Cebuano Passives Revisited[1]

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1. Introduction
Siewierska: no common single property (1985:1). Passive is not a language universal (23).

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)

		ABS	ERG	OBL
PERSON	Singular	*si*	*ni*	*kay*
	Plural	*sila*	*nila*	*kanila*
COMMON	non-specific		*ug*	*ug*
	Specific	*ang*	*sa*	*sa*

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.
>>>independent clauses

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. >>>*gi*-clauses

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

		Actor focus [Active]	Goal focus [Passive]
Perfective [past punctual]		*mi-*	*gi-*
Future [future punctual]	(irrealis) (realis)	*mo-*	*-on*
Imperfective	(irrealis) [future durative] (realis) [past durative]	*mag-* (*manag-* PL) *nag-* (*nanag-* PL)	[*(pag(a)-)...-on*] [*gi(na)-*]
Abilitative [future potential]	(-intention) (+intention)	*maka-*	*ma-*
Perfect [past potential]	(-intention) (+intention)	*naka-*	*na-*

c. In independent, declarative clauses in the perfective aspect, speakers consistently respond to AF and PF as conveying different 'emphasis' or 'topicality' (pragmatic option). These are the clauses that express temporally sequenced events in narrative discourse.

2.1.1 Lexical transitivity
Table 3. (Payne 1994)

		Transitive	Intransitive	Total
AF	*mi-*	80	**175**	255
PF	*gi-*	**114**	11	125

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

Table 4. Cebuano conversation:

		Transitive	Intransitive	Total
AF	*mi-*	5	**34**	39
PF	*gi-*	**65**	16	81

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

2.1.2 Constituent order
Table 5. (Payne 1994)

		VAO (unmarked order)	VOA
AF	*mi-*	23	6
PF	*gi-*	52	19

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)

Continuity	O(A)				A(O)			
	A		O		A		O	
High	3	(18%)	**3**	**(19%)**	19	**(54%)**	4	(9%)
Medium	6	(35%)	8	(50%)	14	(40%)	10	(23%)
Low	8	(47%)	5	(31%)	2	(6%)	29	(68%)

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

Continuity	O(A)				A(O)			
	A		O		A		O	
High	8	(38%)	4	(44%)	**6**	**(67%)**	10	(55%)
Medium	4	(19%)	1	(11%)	3	(33%)	5	(28%)
Low	9	(43%)	4	(44%)	0	(0%)	3	(17%)

Givon (1990)

	A	O	
PF (AO)	High	High	Active transitive (A may be
And AF		Med	zero-pronominal)
	High	Low	Antipassive → AF construction
PF (OA)	High	High	Functional Inverse
	Low	**High**	**Passive (A is omitted)**

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)

Importance	O(A)				A(O)			
	A		O		A		O	
High	10	(59%)	**14**	**(50%)**	35	**(64%)**	8	(19%)
Medium	3	(18%)	10	(36%)	17	(31%)	13	(31%)
Low	4	(23%)	4	(14%)	3	(5%)	21	(50%)

Table 9. Cebuano conversation

Importance	O(A)		A(O)	
	A	O	A	O
High	6 (29%)	0 (0%)	**6 (67%)**	4 (22%)
Medium	5 (24%)	4 (44%)	1 (11%)	5 (28%)
Low	10 (47%)	**5 (55%)**	2 (22%)	**9 (50%)**

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) **→ 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
    Frequency of Agents in Passive clauses: 15% with Agents (Cooreman 1982; cited in Shibatani 1988:93)

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)

ki-a-kani	*kuani*	*umas*	*sa*	*Likulaw*
PASS-real-eat	that	man		leopard

'That man was eaten by a leopard.'

3. Cebuano *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.
=*SA*-phrase indicates the **cause** of the adversity (not A).
=There is no Agent involved (**state** of adversity).

(2)

Gi-kapoy		*si*	*Pedro*	(*sa*	*trabaho* /	**ni*	*Juan*)
Past.PF-be.tired		SI	PN	Loc	work	Gen	PN

'Pedro is tired from work (*by Juan).'

(3)

T:	*ay*		*ka-sakit*	*oy*	[***gi-luod***		*ko*]
	Interj		KA-pain	Voc	Past.PF-nauseating		1S
W:					[@	@ @]	@@@
T:	***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)

Gi-laylay		*si*	*Rayna*	*Esmeralda*	*sa*	*usa*	*ka*	*sakit*
PF.Pfv-afflict		SI	queen	PN	SA	one	Lk	sickness

'Queen Esmeralda was stricken by a sickness.'

Daw	***gi-suyop***		*siya*	*sa*	*usa*	*ka*	*batobalani*
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): **It is said that** time heals all pain.

(6) Shibatani (1988:94)

Gi-nganlan	*=siyag*	*Kapuroy*
GF-call	3S	PN

'He was called Kapuroy.'

(7) Payne (1994)

Si	*Totong*	***gi-ila***		*nga*	*labi-ng*	*hawod*	*sa*	*dama*
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→   ***gi-hired**=ka=nila*
          GI-hire=2S.Nom=3P.Gen
J→   *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[nese]*
    Past.PF-bully only   1S SA Pl 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

6

'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

    padayon ug pangita' sa iya-ng frog
    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**- *iya-ng* *pet dog* *gi=*
    PAG-find 3S.Gen ANG 3S-Lnk

58. … *gi=*
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 *unsa 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 *unsa pa 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: Raped?

(17) Conv 5: experience at the customs

W   *tangtang gihapon relo   tangtang*
       take.off   still   watch   take.off

T   *wa-   wa-   wala   man*
       Neg   Neg   Neg   Part

W   *inig   gawas   sa   X-ray   na-wala*
       as   leave   Loc   X-ray.machine   AF-disappear

T   *@@mao* **gi-suyop**   **gi-suyop**
       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).

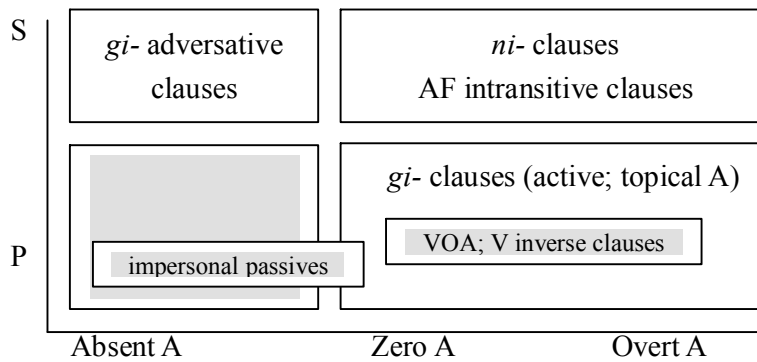(18) **Gi-kawat**?
     PF.Pfv-rob
     'Stolen?'

Figure 1 *ni-*/*gi-* clauses in Cebuano

4. *na*-Verbs?

The semantics of the *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 *na-* construction as opposed to a *gi-* construction where an "effort-ful" action of the Agent is required (Nolasco 2005).
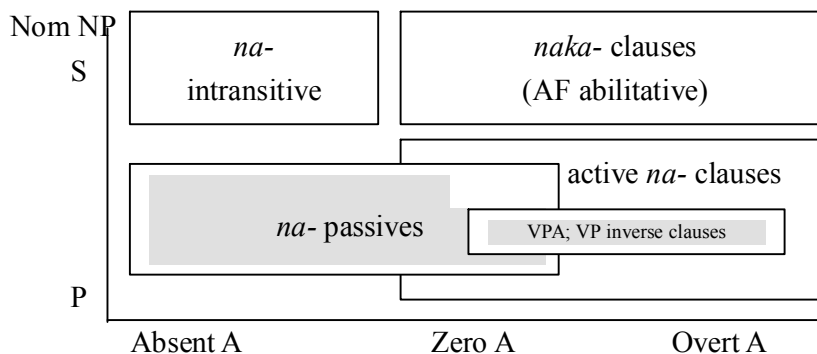
Figure 2. *na-/ma-* clauses in Cebuano

Table 10.

	gi-V (adversative verbs)	*na*-V (intransitive verbs)
Physical (bodily)	*gi-atake* 'to have a (heart) attack *gi-duka'* 'to feel sleepy' *gi-gutom* 'to feel hungry' *gi-kapoy* 'to feel tired' *gi-katol* 'to feel itchy' *gi-laay* 'to feel bored' *gi-lu'od* 'to feel nauseous' *gi-sip'on* 'to have a running nose' *gi-ubo* 'to cough' *gi-uhaw* 'to feel thirsty'	*na-banhaw*, 'rise from the dead' *na-buhi'*, 'become alive' *na-hagbong*, 'fall' *na-hubog*, 'be drunk' *na-hulog*, 'fall' *na-matay*, 'die' *na-samad*, 'be injured' *na-sangit*, 'be hooked' *na-sunog*, 'burn' *na-takd-an*, 'be contaminated' *na-tawo*, 'be born' *na-tulog*, 'be asleep'
mental / emotional	*gi-mingaw* 'to miss (sb)'	*na-balaka*, 'be startled' *na-bu'ang*, 'be crazy' *na-gu'ol*, 'be sad' *na-hadlok*, 'be afraid' *na-kurat*, 'be astonished' *na-lipay*, 'be glad' *na-suko*, 'be angry' *na-tingala*, 'feel wonder'
infesting verbs	*gi-anay* 'to be infested with termites' *gi-kagaw* 'to be infected with germs' *gi-kuto* 'to be infected with lice' *gi-ulod* 'to be infested with worms'	*na-pan'os*, 'be rotten'
activity	*gi*-V 'PF usage'	*na*-V 'PF usage'

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 → *pananglitan* **na-meet**=*ka*
    for.example   NA-meet=2S.Nom
  J   *m*=
  BC
  L *dili* *dyud*=*ko*   *ingon*   *nga-*   *ing'a-* *ing'ani* *ra* *gyud*
      Neg Emph=1S.Nom   say   Comp   FS   like.this only Emph
     ang   *akong-* *unsa*   *na* *oy* *akong* *kina'iya*   *ba* *nga-*
  ANG   1S.Poss what   that Voc 1S.Poss personality   Par Lk
  J   *m*=
  BC
  L *ay*=   *ana*   *di*=*dyud*=*ko-*   *di* *ba* *parehas* *sa*   *uban*
      Interj   like.that Neg=Emph=1S.Nom   Neg Par same   SA other
  → *pananglitan* **ma-meet**=*na*=*ka*=*nila*
  for.example   NA.Fut-meet=Pfv=2S.Nom=3P.Gen
  J   *m*=
     BC
     L: For example, you have met –
     J: m=
     L: I'm not, just like that, my uh-, what-you-call-it, my personality-

J: m=
L: Oh, I'm not like that, not like others. For example, if you have been met by them,

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 → m=   **na-hilom**=na ang   balita   mayo   unta oy   @@
         PF   NA-silent=Pfv ANG   news   good   Par Voc
      → **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
         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   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-uli\
      what   time=Pfv=1PEx.Nom   AF-go.home
       → 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 → 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=pa   nay   mga marines=pa=gyud
      that.time serious=still Exist   Pl   marines=still=Emph
       → mag-checkpoint   bya- morag   **ma-hadlok**=ka=gyud
      AF-checkpoint   Par like   NA.Fut-be.afraid=2S.Nom=Emph
      kong   dili=ka   taga-didto/
      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*		*nag-kita*	*kay*	*akong-*	*amiga*	*nako*
	PF	here=only=1PEx.Nom		AF-meet	because	1S.Poss	friend	1S.Gen

→	*wala=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-ila*	*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.Nom	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

		gi-	*na-*	topicality of A
intransitive	A >> P	VS	VS (Experiencer 1/2)	no A
active	A > P	VAP	VAP	
			PAV	
			VA (P is –H abstract)	
			VP	1/2
inverse	A < P	VPA	VPA	

11

		VP	**VP**	accessible
passive	A << P	idioms	**VP**	inaccessible

Table 12. *na-* constructions in Cebuano

		A integration	frequency
intrans	A >> P	81.6%	49
active	A > P	**95.2%**	**42**
inverse	A < P	**50.0%**	**10**
passive	A << P	**0%**	**29**

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