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].
goes=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).
  - makinpayong / makinpayong ‘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-[maki], mek- [mak], machi-maci- [mafi], 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 Mag-antsi, 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-[naki], nek- [nak], nachi-/naci- [naij], nakig-, nekig-[nakig], 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- [paki], pachi-/paci-, pakig-, pekig- [pakig], 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: Dupaningan 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)
  
  Pakiabot=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 maki gatab.*
  go=Nom.2p Soc.harvest
  ‘Go participate in the harvest.’

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

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**maki-**: Permissive Comitative

- **Tagalog** (Ramos 1981:154)
  *Makiki luto=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)

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**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.

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

- **Tagalog** (Ramos 1985:132-134)
  (a) *Paki lagay ito=ng tinapay diyan.*
  Plt.Req.put this.Nom=Lig bread there
  ‘Will you please put the bread there?’

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

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

- **Halitaq Baytan** (Malicsi 1974:52) [Central Luzon]
  
Pakiswaen=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 Lev Mr. Cruz
  ‘I will request that the basket be sent to Mr. Cruz.’

Causative

- **Maranao** (McKaughan and Macaraya 1996:6) [Greater C. Philippines]
  
Paki tabas eno 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: pakig-qáway ‘fight with (s.o.)’
  - Hiligaynon: pakig-lutu-an ‘will be cooked with’
  - Tagalog: maki-kain ‘eat with (s.o.)’
  - Ilokano: maki-sarita ‘talk with (s.o.)’
  - Western Bukidnon Manobo: peki-tavaj ‘participate in helping’
  - Toba Batak: mahi-solat ‘conceal oneself with (s.o.)’
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? *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-: Dupaningan 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 Aytang Antis
  - 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 (*maki-bahay 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: *mači*ilan ‘fellow-villager’
    - Ilokano: *pakayog* ‘companion’
    - Ayta Mag-antsi: *maki*lakili ‘adulteress’
    - Masbateño: *pakipag*kapaw ‘(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-)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>comitative</th>
<th>polite imperative</th>
<th>requestive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>general</td>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>requestive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>permissive</td>
<td>&gt; requestive</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Ifbayat
  - 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)

  - **makis-say** ‘ask for, request, beg’
  - **makis-sahis** ‘request for returning’
  - **makis-dangaz** ‘help to request’
  - **makis-baus** ‘request back’
  - **makis-ambu** ‘request next’
  - **makis-pusan / pakis-pusan-an** ‘request two times’
  - **makis-amin / pakis-amin-an** ‘request all’
  - **makis-laliva** ‘request mistakenly’
  - **makis-sasay / pakis-sasay-an** ‘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’).

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Selected References


