Reciprocity in Tagalog dyad constructions

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Tagalog is an Austronesian language of the Philippines. In this language, mutual or symmetric situations are expressed by *mag-* Actor Voice constructions, as well described in the literature (Pittman 1966, Schachter & Otanes 1972, Shkarban & Rachkov 2007, Nagaya 2009; see Haspelmath 2007 for mutual/symmetric situations). Compare (1) and (2).

(1) | Nag-ka-usap | sina= | Flori | at | Weng. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| AV.RL-MATE-talk | P.NOM.PL= | Flori | and | Weng |
| 'Flori and Weng talked to each other.' | | | | |

(2) | K<in>a-usap | ni= | Flori | si= | Weng. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| MATE<PV.RL>-talk | P.GEN= | Flori | P.NOM= | Weng |
| 'Flori talked to Weng.' | | | | |

In (1), the Actor Voice prefix *mag-*, to be more precise, its realis form *nag-*, is used to express a mutual situation (see below for the mate-forming prefix *ka-*). On the contrary, the Patient Voice (PV) clause in (2) does not have such a mutual reading.

An important, yet often neglected, fact about Tagalog *mag-* reciprocal constructions is that this prefix *mag-* is also employed for dyad constructions, which denote "relationally linked groups of the type 'pair/group of brothers,' 'mother and child(ren),' 'teacher/student pair'" (Evans 2006:24). It can be used for both symmetric and asymmetric dyad expressions. See (3) and (4), respectively.

(3) a. ka-ibigan   b. mag-ka-ibigan   (symmetric dyad)
        MATE-love   DYAD-MATE-love
        'friend'   'friends of each other'

(4) a. ina   b. mag-ina   (asymmetric dyad)
        mother   DYAD-mother
        'mother'   'mother and child'

In this paper, I offer a description and analysis of dyad constructions in Tagalog, searching for a unified account of reciprocal and dyad constructions. In particular, this study aims to highlight understudied relationships between reciprocal and dyad constructions in Tagalog by examining data from web corpora (Goldhahn, Eckart & Quasthoff 2012). There are five major findings in this paper. First, the dyad-forming prefix *mag-* is very productive. This is mainly because of the prefix *ka-*, which derives a companion/mate noun from a variety of roots: *ka-trabaho* 'coworker' (< *trabaho* 'work'), *ka-edad* 'person of the same age as another' (< *edad* 'age'), and *ka-tabi* 'person or thing beside another' (< *tabi* 'side'), to name a few. These *ka-*mate nouns serve as bases for *mag-* dyad expressions. For instance, the dyad noun *magkasama* 'companions of each other' in (5) is derived from the mate noun *kasama* 'companion' in (6).

(5) | Mag-ka-sama | sina= | Flori | at | Weng. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| DYAD-MATE-accompany | P.NOM.PL= | Flori | and | Weng |
| 'Flori and Weng are companions of each other.' | | | | |

(6) | Ka-sama | ni= | Flori | si= | Weng. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| MATE-accompany | P.GEN= | Flori | P.NOM= | Weng |
| 'Weng is Flori's companion.' | | | | |

Second, dyad expressions in Tagalog can be used not only as arguments but also as predicates, as in (7). This predicative use of dyad terms is well attested in the corpus examined, although it may

not be typical of dyad constructions in other languages (Evans 2006:25). Note that Tagalog does not have a copula and that tense is not marked on predicates.

(7) Para=ng   mag-kapatid   ang   mag-ina.
     look=LK   DYAD-sibling NOM   DYAD-mother
     'The mother and child look like sisters.'

Third, dyad predicates in Tagalog are essentially stative reciprocal predicates as a consequence of the above-mentioned characteristics. In fact, they cover a number of stative "plain reciprocal predicates" (Winter 2018:6): *mag-pinsan* 'cousins (of each other)', *mag-syota* 'lovers (of each other)', *mag-ka-kambal* 'twins (of each other)', *mag-ka-opisina* 'coworker (of each other)', *mag-ka-tulad* 'be similar', *mag-ka-pareho* 'be identical', *mag-ka-agapay* 'be parallel', *mag-ka-tumbas* 'be equivalent', *mag-ka-pantay* 'be equal', *mag-ka-tabi* 'be adjacent', *mag-ka-iba* 'be different', etc.

Fourth, dyad expressions can be converted to reciprocal verbs. For example, *magkausap* 'talk to each other' in (1) is derived from the dyad term *magkausap* 'persons that talk to each other'. Lastly, there is also a syntactic parallelism between reciprocal and dyad constructions. On the one hand, the symmetric predicates take a plural subject NP in the nominative case in (1) and (5). On the other hand, the non-symmetric predicates have two arguments, i.e., a nominative NP and a genitive NP, in (2) and (6). See Himmelmann (2005) for a more general discussion about the noun-verb parallelism in Tagalog and other Austronesian languages.

To conclude, reciprocal and dyad constructions in Tagalog exhibit interesting similarities. Tagalog does not only provide evidence that motivates a unified analysis of reciprocal and dyad constructions, but also serves as a testing ground for hypotheses regarding language universals in formal semantics, such as the Symmetry-Collectivity Conjecture (Winter 2018:17).

Abbreviations
Abbreviations used here are: AV-actor voice, DYAD-dyadic prefix, GEN-genitive, LK-linker, MATE-mate/companion noun, NOM-nominative, P-personal name, PL-plural, PV-patient voice, RL-realis, and SG-singular.

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