

Voice-Aspect-Mood Paradigms in Masbatenyo

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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 [*tgl*], 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 BENEFICIARY 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 kagabʔi

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 replative *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 replative 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 replative 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.

b. BENEFICIARY

Sarukan man niyo kami sin tulo ka lata.

sarok-an=man=niyo=kami sin tulo
draw.up-IMP.RV=PRT.also=2PL.GEN=IPE.NOM GEN three
ka lata

LINK tins.of.water

‘Draw up three tins of water for us (EXCLUSIVE).’

(Wolfenden, 2001, p. 42)

c. INDIRECT OBJECT

Binutangan niya sin Eyemo an mata niya.

b<in>utang-an=niya sin Eyemo an mata=niya
<COMPED>put-RV=3SG.GEN GEN Eyemo NOM eye=3SG.GEN

‘He put Eyemo eye drops in his eye.’

(Wolfenden, 2001, p. 42)

d. DIRECT OBJECT

Inabangan kami sin dako na miya.

in-abang-an=kami sin dako na miya
COMPED-block-RV=IPE.NOM GEN big LIG cat

‘We (EXCLUSIVE) were blocked by a big cat.’

(Wolfenden, 2001, p. 42)

(19) LOCATIVE Focus

Ginharasan ni tatay an tinampo.

gin-haras-an ni tatay an tinampo
PFV-clear.with.a.sharp.bolo-LF ERG dad ABS rice.paddy

‘Dad cleared the rice paddy with a sharp bolo.’

(Mabuan, 2021, p. 340)

(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- A_1 ~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- S_1 -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- A_2 -look=IPI.NOM GEN food

‘We (INCLUSIVE) will look for food.’

(Wolfenden, 2001, p. 41)

Mabuan also proposes several other verb types for Masbatenyo. 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_IV_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_IV_I* marks the IMPERFECTIVE, and the affix *C_IV_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>Magabakal/</i> <i>Mabakal 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_IV_I 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_IV_I 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 potitives and statives is quite novel in Masbatenyo 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 Masbatenyo. 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 Masbatenyo: 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 Masbatenyo

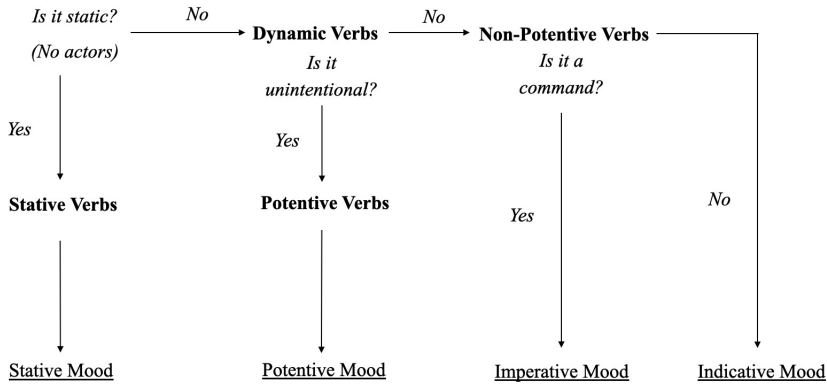


Figure 1. Modes in Masbatenyo

In terms of aspect, Masbatenyo 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>magbawal</i>	$n-$ <i>nagbawal</i>	$n-$ + $\langle a \rangle$ <i>nagabawal</i> $n-$ + C_1V_1 <i>nagbabawal</i>	$m-$ + $\langle a \rangle$ <i>magabawal</i> <i>mābawal</i>	
PV $-on$	Ø <i>bakalon</i>	$gin-$ <i>ginbawal</i>	$gin-$ + $\langle a \rangle$ <i>ginabawal</i>	C_1V_1 <i>babakalon</i>	
		$\langle in \rangle$ <i>binawal</i>	gin + C_1V_1 <i>ginbabawal</i>		$ka-$ + C_1V_1 <i>kakabawal</i>
CV $i-$ + $(paN-)$	Ø <i>ibawal</i> <i>(ipantabo)</i>	$gin-$ <i>ginbawal</i> <i>(ginpantabo)</i>	$gin-$ + $\langle a \rangle$ <i>ginabawal</i> <i>(ginapantabo)</i>	C_1V_1 <i>ibabawal</i> <i>(ipantatabo)</i>	
		$\langle in \rangle$ <i>binawal</i> <i>(ipinantabo)</i>	gin + C_1V_1 <i>binawal</i> <i>(ginpantatabo)</i>		
LV $-an$	Ø <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 $m-$ + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} pag- \\ (paN-) \end{array} \right\}$ $pag-, paN-$	$m-$ [-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

affix *m-* plus the *paka-* stem express the ACTOR voice. With regards to aspect, it is interesting how it has followed the same pattern of aspect inflection for the ACTOR voice in the INDICATIVE paradigm, with the exception of reduplication. This supports my analysis that the replacive nasal is an aspectual marker on its own, but when combined with particular stems, can be a voice marker.

In the IMPERFECTIVE and PROSPECTIVE aspect, verbs like *nakakaluto* and *makakaluto* are ungrammatical, or, at the very least, highly uncommon. Instead, the infix <a> is added, but, unlike the INDICATIVE where the <a> comes after stems like *nag-* or *mag-*, it creates vowel lengthening, resulting in verbs like *nākaluto* and *mākaluto*, as seen in (6o) and (6I). This is quite similar to what happens to requestive verbs in the INDICATIVE paradigm, suggesting a dispreference for reduplication of stems or affixes in the language. This could also explain why DISTRIBUTIVE verbs have to resort to *naga-* or *maga-* + *paN-* for the IMPERFECTIVE and *prospective* aspect, since this would avoid reduplication.

- (59) *Nakaluto ka na san pagkaon?*
n.(p)aka-luto=ka=na san pagkaon
PFV.AV.STEM-cook=2SG.NOM=PRT.already GEN food
'Were you able to cook food already?'
(Elicited data)

- (60) *Mākabakal na ako san bag-o na selpon.*
 m.(p)<a>aka-bakal=na=ako san bag?o na
 <PROS>AV.STEM-buy=PRT.already=ISG.NOM GEN new LIG
 selpon
 cellphone
 ‘I can buy a new cellphone already.’
 (Elicited data)
- (61) *Nākakanam pa siya?*
 n.(p)<a>ka-kanam=pa=siya
 <IPFV>AV.STEM-play=PRT.still=3SG.NOM
 ‘Can he still play?’
 (Elicited data)

PATIENT-focused verbs, unlike the ACTOR voice, make extensive use of reduplication to express the IMPERFECTIVE and PROSPECTIVE (likely due to the fact that reduplication occurs on the verbal root and not the affixes), as seen in (62). Furthermore, the POTENTIVE paradigm also has forms for the LOCATIVE and CONVEYANCE voice. These take off from the PATIENT voice affix *m-* + *ka-*, but add an *-an* or *i-* for the LOCATIVE and CONVEYANCE voice, respectively. These are illustrated in (63) and (64).

- (62) *Nakikita mo an akon alahas?*
 (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)

- (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 maihahatag 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		
			PERFECTIVE	IMPERFECTIVE	PROSPECTIVE
STATIVE	<i>m- + ka-</i>	<i>m-</i> <i>mahadlok</i>	<i>n-</i> <i>nahadlok</i>	<i>n- C_IV_I</i> <i>nahahadlok</i>	<i>m- C_IV_I</i> <i>mahahadlok</i>
AV	<i>m- + paka-</i>	<i>m-</i> <i>makahadlok</i>	<i>n-</i> <i>nakahadlok</i>	<i>n- <a></i> <i>nākahadlok</i>	<i>m- <a></i> <i>mākahadlok</i>
LV	<i>ka-... + -an</i>	Ø <i>kahadlukan</i>	N/A	<i><in></i> <i>kinahadlukan</i> <i>gin- + <a></i> <i>ginakahadlukan</i>	<i>C_IV_I-</i> <i>kahahadlukan</i>
LV	<i>i- + ka-</i>	Ø <i>ikahadlok</i>	<i><in></i> <i>ikinahadlok</i>	<i><in> + C_IV_I-</i> <i>ikinahahadlok</i> <i>gin- + <a></i> <i>ginakahadlok</i>	<i>C_IV_I-</i> <i>ikahahadlok</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) (Himmelfmann, 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-* replative 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. *STATIC* 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 *STATIC* 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)
.	Metallanguage 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

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]

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

- 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 pagkain
- 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

- a) Can you translate the sentence “Makakaluto ka ba ngayon”?
 - i. Mākāluto
 - 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” → “Ginakahadlukan 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’.