

Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand
The 23rd Annual Meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society
(SEALS 23)
May 29-31, 2013

Functions of Reflexes of PAn/PMP *maR- in Philippine Languages

Hsiu-chuan Liao
National Tsing Hua University

Background (1)

- One major area of differences found between Formosan languages and Philippine languages is in the morphosyntax of so-called “Actor Focus” verbs.
- Li (1995:664-665):
 - ‘[t]he prefixes such as man-, maŋ- and mag- are common in the Philippine languages, but totally lacking in most Formosan languages. What we do find in most Formosan languages is only the prefix ma-.’
 - ‘In Mayrinax, the conservative dialect of Atayal, a few forms contain the prefix *mag*-, e.g. *mag-baytunux* ‘pretty’, *mag-lakaam* ‘to go head-hunting’, but with quite different functions from that in Philippine languages.’

2

Background (2)

- Ross (1995:772): ‘...it will first be necessary to understand how Proto Malayo-Polynesian verbal morphology differs from PAN. It would be useful, for example, to define the extent and functions of reflexes of PAN *maR-. Certainly this morpheme is reflected in Formosan languages, but apparently only marking reciprocal verbs. In many Philippine languages, it has become an AG pivot marker: this is an innovation in need of pinning down.’

3

Objectives

- to investigate functions associated with reflexes of PAn/PMP *maR- in Philippine languages
- to determine whether non-reciprocal usages of reflexes of *maR- might have developed from reciprocal.

4

Related Reconstructions

- Blust (2003:473):
 - Proto-Austronesian (PAn) *maR- ‘distributive’
- Blust (2009):
 - *maR- ‘actor voice’
 - *paR- ‘instrumental noun’
 - Proto-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian *paRi- ‘reciprocal/collective action’ (cf. Pawley (1973): POc *paRi-...-i)
- Zeitoun (2002, 2010, 2012):
 - PAn *maCa- / *paCa- ‘reciprocal [dynamic verbs]’
 - PAn *maR- / *paR- ‘reciprocal [stative verbs]’

5

Reflexes of PAn/PMP *maR-: Form (1)

- *maR- > *may-* > *mi-*
 - **may-**: Ivatan, Ibatan [Bashiic]
 - **mi-**: (i) Yami [Bashiic]; (ii) Central Luzon languages (also *mag-*)
- *maR- > *ag-*:
 - Ilokano (expected: ***(m)ar-**)
 - Northern Mangyan languages (expected: *mal-*) [Both *mal-* and *ag-* are found in Alangan.]
- *maR- > *mag-*
 - Central Philippine languages (and other Greater Central Philippine languages)
 - Northern Cordilleran languages [Northern Luzon]
 - Central Luzon languages (also *mi-*)
 - Iraya (also *ag-*)

6

Reflexes of PAn/PMP *maR-: Form (2)

- *maR- > ****mal-** (expected, but not attested)
 - The Meso-Cordilleran languages, including South-Central Cordilleran languages, Northern Alta, and Southern Alta, in which **the reflex of *R is l, all show the innovated form *man-*, or a further development, such as *mon-*, *mun-*, *men-* [m in or mən], *min-*, *an-*, *ʔin-*, *ʔen-* [ʔən].** The form *man-* occurs in most of the West Southern Cordilleran languages and in some Central Cordilleran languages. (Liao 2004:115)
 - The /n/ in *man-* does **not** undergo nasal assimilation in most of the West Southern Cordilleran (such as Karao, Ibaloy (or Inibaloi), Pangasinan, etc.), but **does** undergo homorganic nasal assimilation in some Central Cordilleran languages (such as Balangao, Limos Kalinga, etc.) and in Keley-i Kallahan (a Southern Cordilleran language).

*Reflexes of PAn/PMP *maR- (1):*

‘reciprocal relationship noun’

8

Reciprocal Nouns (1)

- **Ilokano** (Vanoverbergh 1955:130, 132, 233) [N. Luzon]
 - agamá* (< *ag-* + *amá*) ‘father and son’
 - agasáwa* (< *ag-* + *asáwa*) ‘married couple’
 - aginá* (< *ag-* + *iná* ‘mother’) ‘mother and child’
 - agulitég* (< *ag-* + *ulitég* ‘uncle’) ‘uncle and nephew (or niece)’
- **Isnag** (Barlaan 1999: 53) [N. Cordilleran, N. Luzon]
 - Magpatay* *daya* *magama*.
 - Recp.kill Spec.pl Recp.father
 - ‘The father and his son are fighting.’

Reciprocal Nouns (2)

- **Yami** (Rau and Dong 2006) [Bashiic]
 - (a) *mai=sira miakay do jia.*
come=Nom.3pl Recp.grandfather Lcv here
‘The grandfather and grandson came here.’
 - (b) *to mikalópkop=sira omlavi a miina.*
then Recp.hug=Nom.3pl cry Nom Recp.mother
‘The mother and daughter held each other as they cried.’
 - ****miina* ‘mother and son/daughter (in a group of two)’ vs. *malaina* ‘mother and sons/daughters (in a group of three)’
- **Ibatan** (Maree 2007) [Bashiic]
 - May-abāgis=sa Baltazar kan Florentino.*
Recp.sibling=Nom.3pl Baltazar and Florentino
‘Baltazar and Florentino are siblings.’

Reciprocal Nouns (3)

- **Botolan Sambal** (Antworth 1979) [Central Luzon]
 - mi-amigo* (< *mi-* + *amigo* ‘friend’) ‘friends’
 - mita-ahawa* (< *mita-* + *ahawa* ‘spouse’) ‘husband and wife’
 - mita-tatay* (< *mita-* + *tatay* ‘father’) ‘father and child’
 - mita-anak* (< *mita-* + *anak* ‘child’) ‘parent and child’
- **Ayta Mag-anchi** (Storck and Storck 2005) [Central Luzon]
 - miahawa* (< *mi-* + *ahawa*) ‘married couple’
 - mitaahawa* (< *mita-* + *ahawa*) ‘couple’
 - mita-indo* (< *mita-* + *indo*) ‘mother and children’
 - mita-bapa* (< *mita-* + *bapa*) ‘father and children’
 - mitaali* (< *mita-* + *ali*) ‘siblings, brothers, sisters’

Reciprocal Nouns (4)

- **Tagalog** (English 1987) [Central Philippines]
 - mag-amá* (< *mag-* + *amá*) ‘father and son/daughter’
 - mag-iná* (< *mag-* + *iná*) ‘mother and son/daughter’
 - mag-asawa* (< *mag-* + *asawa*) ‘a married couple’

Reciprocal Nouns (5)

- With few exceptions (e.g. South-Central Cordilleran languages), reciprocal relationship nouns are usually formed with **regular** reflexes of *maR- in Philippine languages.
- In Southern Cordilleran languages, reciprocal relationship nouns can be formed with *san-* (< *sa-* ‘one’ + =*n* ‘Lig’) (as in Inibaloi and Pangasinan) or *matan-* (< *ma-* + *tan-* (< **sa-* + *=*n* ‘Lig’)) as in Ilongot/Bugkalot).
- In Central Cordilleran languages, reciprocal relationship nouns can be formed with *sin-*.

*Reflexes of PAn/PMP *maR- (2):*

reciprocal verbs

14

Reciprocal Verbs (1)

- **Ibatan** (Maree 2007) [Bashiic]
Maykepkep=sa.
Recp.hug=Nom.3pl
‘They hug each other.’
- **Yami** (Rau and Dong 2006) [Bashiic]
to *mikalópkop=sira omlavi a miina.*
then Recp.hug=Nom.3pl cry Nom Recp.mother
‘The mother and daughter held each other as they cried.’

Reciprocal Verbs (2)

- **Ayta Mag-anchi** (Storck and Storck 2005) [C. Luzon]
 - (a) Paan=kaw *mipatsi.*
Neg=Nom.2pl Recp.argue
‘Don’t argue!’
 - (b) *Milupa=hila=y kambal.*
Recp.look.alike=Nom.3pl=Nom twins
‘The twins look alike.’
- **Kapampangan** (Forman 1971) [C. Luzon]
adúa=la=ng mípaté.
two=Nom.3pl=Lig Recp.fight
‘They two fight each other.’

Reciprocal Verbs (3)

- **Isnag** (Barlaan 1999) [N. Cordilleran, N. Luzon]
 - (a) *Magsu:lung* *daya* *anna:naq.*
 Recp.punch Spec.pl children
 ‘The children are fistfighting.’
 - (b) *Magsingan=kami* *kala:wa.*
 Rec.see=Nom.1pl.excl tomorrow
 ‘We (excl) will see each other tomorrow.’
- **Inibaloi** (Ruffolo 2004) [S. Cordilleran, Meso-Cordilleran, N. Luzon]
 - eminchakel* *qja* *nanbebakal* *ira.*
 ?əmindakəl *ja* *nan.CV.bakal* ?ida
 often/many.times Lig Pfv.Rec.fight Nom.3pl
 ‘Many times they fought (each other).’

Reciprocal Verbs (4)

- **Tagalog** (Schachter and Otones 1972:341) [C. Phil]
 - Nagkita-kita=sila.*
 Pfv.Recip.pl.see=Nom.3pl
 ‘They (more than two) saw one another.’
- **Central Tagbanwa** (Scebold 2003:81) [C. Phil]
 - Dakami* *nagtaring.*
 Neg.Nom.1pl.excl Pfv.Recip.converse
 ‘We (excl) didn’t converse.’

Reciprocal Verbs (5)

- **Alangan** (Dimaano 2005) [Northern Mangyan]
 - Malpangkit* *kitam* *bukas.*
 Recp.see Nom.1pl.incl tomorrow
 ‘Let us see each other tomorrow.’
- ***Dimaano (2005): “Alangan reciprocal verbs are added with a prefix *mal-* to denote reciprocity or reciprocal relationship.”

Reciprocal Verbs (6)

- In Ilokano, ‘the notion of reciprocity or rivalry is indicated by the infix *-inn-* placed before the first vowel of the root. These forms may also be nominalized with the suffix *-an*.’ (Rubino 2000)
 - (a) *Agsinnurat=da.*
 Recp.write=Nom.3pl
 ‘They write one another.’
 - (b) *linnemmengán* ‘hide-and-peek game’ (< *lemméng* ‘hide’)
tinnaráy ‘racing with one another’ (< *taráy* ‘run’)
pinnitákan ‘throwing mud at one another’ (< *pítak* ‘mud’)
- *agsinCV-*: (obs.) prefix of reciprocity. *Agsintutulongkami.* ‘We (excl) help each other.’ (Rubino 2000:17)

Reciprocal Verbs (7)

Balangao [Northern Luzon] (*man ʔahe-/man--enn- / man ʔahe- -enn-* ‘reciprocal’)

(a) *man ʔahesongbat./mansennongbat./man ʔahesennongbat.*

Recp.answer

‘Answer each other.’

(b) *man ʔahesokat= ʔayu lumbong=yu.*

Recp.trade=Nom.2pl clothes=Gen.2pl

‘You (pl) trade clothes with each other.’

21

*Reflexes of PAn/PMP *maR- (3):*

non-reciprocal functions

22

Reflexive

- Ayta Mag-antsi (Storck and Storck 2005:190)
magpakamatsi (v.) ‘to commit suicide’
- Tagalog (Pittman 1966:12)
mag-: reflexive (cf. *-um-*: non-reflexive)
maggamót ‘to treat one’s self for an illness’
(cf. *gumamót* ‘to treat illness’)
magsanay ‘to train one’s self’
(cf. *sumanay* ‘to train others’)

23

Grooming (1)

- Ibatan (Maree 2007:233, 236)
Maylaylay=ako.
clothes=Nom.1sg
‘I dress (myself).’
- Ayta Mag-antsi (Storck and Storck 2005:191)
Baling yabi magsipilyo hila.
every evening brush.teeth Nom.3pl
‘Every evening they brush their teeth.’

Grooming (2)

- **Ilokano** (Rubino 2000)
agdigos 'to bathe'
agtsinelas 'to wear slippers; put on slippers'
agbado 'to wear a dress; to change into a dress'

Translational Motion (1)

- **Botolan Sambal** (Antworth 1979:73)
Magbira=hila nobokah ha mahilem.
return=Nom.3pl tomorrow Fut afternoon
'They'll return tomorrow afternoon.'
- **Kakilingan Sambal** (Yamashita 1992:50)
magbida 'to go'
mag-odong 'to return'

Translational Motion (2)

- **Isnag** (Barlaan 1999: 38)
(a) *Magta:law.*
run.away
'(He) will run away.'
(b) *Naglanguy ya an-anaq.*
Pfv.swim Spec child
'The child swam (for a long time).'
- Central Tagbanwa (Scebold 2003:88)
... *maglaod=kita.*
...go.to.sea=Nom.1pl.incl
'...we (incl) will go out to sea.'

Change in Body Posture

- **Pangasinan** (Benton 1971) [S. Cordilleran, Meso-Cordilleran, N. Luzon]
mandokdokól 'lie down for a while' (*dokól* 'lie down')

Non-translational Motion

- **Kakilingan Sambal** (Yamashita 1992:50)
mag-apháy ‘to stretch out one’s legs’

Positionals

- **Yami** (Rau and Dong 2006:107) [Bashiic]
mitatanek ‘stand’

Emotion Middle (1)

- **Isnag** (Barlaan 1999) [N. Luzon]
Maganggam me Kathy.
happy Pers Kathy
‘Kathy is happy.’
- **Kakilingan Sambal** (Yamashita 1992) [C. Luzon]
maghehè ‘to repent’
mag-ispantá ‘to be surprised’

Emotion Middle (2)

- Central Tagbanwa (Scebold 2003:80) [C. Phil.]
Duro talaga ya midyo nagtakot.
many truly Spec similar afraid
‘Many, truly, were those who seemed afraid.’

Cognition Middle

Kalinga, Limos (Ferreirinho 1993:112) [N. Luzon]

(a) *nantigammu*

Pfv.know

‘S/he knows.’

(b) *Nantitigtigammu=da* amin.

Pfv.Recp.pl.know=Nom.3pl all

‘They all got to know each other.’

33

Other Usage (1): Weather Verbs

● **Isnag** (Barlaan 1999: 19) [N. Cordilleran, N. Luzon]

Magudan. ‘It’s raining.’

Magba:li. ‘It’s windy/ It’s blowing.’

● **Ilokano** (Rubino 2000) [N. Luzon]

agkimat ‘to strike (lightning).’

agtudo ‘to rain’

Other Usage (2)

● **Ibatan** (Maree 2007) [Bashiic]

(a) *Maybahay=ako=na*.

house=Nom.1sg=now/already

‘I am presently constructing a house.’

(b) *Maytalon barot=aw ni akang*.

hump boil=A Gen older.sibling

‘Older sibling’s boil has formed a large hump/swelling.’

Other Usage (3)

● **Pangasinan** (Benton 1971) [S. Cordilleran, N. Luzon]

(a) *man-* as a reflex of *maR- (**without** nasal assimilation):

manpátanír=ak=la.

say.goodbye=Nom.1sg=already

‘I will say goodbye already.’

(b) *Nanlóto si Juan na báaw*.

cook Nom John Gen rice

‘John cooked rice.’

(c) *nanpékpek=ak na duég*.

hit=Nom.1sg Gen carabao

‘I hit a carabao.’

Other Usage (4)

- **Ibatan** (Maree 2007: 256, 288) [Bashiic]
 - (a) **Magyaman**=ako dyinyo.
thanks=Nom.1sg Lcv.2pl
'I thank you (pl).'
 - (b) **Agyaman**=ak.
thanks=Nom.1sg
'Thanks./ I am thankful.'

Observations and Conclusions (1)

- Reflexes of PAn/PMP *maR- are found to be associated with the following functions in Philippine languages:
 - Nominal: reciprocal relationship nouns
 - Verbal:
 - (i) reciprocal: for both stative and dynamic verbs
 - (ii) middle-related meanings
 - (iii) non-reciprocal, non-middle meanings

38

Observations and Conclusions (2)

- At least nine types of “middle”-related meanings are found to be associated with reflexes of *maR-:
 - Reflexive
 - Reciprocal
 - Grooming
 - Non-translational motion
 - Change in body posture
 - Translational motion
 - Positionals
 - Emotion middle
 - Cognition middle

39

Observations and Conclusions (3)

- Regular vs. irregular reflexes of *maR-:
 - In languages that have both regular and irregular reflexes of *maR- (e.g. Central Luzon languages and Alangan [Northern Mangyan]), regular reflexes are most commonly associated with reciprocal relationship nominal and/or reciprocal verbs.
 - However, irregular reflexes are most commonly associated with non-reciprocal functions (although occasionally they can also be associated with reciprocal verbs (but not reciprocal relationship nouns)).

40

Regular vs. Irregular Reflexes

- **Kapampangan** (Forman 1971:123, 103)

- (a) adúa=la=ng *mípaté*.
two=Nom.3pl=Lig Recp.fight
'They two fight each other.'
- (b) *magmanéu*=ya=ng *jíp*.
drive=Nom.3sg=Obl jeep
'He drives a jeep.'

Observations and Conclusions (4)

- Semantic extension of *maR-:
 - (i) reciprocal relationship nominal
 - (ii) reciprocal relationship stative predicate
 - (iii) stative reciprocal verbs
 - (iv) reciprocal verbs
 - (v) middle verbs (incl. reflexive, grooming, etc.)
 - (vi) other non-middle functions (both stative and dynamic intransitive verbs) [i.e. general 'Actor Voice' marker]

42

Selected References (1)

- Blust, Robert A. 2003. Three notes on early Austronesian morphology. *Oceanic Linguistics* 42(2):438-478.
- Blust, Robert. 2009. *The Austronesian languages*. Pacific Linguistics 602. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Davis, Bill. 1995. S.W. Palawano grammar. Ms. New Tribes Mission, Palawan.
- DuBois, Carl D. 1976. *Sarangani Manobo: An Introductory Guide*. Philippine Journal of Linguistics Special Monograph Issue Number 6 (LSP 6). Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Fukuda, Takashi. 1997. A discourse-oriented grammar of Eastern Bontoc. *Studies in Philippine Linguistics* 10(1):1-116.
- Heine, Bernd, and Tania Kuteva. 2002. *World lexicon of grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kemmer, Suzanne. 1993. *The middle voice*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino [KWF]. 2000. *Diksiyunaryong Filipino-English*. Manila: Komisyon sa Wikang Filipino.
- Lambrecht, Frans Hurbert, C.I.C.M. 1978. *Ifugaw-English dictionary*. Baguio City: The Catholic Vicar Apostolic of the Mountain Province.
- Li, Paul Jen-kuei. 1995. Formosan vs. non-Formosan features in some Austronesian languages in Taiwan. In *Austronesian studies relating to Taiwan*, ed. by Paul Jen-kuei Li, Cheng-hwa Tsang, Ying-kuei Huang, Dah-an Ho, and Chiu-yu Tseng, 651-681. Symposium Series of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Number 3. Taipei: Academia Sinica.
- Maree, Rundell D. 2007. *Ibatan: A grammatical sketch of the language of Babuyan Claro Island*. Linguistic Society of the Philippines Special Monograph Issue, Number 53. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.

43

Selected References (2)

- Ross, Malcolm D. 1995. Reconstructing Proto-Austronesian verbal morphology: Evidence from Taiwan. In *Austronesian studies relating to Taiwan*, ed. by Paul Jen-kuei Li, Cheng-hwa Tsang, Ying-kuei Huang, Dah-an Ho, and Chiu-yu Tseng, 727-791. Symposium Series of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Number 3. Taipei: Academia Sinica.
- Ruffolo, Roberta. 2004. *Topics in the Morpho-syntax of Ibaloy, Northern Philippines*. Canberra: Australian National University dissertation.
- Rubino, Carl Ralph Galvez. 2000. *Ilocano dictionary and grammar*. PALI Language Texts. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Shetler, Joanne. 1976. *Notes on Balangao grammar*. Language Data: Asian-Pacific Series No. 9. Huntington Beach: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Wolfenden, Elmer P., comp. 2001. *A Masbateno-English dictionary*. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Wolff, John U. 1972. *A dictionary of Cebuano Visayan*. Philippine Journal of Linguistics Special Monograph Issue Number 4. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Zeitoun, Elizabeth. 2002. Reciprocals in Formosan languages. Paper presented at the 9th International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics (9-ICAL), Australian National University, Canberra, Australia, January 8-11, 2002.
- Zeitoun, Elizabeth. 2010. On the reconstruction of reciprocal prefixes in PAn based on Formosan data. Guest Lecture: LING581500: Comparative Austronesian Morphosyntax (南島語之形態句法比較與重建), Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Tsing Hua University (國立清華大學語言學研究所), Hsinchu, Taiwan, November 24, 2010.
- Zorc, R. David. 1977. *The Bisayan dialects of the Philippines: Subgrouping and reconstruction*. Pacific Linguistics C-44. Canberra: Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.

44