/fil] with passive fluency in Sambal (Palauig dialect), which facilitated basic comprehension of the elicited data while still relying on native speaker judgments.

3 Overview of Clitic Doubling

Crystal (2008) defines a clitic as “a form which resembles a word, but which cannot stand on its own as a normal utterance, being phonologically dependent upon a neighbouring word (its host) in a construction” (p. 80). In Tagalog, for example, different kinds of words behave as clitics such as personal pronouns and adverbials (Schachter & Otnes, 1972). In this paper, we suppose that the cross-referent pronoun (CRP) is a species of clitic doubling (CD) observed in other languages of the world. Poletto and Pinzin (2024) define CD as “the double occurrence of the same constituent twice inside a single clausal unit; one of the two is represented by a clitic while the other has the properties of a whole phrase” (p. 1). Meanwhile, it is defined by Fischer et al. (2019) as “the doubling of a verbal argument by means of a clitic pronoun inside the same propositional structure” (p. 52). Both definitions indicate structural proximity between the clitic doublee and the element being doubled (henceforth, the *associate*), with the latter restricting CD to verbal constructions. The associate can either be a (a) full pronoun, (b) DP, or (c) CP (Živojinović, 2018).

CD is best understood from studies on Romance and Balkan languages, in which it is known to typically target particular grammatical functions, such as direct objects in Rioplatense Spanish

[*spa*](Jaeggli, 1982), accusatives in Torlak [*srp*] (Živojinović, 2018), and postnominal possessive strong pronouns in French [*fra*] and Greek [*ell*] (Alexiadou, 2016). However, drawing broad generalizations from these systems is not always straightforward: Spanish doubling clitics in particular resist a uniform analysis, sometimes resembling inflectional morphology or independent pronominal elements depending on the dialect and construction type (Belloro, 2015). Of the common properties exhibited by CD among the Romance languages as noted by Poletto and Pinzin (2024, p. 2), e.g., “[w]henver an XP displays CD inside the clausal domain, it also does with left and right dislocation,” none seem to apply to CD as observed in the Philippine languages. This then necessitates comparing the instances of CD within a smaller group of languages, which in this paper shall be the Sambalic subgroup.

For the Sambalic languages, we expect the clitic doublee to come in the form of a THIRD PERSON PRONOUN appearing alongside a co-referent DP within the same clause.⁶ In various literature on the Philippine languages, this clitic doublee is usually referred to as the *cross-referent pronoun*, *cross-reference pronoun*, *cross-referential pronoun* (CRP) and other variants (see Antworth, 1979; Del Corro, 2019; Fordan, 2025b; Villareal, 2020), or less commonly as the *copy pronoun* (Rowell, 1986). Meanwhile in Reid and Liao (2004, p. 11), this has been described as the *pronominal agreement marking* of GENITIVE and NOMINATIVE arguments.

Given that CD is realized differently across languages, we also assume that the licensing conditions for the CRP will vary even within a small language group.

⁶In Fordan (2026), I posit that the CRP is the head of its own functional projection, the clitic phrase (CIP) which is base-generated in the extended verbal spine and c-commanded by its associate at LF.

4 The Cross-Referent Pronoun

In this paper, the cross-referent pronoun (CRP) is defined as an anaphoric element in the form of a THIRD PERSON PRONOUN that locally co-refers with a DP; that is, instead of replacing its antecedent, it is found in the same clause along with it (Fordan, 2026). In effect, the CRP serves as an “echo” to an argument (Del Corro, 2019). This phenomenon cannot be subsumed under topicalization or dislocation because no prosodic break can be heard, as in Tagalog topicalization (see Ceña, 2012) or Spanish dislocation (see Jaeggli, 1982).

Furthermore, the CRP in this group is typologically significant as it represents an instance of clitic doubling, reminiscent of the Romance languages, which, Kaufman (2024) notes, is observed in the northern Philippines but is rare in the central-southern zones. Interestingly, the CRP is more often observed in languages found in the northern parts of the Philippines, such as those in the Central Luzon group which includes the Sambalic subgroup and Kapampangan (Del Corro, 2019; Rowsell, 1986), some Northern Luzon languages like Ilokano [*ilo*] (Constantino et al., 1967) and Itneg Inlaud [*iti*] (Gonzales, 2025), and also Ivatan [*ivv*] (Reid & Liao, 2004).

Antworth (1979) takes note of the CRP as appearing optionally in inverted sentences where the fronted *chômeur* can license a CRP in the GENITIVE. In my undergraduate thesis (Fordan, 2023), I only briefly mention the existence of the CRP in Sambal, noting its optionality and that its morphological case marking usually reflects that of its associate. Meanwhile, Villareal (2020) focuses on the THIRD PERSON SINGULAR pronouns *ya* and *na* in his description of the CRP in Bolinao, where he notes their distribution in sentences with negated nominals

and POSSESSIVE markers, while also positing that the NOMINATIVE case marker *yay* is historically related to the CRP *ya*. However, a more detailed analysis of this phenomenon is found only in the works on Kapampangan by Del Corro (2019) and Rowsell (1986). In Kapampangan, CRP usage is obligatory in certain constructions and is used for marking grammatical relations (i.e., PASSIVE ACTOR or SUBJECT in a verbal sentence) in a clause while also following semantic constraints on ANIMACY and NUMBER (Del Corro, 2019; Rowsell, 1986).

Taken together, these accounts point to a gap in our understanding of CRPs in the Sambalic languages, particularly its cross-linguistic obligatoriness (i.e., when it is required), morphological case behavior (i.e., what case maps onto another), and semantic sensitivity (i.e., whether or not ANIMACY and NUMBER play a role). From the perspective of UG, closely related languages can be particularly useful specimens for understanding how a shared underlying grammatical architecture can allow for variation in the realization of certain features, thereby informing us what is (micro-)parametrically variable. Previous work on clitic doubling in non-Philippine languages has shown that superficially similar constructions can vary substantially despite the genetic relatedness of the languages (see Fischer et al., 2019; Tsakali & Anagnostopoulou, 2008).

A comparative study is therefore warranted to determine the specific licensing conditions for CRPs in Sambal, Botolan, and Bolinao which shall allow us to move beyond the properties of individual languages and eventually identify which aspects of CRP distribution are stable across the subgroup and which reflect points of variation. By establishing what is shared and what is divergent across these three Sambalic languages,

this study will then deepen our understanding of this underdescribed phenomenon in the Philippine languages and situate these findings within UG.

Take note, however, that while this study is informed by insights from a Chomskyan view of language, I do not assume that all aspects of the Sambalic CRP are reducible to narrow syntax alone. Instead, different components of the phenomenon appear to be best explained at different levels of grammatical organization. Structural constraints on the distribution of the CRP (such as locality restrictions, doubling of particular semantic roles, and preference for verbal constructions) invite a generative treatment, as these properties are mostly regular and could reflect underlying grammatical architecture. At the same time, the optionality of the CRP and its conditioning by referential clarity point to an interaction with pragmatics. Moreover, phonological factors may also play a role in licensing the CRP (as we shall see later), insofar as its realization could be sensitive to euphony considerations at the PF interface. Adopting an eclectic approach, therefore, allows the analysis to remain explanatory without forcing the CRP into a single module of grammar.

Before delving into the CRP behavior within each language, Table 1, containing the THIRD PERSON PRONOUNS in the three languages, is provided here.

Table 1. Third Person Pronouns in Sambal, Botolan, and Bolinao

			Sambal	Botolan	Bolinao
NOM	SG	Full	<i>hiya</i>	<i>hiya</i>	<i>siya</i>
		Minimal	<i>ya</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ya</i>
	PL	Full	<i>hila</i>	<i>hila</i>	<i>sara</i>
		Minimal	<i>la</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>ra</i>
GEN	SG		<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>
	PL		<i>la</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>ra</i>
OBL	SG		<i>kuna</i>	<i>kuna</i>	<i>kuna</i>
	PL		<i>kunla</i>	<i>kunla</i>	<i>kunra</i>

For the Sambalic languages, as in Kapampangan (see Del Corro, 2019), the CRP is restricted to THIRD PERSON arguments. While the literature does not establish a universal diachronic pathway whereby clitic doubling emerges first in the THIRD PERSON, some studies show that clitic doubling systems are sensitive to the distribution of PERSON features (e.g., Saab, 2024). This could be due to the tendency for THIRD PERSON reference to be more prone to ambiguity and therefore get reinforced by the grammar.

4.1 Sambal

In Sambal, the CRP is best described as AGENT-oriented. It surfaces predominantly in TRANSITIVE⁷ clauses and consistently targets the AGENT, regardless of whether it is the PIVOT (i.e., it is NOMINATIVE-marked) or a non-PIVOT argument as in any voice

⁷An INTRANSITIVE in this paper would refer to syntactic intransitivity as in Ceña and Nolasco (2011) which supposes that there can be another argument apart from the core argument.

configuration. This distribution indicates that the CRP in Sambal is sensitive to semantic role (agentivity) rather than to grammatical function per se, aligning it with the event structure (who did what to whom) rather than to the voice system. The following sentences in the PATIENT voice show that the non-PIVOT, agentive DP *nin anak* is licensed to have a CRP. The examples throughout the paper shall be ordered as follows: (a) cliticized case marker + CRP (most natural) → (b) full case marker + CRP → (c) absence of CRP (shows optionality).

- (1) a. *Kinan nan anak yay mangga.*
 k<in>an na_i=n anak_i yay mangga_j
 <PFV.PAT>eat CRP=GEN child NOM mango
- b. *Kinan na nin anak yay mangga.*
 Kinan na_i nin anak_i yay mangga_j.
 <PFV.PAT>eat CRP GEN child NOM mango
- c. *Kinan nin anak yay mangga.*
 k<in>an nin anak yay mangga
 <PFV.PAT>eat GEN child NOM mango
- d. **Kinan nin anak ya yay mangga.*
 k<in>an nin anak ya_i yay mangga_j
 <PFV.PAT>eat GEN child CRP NOM mango
 ‘The child ate the mango.’
- (2) a. *Kinan lan aw-anak yay mawmangga.*
 k<in>an la_i=n ?<aw>~?anak_i yay
 <PFV.PAT>eat CRP=GEN PL~child NOM
 m<aw>~mangga_j
 PL~mango

b. *Kinan la nin aw-anak yay mawmangga.*

k<in>an la_i nin ?<aw>~?anak_i yay
 <PFV.PAT>eat CRP GEN PL~child NOM
 m<aw>~mangga;
 PL~mango

c. *Kinan nin aw-anak yay mawmangga.*

k<in>an nin ?<aw>~?anak yay m<aw>~mangga
 <PFV.PAT>eat GEN PL~child NOM PL~mango
 ‘The children ate the mangoes.’

As expected, the CRP can also be licensed in the ACTOR voice where the PIVOT is also the AGENT.

(3) a. *Nangan yan mangga yay anak.*

nang-kan ya_i=n mangga_j yay anak_i
 ACR-eat CRP=GEN mango NOM child

b. *Nangan ya nin mangga yay anak.*

nang-kan ya_i nin mangga_j yay anak_i
 ACR-eat CRP GEN mango NOM child

c. *Nangan nin mangga yay anak.*

nang-kan nin mangga yay anak
 ACR-eat GEN mango NOM child
 ‘The child ate a mango.’

However, we do not expect the OBLIQUE-marked argument to be doubled because there is no way for it to be the AGENT in this position.

(4) a. *Dinumani ya yay anak ha dalaga.*

d<in><um>ani ya_i yay anak_i ha dalaga_j
 <PFV><ACR>approach CRP NOM child OBL young lady

b. *Dinumani yay anak ha dalaga.*

d<in><um>ani yay anak ha dalaga
 <PFV><ACR>approach NOM child OBL young lady
 ‘The child approached the young lady.’

Unlike Kapampangan (see Del Corro, 2019), Sambal does not seem to have a strict ANIMACY constraint for the CRP. And so, even non-ANIMATE NPs are able to have a CRP as long as they are agentive in the event structure.

(5) *Napati ya nan bagyo.*

na-pati ya na_i=n bagyo_i
 PFV-kill 3SG.NOM CRP=GEN storm
 ‘He was killed by the storm.’

As expected, NPs which are not agentive in any way are unable to accept a CRP.

(6) **Nakâkit ya nan bag.*

na-kâ-kit ya na_i=n bag_i
 PFV-MOD-see 3SG.NOM CRP=GEN bag
 ‘He saw a bag.’

On the other hand, the CRP is barred in INTRANSITIVE sentences despite the sole argument being agentive. This seems to suggest at this point that the CRP is only licensed for agentive DPs with competing arguments as it does not have so much utility for bare intransitives.

- (7) a. **Nirong ya yay anak.*
n-irong ya_i yay anak_i
PFV-stand CRP NOM child
'The child stood up.'
- b. *Nirong yay anak.*
n-irong yay anak
PFV-stand NOM child

Meanwhile, although we might expect CD to only occur in verbal sentences as is typical of Romance languages, as we have seen earlier in the definition by Fischer et al. (2019), it also appears in EXISTENTIAL sentences and adjectival predicates for Sambal.

- (8) a. *Main yan bulaklak a|yay⁸ dalaga.*
main ya_i=n bulaklak a|yay dalaga_i
EXIST CRP=GEN flower NOM young.lady
- b. *Main bulaklak a|yay dalaga.*
main Ø bulaklak a|yay dalaga
EXIST GEN flower NOM young.lady
'The young lady has a flower.'
- (9) a. *Humin yan bulaklak a|yay dalaga.*
humin ya_i=n bulaklak a|yay dalaga_i
NEG.EXIST CRP=GEN flower NOM young.lady

⁸The NOM marker *yay* can be optionally reduced to the form *a* when found lower in the sentence (see Fordan, 2025a)

- b. *Humin bulaklak a|yay dalaga.*
 humin Ø bulaklak a|yay dalaga
 NEG.EXIST GEN flower NOM young.lady
 ‘The young lady does not have a flower.’

EXISTENTIAL words in the Philippine languages have been analyzed variously and into different categories. For instance, Ceña (2012) considers Tagalog *may*⁹ a determiner and does not distinguish it from the longer form *mayroon*. In Sambal, the EXISTENTIAL *main* appears to be the base form of an aspectless verb which becomes *nagkamain* in the PERFECTIVE and *magkamain* in the PROSPECTIVE. Given this, I suppose that *main* in Sambal is a pseudo-verb, comparable to Tagalog verbs such as *gusto*, *puwede*, and *ayaw* which behave similarly. Under this analysis, the earlier assumption that the CRP is licensed only in verbal constructions poses no theoretical difficulty to us. Moreover, even in the absence of the usual AGENT-PATIENT relations, we still see an “active” role undertaken here by the PIVOT, as in ‘the young lady possessing a flower.’

We only run into problems with the fact that the CRP is also licensed in Sambal with adjectival predicates. In the following examples, *maganda* ‘good’ is clearly an adjective and is negated by *ambo*. In Sambal, *kai/kay* is used when negating verbs (Fordan, 2023).

Here, we see that the Sambal CRP is not only used to mark the semantic AGENT but also to foreground the TOPIC (which I assume to be different from the PIVOT). Although *mako* ‘to go’ is morphologically a

⁹Since *may* cannot take a DP complement (as expected for true verbs), as in **May ng tao*, this analysis seems to be correct for Tagalog. In Sambal, *Main nin (GEN) tawo* is actually acceptable and is natural.

verb, it is essentially a gerund in this position and therefore, deverbalized. This allows it to be an argument to the adjective which then licenses the CRP due to a competing argument. As with the EXISTENTIAL constructions, there is no clear agentive DP here, although there is some “active” quality here contained in the act of ‘going.’

- (10) a. *Ambo yan¹⁰ maganda nin mako ha kabaret.*
 ambo ya_i=n ma-ganda nin mako_i ha kabaret
 NEG CRP=LNK ADJ-good COMP INF.go OBL cabaret
- b. *Ambo maganda nin mako ha kabaret.*
 ambo ma-ganda nin mako ha kabaret
 NEG ADJ-good COMP INF.go OBL cabaret
- c. *Ambo yan maganda yay mako ha kabaret.¹¹*
 ambo ya_i=n ma-ganda yay mako_i ha kabaret
 NEG CRP=LNK ADJ-good NOM INF.go OBL cabaret
 ‘It is not nice to go to a cabaret.’

¹⁰ This seems anomalous because the associate is not a DP on the surface but simply a deverbalized predicate that occupies an argument position (complement to the adjective). It could be that the complementizer (in Sambal, *nin* is polysemous as both GEN and COMP) acts as the anchor, allowing it to license a CRP and be treated as a nominal argument. Thus, that the CRP in (10a) has NOMINATIVE morphology need not be a problem and instead, it supports the analysis that the construction is structurally nominalized.

¹¹ Examples (10a) and (10c) have a slight difference in meaning due to their differing forms. In (10a), where *nin* is analyzed as COMP, the clause is interpreted descriptively, i.e., it denotes the general act of going to a cabaret and thus, the judgment ‘not nice’ applies to the activity in a generic sense. In contrast, (10c), which involves NOMINATIVE marking, results in a more referential interpretation where it picks out a specific instance of going to a cabaret from among other possible activities, and that is ‘not nice.’

Furthermore, Sambal also consistently licenses only one CRP, even in DITRANSITIVE constructions where we have three arguments. An additional CRP for the INDIRECT OBJECT is barred.

- (II) a. *Impanaliw na nin anakabayo yay dalaga nin kendi.*
 ing-pang-haliw= na_i nin anakabayo $_i$ yay dalaga $_k$
 PAT.PFV-MOD-buy=CRP GEN young.man NOM young.lady
 nin kendi $_j$
 GEN candy
- b. **Impanaliw na ya nin anakabayo yay dalaga nin kendi.*
 ing-pang-haliw= $na_i=ya_k$ nin anakabayo $_i$ yay
 PAT.PFV-MOD-buy=CRP=CRP GEN young.man NOM
 dalaga $_k$ nin kendi $_j$
 young.lady GEN candy
 ‘The young man bought candy for the young lady.’

However, a second CRP may be licensed when an agentive DP’s competing argument is not found locally (i.e., it is in another CP) where we see both arguments having a CRP, including the one in the embedded clause.

- (I2) a. *Pinastang nan dalaga nu nakaali yayna duman yay anakabayo.*
 p<in>astang $na_i=n$ dalaga $_i$ nu na-ka-ali
 <PFV.PAT>question CRP=GEN young.lady C PFV-MOD-leave
 ya $_j$ -yna duman yay anakabayo $_j$
 CRP-already Q NOM young.man

b. *Pinastang nan dalaga nu nakaaliyna duman yay anakabayo.*

p<in>astang na_i=n dalaga_i nu
<PFV.PAT>question CRP=GEN young.lady c
na-ka-ali-yna duman yay nakabayo_j
PFV-MOD-leave-already Q NOM young.man

‘The young lady asked if the young man has already left..’

This example supports the view that CRP usage is also driven by pragmatic considerations, despite the licensing conditions being based on structure. In the host clause, the DP *nin dalaga* ‘young lady’ has no other CRP-eligible argument within its own clause that would normally motivate CRP realization, and thus, under a strictly structural account, the CRP here would be unexpected. Nevertheless, the CRP is still licensed, because the embedded clause introduces another salient argument, the DP *yay anakabayo* ‘young man,’ creating an utterance wherein marking the AGENT or TOPIC becomes relevant.

Up to this point, we have only seen that the CRP is licensed when there are competing arguments to the agentive DP. However, the CRP is also unexpectedly licensed for intransitives in the RECENT PERFECTIVE, where there is no other argument, while still agreeing in CASE and NUMBER features with its associate. Since this construction is PIVOT-less (because there is no VOICE), we must assume here that the CRP is instead used to mark either the agency of its non-PIVOT argument or the non-pivohood of its agentive argument. As we have seen earlier that bare intransitives cannot license a CRP despite the sole argument being agentive, there must be another factor at play.

- (13) a. *Kaiirong nan anak.*
 ka-i~irong na_i=n anak_i
 REC~stand CRP=GEN child
- b. *Kaiirong na nin anak.*
 ka-i~irong na_i nin anak_i
 REC~stand CRP GEN child
- c. *Kaiirong nin anak.*
 ka-i~irong nin anak
 REC~stand GEN child
 ‘The child just stood up.’

4.2 Botolan

Meanwhile in Botolan, the use of a CRP-like element is relatively more restricted in that it is only licensed to appear in inverted sentences where it is also still optional. According to the current data, Botolan is also the only Sambalic language of the three that allows focusing (the PIVOT), i.e., using the INVERSION marker *ay*, which is also found in some Philippine languages, such as Tagalog (Schachter & Otones, 1972). In Antworth (1979), it is claimed that the CRP is licensed as long as it is an *ay*-inversion, regardless of voice. However, my data reveal that a CRP-like element is only licensed in Botolan when the sentence is in the ACTOR voice. Take note, however, that some of the judgments, as reported by my consultant in elicitation, are only marginally acceptable. At this point, as we are still unsure whether Botolan has a genuine CRP, a “?” will be used to gloss the CRP-like element.

- (14) *Hinumakay ha kabayo hi Pedro.*
<in><um>hakay ha kabayo hi Pedro
<PFV><ACR>ride OBL horse NOM Peter
- (15) a. *Hi Pedro ay hinumakay ya ha kabayo.*
hi Pedro ay <in><um>hakay ya ha kabayo
NOM Peter PM <PFV><ACR>ride ? OBL horse
- b. *?Hi Pedro ay hinumakay ha kabayo.*
hi Pedro ay <in><um>hakay ha kabayo
NOM Peter PM <PFV><ACR>ride OBL horse
'Peter rode a horse.'

Contrary to previous research, the following sentences (16) and (17a)-(17b) based on Antworth (1979)¹² are no longer acceptable.¹³ This is best explained by the case mismatch that results from the movement because only the PIVOT (*ya kabayo*) is expected to move with the sentences being in the PATIENT voice. In Tagalog, undergoing \bar{A} -extraction for a non-PIVOT argument is only of marginal acceptance.¹⁴

- (16) *Hinakayan ni Pedro ya kabayo.*
h<in>akay-an ni Pedro ya kabayo
<PAT>saddle-LOC GEN Peter NOM horse

¹²The original sentence in Antworth (1979) was *Hiniyawan ni Pedro ya kabayo*, which also means 'Peter saddled the horse' but my consultant was not familiar with the verb.

¹³We can safely attribute this to language change.

¹⁴"Among DPs, only the PIVOT argument of a clause can be targeted for the formation of \bar{A} -dependencies such as relative clauses, focus constructions, and wh-questions." (Hsieh, 2023, p. 520)

- (17) a. ?*Hi Pedro ay hinakyan na ya kabayo.*
 hi Pedro ay h<in>akay-an na ya kabayo
 NOM Peter PM <PAT>saddle-LOC ? NOM horse
- b. **Hi Pedro ay hinakyan ya kabayo.*
 hi Pedro ay h<in>akay-an ya kabayo
 NOM Peter PM <PAT>saddle-LOC NOM horse
 ‘Peter saddled the horse.’

The following are more examples taken directly from Antworth (1979) with the acceptability judgments that I was able to gather. From (19)-(21b), we still see instances of *ay*-inversion focusing a non-PIVOT argument to which Antworth (1979) claims that a “CRP” can be licensed.

- (18) *Nilabi ya nin masyado nin tawtawo.*
 <in>labi ya nin masyado nin tawtawo
 <PAT>love 3SG.NOM LNK very.much GEN people
- (19) a. ?*Hay tawtawo ay nilabi la ya nin masyado.*
 hay tawtawo ay <in>labi la ya nin masyado
 NOM people PM <PAT>love ? 3SG.NOM LNK very.much
- b. **Hay tawtawo ay nilabi ya nin masyado.*
 hay tawtawo ay <in>labi la ya nin masyado
 NOM people PM <PAT>love ? 3SG.NOM LNK very.much
 ‘The people loved him very much.’
- (20) *Inlako ni Juan ya baboy na.*
 <in>lako ni Juan ya baboy=na
 <PAT>sell GEN John NOM pig=3SG.GEN

- (21) a. ?*Hi Juan ay inlako na ya baboy na.*
 hi Juan ay inlako na ya baboy=na
 NOM John PM <PAT>lako ? NOM pig=3SG.GEN
- b. **Hi Juan ay inlako ya baboy na.*
 hi Juan ay <in>lako ya baboy=na
 NOM John PM <PAT>sell NOM pig=3SG.GEN
 ‘John sold his pig.’

Furthermore, unlike Sambal, Botolan does not license the CRP in both TRANSITIVE and INTRANSITIVE sentences, even when the AGENT is non-PIVOT.

- (22) *Nirëng (*ya) ya anak.*
 ni-irëng (*ya) ya anak
 PFV.ACR-stand.up CRP NOM children
 ‘The child stood up.’
- (23) *Nipanpirëng *hila=y|ya aw-anak.*
 ni-pan-pi-irëng *hila=y|ya aw-anak
 PFV.ACR-MOD-MOD-stand.up 3PL.NOM=NOM|NOM children
 ‘The children stood up.’
- (24) *Kapipi-irëng nin|*na=n anak.*
 kapipi-irëng nin|*na=n anak
 REC.PFV-stand.up GEN|CRP=GEN child
 ‘The child just stood up.’
- (25) *Kinan nin|*na=n anak ya mangga.*
 k<in>an nin|na=n anak ya mangga
 <PAT>eat GEN|CRP=GEN child NOM mango
 ‘The child ate the mango.’

Due to this significant restriction, we have good reason to suggest that, although Antworth (1979, p. 53) calls this element a “cross-referent pronoun,” it is better described as a kind of resumptive pronoun¹⁵ like *her* in *Mary, I like her* (Crystal, 2008, p. 415). Focusing and topicalization both render the sentence discontinuous, i.e., they create a greater structural distance between the supposed doublee and its associate, where there is an INVERSION marker or a prosodic break, respectively. Moreover, since the supposed associate has already moved to an \bar{A} -position, it is no longer found in the same verbal domain as its doublee. As described earlier, we assume in this paper that locality is an important feature of the CRP. Meanwhile, the element at hand serves to maintain dependency across \bar{A} -movement and so, it does not reflect the typical redundancy of the CRP. This is analogous to how Fischer et al. (2019) differentiate CD from clitic left and right dislocation: “We assume that [CD] is different from clitic left and right dislocation... [which] necessarily involves prosodic cues ... whereas this need not be the case in [CD] structures” (p. 1).

4.3 Bolinao

Villareal’s (2020) work on Bolinao only gives examples in which the CRP is allowed, noting also that it has undergone grammaticalization into a DEFINITE article, but it does not describe its licensing conditions particularly. The distribution of the CRP in Bolinao is similar to that of Sambal in that it does not require movement in order to be licensed.

Firstly, like Sambal, verbs in the ACTOR (as in example (26) and PATIENT voices (as in examples (27) will normally have a CRP where

¹⁵It is coreferential but not due to clitic doubling and therefore, not a true CRP.

the associate is also the semantic AGENT. Take note that the absence of a CRP here evokes only marginal acceptance, conveying a feeling that something is missing.

- (26) a. *Nangan yan mangga a anak.*
 nang-kan ya_i=n mangga a anak_i
 ACR-eat CRP=GEN mango NOM child
- b. *Nangan ya nin mangga a anak.*
 nang-kan ya_i nin mangga a anak_i
 ACR-eat CRP GEN mango NOM child
- c. *?Nangan nin mangga a anak.*
 nang-kan nin mangga a anak
 ACR-eat GEN mango NOM child
 ‘The child ate a mango.’
- (27) a. *Kinan nan anak a mangga.*
 k<in>an na_j=n anak_j a mangga
 <PAT>eat CRP=GEN child NOM mango
- b. *Kinan na nin anak a mangga.*
 k<in>an na_j nin anak_j a mangga
 <PAT>eat CRP GEN child NOM mango
- c. *?Kinan nin anak a mangga.*
 Kinan nin anak a mangga
 <PAT>eat GEN child NOM mango
 ‘The child ate the mango.’

EXISTENTIAL constructions such as example (28a) show a parallel with Sambal. In Sambal, the EXISTENTIAL predicates in (8)–(9) license the CRP despite lacking an obvious TRANSITIVE structure which, under

my analysis, is possible because the EXISTENTIAL word in Sambal seems to behave like a pseudo-verb that still introduces relations between arguments. A similar pattern is observed in Bolinao, however, contrary to what is expected, the CRP here is entirely optional.

- (28) a. *Kasa ya sa bali a balasang.*
 kasa ya_i sa bali a balasang_i
 NEG.EXIST CRP OBL house NOM young.lady
- b. *Kasa sa bali a balasang.*
 kasa sa bali a balasang
 NEG.EXIST OBL house NOM young.lady
 ‘The young lady is not at home.’

Moreover, the CRP is also licensed for the DP complement to a noun predicated by an adjective and is thus a non-verbal sentence. Nonetheless, the DP *nin anak* still has some form of agency despite not being a verbal argument such that it is described as performing an action. This reveals that, at least for the CRP in both Sambal and Bolinao (and perhaps for the Sambalic group), predication type may not be relevant to CRP licensing. In light of this, we must subscribe to Poletto and Pinzin’s (2024, p. 1) definition of clitic doubling, where it is simply “the double occurrence of the same constituent twice inside a single clausal unit,” rather than to a definition which requires verbal status, as in Fischer et al. (2019, p. 52), in order to better reflect the cross-linguistic data.

- (29) a. *Paspas yay palayo nan anak.*
 paspas yay palayo na_i=n anak_i
 fast NOM run CRP=GEN child

- b. *Paspas yay palayo na nin anak.*
paspas yay palayo na_i nin anak_i
fast NOM run CRP GEN child
'The child runs fast.'

Meanwhile, unlike Sambal, DITRANSITIVE constructions in Bolinao are able to license two CRPs. As expected, CRP use is also most preferred.

- (30) a. *Ipinanaliw na yan tubabayo a balasang nin kendi.*
i-p<in>ang-haliw=na ya_i=n tubabayok a
BEN-<PFV>MOD-buy=CRP CRP=GEN young.man NOM
balasang_i nin kendi_j
young.lady GEN candy
- b. *?Ipinanaliw nin tubabayo a balasang nin kendi.*
i-p<in>ang-haliw nin tubabayo a balasang nin
BEN-<PFV>MOD-buy GEN young.man NOM young.lady GEN
kendi
candy
'The young man bought candy for the young lady.'

However, like Sambal, a second CRP is also licensed when a competing argument to the agentive DP is found in an embedded clause where both arguments have a CRP.

- (31) a. *Nibarità nan anak nin nagawid yaynay tubobâyo.*
 ni-barità na_i=n anak_i nin nag-awid
 PFV-tell CRP=GEN child C PFV-go.home
 ya_j-yna-y tubobâyo_j
 CRP=already=NOM young.man
 ‘The child said that the young man had gone home.’
- b. ?*Nibarità nan anak nin nagawid anay tubobâyo.*
 ni-barità na_i=n anak_i nin nag-awid ana=y
 PFV-tell CRP=GEN child C PFV-go.home already=NOM
 tubobâyo_j
 young.man
 ‘The child said that the young man had gone home.’

Like Sambal, the CRP is also licensed in the RECENT PERFECTIVE as it is also an agentive non-PIVOT.

- (32) a. *Kâdëng nan anak.*
 kâ-dëng na_i=n anak_i
 REC-stand CRP=GEN child
- b. *Kâdëng na nin anak.*
 kâ-dëng na_i nin anak_i
 REC-stand CRP GEN child
- c. **Kâdëng nin anak.*
 kâ-dëng nin anak
 REC-stand GEN child
 ‘The child just stood up.’

With this, we see that the Bolinao CRP is almost obligatory for all its structurally licensed positions across construction types. This

could have a morphological explanation. Because both the GENITIVE CM and the LINKER (for modification) in Bolinao are *nin*, the CRP provides a distinct marker separating argumenthood from modification, preventing any potential ambiguity. Unlike Sambal and Botolan whose GENITIVE CM and LINKER are morphologically distinct, Bolinao gives near-obligatory status to the CRP as a kind of differential argument marking.

Apart from depending on valency and theta roles, the Bolinao CRP is also obligatory based on NUMBER: any DP argument with a plural noun requires the CRP *sara*.

- (33) a. *Nagsiudëngan saray a-anak.*
 nag-si-udëng-an sara_i-y a~anak_i
 PFV-MOD-stand-MOD CRP=NOM PL~child
- b. **Nagsiudëngan yay a-anak.*
 nag-si-udëng-an yay a~anak
 PFV-MOD-stand-MOD NOM PL~child
 ‘The children stood up together.’
- (34) a. *Niaway sara sina Pedro tan Juan.*
 ni-away sara_i sina [Pedro tan Juan]_i
 PFV-fight CRP NOM Peter and John
- b. **Niaway sina Pedro tan Juan.*
 ni-away sina Pedro tan Juan
 PFV-fight NOM Peter and John
 ‘Peter and John fought each other.’

Interestingly, the singular counterpart of this construction does not allow a CRP. In these examples, it is apparent that the Bolinao CRP is

also connected to plurality, besides agentivity. In this way, the CRP also acts as an agreement marker for plural DPs in Bolinao.

- (35) a. *Inumdëng yay anak.*
in-m-udëng yay anak
PFV-ACR-stand NOM child
- b. **Inumdëng ya yay anak.*
in-m-udëng ya_i yay anak_i
PFV-ACR-stand CRP NOM child
‘The child stood up.’

Similarly, the CRP is also not licensed for INTRANSITIVE sentences in the ACTOR voice with an OBLIQUE argument.

- (36) a. *Kimadani yay anak sa balasang.*
ki-ma-dani yay anak sa balasang
PFV-ACR-go NOM child OBL young.lady
- b. **Kimadani ya yay anak sa balasang.*
ki-ma-dani ya_i yay anak_i sa balasang
PFV-ACR-go CRP NOM child OBL young.lady
‘The child approached the young lady.’

The ungrammatical examples can be explained by phonological reasons, instead of purely through syntax. Using the CRP in those sentences would require the CRP *ya* to be immediately followed by the NOMINATIVE marker *yay*, resulting in a repetitive *ya-ya* sequence. In *Morpholohya ng Filipino*, Ceña (2021) proposes the *Principle of Minimal Distinction* for explaining why the PERFECTIVE PATIENT form of *tawag* is *tinawag* instead of **tinawagin*. He goes on to speculate that perhaps the phenomenon goes beyond affixation, as in the case of the LOCATIVE

verb *iwanan*, which becomes *iwanan*. I assume that the same forces are at work here due to the similar sounding *ya* and *yay* despite their having different functions. In the plural version, the NP *a-anak*, although still marked by *yay*, receives a different CRP, *sara*, with no repetitive segment. Lastly, like Botolan, topicalized¹⁶ INTRANSITIVE sentences in Bolinao also obligatorily include a CRP-like element referring back to the fronted noun. This is also analyzed here as a resumptive pronoun.

- (37) *Si anak, inumdëng ya.*
si anak Ø <in>umdëng ya
NOM child PM <PFV>stand RSM
'The child stood up.'

5 Summary and Conclusion

This paper has shown that the CRP is attested in two of the three selected Sambalic languages, while Botolan does not fully realize a typical CRP, but rather a CRP-like element that only appears in inverted sentences. The relevant differences of their licensing conditions are summarized in Table 2.

¹⁶Sambal also allows for topicalization, but I was not able to elicit a CRP-like element:

- (i) *Yay anak, nîrong.*
yay anak Ø <ni>irong
NOM child PM <PFV>stand
'The child stood up.'

Microvariation in the Clitic Doubling Parameter

Table 2. Comparison of the CRP in Sambal, Botolan, and Bolinao

Property	Sambal	Botolan	Bolinao
Optionality	Optional	N/A	Almost obligatory
Role of the Associate	AGENT	N/A	AGENT
Structure conditions	(a) Licensed in transitives, intransitives with an OBLIQUE argument, any RECENT PERFECTIVE verb. (b) Barred for bare intransitives.	N/A	(a) Licensed in transitives, intransitives with an OBLIQUE argument, any RECENT PERFECTIVE verb. (b) Barred for bare intransitives.
ANIMACY sensitivity	No strict ANIMACY constraint	N/A	No strict ANIMACY constraint
Number of licensed CRPs for ditransitives	One	N/A	Two
Function(s)	(a) Disambiguates who is acting when PIVOT ≠ AGENT, reinforcing reference	N/A	(a) Disambiguates who is acting when PIVOT ≠ AGENT, reinforcing reference (b) Agreement marker for plurality

Property	Sambal	Botolan	Bolinao
Others	N/A	Not a CRP, but a resumptive pronoun	Has phonological constraints for <i>ya yay</i> sequence

Given the above discussion, this paper affirms that the CRP is best analyzed as a doubled clitic, in line with its analogous phenomena in other languages. Although a CRP-like element is also used in Botolan, it clearly serves a repair function for extraction gaps in inverted sentences, instead of showing local co-reference, and therefore I assume this to be a resumptive pronoun. Thus, this paper shows how genuine CRPs, as in my original definition, are anaphoric elements in the form of a THIRD PERSON pronoun that locally co-refers with an active DP, regardless of predicate type or verbal status.

6 Sambalic CRP as Parametric Variation

With all this, one might ask: *Why does the CRP exist at all in the Sambalic languages?* Some questions about why languages are the way they are can be answered by pointing to the structure or a feature of the language itself. For instance, *Why is Tagalog word order freer than that of English?* It is due to Tagalog having a voice system which marks the role of arguments in a sentence, so movement is allowed because the voice-marking affixes maintain clarity. However, the CRP question is not quite like that, in that it does not entail a straightforward grammar-internal explanation. In other words, no such rule seems to exist that forces a language to have an element that doubles a core argument. Therefore, the CRP question

is almost like asking why a particular language has grammatical gender or prepositions instead of postpositions. Because we can deduce that, fundamentally, it is a question of parametric choice, not necessity; i.e., the existence of a CRP is just one of the many but limited ways that our minds can configure language. Once that option became available, however, we can explain why it persisted and became useful. From a broader perspective, this also supports the idea that languages from unrelated groups, such as the Philippine and Romance languages, can have similar characteristics.

In the same way, with regard to the variation in CRP licensing conditions, no extra-grammatical explanation seems to be necessary. The variation is not attributable to sociocultural factors, but to how each language has grammaticized a clitic doublee. We have no good reason, for instance, to believe that the speakers of Bolinao (where the CRP is almost obligatory) have certain values or attitudes that Sambal and Botolan speakers do not. The same holds for the fact that there are CD languages and non-CD languages.

Thus, ultimately, the case of the Sambalic CRP presents empirical support for the structural variation among languages being mostly arbitrary and being best explained by parameter setting, rather than by culture. More specifically, the existence of the CRP could be tied to a microparameter with the values of allowing the doubling of either a full DP or other possible associates. Taking one step back, this possible configuration of a language is activated by the macroparameter for clitic doubling (see Baker, 2008 for *microparameter* vs. *macroparameter*).¹⁷

¹⁷Baker (2008): “This [microparametric] approach uses the same reasoning as classical parameter theory, but applies it at a higher level of magnification. It tends to

Nonetheless, the CRP may, at the same time, play a pragmatic role. By echoing the agentive argument, the CRP helps the listener to keep track of event structure, especially given the characteristics of the Philippine-type voice system in which agentivity and pivothood are not so precisely linked morphologically. In Philippine languages, the PIVOT is not always the semantic AGENT, and THIRD PERSON arguments in particular are prone to ambiguity. Moreover, some sentences can even be PIVOT-less like the RECENT PERFECTIVE. The Sambalic CRP alleviates this by providing an index for a particular role or grammatical function.

All in all, the present study has attempted to show that a small feature like the Sambalic CRP could be a genuinely multi-component phenomenon whose properties emerge from the interaction of syntactic licensing, interpretive requirements, and constraints at PF. Moreover, it exemplifies how closely related languages can diverge in syntactic details, while at the same time proving how human languages are alike.

Finally, I recommend future work on the CRP in Sambalic languages to situate it within Baker's (2001) parameter hierarchy: researchers could ask which higher-level parameter allows for or blocks CRP usage, which would further clarify the differences between CD and non-CD languages. Also, expanding the coverage to other Sambalic languages (particularly the Ayta languages) would help deepen our understanding of the microparametric variation in CRP licensing across the subgroup.

look for very localized differences with small but nontrivial effects in the grammars of very closely related languages (alias dialects)" (p. 1).

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8 List of Abbreviations

~	reduplication	LF	logical form
?	marginal acceptance	LOC	locative voice
3	third person	LNK	linker
ACR	actor voice	MOD	modal affix
ADJ	adjectivalizer	NEG	negative
BEN	benefactive voice	NOM	nominative case marker
C	complementizer	OBL	oblique case marker
CD	clitic doubling	PAT	patient voice
CL	Central Luzon	PF	phonological form
CP	complementizer phrase	PFV	perfective aspect
CM	case marker	PL	plural
COMP	complementizer	PM	predicate marker
CRP	cross-referent pronoun	REC	recent perfective aspect
DP	determiner phrase	RSM	resumptive pronoun
EXIST	existential	SG	singular
GEN	genitive case marker	Q	question particle
INF	infinitive	UG	Universal Grammar
KWF	Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino	XP	general phrase category

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Voice-Aspect-Mood Paradigms in Masbatenyo

Ethan Nicholas C. Salvador

Abstract

This paper examines previous analyses of the Masbatenyo language (ISO 639-3 [*msb*]), specifically analyses of its verbal paradigms. By surveying through these past studies and gathering both dictionary and elicited data, this paper proposes a revised set of voice-aspect-mood paradigms for the language. In particular, this research argues for the existence of four modes in Masbatenyo, namely, the INDICATIVE, IMPERATIVE, POTENTIVE, and STATIVE. Contrary to previous studies, this paper suggests that some verb types like distributives can be subsumed under these four modes, rather than treated as modes in themselves. Each mode conveys a distinct view toward an action, and a set of criteria can be used to evaluate this. Each mode forms their own paradigm, using different affixes to represent the ACTOR, PATIENT, LOCATIVE, and CONVEYANCE voices. Similarly, each mode inflects for the

NEUTRAL, PERFECTIVE, IMPERFECTIVE, and PROSPECTIVE aspects in their own unique way. Utilizing Nolasco's (2011) stem-based approach, this paper also demonstrates how particular stems affect the manner of inflection, such as the choice to use reduplication or vowel lengthening.

Keywords: Masbatenyo, Voice-Aspect-Mood Paradigms, Stem-based Approach, Potentive

1 Introduction

1.1 Language Background

Masbatenyo is a Philippine-type language that belongs to the Peripheral subgroup of the Central Bisayan languages. As part of the Bisayan subgroup, it is a part of the Greater Central Philippine languages, which are classified under the Malayo-Polynesian languages and consequently, the Austronesian language family (Blust, 2013). Its ISO 639-3 classification code is [*msb*], and its status in the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) is level 3 (Wider Communication), signifying that the language is still actively used in various domains (Mabuan, 2021, p. 3).

The language is spoken primarily in the province of Masbate, which comprises Masbate Island, Ticao Island, and Burias Island. Not much variation in the language is observed across these three islands, however, speakers from different areas may utilize different sets of languages aside from Masbatenyo. The language is attested to share a lot of similarities with other languages such as Waray, Hiligaynon, Cebuano, and Bikolano

(Hipolito & Brillante, 2013, as cited in Mabuan, 2021, p. 4). Between these similar languages, however, Masbatenyo is said to exhibit one-way intelligibility, meaning a Masbatenyo speaker will understand speakers of these other languages, but not the other way around (Zorc, 1977, p. 166).

1.2 Research Goals

This research aims to survey the various grammatical studies undertaken on the Masbatenyo language, specifically the analyses of Masbatenyo's verbal system. Three works were selected for this research due to their comprehensive discussions of verbal-related phenomena in the language. These works are Wolfenden's (2001) *A Masbatenyo-English Dictionary*, which features a brief grammatical sketch of the language at the start, Rosero's (2021) *A Grammatical Sketch of Masbatenyo*, and Mabuan's (2021) *A Reference Grammar of Masbatenyo*.

In comparing the three works and through the gathering of additional data, this study aims to revise existing voice-aspect-mood paradigms of the language. In particular, this study claims that (a) Masbatenyo has four voices, namely, the ACTOR, PATIENT, LOCATIVE/BENEFICIARY, and CONVEYANCE voices; (b) the language has the NEUTRAL, PERFECTIVE, IMPERFECTIVE, PROSPECTIVE, and RECENT PERFECTIVE as its aspects; and (c) the language features four moods or modes, each forming a distinct paradigm: the INDICATIVE, IMPERATIVE, POTENTIVE, and STATIVE modes, with the first three belonging to the macro-group of dynamic verbs, and the latter belonging to the stative verbs. Furthermore, the dynamic verbs can be divided into POTENTIVE

and NON-POTENTIVE verbs, with the NON-POTENTIVE verbs also being distinguished in terms of whether they express a command or not.

Much of the analysis presented in this paper is to be taken more as a refinement on existing analyses of Masbatenyo. In particular, the analyses of the INDICATIVE and IMPERATIVE modes are more technical in nature, focusing on the terms and labels used in previous studies and proposing alternatives based on gathered data. The POTENTIVE and STATIVE moods, however, are fleshed out more in this paper in light of Himmelmann's (2008a) similar analysis on Tagalog.

1.3 Voice

Blust (2013, p. 442) defines voice or focus as a morphosyntactic phenomenon where “one argument can be marked as having a special relationship to the verb.” According to Himmelmann (2008b), each voice affix selects an argument in the sentence that bears a particular semantic role and highlights it as the focus, topic, or pivot of the sentence. In Tagalog [tɔl], this syntactically privileged argument is marked by the case marker *ang*.

Consider the following Tagalog examples below:

- (1) *Bumili ang bata ng pandesal sa panaderya.*¹

b<um>ili ang bata ng pandesal sa panderya

<AV.PFV>buy NOM child GEN bread OBL bakery

‘The child bought bread at the store.’

(Supplied by the author)

- (2) *Binili ng bata ang pandesal sa panaderya.*

b<in>ili-Ø ng bata ang pandesal sa panderya

<PFV>buy-PV GEN child NOM bread OBL bakery

‘The child bought bread at the store.’

(Supplied by the author)

- (3) *Binilhan ng bata ng pandesal ang panderya.*

b<in>il-an ng bata ng pandesal ang panderya

<PFV>buy-LV GEN child GEN bread NOM bakery

‘The child bought bread at the store.’

(Supplied by the author)

- (4) *Binilhan ng bata ng pandesal ang nanay niya.*

b<in>il-an ng bata ng pandesal ang nanay=niya

<PFV>buy-LV GEN child GEN bread NOM mom=3SG.POSS

‘The child bought bread for his mom.’

(Supplied by the author)

¹For all the examples in this paper, the first tier is the orthographically written version of the sentence. The second tier is a morpheme-by-morpheme transcription that follows Leipzig’s glossing rules (Comrie et al., 2015). The third tier is an English translation of the second tier, and the fourth tier is an English translation of the sentence as a whole. A fifth tier was added as well to indicate where the example is from.

(5) *Ipinambili ng bata ng pandesal ang pera.*

ip<in>aN-bili ng bata ng pandesal ang pera
<PFV>CV-buy GEN child GEN bread NOM money

‘The child bought bread with the money.’

(Supplied by the author)

In example (1), the syntactically privileged argument is the ACTOR or AGENT of the clause, *bata*. This is marked by the <um> affix in the verb and the *ang* case marker before *bata*. In example (2), the *ang*-marked argument is the PATIENT, *pandesal*, as evidenced by the change of voice affix (i.e., Ø) and the change of marking for *bata* to *ng*. In example (3), the same happens again, but this time, for the location, *panaderya*. Example (4) has the same affix as example (3), but the *ang*-marked noun is the BENEFACTOR of the verb. Example (5), on the other hand, privileges the INSTRUMENT or that through which the action was done, *pera*.

From these sample sentences, we can say that, for Tagalog, <um> is the ACTOR VOICE affix, *-in* is the PATIENT VOICE affix (zero-marked in the PERFECTIVE and IMPERFECTIVE aspect), *-an* is the LOCATIVE and BENEFACTOR VOICE affix, and *ipaN-* is the INSTRUMENTAL VOICE affix (Himmelman, 2008b). Granted, there are a few voices and affixes not represented in the examples above, but these will suffice to illustrate the point: Philippine languages have a voice system that highlights or gives focus to a particular argument in a clause based on its relationship to the verb. These affixes may differ per language, but their classes are relatively consistent (i.e., each language has an affix for the ACTOR, the PATIENT, etc.). Consequently, Masbatenyo also has a voice system and its own set of affixes, which we will see and discuss in the next sections.

2 Methodology

In order to uncover the voice-aspect-mood paradigms of Masbatenyo, this study made use of several different methods. First and foremost, the three existing analyses of Masbatenyo's verbal system, namely those of Mabuan (2021), Rosero (2021), and Wolfenden (2001), were studied and compared. Through this comparison, I was able to better understand what makes each of these linguists' approach unique, and see the advantages and disadvantages of their proposals. Second, I cross-referenced the proposed paradigms with word entries from Wolfenden's *A Masbatenyo-English Dictionary*. I also made use of elicited examples from the works of Rosero and Mabuan. By comparing the paradigms and testing them with the various data available, I was able to assess and revise them, leading to the formulation of the new paradigms.

Furthermore, in order to flesh out the analysis of POTENTIVE and STATIVE paradigms, data was gathered from a number of Masbatenyo speakers. The data was elicited through translation tasks of Tagalog sentences into Masbatenyo. This was done in order to gather examples related to particular verb forms, such as DISTRIBUTIVE verbs, POTENTIVE verbs, and STATIVE verbs. The sentences were taken from or inspired by some of Himmelmann's (2008b) examples of POTENTIVE and STATIVE verbs in Tagalog. Other sample sentences were constructed based on Himmelmann's (2008a) proposed paradigms. Lastly, one key respondent was interviewed in order to better understand the patterns from the elicited data. Other anomalies noted by the researcher from previously proposed paradigms were tested in this interview through

several grammaticality tests. The translation tasks and interview questions can be found in the Appendix.

In total, five (5) speakers of Masbatenyo were participants in the translation tasks, conducted through a survey on Google Forms. This survey included a consent form at the start, informing the participants about the objectives of the study, the nature of the tasks, and the option to choose to participate in just the translation task or in the interview as well. A sample of the consent form can be found in the Appendix.

The survey was initially sent to one key informant, who then shared it with other speakers. Although a variety of demographics were preferred, the speakers who participated in the survey were of roughly the same age (early 20s). Four of the participants reside in Masbate Island, while one participant resides in Ticao Island. No stark differences or variation were observed in the responses of the participants, regardless of their location.

3 A Survey and Critique of Previous Analyses

3.1 Remarks on Alignment

Before discussing the various verbal paradigms that linguists have proposed for the language, we must first acknowledge a significant point of difference among these linguists in their analyses—case alignment. In particular, Wolfenden (2001) makes use of the NOM-GEN case alignment, while Rosero (2021) and Mabuan (2021) both follow the ERG-ABS alignment. This creates subtle differences in their analyses.

In Wolfenden's (2001) analysis, the argument marked by *an* is considered the NOMINATIVE argument of the sentence. In this alignment,

the sentence *Nagluto an bata sin isda* ‘The child cooked fish’ is considered the basic or default sentence type in the language, where the ACTOR is the syntactically privileged argument of the clause. When the OBJECT or PATIENT of the sentence, however, is marked by *an*, as in *Ginluto san bata an isda*, the sentence is considered a sort of passivized construction.

Under the ERGATIVE-ABSOLUTIVE alignment, however, the argument marked by *an* is considered the ABSOLUTIVE argument, i.e., the most patientive or the core nominal argument of the sentence. This is motivated primarily by the fact that there seems to be a *patient-preference* in Philippine languages, that is to say, speakers prefer constructions where the PATIENT or UNDERGOER is marked as the pivot (Aldridge, 2012; Ceña, 1979; De Guzman, 1988, p. 92). Thus, *Ginluto san bata an isda* is claimed to be a basic and not passivized sentence. *Nagluto an bata sin isda*, however, is considered to be a derived sentence, specifically, an ANTIPASSIVE construction.

For the glossing in the remainder of this section, I will be making use of both the NOM-GEN and ERG-ABS alignment, using one or the other depending on where the example came from. For example, if we’re citing Wolfenden’s work or explaining their analysis, I will follow the NOM-GEN alignment and the rest of the glossing conventions that they used. For Mabuan and Rosero, on the other hand, I will follow their respective alignment and glosses.

For my elicited data, examples, and proposed revised paradigms, I will assume a NOM-GEN alignment in the analyses. I do not intend to argue in depth in this paper as to why this alignment should be preferred over ERG-ABS, although my main reservations on the ERG-ABS alignment

would be its awkward classification of certain sentences as intransitive but bivalent.

For example, Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000, as cited in Mabuan, 2021, p. 347) say that valency is dependent on the number of core arguments, while transitivity is dependent on whether these core arguments include a subject, agent, and object. As a result, Mabuan (2021) claims that the following sentence in example (6) is bivalent but intransitive, since there is only a subject argument. In this regard, the THEME is considered OBLIQUE, as seen in (6).

- (6) *Mābakal=ka sin lana?*
m.(k)a-a-bakal=ka sin lana
INTR.STEM-PROS-buy=2SG.ABS OBL cooking oil
'Will you buy cooking oil?'
(Mabuan, 2021, p. 129)

If, as Mabuan says, valency is determined by the number of core arguments, then example (6) should still be classified as monovalent, since the argument *lana* 'cooking oil' is an OBLIQUE or peripheral argument. This is an inconsistency on Mabuan's end that is not accounted for. Furthermore, the fact that the oblique case marker *sin* 'OBL' in (6) could also be classified as ERG in a transitive construction places suspicion on its nature as OBLIQUE. Lastly, the verb *bakal* 'buy' seems to be incomplete without stating the object that was bought, leading us to question the intransitive classification of *bakal* in (6).

3.2 Voice

Wolfenden (2001) proposes six voices in the Masbatenyo language. This includes four action voices and two stative voices. Among the action voices, there are two main groups: the SUBJECTIVE voice and the non-SUBJECTIVE voices (i.e., OBJECTIVE, ACCESSORY, and REFERENT). Rosero (2021), on the other hand, identifies two main voice types, the INTRANSITIVE and TRANSITIVE, but they do not further distinguish the functions of the affixes of these two types. In contrast, Mabuan (2021), though they also follow this distinction between TRANSITIVE and INTRANSITIVE voice types, labels the latter as ACTOR focus, and the former, GOAL focus. Under the GOAL focus, Mabuan proposes subtypes such as PATIENT, THEME, INSTRUMENTAL, LOCATIVE, BENEFACTIVE, and COMITATIVE focus.

For the sake of the discussion, I will first tackle the *actor voice group*, which includes Wolfenden's (2001) SUBJECTIVE voice, Rosero's (2021) INTRANSITIVE voice, and Mabuan's (2021) ACTOR focus. Afterward, I will then discuss the *undergoer voice group*, which would include Wolfenden's (2001) non-SUBJECTIVE voices, Rosero's (2021) TRANSITIVE affixes, and Mabuan's (2021) GOAL focus. Lastly, I will discuss some other voice types such as Wolfenden's (2001) STATIVE voice affixes and some of the verb types Mabuan (2021) listed down, including distributive verbs.

3.2.1 The Actor Voice Group

The *actor voice group* consists of just one voice type, which is called the SUBJECTIVE voice (Wolfenden, 2001), the INTRANSITIVE voice (Rosero, 2021), or the ACTOR focus (Mabuan, 2021). This voice group gives focus to the ACTOR or most agentive argument of the sentence. Like all the

other voice types in Masbatenyo, the pivot argument can be preceded by the common noun marker *an*, the singular personal noun marker *si*, or the plural personal noun marker *sinda*.

For Wolfenden (2001, p. 30), a verb exhibits the SUBJECTIVE voice when it is marked by the *ag-* class of affixes (i.e., *ag-*, *ang-*, *aki-*, *<um>*), as seen in (7). Rosero (2021, p. 55) and Mabuan (2021, p. 79), on the other hand, state that the INTRANSITIVE voice or ACTOR focus is marked by the replacive nasal *m-*, as seen in (8) and (9), or the infix *<um>*, as seen in (10).

(7) SUBJECTIVE Voice

Nag-uli na ako.

n-ag-uli=na=ako

COMPED-SV-go.home=PRT.already=ISG.NOM

‘I then returned home.’

(Wolfenden, 2001, p. 35)

(8) INTRANSITIVE Voice (ANTIPASSIVE)

Nagsakat an tawo sa ibabaw san kahoy san piras.

n.(p)ag-sakat an tawo sa ibabaw san kahoy san

PFV.INTR.STEM-climb ABS man OBL atop OBL tree OBL

piras

pear

‘He climbed on top of the pear tree.’

(Rosero, 2021, p. 55)

(9) ACTOR Focus

Naglakat siya kagab-i.

n.(p)ag-lakat=siya kagab?i

PFV.INTR.STEM-walk=3SG.ABS last.night

‘He walked last night.’

(Mabuan, 2021, p. 334)

(10) INTRANSITIVE Voice

Kumadto an bata sa baybay.

k<um>adto an bata sa baybay

<PFV.INTR>walk ABS child OBL shore

‘The child went to the seashore.’

(Rosero, 2021, p. 55)

It is important to note how Mabuan (2021) uses the term *focus* instead of *voice*. Unlike Rosero (2021), who describes the two as equivalent terms, Mabuan sets a distinction between the two, although he does not explain their difference. For the rest of this section, I will call *voices* as Mabuan calls them, namely, *focus types*. For the rest of the paper, however, I will use the term *voice* as an interchangeable equivalent for *focus*.

It is also worth mentioning that both Rosero (2021) and Mabuan (2021) make use of Nolasco’s (2011) *sapin-sapin* or layered-stem hypothesis. Rather than focusing on a singular root which affixes attach to, this approach emphasizes the layered stems a word contains. A root, then, once affixed, forms a new stem, from which another affix can attach, forming another new stem, and so on. Thus, instead of having to list several different intransitive affixes (e.g., *mag-*, *mang-*, *maka-*, *maki-*), we can reduce it to a single replacive affix *m-*, which attaches

to a derived stem, such as *pag-* + VERB or *pang-* + VERB, as seen in examples (8) and (9). This analysis is more preferable to Wolfenden's (2001) rather obscure analysis of the *ag-* class of affixes (e.g., *ag-*, *ang-*, *aki-*), since analyzing them as derived stems (e.g., *pag-* + VERB) makes use of real or concrete morphemes that exist in the language rather than abstracted ones.

For our analysis, I opt to use the term ACTOR voice, as opposed to SUBJECTIVE voice or INTRANSITIVE voice. Furthermore, I argue that the ACTOR voice affix is not simply the replacive *m-* affix, as Rosero and Mabuan would suggest. For one, if we were to say that the affix *m-* carries the function of the ACTOR voice, we would run into analytical challenges later on in non-ACTOR construction types that make use of the replacive nasal. Consider the elicited examples(11)-(12).

(11) *Nakikita mo an akon alahas?*

n.(k)a-ki~kita=mo an akon alahas
PV.STEM.IPFV~see=2SG.GEN NOM ISG.GEN jewelry
'Can you see my jewelry?'
(Elicited data)

(12) *Maaaraman mo an kamatuodan?*

m.(k)a-a~aram-an=mo an kamatuodan
STEM-PROS~know-LV=2SG.GEN NOM truth
'You will find out the truth.'
(Elicited data)

In (11) and (12), the replacive nasal is used, but the ACTOR argument takes the GENITIVE form, as evidenced by the use of *mo* '2SG.GEN' rather than *ka* '2SG.NOM.' Furthermore, the *an*-marked arguments

are non-ACTORS, such as *alahas* ‘jewelry’ and *kamatuodan* ‘truth.’ If we are to treat *m-* as the ACTOR voice, then we would have trouble distinguishing it from other *m-* voice affixes. We could posit that there are multiple homophonous *m-* affixes in Masbatenyo, but this would ignore several overlaps, such as their shared aspectual inflections. Furthermore, based on the data, this would lead us to posit at least five different homophonous affixes.

At the same time, however, if we were using a layered-stem hypothesis, it would be a faux pas to say that the entire stem is the *actor* voice affix (e.g., *mag-*, *maN-*, *maki-*), since this would overlook obvious stem-based derivations in the word (e.g., *pag-*, *paN-*, *paki-*). Thus, I choose to represent voice markers, not as a single affix or morpheme, but rather as the cumulative coming-together—the abstracted pause before the actual concatenation—of specific affixes with several stems.

In some instances, a single affix may represent a single voice, but in other cases, a voice can be represented through an affix formed by two morphemes. For the ACTOR voice, specifically, it is the combination of the aspectual marker *m-* with the following class of stems: *pag-*, *paki-*, and *paN-*. The notion of using a class of stems was inspired by Wolfenden’s analysis of voice in Masbatenyo, but instead of labelling them as affixes divorced from their stems (e.g., the *ag-* class of affixes), I consider the stems they are a part of. Thus, there is a synthesis here of both Wolfenden’s (2001) root-based and Rosero (2021) or Mabuan’s (2021) stem-based approach.

This does not alter the layered-stem approach that Rosero (2021) and Mabuan (2021) take. There is still a root that is conjoined with an affix to form a stem, which are then conjoined with other affixes to

form other stems, and so on and so forth. For example, the root *lakat* ‘walk’ becomes a stem through the affix *pag-*, resulting in *paglakat*. The aspectual nasal *m-* is then added, creating the new stem, *maglakat*. The only difference here is I consider the ACTOR voice to be represented by a two-step process rather than just a single affixation (i.e., it involves both the *pag-* stem and the aspectual nasal).

3.2.2 The Undergoer Voice Group

The UNDERGOER voice group includes Wolfenden’s (2001) three non-SUBJECTIVE voices, Rosero’s (2021) TRANSITIVE affixes, and Mabuan’s (2021) six GOAL affixes. This voice group gives focus to the most patientive argument of the sentence. Since a sentence can have several arguments that can technically be considered UNDERGOERS, there are various sub-types in this group that give focus to specific semantic roles.

The first type would be Wolfenden’s OBJECTIVE voice or Mabuan’s PATIENT focus. This voice type gives focus to the object directly affected by the action, and is marked by *-on*, or *-a* for imperatives, as seen in (13). It must be noted, however, that the OBJECTIVE voice or PATIENT focus’ affix is zero-marked when the aspectual *gin-* is added to the verb, as seen in (14).

(13) PATIENT Focus

Tabuga an himungaan.

tabug-a an himungaan

drive.away-IMP.PF ABS hen

‘(You) drive the hen away.’

(Mabuan, 2021, p. 337)

(14) OBJECTIVE Voice

Ginpara ninda an trak.

gin-para-Ø=ninda an trak
 COMPED-stop-OV=3PL.GEN NOM truck

‘They stopped the truck.’

(Wolfenden, 2001)

Next, would be Wolfenden’s ACCESSORY voice or, for Mabuan, THEME focus, marked by *i-*, as in (15). This gives focus to THEMES or OBJECTS whose physical structure is not altered by the verb (Wolfenden, 2001, p. 41). Mabuan lists another voice type, the INSTRUMENT focus, which highlights the instrument or tool used to perform an action, as in (16). This is also marked by the *i-* affix, although it tends to be combined with a *paN-* stem. Wolfenden, on the other hand, chooses to lump together THEME and INSTRUMENTAL focus under the ACCESSORY voice type, and further notes that BENEFICIARIES can also be given focus with this affix, as seen in (17).

(15) THEME Focus

Ibubo mo an irimon sa iya baba.

i-bubo=mo an irimon sa iya baba
 IMP.TF-pour=2SG.ERG ABS drink OBL 3SG.GEN mouth

‘Pour the drink into his/her mouth.’

(Mabuan, 2021, p. 346)

(I6) INSTRUMENTAL Focus

Nano kay ipinantabo mo ini na baso sa banga?

nano kay ip<in>aN-tabo=mo ini na baso sa
why <PFV>-scoop.water=2SG.ERG PROX.ABS LIG glass OBL
banga
earthen.jar

‘Why did you use this glass to scoop water from the earthen jar?’

(Mabuan, 2021, p. 343)

(I7) ACCESSORY Voice

a. THEME

Inbutang ko idto sa sulod san aparador.

in-Ø-butang=ko idto sa sulod san
COMPED-ACCV-put=1SG.GEN DIST.NOM DAT inside GEN
aparador
cupboard

‘I put that inside the cupboard.’

(Wolfenden, 2001, p. 41)

b. THEME

Iutod mo sa kahoy ini na sundang.

i-utod=mo sa kahoy ini na sundang
IMP.ACCV-cut=2SG.GEN DAT tree PROX.NOM LIG bolo

‘Cut down the tree with this bolo.’

(Wolfenden, 2001, p. 41)

c. BENEFICIARY

Ihuyot ako sani na bado.

i-huyot=ako sani na bado

IMP.ACCV-hold=ISG.NOM PROX.GEN LIG shirt

‘Hold this shirt for me.’

(Wolfenden, 2001, p. 41)

Lastly, the REFERENT voice, for Wolfenden, can give focus to the location where an action occurs, a BENEFICIARY, an INDIRECT OBJECT, and in some instances, a DIRECT OBJECT. These are observed in (18). On the other hand, Mabuan calls these the LOCATIVE and BENEFACTIVE focuses, as illustrated in (19) and (20). Arguments involving something being removed or added in relation to a location can also be given focus by the LOCATIVE affix (Mabuan, 2021, p. 340). These are marked by the affix *-an*, or *-i* for imperatives.

(18) REFERENT Voice

a. Location

Ginbakalan ko sin pagkaon an tindahan.

gin-bakal-an=ko sin pagkaon an tindahan

COMPED-buy-RV=ISG.GEN GEN food NOM store

‘I bought food from the store.’

(Supplied by the author)²

²Masbatenyo examples that were *supplied by the author* were based on the available information in the grammatical works of Mabuan (2021), Rosero (2021), and Wolfenden (2001). They were created either due to the lack of an example in the referred text, or to highlight a particular grammatical feature using a more straightforward or less complex sentence.

(20) BENEFACTIVE Focus

Bakali si mama sin bag-o na bado.

bakal-i si mama sin bag?o na bado

buy-IMP.BF ABS mom OBL new LIG clothes

‘Buy mom some new clothes.’

(Mabuan, 2021, p. 341)

Mabuan also proposes a COMITATIVE focus, which highlights the entity with whom an action is done. It is marked by the circumfix *ka- -an*, and has no equivalent in Wolfenden’s grammatical sketch.

(21) COMITATIVE Focus

Kaistoryahan ko an ama ko.

ka-istorya-an=ko an ama=ko

CF-speak.with-CF=ISG.ERG ABS dad=ISG.GEN

‘It is my dad I am talking with.’

(Mabuan, 2021, p. 344)

Compared to Mabuan and Wolfenden, however, Rosero does not specify any kind of sub-type within his *transitive group* (i.e., all UNDERGOER affixes are glossed as TRANSITIVE, without any other label recognizing their more specific properties). As a result, affixes like *-on*, *-an*, and *i-* are functionally the same in his analysis. I will opt to follow the analysis of Mabuan and Wolfenden, since their examples show clear semantic and functional differences between these subtypes.

In summary, we see how Mabuan’s goal affixes match Wolfenden’s NON-SUBJECTIVE voices. Specifically, the PATIENT focus corresponds to the OBJECTIVE voice, the THEME and INSTRUMENTAL focuses correspond to the ACCESSORY voice, and the LOCATIVE and BENEFACTIVE focuses

correspond to the REFERENT voice. The COMITATIVE focus, on the other hand, doesn't seem to have a clear corresponding voice type in Wolfenden's analysis.

Given these different types of analyses, I argue that the *undergoer voice group* includes the following type of affixes: the PATIENT voice, the LOCATIVE/BENEFACTIVE voice, and the CONVEYANCE voice. Furthermore, since the LOCATIVE and BENEFACTIVE voices both use the same affix, I will treat them as one type, with the interpretation of whether a verb is giving focus to a location or benefactor being dependent on its context in a sentence.

The CONVEYANCE voice is a term that has not been used in previous analyses of the language. Taken from Himmelmann's (2008b) analysis of voice in Tagalog, the CONVEYANCE voice refers to the prefix *i-*, and how it gives focus to a THEME. Furthermore, this voice also can give focus to an INSTRUMENT, either with the prefix *i-* alone or the addition of the affix *paN-* before the verbal root. Since both instances have something to do with an object being moved, it is more convenient to lump them under one category, rather than list them as separate voices (Himmelmann, 2008b). Thus, instead of saying there is a THEME and INSTRUMENTAL voice, I will adopt the singular CONVEYANCE voice. As noted in previous analyses, however, this voice can also give focus to a benefactor. While this does not neatly fit with our notion of 'an object being moved,' I will assume that this still falls under the same voice, mainly for practical reasons.

I will also remove Mabuan's COMITATIVE focus from this group, as I consider this to be more of an instance of noun derivation rather than verbal. Examples from Mabuan (2021, p. 344) like *An ama ko*

an kaistoryahan ko ‘It is my dad I am talking with,’ *Ina na lalaki an kaharukan niya kagab-i* ‘That is the man she was kissing with last night,’ and *Sinda an amon kaurupdanan* ‘They are the ones we’ve been going with,’ all seem to express a nominalized root rather than a verb itself. Their lack of ability to be inflected for aspect also suggests that they are not verbs. Furthermore, they can be compared with more clear-cut nouns of the same form, like *kamagurangan* ‘siblings,’ suggesting that they are also of the same category, just not as lexicalized.

3.2.3 Other Voice Types

Unlike the primary action voices, Wolfenden does not give a specific name or label to the STATIVE voices, and simply calls them by the affix that marks them. According to Wolfenden (2001), there are two STATIVE voices: the *aka-* type and *a-* type. The *aka-* type (ABL) gives focus to the ACTOR of a sentence and highlights their ability to perform an action, as seen in (22). The *a-* type, on the other hand, is subclassified further into the *a₁-* and *a₂-* affixes. *a₁-* can give focus to the EXPERIENCER of a sentence or the PATIENT of an ABILITATIVE construction, as in (23) and (24). *a₂-*, on the other hand, acts like a SUBJECTIVE voice affix and gives focus to an ACTOR, as exemplified in (25) (Wolfenden, 2001).

- (22) *aka-*
Nakalaba na ako.
n-aka-laba=na=ako
COMPED-ABL-laundry=PRT.already=ISG.NOM
‘I was able to finish the laundering.’
(Wolfenden, 2001, p. 43)

- (23) *a*₁- EXPERIENCER
Malulula na ako.
m-a-lu~lula=na=ako
CONTED-A₁~STEM-dizzy=PRT.already=ISG.NOM
'I will become dizzy.'
(Wolfenden, 2001, p. 43)
- (24) *a*₁- ABILITATIVE
Mahuman ko la an reports namon sa opisina.
m-a-human=ko=la an reports namon sa
NEUT-S₁-finish=ISG.GEN=PRT.just NOM reports IPE.GEN DAT
opisina
office
'Our (EXCLUSIVE) reports can just be finished by me at the office.'
(Wolfenden, 2001, p. 44)
- (25) *a*₂-
Mahanap kita sin pagkaon.
m-a-hanap=kita sin pagkaon
CONTED-A₂-look=IPI.NOM GEN food
'We (INCLUSIVE) will look for food.'
(Wolfenden, 2001, p. 41)

Mabuan also proposes several other verb types for Masbatenyó. These are not voice affixes, per se, but are treated as special derived verbs with specific meanings. These verb types correspond considerably with what Rosero calls *modes* in the language. Some of these include the CAUSATIVE verbs, COMITATIVE verbs, and POTENTIVE verbs. We will have

a more in-depth look at these verb types when we talk about mood in Section 3.4.

One interesting thing Mabuan (2021, p. 430) cites is the prefix *ma-*, which is treated as a POTENTIVE affix, as in the sentence, *Mababakal ko na an mga gusto ko* ‘I can already buy the things I want/I am now able to buy the things I want.’ This affix seems to correspond to Wolfenden’s *a₁-* affix, used to express one’s ability to do something whilst giving focus to the thing that is able to be done. This hints that there is a distinction to be made between stative expressions and expressions that concern potentiality or ability. As we will see in our discussion of modes in Section 3.4, these affixes should not be treated as a separate voice category, but rather as distinct moods or modes that form their own paradigms.

3.3 Aspect

Wolfenden (2001) proposes five aspects for Masbatenyo, while Rosero (2021) and Mabuan (2021) make use of six. Wolfenden classifies these five aspects as the NEUTRAL, COMPLETED, PROGRESSIVE, CONTEMPLATED, and OBLIGATORY. Rosero and Mabuan, on the other hand, call these the INFINITIVE, PERFECTIVE, IMPERFECTIVE, PROSPECTIVE, RECENT PERFECTIVE, and INCEPTIVE FUTURE aspects. With the exception of the RECENT PERFECTIVE, INCEPTIVE FUTURE, and OBLIGATORY aspects, these aspects’ functions correspond across the three works. The choice of what affix represents a particular aspect, however, differs.

For the NEUTRAL or INFINITIVE aspect, all three linguists agree that it is represented by (a) for the ACTOR voice group, the prefix *m-* plus an

-*ag* or *pag*-class stem, and (b) for the UNDERGOER voice group, the voice type's respective affix. The NEUTRAL or INFINITIVE aspect can be used in negation, as a verbal complement, or as an imperative or command (Wolfenden, 2001). Examples (26) to (28) represent these uses.

(26) In negation

Wara magluto sin sura si Maria.

wara m-ag-luto sin sura si Maria
NEG NEUT-AF-write GEN viand ABS Maria
'Maria did not cook a viand.'

(Mabuan, 2021, p. 609)

(27) As a verbal complement

Ginaisip ko na magsagka sa amon uma.

gin-a-isip=ko na m-ag-sagka sa
COMPED-PROG-think=1SG.GEN COMP NEUT-SV-go.up DAT
amon uma
IPE.GEN farm

'I am thinking of going up to our farm.'

(Wolfenden, 2001, p. 32)

(28) As a command

Ihatag mo ini.

i-hatag=mo ini
IMP.ACCV-give=2SG.GEN PROX.NOM

'Give this.'

(Wolfenden, 2001, p. 32)

For the COMPLETED/PERFECTIVE, PROGRESSIVE/IMPERFECTIVE, and CONTEMPLATED/PROSPECTIVE aspects, the two camps, Wolfenden and Rosero/Mabuan, differ in their analysis.

Rosero analyzes aspect in Masbatenyo by using the features +/-BEGUN and +/- DONE, as taken from Ceña (2014, as cited in Rosero, 2021). Under this classification, we can see how transitive affixes (i.e., *-on*, *-an*, *i-*) use the affix *gin-* or *-in-* to indicate that an action has already begun (+BEGUN), and the affix *<a>* or $C_I V_I$ (reduplication) to represent an action that is not yet done (-DONE). The absence of these affixes would yield their opposite feature value. Thus, the affix *gin-/<in>* marks the PERFECTIVE, the affix *gin-* + *<a>* or *gin-* + $C_I V_I$ marks the IMPERFECTIVE, and the affix $C_I V_I$ marks the PROSPECTIVE aspect (Rosero, 2021).

Table 1. +/- analysis of transitive aspectual markers

Stem: <i>bakalon</i>	Is there <i>gin-/in-</i> ?	Is there <i>-a-/C_IV_I</i> ?	Aspect
<i>Ginbakal ko</i> 'I bought...'	Yes → +BEGUN	No → +DONE	PERFECTIVE
<i>Ginabakall</i> <i>Ginbabakal ko</i> 'I am buying...'	Yes → +BEGUN	Yes → -DONE	IMPERFECTIVE
<i>Babakalon ko</i> 'I will buy...'	No → -BEGUN	Yes → -DONE	PROSPECTIVE

For the intransitive affix, *m-* changes to *n-* to indicate that the action has already begun. The affix *-a-* indicates that the action is not yet done (Rosero, 2021). The PROSPECTIVE stem *maga-* can also be contracted to *mā*.³ This suggests that Wolfenden's analysis of the *a₂-* voice affix (25)

³The macron (i.e., the bar over the vowel) represents a lengthened vowel.

is actually an instance of aspect, specifically the PROSPECTIVE *maga-* The intransitive affix *-um-* is also limited to the NEUTRAL and PERFECTIVE aspects.

Table 2. +/- analysis of intransitive aspectual markers

Stem: <i>pagbakal</i>	Is there <i>n-</i> ?	Is there <i>-a-</i> ?	Aspect
<i>Nagbakal ako</i> 'I bought...'	Yes → +BEGUN	No → +DONE	PERFECTIVE
<i>Nagabakal ako</i> 'I am buying...'	Yes → +BEGUN	Yes → -DONE	IMPERFECTIVE
<i>Magabakall</i> <i>Mābakal ako</i> 'I will buy...'	No → -BEGUN	Yes → -DONE	PROSPECTIVE

Similarly, Wolfenden (2001) suggests that the PERFECTIVE, or in their terms, the COMPLETED aspect (COMPED), is marked by *n-* for the SUBJECTIVE voice and STATIVE voice, as in (29), and *gin-/in-* for the non-SUBJECTIVE voices. The CONTEMPLATED aspect (CONTED), or the PROSPECTIVE aspect, is marked by *m-* for the SUBJECTIVE voice and, for non-SUBJECTIVE voices, by their respective voice affixes, matching with the NEUTRAL aspect's forms, as in (30) and (31) (Wolfenden, 2001). On the other hand, the PROGRESSIVE aspect (PROG), or the IMPERFECTIVE, is represented by the infix *-a-*, which is attached after the stems *mag-*, *nag-*, *mang-*, and *nang-* for the SUBJECTIVE voice, and after *gin-* for NON-SUBJECTIVE voices (Wolfenden, 2001).

- (29) COMPLETED Aspect (SUBJECTIVE voice)

Nakaisip an bao na amiguhon niya an amo.

n-aka-isip an bao na
 COMPED-ABL-plan NOM turtle COMP

amigu-on=niya an amo

befriend-NEUT.OV=3SG.GEN NOM monkey

‘The turtle planned to befriend the monkey.’

(Wolfenden, 2001, p. 33)

- (30) CONTEMPLATED Aspect (SUBJECTIVE voice)

Mangayo siya san inda mga maraot na bintana.

m-aN-ayo=siya san inda mga maraot na

CONTED-DISTR.SV-fix=3SG.NOM GEN 3PL.GEN PL broken LIG

bintana

windows

‘He will fix their broken windows.’

(Wolfenden, 2001, p. 33)

- (31) CONTEMPLATED Aspect (Non-SUBJECTIVE voice)

Kuhaon ko ini na karabaw.

kuha-on=ko ini na karabaw

take-CONTED.OV=1SG.GEN PROX.NOM LIG water.buffalo

‘I will take this water buffalo.’

(Wolfenden, 2001, p. 33)

As one may observe, certain complications arise with this analysis. For one, the choice to add *mag-* and *mang-* under stems that form the PROGRESSIVE aspect with the infix *-a-* is misleading. While *m-* with the *-ag* class of affixes on its own can represent the CONTEMPLATED

aspect, as seen in example (30), the addition of *-a-* into this stem would necessarily produce a CONTEMPLATED/PROSPECTIVE reading and not PROGRESSIVE/IMPERFECTIVE. For example, the sentence, *Magahimo siya sin sala* (Wolfenden, 2001) would translate to ‘He will make a mistake,’ and not ‘He is making a mistake.’ Similarly, Wolfenden misses out on the generalization that, for the NON-SUBJECTIVE voices, C_1V_1 reduplication, along with their respective voice affix, can also generate a CONTEMPLATED reading, as seen in Table 1 (i.e., *babakalon ko...*).

It is also interesting to note how Rosero and Mabuan consider the replacive nasal *m-* as both the INTRANSITIVE voice affix and the aspectual marker for said voice type. Wolfenden, on the other hand, separates the two functions, with SUBJECTIVE voice being represented by the *-ag* stem group, and aspect by the nasal. As we saw in Section 3.2.1, however, I consider the ACTOR voice to be a combination of the aspectual nasal and a particular set of stem-forming affixes.

Rosero also proposes a RECENT PERFECTIVE and INCEPTIVE FUTURE aspect. The former is marked by the affix *ka-* + C_1V_1 of the root, and it indicates that an action has recently been completed (Rosero, 2021). It applies to all voice affixes, regardless of whether they are transitive or intransitive. Interestingly, constructions that use this aspect are focus-less, in the sense that no argument is marked with *an*. Similarly, INCEPTIVE FUTURE shows an action that is about to start, and is marked by *pa-* for all voices (Rosero, 2021). These are seen in (32) and (33) respectively.

- (32) *Kakakaon lang namon.*
 ka-ka~kaon=lang-namon
 RPFV-STEM~eat=PRT.only=IPE
 ‘We (EXCLUSIVE) have just eaten.’
 (Rosero, 2021, p. 63)
- (33) *Pa-Japan yanâ sinda Bern.*
 pa-Japan=yanâ sinda Bern
 INCP-Japan=PRT.now 3PL.ABS Bern
 ‘Bern (and her friends) are going to Japan now.’
 (Rosero, 2021, p. 63)

Wolfenden also proposes the OBLIGATORY aspect, which is limited to only the OBJECTIVE and REFERENT voices, and is marked by *-a* and *-i*, respectively. It carries the same reading as an imperative or command, except that the ACTOR is obligatorily dropped (Wolfenden, 2001), as seen in (34) and (35).

- (34) *Himua ini.*
 himu-a ini
 do-OBLIG.OV PROX.NOM
 ‘Do this.’
 (Wolfenden, 2001, p. 34)
- (35) *Tandai kag masdi.*
 Tandai kag masd-i
 take.note-OBLIG.RV CONJ watch-OBLIG.RV
 ‘Take note and watch.’
 (Wolfenden, 2001, p. 34)

Given these different views and approaches, I argue that there are five aspects in the language: the NEUTRAL OR INFINITIVE, the PERFECTIVE, the IMPERFECTIVE, the PROSPECTIVE, and the RECENT PERFECTIVE. This choice aligns more with Rosero/Mabuan's analysis of aspect as opposed to Wolfenden's, since their terminology is more widely used with other Philippine languages.

Similarly, I also follow the affixes that Rosero/Mabuan propose for each aspect in the ACTOR and UNDERGOER voice groups (i.e., the +/-BEGUN +/-DONE approach). This approach poses fewer challenges than Wolfenden's, since there are no overlapping aspectual affixes. Consequently, this also excludes Wolfenden's OBLIGATORY aspect, since, as we will see in Section 3.4, this can be more aptly classified as a type of construction found exclusively in the IMPERATIVE mode.

Unlike Rosero, however, I argue for the exclusion of the INCEPTIVE FUTURE as an aspect, as it seems to have a highly limited use. For example, the sentence *Pa-uli na ako* 'I am about to go home,' makes use of the affix *pa-*, which, according to Rosero (2021), states that an action is about to happen. This affix, however, seems to be limited to roots that involve motion or places (e.g., *pa-Japan* 'going to Japan,' *pakadto* 'about to go'). As discovered through my interview with my key informant, if the affix were used on a different kind of stem, say, *bakal* 'buy,' it would not read as 'I am about to buy,' but would give a causative reading, as in, 'Buy for me.' Furthermore, if a speaker wanted to express that they were about to do an action, they would use the PROSPECTIVE aspect instead, as in, *Magabakal ako*, or *Mābakal ako*. All this suggests that the INCEPTIVE FUTURE, although containing aspectual meaning, should

be excluded from the main paradigms and considered more as a special case of aspect-marking.

3.4 Mood

Among the three linguists, only Rosero (2021) makes use of the term mood or mode. He uses the terms interchangeably, and he classifies six modes in Masbatenyo: the INDICATIVE, IMPERATIVE, APTATIVE, CAUSATIVE, REQUESTIVE, and DISTRIBUTIVE. The INDICATIVE mood is the most basic or default of all modes (Rosero, 2021). It is unmarked and covers all the basic paradigms hitherto discussed. The IMPERATIVE mood is used to express commands or requests. Unlike Wolfenden (2001), Rosero considers imperatives as a separate mood, rather than as an aspect.

In this mode, the transitive voice affixes *-on* and *-an* have the alternate form *-a* and *-i*, wherein the actor of the clause is dropped (Rosero, 2021), as seen in (36). This is equivalent to Wolfenden's OBLIGATORY aspect. As for intransitive constructions, one makes use of the INFINITIVE/NEUTRAL aspect, or simply the actor-dropped *pag-* + verb stem (Rosero, 2021). The *-um-* affix can also be used for the IMPERATIVE mood, as in (38).

(36) ACTOR-dropped Imperatives

- a. *Himua ini.*
 himu-a ini
 do-IMP.TR PROX.ABS
 'Do this.'
 (Rosero, 2021, p. 65)

b. *Tandai kag masdi.*

tanda-i kag masd-i
take.note-IMP.TR CONJ watch-IMP.TR

‘Take note and watch.’

(Rosero, 2021, p. 65)

c. *Pagkaon na.*

pag-kaon=na
IMP.INTR-kaon=PRT.already

‘(Please) eat.’

(Rosero, 2021, p. 66)

(37) TRANSITIVE Imperatives

a. *Himuon mo ini.*

himu-on=mo ini
do-IMP.TR=2SG.ERG PROX.ABS

‘Do this.’

(Rosero, 2021, p. 65)

b. *Tandaan kag masdan.*

tanda-an kag mas(i)d-an
take.note-IMP.TR CONJ watch-IMP.TR

‘Take note and watch.’

(Rosero, 2021, p. 65)

(38) INTRANSITIVE/ANTIPASSIVE Imperatives

a. *Magkaon ka na.*

m.(p)ag-kaon=ka=na

buy-IMP.INTR=2SG.ABS=PRT.already

‘(Please) eat.’

(Rosero, 2021, p. 66)

b. *Kumadto ka.*

k<um>adto=ka

<IMP.INTR>go=2SG.ABS

‘Go.’

(Rosero, 2021, p. 118)

The APTATIVE mood expresses one’s ability to perform an action. It can also express an action that accidentally occurred. It is marked by the affix *paka-*. On the other hand, the CAUSATIVE mood indicates that an action is being done for an actor by someone else. It is marked by the affix *pa-*. The REQUESTIVE or RECIPROCAL mode, marked by *paki-*, indicates the sharedness of an action, whether the action is done together by two entities, or an exchange has taken place. Lastly, the DISTRIBUTIVE mode shows the habituality or plurality of an action. It is marked by the affix *paN-* (Rosero, 2021). The APTATIVE mode corresponds to Wolfenden’s *-aka* STATIVE voice. The REQUESTIVE mode corresponds to Mabuan’s COMITATIVE verb type, while the CAUSATIVE and DISTRIBUTIVE mode correspond to Mabuan’s verb types of the same name.

(39) APTATIVE Mood

a. *Nakaisip siya sin pasalamat.*

n.(p)aka-isip=siya sin pasalamat

PFV.INTR.APT-think=3SG.ABS OBL thanks

‘He thought of giving thanks (to the Lord).’

(Rosero, 2021, p. 66)

b. *Nakaturug ako.*

n.(p)aka-turog=ako

PFV.INTR.APT-sleep=1SG.ABS

‘I (accidentally) fell asleep.’

(Supplied by the author)

(40) CAUSATIVE Mood

Impataas ko an bato.

in-pa-taas-Ø=ko an bato

PFV-CAUS-raise-TR=1SG.ERG ABS stone

‘I had someone raise the stone.’

(Rosero, 2021, p. 67)

(41) REQUESTIVE/RECIPROCAL Mood

Nakisakay kami sa iya.

n.(p)aki-sakay=kami sa iya

PFV.INTR.RCP-ride=1PE.ABS OBL 3SG.OBL

‘We rode together with him.’

(Rosero, 2021, p. 66)

(42) DISTRIBUTIVE Mood

Nagapanilhig ako patalibud.

n.(p)ag-a-paN-silhig=ako patalibud

INTR.STEM-IPFV-DISTR-sweep=ISG.ABS around

‘I sweep around.’

(Rosero, 2021, p. 67)

Payne (1977, as cited in Rosero, 2021, p. 64) claims that something is a mode if it “describes a speaker’s attitude toward a situation” and conveys the “view of the speaker as to how the action is done.” In addition to this, I’d argue that for something to be a mode, it must also form a unique paradigm. While Rosero argued for the existence of the CAUSATIVE, REQUESTIVE, and DISTRIBUTIVE mode, I will take the position here that they are not separate modes but rather derivations on verbal roots, since they do not form new paradigms, i.e., they don’t use a different set of affixes to represent voice and aspect. In particular, the CAUSATIVE, REQUESTIVE, and DISTRIBUTIVE forms fit quite neatly in the INDICATIVE and IMPERATIVE paradigms.

With this in mind, I propose that there are four modes in Masbatenyo: the INDICATIVE, IMPERATIVE, POTENTIVE, and STATIVE. I will be keeping Rosero’s APTATIVE mode, since, upon further inspection, it forms its own separate paradigm. It expresses abilities, accidents, and sometimes acts of perception (Himmelman, 2008a). In order to better convey this range of functions, I opt to use the term POTENTIVE in describing this mode. This would encompass Mabuan’s POTENTIVE verb type, as well as Wolfenden’s *-aka* and ABILITATIVE *a₁* voice affix. The term *potentive* was also used by Himmelman (2008a) in their analysis of Tagalog.

This split between potentives and statives is quite novel in Masbatenyó analyses, as the ABILITATIVE forms of verbs tend to be lumped under the stative category, as seen in the analyses of Wolfenden and Rosero. For Himmelmann (2008a), this tendency to lump the two together fails to recognize clear patterns and paradigms that each verb type forms. If we acknowledge their differences, we will arrive at a new split in verb types: DYNAMIC verbs and STATIVE verbs. The DYNAMIC verbs can be further subdivided into NON-POTENTIVE and POTENTIVE, and the NON-POTENTIVE into the IMPERATIVE and INDICATIVE mode.

The main difference, according to Himmelmann (2008a, p. 21), between DYNAMIC and STATIVE verbs, is that the former allows the presence of an actor in the sentence, while stative verbs do not. Furthermore, while the affixes of POTENTIVE and STATIVE verbs tend to overlap, they have clear semantic and morphosyntactic differences. I take the position that these same splits and characteristics can be observed in Masbatenyó. Unlike Himmelmann, however, I opt to view the STATIVE and POTENTIVE as modes, alongside the INDICATIVE and IMPERATIVE mode. Each of these modes form unique paradigms, but they also express distinct views toward an action. These differences can be summarized in Figure 1.

To recap, I propose that there are four voice types in Masbatenyó: the ACTOR, PATIENT, LOCATIVE/BENEFACTIVE, and CONVEYANCE voice. The affixes that represent these voices need not be monomorphemic, but can consist of two morphemes that conjoin together, such as a replacive nasal combining with a set of stem-forming affixes. Mabuan's COMITATIVE focus was excluded, as data suggests it is more of a type of nominalization.

Voice-Aspect-Mood Paradigms in Masbatenyó

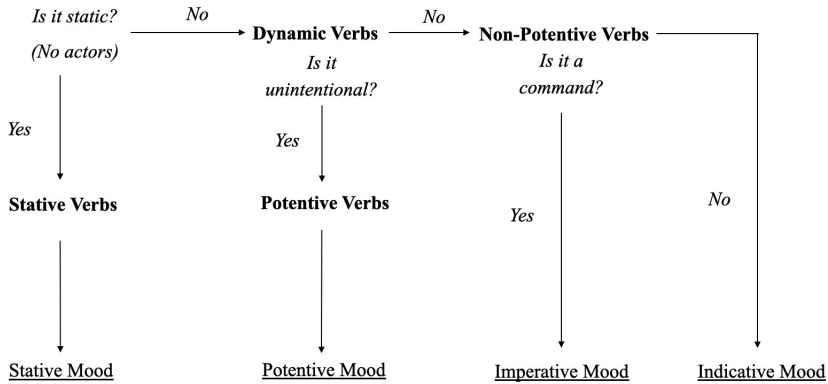


Figure 1. Modes in Masbatenyó

In terms of aspect, Masbatenyó has five: NEUTRAL, PERFECTIVE, IMPERFECTIVE, PROSPECTIVE, and RECENT PERFECTIVE. These are determined on the basis of +/-BEGUN and +/-DONE criteria. Imperatives are not considered an aspect, contra Wolfenden, and I excluded Rosero's INCEPTIVE future, due to its limited application.

Lastly, there are four modes in the language: the INDICATIVE, IMPERATIVE, POTENTIVE, and STATIVE. These modes express distinct attitudes or views toward an action, and they each form their own unique paradigms. On the basis of the latter criteria, Rosero's DISTRIBUTIVE, CAUSATIVE, and REQUESTIVE modes are to be regarded as derivational stems that belong to the INDICATIVE and IMPERATIVE paradigms, rather than as modes in their own right.

4 Revised Voice Aspect Mood Paradigms

In this section, I will present how voice and aspect interact in each of the modal paradigms. This will synthesize the arguments laid out across the previous sections, and provide additional insights from the gathered data.

I will first show the voice-aspect-mood paradigm for the INDICATIVE mood, followed by a discussion of our paradigm for the IMPERATIVE mood. The revisions in these paradigms are more technical in nature, concerning matters such as how the ACTOR voice is represented, the number of aspects included, and the inclusion of pro-drop forms. Some of our elicited data, however, also reveal interesting patterns with regard to reduplication and lengthening, which has not yet been discussed in the three existing grammars of the language.

After a discussion of these two paradigms, I will discuss the POTENTIVE and STATIVE paradigms, and provide new examples gathered from my informants. This new data will help show the different voice patterns in these paradigms that have not been expounded on in the previous works. Morphosyntactic differences between the two paradigms will also be discussed, given that the two tend to overlap or look similar to each other.

4.1 Indicative Paradigm

As discussed earlier, I made use of the same aspects and aspectual markers that Mabuan (2021) and Rosero (2021) proposed, with the exception of the INCEPTIVE future. One interesting thing to notice about the aspectual markers, is that in some cases, they can suppress the voice

Table 3. Indicative Mood

VOICE	INDICATIVE				
	NEUTRAL	PERFECTIVE	IMPERFECTIVE	PROSPECTIVE	RECENT PERFECTIVE
AV $m-$ + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} pag- \\ paki- \\ (paN-) \end{array} \right\}$	$m-$ <i>magbakal</i>	$n-$ <i>nagbakal</i>	$n-$ + $\langle a \rangle$ <i>nagabakal</i>	$m-$ + $\langle a \rangle$ <i>magabakal</i> <i>mābakal</i>	
			$n-$ + C_1V_1 <i>nagbabakal</i>		
PV $-on$	\emptyset <i>bakalon</i>	$gin-$ <i>ginbakal</i>	$gin-$ + $\langle a \rangle$ <i>ginabakal</i>	C_1V_1 <i>babakalon</i>	
		$\langle in \rangle$ <i>binakal</i>	gin + C_1V_1 <i>ginbabakal</i>		$ka-$ + C_1V_1 <i>kakabakal</i>
CV $i-$ + $(paN-)$	\emptyset <i>ibakal</i> <i>(ipantabo)</i>	$gin-$ <i>ginbakal</i> <i>(ginpantabo)</i>	$gin-$ + $\langle a \rangle$ <i>ginabakal</i> <i>(ginapantabo)</i>	C_1V_1 <i>ibabakal</i> <i>(ipantatabo)</i>	
		$\langle in \rangle$ <i>binakal</i> <i>(ipinantabo)</i>	gin + C_1V_1 <i>binakal</i> <i>(ginpantatabo)</i>		
LV $-an$	\emptyset <i>bakalan</i>	$gin-$ <i>ginbakalan</i>	$gin-$ + $\langle a \rangle$ <i>ginabakalan</i>	C_1V_1 <i>babakalan</i>	
		$\langle in \rangle$ <i>binakalan</i>	gin + C_1V_1 <i>ginbabakalan</i>		

affixes. As Rosero already indicated in their grammatical sketch, the presence of the PERFECTIVE affix *gin-* or *-in-* zero-marks the PATIENT voice affix *-on*. Moreover, the same affix also doesn't co-occur with the CONVEYANCE voice affix *i-*, unless the infix $\langle in \rangle$ is used next to a derived *paN-* stem.

Furthermore, we see how several of Rosero's proposed modes, such as the DISTRIBUTIVE (*paN-*) and REQUESTIVE (*paki-*) can be treated as derived stems instead of moods, since they fit relatively well into the

INDICATIVE paradigm. As mentioned earlier, *paN-* forms a stem with a verb, which is then conjoined with other affixes like *m-* or *m- + pag-* (hence the placement of *paN* inside a parenthesis in Table 3). Conjoining directly to *m-* is limited to the NEUTRAL and PERFECTIVE aspect, whereas conjoining to *m- + pag-* is possible for all aspects. When conjoined with *pag-*, the verb connotes a sense of permission, as seen in examples (44) and (45). *paN-* also can alternate in voice, although it does not have a PROSPECTIVE form when in the PATIENT and LOCATIVE voice, opting instead to use ACTOR voice constructions for this aspect. Cited below are some examples of *paN-* derived stems elicited by my informant:

(43) *Nanguha ako san mangga.*

n.(p)aN-kuha=ako san mangga

PFV.AV.DISTR-take=ISG.NOM GEN mango

‘I picked a mango.’

(Elicited data)

(44) *Nagapanguha ako san mangga.*

n.(p)ag-a-paN-kuha=ako san mangga

AV.STEM-IPFV-DISTR-take=ISG.NOM GEN mango

‘I am picking (with permission) a mango.’

(Elicited data)

(45) *Magapanguha ako san mangga.*

m.(p)ag-a-paN-kuha=ako san mangga

PFV.AV.DISTR-take=ISG.NOM GEN mango

‘I will pick (with permission) a mango.’

(Elicited data)

- (46) *Ginpanguha ko an mangga.*
 gin-paN-kuha-Ø=ko an mangga
 PFV-DISTR-take=ISG.NOM GEN mango
 ‘I picked the mango.’
 (Elicited data)
- (47) *Ginapambakalan ko si mama san mangga.*
 gina-paN-bakal-an=ko si mama san mangga
 IPFV-DISTR-buy-LV=ISG.GEN NOM mom GEN mango
 ‘I bought mom a mango.’
 (Elicited data)
- (48) *Kun ako la an may kuwarta, ipangkaon ko nalang ini.*
 kun ako=la an may kuwarta
 if ISG.NOM=PRT.just NOM EXIST money
 i-paN-kaon=ko=nalang ini
 CV-DISTR-eat=ISG.GEN=PRT.just PROX.NOM
 ‘If it were only me who had money, then I would use it to feed myself.’
 (Elicited data)
- (49) *Kakapanguha ko san mangga.*
 ka~ka-paN-kuha=ko san mangga
 RPFV~STEM-DISTR-take=ISG.GEN GEN mango
 ‘I just picked a mango.’
 (Elicited data)

In the examples above, we see how *paN-* can be used in all the voice affixes of the INDICATIVE mood. It takes the ACTOR voice

in examples (43), (44), and (45), the PATIENT voice in (46), the LOCATIVE/BENEFACTIVE voice in (47), and the CONVEYANCE voice in (48). For the CONVEYANCE voice, however, it's not clear if it is indeed an example of a DISTRIBUTIVE verb or an INSTRUMENTAL, since it is composed of the same affixes. Furthermore, *paN-* easily follows the aspectual patterns for the INDICATIVE mood. It can take the PERFECTIVE, as seen in (43) and (46), the IMPERFECTIVE, as seen in (44) and (47), the PROSPECTIVE, as seen in (45), and the RECENT PERFECTIVE, as seen in (49).

Unlike *paN-*, the REQUESTIVE/RECIPROCAL *paki-*, is limited to ACTOR voice constructions. Furthermore, when inflecting the REQUESTIVE stem for the IMPERFECTIVE and PROSPECTIVE aspect, speakers prefer to use the infix *-a-* rather than reduplication. This results in the lengthening of the /a/ in the stem, as seen in (51) and (52). Another difference between *paki-* and *paN-* is the former's inability to take the RECENT PERFECTIVE aspect.

(50) *Nakikaon ako sa inda.*

n.(p)aki-kaon=ako sa inda
PFV.AV.RCP-eat=ISG.NOM OBL 3.OBL
'I ate with them.'
(Elicited data)

(51) *Nākisakay ako sa kotsi niya.*

n.(p)<a>aki-sakay=ako sa kotsi=niya
<IPFV>AV.RCP-ride=ISG.NOM OBL car=3SG.GEN
'I (often) hitch a ride in his car.'
(Elicited data)

- (52) *Mākisabay ako sa iyo.*
 m.(p)<a>aki-sabay=ako sa iyo
 <PROS>AV.RCP-ride=ISG.NOM OBL 2PL.OBL
 ‘I will go together with you guys.’
 (Elicited data)

The CAUSATIVE *pa-*, while it does not attach to the replative affix *m-*, also forms a stem with a verb which then can be conjoined with various aspectual and voice affixes in the paradigm. Consider the elicited examples below:

- (53) *Nagapainit ako san pagkaon.*
 n.(p)ag-a-pa-init=ako san pagkaon
 AV.STEM-IPFV-CAUS-heat=ISG.NOM GEN food
 ‘I am having (someone) heat my food.’
 (Elicited data)
- (54) *Ginpaabrihan san pulis an tarangkahan san balay.*
 gin-pa-abri-an san pulis an tarangkahan san balay
 PFV-CAUS-open-LV GEN police NOM gate GEN house
 ‘The police had (someone) open the gate of the house.’
 (Elicited data)
- (55) *Kakapaluto ko san pagkaon.*
 ka~ka-pa-luto=ko san pagkaon
 RPFV~STEM-CAUS=COOK=ISG.GEN GEN food
 ‘I just had (someone) cook food.’
 (Elicited data)

4.2 Imperative Paradigm

IMPERATIVE constructions are considered a separate mood in Masbatenyo because they form their own paradigm and pertain to actions viewed as commands. For one, IMPERATIVE constructions do not make use of any aspectual affixes. Although they have roughly the same voice affixes as the INDICATIVE, the IMPERATIVE mood also offers other voice affixes for the ACTOR voice, PATIENT voice, and LOCATIVE voice. These affixes are the *pag-* and *paN-* stems for the ACTOR voice, the *-a* suffix for PATIENT voice, and the *-i* suffix for the LOCATIVE voice. Wolfenden (2001) considered these affixes as aspectual markers for the obligatory aspect, whereas Rosero (2021) considered these as alternate voice affixes. I will take the position that these are alternate voice affixes exclusively for the IMPERATIVE mood.

As discussed earlier, these special affixes obligatorily drop the ACTOR in the sentence. We can thus set a dichotomy between the regular voice affixes and these IMPERATIVE-exclusive affixes, with the distinction being the feature [\pm PRO], for pro-drop. The requestive stem *m-* + *paki-* is not included in the paradigm, because, as Rosero (2021, p. 119) indicated, it functions more as a polite request rather than as a command, as seen in (58).

Table 4. Imperative Mood

Voice	Imperative
AV $m-$ + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} pag- \\ (paN-) \end{array} \right\}$ <i>pag-, paN-</i>	$m-$ [-PRO] <i>magbakal/manguha/magpanguha</i> $pag-/paN-$ [+PRO] <i>pagbakal/panguha</i>
PV $-on$	$-on$ [-PRO] <i>bakalon</i>
$-a$	$-a$ [+PRO] <i>bakala</i>
LV $-an$	$-an$ [-PRO] <i>bakalan</i>
$-i$	$-i$ [+PRO] <i>bakali</i>
CV $i-$	$i-$ [-PRO] <i>ibakal (ipambakal)</i>

(56) [-PRO]

Manguha ka san mangga.

m.(p)aN-kuha=ka san mangga

IMP.DISTR-take=2SG.NOM GEN mango

‘Get a mango.’

(Elicited data)

(57) [+PRO]

Panguha san mangga.

paN-kuha san mangga

IMP.DISTR-take GEN mango

‘Get a mango.’

(Elicited data)

(58) Requestive/Reciprocal

Makiabot tabi san bag ko.

m.(p)aki-abot tabi san bag=ko

NEUT.RCP-reach please GEN bag=ISG.GEN

‘Please get my bag.’

(Rosero, 2021)

4.3 Potentive Paradigm

According to Himmelmann (2008a), the POTENTIVE mood is used to express involuntary/accidental acts, one’s ability to act, and acts of perception. The first two of these are often interchangeable, as in the example, *Naluto ko an isda*, which can be interpreted as, ‘I was able to cook the fish,’ or, ‘I (accidentally) cooked the fish.’ POTENTIVE verbs form a clear contrast with non-POTENTIVE verbs, that is to say, verbs in the INDICATIVE and IMPERATIVE paradigm. For instance, the INDICATIVE *Binuak ko an baso* ‘I broke the glass’ differs from the POTENTIVE *Nabuak ko an baso* ‘I accidentally broke the glass,’ in the sense that the INDICATIVE creates an image of a person who deliberately pushed a glass off a table, while the POTENTIVE paints the image of someone who, perhaps while waving their hands talking about something else, accidentally knocked

over a glass from the table. In short, POTENTIVE verbs express a loss or lack of control with regard to an action compared to non- POTENTIVE verbs, which show volition, deliberateness, or intention.

Table 5. Potentive Mood

Voice	Potentive			
	NEUTRAL	PERFECTIVE	IMPERFECTIVE	PROSPECTIVE
AV <i>m- + paka-</i>	<i>m-</i> <i>makaluto</i>	<i>n-</i> <i>nakaluto</i>	<i>n- + <a></i> <i>nākaluto</i>	<i>m- + <a></i> <i>mākaluto</i>
PV <i>m- + ka-</i>	<i>m-</i> <i>maluto</i>	<i>n-</i> <i>naluto</i>	<i>n- + C_IV_I</i> <i>naluluto</i>	<i>m- + C_IV_I</i> <i>maluluto</i>
LV <i>m- + ka-...-an</i>	<i>m-</i> <i>malutuan</i>	<i>n-</i> <i>nalutuan</i>	<i>n- + C_IV_I</i> <i>nalulutuan</i>	<i>m- + C_IV_I</i> <i>malulutuan</i>
CV <i>m- + ka- + i-</i>	<i>m-</i> <i>mailuto</i>	<i>n-</i> <i>nailuto</i>	<i>n- + C_IV_I</i> <i>nailuluto</i>	<i>m- + C_IV_I</i> <i>mailuluto</i>

Himmelmann (2008a, p. 18) argues that almost all POTENTIVE verbs have a non-POTENTIVE counterpart. Following this criterion, acts of perception could be classified under the POTENTIVE paradigm, since they also have their VOLITIONAL counterparts. Take for example, IMPERATIVE *bation* ‘listen’ versus POTENTIVE *nabati* ‘heard;’ once again, this expresses the same contrast of deliberateness (‘I listened to your song’) and lack of intention (‘I heard/happened to hear your song.’). Aside from fitting this criterion, acts of perception also fit well into the POTENTIVE paradigm. For example, the PATIENT-focused *nabati* can be changed into the ACTOR voice by using the *m- + paka-* stem, as in *nakabati* ‘I was able to hear.’

The ACTOR and PATIENT voice have already been observed by Wolfenden and Mabuan. In the POTENTIVE paradigm, the aspectual

- (63) *Maaaraman mo an kamatuodan.*
m.(k)a-a~aram-an=mo an kamatuodan
STEM-PROS~know-LV=2SG.GEN NOM truth
'You will find out the truth.'
(Elicited data)
- (64) *May maihatag ka pa?*⁴
may *m.(k)a-i-ha~hatag=ka=pa*
EXIST STEM-CV-PROS~give=2SG.GEN=PRT.still
'Will you still be able to give something?'
(Elicited data)

4.4 Stative Paradigm

Stative verbs pertain to verbs that express bodily or emotional conditions (Himmelman, 2008a, p. 20). STATIVE verbs differ from POTENTIVE and non-POTENTIVE verbs in the sense that STATIVE verbs lack an ACTOR or AGENT, since they pertain more to EXPERIENCERS and STIMULI. POTENTIVE and non-POTENTIVE verbs always allow the possibility of an ACTOR or AGENT doing an action (Himmelman, 2008a, p. 21). Thus, we can lump together the POTENTIVE, INDICATIVE, and IMPERATIVE paradigms and classify all the verbs that occur here as dynamic verbs.

One thing to clarify is that dynamic verbs *can* have EXPERIENCERS, whereas stative verbs *cannot* have AGENTS. One example of a dynamic

⁴In this example, *ka* '2SG.NOM' is used despite the presence of the PATIENT voice affix. This may be attributed to the special construction type of existentials (Nolasco, 2011).

Table 6. Stative Mood

	Voice	NEUTRAL	STATIVE		PROSPECTIVE
			PERFECTIVE	IMPERFECTIVE	
STATIVE	<i>m- + ka-</i>	<i>m-</i> <i>mahadlok</i>	<i>n-</i> <i>nahadlok</i>	<i>n- C₁V₁</i> <i>nahadlok</i>	<i>m- C₁V₁</i> <i>mahadlok</i>
AV	<i>m- + paka-</i>	<i>m-</i> <i>makahadlok</i>	<i>n-</i> <i>nakahadlok</i>	<i>n- <a></i> <i>nakahadlok</i>	<i>m- <a></i> <i>makahadlok</i>
LV	<i>ka-... + -an</i>	∅ <i>kahadlukan</i>	N/A	<i><in></i> <i>kinahadlukan</i> <i>gin- + <a></i> <i>ginakahadlukan</i>	<i>C₁V₁-</i> <i>kahadlukan</i>
LV	<i>i- + ka-</i>	∅ <i>ikahadlok</i>	<i><in></i> <i>ikinahadlok</i>	<i><in> + C₁V₁-</i> <i>ikinahadlok</i> <i>gin- + <a></i> <i>ginakahadlok</i>	<i>C₁V₁-</i> <i>ikahadlok</i>

verb with an EXPERIENCER would be perception verbs in the POTENTIVE mood, as in the sentence, *Nakita ko an bata* ‘I saw the kid.’ While semantically it features an EXPERIENCER and not an ACTOR per se, it is not classified as a STATIVE verb because (a) it fits into the POTENTIVE paradigm (e.g., *nakita* → *nakakita*), and (b) it has morphosyntactic differences from stative verb constructions. POTENTIVE constructions like *Nakita ko an bata* make use of GENITIVE-marked nouns (e.g., *ko, san, sin*), whereas basic STATIVE verbs do not have a GENITIVE-marked noun. Instead, they make use of LOCATIVE phrases, as in the sentence *Nahadlok ako sa ginsabi mo* ‘I got scared at what you said’ (Himmelman, 2008a).

STATIVE verbs also do not fit the basic voice types of Masbatenyo as neatly as dynamic verbs, often because of their semantic nature (i.e., no agents). For one, there is no PATIENT voice in the paradigm. Instead, Himmelman (2008a) distinguishes a separate voice type which he calls *basic stative*. Basic statives are expressed through the *m- + ka-* stem, just like PATIENT-voiced POTENTIVE verbs. Like Tagalog, reduplication is

used to express the IMPERFECTIVE and PROSPECTIVE aspect. Consider the elicited examples for the basic stative in (65) to (67).

(65) *Basi mahadlok kamo.*

basi m.(k)a-hadlok=kamo
maybe STAT.STEM-fear=2PL.NOM

‘You might get scared.’

(Elicited data)

(66) *Namumundo sinda.*

n.(k)a-mu~mundo=sinda
STAT.STEM-IPFV~sad=3PL.NOM

‘They are sad.’

(Elicited data)

(67) *Magugutom kita pagkatapos sani.*

m.(k)a-gu~gutom=kita pagkatapos sani
STAT.STEM-PROS~hunger=IPI after PROX.GEN

‘We (INCLUSIVE) will get hungry after this.’

(Elicited data)

STATIVE verbs also have an actor-focused form, although the term *actor* is a bit misleading. Himmelmann (2008a) uses this term because it employs the same affixes for ACTOR-voiced POTENTIVE verbs, i.e., *m-* + *paka-*. In the STATIVE paradigm, this voice gives emphasis to the cause of someone’s emotional or bodily state. This cause is not a deliberate ACTOR, but often an inanimate or abstract entity. Like ACTOR-focused POTENTIVE verbs, lengthening of the vowel is preferred over reduplication for the IMPERFECTIVE and PROSPECTIVE aspect, as in (69).

- (68) *Nakaayo sa iya an bulong.*
 n.(p)aka-ayo sa iya an bulong
 PFV.AV.STEM-good OBL 3SG.OBL NOM medicine
 ‘The medicine made him feel better.’
 (Elicited data)
- (69) *Nākagigil laki an mga miya.*
 n.(p)<a>aka-gigil laki an mga miya
 <IPFV>AV.STEM-gigil PRT NOM PL cats
 ‘Cats really make me feel *gigil*.’
 (Elicited data)

The stative paradigm also allows LOCATIVE and CONVEYANCE-focused constructions. The LOCATIVE voice gives emphasis to the person or entity to whom an emotion is directed. The LOCATIVE voice is represented through the combination of *ka-* + *-an*. Interestingly, I was unable to find a PERFECTIVE construction in this voice, although I anticipated the infix <*in*> to represent this, as it does in Tagalog. When asking my informant, however, it seemed that the infix <*in*> was used more for the IMPERFECTIVE aspect, alongside the typical *gin-* + <*a*>, as in (70). If a speaker wanted to express a verb in the PERFECTIVE sense, they would add time indicators instead, as seen in example (71). Reduplication is used for the PROSPECTIVE aspect, although the NEUTRAL form can also be used, as in (72).

- (70) *Ginakahadlukan siya san mga tawo didi.*
gina-ka-hadlok-an=siya san mga tawo didi
IPFV-LV-fear-LV=3SG.NOM GEN PL people PROX.OBL
'He is feared by the people here.'
(Elicited data)
- (71) *Ginakahadlukan siya sadto.*
gina-ka-hadlok-an=siya sadto
IPFV-LV-fear-LV=3SG.NOM DIST.OBL
'He was feared back then.'
(Elicited data)
- (72) *Kaawaan ninda ako.*
ka-awa-an=ninda=ako
LV-jealous-LV=3PL.GEN=1SG.NOM
'They will be jealous of me.'
(Elicited data)

CONVEYANCE-voiced constructions give focus to the cause of someone's emotional or bodily condition. While ACTOR-voiced stative verbs also emphasize the same thing, they use LOCATIVE phrases for EXPERIENCERS, e.g., *Nākamundo sa akon an ginsabi mo* 'What you said upsets me' (supplied by the author), whereas the CONVEYANCE voice uses genitive markers or pronouns, as seen in example (73) (Himmelman, 2008a, p. 22). The CONVEYANCE voice is represented through the combination of *i-* + *ka-*. Unlike the LOCATIVE voice, *<in>* here represents the PERFECTIVE aspect. In the IMPERFECTIVE aspect, *gin-* + *<a>* is preferred over reduplication (causing the prefix

i- to be zero-marked), although <*in*> + C₁V₁ can occur, as in (74). Reduplication is used in the PROSPECTIVE aspect, as observed in (74).

(73) *Malaria an ikinamatay san bata.*

malaria an i-k<in>a-patay san bata
 malaria NOM <PFV>CV-CV-dead GEN child
 ‘The child died of malaria.’
 (Elicited data)

(74) *Pagsasaka an ikinabubuhay san amon pamilya.*

pagsasaka an i-k<in>a-bu~buhay san amon pamilya
 farming NOM <IPFV>CV-CV-IPFV~live GEN IPE.GEN family
 ‘Our family gets by through farming.’
 (Elicited data)

(75) *Ikakaunlad san kompanya an pagbaligya sani na produkto..*

i-ka~ka-unlad san kompanya an pagbaligya
 CV-CV~PROS-develop GEN company NOM selling
 sani na produkto
 PROX.GEN LIG product
 ‘Selling this product will develop the company.’⁵
 (Elicited data)

(76) *Paga-uma an ginakabuhay san amon pamilya..*

paga-uma an gina-Ø-ka-buhay san amon pamilya
 farming NOM IPFV-CV-CV-live GEN IPE.GEN family
 ‘Our family gets by through farming.’
 (Elicited data)

⁵Reduplication can also occur in the root, as in *ikauunlad* or *ikaaayos*.

5 Conclusion

This study compared and contrasted three previous works on the Masbatenyo language, focusing on their analyses of the language's verbal system. It was found that these studies varied in their approaches, with the main differences being (a) the case alignment used, (b) the choice to use a root-based or stem-based analysis, and (c) the terminologies and affixes used for representing voice, aspect, and mood.

In place of these, I argue that Masbatenyo has four main voices, five aspects, and four moods. Using a stem-based approach, I showed how certain voices are represented, not through a single affix like *m-*, but through a combination of particular affixes and stems. For example, the ACTOR voice in the INDICATIVE mood is conveyed through the combination of the affix *m-* and the derived stems of *pag-*, *paN-*, and *paki-*. Furthermore, the four voices, namely, the ACTOR, PATIENT, LOCATIVE, and CONVEYANCE voices, are expressed through different sets of affixes and stems in each mode. The COMITATIVE voice was not included, as it seems to operate more as a nominalized root rather than as a verb.

Aspect also is expressed differently for each voice in each mode. For voices that make use of the *m-* replacive affix, *m-* alternates with *n-* to show that an action has already begun. Other voices make use of the PERFECTIVE marker *gin-*. The IMPERFECTIVE and PROSPECTIVE aspects are expressed through reduplication or the addition of an *-a-* infix. This infix tends to create vowel lengthening and is preferred over reduplication for more complex derived stems (e.g., *paka-*, *paki-*). The RECENT PERFECTIVE aspect seems to be limited to the INDICATIVE MOOD. Additionally, the INCEPTIVE FUTURE was not included in any of

the paradigms, as its use is limited to a select few bases, such as motion roots or places.

Lastly, the number of modes in the language was reduced to four, with the main criteria being the ability to form unique paradigms and expressing distinct attitudes toward an action. *STATIVE* verbs, belonging to the stative mood, contrast with dynamic verbs, in that no actors or agents are present in these constructions. Under dynamic verbs, there is a split between *POTENTIVE* and *NON-POTENTIVE* verbs. *POTENTIVE* verbs, belonging to the *POTENTIVE* mode, express one's ability to do something or their loss and lack of control toward an action. *Non-POTENTIVE* verbs can be distinguished in terms of whether they express a command or not, with the former being the *IMPERATIVE* mood, and the latter, the *INDICATIVE*.

For further studies on the language, I recommend gathering data from a larger and more diverse set of participants. Although previous studies claim that little variation is present across the different islands of Masbate, the different languages spoken by the residents of each area may contribute to different inflectional and derivational forms, or at least show differences in preferences (e.g., preferences for reduplication or vowel lengthening). Different ages may also show slight variation.

Additionally, corpus data could also be gathered and used for future studies, in order to document more natural or actual uses of the language. This would be useful for larger-scale projects like dictionaries or grammar descriptions. For future studies that have more specific goals such as this study, however, translated and elicited data are deemed more useful since they can help gather data for the particular structures and paradigms we are looking for (e.g., *POTENTIVE* verbs or *STATIVE* verbs).

Furthermore, phonological studies can also be done on the language, investigating phenomena like reduplication and vowel lengthening, and analyzing when one is preferred over the other. Other research can be done on whether speakers prefer to use the PERFECTIVE aspect marker *gin-* over *<in>* in certain contexts, and what factors may be at play here.

It could be that these two affixes connote distinct event types from each other, as seen in Payne and Oyzon's (2020) argument for a distinction between the controlled *<in>* and deliberate *g-* in Eastern Bisayan languages such as Waray. It is my belief, however, that these are stylistic variants, mainly because the term *controlled* is too loosely defined, and its distinction from 'deliberate' is not clear enough.⁶ Nevertheless, additional elicited and corpus data in Masbatenyo could help shed light on whether *gin-* and *<in>* are merely variants, which may have preferred phonological environments, or are two distinct affixes with their own semantic connotations.

I also propose a more in depth look into the STATIVE mood for future studies. As one may observe from the discussion earlier, the number of roots that can be inflected for the different voices in the stative paradigm are much smaller compared to other modes. An argument could be made that some verbs here are lexicalized, explaining the lack of inflection in words like *ginakahadlukan*, which does not have a clear PERFECTIVE form.

⁶Payne and Oyzon (2020) define *controlled* as situations that are (a) usually/normally done, and (b) under the control of the ACTOR. Nevertheless, examples they cite, such as example (61), show the use of the controlled *<in>*, despite the action being (a) a non-usual activity, and (b) not being fully controlled by the actor. In other words, *<in>* was used even if it does not fall under the definition of *controlled*.

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7 List of Abbreviations

-	Morphological boundary	CF	Comitative Focus (Mabuan)
.	Metalanguage boundary	CAUS	Causative stem
< >	Infix boundary	CONTED	Contemplated Aspect (Wolfenden)
=	Clitic boundary	COMPED	Completed Aspect (Wolfenden)
~	Reduplicant boundary	CV	Conveyance Voice
()	Replaced element of stem	CONJ	Conjunction
I	First person	DAT	Dative Case
2	Second person	DIST	Distal
3	Third person	DISTR	Distributive stem
A ₁	a ₁ - stative voice (Wolfenden)	ERG	Ergative Case
A ₂	a ₂ - stative voice (Wolfenden)	GEN	Genitive Case
AF	Actor Focus (Mabuan)	IMP	Imperative
ABL	<i>aka</i> - stative voice (Wolfenden)	INCP	Inceptive Future Aspect
ABS	Absolutive Case	INTR	Intransitive
ACCV	Accessory Voice (Wolfenden)	IPFV	Imperfective Aspect
APT	Aptative Mood (Mabuan)	LF	Locative Focus (Mabuan)
AV	Actor Voice	LV	Locative Voice
BF	Benefactive Focus (Mabuan)	NEUT	Neutral Aspect
		NEG	Negation
		NOM	Nominative Case
		OBL	Oblique Case
		OBLIG	Obligatory Aspect (Wolfenden)

OV	Objective Voice (Wolfenden)	RCP	Requestive/ Reciprocal stem
PF	Patient Focus (Mabuan)	RV	Referent Voice (Wolfenden)
PE	Plural exclusive	RPFV	Recent Perfective Aspect
PI	Plural inclusive	SG	Singular
PL	Plural	STEM	Stem
PROG	Progressive Aspect (Wolfenden)	SV	Subjective Voice (Wolfenden)
PV	Patient Voice	TF	Theme Focus (Mabuan)
PFV	Perfective Aspect	TR	Transitive
PROS	Prospective Aspect		
PROX	Proximal		
PRT	Particle		

8 Appendix

Questionnaire

Introduction:

Mabuhay! Ako po si Nico Salvador, isang mananaliksik ng linguistics sa UP Diliman. Ang pananaliksik na ito ay tungkol sa wikang Masbatenyo. Isinasagawa ko ang pag-aaral na ito upang mas bigyang pansin ang ilang mga katangian ng mga pandiwa (verb patterns) sa wikang Masbatenyo.

Upang masagawa ko ang pananaliksik nang maayos, hinihingi ko ang inyong tulong sa pamamagitan ng pagsagot sa survey na ito. Ang hinihingi ko lamang mula sa inyo ay ang pagsasalin ng ilang mga pangungusap sa Masbatenyo mula sa Tagalog. Makakatulong po ito sa pangangalap ko ng datos para sa pananaliksik na ito. Maaasahan na

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hindi hihigit sa 15 minuto ang survey na ito at na mananatiling pribado ang inyong mga pangalan sa pananaliksik ko.

Kung maaari din, hinihingi ko rin ang inyong pahintulot na makipagpanayam tungkol sa inyong mga sagot at isinalin.

Maraming salamat po sa inyong tulong!

Consent:

Ipinapahintulot ko na gamitin ng mananaliksik ang aking mga sagot sa pag-aaral na ito. Ipinapahintulot ko rin na makipagpanayam sa akin ang mananaliksik sa pagkakataong mangangailangan ito.

Personal Information:

Pangalan (e.g., Nico Salvador)

Edad

City/Barangay

Mga tanong:

Panuto: Isalin sa Masbatenyo ang mga sumusunod na pangungusap.

[Basic Statives]

1. Baka matakot kayo
 - a) Basi mahadlok kamo
 - b) basi mahadlok kamo
 - c) Daka mahadlok kamo
 - d) Basi mahadlok kamo.
 - e) Basi mahadlok kamo.
2. Nalulungkot sila
 - a) Naguguol sinda
 - b) namumundo sya/ di sya malipay
 - c) Namumundu sinda
 - d) Nagamundo sinda.

- e) Ginalungkot sinda.
- 3. Magugutom tayo pagkatapos nito
 - a) Magugutom kita pagtapos/paghuman sani
 - b) magugutom kita pagkatapos sani
 - c) Magugutom kita pagtapos sini
 - d) Magugutom kita pagkatapos sani.
 - e) Magugutom kita pagkatapos sani.

[Potentive AV]

- 4. Nakaluto ka na ba ng pagkain?
 - a) Nakaluto ka na san pagkaon?
 - b) nakaluto ka na san pagkaon?
 - c) Nakaluto ka na ba san pagkaon?
 - d) Nakaluto ka na san pagkaon?
 - e) Nakaluto ka na san pagkaon?
- 5. Sa wakas, makakabili na ako ng bagong selpon.
 - a) Sa wakas makabakal na ako bag-o na selpon
 - b) hay salamat, makabakal na ako san bag-o na selpon
 - c) Sa wakas, makabakal na ako san bag-o na selpon
 - d) Sa wakas, makabakal na ako san bag-o na selpon.
 - e) Sa wakas, makabakal na ako san bago na selpon.
- 6. Nakakalaro ka pa ba?
 - a) Nakakanam ka pa?
 - b) nakakanam ka pa?
 - c) Nakakanam ka pa ba?
 - d) Nakakanam ka pa ba?
 - e) Nakakakanam ka pa ba?

[Stative AV]

Voice-Aspect-Mood Paradigms in Masbatenyo

7. Nakakagigil talaga ang mga pusa.
 - a) Kagigil gayod san mga miya
 - b) nakagigil laki an mga miya
 - c) Nakagigil talaga an mga miya
 - d) Kagiggil gayud san mga miya.
 - e) Nakakagigil gayud ang mga miya.
8. Nakabuti sa kanya ang gamot
 - a) Nakapaayo sa iya an bulong
 - b) nakaayo sa iya an bulong
 - c) Nakapaayo sa iya an bulong
 - d) Nakaayo sa iya an bulong.
 - e) Nakaayo sa iya an bulong.
9. Grabe makagalit ang mga larawan na ito.
 - a) Grabe makapaurit ini na mga retrato
 - b) makabaradli laki ini na mga picture na ini
 - c) Grabe makapaurit ini na larawan
 - d) Grabe makaurit ini na mga piktyur.
 - e) Grabe makaurit an mga piktyur na ini.

[Potentive AV]

10. Malalaman mo ang katotohanan
 - a) Maaaraman mo an kamatuodan
 - b) maaaraman mo man an kamatuodan matuod
 - c) Maaaraman mo an kamatuodan
 - d) Maaaraman mo an kamatuodan.
 - e) Maaaraman mo an kamatuodan.
11. Naluto ko na ang pagkain
 - a) Naluto ko na an pagkaon

- b) Naluto ko na an pagkaon
 - c) Nagluto na ako san pagkaon
 - d) Naluto ko na an pagkaon.
 - e) Naluto ko na an pagkaon.
12. Nakikita mo ba ito?
- a) Nakikita mo an akon alahas?
 - b) nakikita mo ba an pulseras ko?
 - c) Nakikita mo an alahas ko?
 - d) Nakikita mo ba an alahas ko?
 - e) Nakikita mo ba an alahas ko?

[Stative LV and CV]

13. Kinatatakutan siya ng mga tao dito.
- a) Ginakahadlukan siya san mga tawo didi
 - b) ginakahadlukan ina sya san mgga taga didi
 - c) Ginakahadlukan siya san mga tawo didi
 - d) Ginakahadlukan siya san mga tawo didi.
 - e) Ginakahadlukan siya san mga tawo didi.
14. Malaria ang ikinamatay ng bata.
- a) Malaria an kinamatay san bata
 - b) malaria na nakapatay sa bata
 - c) Malaria an ikinamatay sna bata
 - d) Malaria an ikinamatay san bata.
 - e) Malaria an kinamatay san bata.
15. Ikauunlad ng kompanya ang pagbebenta nitong produkto.
- a) Ikakaunlad san kompanya an pagbaligya sani na produkto
 - b) ikaaayos san kompanya an pagbaligya sani na produkto
 - c) Ikakaunlad san kompanya an pagabaligya sini na produkto

Voice-Aspect-Mood Paradigms in Masbatenyo

- d) Ikakaunlad san kompanya an pagbaligya sani na produkto.
 - e) Ikakaasenso san kompanya ang pagabaligya sani na produkto.
16. Pagsasaka ang ikinabubuhay ng aming pamilya.
- a) Pagasaka an pangabuhay san amon pamilya
 - b) paga uma na ginakabuhay san amon pamilya
 - c) Pagakabas-an an naggabuhay sa amon pamilya
 - d) Paggsasaka an ikinabubuhay san amon pamilya.
 - e) Paga-uma ang ginapangabuhay san amon pamilya.
- [Potentive LV]
17. Nabigyan ng bulaklak ang babae.
- a) Natagaan/gintagaan san burak an babaye
 - b) natagaan san burak an babae
 - c) Nahatagan san burak an babaye
 - d) Nahatagan san burak an babaye.
 - e) Natagaan san burak an babayi.
18. Mababayaran ko na ang utang ko
- a) Mababayadan ko na an utang ko
 - b) mababayadan ko na an utang ko
 - c) Mababayadan ko na an utang ko
 - d) Mababayadan ko na an utang ko.
 - e) Mababayadan ko na an utang ko.
19. Madalas nalalamangan ni Robert si Antonio.
- a) Masami na nalalamangan ni Robert si Antonio
 - b) tal permi nalalamangan ni robert si Antonio
 - c) Permi nalalamangan ni Robert si Antonio
 - d) Halos permi nalalamangan ni Robert si Antonio.

e) Halos permi nalalamangan ni Robert si Antonio.

[Potentive CV]

20. Nailipat ko na ang mga papel.
- a) Nabalhin ko na an mga papela
 - b) nalipat ko na an mga papel
 - c) Nalipat ko na an mga papel
 - d) Nalipat ko na an mga papel.
 - e) Nalipat ko na an mga papel.
21. Wala na akong maihulog sa alkansya.
- a) War ana akon mabutang sa alkansya
 - b) wara akon mahulog sa alkansya
 - c) War ana ako san maibutang sa alkansyahan
 - d) Wara na ako san maihulog sa alkansya.
 - e) Wara na ako san mahulog sa alkansya.
22. May maibibigay ka pa ba?
- a) May. maihatag ka pa?
 - b) may maihahatag ka pa?
 - c) May maihahatag ka pa?
 - d) May maihahatag ka pa ba?
 - e) May maihahatag ka pa ba?

[Causative LV and CV]

23. Pinabuksan ng pulis ang tarangkahan ng bahay.
- a) Ginpaabrihan san pulis an tarangkahan san balay
 - b) gin pabukas san pulis an trangkahan san balay
 - c) Pinaabruhan san pulis an gate san balay
 - d) Gin pabuksan san pulis an kudal san balay.
 - e) Gin pabuksan san pulis an tarangkahan san balay.

24. Ipinahiram ko ang aking laptop.
- a) Ginpahuram ko an laptop ko
 - b) ginpahuram ko an akon laptop
 - c) Ginpahuram ko an akon laptop
 - d) Gin pahuram ko an akon laptop.
 - e) Ginpahuram ko ang akon laptop
25. Nagpapainit ako ng pagkaon
- a) Nagpainit ako sin pagkaon
 - b) nagapainit ako san pagkaon
 - c) Nagainit ako san pagkaon
 - d) Naga-init ako san pagkaon.
 - e) Nagainit ako san pagkaon.

Interview

(Summarized questions and answers)

- I. *paN-* in other voices
- a) Can you give other example sentences using *mang/nang*?
 - i. Manguha ka san mangga
 - ii. Manguha ako san mangga
 - iii. Magpanguha ka san mangga (more formal/more authority/with permission)
 - iv. Nagapanguha, but not nangunguha
 - v. Magapanguha or māpanguha, but not mangunguha
 - vi. Nagpanguha (with permission)
 - b) Does a sentence like, “Nagpanguha ako san mangga,” have a different form where ‘ako’ is ‘ko’ and ‘san mangga’ is ‘an mangga’?
 - i. Ginpanguha ko an mangga

- ii. Ginapanguha ko an mangga
- iii. Māpanguha ako san mangga; papanguha/pangunguha ko an mangga is ungrammatical (no prospective; would go to AV)
- c) Are there *paN*- verbs that end in *-an*?
 - i. ginpanghatagan , ginpambayaan, ginpambakalan (no prospective; would go to AV)
- d) How about *i-* + *paN*-?
 - i. Kun ako la an may kuwarta, ipangkaon ko na lang ini.
- 2. *paki-* in other voices
 - a) Can you give examples of naki- + verb
 - i. Nakikaon
 - ii. Nakikanam
 - b) How would you express this if it is yet to happen and if it is something recurring?
 - i. Makikaon (prospective)
 - ii. Nākisabay (imperfective); pronunciation is different from nakisabay
 - c) With verbs like this, is it possible for, for example, ‘sa kotsi niya’ to become ‘an kotsi niya’, like “Ginpakisakay namon an kotsi niya”?
 - i. No
- 3. Can we use a bare *paN-* + verb as an imperative?
 - a) Panguha sin bado
- 4. How about *paki-*?
 - a) Pakisakay sa kotsi niya → ungrammatical
- 5. Reduplication in *paka-* stems

Voice-Aspect-Mood Paradigms in Masbatenyo

- a) Can you translate the sentence “Makakaluto ka ba ngayon”?
 - i. Mākakaluto
 - b) Can you translate the sentence “Nakakatakbo pa ba siya”?
 - i. Mākatakbo if 2nd person (i.e., nakakatakbo ka pa ba → mākatakbo ka pa)
 - ii. Nākatakbo if 3rd person (i.e., nakakatakbo pa ba siya → nākatakbo pa siya)
 - c) Can reduplication work in the verb root like Tagalog (e.g., makababakal/nakaluluto)?
 - i. No
6. “Kinatatakutan siya ng mga tao dito” → “Ginahadlukan siya san mga tawo didi”
- a) If you wanted to express that this was something in the past, or that they used to be scared of a person back then but it’s not an ongoing thing anymore, how would you express it
 - i. Ginakahadlukan siya san panahon/sadto (no perfective: ginkahadlukan)
 - b) Ginakahadlukan siya san panahon/sadto (no perfective: ginkahadlukan)
 - i. Kaawaan ninda ako pag makapasa ako
 - ii. Reduplication can also work, like ‘kahahadlukan’
 - c) Does -in- work?
 - i. Kinahadlukan → yes, but in the sense that it’s ongoing (i.e., imperfective not perfective)
7. Ibutang → ginbutang; if -in- was used, would it be ibinutang or binutang (does i- get dropped by -in- also)
- a) binutang / inbutang / ginbutang (yes, i- would get dropped)

8. In the translation of “Pagsasaka ang ikinabubuhay ng aming pamilya”, some participants used ‘ginakabuhay’ and others used ‘ikinabubuhay’. Are both acceptable?
 - a) Yes
9. The affix pa- in verbs like ‘pa-uli’ or ‘pakadto’ express that an action is about to start or ongoing. If we use this affix with other verbs like ‘bakal’, would it have the same meaning
 - a) No. ‘Pabakal’ is more like a command or request.
 - b) How would you express that you are about to buy → magabakal or mābakal
10. Grammaticality test for imperatives plus and minus addressee
 - a) Bakalon mo an pagkaon
 - b) Bakala an pagkaon
 - c) Sabihon mo sa bata na bakalon niya an pagkaon
 - d) Would you say the sentence, “Sabihon mo sa bata na bakala an pagkaon” is grammatical?
 - i. Yes.
 - ii. Can also say “Sabiha sa bata na bakalon/bakala niya an pagkaon.”
 - iii. Can also say “Pasabi sa bata na bakalon/bakala niya an pagkaon.”
11. Can you translate “Nabasag ko ang baso” and “Binasag ko ang baso”?
 - a) Nabuak ko an baso. Binuak ko an baso
12. Can you use ka-, like in the verb ‘kakaluto’, for verbs with paN- and pa-
 - a) Yes. ‘Kakapanguha’, ‘kakapaluto’.

Matuto kang lumugar: Semantik na lapit sa grammar ng Filipino na nakatuon sa konsepto ng LUNAN¹

Jem R. Javier

Abstrak

Gamit ang lenteng Teorya ng Konseptuwal na Metapora (Conceptual Metaphor Theory) at kaakibat ang iba't ibang prinsipyong itinataguyod ng semantik na dulog sa pag-aaral ng grammar, tatangkaing suriin ng papel na ito ang konseptuwalisasyon ng LUNAN sa wikang Filipino. Partikular na bibigyang-tuon ang paggamit

¹Ang papel na ito ay hango sa disertasyon ng may-akda na pinamagatang, *Semantik na Grammar ng Filipino* (Javier, 2022), na idinepensa at isinumite sa Departamento ng Linggwistiks, Unibersidad ng Pilipinas (UP) Diliman. Nagpapasalamat ang may-akda sa suportang ipinagkaloob ng UP Diliman, sa pamamagitan ng PhD Incentive Award (Project no. 242406) na pinangangasiwaan ng Opisina ng Bise-Tsanselor para sa Pananaliksik at Pagpapaunlad (o Office of the Vice-Chancellor for Research and Development). Nagpapasalamat din ang may-akda sa mga komento at mungkahi ng mga nagrebyu upang lalong mapag-inam ang artikulo, gayundin sa patnugutan ng journal sa paglalaan ng espasyo upang mailathala ang resulta ng pananaliksik na ito.

ng panandang *sa* at pagkakabit ng panlaping *-an* na kapwa malaganap ang paggamit sa iba't ibang gramatikal na konstruksiyon sa Filipino. Dahil sa pagkakakiling ng mga teoretikal na balangkas sa lapit-batay-sa-gamit (usage-based approach), ginamit ang korpus ng wikang Filipino bilang gabay. Sa pagsusuri ng mga pahayag at pagpapangkat-pangkat sa mga ito batay sa mga ISKEMANG PAMPANGYAYARI (EVENT SCHEME), isinaad sa papel ang pagdalumat (at kaakibat na pagpapahayag) ng abstrak na LUNAN sa Filipino na naisalin sa iba't ibang ISKEMANG PAMPANGYAYARI habang pinananatili ang kayariang metaporikal (metaphorical construct) ng LUGAR. Inilahad din ng papel ang iba't ibang gamit ng panandang *sa* bilang prototype at ekstensiyon ng LUNAN: (bahagi ng) pang-ukol, pagpapahayag ng metaporang PANAHON BILANG LUNAN, pananda ng lokasyon (locative marker), at pananda ng nominalisadong pandiwa o pang-uring di-binanghay. Samantala, inilarawan din ang gawi ng panlaping *-an* at ang ibinubungang semantik na pahiwatig ng mga sumusunod na konstruksiyon: anyo ng verb na may semantik na tungkulin (semantic role) na LOCATION; metapora ng LUNAN sa pandiwang KAGANAPAN; metapora ng LUNAN sa mga pandiwang KAISIPAN/PAKIKIPAGTALASTASAN. Sa huli, naglatag din mga ng tala ukol sa mga nosyon ng SANHI-AT-BUNGA at konsepto ng LUNAN sa Filipino, at ilan pang obserbasyon sa potensiyal ng ganitong pagsusuri tungo sa higit na

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holistikong paglalarawan sa grammar at mga ekspresyon sa wikang Filipino.

Keywords: LUNAN, Conceptual Metaphor Theory, wikang Filipino, semantik na lapit sa grammar

Abstract

Using the lens of Conceptual Metaphor Theory together with related principles put forward by the semantic approach to grammar, this paper attempts to examine the conceptualization of SPACE in the Filipino language. It focuses particularly on the use of the marker *sa* and the affix *-an*, both of which are widely used in different grammatical constructions in Filipino. As the study utilizes theoretical frameworks that are inclined toward the usage-based approach, a Filipino language corpus is used as a guide in navigating linguistic data. In analyzing and classifying expressions according to EVENT SCHEMAS, the paper describes how Filipino conceptualizes (and, accordingly, expresses) abstract space as it is mapped onto different EVENT SCHEMAS while preserving the metaphorical construct of SPACE. The paper also presents the various uses of the marker *sa* as the prototype and extension of SPACE: as (part of) a preposition, expression of the metaphor TIME AS SPACE, LOCATIVE marker, and marker of nominalized verbs or unconjugated adjectives. Meanwhile, it also describes the behavior of the affix *-an* and the resulting semantic implications for the following

constructions: verb forms with the semantic role of LOCATION; the metaphor of SPACE in ACHIEVEMENT verbs; and the metaphor of SPACE in MENTAL/LANGUAGE-USE verbs. Finally, the paper offers notes on the notions of CAUSE-AND-EFFECT and the concept of SPACE in Filipino, along with further observations on the opportunities for this kind of analysis in developing a more holistic description of the grammatical structure and expressions in Filipino.

1 Panimula

Dadalumat sa papel na ito ang gramatikal na konstruksiyong laganap sa iba't ibang URI NG SITWASYON (SITUATION TYPE) ng wikang Filipino sa lente ng Teorya ng Konseptuwal na Metapora (Conceptual Metaphor Theory o CMT). Ang mga konstruksiyong pagtutuunan ng pansin ay ang paggamit ng panandang *sa* at pagkakabit ng panlaping *-an* na naobserbahang laganap na laganap na ginagamit sa Filipino, anuman ang uri ng sitwasyon na kinabibilangan ng konstruksiyon. Sa pamamagitan nito, masisinop at maipapaliwanag ang pagdalumat at pagbibigay-katuturan ng iba't ibang pangyayari, aksiyon, at estado bilang metaporikal na pagpapalawig ng semantiks ng konsepto ng LUNAN sa wikang Filipino.

Ang wika ay itinuturing na metaporikal (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Ang mga pahayag gaya ng, *Ang tagapagpadaloy ng programa*, ay gumagamit ng metapora, dahil sa paglalapat ng konsepto ng isang bagay na dumadaloy sa isang abstrak na bagay na nagpapahayag ng

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gawain (*programa*). Alinsunod sa argumento ni Pinker (1997), kung nsusuriin halimbawa ang dalawang pangungusap sa ibaba:

- (1) *Napunta sa Malabon ang binata.*
- (2) *Napunta sa binata ang mana.*

mapapansin ang paggamit ng iisang anyo ng pandiwa. Gayunman, hindi maaaring sabihing ang konsepto ng LOKASYON at konsepto ng PAG-AARI ay magkasalikop; bagkus, ipinapahiram lamang ng konsepto ng LOKASYON ang ilang katangian nito upang maunawaan nang ganap ang konsepto ng PAG-AARI. Sa katunayan, inihayag ni Enriquez (2004) na ang pangungusap na locative, maging ang mga pangungusap na existential, possessive, at prepositional, ay may kani-kaniyang indibidwal na kayarian at kagawiang sintaktik sa Filipino. Ang pangungusap (1) ay naglalarawan ng pisikal na paglipat ng lunan, samantalang ang aktuwal na pagsasagawa ng pagbibigay ng mana ay hindi nangangailangan ng paglipat ng lugar, kundi paglipat ng pagmamay-ari na kadalasan ay sa pamamagitan ng speech act na nagaganap kapag nabigyang-bisa ng umiiral na batas ang kaukulang legal na dokumento.

Sa pagpapahayag ng ugnayan sa pagitan ng mga pangngalan sa isang pangungusap, ang tagapagsalita ay gumagamit ng image schema na LOCATION upang, sa metaporikal na paraan, maipakita ang ugnayang ito. Ang image schema na ito ay nahahango bunsod ng paghahanap ng kahawig na sitwasyon kung kailan nararanasan ang ganitong pag-uugnayan.

Sa papel na ito ipamamalas na maraming pamamaraang pangwika sa Filipino ang nakaangkla sa metaporikal na konstruksiyon (metaphorical construct) ng LOKASYON. Ang mga panandang nominal, sugnay na

pang-abay (adverbial clause) at pariralang pang-uri (adverbial phrase), panlaping pandiwa (verbal affix), at iba pa ay hindi lamang nagpapahayag ng literal na interpretasyon ng LOKASYON, kundi ito ay lumalagos din sa iba pang ekspresyon na maituturing na metaporikal, upang maipahayag ang ugnayan sa pagitan ng mga komplemento sa loob ng pangungusap.

Maliban sa CMT, gagamiting batayan ng pagsusuri ang mga konseptong itinataguyod ng cognitive linguistics (Langacker, 1987, 1991, 2002, 2008), upang magsilbing andamyo sa paglalarawan ng mga kayarian ng mga halimbawang pangungusap at pahayag sa ibaba. Ang lapit na ito ay nagtataguyod ng mga sumusunod na prinsipyo:

1. ang konseptuwal na estruktura ay hinuhulma ng persepsiyon at interaksyon ng tao sa daigdig; at
2. ang wika ay repleksiyon ng kognitibong estruktura ng tao, samakatuwid, mga konseptong hinuha sa interaksyong sensory-motor sa mundo, na maaaring imodelo sa pamamagitan ng mga imahe, o image schema.

(nasa Evans & Tyler, 2005, p. 3; salin mula sa orihinal na Ingles)

Kaugnay ng mga prinsipyong nabanggit, ayon kina Radden at Dirven (2007), ang mga karanasan ng tao ay maaaring maisakatawan ng iskema, i.e., ISKEMANG PAMPANGYAYARI, na maaari namang sumahin sa tatlong “world of experience:” material world, psychological world, at force-dynamic world (nasa Javier, 2014). Ang material world ay tumutukoy sa kung paano umiiral, nagbabago, o nagdaraan sa proseso ang daigdig na binuo (structured world). Ang psychological world ay ang panloob na daigdig ng sensasyon, emosyon, persepsiyon, at pag-iisip ng mga tao. Ang force-dynamic world naman ang panlabas na daigdig ng aksiyon, puwersa, at ugnayang sanhi-at-bunga. Kaiba sa

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material world, ang mga tao ay ang pangunahing pasimuno ng mga pangyayari sa force-dynamic world. Sa pamamagitan ng tatlong world of experience na nabanggit, maaaring buuin ang imbentaryo ng mga ISKEMANG PAMPANGYAYARI.

Ang mga pangyayaring nakapaloob sa material world ay binubuo ng mga pangyayaring nagbibigay-turing sa mga bagay tulad ng ESTADO at PROSESO (STATE at PROCESS), LOKASYON at GALAW (LOCATION at MOTION), at PAGMAMAY-ARI (POSSESSION). Maipapangkat ang mga sitwasyon dito sa tatlong ISKEMANG PAMPANGYAYARI: ang ISKEMANG PANSITWASYON (OCCURRENCE SCHEMA), ISKEMANG PANG-ESPASYO (SPATIAL SCHEMA), at ISKEMANG PAMPAG-UUGNAYAN/PAMPAGMAMAY-ARI (PERTINENCE/POSSESSION SCHEMA). Ang tatlong ISKEMANG PAMPANGYAYARI ay nagkakapareho sa paraang lahat sila ay may kaakibat na semantik na tungkuling THEME.

Ang ISKEMANG PANSITWASYON ay naglalarawan ng STATE o PROSESO na kinalalagyan o pinagdaraan ng isang entidad. Ayon kina Radden at Dirven (2007), ang nosyon na *occurrence* ay tumutukoy sa sentido ng kalagayan o sitwasyon ng mga bagay-bagay sa material world. Kung gayon, inilalarawan ang mga sitwasyong kabilang sa ISKEMANG PANSITWASYON na may simuno na may semantik na tungkuling THEME. Sa ilalim ng ISKEMANG PANSITWASYON ay may dalawang subkategorisasyon: ang STATE, na nagpapahayag ng payak na relasyong atemporal, at PROCESS, na nagpapahayag naman ng komplikadong relasyong temporal.

Sa cognitive grammar, ang mga semantik na tungkuling hindi kasama sa mga ISKEMANG PAMPANGYAYARI, o payak na pangungusap, na naglalarawan ng LUNAN, PANAHOON, SIRKUNSTANSIYA, SANHI, DAHILAN,

LAYUNIN, at iba pa, ay tinatawag na sekundaryang tungkulin (peripheral role). Ang mga ito ay kadalasang ipinapahayag ng mga pariralang pang-ukol (prepositional phrase) sa ibang mga wika at nagpapamalas ng mga relasyong pang-espasyo. Ang LUNAN ang isa sa pinakapayak na danas at madalas na iniaangkop sa iba't ibang sentido gaya ng panahon at iba pang abstraktong domeyn. Ang metapora ng LUNAN na inilalahad ng mga pangungusap at parirala sa wika ay nagpapamalas ng lawak ng konseptuwal na metapora sa grammar (Radden & Dirven, 2007, p. 303).

Ang datos na ginamit sa pananaliksik ay nakasandig sa korpus ng kasalukuyang gamit ng Filipino². Ito ay naglalaman ng linggwistik na

²Batid ng may-akda na ang usapin ng Tagalog vs. Filipino ay karapat-dapat sa isang hiwalay na pag-aaral na ang tuon ay linggwistik. Marami nang naisagawang pag-aaral na kumikilala sa Filipino sa labas na kaligiran (extralinguistic) gaya ng sosyolinggwistik, lexicography, pedagogy, panitikan, at iba pa. Ang pag-aaral na ito ay isang tangkang mag-ambag sa linggwistik na aspekto ng paglalarawan sa Filipino bilang pambansang lingua franca. Isa si Paz (1995) sa mga naglatag ng argumentong nagpapakita sa Filipino bilang wikang nagtataglay ng estadong pambansang lingua franca. Sa kaniyang papel na inilimbag noong 1995, inihanay niya ang depinisyon ng *linggwa frangka* sa konteksto ng multilinggwal at multikultural na bansa gaya ng Pilipinas. Iginiit din niyang sa kabila ng masalimuot na kasaysayan ng bansa, organiko at demokratiko ang pagkakabuo ng linggwa frangka (kahit sa pambansang antas) at ito ay napagtibay ng malawakan at matagalang pananaliksik ng mga akademiko at dalubhasa sa pag-aaral ng wika at diyalekto. Kaya naman, mula sa ebidensiyang pangkayarian, panlipunan, at sikolohikal, makikita ang kakanyahan ng Filipino bilang wika na, bagaman malapit sa isang partikular na wika (i.e., Tagalog) ay sumusulong at tumatahak ng ibang landas tungo sa pagiging isang wikang mapaglangkap at nagagamit ng lahat, kaya naman nakalalahok ang nakararami sa mga pambansang diskurso at pagpapasya. Dahil dito, gagamiting pamantayan sa pagbibigay-kahulugan sa Filipino ang kaakibat na paglalahad ng batayang deskripsiyon ng Filipino, ayon sa Resolusyon Blg. 92-1 na pinagtibay ng Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino noong 13 Mayo 1992: "Ito ay ang katutubong wika, pasalita at pasulat, sa Metro Manila, ang Pambansang Punong Rehiyon, at sa iba pang sentrong urban sa arkipelago, na ginagamit bilang wika ng komunikasyon ng mga etnikong grupo. Katulad ng alinmang wikang buhay, ang Filipino ay dumaraan sa proseso ng paglinang sa pamamagitan ng mga panghihiram

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datos na nakalap sa iba't ibang batis na lumitaw mula 1997—10 taon mula nang isinaad ng Saligang Batas ang Filipino bilang Wikang Pambansa noong 1987. Ang korpus ay nagmula sa proyektong, *UP Monolingwal na Diksiyunaryong Filipino*, kung saan kasapi rin ang mananaliksik.³ Dahil sa hindi pa naisasapubliko ang binuong korpus at sa layuning makapaglahad ng datos na malinaw na nagpapakita ng mga halimbawang nais itampok sa mga ipinupunto sa pag-aaral, minarapat ng may-akda na gumamit ng datos na ginagabayan ng korpus, yamang ang may-akda ay taal na mananalita ng Filipino. Sa ganitong paraan, ginamit ang dulog na corpus-guided at introspection sa pagkalap, paglalagat, at pagsusuri ng linggwistik na datos.

Sa pamamagitan ng lapit na batay-sa-gamit (usage-based approach), inilalarawan ang kayarian ng wika kung paano ito aktuwal na ginagamit ng mga tagapagsalita. Sinuri ang datos at ang mga semantik at sintaktik na katangian ng bawat isa. Pagkatapos, ipinaghambing-hambing ang mga estruktura sa iba pa, hanggang makabuo ng mga semantik na uri (semantic type) at pagkatapos ay sinuri ang sintaktik na kaanyuan (syntactic profile) ng mga ito. Ang mga anyo na nakalap, kapwa

sa mga wika ng Pilipinas at mga di-katutubong wika at sa ebolusyon ng iba't ibang baryedad ng wika para sa iba-ibang sitwasyong sosyal, sa mga nagsasalita nito na may iba't ibang sanligang sosyal, at para sa mga paksa ng talakayan at matalisik na pagpapahayag” (Naglalahad ng Batayang Deskripsyon ng Filipino, 1992).

³Ang mananaliksik ay nakipag-ugnayan sa UP Monolingwal na Diksiyunaryong Filipino project, isang kasalukuyang kolaboratibong proyekto sa pagitan ng Departamento ng Linggwistiks, Departamento ng Filipino at Panitikan ng Pilipinas, at Kolehiyo ng Inhenyeriya ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas Diliman, upang makakuha ng access sa korpus ng Filipino. Ang korpus ay binubuo ng 7,387,569 salita kung saan 40% ang pasulat at 60% ang pasalitang anyo ng Filipino na ginagamit sa kasalukuyan at partikular sa mga lugar sa Pilipinas na tinaguriang metropolitan—Kalakhang Maynila, Kalakhang Cebu, at Kalakhang Davao.

ugat at mga stem, ay ipinangkat-pangkat naman ayon sa semantik na uri, bukod sa gramatikal na kategorya kung saan ito kabilang. Matapos na mailahad ang mga semantik na uri, tinuklas naman ang mga parameter o kondisyon ng pag-iral nito sa pangungusap, kasama ng iba pang bahagi ng pangungusap. Ito ang siyang magtitiyak ng gramatikal na pagkakatatap ng binubuong sugnay. Sa huli, ang mga impormasyong nakalap ay nakapagbuo ng isang semantik na paglalarawan at pagpapaliwanag sa grammar ng Filipino, na sa papel na ito ay nakatutok sa konseptuwalisasyon ng LUNAN.

Ang inisyal na naging batayan ng analisis sa mga kayariang may kinalaman sa LUNAN ay ang pag-aaral ni Dixon (2005) na nakatuon sa semantik na uri at kaakibat na sintaktik na gawi ng mga kasapi nito. Kaya naman, may mga terminolohiya at katawagan na hahanguin kay Dixon (2005) (at maging sa mga pantuwang na sanggunian gaya ng kay Jackson, 1990, para sa mga uri ng sitwasyon; at Malicsi, 2012, para sa mga semantik na tungkulin sa wikang Filipino) dahil sa ang mga ito ay katugma ng katangian ng kayarian ng wikang Filipino. Bukod sa gramatikal na kategorya, ang mga salita ay ipinangkat sa mga semantik na uri na ang bawat kasapi ay naglalaman ng magkakahawig o magkakaugnay na kahulugan (halimbawa, semantik na uri na PERCEPTION para sa mga ugat na pandiwa (token) na *tingin*, *kinig*, *pansin*). Sa pamamagitan ng pagbabalangkas ng gramatikal na gawi ng bawat salita, lilitaw na ang mga salitang napabibilang sa isang semantik na uri ay may magkakapareho, kung hindi man iisang, gramatikal na gawi kung ilalagay sa pangungusap.

Maaaring ipangkat ang mga salita sa leksikon ng isang wika sa ilang semantik na uri, na ang kumakatawan sa isang karaniwang komponent

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ng kahulugan at magkakaparehong gramatikal na katangian. Pagkatapos na maipangkat ang mga salita, mula sa korpus ay hahanguin upang suriin ang anyo ng kayarian ng sugnay na ibinubunsod ng mga ito gaya ng mga panlaping ikinakabit, mga komplementong kinakailangang kasamang umiiral, mga pananda ng mga naka-focus at di-naka-focus na komplemento, at iba pa.

Sa pag-aaral na ito, korpus ng aktuwal na gamit ng Filipino ang gagamiting batayan sa paglalahad ng semantik na grammar ng naturang wika. Hinahangad nitong sagutin ang mga tanong ukol sa gramatikal na gawi ng mga aspekto ng wikang Filipino na sumasalamin sa konseptuwalisasyon ng LUNAN, na maaaring masipat sa pag-aaral ng sistema ng pagpapakahulugan nito.

2 Ang Dalumat at Pagpapahayag ng Abstraktong LUNAN sa Filipino

Ang pagpapahayag ng mga pangungusap sa loob ng isang diskurso ay masasabing pahiwatig ng paraan ng pagtanaw ng tagapagsalita sa mundo. Isa sa mga itinuturing na unibersal sa halos lahat ng wika ay ang paraan ng pagsasametapora ng konsepto ng LUNAN at mga nakapalibot na konsepto sapagkat ayon na rin kina Evans at Tyler (2005),

...habang natatanaw ng mga tao ang makatotohanang eksena sa mundo bilang isang komplikadong gestalt, kung saan may ilang elementong pinagtutuunan ng pansin samantalang may ibang nasa kaligiran, ang kalikasan ng

ating mga katawan at pasalitang wika ay nagreresulta ng sunurang pagbalangkas ng impormasyon kapag ang komunikasyon ay nagaganap sa pamamagitan ng wika (p. 13; salin mula sa orihinal na Ingles).

May mga linggwist, partikular na ang mga tagasunod ng cognitive linguistics, na naghain ng pananaw na ang konsepto ng LUNAN hindi lamang limitado sa pisikal na heograpikal na espasyo; sa halip, ito ay humahangga rin sa pagtanaw (at kinalaunan ay pagpapahayag) ng panahon at abstraktong lunan. Dahil dito, ang konsepto ng LUNAN at ekstensiyon nito ay mahahati sa tatlo: PISIKAL NA LUNAN, PANAHOONG PANG-ESPASYO (SPATIAL TIME o paggamit ng mga konseptong panlunan upang katawanin ang panahon), at ABSTRAKTONG LUNAN. Binigyang-depinisyon nina Radden at Dirven (2007, p. 326) ang ABSTRAKTONG LUNAN bilang domeyn na, maliban sa lugar at panahon, ay tinitingnan din sa pamamagitan ng konsepto ng PISIKAL NA ESPASYO. Ito ay ang mga abstraktong domeyn ng mga sekundaryang tungkuling SIRKUNSTANSIYA, SANHI, DAHILAN, at LAYUNIN. Madalas ang mga konseptong ito ay ipinapahayag sa pamamagitan ng mga sugnay na subordinate, subalit maaari rin bilang mga pariralang pangngalan kung saan ang ulo ay isang abstraktong pangngalan.

Ang domeyn na SIRKUNSTANSIYA ay "...nauunawaan sa sentido ng panlabas na kondisyon na nakapaligid at posibleng nakaaapekto sa isang sitwasyon bilang tagpuan nito" (Radden & Dirven, 2007, p. 326; salin mula sa orihinal na Ingles). Sa Filipino, ang mga pangyayari ay napapailalim din sa metapora ng LUNAN, at kadalasang adverbial ang kalikasan; ibig sabihin, hindi nafo-focus ng panaguring pandiwa sa pangungusap. Tingnan ang mga sumusunod na halimbawa:

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- (3) *Sa kabila ng mga pagsubok, hindi nawawalan ng pag-asa ang mga mamamayan.*
- (4) *Hindi kita bibitawan sa paglalakbay.*
- (5) *Pagsapit ng bagong taon, kumpleto pa rin ang mga daliri ko.*
- (6) *Labas ako diyan!*
- (7) *Sa gitna ng mga isyu, nanatiling matatag ang mag-asawa.*

Ang mga sitwasyong ito ay maaaring maipahayag sa iba't ibang paraan na ginagamit ng wika, gaya ng mga halimbawang pangungusap sa itaas. Sa pangungusap (3), ginamit ang sugnay na subordinate na naglalaman ng pariralang *sa kabila ng* at ng abstraktong pangngalan na *pagsubok*. Sa pangungusap (4), makikita ang paggamit ng panandang panlokasyon na *sa* para sa abstraktong pangngalan na *paglalakbay*. Sa pangungusap (5) naman, ipinapahiwatig na ang pangyayaring *bagong taon* ay metaporikal na dumarating *pagsapit* sa takdang panahon sa buhay ng tagapagsalita. Sa pangungusap (6), ipinapakita ang iskemang LOOB-LABAS sa Tagalog, na ipinapahayag na ang tagapagsalita ay wala sa loob, o hindi sangkot, sa pangyayaring ipinapahayag ng abstraktong pangngalan na *isyu*. At sa pangungusap (7), ipinopook ang simunong *mag-asawa* sa gitna ng SIRKUNSTANSIYA na *mga isyu*.

3 Ang Morpemang sa bilang Prototype at Ekstensiyon ng LUNAN

Ayon kina Evans at Tyler (2005), ang wika ng tao ay malimit na gumagamit ng mga metapora upang ilipat ang mga ideya mula sa isang

lalagyan patungo sa isa pa, kung kaya ang ilang mga morpema sa wika ay likas na polisemiko, bagaman kadalasang hindi ito napapansin ng mga taal na tagapagsalita ng wika. Ang pinakamatingkad sa mga ito ay ang morpemang *sa*.

3.1 *sa* bilang (Bahagi ng) Pang-ukol

Ipinakita ni Malicsi (2013) ang iba't ibang tinatawag niyang pang-ukol kung saan bahagi ang *sa*, gaya ng makikita sa Talahanayan 1.

Talahanayan 1. Ang mga gamit ng *sa* bilang (bahagi ng) pang-ukol (sa may-akda ang diin)

Gamit	Halimbawang Pangungusap
relational	<i>Trainer saan si Jeff?</i> <i>Trainer sa strategic planning si Jeff.</i>
contrastive	<i>Nagtagumpay siya sa kabila ng kaniyang sakit.</i>
replacive	<i>Naglinis ako sa halip ni Tina.</i> <i>Naglinis ako sa lugar ni Tina.</i> <i>Naglinis ako sa halip na (naglinis) si Tina.</i>
extensive	<i>Hanggang sa paanan ng bundok ang lupaing minana ng pamilya ko.</i> <i>Hanggang (sa) SM lang ang ruta ng dyip na ito.</i>
purposive	[predicative] <i>Para sa aking kinabukasan ang lahat ng pagpapakasakit na ito.</i> [predicative] <i>Alang-alang daw sa bayan ang mga ginawang kudeta nina Honasan.</i> [adverbial] <i>Dumalaw sila sa probinsiya para sa piyesta.</i> [adverbial] <i>Nag-ipon ang mag-asawa para sa kanilang kinabukasan.</i>
exceptional	<i>Bukod pa sa ekonomiya ang inaasikaso ng presidente.</i> <i>Umalis na ang mga iskuwater maliban sa ilang siga.</i> <i>May kaya ang mga bayani tangi kay^a Andres.</i>
referential	<i>Tungkol sa stratehiya ang libro ni Sun Tzu.</i> <i>Nagsaliksik ang departamento ukol sa swardspeak.</i> <i>Nagkumperensiya ang mga titser hinggil na naman sa GE.</i>
causal	<i>Matatag daw ang ekonomiya ng Pilipinas dahil sa remittance ng mga OFW.</i> [adverbial only] <i>Salamat sa mga sakripisyo ng kanilang mga magulang, nakapagtapos sila ng pag-aaral.</i>

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Gamit	Halimbawang Pangungusap
genetic	<i>Bubat sa Ilocos ang karamihan ng Pilipino sa Hawaii.</i> <i>Napakayaman na niya ngayon kabit galing (siya) sa wala.</i> <i>Mula sa puso ang awit ko.</i> <i>Dapat talagang mula/bubat sa Bataan ang mga kandidato sa Miss Bataan.</i>
comparative	<i>Ginawa ko na ang labat pareho sa inaasaban ninyo.</i> <i>Parehas/Tulad sa High School Musical ang Glee.</i> <i>Maganda ang pagkagawa ng estatwa kumpara sa gusto ninyong mangyari.</i> <i>Kaiba sa mga Thai ang mga Filipino.</i> <i>Naniningil ng komisyon ang mga opisyal ng gobyerno kumpara sa mga negosyante.</i>
accordant	<i>Ayon sa prinsipyo ang ating demonstrasyong ito.</i> <i>Na-impeach si Corona alinsunod sa legal na proseso.</i> <i>Batay sa ISO, Lunes ang unang araw ng linggo.</i> <i>Ibinenta niya ang stocks (ayon) sa advice ng kaibigan niya.</i> <i>Hindi na kami maghahabol sa korte (alinsunod) sa mungkahi ng abogado.</i> <i>(Batay) Sa pagkakaalam ko, lumikas sa Pransiya si Maria Magdalena.</i>
oppositive	<i>Laban sa batas ng Diyos ang abortion.</i> <i>Kontra sa sinabi niya ang sinasabi mo ngayon.</i>

Ang ibang mga wika gaya ng Ingles at Bahasa Indonesia ay may tiyak (closed) na set ng mga pang-ukol na naglalarawan ng ugnayan sa pagitan ng dalawang pangngalan sa konteksto ng PISIKAL NA ESPASYO o METAPORIKAL NA ESPASYO. Halimbawa, ginagamit sa Ingles ang mga pang-ukol na *from*, *along*, *to*, at *at/in* para sa SOURCE, PATH, GOAL, at LOCATION. Ganito rin ang mamamalas sa Bahasa Indonesia: *dari*, *sekitar*, *ke*, at *di*. Sa kabilang banda, ang Filipino ay gumagamit ng *sa* kasama ang mga pangngalang LOCATIONAL:

(8) (*mula/galing*) *sa*

Sa gitna ng mga isyu, nanatiling matatag ang mag-asawa.

⁴Ang *kay* ay ang anyong *sa* (*sa*-form) ng pananda para sa panauhang pariralang pangngalan.

- (9) *sa (kahabaan ng)*
Alam mong piyesta na kapag nakita mo na ang mga banderitas sa (kahabaan ng) kalsada ng aming barangay.
- (10) *(para) sa*
Pakiabot po ang bayad (para) sa ale.
- (11) *sa (loob ng)*
Kunin mo ang bentilador sa (loob ng) silid.

Ang iba pang halimbawa ay ang mga sumusunod: *sa ilalim ng*, *sa ibabaw ng*, *sa labas ng*, *sa tabi ng*, *sa gilid ng*, at *sa likod ng*.

Maaaring sabihin na ang Filipino ay nakapaglalarawan ng ugnayang panlunan sa pagitan ng mga pangngalan sa isang pangungusap; gayunman, ang pagtukoy sa ugnayang ito ay ginagamitan ng pariralang pahayag (phrasal expression) at hindi isang leksikal na item gaya ng makikita sa Ingles (Fortis & Fagard, 2010). Magkagayunman, mahalagang itala ang pamalagiang pag-iral ng morpemang *sa* sa pagpapahayag ng ugnayang panlunan sa pagitan ng mga pangngalan kahit pa kinakailangan ang pangngalang LOCATIONAL o DIRECTIONAL para sa tiyak na pagtukoy sa ugnayan.

3.2 *sa* bilang Pagpapahayag ng Metaporang PANAHON bilang LUNAN

Ang morpemang *sa* ay ginagamit din upang ilarawan ang ugnayan sa pagitan ng isang entidad o aksiyon at ng pangngalan na nagpapahayag ng PANAHON, upang ipahiwatig ang metaporang TIME is SPACE (PANAHON bilang LUNAN). Sa Filipino, ang konsepto ng PANAHON ay tintitingnan

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bilang isang *assembly line* ng mga lalagyan, kung saan *isinatalin* ang mga pangyayari (kaya lumilitaw ang mga pahayag na *pagbubusan ng panahon, may sapat na panahon, maubusan ng oras, kulang ang oras*). Ang mga lalagyang ito ay maaaring kumatawan sa iba't ibang panukat ng panahon gaya ng *oras, araw, buwan, at taon*. Makikita ito sa mga sumusunod na halimbawa:

- (I2) *sa*
Magbabakasyon ang pamilya sa Disyembre.
- (I3) *sa susunod na*
Magkikita ang magkasintahan sa susunod na linggo.
- (I4) *sa darating na*
Tataas ang sahod ng mga guro sa darating na taon.
- (I5) *sa loob ng*
Matatapos ang pag-aasikaso ng papeles sa loob ng tatlong oras.
- (I6) *kapos sa*
Muntik nang hindi matapos ang proyekto dahil kapos sa oras.

Ang pangungusap (I2) ang prototipikal na halimbawa, samantalang ang mga sumunod na pangungusap (I3) hanggang (I6) ay nagpapahiwatig ng asambleya (assembly line) ng mga lalagyan na “kasya” ang isang sukat ng panahon, at ang kilos ay magaganap sa pagbuhos sa susunod na lalagyang kumakatawan sa pagsisimula ng sumunod na sukat ng panahon. Karagdagan dito, mahihinuha rin ang PANAHOON bilang lalagyan na inilalatag at iniaalis, na siya namang kumakatawan sa pagdaan ng panahon, gaya ng inilalarawan ng mga pahayag na *sa darating na, sa nagdaang, sa nakaraang*, at iba pa.

3.3 *sa* bilang Pananda ng LOCATIVE

May mga pangungusap sa Filipino kung saan ang panaguri ay nangangailangan ng komplementong LOCATIVE at karaniwang pinangungunahan ng panandang *sa*. Tingnan ang mga sumusunod na halimbawa:

(17) *Pupunta sa silid-aklatan ang estudyante.*

(18) *Na=sa kotse ang bag ng dalaga.*

Sa pangungusap (17) sa itaas, ang pandiwang *pupunta* ay nangangailangan ng obligatoryong intransitive na komplemento ng panaguri na pinangungunahan ng *sa*. Ang pariralang pangngalan na *ang estudyante* ay ang kalahok na fino-focus ng pandiwa. Sa ganitong prototipikal na pangungusap, maaaring ipalit ang panandang *ng* kung ang komplemento ay ipinapahiwatig na hindi depinido (indefinite) gaya ng sumusunod na halimbawang halaw sa pangungusap (17): *Pupunta ng silid-aklatan ang estudyante*. Sa naturang konstruksiyon, hindi tukoy ang ispesipikong silid-aklatan na pupuntahan ng estudyante, samantalang sa pangungusap (17), batid kapwa ng nagpahayag at tagapakinig kung aling silid-aklatan ang pupuntahan ng estudyante.

Samantala, ang pangungusap (18) ay halimbawa ng pangungusap na kumakatawan sa ISKEMANG PANG-ESPASYO, na nagtataglay ng panaguring pinangungunahan ng eksistensiya na pandiwang hindi nababanghay: ang morpemang *na*⁵. Ang naturang pandiwa ay nangangailangan ng obligatoryong komplementong pinangungunahan ng *sa*.

⁵Mababasa ang ibayong pagtalakay sa kalikasan ng morpemang *na* sa salitang *nasa* sa naunang pag-aaral ng may-akda (Javier, 2013). Gayunman, lumilitaw sa ilang pagkakataon sa pasalitang anyo ng wikang Filipino ang konstruksiyong nag-uulit sa morpemang *sa*, gaya ng sumusunod: *Nasa sa 'yo ang desisyon kung tutuloy kang*

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Ang estado ng pariralang pangngalan bilang komplemento ay nakasalalay sa telisidad (telicity) ng pandiwa, na maaaring mahinuha sa semantiks ng pandiwa o sa konteksto ng diskursong pinag-iiralan ng pangungusap. Ang telisidad ay tumutukoy sa kung ang isang pandiwa ay nakasapit sa isang pagtatapos. Tingnan ang mga sumusunod na halimbawa:

- (19) a. *Pumunta sa palengke ang nanay.*
b. *Pinuntahan ng nanay ang palengke.*
- (20) a. *Tumakbo sa ospital ang binata.*
b. *?Tinakbuan ng binata ang ospital.*
- (21) a. *Tumakbo sa acad oval ang bata (bilang paghahanda sa sportsfest).*
b. *Tinakbuan ng bata ang acad oval (bilang paghahanda sa sportsfest).*

Sa pangungusap (19a) sa itaas, ang pandiwang *pumunta* ay teliko (telic); ibig sabihin, naganap, nakumpleto, o natapos ng kalahok ang aksiyon. Ganoon din ang mahihinuha sa pangungusap (20a): sa pagsapit sa destinasyon, naganap (nakarating sa kaganapan) ang pandiwang *tumakbo*.

Samantala, ang pangungusap (21a) ay nagpapakita na ang pagiging teliko o ateliko (atelic) ng pandiwa ay maaaring nakabatay sa konteksto ng diskurso. Ang mga komplemento ng pandiwang *tumakbo* ay ang

mag-abroad o *hindi*. Mahihinuha sa naturang konstruksiyon na ang *nasa* ay naituturing nang isang linggwistik na yunit bunsod ng pag-iral ng ikawalang *sa* na tumatayong pananda ng pariralang pangngalang *yo*.

bata, na siyang gramatikal na simuno ng pangungusap, at *sa acad oval*, o lugar kung saan naganap ang aksiyon. Kung idaragdag ang pariralang *bilang paghahanda sa sportsfest*, ipinapahiwatig ng pangungusap na ang pandiwang laman nito ay ateliko: ang pagtakbo ay hindi kinakailangang makasapit sa katapusan maliban na lamang kung sasabihin sa (susunod na) pangungusap.

Ang telisidad ng pandiwa ay mas lumilinaw kapag sinubukang i-focus ang mga komplementong minamarkahan ng *sa*, gaya ng mga katumbas na pangungusap. Ang panaguring pandiwa sa pangungusap (19b) sa itaas ay naka-focus na sa LOCATION *ang palengke*. Ang pangungusap (21b), kung saan ang komplementong *ang acad oval* ang siyang fino-focus ng pandiwa, ay maituturing ding gramatikal. Sa kasong ito, ang naka-focus na komplemento ay may semantik na tungkuling PATH (sa halip na LOCATION). Ang pangungusap (20b) ay nagkakaroon ng higit-sa-isa (ambiguous) na interpretasyon sapagkat ang pag-focus sa komplementong *ang ospital* ay maaaring mangahulugang ang binata ay tumatakbo dahil *hinahabol* ng ospital, sa halip na tumatakbo papunta roon. Bagaman hindi karaniwan, ang ganitong pahayag ay makahulugan sa mga tagapagsalita ng Filipino dahil pinahihintulutan ng pagiging idyomatiko ng pangungusap, i.e., *tinakbuan (o tinakasan) ng binata ang (mga bayarin sa) ospital* (na galing sa *tumakbo papalayo sa (mga bayarin sa) ospital*). Sa ganitong pagkakataon, *ang (mga bayarin sa) ospital* ay may semantik na tungkuling SOURCE.

Upang markahan ang LOCATION, GOAL, o SOURCE ng aksiyon na di-tuwirang tinutukoy ng pangngalan, ginagamit ang panandang *may*. Tingnan ang sumusunod na halimbawa:

- (22) *Nagdaos ng maikling programa ang mga raliyista sa may harap ng Sandiganbayan.*

Sa pagkakataong ito, ang *may* ay tinatawag na morpema ng pagtatantiya (approximation morpheme) (Malicsi, 2013).

3.4 *sa* bilang Pananda ng Nominalisadong Pandiwa o Pang-uring Di-binanghay

Ginagamit din ang *sa* upang markahan ang mga nominalisadong pandiwa o pang-uring di-binanghay na siyang umookupa sa posisyong dapat ay sa isang pariralang pangngalan. Ang mga pandiwa ay maaaring mag-anyong-gerund o kumukuha ng panlaping nasa aspektong pawatas o perpektibong katatapos (recent perfective), at may paglipat ng stress sa unang [ka-], gaya ng mga sumusunod na pangungusap sa ibaba:

- (23) *Naakit ang turista sa ganda ng Mayon.*
- (24) *Nasanay na sa hirap ang pamayanan.*
- (25) *Nahilig ang anak sa pagsusulat ng tula.*
- (26) *Nangawit ang pasahero sa katatayo.*
- (27) *Sa mabuhay o sa mamatay, maglilingkod ang sundalo alang-alang sa bayan.*

Sa pangungusap (23), ang *sa* ay ginagamit bilang pangmarka sa pang-uring *ganda*, na siyang kumukuha ng komplementong PERCEPT ng pandiwang *naakit*. Gayon din ang makikita sa pangungusap (24), kung saan ang *hirap* ay umiiral bilang abstraktong pangngalan na walang

ikinakabit na panlapi at binibigyan ng metaporikal na interpretasyong LUNAN kung saan umiiral ang simunong *ang pamayanan*.

Ang pangungusap (25) ay kumukuha naman ng anyong gerund na *pagsusulat*. Ayon kay Malicsi (2013), ang panlaping ginagamit upang mabuo ang anyong gerund ng pandiwa ay nakadepende sa prototipikal na panlaping nagfo-focus sa AGENT: kung ang pandiwa ay prototipikal na kumukuha ng *mag-*, ang anyong gerund nito ay may pag-uulit ng panlapi (C_IV_I-) gaya ng *magwalis* > *pagwawalis*. Kung ang pandiwa naman ay prototipikal na kumukuha ng *-um-*, ang anyong gerund nito ay walang panlapi ng reduplikasyon (C_IV_I-) sa stem, gaya ng *umawit* > *pag-awit*. Sa kaso ng *sulat* na maaaring kumuha ng *mag-* o *-um-* depende sa kung ang kilos ay may tiyak na layon, maaaring gamitin ang *pagsulat* (galing sa *sumulat*) o *pagsusulat* (galing sa *magsulat*).

Ang pangungusap (26) ay kumukuha ng pandiwang nasa aspektong recent perfective. Subalit dagdag sa anyong aspektuwal na ito, lumilipat ang diin sa unang [*ka-*], at ang interpretasyon ay DURATIVE (na maaaring pamalagian/nakasanayan, pangmatagalan, o paulit-ulit na aksiyon). Ang pangungusap (27) ay kumukuha ng pawatas na anyong aspektuwal ng pandiwa. Dahil sa non-finite ang pandiwa, ipinapalagay na ang interpretasyon sa ganitong uri ng pangungusap ay nasa panaganong pasakali (subjunctive mood o pahayag na ipinagpapalagay, hinihiling, nasa imahinasyon). Sa mga halimbawang pangungusap sa itaas, litaw pa rin ang metapora ng SITWASYON BILANG LUNAN (SITUATION AS PLACE) sa pagbibigay-kahulugan sa mga ito.

4 Ang Morpemang *-an* sa Pisikal at Di-pisikal na LUNAN

Itinuturing na unibersal ang pagdalumat sa LUNAN sa maraming wika. Ayon kina Grabowski at Weiss (1996), “ang karaniwang katangian ng pagsasalokal ng mga pahayag ay isang ugnayang panlunan na itinatag sa pagitan ng isang bagay at ng pinatutungkulang bagay, o sa pagitan ng lugar ng isang bagay at ng lugar na kinaroroonan ng pinatutungkulang bagay]” (p. 20, salin mula sa Ingles). Upang maipahiwatig ito, gumagamit ang tagapagsalita ng pamamaraan upang maipahayag ito sa pamamagitan ng pang-ukol. Gayunman, hindi nalilimita sa pang-ukol ang pagpapahayag ng LUNAN. Ang metaporikal na konstruksiyon ng LUNAN ay malawak na nakalatag sa wika na kahit ang mga pangyayaring hindi tuwirang naglalarawan ng ugnayang panlunan sa mga bagay sa kongkreto at abstrak na antas, laganap ang metapora ng LUNAN. Sa kaso ng Filipino, ipinapahayag ang maraming konsepto sa loob ng pangungusap sa pamamagitan ng paggamit ng mga panlapi, gaya ng panlaping *-an*.

Ang mga PISIKAL NA LUNAN ay tumutukoy sa mga aktuwal na heograpikal na lugar o bagay (na may pagtukoy sa daigdig) na maaaring kalagyan ng THEME sa pangungusap gaya ng *Pilipinas, silya, opisina*. Ang mga DI-PISIKAL NA LUNAN naman ay kinabibilangan ng mga tao, lugar, panahon, bagay, o pangyayari na nakararanas, naglalaman, tumatanggap ng tinutukoy ng panaguri, gaya ng *estudyante, website, at panahon ng kolonyalismong Amerikano*. Ito ang binigyang-turing nina Radden at Dirven (2007) na PANAHONG PANG-ESPASYO at ABSTRAKTONG LUNAN. Sa Filipino, ang LUNAN ay kadalasang tinatakdaan ng semantik na

tungkuling LOCATION (SOURCE/PATH/GOAL) O REFERENCE, lalo na sa mga nakapaloob sa metaporikal na paglilipat/pagsasalin.

4.1 Anyo ng Pandiwa na May Semantik na Tungkuling LOCATION

Sa Filipino, maraming pangungusap ang naglalaman ng panaguring nangangailangan ng semantik na tungkuling LOCATION. Kapag hindi naka-focus ang pariralang pangngalan na LOCATION, tinatakdaan ito ng panandang *sa*. Ngunit kapag ito ang naka-focus na komplemento ng panaguri, ito ay tumatanggap ng panandang *ang* samantalang ang panaguri (na pandiwa) ay kinakabitan ng akma ng panlapi. Tingnan ang mga halimbawang pangungusap:

(28) *Sinementuhan ng tatay ang bakod.*

(29) *Ginandahan ng dalaga ang kaniyang sayaw.*

Ang panaguri sa mga pangungusap sa itaas ay kinakabitan ng panlaping *-in-* na nagpapahayag ng aspektong perpektibo, at ng panlaping *-an* na nagbibigay-focus sa LOCATION gaya ng *ang bakod* sa (28) at *ang kaniyang sayaw* sa (29). Ang pagiging LOCATIVE ng naka-focus na komplemento sa halimbawang pangungusap (29) sa itaas ay metaporikal; ibig sabihin, ipinapahiwatig nitong nilagyan ng katangiang *ganda* ang aksiyon ng pagsayaw ng dalaga. Ito ay maihahambing sa pangungusap (28) na nagpapahiwatig na 'lagyan ng semento ang bakod' batay sa panaguri nitong *sementuhan*.

4.2 Metapora ng LUNAN sa Pandiwang KAGANAPAN

Makikita rin ang konsepto ng LUNAN sa mga pandiwang nagpapahayag ng pagbibigay-pansin, pagdama, at persepsiyon; at karaniwan din sa mga pang-uring may semantik na uri na GAWI. Tingnan ang mga sumusunod na pangungusap:

- (30) a. *Nagalit sa bata ang guro.*
b. *Kinagalitan ng guro ang bata.*
- (31) a. *Namuhi si Juan sa mga kaklase niya.*
b. *Kinamuhian ni Juan ang mga kaklase niya.*
- (32) a. *Natuwa sa pusa ang dalaga.*
b. *Kinatuwaan ng dalaga ang pusa.*
- (33) a. *Natakot sa payaso ang matanda.*
b. *Kinatakutan ng matanda ang payaso.*

Ang mga pangungusap (a) sa itaas ay naglalaman ng mga pandiwang KAGANAPAN bilang panaguri. Ibinibilang ang mga ito na KAGANAPAN dahil sa pagkakabit ng panlaping replacive na *Na-* sa mga stem na pawang nagpapahayag ng emosyon sa pariralang pangngalan na ang semantik na tungkulin ay PERCEPT. Samantala, kung ifo-focus naman ang PERCEPT sa halip na EXPERIENCER gaya ng mga pangungusap (b) sa itaas, nagbabago ang anyo ng panaguri—ikinakabit ang panlaping *ka-...-an*—at inililipat ang panandang *ang* sa pariralang pangngalan na ang semantik na tungkulin ay PERCEPT.

4.3 Metapora ng LUNAN sa mga Pandiwang

KAISIPAN/PAKIKIPAGTALASTASAN

Ang mga pandiwang KAISIPAN/PAKIKIPAGTALASTASAN ay may sintaktik na gawi na nakakawing din sa metapora ng LUNAN, partikular ang pagsasalin ng impormasyon mula sa tagapagsalita patungo sa tagapakinig. Sa Cognitive Grammar, ito ay nakapailalim sa force-dynamic world of experience na ABSTRAK NA PAGLIPAT. Tingnan ang mga sumusunod na halimbawa:

- (34) *Nagsasabi ng katotohanan sa hukom ang saksi.*
- (35) *Ipinaliwanag ng nasasakdal sa abogado ang pangyayari.*
- (36) *Magpapaalala sa iyo ang kaklase mo na kailangan mong gumising nang maaga bukas.*

Makikita sa mga pangungusap sa itaas na ang mga panaguring ginamit ay ang mga pandiwang PAKIKIPAGTALASTASAN na *nagsasabi*, *ipinaliwanag*, at *magpapaalala*. Ang mga naturang pandiwa ay nagtatakda ng panandang nominal na *sa* para sa komplementong nominal na tumatayong THEME. Maliban sa THEME o semantik na tungkuling tumatanggap ng impormasyon, nakapaloob din ang semantik na tungkuling PATIENT gaya ng *ng katotohanan*, *ang pangyayari*, at ang sugnay na komplementong *na kailangan mong gumising nang maaga bukas*. Kasama rin ang semantik na tungkuling AGENT na siyang pasimuno ng aksiyon ng mga ganitong uri ng pandiwa. Kapag ang panaguring pandiwa ng mga pangungusap sa itaas ay magfo-focus sa THEME, ang magiging resultang anyo ay gaya ng mga pangungusap (37) hanggang (39) sa ibaba:

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- (37) *Ang hukom ang pinagsabihan ng saksi ng katotohanan.*
- (38) *Ang abogado ang pinagpaliwanagan ng nasasakdal ng pangyayari.*
- (39) *Ikaw ang papaalalahanan ng kaklase mo na kailangan mong gumising nang maaga bukas.*

Ginamit sa pagbabagong-anyo ang pangungusap na nagtataglay ng panaguring identificational, na ayon kina Reid at Liao (2004, p. 4) ay panaguring nagbibigay ng ispesipikong pagkakakilanlan na nasa anyong nominatibo (*ang*-form), kung kaya ang resultang pangungusap ay may konstruksiyong *ang-ang*. Sa ganang ito, mas napatitingkad o nagiging mas katanggap-tanggap sa pragmatikong paraan ang anyo ng mga pangungusap. Sa pangungusap (39), ang ginamit na panghalip panao ay nasa anyong *ang* (*ang*-form), alinsunod pa rin sa konstruksiyong identificational. Makikita rin sa mga anyo ng mga panaguring pandiwa sa itaas ang paggamit pa rin ng panlaping *-an* na pangkaraniwang para sa komplementong nominal na may semantik na tungkuling LOCATION, na ang mga anyong pawatas ay: *pagsabihan, pagpaliwanagan, paalalahanan*.

Ang LOCATION ay pinakapangkaraniwang ipinapahayag sa pamamagitan ng mga pangungusap na may ISKEMANG PANG-ESPASYO at naglalaman ng panaguring *nasa* + pariralang pangngalan, kung saan itinuturing na dalawang morpema ang *na*, isang pandiwang eksistensiyal na di-nababanghay at *sa*, panandang nominal para sa pariralang pangngalan na may semantik na tungkuling THEME (maaaring balikang ang naunang seksiyon ukol sa *sa* bilang pananda ng LOCATIVE para sa pagtalakay ng portmanteau na *nasa* sa Filipino).

5 Ang mga Nosyon ng SANHI-AT-BUNGA at Konsepto ng LUNAN sa Filipino

Ang nosyon ng SANHI-AT-BUNGA ay binubuo ng SANHI, DAHILAN, at LAYUNIN. Makikita ang kaibahan ng tatlo sa pamamagitan ng ibinigay nina Radden at Dirven (2007, p. 327) na halimbawa, sinipi sa ibaba:

(40) *The bride's mother cried for joy. (= because of)* [cause]

(41) *He went on trial for murder. (= on account of)* [reason]

(42) *He's crying for help. (= in order to get)* [purpose]

Bagaman ang tatlong uri ng nosyon ng SANHI-AT-BUNGA na binanggit sa itaas ay magkakatulad sa paraang lahat sila ay nagbibigay ng paliwanag na SANHI-AT-BUNGA sa pagbabago ng estado o mga pangyayari, nagkakaiba-iba naman ang mga ito sa interpretasyon at, kadalasan, sa paraan ng pagpapahayag.

Ang SANHI ay sitwasyon na nagbubunsod ng isa pang pisikal o sikolohikal na sitwasyon bilang epekto. Higit na daglian ang epekto ng SANHI sa isang sitwasyon kaysa SIRKUNSTANSIYA, at mahihinuha ang iskema na SOURCE-PATH-GOAL bilang abstraksiyon ng mga pahayag na SANHI-BUNGA. Ang mga SANHI sa Filipino ay ipinapahayag sa pamamagitan ng *sa*, na dinaglat na anyo ng pariralang *dahil sa*, gaya ng makikita sa mga sumusunod na pangungusap:

(43) *Umiyak sa tuwa ang nanalo sa lotto.*

(44) *Namatay sa leptospirosis ang bata.*

Sa Ingles, magkaiba ang pagpapahayag ng DIREKTANG SANHI (gaya ng pangungusap (43)) at DI-DIREKTANG SANHI (gaya ng pangungusap

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(44)), kung saan *of* ang ginagamit sa (43) samantalang *from* naman para sa DI-DIREKTANG SANHI sa pangungusap (44)). Sa kabilang banda, sa Filipino, ginagamit ang panandang nominal na *sa* upang ipahayag ang SANHI, tuwiran man o hindi ang ugnayan ng dalawang sitwasyon.

Ang dalawang halimbawang pangungusap sa ibaba ay naglalarawan naman ng mga SANHI na nagdudulot ng EMOSYON (o ‘CAUSES triggering EMOTIONS’):

(45) *Nagalit ang nanay sa pagdadabog ng dalaga.*

(46) *Masaya ang mga manlalaro sa resulta ng patimpalak.*

Ang mga SANHI ay ipinapahayag sa pamamagitan ng pariralang pangngalan o sugnay na komplemento at pinangungunahan ng panandang nominal na *sa*. Makikitang ang panaguri sa matrix na pangungusap ay maaaring pandiwang nagpapahayag ng KAGANAPAN NG EMOSYON (EMOTION ACHIEVEMENT), gaya ng *nagalit* sa pangungusap (45) o pang-uri na naglalahad ng EMOSYON, gaya ng *masaya* sa pangungusap (46).

Ang huling pares ng halimbawang pangungusap sa ibaba ay nagpapahayag naman ng REAKSIYON dulot ng EMOSYON (o ‘EMOTIONS triggering REACTIONS’):

(47) *Namutla sa takot ang binata.*

(48) *Mamamatay ako sa hiya sa ginawa mo!*

Ang uring ito ng SANHI ay naglalarawan ng epekto ng emosyon sa tao na maaaring pisikal (o pisiyolohikal) o iba pang kahawig na reaksiyon, gaya halimbawa ng inilalarawan ng pamumutla na dulot ng pagkatakot

sa halimbawang pangungusap (47) at ng matalinghagang pahayag na pagmamalabis (hyperbole) na *mamamatay* na dulot ng kahihyan sa sitwasyong ipinapahayag ng pangungusap (48). Ang mga naturang SANHI ay minamarkahan ng *sa*, na maaaring pinaikling anyo ng *dahil sa*.

Ang DAHILAN ay sitwasyong nagbibigay-paliwanag sa isang pangyayari; gayunman, hindi kinakailangang totoo ang ugnayan sa pagitan ng mga sitwasyon at maaaring ayon lamang sa paghatol ng tagapagsalita. Sa Filipino, ginagamit ang buong anyo ng pariralang *dahil sa* upang ipahayag ang DAHILAN.

(49) *Pinuri ng tatay ang bata dahil sa pagkapanalo niya sa quiz bee.*

(50) *Inaresto ang binata dahil sa droga.*

Naiiba ang DAHILAN sa SANHI dahil sa ang DAHILAN ay naglalarawan ng mga totoo o nangyaring sitwasyon na ipinapalagay na paliwanag sa isa pang sitwasyon. Ang mga DAHILAN ay maaaring nakabatay sa mga palagay mula sa mga naobserbahang pangyayari o sa mga norm na ispesipiko sa kultura ng pamayanan. Ipinapahayag ang DAHILAN sa Filipino sa pamamagitan ng sugnay na komplemento o pariralang pangngalan na minamarkahan ng *sa*, gaya ng mga halimbawang pangungusap (49) at (50) sa itaas.

Ang LAYUNIN ay naglalarawan ng sitwasyong itinuturing na tunguhing ninanais o hinahangad na makamit sa pamamagitan ng kilos na nakapaloob sa pangungusap o diskurso. Ang mga LAYUNIN ay karaniwang nakaangkla sa hinaharap na panahon at, kagaya ng DAHILAN, umiiral sa isip ng tagapagsalita. Sa Filipino, may ilang paraan upang ipahayag ang LAYUNIN, gaya ng makikita sa mga sumusunod na halimbawang pangungusap:

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- (51) *Para sa karagdagang impormasyon, tumawag sa aming tanggapan.*
- (52) *Sa layuning makatulong sa mahihirap, itinatag ng Kagawaran ang 4Ps.*
- (53) *Mag-Grab na tayo nang makaabot sa pagsisimula ng pelikula.*
- (54) *Uminom siya ng gatas upang madaling makatulog.*

Ang mga LAYUNIN ay naglalarawan ng sitwasyon na kadalasang tinitingnan bilang metapora ng DESTINASYON. Itinatakda kung gayon ang semantik na tungkuling GOAL o DESTINASYON, na minamarkahan sa iba't ibang paraan sa Filipino, gaya ng *para sa*, *sa layuning*, *nang*, at *upang*. Maihahambing ito sa pisikal na destinasyon na hinahangad na masapit. Inilalarawan ng mga halimbawang pangungusap sa itaas na ang aksiyon ay kinailangang isagawa upang makasapit sa hinahangad na makamit o layon.

6 Ilan pang mga Tala sa Konseptuwal na Metapora ng LUNAN sa Filipino

Sa papel na ito, inilahad ang mga representasyon ng mga konstruksiyon sa Filipino na naglalahad at/o nagpapahiwatig ng konseptuwal na metapora ng LUNAN.

Para kay Pinker (1997), ang tao, bilang nag-iisip na hayop, ay gumagamit ng metapora sa wika, partikular ang mga may kinalaman sa ESPASYO at PUWERSA—ang mga ito ay nabuo bilang mga payak na estruktura upang maunawaan ang mas komplikadong ideya. Ayon pa kina Gentner et al. (2001), “[l]abis tayong nakadepende sa pagmamapa mula sa mga domeyn ng danas gaya ng ugnayang may kinalaman sa

espasyo at pagtatalaban ng katawan, dahil ang ating mga modelo sa mga domeyn na ito ay sapat ang pagkasistematiko upang magbigay ng palagay sa estruktura ng iba pang domeyn” (p. 238, salin mula sa orihinal na Ingles).

Ang pagdalumat sa iba’t ibang danas ng tao ay naipapahayag sa pamamagitan ng ekstensiyon ng konsepto ng LUNAN gaya ng mga halimbawang pahayag sa wikang Filipino na inilatag at tinalakay sa itaas. Ito ay umaalingawngaw sa ipinahayag nina Radden at Dirven (2007):

Ang pagkakita at paglalarawan sa panahon, mga pangyayari, sanhi, dahilan o layunin sa pamamagitan ng espasyo ay napakanatural na kailangan nating pag-isipang makalawa bago natin mapagtanto na tayo ay gumagamit ng metapora. Mayroon tayong mayamang pagdalumat ng espasyo, at kapag pinupuntirya natin ang mga nosyong panlunan sa abstrak na domain madalas nating napananatili ang topolohiya ng espasyo kahit na hindi ito nailalapat sa tunguhing domain... Gayunman, sa kanilang mga metaporikal na gamit, ang mga pang-ukol na panlunan ay nagbibigay-daan upang makabuo ng higit na masinsing pag-iiba-iba sa mga abstrak na domain na hindi natin magagawa kung hindi natin magagamit ang metaporang panlunan (p. 304, salin mula sa orihinal na Ingles).

Malapit at payak ang karanasang naglalarawan ng kaugnayan ng tao sa mga bagay sa pisikal na LUNAN. Ito ang nagbibigay-paliwanag

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sa domeyn ng ESPASYO na nagsisilbing batis ng metapora sa marami pang ibang domeyn gaya ng PANAHOON at iba pang abstrak na domeyn. Ayon pa kina Radden at Dirven (2007): "...ang mga nosyon ng pisikal, pamanahon at abstrak na espasyo ay karaniwang ipinapahayag bilang mga pariralang pang-ukol" (p. 331, salin mula sa orihinal na Ingles). Ang pagkakahawig ng mga panandang ginagamit para sa iba't ibang domeyn ay nagpapakita na ang domeyn ng ESPASYO ay pinalalawig sa iba pang domeyn ng karanasan ng tao, na inilalarawan ng mga pangungusap. Inaasahang makapag-ambag ang ganitong analisis sa wika (na hindi lamang nakabatay sa sintaktik na gawi ng mga linggwistik na konstruksiyon) na umuugat sa semantiks at pragmatiks (i.e., naisasama maging ang mga metaporikal na pahayag sa paglalarawan ng buong grammar ng wika) sa ikauunlad ng iba pang usaping may kinalaman sa wika gaya ng pedagohiya, leksikograpiya, at pagsasalin. Sa ganitong pagtingin at pagsusuri sa mga linggwistik na ekspresyon sa isang partikular na wika, lalo ring napatitingkad hindi lamang ang mga idiyosingkratikong katangian ng mga indibidwal na wika, kundi maging ang pananaw-mundo ng mga tagapagsalita nito.

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The Languages Used in Philippine News Agencies and the Risk Perceptions of Filipino Workers During the Outbreak of COVID-19

Mark Kevin P. Reginio

Abstract

The study banks on the media coverage of Philippine news agencies during the Super Typhoon Yolanda (international name: Haiyan), which critics said affected how Filipinos responded to the possible effects of the typhoon. Both the media and government agencies failed to explain what a storm surge (*daluyong*) is and the extent of its destruction. The literature suggests that if a foreign language is used to craft a message, people would perceive and act on it with less risk in mind. As such, this research answered the question, in what language do Filipino workers perceive high-risk perception in reading, listening, and watching

news about COVID-19, in Filipino (ISO 639-3 [*fil*]) or in English [*eng*]?

Using an online survey, which is composed of three sections (words, headlines, and news clippings), administered to 100 Filipino workers, 50 males and 50 females, the research found that both the Filipino and English languages elicit high-risk responses from the respondents. Specifically, three headlines in the Filipino language received high-risk responses, while the word *pandemic*, an English word, accumulated the highest risk response in the section on words. Meanwhile, the news clipping delivered in Filipino received the lowest risk response. These results can be attributed to the fact that Filipinos are bilingual. Filipinos speak English as a second language and some workers surveyed even use English as their primary language. Therefore, we do not experience disfluency in making sense of information written in the English language.

Keywords: risk perception, COVID-19, news, language, bilingualism, Filipino workers

1 Introduction

On 8 November 2013, Super Typhoon Yolanda (international name: Haiyan) made landfall on Eastern Samar, Philippines (Santos, 2013). After almost a week, the typhoon left the country with immense destruction, including 6,300 fatalities and 1.14 million damaged houses

in the country (Morella, 2018). Even though various media institutions reported about the typhoon as early as 2 November and the Philippine Atmospheric Geophysical and Astronomical Services Administration (PAGASA) announced a storm warning signal no. 4 on 7 November, a lot of people—especially in the regions of the Visayas—did not know what to expect from the typhoon. Hence, most of them did not prepare accordingly and were left in shock when ravaged by strong winds, high volumes of rain, and storm surges.

In an interview with 15 survivors of Super Typhoon Yolanda from the provinces of Leyte and Samar, De Roque and Esquejo (2015) revealed that people who were most affected by the typhoon did not understand what a “storm surge” was, inhibiting them from preparing and acting for such an occurrence. One of the respondents attributed their response to the media reportage of the typhoon. They said, “[g]iven the normative idea of the storms, the idea of [storm] surge was not anymore included in the reporting. Hence, there was a tendency for people to be complacent about whatever storm was coming” (p. 107). De Roque and Esquejo (2015) wrote that while media institutions continuously reported on the typhoon, which included the mention of storm surges, they could not effectively translate or laymanize technical terms from PAGASA. A survivor even suggested that news reports could have been written not only in English but also in Filipino and, if possible, using the local languages of affected provinces such as Waray (ISO 639-3 [*war*]) and Cebuano/Binisaya [*ceb*].

Meanwhile, in evaluating the communication processes during Super Typhoon Yolanda, Lejano et al. (2016) explored how local government units communicated “the risks of a storm surge to a

population that has never had any experience of such an event” (p. 449). They found that the processes of translation and feedback during the typhoon were inadequate. The flow of information from the national to the local government agencies was “mostly linear and unidirectional” (p. 452). The warnings from PAGASA were merely copied by the National Disaster Risk Reduction Management Council (NDRRMC). Local units would then translate the advisories into their local language with little processing, resulting in advisories that were not “descriptive, contextual, or explanatory [...]” (Lejano et al., 2016, p. 455).

Whether it be on the side of the media, the government, or the people, the key in times of calamity is right and effective communication. It is not only a matter of communicating the information properly, but it also means communicating the right information factually and contextually. Hayakawa et al. (2016) suggested that decisions of individuals are directly affected by the way information is delivered, whether it is written in their native language or a foreign language. If a foreign language is used to craft a message, people would perceive and act on it with less risk in mind. Meanwhile, Hadjichristidis (2015) posited that stimuli or messages written in a foreign language would prompt more positive affect and induce lower judgments of risk and higher judgments of benefit compared with a native language.

Drawing from the suggestion of a typhoon survivor, this study explored the languages used by the media in reporting about the Coronavirus 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic. Specifically, this study investigated the effects of the languages used in media reports on the risk perceptions of consumers of information, particularly Filipino

workers. The languages observed were Filipino [*fil*] and English [*eng*], which are commonly used by media institutions in the Greater Metro Manila area. Primarily, the study asked if people perceive higher risk when reading information written in Filipino or if they perceive higher risk when reading the news in English.

This study was conducted from July to August 2020, four months after the first community quarantine/lockdown was declared in the Philippines. During this time, research on COVID-19 heavily focused on the health and security of the population, while risk perception and language use in the Philippine media had not been examined thoroughly. The researcher deemed the importance of studying the risk perceptions of Filipino workers because they were at high-risk of contracting the virus, especially those who work onsite, and their primary source of reliable information about COVID-19 came from media institutions. Additionally, this study can shed light on the response practices Filipinos employ depending on how they perceive their situation, whether they are at high-risk or low risk.

2 Review of Related Literature

2.1 Risk Perception

According to the *Encyclopedia of Behavioral Medicine* (Gellman & Turner, 2013), risk perceptions are beliefs of people about “potential harm or the possibility of a loss” (p. 1689). Because they are considered beliefs, risk perceptions are subjective. They represent the likelihood and consequences of the harmful effects of a phenomenon resulting from specific behaviors of individuals. Meanwhile, Paek and Hove (2017)

suggested that risk perception refers to “people’s subjective judgments about the likelihood of negative occurrences” (p. 5). It determines which hazards people care about and how they prepare for those hazards.

In essence, risk perception varies on an individual-to-individual basis. A person may perceive a raging storm as a high-risk catastrophe, while some individuals may have a low-risk perception of the same phenomenon. This is due to the idiosyncratic factors, both internal and external, that affect and surround individuals. As stated in the *Encyclopedia of Behavioral Medicine* (Gellman & Turner, 2013), there are three dimensions of perceived risk: (a) perceived likelihood or the probability that a hazard will harm one; (b) perceived susceptibility or an individual’s vulnerability to a hazard; and (c) perceived severity or the extent of harm a hazard would cause.

To further understand the concept of risk perception, three widely used approaches in the fields of risk perception research and risk communication are available: the Psychometric Approach, the Basic Risk Perception Model (BRPM), and the Social Amplification of Risk.

The Psychometric Approach, introduced by Fischhoff et al. (1978), utilizes questionnaires and factor-analytic procedures to determine dimensions of risk perceptions among individuals. The authors hypothesized that risk perceptions are multidimensional and can be measured using scales and numbers that reflect the characteristics of human risks (Af Wahlberg, 2001). An alternative to this approach is the BRPM, popularized by Sjöberg (1992). This approach expands on the psychometric dimensions of risk perceptions by incorporating factors such as attitude, risk sensitivity, specific fear, and, in some cases, trust.

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In addition, the BRPM uses individuals as units of analysis, not merely as means of response, as operationalized in the Psychometric Approach.

Meanwhile, the Social Amplification of Risk is a sociological framework used in understanding risk perceptions. Formulated by Kaspersen et al. (1988), the framework serves as a social analogy to communication theory, positing that people and organizations can act as “amplifiers” of risk messages that resonate through individuals and societies, thereby producing various effects on the community. It views risk as a “social construct and partly as an objective property of a hazard of an event” (Af Wahlberg, 2001, p. 240).

Among the three approaches discussed above, the Psychometric Approach and the BRPM are more commonly utilized by researchers in the field of risk perception because these frameworks primarily employ questionnaires and surveys as their methodology. Meanwhile, the Social Amplification of Risk approach incorporates experts’ judgments in rating the magnitude of an accident, calamity, or hazard.

The studies on risk perception presented below highlight key themes that illuminate how people perceive risk during a pandemic. These themes include knowledge of the virus, educational attainment of individuals, exposure and proximity to the virus, and the area of concern (e.g., country, locality), as well as the media as the news bearer.

Individuals’ knowledge of a virus is the primary determinant of their risk perception. Yet, various studies present opposing views. Some studies suggest that individuals who are knowledgeable about the virus tend to have a higher risk perception; however, other studies contradict this finding. For instance, Rübsamen et al. (2014) studied the risk perceptions of Germans about the Ebola virus disease (EVD). It was

revealed that while a substantial proportion of the respondents were concerned about EVD, only 29 percent expressed a strong level of worry. This can be attributed to the poor knowledge of Germans about the transmission routes of EVD and its actual risks in a European country that was not directly affected by the outbreak. When the study was conducted in November, Germany had yet to record a case. On the other hand, Rolison and Hanoch (2015) researched risk perception related to the EVD in the United States. They found that individuals who were more knowledgeable about EVD perceived less risk of contracting the virus, but they regarded contracting EVD as a serious sickness.

Related to this is the educational attainment of individuals. Wang (2017) conducted comparative research on risk perception of the Swine Influenza virus (SIV) among at-risk populations in China and the USA. Wang performed face-to-face questionnaire interviews among 67 swine workers in Hubei Province, China, and among 33 swine-related workers in North Carolina, USA. Interestingly, the pig farmers in Hubei Province had relatively low risk perceptions compared to the participants from North Carolina, the majority of whom were medical practitioners. The researcher attributed the low-risk perceptions of swine workers to their lower educational attainment. Consequently, swine workers had little knowledge about SIV.

Meanwhile, the researcher proposed that the moderate risk perceptions of medical practitioners from North Carolina were due to their greater knowledge about SIV infection. However, Lau et al. (2020) noted that while higher levels of education were associated with a greater understanding of COVID-19 transmission routes, appropriate preventive measures were not well identified. Nonetheless, individuals

who identified a greater number of transmission modes tended to adopt more preventive practices.

Exposure to a virus and proximity to a location with a high infection rate are also factors in individuals' risk perceptions, albeit with varying effects. Aside from the abovementioned, Wang (2017) also attributed the moderate risk perceptions of medical practitioners to the fact that they live in communities near pig farms, making the incidence of SIV a common sight to them. On the other hand, survey findings of Dryhurst et al. (2020) among 10 countries revealed that countries with higher confirmed cases of COVID-19 tend to have higher risk perceptions. The United Kingdom and Spain had 148,381 and 219,764 confirmed cases, respectively, when the survey was conducted between mid-March and mid-April of 2020. The researchers attributed this to the concept of "risk as analysis vs risk as feelings" (Weber, 2006, p. 1001), such that people who have had "visceral contact" with the virus strongly engage their affective experiential system, which is known to be activated during the processing of risk information. This finding is supported by the risk perception research of Peres et al. (2020) on COVID-19 among healthcare professionals and the general population in Portugal. The study revealed that healthcare professionals have higher risk perceptions compared to the general population. This is essentially due to their close contact with individuals who have been suspected or confirmed to have COVID-19.

Lastly, the media is a major contributor to the risk perception of individuals who consume information, especially the news. Contrary to the popular belief that income-poor families lack knowledge of the virus, most respondents (86 percent) in the face-to-face interviews

conducted by Lau et al. (2020) in the Philippines reported being aware of COVID-19. The number of individuals who were worried about contracting the virus was 1.31 percent greater for those who have a television. Peres et al. (2020) also noted that media coverage prompted a significant level of fear about COVID-19 in Portugal, while RübSamen et al. (2014) wrote that those who increased their media consumption were more likely to be worried about EVD in Germany. On the other hand, Wang (2017) found that extensive media coverage of the 2009 H1N1 swine flu pandemic in the USA contributed to a moderate risk perception among medical practitioners.

From the studies presented above, it can be inferred that knowledge of the virus is a significant determinant of individuals' risk perception. Respondents who own a television had higher risk perceptions, and respondents who were more knowledgeable of the transmission routes practiced more preventive measures. It can also be said that close contact with individuals who contracted the virus affects an individual's risk perceptions of pandemics. Other factors that may influence risk perception are levels of education, proximity to an area with many confirmed cases, and people's exposure to media such as television and social media.

The last factor, exposure to media, is the focus of the present research. However, another factor is introduced in this study, the importance of the language used in news reports, which was not tackled in any of the research presented. As stated previously, the Psychometric Approach and the BRPM are more utilized by researchers in the field of risk perception. These frameworks were also used in the literature reviewed.

The present study employed the Psychometric Approach to determine the dimensions of risk perceptions among Filipino workers.

2.2 Language and Risk Perception

Language offers the best medium for communicating, processing, and conveying the abstract. Through the interaction of various arbitrary signs and sounds, language enables us to articulate our thoughts and express our experiences. This connection between language and individuals becomes a cultural reality (Corsen, 2009) and a system of living. Agar (1994, as cited in Ottenheimer & Pine, 2017) suggests that language can be a “prison,” an analogy to absolute linguistic determinism, or what he calls the “Strong Whorf” hypothesis.¹ Your language and culture dictate how you perceive the world; if your language does not have a term for a thing, you will not learn that thing.

On the other hand, language can be likened to a “room,” which provides a chance to leave while offering specific ways of perceiving things. Agar calls this the “Weaker Whorf” hypothesis. Your language and culture provide a framework for understanding the things around you; you can shift from one room to another (from one perspective to another) and return to your original room (perspective).

Gadamer (2004) postulated that “all kinds of human community are kinds of linguistic community” (p. 443). Linguistic community or speech community, as (Gumperz, 1972 as cited in Morgan, 2004) coined in 1968, is “[a]ny human aggregate characterized by regular and

¹Benjamin Lee Whorf (1956) posited that individuals have different ways of observing and evaluating their surroundings because they have different ‘grammars’ or language, the so-called linguistic relativity principle.

frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language use” (p. 8). Meanwhile, Labov (1972 as cited in Morgan, 2004) emphasized that a speech community is not formed by any “marked agreement in the use of language elements” (p. 9), but rather by the continued participation in and utilization of shared norms or linguistic practices. The discussion on linguistic community or speech community is relevant in understanding human perception, as membership in a linguistic community affects the worldview of individuals.

This interconnectedness between language and culture fosters our connection with knowledge, enabling us to interpret the world through our unique cultural lens. For instance, the Yupik Inuit culture in Central Canada has several words associated with snow that are unique to the snow terms found in other Arctic countries. ‘Packed snow’ is known as *anuit*, while ‘snowdrift’ is termed as *natib-vik*, which is different from *mavsa*, a word used to denote ‘snowdrift overhang ready to fall’ (Corsen, 2009). Meanwhile, Philippine culture has various terms associated with the word *rice*. Rice planted in soil is called *palay* in Filipino. When the rice is served on a plate, it is called *kanin*. When the rice is softly cooked, it is called *malata*, but when it is overcooked, it is called *tutong*. This phenomenon illustrates the interconnectedness of language with culture and the cultural realities of a country or a specific speech community. As Corsen (2009) explained, issues or concepts that cultural communities regard as important are incorporated into their language systems, as evidenced by the number of words associated with those issues or concepts, which can be likened to the idea of linguistic relativity.

Languages Used in News and Risk Perceptions of Workers

As a cultural resource, language also enables individuals to express emotions, a manifestation of our worldview. Each speech community has its repertoire of shared and varied cultural beliefs that include “personhood, sociality, emotions, knowledge, and human development” (Ochs & Schieffelin, 2012, p. 9). In his study on emotions and perceptions, Prinz (2002) found that individuals without access to a word (e.g., *happy*, *sad*)—their linguistic communities do not have equivalent words—were slower and less accurate in “perceptually classifying relevant facial expressions” (p. 120). It can be said that emotions are products of cultural intricacies. If a culture lacks a term for an emotion, that emotion has a reduced communicative function within that culture. If that emotion has a lesser function, then individuals from that culture have a limited mental representation of it. As Plebe and De La Cruz (2015) posited, emotions are sensitive to historical changes in a culture’s need to communicate related information to specific subjects.

Other aspects of language as a cultural resource include individuals’ perceptions and beliefs, such as risk perceptions. Hayakawa et al. (2016) suggested that individuals’ decisions are directly influenced by the way information is presented, whether it is written in their native language or a foreign language. If a foreign language is used to craft a message, people would perceive and act on it with less risk in mind. The researchers stated that a foreign language “might not” engage the emotional system of individuals as compared to using their native language. In addition, the disfluency of individuals in a foreign language could also contribute to this phenomenon, as the extra step of making sense of a foreign language could lead to more deliberative thinking.

Thus, overshadows the emotional system and increases the need for more careful consideration.

Meanwhile, Hadjichristidis (2015) posited that stimuli or messages written in a foreign language would prompt more positive affect and induce lower judgments of risk and higher judgments of benefit compared to those in a native language. This hypothesis is supplementary to earlier studies and research on bilingualism, which suggest that a foreign language “activates less affect” or “might not engage the emotional system” of individuals. In addition, the researchers postulated that foreign languages rely on automatic emotional processing. Yet, it could be said that the attenuation of emotions that accompanies foreign languages might promote analytical thinking more than emotional processing. This phenomenon is known as “cross-over interaction” (Hadjichristidis, 2015), whereby hazards are rated as less risky and more beneficial in a foreign language compared to a native language. As such, learning a foreign language reduces framing effects and increases the likelihood of making risky choices.

Hadjichristidis (2015) also revealed that the emotional gap between foreign and native languages is more apparent in negative words than in their positive counterparts. This can be attributed to the effect of a foreign language on the language processes of individuals. Foreign language increases the overall positive affect, which blocks access to distressing content while allowing access to positive content. Consequently, a foreign language “might preferentially” activate positive rather than negative associations (Caldwell-Harris, 2015).

3 Methodology

The primary goal of this research is to investigate the impact of the languages used by media institutions in reporting the COVID-19 outbreak in the Philippines on the risk perceptions of the Filipino working class. The study aimed to determine whether Filipinos perceive a higher risk when consuming information crafted in the Filipino language or when reading in the English language. The researcher opted to have workers as respondents in the study because this class continued to work outside their homes—although some were granted a work-from-home setup—even when the Enhanced Community Quarantine or the Modified Enhanced Community Quarantine² was declared, thus exposing them to a probable contraction of the virus. The languages observed in this research were Filipino and English, as these are the languages predominantly used by Philippine media institutions.

Snowball convenience sampling was employed to recruit 100 respondents, 50 males and 50 females. This sampling technique was used because this study was conducted entirely online, due to the quarantine measures implemented at the time. This sampling technique allowed the researcher to access individuals who are qualified to be respondents of the research, outside his social network, through referrals. Snowball convenience sampling was also used by Peres et al. (2020). Meanwhile, 100 respondents were recruited as the minimum

²The Philippine government introduced various community quarantines during the COVID-19 outbreak to contain the rapid transmission of the virus. The most stringent is the Enhanced Community Quarantine wherein mobility is generally restricted with public transportation suspended. The less strict version is the Modified Enhanced Community Quarantine wherein some public activities are allowed.

statistically meaningful sample size. To ease the process of looking for respondents, the researcher posted the online survey form on various Viber and Messenger groups. An informed consent note (see Appendix) was provided at the beginning of the survey to emphasize that participation is voluntary and that respondents may withdraw from any part of the survey at any time.

The research employed quantitative methods, primarily online questionnaires, to assess the risk perceptions of Filipino workers. This method was also used in the studies presented in the related literature (e.g., Dryhurst et al., 2020; Peres et al., 2020; Rolison & Hanoch, 2015; RübSamen et al., 2014; and Wang, 2017). However, instead of simply asking if respondents were worried about contracting COVID-19, the researcher used words, headlines, and news clippings written and delivered in both Filipino and English to assess the respondents' risk perceptions. Words frequently used in the coverage of COVID-19 were utilized as the basic unit of information that can trigger risk perception. Headlines were included because—due to the advent of social media—many Filipino online users now only read headlines on their social media feeds instead of clicking on the link to the full news (Chua, 2021). Lastly, news clippings were used because most Filipinos prefer watching the news to reading it (Chua, 2025; Pulse Asia Research, Inc., 2021).

The respondents assessed their risk perceptions using a five-point Likert scale as shown in Figure 1. The Likert scale was also utilized in the research presented above (e.g., Dryhurst et al., 2020; Peres et al., 2020; Rolison & Hanoch, 2015; RübSamen et al., 2014; and Wang, 2017). In the survey form, Tagalog translations were provided per point.



Figure 1. Five-point Likert Scale for Assessing Risk Perceptions

The online survey was divided into four sections: (a) demographics (sex, age, educational attainment, and work sector), (b) words (presented as audio), (c) headlines, and (d) news clippings (presented as video). The respondents were asked for the following information: sex, age, educational attainment, and work sector. Educational attainment is not always included in risk perception surveys; however, the researcher included this information because the literature suggests that levels of education affect individuals' risk perceptions (e.g., Lau et al., 2020; Wang, 2017).

The second section of the survey assessed the risk perceptions of the respondents using words commonly used in the reportage of the COVID-19 outbreak in the Philippines (see Appendix). The researcher compiled 20 words, both in Filipino and English, and arranged those in a manner that equivalent words or translations will not be presented one after the other. The words were placed in this manner: Eng-Eng-Fil-Eng-Fil-Fil-Eng-Fil-Eng-Fil (and repeat). The words chosen are the ones used by the World Health Organization (WHO)³, and those can be found in the online COVID-19 dictionary of Google. Instead of reading the words, the respondents were asked to listen to the recorded words and rate their perceptions of risk. The researcher recorded the

³“Impormasyong pampubliko” from WHO: <<https://www.who.int/philippines/emergencies/covid-19-response-in-the-philippines/impormasyong-pampubliko>>.

words to achieve a “real-time” answer from the respondents. This was done to satisfy the multimodal comprehension utilized in receiving the news: reading, listening, and viewing.

The third section comprises headlines from various online media agencies. The researcher compiled 10 headlines, both in Filipino and English, posted from January to June 2020 (see Appendix). To arrive at a selection, the researcher used the “Tools” tab in Google to manipulate the date range of news (January to June 2020). The researcher randomly picked one news article from January and February (a total of two) and two news articles from March, April, May, and June (a total of eight). The researcher ensured that both Filipino and English headlines would include numbers. The headlines were arranged alternately in a manner that Filipino headlines come after English headlines to balance the appearance of the languages. In terms of the month, the headlines were ordered randomly: Jan, Apr, Feb, June, Mar, June, Mar, May, May, Apr. In this section, respondents were asked to read the headlines and rate their perceptions of risk.

Lastly, the fourth section comprises news clippings from various broadcasting agencies. The researcher used five videos, three in Filipino and two in English, which were uploaded to YouTube from January to June 2020 (see Appendix). Similar to the headlines section, the researcher used the “Tools” tab in Google’s search engine. The researcher also randomly picked one news clipping from each month except February, the month before the first lockdown was announced in the Philippines. The researcher avoided news clippings that reported large numbers to minimize the “number effect.” The videos were trimmed to 30 seconds and arranged in the following sequence: Eng-Fil-Fil-Eng-

Fil. The respondents were asked to watch the videos and rate their perceptions of risk. Answers were recorded in an Excel sheet formulated by the researcher.

After data gathering, which transpired from 1 to 4 July 2020, the researcher sorted the data into the following variables: sex, age, educational attainment, and work sector. Descriptive statistics were used in this research to determine the average rate of risk perceptions of the respondents. The statistical measure of mean was used to identify which words, headlines, and news clippings have high-risk perceptions, with the end goal of determining which language poses higher risk: the Filipino or English language.

4 Results and Discussion

This research investigated the relationship between the languages used by media institutions in reporting about COVID-19 and the risk perceptions of Filipino workers. As stated in the previous section, descriptive statistics were used in analyzing the data, primarily the statistical measure of mean, without accounting for the statistical difference and correlation of various data identified in the demographics section of the survey. The primary goal of the study is to identify which language, English or Filipino, elicits a high-risk response from the respondents.

In general, female respondents have higher risk perceptions compared to their male counterparts. The work sector with the consistently low risk perception is the BPO sector among female respondents. In terms of the language used, the risk perceptions of the

Table 1. Demographic Distribution

	Female	Male
Age		
20-24	30	20
25-29	15	18
30-34	1	7
35-39	4	2
40-44	0	2
45-49	0	1
Educational Attainment		
Undergraduate	36	29
Graduate	12	7
Secondary	2	14
Work Sector		
Agriculture	2	1
BPO	5	3
Construction	1	14
Education	23	12
Finance	2	1
Freelance	0	2
Home-based	0	1
IT	9	4
Media	6	5
Musician	0	2
OFW	0	1
Professional	1	0
Retail	1	3
TOTAL	50	50

respondents vary from the words frequently used in headlines to the news clippings.

Table 1 shows the demographic distribution of the individuals who responded to the online survey. The ages of respondents range from 20 to 49 years old. However, no female respondents are aged 40 to 49. In terms of educational attainment, most respondents (65 percent), both female and male, hold undergraduate degrees. Respondents came from 14 work sectors. For females, 46 percent came from the field of education. For males, most of the respondents were from the construction and education sectors.

For data analysis, the data gathered were sorted into four variables: (a) by sex, (b) by sex and age, (c) by sex and educational attainment, and (d) by sex and work sector. The common factor for each variable is sex, as supported by the literature, which indicates that females typically have a higher risk perception than males (e.g., Dryhurst et al., 2020; Wang, 2017).

4.1 Risk Perception for Words

Table 2 presents the commonly used words in the reporting of the COVID-19 outbreak in the Philippines, as well as the risk perceptions of females and males. Table 3 and Table 4 present the risk perceptions of females and males by age and educational attainment, respectively. The risk perceptions of respondents, sorted by work sector, are presented in the Appendix.

Generally, consistent with the literature, females have a higher risk perception across all four variables. However, in contrast to the findings of Wang (2017), the age groups with relatively higher risk perceptions

are 35-39 for females and 30-34 for males, which are age groups in the middle of the age range.

Table 2. Risk Perceptions of Respondents by Sex for Words

	Female	Male
pandemic	4.60	4.22
quarantine	3.40	3.24
namatay	4.52	4.20
isolate	3.08	2.92
positibo	3.92	3.60
pagkalat	4.02	3.84
infectious	4.26	4.04
walang sintomas	3.04	2.96
virus	4.14	3.84
pagdami	3.84	3.50
outbreak	4.58	3.96
asymptomatic	3.72	3.50
mikrobyo	3.44	3.20
spread	3.70	3.50
ihawalay	2.78	2.70
nakahahawa	4.28	4.04
positive	3.90	3.56
kwarantina	3.46	3.30
death	4.00	3.76
pandemya	4.62	4.14
Mean	3.87	3.60

The youngest age group for females has the lowest risk perception, while the youngest age group for males is below the average risk perception of the 30-34 age group, which has the highest risk perception.

Table 3. Risk Perceptions of Respondents by Sex and Age for Words

	20-24		25-29		30-34		35-39		40-44		45-49	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
pandemic	4.51	4.60	4.82	4.00	5.00	4.71	4.67	3.00	0	3.50	0	1.00
quarantine	3.37	3.40	3.82	3.39	3.00	3.00	2.33	1.50	0	4.00	0	1.00
namatay	4.51	4.55	4.36	4.11	5.00	4.57	5.00	1.50	0	4.50	0	1.00
isolate	2.97	3.00	3.36	2.94	3.00	3.43	3.33	1.50	0	2.50	0	1.00
positibo	3.71	3.95	4.36	3.39	3.00	4.00	5.00	1.50	0	3.50	0	2.00
pagkalat	3.91	4.05	4.09	3.83	4.00	4.14	5.00	2.00	0	4.00	0	1.00
infectious	4.34	4.30	3.91	4.00	5.00	4.29	4.33	1.50	0	4.50	0	2.00
walang sintomas	2.91	3.10	3.18	2.83	3.00	3.43	4.00	2.00	0	2.50	0	2.00
virus	4.14	4.15	4.00	3.83	5.00	3.57	4.33	3.00	0	3.00	0	3.00
pagdami	3.74	3.55	3.91	3.50	3.00	3.86	5.00	2.00	0	4.00	0	2.00
outbreak	4.54	4.40	4.55	4.06	5.00	3.86	5.00	2.00	0	2.50	0	1.00
asymptomatic	3.94	3.85	3.09	3.39	2.00	3.71	4.00	2.00	0	2.50	0	2.00
mikrobyo	3.40	3.30	3.09	3.17	5.00	3.00	4.67	3.00	0	3.50	0	3.00
spread	3.69	3.60	3.45	3.50	3.00	3.71	5.00	2.00	0	3.00	0	4.00
ihawalay	2.83	2.50	2.91	2.78	3.00	3.14	1.67	2.00	0	3.50	0	2.00
nakahahawa	4.34	4.40	4.00	3.94	3.00	4.29	5.00	2.00	0	3.50	0	2.00
positive	3.91	3.95	4.00	3.22	3.00	3.86	3.67	2.00	0	4.00	0	2.00
kwarantina	3.40	3.35	3.55	3.11	3.00	4.00	4.00	2.00	0	4.00	0	2.00
death	4.00	3.85	4.27	3.72	3.00	4.29	3.33	2.00	0	4.00	0	2.00
pandemya	4.63	4.55	4.64	4.22	3.00	3.86	5.00	2.00	0	4.00	0	1.00
Mean	3.84	3.82	3.87	3.55	3.60	3.84	4.22	2.03	0	3.53	0	1.85

The findings of Wang (2017) and Lau et al. (2020) on the correlation between educational attainment and risk perception—individuals with lower (higher) educational attainment have low-risk (high-risk) perceptions—are inconsistent with those of this research. The females who finished secondary education recorded the highest risk perception, with a mean response of 4.15, while males with a secondary education diploma ranked second in risk perception, at 3.60.

Table 4. Risk Perceptions of Respondents by Sex and Educational Attainment for Words

	High School		Undergraduate		Graduate	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
pandemic	5.00	3.57	4.56	4.38	4.67	4.86
quarantine	2.00	3.14	3.42	3.24	3.58	3.43
namatay	5.00	3.71	4.50	4.31	4.50	4.71
isolate	3.00	3.21	3.14	2.72	2.92	3.14
positibo	5.00	3.36	3.81	3.48	4.08	4.57
pagkalat	5.00	3.79	3.92	3.69	4.17	4.57
infectious	4.00	3.79	4.22	4.14	4.42	4.14
walang sintomas	5.00	3.43	2.83	2.83	3.33	2.57
virus	4.00	4.00	3.97	3.52	4.67	4.86
pagdami	5.00	3.79	3.69	3.31	4.08	3.71
outbreak	5.00	3.64	4.50	4.03	4.75	4.29
asymptomatic	4.00	3.64	3.64	3.24	3.92	4.29
mikrobyo	5.00	3.57	3.28	2.76	3.67	4.29
spread	5.00	3.71	3.61	3.34	3.75	3.71
ihawalay	1.00	3.36	2.81	2.48	3.00	2.29
nakahahawa	5.00	3.86	4.17	4.03	4.50	4.43
positive	3.00	3.64	3.89	3.38	4.08	4.14
kwarantina	4.00	3.64	3.36	3.21	3.67	3.00
death	3.00	3.50	3.92	3.86	4.42	3.86
pandemya	5.00	3.64	4.58	4.21	4.67	4.86
Mean	4.15	3.60	3.79	3.51	4.04	3.99

The work sector with the highest risk perception for females is the finance sector, with a mean response of 4.30, while males from the retail field recorded the highest risk perception at 4.13. On the other hand, the lowest risk perception is observed from the BPO sector for both female and male respondents. The low-risk perception of BPO workers

can be attributed to the fact that most of them are working from home, unlike workers in the retail sector who need to go out to buy and sell goods. This is consistent with the conclusion of Dryhurst et al. (2020) that individuals with less potential exposure to the virus, in this case, individuals who stay at home, have lower risk perceptions.

Across all variables, female and male respondents perceive the words *pandemic* and *pandemya* as high-risk. Other words which are rated as high-risk are *namatay* and *outbreak*. Interestingly, their counterparts, *death* and *pagkalat*, are rated lower by the respondents. This can be explained by the frequency of use of the words in the media: the former are often heard in the news, while the latter are seldom used. While it was not asked in the online survey, the literature suggests that individuals who are more exposed to the media, in this case, the news, have higher risk perceptions compared to those who have lesser exposure (Lau et al., 2020; Peres et al., 2020; Rübsamen et al., 2014).

4.2 Risk Perception for Headlines

Table 5 shows the risk perceptions of females and males on the headlines they assessed. Table 6 and Table 7 present the risk perceptions of the respondents regarding the headlines by age and educational attainment, respectively. The risk perceptions of respondents sorted by work sector are in the Appendix.

Consistent with earlier findings on the words commonly used in COVID-19 reportage, female respondents reported higher risk perceptions compared to males. The 35-39 age group still recorded the highest risk perception among females. On the other hand, the 20-24

Table 5. Risk Perceptions of Respondents by Sex for Headlines

	Female	Male
Philippines confirms first case...	3.98	3.58
Kaso ng COVID-19 sa bansa...	4.56	4.04
DFA: 49 Filipinos aboard...	4.22	3.66
Ilang Philhealth benefits...	4.28	3.98
Philippines under state of...	4.66	4.12
UP experts: Aabot nang 40,000...	4.76	4.20
Philippines reports second...	4.02	3.76
'Highest sa isang araw:' COVID-19 cases...	4.74	4.22
PH coronavirus cases reach...	4.68	4.20
DOH: Sa 'worst case scenario,'...	4.84	4.46
Mean	4.47	4.02

age group for males has the highest risk perception, which is consistent with Wang's (2017) findings.

For this variable, the conclusions of Wang (2017) and Lau et al. (2020) are now evident in the data generated from male respondents. The highest risk perception is recorded among those who have finished a graduate degree, with a mean response of 4.17. In contrast, respondents who have completed secondary-level education exhibit the lowest risk perception. On the other hand, females who have completed undergraduate degrees have the lowest risk perception, with a mean response of 4.39, which is consistent with the findings of their cohort earlier.

The work sector with the highest risk perception for females is the finance sector, again, with a mean response of 4.85. However, it cannot be ascertained whether respondents from this sector report to the office

Table 6. Risk Perceptions of Respondents by Sex and Age for Headlines

	20-24		25-29		30-34		35-39		40-44		45-49	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Philippines confirms first case...	4.09	4.05	3.82	3.50	5.00	3.71	3.00	2.00	0	1.50	0	2.00
Kasong COVID-19 sa bansa...	4.57	4.45	4.36	3.78	5.00	4.29	5.00	3.00	0	4.00	0	1.00
DFA: 49 Filipinos aboard...	4.23	3.85	3.91	3.33	5.00	4.14	5.00	3.50	0	4.50	0	1.00
Ilang Philhealth benefits...	4.40	4.45	3.91	3.50	5.00	4.14	4.00	3.50	0	4.50	0	2.00
Philippines under state of...	4.63	4.40	4.64	4.00	5.00	4.57	5.00	2.50	0	4.00	0	1.00
UP experts: Aabot nang 40,000...	4.80	4.65	4.73	3.83	5.00	4.43	4.33	3.00	0	4.50	0	2.00
Philippines reports second...	4.03	3.75	3.73	3.78	5.00	4.29	4.67	3.50	0	3.00	0	2.00
'Highest sa isang araw:' COVID-19 cases...	4.80	4.60	4.55	3.89	5.00	4.43	4.67	3.50	0	4.50	0	2.00
PH coronavirus cases reach...	4.71	4.55	4.73	4.00	5.00	4.29	4.00	3.50	0	4.50	0	1.00
DOH: Sa 'worst case scenario,' ...	4.89	4.75	4.64	4.17	5.00	4.71	5.00	4.00	0	5.00	0	2.00
Mean	4.51	4.35	4.30	3.78	5.00	4.30	4.47	3.20	0	4.00	0	1.60

every day or have work-from-home arrangements. Meanwhile, the music sector for males recorded the highest risk perception at 5.00. The lowest risk perception is observed again in the BPO sector for females, while the construction sector records the lowest risk perception for males.

With regards to the headlines, two headlines written in Filipino have the highest risk perceptions across variables: “DOH: Sa ‘worst case scenario,’ *aabot nang 2021 ang COVID-19 crisis sa Pilipinas*” and “‘Highest *sa isang araw:*’ COVID-19 cases *sa Pinas sumirit nang 539, umabot sa 15,588.*” While it can be argued that more than the language

Table 7. Risk Perceptions of Respondents by Sex and Educational Attainment for Headlines

	High School		Undergraduate		Graduate	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Philippines confirms first case... Kaso ng COVID-19 sa bansa... DFA: 49 Filipinos aboard... Ilang Philhealth benefits... Philippines under state of... UP experts: Aabot UP experts: Aabot Philippines reports second... 'Highest sa isang araw:' COVID-19 cases... PH coronavirus cases reach... DOH: Sa 'worst case scenario,'...	3.00	3.07	3.92	3.79	4.33	3.71
	5.00	3.50	4.47	4.21	4.75	4.43
	5.00	3.43	4.14	3.62	4.33	4.29
	4.00	3.43	4.19	4.31	4.58	3.71
	5.00	3.36	4.56	4.38	4.92	4.57
	5.00	3.50	4.69	4.45	4.92	4.57
	5.00	3.29	3.89	3.79	4.25	4.57
	5.00	3.50	4.64	4.41	5.00	4.86
	4.00	3.57	4.61	4.38	5.00	4.71
	5.00	3.79	4.78	4.69	5.00	4.86
Mean	4.60	3.44	4.39	4.20	4.71	4.43

used, these headlines contain “alarming” phrases (e.g., ‘worst case scenario’ and ‘highest *sa isang araw*’) that trigger high-risk response, other headlines also contain the same “alarming” message and number (e.g., “PH coronavirus cases reach 14,669, with 886 deaths” and “Philippines under state of calamity due to COVID-19”). Actually, the

two English headlines stated are the two headlines with the highest risk perceptions in the English language. Yet, it can be said that the words used in the Filipino headlines are rooted in the everyday lives of Filipinos (*kamalayang Pilipino*). As Hadjichristidis (2015) postulated, messages written in a foreign language elicit a more positive effect compared to messages written in the native language; therefore, the Filipino headlines are rated as high-risk.

4.3 Risk Perception for News Clippings

Table 8 presents the risk perceptions of females and males on the five videos reporting on the COVID-19 situation in the Philippines. Table 9 and Table 10 present the risk perceptions of females and males regarding the video clips, categorized by age and educational attainment, respectively. The risk perception of respondents on the news clippings by work sector is in the Appendix.

Table 8. Risk Perceptions of Respondents by Sex for News Clippings

	Female	Male
Video 1	4.16	3.90
Video 2	4.26	3.96
Video 3	3.40	3.26
Video 4	4.18	3.88
Video 5	4.22	3.84
Mean	4.04	3.77

The observation that females have relatively higher risk perceptions is consistent up to the last variable of this study. Additionally, the age group of 35-39 for females has been recording the highest risk perception,

Table 9. Risk Perceptions of Respondents by Sex and Age for News Clippings

	20-24		25-29		30-34		35-39		40-44		45-49	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Video 1	4.11	4.10	4.09	3.61	5.00	4.57	4.67	3.0	0	4.50	0	1.00
Video 2	4.14	4.20	4.36	3.67	5.00	4.43	5.00	3.0	0	5.00	0	1.00
Video 3	3.51	3.30	2.82	2.83	4.00	4.29	4.00	3.0	0	4.50	0	1.00
Video 4	4.11	4.25	4.18	3.56	5.00	4.29	4.67	3.0	0	4.00	0	1.00
Video 5	4.23	3.95	4.18	3.78	5.00	4.29	4.00	2.5	0	4.50	0	1.00
Mean	4.02	3.96	3.93	3.49	4.80	4.37	4.47	2.9	0	4.50	0	1.00

Table 10. Risk Perceptions of Respondents by Sex and Educational Attainment for News Clippings

	High School		Undergraduate		Graduate	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Video 1	5.00	3.50	4.06	4.03	4.33	4.14
Video 2	5.00	3.50	4.17	4.07	4.42	4.43
Video 3	4.00	3.29	3.28	3.21	3.67	3.43
Video 4	5.00	3.36	4.03	3.93	4.50	4.71
Video 5	4.00	3.43	4.14	3.97	4.50	4.14
Mean	4.60	3.41	3.93	3.84	4.28	4.17

while for males, the age group of 30-34 has the highest risk perception. A conclusive correlation between age and risk perception is not observed in this research, as female and male respondents exhibit varying results. Additionally, the knowledge factor, which was used in Rolison and Hanoch (2015) and Rübsamen et al. (2014), is not asked in the online survey.

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Meanwhile, data from male respondents also present the same trend: those who received graduate degrees have the highest risk perception, with a mean response of 4.17. In contrast, males with secondary degree diplomas had the lowest risk perception, at 3.41. On the other hand, data from females still show contrasting results from the study of Wang (2017) and Lau et al. (2020), as females who finished secondary level recorded the highest risk perception at 4.60 mean response. The inconsistency in the results can be attributed to the missing factor, which was not asked in the survey: the respondents' knowledge about COVID-19. Moreso, Lau et al. (2020) note that even though individuals with higher educational attainment have higher risk perceptions, this does not translate into active preventive measures.

Across all variables, female respondents from the BPO sector recorded the lowest risk perceptions. Meanwhile, females from the agriculture sector exhibited the highest risk perceptions in this variable. For males, construction workers again recorded the lowest risk perceptions, while male respondents from the music sector recorded the highest risk perceptions for the second time. While no work sector consistently evokes a high-risk perception from both female and male respondents, female respondents in the BPO sector consistently exhibit a low-risk perception. As mentioned above, BPO workers at the onset of the pandemic were mostly working from home.

Unlike the earlier findings on the words and headlines used to report on COVID-19, there is no news clipping that consistently elicited a high-risk response. Yet, the news clipping that is perceived as low risk by respondents across all variables is video 3 with the headline, "*Pagse-spray ng alcohol sa katawan, 'di nirerekomenda ng WHO,*" written in

the Filipino language. During the time the survey was conducted, the demand for rubbing alcohol was high as the World Health Organization and the Department of Health of the Philippines advised the public to frequently clean their hands using soap and water or rubbing alcohol. This should trigger a high-risk response, but respondents think otherwise. Clearly, this is not a case of disfluency, as Hayakawa et al. (2016) noted, because “alcohol,” while an English word, has been part of the everyday vocabulary of Filipinos. It can be attributed then to Rolison and Hanoch’s (2015) conclusion that individuals with greater knowledge of the preventive measures against the virus, in this case, the use of rubbing alcohol, tend to have lower risk perceptions.

5 Summary and Conclusion

The findings of this study support the existing literature, which suggests that females tend to have higher risk perceptions than males. In terms of age and educational attainment, the results for female and male respondents differ, making it difficult to formulate generalizations. Meanwhile, although there is no work sector with a consistently high-risk perception, the BPO sector has the lowest risk perception among female respondents across variables, which aligns with the literature.

The words that female and male respondents, across four variables, perceived as high-risk are *pandemya* and *pandemic*. Yet, *pandemic* accumulated a higher risk perception than *pandemya*. The headlines that the respondents perceived as high-risk are all written in the Filipino language. The top three headlines are: “UP experts: *Aabot nang* 40,000

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COVID-19 cases *sa Pilipinas ngayong Hunyo*,” “‘Highest *sa isang araw*:’ COVID-19 cases *sa Pinas sumirit nang 539, umabot sa 15,588*,” and “DOH: *Sa ‘worst case scenario,’ aabot nang 2021 ang COVID-19 crisis sa Pilipinas*.” On the other hand, there is no apparent video that the respondents perceived as high-risk. However, video 3 received the lowest risk perception across the four variables. This video with the headline, “*Pagse-spray ng alcohol sa katawan, ‘di nirerekomenda ng WHO*,” is delivered in the Filipino language.

The literature suggests that information crafted or delivered using the native language triggers a higher risk compared to information in foreign languages (Hadjichristidis, 2015; Hayakawa et al., 2016). This finding is not completely observed in this research. While the three headlines in the Filipino language elicited high-risk responses, video 3, delivered in the Filipino language, received the lowest risk perception. Additionally, the word *pandemic*, an English term, elicited the highest risk response among the words frequently used in the reporting of COVID-19.

Thus, it can be surmised that both the Filipino and English languages trigger high-risk responses from the Filipino workers surveyed. Several Filipinos are proficient in English, and most of us have English as a second language; thus, we no longer experience “disfluency” in making sense of information written in the English language. Additionally, when the media first reported about the COVID-19 outbreak in the country, the word that was constantly used to refer to the phenomenon was *pandemic* more than *pandemya*. As such, this concept was absorbed into the consciousness (*kamalayan*) of many Filipinos, as the term *pandemic*

has been continuously used in the media, on social media, and in everyday conversations.

Being bilingual, Filipinos have two ways of perceiving the world: one through the Filipino language and culture, and the other through the American language and culture. This is what Agar (1994) proposed, likening language to a room (the Weak Whorf hypothesis). Filipinos reading or watching the news about COVID-19 can shift their perspectives; they can enter a specific “room” depending on which language is used in the media. As Athanasopoulos (2015) posited, bilingual speakers seemed to switch between perspectives based on the language most active in their minds. Moreover, respondents of the survey came from different work sectors and, thus, belong to various linguistic or speech communities. Some of these communities use English as their primary language of communication (e.g., BPO, finance, IT). In contrast, some communities use English and Filipino simultaneously (e.g., education, freelance, media, police, professional, retail).

Unfortunately, language attitudes in the Philippines have placed a premium on learning to speak English fluently—much like native Americans—that the language has carried a higher social status. The notion generated, thus far, is that Filipinos who speak in English are educated, literate, and socialites. However, this is largely observed in urban areas and in the middle to higher social classes. Filipinos living in poverty, who do not have access to education, mostly use the Filipino language (e.g., the language or dialect in their area).

That being said, media institutions should continue to use both languages in reporting. In particular, news stations on free-to-air TV

channels that do not require a cable subscription should continue using Filipino, as this is more accessible to the general public. Meanwhile, government agencies concerned with disaster and public health should assess how they communicate information to the public. Instead of relying on media institutions to deliver information that is comprehensible to all, communication teams within these agencies should formulate ways to make their announcements easily digestible to the public.

Indeed, as Weiler (2015) noted, being bilingual has its advantages. Filipinos, for instance, “may get the best of both worldviews as their thinking can be more flexible” (para. 1). This study has revealed that both the Filipino and English languages may evoke a high-risk perception among Filipinos. However, whether this risk perception translates to action or an appropriate response should be interrogated in future studies.

6 Recommendations

This study explored the risk perceptions of COVID-19 among the Filipino working class. However, instead of simply asking whether Filipinos perceive risk about the current situation, words, headlines, and videos reporting about the outbreak of COVID-19 were used to elicit their risk perception. Due to the pandemic, the data gathering was conducted online using an online survey form.

Having said that, the researcher recommends face-to-face data gathering. Instead of administering the survey form individually, future researchers can conduct a simultaneous answering of the survey

wherein they will read the words and headlines out loud as respondents rate their risk perceptions. Researchers can also have the respondents watch the videos at the same time. This procedure is recommended to achieve a “real-time” response from the respondents. The researcher also recommends a relatively larger sample size. Future researchers can also explore having a concentrated population. For instance, they can limit the respondents to BPO workers or high school graduates to isolate a variable.

As presented in the literature review, some factors that influence the risk perceptions of individuals include their contact with people who contracted the virus and their proximity to an area with many confirmed cases. Having said that, the researcher recommends including in the demographics section of the survey the health declaration information of the respondents and the place they are residing in. Other factors that can be included are the work set-up of the respondents (e.g., work-from-home, onsite, or hybrid), the respondents’ knowledge of the virus (e.g., virus transmission, symptoms, and virus incubation period), and the respondents’ self-reported proficiency in English and Filipino. These factors were mentioned to be lacking in the present research.

Since this study involves the media as the source of information, the researcher recommends including the following factors in the survey: (a) media platforms where respondents get information, (b) the number of hours respondents spend consuming information, and (c) the preferred language of respondents when reading information. Additionally, future researchers may quantify the frequency of COVID-19-related terms as used in news reports. These factors, aside

from bringing another layer of analysis, may prove to be influential in the risk perceptions of the respondents. Lastly, future researchers may consider doing mixed-methods research. They may employ qualitative methods such as conducting interviews or focus group discussions.

Outside of the research, the researcher recommends that local media institutions outside of Greater Metro Manila continue using their local languages. Local media can refer to the projects initiated by the University of the Philippines Diliman Department of Linguistics, the Language Warriors PH, and the Philippine Institute of Volcanology and Seismology, the DANAS project, for materials relating to COVID-19 and disaster preparedness translated into various local languages. While there are English terms that cannot be directly translated, it is still better to explain concepts in their local language, especially if these have something to do with health and disaster. The same goes for government agencies in the provinces. Their communication teams must study well the composition of their locality to know the languages they speak, instead of just echoing information from the central office. Lastly, the researcher recommends that policymakers explore the possibility of empowering barangays in terms of communicating disaster risk response and health management information. Barangay officials are the most familiar with the situation and composition of their barangays, which will be beneficial in knowing how to best communicate information that is of value to individuals' safety and wellness.

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8 Appendix

8.1 Informed consent note before taking the survey



Language and Risk Perception Survey

Good day!

You are about to answer a survey for a study entitled "The Languages Used in Philippine News Agencies and the Risk Perceptions of Filipino Workers During the Outbreak of COVID-19". This research scrutinizes the effect of the languages used in the news to the risk perceptions of the consumers of the information. The survey is composed of three parts namely: words (audio), headlines, and news clippings (video).

Participation in this survey is voluntary. You have the right to withdraw at any time, without prejudice, should you object to the nature of the research. You are entitled to ask questions after your participation.

Your answers will be recorded. All data will be kept in secured files.

Regards,
Mark Kevin P. Reginio, LPT
mpreginio@up.edu.ph

Next

Clear form

8.2 List of Words

pandemic	outbreak
quarantine	asymptomatic
namatay	mikrobyo
isolate	spread
positibo	ihawalay
pagkalat	nakahahawa
infectious	positive
walang sintomas	kwarantina
virus	death
pagdami	pandemya

8.3 List of headlines

Philippines confirms first case of novel coronavirus
Kaso ng COVID-19 sa bansa lagpas 3,000 na, patay umakyat na sa 136
DFA: 49 Filipinos aboard Diamond Princess test positive for COVID-19
Ilang Philhealth benefits baka suspendihin sa gitna ng COVID-19
Philippines under state of calamity due to COVID-19
UP experts: Aabot nang 40,000 COVID-19 cases sa Pilipinas ngayong Hunyo
Philippines reports second COVID-19 death
'Highest sa isang araw:' COVID-19 cases sa Pinas sumirit nang 539, umabot sa 15,588
PH coronavirus cases reach 14,669, with 886 deaths
DOH: Sa 'worst case scenario,' aabot nang 2021 ang COVID-19 crisis sa Pilipinas

8.4 List of headlines of news clippings

Authorities monitoring 5-year-old boy with coronavirus
 Kaso ng COVID-19 sa Pinas umakyat sa 6; local transmission kinumpirma
 Pagse-spray ng alcohol sa katawan, 'di nirerekomenda ng WHO
 Roque: PH is still on first wave of infections
 I12 na lugar sa bansa, nasa localized lockdown -DILG

8.5 Risk perceptions of respondents by sex and work sector for Words

	Agri		BPO		Construct		Educ		Finance		Freelance		Home		IT		Media		Music		OFW		Police		Prof		Retail	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	FM	FM	F	M	F	M	F	M	FM	FM	FM	F	M	F	M	F	M	
Philippines...	3.00	5.00	3.40	4.33	5.00	2.57	4.00	3.50	5.00	5.00	0	3.50	0	3.00	4.22	3.50	4.17	4.80	0	5.00	0	4.00	0	5.00	3.00	0	3.00	3.67
Kaso ng...	5.00	5.00	3.80	4.00	4.00	3.29	4.70	4.08	5.00	5.00	0	4.50	0	3.00	4.44	4.25	5.00	4.60	0	5.00	0	4.00	0	5.00	3.00	0	4.00	4.67
DFA...	5.00	5.00	3.80	3.33	5.00	3.43	4.22	3.17	5.00	5.00	0	3.50	0	3.00	4.22	4.00	4.17	3.60	0	5.00	0	4.00	0	5.00	3.00	0	4.00	4.67
Ilang Phil...	4.00	5.00	4.20	4.67	5.00	3.50	4.09	4.08	5.00	5.00	0	4.00	0	3.00	4.56	4.00	4.67	4.20	0	5.00	0	4.00	0	5.00	4.00	0	3.00	3.33
Philippines...	5.00	5.00	4.40	5.00	5.00	3.29	4.61	4.33	5.00	5.00	0	4.50	0	3.00	4.67	4.25	4.67	4.60	0	5.00	0	4.00	0	5.00	5.00	0	5.00	4.00
UP...	5.00	5.00	4.40	5.00	5.00	3.71	4.78	4.17	5.00	5.00	0	4.50	0	3.00	4.67	4.00	4.83	4.60	0	5.00	0	4.00	0	5.00	5.00	0	5.00	4.33
Philippines...	5.00	5.00	3.20	4.33	4.00	3.36	4.00	3.50	4.50	5.00	0	3.00	0	3.00	4.33	3.75	4.17	3.80	0	5.00	0	4.00	0	5.00	3.00	0	3.00	4.67
Highest...	5.00	5.00	4.40	4.67	5.00	3.64	4.74	4.17	5.00	5.00	0	5.00	0	3.00	4.78	4.25	5.00	4.60	0	5.00	0	4.00	0	5.00	4.00	0	4.00	4.67
PH corona...	4.00	5.00	4.40	4.33	5.00	3.64	4.74	4.33	4.00	5.00	0	4.50	0	3.00	4.78	4.50	5.00	4.20	0	5.00	0	4.00	0	5.00	4.00	0	5.00	4.67
DOH...	5.00	5.00	4.60	5.00	5.00	3.86	4.87	4.67	5.00	5.00	0	5.00	0	3.00	4.67	4.50	5.00	4.60	0	5.00	0	5.00	0	5.00	5.00	0	5.00	4.67
Mean	4.60	5.00	4.06	4.47	4.80	3.43	4.47	4.00	4.85	5.00	0	4.20	0	3.00	4.53	4.10	4.67	4.36	0	5.00	0	4.10	0	5.00	3.90	0	4.10	4.33

8.6 Risk perceptions of respondents by sex and work sector for News Clippings

	Agri		BPO		Construct		Educ		Finance		Freelance		Home		IT		Media		Music		OFW		Police		Prof		Retail	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Video 1	5.00	5.00	3.80	3.33	4.00	3.36	4.35	4.00	4.00	5.00	0	4.00	0	3.00	4.11	3.25	4.00	4.40	0	5.00	0	5.00	0	5.00	3.00	0	3.00	4.67
Video 2	5.00	5.00	3.60	4.67	4.00	3.43	4.52	3.75	4.50	5.00	0	4.50	0	3.00	4.11	4.00	4.17	4.00	0	5.00	0	4.00	0	5.00	3.00	0	3.00	4.67
Video 3	4.00	5.00	3.20	2.33	3.00	3.21	3.30	2.75	4.50	3.00	0	3.50	0	3.00	3.78	3.50	3.00	3.40	0	5.00	0	4.00	0	5.00	4.00	0	2.00	3.33
Video 4	5.00	5.00	3.60	4.00	5.00	3.29	4.22	3.83	3.50	4.00	0	4.00	0	3.00	4.44	4.50	4.33	3.60	0	5.00	0	5.00	0	5.00	3.00	0	3.00	4.67
Video 5	4.00	5.00	4.00	4.00	5.00	3.50	4.35	3.75	4.50	4.00	0	3.50	0	3.00	4.33	3.75	4.00	4.00	0	5.00	0	4.00	0	5.00	3.00	0	3.00	4.33
Mean	4.60	5.00	3.64	3.67	4.20	3.36	4.15	3.62	4.20	4.20	0	3.90	0	3.00	4.16	3.80	3.90	3.88	0	5.00	0	4.40	0	5.00	3.20	0	2.80	4.33

Thesis & Dissertation Abstracts

A Grammar of Itneg Inlaud

Ryn Jean Fe V. Gonzales

Adviser: *Mary Ann G. Bacolod, PhD*

Itneg Inlaud is an Austronesian language spoken in Abra, Ilocos Norte, and Ilocos Sur in the northern Philippines. Facing rapid language loss and remaining largely undocumented, this study provides the first comprehensive grammatical description, situating the language within its social and linguistic context. Drawing primarily on natural texts from the Itneg Inlaud Language Documentation Project and supplemented by elicited materials, the study documents the sound system, core morphosyntax, and clause structures, including serial verb constructions (SVCs), subordination, and coordination, while placing these features within a wider typological comparison of related Philippine languages.

Adopting a functional-typological approach, the study links structural features to communicative functions and frames them within cross-linguistic comparison using typologically transparent descriptive categories. Findings are presented across ten chapters, covering Itneg

Inlaud's agglutinative morphology, ERGATIVE–ABSOLUTIVE syntax, and predicate-initial word order.

Its phonology is conservative, with 14 consonants, four vowels, phonemic stress, and common morphophonemic processes. Referential phrases and pronouns show rich case and number marking, while modifiers (adjectives, quantifiers, and adverbs) display intricate inflectional and syntactic behavior.

The grammar describes four non-verbal clause types (nominal, modificational, existential, and prepositional) and verbal clauses marked for modality and transitivity, alongside derived and pragmatically marked constructions such as INVERSE, NEGATIVE, IMPERATIVE, and INTERROGATIVE clauses. Valency-changing operations (e.g., detransitives and causatives) and clause-combining strategies, including motion-directional SVCs, complement and relative clauses, and varied coordination, are also examined.

Beyond description, the study advances typological and comparative research on Philippine languages. Itneg Inlaud's conservative phonology, distinctive pronoun system, and SVC patterns reveal both shared and unique traits within the Kalinga-Itneg group and the wider Cordilleran area. This grammar provides a vital foundation for future research, language teaching, and language revitalization—ensuring Itneg Inlaud's voice endures within the rich tapestry of Philippine languages.

Gonzales, Ryn Jean Fe V. (2025). *A grammar of Itneg Inlaud* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Department of Linguistics, University of the Philippines Diliman.



Imperative Constructions in Marinduque Tagalog

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This thesis investigates the morphosyntactic structure of imperatives in Marinduque Tagalog (MT), a regional dialect that retains the Proto-Central Philippine IMPERATIVE paradigm. It examines four key grammatical areas essential to the expression of imperatives: within the verbal complex, it analyzes voice, modality, and aspect; at the syntactic interface, it explores the behavior of the subject pronoun that indexes the addressee. Together, these features characterize the grammatical conditions under which imperative constructions are formed and interpreted.

The study shows that: (a) the IMPERATIVE voice system in MT, while largely intact, exhibits functional overlap and partial realignment in the distribution of its affixes; (b) IMPERATIVE morphology interacts systematically with modal elements that modulate directive force; (c) imperatives in MT may be inflected for the PROSPECTIVE aspect, contrary to widely held typological claims; and (d) the obligatory omission of the subject pronoun is licensed by an inherent reference to a singular second-person addressee encoded in the IMPERATIVE morphology.

Although this study focuses on a single language variety, the findings have broader implications for other Central Philippine languages that employ the same paradigm. The patterns observed in the data also point to a possible developmental pathway that may underlie the attrition of these forms in other dialects of Tagalog.

Nuñez, Reb L. (2025). *Imperative constructions in Marinduque Tagalog* [Unpublished master's thesis]. Department of Linguistics, University of the Philippines Diliman.



Complex Constructions in Pangasinan

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Complex constructions are salient part of any comprehensive grammar description of any language. It does not only demonstrate the syntactic rules that come into play, but it, moreover, provides a clearer expression on how complex ideas and relationships between pieces of information are effectively conveyed through the combination of clauses. In this paper, complex constructions refer to compound and complex sentences in Pangasinan. Both constructions play a huge role in discourse and text production. This study does not only provide an overview of Pangasinan morphosyntax, but also provides a syntactic and semantic description on how complex constructions are formed in Pangasinan. The discussion also includes conjunctions, relativizers as well as complement-taking verbs (CTVs) used in forming coordinating, adverbial/subordinating, complement and relative clauses.

In Pangasinan, compound sentences are formed by connecting two clauses either with coordinating or subordinating conjunctions. Coordinating and adverbial/subordinating fall under this classification. The former speaks of the connection of two verbal clauses of equal grammatical status, whereas the latter attaches and adds some information to the already complete propositions (Payne, 1997). Coordinating clauses in Pangasinan are either additive or alternative, whereas adverbial/subordinating clauses are temporal, consequential and purposive. In contrast, complex sentences are formed when a particular construction is inserted into the matrix clause (MC)

either through the process of complementation or embedding. Complement and relative clauses belong to this typology. Complement clauses function as the object (O) argument of the verb in the matrix clause that is usually represented by NP. In Pangasinan, there are four complementizers: 1) *ya*; 2) *na*; 3) *no*; and 4) *no + WH*. Complement-taking verbs (CTVs) select clauses as complements and determine the CC type selection. Relative clauses (RCs), on the other hand, function as modifier in the MC. Pangasinan RCs are marked by relativizer *ya*. The MC and the RC share a common argument (CA) which functions as the binding element between the MC and RC, where the RC works as a modifier of the CA in the MC. The RCs in Pangasinan are usually adjacent to the CAs. Same relativizers are used regardless if the CA is the agent or the object in the RC. There are also no explicit changes observed regarding relativizers used regardless of the function of the CA in the RC.

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