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The Development of So-called "Instrumental Focus" Verbs in Philippine Languages

Hsiu-chuan Liao

National Tsing Hua University, Taiwan

Objectives

❖ To discuss the distribution and the development of three types of "instrumental focus" verbs in the Austronesian languages spoken in the Philippines

  ❖ *instrument-affect* verbs

  ❖ *theme-affect* verbs

  ❖ *benefactive-affect* verbs

"Instrumental Focus" Verbs (1)

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

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

"Instrumental Focus" Verbs (2)

● meanings associated with "IF" verbs in PAn: (Wolff 1973:79)

  – *instrument-affect verbs*: verbs in which the Nominative phrase (or "focused NP") is the *instrument* or the *means* of the action

  – *theme-affect verbs*: verbs in which the Nominative phrase is the *direct recipient* of the action (typically verbs which refer to *an action of conveying*, or *doing something in a direction away from the agent*)

  – *benefactive-affect verbs*: verbs in which the Nominative phrase is the *beneficiary* of the action

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*

instrument-affect verbs

Bashiic

Central Ivatan [*ʔi-*]

a. *Ǯi*tarip   no   tao   so/do wakay   ʔo   ʔ**ipangan**.
   peel.with Gen man Obl sweet.potato Spec knife
   'The man is peeling sweet potato **with a knife**.'

Itbayat [*ipaN-*]

b. *Ipang*ngamong ni   paking   **o**   **pana**.
   fish.with   Gen Paking Spec spear.gun
   'Paking fished **with the spear-gun**.'

Northern Luzon (1)

Karao [*i-*]

a. *I*ponas   na   nga-ng(a)=**iy towalje**=d chet-al.
   wipe.with Gen child=Nom towel=Obl floor
   'The child will use **the towel** to wipe the floor.'

Ilokano [*pag-*]

b. *Pag*dáit=na   **ti**   **dágum**.
   sew.with=Gen.3sg Core needle
   'He used **the needle** to sew.'

Northern Luzon (2a)

Isnag [*pag-*/*pang-*/*paN-*]

a. ***Pag***si?la:t na tolay ka bu:lu **ya aliwa**.
   split.with Gen man Obl.dist bamboo Nom.prox knife
   'The man split some pieces of bamboo **with the knife**.'

b. ***Pang***si?la:t na tolay ka bu:lu **ya aliwa**.
   split.with Gen man Obl.dist bamboo Nom.prox knife
   'The man split bamboo **with the knife**.'

c. ***Pan***i?la:t na tolay ka bu:lu **ya aliwa**.
   split.with Gen man Obl.dist bamboo Nom.prox knife
   'The man split a piece of bamboo **with the knife**.'

Northern Luzon (2b)

Barlaan (1999:44):

- The Instrument role prefix ***pag-*** conveys the meaning that the splitting of bamboo is done many times; consequently, the Goal is plural and the duration of the action is relatively long.

- Unless the number of bamboo pieces is specified, the prefix ***pang-*** is ambiguous as to the number of times the action was repeated. The Goal is not singular, but it is lesser in number than the Goal of the clause with the affix ***pag-***.

- The affix ***paN-*** definitely implies that only one piece of bamboo was split and therefore that the action was performed only once.

Central Luzon

Botolan Sambal [*ipaN-*]

   Ipamati nin lalaki nin damowag **ya koyà**.
   kill.with Gen man Obl carabao Spec knife
   'The man will kill a carabao **with the knife**.'

Kalamian

Kalamian Tagbanwa [*i-* and *ipaN-*]

a. ***I***sinaɣep=na **yang kalima=na=ng wala** tung bula?.
   caught=Gen.3sg Spec hand=Gen.3sg=Lig left Obl ball
   'He caught a ball **with his left hand**.'

b. ***Ip***inangali ni nulay ta kapari
   dug.up Gen Nulay Obl kapari.root
   yang sukan=u.
   Spec digging.tool=Gen.1sg
   'Nulay dup up some *kapari* root **with my digging tool**.'

Greater Central Philippines (1)

<u>Mamanwa</u> [*in-* (with assimilation) 'Pfv of *i-*']

a.***Ing***karis=nao   pagdazaw **ya   badi**.
   Pfv.scrape.with=Gen.1sg well   Spec knife
   'I scraped well **with the knife**.'

<u>Romblomanon</u> [*ʔi-*]

b.*ʔi*puypug=ku   ʔang **martilyu** sa   batu.
   pound.with=Gen.1sg Spec hammer Obl stone
   'I will pound a stone **with the hammer**.'

Greater Central Philippines (2)

<u>Tagalog</u> [*ipang-*]

a.***Ipinang***punas=ko   **ang   panyo**.
   Pfv.wipe.with=Gen.1sg Spec handkerchief
   'I wiped with the handkerchief.'

b. ***Ipinang***palò=niyá **ang batutà** sa kanilá.
   hit.with=Gen.3sg Spec club   Loc.3pl
   'He hit them **with the club**.'

Interim Summary

● Formatives associated with **instrument-affect verbs** in various Philippine microgroups:

  – **Bashiic**: **(*ʔ*)*ipaN-*; (*ʔ*)*i-*; *ipay-***

  – **Northern Luzon/Cordilleran**: **(*ʔi*)*pag-*; (*ʔi*)*paN-*; *pang*-; *ʔi-***

  – **Central Luzon**: **(*ʔi*)*paN-*/ (*ʔi*)*pag-*; *i-***

  – **Greater Central Philippines**: *hi-*/*ʔi-*/*i-*; (*ʔi*)*paN-*

  – **Kalamian**: *i-*, *ipaN-*

theme-affect verbs

Bashiic

Southern Ivatan [*i-*]

*I*sun   ñi marya **u alat** anchi ji chanaryan.
carry.on.head Gen Mary Spec basket Dem Loc Chanaryan
'Mary will carry (on her head) **the basket** in Chanaryan.'

Northern Luzon

Karao [*i-*]
a. *i*chetog na   nga-ng(a)=**iy batho**.
   throw Gen child=Nom   rock
   'The child will throw **the rock**.'

Limos Kalinga [*in-* (with assimilation) 'Pfv of *i-*']
b. *im*pakuy dit abeng[=**a adalom din wangwang**].
   shout   Det child=Lig deep   Det river
   'The child shouted **that the river is deep**.'

Central Luzon

Botolan Sambal [*in-* 'Pfv of *ʔi-*']

a. *in*tapon ni Juan **ya   bato** ha anak.
   Pfv.throw Gen Juan Spec stone Obl child
   'Juan threw **the stone** to a child.'

Kapampangan [*i-*]

b. *i*paník=mu=**la**   kang imá=mu.
   take.up=Gen.2sg=Nom.3pl Obl mother=Gen.2sg
   'You (sg.) take **them** up to your mother.'

Kalamian

Agutaynen [*i-*]

*I*torol=lo   **tang mano** ong da   Pedro.
Irr.give=Gen.1sg Nom chicken Obl.pers.pl Pedro
'I will give **the chicken** to Pedro and his companions.'

Greater Central Philippines

Masbatenyo [*i-*]

a.*in*butang=ko **idto** sa sulod san aparador.
   put=Gen.1sg that.Nom Loc inside Gen cupboard
   'I put **that** inside the cupboard.'

Romblomanon [*ʔi-*]

b. *ʔi*pilak=niya **ʔang lāta**.
   throw=Gen.3sg Spec can
   'He will throw **the can**.'

Interim Summary

● Formative associated with **theme-affect verbs** in various Philippine microgroups:

  – **Bashiic/Batanic**: (*ʔ*)*i-*

  – **Northern Luzon/Cordilleran**: (*ʔ*)*i-*

  – **Central Luzon**: (*ʔ*)*i-*

  – **Greater Central Philippines**: (*ʔ*)*i-*

  – **Kalamian**: (*ʔ*)*i-*

beneficiary-affect verbs

Bashiic (1)

Central Ivatan [*ʔi-*]

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

Southern Ivatan [*ipaN-*]

b. *Ipang*mung ñi Kwan **si Kusi**.
   catch.fish.for Gen John Nom Jose
   'John catches fish for Jose.'

Bashiic (2)

Itbayat [*ipaN-*]

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

Ibatan [*i-…-an*]

b. *i*yahap*an* ni   Juan   **si**   **Fredo**.
   get.for   Gen   John   Nom   Fredo
   'John is getting it for Fredo.'

Northern Luzon (1)

Ilokano [*-án*]

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

Ilokano [*i-...-an*]

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

Northern Luzon (2)

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

a. *Pag*talta:g   na   tolay   **ya**   **baʔbakat**.
   cut.wood.for   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.'

Northern Luzon (3)

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

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."

Central Luzon (1)

<u>Halitaq Baytan (Sambal Ayta)</u> **[(ʔi)paN-]**

a. *(ʔi)pang*wa ni Pidro **hi Marya** nin bulaklak nubuka.
   get.for   Gen Pedro Nom Maria Obl flower   tomorrow
   'Pedro will get a flower for Maria tomorrow.'

<u>Kapampangan</u> [*paN-*]

b. *Pin*yali=ne=ng   libru ning anak **i   Maria**.
   bought.for=Gen.3sg+Nom.3sg=Obl book Gen child Nom Maria
   'The child bought Maria a book.'

Central Luzon (2)

<u>Kapampangan</u> [*pag-*]

a. *Pag*dalá=no=ng   sampágang Pedrítu **ding maístra**.
   bring=Gen.3pl+Nom.3pl=Obl flower   Pedrito Spec.pl teacher
   'Pedrito will bring flowers for the teachers.'

<u>Kapampangan</u> [*i-*]

b. *i*gawá=ne=ŋ   piyálúŋan Pédru **iŋ   anák**.
   make.for=Gen.3sg+Nom.3sg=Obl toy   Pedro Spec child
   'Pedro will make a toy for the child.'

Kalamian

<u>Kalamian Tagbanwa</u> [*-an* vs. *i-*]

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

b. *i*t*in*ungul=**aw**   ni   Tinuy ta   kasuy.
   ascended.mountain=Nom.1sg Gen Tinuy Obl cashew.nuts
   'Tinuy ascended the mountain (to get) cashew nuts for
   me.'

Greater Central Philippine (1)

<u>Tagalog</u> [*i-* vs. *–(h)an*]

a. *I*b*in*ili=ko=**siya**   ng bulaklak.
b. b*in*ili=ko=**siya**   ng bulaklak.
c. b*in*il*han*=ko=**siya**   ng bulaklak.
   bought.for=Gen.1sg=Nom.3sg Obl flower
   'I bought some flowers **for her**.'

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

Greater Central Philippine (2)

Kinaray-a [*-an* vs. *i-…-an*]

a. Loto*an*=ko   kang dapli **si tatay**.
   cook.for=Gen.1sg Obl viand Nom father
   'I will cook viand for father.'

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

Interim Summary

● Formatives associated with **benefactive-affect verbs** in various 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-**

Observation (1)

● The three types of "Instrumental Focus" verbs underwent different development in various microgroups of Philippine languages.

● In most, if not all, Philippine languages, ***theme-affect verbs*** (i.e. verbs typically refer to an action of conveying) are formed with **reflexes of PAn *Si-/ PMP *hi-**.

Observation (2)

● Unlike theme-affect verbs, ***instrument-affect verbs*** are formed with a number of formatives in various microgroups of Philippine languages.

   – **Bashiic**: **(ʔ)ipaN-**; **(ʔ)i-**; **ipay-**

   – **Northern Luzon/Cordilleran**: **(ʔi)pag-**; **(ʔi)paN-**; **pang-**; **ʔi-**

   – **Central Luzon**: **(ʔi)paN-/ (ʔi)pag-**; **i-**

   – **Greater Central Philippines**: **hi-/ʔi-/i-**; **(ʔi)paN-**

   – **Kalamian**: **i-**, **ipaN-**

Observation (3)

● Similarly, ***benefactive-affect verbs*** are also formed with a number of formatives in various microgroups of Philippine languages.

- **Bashiic**: (***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*-/(*ʔ*)*i*-; -*an*; *hipag*-/ *ʔipag*-/ *ipag*-; *i*-…-*an*
- **Kalamian**: -*an*; *i*-

Conclusion (1)

❖ In languages that allow the use of reflexes of *-an and reflexes of *Si-/*hi- or (?*Si-…-an/)*hi-…-an to form ***benefactive-affect*** verbs, quite often there is a difference in meaning between these two types of ***benefactive-affect*** verbs.

- ❖ Verbs containing reflexes of *Si-/*hi- or (?*Si-…-an/) *hi-…-an are used to express 'doing s.t. in place of s.o.'
- ❖ Verbs containing reflexes of *-an are used to express 'doing s.t. for a recipient'.

Conclusion (2)

❖ The core meaning associated with reflexes of PAn *Si/ PMP *hi- verbs appears to be that of ***conveyance*** (***theme-affect verbs***).

❖ The ***instrumental*** sense associated with reflexes of PAn *Si-/PMP *hi- verbs might have developed from the fact that quite often a conveyed theme is also used as an ***instrument*** of an action.

❖ The ***benefactive*** sense associated with reflexes of PAn *Si/ PMP *hi- verbs might have developed from the fact that quite often a ***recipient*** will benefit from the action of conveyance.

Conclusion (3)

❖ The core function associated with reflexes of PMP *paN- and *paR- appears to be that of ***nominalization***.

❖ The use of reflexes of PMP *paN- and *paR- as instrument-affect verbs and/or benefactive-affect verbs appear to be a later development.

Conclusion (4)

❖ The core meaning associated with reflexes of PAn/PMP *-an verbs appears to be that of *recipient*.

❖ The benefactive sense associated with *-an verbs might have developed from the fact that quite often a *recipient* is also a *beneficiary* of an action.

Conclusion (5)

❖ The core meaning associated with reflexes of (?PAn *Si-...-an/)PMP *hi-...-an verbs appears to be that of a *recipient benefiting from conveyance*.

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

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Mahalo!

Thank you!

Maraming salamat po!