

Voice Alternations and Patient-Orientedness in Comitative Verbs in Northern Luzon

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Terminological confusion in Philippine languages

- Complex voice system
- Voice — focus, case, case/topicalisation, topicalisation, theme, verb class, recentralization, trigger (Blust 2013: 437), cross-referencing, orientation, and role or case relationship
- Comitative verbs — cooperative aspect, cooperative, subject-participation, object-inclusion, collective, participatory, participative, inclusive, concomitant aspect, associative, associative aspect, social, social aspect, comitative social, joint action.

Comitative verbs in Philippine languages

- (Arkhipov 2009: 224-225): comitative constructions are morphosyntactic constructions with two individual participants (the core participant and the comitative participant) with the same semantic role expressed separately and with different structural ranks without repetition of the predicate denoting the situation.
- Many Philippine languages have cognates of PMP *paki- ‘do (s.t.) together’ (Ross 1988: 284-286), PMP *maki-/*paki- ‘comitative’ (Liao 2011), PAn *paki- ‘petitive’ (Blust 2013: 377), PAn *paRi- ‘reciprocal/collective action’ (Blust 2013: 380).
- TAGALOG:

(1) Naki-pag-halik-an=ako kay Roxanne.
PFV.COM-STEM-kiss-RECP=1SG.NOM SG.NACT PN
‘Roxanne and I kissed.’

Comitative verbs and voice 1

- Both *maki-* and *paki-* forms are attested in multiple Philippine languages with a variety of functions (Liao 2011).
- *m-/p-* form correspondence in voice alternations: e.g., *maglakbay*, *ipaglakbay*, *paglakbayan*.
- Voice alternations in Philippine comitatives not known in typological works.
- Liao (2011: 212-214): forms with *paki-* are gerunds, nominalizations, imperatives, dependent forms, imperfectives or requestives, but not non-actor voice forms.
- Common knowledge that some better-studied Philippine languages have comitative verbs only in actor voice (Schachter and Otanes 1972: 333).

Comitative verbs and voice 2

- Stolz, Stroh and Urdze (2006: 59): Tagalog actor voice *maki-* comitatives $\leftarrow \rightarrow$ non-actor voice *ka-* comitatives: e.g., *maki-usap* ‘to converse with’ vs. *ka-usap-in* ‘to converse with’. However: (i) different semantics, (ii) not necessarily performing the same action, (iii) *ka-* verbs have actor voice counterparts with *ka-*: e.g., *k<um>a-usap*.
- Voice alternations in comitative verbs are not attested in (Lehmann and Shin 2005), (Arkhipov 2005, 2009).
- Arkhipov (2005: 75): the core participant normally holds a higher syntactic status. In non-actor voice comitative constructions the ranking would switch, or both participants would occupy less prestigious positions.

Comitative verbs in Yattuka: voice alternations

(2) **Noki-inum**=mak ni bubud nihida.
PFV.COM-drink=1SG.NOM GEN rice_wine 3PL.NACT

‘I drank rice wine with them.’

(3) Hida i **noki-inum**=tu=n bubud.
3PL.IND NOM PFV.COM-drink[RV]=3SG.ACT=GEN rice_wine

‘It was them with whom he drank rice wine.’

(4) Indeh tan table ni **noki-inum-an**=tu nihida.
LOC.PROX. DET.MED LK PFV.COM-drink-PLV=3SG.ACT 3PL.NACT

‘Here is the table where he drank with them.’

Comitative verbs in Yattuka: patient orientedness

(5) Hiʔgak **noki-kkan** ni gonit di ubi.
1SG.IND PFV.COM-eat[AV] GEN bone OBL yam

‘It was me who ate bones with yam.’

(6) **Im-paki-kkan**=ku gonit.
PFV.PV-COM-eat=1SG.ACT bone

‘I ate the bones (with something else).’

(7) Pigan=tu **noki-inum-an**=tu ni danum di bubud?
when=3SG.ACT PFV.COM-drink-TV=3SG.ACT GEN water OBL rice_wine

‘When did he drink water with rice wine?’

Ibaloy

- Ruffolo (2004: 251): Collective *meki*-verbs:

(8) Təp **məki-law**=ka so=n siʔgak.
because ACTV/IPF-go=2/NOM OBL=GEN/PERS 1/IND

‘Because you will go with me.’ (Ruffolo 2004: 251)

- Voice labelled as “orientation”: intransitive actor verbs vs. transitive undergoer verbs (Ruffolo 2004: 209).
- A sole example of a “transitive undergoer verb”:

(9) ʔəki-ʔanop=to=j ʔaso=to.
COLV/PFT-hunt=3/GEN=NOM dog=3/GEN

‘He hunted with his dog.’ (Ruffolo 2004: 253)

- “No complete description is available for Undergoer collective verbs” (Ruffolo 2004: 253), although “transitive” locative verbs with *peki-* *-an* and instrument voice verbs with *peki-* are mentioned elsewhere (Ruffolo 2004: 297-298). ⁸

Tuwali Ifugao

- *maki-/paki-* encode “participatory concept” (Hohulin and Hohulin 2014: 443).
- Voice labelled as cross-referencing system (Hohulin and Hohulin 2014: 19).

(10) **Naki-tanom** hi ama=na ke dakami.
PART-plant DET father=3.SG.POSS DET 1.PL.EX.O

‘His father planted with us.’ (Hohulin and Hohulin 2014: 46)

(11) Dahdi nan **paki-hum~humang-an=mu?**
who MED.SG.NOM COM-DUR~converse-RV=2SG.ACT

‘Whom are you talking with?’ (Hohulin and Hohulin 2014: 502)

(12) I-ha??ang=mu=h tuwe=n dotag ya
PV-cook[IMP]=2SG.ACT=PROX.SG.NOM=LK meat and
paki-ha??ang=mu nadan guni~gunit.
COM-cook[PV.IMP]=2SG.ACT MED.PL.NOM PL~bone

‘Cook this meat and cook it along with those bones.’ (Hohulin and Hohulin 2014: 502)

Amganad Ifugao

- No information on *maki-/paki-* verbs in literature (Cunningham 1965; West 1973; Sawyer 1972; Walrod 1978).

- Bible examples:

(13) Hidi=n d<ing>ngol nan oha=n ni?-yubun
DIST=LK <PFV>hear[PV] MED.SG.GEN one=LK PFV.COM-sit[AV]
i Jesus hidiye=n <in>ali...
SG.NACT PN DIST.SG.NOM=LK <PFV>say[PV]

‘And when one of them that sat at meat with him heard these things...’ (lit.: ‘When one of those who sat with Jesus heard what was said...’ (<https://live.bible.is/bible/IFAWBT/1KI/13/8>))

(14) ...on pi?i?-?an=yu nan dala=h nan dotag.
PROH COM-eat[PV.IMP]=2PL.ACT MED.SG.NOM blood=MED.SG.OBL flesh

‘...for the blood is the life; and thou mayest not eat the life with the flesh.’ (lit.: ‘Because the blood of life is a taboo, do not eat the blood with the flesh.’ (<https://live.bible.is/bible/IFAWBT/DEU/12/23>))

language	source	voice label	comitative label	non-actor voice comitative label
Keley-i	Hohulin 1971	focus	cooperative	-
	Hohulin and Hohulin 2018	cross-referencing	subject-participation	-
Ibaloy	Ruffolo 2004	orientation: intransitive actor verbs vs. transitive undergoer verbs	collective	transitive undergoer collective verb
Tuwali Ifugao	Hohulin and Burquest 2011	cross-referencing	participatory	participatory
	Hohulin and Hohulin 2014	cross-referencing	subject-participation, object-inclusion/participatory concept, inclusive meaning	participatory, cross-referencing the object
Batad Ifugao	Newell 2005	role or case relationship: nongenitive vs. genitive verbs	concomitant aspect	genitive concomitant aspect verb

language	source	voice label	comitative label	non-actor voice comitative label
Amganad Ifugao	Cunningham 1965	case/voice	-	-
	Sawyer 1972	focus	-	-
	West 1973	focus	-	-
Northern Kankanay	Vanoverbergh 1917	voice: active vs. passive	something is done with others	passive voice
	Chandler 1974		-	-
	Porter 1979	focus	associative	-
	Wallace 2018	-	-	-
Ilokano	Wimbish 1987	voice	associative aspect/social aspect	affiliative voice/ oblique voice
	Rubino 1997	focus: actor focus vs. goal focus	comitative or social	nominalization
	Rubino 2000	focus: actor focus vs. goal focus	social/participative/ comitative social	nominalization
	Rubino 2005	voice	joint action	nominalization

Conclusion 1

- Data from at least 8 Northern Luzon languages reveals non-actor voice comitative verbs. 6 of them have patient-oriented comitative verbs.
- Only in two works – (Vanoverbergh 1917) on Northern Kankanay and (Wimbish 1987) on Ilokano – non-actor voice comitative verbs are recognized as such in terms of voice alternations.
- For another 3 languages, such forms are recognized explicitly in different terms: transitive undergoer verbs in Ibaloy (Ruffolo 2004), genitive verbs in Batad Ifugao (Newell 2005), object cross-referencing in Tuwali Ifugao (Hohulin and Hohulin 2014: 502).
- The great variety of the labels used for *maki-/paki-* forms obscures the fact that these voice alternations occur in verbs of the same category.
- In all other descriptions examined for this study any information on non-actor comitative verbs is absent or they are mentioned as nominalizations.
- In some cases, examples are found only in dictionaries or bible translations¹³

Conclusion 2

- Voice alternations in comitative verbs are not posited in typological works (Liao 2011; Lehmann and Shin 2005; Arkhipov 2005, 2009; Stolz, Stroh and Urdze 2006).
- Non-actor voice and patient-oriented comitative verbs in other Philippine languages within or outside Northern Luzon?

Abbreviations:

- 1, first person; 3, third person; ACT, actor; ACTV, actor verb; AV, actor voice; COLV, Undergoer(-oriented) collective verb; COM, comitative; DET, determiner; DIST, distal; DUR, durative; EX, exclusive; GEN, genitive; IMP, imperative; IND, independent form of personal pronouns or marker of the predicate and topic; IPF, imperfective aspect; LK, linker; LOC, locative; MED, medial; NACT, non-actor; NOM, nominative; O, object; OBL, oblique; PART, participatory; PERS, personal case marker; PFT, perfective; PFV, perfective; PL, plural; PLV, place voice; PN, personal noun; POSS, possessive; PROH, prohibitive; PROX, proximal; PV, patient voice; RECP, reciprocal; RV, recipient voice; SG, singular; STEM, stem derivation; TV, temporal voice.

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