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**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.'

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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.'

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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.

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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]

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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-*)

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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-* [mɨn 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'

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Reciprocal Nouns (1)

- **Ilokano** (Vanoverbergh 1955:130, 132, 233) [N. Luzon]

  *ag*amá (< ***ag-*** + *amá*) 'father and son'

  *ag*asáwa (< ***ag-*** + *asáwa*) 'married couple'

  *ag*iná (< ***ag-*** + *iná* 'mother') 'mother and child'

  *ag*ulitég (< ***ag-*** + *ulitég 'uncle'*) 'uncle and nephew (or niece)'

- **Isnag** (Barlaan 1999: 53) [N. Cordilleran, N. Luzon]

  *Mag*patay daya ***mag***ama.

  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 ***mi***akay do jia.

  come=Nom.3pl Recp.grandfather Lcv here

  'The grandfather and grandson came here.'

  (b) to ***mi***kalópkop=sira *om*lavi a ***mi***ina.

  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.'
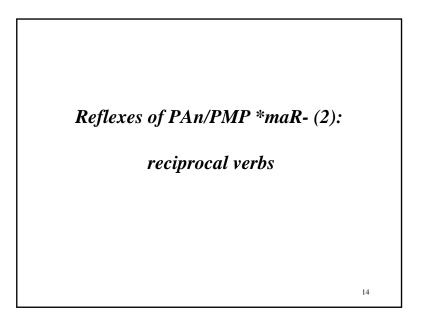
Reciprocal Nouns (3)

- **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-*.

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

reciprocal verbs

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Reciprocal Verbs (1)

- **Ibatan** (Maree 2007) [Bashiic]
  *May*kepkep=sa.
  Recp.hug=Nom.3pl
  'They hug each other.'

- **Yami** (Rau and Dong 2006) [Bashiic]
  to   *mika*lópkop=sira   *om*lavi   a   *mi*ina.
  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   *mi*patsi.
      Neg=Nom.2pl Recp.argue
      'Don't argue!'

  (b) *Mi*lupa=hila=y   kambal.
      Recp.look.alike=Nom.3pl=Nom twins
      'The twins look alike.'

- **Kapampangan** (Forman 1971) [C. Luzon]
  adúa=la=ng   *mí*paté.
  two=Nom.3pl=Lig   Recp.fight
  'They two fight each other.'

Reciprocal Verbs (3)

- **Isnag** (Barlaan 1999) [N. Cordilleran, N. Luzon]
  (a) ***Mag***su:lung   daya   anna:naq.
      Recp.punch   Spec.pl   children
       'The children are fistfighting.'

  (b) ***Mag***singan=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   ***nanbe***bakal   ira.
  ʔəmindakəl   ja   **nan.CV**.bakal   ʔida
  often/many.times   Lig   Pfv.Rec.fight   Nom.3pl
  'Many times they fought (each other).'

Reciprocal Verbs (4)

- **Tagalog** (Schachter and Otanes 1972:341) [C. Phil]
  *Nag*kita‒kita=sila.
  Pfv.Recp.pl.see=Nom.3pl
  'They (more than two) saw one another.'

- Central Tagbanwa (Scebold 2003:81) [C. Phil]
  Dakami   ***nag***tarɨng.
  Neg.Nom.1pl.excl   Pfv.Recp.converse
  'We (excl) didn't converse.'

Reciprocal Verbs (5)

- <u>**Alangan**</u> (Dimaano 2005) [Northern Mangyan]
  *Mal*pangkit 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. "
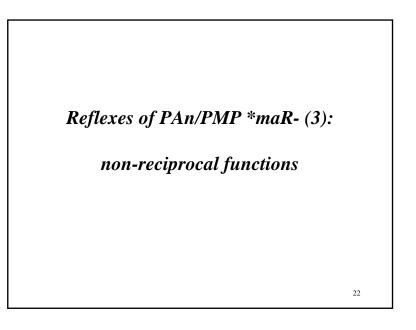
Reciprocal Verbs (6)

- 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) *Ags***inn**urat=da.
      Recp.write=Nom.3pl
      'They write one another.'

  (b) *lin***nn**emmengán 'hide-and-seek game' (< *lemméng* 'hide')
      *ti***nn**aráy 'racing with one another' (< *taráy* 'run')
      *pi***nn**itákan 'throwing mud at one another' (<*pítak* 'mud')

- ***agsinCV-***: (obs.) prefix of reciprocity. ***Agsintu***tulong*kami*. 'We (excl) help each other.' (Rubino 2000:17)

Reciprocal Verbs (7)

<u>Balangao</u> [Northern Luzon] (*man ʔahe-/man--enn- / man ʔahe- -enn-* 'reciprocal')

(a) *man ʔahe*songbat./*man*senn*ongbat./*man ʔahe*senn*ongbat.
    Recp.answer
    'Answer each other.'

(b) *man ʔahe*sokat= ʔayu   lumbong=yu.
    Recp.trade=Nom.2pl   clothes=Gen.2pl
    'You (pl) trade clothes with each other.'

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

non-reciprocal functions

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Reflexive

- <u>Ayta Mag-antsi (Storck and Storck 2005:190)</u>
  *mag*pakamatsi (v.) 'to commit suicide'

- <u>Tagalog</u> (Pittman 1966:12)
  mag-: **reflexive** (cf. *-um-*: non-reflexive)
  *mag*gamót 'to treat one's self for an illness'
     (cf. *gumamót* 'to treat illness')
  *mag*sanay 'to train one's self'
     (cf. *sumanay* 'to train others')

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Grooming (1)

- **Ibatan** (Maree 2007:233, 236)
  *May*laylay=ako.
   clothes=Nom.1sg
   'I dress (myself).'

- **Ayta Mag-antsi** (Storck and Storck 2005:191)
   Baling yabi   *mag*sipilyo hila.
   every evening brush.teeth Nom.3pl
   'Every evening they brush their teeth.'

Grooming (2)

- **Ilokano** **(Rubino 2000)**
  *ag*digos   'to bathe'
  *ag*tsinelas 'to wear slippers; put on slippers'
  *ag*bado   'to wear a dress; to change into a dress'

Translational Motion (1)

- **Botolan Sambal** (Antworth 1979:73)
  *Mag*bira=hila   nobokah   ha mahilem.
  return=Nom.3pl tomorrow Fut afternoon
  'They'll return tomorrow afternoon.'

- **Kakilingan Sambal** (Yamashita 1992:50)
  *mag*bida   'to go'
  mag-odong   'to return'

Translational Motion (2)

- **Isnag** (Barlaan 1999: 38)
  (a) *Mag*ta:law.
      run.away
      '(He) will run away.'
  (b) *Nag*languy   ya   an-anaq.
      Pfv.swim   Spec child
      'The child swam (for a long time).'

- Central Tagbanwa (Scebold 2003:88)
  … *mag*laod=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]
  *mandok*dokól '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

- <u>**Yami**</u> (Rau and Dong 2006:107) [Bashiic]
  *mita*tanek 'stand'

Emotion Middle (1)

- **Isnag** (Barlaan 1999) [N. Luzon]
  *Mag*anggam me Kathy.
  happy   Pers Kathy
  'Kathy is happy.'

- **Kakilingan Sambal** (Yamashita 1992) [C. Luzon]
  *mag*hehè   'to repent'
  mag-*ispantá* 'to be surprised'

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Emotion Middle (2)

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

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Cognition Middle

Kalinga, Limos (Ferreirinho 1993:112) [N. Luzon]
(a) *nan*tigammu
   Pfv.know
   'S/he knows.'

(b) *Nantitig*tigammu=da   amin.
   Pfv.Recp.pl.know=Nom.3pl all
   'They all got to know each other.'

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Other Usage (1): Weather Verbs

● **Isnag** (Barlaan 1999: 19) [N. Cordilleran, N. Luzon]
  *Mag*udan. 'It's raining. '
  *Mag*ba:li. 'It's windy/ It's blowing.'

● Ilokano (Rubino 2000) [N. Luzon]
  *ag*kimat 'to strike (lightning).'
  *ag*tudo   'to rain'

Other Usage (2)

● <u>**Ibatan**</u> (Maree 2007) [Bashiic]
 (a) *May*bahay=ako=na.
   house=Nom.1sg=now/already
   'I am presently constructing a house.'

 (b) *May*talon barot=aw ni   akang.
   hump   boil=A   Gen older.sibling
   'Older sibling's boil has formed a large hump/
swelling.'

Other Usage (3)

● <u>**Pangasinan**</u> (Benton 1971) [S. Cordilleran, N. Luzon]
(a) *man-* as a reflex of *maR- (<u>**without**</u> nasal assimilation):
   *man*pátanír=ak=la.
   say.goodbye=Nom.1sg=already
   'I will say goodbye already.'

(b) *Nan*lóto si   Juan   na báaw.
   cook   Nom John Gen rice
   'John cooked rice.'

(c) *nan*pékpek=ak na   duég.
   hit=Nom.1sg   Gen carabao
   'I hit a carabao.'

Other Usage (4)

- **Ibatan** (Maree 2007: 256, 288) [Bashiic]

  (a) *Mag*yaman=ako   dyinyo.
      thanks=Nom.1sg   Lcv.2pl
      'I thank you (pl).'

  (b) *Ag*yaman=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

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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

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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).

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Regular vs. Irregular Reflexes

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

(a) adúa=la=ng *mí*paté.
two=Nom.3pl=Lig Recp.fight
'They two fight each other.'

(b) *mag*manéu=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]

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