Morphosyntactic Differences between Formosan and Philippine Languages

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Major Differences between Formosan and Philippine Languages

- Major differences in personal pronoun systems
- Cₐ-reduplication vs. Cᵥ-reduplication
- The development of Benefactive-affect verbs
- The rise of the “recent perfective” aspect
- The rise of ma₃i- and paki-
- The rise of PMP *maN-
- The expansion of functions associated with PA₃ *maR-

Philippine Languages

- How many Philippine languages are there?
  - Reid (1971) states that there were “more than 80” Philippine languages (Reid 1971:vii).
  - 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 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) *Kawara =k pa  kakoyab
    Rec.Perf.arrive=Gen.1s=already yesterday
    ‘I only just arrived yesterday.’
  (b) *Southern Ibatan (Hidalgo and Hidalgo 1971:160): *ka-
    *Kapakaycheh = na = pa ....
    Rec.Perf.fallen.asleep=Gen.3s=already ....
    ‘He has just fallen asleep ....’
- **Yami** (Rau and Dong 2006:132): *ka-
  (c) *Ka = 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):
  (a) *Kasapsapul=naka.
    Rec.Perf.find=Gen.3s+Nom.2s
    ‘He has just found you (sg.).’
  (b) *kattiliw ‘just caught’
    *kassangpet ‘just arrived’
    *kaluto ‘just cooked’

Recent Perfective-G.C.Philippines

- **Tagalog** (Schachter and Otanes 1972:374-375) [*kat(CV)-]
  (a) *Kakakain=ko=pa=lamang sa karne.
    Rec.Perf.eat=Gen.1s=yet=only Lcv meat
    ‘I have just eaten the meat.’
  (b) *Kapangunguhua=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. Botolan
    Sambal *maki-alih ‘to remove by request’;
    *maktikap ‘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. Botolan Sambal *makiako ‘to go with
    someone’; *makipati ‘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 *machichi- (*nachichi- 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 action is not reciprocal….”
**maci-**: Bashii-I
- Yami (Rau and Dong 2006:493, 506)
  (a) Maciolo o anak=na.
  Soc.follow.along Nom child=Gen.3s
  ‘His child followed along.’
  (b) Macikan=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.).’

**maci-**: Bashii-II
- Southern Ivatan (Hidalgo and Hidalgo 1971:196)
  (a) Nachipanlakat=aku jira su kabayu.
  Soc.chase=Nom.1s Lcv.3p Obl horse
  ‘I joined them chasing a horse.’
- Ibatan (Maree 2007:211)
  (b) Macihibat=kamo=nchi.
  Soc.meet=Nom.2p=Fut
  ‘You (pl.) will meet up with (us/them) later.’

**maki-**: Northern Luzon
- Ilokano (Rubino 1997:349)
  (a) Makisan ni Juan kaniak.
  Soc.talk Core Juan Lev.1s
  ‘Juan talks with me.’
  (b) Nakisapa ni Murphy ken Carol.
  Soc.quarrel Core Murphy Lev Carol
  ‘Murphy quarreled with Carol.’
  (c) Makisamateng=sk=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 makihabahala bi Kiko…
  just when Soc.debate Nom Kiko
  ‘Kiko just joined in the argument ….’
  (b) Makiban kan mangêd
  Soc.request Prep good/well
  biha=ka kilako kangko.
  before=Nom.2s join Lev.1s
  ‘Request permission first before you (sg.) join me.’

**maki-**: G.C. Philippines
- Tagalog (Ramos 1971:60)
  (a) Makîha=ka nga ng tubig.
  Soc.get=Nom.2s Lig Gen water
  ‘Please get (me) some water.’
  (b) Makitawag nga sa telepono=niao.
  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.”
**pachipachi**: Bashiic

- Ibatan (Maree 2007:153, 209)
  
  (a) pachahap=mo=pa=nyaya.  
  Plt.get=Gen.2s=polite=Nom that  
  ‘Please get that for me.’

  \[ \text{pachahap} \ll \text{pach} \ll i \ll \text{ahap} \]

  (b) pachikatkat=mo=pa, mo adi.  
  Plt.pick.up=Gen.2s=polite polite younger.sibling  
  ‘Please pick that up, polite younger sibling.’

**pachipachi**: Northern Luzon

- Ilokano (Rubino 1997:416)
  
  (a) Pakiited=mo=nto man laengen.  
  Plt.give=Gen.2s=Fut please just  
  ‘Please just give it to him.’

  (b) Pakibagayo man laengen a madmadi ti riknak.  
  Plt.tell please just Lig not.feel.well Core feel.Nom.1s  
  ‘Can you please just tell him that I’m not feeling well?’

**pachipachi**: G.C.Philippines

- Tagalog (Ramos 1985:132-134)
  
  (a) Pakiabot nga ng asin.  
  Plt.pass Lig Gen salt  
  ‘Please pass the salt.’

  (b) Pakiabot=mo nga ang asin.  
  Plt.pass=Gen.2s Def salt  
  ‘Please pass the salt.’

  (c) Pakilagay ito=ng tinapay diyan.  
  Plt.put this(Nom)=Lig bread there  
  ‘Will you please put the bread there?’

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  ‘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-, mag-, and maR- 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 maR-, e.g. maR-baytunux ‘pretty’, maR-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’; /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’, /me-ngayew/ ‘a raider’: /pe-ngayew/ ‘to raid a house or village in order to kill someone’, Kayan (Uma Juman dialect) /kayo/ ‘ Macy (1952: 260) notes a historical prefix *maN- by comparison with Isneg /kayaw/ ‘headhunting’, which is synchronically unanalyzable. Its reflex in Aklanon /takaw/ ‘steal’ is /pa-nakw/ ‘theft’; in Toba Batak /tangko/ ‘theft’, /pa-nangko/ ‘thief’."

**maN-**: PAn or PMP??-III

- Isneg / Isneg
  - (a) ɲgyaw ‘headhunting’ (Rudy Barlaan, pers. comm. 2008)
  - (b) ɲnɟgyaw (< ag-CV-ɲɟyaw) ‘the time of headhunting’ (Vanoverbergh 1972)

**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) mamiadop 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) sapiadop 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-** ‘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) Nangaen siran ka baay. eat Nom.3p Lev wild.root (nangaen < mang- + -ir- [+begun]+ kaen) ‘They ate wild root.’
    - (b) Namalit siran ka begas. buy Nom.3p Lev rice (namalit < mang- + -ir- [+begun]+ palit) ‘They bought rice.’

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**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-**: G.C. Philippines

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**maNmaN--: 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
  *(nem < meng- + -in - completive + patay ‘died’)*
  ‘The pig has probably died.’

  (b) **Menokodok** se batà te toyang.
  beat Def child Lcv dog
  *(menokodok < meng- + dokodok ‘beat’)*
  ‘The child beat a dog.’

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**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, Ḋam, 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).


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**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**

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**Reflexes of *R in Austronesian-II**

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

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

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**Reflexes of *R in Philippine Languages**

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<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
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<td>‘root’</td>
<td>‘vem’</td>
<td>‘tai’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tagalog</td>
<td><em>gamút</em></td>
<td><em>ugat</em></td>
<td><em>(mug ‘coconut’)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilokano</td>
<td><em>ramút</em></td>
<td><em>urat</em></td>
<td><em>ikog</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tiruray</td>
<td>*(rohos ‘rib’)</td>
<td><em>urat</em></td>
<td><em>igor</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pangasinan</td>
<td><em>hamót</em></td>
<td><em>urfat</em></td>
<td><em>ikol</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kalamian</td>
<td><em>hamot</em></td>
<td><em>(darafa ‘girl’)</em></td>
<td><em>(bibi ‘lip’)</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pampanga</td>
<td><em>yamót</em></td>
<td><em>uyat</em></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balan</td>
<td><em>yamót</em></td>
<td><em>uyat</em></td>
<td><em>(titol ‘egg’)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nambal</td>
<td>*(jābi ‘night’)</td>
<td>*(būyūs ‘rice’)</td>
<td>*(tolol ‘sleep’)</td>
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**Irregular Reflexes of *R in Philippine Languages**

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

- **Southern Paiwan [Mudan]** (Zeitoun 2002):

  (a) `ma-Ca-` occurs with dynamic verbs, e.g., `t/´m/´k´Ò`drink` ~ `ma-ta-` `drink together`; if the base is reduplicated, e.g., `ma-ta-` `drink together`, 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) `ma-Ca-` (< `mar-`) is prefixed to stative verbs, e.g., `tj´N´Ò`ay` `love` ~ `ma-Ca-tj´N´Ò`ay` `love each other`.

- `ma-Ca` can also attach to causativized verbs, e.g., `k/´m/an` `eat` ~ `ma-Ca-pa-(pa-)kan` `feed each other` (vs. `*ma-Ca-kan`).

**maRmaR--: Bashiic: Bashiic--1a**

- **Ibatan** (Maree 2007:233, 236)

  (a) `May-abogis=sa Baltazar kan Florentino`. Rec. sibling=Nom.3p Baltazar and Florentino `Baltazar and Florentino are siblings`.

  (b) `Maykepkep=sa`. Rec. hug=Nom.3p `They hug each other`.

  (c) `Mayelay=ako`. Ref. clothes=Nom.1s `I dress (myself)`.

**maRmaR--: Bashiic--1b**

- **Ibatan** (Maree 2007: 105, 169, 235)

  (a) `Maybahay=ako=na`. house=Nom.1s=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`.

  (c) `Naybidi=dana si Juan do Rakwaphas`. return=already Nom  John Lcv Rakwaphas `John has returned to Rakwaphas`.

**maRmaR--: Bashiic--1c**

- **Ibatan** (Maree 2007: 256, 288)

  (a) `Magbyahi=kami....` journey=Nom.1p.e… `We (ex.) went on a journey`.

  (b) `Magyaman=ako dyinyo`. thanks=Nom.1s  Lcv.2p `I thank you (pl.)`.

  (c) `Agyaman=ak`. thanks=Nom.1s `Thanks./ I am thankful`.

**maRmaR--: Central Luzon: Central Luzon--1**

- **Botolan Sambal** (Antworth 1979:10, 15, 16, 23)

  (a) `mi-amigo` (< `mi-` + amigo `friend`) `friends`

  (b) `mi-batongkop=sara onlavi a miina`. then Rec.hug=Nom.3p cry  Nom.Rec.mother `The mother and daughter held each other as they cried`.

  (c) `ko=mikala so ayob`. Nom.1s=look.for Obl clothes `I am looking for clothes`.

**maRmaR--: Central Luzon--2**

- **Yami** (Rau and Dong 2006:460, 486, 491)

  (a) mai=sira miakay do jia. `The grandfather and grandnson came here`.

  (b) to `miakalopkop=sara onlavi a miina`. then Rec.hug=Nom.3p cry  Nom.Rec.mother `The mother and daughter held each other as they cried`.

  (c) `ko=mikala so ayob`. Nom.1s=look.for Obl clothes `I am looking for clothes`.

**maRmaR--: Bashiic--2**

- **Ibatan** (Maree 2007: 105, 169, 235)

  (a) `Maybahay=ako=na`. house=Nom.1s=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`.

  (c) `Maytalon barot=aw ni akang`. hump boil=A Gen older.sibling `Older sibling’s boil has formed a large hump/swelling`.

**maRmaR--: Bashiic--2**

- **Ibatan** (Maree 2007: 105, 169, 235)

  (a) `Mayba=sa Baltazar kan Florentino`. Rec. sibling=Nom.3p Baltazar and Florentino `Baltazar and Florentino are siblings`.

  (b) `Maykepkep=sa`. Rec. hug=Nom.3p `They hug each other`.

  (c) `Mayelay=ako`. Ref. clothes=Nom.1s `I dress (myself)`.
• **Kapampangan** (Forman 1971:123, 103)
  (a) adúa=la=ng
  two=Nom.3p=Lig Rec.fight
  ‘They two fight each other.’
  (b) magmanéu=ya=ng jíp.
  drive=Nom.3s=Obl jeep
  ‘He drives a jeep.’

• **Ayta Mag-anchi** (Storck and Storck 2005:218, 219)
  (a) Paan=kaw
  Neg=Nom.2p Rec.argue
  ‘Don’t argue!’
  (b) Mi
  lupa=híla=y
  look.alike=Nom.3p=Nom twins
  ‘The twins look alike.’

• **Iraya and Alangan** (Barbian 1977:90)
  agaguy ‘to cut the underbrush’
  agusán ‘to fall trees’
  agusunog ‘to burn the wood’

• **Iraya, Alangan, and Tadyawan**
  agam ‘to harvest’

• **Alangan**
  agkakanot ‘dry’

• **Alangan** (Dimanno 2005)
  Mal pangkit kitam bukas.
  Rec.see NOM.1P tomorrow
  ‘Let us see each other tomorrow.’

• **Ilokano** (Vanoverbergh 1955:130, 132, 233)
  (a) agamá (< ag- + amá) ‘father and son’
  agasáwa (< ag.- asáwa) ‘married couple’
  (b) agkabil (< ag- + kabil) ‘to fight one another; maltreat, punish’
  (c) Nagkatáwa dagití balásang.
  laugh Core.Pl girls
  ‘The girls laughed.’
  (d) aghtá=ka iti libro.
  read=Nom.2s Obl book
  ‘You (sg.) read a book.’

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

*maRmaR: North Mindoro-1a

*maRmaR: 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.’

*maRmaR: Northern Luzon-1

*maRmaR: Northern Luzon-2

• **Yogad** (Davis et al. 1998:23, 169, 175, 178)
  (a) magkeksirisan=kan. (magkeksirisan < mag- + eksirisan) exercise=Nom.1s
  ‘I am going to do exercise.’ (*‘I am going to exercise someone.’)
  (b) mattsúrat=da) yu atáp. (mattsúrat < mag- + túrat) leak=now Def roof
  ‘The roof is leaking (now).’
  (c) mallukág=kan tu úni nu famílya. (mallukág < mag- + lukág) wake=Nom.1s Lcv head Gen family
  ‘I’ll wake the head of the family.’
  (d) mabbíbbid=kan tu nobéla. (mabbíbbid < mag- + bíbbid) 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[ʈ]-ama 'father and son pair' (cf. hama 'father')
  pa-pat[ʈ]-ama 'father and children'
  (b) nagginakos hindi
  CMPL.AV.Rec.hug 3PL.NOM
  'They (two) hugged each other.'
  (c) magladu ni kabanga=na=a fever Pers spouse=Gen.3s=Spec
  'Her husband has a fever.'
  (d) magpokpok 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 I, all show the innovated form man-, or a further development, such as mon-, mun-, men- [min or mas], min-, an-, in-, ren- [Ton]. 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 Imbaloi), 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):
  manpítánir=ak=la. (manpítánir < man+ pítánir)
  say.goodbye=Nom.1s=already
  'I will say goodbye already.'
  (b) Nanlóto si Juan na báaw. (nanlóto < man+ -in- + lutó)
  cook Nom John Gen rice
  'John cooked rice.'
  (c) nanpékpek=ak na duég. (nanpékpek < man+ -in- + pékpek)
  hit=Nom.1s Gen carabao
  'I hit a carabao.'
  (d) mang- as a reflex of *maN- (completive aspect ang-):
  mangán=ak=la=n mangán. (mangán < 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-umá (< mag- + amá) 'father and son/daughter'
  mag-iná (< mag- + iná) 'mother and son/daughter'
  mag-asawa (< mag- + asawa) 'a married couple'
  (b) Nag-dáway ang mga bátá.
  Rec.CV.fight/quarrel Def Pl child
  'The children are quarrelling/fighting.'
  (c) Hindi nag-dánák ang mga báka=ng iyón.
  Neg reproduce Def Pl cow=Lig that
  'Those cows are not breeding.'

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*Mahalo!*

*Thank you!*

*Maraming salamat po!*