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**On the Reconstruction of
Proto-Malayo-Polynesian
*si- ‘simultaneous/concurrent aspect’**

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Objectives

- To provide evidence for the reconstruction of Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) *si- ‘simultaneous/concurrent aspect’.
- To discuss whether various meanings associated with *si- can be related to Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) *si- ‘simultaneous/concurrent aspect’:
 - Are various middle uses of reflexes of *si- related to *si- ‘simultaneous aspect’?

Background

- In descriptions of some Austronesian languages, a prefixal form *si(g)-* or *hi-* recurs.
- This form, occurring either alone or obligatorily with other forms and/or reduplication, is found to be associated with at least the following meanings:
 - ‘(collective) plural agents/actors’
 - ‘individual action’ or ‘mode of separate actions’
 - ‘concurrent aspect’ or ‘simultaneous mood’
 - ‘concomitance’ and/or ‘distribution of the action denoted by the base’
 - ‘mutual action’
 - ‘reciprocal’
 - ‘reflexive’
 - ‘effective’
 - ‘resultative’

Possible Related Reconstructions

- Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) *si- ‘distributive’ (Blust 2003:473)
- Proto (West) Malayo Polynesian *si- ‘reciprocal’ (Adelaar 1992:395)
- PAn / Proto-Malayic *si- ‘reciprocal’ (Adelaar 2005:132)

Malay

- *bər-sə-tumpu* ‘to take off against each other (for instance in tug-of-war game)’ [*< tumpu* ‘take-off, abutment’]
- *bər-sə-kongkol* ‘to conspire’ [*< kongkol* ‘to discuss, gossip’]

Problems with Previous Reconstructions (1): PMP *si- 'distributive'

- Reflexes of Proto-Extra-Formosan (or PMP) *maN- are used to form verbs describing distributive events, i.e. events that imply multiple activities, actions, or actors over time or space.

Mamanwa [Greater Central Philippines] (*maN-* 'distributive')

nangaen siran ka baay.

Pfv.eat Nom.3Pl Loc wild.root

'They ate wild root.'

(*nangaen* < *maN-* + *-in-* 'perfective' + *kaen* 'eat')

Problems with Previous Reconstructions (2): PAn *si- 'reciprocal'

- Against common direction of semantic change: (Heine and Tania Kuteva 2002; Kemmer 1993)
 - 'reflexive' → 'reciprocal'
- Zeitoun (2002, 2010) reconstructs Proto-Austronesian (PAn) *maR- as a 'reciprocal' marker.

Kapampangan [Central Luzon] (*mi-* 'reciprocal' < ***may-* < PAn *maR-)

adúa=la=ng *mípaté*.

two=Nom.3Pl=Lig fight

'They two fight each other.'

Research Questions

- Because 'distributive' and 'reciprocal' are already assigned to PMP/PEF *maN- and PAn/PMP *maR-, respectively, it is less likely that PMP *si- will have the same function as *maN- and *maR-. If that's the case, what meaning(s) can we assign to PMP *si-?
- Are various meanings associated with reflexes of PMP *si- developed historically from a single form or from two (or more) homophonous forms?

Simultaneous/concurrent aspect

- Several people act **simultaneously**, often at the same place, but not necessarily so.
- The action of the verb is being done **individually** (rather than in concert or together) by several actors **all at the same time**.

Simultaneous vs. Collective

- Although both collective actions and simultaneous actions are carried out by multiple actors, they differ in that:
 - **Collective actions:** the actions are carried out jointly by the participants as a group (Kemmer 1993:99).
 - **Simultaneous actions:** the actions being carried out by multiple participants (not necessarily as a group) at the same time.

Simultaneous vs. Distributive

- Although both distributive actions and simultaneous actions are carried out by multiple actors individually, they differ in that:
 - **Simultaneous actions** emphasize that the actions are being done by each individual **all at the same time**.
 - However, in the case of **distributive actions**, no attention is paid to the time that the actions are performed.

The distribution of *si- 'simultaneous aspect' (1)

- **Northern Luzon:**
 - Ilokano (*agsi-/ nagsi-; magsi-* (< Tagalog *magsi-*))
 - Meso-Cordillera: Batad Ifugao (*ʔahe-*), Kiangnan Ifugao (*ʔahe-* [N]), Balangaw (*ʔahe-* [N]; *heCV-* [V]; *man ʔahe-...-an* [N]), Bontok (*ʔasi-* [V]); Pangasinan (*magsi-*), Ilongot (*magsi-*)
- **Greater Central Philippines:**
 - Central Philippines: Tagalog (*magsi-*); Cebuano (*mag(ʔ)sig-; ʔsig-*), Hiligaynon (*masig-*), Aklanon (*magsi- /mansig- /matsig- /masig- /si-*); Mansaka (*magsi- / pagsi-*)
 - Manobo: Sarangani Manobo (*migs-i-*)
 - Palawan: South Western Palawano (*megsi-*)
- **Kalamian:**
 - Agutaynen (*mamansi-*)

The distribution of *si- 'simultaneous aspect' (2)

- **Muna Buton:**
 - Muna (*si-...-ha*)
- **South Sulawesi:**
 - Makassarese (*si-*)
- **Tomini-Tolitoli:**
 - Pendau (*si-* [N])

Evidence: *si- 'simultaneous' (1)

Balangao [Northern Luzon] (*he-* 'simultaneous (event)' < *si-)

- (1) The affix *he-CV-* most frequently occurs with Mo00-30, 50 expounding Head. A few members of Mo41, 42 may also expound **simultaneously** perform the action.

heʔaʔahawa=da.

Sim.spouse=Nom.3Pl

'They all are getting married at once.'

- (2) The affix *ʔahe-* occurs with a semantically restricted class of morphemes from a number of classes. The construction, with a verb expounding Head, means **the time that all people engage in the activity of the verb**. With a noun, the meaning is that **all people gather or plant** that noun.

ʔad ʔuwan hen ʔahebtà.

Loc now Spec time.of.harvest

'Now is the time of harvest.'

Evidence: *si- 'simultaneous' (2)

Tagalog [Greater Central Philippines] (*magsi-*)

- (1) *Nagsialís=silá.*

Pfv.Sim.leave=Nom.3Pl

'They all left.'

- (2) *Magsikain(=na)=kayo.*

Sim.eat(=now)=Nom.2Pl

'(Everyone) commence eating or start eating.'

Evidence: *si- 'simultaneous' (3)

- (1) Mansaka [Greater Central Philippines] (*pagsi-*)

pagsiori. 'returning home simultaneously'

pagsikabutang 'having been placed simultaneously'

pagsikadaragan 'the way they run simultaneously'

- (2) Cebuano [Greater Central Philippines] (*nag(ʔ)sig-*)

Nagʔsig paúli (nagsigpaúli) ang mga táwu.

each return.home (each.return.home) Spec Pl man

'The men returned home simultaneously.'

Evidence: *si- 'simultaneous' (4)

- (1) Sarangani Manobo [Greater Central Philippines]

Migsoli=dan.

Pfv.Sim.return.home=Nom.3Pl

'Each one went to his own home.'

- (2) *Migsikaen=kay.*

Pfv.Sim.eat=Nom.1Pl.Excl

'Each one of us (excl) ate by himself.'

Evidence: *si- 'simultaneous' (5)

(1) South West Palawano [Greater Central Philippines]

megsisiak 'cry at the same time'

megsilpad 'fly at the same time'

megsibres 'speak at the same time'

Evidence: *si- 'simultaneous' (6)

Agutaynen [Kalamian] (*mamansi-*)

(1) *Mamansiolik*=da da Pedro.
Irr.Pl.go.home=already Pers.Pl.Nom Pedro
'Pedro and friends will go home now.'

(2) Pag kabot ong balkon *namansikarong*
when arrive Obl porch Pfv.Pl.sit
ong silia.
Obl chair
'When they got to the porch, they sat on chairs.'

Evidence: *si- 'simultaneous' (7)

Makassarese [South Sulawesi]

Naumminne ri jaranna Karaeng Botolempangang
naung=mo=i=nne ri jarang=na karaen Botolempangang
go.down=Pfv=3=this Prep horse=Poss.3 karaeng Botolempangang

sipanaungang suro bangkeng bicaraya.

sipanaungang suro bangkeng bicara=a

Mut.Nr.go.down.Nr order leg speak=Def

'Karaeng Botolempangang got down from his horse at the same time as the messenger.'

Evidence: *si- 'simultaneous' (8)

Muna [Muna-Buton] (*si- ... -ha* 'at the same time, all together')

(1) do=*sipodeaha*.
3Pl=Sim.shout
'They (du) shout together.'

(2) ta=*sifumafumaaha*.
1Pl.Excl=Sim.eat
'We (excl) eat together.'

Other Meanings Associated with Reflexes of PMP *si- (1)

- Reflexive:
 - Greater Central Philippines: Northern Subanen (*məGsi-/miGsi-*)
 - Malayo-Sumbawan: Sundanese (*si-*)
- Reciprocal:
 - Northern Luzon: Balangao (*man ?ahe- / man ?ahe- -enn-* (or *man -enn-*)); Bontok (*?asi-*)
 - Extended Barito: Mapun (*si- /pagsi-*), Lesser Sunda Islands Sama Bajaw (*si-*)
 - South Sulawesi: Makassarese (*si-, siN-* (or *saN-*))
 - Malayo-Sumbawan: Malay (*bər-sə-*), Minangkabau (*(ba)si-*), etc.

Other Meanings Associated with Reflexes of PMP *si- (2)

- Grooming:
 - Northern Luzon: Ilokano (*siCV-*); Isnag (*nagsi-*)
 - Malayo-Sumbawan: Sundanese (*si-*); Salako (*(ba)si(N)-*)
- Change in body posture:
 - Northern Luzon: Ilokano (*siCV-*)
 - Malayo-Sumbawan: Sundanese (*si-*)

Other Meanings Associated with Reflexes of PMP *si- (3)

- Translational Motion:
 - Northern Luzon: Isnag (*si-*)
 - Greater Central Philippines: Sindangan Subanen (*si-*)
- Emotion middle:
 - Northern Luzon: Ilokano (*si(CV)-*); Isnag (*si-*)
 - Greater Central Philippines: Northern Subanen (*məGsi-/miGsi-*)

Other Meanings Associated with Reflexes of PMP *si- (4)

- Cognition middle:
 - Northern Luzon: Ilokano (*siCV-*)
- Spontaneous events:
 - Greater Central Philippines: Northern Subanen (*məGsi-/miGsi-*), Sindangan Subanen (*peksi-*)

*si-: Reflexive

Northern Subanen [Greater Central Philippines]
(*məGsi-/miGsi-*)

*miksi*ʔpatay dayun gilán.

Refl.kill then Abs.3Pl

‘Then they killed themselves.’

*si-: Reciprocal (1)

Balangao [Northern Luzon] (*man ʔahe-/man--enn- /
man ʔahe- -enn-* ‘reciprocal’)

(1) *man ʔahesongbat./mansennongbat./man ʔahesennongbat.*

Recp.answer

‘Answer each other.’

(2) *man ʔahesokat=ʔayu lumbong=yu.*

Recp.trade=Nom.2Pl clothes=Gen.2Pl

‘You (pl) trade clothes with each other.’

*si-: Reciprocal (2)

Mapun [Greater Barito] (*si-* ‘reciprocal’; *sika-* ‘reciprocal
[stative]’)

(1) Ga lalla looy ya’ patagong *sisuntuk*.

Pl man that.dist Neg stop Recp.hit

‘Those guys won’t stop hitting each other.’

(2) Subay mimon jama *sikaase’-kaase’*.

should all people Recp.Stat.love

‘All people should love each other.’

*si-: Grooming

Ilokano [Northern Luzon] (*si-(CV)-*)

sipapanés ‘wearing mourning apparel’

sipapandiling ‘wearing a skirt’

Sundanese [Malayo-Sumbawan] (*si-*; cf.

silih- ‘reciprocity, alternant’)

sibeungeut ‘to wash one’s face’

(< *beungeut* ‘face’)

sibanyo ‘to wash one’s hands’

(< *banyo* ‘water’)

*si-: Change in Body Posture

Ilokano [Northern Luzon] (*si-(CV)-*)

situtugáw ‘sitting down’

sitatakdér ‘standing’

Sundanese [Malayo-Sumbawan] (*si-*; cf.

silih- ‘reciprocity, alternant’)

sideku ‘to kneel’ (< *deku* ‘knee’)

*si-: Emotion Middle

Ilokano [Northern Luzon] (*si-(CV)-*)

sisisiddáaw ‘very much astonished’

siayát ‘loving, with pleasure’

sigugúra ‘full of hate’

silaladingit ‘sorrowing, very sad’

sisasángit ‘weeping’

siungét ‘angry’

Northern Subanen [Greater Central Philippines] (*maksi-/miksi-*)

miksitalaw =na dayun

Res.lack.courage=already then

su ŋmanuku.

Abs Scm=chicken=Gen.1Sg

‘My rooster became a coward.’

*si-: Cognition Middle

Ilokano [Northern Luzon] (*si-(CV)-*)

sipapáti ‘believing’

*si-: Spontaneous Events

Northern Subanen [Greater Central Philippines]

(*maksi-/miksi-* ‘resultative’)

... tampan *maksibagəl* gaid su ŋni?a

until Res.big Intns Abs Scm=Gen.2Sg

nə kpuunan...

Lig Scm=capital

‘...until your capital will become really big...’

Observations and Conclusions (1)

- **On the basis of evidence from at least six subgroups of Malayo-Polynesian languages, Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) *si- is reconstructed as a marker of ‘simultaneous/concurrent aspect’.**
 - Northern Luzon
 - Greater Central Philippines
 - Kalamian
 - Muna Buton
 - South Sulawesi
 - Tomini-Tolitoli

Observations and Conclusions (2)

- **At least eight types of “middle”-related meanings are found to be associated with reflexes of *si-:**
 - Reflexive
 - Reciprocal
 - Grooming
 - Change in body posture
 - Translational motion
 - Emotion middle
 - Cognition middle
 - Spontaneous events

Observations and Conclusions (3)

- **These eight types of “middle”-related meanings might be related to Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) *si- ‘simultaneous/concurrent aspect’ via the sense of ‘identity’.**
- **More specifically, a simultaneous event can be viewed as having the core meaning ‘identity in time’.**
 - A reciprocal action can be viewed as having the property ‘identity in referents’ (i.e. identical (plural) Initiators and Affectees).
 - A reflexive action can be viewed as having the property ‘identity in time’ and ‘identity in referent’ (i.e. identical (singular) Initiator and Affectee).
 - Other types of middle-related events can also be viewed as having the property ‘identity in referent(s)’ and/or ‘identity in time’.

Questions for Further Research (1)

- **Is *(ka)si(N)-*, the derivational affix used for forming nouns meaning ‘something coming from the same source/pattern’, historically related to Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) *si- ‘simultaneous/concurrent aspect’?**

Aklanon

- kasimaeáy* ‘someone coming from the same house’
- kasimaryo* ‘someone coming from the barrio; a barriomate’
- kasimanwa* ‘a town-mate’
- kasintuead* ‘an identical pattern; something coming from the same pattern’

Questions for Further Research (2)

- Is *(ka)si(N)-*, the affix found in equal comparative constructions, historically related to Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) *si- ‘simultaneous/concurrent aspect’?

Hiligaynon

Kasingtaas ni Pedro si Juan.
same.height gen.pers Pedro pers Juan
‘Pedro is the same height as Juan.’

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