

Academia Sinica  
 Workshop on Coordination and Comitativity  
 in Austronesian Languages

November 7-8, 2009

## On the Development of Comitative Verbs in Philippine Languages

Hsiu-chuan Liao

National Tsing Hua University

## Research Questions

- How is the notion of comitativity encoded morphosyntactically in Philippine languages?
- Is there any formative that is commonly used to encode comitativity in Philippine languages? If there is, can such formative(s) be reconstructed for the immediate ancestor language of all Philippine languages?
- Does the common comitative marking have other functions? If there is, can we posit a path for the development of these functions?

## Coding of Comitativity (1)

- Philippine languages may encode the notion of comitativity through **prepositional phrases**.
- (1) **Tagalog** (Reid 2009:287) [Greater Central Philippines]  
 Maglalakad=kayo [**ng** Nanay].  
 will.walk=Nom.2p Gen.com mother  
 ‘You (pl.) will walk with Mother.’
- (2) **Ilokano** (Reid 2009:287) [Northern Luzon]  
 Napan=kami [**ken** Marta].  
 went=Nom.1pe Obl.pers Martha  
 ‘We (ex.) went with Martha.’

## Coding of Comitativity (2a)

- Philippine languages may encode the notion of comitativity through a special verb form, known as a “**social verb**” in the literature.
  - verbs indicating **shared participation of an action** (actions performed in the company of other people)
  - verbs used to **ask permission to perform an action that is usually comitative** (Rubino 1997:lxxi).
  - *makikapayong / makipayong* ‘to share an umbrella’
- Social verbs commonly contain the formative *maki-* or its related forms (*aki-*, *ki-*; *naki-/nachi-*; *paki-/pachi-*; etc.) in Philippine languages.

### Coding of Comitativity (2b)

- In general, *m*-initial forms (including *maki*-, *meki*- [məki], *mek*- [mək], *machi*-/*maci*- [maʃi], *makig*-, *mekig*-, *magig*-, etc.) are either **infinitive** forms or **imperfective** forms used to express an **incompleted social/comitative action**.
- In Agutaynen, however, *magig*- is used as an **irrealis** form; the **imperfective aspect** is instead expressed by *pagig*- (Quakenbush 2005).
- The form *maki*- alternates with *ki*- in at least the Central Luzon languages Kakilingan Sambal and Ayta Magantsi, and the Southern Cordilleran language Ilongot/Bugkalot.

### Coding of Comitativity (2c)

- A **completed social/comitative action** is usually expressed by *n*-initial forms (including *naki*-, *neki*- [nəki], *nek*- [nək], *nachi*-/*naci*- [naʃi], *nakig*-, *nekig*- [nəkig], *nagig*-, etc.) in most Philippine languages.
- In Tagalog and other Central Philippine languages, the *n*-initial forms indicate “[+begun]” rather than “[+completed]”.
  - *naki*- (or *nakig*-) ‘completive/perfective: [+**begun**, +completed]’
  - *nakiki*- (or *nakikig*-) (i.e. *naki*(g)- + CV reduplication) ‘incompletive: [+**begun**, -completed]’.
- A **completed social/comitative action** is expressed by a non-nasal-initial perfective form *eki*- in Karao and Ibaloy [Southern Cordilleran, Northern Luzon].

### Coding of Comitativity (2d)

- Some Philippine languages have *p*-initial forms (including *paki*-, *peki*- [pəki], *pachi*-/*paci*-, *pakig*-, *pekig*- [pəkig], *pagig*-, etc.) as **gerunds** or **other nominalizations** (cf. the *m*-initial forms as **verbs**).
- The *maki*- (or its related *m*-initial) verbs do **not** have corresponding *p*-initial nominalizations: Dupanangan Agta, Khinina-ang Bontok, etc.
- Only the *p*-initial forms are present: S.W. Palawano *peki*-; Cuyonon *pakig*-.

### Coding of Comitativity (2e)

- Other functions of the *p*-initial forms:
  - ◆ as the **imperative** forms of social verbs (e.g. Ibaloy).
  - ◆ as the **dependent** forms of social verbs (e.g. Cebuano).
  - ◆ as the **imperfective** forms of social verbs (e.g. Agutaynen).
  - ◆ as **polite imperative/requestive verbs** (e.g. Tagalog).
- **Tagalog** (Ramos and Cena 1990: 90)  
*Paki*abot=mo=nga                      ang libro.  
 Plt.Req.pass=Gen.2s=please Def book  
 ‘You (sg.) please hand over the book.’

### Social/Comitative

- **Dupaningan Agta** (Robinson 2008:176)

(a) *umangay=kam makigatab.*  
 go=Nom.2p Soc.harvest  
 ‘Go participate in the harvest.’

(b) *makietnod=ak=bi?*  
 Soc.sit=Nom.1s=also  
 ‘May I sit (with you)?’

### *maki-*: Permissive Comitative

- **Tagalog** (Ramos 1981:154)

*Makikiluto=na=lang=ako sa=inyo ....*  
 Soc.CV.cook=now=only=Nom.1s Lcv=2p  
 ‘May I share in using your (pl.) cooking facilities with you (pl.) ....?’

- “*Maki-* is the actor-focus counterpart of the prefix *paki-* which makes the verb base a request form. **Unlike *paki-*, however, *maki-* can also be used to ask permission to use or partake of something owned by someone...**” (Ramos and Cena 1990:96)

### *paki-*: Polite Imperative/Request (1)

- The verbal prefix *paki-* and the particle *nga* denote a request roughly equivalent to ‘please’ in English. (Ramos 1985:134)
- The topic or focus of a *paki-* verb may be any semantic element other than the actor, such as the object or goal.
  - This topic is marked by *ang*.
  - The actor of a *paki-* verb on the other hand, is always in a non-focus relation with the verb. Hence, the actor is denoted by *ng* pronouns.

### *paki-*: Polite request/Imperative (2)

- **Tagalog** (Ramos 1985:132-134)

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

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

(c) *Pakiabot nga ng asin.*  
 Plt.Req.pass Plt Gen salt  
 ‘Please pass the salt.’

## Requestive

- **Halitao Baytan** (Malicsi 1974:52) [Central Luzon]  
*Pakikuwaen=ya ni Pedro nin kwalta.*  
Req.get=Nom.3s Gen Pedro Obl money  
‘Pedro will ask him to get money.’
- **Hiligaynon** (Wolfenden 1975:93) [G. C. Philippines]  
*Pakigdala=ko sang basket kay Mr. Cruz.*  
Req.send=Gen.1s Obl basket Lcv Mr. Cruz  
‘I will request that the basket be sent to Mr. Cruz.’

## Causative

- **Maranao** (McKaughan and Macaraya 1996:6) [Greater C. Philippines]  
*Pakitabasen o mama ko wataq so karatas.*  
Caus.cut.Tr Gen man Obl child Def paper  
‘The man will have the child cut the paper.’

## *Diachronic Development*

## PMP \*paki- ‘comitative’

- Ross (1988:284): **PMP \*paki- ‘do (s.t.) together’**
  - **POc:** \*pa(k)i- ‘comitative; reciprocal’ (Ross, p.c.)
  - Cebuano: *paki-g-qáway* ‘fight with (s.o.)’
  - Hiligaynon: *paki-g-lutu-an* ‘will be cooked with’
  - Tagalog: *maki-kain* ‘eat with (s.o.)’
  - Ilokano: *maki-sarita* ‘talk with (s.o.)’
  - Western Bukidnon Manobo: *peki-tavan* ‘participate in helping’
  - Toba Batak: *mahi-solat* ‘conceal oneself with (s.o.)’

## ? \*maki-/\*paki- ‘petitive’

- Blust (2009:364): (?protolanguage) **\*maki-/paki- ‘petitive’**
  - Tagalog: **maki-** ‘ask for, make a request for; join in company; imitate’, **paki-** ‘prefixing forming nouns to denote favor asked or requested’
  - Bikol: **paki-** ‘verbal affix, social action series...the affix, when prefixed with *i-*, may also serve as a request without an accompanying verb base’
  - Timugon Murut: **maki-** ‘petitive, subject focus, future temporal’, **paki-** ‘petitive, atemporal’
  - Tindal Dusun, Kadazan Dusun, Bolaang Mongondow: **moki-** ‘petitive prefix, actor focus’, **poki-** ‘petitive affix, imperative mood’
  - Tondano: **maki-/paki-** ‘petitive’

## PMP \*maki- (\*paki-): Comitative or Requestive

- Which form should be reconstructed to PMP?
  - ◆ only \*paki- (Ross 1988)
  - ◆ both \*maki- and \*paki- (Blust 2009)
  - ◆ only \*maki-
- Which meaning should be reconstructed for PMP \*maki- (\*paki-)?
  - ◆ comitative (Ross 1988 \*paki-)
  - ◆ requestive (Blust 2009—‘petitive’)

## PMP \*maki- and/or \*paki-? (1)

- only \*paki-? (Ross 1988)
  - ◆ \*maki- < \*-um- + \*paki-
  - ◆ \*maki-: no reflexes in Oceanic languages
  - ◆ Problem:
    - ◆ Only **maki-** and its related *m*-initial forms, but not *paki-* and its related *p*-initial forms, can appear in the “permissive” comitative construction.
    - ◆ **\*maki-** must be reconstructed to PMP.
    - ◆ Either (i) only **\*maki-** or (ii) both **\*maki-** and **\*paki-** should be reconstructed to PMP.

## PMP \*maki- and/or \*paki-? (2)

- Supporting evidence for the reconstruction of \*maki- ‘comitative/social’
  - ◆ Some northern Philippine languages **only have the form maki-** (as well as *naki-*), but no *paki-*: Dupanangan Agta, Mainit Bontok, Khinina-ang Bontok, and Eastern Bontok, etc.
  - ◆ In languages with both *m*-initial and *p*-initial forms, ‘**comitative nouns are unexpectedly expressed by machi-/maki-**, rather than by *pachi-/paki-*: Yami and Ayta Mag-antsi
  - ◆ In languages that retain the ‘comitative/social’ meaning only in fossilized forms, **it is maki-**, rather than *paki-*, **that has been retained on fossilized nouns**
    - ◆ Central Tagbanwa (*makibahay* (n.) ‘neighborliness, good relations’)

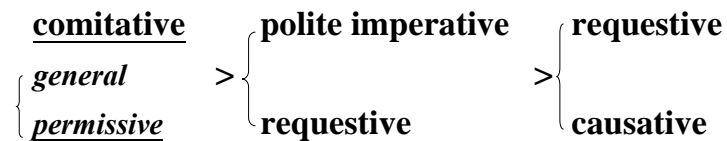
## Comitative or Requestive? (1)

- PMP \*maki- (\*paki-): comitative
  - ◆ at least 5 of Blust's (1991) 9 microgroups
  - ◆ **less restricted distribution** both *within* each microgroup and *across* all microgroups
  - ◆ not only in **verbal forms**, but also in **nominal forms**
    - ◆ **Yami**: *mačikilijan* 'fellow-villager'
    - ◆ **Ilokano**: *pakikuyog* 'companion'
    - ◆ **Ayta Mag-antsi**: *makilalaki* (n.) 'adulteress'
    - ◆ **Masbatenyo**: *pakipagkápwà* '(n.) human relations'
  - ◆ only the 'comitative' meaning is retained in fossilized nouns
    - ◆ **Central Tagbanwa**: *makibahay* (n.) 'neighborliness, good relations'

## Comitative or Requestive? (2)

- PMP \*maki- (\*paki-): requestive--historically secondary
  - ◆ found only in **verbs** (cf. 'comitative': V and N)
  - ◆ **more restricted distribution** (geographical distribution or distribution within a subgroup or across subgroups) than the 'comitative/social' meaning of \*maki- (\*paki-)
  - ◆ mainly found in central and southern Philippines, Sabah, and north and central Sulawesi
- The **broad distribution** of the 'comitative' meaning in both **verbal forms** and **nominal forms** in Philippine languages points to the reconstruction of **the 'comitative/social' meaning**, rather than the 'requestive' meaning, for PMP \*maki- (\*paki-).

## The Development of Semantic Senses Associated with PMP \*maki- (\*paki-)



## Some Remarks on the Proposed Path of Semantic Change

- The proposed development path should be understood to represent the divergent development of the semantic senses associated with \*maki- (\*paki-).
- Some languages retain only the sense reconstructed for PMP (i.e. 'comitative'). Others maintain one or more of the latter senses as well. Some others have lost the original sense of PMP \*maki- (\*paki-) and maintain only the latter senses.
- Since the various senses appear to be natural developments of the reconstructed sense, they do **not** provide evidence for subgrouping.

### Stage 1: Comitative

- Reflexes of PMP \*maki- (\*paki-) retain only the sense reconstructed for PMP (i.e. ‘comitative’: as either ‘comitative verbs’ or ‘comitative nouns’, or as both).
  - Bashiic languages: Yami, Ivatan, and Itbayat
  - Northern Luzon languages: Dupaningan Agta, Eastern Bontok, Mainit Bontok, Khinina-ang Bontok, Ibaloy, Ilongot/Bugkalot
  - Central Luzon languages: Kakilingan Sambal
  - Greater Central Philippines languages: Cebuano, Aklanon, Cuyonon, Southwest Palawano, Central Tagbanwa, Sindangan Subanen
  - Kalamian languages: Agutaynen

### Stage 2: Polite Imperative or Requestive

- Reflexes of PMP \*maki- (\*paki-) have developed additional senses, ‘requestive’ and/or ‘polite imperative/polite request’.
- The ‘requestive’ and/or ‘polite imperative/polite request’ usage(s) of PMP \*maki- (\*paki-) have probably developed from a special usage of comitative verbs (i.e. “**permissive**” **comitative**).
- The interpretation of a **permissive comitative construction** (‘May s.o. join ... in doing s.t. together?’) has been shifted to a **requestive construction** (‘s.o. requests ... to do s.t.’)
- In Philippine languages that have developed the ‘requestive’ sense and/or the ‘polite imperative/polite request’ sense, they have maintained the reconstructed sense ‘comitative’ as well.
  - Tagalog
  - languages that might have been under the (direct or indirect) influence of Tagalog: Ilokano; Ibatan; Ayta Mag-antsi, Botolan Sambal, and Kapampangan; Bikol and Hiligaynon

### Stage 3: Requestive or Causative

- Reflexes of PMP \*maki- (\*paki-) have developed an additional ‘causative’ sense but still retain the ‘requestive’ sense.
- The ‘causative’ sense of reflexes of PMP \*maki- (\*paki-) can be found in some Philippine languages as well as in a number of other Malayo-Polynesian languages spoken in the southern Philippines, Sabah, and northern and central Sulawesi: Maranao; Bantik [Sangiric]; Timugon Murut and Tindal Dusun; Yakan; etc.
- In those languages that have developed a ‘causative’ sense for PMP \*maki- (\*paki-), they are found to have maintained the ‘requestive’ sense, but have lost the original ‘comitative’ sense of PMP \*maki- (\*paki-).

### Stage 4: Causative

- Reflexes of PMP \*maki- (\*paki-) would be expected to maintain the ‘causative’ sense but lose the ‘requestive’ sense.
- **None** of the languages investigated belong to this group. However, we cannot rule out the possibility that some languages might develop into this stage in the future.

## Possibly Related Forms?

- S. Bunun: *makis-/pakis-* ‘to request, ask for’ (+ **nine** bases only) (cf. N. Bunun: *makic-*): (Nojima 2009)
 

|                                     |                         |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>makis-saiv</i>                   | ‘ask for, request, beg’ |
| <i>makis-suhis</i>                  | ‘request for returning’ |
| <i>makis-dangaz</i>                 | ‘help to request’       |
| <i>makis-baas</i>                   | ‘request back’          |
| <i>makis-unu</i>                    | ‘request next (??)’     |
| <i>makis-pusan / pakis-pusan-an</i> | ‘request two times’     |
| <i>makis-amin / pakis-amin-an</i>   | ‘request all’           |
| <i>makis-laliva</i>                 | ‘request mistakenly’    |
| <i>makis-sasu / pakis-sasu-an</i>   | ‘request immediately’   |
- Problem:  
**Proto-Bunun \*makic-/ \*pakic-**  
 → but **PMP \*maki-** (cf. expected, but unattested **PMP \*\*makis-**)  
 (cf. **Proto-Bunun \*tangic** ‘to cry’ and **PMP \*tangis** ‘to cry’).

## Acknowledgments

Laurie Reid

Elizabeth Zeitoun

Malcolm Ross

Stacy Fang-ching Teng

Joy Jing-lan Wu

Ester Elphick

## Selected References

- Behrens, Dietlind. 2002. *Yakan-English dictionary*. Linguistic Society of the Philippines Special Monograph Issue, No. 40, Vol. 2 (LSP 40.2). Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Benton, Richard A. 1971. *Pangasinan reference grammar*. PALI Language Texts: Philippines. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Blust, Robert. 2009. *The Austronesian languages*. Pacific Linguistics 602. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Brainard, Sherri, comp. 2003. Karao texts. *Studies in Philippine Languages and Cultures* 13. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines and Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Davis, Bill. 1995. S.W. Palawano grammar. Ms. New Tribes Mission, Palawan.
- Fukuda, Takashi. 1997. A discourse-oriented grammar of Eastern Bontoc. *Studies in Philippine Linguistics* 10(1):1-116.
- Maree, Rundell D. 2007. *Ibatan: A grammatical sketch of the language of Babuyan Claro Island*. Linguistic Society of the Philippines Special Monograph Issue, Number 53. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Mintz, Malcolm W. 1971. *Bikol grammar notes*. PALI Language Texts: Philippines. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Nojima, Motoyasu. 2009. Bunu prefix makis-/pakis- ‘to request, ask for’: An evidence for PAn \*makis-/pakis-. Paper presented at the 11<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics (11-ICAL), Aussois, France, June 22-25, 2009.
- Prentice, D. J. 1971. *The Murut languages of Sabah*. Pacific Linguistics C-18. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Quakenbush, J. Stephen. 2005. Some Agutaynen grammatical details: Personal pronouns, nominal markers, and tense/aspect/mode. In *Linguistics and language education in the Philippines and beyond: A Festschrift in honor of Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista*, ed. by Danilo T. Dayag and J. Stephen Quakenbush, 437-477.
- Ramos, Teresita V. 1985. *Conversational Tagalog: A functional-situational approach*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Reid, Lawrence A. 2009. Inclusive constructions and their development in Philippine languages. In *Austronesian historical linguistics and culture history: A Festschrift for Robert Blust*, ed. by Alexander Adelaar and Andrew Pawley, 267-294. Pacific Linguistics 601. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Robinson, Laura C. 2005. A sketch grammar of Tindal Dusun. *University of Hawai'i Working Papers in Linguistics* 36(5):1-31.
- Robinson, Laura C. 2008. Dupanangan Agta: Grammar, vocabulary, and texts. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawai'i.
- Ross, Malcolm D. 1988. *Proto Oceanic and the Austronesian languages of western Melanesia*. Pacific Linguistics C-98. Canberra: Australian National University.
- Rubino, Carl Ralph Galvez. 2000. *Ilocano dictionary and grammar*. PALI Language Texts. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Storek, Kurt, and Margaret Storek, comps. 2005. *Ayta Mag-ansi-English dictionary*. Manila: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Utsumi, Atsuko. 2009. Semantic roles and the voice systems of Sangiric languages. Paper presented at the 11<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics (11-ICAL), Aussois, France, June 22-25, 2009.
- Wolfenden, Elmer P., comp. 2001. *A Masbateno-English dictionary*. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Wolff, John U. 1972. *A dictionary of Cebuano Visayan*. Philippine Journal of Linguistics Special Monograph Issue Number 4. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.
- Zorc, R. David. 1977. *The Bisayan dialects of the Philippines: Subgrouping and reconstruction*. Pacific Linguistics C-44. Canberra: Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.