Chapter 6
Verbal Affixes

Here again is the simpler version of the affix chart shown in the previous chapter. The whole thing is shown in Chapter 2, and the other part of it is shown at the end of this chapter under "Plurality of Verb Affixes."

MODALITY AFFIXES			
	FINITE		NON-FINITE
	Realis	**Irrealis**	**(Surrealis)**
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-

This chapter will explain all the terminology on the chart labels, starting with columns and then rows, as well as giving examples of verbs using the affixes.

MODE

As a review, the column headings in the chart classify the three alternations of each affix according to the time aspect called MODE.

REALIS MODE marks events that have begun. They may still be in progress or may be complete.

> Nagakaon mi ron.   We're eating now.
> Mikaon na mi.   We've already eaten.
> Nagkaon pa mi.   We're still eating.

IRREALIS MODE marks events that have not begun. They may be planned, intended, hoped for, habitual, promised, fantasized about, negated, or (optionally) when the time of the event's happening is indicated by a time expression with predicatory status. Because of this, irrealis should never be called future tense, and realis is not past and/or present tense; mode is not tense. A past event is highly likely to be spoken of in the irrealis mode based on any of the criteria above as well as others.

- Moadto ko sa Davao ugmà.   I intend to go to Davao tomorrow.
- Maglakaw mi ugmà.   We're leaving tomorrow.
- Unsa diáy untà ímong gusto ipabuhat sa iyáha?   What is it you hope to get him to promise he'll do? (the interrogative pronoun   unsa   takes the place of the subject, which is the Semantic Role ACT—a Semantic Role that is only used with Verbs of Doing)
- Maglakaw ko dirí matág buntag.   I walk here every morning.
- Kutsilyo ang ginagamit nga magputól og karne.   A knife is what's used when cutting meat. (This sentence uses both types of marking for the habitual imperfective: ginagamit is realis for an action always done and   magputól   is irrealis for the same aspect. The difference is that ginagamit is "only" used for habitual imperfective.)
- Ákong adtoon nâ ugmà.   I'll go get it tomorrow.
- Walâ mahiabot silá gahapon.   They didn't show up yesterday.
- Gahapon mi maabót (OR   naabót) dirí.   Yesterday we arrived here.

SURREALIS MODE is a third alternation that serves different purposes in different paradigms. Another term for this mode is "non-finite" as opposed to "finite" verb; the latter term applies to realis and irrealis, the modes that are marked for the time aspect called "mode". Depending on the affix set and the context, surrealis may be used for infinitive, imperative, irrealis, habitual, and other aspects, moods, and modes. Modality (doer voice) affixes and voicing (doee voice) affixes break up these functions differently between the irrealis and surrealis modes. The details of these odd splits are given in Chapter 3.

> Ang kabilin wâ maangay pagkabahin.   What was left (the inheritance) wasn't split up as it should.
> Maayo ang pagkalutò níya sa cake.   His cooking of the cake was good.

Synonyms and near synonyms used in this study:

> Modality affixes = Doer voice = N-/M-/P- and MO- affixes
> Voicing affixes = Non-doer (doee) voice = -ON/-AN/I- affixes
> Realis mode = begun aspect = finite verb
> Irrealis mode = not-begun aspect = finite verb

Surrealis mode = no time aspect = non-finite verb

ASPECTS AND MODALITIES

Other than the three-part alternation expressing the aspect we call "mode", there are other ASPECTS of time expression that affixes can communicate or *vibe with** as well as Modalities.

MODALITIES reflect a manner or way of doing something, expressed as a modification of the basic verb meaning.   Modalities can be either speaker oriented—the speaker is presenting his slant on the verb event as in "He will *probably* understand,"—or doer oriented—"He was *able* to understand."— the mode is the doer's relationship to the event.   You might say that a modality causes the verb meaning to lean in a certain direction or take on a certain bias.   "Can run" doesn't change "run" but it adds to it, making it be interpreted from a certain perspective.

*Vibe with?

An affix may or may not have a certain "meaning"; sometimes it's more subtle than that.   The whole meaning of the verb might be suggested not so much by the affix but by the context; but since the large selection of affixes exists, the speaker will want to choose the affix that is most *compatible* with the rest of the sentence as well as the verb root.   For example, adding the volitional modality MO- to a verb may or may not add the explicit meaning "want to" if referring to a voluntary action, but if you were to refer to an accident, the potential modality would be used and the modality predicate, *gusto* or *buót* "want to, decide to, like to" could be added if there were some kind of hybrid modality of want to/didn't want to, as in: Walâ buót níyang naligsan ang kanding.   He didn't mean to run over the goat.   (The local dialect for this is):   Dilì níya'g buót naligsan ang kanding.   He didn't run over the goat on purpose.   Since na-…-an is used with the root   ligid   "roll, tire" to mean "run over", in the usage of the potential modality for accidental events, there is no voluntary or volitional vibe to the sentence until you add the separate word gusto or buót to make the contradictory modality explicit.   Otherwise, if the sentence is about an action that is simply voluntary, intended, or volitional, just using   MO-   might be sufficient since this affix vibes with volitional acts.   Combining a negative predicator with a volitional verb synthesizes the meaning or modality of "refusing" to do the action.   Some examples:

Dilì mo-   Won't do, refuses to do
Dilì gusto mo-   Doesn't want to do
Dilì mag-   Doesn't usually do
Dilì maka-   Can't do
Dilì -on   Won't promise to do
Walâ gyud gi-   Never promised to do

Thus:
- MO-   implies wanting to do and *gusto/buót* makes "wanting to" more explicit, so   MO- expresses volitional modality MORPHOLOGICALLY (by changing the verb form) while *gusto* and *buót* are separate modality predicators.
- MAG-   implies always doing something while *kanunay* makes it more explicit.
- naga-   implies continuing action but   *sigi* makes it more explicit.
- -on   implies a sense of purpose and can imply "have to" but *angay* makes "should" explicit and kinahanglan   makes "must, need to" more explicit.
- maka-   implies ability to do something while *pwede* or *mahimò* makes it more explicit.

Different verb classes also affect the way a given affix is used; for example, the volitional affix MO- is not needed for stative verbs whose doer is a non-volitional or even involuntary or accidental experiencer, but does that mean we never use MO- with those verbs? No, it means that if MO- is used with such a root, then it doesn't have volitional meaning. It is interchangeable with the classic experiencer affix MA- with many attributive roots.

The more you learn about verb classes, the better. Once you get the basic meanings generally assigned to each affix set and their sub-modalities and aspects, the only way to apply this knowledge efficiently, predictably, and practically, once you're faced with thousands of verb roots, is to be able to classify each individual root as to its semantic verb class (motion verb, doing verb, sensory verb, stative verb, etc.) and know what to expect from the affixes in these classes. Knowing verb classes is the way around memorizing what each individual verb supposedly does with affixes. Cebuano has such a big capacity for verbal expression that no expert can teach it to you exhaustively; that is why you have to learn how to teach it to yourself. Knowing verb classes is one of the biggest boosts you can get toward accomplishing this.

Here is a list of modalities to watch out for, sorted according to "doer-oriented" or "speaker-oriented". This list is generic, not specifically related to Cebuano, but these are common modalities that can be expressed in any language. In Cebuano, some of these modalities will be expressed by affixes, some by particles, and some by paired verbs or other types of predicatory partnerships.

MODALITY	
per speaker	**re: agent**
POSSIBILITY, might be	ABILITY, able to do
CERTAINTY, surely must be	UNCERTAINTY, might do
SUPPOSITION, assumed/supposed to be	PERMISSION, may do/allowed to do
DUBITATIVE, doubt it to be	OBLIGATION, must do/have to do (statement, not command)
EVIDENTIALITY (hearsay), I heard it's true	VOLUNTARY, want to do
EVIDENTIALITY (direct observation), I saw it so it's true	INTENTION, plan to do
CONTRADICTORY, it's not true	PROPRIETY/MORALITY, should do/ought to do
WISHFUL, hope it's true	

MODALITY VS. VOICING AFFIXES: HOW TO DECIDE

There is no last word on this topic, and that's what makes it so interesting. We will ricochet off a few of the more relevant points and keep going; just know that choosing the best affix is a combination of factors and often there is sometimes more than one OK way to say the same thing in the same context. Experience and intuition beat all, so read and listen and take notes when real speakers of Cebuano bless you with their unelicited native sentences.[1] Since the decision of what voice to use is multi-faceted, if you really want to learn it, a multi-faceted style of studying Cebuano is your best strategy.

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[1] Elicited sentences can be pure garbage until you know how to get accurate ones. The biggest problem is getting a Filipino to transcend agreeing with everything you say. The best strategy is to do all the thinking yourself, head off the taboo against being negative by somehow tricking the informer into telling the literal truth and exposing what is really a good sentence vs. a

According to linguistics in general, FOCUS is the newest bit of information in the sentence. There has been in the last several decades a tenacious assumption that the question of which nominal to assign the subject relation to has a lot to do with focus.[2] This co-occurrence of focus nominal and subject assignment is often due to coincidence caused by the restrictions of relative clauses in Cebuano, which gives the illusion of some limited correctness of the description, but in this study phenomena aren't named after something they "sometimes" do. They should be named after something they "always" do, as if there were any absolutes in language. Languages are only human, but we can shoot for the definitions and terminologies that are the most accurate, largely by staying within a matching level of vagueness or specificity for the phenomena being named. Mistakes have been made in describing Cebuano—such as the use of a term like "focus" for a phenomenon of what is really *voice*—alternation of subject assignment—because the grammarian wanted to split hairs and micro-manage a language that can take care of itself nicely, thank you very much, and if not corralled by too many nitpicky white guy grammarians, it is a very intuitive event, the learning of this language, which just means that since it has had many generations of practice teaching itself to babies under the age of four, it can probably teach itself to you too. But it might take longer than four years; the older you are the longer it might take.

For now, stick with the assertion/assumption that the primary purpose of modality affixes is to select from among many available choices the modality or aspect that best *vibes with* what is being said, while the purpose of the voicing affixes is to assign the subj relation to one or another nominal. Those are two very different purposes, but there is some overlap. There is a habitual imperfective aspect within the voicing affixes, not always used but it can be. There is a volitional modality within the voicing affixes (-ON), used for "purpose/promise" vs. the milder volitionality of "voluntary/intention" expressed by MO-. There is the potential modality within both modality and voicing affixes also. But in general, there isn't as much modality expressed by the voicing affixes, and the modality affixes are all the same voice.

Prior descriptions said that the voicing affixes are "passive", that is, they do not assign subj to doer. This is only true from a negative perspective: "What is it about the modality affixes that makes it impossible to say something in the passive voice using them?" As for what is really true all the time, the voicing affixes use a possessive adjective as doer, what we call a secondary subject or sub2, and in many sentences it is omittable. The prior descriptions are only occasionally all-wrong. We just want to hone it down by not making generalities that aren't always true.

It's a big topic and we'll wrestle with it more in another chapter. But a word about the so-called "focus description". There are two terms "focus" to keep separate: the focus of the sentence according to general linguistic terminology—that is the NEW INFORMATION provided by the sentence—and the "so-called focus description" of Cebuano voice which only sometimes corresponds with the PRAGMATIC FOCUS ("new info") called focus by linguists.

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bad one, a real translation vs. one that is inaccurate. Good luck, and don't accept any answer till you've gotten the same one on three different days in three different ways. Nor can you criticize to get better results; that will cause clamming up.

[2] For those who assert I should respect what Filipino teachers and writers teach about their own language, I assure you that these descriptions are mostly learned from descriptions by foreigners which have been conjured up over the past 400 years since the Spanish first arrived. The 100+ cultures that inhabited these 7100 islands didn't need any linguistics to learn each others' languages, but the white guys who showed up with their Latin and Spanish and English etc. needed a grammatical description desperately, never having encountered anything like these so-called "focus" grammars. Ever since then, it is a foreigner who has been telling Filipinos how to describe their own language, and the tradition shamelessly continues with this study. I am, however, trying hard to find the heart of Cebuano and describe it, as per the directive of Filipina linguist Paz Naylor, "from the inside out".

One test for what is the sentence's (real, linguistic, pragmatic) focus is the CONTENT QUESTION or wh-question in English because of the way the question words are spelled: who, what, where, when, why, and how. In Cebuano they are: *kinsa, unsa, ása, kanus-a, ngano,* and *unsaon*. As it turns out, if the clause is answering—or "as if" answering—the content question "who?", a doer voice will be called for by the context in reply, because in Cebuano you can't say, "It is I who will do that," in any other voice. This is because, technically speaking, such FOCUS constructions are relative clauses (*Akó ang…* "It is I who…") and in Cebuano only subjects can be extracted from relative clauses, leaving a nominative gap. The section on relative clauses and the section on pragmatic focus will spell that out better.

It is also impossible to correctly say—with a doer voice—something like, "That thing is what I will use to do this," or "That is what he carried," etc., so in answer to "what?" the right voice to use will be one of the voices that assign subj to what English would have wanted to make an object or adjunct. The reason is the same, regarding relative clauses and subject gaps. In these voices, the focus nominal and the subject often or usually coincide, and that is why the term "focus" has been mis-appropriated for the current description of Cebuano and other Philippine languages.

But what about, for example, "why?" questions? Guess what, they call for *reason adjunct focus*, which has nothing to do with what *voice* is used, that is, *what nominal is assigned subj*. And "when?" questions call for *time adjunct focus*, again not involving *voice*. So voice it is, not "focus". It's time to put the "focus system" in its grave, not because it's always wrong but because it's not always right, and because it makes it very hard to teach pragmatic focus because the terminology has been stolen as if it were not needed in its home court. Focus is as focus does, and focus does not, as a reliable general rule, assign subject. *The term is too specific for the phenomenon it is trying to name.* VOICE is a less grandiose way of saying exactly what the so-called "focus system" really, actually does: it assigns subject relation to a nominal. That's what "voice" means in standard linguistic terminology.

What do you do with "sentence focus" (which answers content questions like "What happened")? Until this study, such a thing was conveniently ignored. When the whole sentence is the focus or new information, what do you do, make every word the subject??? See the chapter on pragmatic functions (topic and focus) for more detail, and for now, think of the correct subject as the Least Omittable Participant, including those times when that nominal just happens to coincide as the focus nominal (new info) as well.

All of the above topics will be expanded on throughout this study; what follows below is basic to learning Cebuano from the ground up.

ASPECTS AND MODALITIES IN THE VERBAL AFFIX PARADIGM

The outline below contains enough information to fill a few books; it will have to be referred to many times during your groping toward fluency. And because of this study's use of Semantic Roles and Voices as the bones of its description, the whole affixation structure of Cebuano can be completely described in a few pages. But you will have to understand what Voice, Semantic Roles and Grammatical Relations are in order to use it, so go back to earlier chapters for a review if the discussion of voices below doesn't make immediate sense.

- Attributive na-, ma- (from the doer affix set MA-)
  - stative verbs are adjectives affixed with verbal affixes to say that the state named by the adjective "is": Naputî ang tawo. The person is white.

- o "non-volitional verbs" as the term is used in this study are formed from verbal roots that name a non-volitional or somewhat non-volitional state or condition rather than a dynamic or action-oriented event: Matulog na siyá.   He'll go to sleep now.
- o K (inchoative/potential)   -ka-   combines with all but strictly volitional affixes and MA-, which it can't combine with since   *na-/ma-*   and   *-ka-*   are paradigm-mates[3]
  - ▪ inchoative aspect "become X" or "enter into a condition X"   Sa pagkahumán níya…   Upon his getting finished…
  - ▪ potential modality
    - • with dynamic verbs, pot-inc expresses a variety of not literally/necessarily/simply true event types expressed in English by words like "would, might, may, could, can, if, managed to, happened to" etc.: Nakasulti ko nga nasukô na ko.   I managed to say that I had gotten angry.
    - • always used with sensory-cognitive verbs about seeing, hearing, thinking, feeling, understanding, paying attention, and the like, with no added meaning: Sa pagkakitâ sa pusíl, nahadlok siyá.   Upon seeing the gun, he became afraid.
- o K (perfect aspect)   naka-   used as doer voice to indicate a dual time aspect wherein reference is made to a completed event that also has relevance to another context such as a present time event: Nakabuhat silá sa ílang palad.   They have created their own fate.
- o H (incidental)   -hi-, -ha-, -hing-, -hang-, -hig-, -hag-
  - ▪ "incidental" is short for CAUSERLESS CAUSATIVE, which translates to "happened to ", "just happened", "something made it happen" in events assumed to be caused by something that is not mentioned or in some sense not mentioned: Nahigmatá siyá.   He got woken up.
  - ▪ often used with motion verbs in situations where a motion is the result of something not necessarily mentioned: Sa paghiabót níya didto…   Upon his arriving there…   (Arriving is always the result of a prior activity often not mentioned, so   *abót*   "arrive"   is often prefixed by   -hi-.)
- • Imperfective aspect   -ga-
  - o combines with   na-/ma-   in the modality affixes to form   naga-/maga-/-paga-   and the more common shortened forms   nag-/mag-/-pag-
  - o (habitual imperfective)   -paga- combines with the usual voicing affixes, except   gi- which takes the form   -in-   to make   gina-   by infixing   ga-   with   -in-
  - o the imperfective aspect is a variety of aspects of time expression that are "not perfective" (see perfective below), that is, the action is not simply stated as a discrete event with a beginning and end; some imperfective types are:
    - ▪ durative: the event is stated as a process or stretching a noun into a verb, not a discrete event
      - • perfective: Gipatáy níla ang mgá propeta.   They killed the prophets.
      - • imperfective: Nagpatáy silá sa mgá propeta.   They killed (carried out an assassination campaign against) the prophets.
      - • perfective: Mosuón akó.   I'm going to get dressed.
      - • imperfective: Magsapatos ko.   I'll wear shoes.
      - • imperfective/stative: Nag-idád siyá og disisáys anyos.   He was sixteen years old.

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[3] There is one seeming contradiction which is only an illusion. The fancy or Biblical version of   *himò*   "become"   is   *mahimò*   which is then affixed—like the ordinary   *himò*—to become   *namahimò/mamahimò.* This is a frozen form and not entirely Visayan anyway; one informant insists that it is a case of mimicking the common reduplication used in Tagalog.

- imperfective/inchoative: Karón adlaw nagkaidád siyá og disisáys anyos. Today he turned sixteen.
    - progressive: the event is ongoing; this is the usual usage for the full form naga-/maga-: Sa pagkahulog níya, nagadagan na siyá ngádto sa bomba . When I fell down, I had been running toward the pump.
    - habitual imperfective is expressed by the irrealis mode in doer voice and the surrealis mode in doee voice, not necessarily by -ga-; event stated as a habit is not really taking place at a specific time so it is not presented as already begun; there is also a special form for habitual imperfective (see the 3rd item next):
        - doer voice, irrealis mode: Magilis siyá sa paniodto. She changes her clothes at lunchtime.
        - doee voice (informal), surrealis mode: Papíl ang ákong sulatí, dilì ang computer. Paper is what I write on, not the computer.
        - doee voice (literary/formal; the affix usually spelled gi- becomes the infix -in- in this paradigm; -ga- + -in- = gina-)
            - -ON + -ga- {gina-, paga-…-on, paga-…-a}
            - -AN + -ga- {gina-…-an, paga-…-an, paga-…-i}
            - I- + -ga- {gina-, iga-, iga-}: Kutsilyo ang ginagamit nga magputól og karne. A knife is what's used when cutting meat. (instrumental voice, habitual aspect)
- Reflexive (ig-) refers to mutual action; named after ig- (see I- below) but includes a hodge-podge of left-over forms indicating that the affix set I- developed from reflexive affixes such as sig- which is no longer used; ig- is a voicing affix used only with some certain roots: Dugayng wâ ko siyá igkità. It's been a long time since I saw him.; the N-/M-/P- forms are more commonly used; the MANGGI- form is common in some areas and unheard in others; the commonly extant reflexives are doer voice and cause a penult shift (<) which means that if stress is normally on the final syllable of the root, the stress shifts to the penultimate (next-to-the-last syllable) in the affixed form; MAG- (<) the reflexive affix is unrelated to the imperfective MAG-/MAGA-:
    - MAG- (<) in some forms also-adds or adds-instead the suffix -ay which has an alternate form -anay; when -(an)ay is used it might include as a primary affix the infix -in- which won't combine with other primary affixes: Nagkità na kitá gabii, maóng maulì na lang ko'g sayó. We saw each other last night, so I'll just head home early.
    - MAGKA- (<) is just the pot-inc form of MAG- (<) so the same comments apply about -ay, -anay, and -in-…-(an)ay; there is another affix MAGKA- that is made from the other MAG- but this one refers to mutual action so it means "become X together": Sa matág buntag magkahubog kamí. Each morning we get drunk together. (Irrealis indicates habitual imperfective while mag- indicates mutual action and -ka- indicates the onset of a condition.)
    - MAKIG- (<) is another causative, a reflexive causative since two of the three participants are the same person; used to say "get someone to do something with me": Dilì makig-away ka sa ímong igsoong babaye. You should not try to get your sister into an argument.
- Perfective/voluntary aspect (MO- {mi-/ni-/ming-/ning-, mo-, -um-/ø-) a volitional affix, doer voice, the only doer voice affix that doesn't follow the N-/M-/P- pattern. Perfective means the event is presented as a discrete event with a beginning and end. Can be used like MA- with some stative verbs since there is no volitional form needed for verbalized adjectives. The three modes are:
    - realis: mi-, ming-, ni-, ning-; all mean the same thing but mi- is more common in standard Cebuano

- o irrealis: mo- also used for habitual but mag- would often fit better
- o surrealis: -um-, ø-
    - ▪ -um- is now obsolete but was used as an imperative as well as other surrealis usages: Dumalá ka'g kahoy! You have to carry some wood! (Unlike other imperatives, the pronoun *ka* meaning "you (singular)" was usually expressed.)
    - ▪ ø- the null affix or bare root is the imperative form of MO-: Hilum! Be silent!
- • -ON, used for voices that tend to have a direct, relatively permanent affect on the subj-doee, such as a change of state rather than just a change of position; this is the Patient voice as the subject of such a verb is the thing changed or Patient while the doer in such a transaction—volitional and even purposeful—is called Agent. The special use role of -ON (used with motion verbs) is the Target voice in which the thing or person one goes to get is subj. In some verb classes the subj of -ON is placon; such voices use -ON or -AN interchangably, subject to individual taste. Used with some roots for an Adversative voice (see -AN below).
    - o Perfective/intentional aspect, as mentioned above under MO-, but a stronger and more transitive (affecting) volitionality; expresses a promise more than an intention, a causing more than an attempt, a complete doing more than a starting to do, etc.
    - o K (inchoative/potential), strictly speaking, the potential modality—especially the K form— doesn't mix as much with volitional verbs of the -ON persuasion as it does with the other affixes; one apparent exception (which other writers don't recognize as a verb) is this "gotta go" aspect used with roots involving physical processes which can overcome us with a sense of urgency; now just try telling me that this is not a verb:
        - ▪ Kaihión nakò! I got to jingle right now!
        - ▪ Kalibangón ko! I got to poop right now![4]
        - ▪ Katulogón níya. He's ready to nod off.
    - o N/M/M (inchoative/potential), recognizable as different from the na-/ma- of the doer voice MA- because a sub2 doer is used or could be added; not used with volitional meanings, it can be used with verbs that could be volitional in different contexts, such as the root *dawat* "receive, accept": Unsa ma'y buhaton arón nakò madawat ang kinabuhing dayón? What must I do so I can receive eternal life? (Contrast *buhaton* which is in its obligatory modality with *madawat* which gets its "can/might" modality from the affix *ma-*.)
    - o G (imperfective), a more formal way of expressing the habitual imperfective than the common usage of Irrealis mode for the same thing; the big difference is the existence of three modes (realis, irrealis, and surrealis) in this paradigm, with the modes used intuitively as per their usual interpretations; gina- is not a forgotten or strictly literary style, as my informant, a middle-aged, semi-rural person with a bit of a college degree, uses it regularly; however a younger nephew brought up in the city thought it was hilarious that I even should mention this affix, which is often shortened to gi-.
- • -AN, properly called "the affix set -AN" in general or as the specific voice it is being used for, including Placon[5] voice, Experiencer voice, Adversative voice, and others, even sometimes Patient

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[4] Regarding the naming of physical processes and body parts including those not shown in public, it is in general less of a taboo to say these words and name these things than is true in the US aside from cable TV and other uninhibited environments. I once sat through a sermon in a Catholic church during which the entire congregation was practically rolling in the aisles and choking on their rosaries trying to keep their hands over their mouths; afterward I found out the theme of the sermon was "All men should be buried with a vagina to play with in their coffin so they will be happy in the afterlife." I assume this is a Filipino thing more than a Roman Catholic thing. The point is that while people were no doubt embarrassed, they were not for the most part offended.

[5] See the section on Semantic Roles; Placon is a Semantic Role that names a person or thing as a place, a catch-all label that includes the classical Semantic Roles: Location, Goal, Source, Receiver, Path, Benefactor, etc. Do not use the term "locative"

voice in verb classes where no other use for -AN exists, resulting in interchangability of -AN and -ON and/or I-. Used a lot for the Adversative voice which installs a Semantic Role "experiencer" or "victim" that is foreign to the verb class itself: Nabutoan akó og ligid. I got blown up on by a tire. -ON also uses Adversative voice but more often with sicknesses and infestations which, as verb roots, already suggest the existence of an experiencer-victim.

- o K (inchoative/potential), often used for Emotive Causative voice, assigning subj to the causer of an emotion and sub2 to the experiencer of the emotion (K form of I- is used the same way)
- o N/M/M (inchoative/potential), used more commonly for the various meanings covered by potential modality including the emotive causative voice within the K form above
- o G (imperfective), see above
- o H (incidental)

- I-, most commonly used for Theme voice and Instrumental voice, in that order; Theme voice is used for a subj that is moved rather than permanently changed as to its state, identity, or condition; Instrumental voice is when an adjunct naming a tool or other instrument of doing (a secondary Agent) is upgraded to subj status; an instrument-subj is not used often enough to name the whole affix set after it, I- is much more commonly used to name a subject that is conveyed or moved or that changes ownership (Theme); sometimes I- is used for Benefactor voice but -AN is more commonly used for this (and is then called Placon voice like the other place- or goal-oriented uses of -AN).
  - o K (inchoative/potential), Emotive Causative voice (see "K (inchoative/potential)" under "-AN" above)
  - o N/M/M (inchoative/potential) see above
  - o G (imperfective), see above
  - o H (incidental), see above
  - o IG- (temporal), means "time to do"
  - o IGKA- (inchoative/temporal), means "time to become"
  - o IG- (reflexive), used with a few roots, see "MAG- (<)" above

PLURALITY OF VERB AFFIXES

Using the pluralized forms of verb affixes is usually optional and a lot of the affixes in the chart below aren't used very much in casual speech. Nevertheless, the spaces in the chart where no affix has yet been encountered by this author to fill the paradigm[6] have been left blank so this portion of the chart can be pasted next to the other portion and printed or viewed on one page. Other affixes can be filled in as they show up.

Pluralization can be done when either the subject, object or the verb action has some kind of multiplicity to it. For example, a number of people doing a number of things to a bunch of stuff would have three possible reasons for using a pluralized affix.

The most common pluralization is the affix set MA<u>NG</u>- {na<u>ng</u>-, ma<u>ng</u>-, pa<u>ng</u>-}. This affix is probably older than both MO- and MAG-, both of which it can represent semantically, in its pluralizing usage, but MA<u>NG</u>- is generally categorized as the "plural version of MO-" since it replaces it (never combines with it) while MAG- can combine with MA<u>NG</u>- in the usual way, with the non-finite (p- form) or pa<u>ng</u>- used

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in reference to morphological voice as it has become an addiction of grammarians so we need a new terminology that makes people think about what they are saying.
[6] Since many Cebuano affixes are derivational rather than inflectional, it is natural for the paradigm to have blank cells and irregularities within sub-paradigms. Don't get hung up on filling in cells or making the chart perfectly symmetrical.

as a secondary affix: {nagpang-, magpang-, pagpang-}. And yet MAG- has its own integral pluralized form, MANAG-. The affix MA<u>NG</u>- therefore should not be formally considered to be the "plural form" of either MO- or MAG-, but rather a separate affix with its own characteristics. We still list it in the chart as if it were the plural form of MO- for convenience since it has no "singular" form of its own, and the fact that it doesn't combine with MO- is evidence that it really is the plural form of MO-. The evidence that it is not any such thing is when imperfective MAG- combines with it, or when it represents on its own an imperfective meaning.

And sure enough, MA<u>NG</u>- is practically its own language. Unlike MO- that it supposedly is the pluralization of, it does fit the N-/M-/P- spelling pattern perfectly, with the p- form available to combine with other affix sets as a secondary affix. Depending on the root, the p- form can either be perfectly regular in meaning/usage with the finite n-/m- forms, acting only as a pluralizer and/or stem former, or else with some roots the addition of *-pang-* changes the meaning, forming a new word, a stem that acts like a root, with *-pang-* frozen to it. The verb then might have as its main usage just an N-/M-/P- alternation for the doer voice, or the addition of voicing affixes to the p- stem. There is a chart in chapter 2 showing possible combinations of various primary affixes with various p- stems, and *-pang-* stems have been left out to keep the chart from being cluttered, since *-pang-* is so common and predictable once you learn how it works—"productive" in linguistic jargon.

MA<u>NG</u>- has other usages besides; we've already mentioned the somewhat unusual occasions when *-pang-* seems to form a Causative stem from a non-causative root, as if it were a long form of *-pa-*, which it probably is since we also have in Cebuano such equivalencies as *mi-/ming-, ni-/ning-, -hi-, -hing-*, and others. Further evidence is that there is no such affix as **-papang-*. Other more common usages of *-pang-* include:

- pluralized verb form (see above)
- formation of new words from roots, which have the same meaning as the root—which one to use might either be optional or it might depend on the dialect
- formation of new words from roots, which have different meaning as the root, either related to or occasionally very different from the root meaning
- formation of words that are either the same or different in part-of-speech as the root; forming a noun from a verb or vice-versa, etc.
- *mang-CVredup…*   is a nominalizing "agent" affix (forms nouns from verb roots) that does what English -er does to "farm (>farmer), labor (>laborer), pick (>picker), harvest (>harvester), etc." There are other affixes with the same meaning so the dictionary has to be consulted to find out which of these should be used with any certain root. See the section on non-verbal affixes.

In short, when you find any version of MA<u>NG</u>- in a word, until you learn the ropes you'll have to consult the dictionary to decide what it's doing there. Only in frozen forms where the root never occurs without MA<u>NG</u>- will you find the verb in the dictionary under the affix (usually p). Example:

- paminaw (N-/M-/P-), listen, pay attention, go find out
  - The verb stem *paminaw* acts like a root except that the p can change to an n or an m for realis or irrealis mode. In other words, the root to which *-pang-* was added is lost or no longer used. This verb will be filed alphabetically under p, not under the lost root, and the notation (N-/M-/P-) indicates that it includes its own affix which inflects according to the N-/M-/P- spelling pattern in the doer voice.

Examples of *-pang-* as a pluralizer of verb roots that doesn't change the meaning of the verb:

- pluralizes verb event
- pluralizes subj
- pluralizes obj

Examples of *pang-* in its various functions, beginning with the complete conjugation of the verb root *hadlok* "fear", which uses MA<u>NG</u>- in three different ways depending on what the primary affix is, then the conjugation of the verb root *kayò* "ask a favor" which never occurs without an affix.

- hadlok *verb* fear
  - o MA- subj is/becomes afraid
    - ▪ Nahadlok akó. I'm scared. (stative intransitive verb)
    - ▪ Ayáw kahadlok! Don't be afraid! (-*ka*- and *na-/ma*- are replacive)
  - o MAGPA<u>NG</u>- subj is afraid of obj (MAG- is primary affix with -*pang*- stem)
  - o MO- (or) MA<u>NG</u>- subj frightens obj (MA<u>NG</u>- replaces MO-, same meaning, a lexical causative since "frighten = cause to be afraid"+)
  - o -ON sub2 scares subj for some purpose (scares subj into or out of doing something)
  - o dilì ma- (-ON potential) sub2 can't scare subj
  - o KA-…-AN subj makes sub2 afraid (emotive causative)
  - o I- (or) IPA<u>NG</u>- sub2 frightens obj with subj-instrument (-*pang*- doesn't change meaning)
  - o ma-…-on *adjective* afraid
  - o maka-CVredup- *adjective* fear-inspiring
  - o -án *adjective* easily frightened
- kayò *verb* ask for something (root never used alone)
  - o MAGPA<u>NG</u>- (>) (modality predicate) subj asks for non-finite verb
    - ▪ Nagpangayó'g pakitabang ang nabanggà. The ones who'd been in the crash asked for help. (two-part predicate is nagpangayó og pakitabang "ask for help")
  - o -pa<u>ng</u>-…-ON sub2 asks for subj
  - o IPA<u>NG</u>- sub2 asks for subj
  - o pinang- (= -pa<u>ng</u>- infixed with -in-) *noun* something gotten by asking or praying for it
  - o -án *adjective* fond of asking for things
- Pangutan-a ang mgá katabang og… Ask the helpers whether… (-*pang*- affixed to kutana "ask" doesn't change its meaning; the stem formed is here combined with the imperative (surrealis mode) of -ON)
- sorbiti ice cream pa<u>ng</u>- have ice cream (-*pang*- changes noun root to a verb with related meaning)
- labyog swing pa<u>ng</u>- cast a fishing line (-*pang*- changes a verb root to a related verb root with a more specialized meaning)
- hindik neat -pa-/-pa<u>ng</u>- make oneself neat (-*pa*- and -*pang*- have the same meaning, changing an adjective root to a causative stative verb)
- lawas body
  - o -pa<u>ng</u>- *verb* be in the upper part of the hair (-*pang*- changes noun root to verb stem with vaguely related meaning)
  - o panghi- *noun* fornication (noun-to-noun, vaguely related)
  - o -pa<u>ng</u>- *noun* health (noun-to-noun, related)
- Gikalipáy ni Remart ang pagpangawat bisan gikolata siyá. Stealing makes Remart happy even if he gets beaten. (-*pang*- affixed to kawát "steal" doesn't change the meaning; this also shows

how *pag-* and *-pang-* can be added to the same verb; here -pag- is forming a noun meaning "stealing".

MODALITY AFFIXES	PLURALIZED		
	FINITE		NON-FINITE
	Realis	Irrealis	
MA- ATTRIBUTIVE	nanga-	manga-	panga-
K (inchoative/potential)	nanga-	manga-	panga-
K (perfect aspect)			
H (incidental)			
MAG- IMPERFECTIVE	nanag-, nagpang-	manag-, magpang-	panag-, pagpang-
K (inchoative/potential)			
H (incidental)			
KH (inchoative/incidental)			
MAG- (<) REFLEXIVE (ig-)	nanag-…(-ay)	manag-…(-ay)	panag-…(-ay)
K (inchoative/potential)			
causative			
MO- PERFECTIVE	nang-	mang-	pang-
(inchoative/potential)			
VOICING AFFIXES			
-ON (perfective/intentional)	gipang-	pang-…-on	pang-…-a
K (inchoative/potential)			
N/M/M (inchoative/potential)	napang-	mapang-	
G (imperfective)			
-AN	gipang-…-an	pang-…-an	pang-…-i
K (inchoative/potential)	nanga-…-an	manga-…-an	manga-…-i
N/M/M (inchoative/potential)		mapang-…-an	
G (imperfective)			
H (incidental)			
I-	gipang-	ipang-	ipang-
K (inchoative/potential)	gikapang-	ikapang-	ikapang-