

Chapter 5

na-/ma-/-pa-/-ka-: The BEING Cluster

The affix set MA- is basic to Cebuano's system of verbal affixation, a fundamental element from which many affixes are built. This section will explore the nature of the affixes MA- {na-, ma-, -pa-, -ka-} and how they relate to each other and other affixes.

From this viewpoint, for example, *na-*, *naka-*, and *nagka-* will prove to have common patterns of meaning that fit their common spelling patterns. Languages have no reason to develop random irregularities to sit at the core of their grammar. There will be relationships between *pag-*, *nagka-* and *pagka-*. Cebuano is under-explored so current teaching frameworks present what should be a few large-scale patterns as many unrelated factlings.

All the modality affixes except MO- participate in the N-/M-/P- spelling pattern. For example, MAG- consists of {nag-, mag-, pag-}. The set MA- {na-, ma-, -pa-, -ka-} is the most basic set, containing the building blocks of most other affix sets, so it contains a needed fourth element, *-ka-*. Associating these four affixes with each other makes all four of them easier to learn as well as the affixes built from them. The affixes {na-, ma-, -pa-, -ka-} will be considered a single set for our purposes here. All four of them have numerous specialties so while apparently related under a single umbrella of sorts, they do range far afield in actual usage. Because of this, other teachers seldom group them all together.

THE SEMANTICS OF BEING

The COPULA or linking verb “to be” in English and other European languages is very important to those languages because people often need to say that something is a certain way or that something just “is”, or that something exists, in a very simple way. Cebuano has no copula because it uses MA-, the existential predicates, the particle *maó*, and other constructions instead. None of the Cebuano particles, affixes, or usages comprises a copula.

The first sentence ever spoken was probably something like *Lamî kanáng mansanas*. “That apple was tasty.” An attributive predication, very simple. Another example, *Subô ang batà*. The child is sad.

These non-verbal sentences just say “X is A.” Below is a rough progression of meanings growing out of a basic sense of ISNESS with a roughed-in progression of the same concepts as expressed by affixation in Cebuano. The BEING progression:

BE	→	BECOME	→	HAVE BEEN	→	BE ABLE	→	MAYBE	→	CAUSE	→	BE LIKE
na-/ma-	→	-ka-	→	naka-	→	maka-	→	na-/ma-	→	-pa-	→	-paka-

There is nothing precise about these two strings of ideas; the point is to convey that the most basic concepts of being, coming into being, etc. are all expressed in Cebuano by the syllables *na*, *ma*, *pa*, and *ka*. For example, the affix *nakapa-* or *makapa-* means “cause to become X”. In this study, an association of ideas like those above is helpful in seeing how grammatical patterns occur as mirrors of a network of semantic relationships within an overall framework, rather than a collection of factlings that exist in isolation from each other.

The following descriptions will try to outline the common usages of these building blocks of language.

na- and *ma-* (doer voice only; these two affixes also occur in the voicing affixes)

This is the realis/irrealis alternation of a doer voice whose doer is an Experiencer, (not a volitional doer or Agent). *Na-/ma-* is often used on

- adjective roots to form stative verbs, verbs that describe the existence or onset of a state or condition, rather than an action
 - Pagkalutò, napulá ang kugità. When getting cooked, the octopus turned red.
 - Nabuang ka dí ba! You're nuts, aren't you!
- non-volitional verb roots to form non-volitional verbs that describe states or conditions
 - Mahulog ka! You might fall!
 - Natulog na siyá. She went to sleep already.

It is natural to use *na-/ma-* to suggest potential modalities like “might” or inchoative aspect like “become”. These aspects and modalities can also be expressed more explicitly by affixes that grow out of *na-* and *ma-*, as shown below, or as separate words such as *himò* “become” which is used with *na-/ma-* and can also mean “can do”. That’s why the BEING progression above has to be kept rough; the affixes at this level of basic meaning units express meanings that—at least from the Bisayan viewpoint—seem to flow in and out of each other. There is nothing hard about it though; the exact meaning is usually obvious from the context.

THE SECONDARY AFFIX *-ka-*

There are other meanings of *-ka-*, as listed in the dictionary. As a member of the BEING cluster, *-ka-* marks the inchoative or BECOME aspect when appended to stative roots, but the potential modality with dynamic (action) verbs. The difference is not in the affix but in the root it is attached to: you can’t say “become run” but you can say “can/might/could run”. The *-ka-* that is attached to the dissimilar roots below is the same *-ka-* in all cases; it just reacts differently depending on what kind of root it mixes with.

Stative root: Magkakapóy siyá kon magdagan og kusog. He’ll get more and more tired if he runs fast.

Here the affix used with *-ka-* is *mag-* not *ma-* because *mag-* is expressing the durative aspect which is an action presented as extending through a period of time. *Ma-* and *na-* would be used to say simply,

Nakapóy siyá. He’s tired. OR Nakapóy na siyá. He’s tired already OR Makapóy siyá.
He’ll get tired.

The affix set MAGKA- {nagka-, magka-, pagka-} can be considered a separate set but it is more useful to see the patterns that influences through the whole affixation paradigm such that the various meanings of MAG- combine with the various meanings of *-ka-* to form various meanings of MAGKA-. The alternative, as done in Wolff’s grammar books, is to say there are two “different” affix sets both spelled MAGKA-, which is not an analysis we follow here. The details will be covered in a later chapter on MAG- and its usages. For now, the MAGKA- used in the first sentence above renders an aspect of progressively becoming X.

What if *-ka-* is used with a dynamic or “action” verb instead of a root that refers to a condition?

Nakadagan siyá og kusog. He was able to run fast.

The difference is in the verb class involved: *-ka-* with stative verbs means “become”, but with dynamic verbs means “can, could, might” etc. What about a non-volitional root that refers to a condition and verb at the same time? We’ll look at the surrealis version of *MAG-* and how it combines with *-ka-*, starting with an adjective root. This is a common usage of *-pag-* in which it expresses a time adjunct:

- Stative verb: Sa *pagkaulaw* niya, napulá ang íyang nawong. When she was embarrassed, her face turned red.
- Non-volitional verb: Sa *pagkalutò*, napulá ang kugità. When getting cooked, the octopus turned red.
- Dynamic verb: Sa *pag-abót* nila, gisulti ang mgá babaye sa pagpahulay. Upon their arrival, the women were told to relax.
- Sensory verb: Sa *pagkakitâ* sa mgá tawo, kusog natagò siyá. When he saw the people, he hid quickly.

The pattern is obvious: there is really no affix “*pagka-*”; rather, the same affix *-pag-* is used in all four sentences above, while *-ka-* is also used in three of them to denote the same kinds of things *-ka-* always stands for. With stative roots (adjective) and non-volitional verb roots, *-ka-* means “become, happen to”. With dynamic verb roots, *-ka-* means “can, etc.” With the motion verb *abót* in the third sentence, *-ka-* has no place. But what about that fourth sentence? Isn’t *kitâ* “see” a dynamic verb, an action?

No not really, from the viewpoint of Sugboanon, the physical senses such as seeing and hearing and knowing and feeling that detect intangibles—things you can’t cut with a knife or wrap in a banana leaf, like sound waves, light waves, or thoughts—are like states you come into, or abilities rather than actions—this is a special kind of verb that rarely uses any affix that isn’t in the potential modality, or what should be called the inchoative-potential modality. It is hard to find a verb that refers to thinking, feeling, or sensing (except the gross physical “senses” such as touch and taste) that doesn’t use the potential-inchoative all the time.

Referring to the [affix chart](#) (reproduced in part at the end of this chapter), you’ll see that there are in several paradigms two different versions of the pot-inc aspect¹: one called K and one called N/M/M. These are two different ways to say the same things, usually interchangeable. In the K form, the pot-inc aspect is marked by *-ka-* which is preceded by an affix such as the *gi-/i-* alternation that marks realis/irrealis. In the N/M/M form, the affixes *na-/ma-* (voicing affixes; see below) mark both pot-inc and realis/irrealis mode. As potential forms of the voicing affixes, *na-* and *ma-* are already known to be pot-inc and the realis, irrealis, or surrealis mode is indicated by the *n/m/m* alternation. Thus in the set I-, *gika-* and *na-* mean the same thing while *ika-* and *ma-* mean the same thing. In the set -AN, *gika-...-an* and *na-...-an* mean the same thing while *ka-...-an* and *ma-...-an* mean the same thing, etc.

Getting back to the doer voice use of *na-/ma-* to form stative verbs, when *na-/ma-* of the MA- set form a stative or inchoative verb they replace *-ka-* if it was there first. This is the same process just outlined with the voicing affixes where *ika-* and *ma-* mean the same thing because the use of *na-* or *ma-* with a doer verb marks the pot-inc aspect (as would *-ka-*), while the *n/m* alternation always

¹ pot-inc: inchoative aspect and potential modality, which use the same affixes

marks realis/irrealis mode wherever it is used² (as *gi-/i-* would). In the doer voice, for example, adjectives that tend to add *-ka-* in its other usages to derive nouns, exclamations, etc. tend to replace the *-ka-* with the *na-* or *ma-* if the word gets used as a stative verb:

sukô “angry” kasukô “anger” (Pag)kasukô níya! He’s pissed! nasukô/masukô get angry
 subô “sad” kasubô “sadness” (Pag)kasubô nakò! Am I sad! nasubô/masubô become sad

The very important affix MAKA- {naka-, maka-, -paka-}, in contrast to the replacive function of *-ka-* by *na-/ma-*, combines the two elements. This affix is used for a variety of things whose tacit equivalence to *na-* + *-ka-* couldn’t be guessed at, but once you know what its usages are, you’ll see that the patterns outlined above are nicely complemented—not contradicted—by this affix set. Even though there are no surprises, this affix set, like MAGKA-, is considered to be an isolated event in a language full of isolated events, rather than a typical event in a somewhat predictable pattern. Pattern recognition is preferred in this study as it is a powerful learning aid compared to memorization. We will carry on the tradition of referring to MAKA- as a discrete affix set because the tendency for everyone to do this is so strong that it has to be compromised with. But not by ignoring the separate influences of *na-/ma-* and *-ka-*.

The usages of MAKA- include the following; it always conveys doer voice:

- Stative roots: inchoative aspect BECOME
- Dynamic roots: (naka- only) perfect aspect HAVE DONE
- Dynamic roots: potential modality CAN DO
- Sensory & cognitive roots: potential modality but English doesn’t really see it that way:
 - Aa toothbrush, nakadumdum si Mama. Oh yeah, Mama remembered (?managed to remember) about brushing teeth.

The three “different” meanings of MAKA- with roots other than adjectives should be considered not as different from the viewpoint of Sugboanon as we foreigners would make them out to be; the difference between “I have seen that movie,” and “I was able to see that movie,” is almost nothing—they could be used in the same context—and you’ll understand (be able to understand) why they are said the same way in Cebuano.

As for the perfect aspect or HAVE DONE, MAKA- is a doer voice only, so if the HAVE DONE aspect is to be expressed by a voicing verb and the potential voicing affixes *na-* and *ma-*, *-ka-* can’t be used or it would be indistinguishable from a doer verb using MAKA-. Therefore, with voicing affixes, the loose particle *na* would often be postposed to the verb to indicate a double time sense—perfect aspect—where a completed event is relevant in both the time frame where it was completed as well as some other timeframe too:

- Naabrí na ang portahán. The door has (already) been opened.
- Maabrí na ang portahán. The door will have (already) been opened (by then).

And that also explains why *ma-* (not **maka-*) is used for the potential aspect of the voicing affixes.

² There is a usage of *ma-* but not *na-* where *ma-* is added to an adjective with no change of meaning, an old-fashioned usage used in writing more than speech.

VOICING AFFIXES THAT USE *na-* AND *ma-*

Most of this information has infiltrated the above discussion and is available from the [affix chart](#) at the end of this chapter.

You can tell the difference between a verb that is using *na-/ma-* in the doer voice and a verb that is in a doee voice using *na-/ma-* in one or more of these ways:

- MA- is doer voice,
 - the doer is always an experiencer (not Agent)
 - the verb is never an action verb unless it refers to a non-volitional state or condition
 - so a sub2 (genitive doer) cannot be added
- *na-/ma-* in the doee voice
 - is potential modality most of the time
 - whereas in doer voice, you normally would use MAKA- for the potential modality
- MA- verbs are always intransitive, that is, the doer (experiencer) does not act on any other participant; so intransitive verbs have only one participant, the doer-experiencer
 - *na-/ma-* (doee) verbs can be from transitive roots
 - but perhaps the doer (experiencer) verbs tend to be self-acting like
 - “He got (himself) dressed.”
 - “The door opened (itself).”
 - Such self-acting verbs where a doee is framed as a doer occupy a middle zone between transitive and intransitive that some call “middle voice”. It’s hard to tell because *na-/ma-* in all of its manifestations tend to attract subjects that are Experiencers.
- The deciding criteria is, then, if it even *could be* transitive by adding another participant or (for example) by replacing *na-* with *gi-*, then it is not MA- but rather a voicing affix.³
 - Naabri niya ang portahan. She managed to get the door open. (doee voice)
 - Naabri ang portahan. The door got opened. (doee voice)

THE SECONDARY AFFIX *-pa-*

Rarely or never has the rather obvious N-/M-/P- spelling pattern been applied to the affix *-pa-* to recognize its membership in the same set as *na-* and *ma-*. But for the p- form to have a closely related usage to its n- and m- partners is not, by precedent, a requirement: for example, the very common *-pag-* is not intimately related in meaning/usage to *nag-/mag-*, but on the other hand, *-pang-* is undeniably the third member of *nang-/mang-* in both spelling and usage, while *-paka-* is semantically a part of the potential-inchoative complex like *naka-/maka-*, but its relationship therein is idiomatic and specialized rather than predictable by knowing the meanings of *naka-/maka-*.

So we will say that *-pa-* relates to the same sorts of things as *na-/ma-* (outgrowths of very basic ideas such as of BEING, BECOMING, etc.) but on an elevated scale complete with added causality, transitivity, valence-raising⁴, and volitionality. But we have to recognize that the spelling pattern

³ It is not desirable to recognize a middle voice in Cebuano since there is no separate, unique morphology for it. So it would be hair-splitting, which may be the first love of grammarians but is the bane of language learning. We try to keep our descriptions at the same level of vagueness as the language itself because a matching description is easier to learn whereas a mismatch of this type resists the student’s attempts to easily find obvious examples of the phenomenon being described.

⁴ Valence-raising is the same thing as increasing transitivity, that is, adding a participant to the verb’s prescription of complements.

N-/M-/P- is inviolate: the *spelling pattern* is perfectly regular with all the doer voices,⁵ while on the other hand, the various *usages* of the p- forms themselves are unpredictable from one affix set to another. Some of them have to be learned independently from their n-/m- forms.

The p- form of MA- constitutes an important construction of its own. It is best known as a renderer of causality, adding Causer-doer to the set of complements expected by the verb and literally making the verb a complex of two meanings; instead of meaning “X” (the root meaning), it will now mean “cause to X, allow to X” etc. Because of the added participant, the case marking changes, so that different rules will apply to verb X as to how to mark its participant nominals after adding *-pa-* to elevate its meaning to a causative, volitional, transitive verb.

This is not the place for a detailed discussion of causative constructions as there are several of them in Cebuano. A few examples will be given and the student should refer to the later sections on causatives so all the causative constructions can be learned together and in contrast with each other. The *-pa-* causative is a MORPHOLOGICAL CAUSATIVE because its construction is morphological, that is, it is made by changing the form of the verb (by adding *-pa-*). This is the most well-known of the Cebuano morphological causatives but not the only one that is morphological; the others will be known by other names such as emotive causative and causerless causative.

As expected, *-pa-* can't be used with its paradigm-mates *na-/ma-*⁶ but it can be used with the potential of -ON and I- which would then be spelled *napa-/mapa-*. (*-ka-* can be used with anything except the main “volitional” forms of -ON and MO-.) So if you see *napa-* or *mapa-* it has to be a voicing affix.

Since *-pa-* adds a participant, its clause can't be intransitive unless the verb action goes back on the Causer in which case there might be only one mention of the participant that is two participants: Magpatahom *ko*. *I will make myself* beautiful.⁷

There are “lexical causative” verbs—which already mean “make someone do X”, such as *patáy* “make someone die” or “kill”. A second layer of causality can be added: *Gipapatáy nila sa iyáha ang tawo*. They made him kill the person.

Other times *-pa-* can be added to a verb that takes on causative meaning without *-pa-*, so there will be no change due to adding *-pa-*. In instances like this and others even more inexplicable, *-pa-* is used as a stem former that doesn't change the meaning of the root. Sometimes either form can be used but some roots can't be used without some form of affixation. There is something about a verb with an adjective root that invites causality, so using any modality affix other than MA- might—depending on the verb—make the verb causative with or without *-pa-*. Example:

buhì adj alive

MA- be/come alive

MO-, MAG-, MAKA- (-pa-) cause to be/come alive

-ON cause to be/come alive

⁵ Except MO- which doesn't take part at all.

⁶ That would sort of be like saying, “He will went.” From one affix set only one affix at a time can be used on the same verb at the same time.

⁷ There is a word meaning myself/himself/yourself/themselves etc. but it is five syllables long (*kaugalingon*) and isn't used unnecessarily.

- Ang tubig mag(pa)buhi sa tanúm. The water will keep the plant alive. *pa-* (-*pa-* is not required but it is allowed. Any affix other than MA- used with a stative root can imply some volitionality.)
- Buhion sa doktora ang batà. The lady doctor will save the child. (“keep the child alive”—causative with no *-pa-* needed because volitional affixes with stative roots can imply causation)

Some verbs regularly take on a fixed meaning (form a stem) equivalent to causative by adding *-pang-* which is sometimes apparently an older form of *-pa-*. However, the modern affix *-pang-* is not inherently causative.

Many roots that add *-pa-* form a fixed meaning not literally translatable as causative or not different in meaning from the root; such occasions might be using *-pa-* as a shortened version of *-pang-*. Example: *hulay* “rest, relax” *pahulay* “rest, relax”. (A study of several sentences might show a regular difference between the two words. But compare English “ability” and “capability” which are close enough in meaning to use in the same contexts, though the longer word is more formal.)

Here are some examples of *-pa-* in its standard causative usage:

-pa- WITH STATIVE⁸ AND OTHER INTRANSITIVE VERBS

- Mopaitóm siyá sa íyang sapatos. He intends to blacken⁹ his shoes.
- Dili mopadulà ko sa imóha. I won’t let you play.

-pa- WITH DOER VOICE

- Nagpa-gunit siyá sa íyang anák dídto sa hagdanán. He made his child hold on there on the stairway.

-pa- WITH DOEE VOICE

- Ipapalít nakò ni sa imóha og karne. I’ll have you buy some meat with this.¹⁰
- Gipaayo nakò siyá sa baláy. I got him to repair the house.
- Ang sakyanán ni Neyong pasakyán níya og baboy. It is the vehicle of Neyong that he will load up with a pig.
 - sakáy “ride”
 - sakyanán “vehicle, thing ridden”
 - pasakyán “cause to ride, load on to vehicle, (cause to) board”
 - og baboy “a pig” (showing the reluctance of many Cebuano sentences to name non-subject participants as “the” specific thing but rather tending to use *og* for “a” non-specific thing)

⁸ Since *na-/ma-* of MA- can’t be used with their paradigm-mate *-pa-*, MO- is used as the alternate affix for stative predications. Normally MO- is volitional but with a non-volitional verb it doesn’t have to be.

⁹ The English affix *-en* here is causative.

¹⁰ This rare 4-participant clause was made possible by adding a Causer; normally X can buy Z with Y which was already three participants before adding *-pa-*. The Instrument Y used to do the purchase would have been an adjunct if not upgraded to subject by the instrumental voice of I-. This is a native-sourced sentence, not my invention. The informant also explained that Cebuano hates redundancy, so *kwarta* “money” did not have to be spelled out, instead just referring to it with *ni* “this” since the verb *palít* “buy” was already used so the identity of the instrument “money” could be assumed.

THE ASPECT PARTICLES *na* AND *pa* as FIRST COUSINS OF THE MA- AFFIXES

Particles called “clitics” have some of the traits of affixes and some of the traits of words. The difference between an affix and a clitic is not big, especially in a language whose native script did not separate words from each other with a space. There are times when it seems the following two adjectival/stative predication types are exactly the same. The difference is in the sense of activity added by verbalizing the adjective:

Abrí *na* ang portahán. The door is already open.
Naabrí ang portahán. The door was already opened.

But that neat trick doesn’t necessarily hold true with *pa* since as a separate word it resembles *-pa-* (a secondary affix or stem former) less than *na* resembles *na-* (a primary affix or verb former). But the two examples below both show the forward-looking influence of any of the main usages of the syllable “*pa*” whether affix or clitic:

Abrí *pa* ang portahán. The door is still open.
Paabrí ang portahán. Get the door opened!

The postpositives or “second place clitics” *na* and *pa* are two sides of the same coin. For example in a positive statement where one of these particles is used, the negative statement that is its opposite would use the other particle:

Miadto *na* siyá sa Davao. He already went to Davao.
Walá *pa* siyá moadto sa Davao. He didn’t go to Davao yet.

Náa *pa*’y beer. There’s still some beer.
Walá *na*’y beer. There’s no more beer. (So don’t get hooked on always translating *pa* as “more”.)

Gidalá *pa* níya ang kahoy. He carried the lumber besides.
Walá *na* pod níya madalá ang kahoy. Besides, he didn’t carry the lumber.

Buhaton *pa* sa lungsod ang bag-ong gym. The city is still going to build the new gym.
Dilí buhaton *na* sa lungsod ang bag-ong gym. The city no longer plans to build the new gym.

As time aspect markers, *na* pushes events backward in time while *pa* pushes them forward. It is this “pushing forward into reality” sense of the syllable “*pa*” that gives the affix *-pa-* causative meaning.

SUMMARY

The affix set MA- {*na-*, *ma-*, *-pa-*, *-ka-*} contains the building blocks of much of Cebuano verbal morphology. The N-/M-/P- portions of the paradigm do not combine with each other in the same word but *-ka-* is a special tool of Cebuano—and a very ancient one—that combines with almost anything to convey the inchoative-potential aspect. The affix *-ka-* “is and is not” a “real” member of the affix set depending on the usage. Here is a double example of *-ka-* that is undeniably part of the MA- paradigm (replacing *na-/ma-* to form imperative mood from an emotive root and then joining *na-/ma-* in a cognitive root to mean “can/might do X” or “come to experience X” or just “do X”):

Ayáw kahadlok! Unyà makasabót ka! Do not fear! You'll catch on eventually!

VERBAL AFFIX CHART

MODALITY AFFIXES	FINITE		NON-FINITE
	Realis	Irrealis	
ATTRIBUTIVE	na-	ma-	pa-(caus.) ka-(imper.)
K (inchoative/potential)	naka-, nakag-	maka-, makag-	paka-, pakag-
K (perfect aspect)	naka-	maka-	
H (incidental)	nahi-, naha- (>)	mahi-, maha- (>)	hi- (>)
IMPERFECTIVE	naga-, nag-	maga-, mag-	paga- pag-
K (inchoative/potential)	nagka-	magka-	pagka-
H (incidental)			paghi-
KH (inchoative/incidental)			pagkahi-, kahi- (>)
REFLEXIVE (ig-)	nag-...(-in-)...-(an)(ay) (<), nanggi-	mag-...(-in-)...-(an)(ay) (<), manggi-	pag-...(-in-)...-(an)(ay) (<), panggi-
K (inchoative/potential)	nagka-...(-in-)...-(an)(ay) (<)	magka-...(-in-)...-(an)(ay) (<)	pagka-...(-in-)...-(an)(ay) (<)
causative	nakig-, kig-, tig- (<)	makig-, kig-, tig- (<)	pakig- (<)
PERFECTIVE	ni-, mi-	mo-	ø- -um-
(inchoative/potential)		CVredup-...-um-, tali-	
VOICING AFFIXES			
-ON (perfective/intentional)	gi-	-on	-a
K (inchoative/potential)		ka-...-ón, ka-...-onón	
N/M/M (inchoative/potential)	na-	ma-	ma-
G (imperfective)	gina-	paga-...-on	paga-...-a
-AN	gi-...-an	-an	-i
K (inchoative/potential)	gika-...-an	ka-...-an	ka-...-i
N/M/M (inchoative/potential)	na-...-an	ma-...-an	ma-...-i
G (imperfective)	gina-...-an	paga-...-an	paga-...-i
H (incidental)	(na)(hi-)...-an, (na)(hing-) ...-an, (na)(ha-)...-an (>)	(ma)(hi-)...-an, (ma)(hing-) ...-an, (ma)(ha-)...-an (>)	(ma)(hi-)...-i, (ma)(hing-) ...-i (>)
I-	gi-	i-	i-
K (inchoative/potential)	gika-	ika-	ika-
N/M/M (inchoative/potential)	na-	ma-	ma-
G (imperfective)	gina-	iga-	iga-
H (incidental)	nahi-, naha- (>)	mahi-, maha- (>)	mahi-, maha- (>)
IG- (temporal)	maó'y pag-, (sa) pag-	ig-, inig-, maó'y i-	ig-, inig-, maó'y i-
IGKA- (inchoative/temporal)	(sa) pagka-	igka-, inigka-	igka-, inigka-
IG- (reflexive)		ig-	ig-