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Morphosyntactic Differences between Formosan and Philippine Languages

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Major Differences between Formosan and Philippine Languages

- **Major differences in personal pronoun systems**
- **C*a*-reduplication vs. CV-reduplication**
- **The development of Benefactive-affect verbs**
- **The rise of the "recent perfective" aspect**
- **The rise of *maki-* and *paki-***
- **The rise of PMP *maN-**
- **The expansion of functions associated with PAn *maR-**

Philippine Languages-1

- ***How many Philippine languages are there?***
    - Reid (1971) states that there were "more than 80" Philippine languages (Reid 1971:vii).
    - McFarland (1980) lists 118.
    - McFarland (1994) lists only 110.
    - Constantino (2000) states there were "maybe about 110."
    - Reid (2000) lists 150.
    - Headland (2003) states "There are between 100 to 150 languages spoken in the Philippines today."
    - The 2005 *Ethnologue* lists **168 Austronesian languages** spoken natively in the Philippines (Gordon 2005).

Philippine Languages-2

- **Philippine languages** (genetic): Austronesian languages spoken in the Philippine archipelago with three exceptions:
    - **Yami**: Bashiic
    - **the Sangiric, Minahasan, and Gorontalic languages of northern Sulawesi**: the Sangiric microgroup, the Minahasan microgroup, and the Gorontalic subgroup of the Greater Central Philippine microgroup
    - **the Sama-Bajaw or Samalan languages**: spoken within the Philippines, but they apparently belong to **the 'Extended Barito Family' of Southeast Borneo** (Blust 2005)

Philippine Microgroups (Blust 1991)

1) **Bashiic (or Batanic)**
2) **Northern Luzon (or 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**

"Recent Perfective" Aspect

- A distinct construction (often known as "recent past" or "recent perfective" construction) is used to indicate "actions completed ***just prior to the speech event***." (Rubino 1997:lxvii)
- Maree (2007:202): Completive aspect (CA) or recent perfective, also called 'Neutral Voice' by Cottle (1963) and 'Predicate Focus' by Hidalgo & Hidalgo (1971), refers to a ***recently completed*** event which is seen as ***having present relevance***.
- It is characterized by:
    a) The use of the prefix ***ka-*** affixed to the verb root;
    b) The ***obligatory absence of a focused noun phrase*** in the clause, thus making the relationship of the verbal affix and the participants of the accompanying noun phrases indeterminate/non-explicit;
    c) The focus is on the ***recentness*** of the completion of the action.

Recent Perfective-Bashiic

● **Ibatan** (Maree 2007:143): *ka-*
(a) ***Ka***wara = **k** = pa   **kakoyab**
    Rec.Perf.arrive=Gen.1s=already   yesterday
    'I *only just* arrived yesterday.'

● **Southern Ivatan** (Hidalgo and Hidalgo 1971:160): *ka-*
(b) ***Ka***pakáycheh = **na** = pa ….
    Rec.Perf.fallen.asleep=Gen.3s=already ….
    'He has just fallen asleep ….'

● **Yami** (Rau and Dong 2006:132): *ka-*
(c) ***Kai*** = **na** = am,   *mi-ʔoya-ʔoya.*
    Rec.Perf.come=Gen.3s=Part   angry
    'No sooner had he arrived than he got angry.'

Recent Perfective-Northern Luzon

● **Ilokano** (Rubino 1997:230): *ka***C-** / *ka***CV(C)-**
(a) ***Ka***sap*sapul*=naka.
    Rec.Perf.find=Gen.3s+Nom.2s
    'He has just found you (sg.).'

(b) *kat*tiliw 'just caught'
    *kas*sangpet 'just arrived'
    *kal*luto 'just cooked'

Recent Perfective-G.C.Philippines

● **Tagalog** (Schachter and Otanes 1972:374-375) [*ka*(**CV**)-]
(a) ***Kaka***kain=**ko**=pa=lamang   *sa*   karne.
    Rec.Perf.eat=Gen.1s=yet=only   Lcv   meat
    'I have just eaten the meat.'

(b) ***Kapang***unguha=pa=lamang **ng** bata **ng** mga mangga.
    Rec.Perf.gather=yet=only   Gen child   Gen Pl   mango
    'The child has just gathered some/the mangoes.'

*maki-: social (or request) verbs-I

● The prefix ***maki-*** is used to form social verbs, i.e. verbs indicating shared participation of an action (actions performed in the company of other people) or verbs used to ask permission to perform an action that is usually comitative (Rubino 1997:lxxi).

*maki-: social (or request) verbs-II

● Antworth (1979:22-23): Social verbs are used:
   (1) to express a **polite request** (e.g. <u>Botolan Sambal</u> ***maki****-alih* 'to remove by request'; ***maki****tikap* 'to look for by request').

   (2) to express **action that is performed together with another person or persons**, either in the sense of **accompaniment** or **reciprocal action** (e.g. <u>Botolan Sambal</u> ***maki****lako* 'to go with someone'; ***maki****pati* 'to kill each other').

*maki-: social (or request) verbs-III

● Maree (2007:210): "The **associative** or **cooperative** mode (CO), which is signaled by the affix ***machi-*** (***nachi-*** for past), implies that the agent either alone or with a group moves toward and joins another agent already performing an activity….The action is ***not*** reciprocal….

● The associative mode is also used in verbs that involve one participant colliding with or tripping over some other inanimate object….The action is ***not*** reciprocal…."

maci-: Bashiic-I

- **Yami** (Rau and Dong 2006:493, 506)

(a) *Maci*lolo   o   anak=na.
    Soc.follow.along   Nom child=Gen.3s
    'His child followed along.'

(b) *Maci*akan=*ko*   jimo   so   oyod.
    Soc.eat=Nom.1s Lcv.2s Obl   fish-for-woman
    'I want to eat a fish-for-woman with you (sg.).'

machi-: Bashiic-II

- **Southern Ivatan** (Hidalgo and Hidalgo 1971:196)

(a) *Nachi*panlakat=aku jira   su   kabayu.
   Soc.chase=Nom.1s   Lcv.3p Obl   horse
   'I joined them chasing a horse.'

- **Ibatan** (Maree 2007:211)

(b) *Machi*bayat=kamo=nchi.
    Soc.meet=Nom.2p=Fut
    'You (pl.) will meet up with (us/them) later.'

maki-: Northern Luzon

- **Ilokano** (Rubino 1997:349)

(a) *Maki*sao ni   Juan kaniak.
    Soc.talk Core Juan Lcv.1s
    'Juan talks with me.'

(b) *Naki*apa   ni   Murphy ken Carol.
    Soc.quarrel Core Murphy Lcv Carol
    'Murphy quarreled with Carol.'

(c) *Maki*nateng=ak=to.
    Soc.vegetable=Nom.1s=Fut
    'I will ask for vegetables.'

maki-: Central Luzon

- **Ayta Mag-anchi** (Storck and Storck 2005:193-194)

(a) Bat hên   *maki*babalah hi   Kiko….
   just when Soc.debate   Nom Kiko
   'Kiko just joined in the argument ….'

(b) *Maki*habi   kan mangêd
    Soc.request Prep good/well

    biha=ka   kilako kangko.
    before=Nom.2s join   Lcv.1s

    'Request permission first before you (sg.) join me.'

maki-: G.C.Philippines

- **Tagalog** (Ramos 1971:60)

(a) *Maki*kuha=ka   nga ng tubig.
   Soc.get=Nom.2s   Lig Gen water
   'Please get (me) some water.'

(b) *Maki*tawag nga sa   telepono=ninyo.
   Soc.use   Lig Lcv telephone=Gen.2p
   'May I use your (pl.) phone?'

paki-: polite request

- Ramos (1971:122): "The verbal prefix *paki-* and the particle *nga* when occurring in a sentence imply a request".

- Maree (2007:209): "Politeness is expressed by use of the special prefix *pachi-* that either replaces or adds to the normal basic imperative sentence. The request adjunct *pa* occurs optional after the verb affixed with *pachi-* increasing the degree of politeness."

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pachi-: Bashiic

- <u>Ibatan</u> (Maree 2007:153, 209)
(a) *pach*ahap=mo=**pa**=w nyaya.
    Plt.get=Gen.2s=polite=Nom that
    'Please get that for me.'
    [*pachahap* < *pachi-* + *i-* < *ahap*]

(b) *pachi*katkat=mo=**pa**,   mo   adi.
    Plt.pick.up=Gen.2s=polite polite younger.sibling
    'Please pick that up, polite younger sibling.'

paki-: Northern Luzon

- **Ilokano** (Rubino 1997:416)
(a) *Paki*ited=mo=nto   **man** laengen.
    Plt.give=Gen.2s=Fut please just
    'Please just give it to him.'

(b) *Paki*bagayo **man** laengen a madmadi   ti   rikn*ak*.
    Plt.tell   please just Lig not.feel.well Core feel.Nom.1s
    'Can you please just tell him that I'm not feeling well?'

paki-: G.C.Philippines

- **Tagalog** (Ramos 1985:132-134)
(a) *Paki*abot **nga**   *ng* asin.
    Plt.pass Lig Gen salt
    'Please pass the salt.'

(b) *Paki*abot=mo   **nga** *ang* asin.
    Plt.pass=Gen.2s Lig Def salt
    'Please pass the salt.'

(c) *Paki*lagay ito=**ng**   tinapay diyan.
    Plt.put   this(Nom)=Lig bread   there
    'Will you please put the bread there?'

Major Morphological Differences between Formosan and Philippine Languages-I

- Li (1995:664-665): The 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.

- Similarly, Mayrinax also has a few forms containing the prefix *man-*, e.g. *man-caqrug* 'to stand up', *man-cahuuʔ* 'straight', again with different functions from those in Philippine languages.

Major Morphological Differences between Formosan and Philippine Languages-II

- Unlike Formosan languages, Philippine languages make use not only of verbs containing reflexes of **PAn *-um-**, but also of verbs containing reflexes of **PMP *maR-** and ***maN-** productively in pattern 1 and pattern 2 clauses.

- The latter two classes of verbs are probably historically related to the first class of verbs. That is, ***maR-** verbs and ***maN-** verbs probably developed historically by attaching ***-um-** to a word that has been previously derived with either PMP ***paR-** or PMP ***paN-**.

- There are a wide range of functions associated with each of these verbs and they differ from language to language. In general, ***-um-** verbs express either *punctual* or *inchoative* events, ***maR-** verbs describe *reciprocal*, *reflexive*, or *durative* events, and ***maN-** verbs describe *distributive* events. (Liao 2004:107)

*maN-: PAn or PMP??-I

- Blust (1999:68): "Most languages that have been called 'Western Malayo-Polynesian' have a prefix reflecting *maN- which is used in the formation of active verbs, agentive/instrumental nouns in *paN-, and the phonological process of nasal substitution when these prefixes occur with stems that contain certain initial consonants. **These features are not found as active parts of the grammar of any Formosan or CEMP language.** However, traces of nasal substitution and of the prefixes *maN- and *paN- do appear in some Formosan and OC languages, and thus suggest that **their appearance as productive features in WMP languages is a retention from PAn.**"

*maN-: PAn or PMP??-II

● Blust (1999: 68, footnote 14): "Prominent examples include **Puyuma /mangayaw/** 'to hunt heads', a form which is synchronically unanalyzable, but is seen to have a historical prefix *maN- by comparison with **Isneg /kayaw/ 'headhunting': /ma-ngayaw/ 'to hunt heads'**, Western Bukidnon Manobo /kayew/ 'be in readiness of fight, be in array': /me-ngayew/ 'a raider': /pe-ngayew/ 'to raid a house or village in order to kill someone', Kayan (Uma Juman dialect) /kayo/ 'post-harvest ceremony for the ritual purification of weapons': /ngayo/ 'go to war, hunt heads', Iban /kayau/ 'raiding, war, foray because of a feud, head-hunting': /ngayau/ 'make war on, go on a foray', and POc *panako 'steal', a form which is synchronically unanalyzable in many Oc languages, but which is seen to have a historical prefix *paN- by comparison with Aklanon /takaw/ 'steal': /pa-nakw/ 'theft' or Toba Batak /tangko/ 'theft': /pa-nangko/ 'thief'."

*maN-: PAn or PMP??-III

● **Isnag** / **Isneg**
(a) *ŋáyaw* 'headhunting' (Rudy Barlaan, pers. comm. 2008)

(b) *agngangáyaw* (< *ag*-CV-*ngáyaw*)
'the time of headhunting' (Vanoverbergh 1972)

● **Bugkalot** / **Ilongot** (Liao 2008)
(a) *sit (t)a ŋáyo(v)an*
one Lig headhunting
'a group of people going for headhunting in one place' [Belance, Quirino, Aurora]

(b) *ŋáyo(v) in = d i = yd i   no buvat.*
headhunt=Gen.3p=Nom.3p Lcv tomorrow
'They will headhunt against them tomorrow.'

*maN-: PAn or PMP??-IV

● Starosta (2002) reports the possible existence of the reflex of ***maN-** in Nataoran Amis.
● **Nataoran Amis** (data from T. Chen 1987:83; cited in Starosta 2002) [***mami*-** < *maN-* + *pi-*]

(a) *mami*adop   kina   waco no lomaq ako.
assigned.to.hunt this(Nom) dog Gen family 1s
'My family assigns this dog to hunt.' (Lit. 'This dog is assigned to hunt by my family.')

(b) *sapi*adop   kina   waco no lomaq ako
used.for.hunting this(Nom) dog Gen family 1s
'My family used this dog for hunting.' (Lit. 'This dog is used for hunting by my family.')

*maN-

● Reflexes of ***maN-** in most Philippine languages characteristically are associated with two phonological processes: (Liao 2004:125-126)

(a) ***homorganic nasal assimilation***: the final nasal of **maN-* changes its point of articulation to that of the initial consonant of the root to which it is attached, so the prefix becomes *mam-* before bilabial consonants, *man-* before alveolar and dental consonants, and *mang-* before velar and glottal consonants.

(b) ***consonant deletion*** (in particular ***voiceless obstruent deletion***): after nasal assimilation applies, **the initial consonant of the root** is deleted under certain conditions, usually at least if that consonant is a **voiceless obstruent**, and in some languages, if it is **any obstruent** (e.g., Limos Kalinga, Sarangani Manobo, etc.).

*maN- 'distributive'

● Reflexes of ***maN-** in most Philippine languages are characteristically associated with ***'distributive' action***.

(a) the action is ***repeated again and again by one person***

(b) the action is performed ***simultaneously by several people***

(c) ***many actions*** are being performed

*maN-: G.C. Philippines

● **Mamanwa** (Miller and Miller 1976:53):
mang- as a reflex of ***mang-** (completive aspect *nang-*):

(a) *Nang*aen siran   ka   baay.
eat   Nom.3p Lcv wild.root
(***nang*aen** < **mang-** + *-in-* '[+begun]' + ***kaen***)
'They ate wild root.'

(b) *Nam*alit siran   ka   begas.
buy   Nom.3p Lcv rice
(***nam*alit** < **mang-** + *-in-* '[+begun]' + ***palit***)
'They bought rice.'

*maN-: G.C. Philippines

- **Sarangani Manobo** (C. DuBois 1976:30, 57)

  meng- as a reflex of **mang-* (completive aspect *neng-*):

(a) *Nem*atay lebò se osa.

   die probably Def pig

   (*nematay* < *meng-* + *-in-* 'completive' + *patay* 'died')

   'The pig has probably died.'

(b) *Men*okdok se batà te toyang.

   beat Def child Lcv dog

   (*menokdok* < *meng-* + *dokdok* 'beat')

   'The child beat a dog.'

PAn/PMP *R: The RGH Law

- *the RGH Law*: The first formal statement of the varied representation of an originally single phonic element (e.g. Toba Batak and Malay *r*: Tagalog *g*: Dayak *h*: Lampong *y*) was made by the Dutch scholar H. N. van der Tuuk in what is known as *the first van der Tuuk law*, the phenomena of which have been further examined and classified by others, notably Brandes, Kern, Adriani, and Brandstetter.

- The Indonesian parent speech possessed a certain consonantal sound which, being lost in some languages (e.g. Old Javanese), became in others variously *r* (e.g. Toba Batak, Karo Batak, Čam, and Malay), *g* (e.g. Tagalog, Bisaya, Formosan, Ponosakan, and Chamorro), *h* (e.g. Dayak, Sangir, and Bulu), and *y* (e.g. Lampong, Gayo, and Pampanga).

Conant, Carlos Everett. 1911. The RGH law in Philippine languages. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 31:74-85.

Reflexes of *R in Austronesian-I

- *r*-languages:
  (a) Ilokano and Arta [N.Luzon]
  (b) Tiruray [Bilic]
  (c) non-Philippines: Malay, Toba Batak, etc.

- *g*-languages:
  (a) Northern Cordilleran languages [N.Luzon]
  (b) Greater Central Philippines: Central Philippine languages (e.g. Tagalog, Cebuano, etc.); Danao languages (Maranao; Magindanao, etc.)
  (c) non-Philippines: Dusun (N.W. Borneo); **Singkan Formosan [Sinkang/Siraya] & Favorlang; Sulu and several other speech groups of minor importance

Reflexes of *R in Austronesian-II

- *l*-languages:
  (a) Kalamian
  (b) Meso-Cordilleran languages [N.Luzon]

- *y*-languages:
  (a) Bashiic languages
  (b) Central Luzon (Pampangan, Sambalic languages)
  (c) North Mindoro languages: Iraya, Alangan, Tadyawan
  (d) non-Philippines: Gayo, Lampong

Reflexes of *R in Philippine Languages

	Initial	Medial	Final
	'root'	'vein'	'tail'
Ibanag	*g*amút	u*g*át	(niú*g* 'coconut')
Tagalog	*g*amót	u*g*át	iko*g*
Ilokano	*r*amút	u*r*át	(bibi*r* 'lip')
Tiruray	(*r*ohok 'rib')	u*r*at	igo*r*
Pangasinan	*l*amót	u*l*át	ikó*l*
Kalamian	*l*amot	(dara*l*a 'girl')	(bibi*l* 'lip')
Pampanga	*y*amút	u*y*át	iki*i*
Batan	*y*amót	ú*y*at	(itio*i* 'egg')
Sambal	(*y*ábi 'night')	(bú*y*as 'rice')	(toló*i* 'sleep')

Irregular Reflexes of *R in Philippine Languages

- stereotyped Philippine *g*: Unlike Tagalog and other pure *g*-type languages, the *r*, *l*, and *y* languages show some irregularities, their characteristic consonant often interchange with *g*.

*maR-: Formosan

● **Southern Paiwan [Mudan]** (Zeitoun 2002):
(a) ***ma-Ca-* occurs with dynamic verbs**, e.g., *t/əm/əkəɭ* 'drink' ~ *ma-ta-təkəɭ* 'drink together'; if the base is reduplicated, e.g., ***ma-ta-təkə-təkəɭ***, the interpretation of the predicate is ambiguous: it may either refer to **more than two participants** (cf. 'drink with one another') but also be given an **iterative event** ('often drink together').
(b) *maɣ-* (< *marə-*) **is prefixed to stative verbs**, e.g., *tjəŋəɭay* 'love' ~ *maɣ-ʔa-tjəŋəɭay* 'love each other'. Note that *maɣ-* **must** co-occur with the prefix *ʔa* (< *ka-*), cf.*maɣ-tjəŋəɭay*. If the base is reduplicated, the derived verbal form refers to **a plurality of participants**.
● *maɣ-* can also be prefixed to **kinship nouns**, e.g., *aʎak* 'child' ~ *maɣ-aʎak* 'parent and child'.
(c) *maɣ-* **can also attach to causativized verbs**, e.g., *k/əm/an* 'eat' ~ *maɣ-pa-(pa-)kan* 'feed each other' (vs. *maɣ-kan*).

*maR-: Bashiic-1a

● **Ibatan** (Maree 2007:233, 236)
(a) ***May*-abāgis = sa   Baltazar kan Florentino.**
   Rec.sibiling=Nom.3p Baltazar and Florentino
   'Baltazar and Florentino are siblings.'

(b) ***May*kepkep = sa.**
   Rec.hug=Nom.3p
   'They hug each other.'

(c) ***May*laylay = ako.**
   Ref.clothes=Nom.1s
   'I dress (myself).'

*maR-: Bashiic-1b

● **Ibatan** (Maree 2007: 105, 169, 235)
(a) ***May*bahay=ako=na.**
   house=Nom.1s=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.'

(c) ***Nay*bidi=dana si   Juan do Rakwaphas.**
   return=already Nom John Lcv Rakwaphas
   'John has returned to Rakwaphas.'

*maR-: Bashiic-1c

● **Ibatan** (Maree 2007: 256, 288)
(a) ***Mag*byahi=kami....**
   journey=Nom.1pe….
   'We (ex.) went on a journey….'

(b) ***Mag*yaman=ako dyinyo.**
   thanks=Nom.1s   Lcv.2p
   'I thank you (pl.).'

(c) ***Ag*yaman=ak.**
   thanks=Nom.1s
   'Thanks./ I am thankful.'

*maR-: Bashiic-2

● **Yami** (Rau and Dong 2006:460, 486, 491)
(a) **mai=sira   *mi*akay   do jia.**
   come=Nom.3p Rec.grandfather Lcv here
   'The grandfather and grandnson came here.'

(b) **to   *mi*kalópkop=sira *om*lavi a   *mi*ina.**
   then Rec.hug=Nom.3p cry   Nom Rec.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)'

(c) **ko=*mi*kala   so   ayob.**
   Nom.1s=look.for Obl clothes
   'I am looking for clothes.'

*maR-: Central Luzon-1

● **Botolan Sambal** (Antworth 1979:10, 15, 16, 23)
(a) ***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'

(b) ***mi*pati**   'to kill each other (2 actors)' [***mi*-** vs. ***mi*-CV-**]
   ***mipa*pati**   'to kill each other (3 or more actors)'
   ***mi*tapon**   'to throw to each other (2 actors)'
   ***mita*tapon** 'to throw to each other (3 or more actors)'

(c) ***mag*tagalog** 'to speak Tagalog'
   ***mag*pansit** 'to make pansit'
   ***mag*linis**   'to clean'
   ***mag*-aboloy** 'to have compassion, give help'

*maR-: Central Luzon-2

● **Kapampangan** (Forman 1971:123, 103)
(a) adúa=la=ng **mí**paté.
two=Nom.3p=Lig Rec.fight
'They two fight each other.'

(b) **mag**manéu=ya=ng jíp.
drive=Nom.3s=Obl jeep
'He drives a jeep.'

*maR-: Central Luzon-3

● **Ayta Mag-anchi** (Storck and Storck 2005:218, 219)
(a) Paan=kaw **mi**patsi.
Neg=Nom.2p Rec.argue
'Don't argue!'

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

● **Ayta Mag-anchi** (Storck and Storck 2005:219, 220)
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'

*maR-: North Mindoro-1a

● **Iraya** and **Alangan** (Barbian 1977:90)
agagay 'to cut the underbrush'
agpukán 'to fell trees'
agsunog 'to burn the wood'

● **Iraya, Alangan, and Tadyawan**
agani 'to harvest'

● **Alangan**
agkakunot 'dry'

● **Alangan** (Dimaano 2005)
Malpangkit kitam bukas.
Rec.see NOM.1P tomorrow
'Let us see each other tomorrow.'

***Dimaano (2005): "Alangan reciprocal verbs are added with a prefix **mal-** to denote reciprocity or reciprocal relationship."

*maR-: North Mindoro-1b

● **Iraya** (Barbian 1977:93)
Magapon da manok sa ngaway balay.
roost Nom chicken Lcv top house
'The chicken is/are roosting on top of the house.'

● **Alangan** (Barbian 1977:93)
Agapun manók sagbós baláy.
roost chicken top house
'The chicken is/are roosting on top of the house.'

● **Tadyawan** (Barbian 1977:93)
Agilog manók sagbós bubóng.
roost chicken top house
'The chicken is/are roosting on top of the house.'

*maR-: Northern Luzon-1

● **Ilokano** (Vanoverbergh 1955:130, 132, 233)
(a) **ag**amá (< **ag-** + amá) 'father and son'
agasáwa (< **ag-** + asáwa) 'married couple'

(b) **ag**kabil (< **ag-** + kabil) 'to fight one another; maltreat, punish'

(c) **Nag**katáwa dagití balásang.
laugh Core.Pl girls
'The girls laughed.'

(d) **ag**bása=ka ití líbro.
read=Nom.2s Obl book
'You (sg.) read a book.'

♣The expected reflex of *maR- in Ilokano (and Arta) is **(m)ar-**.

*maR-: Northern Luzon-2a

● **Yogad** (Davis et al. 1998:23, 169, 175, 178)
(a) **mag**eksirsísyu=kan. (**mag**eksirsísyu < **mag-** + eksirsísyu)
exercise=Nom.1s
'I am going to do exercise.' (*'I am going to exercise someone.')

(b) **matt**úrut=(da) yu atáp. (**matt**úrut < **mag-** + túrut)
leak(=now) Def roof
'The roof is leaking (now).'

(c) **mall**ukág=kan tu ulú nu famílya. (**mall**ukág < **mag-** + **l**ukág)
wake=Nom.1s Lcv head Gen family
'I'll wake the head of the family.'

(d) **mabb**ibbíd=kan tu nobéla. (**mabb**ibbíd < **mag-** + **b**ibbíd)
read=Nom.1s Lcv novel
'I am reading a novel.'

*maR-: Northern Luzon-2b

● **Dupaningan Agta** (Robinson 2008:111, 153, 179)
(a)   *mag*-*kabanga* 'married couple' (cf. *kabanga* 'spouse')
       pat[t]-ama   'father and son pair' (cf. *hama* 'father')
       pa-pat[t]-ama 'father and children'

(b)   nagg*inn*akos   hidi
       CMPL.AV.Rec.hug   3PL.NOM
       'They (two) hugged each other.'

(c)   *mag*ladu ni   kabanga=na=a
       fever   Pers spouse=Gen.3s=Spec
       'Her husband has a fever.'

(d)   *mag*pokpok hidi   ha   tennon=tam
       pound   Nom.3p Obl clothes=Gen.1pi
       'They are washing our clothes.'

♣Occasionally speakers of Dupaningan will use the comparable Ilokano prefix *ag-*, even with a Dupaningan verb, although most speakers would not consider this usage 'true Dupaningan'. (Robinson 2008:179)

*maR-: Northern Luzon-3a

● 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).

*maR-: Northern Luzon-3b

● In cases where *man-* undergoes homorganic nasal assimilation, the reflex of *maR- (*man-* with nasal assimilation) and the reflex of *maN- (*mang-* with nasal assimilation and **consonant deletion**) are sometimes hard to distinguish.

● The only key that one can use to distinguish reflexes of *maR- and *maN- is to check **whether the stem initial consonant is retained after nasal assimilation**. If the stem initial consonant is **retained** after nasal assimilation, then the prefix attached to the stem is **a reflex of *maR-**. If it is **deleted** after the assimilation, then the prefix attached to the stem is **a reflex of *maN-**.

*maR-: Northern Luzon-3c

● **Pangasinan** (Benton 1971: 49, 55, 158, 192)
(a) *man-* as a reflex of *maR- (**without** nasal assimilation):
    *man*pátanír=ak=la. (*man*pátanír < *man-* + *pátanír*)
    say.goodbye=Nom.1s=already
    'I will say goodbye already.'

(b) *Nanl*óto si   Juan na   báaw. (*nanl*óto < *man-* + -in- + *lutó*)
    cook   Nom John Gen rice
    'John cooked rice.'

(c) *nan*pékpek=ak na   duég. (*nan*pékpek < *man-* + -in- + *pékpek*)
    hit=Nom.1s   Gen carabao
    'I hit a carabao.'

(d) *mang-* as a reflex of *maN- (completive aspect *ang-*):
    *mang*án=ak=la=n   *mang*án. (*mangan* < *mang-* + *kan* 'eat')
    eat=Nom.1s=already=Lig eat
    'I will eat and eat.'

*maR-: G.C. Philippines

● **Tagalog** (English 1987:43, 49, 79, 90)
(a) *mag-amá* (< *mag-* + *amá*) 'father and son/daughter'
    mag-iná (< *mag-* + *iná*) 'mother and son/daughter'
    mag-asawa (< *mag-* +*asawa*) 'a married couple'

(b) *Nag-á*áway   ang   mga batà.
    Rec.CV.fight/quarrel Def Pl   child
    'The children are quarrelling/fighting.'

(c) Hindî *nag-á*anák ang mga baka=ng iyón.
    Neg   reproduce Def Pl   cow=Lig that
    'Those cows are not breeding.'

Mahalo!

Thank you!

Maraming salamat po!