The Affix *pa-* and Movement in Romblomanon

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0. Introduction

In various Philippine languages, the affix *pa-* is of interest because it performs more than one function in basic verbal clauses. One frequently noted function is that *pa-* signals the addition of an external Agent, or Cause (CAUS). The external Agent can be added to a clause that has no internal Agent, as in the following Romblomanon examples.[1] The verb *kayadkad* 'to boil' is not lexically specified for an Agent, as shown in (1), an active intransitive clause. An external Agent can be added to the clause, as shown in (2), an active transitive clause.

(1)   *Nagkayadkad   ang   tubi'.*[2]
       nag-   =kayadkad   ang   tubi'
       PFT/TH=boil   ABS   water
        'The water boiled.'

(2)   *Ginpakayadkad   ko   ang   tubi' kahapon.*
       gin-   =pa-   =kayadkad   ko   ang   tubi' kahapon
       PFT/TH=CAUS =boil   1SG/ERG ABS water yesterday
        'I boiled the water yesterday.'

An external Agent can also be added to a clause that has a lexically specified Agent. The verb *luto'* 'to cook' is lexically specified for an internal Agent, who does the cooking, as shown in the active intransitive clause in (3). An external Agent who causes (or allows) the internal Agent to do the cooking can be added to this clause, as shown in (4), producing a causative construction.

(3)   *Nagluto'   ning adobo si   Rosa kahapon.*
       nag-   =luto' ning adobo si   Rosa kahapon
       PFT/AGT=cook OBL adobo ABS Rosa yesterday
        'Rosa cooked some adobo yesterday.'

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[1] Romblomanon is a Central Bisayan languages of the Central Philippines. The language is spoken in Romblon province, on the islands of Sibuyan and Romblon, and in San Agustin on Tablas island. It is closely related to Hiligaynon (also known as Ilonggo). There are about 170,000 speakers of the language. This study is based on data gathered in the villages of Romblon under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The data include a dictionary consisting of about 1900 entries, and elicited sentences and paradigms.

[2] Following is Romblomanon orthography used in this paper. The consonants are: p [p], t [t], k [k], b [b], d [d], g [g], s [s], h [x], m [m], n [n], ng [ ], l [l], r [r], w [w], and y [y]. The vowels are i [i] or [e], u [u], o [o], and a [a]. Glottal stop [ ] is a phomeme and is represented by the symbol '.

(4)   *Nagpaluto'*   *ako*   *ning adobo kay   Rosa kahapon.*
        nag-   *=pa-* *=luto'* *ako*   *ning adobo kay   Rosa kahapon*
        PFT/AGT=CAUS=cook 1SG/ERG OBL adobo OBL Rosa yesterday
        'I let/made Rosa cook some adobo yesterday.'

A less frequently noted function of *pa-* is its ability in some Philippine languages to convey a semantic notion of movement. It is this function that will be the focus of our study. In this paper, we will investigate the function of *pa-* as an indicator of movement in Romblomanon verbal clauses. We will consider those clauses in which *pa-* adds a simple semantic notion of movement to the proposition encoded by the verb, and those in which *pa-* adds a notion of movement which interacts with the semantics of the verb, resulting in a complex proposition.

1.   Basic verbal clauses

In Romblomanon, word order in basic verbal clauses is VAP (verb Agent Patient). As is typical of Philippine languages, an affix on the verb cross-references one required argument of the clause and identifies its semantic role. Verb affixes also indicate aspect, the main aspectual distinction is perfective and imperfective. Nominals have an ergative case marking pattern, as shown in (5) and (6).

(5)   *Nagsuyod*   *ang   unga'   sa   bayay.*
        nag-   *=suyod* *ang   unga'   sa   bayay*
        PFT/TH=enter   ABS   child   OBL house
        'The child entered into the house.'

(6)   *Gin'utod*   *nang   unga' ang   pisi'.*
        gin-   *=utod*   *nang   unga' ang   pisi'*
        PFT/TH=cut   ERG   child   ABS rope
        'The child cut the rope.'

2.   Localist case grammar

For this investigation, we have adopted a restricted version of localist case grammar developed by DeLancey (1984, 1985, 1991) based on earlier models proposed by Anderson (1971), Diehl (1975), Gruber (1976), and Jackendoff (1983, 1990). In this model, all verbs can be described in terms of the three cognitive state and event schemas shown in (7).

(7)   Theme AT Loc
          Theme GOTO Loc
          Agent CAUSE Theme GOTO Loc

These schemas give three universal semantic roles: Agent, Theme, and Loc. The roles are defined by their functions in the state and event schemas: an Agent is a primary

cause; a Theme is an element that changes location or state; a Loc is a physical site or a state. Every verb is lexically specified for a Theme and a Loc; some verbs, such as the causative verbs 'cut', 'crush', and 'kill' are also lexically specified for an Agent. Each NP usually has only one semantic role; however, a NP can have two semantic roles if one is an Agent. Within this model, all other roles, such as Beneficiary and Instrument, are analyzed as semantic roles of nonnuclear clauses that have been integrated into the nuclear clause. Specifically, Instruments and Associatives are Non-nuclear Themes, Beneficiaries are Nonnuclear Locs, and Sources can be either Nonnuclear Locs or Nonnuclear Agents, depending on the verb.[3]

3.   *Pa-* and movement

When *pa-* is added to certain Romblomanon verbs, it conveys semantic information about movement. For some verbs, *pa-* simply supplies a notion of movement towards a location. For other verbs, it indicates the path or manner in which a Theme moves through space towards a location. For still others, it adds a notion of movement that interacts with the basic semantics of the verb, resulting in a complex proposition. We will consider each of these in turn.

3.1 *Pa-* and locations

In its simplest expression of movement, *pa-* can be added to a denominalized verb that names a location, and the meaning becomes 'to move towards X', X being the location named in the verb. In (8), *pa-* is added to the denominalized verb *banwa* 'town', and the meaning is 'to go to town'. Similarly in (9), *pa-* is added to *dagat* 'ocean', and the meaning is 'to go to the ocean'.

(8)   *Mapabanwa*   *ako.*
        ma-   *=pa- =anwa   ako*
        IMPFT/TH=DIR=town   1SG/ABS
        'I will go to town.'

(9)   *Nagpadagat*   *ang   mga mangingisda.*
        nag- =pa- =dagat   ang   mga mangignisda
        PFT/TH=DIR=ocean   ABS PL   fisherman
        'The fishermen went to ocean.'

Here the presence of *pa-* on denominalized verbs supplies the predicate GOTO and the underlying cognitive event schema is: Theme GOTO Loc. The Theme is the absolutive NP and the Loc is a covert argument that has been lexicalized into the verb.

3.2 *Pa-* and semantically intransitive motion verbs

Semantically intransitive motion verbs have the underlying cognitive event schema: Theme GOTO Loc. Movement and direction are specified in the cognitive event schema

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[3] Recipients are assumed to be human Locs.

by the GOTO predicate. In the intransitive clause in (10), the Theme is the absolutive NP and is cross-referenced on the verb by *nag-*; the Loc is an oblique NP.

(10) *Nagkadto   ang   unga' sa   bayay.*
  nag-=kadto   ang   unga' sa   bayay
  PFT/TH=go ABS child OBL house
  'The child went to the house.'

For some semantically intransitive motion verbs, *pa-* can be added to the verb to convey information about the path or manner in which the Theme moves towards the location, as in:

(11) *Nagpakadto   ang unga' sa   bayay.*
  Nag-   =pa- =kadto   ang unga' sa   bayay
  PFT/TH=DIR=go   ABS child OBL house
  'The child went straight to the house.'

Comparing (10) and (11), we see that (10) is neutral with respect to the path by which the child goes into the house. The child may or may not have taken a detour; he may or may not have stopped some place before he finally arrived at the house. The addition of *pa-* in (11), however, indicates that the child moved straight towards the house without deviating from the route or pausing along the way.

As is common in many Philippine languages, an Agent can be added to the cognitive event schema for semantically intransitive motion verbs, resulting in the derived schema: Agent CAUSE Theme GOTO Loc. The unmarked clause structure for this derived schema is a transitive clause. *Pa-* can also be added to these derived clauses, as the following examples show.

In (12) – (14), the verb is *suyod* 'to enter'. In (12), the arguments are Theme and Loc, and the clause is intransitive.

(12) *Nagsuyod   ang   unga' sa   bayay.*
  nag-   =suyod ang   unga' sa   bayay
  PFT/TH=enter ABS   child OBL house
  'The child entered to the house.'

In (13) and (14), an Agent is added to the Theme and Loc, and the clauses are transitive.

(13) *Ginsuyod   nang   unga' ang   bugas sa   kostal.*
  gin-   =suyod nang   unga' ang   bugas sa   kostal
  PFT/TH=enter ERG   child ABS   rice   OBL sack
  'The child put the rice into the sack.'

(14)   *Ginpasuyod*   *nang*   *unga' ang*   *bugas*   *sa*   *kostal.*
        gin-   *=pa- =suyod* *nang* *unga' ang* *bugas* *sa*   *kostal*
        PFT/TH =DIR=enter   ERG   child ABS rice   OBL sack
        'The child put the rice straight into the sack.'

In (13), the verb occurs without *pa-*, and the clause is neutral with respect to the path or manner in which the rice is put into the sack. In (14), *pa-* is added to the verb and indicates that the child put the rice straight into the sack, implying that the movement was done carefully.

3.3 *Pa-* and bidirectional verbs

Bidirectional verbs are semantically transitive verbs that have the cognitive event schema: Agent CAUSE Theme GOTO Loc. For these verbs, the cognitive event schema has two construals. In one construal, the Agent causes a Theme to move towards a Loc, and the Agent and the Loc are separate elements, as in 'lend' and 'bequeath'. In the other, the Agent causes the Theme to move towards the Loc, and the Agent and the Loc are the same element, as in 'borrow' and 'inherit'. The effect of a Theme towards or moving away from the Agent is signalled by the absence or presence of *pa-*.

(15)   *Ginhuyam*   *ko*   *ang*   *libro* *sa*   *akon*   *bos.*
        gin-   *=huyam* *ko*   *ang*   *libro* *sa*   *akon*   *bos*
        PFT/TH=borrow   1SG/ERG ABS   book OBL 1SG/GEN boss
        'I borrowed the book from the boss.'

In (15), the verb occurs without *pa-*. The Theme moves towards the Agent and so the argument is both Agent and Loc. The oblique NP here is an Nonnuclear Loc, i.e. a source.

(16)   *Ginpahuyam*   *ko*   *ang*   *libro*   *sa*   *akon*   *bos.*
        gin-   *=pa-=huyam* *ko*   *ang*   *libro*   *sa*   *akon*   *bos*
        PFT/TH=DIR=borrow 1SG/ERG ABS   book   OBL 1SG/GEN boss
        'I lent the book to my boss.'

In (16), the presence of *pa-* signals that the Theme moves away from the Agent towards a separate Loc. Here the oblique NP is a core Loc, i.e. a Goal. (17) and (18) provide an example using *subli'* 'to inherit/bequeath'.

(17)   *Ginsubli'*   *nang* *unga' ang*   *duta'* *sa*   *iya*   *tatay.*
        gin-   *=subli'* *nang* *unga' ang* *duta'* *sa*   *iya*   *tatay*
        PFT/TH=inherit   ERG   child ABS   land   OBL 3SG/GEN father
        'The child inherited the land from his father.'

(18)   *Ginpasubli'*   *nang tatay ang duta' sa   iya   unga'.*
         gin-   =pa-=subli'   nang tatay ang duta' sa   iya   unga'
         PFT/TH=DIR=inherit ERG   father ABS land   OBL 3SG/GEN child
         'The father bequeathed the land to his child.'

3.4 *Pa-* and meteorological verbs

Meteorological verbs have the underlying cognitive state schema: Theme AT Loc. The unmarked clause type for these verbs is an intransitive clause in which *nag-* occurs on the verb. Both the Theme and the Loc are covert NPs; consequently, the absolutive NP is absent from the clause, as in:

(19)   *Naghangin*   *kaina.*
         nag-   =hangin kaina
         PFT/TH=wind   earlier
          'It was windy earlier.'

If an absolutive NP is present in the clause, as in (20), it is usually a Loc, and the Loc is cross-referenced by affix *gin--an*. The Theme is a covert argument.

(20)   *Ginhanginan*   *ang   humay.*
         gin--an   =hangin ang   humay
         PFT/LOC=wind   ABS   rice.plant
          'The wind was blowing on the rice plants.'

Here *humay* 'rice plant' is a Loc, the location where the wind is blowing; the wind is a covert Theme, which has been lexicalized into the verb.

When an external Agent is added to the underlying cognitive schema of meteorological verbs, *pa-* occurs on the verb. Here the presence of *pa-* not only indicates that an Agent has been added to the clause, it also signals that the situation has changed from a meteorological state to an event involving a motion initiated by the Agent. The derived cognitive event schema is now: Agent CAUSE Theme GOTO Loc, as in (21).

(21)   *Ginpahanginan*   *nang tawo ang palay.*
         gin--an   =pa- =hangin nang tawo ang palay
         PFT/LOC=DIR=wind   ERG   man ABS rice
          'The man positioned the rice in the wind.
          (so that the husk would be blown away from the grains).'

In (21), the Agent positions the rice so that the wind blows on it. Here, as in (20), the absolutive NP is a Loc, and the wind is a covert Theme.

This suggests that for meteorological verbs, *pa-* represents not just the addition of an Agent and the semantic notion of movement, but a complete proposition; specifically the proposition, 'someone puts an object somewhere'. The proposition of the verb stem could

be stated as 'a meteorological activity takes places at a particular location'. When pa-combines with the verb stem, as in (21), the propositions also combine: 'the man puts the rice somewhere' and 'the wind blows on the rice'.

Once could argue that *pa-* simply signals the addition of an Agent and does not add a notion of movement. If *pa-* only signalled the addition of an Agent, then we would expect the meaning of (21) to be 'the man let/made the wind blow on the rice' (cf (4)); however, the external Agent is not causing the wind to do something, but rather positioning the rice in a place where the wind is blowing. A notion of movement is implied here which is not necessarily implied with the simple addition of external Agent. Furthermore, we have seen that *pa-* can signal the addition of just the notion of movement and nothing else (cf. (8) and (9)). This is evidence that external Agents and the notion of movement operate independently of each other. From these facts, we conclude that when *pa-* is added to meteorological verbs, it signals the addition of both an external Agent and a notion of movement. (22) - (24) offer another example of this pattern, using *silak* 'sun'.

(22)   *Nagsilak   ka'ina.*
        nag-   =silak   ka'ina
        PFT/TH=sun   earlier
        'It was sunny earlier.'

(23)   *Ginsilakan   ang   baro'.*
        gin--an-=silak   ang   baro'
        PFT/LOC=sun   ABS   clothes
         'The clothes were in the sun.' or 'The sun shone on the clothes.'

(24)   *Ginpasilakan   nang agaw ang   baro'.*
        gin—an   =pa- =silak   nang agaw ang   baro'
        PFT/LOC=DIR=sun   ERG   maid   ABS   clothes
         'The maid put the clothes in the sun.'

In (22), *nag-* occurs on the verb, and the Theme and Loc are covert arguments. In (23), the affix *gin--an* cross-references a Loc, i.e. the object that the sun is shinning on, and the Theme, the sun, is covert. In (24), *pa-* is added to the verb, indicating that an Agent positions an object so that the sun can shine on it. Again the Theme is covert.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, we have suggested that a major function of the verbal affix *pa-* in Romblomanon is to add a notion of movement to the verbal semantics of a clause. When *pa-* is added to a denominalized verb identifying a location, it indicates that the Theme moves towards the location named in the verb.

When *pa-* is added to a semantically intransitive motion verb, it indicates the path or manner in which the Theme moves towards the location. Specifically, it signals that the

Theme moves towards the location in a straight path, or in a quick or careful manner.

When *pa-* is added to bidirectional verbs, it cross-references a Theme that moves towards a location that is a separate element from the Agent.

Finally, when *pa-* occurs on a meteorological verb, it adds a second proposition to the one encoded by the verb, specifically, 'someone positions an object in a location'. The verb encodes the position 'a particular meteorological activity takes place at a location'. The two propositions combine to form a complex one: someone positions an object so that it is located where a meteorological activity occurs.

Abbreviations

ABS	absolutive
AGT	agent
CAUS	causative
DIR	directional
ERG	ergative
GEN	genitive
IMPFT	imperfective
LOC	Loc, location
OBL	oblique
PFT	perfective
PL	plural
TH	theme
1SG	first person singular
3SG	third person singular

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