

**Methodologies in Determining Morphosyntactic Change:
Case Studies and
Cross-linguistic Applications**

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**On the Development of Passives
in Philippine Languages**

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Overview

1. Structures in Philippine languages that have been called “Passive”.

Structures that are not passives.

Structures that may be passives.

Statives and Inverse structures.

- Passives in Northern Philippine languages.
- Historical Development
- Conclusion

Minimal Condition for Passive -- 1

- So-called passive constructions have a wide range of grammatical forms in languages around the world.
- A typology of the different ways that passives can be constructed is explored in Shibatani (1985).
- Shibatani also talks about constructions that are not passives, but which use some of the same grammatical machinery, such as reflexives, reciprocals and the like.
- One common theme, in all types of passive and passive-like constructions, the actor is downgraded.
- Downgrading of the actor is the minimal condition for a passive construction.

True Passives vs. False Passives -- 1

- Need to distinguish between constructions that are true passives from those that have been called passive but aren't.
- There are various kinds of constructions that have been called passive in Philippine language.
- There are those that aren't because the actor is not downgraded.
- There are those that may be because the actor is downgraded.

True Passives vs. False Passives--2

Constructions that may be true passives include stative and potential constructions which while having similar marking are probably not passives.

There are some Philippine languages that have developed real passive constructions.

Constructions That Do Not Meet the Minimal Conditions for Being Passive -- 1

- Traditional descriptions of Philippine languages, from the earliest Spanish grammars of the 16th and 17th centuries, up until the middle of the twentieth century, with only a few notable exceptions, labeled the well-known “non-actor-focus” (or “undergoer oriented”) constructions of Philippine languages as passive constructions.
- One of the exceptions was the first description of the grammar of the language of Bontok, Mt. Province, by Carl Wilhelm Seidenadel (1909).
- Seidenadel claimed instead that in Bontok at least, such constructions are “active, transitive” constructions, each with a corresponding “passive” construction that does not allow an actor to be expressed.

Constructions That Do Not Meet the Minimal Conditions for Being Passive -- 2

Khinina-ang Bontok

- a. *Ará-e=m* *nan fótog!*
get-Pat=ERG.2SG [SPEC pig]_{ABS}
'Get the pig!'
- b. *Charos-a=m* *nan áfong!*
clean-Loc=ERG.2SG [SPEC house]_{ABS}
'Clean the house!'
- c. *I-yáli=m* *nan fótog!*
Con-come=ERG.2SG [SPEC pig]_{ABS}
'Bring the pig!'

Constructions That Do Not Meet the Minimal Conditions for Being Passive -- 3

The use of the term “passives” to characterize constructions in Philippine languages in which the grammatical subject expresses some role other than the actor, continued to be used by the American linguists Blake, and Bloomfield in their descriptions of Tagalog, Bisayan and Ilokano, and subsequently by various other linguists, such as Givón, Bell, and John Wolff in his reconstruction of Proto-Austronesian “active and three passive” verbal affixes.

Constructions That Do Not Meet the Minimal Conditions for Being Passive -- 4

- Shibatani (1985): so-called “passives” of Philippine languages are not “true passives” even though they “topicalize” the undergoer, because they do not downgrade the actor.
- Simply because an undergoer is made the grammatical subject of a sentence is not sufficient evidence to claim that the construction is passive.
- In more recent descriptions, such sentences have been referred to as ‘dynamic transitive’ or simply as ‘active’ constructions.
- Most recent descriptions have concluded that the structures are ergative.

Constructions That Do Not Meet the Minimal Conditions for Being Passive -- 5

- Typically, in Philippine languages, especially when such sentences are imperatives, the actor is not downgraded, it is obligatory.
- In some contexts, however, an actor may not appear.
- Himmelmann (1999): In Tagalog, there are no cases where an actor is not expressed where it could be recovered from the immediate context, as in rapid, or sequential action sequences with the same actor.
- Actors omissible only if the event involves an unspecified actor, or is part of a “complex predication”, some of which are reduced complement or adverbial clauses.

Passive or Stative? -- 1

- There is a close correlation between the passive and two other construction types, stative and inverse.
- Some Philippine linguists treat passives and statives as the same, others consider them to be different construction types.
- Inverse constructions that have been considered by some to be passives are treated by others as active constructions.

Passive or Stative? -- 2

Seidenadel (1909): Claimed that Bontok sentences such as those given above are active, because they have what he considered to be passive counterparts.

These are illustrated in the next slide, with perfective marking (na-) on the verbs.

Passive or Stative? -- 3

Khinina-ang Bontok

- a. *Na-ára nan fótog.*
PFV.STAT-get [SPEC pig]_{ABS}
'The pig has been gotten.'
- b. *Na-charos=an nan áfong.*
PFV.STAT-cleaned-Loc [SPEC house]_{ABS}
'The house has been cleaned.'
- c. *Na-i-yáli nan fótog.*
PFV.STAT-Con-bring [SPEC pig]_{ABS}
'The pig has been brought.'

Passive or Stative? -- 4

It is obvious that verbs such as 'get', 'clean' and 'bring' cannot take place without somebody doing the appropriate action (they are semantically transitive),

Sentences such as these do not allow an actor to be expressed, the actor is not optional.

Why?

An actor is irrelevant because what is being described is the result of an action, and hence the state that the undergoer is now in.

These sentences then appear to be intransitive stative verbs, not passives with downgraded actors.

Passives That Are Not Stative -- 1

Khinina-ang Bontok

- a. As *fa-ikh-en=cha sik-a, mo chepap-en=cha.*
 FUT whip-Pat=ERG.3PL [2SG]_{ABS} if catch-Pat=ERG.3PL
 'They will whip you, if they catch (you).'

Verb Actor Undergoer – VAP

Basic transitive

- b. As *ma-fá-ig=ka, mo in-o-ónong=ka kayet.*
 FUT STAT-Whip=ABS.2SG if fighting=ABS.2SG still
 'You'll be whipped, if you keep on fighting.'

Verb Undergoer – VP

Stative intransitive

- c. As *fa-ikh-en chaka, mo in-o-ónong=ka kayet.*
 FUT whip-Pat PASS.ABS.2SG if fighting=ABS.2SG still
 'You're gonna get whipped (by someone), if you keep on fighting.'

Verb Undergoer – VP

Passive intransitive

Passives That Are Not Stative -- 2

Balangao

- a. *Haprat-an hen poles hea.*
 hit-Loc [SPEC police]_{ERG} [2SG]_{ABS}
 'The policeman will hit you (SG).'

Verb Actor Undergoer – VAP

Actor obligatory

- b. *Haprat-an cha-a (hen poles).*
 hit-Loc PASS.ABS.2SG [SPEC police]_{OBL}
 'You (SG) will be hit (by the policeman).'

Verb Undergoer (Actor) – VP(A)

Actor optional

- c. *Ma-haprat-an=-a.*
 STAT-hit-LOC=ABS.2SG
 'You will get hit.'

Verb Undergoer – VP

No Actor possible

Passives That Are Not Stative -- 3

Upper Tanudan Kalinga

- a. *P<in>o-ryaw* *dikani* *gay.*
<PRF>CAUS-leave PASS.ABS.1PL.EXCL EMPH
'We (EXCL) were sent away.'
- b. ...*ya i-dayaw* *dika=tta* *kasintatagu=m.*
and Con-praise PASS.ABS.2SG=OBL.PL fellowmen=GEN.2SG
'... and you (SG) will be praised by your (PL) fellowmen.'

Passives That Are Not Stative -- 4

Limos Kalinga

- a. *I-lugan=na* *sika* *utnat* *kalitun.*
Con-ride=ERG.3SG [2SG]_{ABS} OBL wheelbarrow
'He will push you in the wheelbarrow.'
- b. *I-lugan* *dika* (*kan siya*) *utnat* *kalitun.*
Con-ride PASS.ABS.2SG OBL 3SG OBL wheelbarrow
'You will be pushed (by him) in the wheelbarrow.'

Features of Northern Philippine Passives (1)

1. The actor is optional, and is expressed as an oblique noun phrase, following the undergoer.
2. The verb maintains its basic form, it does not undergo any additional affixation.
3. Even though the actor is downgraded, the action is marked as intentional.
4. A second person undergoer has a unique form, and provides clues to its historical development.

Table 1. Khinina-ang Bontok Personal Pronouns

	Unmarked	Absolutive	Ergative	Oblique
1SG	sak-en	=ak	=ko, =k	an sak-en
2SG	sik-a	=ka chaka	=mo, =m	an sik-a
3SG	siya	∅	=na	an siya
1DL	cha-ita	=ta	=ta	an cha-ita
1PL.INCL	chakami	=kami	=mi	an chakami
1PL.EXCL	chatako	=tako	=tako	an chatako
2PL	chakayo	=kayo	=yo	an chakayo
3PL	cha-icha	=cha	=cha	an cha-icha

Khinina-ang Bontok Pronouns (1)

- Historically the singular forms of unmarked pronouns were cliticized to a singular person marker *si, the plural forms were cliticized to an associated plural marker *da (> cha).
- In Bontok (and other Central Cordilleran languages) unmarked pronouns function as (a) predicates, (b) fronted Topics, (c) the pronominal heads of Oblique NPs, and as (d) the Absolutive pronouns of transitive constructions, regardless of whether the actor is a pronoun or a lexical noun phrase.

- (a) [*Sak-en*]_{PRED} *si Juan*. 'I am Juan.' Lit. 'Juan is me.'
 (b) [*Sik-a*]_{TOP}, *omey=ka*. 'As for you, you go.'
 (c) *Egwar=mo* [*an siya*]_{OBL}. 'You give (it) to him.'

Khinina-ang Bontok Pronouns (2)

(d) the Absolutive pronouns of transitive constructions

- a. *Akhas-a=m sak-en o patay-e=k sik-a!*
 medicine-Loc=GEN.2SG [1SG]_{ABS} or kill-Pat=GEN.1SG [2SG]_{ABS}
 'Give me medicine, or I'll kill you!' / 'Treat me, or I'll kill you!'
- b. *Mo tet-ewa ay laraych-e=m sak-en, ...*
 if true LIG love-Pat=GEN.2SG [1SG]_{ABS}
 'If you truly love me (maybe you do, maybe you don't) ...'
- c. *Ay in-ila=n Pangchar chakayo ad khogkha?*
 Q PRF-saw=GEN Pangchar [2PL]_{ABS} LOC yesterday
 'Did Pangchar see you (PL) yesterday?'

Source of the Passive Absolutive Pronoun

- The source of the unique Bontok second person singular pronoun *chaka*, with cognates in Balangao *cha'a*, and related languages is clearly different from the unmarked plural absolutive pronouns with initial *cha-* formative.
- Probable cognates of the form, but with different functions are found in other Northern Philippine languages, such as Kapampangan and Ilokano.
- In these languages, the sequence =*da=ka* consists of two syntactically distinct clitics. The first is a third person plural ergative pronoun, the next is a second person singular absolutive clitic.
- In both Kapampangan and Ilokano, person features of certain ergative pronouns are being lost when in combination with absolutive pronouns.

Agent Feature Loss (1)

In Kapampangan, when the Patient (absolutive) is a second person (singular or plural), the person features of Agents are neutralized. Only a third person (singular or plural) ergative form can be used.

A third person singular form retains all of its features, while a third person plural form is interpretable as either first (singular or exclusive plural). or third person plural.

Kalugurán=da=ká / =kayó.

love=ERG.3PL=ABS.2SG / =ABS.2PL

'They love you (SG/PL).' / 'I love you (SG/PL).' / 'We (EXCL) love you (SG/PL).'

Agent Feature Loss (2)

Kapampangan

Saupan=na=ka.

help=ERG.3SG=ABS.2SG

'He will help you.'

Saupan=ku=la.

help=ERG.1SG=ABS.3PL

'I will help them.'

Saupan=mu=kami.

help=ERG.2SG=ABS.1PL.EXCL

'You (SG) will help us (EXCL).'

Agent Feature Loss (3)

In Ilokano, person features of Agents are neutralized when the Patient is any first or second person. No neutralization occurs when the Patient is a third person.

When an Agent is other than first person, they are distinguished only by number, with context eliminating person ambiguities.

Kinábil=ko=idá.

PRF.hit=ERG.1SG=ABS.3PL

'I hit them.'

Kinábil=ko (isúna).

PRF.hit=ERG.1SG ABS.3SG

'I hit him.'

Kinábil=yo=idá

PRF.hit=ERG.2PL=ABS.3PL

'You (PL) hit them.'

Agent Feature Loss (4)

When the Patient is not a third person pronoun and when an Agent is other than a first person singular pronoun, an Agent is distinguished only by number, with context eliminating person ambiguities.

Ilokano

Kinábil=na=k.

PRF.hit=ERG.3SG=ABS.1SG

'You (SG) hit me.' / 'He hit me.'

Kinábil=da=k.

PRF.hit=ERG.3PL=ABS.1SG

'You (PL) hit me.' / 'They hit me.'

Kinábil=da=ka.

PRF.hit=ERG.3PL=ABS.2SG

'We (EXCL) you (SG).' / 'They hit you (SG).'

Agent Feature Loss (5)

When an Agent is a first person singular pronoun and the Patient is not a third person pronoun, no phonological form for the Agent appears.

Ilokano

Kinábil=ka.

PRF.hit=ABS.2SG

'I hit you (SG).'

Kinábil=kayo.

PRF.hit=ABS.2PL

'I hit you (PL).'

Agent Feature Loss (7)

- Loss of Agent features in Kapampangan and Ilokano appear to have developed independently, and seem to be motivated by a politeness strategy. Context always makes clear the referent of the Agent, and so in this sense the Agent is not down-graded.
- The Central Cordilleran languages, of which Bontok, Balangao and Kalinga are members, although today having a tripartite pronominal marking system, with distinct pronouns for the S of intransitive construction, and the A and P of transitive constructions, probably also had a system such as we find in Kapampangan and Ilokano.

Historical Development (1)

The Central Cordilleran languages, of which Bontok, Balangao and Kalinga are members, although today having a tripartite pronominal marking system, with distinct pronouns for the S of intransitive constructions, and the A and P of transitive constructions, probably also had a system such as we find in Kapampangan and Ilokano, with an ergative system, where S and P were marked by the same clitic absolutive pronouns.

The Proto-Central Cordilleran form *daka (< Btk *chaka*, Blw *cha'a*, Kla *dika*), was originally a combination of 3rd person genitive and 2nd person absolutive ('they-you'), with gradual loss of features until the agentive features were completely neutralized.

Historical Development (2)

The form *daka eventually was grammaticalized as a single lexical item, functioning only as the absolutive second person pronoun of a passive construction, implying an undergoer that has been intentionally affected by some non-specified actor.

The construction, although headed by a verb, with affixation typically occurring on a basic transitive construction is detransitivized and passive. An actor can be specified, but only as an oblique NP.

Any oblique NP is typically third person, but can be singular or plural.

Historical Development (3)

Other factors apparently contributed to the development of this type of passive construction.

1. Occurrence of the construction in natural conversation typically occurs with verbs of physical violence, hitting, beating, whipping, cutting, and the like. It is typically an adversative passive.
2. Philippine languages have an adversative construction that is syntactically intransitive, but is headed by a verb that is a denominal agent, and carries affixation that usually occurs on intentional transitive verbs.
3. These are stative verbs, with no agent able to be expressed by an oblique NP. However these could have been a syntactic model for passives, with agents being expressed as a result of influence from European languages, such as English.

Historical Development (4)

Ilokano

- a. *koton-én ti inapúy.*
ant-Pat [SPEC rice]ABS
'The rice is full of ants.'
- b. *<in>ánay ti lúpot=ko.*
<PRF>termite [SPEC clothes=GEN.1SG]ABS
'My clothes was ruined by white ants.'
- c. *d<in>ángaw ti págay.*
<PRF>stink-bug [SPEC rice]ABS
'The rice has been devastated by stink-bugs.'

Conclusion

- The true passive constructions of Philippine languages are the inverse constructions.
- They are derived as intransitive, requiring only a single core argument (the undergoer).
- They maintain, without change, the affixation of the transitive verb, controlling the semantic interpretation of the undergoer.
- A downgraded actor is implied but need not be expressed.
- When an actor is expressed, it is non-specific, follows the undergoer and is encoded by an oblique noun phrase.
- In some of the Northern Luzon languages, special pronouns have developed to express the undergoer of these passive constructions.