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The Development of Benefactive Affect Verbs in Philippine Languages: Some Implications for Comparative Austronesian Linguistics


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## Benefactive Affect Verbs

- Verbs carrying a **beneficiary-affect** feature ([+bfct]) that implies the interpretation of the Nominative (or Absolutive) NP as a **benefactive/beneficiary** of an action.

- Formerly referred to as "Benefactive/Beneficiary Focus" verbs.

- Reconstructed Proto-Austronesian formative ("instrumental passive"; "circumstantial voice"): *Si- (Ross 1995, 2002a, 2002b)

- Reconstructed Proto-Malayo-Polynesian formatives: *i-, *ipaN-, *ipaR- (Ross 2002a, 2002b), or *hi- (Liao 2004)

## Objectives

❖ To give an overview of the formal marking of benefactive affect verbs (in the *indicative* mood only) in the Austronesian languages spoken in the Philippines.

❖ To suggest some implications for comparative Austronesian linguistics (based on the formation of benefactive affect verbs).

## Philippine Microgroups

1) Bashiic/Batanic
2) Northern Luzon/Cordilleran
3) Central Luzon
4) Inati
5) Kalamian
6) Greater Central Philippines (Central Philippines, South Mangyan, Palawanic, Manobo, Danaw, Subanun, *Gorontalic*)
7) Bilic
8) *Sangiric*
9) *Minahasan*

## Bashiic BF Verbs-I

Central Ivatan [*ʔi-*: BF]

a. *ʔi*pakboal no    tao    so  danom **ʔo  kayva=na**.
   boil.for  Gen man  Obl water  Def  friend=Gen.3s
   'The man is boiling water for his friend.'

Southern Ivatan [*ipaN-*: BF]
b. **Ipang**mung    ñi   Kwan  **si   Kusi**.
   catch.fish.for  Gen John   Nom Jose
   'John catches fish for Jose.'

## Bashiic BF Verbs-II

Itbayat [*ipaN-*: BF]

a. **ipan**aliw=ko=**imo**          so   niya.
   buy.for=Gen.1s=Nom.2s  Obl  this
   'I buy this for you (sg.).'

Ibatan [*i-...-an*: BF]
b. *i*yahap**an** ni  Juan   **si    Fredo**.
   get.for    Gen John   Nom  Fredo
   'John is getting it for Fredo.'

## Proto-Bashiic BF Verbs

**Proto-Bashiic: \*ʔipaN-; (\*ʔi-)**

❖Central Ivatan: *ʔipaN-*; *ʔi-*

❖Southern Ivatan: *ipaN-*; (*i-*; *ipay-* [<\*ipaR-])

❖Itbayat: *ipaN-*

❖Ibatan: *i-…-an*

## N.Luzon BF Verbs: Ilokano

Ilokano [*-án*: BF]

a. s*in*aksi*án*=mi       **ti**    **lakáy**.
  Perf.testify.for=Gen.1pe  Core  old.man
  'We (ex.) testified for the old man.'

Ilokano [*i-…-an*: BF]

b. *in*dait*ak*        **ni**   **Maria** iti  bado.
  Perf.sew.for+Gen.1s Core Mary Obl dress
  (*in-*…*-a*k < *-in-* 'Perf' + *i-…-an* + =*ku* 'Gen.1s')
  'I sewed a dress for Mary.'

## N.Luzon BF Verbs: Arta

Arta [*i-…-án*: BF]

*Ni*ratang*an* ni  olitawi  **i/ay maditi** ta  kendi.
bought.for  Gen bachelor Spec maiden  Obl candy

'The bachelor bought the lady some candies.'

## N.Luzon BF Verbs: N.Cordilleran-Ia

Isnag [*paN-* vs. *pang-*: BF]

a. *Pan*alta:g na  tolay  **ya**  **baʔbakat**.
  cut.wood Gen man  Def old.woman
  'The man cuts a piece of wood for the old woman.'
  [*pan*alta:g < *paN-* + *talta:g*]

b. *Pang*talta:g na  tolay  **ya**  **baʔbakat**.
  cut.wood    Gen man  Def old.woman
  'The man cuts wood for the old woman.'

Barlaan (1999:47): "The *pag-* affix conveys the plurality of the Goal; *pang-* is not specific as to the number of Goal, and *paN-* and *i-* conveys the singularity of the Goal."

## N.Luzon BF Verbs: N.Cordilleran-Ib

Isnag [*pag-* vs. *i-*: BF]

a. *Pag*talta:g na tolay  **ya baʔbakat**.
  cut.wood Gen man  Def old.woman
  'The man cuts some wood for the old woman.'

b. *I*kara:rag na  baʔbakat  **ya anʔanaʔ a magtakit**.
  pray.for  Gen old.woman Def child     Lig sick
  'The old woman will pray for the sick child.'

## N.Luzon BF Verbs: N.Cordilleran-Ic

Ga'dang [*i-…-an*: BF]

a. *i*lletratuw*ang*=ku      **i**    **Juami**.
  photograph.for=Gen.1s Nom Juami
  'I will take pictures for Juami.'

b. *i*mul*an*=nu      **ino bakat**  si  gassilang.
  plant.for=Gen.2s Def old.lady Lcv yams
  'You (sg.) plant yams for the old lady.'

## N.Luzon BF Verbs: Meso-Cordilleran-I

<u>Northern Alta</u> [*i-... -an*: BF]
***I*binéliy*an*** nən ulétaw **in madiʔit** ti kendi=ʔi.
bought.for that.Gen bachelor Spec maiden Obl candy=Spec
'The bachelor bought some candy for the lady.'

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## N.Luzon BF Verbs: Meso-Cordilleran-II

<u>Pangasinan</u> [*i-...-án*: BF]
a. ***I*saliw*án*=**to=**tayó**=y pising.
buy.for=Gen.3s=Nom.1pi=Obl vegetable
'He will buy vegetables for us (in.).'

<u>Eastern Bontok</u> [*i-...-an*: BF]
b. ***I*filang*an*** Pedro **hen anak=na**.
count.for Pedro Def child=Gen.3s
'Pedro counts for his child.'

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## Proto-Northern Luzon BF Verbs

**Proto-Northern Luzon: \*ʔi-…-an**

❖Ilokano: *i-…-an*; *-an*

❖Arta: *i-…-an*

❖Northern Cordilleran:
  - Cagayan Valley: *i-…-an*; *-an*; *i-*; *(i)pag-*; *paN-*; *pang-*
  - Northeastern Luzon: *i-*; *(i)pag-*, *(i)paN-*

❖Meso-Cordilleran:
  - South-Central Cordilleran: *ʔi-….-an*
  - Altan: *i-…-an*

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## Central Luzon BF Verbs-I

<u>Halitaq Baytan (Sambal Ayta)</u> [*(ʔi)paN-*: BF]
a. ***(ʔi)pang*wa** ni Pidro **hi Marya** nin bulaklak nubuka.
get.for Gen Pedro Nom Maria Gen flower tomorrow
'Pedro will get a flower for Maria tomorrow.'

<u>Kapampangan</u> [*paN-*: BF]
b. ***Piny*ali=ne=ng** libru ning anak **i Maria**.
bought.for=Gen.3s+Nom.3s=Obl book Gen child Nom Maria
'The child bought Maria a book.'

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## Central Luzon BF Verbs-II

<u>Kapampangan</u> [*pag-*: BF]
a. ***Pag*dalá=no=ng** sampágang Pedrítu **ding maístra**.
bring=Gen.3p+Nom.3p=Obl flower Pedrito Def.pl teacher
'Pedrito will bring flowers for the teachers.'

<u>Kapampangan</u> [*i-*: BF]
b. ***i*gawá=ne=ŋ** piyálúŋan Pédru **iŋ anák**.
make.for=Gen.3s+Nom.3s=Obl toy Pedro Def child
'Pedro will make a toy for the child.'

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## Proto-Central Luzon BF Verbs

**Proto-Central Luzon: \*ʔipaN-**

❖Ayta Mag-antsi: **paN-/pag-**

❖Botolan Sambal: **(i)paN-/pag-**; **(i)pangi-**

❖Halitaq Baytan (Sambal Ayta): **ʔipaN-**

❖Kapampangan: **(i)pan-/(i)pang-**; **(i)pag-**; **i-**

## Kalamian BF Verbs

Kalamian Tagbanwa [-*an* vs. *i*-: BF]

a. t*in*ungul*an*=**aw**                    ni Tinuy ta    saleng.
   ascended.mountain=Nom.1s Gen Tinuy Obl pitch.pine
   'Tinuy ascended the mountain (to get) pitch pine for me.'

b. *itin*ungul=**aw**                    ni Tinuy ta kasuy.
   ascended.mountain=Nom.1s Gen Tinuy Obl cashew.nuts
   'Tinuy ascended the mountain (to get) cashew nuts for me.'

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## Proto-Kalamian BF Verbs

**Proto-Kalamian: *-*an***

❖Kalamian Tagbanwa: -*an*; *i*-

❖Agutaynen: -*an*

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## GCPh BF Verbs: Central Philippines-Ia

Tagalog [*i*- vs. –*(h)an*: BF]
a. *I*b*in*ili=ko=**siya**.              [most common]
b. b*in*ili=ko=**siya**.                [less formal]
c. b*in*il*han*=ko=**siya**.
   bought.for=Gen.1s=Nom.3s
   'I bought for her.'

\*\*\**binili* appears to be the reduced form of *ibinili*.

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## GCPh BF Verbs: Central Philippines-Ib

Kinaray-a [-*an* vs. *i-…-an*: BF]
a. Loto*an*=ko          kang dapli **si    tatay**.
   cook.for=Gen.1s Obl   viand Nom father
   'I will cook viand for father.'

b. *I*bakl*an*=ko        kang tinapay **ang bata**.
   buy.for=Gen.1s Obl bread     Def child
   'I will buy bread for the child.'
   (also *Baklan=ko **ang bata** kang tinapay*.)

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## Greater Central Philippine BF Verbs

**Proto-Greater Central Philippines: *-*an*; *hi*-**

❖Central Philippines: *hi-/ʔi-/i-*; -*an*; *ipag*-; *i-…-an*

❖Palawanic: -*an*

❖Danao: -*an*; *i*-

❖Manobo: -*an*

❖South Mangyan: ??

❖Subanun: -*an*

❖*Gorontalic*: ??

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## Philippine BF Verbs-Distribution I

● Benefactive affect verbs are found in the following Philippine microgroups:

– **Bashiic/Batanic**: (*ʔ*)*ipaN*-; ((*ʔ*)*i*-; *ipay*-); *i-…-an*
– **Northern Luzon/Cordilleran**: *ʔi-…-an*; (*ʔi*)*pag*-; (*ʔi*)*paN*-; *pang*-; -*an*; *ʔi*
– **Central Luzon**: (*ʔi*)*paN*-/ (*ʔi*)*pag*-;  *i-*;  (*i*)*pangi*-
– **Greater Central Philippines**: *hi-/ʔi-/i-*; -*an*; *hipag*-/ *ʔipag*-/ *ipag*-; *i-…-an*
– **Kalamian**: -*an*; *i*-

## Philippine BF Verbs-Distribution II

- Benefactive affect verbs are *not yet* found in the following Philippine microgroups:
  - **Inati**
  - **Bilic**: Tboli, Blaan

## BF Verbs-Reconstructions

- **PAn: *Si-**
- **PMP: *hi-**; ??*hi-…-an
- Proto-Bashiic: *ʔipaN-; ??*ʔi-
- Proto-Northern Luzon: *ʔi-…-an
- Proto-Central Luzon: *ʔipaN-
- Proto-Kalamian: **-an**; ??*i-
- Proto-Greater Central Philippines: **-an**; *hi-;
  - Proto-Central Philippines: **-an**; *hi-
  - Proto-Palawanic: **-an**
  - Proto-Danao: **-an**; ??*i-
  - Proto-Manobo: **-an**
  - Proto-Subanun: **-an**

## Kavalan BF Verbs: *Si-…-an

Kavalan [*ti-* vs. *ti-…-an*: BF]

a. *ti*saʔmay ni tama **ti=tina**.
   cook.for Gen Father Prsn=Mother
   'Father cooked for Mother.'

b. *ti*ktun*an*na ni Abas tu təbus **a ci Aun**.
   cut.into.half.?3s Gen Abas Obl sugarcane Nom Prsn Aun

   'Abas cut sugarcane into half for Aun.'

## Implications-1a

❖ The use of reflexes of **Si-…-an** to form benefactive affect verbs is the result of *independent innovation*, or *drift*.

➢ Reflexes of *Si-, *-ən, and *-an are found in a great majority of Philippine languages (and Kavalan).

➢ One might suppose that it should be possible for benefactive affect verbs to be expressed by either reflexes of **Si-…-an** or reflexes of **Si-…-ən**.

➢ However, reflexes of **Si-…-ən** are *not* found in any Philippine languages (and Kavalan).

## Implications-1b

❖ The use of reflexes of **Si-…-an** to form benefactive affect verbs is the result of *direct inheritance from Proto-Austronesian*.

➢ **Si-…-an** is reconstructible to **Proto-Austronesian**, and is retained as *ti-…-an* in Kavalan and as **hi-…-an** in PMP, and then as (*ʔ)i-…-an* in Proto-Northern Luzon, Ibatan [Bashiic], and Kinaray-a and Irigueño [Central Philippines].

## Implications-1c-I

❖ The use of reflexes of *Si-…-an to form benefactive affect verbs is the result of *an innovation shared exclusively* by Kavalan and Philippine languages.

➢ *Si-…-an is reconstructible to **the ancestral language of both Proto-East Formosan and Proto-Malayo-Polynesian**. However, this ancestral language is *not* Proto-Austronesian, but a daughter language of Proto-Austronesian. Tentatively, it is referred to as **Proto-East-Formosan-Malayo-Polynesian**.

➢ The nonexistence of reflexes of **Si-…-an** in other East Formosan languages and other Malayo-Polynesian languages can be explained as *massive drift* towards **simplification of the system**, either by loss of **Si-** or by loss of **-an**.

## Implications-1c-II

❖ Philippine languages might be more closely related to Kavalan (or possibly to the entire East Formosan group) than what Austronesianists have generally assumed.

  ❖ Kavalan and Proto-Northern Luzon, Ibatan [Bashiic], and Kinaray-a and Irigueño [Central Philippines] use reflexes of **\*Si-…-an** to express **BENEFACTIVE AFFECT** verbs (Kavalan *ti-…-an*; Northern Luzon languages, Ibatan, Kinaray-a, and Irigueño *(ʔ)i-…-an*).

  ❖ **INSTRUMENTAL AFFECT** verbs in these languages still retain reflexes of PAn **\*Si-** /PMP \*hi- (i.e., Kavalan *ti-*; Proto-Northern Luzon, Ibatan, and Kinaray-a and Irigueño *(ʔ)i-*).

## Implications-1c-III

❖ **Problem 1:** The source of *ti-…-an* in Kavalan is unclear. It is not clear whether *ti-…-an* is a directly inherited form from Proto-East Formosan or is a formative borrowed from Trobiawan, a dialect of North Ketagalan (or Basay) [East Formosan] (Li 1996:74-76).

❖ **Problem 2:** The expected reflex of **\*Si-…-an** in Kavalan should be **\*\*si-…-an**. If *ti-…-an* is a directly inherited form from Proto-East Formosan, then it must have been an **irregular reflex** of \*Si-…-an.

## Implications-2a

❖ Reflexes of \*-*an* appear to have gradually replaced reflexes of PAn \*Si- or PMP \*hi- in the formation of benefactive affect verbs, especially in Tagalog areas and southward.

❖ The widespread use of -*an* as a formative of **benefactive affect** verbs might be the result of *drift*, rather than the result of direct inheritance from PMP.

## Implications-2b

❖ **Source 1:** –*an* verbs might have expanded their territory from "locative affect" verbs to both "locative affect" and "benefactive affect" verbs.

❖ **Source 2:** –*an* **benefactive affect** verbs might have been the result of simplification of the complex formative \*Si-…-an or \*hi-…-an by dropping \*Si- or \*hi-.

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