Cebuano Passives Revisited
Michael Tanangkingsing
National Taiwan University
miguelt@ms19.hinet.net

1. Introduction

Comrie: prototypical passive is a construction where P is subject, A is minimally integrated into the syntax of its clause (1988:21).

Shibatani (1985): Passivization is an Agent-centered phenomenon; its fundamental function has to do with the defocusing of Agents. Sentences without Agents, i.e., intransitive sentences, cannot be passivized.

1.1 Objectives
-to review Payne’s (1994) argument about Cebuano gi-clauses.
-to identify the passive constructions in Cebuano.
-to sort out the different types of na-clauses in Cebuano.

1.2 Data
Five conversations totaling at least 2 minutes and 30 minutes
Ten frog stories approximately 33 minutes

1.3 Cebuano
Table 1. Case determiners in Cebuano (Nolasco 2005)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>ABS</th>
<th>ERG</th>
<th>OBL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>kay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>sila</td>
<td>nila</td>
<td>kanila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMMON</td>
<td>non-specific</td>
<td>ug</td>
<td>ug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specific</td>
<td>ang</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>sa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. gi-clauses: ergative vs. passive

2.1 Payne 1994
Why examine gi-perfective in independent clauses?

a. In dependent clauses (relative, adverbial, and complement) (as well as in questions, clefts, and imperatives), the choice of AF vs. PF is determined by the syntactic environment and therefore cannot be considered a pragmatic option.

I would like to acknowledge the help of my Informants, Flora and Irene, the constructive comments of Prof. Shuanfan Huang and my Typology classmates, Fuhui, Huiju, Maya, Haowen and Dongyi, as well as the helpful insights provided by Prof. R. Nolasco. All remaining errors are my own.
b. In independent clauses in all tense/aspect categories except perfective aspect, the difference between AF and PF conveys aspectual or modal nuances that are not directly associated with the pragmatic statuses (topicality) of the clausal arguments.

Verb forms:

Table 2. Cebuano inflectional prefixes (forms and terms in brackets are from Wolff 1972:xvi) (Payne 1994:322)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Future [future punctual]</td>
<td>(irrealis)</td>
<td>(realis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfective [realis]</td>
<td>(irrealis) [future durative]</td>
<td>(realis) [past durative]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abilitative [future potential]</td>
<td>(-intention)</td>
<td>(ma)-ma-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect [past potential]</td>
<td>(-intention)</td>
<td>(naka-)na-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.1 Lexical transitivity

Table 3. (Payne 1994)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AF</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>gi-</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yates $X^2 = 117.8, p < .000001$

Table 4. Cebuano conversation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AF</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>gi-</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = 49.241, *p < .000$

2.1.2 Constituent order

Table 5. (Payne 1994)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>VAO (unmarked order)</th>
<th>VOA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AF</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>gi-</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yates $X^2 = .1457, p = .70268$

In actual discourse, two-argument clauses are rare.
2.1.3 Topicality: RD and TP

2.1.3.1 RD: measures the number of clauses between one mention of a participant and its previous mention in the text.
- RD=20: Low continuity (normally first mentions)
- RD=2~19: Medium continuity
- RD=1: High continuity

Table 6. O(A) vs. A(O) in PF clauses (if personal pronouns eliminated) (Payne 1994)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continuity</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(18%)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(19%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>(35%)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(47%)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(31%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conclusions:
- PF (VAO) clauses tend to code high A and low O. O downplayed.
- PF (VOA) clauses tend to code high O and H/M/L A. O high/intermediate topicality.

Table 7. Cebuano conversation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continuity</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(38%)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(44%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(19%)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>(11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>(43%)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(44%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Givon (1990)

- PF (AO) A High O High Active transitive (A may be And AF Med zero-pronominal)
- PF (OA) A High O Low Antipassive \( \rightarrow \) AF construction

2.1.3.2 TP: measures the number of times a participant is mentioned within ten clauses after any mention.
- TP > 3: High importance
- TP = 1 to 3: Medium importance
- TP < 0: Low importance

Table 8. O(A) vs. A(O) in PF clauses (Payne 1994)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Importance</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(59%)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>(50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(18%)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(36%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(23%)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(14%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 9. Cebuano conversation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Importance</th>
<th>O(A)</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>6 (29%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>6 (67%)</td>
<td>4 (22%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>5 (24%)</td>
<td>4 (44%)</td>
<td>1 (11%)</td>
<td>5 (28%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>10 (47%)</td>
<td>5 (55%)</td>
<td>2 (22%)</td>
<td>9 (50%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

VA(O): $X^2 = 24.782, *p=.000$
A: $X^2 = 26.212, *p=.000$
VO(A): $X^2 = 15.397, *p=.004$
O: $X^2 = 13.488, *p=.009$

>>> Topicality: A (AO) > A (OA) > O (AO) > O (OA) $\Rightarrow A > O$

### 2.2 Comparisons with GF/ergative clauses

#### 2.2.1 Syntactic integration of Agent

**Shibatani** (1988): Goal-topic construction shows no tendency toward Agent omission (93).

- Dryer’s count 57/67 = 85.1%
- Shibatani’s count 40/49 = 81.6% (folktales)
- Our Cebuano count Conversation: 167/281 = 59.4%
  Frog narratives (gi-clauses only): 72/79 = 91.1%
  (Patients: 55/79 = 69.6%)

**Comrie** (1988:9) Passive and ergativity
- Alike: Patient has subject properties
- Different: Ergative involves greater integration of the agent phrase into the syntax of the clause (absence/presence of Agent)

#### 2.2.2 Frequency of GF clauses

**CHAMORRO** (Shibatani 1988)
- Frequency of Agents in GF clauses: 80% with Agents

**Shibatani** (1988:95-96)
- Shibatani’s count 49/106 = 46% (folktales)
- Our Cebuano count Conversation: 220/985 = 22.3% (Note: na- V)
  Frog narratives: 79/155 = 51.0% (gi- clauses)
  AF verbs (78): motion verbs (57, 73.1%)
  PF verbs: activity verbs

Shibatani (1988:103): Rule of thumb for topic choice in Philippine languages: if both actor and goal are referential, opt for the goal-topic.

>>> GF clauses in Philippine languages are
- not agent-defocusing mechanism (there are Agts and Pats)
- transitive events

**Comrie** (1988:9) – Passive is a marked construction (raw frequency).

#### 2.2.3 Formal complexity of GF verbs (Shibatani 1988)

**Comrie** (1988:9) – Passive is a marked construction (formal complexity)

**RUKAI** (Li 1973)
- Rukai is an accusative language whose passive voice is marked by the prefix ki-.
The subject is [+OBJ], [+DAT], or [+BEN].

(1) Li (1973:193)

\textit{ki-a-kani kuani umas sa Likulaw}

\textbf{PASS} real-eat that man leopard

‘That man was eaten by a leopard.’

3. Cebuano \textit{gi}-passives

3.1 Adversative "passives"

=These are intransitives that pattern after GF clauses and share the same form as GF verbs.

=They take a Nominative NP subject, which experiences adversity.

=S\textit{A}-phrase indicates the cause of the adversity (not A).

=There is no Agent involved (state of adversity).

(2)

\begin{verbatim}
\textit{Gi-kapoy} si Pedro (sa trabaho / *ni Juan)
\end{verbatim}

Past.PF-be.tired SI PN Loc work Gen PN

‘Pedro is tired from work (*by Juan).’

(3)

\begin{verbatim}
T: ay ka-sakit o\(\text{y} \quad [\text{gi-luod} \quad ko]
\end{verbatim}

Interj KA-pain Voc Past.PF-nauseating 1S

\begin{verbatim}
W: \quad [@ @ @] \quad @@@
\end{verbatim}

T: \textit{gi-luod} =ko dong naku dong

Past.PF =1S Voc Interj Voc

T: Oh, hey, it’s too painful. I feel nauseous.

W: [laughing]

T: Hey, I feel nauseous.

(4) (Payne 1994)

\begin{verbatim}
\textit{Gi-laylay} si Rayna Esmeralda sa usa ka sakit
\end{verbatim}

PF.Pfv-afflict SI queen PN SA one Lk sickness

‘Queen Esmeralda was stricken by a sickness.’

\begin{verbatim}
\textit{Daw gi-suyop siya sa usa ka batobalani}
\end{verbatim}

Seem PF.Pfv-attract 3S SA one Lk magnet

‘As if he was drawn by a magnet.’

3.2 Fixed expressions

(5) Siewierska (1984:238): \textit{It is said that} time heals all pain.

(6) Shibatani (1988:94)

\begin{verbatim}
\textit{Gi-nganlan} =siyag Kapuroy
\end{verbatim}

GF-call 3S PN

‘He was called Kapuroy.’

(7) Payne (1994)

\begin{verbatim}
\textit{Si Totong gi-ila} nga labi-ng hawod sa dama
\end{verbatim}

SI PN PF.Pfv-identify Lk more-Lk best SA game

‘Toto is known to be the best at the game of dama.’
(8) o syempre sad lala- mao lagi gi-'ingon lalaki
yes of course also that Emph Past.PF-say men
‘Right. That’s why (they are) so-called men.’

3.3 Active gi-Constructions vs. inverse gi- constructions

3.3.1 V=O (A): Topical Os (usually 1/2 pronominal); As less animate but topical or accessible from context

(9) VOA (Croft 2001:308)
Gi-pildi =gayod =siya ni Iyo Baresto
GF-defeat Intens 3S Gen PN
‘He was really defeated by Iyo Baresto.’

(10)
L \rightarrow gi-hired=ka=nila
GI-hire=2S.Nom=3P.Gen
J \rightarrow m gi-hire=ko- dili gi-hire=ko ni= miss jero
BC GI-hire=1S.Nom Neg GI-hire=1S.Nom Gen PN
L miss a=
PN FS
J iyang sekretarya= personal alala=y
1S.Poss secretary personal bodyguard
L: They hired you?
J: Yes, (they) hired me. No, Miss Jero hired me.
L: Miss uh=
J: as her secretary, personal bodyguard.

a. A and O are topical.

(11) gi-V =siya sa Agent
Agents: owl `owl’ iro` `dog’ usa` `deer’ ([Human] but [+Animate])

b. A is [+human] and accesible, adversative

(12) Conv 2
naku ang akong first year sa- hotel/
Interj ANG 1S.Poss
gi-daugdaug =lang =ko sa mga ano- Taiwa[inese]
Past.PF-bully only 1S SA PI Pf PN
‘Oh, when I was new at the hotel, my Taiwanese colleagues bullied me.’

c. A is accessible (>>>zero)

(13) Conv 5: story about experience at customs
ngano-ng mang-hingi- m-angayo =man =ka sa akong kwarta
why-Lk AF-ask.for AF-ask.for Part 2S SA 1S.Poss money
nga pareho =ra =man =ta nag-trabaho sa gobyerno
Conj same only Part 1P AF-work Loc government
‘Why are you asking me for money when we’re both working for the government.’
suko =kaay =siya suko =gyud =kaay =siya ba
angry very 3S angry Emph very 3S Part
gi-hold =man =mi-ng duha unya human- ay ewan ko
Past.PF-detain Part 1P-Lk two DM afterward Interj
'He was so angry because we were detained (at customs), and then, I don’t know…'

3.3.2 OV clauses: O is topicalized (to direct the attention of the hearer to the O); A is topical >> NOT passive

(14) Frog 2:54-63 (syntactically restricted)

54. ...(0.9) unya **ang bata- ang- ang bata**
   DM ANG child ANG ANG child
   continue UG find SA 3rd-Lnk

55. … **sa-** among the trees
   'The child continued to look for his frog in the woods.'

56. …(1.9) unya diri sa=
   DM here SA

57. … **pag-pangita =niya ang iyang- iyu-ng pet dog gi=**
   PAG-find 3S.Gen ANG 3S-Lnk

58. …

59. …(1.3) **a=**

60. …(1.5) **a= gi-habol sa=-**
   Past-PF-chase SA

61. …(1.0) **@ sa bees**

62. …@ …the bees ra-

63. … ran after the- the dog @@@ the puppy
   'As for his pet dog, the bees chased after it.'

(15) Conv 4

T oy etong- etong meco **gi=butang sa trade**
   Voc this this PN Past.PF-place Loc

T una sa may atong kahimtang karon/
   what Part 1P.Poss situation now

'Hey, this office (MECO), (the President) placed it under (the jurisdiction) of the Trade Department. What’s going to happen to us now?'

3.3.3 V (covert As and Os): more frequent in conversation than in narratives (A and O equally non-topical).

(16) Conv 4: discussion about the raping of a Mongolian laborer

T una sa mga ibang foreign workers
   What still Pl other

W Mongolian Mongolian lagi
   PN PN Emph

T ni- ni- naa nay Mongolian karon/
   Exist Pfv PN now

W oo\ pero pag-sulod kuno pag first batch kuno
   yes but as-enter Evid as Evid
   six days lang **gi-rape na kuno@**
   only Past.PF-rape Pfv Evid

T **gi-rape kuno- gi-rape/**
   Past.PF-rape Evid Past.PF-rape

T: What are the other (nationalities of) foreign workers?
W: Mongolians [emphatically]
T: There are Mongolian workers now?
W: Right. But six days after the first batch of workers arrived, one of them got raped.
T: Rapèd?

(17) Conv 5: experience at the customs
W  
\[\text{tangtang gihapon relo tangtang} \]
\[\text{take.off still watch take.off} \]
T  
\[\text{wa- wa- wala man} \]
\[\text{Neg Neg Neg Part} \]
W  
\[\text{inig gawas sa X-ray na-wala} \]
\[\text{as leave Loc X-ray.machine AF-disappear} \]
T  
\[\text{@@mao gi-suyop gi-suyop} \]
\[\text{right Past.PF-siphon Past.PF-siphon} \]
W: Hey, they took off their watches.
T: No, (we didn’t).
W: (Those things) disappear as they pass through the X-ray machine.
T: Right. (Those machines) suck up (those valuables).

(18) \text{Gi-kawat?}
\text{PF.Pfv-rob}
‘Stolen?’

4. \text{na-Verbs?}
The semantics of the \text{na-} prefix (non-purposeful/spontaneous) would direct the audience’s attention to the effect of an action on the Patient (or Patient-like argument) in a non-AF \text{na-} construction as opposed to a \text{gi-} construction where an “effort-ful” action of the Agent is required (Nolasco 2005).
### 4.1 na- clauses in Cebuano

**Active** na- \((A > P)=A\) is 1/2 pronominal, highly topical; \(P\) is accessible from context. Possible word orders: VAP; PAV; VA; VP

**Inverse** (VPA; VP)

(19) \(L \rightarrow \text{pananglitan cannot}=\text{ka}\)

For example NA-meet=2S.Nom

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(m=)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>dili dyud=ko</td>
<td>ingon nga- ing’a- ing’ani ra gyud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neg Emph=1S.Nom</td>
<td>say Comp FS like this only Emph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ang akong unsa na oy akong kina’iya ba nga-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1S.Poss what that Voc 1S.Poss personality Par Lk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>m=</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**pananglitan cannot=ka**

For example NA.Fut-meet=2S.Nom=3P.Gen

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(m=)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>ay=</td>
<td>ana di=dyud=ko- di ba parehas sa uban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interj like that Neg=Emph=1S.Nom Neg Par same SA other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2. na-/ma- clauses in Cebuano

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical (bodily)</th>
<th>gi-atake ‘to have a (heart) attack’</th>
<th>na-banhaw, ‘rise from the dead’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gi-duka ‘to feel sleepy’</td>
<td>na-buhi’, ‘become alive’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-guot ‘to feel hungry’</td>
<td>na-hagbong, ‘fall’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-kapoy ‘to feel tired’</td>
<td>na-hubog, ‘be drunk’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-katol ‘to feel itchy’</td>
<td>na-hulog, ‘fall’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-laay ‘to feel bored’</td>
<td>na-matay, ‘die’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-lu’od ‘to feel nauseous’</td>
<td>na-samad, ‘be injured’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-sip’on ‘to have a running nose’</td>
<td>na-sangit, ‘be hooked’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-tbo ‘to cough’</td>
<td>na-sunog, ‘burn’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-tlaw ‘to feel thirsty’</td>
<td>na-takd-an, ‘be contaminated’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-talo ‘to feel itchy’</td>
<td>na-tawo, ‘be born’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-tayo ‘to feel cold’</td>
<td>na-tulog, ‘be asleep’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mental / emotional</th>
<th>gi-mingaw ‘to miss (sb)’</th>
<th>na-balaka, ‘be startled’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gi-bu’ang, ‘to feel sleepy’</td>
<td>na-bu’ang, ‘be crazy’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-guot ‘to feel hungry’</td>
<td>na-gu’ol, ‘be sad’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-hagbong ‘to feel ill’</td>
<td>na-hagbong, ‘fall’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-hubog ‘to feel sick’</td>
<td>na-hubog, ‘be drunk’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-kyun ‘to feel tired’</td>
<td>na-kuray, ‘be asleep’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-laay ‘to feel bored’</td>
<td>na-lipay, ‘be glad’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-lu ‘to feel nauseous’</td>
<td>na-matay, ‘die’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-sip’ on ‘to have a running nose’</td>
<td>na-sangit, ‘be hooked’</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>gi-tbo ‘to cough’</td>
<td>na-sunog, ‘burn’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-tlaw ‘to feel thirsty’</td>
<td>na-takd-an, ‘be contaminated’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-talo ‘to feel itchy’</td>
<td>na-tawo, ‘be born’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-tayo ‘to feel cold’</td>
<td>na-tulog, ‘be asleep’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>infesting verbs</th>
<th>gi-anay ‘to be infested with termites’</th>
<th>na-pan’os, ‘be rotten’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gi-kagaw ‘to be infected with germs’</td>
<td>na-balaka, ‘be startled’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-kuto ‘to be infected with lice’</td>
<td>na-bu’ang, ‘be crazy’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-ulod ‘to be infested with worms’</td>
<td>na-gu’ol, ‘be sad’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| activity | gi-V ‘PF usage’ | na-V ‘PF usage’ |
Constructions carrying an inverse voice function as defined in Cooreman (1982) and Thompson (1992) are distinguished from the active by word order and are attested in the following languages: Korean (Kwak 1992), Maasai (Payne, Hamaya, and Jacobs 1992), Modern Greek (Roland 1992). In addition, these languages have developed affixes, in addition to word order, to distinguish between active and inverse clauses: Northern Sahaptin (Rude 1992).

Intransitive *na-* (Nom NP is Experiencer, *ni*-phrase) = AF verb using PF form

(20) L \(\rightarrow\) m= \na-hilom=na \ ang \ balita \ mayo \ unta \ oy \ @@
\(\rightarrow\) ma-wala=na=lang \ [ang \ gubot \ sa-]
NA.Fut-disappear=PFv=only ANG chaos Loc
J [diri \ sa \ cebu \ kay-] \ kuan \ no/
here Loc PN because KUAN Q

\(\text{kanang= peaceful/}
PF \ peaceful
L \ peaceful/"
peaceful
L: The news disappeared. It’s good though @@ No more disorder in-
J: here in Cebu, it’s peaceful, right?
L: Peaceful.

(21) J \(\rightarrow\) mag- \lakwatsa=mi \ mga \ barkada \ namo \ tong \ high \ school/
AF \ go.out=1PEX.Nom Pl \ gang \ 1PEX.Gen \ that.time
unsa \ oras=na=kami \ mo-ul/\nwhat \ time=PFv=1PEX.Nom \ AF-go.home
\(\rightarrow\) mao \ na \ di=man \ ma-hadlok
that.way \ Neg=Par \ NA.Fut-be.afraid
mao \ na \ akong \ mama=lang \ ga-ingon \ unsa \ o-
that.way 1S.Poss mother=only AF-say what
unsa \ oras=na \ no/ \ dili \ ba \ kuan=na \ kayo \ gabii[=na \ kaayo]
what \ time=PFv \ Par \ Neg \ Q \ KUAN=PFv \ very \ late=PFv \ very
L \ [gabii=na \ kaayo]
late=PFv \ very
J \(\rightarrow\) di=ka \ ma-hadlok \ sus \ hadlok=ka=man \ no
Neg=2S.Nom NA-Fut-be.afraid \ Interj \ be.afraid=2S.Nom=Par \ Par
L @@
J \ tong \ una \ grabe=pas \ nay \ mga \ marines=pa=gyud
that.time \ serious=still \ Exist \ Pl \ marines=still=Emph
\(\rightarrow\) mag-checkpoint \ bya\-morag \ ma-hadlok=ka=gyud
AF-checkpoint \ Par \ like \ NA.Fut-be.afraid=2S.Nom=Emph
kong \ dili=ka \ taga-dido/
if \ Neg=2S.Nom \ from-there
J: When we went out at night (together with) my high school classmates,
what time did we go home? So, we would not be afraid.
So, my mother would just say, ‘What time is it? [Isn’t it too late?]’
L: \ [It’s too late.]
J: You won’t get afraid? You should!
L: Haha
J: At first, the condition was serious. There were marines (assigned) at checkpoints. You will feel afraid, if you’re not from there.

Passive na- (P >> unimportant ‘omitted’ A; Nom NP is Patientive)

(22)
J kay akong= lolo iyahang papa kuan-
because 1S.Poss grandfather 3S.Poss father KUAN
kanang- sundalo gud
PF soldier Emph
L [m=]
BC
J → [kan]ang bisag asa ma-assign
PF anywhere Fut-assign
J: because my grandfather, his father was a kuan he was a soldier.
L: m=
J: he was assigned anywhere.

(23)
L o= diri=ra=mi
af meet because 1S.Poss friend 1S.Gen
nag-kita\ kay akong- amiga nako
PF here=only=1PEx.Nom AF:
gala=siya na-dawat\ siya ang nag-'ano"
Neg=3S.Nom NA-accept 3S.Nom ANG AF-what
J m=
PF
L nag-pa-hibawo nga nay [nag- XXX]
AF-Cau-notify Comp Exist AF-
J [unsa=man] diay
what=Par Evid
nag-nag-hiring=ba=sila/ nag-
AF- AF hire=Q=3P.Nom AF
L una ang mga ka-ilang ra nila ang ila ra-ng
first ANG Pl Recip-know only 3P.Gen ANG 3P.Poss only-Lk
…hibo=ng=gay’=ko ngano ako @ @ na-dawat
wonder=Par=1S.Nom why 1S.Gen NA-accept
na-dawat=pa=ko
unya ang ag ang nag-kuan
NA-accept=still=1S.Nom then ANG FS ANG AF.KUAN
sa ako wala=siya na-dawat
Obl 1S.Nom Neg=3S.Nom NA-accept
L: Yes, We met here, because my friend, she was not accepted. She was the one- (J: m=)
L: who informed (me) that there [was –XXX]
J: [what] they were hiring?
L: At first, they only looked for people they knew. I even wondered why I got accepted. I got accepted, and the one who (told) me (about this job), she didn’t get accepted.

Table 11. word order and constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>gi-</th>
<th>na-</th>
<th>topicality of A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>intransitive</td>
<td>A &gt;&gt; P</td>
<td>VS</td>
<td>VS (Experiencer 1/2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>active</td>
<td>A &gt; P</td>
<td>VAP</td>
<td>VAP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PAV</td>
<td>VA (P is –H abstract)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VP</td>
<td>VP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inverse</td>
<td>A &lt; P</td>
<td>VPA</td>
<td>VPA</td>
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Table 12. *na-* constructions in Cebuano

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Integration</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A &gt;&gt; P</td>
<td>81.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A &gt; P</td>
<td>95.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A &lt; P</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A &lt;&lt; P</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References


Hawaiʻi.