Examining Cuyonon Motion Events in "Frog, Where Are You?"

Naidyl Isis C. Bautista

Abstract

A dominant theme in the children's story book *Frog, Where Are You?* (Mayer, 1969) is the expression of motions (Slobin, 2004), whose patterns vary depending on the language. Talmy (2000) proposed that the world's languages are generally divided into a two-category typology based on whether the core schema is expressed by the main verb (Vlanguages) or by the satellite (S-languages). In V-languages, the frame event (PATH) is in the verb itself, whereas in Slanguages, the MANNER is typically conveyed by the verb and the information about the PATH follows it in a satellite (Rau et al., 2012). Previous research has shown that Tagalog and Cebuano belong to the class of PATH-salient Vlanguages along with several other Austronesian languages (Huang & Tanangkingsing, 2005). This paper conducted

a preliminary investigation of motion events in Cuyonon through the following steps taken from Rau et al.'s (2012) study on Yami: (a) recognize PATH and MANNER verbs (prototypical and non-prototypical alike) used by the Cuyonon language consultant in his elicitation of the Frog Story; and (b) determine how motion events are represented in serial verb constructions. After having analyzed the given narrative data, it can be argued that Cuyonon as good as follows Tagalog and Cebuano in being a PATH-salient V-language, as it also gives greater attention to PATH information as opposed to MANNER. However, categorizing it as a "pure V-language" has yet to be determined. Future studies recommend gathering more Frog narratives from other Cuyonon speakers, and to also take into consideration other elicited data containing motion events beyond the children's book.

Keywords: Cuyonon, motion events, linguistic typology, verb-framed languages, serial verb constructions

1 Introduction

The expression of motions is manifested differently depending on the language, following a limited set of structural patterns (Hacımusaoğlu & Cohn, 2022). The classic typology in encoding motion events was proposed by Talmy (2000), who posited that the world's languages made use of two different lexicalization patterns: satellite-framed languages (S-languages), which encode MANNER in the main verb while

PATH is manifested using satellites (i.e., prepositions), and verb-framed languages (V-languages), whose main verbs encode PATH information while MANNER is optionally expressed through adjunct phrases. Slobin (2004) later proposed a third type—equipollently-framed languages (Elanguages)—encompassing other strategies in encoding motion events, such as serial verb constructions. Under this type, PATH and MANNER are expressed using elements equal in formal linguistic terms (p. 228).

Previous research on Austronesian languages has shown that Philippine languages Tagalog and Cebuano are categorized as V-languages, and that Austronesian languages in general are PATH-salient in their expressions of motion events (Huang & Tanangkingsing, 2005). Visual narratives like Mayer's (1969) *Frog Stories* have been found to be a useful tool in eliciting and examining motion events and understanding how languages may vary from each other in systemic ways.

Thus, this paper, through the elicitation of *Frog, Where Are You?* (Mayer, 1969), conducted a preliminary investigation of lexicalization patterns of motion events in Cuyonon. Among the paper's objectives are to determine the following: (I) whether the findings can support the claim that Austronesian languages are PATH-salient; (2) whether Cuyonon behaves like Tagalog and Cebuano, and establish if there are instances that set it apart; (3) whether non-prototypical PATH or MANNER verbs are employed by the language; and (4) whether Cuyonon makes use of serial verb constructions.

The paper is organized into four succeeding sections: in Section 2, we give a theoretical background on the semantic typology of motion events. This includes an explanation of Talmy's (2000) two-way typology and

the proposal of a four-way typology from Huang and Tanangkingsing (2005), which is applied to the study of Austronesian languages. Then, in Section 3, we explain the methodology and provide the reader with information on Cuyonon and how it was analyzed. The preliminary analysis is tackled in Section 4, which divided the elicited data into three major categories: (1) clauses that used prototypical PATH verbs; (2) clauses that used non-prototypical PATH verbs; and (3) clauses that used serial verb constructions, involving the combination of MANNER # PATH verbs. Finally, in Section 5, we give our concluding remarks and provide recommendations for future studies.

2 Encoding Motion Events: A Semantic Typology

In its most basic sense, motion events are situations containing an object moving through space with respect to another object (Talmy, 2000). These motion events typically contain four basic components: (I) the FIGURE, which is characterized as the moving object or entity; (2) the GROUND, or the locational anchor relative to which the movement is conceptualized; (3) the PATH, which is defined as either the path followed by the FIGURE with respect to another entity, or the site it occupies; and, finally, (4) the MOTION itself. In addition to the four components, coevents like MANNER—how the action is carried out—and CAUSE—that which gives rise to action—may also be incorporated into the linguistic encoding of motion events (Barnabé, 2017; Talmy, 2000, p. 25), as seen in Table I.

In the four examples, the FIGURE is the *pencil* and the GROUND is the *table*. The PATH is indicated through closed-class grammatical units

	Manner	Cause
Motion	(1a) The pencil rolled off the table.	(2a) The pencil blew off the table.
Locatedness	(1b) The pencil lay on the table.	(2b) The pencil stuck on the table (after I glued it).

Table 1. Semantic Components in Motion Events in English (Talmy,2000, p. 26)

off (PATH) and *on* (SITE). Examples (Ia) and (2a) express MOTION, while those in (Ib) and (2b) show LOCATION. We also see the difference in terms of MANNER and CAUSE: the verb *rolled* in (Ia) is categorized as a MANNER verb with the way it describes how the pencil moved down from the table, while *blew* in (2a) is a CAUSE verb as it implies that the FIGURE moved from the GROUND by another CAUSE instead of it moving in that MANNER by itself (Rau et al., 2012; Talmy, 2000).

With space being part of the cognitive domain, motion events may be construed, conceptualized, and encoded differently depending on the language, and are often grounded in typological characteristics of morphosyntax and lexicon (Barnabé, 2017; Huang & Tanangkingsing, 2005; Montero-Melis, 2021; Slobin, 2004). Talmy (2000) proposed that the world's languages are generally divided into a two-category typology, in which motion is analyzed into a set of semantic components, and languages are categorized depending on how they package these linguistic components into linguistic forms (Huang & Tanangkingsing, 2005). The Talmian typology refers then to two perception processes: satellite-framed languages (S-languages) and verb-framed languages (Vlanguages). In S-languages, the MANNER of MOTION is characteristically encoded through the verb's semantics while information on its PATH follows the verb in a satellite (Beavers et al., 2010). This is illustrated in the English examples: *The dog ran* (MANNER verb) *across* (PATH satellite) *the street*; and *The bird flew* (MANNER verb) *into* (PATH satellite) *the room* (Barnabé, 2017; Rau et al., 2012). We observe that the MANNER is encoded as a main verb, while the PATH functions as a satellite, typically expressed in a prepositional phrase. In this category, the representation of space is considered through the embodied simulated act of MOTION (Barnabé, 2017). Satellite-framed languages include Germanic languages, Slavic languages, Ojibwa, and Warlpiri (Huang & Tanangkingsing, 2005, p. 309).

V-languages, on the other hand, encode the PATH of MOTION in the main verb, as found in the French example *L'oiseau est entré dans la pièce* 'The bird flew into the room' (Barnabé, 2017). In the verb *est entré* 'entered; flew into,' there is only information on the PATH, and MANNER is typically not shown. Only in cases when the MANNER is at issue is the MANNER of motion expressed, usually added as a separate adverbial phrase, adjunct clause, or satellite (Barnabé, 2017; Beavers et al., 2010; Rau et al., 2012).

Let us observe the following sentence: *L'oiseau est entré dans la pièce en volant* (lit. 'The bird entered the room flying'). The V-language speaker may suspect that there is something wrong with the bird's ability to fly, and could assume the bird is hurt. Hence, the need to mention the manner of action *en volant* (Barnabé, 2017). Examples of verb-framed languages are Romance languages, Arabic, Japanese, Tamil, and Polynesian among others (Huang & Tanangkingsing, 2005, p. 309).

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Research on motion events in the past primarily focused on Romance and Germanic languages, which express MANNER and PATH in the verb and in a nonverbal constituent, merely doing so in opposite ways (Huang & Tanangkingsing, 2005). However, Croft (2003) observed that apart from asymmetric verb and satellite framing strategies for encoding motion events, there also exists a range of symmetric strategies such as the serial strategy, the double coding strategy, and the coordinate strategy. Such strategies can be found in languages like Mandarin, the Slavic languages, and the Papuan language Amele, respectively. Because other languages make use of different strategies in encoding these events, Slobin (2004 in Rau et al., 2012) extended Talmy's (2000) typology to include a third class, which he referred to as equipollently-framed languages (E-languages). In this language type, both PATH and MANNER are expressed in the main verb by equivalent grammatical forms (Slobin, 2004, p. 249). Languages with serial verb constructions—in which one verb may encode MANNER while the other may encode PATH (Beavers et al., 2010)—are commonly accommodated in this language class.

It is important to note that although cross-linguistic variation in encoding motion events has been reduced to a two- or three-way typology, Beavers et al. (2010), as well as other researchers, have seen that "an increasing number of observations that putative S-framed languages often show V-framed behavior and vice versa, and that many putatively E-framed languages show S- and/or V-framed behavior outside of multiple verb constructions" (p. 333). This suggests that the classes may not be as straightforward as they seem to be and that they may be further subdivided, for example, into differences in preposition or verb inventories (Bohnemeyer, et al., 2007, as cited in Beavers et al., 2010). In the context of Austronesian languages, data based on the Frog narratives from six Western Austronesian languages (WAN)—Cebuano, Malay, Saisiyat, Squliq Atayal, Tagalog, and Tsou—led Huang and Tanangkingsing (2005) to propose a four-way typology in the encoding of motion events and how the six languages can be classified under them (Table 2). In addition, they examined how the dichotomy between PATH and MANNER verbs played out following these patterns.

Typology	Characteristics	Languages
Satellite-framed language	MANNER verb + PATH satellite	None from the six WAN
Verb-framed language	PATH verb + MANNER	Cebuano, Malay,
	adjunct	Saisiyat, Squliq Atayal, Tagalog²
Macro-event language	[manner prefix + path root] verb	Tsou ³
Serial verb language	path verb # manner verb or manner verb # path verb	None from the six WAN

Table 2. Patterns in Encoding Path and Manner Verbs Adapted from Talmy and Slobin (Huang & Tanangkingsing, 2005, p. 311)¹

¹Following Huang and Tanangkingsing (2005, pp. 310–311), the symbol + in "X + Y" indicates that constituent order should be ignored. The use of # on the other hand indicates that in "X # Y," X precedes Y.

²Huang and Tanangkingsing (2005, p. 337) note that the five languages present Vframed features in varying degrees: from being 'pure verb-framing languages' (Tagalog and Cebuano), to an attenuated version of the pure form (Malay), to a version which makes use of compound MANNER and PATH combinations (Saisiyat), and that which exhibits features of S-languages in motion event descriptions (Squliq Atayal).

³Although Tsou was categorized as a macro-event language via the use of lexicalized compound MOTION verbs that conflate both MANNER and PATH, it shares features with V-languages through the relatively high use of PATH verbs alone (p. 316).

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Based on Table 2, Huang and Tanangkingsing (2005) found that all six languages showed greater attention to PATH information than to MANNER (five of six are classified as V-languages, while Tsou is labeled as a macro-event language), which allowed them to hypothesize that Proto-Austronesian was likely PATH-salient.

Focusing on Philippine languages, Tagalog and Cebuano belong to verb-framing languages (PATH verb + MANNER adjunct) in the way they conveyed path through a main finite verb while MANNER, if expressed, is indicated through a subordinate expression. In describing the emergence of the owl in the Frog story, it was found that Cebuano and Tagalog consistently employed only the PATH verb 'to come out,' without the need of using a MANNER verb to introduce the owl. This is illustrated in Examples (I) and (2) (Huang & Tanangkingsing, 2005, p. 318).

(I) Tagalog

Bigla-ng l-um-abas ang kuwago sa loob ng kahoy. Suddenly-lnk AF-exit ANG owl LOC inside of tree⁴ 'Suddenly, the owl came out from inside the tree.'

(2) Cebuano

Unya ang owl ni-gawas gikan sa kahoy. Then ANG owl AF-move.out be.from LOC tree 'Then the owl came out from the tree.'

Huang and Tanangkingsing (2005) likewise stated that other aspects of V-languages include the propensity of taking verbs that seem to appear

⁴The Leipzig Glossing in these examples are directly cited from Huang and Tanangkingsing (2005).

as MANNER verbs (such as *run*, *walk* and *fly*) and interpreting them as PATH verbs. Such verbs whose interpretations imply both MANNER and PATH are defined as non-prototypical MANNER or PATH verbs, based on their conceptual saliency, which is determined by the "informativeness (that is, not the default setting) of the PATH or MANNER interpretations of the sentence containing the verb in question" (Rau et al., 2012, p. 8).

In this paper, we distinguish the verbs in Examples (3) to (5) as being non-prototypical PATH verbs since the additional implied information on PATH (i.e., the trajectory of the FIGURE with respect to the GROUND) appears to be more informative than the default MANNER. Thus, "to fly" in S-languages like English is inferred by V-languages as having additional PATH expressions "to fly *away*," while "to walk" or "to run" is "to walk/run *away*."

- (3) Cebuano (Huang & Tanangkingsing, 2005, p. 326) Dayon ang owl ning-lupad Then ANG owl AF-fly
 'Then the owl flew away.'
- (4) Cebuano (p. 326)

Gi-kuha niya ang usa ka baki' ug ni-lakaw na sila. PF-take 3SG ANG ONE LNK frog and AF-walk PFV 3PL 'He took one frog and they walked *away*.' (5) Tagalog (p. 326) *Tumakbo ito nang matulin at ini-hulog ang bata ng usa* AF-run this ASP fast and PF-fall ANG child OBL deer *sa isa-ng putikan*. LOC one-LNK muddy-place 'The deer ran *away* fast and tossed the child into the mud.'

Because MANNER verbs are not an obligatory component in V-languages, they are largely used to present descriptive information in identifying new referents within a discourse. Let us observe the Tagalog example in (6) (Huang & Tanangkingsing, 2005, p. 332).

- (6) Tagalog
 - a. *Pero-ng lumabas... Naku ano ba ito? ...*But-ANG AF-move.out INTRJ what Q this
 'But what came out were ... Oh, what were these?'
 - b. *Di ko alam ano-ng tawag diyan sa Tagalog* NEG ISG know what-ANG call there SA Tagalog 'I don't know how to call these in Tagalog.'
 - c. O=di hala sige hanap pa rin sila nang hanap. Nandyan So INTRJ find still also still 3PL ASP find There pa rin yong mga= ano mga= XXX basta may mga still also that PL what PL PRTCL EXT PL lumilipad.⁵ AF-fly 'But what came out were ... Oh, what were these?'

⁵XXX indicates an unintelligible utterance.

Based on the extract, (6b) introduces a new but unidentified FIGURE or referent, which the narrator describes using the MANNER verb 'flying' in (6c).

In an attempt to support their claim on Austronesian languages, this paper intends to conduct a preliminary investigation of motion events in Cuyonon. In particular, it aims to recognize the patterns used to encode PATH and MANNER verbs. In addition, it will reflect on the following questions: Is Cuyonon a V-language like Tagalog and Cebuano in the way it encodes motion events? Is it PATH-salient like most Austronesian languages? Does the language make use of serial verb constructions? Does it make use of non-prototypical PATH or MANNER verbs?

3 Cuyonon Motion Verbs in "Frog, Where Are You?"

The corpus of this paper is the narration in Cuyonon of the wordless picture book *Frog, Where Are You?* (Mayer, 1969). Mayer's *Frog Stories* are common stimulus prompts used in eliciting naturalistic and narrative data from language consultants. Among the dominant themes of *Frog Stories* is the expression of motion events. The data was narrated by Ryan Ibañez, a male Cuyonon speaker in his late twenties.⁶ The elicitation was recorded online via Zoom, with the narration proper having a run time of 10 minutes and 16 seconds. Transcription and translation of elicited data—specifically the utterances containing motion clauses—was done on a separate session.

⁶The data elicited was likewise validated at a later date by female native Cuyonon speaker, Elyn Bagalay.

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Frog, Where Are You? is about a young boy who keeps a pet frog in a jar. As he sleeps one night, the frog escapes from the jar. The boy wakes up the next day to find the frog gone. He then decides to search for it, and so he and his dog head out of the house and into the woods. They encounter a gopher in its burrow and a beehive on top of a tree. The dog shakes the beehive off the tree. It falls to the ground and the bees chase after the dog. The boy climbs a tree and inspects a hole. An owl emerges from the hole and the boy falls over. The boy escapes the owl by climbing onto a rock. He grabs onto the branches behind the rock for support, which turn out to be the antlers of a deer. The deer rises up and runs off towards a cliff, bringing the boy on its head. The deer stops right at the edge and the boy is hurled off the deer's antlers, and with his dog (who ran after the deer), fall onto a pond below. The boy and his dog hear some noises behind a large tree trunk. They look behind it and find their frog with its frog friends. The boy picks his frog up and they head back home, waving goodbye to the other frogs.

Cuyonon is a language that belongs to the West Visayan branch of the Greater Central Philippines subgroup (Zorc, 1977). The language is the most dominant among Palawan's eight indigenous languages (San Juan, 2006), and is largely spoken in the province of Palawan, specifically in the Cuyo Islands to the northwest of the Palawan mainland, the coastal area around Puerto Princesa, as well as in the islands of Culion and Busuanga.

During the early twentieth century, the out-migration surge from Cuyo into the Palawan mainland in search for better economic opportunities (Eder, 2004) resulted in Cuyonon becoming the province's lingua franca (Lee, 2007). This did not last, however, as the decades following the Second World War brought forth an increase in immigration from other regions into Palawan (Eder, 2004), which eventually led to Tagalog's linguistic spread, replacing Cuyonon as the lingua franca of the entire province. Despite the decline in Cuyonon language usage, with speakers often preferring to employ Tagalog and English in the interest of practicality and modernity (2004), it is by no means disappearing (see Nolledo-Montaño, 2021). In fact, the latest data as seen in the 27th edition of Ethnologue states that the speaker population of Cuyonon ranges from 10,000 to 1 million, and that its vitality status is 'stable,' which means that, although all children learn and use the language in the home and community, Cuyonon is not being sustained by formal institutions (Eberhard et al., 2024).

For this paper, we analyze Cuyonon as having ERGATIVE characteristics, which means that the S (INTRANSITIVE SUBJECT) and O (TRANSITIVE OBJECT) are marked in the same manner as the ABSOLUTIVE case, while the A (TRANSITIVE SUBJECT) is treated differently, being marked as the ERGATIVE case.⁷ We also distinguish morphologically or syntactically marked case forms—such as ERGATIVE, ABSOLUTIVE, etc.—from semantically and morphosyntactically marked case relations—such as PATIENT, AGENT, among others. Cuyonon is also right branching, which means that the most important element is always found in the leftmost position. Like majority of Philippine languages, Cuyonon is characterized by a highly developed focus system (Huang & Tanangkingsing, 2005; Kaufman, 2024).

⁷This contrasts with the NOMINATIVE-ACCUSATIVE alignment, in which the S and the A have the same form ('NOMINATIVE case'), while the O is marked differently ('ACCUSATIVE case').

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Although a typical characteristic of ERGATIVE or mixed ERGATIVE languages is that it is more PATIENT-oriented rather than AGENT-oriented (De Guzman, 1988, p. 323), we have observed that majority of the gathered motion clauses are in the ACTOR FOCUS (AF), which likewise reflect Huang and Tanangkingsing's (2005) observation of Cebuano clauses. This is likely attributed to the object of study, as motion verbs do not typically require OBJECTS to complete their meaning. We will take a closer look at them in Section 4.

4 A Preliminary Analysis

As mentioned in the previous section, PATH and MANNER verbs are determined by their potential realization of the four components: FIGURE, GROUND, PATH, and MOTION (Rau et al., 2012). The difference between the two is that PATH verbs encode a clear trajectory of the FIGURE with respect to the GROUND (e.g., *enter*, *exit*, *ascend*, *descend*, and deictic verbs *come*, *go*) (Huang & Tanangkingsing, 2005). MANNER verbs, on the other hand, show how the FIGURES carry out the MOTION, from encoding general MANNER like walk, run, and swim, to expressing specific distinctions, like *limp*, *sprint*, and *swoop* (Slobin, 2004). Some CAUSED-movement verbs, which express PATH information implicitly, like *put*, *pick*, *take*, *carry*, are also considered within the category of MANNER verbs, as seen in the sentence: '*He put* (CAUSE) *the apple* (FIGURE) *on the table* (GROUND).' (Huang & Tanangkingsing, 2005; Rau et al., 2012).

The elicited clauses containing motion verbs in Cuyonon—fourteen in total—were examined and grouped according to the following patterns: prototypical PATH verb (P), non-prototypical PATH verb (NPP), and verb serializations (whether P#M or M#P).

4.1 Clauses Containing Prototypical Path (P) Verbs

We begin with the elicited clauses that contain MOTION verbs showing the prototypical pattern for PATH (Examples (7) to (13)). Examples (7) and (8) show the MOTION verb in bold text that contains a FIGURE moving to the GROUND, encoded as a GOAL (i.e., the direction towards which the action of the verb moves). The GROUND information is encoded by the locative marker *sa*, as seen in Example (7): *agsaka sa pono*, 'climbed up the tree;' and Example (8): *agabalik den sa anang balay... sa pono*, 'went back home... to the tree.'

(7) Ang bata gali animan adora, agsaka sa pono (Ryan Ibañez – Frog Story, 5:40).⁸
Ang bata gali animan adora
ABS child INTRJ SO AF.PFV.INTR.vanish
ag-saka sa pono
AF.PFV.INTR-climb.up OBL tree
'Ang bata pala, kaya nawala ay umakyat sa puno.'
'Anyway, the boy, the reason he vanished was that he climbed up the tree.'

⁸See List of Abbreviations in Section 7.

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Tapos adora ren ang gokgok agabalik, den sa anang balay, ay, sa (8) pono (7:13). Tapos adora ang gokgok ren then AF.PFV.INTR.vanish already ABS owl aga-balik den balay ay ana=ng sa AF.PROG.INTR-return already OBL 3SG.GEN=LNK house INTRJ sa pono OBL tree 'Tapos, nawala na ang kuwago, bumalik sya sa kanyang bahay, ay, sa puno.' 'And then, the owl had gone, it went back home, I mean, to the tree.'

For Example (9), it is analyzed that the GROUND functions as the location as opposed to being the GOAL as we have seen in the first two examples.

(9) Andang malalagpakan dagi ang ... midio tobig (8:48). Anda=ng ma-la-lagpak-an dagi ang midio tobig 3PL.ERG=LNK IPFV.TR-fall-LF DEM ABS somewhat water 'Malalagpakan nila ang itong ... parang tubig.' 'Where they will fall on is this... pool-like place.'

This is because the focus of the clause in Example (9) is the water on which the boy and the dog will fall into (marked by the ABSOLUTIVE *ang*), and no longer the AGENTS performing the action of falling. Perhaps the difference in transitivity, with Examples (7) and (8) being considered as having intransitive verbs (marked by the verbal affixes *ag*- and *aga*-) while Example (9) shows a transitive verb (marked by the affix *-an*), contributes to this distinction of GROUND.

The next examples consist of bare verbs, which provide no elaboration of PATH beyond the inherent directionality of the verb itself (Huang & Tanangkingsing, 2005, p. 323). The MOTION verb in Examples (10) and (11)—*olog*—is a downward MOTION description of 'to fall down.' While a LOCATION is indicated in Example (10) (*sa bintana*, 'window'), it does not function as the GROUND as it is not the LOCATION towards which the MOTION is directed. Thus, we observe that GROUND information may not always be encoded in V-languages.

- (10) Naolog ang tio alin doto sa bintana (3:13).
 Na-olog ang tio alin doto sa bintana.
 AF.PFV.INTR-fall ABS dog from there OBL window
 'Nahulog ang aso mula doon sa bintana.'
 'The dog fell down from the window.'
- (II) Tapos, dato mamaolog sandang darwa i'ang tio (8:33) Tapos dato ma-ma-olog sanda=ng darwa i'ang tio. then DEICT AF.IRR.INTR-fall 3PL.ABS=LNK two ERG dog 'Tapos, ayun mahuhulog silang dalawa nung aso.' 'And so, then, they will fall, both he and the dog.'

The same bare verb is also used in Examples (12) and (13)—*paloa*, 'to move out/emerge.' While it does not denote a downward MOTION like in the two bare verbs in Examples (10) and (11), it denotes a clear PATH which begins from a SOURCE LOCATION—like the hornets' nest in Example (13)—and indicates a continuing MOTION beyond (Slobin, 2004).

(12) Mi golpi agloa (4:53).
Mi golpi ag-loa.
EXT suddenly AF.PFV.INTR-emerge
'May biglang lumabas.'
'Something suddenly appeared.'

(13) Di agroloa ang mga torong (5:55).
Di ag-ro-loa ang mga torong.
so AF.PFV.INTR-PL-emerge ABS PL hornet
'Edi nagsilabasan ang mga putakti.'
'So the hornets emerged.'

Example (12) also indicates a MANNER adjunct *golpi* 'suddenly' which, preceding the verb, specifically refers to the sudden emergence of the FIGURE itself (introduced by the EXISTENTIAL construction *mi*). As explained by the language consultant, if the distribution of the adverb is found after the verb, as in *Mi agloa i' golpi*, the adverb will be referring to the utterance as a whole, and not to the individual elements of the sentence. Thus, it should no longer be specifically modifying the emergence of the FIGURE ("All of a sudden, something appeared"). This claim, however, requires further study and more examples as it does not seem to apply to all adverbs of manner. As stated by another consultant, the adverb pirmi 'always' does not shift the meaning of a sentence regardless of its placement (e.g., Ang tio pirming kaen-'Ang aso ay palaging kumakain,' 'The dog is always eating' vs. Ang tio agakaen i' pirmi-'Ang aso ay kumakain palagi,' 'The dog is always eating'). However, a change of meaning is observed in the switching of positions of the adverb maite 'little,' as seen in Agkaen i' maite—'Kumain ng konti,' 'He/she ate a little,' and Kamaite agkaen-'Muntik kumain,' 'He/she almost ate.' That the

additional examples do not fall under MOTION verbs is another reason for us to delve deeper into this topic in future studies.

4.2 Clauses Containing Non-prototypical Path (NPP) Verbs

We move on to elicited clauses featuring non-prototypical PATH verbs in Cuyonon (Examples (14) to (16)). As mentioned in Section 2, MANNER verbs that may be interpreted as containing information on PATH, as seen in Tagalog and Cebuano, will be distinguished as non-prototypical PATH verbs, as it is the additional information on PATH that seems to be more informative. We have found three such examples in Cuyonon, which will be discussed below. The conveyed PATH is emphasized through italics in the English gloss.

Example (14) is a coordinate sentence, with the first part featuring a PATH verb (*naolog*) while the second part presents a MANNER verb (*agaraboab*).

 (14) Naolog ang balay i'ang torong, animan dato ang mga torong midio sa agaraboab (5:26).

Na-ologang balay ilang torong animan datoang mgaAF.PFV.INTR-fall ABS house GENhornet soDEICT ABS PLtorong midiosaaga-raboab.hornet somewhat OBL AF.PROG.INTR-scatter'Nahulog ang bahay ng mga putakti kaya, ayun, parangnagsikalat ang mga putakti.''The hornets' nest fell, which is probably why they (the hornets)

scattered *about*.'

Here, the hornets, which function as the FIGURE, disperse all around an implied GROUND ("air"). Thus, the MANNER verb *agaraboab* 'scattered' expands its definition to incorporate PATH ("scattered about, all around"), emphasizing the hornets' scattered directions.

Example (15) may be classified as a CAUSED-movement MANNER verb, where the FIGURE's ("boy") MOTION ("thrown") was caused by the deer.

(15) Midio tana ingpilak i'ang osa (8:29).
Midio tana ing-pilak i'ang osa.
somewhat 3SG.ABS PF.PFV.TR-throw ERG deer
'Para siyang tinapon ng usa.'
'It's as if the deer tossed him (over the cliff).'

We observe, however, that the affix indicates a PATIENT-FOCUS verb (through the verbal affix *ing*-) because the construction is transitive. The AGENT or the TRANSITIVE SUBJECT in this example is the deer while the OBJECT or PATIENT of the verb *ingpilak* is the FIGURE *tana* 'him.' The verb also suggests PATH as the boy and his dog were thrown over the cliff and into the pond below.

For Example (16), the verb *inggogokod* 'chase after' is classified as encoding both MANNER of MOTION and PATH in its semantics, as it provides us with information on the direction of MOTION and the way the FIGURE moves. As Example (16) illustrates, one FIGURE ("hornets," which function as the transitive subject in the sentence) is moving behind a second FIGURE ("dog," the transitive object). Apart from depicting the PATH of MOTION (the hornets' intent to keep pace with the dog), the verb also encodes the speed in which the hornets move.

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(16) Inggogokod i'ang mga torong ang tio (6:27).
Ing-go-gokod i'ang mga torong ang tio.
PF.IPFV.TR-chase.after ERG PL hornet ABS dog
'Hinahabol ng mga putakti ang aso.'
'The hornets were chasing after the dog.'

In all three examples under this section, it is the information on PATH that appears to be more informative than the MANNER. Thus, based on conceptual saliency, we classify them as non-prototypical PATH verbs.

4.3 Clauses Containing M#P Verbs in Serial Verb Constructions

The remaining four examples exhibit peculiar constructions, which we may possibly classify as a type of serial verb construction. As explained by Aikhenvald (2006, p. 1), a serial verb construction is defined as a sequence of verbs acting together as a single predicate. Such a construction does not contain any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any kind, and is conceptualized to define a single event. The serial verb constructions in this paper exhibit the MANNER verb # PATH verb (M#P) pattern, where PATH is added to support the MANNER of MOTION.

However, because Cuyonon is a Philippine language, it likely follows the tendency of Tagalog and Cebuano to allow the occurrence of multiple verbs within a single clause through verb subordination as opposed to the straightforward serialization or compounding of verbs as seen in other WAN languages (Huang & Tanangkingsing, 2005, p. 321). We argue that verb subordination is a kind of serial verb construction in that the verbs within a clause are all necessary to define a single event.

Example (17) begins by describing the way the deer moves—through the MANNER verb *agdalagan*, 'it ran'—before it specifies the direction. Within this serial verb construction, we will refer to the first verb, which encodes MANNER, as the 'main' verb, seeing as it is the head of the construction and appears at the leftmost position. The secondary verb will thus be called the 'subordinating' verb. In the sentence below, the subordinating verb—*papakon*, from the verb 'to go' affixed with *pa*—encodes the PATH. This example demonstrates that the use of a MANNER verb alone is not sufficient in conveying the idea of the MOTION's trajectory. We can also argue that the removal of the subordinating verb could also give a different meaning to the sentence (i.e., 'running alongside the cliff,' implying the AGENT is already on the cliff), rendering it 'incomplete.'

(17) Agdalagan tana papakon sa pangpang (8:19).
Ag-dalagan tana pa-pakon sa pangpang.
AF.PFV.INTR-run 3SG.ABS PA-go OBL cliff
[MANNER] [PATH]
'Tumakbo siya (ang usa) papunta sa bangin.'
'It (the deer) ran towards the cliff.'

Examples (18) and (19) are very interesting because they demonstrate that adverbs of manner in Cuyonon may sometimes take on verbal inflections and function as a verb (through the affix *ag-*). Since, semantically, they are not verbs, they are serialized with other verb roots, as seen in Example (18) *agamatamat i' palagiaw paloa* 'slowly escaped outwards;' and Example (19) *aggolpi ... loa* 'suddenly emerged.' Distinctively from

the other clauses within this category, Example (18) employs three verbs within a single construction—the first two of which express MANNER, while the third, affixed with *pa-*, expresses PATH.

 (18) Ang pangka agamatamat i' palagiaw loa sa anang garapon (1:29). Ang pangka ag-amat-amat i? palagiaw paloa sa ABS frog AF.PFV-slow GEN escape PA-emerge OBL [MANNER] [MANNER] [PATH] ana=ng garapon. 3SG.GEN=LNK jar

'Ang palaka ay unti-unting tumakas palabas sa kanyang garapon.' 'The frog slowly escaped outwards from the jar.'

(19) Aggolpi sigoro dia loa ang gokgok (6:10).
Ag-golpi sigoro dia loa ang gokgok.
AF.PFV-sudden maybe DEM emerge ABS owl
[MANNER] [PATH]
'Bigla sigurong lumabas itong kuwago na to.'
'Maybe this owl just suddenly emerged.'

The two examples above confirm that adverbs with verbal morphology also encode MANNER, while the succeeding subordinating verb shows not only the PATH but the LOCATION of the event itself. For Example (18), the FIGURE ("frog") moves to an implied GROUND, which is outside of the jar. The same is true for Example (19), where the FIGURE ("owl") moves out from its hollow.

The last of the elicited clauses—Example (20)—shows the implied MANNER verb *ingdara* 'brought,' an example of a CAUSED-movement

verb, is serialized with *pa*- affixed PATH verbs *paalin* 'leave' and *paoli* 'go home,' both of which express direction.

Ingdara na ren anang pangka paalin ... paoli sigoro (10:47). (20) Ing-dara na ren ana=ng pangka **paalin** PF.PFV.TR-bring 3SG.ERG already 3SG.GEN=LNK frog PA-leave [MANNER] [PATH] paoli sigoro PA-go.home maybe [PATH] 'Dinala nya na ang kanyang palaka paalis ... pauwi siguro.' 'He took his frog with him and left ... to go back home, most likely.'

Taken together, the whole meaning of the verb *ingdara* changes into 'to take away' and 'to bring home' respectively. As the main verb indicates MANNER and the subordinating verb indicates PATH, we can also classify example (20) as having the M#P pattern.

To summarize, we observe that this type of serial verb construction in Cuyonon demonstrates verb subordination which forms a V_{MANNER} + *pa*-PATH construction. This type of serial verb construction likewise occurs in Tagalog and Cebuano (Examples (21)-(22)), even showing the possibility of switching the verbs to form a P#M construction (Example (23)), as seen in examples from Huang and Tanangkingsing (2005, p. 321). The construction of Example (23), however, did not come up in the elicited data in Cuyonon and would be good to investigate in future studies.

- (21) Cebuano
 Unya ni-lakaw ang deer pa'ingon didto sa bangin.
 Then AF-walk ANG deer PA-go there LOC cliff
 [MANNER] [PATH]
 'Then the deer walked toward the cliff.'
- (22) Tagalog (elicited) *L-um-utang ang bote pa-labas ng kweba.*AF-float ANG bottle PA-out LOC cave
 [MANNER] [PATH]
 'The bottle floated out of the cave.'

'The bottle floated out of the cave.'

5 Moving Forward

The study has thus far looked into the Cuyonon motion verbs taken from one narrative data only. Summarizing the elicited clauses into the four basic components of motion events will give us Table 3.

We have seen that the majority or half of the elicited sentences contain prototypical PATH verbs. This is followed by serial verb constructions that demonstrate verb subordination, and finally, with verbs that present non-prototypical PATH verbs whose PATH information is more informative than the default MANNER interpretation. Regardless of the type of MOTION verb employed, the FIGURE is almost always encoded,

⁽²³⁾ Tagalog (elicited) *L-um-abas ang bote na pa-lutang galing sa kweba.*AF-out ANG bottle REL PA-out from LOC cave
[PATH] [MANNER]

	would verb	туре	rigure	Ground
7.	agsaka	PATH	Yes (<i>bata</i> , 'boy')	Yes (pono, 'tree')
8.	agabalik	PATH	Yes (<i>gokgok</i> , 'owl')	Yes (<i>balay/pono</i> , 'house/tree')
9.	malalagpakan	PATH	Yes (anda, 'they')	Yes (<i>tobig</i> , 'water')
10.	naolog	PATH	Yes (tio, 'dog')	No
II.	mamaolog	РАТН	Yes (<i>bata, tio</i> , 'boy,' 'dog')	No
12.	agloa	PATH	No	No
13.	agroloa	PATH	Yes (<i>torong</i> , 'hornets')	No
14.	agaraboab	Non- prototypical PATH	Yes (<i>torong</i> , 'hornets')	No
15.	ingpilak	Non- prototypical PATH	Yes (<i>tana</i> , 'him' - boy)	No
16.	inggogokod	Non- prototypical _{PATH}	Yes (<i>torong</i> , 'hornets')	No
17.	agdalagan; papakon	Serial M#P	Yes (<i>tana</i> , 'it' - deer)	Yes (<i>pangpang</i> , 'cliff')
18.	agamatamat; palagiaw; paloa	Serial M#P	Yes (<i>pangka</i> , 'frog')	No
19.	aggolpi; loa	Serial M#P	Yes (<i>gokgok</i> , 'owl')	No
20.	ingdara; paalin, paoli	Serial M#P	Yes (<i>pangka</i> , 'frog')	No/Yes (<i>paoli</i> , 'homeward')

Table 3. Summary of Elicited Motion Verb Clauses in Cuyonon Motion verb Type Figure Ground

which should not come as a surprise granted that most of the sentences examined contained verbs in the ACTOR FOCUS. That GROUND components are not as encoded as the FIGURE in Cuyonon coincides with the characteristic of V-languages as containing fewer GROUND elements per clause. If present, they are more likely to co-occur with PATH verbs than non-prototypical PATH/MANNER verbs.

With these preliminary results, we can reason that Cuyonon could as good as follow Tagalog and Cebuano in being a PATH-salient V-language since the given data leans more towards providing PATH information than MANNER, but whether or not Cuyonon should be classified as a 'pure V-language' has yet to be investigated as data from one narrative cannot be considered sufficient—nevertheless, it is a good starting point.

Comparing the elicited data with the Tagalog and Cebuano examples from Huang and Tanangkingsing's (2005) study, we observe the following similarities:

- (a) Examples (7) to (11) and (13) contain one PATH verb only with no need for any MANNER adjunct, while Example (12) contains both a PATH verb and a MANNER adjunct;
- (b) Examples (14) to (16), on the other hand, all employ nonprototypical PATH verbs, which are in effect interpreted as being PATH salient;
- (c) Examples (17) to (20) use a type of serial verb construction in the form of verb subordination following the formula $V_{MANNER} + pa$ -PATH (M#P).

Based on the elicited data, what sets Cuyonon apart from Tagalog and Cebuano is its use of adverbs of manner with verbal morphology. We have also yet to confirm if MANNER can be used as descriptive information to describe new referents within a discourse, and if it is possible in Cuyonon to have P#M serializations as seen in both Cebuano and Tagalog, or if non-prototypical MANNER verbs exist. The placement of adverbs and if they can in reality change the meaning of an entire clause likewise needs further examination.

For further studies, it is highly recommended to gather more *Frog* narratives from other Cuyonon speakers, and to also take into consideration other elicited data containing motion events beyond *Frog Stories*. It is also recommended that the data be compared to other Philippine languages either of the same subgroup as Cuyonon or those within geographical proximity to it. Moreover, in light of the growing recognition that most languages exhibit more than one of the proposed typological categories (see Beavers et al., 2010), as we have seen in Cuyonon, future studies can also look into encoding motion events from different perspectives.

Acknowledgements

My sincerest thanks to Dr. Aldrin Lee, Ryan Ibañez, and Elyn Bagalay for their insights and effort in helping me understand Cuyonon.

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7 Appendix

List of Abbreviations

=	clitic boundary marker	IRR	irrealis
3PL	third person plural	LF	locative focus
38G	3SG third person singular		linker
ABS	absolutive	LOC	location
ASP	aspect	NEG	negation
AF	actor focus	OBL	oblique
DEICT	deictic marker	PFV	perfective
DEM	demonstrative	PF	patient focus
ERG	ergative	PL	plural
EXT	existential	PROG	progressive
GEN	genitive case	PRTCL	particle
INTR	intransitive	Q	question word or particle
INTRJ	interjection	REL	relativizer
IPFV	imperfective	TR	transitive