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SYNTACTIC FEATURES OF TAGALOG VERBS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN LINGUISTICS SEPTEMBER 1967

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ABSTRACT

Linguists have long faced the task of formulating comprehensive and yet accurate grammars. Before such grammars can be written for Philippine languages, certain basic features of verb structure must be investigated. This study investigates some of the syntactic features of Tagalog verbs as a step toward the formulation of a more comprehensive grammar than is currently available.

The syntactic features as defined for this study are morphological, subcategorizational, and selectional. The first refers to the cooccurrence potential of verb stems with certain affixes which mark grammatical relations between the verb and its topic. The second set of features refers to cooccurrence restrictions between the verb and its various sentence complements. The third set of features refers to cooccurrence restrictions of a collocational nature between the verb and its complements.

Thus, verbs are first examined for cooccurrence with a battery of nine affixes, which mark four basic verbal construction types: Actor-focus, Goal-focus, Locative-focus, and Implicative-focus. Verbs are found to differ in respect to which voice affixes are permitted, and thus must be individually specified for what may be called the stem's focus index.
Verbs are then examined for their cooccurrence with nominal sentence complements in the various focus constructions. They may be characterized in this respect by their syntactic cooccurrence with the basic sentence complements of topic, actor, object, and locative referent. Such sentence complements may be individually obligatory with certain verbs (+), excluded with others (-), and optional with others (±).

Finally, verbs are examined for selectional restrictions which govern the cooccurrence of the particular items in the verb-topic relationship. Selectional features of verbs are developed in this study in a context-sensitive fashion, while nominals are described in a context-free fashion.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Summary. Linguists have long faced the task of formulating comprehensive and yet accurate grammars. Before such grammars can be written for Philippine languages, certain basic features of verb structure must be investigated. This study investigates some of the syntactic features of Tagalog verbs as a step toward the formulation of a more comprehensive grammar than is currently available.

The syntactic features as defined for this study are morphological, subcategorizational, and selectional.¹ The first refers to the cooccurrence potential of verb stems with certain affixes which mark grammatical relations between the verb and its topic. The second set of features refers to cooccurrence restrictions between the verb and its various sentence complements. The third set of features are selectional cooccurrence restrictions of a semantic nature between the verb and its complements.

Thus verbs are first examined for cooccurrence with a battery of nine affixes, which mark four basic verbal

¹Chomsky has developed the term "syntactic features" in his recent discussion of the linguistic analysis of syntax. See Noam Chomsky, Aspects of the Theory of Syntax (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 75-127.
construction types: Actor-focus, Goal-focus, Locative-focus, and Implicative-focus. Verbs are found to differ in respect to which voice affixes are permitted, and thus must be individually specified for what may be called the stem's focus index.

Verbs are then examined for their cooccurrence with nominal sentence complements in the various focus constructions. They may be characterized in this respect by their syntactic cooccurrence with the basic sentence complements of topic, actor, object, and locative referent. Such sentence complements may be individually obligatory with certain verbs (+), excluded with others (-), or optional with others (+).

Finally, verbs are examined for selectional restrictions which govern the cooccurrence of the particular items in the verb-topic relationship. Selectional features of verbs are developed in this study in a context-sensitive fashion, while nominals are described in a context-free fashion.

1.2 General Background. Tagalog is spoken natively by some eight million people who live in Manila and its surrounding provinces. It is divided into two major dialects: the northern, which includes Bulacan, Bataan, Nueva Ecija, Rizal, and parts of Tarlac; and the southern, which includes La Laguna, Batangas, Cavite, Tayabas,
Marinduque, the coast of Mindoro, and parts of the Camarines Norte and Camarines Sur.  

Tagalog, together with the other languages of the Philippines, is a member of the Austronesian language family. Dyen's lexico-statistical classification places Tagalog coordinate with Cagayanon, Mamanua, and the Bisayan cluster in the Tagalic hesion. These are members of a larger grouping termed the Philippine hesion. The Philippine languages in turn belong to Dyen's Hesperonesian linkage, which also includes Malagasy and most of the languages of Western Indonesia and the Celebes.  

According to lexico-statistical studies by Thomas and Healey, Tagalog is a member of the multiply-branching Southern Philippine Family of the Philippine Stock. Thomas and Healey's study places Tagalog coordinate with Sambal, Cuyunon, Batak (and possibly the other Palawan languages), Bikol, the Bisayan languages, the Davaweno languages, Subanun, Maranao and Maguindanao, and the Manobo languages.  

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1.3 History of Tagalog Studies. Tagalog is perhaps the best known of the Philippine languages. This is partly due to the fact that it is the language spoken in the Philippines' major city, Manila, and partly because of its establishment as the basis of the Philippine National Language in 1937.

Linguistic study of Tagalog began with the coming of the first Spanish missionaries to the Philippines. Not long afterward the first serious grammatical studies appeared. These pioneer studies, primarily in Spanish, continued to appear intermittently into the era of Rizal and the American occupation.

With the administrative transition came also a new outlook in linguistic studies. Previously, linguistic

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5 Francisco Blancas de San José, Arte y reglas de la lengua tagala (Manila, 1610).

Gaspar de San Agustín, Compendio del arte de la lengua tagala (Manila, 1703).

Sebastian de Totanes, Arte de la lengua tagala y manual tagalog (Manila, 1787).

6 J. de Coria, Nueva gramática tagalog, teórico-practica (Madrid, 1872).

Toribio Minguella, Ensayo de gramática hispano-tagala (Manila, 1878).

José Hevia Campomanes, Lecciones de gramática hispano-tagala (Ninth edition; Manila, 1912).
studies were patterned on classical European grammatical categories, and their usefulness in preparing civil and religious documents largely affected their compilation. Now linguistic studies took on a scientific tone and the presentation of linguistic fact became more objective.

Some of the first American descriptive studies were by Frank R. Blake. Blake published numerous articles on Tagalog structure between 1906 and 1950, including a grammar. Some time before his other better-known descriptive studies, Leonard Bloomfield published a grammatical analysis of Tagalog with accompanying texts.

Bloomfield underscored some unique characteristics of Tagalog by creating such terms as simple static, transient,


abstract of action, and special static.\textsuperscript{9} He also objected to classical notions regarding the number and type of part of speech categories in Tagalog, and stated simply that "Tagalog distinguishes two parts of speech: full words and particles."\textsuperscript{10}

Bloomfield's work has served as the basis for many Philippine studies since its publication. Recently, it has been complemented by Elmer Wolfenden's work, which consists of a re-analysis of Bloomfield's grammatical categories, particularly the verb, and an updating of his grammatical terminology.\textsuperscript{11}

Generative transformational grammar and tagmemics with transforms have recently been applied to Philippine languages.\textsuperscript{12} Tagalog has also been the occasional subject of such analysis, particularly of the transformational approach.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{9}Ibid., 217.
\textsuperscript{10}Ibid., 146.
\textsuperscript{11}Elmer Wolfenden, A Restatement of Tagalog Grammar (Manila, 1961).
\textsuperscript{13}Lawrence A. Reid, An Ivatan Syntax (Special Publication No. 2 of Oceanic Linguistics, 1966).
\textsuperscript{15}"Rules for a Segment of Tagalog Grammar" (unpublished manuscript; University of California of Los Angeles, 1962).
Considerable effort has also been expended by Filipino linguists in the area of Tagalog grammar. Though some of these studies tend to traditionalist explanations, they contribute by the wealth of examples which they provide.\footnote{Cecilio Lopez, \textit{Preliminary Study of the Affixes in Tagalog} (Manila, 1937).} Perhaps the most influential of these is Lope K. Santos' \textit{Balarila ng Wikang Pambansa}, written in Tagalog and published by the Institute of National Language as its official grammar.\footnote{Lope K. Santos, \textit{Balarila ng Wikang Pambansa} (Manila, 1940).}
CHAPTER II
VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN TAGALOG

2.1 General. The major simple sentence type in Tagalog usually consists of at least a focused complement and a predicate. If the predicate is a verb, as it most often is, the focused complement is the topic of the predicate and is differentiated from non-focused complements in that it is introduced by the particle ang\(^1\) or contains a member of a pronominal or demonstrative substitute set associated with ang\(^2\). The predicate may also be a locative phrase or an adjective, in which case the topic is also introduced by ang or an ang phrase substitute.

Though the focused complement is marked by the particle ang or one of its substitutes, its dramatis personae roles are marked in the verb by certain affixes.\(^3\) These voice-marking affixes, which also mark tense,\(^4\) thus indicate

\(^1\)The orthography used here is noted in footnote 1 of Appendix A.


\(^3\)Such dramatis personae roles do not exist when the predicate is other than a verb, that is, a locative phrase or an adjective.

\(^4\)The verbal distinctions in Tagalog are aspectual rather than tense-like in nature. All verb forms may be
whether the topic plays the role of actor, object, beneficiary or instrument, or location. Stems inflectable by such affixes are identified as verbs while other stems are nouns or descriptives. Verbal constructions, in turn, may be identified by the various voice affixes in the verb.

2.2 Characteristics of Philippine Verbal Constructions.

2.2.1 "Active and Passive." In early analyses, Blake and Bloomfield recognize several formally distinct construction types, but found it difficult to describe the nature of their conditioning. Thus, many of these construction types were simply termed passive verbal constructions, despite their being formally and grammatically distinct. Blake, evidently from a semantic viewpoint, described the construction types by saying that "in any given sentence the voice of the verb depends upon the

said to be oriented toward a single temporal axis in reality. Verbal forms are then either events which have begun before the Prime Point, the instant of speaking, or those which have not. Stockwell labels these as the BE (begun) and NBE (not begun) forms. BE forms are either perfective, completed as of the Prime Point, or imperfective, begun, but not completed as of the Prime Point. NBE forms are also of two types, the proposed, action to be begun in the future, and the unmarked, an infinitive-like abstract of action. Robert P. Stockwell, "A Contrastive Analysis of English and Tagalog" (unpublished manuscript; Los Angeles, 1959), pp. 47-8.

5 Blake, "The Tagalog Verb."

6 Bloomfield, Tagalog Texts . . .
relative importance of the various elements, the most important or emphatic idea being made the subject of the sentence."  

Bloomfield writes that "transient words [verbs] may fall into four classes according to four relations which a subject may bear to them when they are used as predicate." There are active, direct passive, instrumental passive, and local passive.

2.2.2 "Focus and Topic." As noted above, the distinctive inflectional affixation which verbal stems undergo has been termed "voice" by some and "focus" by others to underline the unique character of the Philippine verbal paradigm. In recent descriptions of Philippine languages the term "subject," which refers to the focused nominal expression, has been replaced by the term "topic." The particular relationship of the topic to the verb is said to have overtones of a case-like nature. Similarly, the relationship of the verb to non-topic complements has also been spoken of as a case-like relationship. In this sense,

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the particles which introduce the non-topic verbal complements have been occasionally called case-marking particles, while the particle which marks the topic is usually termed the topic-marking particle.

In this connection, Kerr has pointed out that for Cotabato Manobo "the particular case-like relationship obtaining between the topic and the verb is indicated by the morphemic shape of the voice affix, not by any morphemic feature of the topic nominal expression itself." This is also true for Tagalog. Thus the case-like relations of the

\[11\text{ Frank R. Blake, "Expression of Case . . ."}
\]
\]

There are three marking particle sets in Tagalog, which may be labelled the ang, nang, and sa sets. The particle ang marks the topic; the particles nang and sa introduce syntactic complements other than that of topic and correspond to the so-called case-marking particles of other Philippine languages.

Contentives in Tagalog may be divided into personals and nonpersonals. Personals, usually proper names of persons and animals, are marked by si, nonpersonals by ang. This dichotomy is paralleled by the other particles: ni marks personals, nang nonpersonals; kay marks personals, sa nonpersonals.

The personal marking particles exhibit a difference in form according to whether the item they signal is singular or plural. The plural counterparts of si, ni and kay are sina, nina, and kina. The nonpersonal particles show no difference in form, and remain the same (ang, nang, and sa) regardless of the number of the item they mark. Plurality may be optionally expressed by the presence of the pluralizing particle mga (/manga/).

\[13\text{ Kerr, "The Case-Marking . . .," 17.}
\]
topic to the verb, or the dramatis personae roles of the topic complement, are marked in the verb, while those of the non-topic complement are marked by contrasting particles or contrasting pronominal sets. Demonstratives also exhibit a special set of forms for the topic.

Kerr's discussion of the verbal system of Cotabato Manobo lists "four distinctive types of relationship which the topic may contract with the verb, actor, object, instrument, or referent." McKaughan, in an analysis of Maranao, outlines similar relationships which, he says, intersect. He remarks that "verbal affixes thus mark grammatical relations between verb and topic which intersect the relations marked by the particles used with other than nonpersonal pronouns in Tagalog fall into three sets corresponding to the three sets of nominal expressions marked by the particles ang, nang, and sa. They are the ako, ko, and akin pronoun classes, and are as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>ang/si</th>
<th>nang/ni</th>
<th>sa/kay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>ako</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>akin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thou</td>
<td>ikaw, ka</td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>iyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I and thou</td>
<td>kata</td>
<td>nata, ta</td>
<td>kanita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he, she</td>
<td>siya</td>
<td>niya</td>
<td>kaniya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (exclusive)</td>
<td>kamil</td>
<td>namin</td>
<td>amin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we (inclusive)</td>
<td>tayo</td>
<td>natin</td>
<td>atin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td>kayo</td>
<td>ninyo</td>
<td>inyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>sila</td>
<td>nila</td>
<td>kanila</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are three sets of demonstratives which correspond to the three marking particles. These are the ito, nito, and dito classes. The ito class may appear as the topic of a construction, replacing an ang nominal expression.

Kerr, "The Case-Marking . . .," 17.
These relationships for Maranao are actor, direct object, indirect object, and instrument.

Miller records a similar syntactic structure for Mamanwa.

The term FOCUS as applied to Mamanwa refers to the significant relationship which exists in a verbal clause between the action of its predicate and its actor, namely, Subject Focus; or between an action and its goal, namely, Object Focus; or between an action and the one on whose behalf the action is performed or the location of the action, namely, Referent Focus; or between an action and some other person or thing involved in the action, namely, Accessory Focus. 18

Larson has described these syntactic relations for Tagalog using a different set of terms. He has distinguished between "the opening, the intermediate, or the terminal phases of the action situation." 19 Each of these may be termed a focal point and may appear as the topic of the sentence. Larson calls these source, inertant, and terminal focus, and gives the following examples. 20

Source: K(um)uha ka nang libro sa mesa.
        'Take the book on the table.'

Inertant: Kun(in) mo ang libro sa mesa.
          'Take the book on the table.'


20 Ibid.
In summary, then, linguists have spoken of the distinctive nature of the Philippine verbal paradigm characterized by the special voice-marking affixes. They have also called attention to the fact that, according to the focus type of the verb, a particular sentence complement bears a special relationship to the verbal predicate. This complement is the focused nominal expression and has been termed the "topic" of the sentence. It has also been noted that, in many Philippine languages, the topic may contract four distinctive types of relationship with the verb, namely, actor, object or goal, instrument or accessory, and locative referent.

2.3 Problems in Defining Tagalog Verbal Constructions.
Bloomfield's four voice-modes--the active, direct passive, instrumental passive, and locative passive--are extended to five by Wolfenden. According to Wolfenden, Tagalog "voice-mode affixes specify subjective, objective, locative, implicative, and aptative relations" between the topic phrase and the predicing verb.\(^{21}\)

However, Wolfenden's aptative voice, which "shows the topic to be able to undergo the action named by the verb stem,"\(^{22}\) confuses two focal relationships, occurring

\(^{21}\)Wolfenden, _A Restatement_. . . , p. 13.
\(^{22}\)Ibid., p. 15.
indiscriminately with either actor or object complement as topic. The confusion is apparently based on the formal similarity of the two ma- affixes: (1) the actor-focus ma- affix and (2) the abilitative goal-focus ma- affix. The actor-focus ma- occurs with the actor complement as topic, while the abilitative ma- is a goal-focus affix. It is the goal-focus correspondent of the abilitative actor-focus set (which includes maka-, makapag-, and makapang-, 'to be able to . . .') and selects the goal or object complement as topic, with the actor complement introduced in a nang phrase and usually optional. For example, compare the following set:

\[(Na\text{)gutom ang bata?}\]
\[AF: \text{hunger T child.}\]
\[\text{'The child was hungry.'}\]

\[(Na\text{)sabog (nang bata?) ang mga dahon.}\]
\[GF: \text{scatter (A child) T pl leaf.}\]
\[\text{'The leaves were scattered (by the child).'}\]

If an actor complement may be inserted without grammatically impairing the acceptability of the sentence, the construction is goal-focus transitive. If not, it is an

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23 The affix selected as the mnemonic tag for verbal affix categories is always the affix which appears with the unmarked form of the verb. Unmarked forms never appear alone as the verbal predicate, and thus do not appear in the text as examples.

24 Parentheses, when they appear in verbal forms, set off inflectional affixes from the verb stem. Parentheses which appear in sentence constructions set off syntactic complements which are optional.
actor-focus construction.

Bowen, in an analysis for pedagogical purposes, outlines six focal categories—actor-focus, goal-focus, locative-focus, benefactive-focus, instrumental-focus, and causative-focus. Topics of these constructions are said to correspond to and convert with different complements in the actor-focus sentence, which is implied to be the reference point for his analysis of other focal construction types.

However, the implication that all verbal complements in an actor-focus sentence can be converted to sentence topics by a change of verbal affix and a shift in case-marking particles is mistaken and can be disproven on three counts. First, verbal stems differ in focus potential, that is, some verb stems apparently do not appear in some focal construction types. Secondly, it was found that when certain sentences were run through a series of conversions which involved converting each kind of complement successively to sentence topic, certain of the resulting sentences were rejected by the informants. Moreover, even in the case of some of the conversions that did produce acceptable sentences, it was apparent that the semantic relations among the parts of the sentence had been altered. In such cases, the new sentences could not satisfactorily be interpreted simply as conversions of the original sentence. Finally,

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the lexical cooccurrent restrictions which govern topic expressions are not always the same as those which apply for "corresponding" complements in the other focus constructions.

The following three chapters are devoted to a discussion of each of these matters in some detail. Such discussion is necessary if the nature of sentences containing verbal predicates and their interrelationship is to be understood and described adequately.
CHAPTER III
CLASSIFICATION OF TAGALOG VERBS

3.1 Part of Speech Classification. The identification of lexical classes in Tagalog presents some difficulty in description. The part of speech system of Tagalog is one that at first glance appears simply organized into two categories, function words and contentives. However, further investigation reveals that part of speech classification in further detail is called for to facilitate the overall description.

Earlier analyses of Tagalog pointed up the special nature of Tagalog structure. Blake divided Tagalog words into two classes, roots and particles.1 As indicated in the last chapter, Bloomfield published a similar analysis, calling the two classes full words and particles.2 Wolfenden has followed Bloomfield's lead, but in keeping with Fries and Hockett, reterms the parts of speech functors and contentives.3

1Blake's observation was that "the words of the Tagalog language, as of the other languages of the Philippine group, are in the last analysis made up of two distinct kinds of material, namely roots and particles." Blake, "The Tagalog Verb," 396.
2Bloomfield, Tagalog Texts . . . , 146.
3Wolfenden, A Restatement . . . , p. 3.
Morphological, that is, inflectional criteria form the bases of this classification. Syntactically, a contentive, inflected or uninflected, was assumed, in principle at least, to appear in any syntactic position where another contentive might appear. According to Bloomfield, "full words act not only as attributes, but also as subject or predicate, and any word . . . may be used in any of these three functions."\(^4\) Particles, on the other hand, direct syntactic relations within sentences or act as attributes to full words or phrases. They are rarely inflected, and their positioning is limited and syntactically determined.

3.2 "Static" and "Transient" Words. In addition to full words and particles, Bloomfield noted that Tagalog words and phrases can be grouped into static and transient types.\(^5\) Transient words are those which "express an element of experience as impermanent, i.e., belonging to some limited portion of time. . . ."\(^6\) Any word which is not transient is static.

These two classes closely parallel nouns and verbs, with verbs inflected for tense and nouns not. Many stems can and do appear in either category. In Tagalog they can be distinguished by their inflected shapes. Examples of

\(^4\)Bloomfield, *Tagalog Texts* . . . , 146.

\(^5\)Ibid., 147.

\(^6\)Ibid.
transient words are (sumu)sulat 'is writing', and (bumi)bili 'is buying'; examples of static words are sulat 'letter', siya 'he, she', panyo 'handkerchief', and bata? 'child'.

Thus, Tagalog stems can be classed in different ways according to divergent criteria. Whereas on the first level of approximation stems may be conveniently regarded as contentives and functors, additional criteria require further subdivision. Certain stems in Tagalog, as in most languages, may fulfill more than one function or may be inflected in various ways. Other stems, however, are more restricted in their inflectional and syntactic possibilities. It is misleading to group both types of stems together. For example, buti 'good' may appear with several functions: ang mabuting tao, T Att:good man, 'the good man'; (bumu)buti na siya, AF: improve en T:Tpr, 'he is getting better already'; and ang buti/kabutihan nang karamihan, T good Att majority, 'the

7 Many analyses discuss the bipartite system first, and then without apparent connection, move into discussion of such familiar categories as nouns, verbs, and so forth. Of even greater interest is the treatment of such categories by Filipino linguists. See especially Rufino Alejandro, A Handbook of Tagalog Grammar, whose analysis of Tagalog provides for such familiar categories as nouns, verbs, personal and demonstrative pronouns, conjunctions, adjectives, adverbs, and so forth. It is evident that there is more to the Tagalog part of speech system than two large classes. A perfectly bipartite system is one in which all stems in a class have exactly the same range of inflectional or syntactic possibilities, or nearly so. (Hockett describes such a system for Nootka. Charles F. Hockett, A Course in Modern Linguistics (New York, 1958), p. 225).
good of the majority'. But it is unlikely that words like tao 'man, person', Jose 'Joseph', or siya 'he, she' will occur as freely in these positions.

3.3 A Multi-level Approach to Word Classification. Discussion regarding a bipartite versus a multipartite part of speech classification in Tagalog can be resolved by classifying words on different levels. Thus the first level is the class of all Tagalog words and may be represented as \( C_1 \). (Let C equal category; let the superscript numeral equal the level of the category; and let the subscript numeral equal the type of category.) The second level, \( C_2 \), might represent the bipartite division: \( C_{21} \), contentives, and \( C_{22} \), functors. The third level, \( C_3 \), represents the subclassification of contentive stems into \( C_{31} \), nouns, \( C_{32} \), verbs, \( C_{33} \), adjectives, \( C_4 \), pronouns, \( C_5 \), adverbs, and so forth. Finally, subsequent levels like the \( C_n \) level would represent categories of these groupings to the smallest pertinent classes.

Tagalog verbs fit into this frame of reference along with nouns and other classes at the level three \( (C_3) \) categorization.

3.4 Classification of Verbal Stems in Other Philippine Languages. Several attempts have been made recently to

\[8\]Abbreviations used in examples are cited in Appendix C.\]
22 classify verbal stems in Philippine languages. Miller attempts a systematic classification of Mamanwa verb stems based on their cooccurrence privileges with the focus-marking affixes. However, classification according to overt inflectional criteria proves somewhat unwieldy, resulting in 45 classes from a sample of only 134 verbs. By re-grouping according to much broader criteria, Miller reduced the number of stem classes to eight.

Kerr's classification of Cotabato Manobo verbs takes note of the fact that case-like relations marked in the verb between the verb and its topic and case-like relations between the verb and non-topic complements may not always correspond. Verbs may be classified by specifying their "case constellation," that is, "the case-marking voices with which a verb is inflected," and by setting up for the verb a limited transformation battery, which indicates if and in which way the syntactic paradigm of a given verb deviates from the standard verbal syntactic paradigm. Many Cotabato Manobo verbs occur with all four voices and the case-like functions indicated in this set are considered the standard case-marking functions for all verbal constructions.

9 For a general discussion of verb classification in Philippine linguistics, see Reid, An Ivatan Syntax, 11-16.
10 Miller, "The Role of Verb Stems . . .," 88.
11 Kerr, "The Case-Marking . . .," 18.
Reid notes that "a transitive-intransitive dichotomy is relevant to an adequate description of Ivatan" and assigns such features to Ivatan verb stem classes.\footnote{Reid, An Ivatan Syntax, 16.} According to Reid, "when any member of a transitive class occurs in the predicate of any of the constructions dependent on that class, a goal is implicit in the statement whether a goal is stated or not. Likewise, the same stems, when representing intransitive classes in constructions dependent on those classes, implicitly deny the presence of a goal."\footnote{Ibid., 17.}

3.5 Focus Potential as a Possible Classificatory Device. Some linguists have indicated that verbs exhibit statistical and grammatical preferences in their cooccurrence with focus-marking affixes and have attempted to classify verbs on the basis of their total configuration with the focus affixes. For example, the earliest descriptions of Tagalog take notice of the native speakers' tendency to be selective in choosing focal affixes for verbal stems. Blake's analysis indicates that there is a statistical preference for non-actor-focus constructions. He says:

> The development of the numerous passive forms in Tagalog has restricted within comparatively narrow limits the use of the active. . . . The passive construction has become the rule, its prevalence forming one of the most characteristic features of the language. If the agent is specially emphasized, the active may be used in any case, but when the agent is without such
special emphasis, the active is employed usually only in sentences containing not more than two verbal adjuncts. 14

Bloomfield also remarks on the fact that focal constructions other than the actor-focus may be preferred. He gives the impression that the active construction is to be avoided whenever any item other than the actor is available as subject, saying "the active construction is thus confined to instances in which the object ideas other than the actor are entirely vague and undetermined or lacking." 15

In order to test the inflectional privileges of occurrence of verbal stems in Tagalog, and thus their focus potential, a survey of some 430 verbal stems has been made in this study. These stems have been chosen at random from a series of representative sample texts. Each verbal stem has been isolated and with the help of informants tested with the battery of nine voice affixes. 16 The results of the analysis indicate that the same privileges of occurrence do not exist for all verb stems. (See Appendix A, Morphological and Lexical Cooccurrent Privileges of Verbal Stems.)

15 Bloomfield, Tagalog Texts . . . , 155.
16 The affixes which have been concentrated upon in this study are as follows:
Actor-focus: -um-; mag-; mang-; ma-.
Goal-focus: -in.
Locative-focus: -an.
Implicative-focus: i-; ipag-; ipang-.
These affixes most typically mark the verbal construction types in Tagalog. They are statistically the most
Results further indicate that it is not practical to formulate, as has been occasionally done, verb categories based on the total configuration of focus affix combinations with which verb stems may appear. The number of verbal categories thus produced is unwieldy and the benefits to be gained by utilizing such a classification are small.

3.6 Complex Symbol Analysis as an Alternate. An alternate to verb stem classification is to indicate the focus index of the verbs and then the syntactic features dependent on that index. This approach is based on Chomsky's suggestion of a "complex symbol" analysis of the syntactic features of formatives.\textsuperscript{17} This method of description has been suggested to accord with the fact that some aspects of linguistic structure appear to be cross-classificationally rather than hierarchically arranged. This type of analysis parallels the distinctive feature analysis on the phonological level which regards phonological units as composed of sets of features.\textsuperscript{18} The phonological component as suggested by Chomsky, Halle, and others is so formulated that rules may be stated to apply to a feature or combination of features, frequent voice markers and unambiguously identify the focus constructions.

\textsuperscript{17}Chomsky, Aspects . . . , p. 82 and passim.

\textsuperscript{18}Roman Jakobson, C. Gunnar M. Fant, and Morris Halle, Preliminaries to Speech Analysis, the Distinctive Features and Their Correlates (Cambridge, 1952).
rather than the phonological units themselves.\textsuperscript{19}

Such notions can be effectively applied to the representation of lexical categories, which are analyzed by a complex symbol into specific sets of non-phonological features. Thus, individual lexical formatives may be represented by a complex symbol which lists all of its pertinent features. Such pertinent features may be phonological, morphological, grammatical, or semantic. In fact, "all properties that are essentially idiosyncratic" may eventually need to be specified.\textsuperscript{20} It could be that a future grammar of Tagalog will not contain rules which introduce lexical formatives directly, only rules which introduce complex symbols to be matched with and replaced by appropriate formatives.\textsuperscript{21} Thus, verb stems, like other formatives listed in the lexicon, may be represented in complex symbol fashion, that is, as "a pair \((D, C)\), where \(D\) is a phonological distinctive feature matrix 'spelling' a certain lexical formative and \(C\) is a collection of specified


\textsuperscript{20}Chomsky, Aspects . . ., p. 87.

\textsuperscript{21}One advantage of complex symbol analysis is that it allows the notion of "degrees of grammaticalness." It provides a systematic and ordered account of the morphological, syntactic, and semantic criteria necessary for any one
syntactic features. . . ."²²

The results of the present study indicate that the complex symbols representing Tagalog verbal stems would probably include at least three kinds of non-phonological features. Features of the first kind define the focus index (see Appendix A). The focus index makes explicit for each verbal stem which focus constructions the verb may select. The cooccurrence potential between the verb and the sentence complements in the resulting focus constructions further leads to a second set of features termed here subcategorizational features, which are discussed in Chapter V. A third set of features cutting across the other two sets results from collocational or selectional restrictions between the verb and its complements. Chapter VI treats these features, which are called selectional features.

utterance to be grammatical. Conversely, it provides information which pinpoints immediately how and to what extent a given sentence may deviate from complete grammaticality.

²²Chomsky, Aspects . . . , p. 84.
CHAPTER IV
TAGALOG FOCUS CONSTRUCTIONS

4.1 General. The nine voice affixes mentioned in the previous chapters mark four basic focus construction types in Tagalog. These are the actor-focus, the goal-focus, the locative-focus, and the implicative-focus. Each focus type highlights a particular nominal complement in the topic position, a complement which is always definite and specific.

4.2 The Actor-focus Construction. Four affixes mark the actor-focus verbal construction: -um-, mag-, mang-, and ma-.\(^1\) The actor-focus affixes display morphological conditioning as the basis of affix selection, and there is apparently no way to tell a priori which affix may occur with a given stem in the grammar. For example, even between the more commonly occurring -um- and mag-,\(^2\) verbs divide themselves into four types to which may be assigned the names...

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\(^1\) An alternate analysis may choose to interpret such voice-marking affixes as consisting of two or more morphemes. See, for example, Wolfenden, *A Restatement* . . . , pp. 13-24.

\(^2\) The unmarked form in -um- is formed by placing -um- before the first vowel of the root, followed by the remainder of the root (l(um)akad); (um)inom). The perfective is identical with the unmarked. The imperfective affixes -um- in the same manner, but reduplicates the first open syllable (umakad). The proposed reduplicates the first open syllable ((la)lakad).

The unmarked mag- is formed by prefixing mag- to the root ((mag)lakad), and the proposed is formed in the same
of typical verbs: inom; aral; lakad; and kinig. The verb inom 'to drink' appears only with -um-; aral 'to study' appears only with mag-; lakad 'to walk' appears in construction either with -um- or mag-; and kinig 'to listen' appears with neither affix. The scope of the problem widens with the number of affixes under consideration, and it becomes increasingly evident why such morphological properties must be marked in the lexicon in complex symbol fashion.

There is often a contrast of meaning if the verb can occur in either the -um- or mag- pattern. In some cases, there is a very evident contrast of meaning; in many others the contrast is minimal and appears to express intensification or emphasis. For example, compare the following sets (note that nag- plus reduplication of the first consonant and vowel of the stem marks the imperfective tense of mag- affixed verbs).

(Bumi)bili siya nang gulay.
AF: buy T: Tpr 0 vegetable.
'He is buying vegetables.'

(Nagbi)bili siya nang gulay.
AF: sell T: Tpr 0 vegetable.
'He is selling vegetables.'

(Luma)lakad siya.
AF: walk T: Tpr.
'He is walking.'

manner, plus reduplication of the first open syllable ((magla)lakad). The perfective is formed by prefixing nag- to the root ((nag)lakad), and the imperfective is formed in the same manner, plus reduplication of the first open syllable ((nagla)lakad).
The mag- affixed verbs (hereafter known as the mag- verbs) often express deliberate, planned, purposeful activities, whereas the notions expressed by -um- affixed verbs (hereafter known as -um- verbs) are usually casual, incidental, or occasional. 2 The -um- verbs often involve only the topic of the sentence, while mag- verbs often involve an external object. In this respect, -um- verbs resemble reflexive, or intransitive verbs, that is, verbs that often involve only the subject. The mag- verbs are more often transitive, implying something other than the subject. However, these contrasting features are not always so clear-cut, and in many cases, are non-existent.

The mang- affix also selects the performer of the action as topic of the sentence. However, whereas -um- and mag- usually involve a single action directed toward a single object, "mang-verbs usually signify habitual or professional action directed toward a multitude of objects." 3

Verbs with mang- are frequent. Verbal stems that may occur with mang- may usually occur with another actor-focus affix. 4 However, some verbs, for example (mang)anak 'to

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2Bowen, Beginning Tagalog, p. 111.
3Ibid., p. 135.
4The mang- verbs are formed in the same fashion as the mag- verbs, with mang- changing to nang- in the perfective
bear a child' and (mang)galing 'to come from' are inflected only with mang- of the actor-focus set.

The ma- affix also marks the actor as topic. These verbs are less frequent than other actor-focus types. Most stems which appear with ma- may also appear with other actor-focus affixes. Some stems, however, like awa? 'to pity', bulok 'to become rotten' and gutom 'to become hungry' do not, appearing only with ma- of the actor-focus set.

Verbs that occur with ma- may be divided into two types: those which are usually intransitive and which express a state of being, quality, or becoming, and those which are usually transitive. Most of these verbs are of the first type, that is, intransitive. Those of the second type and transitive express an action which directly affects a sentence complement introduced by nang or sa. The verbs

\[
mang- + \left[ \begin{array}{c} P \\ T \\ K \\ G \end{array} \right] + \text{Remainder of Stem} = \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{mang} \\ \text{man} \\ \text{mang} \\ \text{mangG} \end{array} \right] + \text{Remainder of Stem}
\]

The symbols P, T, K, G represent the initial consonant of the verb stem and stand for labials, dentals, /k, ?,/ and /g, h/ respectively.

5 The unmarked ma- construction is formed by prefixing ma- to the verb stem ((magutom), and the proposed is formed in the same manner, plus a reduplication of the first open syllable ((magu)gutom). The perfective is formed by prefixing na- to the stem ((na)gutom), and the imperfective is formed in the same manner, plus reduplication of the first open syllable ((nagu)gutom).
which select nang complements follow the pattern of nood 'to look at' and tuto 'to learn'; verbs which select sa complements follow the pattern of awa? 'to pity' and takot 'to fear'. (See section 5.3.5.)

4.3 The Goal-focus Construction. The goal-focus construction is by its nature transitive and is characterized by the -in affix. Verbal stems that select the goal-focus construction usually take a nang complement which represents the performer of the action. The topic of such verbs is always the direct and specific object of the action. For example,

(Mina)mahal niya si Cristina.
GF:be fond of A:Apr T Cristina.
'He loves Cristina.'

Certain verbs of motion, however, like lakad 'to walk' and langoy 'to swim', select as topic the place toward which the motion expressed by the verb is directed. For example,

(Nila)lakad nila ang Luneta.
GF:walk A:Apr T Luneta.
'They are walking to Luneta.'

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6 The perfective in -in is formed by placing the -in before the first vowel of the stem, followed by the remainder of the stem (t(in)apos). The imperfective is formed in the same manner, plus a reduplication of the first open syllable ((tina)tapos). The unmarked is formed by suffixing -in to the stem (tapos(in)), and the proposed is formed in the same manner, plus reduplication of the first open syllable ((ta)tapos(in)). For verbal stems beginning in /l,n/, a ni-prefix takes the place of the -in- infix in marking the goal-focus construction.
4.4 The Locative-focus Construction. The locative-focus construction is also characterized by a single affix, -an. The topic of the -an construction is any person or object that can be considered as terminus or point toward which the action is directed. Blake writes that "this 'place' may be 'place where,' 'place whither,' or 'place whence,' including 'person to or from whom,' the difference in the locative relation being due to the meaning of the verbs themselves.

It should be noted that the locative topic does not necessarily correspond to locative complements occurring in non-locative-focus constructions. While it is sometimes possible to have equivalent complements in other focus constructions, it is not a corollary that a verb stem must have a locative-focus construction which is equivalent with locative complements not in focus. For example, certain verbs like buhay 'to live', nood 'to look at', and tuto

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7 The unmarked in -an is formed by suffixing -an to the stem (bayar(an))—the morphophonemic variation of intervocalic /d/ to /r/ is quite common in verbal inflections. If the root ends in a vowel, -han is suffixed (umpisa(han)). The perfective is formed in the same manner, plus infixation of -in- before the first vowel of the stem (b(in)ayar(an)). The imperfective is formed in the same manner, plus a reduplication of the first open syllable ((bina)bayar(an)). The proposed is formed by suffixing -an and reduplicating the first open syllable ((ba)bayar(an)).

8 Blake, "Expression of Case . . . ," 189.
'to learn' have no locative-focus constructions, though in the other focus constructions they may exhibit a locative complement. For example,

(Nabu)buhay sila sa gulay sa probinsya.  
AF:live T:Tpr m vegetables L province.  
'They live on vegetables in the provinces.'

(Mano)nood kami nang sine sa Waikiki.  
AF:see T:Tpr 0 movies L Waikiki.  
'We are going to see a movie in Waikiki.'

(Matu)tuto siya nang Tagalog sa kaniya.  
AF:Learn T:Tpr 0 Tagalog L Lpr.  
'He will learn Tagalog from her.'

Locative constructions may be divided into two types according to the complemental privileges within sentences with locative-focus predicates. Reminiscent of Blake's comment, these may be called the "place where" and "place whither" types. Locative-focus constructions of the first type do not permit another locative complement, whereas many constructions of the second type may do so. For example, compare the following.

Hanap(an) mo nang medyas ang aparador para sa kaniya.  
LF:seek A:Apr 0 socks T dresser ben Lpr.  
'Look in the dresser for some socks for him.'

B(in)igy(an) niya ako nang pera (sa bangko).  
LF:give A:Apr T:Tpr 0 money (L bank).  
'He gave me some money (in the bank).'</n
The first type expresses as topic a place or locale where a certain action is being carried out. For example,

P(in)asyal(an) ko nang aso ang parke.  
LF:stroll A:Apr 0 dog T park.  
'I took the dog for a walk in the park.'
The second type expresses as topic a person or object which is directly affected by the action being performed--i.e., a terminus. It may be termed "place whither" in the sense that often something is either given to or taken away from the topic. For example,

(Ni)linis(an) ko nang dumí ang kusina.
LF: clean A: Apr 0 dirt T kitchen.
'I cleaned the dirt from the kitchen.' (i.e., the kitchen's dirt)

B(in)ayar(an) ko siya nang utang.
LF: pay A: Apr T debt.
'I paid him the debt.'

(Ni)lakas(an) ko nang tunog ang radyo.
LF: strengthen A: Apr 0 volume T radio.
'I turned up the volume on the radio.' (i.e., the radio's volume)

There is a subgrouping of the "place whither" type which obligatorily omits an object complement in the locative-focus construction. In such constructions, the topic will be considered as the terminus (and not the object) of the action. For example,

B(in)ayar(an) ko ang utang.
LF: pay A: Apr T debt.
'I paid the debt.'

B(in)uks(an) ko ang pinto.
LF: close A: Apr T door.
'I closed the door.'

4.5 The Implicative-focus Construction. The implicative-focus construction is characterized by the i- affix
or an affix combination which includes i-: ipag- or ipang-. According to Wolfenden, "modally, i- indicates that a third noun phrase, in addition to the actor and object, stands in an attributive relationship to the verb and represents something involved or implicated in the action."\(^9\)

The implicative-focus construction thus exhibits a topic which is in some way included in or involved in the action. The topic may be a secondary animate being or object for which the action is performed or a secondary animate being or object included or implicated in the action.

For example,

(I)b(in)ili niya ako nang sapatos.  
IF: buy A: Apr T: Tpr O shoes.  
'He bought shoes for me.'

(In)i lukso niya ang bata? sa bakod.  
IF: jump A: Apr T child L fence.  
'He jumped over the fence with (i.e., carrying) the child.'

(I)d(in)alaw niya ang bata? sa lola.  
IF: visit A: Apr T child L grandmother.  
'He took the child visiting to grandmother's.'

The topic may also be an object or instrument which is used to carry out the action, or it may simply be an item casually involved in the action. For example,

(I)pinang)kuha niya nang mangga ang sungkit.  
IF: take A: Apr O mango T fruit-picker.  
'He got the mangoes with the fruit-picker.'

(I)p(in)alit niya ang lapis sa pontimpen.  
IF: change A: Apr T pencil m fountain pen.  
'He exchanged the pencil for the fountain pen.'

\(^9\)Wolfenden, A Restatement . . . , p. 34.
The implicative-focus is also used when an action suggesting direction or movement of an object is implied.

For example,

(I)t(in)ulak niya ang bato.
IF:push A:Apr T stone.
'He pushed the stone (away).'</n

(Ini)lagay ko ang pera sa kahon.
IF:place A:Apr T money L box.
'I put the money in the box.'

(Ipinag)tapon nila ang kanilang baril.
IF:throw away A:Apr T Att:Lpr gun.
'They threw down their guns.'

Implicative-focus constructions can be grouped into two subtypes: the benefactive, which involves a secondary animate being, or more rarely, an object, as beneficiary or receiver of the action performed; and the instrumental, which involves an object or a secondary animate being as that which is directly involved in the action or which is directly implicated in the action as an instrumental means.

Although in principle i-, ipag-, or ipang-10 may designate

10Unmarked forms in i- are formed by prefixing i- to the verb stem ((i)bili). The proposed is formed in the same manner, plus reduplication of the first open syllable ((ibi)bili). Perfective forms are formed by prefixing i- and infixing -in- between the first consonant and vowel of the stem ((i)b(in)i(li)). If the root begins in a vowel, i- is prefixed, and then -in- but in inverted order to render -ni- (i- + -ni- + upo? = (ini)upo?). The imperfective is formed in the same manner, plus a reduplication of the first open syllable of the stem ((ibini)bili). The unmarked form in ipag- is formed by prefixing ipag- to the stem ((ipag)luto), and the proposed is formed in the same manner, plus a reduplication of the first open syllable of the stem ((ipaglu)luto). The perfective is formed by infixing -in- in the second syllable of the prefix
either of these constructional subtypes, there is a statistical preference. Thus, i- commonly designates both types, benefactive and instrumental; ipag- designates most commonly the first type and occasionally the second; and ipang- designates most commonly the second type and only occasionally the first.

Similar to the stems with actor-focus affixes, verbal stems are governed by morphological conditioning in their selection of the implicative-focus affixes. Certain stems, however, characteristically do not appear with implicative-focus affixes. Thus, verbs of the emotions or of the intellect, as for example, awa? 'to pity', alam 'to know', akala? 'to think, to opinion', asa 'to hope', ayaw 'to dislike, to refuse', etc., do not appear in this construction. Again, verbs which are intransitive and indicate an uncontrollable action or state, as for example, buhay 'to live', bulok 'to become rotten', busog 'to be satisfied', dugo? 'to bleed', gutom 'to hunger', subo 'to boil over', etc., do not occur with implicative-focus affixes.

Finally, certain verbs, as for example, amo? 'to caress', anak 'to bear a child', asawa 'to espouse',

((ipinag)luto), and the imperfective is formed in the same manner, plus reduplication of the first open syllable of the stem ((ipinaglu)luto).

The implicative-focus in ipang- is formed in the same manner as ipag-, replacing ipag- with ipang-. 
'to grieve', dinig 'to hear', dumi 'to defecate', kinig 'to listen', kita 'to see', etc., usually imply neither means nor beneficiaries. It appears that such verbs are characteristically individual-action verbs. That is, they are typically performed by a single person and cannot be transferred or requested of other parties, or only rarely so, or it is obvious what instruments or means are to be employed in the action--namely, eyes, ears, hands, etc. Hence these stems rarely, if ever, occur with the implicative voice affixes.

It should be noted in this connection that informants expressed some difficulty over deciding upon the admissibility of implicative-focus affixes with some stems. For example, verbal stems like ako? 'to promise, to claim', anyo? 'to behave like', ari? 'to own', bunga 'to bear fruit', dusa 'to suffer', gasta 'to spend', gastos 'to be expensive', hari? 'to rule', hatol 'to advise', hina? 'to be weak', masid 'to observe', putik 'to be muddy', puyat 'to stay up late', etc., gave rise to some discussion in this respect. Thus an informant might indicate at one time that the implicative-focus affixes were possible with a certain stem, but at another time say that they were to be excluded with that same stem, or two informants might give different views. It may be that in some cases certain such collocations were rejected because an informant at a given time failed to envision the specific real-world relationships which might
make sentences containing such verbal constructions appropriate. The problem points up the desirability of a native intuition for the analyst.

The results also suggest that the implicative-focus constructions are more complicated than others, and perhaps thus more difficult to relate always to real world situations. These constructions are certainly more restricted in usage than any of the others.
CHAPTER V
SYNTACTIC COMPLEMENTS OF TAGALOG VERBS

5.1 Introduction. Tagalog verbs, depending on focus type, select various syntactic complements. Syntactic complements are phrases which are grammatically related to the verbal predicate and which, except for certain pronominal and demonstrative sets, are introduced by the marking particles ang, nang, and sa. These syntactic complements are most commonly the topic, actor, object, and locative referent.

This chapter examines the verbs in the four basic voices (and their respective subtypes) with respect to their cooccurrence with the topic, actor, object, and locative referent complements. The general results of this examination are presented in this chapter with specific results cited in Appendix B.

The complemental privileges of cooccurrence are designated in this study as subcategorizational features. Verbs are said to be specified for such features insofar as they cooccur in the same construction with a particular syntactic complement. By saying, for example, that a certain verb is transitive, one indicates that the verb appears in environments which obligatorily include an objective complement to the verb. Likewise, in saying that
a verb is intransitive, one indicates that the verb exclusively appears in environments which exclude an objective complement to the verb. Such features, then, as they refer to grammatical cooccurrents of verbal predicates, are simply convenient context-sensitive notations of the syntactic behavior of verbal stems in Tagalog. Such complemental features are marked in the lexicon in a manner which is dependent on the focus index of each verb.

5.2 Procedures. Each of the four verb types is examined in this phase of the study for cooccurrence between the verb and the basic complemental features of + (obligatory), - (excluded), and + (optional) occurrence, respectively, of ang-topic, nang-actor, nang-object, sa-object, and sa-locative complements. Some complemental features, such as adverbial phrases, are not possibly convertible with focal topics and thus have not been examined here. Others, though possible, are either infrequent or present complications too severe for this pilot study.

The topic complement in all sentences with verbal predicates, as has been observed, must be introduced by the particle ang or by an ang phrase substitute. Actor complements express the performer of the action and only appear in sentences with non-actor-focus constructions (the actor is the topic in an actor-focus construction). The actor complement marker is nang or a nang phrase substitute (the ko class pronouns or the nito class demonstratives). Object
complements in actor-focus and implicative-focus constructions are of two types: (1) complements introduced by the nang particle; and (2) complements introduced by the sa particle. Locative phrases are introduced by the sa particle.

Actor-focus constructions governed by -um-, mag-, mang-, and ma- are examined for +, -, and ± cooccurrence with topic, object, and locative complements. In certain actor-focus constructions, the sa object phrase overlaps and complements the occurrence of nang object phrases.¹ The sa phrase often corresponds to a definite and specific object

¹The interpretation of sa phrases poses a problem in description, since certain sa phrases are best considered as object complements, while other sa phrases are best considered as locative complements. In some cases there is no difficulty, since certain sa complements optionally convert to nang object complements with the same verb within the same sentence type, and are thus best characterized as object complements. Or, verbs may select only nang object complements in normal indicative sentences, but usually select corresponding sa object complements in inverted order equational sentences. Such sa complements, because of their convertibility with nang object complements, are best characterized as object complements.

However, in other cases, the distinction is somewhat less clear. In such instances, the characterization employed in this study has been based either upon the favorite ordering of complements in sentence patterns or the application of traditional characterizations to such grammatical complements as object and locative. Such characterization is also in some part based on the intuitive interpretation of such relationships and reflections on sentence translatability. Such criteria, however, are neither as desirable nor as dependable as purely formal procedures. Unfortunately, there is no formal and completely unequivocal method by which grammatical designations may be assigned to such sa complements, and this is an area which further research might develop.
whereas the nang phrase often refers to an indefinite and non-specific object. (See sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2)

Goal-focus constructions are examined for +, -, and + cooccurrence with actor, topic, and locative complements.

Actor-focus and goal-focus constructions are also examined for cooccurrence with quotative sentences or phrases which contain a predicate and which are embedded as object or topic complements in primary clauses. Such quotative elements are introduced by the marking particle na. For example,

(Nag)sabi siya sa akin na siya ay p(um)unta sa sine.
AF:say T:Tpr L Lpr Pl T:Tpr c AF:go L movies.
'He told me that he went to the movies.'

S(in)abi niya sa akin na siya ay p(um)unta sa sine.
GF:say A:Apr L Lpr Pl T:Tpr c AF:go L movies.
'He told me that he went to the movies.'

Locative-focus constructions are examined for +, -, and + occurrence with topic, actor, and direct object complements.

Implicative-focus constructions are examined for +, -, and + cooccurrence with topic, actor, object, and locative complements. In certain implicative-focus constructions, the sa object phrase overlaps and complements the occurrence of nang object phrases. (See sections 5.8.1 and 5.8.3.)

5.3 Complements of Actor-focus Constructions. Actor-focus constructions generally occur with an obligatory topic complement which is also the actor. The data indicate this to be a feature which intersects focal categories, and
except for a small, highly restricted set of verbs, the topic is an obligatory verbal cooccurrent in all the constructions under consideration.\(^2\)

The terms "obligatory" and "excluded" are defined somewhat specially in this study in respect to object complements of certain actor-focus verbs. As has been mentioned, object complements of actor-focus verbs are of two types, and may be identified by the marking particle (nang or sa) which introduces the phrase. In speaking of obligatory object complements, one thus includes three types of verbs. Some verbs may appear only with a nang object complement and some may appear only with a sa object complement. A third type may appear with either a nang or a sa object complement, that is, one complement may substitute for the other. However, such verbs obligatorily occur with an object complement, that is, they may occur with either nang or sa, but

\(^2\)It is, however, possible to have an optional topic in actual discourse. Indicative sentences may omit the topic in answer to specific questions and in cases where the immediate context is known. For example, in answer to the question, (Ba)balik ba siya bukas?, AF:return qm T:Tpr tomorrow?, 'Will he return tomorrow?', one may answer with or without a sentential topic. Thus, Qo, (ba)balik (siya), yes, AF:return T:Tpr, 'Yes, (he) will return'. (Parentheses indicate an optional phrase complement.) Or, for example, in answer to the direct question, Ano ang (gina)gawa? niya sa kusina?, what T GF:do A:Apr L kitchen?, 'What is she doing in the kitchen?', one might answer with or without a sentential topic. Thus, (Naglu)luto (siya), AF:cook (T:Tpr), '(She is) cooking'.

Fries describes a similar phenomenon in English, saying that "for questions with the function words who, which, what, whose, how, where, when, why, the answers may consist of practically any linguistic form-class fitting the particular
must occur with one.

Similarly, the term "excluded" has a rather special meaning in respect to _sa_ object complements. The specification of certain verbs for the exclusion of _sa_ object phrases is considered to refer to kernel construction types only. Such verbs may permit such complements in inverted order equational sentences.

5.3.1 Verbs with -um-. The great majority of sentences containing verbs with -um- obligatorily select topic complements. A small group of verbs which express acts of nature, however, appear to lie outside this rule. Such verbs obligatorily occur without topic complements. For example,

(Umu)ulan.
AF: rain.
'It is raining.'

(Buma)bagyo?.
AF: storm.
'It is storming.'

(Lumi)lindol.
AF: earthquake.
'There is an earthquake.'

type of question." More specifically, "for questions with what (or more rarely which) with do as the Class 2 word the answers consist of any other Class 2 word (other than be) alone or with following 'objects' or 'modifiers'." For example, the question "What have you been doing all evening?" may be simply and adequately answered by "Oh, just sitting around." See Charles C. Fries, _The Structure of English_ (New York, 1952), pp. 167-8.
Verbs with -um- may be classed into three types in respect to cooccurrence with nang object complements: (1) those which obligatorily appear with a nang complement; (2) those which exclude a nang complement; and (3) those which optionally appear with a nang complement.

Verbs of the first type are transitive. For example,

(Guma)gawa? siya nang laruan.
AF: make T:Tpr 0 toy. 'He is making a toy.'

K(um)uha siya nang libro kaninang umaga.
AF: take T:Tpr 0 book Att: early morning. 'He took the book earlier this morning.'

(Puma)patay siya nang manok.
AF: kill T:Tpr 0 chicken. 'He is killing a chicken.'

Verbs of the second type are intransitive and never occur with an object complement. For example,

(Um)alis na si Jose.
AF: leave en T Jose. 'Jose has already left.'

(Ba)balik si Maria sa bayan pagkatapos nang pag-aaral.
AF: return T Maria L town afterwards AbA: study. 'Maria will return to her town after her studies.'

(Da)rating ang bus mga alas tres nang hapon.
AF: arrive T bus pl t num Att afternoon. 'The bus will arrive about 3:00 in the afternoon.'

L(um)akad siya hanggang sa ilog bago siya (na)pagod.
AF: walk T:Tpr as far as L river before T:Tpr AF: tire. 'He walked as far as the river before he got tired.'

Finally, verbs of the third type are either transitive or intransitive. For example,

(Buma)basa (nang libro) si Conrado.
AF: read (0 book) T Conrado. 'Conrado is reading (a book).'


In respect to *sa* object complements, verbs with *-um-* may be classed into three types: (1) those which obligatorily appear with a *sa* complement;\(^3\) (2) those which exclude a *sa* complement; and (3) those which optionally appear with a *sa* complement.

Examples of verbs of the first type are as follows:

*D(um)alo siya sa miting sa eskuwelahan kagabi.*
AF: attend T: Tpr O meeting L school last night.
'He attended the meeting at the school last night.'

*Nang nasa kalye siya' y h(um)arap sa simbahanan.*
PL L street T: Tpr c AF: face 0 church.
'Once on the street, he faced the church.'

---

\(^3\)As has been mentioned, some verbs of the first type may occur with corresponding *nang* object complements as well. That is, such verbs obligatorily occur with either a *nang* or a *sa* object complement—they may occur with either, but must occur with one. In these cases, the difference between the *nang* and *sa* object complements is often that between an indefinite and definite object. For example, compare *D(um)alo siya nang miting kagabi,* AF: attend 0 meeting last night, 'He attended a meeting last night' with the example given for this type.
Verbs of the second type, i.e., which never appear with sa object complements in ordinary kernel indicative sentences, are more common.\(^4\)

Finally, verbs of the third type appear with an optional sa complement.\(^5\) For example,

(Huma)halik siya (sa bata?).
AF: kiss T:Tpr (O child).
'He is kissing (the child).'

(Umi)ibig siya (sa dalaga sa baryo).
AF: love T:Tpr (O girl Att baryo).
'He is in love (with the girl from the barrio).'

S(um)agot ang maestro (sa tanong nang mga estudyante).
AF: answer T teacher (O question Att pl student).
'The teacher answered (the student's questions).'

Verbs with -um- may be classed into three types in respect to their cooccurrence with the locative complement: (1) those which obligatorily occur with the locative complement; (2) those which exclude the locative complement; and

\(^4\) As implied in section 5.3, such verbs may "take a sa-phrase in this function . . . when nominalized in the topic position of an equational sentence." For example, verbs like bili 'to buy' and kuha 'to take', which may not occur with sa object complements in kernel sentences, may do so in inverted order equational sentences. See Bowen, Beginning Tagalog, pp. 220-1.

For example,
Si Ben ang b(um)i1i sa medyas.
T Ben T AF: buy O socks.
'Ben is the one who bought the socks.'

Si Rosy ang k(um)uha sa pagkain.
T Rosy T AF: take O food.
'Rosy is the one who took the food.'

\(^5\) Some verbal constructions of this type, like sagot, may also appear with an optional nang complement. For example,
(3) those which optionally occur with the locative complement.

Verbs of the first type are relatively few. For example,

\[
\text{L(um)agay siya sa magaling.} \\
\text{AF:place T:Tpr L Adj:good.} \\
\text{'He put himself in a good spot.'}
\]

\[
\text{(Tum)itira sila ngayon sa Quezon City.} \\
\text{AF:dwell T:Tpr now L Quezon City.} \\
\text{'They are living in Quezon City now.'}
\]

Verbs of the second type are also relatively few. The order of syntactic complements appears to affect the distribution, so that a locative complement may not occur without a preceding object complement. Otherwise, such ungrammatical (though perhaps metaphorically acceptable) sentences as the following might result.

\[
\text{*(Umi)ibig siya sa baryo.} \\
\text{'He fell in love with the baryo.'}
\]

\[
\text{*(Umi)ibig siya sa Maynila.} \\
\text{'He loves Maynila.'}
\]

The presence of an object complement permits the presence of an optional locative complement. For example,

\[
\text{(Umi)ibig siya sa dalaga sa baryo.} \\
\text{AF:love T:Tpr O girl L bario.} \\
\text{'He fell in love with the girl in the barrio.'}
\]

\[
\text{S(um)agot ang maestro (nang tanong nang mga estudyante).} \\
\text{AF:answer T teacher (O question Att pl student).} \\
\text{'The teacher answered (the students' questions).'}
\]

Others, like \text{ibig} and \text{halik}, may not.

\footnote{The \text{sa baryo} phrase is ambiguous in that it may either modify the sentence (as a sentential locative complement) or}
Finally, the majority of verbs in the -um- construction are of the third type, appearing with optional locative complements. For example,

K(um)uha siya nang libro (sa mesa).
AF: take T:Tpr O book (L table).
'He took the book (from the table).'</n
(Dumu)dumi ang mga pulubi (sa kalye).
AF: defecate T pl beggar (L street).
'The beggars defecate (in the streets).'</n
S(um)ayaw siya nang tsatsa (sa party) kagabi.
AF: dance T:Tpr O chacha (L party) last night.
'She danced the chacha (at the party) last night.'</n
5.3.2 Verbs with mag-. Verbs with mag- usually occur with an obligatory topic complement. However, similar to -um- constructions, certain verbs which express acts of nature obligatorily occur without a topic complement.

(Nagu)ulan.
AF: rain.
'It is raining.'

(Nagba)baha?.
AF: flood.
'It is flooding.'

Verbs with mag- may be classed into three types in respect to their cooccurrence with nang object complements:

(1) those which obligatorily appear with the nang complement;

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dalaga (as a modificational phrase). Differentiating between sentential locative complements and modificational locative phrases is resolved by utilizing the criterion of permutation. Locative complements are fairly free in respect to order of placement within sentences, whereas modificational elements are of necessity highly restricted and tied to the head phrase which they modify.
Examples of verbs of the first type are as follows:

(Nag)abot siya nang serbesa sa akin.
AF: hand over T:Tpr O beer L Lpr.
'He handed me a beer.'

(Naga)alis sila nang punong nabuwal.
AF: remove T:Tpr O tree Att AF:fell.
'They are removing the fallen tree.'

(Nag)lagay siya nang pinggan sa mesa.
AF: place T:Tpr O dish L table.
'She placed the dishes on the table.'

Verbs of the second type are intransitive.

(Naga)antok si Jose.
AF: be sleepy T Jose.
'Jose is getting sleepy.'

(Nagdu)dugo? ang sugat.
AF: bleed T wound.
'The wound is bleeding.'

(Nagdu)dumi ang mga pulubi sa kalye.
AF: defecate T pl beggar L street.
'The beggars defecate in the streets.'

---

7 Pronouns do not exhibit a special set which replaces nang phrases as direct object complements. If a pronoun is to appear as object, it appears in one of two ways: (1) as a sa object complement in the form of an akin class pronoun in an actor-focus construction; (2) as an ang phrase and topic of a goal-focus construction. For example, (Nagli) ligaw siya sa kaniya, AF: court T:Tpr O Lpr, 'He is courting her'; (Nagma)mahal siya sa kaniya, AF: be fond of T:Tpr O Lpr, 'He is fond of her'; and (Mina)mahal niya siya, GF: be fond of A:Apr T:Tpr, 'He is fond of her'.

Some verbs will not select pronominal forms as object complements in actor-focus constructions, but appear with the pronoun as topic in goal-focus constructions. For example, *(Nanggi)gising siya sa kaniya 'He is waking her up' and *(um)atay siya sa kaniya 'He killed her' are not possible, while (Gini)gising niya siya GF: wake A:Apr T:Tpr, 'He is waking her up' and (in)atay niya siya, GF: kill A:Apr T:Tpr, 'He killed her' are. (Compare (Nanggi)gising siya nang bata?, AF: wake T:Tpr O child, 'He waking the child up' and (um)atay siya nang tao, AF: kill T:Tpr O man, 'He killed a man'.)

The same restrictions are true for [+Personal] objects,
Finally, verbs of the third type are optionally transitive.

(Nagbay)bayad na sila (nang kanilang utang). AF: pay en T:Tpr (O Att: Lpr debt). 'They have already paid (their debt).'

(Nagba)baon siya (nang maraming pagkain) para sa piknik. AF: pack T:Tpr (O Att: much food) ben picnic. 'She is packing (lots of food) for the picnic.'

(Naglu)luto (nang adobong manok) si Toni. AF: cook (O adobo Att: chicken) T Toni. 'Toni is cooking (chicken adobo).'

(Magtu)turo siya (nang Ingles) sa Bohol. AF: teach T:Tpr (O English) L Bohol. 'She will be teaching (English) on Bohol.'

Verbs with mag- may be classed into three types in respect to the occurrence with sa object complements (1) those which appear with an obligatory sa complement; (2) those which exclude a sa complement; and (3) those which appear with an optional sa complement.

Examples of verbs of the first type are as follows: 8

that is, proper names (which take si markers) which appear as object complements. These may appear as sa/kay complements in actor-focus constructions or as topic complements in goal-focus constructions. For example, (Nagma)mahal siya kay Cristina, AF: be fond of O Cristina, 'He is fond of Cristina' and (Mina)mahal ni a si Cristina, GF: be fond of A: Apr T Cristina, 'He is fond of Cristina'.

8 Similar to -um- verbs, many verbs with mag- occur with either sa or nang obligatory object complements (but they must occur with one). Compare the following with the above examples: (Nagma)mahal nang batang bulag si Maria, AF: hold dear O child Att: blind T Maria, 'Maria is fond of a blind child'; (Nag)tiiis siya nang kahirapan nang buhay, AF: suffer T: Tpr O hardship Att: life, 'He suffered life's hardships'.
Verbs of the second type are constructed of the normal indicative pattern. 9

Verbs of the third type appear with optional sa object complements. 10

(Nag) mahal sa batang bulag si Maria.
AF: hold dear 0 child Att: blind T Maria.
'Maria is fond of the blind child.'

(Nag) tiis siya sa kahirapan nang buhay.
AF: suffer T: Tpr 0 hardship Att life.
'He suffered life's hardships.'

Verbs of the second type are common in constructions of the normal indicative pattern. 9

Verbs of the third type appear with optional sa object complements. 10

(Nag) hari? siya (sa bayan).
AF: rule T: Tpr (0 country).
'He rules the country.'

(Nag) tuktok (sa pinto) si Jose.
AF: knock (0 door) T Jose.
'Jose knocked (on the door).' 

(Nag) bayad sila (sa kanilang utang).
AF: pay T: Tpr (0 Att: Lpr debt).
'They paid (their debt).' 

(Nag) sunog sila (sa mga bahay nang mga mayaman).
AF: burn T: Tpr (0 pl house Att pl Adj: rich).
'They are setting fire (to the houses of the rich).'

9 Similar to -um- verbs, many verbs with mag- which reject sa complements in normal indicative sentences permit them in inverted order equational sentences. For example, Si Ben ang (nagda)dala sa libro, T Ben T AF: carry 0 book, 'Ben is the one bringing the book' and Si Rosy ang (nagba) basa sa libro, T Rosy T AF: read 0 book, 'Rosy is the one reading the book'.

10 Similar to -um- verbs, certain verbs with mag-, like bayad and sunog, may occur with either nang or sa optional complements. Others, like hari? and tuktok, may not. Compare the following with the above examples: (Nag)bayad sila (nang kanilang utang), AF: pay T: Tpr (0 Att: Lpr debt), 'They paid (their debt)'; (Nag) sunog sila (nang mga bahay nang mga mayaman), AF: burn T: Tpr (0 pl house Att pl Adj: rich), 'They are setting fire (to the houses of the rich).'
Verbs with mag- may be classed into three types in respect to their cooccurrence with the locative complement: (1) those which occur with an obligatory locative complement; (2) those which exclude a locative complement; and (3) those which occur with an optional locative complement.

Verbs of the first type may be either transitive or intransitive.

(Nag) lagay siya nang tubig sa baso.
AF: place T:Tpr 0 water L glass.
'She put water in the glass.'

(Nag) pasok siya nang bata? sa klase.
AF: enter T:Tpr 0 child L class.
'She entered the child in the class.'

(Nagsa) sadya? siya sa banyan upang (mapa)nood ang sabong.
AF: go T:Tpr L town in order to ABGF: see T cockfight.
'He is going to town to see the cockfight.'

Verbs of the second type are relatively rare. In the corpus only one verb, mahal, was found to exclude the locative complement in this construction.

Most verbs with mag-, transitive and intransitive, are of the third type and occur with optional locative complements.

(Nag) antok (sa sine) si Jose.
AF: become sleepy (L movie) T Jose.
'Jose became sleepy (at the movies).'

(Nag) abot siya nang serbesa (sa akin).
AF: hand over T:Tpr 0 beer (L Lpr).
'He handed over a beer (to me).'

(Nag) tapon siya nang basura (sa basurahan).
AF: throw away T:Tpr 0 rubbish (L rubbish barrel).
'He emptied the rubbish (into the rubbish barrel).'
5.3.3 Similarities and Differences between the -um- and mag- Verbs. Some stems appear with both -um- and mag-, but with different syntactic complements. With -um- such verbs are intransitive and are often reflexive, involving only the topic/actor.

B(um)aba? siya sa aeroplano.
AF: descend T:Tpr L airplane.
'He got off the airplane.'

B(um)aon ang bola sa buhangin.
AF: sink T ball L sand.
'The ball sank in the sand.'

B(um)ukas ang pinto.
AF: open T door.
'The door opened.'

P(um)asok siya sa klase.
AF: enter T:Tpr L class.
'He entered the class.'

S(um)akay siya sa jeepney.
AF: ride T:Tpr L jeepney.
'He rode on the jeepney.'

S(um)ara ang pinto.
AF: close T door.
'The door closed.'

With mag-, however, such verbs become transitive and involve an object other than the topic-actor in the action.

(Naglu)baba? siya nang maleta sa aeroplano.
AF: bring down T:Tpr O suitcase L airplane.
'He took the suitcases off the airplane.'

(Naglu)bukas siya nang pinto.
AF: open T:Tpr O door.
'He opened the door.'
(Nag)baon sila nang kahon sa likod nang bahay.
AF: bury T:Tpr O box L behind ATE house.
'They buried the box behind the house.'

(Nag)pasok siya nang bata? sa klase.
AF: enter T:Tpr O child L class.
'She entered the child in the class.'

(Nag)sakay siya nang kahon sa jeepney.
AF: ride in a vehicle T:Tpr O box L jeepney.
'He loaded the box onto the jeepney.'

(Nag)sara siya nang pinto.
AF: close T:Tpr O door.
'He closed the door.'

Some stems exhibit no formal complemental distinction between the -um- and mag- affixed verbs. Such verbs remain transitive, intransitive, or optionally transitive in both types and the verbs are more or less semantically equatable. That is, the contrast is minimal, and the distinction, if any, is one of intensification or emphasis.

(Luma)lakad sila sa parke.
(Nagla)lakad sila sa parke.
AF: walk T:Tpr L park.
'They are walking in the park.'

(Puma)pasyal sila sa Luneta.
(Nagpa)pasyal sila sa Luneta.
AF: stroll T:Tpr L Luneta.
'They are strolling along Luneta.'

(Guma)gawa? siya nang laruan para sa bata?.
(Nagga)gawa? siya nang laruan para sa bata?.
AF: make T:Tpr O toy ben child.
'He is making a toy for the child.'

(Puma)patay sila nang manok para sa pista.
(Nagpa)patay sila nang manok para sa pista.
AF: kill T:Tpr O chicken ben fiesta.
'They are killing chickens for the fiesta.'

(Buma)basa (nang diyaryo) si Conrado.
(Nagba)basa (nang diyaryo) si Conrado.
AF: read (O newspaper) T Conrado.
'Conrado is reading (the newspaper).'
Intransitive verbs appear to be more common with -um- than with mag-, and conversely, transitive verbs are more common with mag- than with -um-.

5.3.4 Verbs with mang-. Verbs with mang- occur with an obligatory sentential topic complement.

Verbs with mang- may be classed into three types in respect to cooccurrence with nang object complements: (1) those which occur with an obligatory nang complement; (2) those which exclude a nang complement; and (3) those which occur with an optional nang complement.

Examples of verbs of the first type are as follows:

(Sumun) sulat siya (nang sulat).
(Nagsu) sulat siya (nang sulat).
AF: write T:Tpr (0 letter).
'She is writing (a letter).'

Verbs of the second type are intransitive.

(Nang) galing ako sa aklatan.
AF: come from T:Tpr (1 letter).
'I've just come from the library.'
Verbs with mang- may be classed into three types in respect to cooccurrence with object complements: (1) those which appear with an obligatory object complement; (2) those which exclude an object complement; and (3) those which appear with an optional object complement.

Examples of the first type are as follows:

(Nanggi)gising siya (nang mga bata?).
AF: wake up T:Tpr (0 pl. child).
'He is waking up (the children).'

(Nanghi)hiram siya (nang pera).
AF: borrow T:Tpr (0 money).
'He is always borrowing (money).'

Verbs with mang- may be classed into three types in respect to cooccurrence with object complements: (1) those which appear with an obligatory object complement; (2) those which exclude an object complement; and (3) those which appear with an optional object complement.

Examples of the first type are as follows:

(Nanggi)gising siya (nang mga bata?).
AF: wake up T:Tpr (0 pl. child).
'He is waking up (the children).'

(Nanghi)hiram siya (nang pera).
AF: borrow T:Tpr (0 money).
'He is always borrowing (money).'

Verbs with mang- may be classed into three types in respect to cooccurrence with object complements: (1) those which appear with an obligatory object complement; (2) those which exclude an object complement; and (3) those which appear with an optional object complement.

Verbs of the second type do not occur with object complements introduced by sa in normal indicative sentences. Verbs of the third type, however, occur with optional sa complements.

(Nanlo)loko siya kay Cristina.
AF: disturb T:Tpr 0 Cristina.
'He is teasing Cristina.'

(Nanin)ingin siya sa damit.
AF: look T:Tpr 0 dress.
'They are looking at the dress.'

Verbs of the second type do not occur with object complements introduced by sa in normal indicative sentences. Verbs of the third type, however, occur with optional sa complements.

(Nanlo)loko siya kay Cristina.
AF: disturb T:Tpr 0 Cristina.
'He is teasing Cristina.'

(Nanin)ingin siya sa damit.
AF: look T:Tpr 0 dress.
'They are looking at the dress.'

Verbs of the second type do not occur with object complements introduced by sa in normal indicative sentences. Verbs of the third type, however, occur with optional sa complements.

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AF: disturb T:Tpr 0 Cristina.
'He is teasing Cristina.'

(Nanin)ingin siya sa damit.
AF: look T:Tpr 0 dress.
'They are looking at the dress.'

Verbs of the second type do not occur with object complements introduced by sa in normal indicative sentences. Verbs of the third type, however, occur with optional sa complements.

(Nanlo)loko siya kay Cristina.
AF: disturb T:Tpr 0 Cristina.
'He is teasing Cristina.'

(Nanin)ingin siya sa damit.
AF: look T:Tpr 0 dress.
'They are looking at the dress.'

Verbs of the second type do not occur with object complements introduced by sa in normal indicative sentences. Verbs of the third type, however, occur with optional sa complements.

(Nanlo)loko siya kay Cristina.
AF: disturb T:Tpr 0 Cristina.
'He is teasing Cristina.'

(Nanin)ingin siya sa damit.
AF: look T:Tpr 0 dress.
'They are looking at the dress.'

Verbs of the second type do not occur with object complements introduced by sa in normal indicative sentences. Verbs of the third type, however, occur with optional sa complements.

(Nanlo)loko siya kay Cristina.
AF: disturb T:Tpr 0 Cristina.
'He is teasing Cristina.'

(Nanin)ingin siya sa damit.
AF: look T:Tpr 0 dress.
'They are looking at the dress.'

Verbs of the second type do not occur with object complements introduced by sa in normal indicative sentences. Verbs of the third type, however, occur with optional sa complements.

(Nanlo)loko siya kay Cristina.
AF: disturb T:Tpr 0 Cristina.
'He is teasing Cristina.'

(Nanin)ingin siya sa damit.
AF: look T:Tpr 0 dress.
'They are looking at the dress.'

Verbs of the second type do not occur with object complements introduced by sa in normal indicative sentences. Verbs of the third type, however, occur with optional sa complements.

(Nanlo)loko siya kay Cristina.
AF: disturb T:Tpr 0 Cristina.
'He is teasing Cristina.'

(Nanin)ingin siya sa damit.
AF: look T:Tpr 0 dress.
'They are looking at the dress.'

Verbs of the second type do not occur with object complements introduced by sa in normal indicative sentences. Verbs of the third type, however, occur with optional sa complements.

(Nanlo)loko siya kay Cristina.
AF: disturb T:Tpr 0 Cristina.
'He is teasing Cristina.'

(Nanin)ingin siya sa damit.
AF: look T:Tpr 0 dress.
'They are looking at the dress.'

Verbs of the second type do not occur with object complements introduced by sa in normal indicative sentences. Verbs of the third type, however, occur with optional sa complements.

(Nanlo)loko siya kay Cristina.
AF: disturb T:Tpr 0 Cristina.
'He is teasing Cristina.'

(Nanin)ingin siya sa damit.
AF: look T:Tpr 0 dress.
'They are looking at the dress.'

Verbs of the second type do not occur with object complements introduced by sa in normal indicative sentences. Verbs of the third type, however, occur with optional sa complements.

(Nanlo)loko siya kay Cristina.
AF: disturb T:Tpr 0 Cristina.
'He is teasing Cristina.'

(Nanin)ingin siya sa damit.
AF: look T:Tpr 0 dress.
'They are looking at the dress.'

Verbs of the second type do not occur with object complements introduced by sa in normal indicative sentences. Verbs of the third type, however, occur with optional sa complements.

(Nanlo)loko siya kay Cristina.
AF: disturb T:Tpr 0 Cristina.
'He is teasing Cristina.'

(Nanin)ingin siya sa damit.
AF: look T:Tpr 0 dress.
'They are looking at the dress.'

Verbs of the second type do not occur with object complements introduced by sa in normal indicative sentences. Verbs of the third type, however, occur with optional sa complements.

(Nanlo)loko siya kay Cristina.
AF: disturb T:Tpr 0 Cristina.
'He is teasing Cristina.'

(Nanin)ingin siya sa damit.
AF: look T:Tpr 0 dress.
'They are looking at the dress.'

Verbs of the second type do not occur with object complements introduced by sa in normal indicative sentences. Verbs of the third type, however, occur with optional sa complements.
Only one mang- verb in the corpus, galing, was found to occur with an obligatory locative complement.

(Nang)galing ako sa aklatan.
AF: come T: Tpr L library.
'I've just come from the library.'

Verbs of the second type, which select an optional locative complement, are more common.

(Nanghi)hiram siya nang pera(sa tatay).
AF: borrow T: Tpr O money (L father).
'He is borrowing money (from his father).'</n
(Namam)asval sila(sa Luneta) linggo-linggo.
AF: stroll T: Tpr (L Luneta) Sunday Int.
'They go strolling (along Luneta) every Sunday.'

5.3.5 Verbs with ma-. Actor-focus constructions with ma- obligatorily select topic complements.

Verbs with ma- may be classed into two types in respect to occurrence with object complements: (1) intransitive and (2) optionally transitive. Verbs of the first type are more common.

(Nahi)higa? si Cristina.
AF: rest T Cristina.
'Cristina is resting.'

(Nali)ligo? sila sa ilog.
AF: bathe T: Tpr L river.
'They bathe in the river.'

(Natu)tulog siya nang mahimbing.
AF: sleep T: Tpr AdvM: soundly.
'She is sleeping soundly.'

Verbs of the second type are optionally transitive, and may be classed into two groups: (1) those which appear with an optional nang complement; and (2) those which appear with
an optional _sa_ complement. For example,

(Mano)nood kami (nang sine).
AF: see T:Tpr (O movies).
'Ve are going to (see) (the movies).'

(Mata)tapos sila (nang training) sa Agosto.
AF: end T:Tpr (O training) tem August.
'They will finish (training) in August.'

(Matu)tuto siya(nang Tagalog) sa Pilipinas.
AF: learn T:Tpr (O Tagalog) L Philippines.
'He will learn(Tagalog) in the Philippines.'

and

(Mata)takot siya(sa aso).
AF: fear T:Tpr (O dog).
'He is afraid (of dogs).'

(Naa)awa? siya (sa pulubi).
AF: pity T:Tpr (O beggar).
'He pities (the beggars).'

Verbs with _ma_-, except for certain verbs which occur
with optional _sa_ object complements, 11 freely occur with
optional locative complements.

(Mano)nood kami (nang sine) (sa Waikiki).
AF: see T:Tpr (O movies) (L Waikiki).
'We are going to see (a show) (in Waikiki).'

(Matu)tuto siya (nang Tagalog) (sa Pilipinas).
AF: learn T:Tpr (O Tagalog) (L Philippines).
'He will learn (Tagalog) (in the Philippines).'

(Natu)tulog (sa kama) ang sanggol.
AF: sleep (L bed) T baby.
'The baby is sleeping (on the bed).'

(Nalu)lungkot siya(sa probinsya).
AF: be sad T:Tpr (L province).
'She is sad (being in the provinces).'

---

11 It is interesting to note that many verbs of this type
do not occur with locative complements in the absence of _sa_
object complements.
5.4 Complements of Goal-focus Constructions. Goal-focus constructions containing verbs with -in appear with an obligatory topic complement.\textsuperscript{12}

Verbs with -in may be classed into three types in respect to cooccurrence with actor complements: (1) those which appear with an obligatory actor complement; (2) those which exclude an actor complement; and (3) those which appear with an optional actor complement.

Examples of verbs of the first type are as follows:

\begin{itemize}
\item \texttt{(Ini)ibig kita. \textbf{GF:love} A:Apr T:Tpr. 'I love you.'}
\item \texttt{(Mina)mahal kita. \textbf{GF:love} A:Apr T:Tpr. 'I love you.'}
\item \texttt{(Nila)lakad nila ang Luneta. \textbf{GF:walk} A:Apr T Luneta. 'They are walking to Luneta.'}
\item \texttt{S(in)abi niya ang totoo. \textbf{GF:say} A:Apr T truth. 'He spoke the truth.'}
\end{itemize}

A small set of verbs, usually, though not exclusively, representing acts of nature, comprise the second type. Such verbs exclude an actor complement and express as goal-focus topic the same item which appears as actor-focus topic in corresponding actor-focus paraphrases in some cases.

\textsuperscript{12}Non-actor-focus constructions, however, do permit topicless sentences in the imperative mood.
Most verbs in -in are of the third type and occur with optional actor complements. In many cases, however, a locative complement is required to enhance the degree of acceptability of the sentence.

Verbs of the first type are relatively few.
Verbs of the second type are usually, but not exclusively, verbs which express acts of nature or which express direction or movement.

(Bina)bagyo? ang Maynila.
GF: storm T Manila.
'It is storming in Manila.'

(Nili)lindol ang Maynila.
GF: earthquake T Manila.
'There is an earthquake in Manila.'

(Nila)lakad nila ang ilog.
GF: walk A: Apr T river.
'They are walking to the river.'

(Nila)langoy nila ang ilog.
GF: swim A: Apr T river.
'They are swimming the river.'

(Mina)mahal niya ang dalaga sa baryo.
GF: be fond of T girl Att barrio.
'He is fond of the girl in the barrio.'

Verbs of the third type are more common in the goal-focus construction.

B(in)ili ko ang gulay (sa kanila).
GF: buy A: Apr T vegetable (L Lpr).
'I bought vegetables (from them).' 

(Dina)dala niya ang isda? (sa mesa).
GF: bring A: Apr T fish (L table).
'She brought the fish (to the table).' 

(Bina)basa niya ang libro (sa aklan
tan).
GF: read A: Apr T book (L library).
'He is reading the book (in the library).' 

13 Such verbs may, however, occur with a locative phrase which is attributive to and modifies the topic, as for example, the last sentence of the examples given for this type.
5.5 Embedded Quotative Phrases in Actor-focus and Goal-focus Constructions. Certain actor-focus and goal-focus constructions occur with extensions which are embedded phrases or sentences. Such embedded complements are introduced by the linking particle na.

(Nag)sabi siya na siya'y p(um)unta sa sine.
AF:say T:Tpr Pl T:Tpr c AF:go L movies.
'He said that he went to the movies.'

S(in)abi niya na siya'y p(um)unta sa sine.
'He said that he went to the movies.'

S(um)agot siya na wala raw dito ang nanay.
AF:answer T:Tpr Pl there is not en dem T mother.
'He answered that his mother is not here.'

S(in)agot niya na wala raw dito ang nanay.
GF:answer A:Apr Pl there is not en dem T mother.
'He answered that his mother is not here.'

Goal-focus verbal constructions which exhibit embedded quotative phrases usually permit a paraphrase which forms an Abstract of Action (AbA) with the embedded verbal construction.

S(um)igaw siya na d(um)ating ang mga kaaway.
AF:shout T:Tpr Pl AF:arrive T pl enemy.
'He shouted that the enemies were coming.'

S(in)igaw niya na d(um)ating ang mga kaaway.
GF:shout A:Apr Pl AF:arrive T pl enemy.
'He shouted that the enemies were coming.'

S(in)igaw niya ang pagdating nang mga kaaway.
GF:shout A:Apr T AbA:arrive Att pl enemy.
'He shouted about the coming of the enemy.'

S(um)ulat siya na magaling na ang kaniyang nanay.
AF:write T:Tpr Pl Adj:well en T Att:Lpr mother.
'He wrote that his mother is well.'
5.6 Complements of Locative-focus Constructions.

Locative-focus verbs with -an occur with an obligatory topic complement.

Verbs with -an may be classed into two types in respect to cooccurrence with actor complements: (1) those which appear with an obligatory actor complement; and (2) those which appear with an optional actor complement.

Some verbs of the first type are optionally transitive. The actor and object complements in such locative-focus constructions are often marked by homophonous particles (nang), so that such sentences containing a single nang phrase are always interpreted as containing an actor complement. For example, compare the following sentences,

P(in)asyal(an) nang tao ang Luneta.
LF: stroll A man T Luneta.
'The man went for a stroll along Luneta.'

P(in)asyal(an) nang tao nang aso ang Luneta.
LF: stroll A man O dog T Luneta.
'The man took the dog for a walk along Luneta.'

P(in)asyal(an) nang aso ang Luneta.
LF: stroll A dog T Luneta.
'The dog went walking along Luneta.'

Verbs of the first type may simply occur with obligatory actor complements.
(In)uks(an) niya ang pinto.
LF: close A: Apr T door.
'He closed the door.'

(In)iwan(an) niya ang kaniyang asawa.
'He left his wife.'

Tingnan(an) mo ang taong iyon.
'Look at that man.'

Verbs which occur with an optional actor complement are more common.

(In)apt(an)(nila) nang nipa ang bahay.
LF: roof (A: Apr) T nipa T house.
'The house was roofed with nipa (by them).'

(Sina)sahig(an) (nila) nang kawayan ang bahay.
LF: floor (A: Apr) T bamboo T house.
'The house is being floored with bamboo (by them).'

P(in)alit(an) (nila) ang damit sa tindahan.
LF: change (A: Apr) T dress L store.
'The dress was exchanged (by them) in the store.'

Locative-focus verbs may be classed into three types in respect to occurrence with the object complement (which is always introduced by nang): (1) transitive; (2) intransitive; and (3) optionally transitive.

Examples of verbs of the first type are as follows:

(Ni)lagy(an) niya nang asin ang pagkain.
LF: place A: Apr 0 salt T food.
'She put salt in the food.'

(Sinu)sunog(an) nila nang basura ang malaking lata.
LF: burn A: Apr 0 rubbish T Att: large can.
'They are burning rubbish in the big can.'

(Dina)dal(han) natin nang pagkain si Rosy.
LF: bring A: Apr 0 food T Rosy.
'We are bringing Rosy food.'
Verbal constructions of the second type are intransitive.

\[
\text{Mayroon ba kayong(ti)tir(han)?} \\
\text{there is qm T:Trp LF:dwell?} \\
\text{'Do you have a place to live?'}
\]

\[
\text{S(in)ugat(an) nila ang sundalo sa braso.} \\
\text{LF:wound A:Apr T soldier L arm.} \\
\text{They wounded the soldier in the arm.'}
\]

\[
\text{Tingn(an) mo ang taong iyon.} \\
\text{LF:look A:Apr T man Att:dem.} \\
\text{'Look at that man.'}
\]

\[
\text{(In)anyaya(han) nila si Jose sa party.} \\
\text{LF:invite A:Apr T Jose L party.} \\
\text{They invited Jose to the party.'}
\]

Verbs of the third type are optionally transitive.

\[
\text{(In)a hit(an) niya (nang balbas) ang tao.} \\
\text{LF:shave A:Apr (O whiskers) T man.} \\
\text{He is shaving the man ('s whiskers).'}
\]

\[
\text{B(in)ayar(an) niya ako (nang kaniyang utang).} \\
\text{LF:pay A:Apr T:Tpr (O Att:Lpr debt).} \\
\text{'He paid me (his debt).'}
\]

\[
\text{(Bini)bihis(an) niya (nang damit) ang bata?.} \\
\text{LF:dress A:Apr (O dress) T child.} \\
\text{'She is dressing the child.'} \\
\text{'She is putting a dress on the child.'}
\]

Many locative-focus verbs of the "place whither" type (see section 4.3) occur with an optional "place where" sentential locative complement.

\[
\text{S(in)ugatan nila ang sundalo (sa braso).} \\
\text{LF:wound A:Apr T soldier (L arm).} \\
\text{'They wounded the soldier (in the arm).'}
\]

\[
\text{(In)anyaya(han) nila si Jose (sa party).} \\
\text{LF:invite A:Apr T Jose (L party).} \\
\text{'They invited Jose (to the party).'}
\]

\[
\text{B(in)endisyon(an) nang pare? ang bata? (sa simbahana).} \\
\text{LF:bless A priest T child (L church).} \\
\text{'The priest blessed the child (in the church).'}
\]
5.7 Complements of Implicative-focus Constructions.

Implicative-focus verbs appear with an obligatory sentential topic complement. Secondly, implicative-focus verbs, whether with i-, ipag-, or ipang-, usually permit an optional actor complement. This restriction appears to supersede the transitive-intransitive dichotomy. For example,

(I)b(in)alik (niya) si Jose sa bahay.
IF:return (A:Apr) T:Jose L house.
'Jose was brought back to the house (by him).'

(I)pasyal (niya) si Maria sa parke.
IF:stroll (A:Apr) T:Maria L park.
'Maria was taken strolling in the park (by him).'

(I)luto (niya) ako nang pagkain.
IF:cook (A:Apr) T:Tpr O food.
'Some food was prepared for me (by her).'

(I)trabaho (niya) ako sa palayan.
IF:work (A:Apr) T:Tpr L rice-field.
'My place was taken (by him) in the rice-field.'

(I)gising (niya) ako nang mga bata?
IF:wake up (A:Apr) T:Tpr O pl child.
'The children were gotten up for me (by him).'

(I)turo? (niya) ang Ingles sa eskuwelahan.
IF:teach (A:Apr) T:English L school.
'English is taught in the school (by her).'

(I)utos (nang doktor) sa akin ang(mag)lakad.
'Walking was prescribed to me (by the doctor).'

5.7.1 Verbs with i-. Verbs with i- may be classed into three types in respect to occurrence with the object complement: (1) transitive; (2) intransitive; and (3) optionally transitive.
The object complement in transitive i-verbs of the instrumental subtype may be introduced by nang or sa, though there are restrictions on their syntactic positions. There are two favorite sentence patterns for such constructions. The first preposes the object complement before the topic and immediately after the actor complement, introducing the phrase with the nang particle.

(I)t(in)ama? niya nang bola ang pamalo.
IF: hit A:Apr 0 ball T stick.
'He hit the ball with the stick.'

(I)b(in)inyag niya nang bata? ang malamig na tubig.
IF: baptize A:Apr 0 child T Att:cold water.
'He baptized the child with cold water.'

(I)t(in)ali? niya nang kabalyo ang lubid.
IF: tie A:Apr 0 horse T rope.
'He tethered the horse with the rope.'

(I)t(in)ugtog niya nang gitara ang pick.
IF: play A:Apr 0 guitar T pick.
'He played the guitar with the pick.'

The second pattern postposes the object after the topic, introducing the phrase with the sa particle.

(I)t(in)ama? niya ang pamalo sa bola.
IF: hit A:Apr T stick 0 ball.
'He hit the ball with the stick.'

(I)b(in)inyag niya ang malamig na tubig sa bata?.
IF: baptize A:Apr T Att:cold water 0 child.
'He baptized the child with cold water.'

(I)t(in)ali? niya ang lubid sa kabalyo.
IF: tie A:Apr T rope 0 horse.
'He tethered the horse with the rope.'

(I)t(in)ugtog niya ang pick sa gitara.
IF: play A:Apr T pick 0 guitar.
'He played the guitar with the pick.'
If, however, the optional actor complement has been omitted, the object complement is usually introduced by *sa* and moved to a position before the topic complement.

(I)b(in)inyag sa bata? ang malamig na tubig.
  "Cold water was used to baptized the child."

(I)t(in)ali? sa kabalyo ang lubid.
  "The horse was tethered with the rope."

Verbs of the benefactive subtype usually occur with object complements which are introduced by *nang*.

(I)gina? gawa? niya nang laruan ang bata?.
  "He is making a toy for the child."

(I)k(in)uhu ko siya nang isda?.
  "I got her some fish."

Verbs of the second type do not appear with object complements. Such verbs are either intransitive or the syntactic arrangement of the implicative-focus construction is such that it does not permit an object complement.

(I)t(in)uloy niya si Jose sa bahay.
  "He brought Jose on into the house."

(I)kasal nang pare? ang dalawang kabataan.
  "The priest is marrying the two young people."

(I)lagay niya ang pera sa kahon.
  "He put the money in the box."

(I)hulog niya ang sulat sa buson.
  "He dropped the letter in the mailbox."
Verbs of the third type are optionally transitive.

*(I)*s(in)agot niya ako *(nang tanong).*
**IF:** answer A: Apr T: Tpr (O question).
'He answered (the question) for me.'

*(Ini)*luto niya *(nang pagkain)* ang aso.
**IF:** cook A: Apr (O food) T: dog.
'They are cooking (food for) the dog.'

Verbs with *i*- may be classed into two types in respect to occurrence with locative complements: (1) those which appear with an obligatory locative complement; and (2) those which appear with an optional locative complement.

Examples of verbs of the first type are as follows:

*(I)*akyat mo ako sa puno.
**IF:** climb A: Apr T: Tpr L: tree.
'Take me up into the tree.'

*(I)*t(in)uloy niya si Jose sa bahay.
**IF:** enter A: Apr T: Jose L: house.
'He brought Jose on into the house.'

*(Ini)*lagay niya ang pera sa kahon.
**IF:** place A: Apr T: money L: box.
'He put the money in the box.'

Verbs of the second type appear with optional locative complements.

*(Ini)*luto niya ang pagkain *(sa kusina).*
**IF:** cook A: Apr T: food (L: kitchen).
'She cooked the food (in the kitchen).'</n>

*(Isinu)*sulat niya ang sulat *(sa kuwarto).*
**IF:** write A: Apr T: letter (L: room).
'She is writing the letter (in her room).'</n>

5.7.2 Verbs with *ipag*- Verbs with *ipag-* may be classed into three types in respect to occurrence with object complements: (1) transitive; (2) intransitive; and (3) optionally transitive.
Examples of verbs of the first type are as follows:

(IPinag) bihis niya ako nang bata?
IF: dress A: Apr T: Tpr 0 child.
'He dressed the child for me.'

(IPinag) bigay niya ako nang pera sa pare?
IF: give A: Apr T: Tpr 0 money L priest.
'He gave money to the priest for me.'

(IPinag) lagay niya ako nang pinggan sa mesa.
IF: place A: Apr T: Tpr 0 dish L table.
'She put the dishes on the table for me.'

Verbs of the second type are intransitive and appear to be fewer in number than other types.

(IPinag) wika? niya ako.
IF: speak A: Apr T: Tpr.
'He spoke for me.'

(IPinag) trabaho ni a ako sa palayan.
IF: work A: Apr T: Tpr L rice-field.
'He worked in the rice-field for me.'

Ang kapistahan ni San Hwan ay (ipinagdi) riwang sa mga bayan ng Bulacan.
IF: celebrate A: Apr T: Tpr L pl town.
'The feast of St. John is celebrated in the towns of Bulacan.'

Verbs of the third type are optionally transitive.

(IPinag) baon niya kami (nang pagkain).
IF: pack A: Apr T: Tpr 0 food.
'She packed (food) for us.'

(IPinag) bayad niya ako (nang utang).
IF: pay A: Apr T: Tpr 0 debt.
'He paid (the debt) for me.'

(IPinag) sagot niya ako (nang tanong).
IF: answer A: Apr T: Tpr 0 question.
'He answered (the question) for me.'

Verbs with ipag- may be classed into two types in respect to occurrence with locative complements: (1) those which appear with an obligatory locative complement; and
(2) those which appear with an optional locative complement.

Verbs of the first type are relatively few.

(Ipinag) lagay niya ako nang pinggan sa mesa.
TF: place A:Apr T:Tpr O dish L table.
'She placed the dishes on the table for me.'

(Ipinag) pasok niya ako nang bata? sa klase.
TF: enter A:Apr T:Tpr O child L class.
'She entered the child in the class for me.'

(Ipinag) bigay niya ako nang pera sa pare?.
TF: give A:Apr T:Tpr O money L priest.
'He gave money to the priest for me.'

Most verbs with ipag- are of the second type and appear with optional locative complements.

(Ipinag) basa niya ako nang kuwento (sa klase).
TF: read A:Apr T:Tpr O story (L class).
'He read a story (to the class) for me.'

(Ipinagta) tanim niya ako nang palay (sa palayan).
TF: plant A:Apr T:Tpr O rice (L rice-field).
'He is planting rice for me (in the rice-field).'

(Ipinag) putol niya ako nang kahoy (sa kagubatan).
TF: cut A:Apr T:Tpr O wood (L forest).
'He cut wood for me (in the forest).'

(Ipinaglu) luto niya ako nang pagkain (sa kusina).
TF: cook A:Apr T:Tpr O food (L kitchen).
'He is cooking some food for me (in the kitchen).'

5.7.3 Verbs with ipang-. Verbs with ipang- may be classed into three types in respect to occurrence with object complements: (1) transitive; (2) intransitive; and (3) optionally transitive. Transitive ipang- verbs of the instrumental subtype exhibit the same favorite sentence patterns as do corresponding verbs with i-.

(Ipinang) alis niya nang dumang walis.
TF: remove A:Apr O dirt T broom.
'She removed the dirt with the broom.'
Verbal constructions of the second type are intransitive.

(Ipinam) patay niya nang manok ang kutsilyo.
If: kill A: Apr O chicken T knife.
'He killed the chicken with the knife.'

(Ipinag) kuha niya nang mangga ang sungkit.
If: take A: Apr O mango T fruit-picker.
'He got the mangoes with the fruit-picker.'

Verbs of the third type are optionally transitive.

(Ipinan) lakad niya sa parke ang magandang suot.
If: walk A: Apr L park T Att: beautiful clothes.
'He went for a walk in the park wearing his good clothes.'

(Ipinam) pasyal niya sa parke ang bagong suot.
If: stroll A: Apr L park T Att: new clothes.
'He went for a stroll in the park wearing his new clothes.'

(Ipinantu) tulog niya ang gamot.
If: sleep A: Apr T medicine.
'He takes medicine to sleep.'

Verbs with ipang- usually permut optional locative complements.

(Ipinanggi) gising niya (nang mga bata?) ang kampana.
If: wake A: Apr (O pl child) T bell.
'He wakes up (the children) with the bell.'

(Ipinang) hiram niya ako (nang pera).
If: borrow A: Apr T: Tpr (O money).
'He borrowed (money) for me.'

(Ipinang) hiram niya kami nang pera (sa bangko).
If: borrow A: Apr T: Tpr O money (L bank).
'He borrowed money for us (from the bank).'</n
(Ipinan) lakad niya (sa parke) ang magandang suot.
If: walk A: Apr (L park) T Att: beautiful clothes.
'He went for a walk (in the park) wearing his good clothes.'

(Ipinam) pasyal niya (sa parke) ang bagong suot.
If: stroll A: Apr (L park) T Att: new clothes.
'He went for a stroll (in the park) wearing his new clothes.'
CHAPTER VI
LEXICAL COOCCURRENTS OF TAGALOG VERBS

6.1 Selectional Aspects of Syntax. Linguists have for some time recognized the importance of collocational restrictions in the building of sentences and this area has been the subject of continued discussion and research. Recently, the area of syntactic cooccurrence restrictions has been intensively re-examined and re-interpreted by Chomsky and others. Chomsky has indicated that an adequate description of syntax appears to demand recognition of collocational considerations in the building of grammatical sentences, and accordingly, he has introduced selectional criteria into his analysis of syntactic structure.

Syntactic relationships, it is postulated, can be characterized as grammatical or ungrammatical partially on the basis of conformity to or deviance from the selectional requirements of the language. Chomsky has provided the basis for such a description by suggesting that certain lexical categories, for example, the noun category, be divided into subcategories expressing what are considered relevant feature subclasses on the syntactic level. Symbols representing certain lexical categories are developed by

1Chomsky, Aspects . . .
rules into complex symbols, so that each complex symbol presents a particular set of selectional features. Each lexical formative belonging to such lexical categories is thus represented by a set of selectional features.

However, not every lexical category may be analyzed into a set of complex symbols in a context-free manner. Certain lexical categories, in order to account for the fact that not all members of one form class occur with all members of another form class in a given syntactic relationship, must be developed in a context-sensitive fashion, being positively specified for features which appear in the immediately relevant contextual environment. Rules restricting the selection of lexical formatives in terms of the selectional features of the frames in which they appear are called selectional rules. Such rules express the "restrictions of cooccurrence" which obtain between the items in syntactic relationships. Thus, sentences may now be characterized as grammatical or ungrammatical by their conformity to the selectional requirements of the language.

Chomsky has suggested that in English the verb be developed by selectional rules which partially specify it in respect to a contextual environment which includes the subject and object. This approach has been carried out in

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2 Ibid., p. 82.  
3 Ibid., p. 95.  
4 Ibid., p. 90.
this study of Tagalog. The verb has been developed in a context-sensitive manner, reflecting the selectional features of the nominal topics with which it cooccurs.

Recent suggestions by Chomsky also indicate that such selectional features may be cross-classificationally rather than hierarchically structured. Chomsky illustrates how English nouns "are either Proper (John, Egypt) or Common (boy, book) and either Human (John, boy) or non-Human (Egypt, book)." Paralleling these features, nouns in Tagalog may also be cross-classified as either [+ Personal] (Jose 'Joseph'; Mabilis 'Swifty', a dog's name) or [- Personal] (lalaki 'man'; aso 'dog') and either [+ Human] (Jose; lalaki) or [- Human] (Mabilis; aso).

The preceding chapters have been concerned with the morphological properties involved in the formation of the Tagalog verb (voice affixes) and with the complemental or subcategorizational features of verbs as they relate to sentence complements. This chapter examines the selectional restrictions which govern the cooccurrence of lexical items in the verb-topic relationship. The verb no doubt has selectional properties related to other complements besides the topic of the sentence. However, of all the complements, the topic has the most immediate affinity to the verb. It is, as it were, in an immediate relationship whereas the

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5 Ibid., pp. 79-80.
other complements are in less immediate relationship. The decision to concentrate on the verb-topic relationship, rather than the relationship between the verb and other complements, is in essence arbitrary, but is supported by two observations. First, except in the case of a small and highly restricted set of verbs which occur without a topic in the actor-focus construction, the topic is universally obligatory in sentences with verbal predicates. It is the only element which is. Secondly, the topic is the only complement whose dramatis personae roles are determined by the verb morphology. The syntactic relationship which obtains between the topic and the verb is formally marked in the morphology of the verb by the voice-marking affixes. The relationship which obtains between the verb and non-topic complements, on the other hand, is not formally marked in the verb and is instead indicated by marking particles introducing the phrase or by specific pronominal forms.

The verb-topic relationship appears to be a reasonable point of departure for an examination of selectional restrictions. However, a more extensive study would no doubt include relationships beyond that of the verb and its topic.

6.2 Feature Analysis of Lexical Categories. In order to facilitate presentation of the privileges of cooccurrence between items which fill the verbal predicate and the topic position, the noun and verb categories are described in
terms of selectional features. Following Chomsky's lead, the selectional features of Tagalog nouns are developed in context-free fashion, while those of verbs are presented in a context-sensitive fashion dependent upon the nominal complement.

This, then, is an extension of the treatment given to verbal predicates with regard to subcategorizational features in the preceding chapter. Subcategorizational and selectional features are thus formulated to indicate the syntactic behavior of verbs in respect to their noun complement environment, that is, in a context-sensitive fashion.

Though following Chomsky's lead in the treatment of selectional features of verbs in a context-sensitive fashion seems arbitrary, this approach is preferred over the reverse, because it parallels other phases of the study. Certain facts of Tagalog structure support this interpretation. If, instead, nominal topics were considered to reflect features of the verbs, the nouns would also have to be considered as dependent on non-verbal predicates, that is, adjectives and nominal and locative phrases. This interpretation complicates the situation by requiring feature analysis to account for the adjectival predicate-topic relationship, the nominal predicate-topic relationship, and the locative predicate-topic relationship. There would then be no way to account for nominal phrase predicates in equational sentences without being circular. Furthermore, the attributive
relationship between modifiers, whether verbs, adjectives, or nominals, would depend on the selectional features of the attribute, and not the head.

Previous chapters, then, have specified individual verbs for their morphological properties of focus potential (see Appendix A) and for their subcategorizational features which rely on the focus index and relate the verb to various complements (see Appendix B). This chapter first characterizes Tagalog nouns by context-free features, and then gives in broad outline the selectional features for verbs as they relate in the four basic construction types to the topic of sentence. The accompanying appendix, Appendix A, entitled Morphological and Lexical Cooccurrents of Verbal Stems, provides precise information for each verb in the corpus by specifying the selectional features of the nominal topics with which they occur.

6.3 Selectional Features of Tagalog Nouns. Tagalog nouns most commonly fill the axis position of sentence complements. Other linguistic forms, like nominalized verbs and adjectives, may also fill these positions. However, whenever a particular verb or descriptive fills such a position, it exhibits the same selectional features as the set of topic nouns with which it normally cooccurs in the predicate-topic relationship. For example, in the following sequence,
the verb *(nagsu)suot*, which acts as the topic of the second construction, exhibits the same selectional features as the set of nouns which may occur as the topic of this verb, namely, [+Animate].

Nominals may also be replaced by pronouns and demonstratives. Those lexical items which are usually labelled as pronouns, namely, the ako, ko, and akin classes, may only substitute for nouns which are [+Human]. Other nominals are usually replaced by the demonstrative sets, namely, the ito, nito, and dito classes.

The broad selectional features of the noun category developed in context-free fashion follow. Such features are considered to be inherent noun features and individual nouns are characterized by at least one of these features.

\[
\begin{align*}
N & \longrightarrow [+N, +Animate] \\
[+Animate] & \longrightarrow [+Human] \\
[+Human] & \longrightarrow [+Proper] \\
[-Human] & \longrightarrow [+Proper] \\
[-Animate] & \longrightarrow [+Abstract] \\
[-Abstract] & \longrightarrow [+Proper]
\end{align*}
\]

Such rules may also be presented in the manner of a branching tree-like diagram. Such a diagram representing the selectional features of the noun category follows.
Each node in the diagram, according to conventional usage, represents a particular feature, and the descending paths which are subject to that node are labelled + or -. Each maximal path leads to a category of items which are specified for that particular feature. In an ideal tree structure, each such feature category exhibits in descending order of pertinence each of the features for which it is marked. The closer the feature to the terminus of the path, the more specific it is in relating information about the category. While the tree structure presented in this study is not an ideal one in that several of the feature nodes have been arbitrarily ordered, these same general principles may
be applied.

In order to account for the si/ang distinction between personals and nonpersonals throughout the paradigm of marking particles, it may be necessary to formulate an implicational rule which would assign the marking particles which indicate [+Personal] only to nouns which are both [+Proper] and [+Animate]. For example,

\[ [+\text{Proper}, +\text{Animate}] \rightarrow [+\text{Personal}] \]

Selectional features of the noun category may also be presented by a second set of rules, which takes into account redundancies expressed in the rules of the first set. Such rules, because of the manner of their formulation, share no corresponding branching diagram.

\[ N \rightarrow [+N, +\text{Animate}, +\text{Human}, +\text{Proper}] \]

\[ [-\text{Animate}] \rightarrow [+\text{Abstract}] \]

6.4 Selectional Features of Tagalog Verbs. Verbs in Tagalog may be specified in terms of the selectional features of the noun which appears in the topic position. Verbs are considered to be positively specified for those selectional features of noun for which they are marked, and conversely, negatively specified for those features for which they are not marked (see Appendix A). Tagalog verbs are thus defined selectionally in terms of cooccurrent nominal topics.

6.4.1 In the Actor-focus Construction. In general, [+Animate] nouns are the most common topics of actor-focus
verbs. Many verbs characteristically permit either [+Personal] or [-Personal] topics and either [+Human] or [-Human] topics. For example,

(Um)alis na (si Jose; si Mabilis; ang tao; ang aso).
AF: leave en (T Jose; T Swifty; T man; T dog).
'(Jose; Swifty; the man; the dog) has already left.'

P(um)unta (si Jose; si Mabilis; ang tao; ang aso)
sa ilog kahapon.
AF: go (Jose; Swifty; the man; the dog) L river yesterday.
'(Jose; Swifty; the man; the dog) went to the river yesterday.'

(Kuma)kain pa (si Jose; si Mabilis; ang tao; ang aso).
AF: eat en (T Jose; T Swifty; T man; T dog).
'(Jose; Swifty; the man; the dog) is still eating.'

Certain verbs, however, characteristically permit [+Human] topics, and some characteristically permit [-Human] topics.

Laging (nagla)lasing si Julian.
AF: always be drunk T Julian.
'Julian is always drunk.'

---

Many verbs which occur with [+Animate] topics also appear with certain members of the [-Abstract] category, but in a metaphorical sense. Such nouns may be termed 'personified,' since in these cases they are represented as performing activities reserved for animates. Nouns of this type follow the pattern of Maynila 'Manila', bayan 'town', and baryo 'barrio'. For example,

(Naghi)hintay ang Maynila sa pagdating ni Johnson.
AF: wait T Manila O AbA: arrive Tt Johnson.
'Manila is awaiting Johnson's arrival.'

With other [-Abstract] nouns, for example, bato 'stone', palayan 'rice-field', and parke 'park', there is no question of a metaphorical animate component, and these are never or rarely considered as personified.
(Nag)asawa na si Jose.
AF: espouse en T Jose.
'Jose is already married.'

D(um)apo? sa sangga ang ibon.
AF: alight L branch T bird.
'The bird alighted on the branch.'

Though [+Animate] topics are the most common actor-focus topics, they do not exclusively appear in this position.

(Na)bulok na ang mga prutas.
AF: be rotten en T pl fruit.
'The fruit is already rotten.'

Sa pista (uma)anyo? ang plasang maliit na parang Quiapo.
tem fiesta AF: behave like T plaza Att: little like Quiapo.
'During the fiesta the small plaza gives the appearance of being Quiapo.'

At this point it should be observed that the informants expressed some difficulty over deciding upon the selectional feature congruity of certain sentences in which verbs appear with [-Human, +Animate] topics. In such cases, the informants regularly rejected the occurrence of [-Animate] topics and regularly permitted the occurrence of [+Human, +Animate] topics. However, it was apparently difficult for them to unequivocally decide whether the occurrence of [-Human, +Animate] topics with such verbs was grammatically permitted or metaphorically permitted, and such decisions were apparently made somewhat arbitrarily. Examples of such problematic sentences are as follows:

(Nagli)ligaw si Mabilis.
AF: court T Swifty.
'Swifty is courting (romancing.)'
Similarly, some sentences in which certain verbs which normally permit [+Animate] topics occur with [+Abstract] topics also gave rise to some discussion. For example, compare the following sentences,

\[(\text{Nagha})\text{hali? siya sa bayan.} \quad \text{AF: rule T:Tpr O country.} \quad \text{'He rules the country.'}\]

\[(\text{Nagha})\text{hali? ang takot sa kalooban niya.} \quad \text{AF: rule T fear 0 inside Att:Apr.} \quad \text{'Fear rules his innermost being.'}\]

These difficulties point to a possible fringe area of collocational properties which may or may not be accepted by the informant depending on how he visualizes at a given time the immediate real world situation. They also press one to further research on the notions of acceptable, unacceptable, grammatical, and ungrammatical.

Many verbs with -um- or mag- occur with the same nominal topics.

\[(\text{Luma})\text{lakad sila sa parke.} \quad \text{AF: walk T:Tpr L park.} \quad \text{'They are walking in the park.'}\]

\[(\text{Nagla})\text{lakad sila sa parke.} \quad \text{AF: walk T:Tpr L park.} \quad \text{'They are walking in the park.'}\]

\[(\text{Puma})\text{pasyal sila sa parke.} \quad \text{AF: stroll T:Tpr L park.} \quad \text{'They are strolling in the park.'}\]

\[(\text{Nagpa})\text{pasyal sila sa parke.} \quad \text{AF: stroll T:Tpr L park.} \quad \text{'They are strolling in the park.'}\]
In some cases, actor-focus constructions differ in respect to the topics which appear with the -um- and mag- verbs. Such verbs, for example, may permit nominal topics of one feature category with -um- verbs and nominal topics of another feature category with mag- verbs. This dichotomy usually reflects the transitive-intransitive distinction.

B(um)ukas ang pinto.
AF: open T door.
'The door opened.'

(Nag)bukas siya nang pinto.
AF: open T:Tpr O door.
'He opened the door.'

B(um)aon ang bola sa buhangin.
AF: sink T ball L sand.
'The ball sank in the sand.'

(Nag)baon sila nang kahon sa likod nang bahay.
AF: bury T:Tpr O box L behind Att house.
'They buried the box behind the house.'

S(um)ara ang bintana.
AF: close T window.
'The window closed.'

(Nag)sara siya nang bintana.
AF: close T:Tpr O window.
'He closed the window.'

In some actor-focus constructions, the choice of topic may signal whether the verb is transitive or intransitive, since the accompanying complements differ.

(Mata)tapos sila nang training sa Agosto.
AF: finish T:Tpr O training tem August.
'They will finish training in August.'
6.4.2 In the Goal-focus Construction. The [+Animate] and [-Abstract] nouns appear most frequently as goal-focus topics; [+Abstract] nouns appear less frequently.

Some goal-focus verbs permit all noun subcategories as topic.

(Mata)tapos ang tag-ulan sa Agosto.
AF: end T rainy season tem August.
'The rainy season will end in August.'

6.4.2 In the Goal-focus Construction. The [+Animate] and [-Abstract] nouns appear most frequently as goal-focus topics; [+Abstract] nouns appear less frequently.

Some goal-focus verbs permit all noun subcategories as topic.

(Ina)alaala niya (si Jose; si Mabilis; ang tao; ang aso; ang kahirapan sa panahon nang giyera; ang parke nang Tres Bayani.
GF: remember A:Apr (T Jose; T Mabilis; T man; T dog; T hardship tem time Att war; T park Att Three Patriots).
'He recalls (Jose; Swifty; the man; the dog; the hardship during the war; the park of the Three Patriots).'</n
GF: choose A:Apr (T Jose ben game; T Swifty ben game; T man ben game; T dog ben game; T pl name ben list; T Manila ben meeting).
'They chose (Jose for the game; Swifty for the game; the man for the game; the dog for the game; the names for the list; Manila for the meeting).'</n
Some goal-focus verbs permit all noun subcategories but the [+Abstract].

(B(in)aril nila (si Jose; si Mabilis; ang tao; ang aso; ang puno; ang malaking bato).
GF: shoot A:Apr (T Jose; T Swifty; T man; T dog; T tree; T Att:large stone).
'They shot (Jose; Swifty; the man; the dog; at the tree; at the big rock).'</n
(In)agaw nila (si Maria; si Mabilis; ang dalaga; ang aso; ang pera).
GF: seize A:Apr (T Maria; T Swifty; T girl; T dog; T money).
'They seized (Maria; Swifty; the girl; the dog; the money).'

Some goal-focus verbs only permit [+Animate] topics.

(Gina)gamot niya (si Jose; si Mabilis; ang tao; ang aso).
GF: cure A:Apr (T Jose; T Swifty; T man; T dog).
'He is treating (Jose; Swifty; the man; the dog).'

(Tina)tawag niya (si Jose; si Mabilis; ang tao; ang aso).
GF: call A:Apr (T Jose; T Swifty; T man; T dog).
'He is calling (Jose; Swifty; the man; the dog).'

P(in)atay nila (si Jose; si Mabilis; ang tao; ang aso).
GF: kill A:Apr (T Jose; T Swifty; T man; T dog).
'They killed (Jose; Swifty; the man; the dog).'

Some goal-focus verbs permit only [-Abstract], that is, concrete topics.

(In)abot niya sa akin ang libro.
GF: hand over A:Apr L Lpr T book.
'He handed the book to me.'

B(in)aon nila ang pagkain para sa piknik.
GF: pack A:Apr T food ben picnic.
'They packed the food for the picnic.'

P(in)utol niya ang kawayan sa gubat.
GF: cut A:Apr T bamboo L forest.
'He cut the bamboo in the forest.'

(Nila)lakad niya ang parke.
GF: walk A:Apr T park.
'He walked to the park.'

Finally, some goal-focus verbs permit only [+Abstract] topics.

S(in)abi niya ang totoo.
GF: say A:Apr T truth.
'He spoke the truth.'

(Dina)ramdam nila ang pagkamatay nang nanay.
GF: feel A:Apr T AbA: die AbA: die T mother.
'They sorely felt the death of their mother.'
6.4.3 In the Locative-focus Construction. As has been mentioned, locative-focus constructions may be divided into two types, the "place where" type and the "place whither" type, according to their complemental privileges of occurrence. Verbs of the first type characteristically select [-Abstract] topics.

P(in)uto1(an) niya nang kahoy ang gubat.
LF: cut A: Apr 0 wood T forest.
'He cut wood in the forest.'

(Sinu)sulat(an) niya nang sulat ang mesa.
LF: write A: Apr 0 letter T table.
'He is writing a letter at the table.'

(Pini)pitas(an) niya nang bayabas ang hardin.
LF: pick A: Apr 0 guava T garden.
'He is picking guavas in the garden.'

Verbs of the second type permit any nominal topic, but usually members of the [+Animate] and [-Abstract] feature categories.

B(in)ayar(an) niya kami nang utang.
LF: pay A: Apr T: Tpr 0 debt.
'He paid us his debt.'

B(in)igy(an) niya ako nang regalo.
LF: give A: Apr T: Tpr 0 gift.
'He gave me a gift.'

(Hini)hiram(an) niya nang pera si Jose.
LF: borrow A: Apr 0 money T Jose.
'He is borrowing money from Jose.'

(Bini)bilhan niya nang sapatos ang tindahan.
LF: buy A: Apr 0 shoes T store.
'He is buying shoes at the store.'
Verbs which appear in the special "place whither" sub-class also permit topics of all varieties, but most frequently those with the features of [+Animate] and [-Abstract].

He kissed Maria.'

He refused the food.'

He took care of my dog.'

He invited Jose to the party.'

In some cases, just as they did with certain actor-focus constructions, the informants again expressed difficulty over deciding upon the selectional feature congruity in certain locative-focus constructions in which verbs appear with [-Human, +Animate] topics. Here again, whereas the informants regularly rejected the occurrence of [-Animate] topics and regularly permitted the occurrence of [+Human, +Animate] topics, they could not always decide
unequivocally whether the occurrence of [-Human, +Animate] topics in such constructions was grammatically permitted or metaphorically permitted. Examples of such problematic sentences are as follows:

(Ni)ligaw(an) niya si Mabilis.
'He courted Swifty.'

(In)anyaya(han) nila si Mabilis sa party.
'They invited Swifty to the party.'

6.4.4 In the Implicative-focus Construction.
Implicative-focus verbs characteristically permit all noun subcategories as topic, depending on the particular verb stem. Characteristic topic nominals, however, do vary according to the subtypes of the implicative-focus construction.7

7 The two types of the implicative-focus verbal construction (the benefactive and the instrumental) were noted in section 4.5. They are distinguished primarily by their characteristic nominals, and in some cases, by the set of accompanying complements. For example, compare the following sets:

(Ini)luto niya ako nang pagkain.
LF: cook A: Apr T: Tpr 0 food.
'She cooked some food for me.'

(Ini)luto niya ang pagkain.
LF: cook A: Apr T food.
'She cooked the food.'

(Ipinag)tapon niya ako nang basura.
LF: throw away A: Apr T: Tpr 0 rubbish.
'He emptied the rubbish for me.'

(Ipinag)tapon nila ang kanilang baril.
'They threw down their guns.'
Implicative-focus verbs of the benefactive subtype, for example, almost exclusively select [+Animate] topics.  

\[
(Ipini)pitas niya nang bulaklak si Maria.
\]
\text{IF:}pick A:Apr 0 flower T Maria.  
'He is picking flowers for Maria.'

\[
(Igina)gawa? niya nang laruan ang bata?.
\]
\text{IF:}make A:Apr 0 toy T child.  
'He is making a toy for the child.'

\[
(Ipinag)luto niya nang adobo si Jose.
\]
\text{IF:}cook A:Apr 0 adobo T Jose.  
'She cooked adobo for Jose.'

\[
(Ipinag)luto niya nang pagkain si Mabilis.
\]
\text{IF:}cook A:Apr 0 food T Mabilis.  
'She cooked food for Swifty.'

A very small number of such verbs also permits as topic the feature of [-Abstract]. For example, compare the following sets:

\[
(I)b(in)ili niya nang laruan si Jose.
\]
\text{IF:}buy A:Apr 0 toy T Jose.  
'He bought a toy for Jose.'

---
8 In some cases, the benefactive subtype and the locative-focus constructions overlap. Some cases of the locative "place whither" constructions which exhibit a [+Animate] topic may be either complemented by or convertible with a benefactive construction. For example, \((Bini)\)bil(han) niya ako nang sapatos, \text{LF:}buy A:Apr T:Tpr 0 shoes, may, among several meanings, express the meaning 'He is buying shoes for me'. An overlapping benefactive construction may also occur--\((Ibini)\)bili niya ako nang sapatos, \text{IF:}buy A:Apr T:Tpr 0 shoes, 'He is buying shoes for me'.

This does not apply to all locative-focus constructions, only those of the "place whither" group which suggest a "for" relationship between the actor and the topic. A locative-focus construction of the type \((Bini)\)bil(han) niya ako nang sapatos, \text{LF:}buy A:Apr T:Tpr 0 shoes, 'He is buying shoes from me' will not exhibit a benefactive counterpart.
(I)b(in)ili niya nang kolyar si Mabilis.
IF: buy A:Apr 0 collar T Swifty.
'He bought a collar for Swifty.'

(I)b(in)ili niya nang mga kasangkapan ang bahay.
IF: buy A:Apr 0 pl furniture T house.
'He bought furniture for the house.'

(I)p(in)ili? niya nang aso si Jose.
IF: choose A:Apr 0 dog T Jose.
'He picked out a dog for Jose.'

(I)p(in)ili? niya nang kolyar ang aso.
IF: choose A:Apr 0 collar T dog.
'He picked out a collar for the dog.'

(I)p(in)ili? nila nang estatua ang parke.
IF: choose A:Apr 0 statue T park.
'They chose a statue for the park.'

(I)p(in)ili? niya nang bulaklak ang plorera.
IF: choose A:Apr 0 flower T vase.
'She picked out some flowers for the vase.'

(Ipinag)hingi? niya ako nang trabaho.
IF: request A:Apr T:Tpr 0 work.
'He requested work for me.'

(Ipinag)hingi? niya nang elektrisidad ang bayan.
IF: request A:Apr 0 electricity T town.
'They requested electricity for the town.'

(Ipinag)hingi? niya nang bangko ang parke.
IF: request A:Apr 0 bench T park.
'They requested benches for the park.'

(Ipinag)hingi? niya nang tapete ang mesa.
IF: request A:Apr 0 tablecloth T table.
'She requested a tablecloth for the table.'

Implicative-focus verbs of the instrumental subtype, which usually express involvement or implication of a secondary object or animate being usually permit [+Animate] and [-Abstract] topics.

(Ini)lukso niya ang bata? sa bakod.
IF: jump A:Apr T child L fence.
'He jumped over the fence with the child.'
Implicative-focus verbs may also occur with [+Abstract] topics, but do so less commonly.

(Ipinan)sagot niya ang malambing na boses.
IF:answer A:Apr T Att:sweet voice.
'She answered in a sweet voice.'

(Ipinang)utos niya ang malakas na boses.
IF:order A:Apr T Att:strong voice.
'He gave orders in a loud voice.'

(Ipinan)gulit niya ang galit na salita?.
IF:repeat A:Apr T Att:angry word.
'He repeated (it) in an angry tone.'

(Ipinan)ligaw niya ang paghabarana.
'He goes courting serenading.'

(I)pagal niya nang bisita ang pagdaldal.
IF:be lengthy A:Apr 0 visit T AbA:talk.
'She made the visit go on and on with her chattering.'

Implicative-focus verbs which express the instrumental involvement of a secondary object usually occur with [-Abstract] topics.
Finally, certain implicative-focus verbs only occur with [+Abstract] nominal topics.

Ang kapistahan ni San Hwan ay (ipinagdi)riwang sa mga bayan nang Bulacan.
'The feast of St. John is celebrated in the towns of Bulacan.'
CHAPTER VII
EVALUATION AND CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation is best considered a pilot or test study of certain aspects of the syntactic framework of Tagalog verbs. It is a pilot study in that a limited corpus of verbs has been examined, and in that only a specific set of features have been identified and described. It is also limited in its discussion of selectional restrictions and concentrates on the cooccurrence of lexical items in the verb-topic relationship, rather than the selectional restrictions which govern cooccurrence in other syntactic relationships. The study neither claims to exhaustively examine the entire area of Tagalog syntax, nor does it claim to present the basis for making such an examination. However, the material presented here should prove useful in a more precise characterization of Tagalog verb structure, a characterization of the kinds of features that must be taken into account when a comprehensive generative grammar is written.

The study has investigated intensively a sample of some 430 Tagalog verbs in respect to certain basic syntactic features in order to provide some insight into the considerations which govern the building of sentences with verbal predicates. Syntactic features are of three types in this study: those which govern the focus index of verb
stems (morphological features), those which indicate the verbal environment in terms of basic syntactic complements (subcategorizational features), and those which indicate the collocational aspects of the relationship between the verb and its topic (selectional features).

It has been found that verbs are often cross-classified for such features and that verbs are therefore most appropriately described in terms of a complex symbol type of analysis. However, the notion of complex symbol analysis seems to imply that before a complete generative grammar can be written for a language, each lexical formative in the language must be examined to determine its morphological and syntactic behavior. This is a task of considerable proportions and will require considerable expenditure of research time beyond the boundaries of this study.

The verbal stems which have been the subject of the examination were selected at random from Tagalog texts in order to provide a reasonably representative cross-section of the verbal category. In retrospect, it appears that the verb sample has reflected the variety to be found in Tagalog.

The examination of the verbal stems has been divided into three steps or phases. First, the verbal stems were tested with informants to determine to what degree they might appear with the particular voice-marking affixes. Such verbal affixes typically mark focus construction types,
and verbal cooccurrence with the particular voice-marking affixes, therefore, implies cooccurrence with the focus construction types which such affixes underlie.

Secondly, verbs elicited in the first step of the study have been tested to determine the cooccurrence of nominal complements, namely, topic, actor, object, and locative referent, with each different verb form (the focus index for each stem). The method employed in determining the complementary potential of the verbs has involved testing with the informants whether particular complement types are obligatory, optional, or excluded in sentences containing the elicited verb as predicate.

The results of this phase of the study indicate that a tacit implication in some analyses of Tagalog with respect to transform potential, namely, that a sentence in any focus construction can be freely converted into any other focus to produce a grammatical sentence is not correct. It is interesting to note that the assumption that there is an unlimited transform potential among all focus construction types was accepted by the investigator at the beginning of this study. It was thought that analysis of the subcategorizational and selectional aspects of a given focus construction type would automatically provide all information relevant to other focus construction types. However, as the data were examined, it became clear that this was not the case and that such features might vary considerably in
different construction types. Apparently the idiosyncratic behavior of many verbs poses a substantial obstacle to the application of transformations in their original sense to the verbal syntactic paradigm in Tagalog. The notion of transform potential between focus constructions appears to be applicable only in a restricted sense, or limited to certain verbs which exhibit maximum focus and complemental potential. It may, in fact, be best to consider each focal construction type a kernel or core sentence, in order to account for differences in focus potential among verbs and for the fact that sentences with verbal predicates containing different focus constructions derived from the same verbal stem may not express the same relationships between the verb and its complements.

The third step of the study has examined the verb-topic relationship to determine the selectional restrictions which govern the cooccurrence of lexical items in such positions. The topic, rather than other complements, has been chosen because of the special nature of the relationship which exists between it and the verb. As has been mentioned, this relationship is formally marked in the morphology of the verb, and may be one of several types, namely, actor, object or goal, instrument or accessory, or locative referent. Similar relationships may exist between the verb and other sentence complements, but in non-topic instances they are marked by particles introducing the
phrase or by special pronominal forms, not by the verb. Nevertheless, while the verb-topic relationship appears to be a satisfactory point of departure for such an examination, a more extensive study should include relationships beyond that of the verb and topic.

The third phase of the study, then, has consisted of an examination of the syntactic cooccurrence privileges of members of the verb class with members of the noun class which fill the topic position. In order to facilitate the description, nouns have been subcategorized on the basis of a matrix of features which appear to be syntactically relevant. The selectional feature framework which has been presented in this study is an adaptation of Chomsky's suggested schema. However, while Chomsky's suggestions have provided a reasonable point of departure for such analysis, the feature framework suggested in this study has been formulated to reflect specific characteristics of Tagalog structure, as for example, the personal-nonpersonal distinction marked by specific personal and nonpersonal particles.

A problem which merits some discussion concerns the degree to which feature analysis should logically proceed. Linguistic description might expand in two directions, toward the specification of selectional restrictions for all syntactic relationships and particularly toward the postulation of additional features. Feature analysis and
its functioning on the syntactic level appears to be reason-
ably formulated in the theory which Chomsky has proposed.
However, selectional feature analysis and corresponding sub-
categorization of certain lexical categories has only been
mapped out, by Chomsky for English and by this study for
Tagalog, to account for some of the most general and most
evident collocational restrictions. Future research might
well attempt to determine how many additional features may
be relevant in describing the collocational restrictions
which govern syntactic relationships. It is conceivable
that feature analysis as it has been formulated recently
may represent only the broad outlines of a progressively
minute subcategorization which will lead to ever more
precise characterizations of collocational restrictions.

Selectional features govern the collocational aspect
of the verb-topic relationship. This relationship may be
characterized as grammatical or ungrammatical partially on
the basis of the congruity of the selectional features of
the lexical items which occur as terminals of the relation.
It should be noted, however, that there are apparently
occasions when it is difficult for informants to make
decisions regarding the grammaticality of strings which are
grammatical by all criteria other than the selectional
criteria. The line of demarcation separating the concepts
of grammaticality and acceptability in this area is ap-
parently not always as clear-cut in practice as it is in
theory.
Due to restrictions of time and distance, and also, on the other hand, for better control, the three informants who assisted in the research were interviewed separately and with different material. If the analyst is not his own informant, explaining such technical distinctions as grammaticality and acceptability to informants can be extremely difficult. The method employed for this study was a combination of procedures, both positive and negative. For example, the informants were instructed to accept sentences which were founded on the most appropriate selectional feature configurations. If one or more formative members of a feature category was found to appear unrestricted in such syntactic relationships, it was postulated that other members of the category could also logically appear in such positions, constituting what must be considered a grammatical sentence. However, this notion reflects the restrictions imposed by the feature framework suggested in this study. The postulation of additional features might later characterize such sentences as ungrammatical on the basis of the selectional restrictions implied by further feature analysis. For example, although the verb bigas 'to husk rice' ordinarily occurs with palay 'unhusked rice' as topic of the goal-focus construction, it is postulated in this study that other nouns, like kamote 'sweet potato', which share the same features can also appear as topic grammatically. Informants were also instructed to reject sentences in which a particular feature category could only
appear in a metaphorical sense. However, the problem of deciding what is metaphorical and what is not seemed at times rather arbitrary.

Further, it should be noted that there were instances in the research when informants, not knowing that another informant had accepted a certain construction, contradicted the other's judgments regarding the data. There were even times that a single informant, when presented with data which had been elicited from him at an earlier date, contradicted his original statement. Such instances leave some doubts about the reliability of the information so obtained.

The information presented in the study, in cases where informant interpretations differed, is based on the final decision obtained, since the informants were more aware then of the goals of the investigation. However, further investigation is needed specifically of the implicative-focus constructions in this case, and of the selectional features involving [+Animate] and [-Human] topic complements in actor-focus and locative-focus constructions.

In conclusion, it is apparent that the framework which underlies the Tagalog verbal syntactic paradigm is complex. It is hoped that the information provided in this study will serve as a partial basis for the formulation of rules concerning this aspect of Tagalog structure. Perhaps others will be encouraged to further research both in identifying pertinent verbal features and in rationalizing the cut-off
for the delineation of such features for the formulation of grammatical rules. Generative rules must utilize this kind of information if "only and all" grammatical sentences are to be produced. It is evident that the formulation of a comprehensive and yet accurate grammar of Tagalog is a complicated task, and one that will only be accomplished with considerable effort and research.
APPENDIX A

MORPHOLOGICAL AND LEXICAL COOCCURRENCE PRIVILEGES
OF VERBAL STEMS

-abang\(^1\), "to watch over, to wait for": A12: An; L; I1: An, -Ab; I2: An; I3: -H, -An.\(^2\)
-abot, "to hand over": A12: An; G: -Ab; L: An; I1: An, -Ab; I2: An; I3: -Ab.

\(^1\)The manner of phonological representation follows generally the conventional writing system of Tagalog, which reflects fairly closely the phonemic system of Tagalog. The phonemes are as follows:
Vowels: a, i, e, o, u;
Consonants: p, b, t, d, k, g, ?, c [ts], s, h, m, n, ng /ŋ/, l, r, w, y.

Our one departure from the conventional writing system has been to indicate glottal stops (/ʔ/) as such in final position, rather than by the indirect means of a set of diacritics.

Many bases are either monosyllabic or bisyllabic in structure. The most common syllable structure patterns are as follows: V, VC, CV, CVC, VCV, CVVC, CVCCV, and CVCCVC.

\(^2\)The symbols in Appendix A may be interpreted as follows: A1 = -um-; A2 = mag-; A3 = mang-; A4 = ma-; G = -in; L = -an; I1 = i-; I2 = ipag-; I3 = ipang-; An = Animate; Ab = Abstract; H = Human; P = Personal; S = embedded quotative phrase. The symbols A, G, L, and I stand for Actor-focus, Goal-focus, Locative-focus, and Implicative-focus respectively.

Verbal constructions are specified for the highest branch (see section 5.4) which specifies the lexical features of topic nominal expressions. Lexical features which are specified as - or + are indicated, while features which are specified as + are simply indicated by the symbol representing the lexical category.

In many cases, it is necessary to mark several branches since not all lexical categories occur with all verbal constructions. When either of the two focus constructions marked by more than one affix--the actor-focus and the implicative-focus--appear with identical nominal topics,
agaw, "to seize, to snatch": A123: An; G: An, -Ab; L: An, -Ab; I13: An, -Ab; I2: An.


ahon, "to go up, to go out": A123: An; L: -Ab; I123: An.

akala?, "to think, to opinion": G: S'.

akap, "to embrace": A123: An; G; I123: H.

akay, "to take, to lead by the hand": A12: H; G: An; I13: An, -Ab.

ako?, "to promise, to claim": A123: H; G: An, I3.

alala, "to remember": A12: An; G, S'; I3: -Ab.
alay, "to offer": A123: An; G: An, Ab; L: An, Ab; I13: I2: An.
alipusta?, "to mistreat": A13: H; G: An; L: An, -Ab; I1: An; I3.
alisa, "to leave, to remove": A123: An; L; I123.
alisa, "to lift, to raise": A123: An; G: An, -Ab; I13: An, -Ab; I2: An.
amot, "to donate, to contribute": A1: H; G: L: H, -Ab; I123: H.
amo?, "to caress": A13: an; G: An.
ampat, "to check, to restrain": A12: An; G: -Ab; L: An, -Ab; I13: An, -Ab; I2: An.

this is indicated in the following way: A123: An; I13: -Ab. Constructions which do not appear with identical lexical co-occurrents are listed separately—for example, A1: -Ab; A2: An; I1: An, -Ab; I2: An.

Finally, verbs which are unrestricted in respect to topic nominal co-occurrences, that is, verbs which may appear with all (+An) nominal subcategories, are represented by the focus symbol alone. For example, note the locative-focus (L) construction of abang above.

The verb alam is one of a special set of verbs which usually appear as predicating constructions in sentences in uninflected form, taking a nang phrase (or ko class pronoun) as actor. Other members of this set are ayaw, "to dislike," ewan, "to not know," gusto, "to like," ibig, "to like," and kallangan, "to need." Several of these occur with the same meaning in inflected form. The verbs alam and gusto, which are representative of the set, occur in inflected form with a secondary affix combination in malaman, "to know," and magustuhan, "to like." This set of verbs is rather
anak, "to bear offspring": A3: An.
ani, "to harvest": A12: An; G: -Ab; L: -Ab; I2: An; I3: An, -Ab.

antok, "to be sleepy": A2: An; G: An.
anyo?, "to behave like": A12: An, -Ab.
angkin, "to appropriate, to claim": A123: An; G: An, -Ab; I12: An; I3: An, -Ab.
apoy, "to set fire": A12: -Ab; L: -Ab; I3: -Ab.
aral, "to study": A2: An; L: An; I2: H; I3: -Ab.
asa, "to hope": A13: An; L: Ab, S'.
asawa, "to espouse": A2: H.
avay, "to fight": A2: An; G: An.
avay?, "to pity": A4: An.

-B-

babag, "to fight": A123: An; G: H; L: -Ab; I3: -Ab.
babaw, "to become shallow": A1: -Ab; L; I23: An.
baba?, "to descend, to bring down": A1; A2: An; G: L: An, -Ab; I1; I2: An, I3: An, -Ab.
bagyo?, "to storm": A12: G: -Ab.
baha?, "to flood": A12: G: -Ab.
balak, "to plan": A2: An, G: Ab, S'.
balik, "to return": A12: An, Ab; L; I1; I2: An; I3: -An.
balot, "to wrap up": A123: H; G: An, -Ab; L: An, -Ab; I13: -Ab; I2: An.
baluktot, "to become crooked": A1: An, -Ab; G: An, -Ab; L: An, -Ab; I13: -Ab.

restricted in this respect, however, and should be classed separately because of their unique syntactic privileges.
bantay, "to guard": A23: An; L; I13; I2: An,
banggit, "to mention, to call attention to": A123: An; G: S'; L: H; I1; I2: An; I3: -An.
bangka?, "to canoe": A23: H; G: -Ab; L: -Ab; I23: H.
baril, "to shoot": A123: H; G: An, -Ab; L: -Ab; I1: An, -Ab; I2: An; I3: -Ab.
basa?, "to wet": A23: An; A4: An, -Ab; G: An, -Ab;.
bato, "to stone": A123: H; G: An, -Ab; L: An, -Ab; I1: An, -Ab; I2: An; I3: -Ab.
bendisyon, "to bless": A23: H; L; I12: h.
bigay, "to give": A23: An; G; L: I1; I2: An.
bigkas, "to pronounce": A12: H; G: Ab; I12: h.
bigit, "to strangle": A12: An; G: An.
bihis, "to dress": A2: H; L: An; I12: H.
bilang, "to count": A12: H; G; L; I2: An.
bili, "to exchange goods": A123 H; G; L: H -Ab; I1: An, -Ab; I2: An; I3: -Ab.
bilog, "to become round": A1: -Ab; G; -Ab.
bintang, "to suspect": A23: H; L; I1: Ab.
binsi, "to be deaf": A4: An.
biro, "to joke, to fool": A2: H; G: An, Ab; L: An.
bisita, "to visit": A123: An; G: An, -Ab; I12: An.
bitiw, "to let go": A12: An, L.
biyak, "to split": A123: H; G: -Ab; I1: -Ab; I2: An; I3: -Ab.
buhay, "to live": A34: An; G: An, Ab.
buhos, "to pour": A123: H; G: -Ab; L; I13: -An; I2: An.
bulag, "to be blind": A4: An; G: An; I13: -Ab.
bulok, "to be rotten": A4: -Ab.
bunot, "to pluck, to root out": A123: An; G: An, -Ab; L: An, -Ab; I13: An, -Ab; I2: An.
buno?, "to strike": A123: H; G: An; I1: An, -Ab; I3: -Ab.
bunga, "to bear fruit": A12: -An.  
busog, "to be satisfied": A4: An, G: An.  
buti, "to become good": A1: An, -Ab; L: -An.  

daan, "to drop by, to drop off": A12: An; L: An, -Ab; I1: -An, -Ab; I3: -Ab.  
dahon, "to sprout leaves, to gather leaves": A12: An, -Ab; I2: An.  
dalamhati?, "to grieve": A1: An; G: Ab.  
dalang, "to be infrequent": A1: -An; G: -An; L: An, -Ab.  
dalas, "to be frequent": A12: -An; L.  
dalaw, "to visit": A12: An; G: An, -Ab; I12: An, -Ab.  
dali?, "to be quick": L: Ab.  
damdam, "to feel": A2: An; G: Ab, S.  
dami, "to increase in number": A1; L.  
damo, "to cut grass": A2: An, -Ab; L: -Ab; I2: An; I3: -Ab.  
dapat, "to be necessary": A4: Ab, S.  
dapo?, "to alight on": A1: -H; L: An, -Ab; L.  
dasal, "to pray": A2: H; G: Ab, S; I2: An.  
dating, "to arrive": A1: An, Ab; L: An, -Ab.  
daya?, "to cheat": A123: H; G: H; L: An.  
dilaw, "to be yellow": A1: An, -Ab; A23: -Ab; G: An, -Ab; L: -Ab; I3: -Ab.  
dila?, "to lick": A123: An; L: An, -Ab.  
dilim, "to be dark": A12: -An; G: -An.  
dinig, "to hear".  
diwang, "to celebrate": A2: H; I2: Ab.  
dugo?, "to bleed": A12: -Ab; G: H.  
dulas, "to be slippery": A1: -Ab; A4: An, -Ab.

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4 Some verbs, like dinig, occur with relatively high frequency, but do not appear with any of the nine voice affixes concentrated upon in this study. The verb dinig, for example, invariably appears with the Abilitative goal-focus ma- affix, and is always transitive.
dumi, "to defecate": A12: An; L: An, -Ab.
dumi, "to become dirty": A1; A2: An; A4: An, -Ab; G.
dunong, "to become intelligent, to become talented": A1: An; G: -Ab

dungo, "to be shy": A24: H.
dusa, "to suffer": A2: An.
duwag, "to be a coward": A4: An.

-G-

gaan, "to be light": A1: An, -Ab; L: -Ab.
galing, "to come from": A3: An.
galing, "to become skillful": A1: An, Ab; G: An; L: Ab.
galit, "to be angry": A3; A4: An; G: An.
gamot, "to treat, to cure": A12: An; G: An; I1; I2: An, I3: -An.
gana, "to earn": A1: H; G: -An.
ganti, "to take revenge, to repay": A12: An; G: Ab; L: An; I12; I3: -An.
gapang, "to crawl": A123: An; L: An, -Ab.
gaste, "to spend": A12: H; G: -An; L.
gastos, "to spend": A12: H; G: -An; L.
ginaw, "to become cold (of weather)": A1; A4; G: An.
ginhawa, "to be comfortable": A1: An.
gugol, "to spend": A12; H; G: -An; I12.
gulat, "to scare, to surprise": A34; An; G: An; I13. I2: An.
gulo, "to make a disturbance": A13; An; A4: -An, G; I3: -An.
gupit, "to cut, to trim": A123: H; G: -Ab; L: An, -Ab; I12: H; I3: -Ab.
gusto, "to like".
gutom, "to be hungry": A4: An; G: An.

-H-

habol, "to pursue": A123: An; G: An; L: -Ab; I12: An; I3.
hagis, "to toss": A123: An; G: -Ab; L: An, -Ab; I1: -Ab;
halaga, "to be valued at": A1: -Ab.
halik, "to kiss": A13: An; L: An, -Ab; I123: H.
hampas, "to whip": A1: An, -Ab; A23: An; G: An, -Ab; L: An;
I13: -Ab; I2: H.
hanap, "to seek": A12: An; G; L; I12: An; I3: -An.
handa?, "to prepare": A12: An; G: -H, -An, L: An, -Ab; I1;
I2: An.
hango?, "to remove, to rescue": A1: An, -Ab; A2: An; G:
An, -Ab; L: -Ab; I12: An; I3: -Ab.
hapis, "to be sad": A1: Ab; A4: H, Ab.
harang, "to obstruct": A12: An; L; I1: H, -Ab; I2: H; I3:
-Ab.
harap, "to face towards": A12: An, -Ab; G; I1: An, -Ab;
I2: H.
harit?, "to rule": A2: H, Ab.
hasa?, "to sharppen": A12: H; G: -Ab; L: -Ab; I1: An,-Ab;
I2: An; I3: -Ab.
hatid, "to escort": A2: An; G: An, -Ab; L: An, -Ab; I13:
An, -Ab.
hati?, "to divide": A12: H; G: -H, -Ab; L: An; I1: An, -Ab;
I2: An; I3: -Ab.
hapot, "to advise": A12: H; G: Ab, S'; L: H; I1: Ab, S';
I3: -Ab.
hawa, "to be contagious": A12: Ab; A3: An +Ab.
hayag, "to publish": A23: H; L: H; I1: H, Ab; I2: H; I3:
-Ab.
higa?, "to rest, to lie down": A124: An; L: An; -Ab; I1
An; -Ab;
hila, "to drag": A123: An, G: An, -Ab; I1: An, -Ab; I123:
An.
hiling, "to request": A12: An; A3: An, -Ab; G; -An; L: h;
I1: An, -Ab.
himagsik, "to revolt": A2: H; I3: -An.
himbing, "to sleep soundly": A4: An.
hintay, "to wait": A2: An; G: An, Ab; L: An, -Ab; I2: An.
hinto?, "to stop": A1: An, Ab; A2: An; G; L; I13: H, -Ab;
I2: H.
hinga?, "to breathe": A1: An; G: -Ab; L: An, -Ab; I1: -Ab.
hingi?, "to ask for, to request": A13: An, G; L: An; I123:
An, -Ab.
hiram, "to borrow": A13: H; G: An, -Ab; L: H; I123: An,
-Ab.
hirap, "to suffer": A2: An; G: Ab.
hiya?, "to shame, to embarrassment": A3: H; A4: An; G: H.
hugas, "to wash (dishes, etc.)": A2: An; L: An, -Ab; I1:
An, -Ab; I2: An; I3: -Ab.
hukay, "to dig": A12: An, G: -Ab; L: -Ab; I1: An, -Ab;
I2: An; I3: -Ab.
huli, "to catch": A123: An; G: An, -Ab; L: An, -Ab; I1:
An, -Ab; I2: An; I3: -Ab.
hulog, "to drop, to fall": A24: An; G: An, -Ab; L: An, -Ab;
I1: An, -Ab; A2: H.
husay, "to improve": A1; G: -An; L: An, -Ab.

-1-

ibig, "to love, to desire": A1: An, G.
init, "to be hot": A1: -An, A2: H, Ab; G: -Ab; L: An, -Ab;
Ingat, "to be careful": A2: An; L: An, -Ab;
Ingay, "to be noisy": A1: -Ab; A2: An, -Ab; I3: -An.
Inom, "to drink": A1: An; G: -Ab; L: -Ab; I1: H.
Ipon, "to gather together, to save": A12: An, G: -Ab; L;
      I12: An.
Isip, "to think": A12: H; G: S'.
Itim, "to be black": L: A1: An, -Ab; G: An, -Ab; L: An, -Ab.
Iwan, "to leave behind": A23: An, A4: An, -Ab; G; L; I12: An.
iyak, "to cry": A12: An; L; An.

-K-

kain, "to eat": A123: An; G: -An, -Ab; L: -Ab; I1: H; I3:
      -Ab.
kanta, "to sing": A12: An; G: Ab; L: An, -Ab; I1: H; I3:
      -Ab;
kasal, "to perform a marriage": A2: H; G: H; I1: H.
kilala, "to be familiar with, to recognize": A13: An, G:
      An, S'.
kining, "to listen": A4: An.
kita, "to see": A2: An; I3: -Ab.
kuha, "to take": A123: An; G; L; I2: A; I13: An, -Ab.
kumpisal, "to confess": A123: H; G: Ab, S'; L: H; I1:
      Ab, S';.

-L-

laba, "to wash (clothes)": A2: H; L: -Ab; I12: H.
laban, "to fight": A123: An, L: An; I1: An, -Ab; I2: An;
      I3: -Ab;
labas, "to take out": A1; A2: An, G: An, -Ab; L: An, -Ab;
lagay, "to put, to place": A12: An; G; L; I1; I2: An, I3: -Ab.
laglag, "to fall, to drop": A14: An, -Ab; G: An, -Ab; I1;
      An, -Ab; I3: -Ab.
lagot, "to separate, to cut off": A1: An, Ab; A2: An; G:
      -Ab; L: An, -Ab; I12: H; I3: -Ab.
lagpak, "to fall": A12: An, -Ab; A4.
lakas, "to become strong": A1: An, Ab; L; I13: -An.
laki, "to become large": A1: An, -Ab; L: -Ab; I2: An; I3: -A.
larim, "to become deep": A1: -Ab; L: -Ab; I2: H; I3: -Ab.
lamig, "to be cold": A14: -An; L: -Ab.
lapag, "to place in position": A2: An; G: An; L: -Ab; I1: An; -Ab; I2: H; I3: -Ab.
lasing, "to become drunk": A24: H; G: An, I2: H, -An; I3: H.
latag, "to spread out": A123: An; G: -Ab; L: -Ab; I13: -Ab; I2: An.
lavit, "to hang from": A1: An, -Ab; A2: H; I3: -Ab.
lavag, "to sail": A2: An, -Ab; L: -Ab; A2: H; I3: -Ab.
layo?, "to be far from": A12: An, Ab; G: L: -Ab; I1: H; I3: -Ab.
libang, "to amuse, to divert": A23: An; G: An; L: -Ab; I2: H; I3: -An.
lighim, "to keep secret": A2: H; G: -An; L: An; I1: I2: H.
limang, "to distract": A3: G: An; L: -Ab; I123: An.
limos, "to give alms": A23: H; G: -Ab; L: H; I13: -Ab; I2: H.
limot, "to forget": A1: An, Ab; G; L; I3: -Ab.
lindol, "to earthquake": A12: G: -Ab; L: -Ab.
lipat, "to change one's dwelling, to move": A12: An; G: An, -Ab; L: -Ab; I1: An, -Ab; I2: An; I3: -Ab.
loko, "to fool, to disturb": A2; A34: An; G: An; I3: H, Ab.
lubay, "to cease": A2; L: I23: An.
lubod, "to kneel down": A1: An; L: An, -Ab.
lukso, "to jump over": A12: An; G: -Ab; L: An, -Ab; I12: An, -Ab; I3: -Ab.
lulan, "to load onto a vehicle": A12: An; G: An, -Ab; L: -Ab; I1: An, -Ab; I2: An; I3: -Ab.
**-M-

mahal, "to hold dear, to be fond of": A2: An; G. 5
mana, "to inherit": A2; An; G: An, -Ab; L: H.
masid, "to look at, to look after": A2: An; L.
matay, "to die": A4: An, Ab.
misa, "to say Mass": A2: H; L: H, -Ab; I2: An.
mura, "to be cheap": L: An, -Ab.

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**-N-

nakaw, "to steal": A2: An; G: An, -Ab; L: An, -Ab; I123: A.
naog, "to descend, to come down from": A3: An.
nood, "to look at (as a movie)": A4: An, I3: -Ab.

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**-Ng-


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**-P-

pagod, "to be weary": A4: An; G: An; L: Ab.
palit, "to change, to exchange": A12: A; L; I12; I3: -Ab.
panaw, "to depart from": A12: An; L: An, -Ab; I3: -Ab.
pana?, "to shoot arrows": A123: H; G: An, -Ab; L: -Ab;
panhik, "to enter, to go up into": A12: An; G: An, -Ab;
pansin, "to notice, to pay attention to": A12: An; G; L:
An, -Ab.
pasan, "to carry on the shoulders": A12: H; G: An, -Ab; I1:
An, -Ab; I23: H.

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5 Verbal roots beginning in /m-/ and /w-/ rarely occur with the -um- affix, probably for euphonic reasons.
pasok, "to enter": A1: An, Ab; A2: An; G: -P, -Ab; L: An,
pasyal, "to go for a stroll": A123: An; L: -Ab; I12: An;
I3: -Ab.
patay, "to kill": A12: An; G: An; I1: An, -Ab; I2: An; I3:
-Ab.
patid, "to break, to cut": A123: An; G: -Ab; L: An, -Ab;
pigil, "to control, to restrain": A12: An, G: Ab; L; I23:
-Ab.
pinta, "to paint": A2: H; L: -Ab; I13: An, -Ab; I2: An.
pipi, "to be dumb": A4: An.
pitas, "to pick, to pluck": A123: H, -Ab; G: -Ab; L: -Ab;
-Ab; I2: An, I3:
pukol, "to knock up against something": A12: H; G: An, -Ab;
I1: An, -Ab; I2: H; I3: -Ab.
pula, "to become red": A13: H, -Ab; A4: An, -Ab; L: An,
-Ab; I3: -Ab.
punta, "to go to": A12: An; L; I3: -Ab.
puno?, "to become full": A1: -Ab; A2: An; A4: -Ab; G:
-Ab; I1: An, -Ab; I2: An; I3: -Ab.
pusta, "to bet": A12: H; G; L; I13; I2: H.
puyat, "to stay up late": A234: An.

-s-
sabay, "to accompany": A12: An; L; I1; I3: -Ab.
sabi, "to say": A2: H; G: Ab, S'; I3: -An.
sabit, "to hang": A2: H; G: An, -Ab; L: An, -Ab; I13: An,
-Ab; I3: -Ab.
sabog, "to scatter": A1: -Ab; A23: An, -Ab; G: -Ab; L:
An, -Ab; I13: H, -Ab; I2: h.
sabong, "to cockfight": A1: -H; A2: An; G: -H; L: -Ab;
sadya?, "to go for a purpose": A1: An; G: -Ab; I1: An,
-Ab.
sadya?, "to make according to order": A1: H; G: -Ab; L:
A, -Ab; I12: An.
sagasa?, "to bump, to collide with": A1: H; L: An, -Ab;
I1: An, -Ab; I3: -Ab.
sahig, "to floor": L: -Ab; I1: -Ab; I2: An; I3: An, -Ab.
sahod, "to catch": A12: H; G: -Ab; L: An; I13: An, -Ab;
sain, "to cook rice": A12: H; G: -Ab; L: -Ab; I12: An; I3: An, -Ab.


sakit, "to be ill, to be painful": A14: An; L: An.


sali, "to include, to participate": A123: An; L: -An; I1: An; I2: An; I3: -Ab.


sampay, "to hang across": A2: H; G: -Ab; L: -Ab; I1: -Ab; I2: An.


sapit, "to arrive, to come near": A12: An, Ab; L: An, -Ab; I3: -Ab.

sara, "to close": A1: -Ab; A2: An; G: -Ab; I13: -Ab.

sarap, "to be tasty, to be refreshing": A1: -Ab; L: -An, I3: -An.


sawaw, "to dance": A12: H; G: An, Ab; L: An, -Ab; I3: -Ab.

sigaw, "to shout": A12: H; G: Ab, S'; L: An; I13: -An; I2: H.

sikad, "to kick": A123: An; L: An, -Ab; I13: -Ab; I2: H.

sikip, "to become narrow": A12: -Ab; L: -Ab; I3: -Ab.

siksik, "to crowd": A123: An, -Ab; G: An, -Ab; L: -Ab; I1: An, -Ab; I2: H; I3: -An.

simba, "to attend church": A12: H; G: -Ab; L: -Ab; I1: An, -Ab; I2: An, I3: -Ab.


sisi, "to blame": A12: H; G: An, Ab; I3: -An.


subo, "to boil over": A12: -Ab.

subok, "to test, to try": A123: An; L: I1; I2: An; I3: An, -Ab.

sugal, "to gamble": A23: H; G: -An; L: -Ab; I13: H, -An; I2: H.

sugat, "to wound": L: An, Ab; I3: -An.

suklay, "to comb": A23: H; G: An, -Ab; L: An; I13: H, -Ab; I2: H.


suntok, "to strike on the head, to punch": A123: H; G: An, -Ab; L: -Ab; I1: H, -Ab; I2: H; I3: -Ab.

sunggab, "to seize": A12: An; G: An, -Ab; L: An, -Ab; I13: H, -Ab; I2: H.

suot, "to wear": A2: An; G: -Ab; L: An, -Ab; I1: -Ab, I2: H.

sutsot, "to whistle": A123: H; L: An; I123: H.

-t-

taas, "to rise, to raise": A1: An, Ab; A2: An; G: L; I13: An, -Ab; I2: An.


tagal, "to take a long time": A12: An, Ab; L: Ab; I1: -A; I2: An, -Ab.


tagpo?, "to meet, to join up with": A2: An; G: An, -Ab; L: -Ab; I1: An, -Ab; I2: H; I3: -Ab.

tahimik, "to be tranquil": A13: I3: -Ab.


takbo, "to run": A12: An, Ab; G: -Ab; L: -Ab; I12: An.

takot, "to frighten, to fear": A3; A4; An; G: An; I13: -Ab.


talon, "to jump down": A1: An, -Ab; G: -Ab; L: An, -Ab; I1: An, -Ab; I3: -Ab.


tanaw, "to view": A12: An; G: -Ab; I13: -Ab.

tanda?, "to age": A1: An, -Ab.

tanod, "to watch over, to take care of": A123: An; I13: H, -An, I2: -H.


tanggap, "to receive": A123: An; G; L: An, -Ab; I12: An.

tanggol, "to defend": A123: An, G: Ab; L: An, -Ab; I1; I2: An; I3: -Ab.


tapon, "to throw away": A123: An; A4: -Ab; G: An, -Ab; L: An, -Ab; I12: An, -Ab; I3: -Ab.

tapos, "to end, to finish": A4: G: Ab; L: An, -Ab; I12: An, -Ab; I3: -Ab.

tawa, "to laugh": A12: An, Ab; A4: An; L.

tawad, "to bargain": A123: H; L: An. -Ab; I12: An, -Ab;.


tawid, "to cross": A123: An; G: -Ab; L: -Ab; I1: An, -Ab; I2: An; I3: -Ab.

tayo, "to stand up": A1: An; L: An, -Ab; I1: -Ab.


tilis, "to suffer": A12: An, -Ab; G: Ab; L: -An; I3: -An.


tindig, "to stand up on end": A12: An.


tipid, "to economize": A2: H; G: -Ab.

tilpon, "to gather together, to store up": A123: An; G: An, -Ab; L: An, -Ab; I1: An, -Ab; I2: An, I3: -Ab.

tira, "to dwell": A12: An; L: -Ab; I1: An; I3: -Ab.

tiwala, "to believe in": A123: H;.

trabaho, "to work": A2: H; I13: -Ab; I2: H.


tuktok, "to knock": A123: An; G: -Ab; L: -Ab; I1: An, -Ab; I2: An; I3: -Ab.

tulak, "to push, to kick": A123: An, -Ab; G; L: An, -Ab; I1: An, -Ab; I2: An; I3: -Ab.


tulog, "to sleep": A14: An; L: -An; I3: -Ab.


tuloy, "to go into": A123: An; L: An, -Ab; I1: An, -Ab; I3: -Ab.

tuloy, "to continue": A12: An; G: -An; L: An, -Ab; I1; I2: H; I3: -Ab.

tung, "to go towards"; A12; G: L; I1: An, -Ab; I3: -Ab.
tuto, "to learn"; A4: An, S'.

-U-

ubos, "to finish"; A23: An; A4: -An; G: -Ab; L: An, -Ab; I2: H.
ugali?, "to celebrate as a custom"; G: Ab; I1: Ab.
uhaw, "to thirst"; A4: An.
ulan, "to rain"; A12.
umpisa, "to begin"; A123; L; I1: I2: An; I3: -An.
upo?, "to sit"; A124: An; G: -Ab; L: An, -Ab; I12: An.
utang, "to owe or incur a debt"; A123: H; G: -Ab; L: H; I12: An, -Ab; I3: -An.

-W-

wala?, "to not be present, to be without"; A4.
walis, "to sweep"; A2: H; G: -Ab; L: -Ab; I1: An, -Ab; I2: An; I3: -Ab.
wicka?, "to speak"; A2: H; I1: -Ab; I2: H.

-Y-

yabang, "to be proud, to be boastful"; A123: An; I3: -An.
yaman, "to become rich"; A12: H.
APPENDIX B
SYNTACTIC COMPLEMENTS OF TAGALOG VERBS

abot, "to hand over": A1: 1, 7, 11, 15; A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 7, 15; T2: 1, 6, 7, 10, 15.

ahit, "to shave": A1: 1, 7, 11, 15; A2: 1, 9, 11, 15; A3: 1, 9, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 9, 15; T2: 1, 6, 9, 11, 15; T3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

akyat, "to climb, to bring up to": A1: 1, 8, 11, 15; A3: 1, 8, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 8, 11, 13; T2: 1, 6, 8, 11, 13; T3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

alaga, "to attend to": A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 8, 15; T2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; T3: 1, 6, 7, 10, 15.

The symbols in Appendix B are based on a constant-numbering system and may be interpreted as follows: 1 = +Topic; 2 = -Topic; 3 = +Topic; 4 = +Actor; 5 = -Actor; 6 = +Actor; 7 = +Object (nang); 8 = -Object (nang); 9 = +Object (nang); 10 = +Object (sa); 11 = -Object (sa); T2 = +Object (sa); T3 = +Locative; T4 = -Locative; 15 = +Locative; and S = embedded quotative phrase.

Focus construction types are represented in the same manner as in Appendix A: A = Actor-focus; G = Goal-focus; L = Locative-focus; and I = Implicative-focus.

Thus,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Object (nang)</th>
<th>Object (sa)</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7 8 9</td>
<td>10 11 12</td>
<td>13 14 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>4 5 6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>13 14 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>4 5 6</td>
<td>7 8 9</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>13 14 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>4 5 6</td>
<td>7 8 9</td>
<td>10 11 12</td>
<td>13 14 15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2Sentential locative complements are specified for certain "place whither" locative constructions. Such constructions often omit the object complement. If the object complement is marked as optional, the sentential locative complement may only accompany the construction if the object complement has not been chosen.
alis, "to leave, to remove": A1: 1, 8, 11, 15; A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; A3: 1, 7, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 7; T1: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; T2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; T3: 1, 6, 7, 10, 15.

anak, "to bear offspring": A3: 1, 8, 11, 15.

antok, "to become sleepy": A3: 1, 8, 11, 15; G: 1, 5, 15.

asawa, "to espouse": A2: 1, 8, 11, 15.

atip, "to roof": A2: 1, 9, 11, 15; L: 1, 6, 8; T1: 1, 6, 9, 11, 15; T2: 1, 6, 9, 11, 15; T3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

awa?, "to pity": A4: 1, 8, 12, 14.

bagyo?, "to storm": A1: 2, 8, 11, 15; A2: 2, 8, 11, 15; G: 1, 5, 14.

baha?, "to flood": A1: 2, 8, 11, 15; A2: 2, 8, 11, 15; G: 1, 5, 14.

balik, "to return": A1: 1, 8, 11, 15; A2: 1, 9, 11, 15; T1: 1, 6, 9, 11, 15; T2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; T3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

balita?, "to report": A2: 1, 7, 11, 15, S'; A4: 1, 8, 11, 15, S'; G: 1, 6, 15, S'; L: 1, 6, 7; T1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 15; T2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; T3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

balot, "to wrap up": A1: 1, 7, 11, 15; A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; A3: 1, 7, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 7; T1: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15; T2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; T3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

bangon, "to raise up from a lying position": A1: 1, 8, 11, 15; T5: A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; A3: 1, 7, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 7; T1: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; T2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; T3: 1, 6, 7, 10, 15.

baon, "to bury": A1: 1, 8, 11, 15; A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; A3: 1, 7, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; T1: 1, 6, 7, 10, 15.

baon, "to pack provisions": A1: 1, 9, 11, 15; A2: 1, 9, 11, 15; A3: 1, 9, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 9; T1: 1, 6, 9, 11, 15; T2: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15; T3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

basa, "to read": A1: 1, 9, 11, 15; A2: 1, 9, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 9; T1: 1, 6, 9, 11, 15; T2: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15; T3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.
basag, "to break": A1: 1, 7, 11, 15; A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; A3: 1, 7, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 7; I1: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I3: 1, 6, 7, 10, 15.

bayad, "to pay": A1: 1, 9, 12, 15; A2: 1, 9, 12, 15; A3: 1, 9, 12, 15; L: 1, 6, 9, 15; I1: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15; I2: 1, 6, 9, 11, 15; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

bendisyon, "to bless": A2: 1, 9, 11, 15; A3: 1, 9, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I1: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15.

bigay, "to give": A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; A3: 1, 7, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 13; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 13.

bigkas, "to pronounce": A1: 1, 9, 11, 15; A2: 1, 9, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I1: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15.

bihis, "to dress": A2: 1, 9, 11, 15; L: 1, 6, 9; I1: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15.

binyag, "to baptize": A2: 1, 9, 11, 15; L: 1, 6, 9; I1: 1, 6, 7, 10, 15; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I3: 1, 6, 7, 12, 15.

bisita, "to visit": A1: 1, 8, 12, 15; A2: 1, 8, 12, 15; A3: 1, 8, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; I1: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15.

boto, "to vote": A1: 1, 9, 12, 15; A2: 1, 9, 12, 15; L: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15; I1: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

bukas, "to open": A1: 1, 8, 11, 15; A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; A3: 1, 7, 11, 15; L: 1, 6, 9; I1: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I3: 1, 6, 7, 10, 15.

dali?, "to be quick": L: 1, 6, 9, 15.

dalo, "to attend": A1: 1, 7, 10, 15; A2: 1, 7, 10, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 9; I1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 13; I2: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

dating, "to arrive": A1: 1, 8, 11, 15; L: 1, 6, 8.

dugo?, "to bleed": A1: 1, 8, 11, 15; A2: 1, 8, 11, 15; G: 1, 5, 15.

dumi, "to defecate": A1: 1, 8, 11, 15; A2: 1, 8, 11, 15; L: 1, 6, 8.
dumi, "to become dirty": A1: 1, 8, 11, 15; A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; A4: 1, 8, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15.

galing, "to come from": A3: 1, 8, 11, 13.

ganda, "to become beautiful": A1: 1, 8, 11, 15; L: 1, 6, 9, 15; II: 1, 6, 7, 10, 15; I3: 1, 6, 7, 10, 15.

gawa?, "to make, to do": A1: 1, 7, 11, 15; A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 7; I1: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I3: 1, 6, 7, 10, 15.

gising, "to wake up": A1: 1, 9, 11, 15; A3: 1, 9, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; II: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

gulo, "to make a disturbance": A1: 1, 9, 12, 15; A3: 1, 9, 12, 15; A4: 1, 8, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

gupit, "to cut": A1: 1, 7, 11, 15; A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; L: 1, 6, 9, 15; II: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I3: 1, 6, 7, 10, 15.

habol, "to pursue": A1: 1, 9, 12, 15; A2: 1, 7, 10, 15; A3: 1, 9, 12, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 7; I1: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

halik, "to kiss": A1: 1, 8, 12, 15; A3: 1, 9, 12, 15; L: 1, 6, 9, 15; II: 1, 6, 7, 10, 15; I2: 1, 6, 7, 10, 15; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

harap, "to face towards": A1: 1, 8, 10, 15; A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; II: 1, 6, 9, 11, 13; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 13.

hari?, "to rule": A2: 1, 8, 12, 15.

higa?, "to rest, to lie down": A1: 1, 8, 11, 15; A2: 1, 8, 11, 15; A4: 1, 8, 11, 15; L: 1, 6, 8; I1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 13.

hingi?, "to request, to ask for": A1: 1, 7, 11, 15, 15; A3: 1, 9, 11, 15, 15; G: 1, 6, 15, 15; II: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I3: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15.

hiram, "to borrow": A1: 1, 9, 11, 15; A3: 1, 9, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 9; II: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I3: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15.

hirap, "to suffer": A2: 1, 8, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15;
hulog, "to fall, to drop": A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; A4: 1, 8, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 7; T1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 13; T2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15.

ibig, "to love, to desire": A1: 1, 8, 12, 15; G: 1, 4, 15.

inom, "to drink": A1: 1, 9, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 9; T1: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15.

iwan, "to leave behind": A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; A3: 1, 7, 11, 15; A4: 1, 8, 11, 15; G: 1, 4, 15; L: 1, 4, 9; T1: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; T2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15.

kasal, "to perform a marriage": A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; T1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 15.

kuha, "to take": A1: 1, 7, 11, 15; A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; A3: 1, 9, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 7; T1: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; T2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; T3: 1, 6, 7, 10, 15.

lagay, "to put, to place": A1: 1, 8, 11, 13; A2: 1, 7, 11, 13; G: 1, 6, 13; L: 1, 6, 7; T1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 13; T2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 13; T3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

lakad, "to walk": A1: 1, 8, 11, 15; A2: 1, 8, 11, 15; G: 1, 14; T1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 15; T3: 1, 6, 8, 11, 15.

langoy, "to swim": A1: 1, 9, 11, 13; G: 1, 6, 14; L: 1, 6, 8; T1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 13; T2: 1, 6, 9, 12, 14; T3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 14.

layo?, "to be far from": A1: 1, 8, 12, 15; A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 8; T1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 15; T2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; T3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

ligo?, "to bathe": A4: 1, 8, 11, 15; G: 1, 4, 9, 15; T2: 1, 4, 7, 11, 15; T3: 1, 4, 7, 10, 15.

lindol, "to earthquake": A1: 2, 8, 11, 15; A2: 2, 8, 11, 15; G: 1, 5, 14.

linis, "to clean": A1: 1, 8, 11, 15; A2: 1, 9, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 6, 7; T1: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; T2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; T3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

lolo, "to fool, to disturb": A2: 1, 8, 11, 15; A3: 1, 7, 10, 15; A4: 1, 8, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; T3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.
lubog, "to immerse": A1: 1, 8, 11, 15; A2: 1, 9, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 9; I1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 15; I2: 1,

lungkot, "to be sad": A3: 1, 8, 11, 15; A4: 1, 8, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

luto, "to cook": A2: 1, 9, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; I1: 1, 6, 9, 11, 15; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

mahal, "to hold dear, to be fond of": A2: 1, 7, 10, 14; G: 1, 4, 14.

nood, "to see": A4: 1, 9, 11, 15; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

palit, "to change, to exchange": A1: 1, 7, 11, 15; A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; L: 1, 6, 9; I1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 13; I2: 1, 6, 8, 11, 13; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

pasok, "to enter": A1: 1, 8, 11, 15; A2: 1, 7, 11, 13; G: 1, 4, 14; L: 1, 4, 9; I1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 13; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 13; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

pasyal, "to go for a stroll": A1: 1, 8, 11, 15; A2: 1, 8, 11, 15; A3: 1, 8, 11, 15; L: 1, 4, 7; I1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 13; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 13; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

patay, "to kill": A1: 1, 7, 11, 15; A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; G: 1, 4, 15; I1: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I3: 1, 6, 7, 10, 15.

puko, "to knock up against something": A1: 1, 7, 11, 15; A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; I1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 15; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

puno2, "to become full": A1: 1, 8, 11, 15; A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; A4: 1, 8, 11, 15; G: 1, 4, 15; I1: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

sabi, "to say": A2: 1, 9, 11, 15, S'; G: 1, 4, 15, S'; I3: 1, 6, 9, 11, 15.

sabong, "to cockfight": A1: 1, 8, 11, 15; A2: 1, 9, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 9; I1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 15; I3: 1, 6, 8, 11, 15.

sadya, "to go for a purpose": A1: 1, 8, 11, 13; G: 1, 4, 14; I4: 1, 6, 8, 11, 13.
sagot, "to answer": A1: 1, 9, 12, 15, S'; A2: 1, 9, 12, 15, S'; A3: 1, 9, 12, 15, S'; G: 1, 6, 15, S'; I1: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15; I2: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15; I3: 1, 6, 12, 15.

sakay, "to ride in a vehicle": A1: 1, 8, 11, 15; A2: 1, 9, 11, 15; L: 1, 6, 9; I1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 13; I2: 1, 6, 9, 11, 13; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

sali, "to include, to participate": A1: 1, 8, 12, 15; A2: 1, 9, 11, 13; A3: 1, 9, 12, 15; L: 1, 6, 7; I1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 13; I2: 1, 6, 9, 11, 13; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

salita?, "to speak": A2: 1, 9, 11, 15, S'; L: 1, 6, 9; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

salubong, "to meet": A1: 1, 8, 12, 15; A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; I1: 1, 6, 15; I3: 1, 6, 9, 15.

sama, "to accompany": A1: 1, 8, 12, 15; A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; L: 1, 6, 8, 15; I1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 13; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 13; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

sampay, "to hang across": A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 9; I1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 15; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15.

sara, "to close": A1: 1, 8, 11, 15; A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; A3: 1, 7, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 8, 11, 15; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

sarap, "to be tasty, to be refreshing": A1: 1, 8, 11, 15; L: 1, 6, 8, 15; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

sayaw, "to dance": A1: 1, 9, 11, 15; A2: 1, 9, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 9; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

subok, "to test, to try": A1 1, 8, 11, 15; A2: 1, 9, 12, 15; A3: 1, 9, 11, 15; L: 1, 6, 9, 15; I1: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

sugat, "to wound": L: 1, 6, 8, 15; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

suklalay, "to comb": A2: 1, 9, 11, 15; A3: 1, 9, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 9; I1: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

sulat, "to write": A1: 1, 9, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 9, 11, 15, S'; A3: 1, 8, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15, S'; I1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 15, S'; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

sumbong, "to complain": A2: 1, 8, 11, 15; A3: 1, 9, 11, 15; G: 1, 4, 15; L: 1, 6, 9; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15;.
sumbong, "to tattle on": A2: 1, 9, 11, 15; A3: 1, 9, 11, 15; G: 1, 4, 15; T1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 15; T2: 1, 6, 8, 11, 15.

sunod, "to follow": A1: 1, 9, 12, 15; A2: 1, 9, 12, 15; A3: 1, 9, 12, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 9; T1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 15; T2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; T3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

sunog, "to burn": A2: 1, 9, 12, 15; A3: 1, 9, 12, 15; A4: 1, 8, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 7; T1: 1, 6, 7, 10, 15; T2: 1, 6, 7, 10, 15; T3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

suntok, "to strike on the head, to punch": A1: 1, 8, 12, 15; A2: 1, 8, 12, 15; L: 1, 6, 7; T1: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15; T2: 1, 6, 7, 10, 15; T3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

suot, "to wear": A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; G: 1, 4, 15; L: 1, 6, 7; T1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 13; T2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15.

taga?, "to chop": A1: 1, 9, 11, 15; A2: 1, 9, 11, 15; A3: 1, 9, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 7; T1: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15; T2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; T3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

tago?, "to hide": A1: 1, 9, 11, 15; A2: 1, 9, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 9; T1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 15; T2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; T3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

tagpe?, "to patch, to mend": A1: 1, 7, 11, 15; A2: 1, 9, 11, 15; A3: 1, 9, 11, 15; L: 1, 6, 8, 11, 15; T1: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; T2: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

tahi?, "to sew": A1: 1, 9, 11, 15; A2: 1, 9, 12, 15; A3: 1, 9, 12, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 9; T1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 15; T2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; T3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

takbo, "to run": A1: 1, 8, 11, 15; A2: 1, 8, 11, 15; G: 1, 4, 15; L: 1, 6, 9; T1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 13; T2: 1, 6, 9, 11, 15.

takot, "to frighten, to fear": A3: 1, 9, 12, 15; A4: 1, 8 T2, T4; G: 1, 6, 15; T1: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15; T3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

tali?, "to tie": A1: 1, 9, 11, 15; A2: 1, 9, 11, 15; A3: 1, 9, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 9; T1: 1, 6, 7, 10, 15; T2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; T3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

tama?, "to hit": A1: 1, 8, 12, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 8, 12, 15; T1: 1, 6, 7, 10, 15; T2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; T3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.
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tuktok, "to knock": A1: 1, 8, 12, 15; A2: 1, 8, 12, 15; A3: 1, 8, 12, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 8, 15; I1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 13; I2: 1, 6, 8, 12, 15; I3: 1, 6, 8, 12, 15.

tulog, "to sleep": A1: 1, 8, 11, 15; A4: 1, 8, 11, 15; L: 1, 6, 9; I3: 1, 6, 8, 11, 15.

tulong, "to help": A1: 1, 8, 12, 15; A2: 1, 8, 12, 15; L: 1, 6, 9; I1: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

tuloy, "to go into": A1: 1, 8, 11, 13; A2: 1, 8, 11, 13; A3: 1, 8, 11, 13; L: 1, 4, 7; I1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 13; I3: 1, 6, 9, 11, 15.

tuloy, "to continue": A1: 1, 9, 11, 15; A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; L: 1, 6, 7; I1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 15; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I3: 1, 6, 9, 11, 15.

turo?, "to teach": A2: 1, 9, 11, 15; A3: 1, 9, 11, 15, S'; L: 1, 6, 9; I1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 15; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I3: 1, 6, 9, 11, 15.

tuto, "to learn": A4: 1, 9, 11, 15, S'.

uihan, "to rain": A1: 2, 8, 11, 15; A2: 2, 8, 11, 15;

ulit, "to repeat": A1: 1, 7, 11, 15; A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; A3: 1, 7, 11, 15; G: 1, 6, 15; I1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 15; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I3: 1, 6, 9, 11, 15.

utos, "to command": A2: 1, 7, 11, 15; A3: 1, 9, 11, 15, S'; L: 1, 6, 9; I1: 1, 6, 8, 11, 15, S'; I2: 1, 6, 7, 11, 15; I3: 1, 6, 9, 11, 15.

Walis, "to sweep": A2: 1, 9, 11, 15; G: 1, 4, 15; L: 1, 6, 9; I1: 1, 6, 9, 11, 15; I2: 1, 6, 7, 10, 15; I3: 1, 6, 9, 12, 15.

wika?, "to speak": A2: 1, 8, 11, 15, S'; I2: 1, 6, 8, 11, 15.
APPENDIX C
ABBREVIATIONS

A  Actor
Ab  Abstract
Ab1  Abilitative
AbA  Abstract of Action
Apr  ko-class pronoun
Att  Attribute
ben  benefactory
c  copula
dem  demonstrative
en  enclitic
GF  Goal-focus
H  Human
i  instrument
IF  Implicative-focus
Int  Intensive
L  Locative
LF  Locative-focus
lo  locational
Lpr  akin-class pronoun
m  marker
MAadv  Manner Adverbial
num  numeral
O  Object
pl  plural
Pl  phrase linker
qm  question marker
qw  question word
S'  embedded quotative phrase
sp  sentence particle
t  time
T  Topic
tem  temporal
Tpr  ako-class pronoun
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