

〈特集「受動表現」「アスペクト」「モダリティ」「ヴォイスとその周辺」他〉

## Passives and Aspects in Hiligaynon ヒリガイノン語の受動表現とアスペクト表現

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**要旨:** 本稿は、語研論集 14–15 号 (2009–2010) 所収の調査票にもとづいて収集したヒリガイノン語 (オーストロネシア語, フィリピン) の受動表現とアスペクト表現に関する記述的資料を提供するものである。

**Abstract:** This article presents descriptive data on aspect constructions in Hiligaynon, an Austronesian language in the Philippines. The data was collected through the questionnaires “Passives” and “Aspects” designed in *Journal of the Institute of Language Research* 14–15, 2009–2010.

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### 1. Introduction

This paper describes the passive and aspect constructions in Hiligaynon (S31), which is spoken in the Western Visayas region of the Philippines. The variety that is reported in this paper is spoken in the Bacolod City area of Negros Island. Investigating cross-linguistic characteristics of morpho-syntactic constructions requires a common and comparable standard. As such, we utilized contexts in Appendix A to elicit the Hiligaynon examples that concern the aspect constructions. The data in this paper comes from a Hiligaynon speaker in her 40's who grew up in the Bacolod city. All examples are written in the Hiligaynon orthography followed by a morphological analysis and interlinear glosses. Glosses were identified with previous studies on Hiligaynon (Wolfenden 1971, Motus 1971, Mithun 2019).

### 2. Passives in Hiligaynon

The basic passive form in Hiligaynon is shown in (1). The agent in the passive is introduced with *ni*. The patient of the passive is expressed with the patient voice *si*. Note that Hiligaynon does not have passive marker on the verb, but it uses the word order to express the passive meaning. In the passive (1a), the patient *si Andy* precedes the verb. In the active sentence in (1b), the patient voice appears after the agent voice *ni Bob*. The patient voice noun cannot appear between the verb and the subject as shown in (1c).



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(1) Basic Passive [Item 1-1]

a. *Si Andy gin-hampak ni Bob.*

si Andy gin-hampak ni Bob  
TOP Andy TR.PFV-hit P.AC Bob

‘(lit) It is Andy that Bob hit.’ (Andy was hit by Bob)

b. *Ginhampak ni Bob si Andy.*

gin-hampak ni Bob si Andy  
TR.PFV-hit P.AC Bob TOP Andy

‘Bob hit Andy.’

c. \**Ginhampak si Andy ni Bob.*

gin-hampak si Andy ni Bob  
TR.PFV-hit TOP Andy P.AC Bob

In (2), the inanimate patient is ANG-marked. In a passive-like sentence, the ANG-marked phrase occurs in the preverbal position (2a). The active voice has the inanimate patient phrase after the agent voice (2b).

(2) Inalienable head noun [Item 1-2]

a. *Ang tiil ni Andy gintapakan ni Bob.*

ang tiil ni Andy gin-tapak-an ni Bob  
DEF foot P.AC Andy TR.PFV-step.on-SFX P.AC Bob

‘(lit.) The foot of Andy was stepped on by Bob’

b. *Gintapakan ni Bob ang tiil ni Andy.*

gin-tapak-an ni Bob ang tiil ni Andy  
TR.PFV-step.on-SFX P.AC Bob DEF foot P.AC Andy

‘Bob stepped on Andy’s foot’

The alienable patient noun is examined in (3). As in (2), the alienable patient is ANG-marked in the preverbal position in (3a) and in the post-subject position in (3b). When the sentence is putting an emphasis (not necessarily a focus) on the alienable noun, the verb is *na-kawat* with the pre-verbal morpheme NA. The alienable phrase *ang relo ni Andy* ‘Andy’s watch’ can appear before the verb (3c) or after the subject (3d). The word order in (3e) is marginally acceptable, but can be used when the speaker describes a situation in which Bob found a way to steal Andy’s watch. Note that the subject-like phrase is *ang relo ni Andy* ‘Andy’s watch’.

(3) Alienable head noun [Item 1-3]

a. *Ang relo ni Andy ginkawat ni Bob.*

ang relo ni Andy gin-kawat ni Bob  
DEF watch P.AC Andy TR.PFV-steal P.AC Bob

‘(It is) Andy’s watch that Bob stole.’ (Bob’s intentional action)

b. *Ginkawat ni Bob ang relo ni Andy.*

gin-kawa ni Bob ang relo ni Andy  
TR.PFV-steal P.AC Bob DEF watch P.AC Andy

‘Bob stole Andy’s watch.’ (Bob’s intentional action)

c. *Ang relo ni Andy na-kawat ni Bob.*

ang relo ni Andy na-kawat ni Bob  
 DEF watch P.AC Andy PST-steal P.AC Bob  
 ‘Andy’s watch got stolen by Bob’

d. *Nakawat ni Bob ang relo ni Andy.*

na-kawat ni Bob ang relo ni Andy  
 NA<sup>1</sup>-steal P.AC Bob DEF watch P.AC Andy  
 ‘Bob was able to steal Andy’s watch’

e. <sup>2</sup>*Nakawat ang relo ni Andy ni Bob.*

na-kawat ang relo ni Andy ni Bob  
 PST-steal DEF watch P.AC Andy P.AC Bob

As shown in (4), the intransitive verb *hibi* ‘to cry’ cannot be used in the passivized manner. The difference between (4a) and (4b) is the position *kagábi* ‘last night’, and the consecutive clause. In (4a), *waay* ‘none’ expresses the quantity of the sleep taken by the subject, which was none. The *wala* describes the situation where the subject of the sentence did not sleep.

(4) Intransitive [Item 1-4]

a. *Kagab-i, naghibi ang lapsag. Kundi, waay ko ka tulog.*

kagáb-i, nag-hibi ang lapsag kundi wa[?]ay ko ka-tulog  
 last.night INTR.PFV-cry DEF baby so none 1SG KA-sleep  
 ‘Last night, the baby cried (intended ‘the baby was cried to me’). So, I couldn’t sleep at all.’

b. *Naghibi ang lapsag kagab-i. Kundi, wala ko ka tulog.*

nag-hibi ang lapsag kagáb-i kundi wala ko ka-tulog  
 INTR.PFV-cry DEF baby last.night so NEG.PST 1SG KA-sleep  
 ‘Last night, the baby cried (intended ‘the baby was cried to me’). So, I did not sleep.’

The subject in a construction in (5a) can be omitted; we do not know who built the house. When the subject is present as in (5b), it is introduced with the *si*, which indicates the passive voice. The use of *ni* before the subject, the active voice, is unacceptable as shown in (5c). The sentences in (5a-c) begin with *may* ‘there is’, and indicate a passive-like structure. The active sentences in (5d) and (5e) show that Andy is preceded by *ni*. The object can occur in sentence-initial position as in (5d), or sentence-finally as in (5e).

(5) new building [Item 1-5]

a. *May bag-o nga balay nga ginpatindog.*

may bag-o nga balay nga gin-pa-tindog  
 there.is new NGA house NGA TR.PFV-CAUS-build  
 ‘there is a new house that (someone) built’

<sup>1</sup> The morpheme that does not have a direct meaning is glossed with the capital letters. Future work needs to be carried out to identify each morpheme.

b. *May bag-o nga balay nga ginpatindog si Andy.*

may bag-o nga balay nga gin-pa-tindog si Andy  
 there.is new NGA house NGA TR.PFV-CAUS-build TOP Andy  
 ‘there is a new house that Andy built’

c. \**May bag-o nga balay nga ginpatindog ni Andy.*

may bag-o nga balay nga gin-pa-tindog ni Andy  
 there.is new NGA house NGA TR.PFV-CAUS-build P.AC Andy

d. *Ang bag-o nga balay ginpatindog ni Andy.*

ang bag[?]o nga balay gin-pa-tindog ni Andy  
 DEF new NGA house TR.PFV-CAUS-stand P.AC Andy  
 ‘(It is) a new house that Andy built’

e. *Ginpatindog ni Andy ang bag-o nga balay.*

gin-pa-tindog ni Andy ang bag[?]o nga balay  
 TR.PFV-CAUS-stand P.AC Andy DEF new NGA house  
 ‘Andy built a new house’

In passive sentences in (6), the present progressive form is expressed with the *gina* prefix. The subject can be covert (6a) or overt (6b). In an active sentence in (6c), the *naga* prefix describes the present progressive.

(6) General agent [Item 1-6]

a. *Hiligaynon ang ginahambal sa Bacolod.*

Hiligaynon ang gina-hambal sa Bacolod  
 Hiligaynon DEF TR.IPFV-speak in Bacolod  
 ‘Hiligaynon is being spoken in Bacolod’

b. *Hiligaynon ang ginahambal sang mga taga-Bacolod.*

Hiligaynon ang gina-hambal sang [maŋa] taga-Bacolod  
 Hiligaynon DEF TR.IPFV-speak INDEF [PL] sb.from-Bacolod  
 ‘(It is) Hiligaynon that people from Bacolod speak’

c. *Ang mga taga-Bacolod nagahambal sang Hiligaynon.*

ang [maŋa] taga-Bacolod naga-hambal sang Hiligaynon  
 DEF [PL] SB.from-Bacolod INTR.IPFV-speak INDEF Hiligaynon  
 ‘People in Bacolod speak Hiligaynon’

In (7), the situation describes a watch being stolen by Andy. In all instances, the verb is preceded by the *gin* prefix. In (7a), *ang relo* ‘the watch’ is preverbal, whereas *ang relo* ‘the watch’ occurs in the canonical position in (7b). The thief may be covert as in (7c). When the sentence focuses on the watch being stolen, *may* begins the sentences, which can be followed by the noun and the modifier (7d), or by the modifier and the noun (7e).

(7)[Item 1-7]

- a. *Ang relo ginkawat ni Andy.*  
 ang relo gin-kawat ni Andy  
 DEF watch TR.PFV-steal P.AC Andy  
 ‘It is the watch that Andy stole’
- b. *Ginkawat ni Andy ang relo.*  
 gin-kawat ni Andy ang relo  
 TR.PFV-steal P.AC Andy DEF watch  
 ‘Andy stole the watch’
- c. *Ginkawat ang relo.*  
 gin-kawat ang relo  
 TR.PFV-steal DEF watch  
 ‘(Somebody) stole the watch’
- d. *May relo nga ginkawat.*  
 may relo nga gin-kawat  
 there.is watch NGA TR.PFV-steal  
 ‘there is a stolen watch’
- e. *May ginkawat nga relo.*  
 may gin-kawat nga relo  
 there.is TR.PFV-steal NGA watch  
 ‘there is a stolen watch’

The example in (8) shows that passive structure is expressed with the *ginpa* ‘TR.PFV-CAUS’ prefix. What is being hung on the wall can appear preverbally (8a) or in the sentence-final position (8b).

(8)[Item 1-8]

- a. *Ang laragway ginpakabit sa dingding.*  
 ang laragway gin-pa-kabit sa dingding  
 DEF picture TR.PFV-CAUS-hang on wall  
 ‘A picture is hung on the wall by someone.’
- b. *Ginpakabit sa dingding ang laragway.*  
 gin-pa-kabit sa dingding ang laragway  
 TR.PFV-CAUS-hang on wall DEF picture  
 ‘A picture is hung on the wall.’

The sentences in (9) describe a situation where Bob loves Maria. In (9a), the sentence begins with the patient noun Maria, and the verb is preceded by the progressive *gina*. In (9b), the patient Maria appears in the canonical position.

(9) Emotion verb [Item 1-9]

a. *Si Maria gina higugma ni Bob.*

si Maria gina hi-gugma ni Bob  
 TOP Maria TR.IPFV HI-love P.AC Bob  
 ‘(It is) Maria that Bob loves’

b. *Palangga ni Bob si Maria.*

pa-la-ngga ni Bob si Maria  
 <PROG>love P.AC Bob TOP Maria  
 ‘Bob loves Maria.’

The examples in (10) have a message verb with *gin-...-an*. The patient voice noun *si Bob* either appears preverbally (10a), or post-subject (10b).

(10) Message verb [Item 1-10]

a. *Si Bob ginhambalan ni Andy, “Tuon na!”*

si Bob gin-hambal-an ni Andy tuon na  
 TOP Bob TR.PFV-speak-AN P.AC Andy study already  
 ‘(It is) Bob that Andy spoke “Study!”’

b. *Ginhambalan ni Andy si Bob, “Tuon na!”*

gin-hambal-an ni Andy si Bob tuon na  
 TR.PFV-speak-AN P.AC Andy TOP Bob study already  
 ‘Andy told Bob “Study!”’

The sentences in (11) are biclausal. The subject of a passive *si Andy* in the matrix clause with the *ginpa* ‘TR.PFV-CAUS’ prefix is co-indexed with the pronoun *siya* in the second clause as in (11a). The sentence in (11b) has an active matrix clause and the verb takes the *gin* prefix. The coreferenced *siya* is required; the absence in (11c) is unacceptable. The second clause has an existential verb in (11d) and (11e). This verb can either follow (11d) or precede (11e) in *si Andy*.

(11) Biclausal sentences [Item 1-10a, b]

a. *Si Andy ginpatawag ni Bob, kag ara siya subong sa kuwarto ni Bob.*

si Andy gin-pa-tawag ni Bob kag ara siya subong sa kuwarto ni Bob  
 TOP Andy<sub>i</sub> TR.PFV-CAUS-call P.AC Bob and exist he<sub>i</sub> now in room P.AC Bob  
 ‘It is Andy that Bob called, and (Andy) is in Bob’s room now’

b. *Gintawag ni Bob si Andy, kag ara siya sa kuwarto ni Bob subong.*

gin-tawag ni Bob si Andy kag ara siya sa kuwarto ni Bob subong  
 TR.PFV-call P.AC Bob TOP Andy<sub>i</sub> and exist he<sub>i</sub> in room P.AC Bob now  
 ‘Bob called Andy, and (Andy) is in Bob’s room now’

c. *\*Gintawag ni Bob si Andy, kag ara sa kuwarto ni Bob subong.*

gin-tawag ni Bob si Andy kag ara sa kuwarto ni Bob subong  
 TR.PFV-call P.AC Bob TOP Andy<sub>i</sub> and exist in room P.AC Bob now

d. *Gintawag ni Bob si Andy, kag si Andy ara sa kuwarto ni Bob subong.*

gin-tawag ni Bob si Andy kag si Andy ara sa kuwarto ni Bob subong  
 TR.PFV-call P.AC Bob TOP Andy<sub>i</sub> and TOP Andy exist in room P.AC Bob now  
 ‘Bob called Andy, and Andy is in Bob’s room now.’

e. *Gintawag ni Bob si Andy, kag ara si Andy sa kuwarto ni Bob subong.*

gin-tawag ni Bob si Andy kag ara si Andy sa kuwarto ni Bob subong  
 TR.PFV-call P.AC Bob TOP Andy<sub>i</sub> and exist TOP Andy<sub>i</sub> in room P.AC Bob now  
 ‘Bob called Andy, and Andy is in Bob’s room now.’

### 3. Aspect construction with the intransitive verb

This section reports Hiligaynon data to investigate aspect constructions which were elicited based on contexts in Appendix A. The basic data in (12) uses the verb *abot* ‘to come’, which requires the subject in the patient voice. The perfect sentences have the *na* morpheme in the post-verbal position. The past tense verbal prefix is *nag*, and its pronunciation has two variations: [nag] in (12a) and (12d), as well as [naka] in (12b) and (12c). The proper noun *si Juan* follows the verb, but the phrase *ina nga tawo* ‘that person’ is preferred in the preverbal position.

(12) [Item 2-1]

a. [Situation: Juan has arrived]

*Nag-abót na si Juan.*  
 nag-[?]abot na si Juan  
 INTR.PFV-come PERF TOP Juan  
 ‘Juan already came.’

b. *Naka-abot si Juan.*

naka-abot na si Juan  
 PERF-come PERF TOP Juan  
 ‘He came’

c. [Situation: That person has arrived]

*Ina nga tawo naka-abot na.*  
 ina nga tawo naka-abot na  
 that NGA person PERF-come PERF  
 ‘That person already came.’

d. *Ina nga tawo nag-abot na.*

ina nga tawo nag-[?]abot na  
 that NGA person INTR.PFV-come PERF

In (13), the subject is in the patient voice, and the verb has the prefix *pa*, which denotes that the subject is on his/her way where the speaker is located. The perfect *na* is also present as in (13). The subject may or may not be preceded by *ang* ‘the’; the presence of *ang* indicates the formal register, and the absence of *ang* the colloquial register.

(13) [Item 2-2]

- a. [Situation: Juan has not yet arrived]

*Pakadto na si Juan.*

pa-kadto na si Juan

PA-go PERF TOP Juan

- b. [Situation: ‘That person has not yet arrived’]

*Ang ina nga tawo pakadto na.*

ang ina nga tawo pa-kadto na

DEF that NGA person PA-go PERF

‘That person has already been coming.’ (formal)

- c. *Ina nga tawo pakadto na.*

ina nga tawo pa-kadto na

that NGA person PA-go PERF

‘That person has already been coming.’ (colloquial)

In (14), the action of the subject is the focus of the sentence. Hiligaynon uses the negative *wala* and *pa* ‘yet’ with the past tense prefix *nak-*, to express this pattern (14a). The presence of *na* ‘perfective’ is unacceptable (14b). The past tense is *naka-* as in (14c); this sentence does not allow the presence of *na* either. In sentences with a common noun in the subject, the verb can have a reduplicative prefix (14d), or the *naka-* prefix (14e). The presence of *ang* indicates the formal register, and the absence of *ang* the colloquial register.

(14) [Item 2-3]

- a. [Situation: Juan’s action is the focus of the sentence’ ]

*Wala pa nagkadto si Juan.*

wala pa nag-kadto si Juan

NEG yet INTR.PFV-come TOP Juan

‘Juan hasn’t not been coming yet.’

- b. \**Wala pa nagkadto na si Juan.*

wala pa naka-kadto na si Juan

NEG yet PERF-come PERF TOP Juan

- c. *Wala pa nakakadto si Juan.*

wala pa naka-kadto si Juan

NEG yet PERF-come TOP Juan

- d. [Situation: ‘That person’s action is the focus of the sentence.’]

*Wala pa ka kadto ang ina nga tawo.*

wala pa ka-kadto ang ina nga tawo

NEG yet RED-come DEF that NGA person

‘That person hasn’t been coming yet’ (formal)

- e. *Wala pa naka kadto ang ina nga tawo.*

wala pa naka-kadto ang ina nga tawo

NEG yet PERF-come DEF that NGA person

‘That person hasn’t been coming yet’ (formal)

In (15), the non-arrival of Juan is the focus and the *naka-* prefix is used in both sentences.

(15) [Item 2-4]

a. [Situation: Juan's non-arrival is the focus of the sentence]

*Wala pa naka-abot si Juan.*

wala pa naka-abot si Juan

NEG yet PERF-come TOP Juan

'Juan hasn't come yet.'

b. [Situation: 'That person's non-arrival is the focus of the sentence']

*Wala pa naka-abot ang ina nga tawo.*

wala pa naka-abot ang ina nga tawo

NEG yet PERF-come DEF that NGA person

'That person hasn't come yet.'

Future in Hiligaynon is expressed with the preverbal *manug* 'about to' with the *na* morpheme. A direct translation of the example (16a) needs *dugay-dugay* 'soon'. The verb can be *kadto* (16a) or *ábot* (16b). The *na* morpheme is required (16c). The sentence structure is identical in a sentence with a common noun subject (16d).

(16) [Item 2-5]

a. *Manug kadto na si Juan.*

manug kadto na si Juan

about.to come PERF TOP Juan

'Juan will come (soon).'

b. *Manug-ábot na si Juan.*

manug-ábot na si Juan

about.to-come PERF TOP Juan

'Juan will come (soon).'

c. \**Manug-ábot si Juan.*

manug-ábot si Juan

about.to-come TOP Juan

(*na* is required in this context)

d. *Manug-abot na ang ina nga tawo.*

manug-abot na ang ina nga tawo

about.to-come PERF DEF that NGA person

'That person will come soon.'

The vocative form that announces the arrival of Juan in (17) is expressed with the perfect *na*. Our consultant reports that (17c) with the *naka-* prefix displays a context where Juan was in the area, but may or may not still be there.

(17) [Item 2-6]

a. *Uy! Nag-abot na si Juan!*

uy nag-abot na si Juan

Oh INTR.PFV-come PERF TOP Juan

‘(Oh!) Juan has come!’

b. *Uy! Ari na si Juan!*

uy ari na si Juan

Oh here PERF TOP Juan

‘(Oh!) Juan is here!’

c. *Uy! Naka-kadto na si Juan!*

uy naka-kadto na si Juan

Oh PERF-come PERF TOP Juan

‘Juan has come (, but he is probably not be here anymore)’

The simple past in (18a) does not have the perfective morpheme *na*. This sentence simply indicates that Juan arrived the previous day, but does not show whether Juan is still in the area. When *na* is added (18b), the sentence emphasizes the fact that Juan was in the area. The negative form in (19) shows that the sentence begins with *wala* (19a), and the perfect morpheme *na* cannot be used in the sentence (19b).

(18) [Item 2-7]

a. *Nagkadto si Juan kagapon.*

nag-kadto si Juan kagapon

INTR.PFV-arrive TOP Juan yesterday

‘He came yesterday (we don’t know whether he is still around)’

b. *Nagkadto na si Juan kagapon.*

nag-kadto na si Juan kagapon

INTR.PFV-arrive PERF TOP Juan yesterday

‘He was (actually here) yesterday’

(19) [Item 2-8]

a. *Wala nakakadto si Juan kagapon.*

wala naka-kadto si Juan kagapon

NEG PERF-come TOP Juan yesterday

‘Juan didn’t come yesterday.’

b. *\*Wala nakakadto na si Juan kagapon.*

wala naka-kadto na si Juan kagapon

NEG PERF-come PERF TOP Juan yesterday

#### 4. Aspect construction with the transitive verb

Section 4 reports aspect sentences with the transitive verb *kaon* ‘eat’. In the context where the speaker talks about the completion of an event with a specific reference to a particular apple, the *na* morpheme is required (20a); the apple is completely eaten. The presence of the demonstrative expression *ina nga* is unacceptable (20b). If the

apple may not be completely eaten, the sentence cannot have the perfect *na* morpheme.

(20) [Item 2-9]

a. *Ginkaon ko na ang mansanas.*

gin-kaon ko na ang mansanas

TR.PFV-eat 1SG PERF DEF apple

'I already ate that (apple).' (apple is no more)

b. \**Ginkaon ko na ang ina nga mansanas.*

gin-kaon ko na ang ina nga mansanas

TR.PFV-eat 1SG PERF DEF that NGA apple

c. *Ginkaon ko ang mansanas.*

ginkaon ko ang mansanas

TR.PFV-eat 1SG DEF apple

'I already ate that apple (but may not be completely eaten).'

The negative sentence in (21a) begins with *wala* and *pa* 'yet' appears in the preverbal position. The future sentence has the sentence-initial negative morpheme *indi* and the perfect morpheme *na*.

(21) [Item 2-10]

a. *Wala ko pa nakaon ang mansanas.*

wala ko pa na-kaon ang mansanas

NEG 1ST yet PST-eat DEF apple

'I haven't eaten that apple yet.'

b. *Indi ko na pagkaunon ang mansanas.*

indi ko na <pag>-kaun-on ang mansanas

no 1SG PERF FUT-eat-IRR.FUT.TR DEF apple

'I won't eat that apple.'

The present progressive is expressed with the verb-initial structure. The perfect meaning is with *na* in (22a). A simple progressive describing an ongoing action cannot have the *na* morpheme as in (22b).

(22) [Item 2-11]

a. *Ginakaon niya na ang mansanas subong.*

gina-kaon niya na ang mansanas subong

TR.IPFV-eat 3.SG PERF DEF apple now

'He has been eating that apple just now.'

b. *Ginakaon niya ang mansanas subong.*

gina-kaon niya ang mansanas subong

TR.IPFV-eat 3.SG DEF apple now

'He's eating the apple now.'

### 5. Aspect construction with the stative verb

The stative verb *bukas* ‘open’ is shown in various constructions. The situation when the opening of the window is shown in (23a). When a past event is described the *na* morpheme is added as in (23b).

(23) [Item 2-12]

a. *Bukas ang bintana.*

bukas ang bintana

open DEF window

‘The window is open.’

b. *Bukas na kagina ang bintana.*

bukas na kagina ang bintana

open PERF just.before DEF window

‘The window was open.’

When sentences imply an action was done to create the event as in (24), the *na* morpheme is used. The past tense sentence is expressed with the circumfix *na-...-an*.

(24) [Item 2-12]

a. *Bukas na ang bintana.*

bukas na ang bintana

open PERF DEF window

‘The window is opened.’

b. *Nabuksan na ang bintana.*

Na-buks-an na ang bintana

PST-open-AN PERF DEF window

‘The window was opened.’

### 6. Habitual aspect

The habitual aspect in Hiligaynon is expressed with the progressive prefix *naga-* as in (25), which denotes the repeated action that occurs in the morning of each day.

(25) [Item 2-13]

*Nagabasa ko sang balita kada aga.*

naga-basa ko sang balita kada aga

INTR.IPFV-read 1SG INDEF news every morning

‘I read the newspaper every morning.’

In Hiligaynon, the resemblance with parents is not expressed with the perfect as in (26).

(26) [Item 2-14]

*Pareho kamo itsura sang Nanay mo.*

pareho kamo itsura sang Nanay mo  
to.be.the.same PL face INDEF mother your  
'You look like your mother'

A habitual natural phenomenon as in (27) is also expressed using *naga-*.

(27) [Item 2-22]

*Nagalibot ang kalibutan sa adlaw.*

naga-libot ang kalibutan sa adlaw  
INTR.IPFV-go.around DEF earth around sun  
'The earth goes around the sun.'

Adding *sang una* 'the past' to the progressive sentence shows the past habitual as in (28).

(28) [Item 2-15]

*Naga eskwela ko adlaw-adlaw sang una.*

naga eskwela ko adlaw-adlaw sang una  
INTR.IPFV go.to.school 1SG everyday INDEF past  
'I used to go to school every day (back then).'

## 7. Other aspect expressions

In (29), the experience of having visited Bacolod is expressed with the perfect *na* as in (29a). The sentence without *na* in (29b) is acceptable, but it simply describes the event that the subject went to the Bacolod, who may or may not still be there.

(29) [Item 2-16]

a. *Nakakadto na ko sa Bacolod.*

naka-kadto na ko sa Bacolod  
PERF-go PERF 1SG to Bacolod  
'I have been to Bacolod.'

b. *Nakakadto ko sa Bacolod.*

naka-kadto ko sa Bacolod  
PERF-go 1SG to Bacolod  
'I went to Bacolod'

The event in (30) is a situation where a movement begins after waiting for sometime. Note that Hiligaynon uses the simple past prefix *nag-*. The perfect *na* is not required (compared 30a with 30b). The verb can either be *lakat* 'walk' (30a, b) or *andar* 'walk' (30c).

(30) [Item 2-17]

a. *Naglakat gid man ang bus.*

nag-lakat gid man ang bus  
 INTR.PFV-walk finally EMPH DEF bus  
 ‘Finally, the bus began moving.’

b. *Naglakat na gid man ang bus.*

nag-lakat na gid man ang bus  
 INTR.PFV-walk PERF finally EMPH DEF bus  
 ‘the bus has begun moving’

c. *Nag-andar gid man ang bus.*

nag-andar gid man ang bus  
 INTR.PFV-walk finally EMPH DEF bus

In (31), an action that was continuous in the past, such as the described sleeping action, is expressed with the past prefix *nag* and the perfect *na*. The presence of *na* in (31a) describes that the subject could not do any other activities. When such implication is not part of the sentence as in (31b), *na* is not used.

(31) [Item 2-18]

a. *Nagtulog na lang siya bilog nga adlaw kagapon.*

nag-tulog na lang siya bilog nga adlaw kagapon  
 INTR.PFV-sleep PERF EMPH 3SG whole of day yesterday  
 ‘She slept all day yesterday’ (she couldn’t do anything else)

b. *Nagtulog lang siya bilog nga adlaw kagapon.*

nag-tulog lang siya bilog nga adlaw kagapon  
 INTR.PFV-sleep EMPH 3SG whole of day yesterday  
 ‘She slept all day yesterday.’ (just describing)

In (32), the event is about what has just occurred beforehand. Hiligaynon uses the circumfix *gin-...-an* as in (32a). The perfect *na* cannot be added after the main verb (32b), nor after the auxiliary verb (32c).

(32) [Item 2-19]

a. *Gintilawan ko man magkaon gamay lang.*

gin-tilaw-an ko man mag-kaon gamay lang  
 <PST>try 1SG EMPH to-eat little bit  
 ‘I tried eating it a bit.’

b. *\*Gintilawan ko man magkaon na gamay lang.*

gin-tilaw-an ko man mag-kaon na gamay lang  
 <PST>try 1SG EMPH to-eat PERF little bit

c. *\*Gintilawan na ko man magkaon gamay lang.*

gin-tilaw-an na ko man mag-kaon gamay lang  
 <PST>try PERF 1SG EMPH to-eat little bit

When an action is completed and it cannot be repeated, the perfect *na* morpheme is used as in (33a). When the perfect morpheme is absent (33b), the sentence simply describes an event in the past.

(33) [Item 2-20]

a. *Ginhatag niya na sa tanan.*

gin-hatag niya na sa tanan  
TR.PFV-give 3SG PERF to everyone

‘He gave them to everyone.’ (context of giving all of them out, but nothing left)

b. *Ginhatag niya sa tanan.*

gin-hatag niya sa tanan  
TR.PFV-give 3SG to everyone

‘He gave them to everyone.’

The hortative in Hiligaynon may or may not take the perfect morpheme (34a versus 34b). When the perfect *na* is present, the situation is as follows: you’ve been waiting for your friend to be prepared, and you are running out of patience.

(34) [Item 2-21]

a. *Lakat ta!*

Lakat ta!  
go 2PL  
‘Let’s go!’

b. *Lakat na ta!*

Lakat na ta!  
go PERF 2PL  
‘Let’s go now’

An event of yet-to-happen but it may occur in the near future is described in (35). Hiligaynon uses *na* perfect with the *ma-* prefix in (35a). When the action concerns the subject, the perfect morpheme cannot be used (35b).

(35) [Item 2-23, 24]

a. [Situation: almost falling down due to a storm]

*Daw matumba na ang kahoy.*  
daw ma-tumba na ang kahoy  
almost PRS-fall PERF DEF tree  
‘That tree is about to topple.’

b. [Situation: almost falling down due to a curb]

*Dutayan lang ko matumba.*  
dutayan.lang ko ma-tumba  
nearly 1SG PRS-fall  
‘I was almost about to trip.’

The future action in (36) is described with the prefix *ma-*.

(36) [Item 2-25]

*Mabakal ko tinapay kay may mga bisita kita buwas.*

ma-bakal ko tinapay kay may mga bisita kami buwas  
 PRS-buy 1SG bread because have DEF.PL visitor 1PL.EXCL tomorrow

‘We will have guests tomorrow, so I will buy some bread.’

In (37), an action took place when the speaker was away. The sentence with the perfect *na* in (37b) describes a situation in which the speaker has been wanting to buy a particular bag, and they finally bought it. Without the perfect, the sentence simply describes the purchase action while being away as in (37a).

(37) [Item 2-26]

[Situation: I was in Bacolod]

a. *Ginbakal ko ang ini nga bag sang nagkadto ko sa Bacolod.*

TR.PFV-bakal ko ang ini nga bag sang nag-kadto ko sa Bacolod  
 PST-buy 1ST DEF this of bag when INTR.PFV-go 1SG to Bacolod

‘I (had) bought this bag when I went to Bacolod.’

b. *Ginbakal ko na ang ini nga bag sang nagkadto ko sa Bacolod.*

gin-bakal ko na ang ini nga bag sang nag-kadto ko sa Bacolod  
 TR.PFV-buy 1ST PERF DEF this of bag when INTR.PFV-go 1SG to Bacolod

‘I (had) bought this bag when I went to Bacolod.’

A purchasing event could occur prior to an event that occurred in the past. In (38a), the main clause verb shows *gin-*, and the subordinate clause verb is expressed with *nag-*. The presence of the perfect *na* in (38b) indicates that the speaker did not have much time prior to an event, but they were able to squeeze in time to conduct the event of purchasing a bag.

(38) [Item 2-27]

[Situation: before going to Bacolod]

a. *Ginbakal ko ang ini nga bag antes ko nagkadto sa Bacolod.*

gin-bakal ko ang ini nga bag antes ko nag-kadto sa Bacolod  
 TR.PFV-buy 1SG DEF this of bag before 1SG INTR.PFV-go to Bacolod

‘I (had) bought this bag before going to Bacolod.’

b. *Ginbakal ko na ang ini nga bag antes ko nagkadto sa Bacolod.*

gin-bakal ko na ang ini nga bag antes ko nag-kadto sa Bacolod  
 TR.PFV-buy 1SG PERF DEF this of bag before 1SG INTR.PFV-go to Bacolod

‘I (had) bought this bag before going to Bacolod.’

In (39), the meaning of ‘to know’ is expressed with the verb *siling ko gid daw* ‘that’s what I said’. A simple statement in (39a) does not have the *na* morpheme. When the *na* has the stress as in (39b), the speaker is pointing at a location. When the perfect *na* occurs without stress, the emphasis lies in the fact that the purchase action

occurred at a past time.

(39) [Item 2-28]

a. *Siling ko gid daw, diri niya nga tindahan ginbakal ang bag!*

siling ko gid daw diri niya nga tindahan gin-bakal ang bag  
 say 1SG EMP here 3SG NGA market TR.PFV-buy DEF bag  
 ‘I knew he (had) bought this bag in this market.’

b. *Siling ko gid daw, diri niya ná ginbakal ang bag!*

siling ko gid daw diri niya ná tindahan gin-bakal ang bag  
 say 1SG EMP here 3SG PERF market TR.PFV-buy DEF bag  
 ‘I knew he (had) bought this bag in this market.’

c. *Siling ko gid daw, diri niya na ginbakal ang bag!*

siling ko gid daw diri niya na tindahan gin-bakal ang bag  
 say 1SG EMP here 3SG NA market TR.PFV-buy DEF bag  
 ‘I knew he (had) bought this bag in this market.’

## 8. Conclusion

Passive and aspect constructions in Hiligaynon have been described in this paper. Passive sentences are expressed using word order or the use of patient voice *si*; no verbal suffix as in English is used. The aspect constructions in Hiligaynon show that the presence or absence of the perfect *na* is used to express aspects when coupled with different tense prefixes on verbs.

## Appendix A. Contexts used during the elicitation sessions.

Each situation in this appendix was used to elicit items that appear in the main text.

### Contexts *for situations 2-1 to 2-8*

*Tom and Mark are organizing a meeting preparing for a conference. Mark has been in communication with everyone who is involved, including Juan.*

#### Situation 2-1

(Mark saw that Juan arrived but went to the bathroom)

Tom: I need to check some data with Juan. Did he arrive?

Mark: Yes, **Juan already came**.

Tom: I forgot the name of the assistant. Did the person arrive?

Mark: Oh, I forgot his name too. Yes, **that person already came**.

#### Situation 2-2

(Mark was texting with everyone, and Mark knew that everyone was on their way to the meeting)

Tom: I need to check some data with Juan. Is she on her way?

Mark: No, **Juan has already been coming**.

Tom: I forgot the name of the assistant. Is the person on her way?

Mark: Oh, I forgot his name too. Yes, **that person has already been coming**.

#### Situation 2-3

(Mark was texting with everyone, and Mark knew that everyone was still at home)

Tom: I need to check some data with Juan. Did he arrive?

Mark: No, **Juan has not been coming yet**.

Tom: I forgot the name of the assistant. Did the person arrive?

Mark: Oh, I forgot his name too. Yes, **that person has not been coming yet**.

#### Situation 2-4

(Mark has just arrived at a meeting place. He saw that only Tom was there)

Tom: I need to check some data with Juan. Did he arrive?

Mark: No, **Juan has not come yet**.

Tom: I forgot the name of the assistant. Did the person arrive?

Mark: Oh, I forgot his name too. Yes, **that person has not come yet**.

**Situation 2-5**

(Mark was texting with everyone, and Mark knew that everyone will arrive within 5 minutes)

Tom: I need to check some data with Juan. Did he arrive?

Mark: No, but **Juan will come soon.**

Tom: I forgot the name of the RA. Did the person arrive?

Mark: Oh, I forgot his name too. Yes, **that person will come soon.**

**Situation 2-6**

(Mark and Tom just saw Juan entering the meeting room)

Tom and Mark: (Oh!) **Juan has come!**

**Situation 2-7**

(Mark and Juan were at the meeting venue to discuss various issues the day before, but Tom was not there).

Tom: Is the preparation over? I asked Juan to finalize everything yesterday. Did he come?

Mark: Yes, **Juan came yesterday.**

**Situation 2-8**

(Mark was at the meeting venue to check the preparation the day before, but Tom and Juan was not there).

Tom: Is the preparation over? I asked Juan to help you yesterday. Did he come?

Mark: No, **Juan didn't come yesterday.**

**Situation 2-9**

You bought one delicious looking apple. Your brother was together when you bought it. When your brother was at work, you ate it. Your brother after work asks about the apple.

Brother: Where is the apple you bought?

You: **I already ate that apple.**

**Situation 2-10**

You bought one delicious looking apple. Your brother was together when you bought it. Your brother went to the shop, and you joined him later. Your brother after work asks about the apple.

Brother: Did you eat the apple?

You: No, **I haven't eaten that apple yet.**

Brother: Will you eat the apple later today?

You: No, **I won't eat that apple.**

**Situation 2-11**

You bought one delicious looking apple. You brought it home and put it on the dining table. Then you went for work. Your mother saw that your brother took the apple and started eating it. When you returned from work, you did not see the apple. You ask your mother.

You: Where is the apple I bought earlier? Did my brother take it?

Mother: Yes, **he's eating that apple just now.**

**Situation for 2-12**

On a cold day, you and Mark arrived in the office, which was cold. Then you saw a window open. You tell Mark:

You: **The window is open.**

Then, Tom arrives, and he wonders why it is so cold in the office. You tell Tom:

You: **The window was open.**

After closing the window, all of you go out to get some breakfast. When you return to the office, the office was again cold. You again saw the window is open. You tell Mark and Tom:

You: **The window is opened.**

(passive form because the window cannot be opened by itself)

After that Juan comes in and asks, why the office is so cold. You tell Juan:

You: **The window was opened.**

**Situation for 2-13**

Your friend asks where you get most recent news (not knowing that you read newspaper). You reply:

You: **I read the newspaper every morning.**

**Situation for 2-14**

You met your niece after 3 years, and you see that she looks like your sister, so you say:

You: **You look like your mother.**

**Situation for 2-15**

You are a senior student at a college, and you go to school 3 days a week. Your younger brother asks what your schedule was during the freshman year.

Brother: How was your class schedule during your first year at the college?

You: **I used to go to school every day.**

**Situation for 2-16**

People are talking about their vacation in Bacolod, and asks you whether you have been there. So you respond:

You: Yes, **I have been to Bacolod.**

**Situation for 2-17**

From your building, you and your mother saw that there was a long traffic jam on the highway, including a bus with your brother. Your mother had to go inside, and after a while you see the traffic started moving. You tell your mother:

You: **Finally, the bus began moving.**

**Situation for 2-18**

Your sister went to a week-long overseas trip, and she is not good at sleeping on an airplane. She returned on a Friday. When you met a friend on the Sunday, she asks how your sister was doing after the trip. You respond:

You: **She slept all day yesterday.**

**Situation for 2-19**

You are visiting some distant relatives for the first time, and they serve you local delicacies (for example, a grasshopper). However, you have never eaten it. Later that night, your sister who knew about this custom asked:

Sister: I know they serve local delicacies. How was it?

You: **I tried eating it a bit.**

**Situation for 2-20**

Tom received a gift of a box of pens (20 of them). When you heard about it from Susan, you wonder whether Tom still has some pens. You ask Susan:

You: Does Tom still have some pens to spare?

Susan: No. **He gave them to everyone.**

**Situation for 2-21**

In lunchtime, and your friend asks whether you want to eat yet. You tell your friend:

You: **Let's go!**

**Situation for 2-22**

In a science class, the teacher is explaining about the relationship between the earth and the sun, and he says:

Teacher: **The earth goes around the sun.**

**Situation for 2-23**

A severe storm is passing through, and you see from your window that a tree on the street is bent so much that it may fall down soon. You tell your mother:

You: Mom, mom. **That tree is about to topple.**

**Situation for 2-24**

You were reading Instagram post while walking on the street, but then a curb suddenly appeared, and you almost fell. That evening, you tell your brother.

You: I should stop looking at my phone while walking. **I was almost about to trip.**

(note: 'to trip' means 'to fall')

**Situation for 2-25**

You meet your neighbor at the local supermarket. She asks what you are here for:

You: **We will have guests tomorrow,, so I will buy some bread.**

**Situation for 2-26**

You went to Bacolod and found a nice bag, which you bought. A couple of days later, your friend asks where you got the bag from. You respond:

You: **I (had) bought this bag when I went to Bacolod.**

**Situation for 2-27**

Your friend knows that you go to many business trips. Just recently, you went to Iloilo, Bacolod and Manila. Between Iloilo and Bacolod, you bought a new bag, which your friend did not know about. When you meet your friend after your Bacolod trip, the friend asks:

Friend: You are always on the go. When did you buy a bag?

You: **I (had) bought this bag before going to Bacolod.**

**Situation for 2-28**

Tom bought a bag at a famous market in town. When you met Tom, you noticed the bag, but you did not ask where Tom bought the bag. A couple of days later, you were browsing items at that market with Susan, and you noticed the same kind of bag there. So, you tell Susan:

You: **I knew he (had) bought this bag in this market.**

### Abbreviations

1sg, 2pl, ...: Person and Number	PERF: Perfect
CAUS: Causative	PROG: Progressive
DEF: Definite	PRS: Present
EMPH: Emphasis	PST: Past
EXCL: Exclusive	P.AC: Personal singular agentive case
FUT: Future	RED: Reduplicant
INDEF: Indefinite	SB: Somebody
INTR.PFV: Intransitive perfective (Mithun 2019)	SFX: Suffix
INTR.IPFV: Intransitive imperfective (Mithun 2019)	TOP: Topic
IRR.FUT.TR: Irrealis future transitivity (Mithun 2019)	TR.PFV: Transitive perfective (Mithun 2019)
NEG: Negative	TR.IPFV: Transitive imperfective (Mithun 2019)

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