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KAPAMPANGAN SYNTACTIC PROCESSES

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

DECEMBER 1971

By

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KAPAMPANGAN SYNTACTIC PROCESSES

By Leatrice Taeko Mirikitani

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

ABSTRACT

Kapampangan is a Philippine language spoken by some 900,000 individuals. It belongs to the Austro­nesian language family as do the other indigenous languages of the Philippines.

This dissertation is in the generative mold, with syntax being considered central. The base structure is, therefore, presented through a set of rules from which intermediate strings of syntactic items can be derived. A set of major syntactic processes in the form of transformational rules then operates on these strings to give the syntactic arrangements which in turn can be brought to the surface by the operation of phonological rules (not treated). Recursive processes are then presented to depict the derivation of complex sentences.
The exposition of the base structure of Kapampangan follows Chomsky's orientation in *Aspects* (1965), but incorporates an important syntactic-semantic contribution from Fillmore's case grammar. The base rules in Chapter II specify the elementary, abstract, formal objects which constitute the deep structure and the basic arrangements in which they occur (Chomsky 1965:64). In order to introduce notions of specific function features such as time, manner, and general location for adverbial prepositional phrases, or for the various case relations of prepositional phrases to predicates as per Fillmore's suggestions, a feature notation is also employed following Chomsky's strict subcategorizational rule stated in terms of context sensitive environments. Chapter II of the dissertation, then, presents the base structure of Kapampangan by a set of phrase structure rules identifying and expanding the basic grammatical categories, and by a few subcategorizational rules which introduce semantic information about the categorial units.

Chapter III treats the basic syntactic processes by which surface syntactic information is mapped onto base terminal strings for the final (syntactic) realization of any and all Kapampangan simple surface structures. The basic processes of subject formation,
predicate nominalization, topicalization, and pronominalization with the transformational rules needed for these processes are discussed and fully illustrated. From these processes with the base rules the following simple sentence types can be derived: predicative (verbal and nonverbal), identificational (equational), topicalized, and interrogative.

Chapter IV deals with the recursive processes by which complex sentences are formulated. The processes described are relativization, complementation, and conjunction (coordination only). The recursive S's of these processes occur in designated positions in base strings of category symbols, adnominally for relative clauses, adverbially for complement clauses, and conjoined for coordinate sentences.

The transformational rules needed to bring embedded S's to the surface are actually deeper than some of those treated in Chapter III. The dissertation, however, follows a logical ordering in order to show the derivation of simple sentences. The final chapter then gives a summary of all rules treated, restates them to include the recursive elements, and puts them into their proper order.

Rules set out in the dissertation are presented basically in prose rather than solely with formal notational conventions. The reader should therefore
be able to follow the progression at any point. No claim is made for the comprehensiveness of the treatment, though the basic rules, it is believed, are given in a framework that will allow all further amplifications. The coverage is sufficient, however, to formulate all basic sentences in Kapampangan.
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CHAPTER I
Introduction

1.1 Background

Kapampangan is a Philippine language spoken by some 900,000 individuals. It ranks seventh in a list of eight major languages determined on the basis of population size, the other seven being Tagalog, Cebuano, Ilokano, Hiligaynon, Bikol, Waray, and Pangasinan (Census 1960). It belongs to the Austronesian or Malayopolynesian language family as do the other indigenous languages of the Philippines.

Kapampangan is spoken mainly in the province of Pampanga, situated in the central plains of Luzon, the Republic of the Philippines. It is also spoken in the border communities of neighboring provinces, such as Tarlac, Nueva Ecija, Bulacan, and Bataan. The language name has been given variously as Pampanga, Pampango, Pampangan, Pampangueño, and Kapampangan. Preference is given here to Kapampangan since this is the term used by the Pampangan people to refer to their language.

As is true of all Philippine languages, Kapampangan is not homogeneous, having at least two major
dialects (Forman 1971:3). The dialect analyzed here is that spoken in San Fernando City, the capital of the province, and the suburban community of Dolores.

This dissertation is based primarily on material gathered for the development of a language textbook Speaking Kapampangan (Mirikitani 1971). Recent arrivals from San Fernando City, Pampanga to Honolulu, Hawaii provided the data for this project. The original data were then checked and confirmed by a subsequent four-month field trip to the Philippines. The writer is indebted to various members of the Philippine community both in the Philippines and in Hawaii for their cooperation, assistance, and linguistic insights. The texts in Castrillo's thesis, Pampango Syntax (1955), have also been used as source material for illustrations of grammatical constructions described in this study.

1.2 Linguistic Studies of Kapampangan to Date

To date only a few linguistic studies have been done on Kapampangan despite the span of almost four centuries since the earliest manuscripts were written. Linguistic studies were initiated by Spanish missionaries who collected vocabularies and wrote grammar sketches of the language. Most of their earliest materials, however, remain only in manuscript form.1
The first of the published studies appeared some two and a half centuries ago. The only extant publications on the language easily available now from this Spanish period are a dictionary and grammar by Diego Bergaño, an Augustinian friar: *Vocabulario de la Lengua Pampanga en Romance* (1732, reprinted 1860) and *Arte de la Lengua Pampanga* (1736, reprinted 1916).

More recent studies include phonological and grammatical descriptions by linguists following the structural taxonomic tradition. In these studies the primary aim has been the identification and classification of significant linguistic units from phoneme to clauses and sentences. But the interrelationships between units, especially clauses and sentences, were not described, thus, not accounting for a very important feature of language--i.e., the possibility of forming an infinity of sentences in Kapampangan.

The following is a list of the more important studies on Kapampangan given in chronological order. Historical-comparative studies including Kapampangan and some dictionaries written during this period are also included.

(1) *English-Spanish-Pampango Dictionary* written in 1905 by Luther Parker, assisted by Modesto Joaquin and Juan Soto.

(2) *Nuevo Vocabulario Español, Tagalo, Pampango*
by Eligio Fernandez Luciano (1914).

(3) Gramatica qng Sabing Castila't Capampangan
by D. Gil Magat (1915).

(4) 'Phonological Peculiarities of Pampangan',
a historical-comparative study of Kapampangan sound
changes, by V. Gamboa-Mendoza (1940).

(5) Pampango Syntax, a taxonomic classification
of morphological and syntactic units and constructions,
by Maria Luisa Y. Castrillo (1955), a master's thesis
for the University of the Philippines.

(6) 'Pampango Phonology', a phonemic analysis of
the Kapampangan sound system, by C. T. Clardy (1959).

(7) 'Pampango Consonants and Vowels and Their
Influence on English as Spoken by Pampangos in Tarlac',
a description of Kapampangan phonemes and their com­
parison with English phonemes, by Iluminada S. Taba­
sondra (1962).

(8) English-Tagalog-Pampango Vocabulary, a
pocket dictionary by Bienvenido M. Manalili and J. P.
Tamayo (1964).

(9) Notes on Kapampangan Grammar, a handy refer­
ence grammar for learners of the language, by Michael
L. Forman (1971).

(10) Kapampangan-English Dictionary, also for
beginning language students, by Michael L. Forman
(1971).

Other important works, which include Kapampangan as one of the target languages, are the comparative studies of the vocabulary and grammatical features of different Philippine languages. Early among these are four articles by Blake (1906, 1907, 1910, 1916). More recent are Lopez' 'Contributions to a Comparative Philippine Syntax', a study of the syntactic features of twelve Philippine languages (1965); Constantino's 'The Sentence Patterns of Twenty-six Philippine Languages' (1965); and Constantino, Paz, and Posoncuy's 'The Personal Pronouns of Tagalog, Ilukano, Isinai and Kapampangan' (1967).

Constantino's contrastive study of sentence patterns is an exception to the other structural taxonomic studies. In this paper, in addition to a structural constituent analysis of sentences, Constantino advances a transformational analysis following the 1957 model of Chomsky's generative-transformational grammar. Constantino's orientation to the generative-transformational approach is evident especially in his Indiana University dissertation, A Generative Grammar of a Dialect of Ilocano (1959). The sentence patterns presented in the 1965 article are based on kernel surface sentences whose relationships to other
sentences are depicted by transformations.

In his most recent work, however, 'The Deep Structures of the Philippine Languages' (1971), Constantino reflects the later 1965 generative approach. In this article he postulates a Deep Structure that contains all the necessary syntactic and semantic information for the derivation of all surface structures of a particular language, and a transformational component which selects certain appropriate grammatical formatives of the base structures. This points the way to further study of Philippine languages but in this article Constantino does not give the actual details.

The most recent descriptive study of Kapampangan, and perhaps the most important theoretically, is A. Gonzalez' Outline of a Generative Semantic Description of Pampangan, a Ph.D. dissertation for the University of California at Berkeley (1971). As the title suggests the study is a description based on the notion of the centrality of semantics. This study follows closely the directions postulated by Chafe in such works as 'Phonetics, semantics, and language' (1962), 'Meaning in language: Formal semantic analysis' (1965), Toward a generative semantic description of Onondaga (1970a), and Meaning and the structure of language (1970b). Gonzalez postulates
that the verb is central and is the only given category. Each verb has its own range of semantic possibilities. The verb in turn governs the kinds of nouns that cooccur as expansions of the verb. The verb, then, according to Gonzalez is the semantic core and therefore determines the basic structure of Kapampangan sentences. Presemantic verbs (also called proverbs by other semanticists) are postulated to account for verbless predicates consisting of adverbial phrases, such as those of time and location. Generative transformational type processes of addition, deletion, and permutation (called postsemantic processes) then linearize the basic semantic structures, onto which are mapped the phonological rules to derive the surface representations.

1.3 Theoretical Orientation

Gonzalez' dissertation is helpful, coming to the attention of this writer late in the research for and the writing of this dissertation. However, though this dissertation and that of A. Gonzalez are in a generative mold, they differ substantially in the basic assumption as to what is central, and thus, in the descriptive framework. In this study syntax, rather than semantics, is considered to be central. Therefore the base structure is a presentation of a
syntactic phrase structure by a set of rules from which intermediate strings of syntactic items can be derived. A set of major syntactic processes in the form of transformational rules then operates on these strings to give the syntactic arrangements which in turn can be brought to the surface by the operation of phonological rules (not treated here). The basic rules are given for the formation of all simple sentences in Kapampangan in the base structure (Chapter II) and in the major syntactic processes (Chapter III). Recursive processes of relativization, complementation, and coordination are then presented to depict the derivation of complex sentences. Thus the purpose here is to describe Kapampangan syntactic relations from which semantic interpretations can be stipulated.

An exposition of the base structure of Kapampangan follows Chomsky's orientation in Aspects (1965), and is presented in Chapter II by a set of fourteen phrase structure rules. These rules specify the 'elementary, abstract, formal objects' which constitute the deep structure and the basic arrangements in which they occur. These 'formal objects' are the substrings derived by 'the subdivision of a [given] string [here sentence] into continuous substrings, each of which is assigned to a certain category' (Chomsky 1965:64). Thus, the base structure is made up of categorial syn-
tactic units, each occurring in a given distribution. The theoretical requirement of generative grammar of distinguishing between categorial and functional notions is followed here. Categorial notions such as VP (verb phrase), PP (prepositional phrase), and NP (noun phrase) are depicted as nodes in the structural tree, whereas functional notions are represented by the lines which relate these categories one to another. Functional notions are therefore relational where the categorial notions are not, the relations being defined as the relation holding between one category and another that dominates it. To illustrate, in Kapampangan there are various kinds of PP's. A distinction can be made between these PP's by the difference in their respective functions made explicit by node domination. PP's which are dominated by S are adverbial PP's functioning as indicators of time, location, manner, etc. of the action; PP's dominated by Predicate Phrase (PredP) are case PP's holding certain case relations to the VP; and PP's dominated by NP's are attributive PP's occurring as modifiers of the N in the NP. The tree diagram below illustrates graphically the PP's in question which are enclosed in parentheses.
The postulation of keeping functional notions like Subject, Predicate sharply distinguished from categorial notions such as Noun Phrases and Verb (Chomsky 1965:68), however, has been found to be empirically not completely adequate for the Kapampangan data (as for other language data). Even for English, the target language on which the premises of generative grammar are founded, occurrences of categories whose functional relations are not representable in the phrase marker are encountered. For example, the relational notions 'subject of', 'predicate of', and 'direct object of' are depictable according to the tenet given above, but the prepositional phrases of time, manner, location, instrument, etc. elude such analysis. There is no way of indicating the functions of prepositional phrases except to label the nodes according to the functions involved. With Kapampangan the same dilemma is encountered in instances of multiple occurrences of PP's having similar general functions. To illustrate, there are at least three PP's: those of time, location, and manner. The relation
holding between these PP's and the dominating node S is generally that of sentential modification (hereafter referred to as adverbial), but there is no way to make explicit the specific character of the relations, that is, whether it is time, location, or manner.

In order to maintain the basic orientation of not assigning categorial status to functional notions, a feature notation is employed in this study following Chomsky's format of the strict subcategorizational rule stated in terms of context sensitive environments. The PP categories in question are positively specified with respect to their function features associated with the context in which they occur. Thus, the specific functional relations of the various adverbial PP's are depicted in the phrase structure rules as follows:

\[ PP \rightarrow [+T], [+Man], [+Lg] / [PredP (PP^) \_\_\_] \]

where T, Man, and Lg stand for the adverbial notions of Time, Manner, and General location respectively, these relations being assignable to only those PP's which occur in the environment stipulated.

PP's in the Predicate Phrase in Kapampangan also have different relations to the verb and the specific relation of any one PP to a particular verb cannot be determined by node domination. As with adverbial
PP's, then, PP's in Predicate Phrases must be specified for the grammatical role they play in the phrase. The relations obtaining in these instances are case relations. In this study, only those relations having significance for syntactic structuring and the subclassification of V's are considered case relations. Relations such as Time, Manner, and General Location which occur freely with various types of verbs are not so included, being treated as stated above. The cases which are found to have syntactic significance in Kapampangan are the Agentive, Objective, Dative, Benefactive, Instrumental, Terminus Locative, and Essive.

In accordance with the format employed for the adverbial PP's, the case relations are specified by a context sensitive subcategorizational rule which is stated as follows:

$$\text{PP} \rightarrow [+A],[+O],[+I],[+D],[+B],[+\text{Lt}] / [\text{VP} \ldots]$$

(see PSR 10). By this rule, PP's which occur as complements to the predicate (VP) are assigned the case relation which represents the role each plays in the actual pragmatic situation. A convention assigns the function feature which stands for the specific relation below each PP, as illustrated in the following tree diagram.
The treatment of case differs in this description from that found in the Aspects' model of generative grammar. In the Aspects' model only two cases as such are treated—the subject and the direct object of the sentence. These cases are 'usually determined by the position of the Noun in surface structure rather than in deep structure' (Chomsky 1965:221). Thus, the initial Noun dominated by an S is the subject of the sentence, and the Noun dominated by VP is the direct object. The following tree diagram illustrates with the N's in question enclosed in parentheses.

Though case is given as 'depending on aspects of surface rather than deep structure,' a distinction is, nevertheless, made between surface and deep structure cases (Chomsky 1965:177,221). This is illustrated in passivized sentences in which the subject of
the surface sentence is said to be the 'logical object' of the deep sentence (e.g. 'John was hit by the ball'). Generally the subject of the surface sentence is also the 'logical subject' of the sentence (the term used for the agent of the action--e.g. 'John hit the ball').

In this dissertation the introduction of certain semantic relationships is taken from Fillmore's case grammar which postulates a 'base structure in which case relationships are primitive terms of the theory' (Fillmore 1968a:2). There is a difference in the notational approach, however, since Fillmore uses case as a true primitive, whereas here the phrase structure model is maintained as far as categorial primitives are concerned, and case relationships (as well as certain other semantic features) are introduced through subcategorizational rules.

Case in Philippine languages has not been prominent in grammatical treatments in earlier periods since (except for pronoun forms) these relations are not indicated by noun inflection. Rather, as perhaps in English, these grammatical relations are indicated basically by particles introducing noun phrases. McKaughan (1958:14-16) suggested that the particles in Maranao mark 'case-like' relations to the verb. Here, the choice of a particle in a PP is determined
by the function feature chosen for that PP corresponding to a like feature inherent in the particle and so marked in the lexicon.

Position of the PP in a Kapampangan sentence, though preferences are stated for certain orders, does not reveal case relations. Because of this, and for other reasons to be made apparent in the discussion of subject formation, Fillmore's emphasis on case has been found to be especially helpful for describing Kapampangan.

Chapter II, then, presents the base structure of Kapampangan by a set of rules identifying and expanding the basic grammatical categories, and by a few subcategorizational rules which introduce semantic information about the categorial units. The terminal strings derived from these phrase structure rules (PSR's) are intermediate in that certain transformational rules to follow must be obligatorily applied before strings can be developed upon which phonological rules (not treated here) operate. However, the terminal strings derived by these PSR's contain all the necessary information needed for the final derivation of simple surface sentences.

Chapter III treats the major syntactic processes of Kapampangan by which surface syntactic information is mapped onto base terminal strings for the final
(syntactic) realization of any and all Kapampangan simple surface structures. The processes identified for description here are not claimed to constitute the total inventory of processes required in the language. Only those which are necessary for the derivation of simple sentences have been chosen for treatment and only those rules which are relevant to these processes formulated. Other processes which include redundancy, lexical, and phonological rules have not been treated at all, merely mentioned for clarification purposes. The omission of these rules, however, is not deemed detrimental to, nor detracting in any way from the merits of the particular discussion presented. The processes included do provide linguistic information sufficient for a general understanding of the structuring of Kapampangan.

The basic simple sentences derived through the operation of these processes and the PSR's include the Predicative sentences (Verbal and Nonverbal), the Identificational sentences (Equational), the Topicalize sentences, and Questions. The processes which are relevant for the derivation of the above constructions and which are treated in Chapter III are Subject Formation, Predicate Nominalization, Topicalization, and Pronominalization. Mechanical processes such as deletion and permutation are treated as individual
transformations within these processes. Here the general processes outlined are stated in the form of sets of specific transformational rules.

The specific rules in each of the syntactic processes and the processes themselves are ordered so that all derivations begin with the first rule of the first process and end with the last rule of the last process. The ordering is disjunctive, however, so that only those rules which are relevant to the particular sentence being derived are applied. For example, for the derivation of simple Predicative sentences the rules of Subject Formation and Pronominalization apply; for Identificational (Equational) sentences, Subject Formation, Predicate Nominalization, Topicalization (optionally), and Pronominalization; and for Topicalized sentences, Subject Formation, Topicalization, and Pronominalization.

The first and most basic of the syntactic processes described in Chapter III is that of Subject Formation. By this process one of the case PP's is chosen to be the subject of the sentence. The unique part of this process for Philippine languages is that the underlying case of the PP chosen as subject is overtly marked in the verb by affixation. It is in this process that this study is influenced by Fillmore's work on case rather than that of either the
more traditional of the Philippine linguists or by Chomsky.

Traditional descriptions of Philippine languages discuss 'active' and 'passive' constructions. Bloomfield (1917, 1933) and Blake (1925) on Tagalog discussed various types of passives as well as the active. Later various researchers used the term focus to depict the case relationship between the subject of the sentence and the verb (Stockwell 1957, Healey 1960, Pike 1963, Elkins 1967). Paralleling earlier viewpoints, McKaughan described voice affixes in Maranao verbs (1958), 1962 referring to the subject of the sentence as the topic.

However, as early as 1906, F. R. Blake saw the importance of case marked in Tagalog verbs and wrote an article entitled 'Expression of Case by the Verb in Tagalog'. In 1965 H. Kerr described the case marking affix system for Cotobato Manobo in his article 'The Case Marking and Classifying Function of Cotobato Manobo Voice Affixes'. Later Fillmore came out with his 'case theory' for all languages, an emphasis that is especially suited to the Philippine language situation due to the fact that in surface structures a subject phrase alone shows no case relation to the verb, but its underlying case is immediately apparent in the role that subject has in relation to the verb.
Again, it is emphasized here that this underlying case relation does appear in the surface structure of a Philippine language via verb affixation.

Fillmore used McKaughan's work (1958, 1962) to illustrate his contention that the relation subject 'is now seen as exclusively a surface-structure phenomenon' (1968a:17). Thus, Fillmore, starting from McKaughan's discussion of the relationship of a topic (subject) to the verb depicted by 'voice' markers in the verb, shows that by transformational processes rather than base rules a chosen PP is made the subject of the sentence in Maranao. He refers to this as 'primary topicalization' and succinctly specifies the process as follows:

'One NP is chosen for every sentence, and this choice is recorded in the following way: its original case preposition is replaced by so, and an affix is inserted into the V which indicates the case category of the chosen NP' (Fillmore 1968a:55,57).

This suggestion has been corroborated by McKaughan in his subsequent article 'Topicalization in Maranao--an Addendum' in which he says,

'the process of topicalization [subject formation here] immediately clarifies what has confused our descriptions for so long ... Instead of trying to describe what we find on the surface in one fell swoop, we can discuss the underlying cases in one step, and then move toward the surface in another step, topicalizing one of the NP's with resultant changes' (1970:295).

McKaughan also gives a good summary of the general
situation in his article on the minor languages of the Philippines (1969).

Taking the lead from Blake and then Fillmore, this study gives prominence to 'the "conceptual framework" interpretation of case systems ... with a clear understanding of the difference between deep and surface structure' (Fillmore 1968a:12). Also, it takes the position that 'subject' is a surface phenomenon rather than part of the base structure. Note that the terms 'subject' and 'subjectivalization' or 'subject formation' are preferred here rather than 'topic' and 'primary topicalization' or just 'topicalization', the latter being reserved for the more common process of that name.

Other processes described in Chapter III have been treated variously by earlier descriptions. Predicate Nominalization here explains what others have called the simple predicative definite sentence (Constantino 1965), equational clause (Reid 1965), or identificational sentence (Forman 1971). Topicalization is referred to earlier as emphasis (McKaughan 1962, Pike 1963, Elkins 1967). Cross-referent pronouns in Kapampangan are handled by the process of pronominalization. Ivatan has a similar system referred to by Reid (1966:113-17) under appositive phrases and by Hidalgo (1970:210) under item-appositi-
tive phrases. Other Philippine languages described to date do not use a cross-referent pronoun system.

Chapter IV deals with the recursive processes by which complex sentences are formulated. The processes described are Relativization, Complementation, and Conjunction, specifically Coordination. Though the contention is not made here for Kapampangan, some linguists believe that these three processes are the only possible recursive processes in language (R. Lakoff 1968). The recursive S's of these processes occur in designated positions in base strings of category symbols (Chomsky 1965:137)—adnominally for Relative clauses, adverbially for Complement clauses, and conjoined for Coordinate sentences.

The transformational rules treated in Chapter IV necessary to bring embedded S's to the surface are in fact deeper (earlier) than the process of Pronominalization described in the preceding chapter. The inclusion of Pronominalization in an earlier chapter is based on the desirability of introducing all the processes necessary for the derivation of the simple sentences of Kapampangan at one time before complex sentences are considered. The actual order of application of the transformations related to the recursive S's is given in the final summary in Chapter V.

The first recursive process described in Chapter
IV is Relativization, the process by which relative clauses are formed. Among the Generative-Transformationalists various approaches have been suggested. Here the framework outlined by Chomsky (1965) an applied by Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1968) is used.

The process of Complementation involves two types here: (1) Prepositional Phrase (PP) Complementation, and (2) Verb Phrase (VP) Complementation. This dichotomy was also observed for English by Rosenbaum (1967). However, R. Lakoff (1968) concluded that G. Lakoff and Ross had demonstrated that the dichotomy is unnecessary if the base component is simplified and the transformational component and lexicon made more complex. Perhaps, with further study the separation of PP and VP Complementation suggested here may also be found to be unnecessary. However, for the present the occurrence of both types of sentential complementation is maintained on the basis of certain formal evidence cited as well as semantic considerations.

PP Complementation in Kapampangan is similar to NP Complementation in English which has been described by various linguists (Rosenbaum 1967, R. Lakoff 1968, Fillmore 1968a). Except for the differences in the language specific complementation transformational rules, the description for Kapampangan shows no spe-
cial innovation.

VP Complementation is the process by which sentences with complex predicates are derived. As the name suggests, this type of complementation expands the main verb in some semantically related way. Four such semantic expansions have been included for explanatory purposes, though the range of semantic expansions may be wider.

The last recursive process described in this study is Conjunction, specifically Coordination. As with Relativization, the scheme and mechanisms proposed by Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1968) have been followed. Since the description of the syntactic construction of conjunctive sentences is the primary purpose here, only Coordination has been covered as representative of Conjunction. The types of Coordination included for description are (1) sentence coordination with the various shared elements, and (2) phrase coordination, both the PP and the NP (the latter only briefly).

The final chapter of the dissertation gives a summary of all rules treated. The rules are restated to include recursive S's and put into their proper order. The sections of the dissertation where each rule is discussed is cited in parentheses following the rule.
It should be noted that all rules set out here are presented basically in prose rather than with formal notational conventions following the trend suggested by Reibel and Schane (1969:ix).

'Partly in reaction to this overconcern with formalism and partly because of the feeling that it is premature, or even not possible, to write formal rules, later studies often merely state in ordinary language what rules are supposed to do.'
FOOTNOTES

1 See Gonzalez (1971) for specific references.

2 Richard McGinn in a paper entitled 'Toward a Grammar of Tagalog Complementation', presented in an advanced seminar conducted by McKaughan at the University of Hawaii, suggested the possibility of a noun based grammar in contrast to Gonzalez' verb based grammar.

3 The VP is limited to nonstate verbs with these cases. The Essive case occurs with state verbs.
CHAPTER II
Base Structure

2.1 Introduction

The basic Phrase Structure Rules (PSR's) of Kapampangan are presented in this chapter. These rules include only the major syntactic categories, certain necessary grammatical features, and expansions of the categories and features that are pertinent to this discussion. The expansions of minor categories have been left incomplete, only illustrative. The recursive elements and processes for the derivation of complex sentences have been reserved for Chapter IV where Relativization, Complementation, and Coordination are discussed.

The PSR's form the basis for understanding the operation of the major syntactic processes described in Chapter III. The syntactic processes of Chapter III operate on terminal strings derived from expansions of the PSR's, and map on syntactic information which, in conjunction with the semantic information given in the base, provide for the derivation of the final corresponding surface representations. The surface representations referred to here are syntactic
rather than phonetic, the latter requiring the operation of rules in the phonological component which are not dealt with in this study.

The PSR's of Kapampangan form the basis for all simple surface sentences. The first two rules follow.

2.2 Expansion of S and the Predicate Phrase, Rules 1-2

(PSR 1) \( S \rightarrow \text{PredP} (PP^n) \)
(PSR 2) \( \text{PredP} \rightarrow VP + PP^4 \)

The first rule states that Kapampangan sentences consist of a Predicate Phrase (PredP) and optional adverbial Prepositional Phrases (PP). Adverbial PP's denote notions which are related to the sentence as a whole rather than just to the verb and thus are included as constituents of the S. They are distinguished from PP's dominated by a PredP in that they may not occur as subjects of sentences. Adverbial PP's include General Location (Lg), Time (T), and Manner (M) of the action and may occur in combinations such as General Location and Time, Manner and Time, or Manner and General Location, with some possible variations in the order. In addition a particular adverbial PP may occur in multiple sequences of two or even three as the situation demands. Multiple sequences are generally restricted to Time and General
Location, however. The raised n notation in the rule indicates the possible occurrence of multiple adverbial PP's. This notation is used here, also, since a definitive study of the possible number of occurrences of adverbial PP's has not been made.

The following illustrate adverbial PP's of Time, General Location, and Manner, their various combinations, and multiple sequencing.

(1)

\[
S \rightarrow \text{PredP} \rightarrow \text{PP} \rightarrow \text{PP} \\
\text{Isulat ne ing poesia} \rightarrow \text{[Gen Location]} \rightarrow \text{[Time]} \\
\text{write he-it poem} \rightarrow \text{[king eskwela]} \rightarrow \text{[king Lunes].} \\
\text{T Monday}
\]

'He will write the poem at school on Monday.'

(2)

\[
S \rightarrow \text{PredP} \rightarrow \text{PP} \rightarrow \text{PP} \\
\text{Isulat ke ing istorya} \rightarrow \text{[Manner]} \rightarrow \text{[Time]} \\
\text{write I-it story} \rightarrow \text{[king Inglis]} \rightarrow \text{[bukas].} \\
\text{M English tomorrow}
\]

'I will write the story in English tomorrow.'

(3)

\[
S \rightarrow \text{PredP} \rightarrow \text{PP} \rightarrow \text{PP} \\
\text{Propesor ya} \rightarrow \text{[Manner]} \rightarrow \text{[Gen Location]} \\
\text{professor he} \rightarrow \text{[king Tagalog]} \rightarrow \text{[king Unibersidad ning Hawaii].} \\
\text{M Tagalog} \rightarrow \text{Lg University of Hawaii}
\]

'He is a professor of Tagalog at the University of Hawaii.'
The second rule expands the PredP by a category designated VP plus other categories of PP's up to the maximal number of four. The VP is the predicate and the PP's here, the semantic entities about which the predication is made. These are the Agents (A), Direct Objects (O), Instruments (I), Datives (D) (=Indirect Objects), Benefactors (B), Terminus Locations (Lt) of the action, and the Essives (E). Of these only the Agent or the Essive occurs obligatorily in Kapampangan, with the others occurring as the situation demands.

The rules as stated indicate that the PredP is a nucleus constituent in the basic structure of Kapampangan. The cooccurring VP and PP's dominated by the PredP may constitute a surface sentence. Dominan-
tion by the PredP also indicates that a special relationship holds between the VP and these PP's which is not found between the VP and PP's dominated by S. Potentially the PP's of the PredP may be chosen subjects of sentences where such a choice is permitted by the VP. PP's dominated by S, as indicated above, may not so occur.

The PredP is, thus, similar to the 'proposition' constituent proposed by Fillmore. He defines 'the propositional component of every simple sentence [as] an array consisting of a V plus a number of NP's holding special labeled relations (cases) to the sentence. These relations ... include such concepts as Agentive, Instrumental, Objective, Factitive, Locative, Benefactive, and perhaps several others' (1968a:31). Fillmore's 'proposition', however, is a 'tenseless set of relationships involving verbs and nouns' with tense and other modalities such as negation, mood, aspect, and temporal adverbs included in the 'modality' constituent (1968a:23). In this analysis the tense is included in the VP of the PredP with modalities, such as negation, and temporal and locational adverbs, included as separate constituents of the sentence. A further difference is seen in Fillmore's provision of the case relations as categories (1968a: 31), whereas here case relations are noted as seman-
tic features of certain syntactic categories, namely the PP's.

The following sentences illustrate surface realizations of the PP categories identified in PSR 2.

(6)

\[ S \]

\[ \text{PredP} \]

\[ \text{VP} \]

\[ \text{PP} \quad \text{[Object]} \] write

\[ \text{he} \]

\[ \text{O poem} \]

\[ \text{Sumulat ya (ng poesia)} \]

\[ \text{'The boy will write a poem to the teacher.'} \]

(7)

\[ S \]

\[ \text{PredP} \]

\[ \text{VP} \]

\[ \text{PP} \quad \text{[Agent]} \]

\[ \text{buy she} \]

\[ \text{O book} \]

\[ \text{Sali ya (ng libru)} \]

\[ \text{'The girl will buy a book with her money.'} \]

(8)

\[ S \]

\[ \text{PredP} \]

\[ \text{VP} \]

\[ \text{PP} \quad \text{[Agent]} \]

\[ \text{go he} \]

\[ \text{A boy} \]

\[ \text{Munta ya (ing lalaki)} \]

\[ \text{'The boy will go to the store for his mother.'} \]
On the surface, complement PP's (dominated by PredP) and adverbial PP's (dominated by S) may look alike. In sentence (6) above, ng poesia, ning (displaced by ing) lalaki, and king mestra are complement PP's. In sentence (7) they are ng libro, ning (displaced by ing) babai, and king pera na, and in sentence (8), ning (displaced by ing) lalaki, king tindahan, and para kang ima na. In sentences (1-5) king eskwela, king Lunes, king Inglis, bukas, king Tagalog, king Unibersidad ning Hawai, king bangko, king Waikiki, pasibayu, and king tutuking duminggu are adverbial PP's. Both kinds of PP's are introduced by prepositions, though the possibilities are limited to king and its derivatives or no preposition in certain instances for the adverbial variety.2

PP's dominated by S are always indicators of Time, Manner, or General Location and may never be selected as the subject of a sentence. PP's dominated by PredP, on the other hand, are always related by case to the predicate of the sentence in a number of semantic relations (stated above) including Terminus Location, but not Time, and they may be selected as subject of a sentence.

The phrase king Lunes 'on Monday' in sentence (1) and king Inglis 'in English' in sentence (2), therefore, cannot be made subject of these sentences.
Since *king Lunes* has a time axis and *king Inglis*, a manner axis, and both are related to the sentence as a whole, they are adverbial PP's. However, *king eskwela* 'in school' can be the subject of verbs of motion, though never the subject of other types of verbs. With verbs of motion the location indicated is the Terminus of the action, not the General Location for the sentence. Note the following sentences.

(9) \[ S \]
\[ \text{PredP} \]
\[ \text{VP} \]
\[ \text{PP} \]
\[ \text{PP} \]
\[ \text{Munta ku (king eskwela).} \]
\[ \text{go I Lt school} \]
'I will go to school.'

(10) \[ S \]
\[ \text{PredP} \]
\[ \text{VP} \]
\[ \text{PP} \]
\[ \text{PP} \]
\[ \text{Mamasa ku (king eskwela).} \]
\[ \text{read I Lg school} \]
'I will read at school.'

The potential subjectivalization of a PP dominated by PredP is illustrated in sentence (11), where *king* has been replaced by *ing* indicating that 'to school' is the subject of the verb 'to go' (see subject formation in Chapter III).
PSR 2 indicates that in the Deep Structure PP's dominated by a PredP are obligatory. However, in Kapampangan there are surface sentences in which there are no such overt PP's. Consider the following.

Sentence (12) contains a VP of a very special nature--one which pertains to weather conditions; namely, the verb stem uran 'rain'. All sentences with VP's of this type contain a PP in the underlying structure, which due to redundancy of meaning is deleted and therefore not reflected on the surface. The underlying structure follows.
Positing a Deep Structure complement PP in sentence (12) is justified in that a case relator occurs in the verb indicating that some understood PP performs the action. This understood form, then, appears in the base as an obligatory category.

In expressions about weather conditions, we find a similar situation in English. The expression is 'It is raining', never 'The rain is raining', or 'It is snowing', never 'The snow is snowing'. The latter expressions do not occur probably because of redundancy of information. Perhaps, this occurs in all languages where the noun itself is used for the verb in the predicate. In languages where a different verb is used to denote the conditions of raining or snowing, these meteorological nouns occur as expected as subject of the predicate. For example, in Japanese the verb *hutte iru* 'is falling' is used; therefore, we find the words *ame* 'rain' and *yuki* 'snow' occurring, as in *Ame ga hutte iru* 'The rain is falling' and *Yuki ga hutte iru* 'The snow is falling'.
Another example of a sentence without surface PP's in a PredP is sentence (13) below.

(13)

\[
\text{S} \\
\text{PredP} \quad \text{PP} \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{Mapali} \quad \text{ngeni.} \\
\quad \text{hot} \quad \text{today} \\
\quad '\text{It's hot today.}'
\]

This sentence contains an adjectival word as predicate which describes a general climatic condition. These types of predicates do not contain a case relator which in the previous sentence (12) clearly demarks an underlying subject. The predication in (13) is one of general reference, and not specific about a particular concrete object; thus, the S does not contain a subject on the surface. If the reference were specific the subject would be made overt, as shown in the following.

(14)

\[
\text{S} \\
\text{PredP} \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{Mapali} \quad \text{ing danum.} \\
\quad \text{hot} \quad \text{it} \quad \text{the water} \\
\quad '\text{The water is hot.}'
\]

S's such as (13), with adjectival word VP's that
describe general conditions (not necessarily just climatic), however, are analyzed here as containing underlying (complement) PP's. The head nouns in these PP's are dummy N's, however, rather than explicit N's, to indicate that the predication is about a nonspecific (general) entity. This dummy N is then deleted on the surface.

The dummy N is comparable to the pronoun 'it' in English. The difference, of course, is that in English the pronoun is made explicit on the surface as well. In English we say 'It's hot' or 'It's dark' for general reference.4

A third example of a nonovert PP is the following.

(15)  
\[ S \]
\[ \text{PredP} \]
\[ \text{VP} \]
\[ \text{Pro} \]
\[ \text{Maglutu ya.} \]
\[ \text{cook she} \]

'She will cook.'

In this case, there is an underlying PP expressed in pronominal substitute form on the surface. The case relator in the verb, mag-, indicates that the pronoun ya is a substitute for the agentive PP, i.e. the PP that designates the performer of the action.
2.3 **Expansion of the Predicate (VP), Rules 3-5**

The next three rules deal with the expansion of the VP.

(PSR 3) \[ \text{VP} \rightarrow [\text{+state}, \text{+neutral}] \]

(PSR 4) \[
\left\{
\begin{array}{l}
\text{VP} \rightarrow (\text{Aux}) V (N) \\
\text{VP} \rightarrow \text{NP}, \text{PP} \\
\text{[+state]} \\
\text{[-neutral]}
\end{array}
\right.
\]

(PSR 5) \[ \text{Aux} \rightarrow \text{Probability}, \text{Suggestive}, \text{Optative}, \text{Dubitative}... \]

PSR 3 indicates that VP's are subcategorized as either [+state] or [-state] with each subcategorized further into [+neutral]. Thus, there are four subclasses of VP's, namely (1) [+state, +neutral], (2) [+state, -neutral], (3) [-state, +neutral], and (4) [-state, -neutral]. [+State] refers to the class of nonaction or descriptive VP's and [-state] to that of action VP's. Nonaction or descriptive VP's predicate qualities, states, and classifications of animate or inanimate beings, whereas action VP's predicate actions involving agents, objects, benefactors, instruments, etc.

The motivation for the subcategorization of the VP is found not only in the semantic differentiation of the VP's themselves, but also in the syntactic implications that such categorization has for the structuring of S's. VP's which are [-state] may cooccur
with case PP's to the maximal number of four in any given utterance. Generally, VP's which are [+state], on the other hand, cooccur with one PP, usually the PP of the Essive case.

The features of [state] and [neutral] also have implications for the application of later transformations. The feature [neutral] refers to the potential of VP's to accept the application of the basic transformation of subjectivalization. The values of + and - denote unacceptability and acceptability respectively. The feature [state] refers to the potential of VP's to undergo the transformation of case incorporation (TR 2). [-State] designates that VP's have that potential and [+state] that VP's do not.

PSR 3 is a context free subcategorizational rule which incorporates significant features rather than categories into the PS. This rule is a slight departure, however, from the usual T-G approach as outlined in Aspects. There, Chomsky stipulates that only those categories containing formatives as members, in other words, only terminal categories, are involved in the rewrite of subcategorizational rules. Here the rule is operative at higher nodes, taking direction from Chomsky's recent remarks in reaction to the suggestion 'that this restriction is too heavy and that certain features should also be associated with nonlexi-
cal phrase categories' (1970:207-8).

PSR 4 rewrites the Predicate (VP) as a V with optional elements Auxiliary (Aux) and N when the VP is either [+state] or [-state] whether either is [+neutral] or [-neutral]. When the VP is [+state, -neutral], the rule gives the option of rewriting VP as NP or PP. The [-state] VP's include only V's and the [+state] VP's may include NP's and PP's as well as V's.

V's most typically function as sentence predicates and are considered syntactic primitives. Thus, the Verb requires no justification of its categorial status. The only requirements are that the language specific overt markings which characterize the class be identified, and the distribution of the class be stated. The identification of the verb markers is covered in the expansion of the V in PSR 6 and the distribution of Verbs in PredP's is first in the sentence. Sentences (1-8) given in the preceding section illustrate the selection of [-state, -neutral] V's as stated in the first part of PSR 4.

Auxiliary designates a syntactic category of Modals in Kapampangan. These are designated by (PSR 5). Examples of the closed set include Probability, pota (galang) 'might', siguru 'I guess'; Suggestive, balamu 'it looks like'; Optative, sana 'I wish'; Dubita-
tive, kaya 'maybe' (expressing doubt); and so forth. The following illustrate.

(16) S
    |     PredP
    |       VP
    |           [-state]
    |               Aux V
    |                   Pota munta (ya) ing mestro king Japan.
    |                   might go he the teacher to Japan

'The teacher might go to Japan.'

(17) S
    |     PredP
    |       VP
    |           [+state]
    |               Aux V
    |                   Siguru ati yu king eskwela.
    |                   maybe is he at school

'Maybe he is at school.'

(18) S
    |     PredP
    |       VP
    |           [-state]
    |               Aux V
    |                   Balamu muran ngeni.
    |                   looks-like rain today

'It looks like it will rain today.'
Some Aux's, like the Dubitative, may also occur in post-verb position. Sentence (20) may, therefore, be Milutu ya kaya ing manuk? on the surface. Such permutations are handled by TR's not covered in this study. Another example is pala, which expresses surprise or delight, as in Kasanting pala! 'How nice!' (said upon hearing someone else's good news).

As PSR 4 indicates, a noun complement may optionally occur with the verb. This construction is infrequent, giving a close-knit relationship between
the verb and a noun which characterizes that V.\textsuperscript{6} 
Noun complements may occur with [+state] and [-state] V's as the following illustrate.

(21) S
   \hspace{1cm} \text{PredP}
   \hspace{1cm} \text{VP} [+state]
   \hspace{1cm} \text{PP}
   \hspace{1cm} \text{V} \text{N}
   \text{Maragul (ya) busbus ing sako.}
   \text{big it hole the sack}

'The sack has a big hole. (lit: The sack is big-holed.)'

(22) S
   \hspace{1cm} \text{PredP}
   \hspace{1cm} \text{VP} [-state]
   \hspace{1cm} \text{PP}
   \hspace{1cm} \text{V} \text{N}
   \text{Ipabusbus balugbug mu (ya) i Julietta.}
   \text{cause-hole ear you her Julietta}

Ipabusbus me balugbug i Julietta.

'You have a hole in the ear made for Julietta. (lit: It is for Julietta that you have someone do the ear-holing.)'

The second category which may be selected as the VP is the NP which may be represented by a Noun. As with V's, Nouns are considered to be a basic category, signifying entities about which predications are made, or with which predications are expanded. Philippine
languages in general, and Kapampangan specifically, do not mark Nouns by overt class indicators. Their identification depends on their distribution as axes in PP's. Semantic features also may enter into the identification of N's; features which would be marked in the lexicon to identify them. However, the complete semantic characterization of N's lies outside of this dissertation.

Some languages like English and Japanese connect a predicate nominative to the rest of the sentence with a copula. Thus, we have 'He is a teacher' in English, and Taroosan wa sensei desu 'Taro is a teacher' in Japanese. In Kapampangan there is no overt form equivalent to the copula. Thus, in some sentences a Noun alone can be selected as the predicate. The following sentences illustrate Nouns selected as VP's.

(23)

\[
S \rightarrow \text{PredP} \\
\text{VP} \rightarrow [\text{state}] \rightarrow N \rightarrow \text{Mestro (ya) ing lalaki. teacher he the boy} \\
\]

'The boy is a teacher.'
NP's which may occur as VP's are also phrases consisting of N's plus modifiers (see PSR 12). The modifier in NP predicates is often a possessive, though it may be a location or some other relation. The possessive is a genitive PP introduced by the genitive preposition ning. The following illustrates.

The NP may be expanded by any number of possessive modifiers. Thus, one may say, if necessary, 'my brother's child's teacher's father's sister's husband'. However, awkwardness of speech and memory load seem
to limit the number of occurrences to two or three in a given utterance. The following is an example with three.

(26) Kapatad na ning titser na ning anak ke sibling her the teacher her the child my-she ing babai. the woman

'The woman is my child's teacher's [sibling] sister.'

The third category listed which may be selected as the VP is a recursive Prepositional Phrase (PP). PP's have already been identified as constituent categories of the PredP and S, functioning as complements to the VP and as adverbials of the S respectively. Either complement PP's or adverbial PP's may be selected as a VP. The complement PP which may be selected, however, is limited to a Benefactor. Sentence (27) illustrates.

(27) S
    
    PredP
    
    VP
    [+state]
    
    PP
    
    Para king anak (ya) ing pamamyalung. for child it the toy

'The toy is for the child.'

The adverbial PP's of Time and General Location
may also occur as VP's. Time PP's denote the time of the occurrence of an event as the following sentence shows.

(28) \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{S} \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{PP} \\
\text{King Lunes on Monday} \\
\text{ing miting.} \\
\text{PP} \\
\text{~} \\
\text{L} \\
\text{PredP} \\
\text{~} \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{[+state]} \\
\end{array}
\]

'The meeting is on Monday.'

General Location PP's denote the location of an event, a thing, or person. The following illustrate.

(29) \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{S} \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{PP} \\
\text{King eskwela at school} \\
\text{ing party.} \\
\text{PP} \\
\text{~} \\
\text{L} \\
\text{PredP} \\
\text{~} \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{[+state]} \\
\end{array}
\]

'The party is at school.'
PSR 4 states that a VP may be manifested by a V, NP, or PP. However, the following sentences occur in which Adjectives appear to manifest the VP.

Unlike verbs which have enjoyed unanimous consideration as a basic category, Adjectives have been dealt with in different ways. They have sometimes
been considered as a subclass of verbs because of similarity of form and function in predicates of sentences; or as a subclass of nouns because of their superficial similarity in overt markings (in Greek there is a similar inflectional system for both adjectives and nouns for number and gender); or as a class distinct from the two based on unique semantic interpretation and overt markings.

In Kapampangan a preliminary identification of a syntactic category Adjective is, perhaps, arguable on the basis of semantic interpretation and characteristic overt marking. As bases, adjectives differ from verbs and nouns in their semantic function. In general the nouns denote entities, the verbs action, and the adjectives a quality or state. As for characteristic overt markings, nouns do not inflect, and though both the adjectives and verbs do, the inflectional systems might seem at first to differ substantially. Most verbs fully inflect for aspect, tense, and case, the latter through incorporation (cf. case incorporation rule, Chapter III). Adjectives inflect for tense but not for case. The fact that adjectives do not register case seems evidence enough to justify the separation of the two classes, despite the evidence of other similarities of grammatical function and distribution.
Further examination reveals, however, that inflected adjectives are much like a subclass of V's, namely the Stative. Stative V's denote the resultant state of an action, much as inflected adjectives denote a state of a quality. Both include tense but not case. Both may include the aspect affix ma- and both have similar syntactic distributions, as seen in the following examples.

Adjectives:

(33) S
     | PredP
     VP PP
     Maragul (ne) ing manuk.
     big already-it the chicken
     'The chicken is already big.'

(34) S
     | PredP
     VP PP
     Mararagul (ya) ing manuk.
     big it the chicken
     'The chicken is getting big.'

(35) S
     | PredP
     VP PP
     Meragul (ya) ing manuk.
     big it the chicken
     'The chicken got big.'
Verbs:

(36) S
     |    PredP
     |     VP
     |     PP
    Malutu (ne) ing manuk.
    cook already-it the chicken

'The chicken is already cooked.'

(37) S
     |    PredP
     |     VP
     |     PP
    Malulu (ya) ing manuk.
    cook it the chicken

'The chicken is being cooked.'

(38) S
     |    PredP
     |     VP
     |     PP
    Melu (ne) ing manuk.
    cook already-it the chicken

'The chicken was already cooked.'

The interpretation of the tense inflections for the predicates of sentences (33-38) reveal semantic similarities between adjectives and stative V's. Sentence (33) refers to either a current existing state or to some point in the process of change that is taking place, namely the present resultant state of a change that has already occurred. Thus, 'the chicken
is big' denotes the existing state of a quality of being big or the current result of a change. The tense of sentence (34) denotes that the chicken is undergoing a change, from small to big. In sentence (35) the tense denotes that this change has been completed, referring, however, to a past time, therefore, in English translated as 'had become, or got, big'.

The tense inflections of the Stative Verb predicates in sentences (36-38) also denote the same interpretations of change, here of condition rather than quality, from uncooked to cooked. Sentence (36) denotes the resultant state of having been cooked, (37) the process of being cooked, and (38) the completion of the act of cooking sometime in the past.

Inflected adjectives, then, have a similar grammatical function, similar semantic interpretations, and the same distributional pattern and overt markings as Stative Verbs. In sum, all words which include tense and aspect are Verbs; words which also reflect case are [-state] Verbs, and those that do not are [+state] Verbs. Adjectives may be classified in the lexicon as separate from nouns and verbs by semantic features (see Wb's, PSR 9), but are included in the syntactic category of Verbs, specifically as Stative Verbs.
2.4 Expansion of the Verb, Rules 6-9

2.4.1 Introduction

The next four rules, PSR 6-9, deal with the expansion of the V. The rules are as follows.

(PSR 6) \( V \rightarrow \text{(Asp[Tns]) Wb} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Asp} & \rightarrow \text{Stative, Reciprocal, Unintentional...} \\
[+\text{state}] & \rightarrow \text{Unintentional...} \\
[-\text{neutral}] & \rightarrow \text{Unintentional...}
\end{align*}
\]

(PSR 7) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{Asp} & \rightarrow \text{Intensive} \\
[+\text{state}] & \rightarrow \text{General, Aptative, Distributive, Causative, Aptative-causative...} \\
[-\text{neutral}] & \rightarrow \text{Aptative-causative...} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(PSR 8) \( \text{Tns} \rightarrow \text{Pres, Prog, Iter, Fut, Pst} \)

(PSR 9) \( \text{Wb} \rightarrow v, a, n \)

PSR 6 indicates that the V is composed of a Word Base (Wb) which may be expanded by optional Aspect (Asp) and Tense (Tns) affixes. The linked parentheses indicate that the optionality applies to both Asp and Tns together. The Wb's carry the meaning of the V and the affixes modify or explicate that meaning, i.e. indicate the kind of action or the time involved.

PSR 7 rewrites Aspect as (1) stative, reciprocal, unintentional, and others in the environment of [+state, -neutral] V's, and (2) intensive with
[+state, +neutral] V's. Only the more frequently used aspects have been designated in the rule. There are several others, but these are sufficient for the purposes of understanding the overall grammatical processes.

PSR 7 further rewrites Aspect as (1) general, aptative, distributive, causative, aptative-causative, and others in the environment of [-state, -neutral] V's, and (2) recent completive with [-state, +neutral] V's. Verb bases are designated as [+state] or [-state] in the lexicon on the basis of their semantic characteristics, whether expressing state or quality, or action, and their potential for occurring with these affixes. It should be noted that some verb bases are both state and nonstate, and can therefore occur with both sets of affixes. However, once the base occurs with the first set, there is no ambiguity for state verbs in Kapampangan may not occur with case inflections.

2.4.2 The Aspects

The stative aspect is marked by the prefix ma-, denoting as discussed earlier an existing state of a quality when it occurs with adjective bases (always [+state]), or a resultant state of an action when it occurs with verb bases. Sentences (33-38) illustrate
The reciprocal aspect denotes an action done reciprocally for, to, by, or with two or more individuals. V's in this aspect, therefore, obligatorily require dual or plural subjects. To state this requirement of nonsingular subjects we indicate the aspect marker \textit{mipag} with the feature \([-\text{singular}]\) in the lexicon. A redundancy rule which states that there must be agreement in number between the subject PP and the VP, if number is specified either in the PP or the VP, ensures the occurrence of the nonsingular subject. The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of a nonsingular subject in agreement with the reciprocal aspect. (See also pages 97-102 on pronoun features which include \([-\text{singular}]\) which rewrites as \([+\text{dual}]\) or \([+\text{plural}]\).

The surface forms given for the various Aspects in the examples following also include Tense (see Section 2.4.3) for all V's, as well as Case (see Section 3.1.2.4) for \([-\text{state}]\) V's. The tree diagrams in this section, however, illustrate only the expansion of the Aspects under discussion.
(39) We will make a dress for each other.

(40) The children will sleep with each other.
Number agreement between the subject PP and VP in Kapampangan is not general. It occurs only with a limited set of VP's. Two other examples are the stative (adjectival) V as illustrated below and the definite predicate NP (cf. predicate nominalization, Chapter III).

(41.a) **Masanting ya ing lalaki.**
handsome he the boy

'The boy is handsome.'

b) **Mangasanting la reng lalaki.**
handsome they the boy

'The boys are handsome.'

(42.a) **Ing babai ing munta king Japan.**
the woman the go to Japan

'The one going to Japan is the woman.'

b) **Deng babai reng munta king Japan.**
the woman the go to Japan

'The ones going to Japan are the women.'

There are also V's which are semantically plural but which do not require the marking of the plural in the respective PP's. Such is the Distributive V. The Distributive denotes plurality in the sense of the distribution of action over time (often), over space (many places), and quantity (several acts or items). An illustration of the Distributive aspect follows.
The unintentional aspect denotes action which was not intended or planned. The agent of the unintentional action may be implied, though usually the agent is the subject of the sentence. The following illustrate.

(44) 'Maria (didn't intend to, but) will cook at my house.'
The intensive aspect is marked by the prefix ka-. It denotes having a quality to a high degree. Adjectival stems occur as the Wb's. The resultant V's are semantically related to the ma-stative V's with adjectival bases. The aspect intensifies the quality expressed in the base. Intensive V's are [+neutral] in addition to [+state] because V's in this aspect do not undergo the basic transformation of subjectivization (ning mestra would have to be ing mestra if subjectivalized). The following sentence illustrates.
The general aspect occurs in simple predicative sentences which predicate events or actions involving agents and other related semantic entities. It occurs with [-state] V's and is unmarked on the surface, i.e. the form is zero. An example follows.
Asp [-stat] [-neut]  

General  

Mamasa read  

' I will read a newspaper in my room.'

The distributive aspect with [-state] V's has been mentioned when discussing number agreement above and illustrated in sentence (43).

The aptative aspect denotes the possibility of an action occurring, or the ability of someone to perform an action. It is marked by the prefix maka- with the variant a-. Distribution of the forms on the surface is dependent upon case markers in the verb. Examples of this aspect follow.
(48) 'You can write now.'

(49) 'Can you write the story now?'
(50) S
   | PredP
   VP
   | [-stat]
   | [-neut]
   V
   | [-stat]
   | [-neut]
   Asp
   | [-stat]
   | [-neut]
   Aptative
Apanyulat (ne) can-write he-it the child the pencil

'The child can write with the pencil.'

The causative aspect denotes that an action is permitted or caused to take place. As with the aptative, there are two variants, magpa- and pa-, and distribution is dependent upon case registration. The following illustrate.

(51) Magpalutu kung pamangan.
    cause-cook I food

    'I will have (someone) cook the food. (lit: I will cause someone to cook the food.)'

(52) Palutu ke ing pamangan bukas.
    cause-cook I-it the food tomorrow

    'I will have the food cooked tomorrow.'

The aptative-causative aspect, as the name implies, denotes the possibility of permitting or caus-
ing an action to take place. It is marked by the ap-
tative and causative affixes discussed above occurring
in combination in the order given. The variant forms
of the affixes occur here also according to the con-
ditions stated. The following sentences illustrate.

(53) **Makapagpalutu kung pamangan.**
    can-cause-cook I food
    'I can have (someone) cook the food.'

(54) **Anapaglutuanan keng pamangan i Maria.**
    can-cause-cook I-her food Maria
    'I can have Maria cook the food.'

The recent completive aspect denotes the comple-
tion of an action in the immediate past. It is best
translated in English as 'just did something'. It is
marked by the prefix **ka-** + R (R signifies reduplica-
tion of the first CV syllable of the Wb). This as-
pect cooccurs with verb bases rather than adjective
bases. V's with completive aspect are drawn from
those which have the characteristic of the [-state]
feature. With this aspect, the [+neutral] feature is
added. This is reflected in the syntactic character-
istics involved; i.e. subjectivalization is not allow-
ed with [-state] verbs in this aspect which, in turn,
obligatorily blocks case registration. Sentence (55)
illustrates.
Kararatang na ning mestra.

'The teacher just came.'

Other aspects and combinations of aspects occur in Kapampangan. A full generative study of these and other parts of the verb morphology would be needed to complement this dissertation. However, as has been indicated, the focus of attention here is the basic phrase structure rules and certain of the grammatical processes involved in understanding Kapampangan syntax, and so further explanation of the morphology is omitted here.

2.4.3 The Tenses

PSR 8 explicates tense. Tense includes future, which denotes action to be performed in the future;
present, which denotes the current state of a condition, quality, or action; progressive, which denotes action going on; iterative, which denotes action performed repeatedly; and past, which denotes action already completed or performed in the past. These five tenses are indicated by three surface forms, namely, the future, present, and past forms. In general, the forms denote the tense indicated by the name of the form, with the present form used for both the progressive and iterative actions as well.

Combinations of tense and aspect are restricted. For example, future, progressive, iterative, and past tenses occur with the general, reciprocal and causative aspects, but with the aptative the possible tenses are future, past, and present, and with the unintentional aspect, the future, progressive, and past. Only two tenses occur with the recent completive aspect: present which refers to an action which has just been done, and past, which refers to an action which had just been done at the time of reference.

Basically, the tenses are indicated either by a difference in vowel quality or an infix -in- to distinguish past from the future, and vowel length or reduplication of the first syllable of the base to distinguish the progressive and iterative from the
future. The actual forms for a given V depend to some extent on the phonological shape of the V; e.g. the past will be indicated by the infix -in- rather than a vowel change to -i- if the first vowel in the base is already an -i-, as in diligan 'to water something', the past form of which is dinilig. Often, however, tense forms are determined morphologically, i.e. as forms unique to a particular V.

Special morphophonemic rules are necessary to show the combination of tense and aspect with case forms resulting from case incorporation (see Chapter III). These rules are beyond the scope of this dissertation and remain to be worked out. The following illustrate surface forms of the tenses for several verbs. The first column gives the basic form of the verbs which marks future tense, general aspect, and various cases to be discussed later. The second column lists the form marking the present, and the last column gives past forms. A macron over the vowel marks length. 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FUTURE</th>
<th>PRESENT</th>
<th>PAST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'to study'</td>
<td>magaral</td>
<td>māgaral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to eat'</td>
<td>mangan</td>
<td>mamangan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to return'</td>
<td>manyubli</td>
<td>mānyubli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to go'</td>
<td>munta</td>
<td>mumunta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to go home'</td>
<td>muli</td>
<td>mumuli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FUTURE</td>
<td>PRESENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to teach'</td>
<td>turu</td>
<td>tuturu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to write'</td>
<td>sumulat</td>
<td>susulat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to study something'</td>
<td>pagaralan</td>
<td>pāgaralan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to eat something'</td>
<td>kanan</td>
<td>kakanan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to read something'</td>
<td>basan</td>
<td>babasan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to water something'</td>
<td>diligan</td>
<td>diriligan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to teach something'</td>
<td>ituru</td>
<td>tuturu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to write something'</td>
<td>isulat</td>
<td>susulat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to return something'</td>
<td>subli</td>
<td>susubli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to write with something'</td>
<td>panyulat</td>
<td>pānyulat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to write to someone'</td>
<td>sulatanan</td>
<td>susulatanan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to give to someone'</td>
<td>dinan</td>
<td>dirinan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to clean for someone'</td>
<td>ipaglinis</td>
<td>pāglinis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to move for someone'</td>
<td>ipandusug</td>
<td>pāndusug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to go to someplace'</td>
<td>puntalan</td>
<td>pupuntalan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several sentence examples at this point will indicate the interpretation of tenses in context.
With reciprocal aspect:

(56) Fut: Mipagkanta la reng anak bukas.
     to-e.o.-sing they the children tomorrow
     'The children will sing to each other tomorrow.'

     Prog: Mipapagkanta la reng anak ngeni.
           to-e.o.-sing they the children now
           'The children are singing to each other now.'

     Iter: Mipapagkanta la reng anak aldo aldo.
           to-e.o.-sing they the children everyday
           'The children sing to each other everyday.'

     Past: Mipagkanta la reng anak napun.
           to-e.o.-sing they the children yesterday
           'The children sang to each other yesterday.'

With aptative aspect:

(57) Fut: Makapamasasa kung dyaryu potang bengi.
     able-read I-the newspaper tonight
     'I'll be able to read the newspaper tonight.'

     Pres: Makapamasasa kung dyaryu ning Kapampangan.
           can-read I-the newspaper of Kapampangan
           'I can read the Kapampangan newspaper.'

     Past: Mekapamasasa kung dyaryu ning Kapampangan
           could-read I-the newspaper of Kapampangan
           peru...
           but...
           'I could read the Kapampangan newspaper but...'
With unintentional aspect:

(58) Fut:  Mipakawe ya ing anak.
    swim  he the child
    'The child will swim (though he didn't intend to).'</n
    Prog: Mipapakawe ya ing anak.
    swim  he the child
    'The child is swimming (though he didn't intend to).'</n
    Past: Mipakawe ya ing anak.
    swam  he the child
    'The child swam (though he didn't intend to).'</n
With intensive aspect where the two tenses can be said to be nonpast and past, nonpast is interpreted as future or present.

(59) Fut:  Kasaya na potang tanggapan na la.
    how-happy she when receive she them
    'How happy she will be when she receives them.'

    Pres: Kasaya nang ima ku kasi dinatang ka.
    how-happy she mother my because came you
    'How happy my mother is because you came.'

    Past: Kesaya na nian ning wali ku.
    how-happy she of-that the younger-sister my
    'How happy my younger sister was of that.'

2.4.4 Word Bases

The last rule in the expansion of V's, PSR 9, indicates that Wb's may be verbs (v), adjectives (a), or nouns (n). For V's derived by affixation, the Wb's
may be any of these three parts of speech. With some aspects all three occur, in which case the difference in the Wb denotes a difference in the meaning of the resultant V. This has been illustrated under PSR 7 in the expansion of stative V's with verbs and adjectives as Wb's. When cooccurring with a noun base, the stative aspect denotes a state of plenty, *mayanak 'lots of children'.

The three word bases with other aspect markers also form action or [-state] V's. Adjective bases, such as *bayu 'new' and noun bases, such as *sulat 'letter', may appear with the affixes noted in the rule, and once so inflected mean 'to make new' *mag-bayu and 'to write' *sumulat respectively.

As noted in PSR 6 some Wb's may comprise V's. V's derived thus, however, are few in number. Such Wb's generally are V's and a's and occur as [+state] V's. The subcategorizational feature of [+state] (or [-state] as the case may be) must be noted in the lexicon for these Wb's. Tense in these V's is indicated by cooccurring time words. The following illustrate.
(60.a) The boy is at school now.

(60.b) The boy was at school yesterday.

The basis for classification of nouns, verbs, and adjectives in the lexicon is generally semantic, based on features such as animate, concrete, state, action, etc. Such a classification awaits amplification by a lexicalist, but is not crucial to this dissertation. Here syntactic categories are considered basic.

2.5 Expansion of Prepositional Phrases, Rules 10-11

PSR's 10 and 11 expand the Prepositional Phrase (PP). The rules are as follows where the features are applicable to the PP's in the specified environments.
PSR 10 is a subcategorizational rule that assigns semantic-syntactic features to the PP's according to the environment in which the PP's occur. As indicated in the PSR's, PP's occur (1) as adverbial phrases dominated by S (PSR 1), (2) as complements (case phrases) dominated by a PredP (PSR 2), (3) as VP's functioning as [+state] predicates (PSR 4), and as will be seen (4) as adnominal attributive phrases dominated by an NP (PSR 12).

PSR 10 first deals with the adverbial PP's and reads as follows. Assign the features of general location, time, or manner to PP's which occur after a PredP dominated by an S. The characteristics of the adverbial PP's of time, general location, and manner have been discussed and illustrated under PSR 1.

In the next two steps, PSR 10 assigns features to PP's dominated by a PredP. The features indicate
the case relations that hold between PP's and the VP in the particular event. The cases identified here constitute the basic cases that occur in Kapampangan and are relevant for the exemplification of the overall grammatical processes. The cases are symbolized with capital letters and interpreted as follows.

[+A] = Agentive, the case designating the instigator of the action, usually an animate being.

[+O] = Objective, the case pertaining to the object upon which direct action is taken and, thereby, affected by the action, usually an inanimate object.

[+I] = Instrumental, the case expressing the means by which an act is performed or a result effected, usually inanimate.

[+B] = Benefactive, the case denoting the animate being benefited by the action, i.e. the person for whom something is done.

[+D] = Dative, the case expressing the animate being affected by the action identified by the verb, i.e. the person to whom something is done.

[+Lt] = Terminus Locative, the case designating the place towards or from which an activity is directed.
[+E] = Essive, the case denoting the animate being or object about which a descriptive statement is made which stands in a copular relationship to the predicate, the predicate, therefore, being a predicate noun or a stative verb.

The term Essive is borrowed from Fillmore (1968a: 84). He suggests the use of the term 'essive' or 'translative' for designating the case relation of the noun which cooccurs with predicate nominatives. Accordingly, the essive case underlies 'John' in the following sentences.

(1) Mestro ya i Juan. 'John is a teacher.'
(2) Masanting ya i Juan. 'John is handsome.'

The second subrule of PSR 10 states that the features [+A], [+O], [+I], [+B], [+D], or [+Lt] are assigned to PP's which cooccur with [-state] V's of VP's dominated by the PredP. The feature [+A] is assigned obligatorily. Therefore, if only one PP occurs with a [-state] V, that PP is automatically assigned the feature [+A]. If a number of PP's occur, the first PP is assigned [+A], while the other PP's are assigned the features as demanded by the semantics of the V or the context of the situation. This obligatory assignment of [+A] and the optional assignment of the remaining cases is indicated by the parentheses notation.
in the rule.

The array of case relations that can potentially cooccur with any given V is determined mainly by the semantic characteristics of the V. For example, the meaning of the V *sumulat* 'write' is such that it permits the cooccurrence of the (A)gent, (O)bject, (I)nstrument, (D)ative, (B)enefactor, (L)ocation-(t)erminalus, and (M)anner. On the other hand, the V *munta* 'go' permits the cooccurrence of only the (A)gent, (L)ocation-(t)erminalus, and (B)enefactor. Each [-state] V, thus, has a case frame marked in the lexicon which indicates the possible case relations it will accept.

Which of the case relations are realized on the surface is governed, however, by the possible linguistic structuring of a Kapampangan surface sentence and the context of the conversation or narration. In Kapampangan the surface realization of case relations is limited to the maximal number of four or the optimal number of three. Despite the underlying potential for case cooccurrences, therefore, V's such as *sumulat* 'write' can usually realize only three of the possible case relations, the particular choices of the cases being dependent on the requirements for the clarification of the given discourse.

The permitted case cooccurrences with the V
'write' are given below as illustrative. Where the particle *ing* appears there is always an underlying case marker that has been displaced.

(61) VP  
   |  PP  
Sumulat (ya) *ing* lalaki.  
      write  he  the  boy  
'The boy will write.'

Two cooccurring PP's:

(62) VP  
   |  PP  
Isulat (ne) *ing* lalaki  
      write  he-it  the  boy  
PP  
   |  PP  
      *ing* istorya.  
      the  story  
'The boy will write the story.'

(63) VP  
   |  PP  
Panyulat (ne) *ing* lalaki  
      write  he-it  the  boy  
PP  
   |  PP  
      *ing* lapis.  
      the  pencil  
'The boy will write with the pencil.'

(64) VP  
   |  PP  
Sulatanan (ne) *ing* lalaki  
      write  he-him  the  boy  
PP  
   |  PP  
      *ing* mestro.  
      the  teacher  
'The boy will write to the teacher.'

(65) VP  
   |  PP  
Sumulat (ya) *ing* lalaki  
      write  he  the  boy  
PP  
   |  PP  
      para  king  mestra.  
      for  teacher  
'The boy will write for the teacher.'
(66) VP PP PP
| Pisulatanan (ne) ning lalaki ing 'blackboard'.
| write he-it the boy the blackboard
'The boy will write on the blackboard.'

Three cooccurring PP's:

(67) VP PP PP PP
| Panyulat (ne) ng poesia ning lalaki ing pen.
| write he-it a poem the boy the pen
'The boy will write a poem with the pen.'

(68) VP PP PP PP PP
| Sumulat (ya) ng poesia ning lalaki para kaku.
| write he a poem the boy for me
'The boy will write a poem for me.'

(69) VP PP PP PP PP
| Sulatanan (ne) ng poesia ning lalaki ing mestra.
| write he-her a poem the boy the teacher
'The boy will write a poem to the teacher.'

(70) VP PP PP PP PP
| Pisulatanan (ne) ning lalaki ing 'blackboard'
| write he-it the boy the blackboard
king 'chalk'
with chalk
'The boy will write on the blackboard with chalk.'

The case cooccurrences given above for the V
'write' illustrate sequences of cases for [-state] V's. Though the examples are not exhaustive, some generalizations regarding possible case sequences for [-state] V's may be made. When two PP's cooccur, for example, the combination of cases may include the following: A+O, A+I, A+D, A+B, and A+Lt. In a sequence of two cases, then, the first is always the (A)gent and the second, any other case. In sequences of three cases, the first is always the (A)gent, and the second and third, any of the remaining pragmatically feasible cases. (Note that when the (A)gent and (O)bject occur their positions may be reversed on the surface. Such permutations are handled by redundancy rules.)

PP's also cooccur with VP's consisting of either a [+state] V or an NP in which case the predication is one of description rather than action. Descriptive sentences demand the cooccurrence of only one PP, the thing described. The question arises as to the case that underlies this only cooccurring PP. This becomes problematic because in reality that PP may be one referred to within a particular situational context, i.e. one already involved in a particular event and, therefore, having an original case identity.

For example, the sentence 'The book is interesting' may have been uttered in reference to a book within the context of someone just having bought it, in
which case the underlying contextual case identity of the book in an earlier sentence would appear to be that of Object.

Another sentence 'John is good' accentuates the problem. Here, depending upon the contextual event to which reference is made, John may be the (A)gent, the (D)ative, or the (B)enefactor of the action. The utterance may have been made in reference to John who helped his father mow the lawn, or to John to whom the award was given, or to John for whom the gift was bought.

The question raised is whether these contextual cases underlie the subjects of descriptive predicates. Since case is defined as the relationships of N's to the predicate of a given sentence, it would appear that relationships that pertain to contexts beyond the immediate sentence do not obtain. The case of the book in 'The book is interesting' and John in 'John is good' must be determined in terms of the respective relationships to the predicates interesting and good, and not to some event in which the 'book' or 'John' may have been involved.

Fillmore in his exemplification of sentences which assign attributes to possessed elements has treated the subject of the attributive predicate as an Object; e.g. 'The girl's eyes are beautiful'
At the same time he states that 'sentences of the N be N type ... represent a distinct sentence type from those involving any of the case relations discussed above, though more than one case relationship may be involved in these sentences. (The terms Essive and Translative come to mind)' (1968a:84).

Though the terms Essive and Translative have not been defined by Fillmore, it may be assumed that they designate the case of a being or object which holds an equal or copula relationship to the predicate. The term Objective has been defined by Fillmore as

'the semantically most neutral case, the case of anything representable by a noun whose role in the action or state identified by the verb is identified by the semantic interpretation of the verb itself; conceivably the concept should be limited to things which are affected by the action or state identified by the verb. The term is not to be confused with the notion of direct object, nor with the name of the surface case synonymous with accusative.'

The definitions given make apparent the feasibility of the use of both Essive and Objective as the underlying case of the subject of descriptive predicates. However, the term Objective is already used in this study to designate a particular relationship, marked by a particular case preposition -ng. In addition, in sentences with [+state] intensive V predicates, where the cooccurring PP's are marked not as subjects but according to their underlying case rela-
tions, the marker is homophonous with that of the Agent rather than Object. But the PP's in these sentences are not Agents as defined here. For these reasons the term Essive is borrowed as a cover case term for designating the case of the person or thing holding a copula relationship with the predicate. Thus, as the third subrule of PSR 10 states, when the VP is a nonaction or descriptive predicate, such as a [+state] V, an N, or a PP, and only one PP cooccurs, that PP is assigned the case feature [+E].

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the Essive case with the various [+state] predicates.

(71) VP PP
    [+stat] [+E]
    [-neut]
    V
    Asp Tns Wb
    Stative Pres sating (ya) i Juan.
    Masanting handsome

'John is handsome.'

(72) VP PP
    [+stat] [+E]
    [-neut] [-neut]
    N
    Mestro (ya) i Juan.
    teacher he John

'John is a teacher.'
The fourth subrule of PSR 10 assigns features to the PP's which occur as VP's. The only features which may be assigned to such PP's are (B)enefactive, (T)ime, and (L)ocation-(g)eneral. These were discussed and illustrated in PSR 4 dealing with the expansion of the VP.

The final subrule of PSR 10 deals with adnominal PP's. The rule assigns the features of Genitive and General Locative to PP's which occur after N's dominated by NP.

The features, noted in capital letters, may be interpreted as follows.


[+G] = Genitive, designating the possessor of the N modified.

[+Lg] = General Locative, designating the general location where the N under discussion is situated.

The following sentences illustrate Genitive and General Locative adnominal PP's. Other adnominal relations occur but are not treated in this dissertation.

(75)

\[
\text{PP} \quad [+G]
\]
\[
P \quad \text{NP}
\]
\[
\text{Ikit me} \quad \text{ing libru (na)} \quad \text{ning mestra?}
\]

'saw you the book her the teacher

'Did you see the teacher's book?'

(76)

\[
\text{PP} \quad [+Lg]
\]
\[
P \quad \text{NP}
\]
\[
\text{Ikit ke} \quad \text{ing libru} \quad \text{king lamesa.}
\]

'saw I-it the book on table

'I saw the book (which was) on the table.'

The next rule, PSR 11, then expands the PP's as prepositions (P) plus NP's. Surface P's contain the
feature of the relations obtaining between the PP's and the various parts of S: to the PredP in the case of adverbal PP's (dominated by S), to the VP in the case of case PP's (dominated by PredP), and to the N in the case of adnominal PP's (dominated by NP). A convention assigns the feature of the dominating PP's to the P's (as well as the N's). Thus, the P of a dominating Time PP is assigned [+T], that of an Agentive PP, [+A], and so forth. The following illustrates.

(77)

\[
\text{Sentences (75) and (76) illustrate the occurrence of PP's which include adnominal attributives. The N in (75) is modified by a possessor and that in (76) by the location of the N. The case PP's in (75) and (76), therefore, are analyzed as composed of P's + NP's. (N's may occur, of course, in the position of the NP as illustrated in many of the sentences.)}
\]
2.6 **Expansion of the Noun Phrase, Rule 12.**

Rule 12 states the expansion of the NP's discussed above.

\[(PSR\ 12)\ NP \rightarrow N (PP)\]

This rule allows for the embedded recursion of as many attributive PP's as are required by the situation. The N in the adnominal [+G] PP of sentence (75) may be expanded to include further adnominal PP's as shown in (78) below. The PP's are indicated by parentheses ( ), and the NP's by brackets [ ]. The outermost parentheses enclose the Objective case PP.

N's in PP's may also be modified by more than one PP as seen in sentence (79) below. As the diagram shows, the object 'book' is modified first by the possessor 'teacher', then by the location 'on the table'.

Multiple recursions of this type differ from embedded recursions discussed above. To indicate such successive recursions of PP's the raised n notation is employed and the rule for the expansion of the NP is restated as follows.

\[(PSR\ 12)\ NP \rightarrow N (PP^n)\]

The rule reads an NP may be expanded by an N, or an N followed by one, or more than one, attributive PP's. The restriction on the number of such recursions allowable is dependent upon the requirements of
'Did you see my child's teacher's book?'
Ikit me ing libru na ning mestra king lamesa? saw you the book her the teacher on table
'Did you see the teacher's book on the table?'

2.7 Expansion of Prepositions, Rule 13

Rule 13 of the base structure is a complex symbol rule that expands the lexical category P. This rule indicates the more important syntactic features of this category. At the same time it allows for such phenomena as agreement of number (singular and plural) and property (common and proper) which are found to occur between the P and N. The rule for the expansion of the P and the subsequent complex symbol [+P] is as follows.

(PSR 13) P $\rightarrow$ [+P]

where [+P] $\rightarrow$ [+singular
[+common / ___[+N
[+common]
[+past / ___[+N
[+T
[+past]

The rule states that P's are (1) singular or plural, (2) common or proper, and (3) past or nonpast. The second and third set of features are stated as
agreement rules. The second set of [+common] is in agreement with the N which the P precedes; thus, the P is common if the following N is common, and proper, if the N is proper. The third set of [+past] occurs in agreement with the tense of their corresponding VP's. The number feature of [+singular] is not stated in terms of an agreement rule since all N's in Kapampangan are singular (and entered as such in the lexicon). When the situational event involves a plural noun, the plurality is only implied in the noun but marked in the P. Since the notion of plurality is always indicated by the P, with or without the optional plural morpheme manga, the feature of number is identified as part of the feature matrix of the P rather than the N. The choice of number for any given P is determined by the situational context and the P is marked accordingly in the base.

The set of distinctive features that defines P includes the feature of function which is copied into the P from its dominating PP by convention. The specifying set of features for a P, therefore, consists of the matrix [+P], [+Function], [+Number], and [+Property]. Each prepositional lexical entry is specified accordingly in the lexicon, thereby, ensuring the selection of the appropriate forms for the surface realizations of P's.
The following are the case relator and adverbial 
P's discussed in the foregoing section. Each is iden-
tified by its full set of specifying features. In 
dictionary entries a lexical redundancy rule would 
 eliminate the necessity of listing the total set. 
Such rules are not included in this study, however.

ning [+P, +A,+E,+G , +sing,+com]
nang [+P, +A,+E,+G , +sing,-com]
reng [+P, +A,+E,+G , -sing,+com]
ri  [+P, +A,+E,+G , -sing,-com]
ng  [+P, +O, +sing, +com]
king [+P, +I,+D,+Lt,+Lg ,+sing,+com]
kang [+P, +I,+D,+Lt,+Lg ,+sing,-com]
kareng [+P, +I,+D,+Lt,+Lg ,-sing,+com]
kari [+P, +I,+D,+Lt,+Lg ,-sing,-com]
para king [+P, +B, +sing, +com]
para kang [+P, +B, +sing, -com]
para kareng [+P, +B, -sing, +com]
para kari [+P, +B, -sing, -com]
king [+P, +T, -past]
ketag [+P, +T, +past]

The diagrams below illustrate the specification 
of P's. Each P is specified in the deep structure 
for function, number, and property. For each such 
position of P, the appropriate (lexical) spelling (of
the feature complex) is inserted. To the base terminal string of formatives thus derived, the necessary TR's are applied for the derivation of the respective surface representations.

(80)

Base: bye ng tela ning mestra kareng babai
give cloth the teacher to women

Surface: Mamye (ya)ng tela ing mestra kareng babai.
'The teacher will give cloth to the women.'

(81)

Base: sali nang Jorje ng libro para kang Pedro
buy George books for Peter

Surface: Salwan (nala)ng Jorje reng libro para kang Pedro.
'George will buy the books for Peter.'
The above list of P's shows there are four sets of case marking P's: the ning, ng, king, and para king. The ng and para king P's have a singular function each as object and benefactive relators respectively, whereas the ning and king P's have multiple functions as indicated by the specifying features given. The king preposition also introduces adverbial PP's of time and general location. The P's of time, however, do not inflect for number and property, since temporal N's are innately inanimate. Instead, agreement of tense with the VP is obligatory. Thus, when the time of the action is in the future, a future time word must occur, and when the action is in the past, a past time word must be used. A time king. 
phrase signifies present or future, as in (82) above. To indicate past time, king is changed to ketang, as in the following.

(83)

'I came here last year.'

2.8 Expansion of the Noun, Rule 14

The last rule subcategorizes the category N. The subcategories identified are the N's and the various pronominal substitutes that occur in place of the N's in PP's. Three such pronoun classes are included here. These subclasses are indicated in the base rules as complex symbols of N, which subsequent rules expand into the respective complexes of features. The rule expanding the N follows.

(PSR 14) N → [+N], [+PERPRO], [+DETPRO], [+WH]...

PSR 14 states that the category N consists of N's, personal pronouns, determiner pronouns, interrogative pronouns, and others. N's are the substantive entities involved in predications as agents, objects,
instruments, etc. Lexical entries of this class are marked in the lexicon with the feature [+N], plus their respective matrices of features. The following illustrate some componential features of the [+N] class of lexical items. A conclusive analysis has not been attempted here.

\[
\begin{align*}
    [+N] & \rightarrow [^\dagger\text{common}] \\
    [+\text{common}] & \rightarrow [^\dagger\text{concrete}] \\
    [+\text{concrete}] & \rightarrow [^\dagger\text{count}] \\
    [+\text{count}] & \rightarrow [^\dagger\text{animate}] \\
    [-\text{concrete}] & \rightarrow [-\text{count}] \\
    [-\text{common}] & \rightarrow [^\dagger\text{animate}] \\
    [+\text{animate}] & \rightarrow [^\dagger\text{human}] \\
    [+\text{human}] & \rightarrow [^\dagger\text{masculine}] 
\end{align*}
\]

The rules above may be represented graphically in a tree diagram which shows the various subsets of N's and the matrix of features which define these sets. The N's given at the terminals exemplify these subsets and are representative of the N's which are included in the lexicon.
In listing these N's in the lexicon, however, the full matrix of features need not be noted for each entry. For example, for the entry propesor only three features are needed:

\[
\text{propesor} \quad [\text{+[N]}] \quad [\text{+[common]}] \quad [\text{+[masculine]}]
\]

The features [+human], [+animate], [+count], and [+concrete] in this case are implied by the feature [+masculine]. Implications of this sort would be stated in lexical redundancy rules.

The features of nouns outlined above are important for the syntactic structuring of Kapampangan in
that they indicate which nouns may occur in collocation with VP's. In Kapampangan VP's exhibit selectional restrictions in the kind of N's that can co-occur as agents, instruments, objects, etc. For example, [-state] V's usually occur with [+animate] N's as agents and [-animate] N's as instruments, but may take [+animate] N's as objects, datives, benefactors, and terminus locations. Thus, the first of the following sets of sentences are possible but not the second.

(84.a) Mimye ya (ng libru) (ing anak) (king mestra).

\[ +O \quad +A \quad +D \]
\[ -\text{anim} \quad [+\text{anim}] \quad [+\text{anim}] \]

gave he a book the child to teacher

'The child gave a book to the teacher.'

(84.b)*Mimye ya (ng anak) (ing libru) (king mestra).

\[ +O \quad +A \quad +D \]
\[ +\text{anim} \quad -\text{anim} \quad [+\text{anim}] \]

gave he a child the book to teacher

'The book gave a child to the teacher.'

Since objects may be animate or inanimate, sentence (b) above is rejected only because of the [-animate] agent.

(85.a) Penayi ke (ing makina nang Maria).

\[ +I \]
\[ -\text{anim} \]

sewed-with I-it the machine of Maria

'I sewed with Maria's machine.'
(85.b) *Penayi ke (i Maria).
    [+I]
    [+anim]
    sewed-with I-her Maria

'I sewed with (i.e. using) Maria.'

VP's which are [+state], on the other hand, may cooccur with essive N's with the feature [+animate] as seen in the following.

(86) Masanting ya (ing libru).
    [+E]
    [-anim]
    interesting it the book

'The book is interesting.'

(87) Masanting ya (ing lalaki).
    [+E]
    [+anim]
    handsome he the boy

'The boy is handsome.'

Such selectional restrictions may be universal rather than idiosyncratic to Kapampangan. However, in addition to influencing the choice of nouns which may occur in collocation with VP's, these features are also significant for the application of later TR's, and will be noted in subsequent discussions.

The personal pronouns (+PERPRO) occur as substitutes for agentive, dative, benefactive, and genitive N's. PSR 14 generates the selection of these pronouns in place of the N's.

The componential features that characterize this
class of pronouns may be identified as a matrix of six features. McKaughan (1959) and Conklin (1962) define the pronouns of Philippine languages this way. McKaughan posits [+speaker, -hearer, +plural] for Maranao, and Conklin posits [+speaker, -hearer, +minimal membership] for Hanunoo. Though the terminology for the third opposition differs in the two analyses, the implication that only three oppositions are involved is the same.

McKaughan's and Conklin's analyses provide a satisfactory and economical description of the semantic features or components of Philippine pronominal systems (including Kapampangan) since the eight pronominal forms are derivable by 'the regular intersection of six components which comprise three simple oppositions' (Conklin 1962:135). Within this framework the pronouns are defined as consisting of three persons, (1) [+speaker, -hearer] 'I', (2) [-speaker, +hearer] 'you', and (3) [-speaker, -hearer] 'he', and two numbers or types of membership, [+plural] or [+minimal membership]. The plural of the three persons gives [+speaker, -hearer, +plural] 'we exclusive', [-speaker, +hearer, +plural] 'you plural', and [-speaker, -hearer, +plural] 'they'. Two other forms also occur: 'we inclusive' in which speaker and hearer both occur and are plural and 'I-you' or 'we two' in
which one speaker and one hearer are involved. The 'I-you' form (traditionally referred to as the dual) is thus [-plural] or [+minimal membership]. The motivation for these analyses appears to be semantic, i.e. the 'I-you' form is comprised of two singular persons or minimal members for each person, rather than constituting a dual or plural form.

However, though these analyses present the most economical way of expressing the minimal semantic features of the pronoun systems, they do not take into account, it seems, syntactic agreement required in Kapampangan between verbs and pronouns (or noun phrases). In Kapampangan, though V's in general do not reflect number agreement, i.e. the same form of the V is used for both singular and plural subjects or other case related noun entities, certain V's, such as the Reciprocal and the Coterminous, require the cooccurrence of plural nouns or noun phrases, or plural forms of the pronouns. This required agreement also includes the 'I-you' form of the pronouns. Thus, the 'I-you' form cannot be considered for an agreement rule as being [-plural] or even [+minimal membership]. The Coterminous V, in addition, reflects a distinction of dual and plural subjects, with the affix mi- implying two, and mi- + reduplication, three or more. The following illustrate.
Verbs such as the Reciprocal and Coterminous must then be marked in the lexicon as [+plural] or [-singular] to indicate this requirement of number agreement with the related nouns or pronouns.

In order to reflect the required agreement between Reciprocal and Coterminous verbs and related pronouns, a feature of [-singular] is posited here for both these kinds of verbs and for all plural forms of the pronouns and for the 'I-you' form. This feature in turn is subdivided into the dual for the 'I-you' form which is not singular, and plural for the other forms. Dual in this instance has the particular meaning of two people which must be first and second persons. The basic parameters of person and number for Kapampangan pronouns are then displayed as in the following.

\[ [+\text{PERPRO}] \rightarrow [+\text{person}, +\text{number}] \]
\[ [+\text{person}] \rightarrow [+\text{speaker}, +\text{hearer}] \]
\[ [+\text{number}] \rightarrow [+\text{singular}] \]
[-singular] → [+dual], [+plural]

When the personal pronoun is selected in the base, the choice of person and number automatically follows in accordance to the rules stated above.

Though these pronouns are substitute forms for N's in the base structure, on the surface they appear to replace whole PP's rather than just the N's of PP's. This is because morphophonemic processes fuse the function designated by the P with the underlying pronominal form. The surface forms, therefore, include the function feature in addition to that of the pronominal person and number. Since the fused form is entered in the lexicon, the total set of specifying features, i.e. the features of the whole PP, must be taken into account when matching pronouns from the lexicon to the base structure. The features of the [+PERPRO] of the PP would not be sufficient.

The following is a sample lexicon of the agentive-genitive, and dative-benefactive personal pronouns.

Agentive-genitive personal pronouns:

ku [+PERPRO, +A,+G ,+speaker,-hearer,+singular] 'I'

mu [+PERPRO, +A,+G ,+speaker,+hearer,+singular] 'you'

na [+PERPRO, +A,+G ,+speaker,-hearer,+singular] 'he, she'

ta [+PERPRO, +A,+G ,+speaker,+hearer,+dual] 'we'
tamu [+PERPRO, +A,+G ,+speaker,+hearer,+plural]  'we (including you)'

mi [+PERPRO, +A,+G ,+speaker,-hearer,+plural]  'we (excluding you)'

yu [+PERPRO, +A,+G ,-speaker,+hearer,+plural]  'you (plural)'

da [+PERPRO, +A,+G ,-speaker,-hearer,+plural]  'they'

Benefactive-dative personal pronouns:

(para) kaku [+PERPRO, +D,(+B) ,+speaker,-hearer, +singular] 'to (for) me'

" keka [+PERPRO, +D,(+B) ,-speaker,+hearer, +singular] 'to (for) you'

" kaya [+PERPRO, +D,(+B) ,-speaker,-hearer, +singular] 'to (for) him, her'

" kekata [+PERPRO, +D,(+B) ,+speaker,+hearer, +dual] 'to (for) us'

" kekatamu [+PERPRO, +D,(+B) ,+speaker,+hearer, +plural] 'to (for) us'

" kekami [+PERPRO, +D,(+B) ,+speaker,-hearer, +plural] 'to (for) us'

" kekayu [+PERPRO, +D,(+B) ,-speaker,+hearer, +plural] 'to (for) you'

" karela [+PERPRO, +D,(+B) ,-speaker,-hearer, +plural] 'to (for) them'

The following sentences illustrate the selection of the various [+PERPRO]'s in the base.
(89) 'They'll tell us tomorrow.'

(90) Surface: Gawan ne (=na+ya) ning ima ku para karela. 'My mother will make it for them.'
The determiner pronouns ([+DETPRO]) are somewhat similar to what has been called diectic pronouns in that they specify spatial relationships of 'near' and 'far' with respect to the positions of the speaker and hearer. The componential features of these pronouns are as follows.

\[[+DETPRO] \rightarrow [+near]\]
\[[+near] \rightarrow [+speaker]\]
\[[speaker] \rightarrow [+hearer]\]

These pronouns are called determiner rather than diectic because they occur not only as simple diectics (this, that, that over there), but also as genitive-diectics (of this, of that, of that over there), partitive-diectics (of this, of these, of that, of those), manner-diectics (like this, like that, like that over there), comparative-diectics (than this, than these, than that, than those), and locative-diectics (here, there, over there).

Like the personal pronouns, these determiner pronouns also exhibit a fusion of the function with the pronominal form on the surface. The underlying form of the pronouns are ni '[near to speaker]', van '[near to hearer]', and ta '[far from both speaker and hearer]'. The surface forms vary dependent upon the function of the PP of which the pronoun is a constituent. Thus, the determiner pronoun occurring in
a genitive PP takes the form nini 'of this', nyan 'of that', and nita 'of that over there' on the surface; in partitive and comparative PP's, keni 'of, than this', keta 'of, than that', kareni 'of, than these', and kareta 'of, than those'; in manner PP's, kanini 'like this', kanyan 'like that', and kanita 'like that over there'; and in locative PP's, keni 'here', ken 'there', and keta 'over there'.

The selection of the determiner pronouns with the respective specifying features is made in the base. These pronouns may occur in the place of N's or as attributives of N's. Only the former is exemplified here since determiner pronouns which occur as attributives will be illustrated in the section dealing with relativization. The following illustrate locative, manner, and comparative determiner pronouns.

(91) 'I'm happy here.'
(92) S
  \(\text{PredP}\)
  \(\text{PP}[+\text{Man}]\)
  \(\text{VP}[+\text{stat}][-\text{neut}]\)
  \(\text{V}\)
  \(\text{Asp}\)
  \(\text{Tns}\)
  \(\text{Wb}\)
  \(\text{Stat}\)
  \(\text{Pres}\)
  \(\text{ari}\)
  \(\text{ning}\)
  \(\text{Ermie}\)
  \(\text{king}\)
  \(\text{yan}\)
  \(\text{Mayari (ne) i Ermie kanyan.}\)
  \(\text{finish already-she Ermie like-that}\)

'Ermie is finished [like that] already.'

(93) S
  \(\text{PredP}\)
  \(\text{PP}[+\text{Com}\par]\)
  \(\text{VP}[+\text{stat}][-\text{neut}]\)
  \(\text{Aux}\)
  \(\text{Compar}^{10}\)
  \(\text{Asp}\)
  \(\text{Tns}\)
  \(\text{Wb}\)
  \(\text{Stat}\)
  \(\text{Pres}\)
  \(\text{kaba}\)
  \(\text{mas}\)
  \(\text{kesa}\)
  \(\text{makaba}\)
  \(\text{ning}\)
  \(\text{ni}\)
  \(\text{king}\)
  \(\text{ta}\)

'Surf: Mas makaba (ya) ini kesa keta. more long it this than that'

'This is longer than that.'
Both personal and determiner pronouns may occur as subjects of the sentence. Ini of sentence (92) is an example. In such cases the [+subject] feature is fused with the underlying pronominal form, thus, on the surface subject pronouns comprise still another subset of pronouns. These subject pronouns will be illustrated in the following section dealing with subject formation.

The subclass of interrogative pronouns is marked in the base as [+WH]. These pronouns occur as substitutes for N's in all the varying functions, i.e. the agentive, essive, objective, dative, benefactive, terminus locative, general locative, time, extent, manner, genitive, etc. On the surface, however, interrogatives occur sentence initially. A transformational rule permutes the interrogative pronouns to the surface position. This transformation is discussed in Chapter III where the discussion of the pronouns is also included.

2.9 Summary

Following are the basic Phrase Structure rules for Kapampangan. By these rules strings for all the simple predicative sentences of Kapampangan may be derived. The terminal strings of these derivations are intermediary, however, and require the applica-
tion of TR's to arrive at the syntactic surface realizations of these sentences. The phonetic surface realization requires the application of phonological rules. In PSR 5 and PSR 7 additional items not discussed in this section are enclosed in parentheses.

(PSR 1)  \[ S \rightarrow \operatorname{PredP} \left( \operatorname{PP}^n \right) \]

(PSR 2)  \[ \operatorname{PredP} \rightarrow \operatorname{VP} + \operatorname{PP}^4 \]

(PSR 3)  \[ \operatorname{VP} \rightarrow [^\text{state}, ^\text{neutral}] \]

\[
\begin{cases}
\operatorname{VP} \rightarrow (\operatorname{Aux}) \operatorname{V} (N)
\end{cases}
\]

(PSR 4)  \[
\begin{cases}
\operatorname{VP} & \rightarrow \operatorname{NP}, \operatorname{PP} \\
[+\text{state}] & [-\text{neutral}]
\end{cases}
\]

(PSR 5)  \[ \operatorname{Aux} \rightarrow \text{Probability, Suggestive, Dubitative, Optative, (Obligative~dapat 'should')...} \]

(PSR 6)  \[ \operatorname{V} \rightarrow (\operatorname{AspITns}) \operatorname{Wb} \]

\[
\begin{cases}
\text{Asp} & \rightarrow \text{Stative, Reciprocal, Un-} \\
[+\text{state}] & [-\text{neutral}]
\end{cases}
\]

\[
\begin{cases}
\text{intentional, (Comitative, Possessive, Resultative)}
\end{cases}
\]

\[ ... \]

(PSR 7)  \[
\begin{cases}
\text{Asp} & \rightarrow \text{Intensive} \\
[+\text{state}] & [+\text{neutral}]
\end{cases}
\]

\[
\begin{cases}
\text{Asp} & \rightarrow \text{General, Aptative, Distributive, Causative, Aptative-causative...} \\
[-\text{state}] & [-\text{neutral}]
\end{cases}
\]

\[
\begin{cases}
\text{Asp} & \rightarrow \text{Recent completive} \\
[-\text{state}] & [+\text{neutral}]
\end{cases}
\]
(PSR 8) Tns $\rightarrow$ Pres, Prog, Iter, Fut, Pst

(PSR 9) Wb $\rightarrow$ v, a, n ...
\[
\begin{align*}
&\{ [+Lg], [+T], [+\text{Man}] \ldots \\
&\quad \text{/ PredP (PP)}_n \\
&\quad [+A], ([+O], [+I], [+D], [+B], [+\text{Lt}])
\end{align*}
\]

(PSR 10) PP $\rightarrow$
\[
\begin{align*}
&\{ [+V] \\
&\quad([-\text{state}])
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
&\{ [+E] / [+V] \\
&\quad [+\text{state}]
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
&\{ [+B], [+T], [+Lg] / \}_\text{VP}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
&\{ [+G], [+Lg], ([+Pv], [+\text{R1}])_{11} \\
&\quad / [N]_{\text{NP}}
\end{align*}
\]

(PSR 11) PP $\rightarrow$ P + NP

(PSR 12) NP $\rightarrow$ N (PP$^n$)

(PSR 13) P $\rightarrow$ [+P]

(PSR 14) N $\rightarrow$ [+N], [+PERPRO], [+DETPRO], [+WH]...
FOOTNOTES

1 The particle ing does not contain a case feature. It marks the subject of the sentence. See 3.1.2.2 for discussion.

2 In a number of instances the adverbial PP is realized as a time noun (or NP) without a P. Thus, words like bukas, ngeni, napun, and pasibayu occur without a preceding preposition. Such words must be marked in the lexicon with a [+T₁] (time) feature, in turn distinguished from a regular [+T] feature assigned to words like Sabado 'Saturday' and Enero 'January' which are preceded by the preposition. A rule is then necessary whereby the preposition becomes Ø in any time PP that contains a word specified with [+T₁]. Sentence (109) in Section 3.1.3 illustrates.

Another instance of N's occurring without a preceding preposition is the following: Minta ya Hawai 'He went to Hawaii'. The location preposition king may be omitted in the environment of [-common] place nouns like Hawai.

See PSR 11 for the expansion of PP's.

3 The pronoun ya 'it' is a cross-referent pronoun treated in Section 3.4. These pronouns are derived by transformational rules and do not appear as categories in the base. Parentheses here, and in the
following illustrations, indicate this fact.

4 The motivation for the use of the dummy N in Kapampangan is found also in the special case of relativization where reference is made to an understood entity, which is, therefore, made nonexplicit on the surface (see Chapter III).

5 The pronoun yu 'he' with its plural counterpart lu 'they' comprise a special subset of pronouns. They are allomorphs of the agentive pronouns ya 'he' and la 'they', occurring with only the verb ati 'is'.

6 The possible relations between the V and N have not been completely analyzed. In any case the relationship is close-knit and of a type of compounding.

7 Morphophonemic changes, such as d>r in sentence (55) are also excluded from this dissertation. These changes are phonologically conditioned and stated as phonological redundancy rules. In this case, the d>r occurs in medial position; thus, we have Datang ya 'He will come', but Kararatang na 'He just came'.

8 A difference in vowel length has been posited as a tense marker. In other analyses stress rather than length has been used. To date the determination of whether the variable is length or stress has usually been made on the basis of auditory perception or kinesthetetic evidence. This methodology is probably
too gross to deal with such closely correlated factors as length and stress in Kapampangan. It may be that these variables are functions of one another. Without experimental evidence specifically for Kapampangan, therefore, no justifiable claim can be made that either length or stress is the true operating factor. Until such time as more conclusive phonetic studies can be made of Kapampangan, the determination of length or stress is purely the analyst's preference of interpretation.

9These features indicate grammatical relations, but they also carry meaning; hence, the use of the compound semantic-syntactic here.

10Note that the comparative is formed by an Aux. In such instances a Comparative (Compar) Aux mas alone is possible: **Mas makaba ya ini** 'This is longer.' If the [+Compar] PP is expressed, the Aux must be **mas kesa** as in the example.

11The following illustrates the Partitive ([+Pv]) PP: **Mengan no reng adua kareng anak** 'Two of the children already ate.' See sentence (191) for the Relational ([+R1]) PP.
CHAPTER III
Major Processes

3.1 **Subject Formation**

3.1.1 **Introduction**

In Kapampangan sentences generally contain a Subject designating the thing about which the predication is made. It is identified on the surface by the presence of the subject marking determiner *ing* which introduces the phrase. This phrase is distinguishable from other complement PP's in that it is not marked for case; rather, the underlying case of the subject phrase is marked overtly in the verb.

In this analysis the treatment of the subject follows that of Fillmore. Fillmore's contention is that 'the relation "subject" ... is ... exclusively a surface structure phenomena.' Subjects, therefore, are not found in the base component. They are necessarily 'created' by an additional rule, or system of rules (Fillmore 1968a:17). Subject in itself is not a case relation. It is the nomination of a particular phrase or entity as being the favored case in a given sentence.

Accordingly, then, the subject in Kapampangan is
derived by a transformational process, namely that of Subject Formation. Specifically, this process is comprised of four subprocesses: subject marking, subject determiner incorporation, node changing, and case incorporation. These subprocesses are formulated as transformational rules (TR's) which are applied to the base terminal strings derived by the PSR's given in the foregoing chapter. With very few exceptions, the TR's for subject formation apply obligatorily, since this process is basic to Kapampangan.

3.1.2 Rules for Subject Formation, TR's 1-4

3.1.2.1 Subject Marking, TR 1

This rule reads: for each S select one of the PP's (or the only PP) which follows the VP, dominated by the PredP, as subject of the sentence and mark it [+Su] (Subject). A convention of assigning the feature of dominating to dominated categories applies (Fillmore 1966a:23) and the [+Su] feature of the PP is assigned to the respective P and N.

The subject selected by the first rule may be the Agent, Essive, Object, Instrument, Benefactor, Dative, or Terminus Location case. The choice of a particular complement PP as subject for a given utterance is governed by situational and syntactic considerations. The situational determinants are the
contexts of conversation and discourse, and the syntactic, the case incorporation potential of the V's. The situational factors of conversational and narrational contexts beyond the sentence have not been considered in this syntactic description of Kapampangan. Briefly, context of conversation refers to the speaker's choice of the thing about which he wishes to say something, and that of discourse, to whether the thing chosen for predication is old or new information in relation to the utterances preceding in the discourse. Generally, the PP which is new is chosen subject.

The syntactic considerations governing subject selection are language specific. In Kapampangan each verb must be classified according to its potential to occur with one or more of the cases mentioned above. It must be further noted that the application of the subject formation rules does not always coincide with the case frame of a particular verb. That is, though no case can be subjectivalized which does not fall within the case frame of that verb, not all cases for every verb can be subjectivalized.

For example, sumulat 'to write' is a [-state] motion verb in Kapampangan which may cooccur with Agent, Object, Instrument, Benefactor, Dative, and Terminus Location case phrases. The following illustrate.
Object Agent Benefactor
(94) Sumulat ya (ng poesia) (ing lalaki) (para king babai). write he O poem A boy B girl
'The boy will write a poem for the girl.'

Agent Object Dative
(95) Isulat ne (ning lalaki) (ing poesia) (king mestra). write he-it A boy O poem D teacher
'The boy will write the poem to the teacher.'

Agent Instru Ter Loc
(96) Sumulat ya (ing lalaki) (king pen) (king papil). write he A boy I pen Lt paper
'The boy will write with a pen on the paper.'

However, of these possible cooccurring case phrases, the verb sumulat will not permit the benefactor to be made subject. If the speaker desires to give new information about the benefactor in this regard, he must resort to some other device (circumlocution or topicalization). The subjectivalization possibilities for the verb sumulat, then, are as follows. The underlining identifies the case PP subjectivalized.

Object Agent Dative
(97) Sumulat ya (ng poesia) (ing lalaki) (king mestra) write he O poem A boy D teacher
Benefactor (para king babai). B girl
'The boy will write a poem to the teacher for the girl.'

(98) Isulat ne (ing poesia) (ning lalaki) (king mesta) (para king babai).

Object Agent Dative
write he-it O poem A boy B

'The poem will be written by the boy to the teacher for the girl.'

(99) Sulatanan ne (ng poesia) (ning lalaki)

Object Agent
write he-her O poem A boy

Dative Benefactor
(ing mesta) (para king babai).

D teacher B girl

'The boy will write a poem to the teacher for the girl. (lit. The teacher will be written a poem by the boy for the girl.)'

(100) Panyulat ne (ng poesia) (ning lalaki) (ing pen).

Object Agent Instr
write he-it O poem A boy I pen

'The pen will be used for writing a poem by the boy.'

(101) Pisulatan ne (ng poesia) (ning lalaki)

Object Agent
write he-it O poem A boy

Terminus Location
(ing 'blackboard').

Lit blackboard

'The blackboard is where the boy will write a poem.'

The point here is that a complete grammar would have to include in its lexicon the information sug-
gested for sumulat above so that selections by TR 1 would operate only as allowed by the syntactic characteristics found in the verb. Such information is an important adjunct to Kapampangan syntax and is an area which awaits further research. A sample of representative V's is given below to illustrate such information. The parentheses notation indicates that the enclosed cases cannot be subjectivalized. Duplicated information, of course, would be eliminated from the dictionary by redundancy rules.

lutu 'cook' [+A,O,(I),B,Lt]
linis 'clean' [+A,O,I,B,Lt]
basa 'read' [+A,O,D,(B)]
sali 'buy' [+A,O,I,B]
kan 'eat' [+A,O,(I),(B)]
terak 'dance' [+A,O,(B)]
punta 'go' [+A,(B),Lt]
uli 'go home' [+A]
lakad 'walk' [+A,Lt]

TR 1 is general and applies to sentences with [-state] or [+state] VP's. PSR 4 indicates that [+state] VP's include NP's, PP's, and [+state] V's. These VP's cooccur with only one PP, which is in the essive case. This case, then, is selected subject of the sentence (with specific restrictions stated below) and marked accordingly. For example, in the sentence
Mestra ya ing babai 'The woman is a teacher' the essive case underlying the phrase ing babai has been chosen subject.

TR 1 is blocked under one set of circumstances, namely whenever the intensive, or recent completive aspects occur. The feature [+neutral] assigned to such verbs indicates the rule's nonapplication. Thus, the following sentences are without subjects.

Essive
(102) Kalagu na (ning babai).
how-pretty she the woman
'How pretty the woman is!'

Agent
(103) Kalulunud na (ing anak).
just-drowned he the child
'The child just drowned.'

3.1.2.2 Subject Determiner Incorporation, TR 2

A second TR incorporates the feature [+DET] into the [+su] P displacing the case feature. The resultant complex of features, then, requires the changing of the dominating P node to DET (determiner).

The determiner, thus, has no case feature and its semantic features which include number [+singular] and property [+common] are features taken from the underlying case preposition which it displaces. The determiner is specified in the lexicon with at least
the following features: [+DET,+Su,+singular,+common]. The only apparent difference from the case preposition is the inclusion of the subject [+Su] and the determiner [+DET] features in place of a case feature. Subject determiners with their primary features follow.

- ing [+DET,+Su,+singular,+common]
- i [+DET,+Su,+singular,-common]
- reng [+DET,+Su,-singular,+common]
- ri [+DET,+Su,-singular,-common]

A lexical selection rule requires that one of these derivatives be assigned to the subject phrase.

3.1.2.3 **Node Changing, TR 3**

The change in the constituency of the PP, of the case preposition to subject determiner, results in a change in the categorial construct. The construct in question is no longer an exocentric phrase introduced by a case relator, but an endocentric construction functioning as the subject. A node changing TR 3 is, therefore, applied which relabels the dominating PP node an NP. By this TR the distinction is made between the subject phrase and the prepositional phrases in the phrase marker.

The following tree diagram represents the resultant constituent structure after the application of
3.1.2.4 **Case Incorporation, TR 4**

TR 4 incorporates into the verb the case feature displaced by [+DET]. This rule applies only to [-state] V's since these are the only elements with a case frame. Case incorporation ensures the overt marking of the underlying case relationship that holds between the subject of the sentence and the verb. To illustrate the operation of this rule in situational terms, we take the utterance 'the boy writes a letter to his teacher'. The 'boy' is the agent of the action, the 'letter', the object, and 'his teacher', the recipient. If the phrase 'the boy' is made the subject of the sentence, its case identity as agent of the action is removed from this agent PP and that case is registered in the verb instead.

Of course, only cases acceptable to the case frame of a given verb can be so incorporated. A total of six different cases may be registered in verbs. The constituents of the PredP's are the only construc-
tions so involved.

The case features in the verb come to the surface in combination with tense and aspect morphemes. Morphophonemic rules not given here in detail are needed to show the result of the various combinations. Certain surface forms are basic to the various combinations and are given here for reference. These are combinations with the future tense and general aspect.

The underlying case affix which indicates the subject as agent is \( m^- \). The following are the variants: \( m^-, \text{mag}^-, \text{maN}^-, \text{-um}^- \), and \( \emptyset \). The distribution of these allomorphs is both phonologically and morphologically conditioned. Further research is necessary to state all of the distributional rules. In general, the allomorphs \( m^- \), \( \text{mag}^- \), and \( \text{maN}^- \) occur according to their phonological environments, \( m^- \) replacing initial \( p^- \) of Wb's, \( \text{maN}^- \) occurring with Wb's having initial \( b, t, d, s, k, \) and \( g, \) and \( \text{mag}^- \) elsewhere. The \( N \) of \( \text{maN}^- \) is a morphophoneme indicating a nasal at the point of articulation of the first consonant of the word base which it usually replaces. The allomorphs \( \text{-um}^- \) and \( \emptyset \) are morphologically conditioned.

The basic forms of the object case affix with future tense and general aspect are \( \text{-an, i}-, \text{pag}-\ldots \text{-an, and } \emptyset \). These forms occur in morphologically conditioned environments. However, further research
may reveal a semantic dependence relationship between the object and locative affixes, such that V's that do not take a locative or dative syntactically have -an as the object indicator, and those that do, one of the other variants. The affix -an occurs most frequently and has its own variants: -n occurring after Wb's with final -a or -e; -wan after some Wb's with final -i or -o, the w replacing the final vowels; and the reduplicated -anan infrequently and morphologically determined.

The instrument case affix is (i)paN- where N, as with maN-, takes on the point of articulation of the initial consonant of the Wb and displaces it. The initial vowel i- seems to be optional.

The benefactive case affix is (i)pag- which also occurs as (i)pang- and (i)pan-. The variant (i)pang- occurs with velars which are sometimes replaced by the nasal of the prefix; (i)pan- occurs before alveolars, the final -n replacing t and s; and (i)pag- occurs elsewhere.

The dative case affix is -an. This form is homophonous with the objective case form having, probably, the same allomorphic variations.

The terminus locative case form is usually pi-... -an with a variant -an occurring with some words.

The morphophonemic rules for the combinations of
case, tense, and aspect are complicated in that phonological rules apply to some words while morphological specifics must apply to other words. Examples of the surface forms in combination with the various tenses and aspects occur throughout the discussion.

3.1.3 **TR's Applied**

The following illustrate the application of TR's 1-4. The terminal string derived is still intermediate, requiring the application of the pronominalization process in order to arrive at the surface syntactic representation. The pronouns involved are identified in the surface strings by parentheses. The shaded areas in the base tree structure indicate the cases displaced by TR 2.
'The girl is reading.'
"The book will be read by the woman."
'The children will be read a book by the woman.'
'Maria will be bought a book by the child.'
"[It is] Al's money with which the child bought the book."
'It is to the church the woman goes everyday.'
The teacher is pretty.
(111)

\[ S \]
\[ \text{PredP} \]
\[ \text{VP} \quad [+\text{stat}] \quad [-\text{neut}] \]
\[ \text{N} \quad P\Rightarrow \text{DET} \quad [+\text{E}] \quad [+\text{cm}] \]
\[ \text{N} \quad [+\text{sg}] \quad [+\text{cm}] \]

Base: mestra ning babai

TR 1: [+Su] [+Su]

TR 2: [+DET]

TR 3: (PP\Rightarrow NP)

Term: mestra ing babai

Surf: Mestra (ya) ing babai.
      teacher she the woman

'The woman is a teacher.'
(112)

As mentioned above, TR 1 (and hence TR's 2-4) is blocked whenever the intensive or recent completive aspects occur. It should be noted that the morpheme ka- is involved in both instances. The affix ka- with an optional cooccurring -an is also a nominalizer in Kapampangan as in other Philippine languages. Words with the intensive and recent completive aspects, having ka-, however, have not been analyzed as nominals, since nominals as predicates permit the operation of subject selection. It seems better to postu-
late a special class of V's with these aspects with defective inflectional and transformational potentials. The following illustrate.

(113) 

\[
\begin{align*}
S & \quad \text{PredP} \\
VP & \quad \text{PP} \\
[+\text{stat}] & \quad [+E] \\
[+\text{neut}] & \\
V & \quad P \\
[+\text{stat}] & \quad [+E] \\
[+\text{neut}] & \quad [+sg] \\
\text{Asp} & \quad \text{N} \\
\text{Tns} & \quad \text{P} \\
\text{Wb} & \quad \text{N} \\
\text{Base:} & \quad \text{Inten Pst saya ning anak} \\
\text{Term:} & \quad \text{ke- saya ning anak} \\
\text{Surf:} & \quad \text{Kesaya (na) ning anak anak} \\
& \quad \text{how-happy she the child} \\
& \quad \text{'How happy the child was!'}
\end{align*}
\]

(114) 

\[
\begin{align*}
S & \quad \text{PredP} \\
VP & \quad \text{PP} & \quad \text{PP} \\
[-\text{stat}] & \quad [+\text{A}] & \quad [+\text{O}] \\
[+\text{neut}] & \quad & \\
V & \quad P & \quad P \\
[-\text{stat}] & \quad [+\text{A}] & \quad [+\text{O}] \\
[+\text{neut}] & \quad [+\text{sg}] & \quad [+\text{sg}] \\
\text{Asp} & \quad \text{N} & \quad \text{N} \\
\text{Tns} & \quad \text{P} & \quad \text{P} \\
\text{Wb} & \quad \text{N} & \quad \text{N} \\
\text{Base:} & \quad \text{Rec Com Pres putut ning babai ng manuk} \\
\text{Term:} & \quad \text{ka+R putut ning babai ng manuk} \\
\text{Surf:} & \quad \text{Kapuputut (na) ning babai ng manuk.} \\
& \quad \text{just-cut she the woman a chicken} \\
& \quad \text{'The woman just cut a chicken.'}
\end{align*}
\]
3.2 Predicate Nominalization

3.2.1 Introduction

The phrase structure rules given in Chapter II with the Subject Formation process generate two basic simple sentence types, the verbal and nonverbal predicative sentences. Verbal predicative sentences predicate actions involving [-state] VP's; nonverbal predicative sentences predicate descriptive or classificatory sentences involving [+state] VP's. [+State] VP's consist of [+state] V's, NP's, and PP's.

In Kapampangan the predicates of the basic sentences outlined above may occur as nominalized predicates. That is, sentence (a) may occur as sentence (b) in each of the following instances.

(115.a) Estudyante ya ing anak ku.
        student she the child my
        'My child is a student.'

(115.b) Ing estudyante ing anak ku.
        the student the child my
        'My child is the student.'

(116.a) Matas ya ing anak ku.
        tall she the child my
        'My child is tall.'

(116.b) Ing matas ing anak ku.
        the tall the child my
        'My child is the tall one.'
3.2.1.1 **Semantic Implications**

The difference between sentences in (a) and (b) is two-fold: semantic and syntactic. Semantically, the sentences of (a) make simple declarations of fact about a particular subject, i.e. statements of action, description, or classification. The predicate of these sentences may further be interpreted as being indefinite. On the other hand, sentences of (b) make specific identifications. These sentences carry the connotation that 'A is B, not C'. The predicates of (b) sentences, therefore, are interpreted as being definite. The following English equivalents illustrate.

(115.b) 'My child is the **student** (not the teacher).'
(116.b) 'My child is the tall one (not the short one).'
(117.b) 'My child is the one who danced (not the one who sang).'
(118.b) 'The book is for my child (not for me).'

In question and answer contexts, the (a) sentences occur as responses to 'what' questions, where applicable, as the following illustrate.

(119) Q: Nanu ya ing anak mu?
what she the child your

'What is your child?'

    A: Estudyante ya ing anak ku.
    student she the child my

    'My child is a student.'

(120) Q: Nanu ya ing gewa na ning anak mu?
what it the did she the child your

'What did your child do?'

    A: Tinerak ya ing anak ku.
    danced she the child my

    'My child danced.'

Sentences (b), on the other hand, occur as responses to 'who' questions.

(121) Q: Ninu ing anak mu?
who the child your

'Who is your child?'
3.2.1.2 Syntactic Results

Syntactically, the (a) and (b) sentences differ in that the nominalizing determiner ing occurs in sentences of (b), but not in those of (a). This difference is reflected in the phrase markers that represent the two sentences. The VP~NP sentence type of (a) is altered to NP~NP in (b). The sentence (b) type, then, is not found in the base and is necessarily derived through a process of predicate nominalization.

3.2.2 Rules for Predicate Nominalization, TR's 5-7

The predicate nominalizing transformation provides the option of making an NP of predicates. The process involves three steps: (1) determiner placement; (2) node labelling; and (3) subject raising.
3.2.2.1 Determiner Placement, TR 5

The determiner placement transformation introduces to the left of S, adjoined to a higher node, a segment labelled DET, carrying with it the features [+DET] and [+NOM] plus the number feature which is in agreement with the number feature of the subject determiner. The property feature is not distinguished in the nominalizing determiner; thus, the surface forms are ing and reng for [+singular] and [-singular] respectively. The following tree diagram illustrates. The notation [+K] stands for any case feature.

(122)

```
DET  [+DET ]  S  NP  [+K ]
[+NOM ]  [+K ]
[†sing]  [+Su ]
```

3.2.2.2 Node Labelling, TR 6

By a second transformational rule, node labelling, the higher node which is created by the introduction of the segment DET is labelled NP. This has the effect of restructuring the underlying phrase marker, generating the following structure (subject formation TR's having already applied).
3.2.2.3 Subject Raising, TR 7

The final TR of this process raises the subject NP to a higher S, to the right of that S. This step completes the restructuring of the underlying phrase marker. The new resulting phrase marker is $S \rightarrow NPNP$. The predicate nominalization process generates surface equational sentences. The tree diagram below depicts the result.

The predicate nominalizing TR's apply after the subjectivalization process. Unlike the subjectivalization process, predicate nominalization is optional.
Whether the choice is the simple predicate sentence or the specific identification (equational) sentence, the terminal strings generated are intermediary and require the application of further transformations (see pronominalization).

3.2.3 TR's 5-7 Applied

The following illustrate the application of the TR's involved in predicate nominalization. The sentences illustrated include verbal and nonverbal predicates, namely [-state] V, [+state] V, N, and PP predicates.
The child is the one who will go to Japan.
(126)

'The girls are the big ones.'
'Juan is the one who is the lawyer.'
The candies are the ones for the children.
3.3 **Topicalization**

3.3.1 **Introduction**

In addition to simple predicative and predicate nominalized equational sentences discussed above, there is a third sentence type in Kapampangan, the topicalized sentence. A topicalized sentence is one which emphasizes one element by making it the topic which is then followed by the comment. Though these sentences may be interpreted as conveying emphasis (McKaughan 1962:47, Pike 1963:219, Reid 1966:128), a review of Kapampangan narratives reveals that a more primary function is to provide continuity of discourse. Thus, in a given discourse sentences are related to preceding sentences by this device.

Topicalized sentences in Kapampangan are generated through a transformational process called topicalization. The process consists of four specific steps: topic marking, topic copying, agentive case replacement, and equi-NP/PP/Pro deletion.

3.3.2 **Rules for Topicalization, TR's 8-11**

3.3.2.1 **Topic Marking, TR 8**

By the first rule of topicalization, the [+Su] NP or one of the PP's is selected topic and marked [+TOP]. By convention the dominated P, or DET, and N are also marked [+TOP].
The most frequently selected topic in Kapampangan has been found to be the subject of the sentence, no matter what the underlying case relation of the subject to the verb might be. There is one constraint to the selection of PP's as topic: [+Object] PP's when not the subject may not be chosen. Otherwise, the subject or any one of the case PP's of the PredP, an adverbial PP of S, or an adnominal PP may be chosen topic.

In sentence (129) following the object which is also the subject may be marked topic, but in (130) the object cannot be so marked. The symbolization \( {\top} [+\text{TOP}] \) indicates which elements may be selected in these two sentences, but of course, only one phrase can be chosen for any given surface realization.

\[
{\top} [+\text{TOP}] \quad {\top} [+\text{TOP}] \quad {\top} [+\text{TOP}] \\
[+O] \quad [+A] \quad [+T] \\
[+Su]
\]

(129) Salwan ne ing mangga ning lalaki king Sabadu.
buy he-it the mango the boy on Saturday

'The mango will be bought by the boy on Saturday.'

\[
{\top} [+\text{TOP}] \quad {\top} [+\text{TOP}] \\
[+O] \quad [+A] \quad [+Lt] \\
[+Su]
\]

(130) Sinali ya ng mangga ing lalaki king tindahan.
bought he a mango the boy at store

'The boy bought a mango at the store.'
3.3.2.2 **Topic Copying, TR 9**

The second TR of the topicalization process is one of topic copying. By this rule, the [+TOP] NP or PP is copied in an initial position, adjoined to the left of the S node. This TR generates the following intermediate structures from sentences (129) and (130) above.

(131)

```
S
   NP [+Su ] [+TOP] VP PP
   Ing mangga salwan ning lalaki
   the mango buy the boy

PredP PP [+T] NP [+Su ] [+TOP]
   king Sabadu.

PP [+T]
   on Saturday
```

(132)

```
S
   PP [+T] [+TOP] VP PP [+A] NP [+Su ] [+TOP]
   King Sabadu salwan ning lalaki ing mangga
   on Saturday buy the boy the mango

PredP
   king Sabadu.

PP [+T]
   on Saturday
```
3.3.2.3 Agentive Case Preposition Replacement, TR 10

If the nonsubject [+Agent] PP is selected topic and copied in initial position, a third topicalization rule, agentive case preposition replacement, obligatorily applies. By this rule the case preposition of the copied [+TOP] PP is replaced by the determiner. This replacement is effected by the incorporation of the feature [+DET] and the consequent displacement of the case feature [+A], the resulting complex of features necessitating the change from case preposition to determiner. The lexical item which contains the matching set of specifying features is *ing* and its derivatives. Thus, when the nonsubject [+Agent] PP is topicalized, it is always realized on the surface with *ing* or its derivatives rather than *ning* or its derivatives.

In addition to the replacement of the agent case feature, a pause also must follow the nonsubject agentive topic PP. A pause is not obligatory with any of
the other topic phrases. The obligatory pause is interpreted as the phonological device to indicate that the particular topic phrase introduced by *ing* is not the subject of the sentence. The pause is indicated by the notation # in the terminal string of the transformed topicalized sentences. The following intermediate structures illustrate this last rule, (134) with pause and (135) without.

![Diagram](image)

The semantic difference between sentences with a topicalized subject agentive NP and those with a topic-
Topicalization of Pronouns

Topicalization may also apply to pronouns which occur as substitutes for N's (see Section 2.8 for discussion of pronoun substitutes ([+PERPRO])). The pronouns involved include the subject pronouns in all the possible occurrences, i.e. as agent, object, dative, and benefactive, as well as the nonsubject agentive PP.
tive pronoun. The topicalized pronoun differs in form from the source pronoun (from which the topicalized pronoun is copied), constituting a special subset. This difference results from the inclusion of the feature [+TOP] in the complex of features of the source [+PERPRO]. The [+TOP] feature is realized on the surface as the prefix i- with its variant a- for the first person singular with the form of the subject pronoun as seen in the following list.

aku 'I'
ika 'you'
iya 'he, she'
ikata 'we (dual)'
itmapu 'we (incl)'
ikami 'we (excl)'
ikayu 'you'
ila 'they'

TR's 8 and 9, topic marking and topic copying respectively, apply here. But TR 10 for agentive case preposition replacement does not apply when the nonsubject agentive pronoun is topicalized, since there is no overt case preposition to replace. The application of TR's 8 and 9 generate intermediate strings which include two equivalent pronouns in a given sentence as with the phrases discussed above. The following illustrate these intermediate struc-
tures: (138) with equivalent [+Su] agentive pronouns, (139) with equivalent [+Su] objective pronouns, and (140) with equivalent nonsubject agentive pronouns.

NP VP NP PP
[+A ] [+A ] [+Lt]
[+Su ] [+Su ] [+TOP] [+TOP]

(138) Itamu munta tamu⇒itamu king sine.
    we go we to movie

NP VP PP NP
[+0 ] [+A ] [+0 ] [+Su ]
[+TOP] [+TOP] [+TOP]

(139) ila ituki tamu la⇒ila.
    them take-along we them

PP VP PP NP
[+A ] [+A ] [+0 ] [+Su]
[+TOP] [+TOP] [+TOP]

(140) Itamu ituki tamu⇒itamu la.
    we take-along we them

3.3.2.5 Equi-NP/PP/Pro Deletion, TR 11

As exemplified in sentences (131-134, 138-140), the application of the topic copying rule results in the generation of intermediate structures with two equivalent phrases or pronouns in a given sentence. On the surface these sentences contain only one of these. Thus, a deletion rule is necessary which will apply to the original equi-NP, PP, or pronoun, leaving only the copied [+TOP] NP, PP, or pronoun in the
initial position. Thus, for these sentences the equivalent source phrases ing mangga, king Sabadu, and king tindahan, and the pronouns itamu, ila, and itamu from the source pronouns tamu, la, and tamu respectively are deleted, resulting in the strings given in the counterparts: 131a-134a, 138a-140a. These strings are still intermediate requiring additional TR's of pronominalization (see Section 3.4) for their final realization.

(131a) Ing mangga salwan (ne) ning lalaki king Sabadu. 
the mango buy he-it the boy on Saturday
'The mango, it will be bought by the boy on Saturday.'

(132a) King Sabadu salwan (ne) ning lalaki ing mangga.
on Saturday buy he-it the boy the mango
'On Saturday the boy will buy the mango.'

(133a) King tindahan (ya) sinaling mangga ing lalaki.
at store he bought-a mango the boy
'At the store the boy bought a mango.'

(134a) Ing lalaki # salwan (ne) ing mangga king Sabadu.
the boy buy he-it the mango on Saturday
'The boy, he will buy the mango on Saturday.
(lit. The boy, the mango will be bought on Saturday by him.)'

(138a) Itamu munta king sine.
we go to movie
'We will go to the movie.'
(139a) Ila ituki tamu.
them take we
'Them we will take along.'

(140a) Itamu ituki tala.
we take we-them
'We will take them along.'

3.3.3 Topicalization of Nominalized Predicate (Equational) S's

The topicalization TR's may apply to equational sentences as well as the simple predicative sentences. Thus, for the nominalized predicate sentences (125-128) in Section 3.2.3 we have the following topicalized equivalents.

(141) Equational: Ing munta king Japan ing anak.

NP
Topicalized: Ing anak ing munta king Japan.
the child the go to Japan
'The child, he is the one who will go to Japan.'

(142) Equational: Deng mangaragul deng babai.

NP
Topicalized: Deng babai reng mangaragul.
the women the big
'The women, they are the ones who are big.'
(143) Equational: Ing abugado i Juan.

NP

[+TOP]

Topicalized: I Juan ing abugado.
Juan the lawyer

'Juan, he is the one who is the lawyer.'

(144) Equational: Deng para kareneng anak deng kendi.

NP

[+TOP]

Topicalized: Deng kendi reng para kareneng anak.
the candies the for children

'The candies, they are the things for the children.'

Certain ambiguities in surface equational sentences are explained by the topicalization process. A study of native speaker's intuition regarding subjects of equational S's reveals that both NP's may occur as subjects. The following illustrate with the underlining marking the subject NP of each S.

(145a) Ing mestra ing anak.
(145b) Ing mestra ing anak.
(146a) Ing anak ing mestra.
(146b) Ing anak ing mestra.

The explanation is that sentences (145a) and (146a) are derived by the nominalized predicate transformations (TR 5-7): Mestra ya ing anak 'The child is a teacher' → Ing mestra ing anak 'The child is the
teacher (not the student)'; and Anak ya ing mestra 'The teacher is a child' ⇒ Ing anak ing mestra 'The teacher is the child (not the man).'</p>

But sentences (145b) and 146b) are derived from topicalized equational sentences: Ing mestra ing anak (145a) where ing anak is the subject, 'The child is the teacher (not the student)' ⇒ Ing anak ing mestra (146b) 'The child (specific) is the one who is the teacher'; and Ing anak ing mestra (146a) where ing mestra is the subject, 'The teacher is the child (not the man)' ⇒ Ing mestra ing anak (145b) 'The teacher (specific) is the one who is the child.'

Thus, a given equational sentence such as Ing anak ing munta king Japan, (141) above, may be derived from two sources: either from Munta ya ing anak king Japan by predicate nominalization followed by topicalization; or from Anak ya ing munta king Japan, where anak is a predicate noun, by predicate nominalization. The subject of the latter base sentence contains an embedded sentence to be explained later in the dissertation.

The conclusion here is that native speakers intuitively regard one NP of an equational sentence (or the other) the subject depending on the context and desired meaning, but in isolation the observer-linguist may not know which NP is subject, and in addi-
tion the first NP may or may not be the topic.

3.3.4 TR's 8-11 Applied

The following tree diagrams illustrate the application of the TR's involved in the topicalization process. The subsequent terminal strings derived are intermediate requiring the application of further transformations, namely pronominalization.
The boy, he bought a mango at the store.
'The boy, the mango will be bought by him on Saturday.'
We will go to the movie.
(150)

Base: tuki mu reng anak

TR 1: i ka i- tuki [+AO]
TR 2: [DET] [+Su] [+Su]
TR 3: 
TR 4: [+O]
TR 8: [PP NP] [+TOP] [+TOP]
TR 9: ([+TOP]PP)
TR 11: i ka i- tuki 

Surf: Ika # ituki (mu) (1a) reng anak.
you take-along you them the children

'You, you take the children along.'
3.4 Pronominalization

3.4.1 Introduction

Pronoun substitutes are included in the base in PSR 14. Their inclusion is based on the fact that they represent semantic entities. The surface forms include a full paradigm of three persons and three numbers (see Section 2.8).

In addition to the pronominal substitutes generated by the base, Kapampangan has another set of pronouns. This second set may be unique to Kapampangan and Ivatan as compared to other Philippine languages, at least of those described to date. It is cross-referent in function, repeating a phrase which has been generated by the base and by certain transformational rules to this point. The phrases that must be cross-referenced by a pronoun are the agent and/or the subject of the sentence (whether topicalized or not). Thus, if the agent is also the subject, only one cross-referent pronoun occurs, but if the agent is nonsubject, then a second cross-referent pronoun occurs referring to the subject. The cross-referent copying rule, however, does not operate, with one exception, if the agent and/or subject phrase is manifested by a pronoun substitute. Thus, the agent and/or the subject phrase, when not a pronoun substitute, is manifested by two elements, a cross-referent pronoun and
an NP or PP.

The one exception to the nonapplication of the pronominalization rules is found when a nonsubject agent pronoun has been topicalized (TR's 8,9,11). In this one case, the pronominalization rules apply to a topicalized nonsubject agent pronoun, resulting in a cross-referent pronoun to a pronoun, the only instance of such located.

The cross-referent pronouns usually occur in the third person since they refer in most cases to nouns (referring to pronouns with only the topicalized nonsubject agent). There are two forms for the third person: singular ya and na 'he/him' and plural la and da 'they/them'. The pronouns ya and la occur as cross-referents to nouns specified as [+Su] (regardless of the underlying case) and na and da, to agent or essive nouns that are nonsubject. The complex of features for these pronouns is \([±Su,+K,±\text{singular}]\). The forms may be defined in the lexicon as follows where the slash may be read as 'or' and [+K] as any case.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ya} & \quad [+\text{REFPRO},+\text{Su},+\text{K},+\text{singular}] \\
\text{la} & \quad [+\text{REFPRO},+\text{Su},+\text{K},-\text{singular}] \\
\text{na} & \quad [+\text{REFPRO},-\text{Su},+A/+E,+\text{singular}] \\
\text{da} & \quad [+\text{REFPRO},-\text{Su},+A/+E,-\text{singular}]
\end{align*}
\]

In form the cross-referent pronouns are homophonous with the forms of the pronoun substitute sets
which occur for the subject and nonsubject agent respectively. Other persons would be indicated in the above format with proper features. These cross-referent pronouns are distinguished as a special subset, however, because of their unique function.

It should be emphasized that cross-referent pronouns are not semantic entities as are pronoun substitutes. Semantically the cross-referent pronouns are redundant. Their function is purely grammatical, copying something already derived in the base. Therefore, these pronouns are introduced as copiers (lexical items copied on the surface) by a transformational rule of pronoun copying.

3.4.2 Rules for Pronominalization, TR's 12-14

3.4.2.1 Pronoun Copying, TR 12

By the pronoun copying rule the [+A]/[+] NP or PP is copied with a cross-referent pronoun ([+REFPRO]). The rule introduces the segment [+REFPRO] in the position to the left of the phrase being copied. If the [+A] phrase is nonsubject, i.e. a [+A] PP, then the [+Su] NP of the sentence is also copied with a cross-referent pronoun. Again the segment [+REFPRO] is introduced in a position to the left of the phrase copied. REFPRO's are copied according to the relevant set of specifying features contained in the copied NP or PP, which provides for the appropriate lexical
selection.

The following tree diagrams exemplify the operation of TR 12. Sentences (151) and (152) illustrate the cross-referencing of [+Su] NP's and a nonsubject [+A] PP, and (153) that of a topicalized nonsubject agent pronoun. The terminal strings are still intermediate since certain permutations (TR 13) and resultant morphophonemic changes must operate on them to bring them closer to the surface.

(151)

Surface: Migaral ya ng Inglis i Nena.
studied she English Nena

'Nena studied English.'
Surface: Pigaralan ne(=na+ya) ng Nena ing Inglis. 'English was studied by Nena.'

Surface: Iya pamasa nala. 'He, (he) will read to them.'
TR 12 is blocked by predicate nominalization, TR's 5-7. The reason for this is apparent since predicate nominalization produces an NP out of the VP and NPs are not expanded by case related entities. Thus, the pronoun copying rule has applied in Mestra ya ing anak but has been blocked in Ing mestra ing anak.

3.4.2.2 Pronoun Permutation, TR 13

The pronominalization process also includes permuting operations which apply to both pronoun substitutes and to cross-referent pronouns. These operations bring the pronouns to their proper surface positions.

Terminal strings to this point contain cross-referent pronouns ([+REFPRO]) to the left of elements copied and pronoun substitutes ([+PERPRO]) at the point of substitution. The order of the PP's in PredP's in the base, stipulated in this study, is A, 0, I, B, D, Lt. Agent pronouns, [+REFPRO] or [+PERPRO], therefore, are found in-place in terminal strings. Other pronouns must be permuted according to the following rule.

TR 13, in general, permutes any agent pronoun to a position following the first full word of the string, and then permutes any remaining [+Su] pronoun to the right of the [+A] pronoun. A full word in
Kapampangan is any word except a preposition, a determiner, and grammatical markers such as the relativizer and complementizer to be discussed in Chapter IV. 5

TR 13 brings nonsubject agent and subjectivalized nonagent cross-referent pronouns and pronoun substitutes together as the following strings illustrate (see (152)): Pigaralan na ng Nena ya ing Inglis ⇒ Pigaralan na ya ng Nena ing Inglis, where ya has been permuted to a position after na. Usually, when the nonsubject [+A] pronouns and the [+Su] nonagentive pronouns (whether substitute or cross-referent) occur together, as in the above, the two pronouns coalesce, resulting in a portmanteau form. The morphophonemic rules which generate these portmanteau pronouns are not a part of this dissertation. Generally, the form is identified by the replacement of the vowel in the nonsubject agentive pronoun form by e when [+Su] pronouns are singular, and by o when [+Su] pronouns are plural. The following paradigm includes the portmanteaus resulting from the combination of nonsubject [+A] pronouns and [+Su] nonagent pronouns. The combinations of first plural inclusive or exclusive nonsubject [+A] pronouns and the singular or plural subject pronouns do not result in portmanteau. 6
Portmanteau Forms of Pronouns

Singular           Plural
ku + ya = ke 'I-it'  ku + la = ko 'I-them'
mu + ya = me 'you-it'  mu + la = mo 'you-them'
na + ya = ne 'he/she-it'  na + la = no 'he/she-them'
ta + ya = te 'we(dual)-it'  ta + la = to 'we(dual)-them'
yu + ya = ye 'you-it'  yu + la = yo 'you-them'
da + ya = de 'they-it'  da + la = do 'they-them'

In addition to the portmanteau forms above, certain longer combined forms of the two underlying pronouns occur. The trend in actual speech seems to be toward the usage of portmanteaus more generally, reserving the combined forms for special constructions such as questions, or in particular distributions, as when the pronouns occur clause finally. Further investigation is necessary to state the full environmental restrictions which govern the occurrence of these forms. The following illustrate two such combined forms.

(154) Binasa mya naman?
read you-it too

'Did you read it too?'

(155) Ituki dala.
take they-them

'They will take them.'
The combinations resulting in single phonological units follow. Note that the first, second, and third singular forms and the first plural inclusive forms contract in the combinations.

Combined Forms of Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ku + ya = kya 'I-it'</td>
<td>ku + la = kula 'I-them'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu + ya = mya 'you-it'</td>
<td>mu + la = mula 'you-them'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na + ya = nya 'he/she-it'</td>
<td>na + la = nala 'he/she-them'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta + ya = taya 'we(dl)-it'</td>
<td>ta + la = tala 'we(dl)-them'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamu+ya = tāya 'we(in)-it'</td>
<td>tamu+la = tāla 'we(in)-them'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi + ya = miya 'we(ex)-it'</td>
<td>mi + la = mila 'we(ex)-them'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yu + la = yula 'you-them'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da + la = dala 'they-them'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These paradigms show that the variation between the two sets is not regular. Where the coalescence to a portmanteau form might prove ambiguous, the combined form is maintained. Thus, miya 'we-it' is not contracted to *me which would be homophonous with me 'you-it'; tāya 'we-it' and tāla 'we-them' are not contracted to *te and *to respectively to maintain the distinction of inclusiveness from duality; and mila 'we-them' is not contracted to *mo to prevent any ambiguity with mo 'you-them'.

Permutation to the right of the first full word
of a string also applies to topicalized sentences. The following illustrate where the pronoun follows the topic.

(156) King babai ya sumulat istorya\textsuperscript{7} ing lalaki.
     to    girl he write story the boy

'To the girl, the boy will write a story.'

(157) King tindahan ya sining mangga ing lalaki.
      at    store he bought-a mango the boy

'At the store, the boy bought a mango.'

A genitive pronoun is considered a part of its preceding noun for the pronoun permutation rule. Note the following, where \textit{ya} follows \textit{ima na} 'his mother'.

(158) Para kang ima na ya sining mangga ing lalaki.
      for    mother his he bought mangoes the boy

'For his mother, the boy bought mangoes.'

There is an exception to the permutation rule for pronouns in S's where the [+Su] NP or the nonsubject [+A] PP is topicalized. In these S's the pronouns are placed following the VP of the underlying S, rather than the first full word. The following sentences illustrate.

(159) Ing lalaki sinali ya ng mangga king tindahan.
      the boy bought he a mango at store

'The boy, he bought a mango at the store.'
The following illustrate pronoun permutation of [+PERPRO] forms in predicative S's. Base terminal strings with the predicate sali 'buy' and four case phrases A, O, I, and B are given. In each S one of the phrases is substituted by a [+PERPRO] marked by the underlining. The movement of the pronouns is indicated by connecting arrows. Pronouns cited in the following are left in their underlying forms rather than contracted by morphophonemic rules.

(162) Sali \[+A\] ya ng pen king pera ku para kang Al.
(163) Salwan na \[+O\] ya king pera ku para kang Al.
(164) Panyali na \[+I\] ya ng pen ya para kang Al.
(165) Panyali na \[+B\] ya ng pen king pera ku ya .

'He will buy a pen with my money for Al.'
3.4.3 TR's 12-13 Applied

The following tree diagrams illustrate the operation of the pronominalization TR's. The examples show the permutation of both [+REFPRO]'s and [+PERPRO]'s. As exemplified by (166), morphophonemic rules must also apply to some combinations of pronouns thus resulting.

(166)

```
S
   /\  
PredP / \\
   VP  PP NP
   [+REF [+REF [+REF [+REF [+REF
   [-Su] [-Su] [+A] [+A] [+A]
   [+Su] [+Su] [-Su] [-Su] [-Su]
   [+Lt] [+Lt] [+Lt] [+Lt] [+Lt]
   [+sg] [+sg] [+sg] [+sg] [+sg]
   DET N
   [+Lt] [+Lt] [+Lt] [+Lt] [+Lt]
   [+Su] [+Su] [+Su] [+Su] [+Su]

Base: puntalan ning babai ing doktor.

TR 12: na ya

TR 13: ya

Surf: Puntalan na ya ning babai ing doktor.
      go she him the woman the doctor

      Puntalan ne(=na+ya) ning babai ing doktor.

      'The woman will go to the doctor.'
```
Similar occurrences of pronoun permutation are observed in complex sentences, i.e. with embedded S's in verb and prepositional phrase complementation. These occurrences will be discussed in their respective sections.

3.5 Question Formation
3.5.1 Introduction

Two types of questions in Kapampangan are described here, the yes-no and the WH, named for their parallels in English. These two questions differ in
the kind of information and, therefore, the type of responses they elicit. Yes-no questions seek confirmation type information, and because of this require either full sentence responses or merely an affirmative or negative response. WH questions, on the other hand, seek specific information and so may require only phrases as responses. The following question-and-answer sets illustrate.

(168) Yes-no Q: Minta neman i Juan king eskwela?
  went already-he Juan to school
  'Did Juan already go to school?'

  A: Wa. Minta neman i Juan king eskwela.
  Yes. went already-he Juan to school
  'Yes. Juan already went to school.'

(169) WH Q: Nukarin ya minta i Juan?
  where he went Juan
  'Where did Juan go?'

  A: King eskwela.
  to school
  'To school.'

3.5.2 Yes-No Question Formation

As illustrated in the first question-and-answer set above, the yes-no question is syntactically similar to the usual declarative S. It differs only in intonation: in questions, the intonation rises,
whereas in declarative S's, it falls. This difference in intonation is generated in the base by the optional constituent QUES. If QUES is present, the rising intonation is derived; if absent, the falling intonation. Accordingly, the QUES constituent is included as an optional element in the PSR's, specifically in rule (1).

\[(PSR \, 1) \, S \rightarrow (QUES) \, \text{PredP (PP}_{n})\]

3.5.3 WH Question Formation

The WH questions are derived by the insertion of question words in PP's containing elements about which information is desired. Generally, only one question word per given sentence is inserted. To illustrate, if the information desired is where or when an action is being performed, the appropriate question words are inserted in the respective location and time PP's. In these questions the falling intonation is used. The following demonstrate the insertion of such pronouns. Note that the terminal strings are presurface in these illustrations.
As stated in Chapter II, question words, namely the interrogative pronouns ([+WH]), are a subclass of
N's and are introduced in the base by PSR 14. Though they substitute for N's, their overt forms also reflect the case relationships; thus, on the surface they replace an entire PP. Since PP's undergo subjectivization, these WH pronouns are also distinguished as to whether they are $^{\dagger}$Su. Question words are, therefore, entered in the lexicon represented by the set of features $^{+WH,+F,+^{\dagger}Su,^{+}human}$ (where $^{+F}$ stands for any case or adverbial function). The following is a sample lexicon of WH pronouns.

- nukarin $^{+WH,+Lg/t,^{+}Su}$
- kapilan $^{+WH,+T}$
- ninu $^{+WH,+A/+E/+O/+D/+B,+Su,+human}$
- nanu $^{+WH,+O,+Su,-human}$
- kaninu $^{+WH,+D/+G,+human}$
- para kaninu $^{+WH,+B,+human}$

PSR 14 introduces WH pronouns in their respective PP positions in the underlying structure. However, on the surface these pronouns occur sentence initially. Therefore, in addition to the optional QUES constituent and the insertion of WH pronouns in the base, the derivation of surface WH questions require the application of a TR. In Kapampangan, unlike languages such as English, the permutation of the WH pronoun is generated not by a special TR but by the general TR of topicalization. If a WH pronoun occurs in the base
The topicalization TR applies obligatorily. These questions seek information related to certain PP's. This fact is put into focus, or emphasized, by topicalizing the question word.

The following are the derivations of (171) and (172) after topicalization has applied.

(173)

\[
S \\
PredP \\
| \text{PP} \\
| [+D] \\
| [+TOP] \\
| \text{VP} \\
| \text{PP} \mapsto \text{NP} \\
| [+A] \\
| [+Su] \\
Kaninu (ya) sumulat \text{ing anak?} \\
to-whom he \text{write} \text{the child} \\
'\text{To whom will the child write?}'
\]

(174)

\[
S \\
PredP \\
| \text{PP} \\
| [+Lg] \\
| [+TOP] \\
| \text{VP} \\
| \text{PP} \mapsto \text{NP} \\
| [+A] \\
| [+Su] \\
Nukarin (ya) sumulat \text{ing anak} \text{king mestra?} \\
where he \text{write} \text{the child to} \text{teacher} \\
'\text{Where will the child write to the teacher?}'
\]

Depending upon the WH pronoun involved the process of predicate nominalization may also be obligatory. When information is sought about the agent or object of an action, the agent or object is obligatorily subjectivalized, the predicate nominalized, and then the WH pronoun topicalized. Predicate nomi-
inalization also applies when any of the other [+human] case entities occur as subjects of the sentence. Thus, when the agent or object is specified as a WH pronoun in the base, the question words ninu and nanu must be chosen from the lexicon, and the only possible questions are as given below.

(175) Ninu ing sinulat?
    who    the wrote

    'Who is the [one who] wrote?'

(176) Nanu ing isulat mu?
    what the write you

    'What is the [thing] you will write?'

But with dative and benefactive WH pronouns the following alternatives are possible.

(177) Kaninu ka sumulat?
    to-whom you write

    'To whom are you going to write?'

(178) Ninu ing sulatanan mu?
    who    the write you

    'Who is the [one to whom] you will write?'

(179) Para kaninu ka sining malan?
    for whom you bought clothes

    'For whom did you buy clothes?'

(180) Ninu ing pinyali mung malan?
    who    the bought you clothes

    'Who is the [one for whom] you bought clothes?'
Pronominalization, of course, applies to all S's, including these WH questions if the conditions are present for the TR's to apply. These conditions, as stated earlier, are if predicate nominalization has not applied, and if [+Su] pronouns and [-Su] agent pronouns are involved.

3.5.4 Derivation of WH Questions Illustrated

The following tree diagrams illustrate the derivation of WH questions (1) where the process of subjectivalization of the object, predicate nominalization, and topicalization are obligatory, and (2) where topicalization and pronominalization apply. The transformations are represented by a sequence of three trees for each question.

\[ (181a) \]
(181b)

\[
S \\
NP [+0] [+Su] \\
DET [+TOP] [+NOM] \\
S \\
VP [+A] [+0] \\
PP [+0] \\
DET [+0] \\
N [+WH] [-hu]
\]

**Term(a):** i-sulat mu nanu

**TR 5:** (DET)

**TR 6:** (NP)

**TR 7:** ([+Su] raise)

**Term(b):** ing i-sulat mu nanu

(181c)

\[
S \\
NP [+0] [+Su] [+TOP] \\
DET [+TOP] [+NOM] \\
S \\
VP [+A] \\
PP [+0] \\
DET [+Su] [+0] [+Su] [+TOP] \\
DET [+0] [+Su] [+TOP] \\
DET [+0] [+WH] [-hu] \\
N [+WH] [-hu]
\]

**Term(b):** ing i-sulat mu nanu

**TR 8:** ([+TOP] NP)

**TR 9:** ([+TOP] NP)

**Term(c):** Nanu ing i-sulat mu

**Surface:** Nanu ing i-sulat mu? what the write you

'What is the [thing] you're going to write?'
(182a)

```
(182a)

(182b)

Term(a):   minta i Juan nukarin

TR 8:      [+TOP]

TR 9:      ([+TOP] PP)

TR 11:     Ø

Term(b)    nukarin minta i Juan
```
(182c)

\[
S \rightarrow
PP \quad [+Lt] \quad [+TOP] \quad [+Su] \quad [+sg] \\
[+REF] \quad PRO \quad [-stat] \quad [-neut] \quad [+Su] \quad [+sg] \\
[+REF] \quad PRO \\
[+A] \\
NP \quad [+Su] \\
[+sg] \\
[+top] \\
[+em] \\
[+em]
\]

Term(b): nukarin  
minta  
i Juan

TR 12:  
yan

TR 13:  
yan

Term(c): nukarin  
yan  
minta  
i Juan

Surface: Nukarin  
yan  
minta  
i Juan

where  
he  
went  
Juan

'Where did Juan go?'
FOOTNOTES

1 Constantino (1971) includes the determiner (referred to as 'article' in his paper) as '... a part of the case preposition in the deep structure, that is, in the deep structure every case preposition consists of a complement marker and an article or of a complement marker alone if the complement noun has no article.'

2 Note that the [+Su] is assigned only to the P and N dominated by the PP chosen subject, the N being head of a dominating NP.

3 See Lee on 'Non-focus Verbs in Maguindanao' for words with ka- which he calls non-focus affix (1964: 49). See also Reid (1966:57-58) for comparable construction in Ivatan under Exclamatory Descriptive Clause.

4 See also Reid (1970:21).

5 The negative morpheme e, for example, is a full word. Note the following: E ne puntalan ning anak ing eskwela 'The child is not going to the school' where ne = na + ya 'he-it'.

6 The phenomenon of coalescence is observed in other instances where the grammatical entities involved have homophonous forms with the pronouns. Thus, where na 'already' and ya 'he/she/it' occur to-
gether the resulting portmanteau form ne occurs. The following illustrates.

O sige, bayaran ku na ya. ≠
O sige, bayaran ku ne.
all right, pay I already-it
'
'All right, I'll pay it (already).'

It is probable that this phenomenon is closely tied to the general process of phonological simplification that Kapampangan exhibits in the synchronic and diachronic development of the language. In instances where a double consonant or vowel results due to juxtaposition or affixation, such as -n n- or -a+a-, the respective consonant or vowel clusters are reduced to a single unit. Thus, Ambaganan neng pera ing pisamban becomes Ambagana neng pera ing pisamban 'He will contribute money to the church' and Gawan ke ing malan becomes Gawan ke ing malan 'I will make the dress.' In cases of consonant cluster reduction compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel may also occur.

Evidence of reduction is also observed in comparative studies of Kapampangan and Tagalog: where a single vowel occurs in Kapampangan a diphthong occurs in Tagalog, e.g. Kap: mestro, Tag: maestro 'teacher'; Kap: Menila, Tag: Maynila 'Manila'; Kap: bale, Tag: balay 'house'.

When [+0] PP's occur immediately following the
verb due to permutation of the agent pronoun to a fore-
position, the [+0] preposition μ is deleted following
final consonants, here -t of sumulat. The preposition
is retained otherwise: mamasang libru 'read a book'.

8 Other questions may be derived from the same
base rules as the two described here.

9 QUES is present in tag questions as well as in
yes-no questions. The rising intonation occurs with
a final particle ne, which is permuted to clause fi-
nal position: Minta neman i Juan king eskwela, ne?
'Juan already went to school, didn't he?'
CHAPTER IV
Recursive Processes

4.1 Relativization

4.1.1 Introduction

Relativization is a process by which N's are modified in Kapampangan. This is done by S's that are embedded in NP's. This embedding is handled in the base by recursive S's following N's. Subsequent TR's of relativization then operate on these embedded relative S's to bring them to their surface syntactic representations.

In Chapter II, NP's have been described as consisting of N's plus optional modifier PP's (PSR 12). In order to account for the relative S's that also occur as modifiers of N's the rule is altered as follows.

\[(PSR\ 12)\ NP \rightarrow N\ (PP^n)\ (S^n)\]

The rule reads that an N may be modified by either one or more PP's, or one or more S's, or both, or that an N may stand alone without modifiers. The notation of the superscript n, as with the PP, signifies the possibility of multiple occurrences rather than an infinite series. The actual number of S's
occurring is determined by such factors as memory load and stylistics.

Relative S's may contain any of the possible VP's listed in the PSR's except PP's and the subcategories PERPRO and WH of N. Relative S's may, therefore, contain as predicates [-state] V's, [+state] V's, NP's, and N's, the latter including certain DETPRO's and numerals as well as plain N's. The type of predicate (VP) that occurs in the Rel S is significant since it has implications for the application of later relativization TR's. Certain TR's may be constrained from applying depending upon the nature of the occurring VP. The following illustrate Rel S's containing the various VP's listed above.

V

(183) Munta ya king Japan ing babaing [tuturung Inglis go she to Japan the woman teaching English

king anak ku].

to child my

'The woman who is teaching English to my child is going to Japan.'

V

(184) Bapa ke ing taung [makalukluk karin].

uncle my-he the man sitting there

'The man sitting there is my uncle.'

NP

(185) Ortelano neman ing lalaking [titser na ning farmer he-also the man teacher his of
anak ku].
child my

'The man who is my child's teacher is a farmer also.'

(186) Dinalan na kung krus ning bapa kung [pari king gave he me cross the uncle my priest in Oslob].
Oslob

'My uncle who is a priest in Oslob gave me the cross.'

(187) Kanaku ya ing libru a [ita].
mine it the book that

'That book is mine.'

As indicated above relativization TR's operate on embedded relative S's for the derivation of surface realizations of these S's. In the order of general TR application, these TR's apply before those of pronominalization. The order and numbering of the TR's will be changed in the final summary. Here the sequence is retained for expository purposes.

4.1.2 Rules for Relativization, TR's 14-15

The TR's involved in relativization are (1) relativizer placement, (2) equi-NP/PP deletion, and (3) relative flip movement.
4.1.2.1 Relativizer Placement, TR 14

TR 14 inserts the relativizer segment ([+REL]) to the left of each relative S adjoined to that S node. On the surface the relativizer appears to be adjoined to the N preceding since it usually occurs as an enclitic bound phonologically to it. The form of the relativizer is -ng with the variant a. The occurrence of one or the other is dependent upon the phonological environment: -ng occurring after vowels, and a after consonants. When -ng follows a final -n, the -ng usually replaces the -n, though there are some exceptions, in which case a occurs.

The following demonstrates the placement of the relativizer to the left of the Rel S modifying a [+Su] N.

\[(188) \quad \text{PP\tau NP} \quad \left[+\text{Su } \right] \quad \left[+\text{TOP}\right] \quad \text{DET NP} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{S} \quad \left[+\text{REL}\right] \quad \text{Ding tau ng mumukyat king buntuk ning Arayat...}\]

'The people who climb to the mountain of Arayat...'

Rel S's may occur as modifiers of any N in the sentence, regardless of the function of the N. Rel S's may, therefore, occur with the various case N's;
the adverbial N's of time, general location, etc.; and the adnominal N's of possession (Gen), relation (Rl), etc. The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of such Rel S's, modifying N's in case, adverbial, and adnominal PP's.

(189) 

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{PP} \Rightarrow \text{NP} \\
\quad [+O] \\
\quad [+Su] \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{DET} \\
\quad \text{NP} \\
\quad \\
\quad \text{N} \\
\quad [+\text{REL}] \\
\end{array}
\]

Ikit me ing baru ng seli ku king Menila?

'saw you-it the dress bought I in Manila'

'Did you see the dress I bought in Manila?'

(190) 

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{PP} \Rightarrow \text{NP} \\
\quad [+I] \\
\quad [+Su] \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{DET} \\
\quad \text{NP} \\
\quad \\
\quad \text{N} \\
\quad [+\text{REL}] \\
\end{array}
\]

Panyulat me ing lapis a ibye ku keka.

'write you-it the pencil gave I you'

'You write with the pencil I gave you.'
"They eat the fruits of plants seen on the mountain."

"I came here last year."
'The father of my cousin who teaches English at the University is a lawyer.'

More than one Rel S may occur in a given S. Since N's may occur in every syntactic unit of S, and Rel S's modify any N, a particular S may contain as many Rel S's as there are N's in the sentence. The following are two such examples.

(194) Itang dalagang [migkanta] ing mestrang [mamako] the teacher leaving king Japan bukas. to Japan tomorrow

'That young lady who sang is the teacher who is leaving for Japan tomorrow.'

(195) Ibye ne ning babaing [mestrang terak] ing give she-it the woman teacher-of dance the

'Rel S
kending [seli mu napun] kareng anak a candy bought you yesterday to children
'The woman who is a dance teacher will give the candy you bought yesterday to the children without any money.'

In addition to the multiple occurrences of Rel S's in a sentence, a multiple series of Rel S's for a given N may also occur. The following illustrate, where the Rel S's precede the N (babai) modified.

(196) King bunduk Sinukwan ating [metung] a [makatuk-in mountain Sinukwan there-is one living Rel S nan] ng [matwa] ng babai. old woman

'In the mountain of Sinukwan there lives an old woman. (lit. ... there is one, living, old woman).'

4.1.2.2 Equi-NP/PP/Pro Deletion

The equi-NP/PP/Pro deletion rule has already been discussed as TR 11 under topicalization (see Section 3.3.2.5). The deletion rule applies here as well as in the process of complementation (see Section 4.2.3). The rule would, therefore, follow these processes in the final order.

In this case, the deletion rule deletes the NP, PP, or pronoun in the Rel S which contains an N or pronoun equivalent to the N or pronoun modified. To
illustrate, the underlying base terminal string of sentence (183) is as follows.

\[
S[Munta\ ya\ king\ Japan\ ing\ babai]_{S}\ ng\ \text{[tuturu}\ \text{RelS}}
\]
\[
ing\ babai\ ng\ Inglis\ king\ anak\ ku\}_{\text{RelS}}
\]

The Rel S modifies babai of the matrix S Munta ya king Japan ing babai. The ing babai of the Rel S contains an N equivalent to the modified N and is the equi-NP. This phrase is, therefore, deleted by the deletion rule leaving [tuturung Inglis king anak ku]. By the same process ing tau, ing lalaki, ning bapa ku, and ing libru have been deleted from the Rel S's of sentences (184-187) respectively.

The following is a tree diagram representation of the operation of the equi-NP/PP/Pro deletion TR for sentence (183).

Surface: Munta ya king Japan ing babaing tuturung Inglis king anak ku.

Pronoun copying of the [+Su] NP applies only to the matrix S as reflected in the sentence given since
the deletion of the equi-NP from the Rel S applies before pronominalization. However, if a nonsubject agent PP occurs in the Rel S, that PP undergoes pronom noun copying since the nonsubject agent PP is not deleted. The following illustrates with the pronoun copier in parenthesis.

(197) Pagdala ne ng kendi ng RelS [gewa (na) ning take he-her candy made she the kapatad nang babai] i Apu na. sibling his girl RelS Grandmother his

'He will take the candy made by his sister to his Grandmother.'

The case markers contained in the predicates of the Rel S's indicate that the first process of subjectivalization has been applied. Thus, subjectivalization is obligatory for all embedded S's with [-state] V's. Predicate nominalization and topicalization, on the other hand, apply only optionally depending on the type of embedding that occurs (cf. PredP complementation in the following section). With all embedded S's subjectivalization applies from the uppermost S downward. Thus, the subject of the highest S is chosen first, then the subject of the next lower S is chosen accordingly. Tree diagrams included at the end of this section illustrate the progression of the application of TR's from subjectivalization to equi-NP/PP/Pro deletion.
4.1.2.3 Relative Flip Movement, TR 15

The last TR of the relativization process is the Relative Flip Movement. By this TR certain Rel S's are permuted to a position preceding the N modified; the distribution N+[+REL]+Re1S ⇒ Re1S+[+REL]+N, hence the term flip.

Rel S's that are involved in this movement are those comprised of only the predicate. If the predicate is expanded in any way, either by case or adverbial PP's, the flip TR does not apply. Sentences (184) and (196) illustrate this with the embedded Rel S's makalukluk and makatuknan. In (184) makalukluk occurs following the N modified because of its expansion by karin, an adverbial PP.

There appears to be no restriction on the types of predicates to which this TR applies. In addition to [+state] V's and numeral predicates illustrated above, [-state] V's (when not expanded by other PP's) may also undergo flip. The following illustrates.

(198) Balang akit nang babai...
   each saw he woman
   'Each woman he saw...'

The flip TR, however, applies obligatorily to numeral predicates and optionally to the other V's. Sentence (199) exemplifies the flip movement of a Rel S containing a numeral predicate. The underlying
string is as shown in the tree diagram, the shaded area indicating the equi-NP that has been deleted. The relative flip movement TR then applies to the string producing the surface derivation.

(199)

```
S
  |
  VP
  |
  PP=>NP
  |
  DET
  |
  I
  |
  Mipagkwentuan 1a reng mikaluguran ng
  |
  N [+REL] S
  |   |
  S   |
  adwa reng mikaluguran
```

Surface: Mipagkwentuan 1a reng adwang told-e.o.-stories they the two mikaluguran. friends

'The two friends told each other stories.'

The operation of the flip TR on a resultative V (makatuknan) and a stative V (matwa) is illustrated by sentence (196). Since the rule applies optionally to these V's, the same sentence may also occur as

King bunduk Sinukwan ating [metung] a babaing [makatuknan] ng [matwa].

When both numeral and stative or resultative V predicates occur together, the numeral always precedes as shown in sentence (196).
4.1.3 A Special Case of Relativization

In the preceding discussion the N's modified by Rel S's were all explicit N's on the surface. In Kapampangan there are instances of relativization where the modified N is not made overt. This phenomenon is not unique to Kapampangan in the Philippines.

An example of relativization without an overt modified N is the following, the underlining identifying the Rel S.

(200) Munta ya king Japan ing tinerak.
go she to Japan the danced

'The [one who] danced is going to Japan.'

Implicit in such constructions is the existence of the thing or person referred to. The English equivalent given captures this connotation. The basis for this interpretation of an underlying implicit N is the native speakers' intuition concerning the meaning of such constructions. Native speakers indicate that the N's are not specified because they are understood from the context. They postulate that the semantic interpretation of a construction such as ing tinerak differs from ing anak a tinerak only in the one respect that the former contains a modified N that is understood and therefore unspecified, whereas the latter contains one that is explicit.

Given a situation of a child who danced in a
program and who is going to Japan, there are two alternatives for stating the expression. Each utterance is dependent upon the communication requirements. If explicit information as to who is going needs to be given, the expression may be the following where anak is modified by tinerak.

Munta ya king Japan ing anak a tinerak.
go she to Japan the child danced
'The child who danced is going to Japan.'

If one needs to merely indicate that one of two children understood by the conversants, or that someone who danced is going to Japan, then, the utterance may omit a head noun.

Munta ya king Japan ing tinerak.

In order to account for the existence of an underlying nonspecific head N, a dummy N (△) is posited in the base structure. Thus, for any N specified for modification by a Rel S, an N or a dummy N is inserted. (Hereafter, read △ as dummy N.) If the △ occurs, the equi-NP/PP in the Rel S must also contain a like △.

When Rel S modification of a △ occurs, the TR's of relativizer placement and relative flip movement do not apply. The TR of equi-NP/PP deletion deletes the NP or PP with the △, and a later general deletion rule deletes the modified △, resulting in the derivation of what remains on the surface.2

The following trees illustrate the occurrence
of \( \triangle \) and the subsequent operations of the two separate TR's of deletion, indicated by the shaded areas.

(201)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Munta ya king Japan} ~ \text{ing} \quad \text{tinerak}
\end{array}
\]

4.1.4 Application of TR's 14,15

The following illustrate the application of the relativization TR's. Their application relative to other TR's discussed earlier is indicated on the left of the chart under the trees. Their proper ordering will be given in the final summary chapter.
The book I bought is for the teacher.
I bought the book there is for the teacher.
Term: Mestra ya ing
6 -anan
su1at ku klng poesla
Surf: Mestra ya ing su1atanan ku king poesia.

'I will write a poem to
the poet who
will be a teacher.'
4.2 Complementation

4.2.1 Introduction

Complementation is the process in Kapampangan by which the predicate may be expanded by embedded S's. There are two types of complementation. The first is PredP Complementation and the second, VP Complementation.

4.2.2 PredP Complementation

In PredP Complementation the VP is expanded much as it is with PP's. Here the S is embedded in the place of an object PP, occurring, however, only with a closed set of V's. This embedding is captured in PSR 11, which is revised to read as follows.

\[(PSR\ 11)\ PP \rightarrow \begin{cases} P + NP \\ S / [\_\_\_]_{PP}^{+O} \end{cases} \]

PSR 11 states that PP's may be rewritten as P + NP or as S dominated by an object PP. Object PP's expanded by P + NP have been illustrated throughout the preceding sections. The following exemplify object complement S's (hereafter written as Comp S).
As indicated above, verbs, such as balu and ikit which permit PredP complementation, are included in a closed set. Other examples are utus 'order', sabi 'tell', nga 'say', balita 'make known', pilit 'insist', isip 'think', wa 'believe', siguru 'assure, make definite', damdam 'hear', pusta 'bet', ganaka 'remember, remind', kibat 'answer', takut 'afraid'.

The V's that permit a Comp S as the object are marked in the lexicon with the feature [+__S] to indicate their acceptance of Comp S's. This is in addition to their respective syntactic case frame features.
of \([+A,+O,+I,+D,+B,+Lt]\). The notation of the feature \([+_S]\) is taken from Fillmore and indicates ' ... an O to which an S has been embedded (1968a:28).'. The syntactic case frame of the V, then, includes the \([+_S]\) noted with the feature \([+O]\) separated from the 'S' by a slash. Sample case frames below illustrate.

- sabi 'tell' \([+A,+O/_S]\)
- pusta 'bet' \([+A,+O/_S,+D]\)
- balu 'know' \([+O/_S]\)
- nga 'say' \([+O/_S]-PP\)

These case frames indicate that certain V's which reflect the object case may be expanded by object PP's (P+NP) or object Comp S's, and that the \([+O]\) case marker by case incorporation occurs in the V. The case frames of balu 'know' and nga 'say' indicate that only the object of these verbs may be subjectivalized. (In these verbs the object case marker is a \(\emptyset\) allomorph.) With balu either a P + NP construction or the Comp S may occur as object, but the verb nga accepts only the Comp S indicated by the raised -PP.

The sentences below illustrate predicates which take both the PP and Comp S as objects (with sabi) and those that take only the Comp S (nga).
(206) S
   PredP
      VP
         PP [+A]
            PP [+O]
               NP
               DET N
               'The boy said 'ing awang'.

(207) S
   PredP
      VP
         PP [+A]
            S
               PP [+O]
                  NP
                  'The boy said that the old maids will bring handkerchiefs.'

(208) S
   PredP
      VP
         PP [+A]
            S
               PP [+O]
                  NP
                  'The boy said that the name its of town Masiku came-from it the known REL in-that town that menibatan ya king balita ng ketang balen a ita dakal a siku]. many chiko
'They say that the name of the town Masiku came from the well-known fact that in that town there are many chikos.'

Generally, V's that take object Comp S's are [-state]. However, the ka-...-an derived nominals of some of the V's and some [+state] V's may also take Comp S's. Examples with a [+state] V and with the base sabi 'tell' are given below.

(209) Makasigurado kung [ing pasalubung miras ya sure I-that the gift reach it

karing masalese].
there good

'I'm sure the gift will reach there in good condition.'

(210) Kasebyan king [ninuman ing mukyat king bunduk was-said that whoever the climb to mountain

Arayat malyari yang kuma karing bunga ring
Arayat may he take the fruits of

tanaman].
plants

'It is said that whoever climbs the mountain Arayat may take the fruits of the plants.'

In order to bring PredP complementation to the surface, the Comp S must be related to the matrix S by a particle which in examples (204, 5, 7, 8, and 210) is king. The transformational operation to do this follows.
4.2.2.1 Complementizer Placement, TR 16

TR 16 states that for every S embedded in the place of an object PP, the segment COMP is inserted to the left of the embedded S, adjoined to that S node. As indicated above, the complementizer is usually king. Other variants also occur in free variation, namely ing, -ng, and na, the last borrowed from Tagalog.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{king} \\
\text{ing} \\
\text{-ng} \\
\text{na}
\end{align*}
\]

(211) Sinabi ne \{ -ng, na \} datang i Juan.

'He said that John will come.'

Most verbs in the matrix sentence may occur only with the overt variants just listed. However, the verb sabi 'tell' may be followed not only by these, but also by nothing. The variants of king generally carry no apparent semantic distinction. However, some native speakers postulate that a Comp S without an overt complementizer following the verb is to be interpreted as giving definite information, and that an overt complementizer makes the Comp S indefinite. For these speakers (211) above is interpreted to mean that the speaker is not sure whether Juan will really come or not and (212) below that the speaker is sure that he will come.\(^4\)
(212) Sinabi ne ning lalaki Ø datang i Juan.
said he-him the boy come Juan
'The boy said Juan will come.'

As with the relativizer placement TR, the complementizer placement TR operates before pronominalization. In Comp S constructions the pronominalization TR's apply to both the matrix and embedded S's as stated, with some constraints for the application of the pronoun permutation TR. Pronoun permutation applies separately for each S, so the pronouns of each S are permuted to the position following the first full word of the respective S. In addition, when a [+Su] agent referent pronoun copier occurs in the Comp S, this referent pronoun may be permuted to the position following the nonsubject agent pronoun of the matrix S. The following S's with the verb pilit 'insist' illustrate. The pronouns in question are underlined.

(213) Pinilit nang Ipe king miras ya banwa.
insisted he Ipe that reach she heaven
'Ipe insisted that she will reach heaven.'

(214) Pinilit nang Ipe king puntalan mya(=mi+ya)
insisted he Ipe that go we-it
the movie
'Ipe insisted that we go to the movie.'

(215) Pinilit ne(=na+ya)ng Ipe king miras banwa ing
insisted he-her Ipe that reach heaven the
dalagang matwa.
maid     old
'Ipe insisted that the old maid will reach heaven.'

(216) Pinilit nang Ipe king ing matwang dalaga e ya insisted he Ipe that the old maid not she
munta banwa.
go heaven
'Ipe insisted that the old maid, she will not go to heaven.'

As illustrated in (216) and alluded to earlier, Comp S's may undergo TR's involving topicalization and predicate nominalization (subjectivalization, of course, is obligatory). An example of predicate nominalization in a Comp S follows.

(217) Sinabi na king [ing asan ing dapat nang banten said he that the fish the must he watch
ning pusa].
the cat
'He said that the fish is the thing the cat must watch.'

In addition to simple predicative, topicalized, and equational (predicate nominalized) Comp S's, WH questions may also occur in PredP complementation. The conditions outlined for the Comp S's apply to Comp Q's. The only difference between the two is the overt form of the complementizer. With Q's it is nung. The WH pronoun in the base string specifies
the occurrence of an embedded Comp Q and the subsequent selection of the appropriate complementizer. The complementizers are distinguished in the lexicon by the features +[\_S] or +[\_Q] as illustrated below.

king 'that' [+COMP,+[\_S]]
    PP
    [+O]

nung 'if, whether' [+COMP,+[\_Q]]
    PP
    [+O]

The following are examples of Comp Q's.

(218) Balu mu nung [nukarin ya minta i Juan?]
    know you if where he went Juan

    'Do you know where Juan went?'

(219) Ikit nang Juan nung [nanu ing gewa ku?]
    saw he Juan if what the made I

    'Did Juan see what I made?'

4.2.2.2 Application of TR 16

The following diagram summarizes the application of embedding a Comp S in the base and the operation of TR 16, complementizer placement. The derivation is shown in a sequence of two trees.
I know that the gift will reach there.

'I know that the gift will reach there.'
4.2.3 Verb Phrase Complementation

In Section 4.2.2 Predicate Phrase Complementation has been described as an expansion of the predicate by the embedding of an object Comp S much as PP's expand the predicate. This type of expansion occurs in a simple sentence or clause.

In contrast S's may be embedded in the VP as a phrase expansion rather than a clause expansion. The VP complementation on the surface results in a different kind of Comp S from the PredP complementation since an additional TR of equi-NP/PP deletion must apply, somewhat like the Rel S discussed in 4.1. The predicate that results from VP complementation is complex, consisting of the matrix S VP plus the VP of the embedded Comp S in a single close-knit verb phrase. This complex predicate, then, functions on the surface as a dual verb with a single subject.

The subject of a Comp S in a VP is deleted by a transformational rule. This subject may have its own case relationship to the predicate of the embedded S, and need not have the same underlying case relation to the predicate as does the subject of the matrix sentence to its predicate. However, the N of the deleted phrase must be equivalent to the N in the subject phrase of the matrix S. Sentence (221) illustrates.
(221) Saupan da⁵⁴ kang maglinis bale.
help  I  you  clean  house
'I'll help you clean the house.'

The matrix S of (221) is Saupan da ka 'I will help you' where ka 'you' is the subject having an underlying [+D] case relation to the verb. The Comp S is Maglinis kang bale 'You clean the house' where ka is the subject having a [+A] case relation to the verb. The PERPRO ka of the Comp S is deleted since it is equivalent to the subject of the matrix S.

The Comp S of a VP is generated in the base as it is with all embedded S's. This is accomplished in PSR 4 which rewrites the VP as (Aux) V (N). The Comp S occurs in the position of the N, which has been described earlier as a complement to the V, characterizing that V in some way. PSR 4, thus, is modified accordingly to read as follows:

(PSR 4) VP → (Aux) V (Comp)

A further rule, then, expands Comp: Comp → N, S.

These rules state that an optional N or S may occur as an expansion of the V in a VP.

Not all verbs can be expanded within the same phrase by Comp S's for all semantic purposes. Action verbs ([state]) can be modified by descriptive verbs ([+state]), while certain of these as well as others in a closed list may be expanded for other semantic
purposes. The latter include expansion to express purpose, or intensification, and with modal type verbs, some other semantic amplification. Examples of verbs that can be expanded by Comp S's for these various semantic purposes include bisa 'want', subuk 'try', ikit 'see', damdam 'hear', tuksu 'tempt', agkat 'invite', munta 'go', muli 'go home', datang 'come', kailangan 'have to, need', and malyari 'is possible, may'.

The potential of these V's to be so expanded is noted in the lexicon by the insertion of the feature [+S] in the syntactic case frame preceding the regular case features of the V's. The following sample lexicon illustrates.

saup 'help' [+S,+A,+D]
bisa 'want' [+S,+A,+O]
subuk 'try' [+S,+A,+O]
tuksu 'tempt' [+S,+A,+D]
agkat 'invite' [+S,+A,+D]

Here the designation [+S] has been placed first in order to avoid confusion with the [+S] placed after the [+O] to designate PredP complementation.

For these V's, then, the possible case incorporations operate as noted in the respective case frames whether they occur as regular or expanded VP's. To illustrate, the verb saup 'help' occurs in nonexpand-
ed VP constructions with the [+A] and [+D] cases as in the following.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[+A ]} \\
\text{[+Su]}
\end{array}
\]

(222) Sumaup ku keka bukas.
help I you tomorrow
'I'll help you tomorrow.'

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{[+D ]} \\
\text{[+Su]}
\end{array}
\]

(223) Saupan da ka bukas.
help I you tomorrow
'You will be helped by me tomorrow.'

This verb may also occur in expanded VP's with the same cases incorporated as shown in (221) and (224) which reflect the [+D] and [+A] cases respectively.

(224) Sumaup kung maglinis bale keka.
help I clean house you
'I'll help you clean the house.'

As was stated in the first part of this section, the subject selected for the matrix S has implications for the selection of the subject of the Comp S. Therefore, though the Comp S's in sentences (221) and (224) are the same, the deleted subjects refer to different entities. The subject of the matrix S in (221) is the underlying dative, therefore, the deleted subject of the Comp S is the equi-N ka. In (224) the matrix subject is the agent ku; therefore, the equi-N deleted
from its Comp S is ku. If the subjects of the matrix and Comp S's are not equivalent, VP complementation is blocked as shown in (225) below.

(225) *Saupan da ka ng [maglinis ya bale].
help I you clean she house

VP complementation is often limited to certain verbs in the matrix sentence, with few limitations (other than pragmatic semantics) on the verb in the Comp S. The following illustrate.

(226) Kailangan kung muli ngeni.
have-to I-COMP go-home now
'I have to go home now.'

(227) Susubukan keng bubuklat ing awang.
try I-it-COMP open the window
'I'm trying to open the window.'

(228) Iyagkat deng saglulu ing pau.
invite they-it-COMP race the turtle
'The turtle was invited by them to race.'

(229) Munta kaming mamialung mahjong king kantin.
go we-COMP play mahjong to canteen
'We'll go to the canteen to play mahjong.'

Two transformational rules are necessary to bring VP complementation to the surface: (1) complementizer placement, and (2) equi-NP/PP deletion. These rules have already been stated for PredP complementation.
and for relativization and will be expanded in the subsequent sections to cover this particular aspect of the grammar also.

Verb phrase complementation limits the complementizer to -\textit{ng}, placed to the left of the Comp S adjoined to that S node. Thus, TR 16 in its final form must include this specification since PP complementation has a number of variants. This type of complementation also requires that the equi-NP/PP deletion transformation (TR 11) apply to the NP subject of the Comp S, equivalent to the subject NP of the matrix S, and also to all other phrases containing N's occurring in the Comp S that are equivalent to N's in phrases of the matrix S, thus deleting such.

The following example with an abbreviated tree showing the complementizer placement and the equi-NP/PP deletion rules (the latter by shaded area) illustrates verb phrase complementation.

(230)
As with relativization and PredP complementation, pronominalization operates after this type of complementation. Thus, TR 13 (pronoun permutation) applies to the terminal string above to derive the surface sentence below.

Bisa kung munta king balen.
want I-COMP go to town
'I want to go to town.'

As indicated above, VP complementation may be interpreted semantically in various ways depending upon the characteristics of the verbs either in the matrix S or the Comp S. The two general interpretations are adverbial modification and some type of amplification of matrix V's.

4.2.3.1 VP Complementation for Modification

In adverbial modification the Comp S's embedded in VP's function much like the Rel S's embedded in NP's. As Rel S's modify the head N's in the NP's, Comp S's modify the head V's in the VP's. Rel S's are, therefore, adnominal modifiers whereas Comp S's are adverbial modifiers. Unlike Rel S's, however, which have no restriction as to the type of V that may occur to modify an N, adverbial Comp S's are limited to V's which consist of a special subset of stative V's, those which are semantically possible of
describing actions. Examples of such descriptive words include mabilis 'fast', mabagal 'slow', marat 'careful, and malwat 'a long time'. The matrix V, of course, may consist of any [-state] V in this type of complementation.

The underlying structure of VP complementation which denotes adverbial modification, then, consists of a matrix S indicating an action (e.g. Lalakad (ya) ing lalaki 'The boy is walking') and a Comp S embedded in the matrix VP which provides a description of the action (e.g. Mabagal (ya) ing lalaki 'The boy is slow'). The TR's of COMP placement and equi-NP/PP deletion apply as outlined above. Subsequently, the TR's of pronominalization apply, and the surface representation is derived. The following diagram illustrates the application of the TR's of COMP placement and equi-NP/PP deletion (the latter indicated by the shaded area).

(231)
The pronoun copying and permutation rules (TR's 12,13) then apply to the remaining subject, resulting in the following intermediate and surface strings:

Intermediate: Lalakad ng mabagal ya ing lalaki.  
walking COMP slow he the boy

Surface: Lalakad yang mabagal ing lalaki.  
'The boy is walking slowly.'

Sentences (232) and (233) further illustrate VP complementation for adverbial modification.

(232) Mamangan yang mabilis.  
eat he-COMP fast  
'He eats fast.'

(233) Linawen nang marat nang Gustin i Goryu.  
looked-at he-COMP careful he Gustin Goryu  
'Gustin looked carefully at Goryu.'

4.2.3.2 Other VP Expansions by Complementation  
VP complementation for other semantic expansions of matrix V's involve the following four types: (1) modal verb complementation, (2) purposive complementation, (3) intensification complementation, and (4) compound complementation.

4.2.3.2.1 Modal Verb Complementation  
VP's may be expanded optionally by certain auxiliary elements as indicated in PSR 4. In addition,
a closed set of V's which carries a modal semantic interpreta-
tion may be expanded by Comp S's. Examples of this closed set include kailangan 'have to' and malyari 'may, is possible'. The Comp S expanding this type of verb specifies the action involved. Though this type of complementation is limited to certain verbs in the matrix sentence, there are no limitations (other than semantic) on the verb in the Comp S. The following diagram illustrates the underlying base structure and the operation of the TR's required.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{S} \\
\text{PredP} \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{COMP} \\
\text{Kailangan ng sumulat ng istorya king Inglis ku} \\
\text{have-to write a story in English I} \\
\text{NP [+A]} \\
\end{array}
\]

Surface: Kailangan kung sumulat ng istorya king Inglis. have-to I-COMP write story in English

'I have to write a story in English.'

4.2.3.2.2 Purposive Complementation

When the matrix predicate consists of directional motion V's such as munta 'go', datang 'come', and muli 'go home', a complementation construction which specifies the action is interpreted semantically as a purposive expansion. As with modal verb expansions,
the matrix V's here are restricted, but the Comp S's have no verb limitations (except pragmatically). The TR's also operate here as outlined above. The following illustrates.

(235)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{S} \\
\text{PredP} \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{COMP} \\
\text{Munta ng mamialung kami ng mahjong kami king kantin} \\
\text{go play we mahjong we to canteen}
\end{array}
\]

Surface: Munta kaming mamialung mahjong king kantin.
go we-COMP play mahjong to canteen

'We'll go to the canteen to play mahjong.'

Though purposive complementations are usually limited to V's of motion, other V's may also occur in the matrix S such as agkat 'invite' and tuksu 'tempt'.

(236) Tinuksu deng manako i Juan.
tempted they-him-COMP steal Juan

'They tempted Juan to steal.'

4.2.3.2.3 **Intensification Complementation**

VP complementation designates intensification when the predicates of both the matrix and Comp S's are identical. The predicates in this instance are unrestricted, including both [-state] and [+state] V's
as well as N's. When N's or [+state] V's are involved, the interpretation of the intensification is that of a high degree of the quality designated. When [-state] V's are involved, the interpretation is that of habitual action, i.e. always doing the action denoted. In this type of complementation not only are the predicates identical in the base, but also the rest of the matrix S and the Comp S are identical. The respective TR's operate accordingly for the derivation of the surface sentences. The following illustrates.

(237)

Surface: Mumunta yang mumunta ing anak king sine.
' The child always goes to the movies.'

The following exemplify intensification complementation with [+state] V and N predicates.

(238) Masanting yang masanting ing lalaki.
' The boy is very handsome.'
(239) Anak yang anak.
  child he-COMP child

'He is very childish.'

4.2.3.2.4 Compound Expansion

With certain combinations of V's in the matrix and Comp S's, VP complementation indicates a compounding type of expansion. In this instance, the matrix S depicts an action related to an object, and the Comp S gives a description of the action in which the object is involved. The actions depicted by the V's in the two S's are not semantically related. They are combined into one phrase only by virtue of having equivalent subject NP's. With the deletion of the equi-subject NP from the Comp S, the V's of the matrix and Comp S form a compound predicate for a single subject specified in the matrix S. The following exemplifies this type of complementation with the tree showing the application of the TR's involved.

(240)
Surface: Ikit ne(=naya)ng masisilab ing bale.
saw he-it-COMP burning the house

'He saw the house burning.'

Predicates in matrix sentences that allow this compounding may be somewhat limited. The sensory V's such as ikit 'see' and damdam 'hear' are included as well as others. Further research is needed to identify the entire composition of this set of V's.

There appears to be, in addition, a distinction between restrictive and nonrestrictive interpretations of embedded S's. Contrast is indicated in that a Rel S is restrictive but the Comp S in a VP is nonrestrictive. For example, the following Rel S gives restricted information about a particular house.

(241) Ikit ne ing baleng masisilab.
    saw he-it the house-REL burning

'He saw the house that was burning.'

If one wants to be nonrestrictive, indicating that he saw a house and that the house was burning, sentence (240) with a VP complementation Comp S is used.7

4.2.3.3 Derivation of VP Complementation

The following diagram illustrates the application of PSR's and TR's which are used in VP complementation. Note that here, as with the diagram illustration of relativization (202), the TR's apply in their overall proper order rather than that presented in the discussion.
He saw the people eating.
L-..-

~

__._.

_

S

'~dP

-----=~;;:;;;;;;;;;:;;;;;:;;;;;;;;;;:;;;;;;;;;~~~~====~--~P:P~NP
PP
T+REF
[+0 ]
~
PRO]
[+Su]
./
"""
[-sg ]
~
S
P
N
N
P'*DET
[
+A]
[+0
]
[ +f]
~
[-sg]
[ +cm]
PrjLdP
[+PER
[ +cm]
VP
PP~NP
PRO]
[-st,-nt]
[+A ]
[-sp ]
[-hr
]
I
[TSg ]
V
P::}DET
-~
N
Asp Tns . . . I Wb ~
[+A ]
[-sg]
[ +cm]
I
I
I
[ +cm]
Gen Prog
I

1

~

I kan
I

I
I

I

den!!
r+Sul
r +DETl

I

tau
r +Sul

~a

den!!
r+su
r+DET

(PP~NP)

tau
r +Sul

I
PP~NP

r+A 1
0

'-----

mamaN------- kan
mamangan
eating
saw the people eating.-

~

-

la
..L

deng
deng
the

tau
tau.
people


4.3 Conjunction

4.3.1 Introduction

The formation of compound and complex constructions (sentences and phrases) by conjunction is much the same in Kapampangan as it is in English. The various types of conjunction observed in English, such as the coordinate 'and', adversative 'but', subordinate 'if', disjunctive 'or', and so forth, are also found to occur in Kapampangan. The process of coordination with 'and' will be discussed here as illustrative.

Coordination in Kapampangan is generated in the base by a new rule preceding those given in Chapter II, numbered here as PSR 1(a), but renumbered in the summary.

\[(PSR\ 1(a))\ S \rightarrow (C) S^*\]

The rule reads that an S may be rewritten with an optional conjunctive (C) plus S, expanded further by additional S's. The asterisk denotes a rule schema which indicates that an infinite series of S's may occur after the first S, and that each of these additional S's may be introduced by optional C's.

The optionality of the conjunctive is based on the occurrence of conjoined S's without a C preceding the first S, and of S's with more than two conjoined S's where all of the C's except the last may be
omitted. Conjoined S's without the conjunctive are also possible. The following illustrate.

(243) S

Munta ka king tindahan ampong salwan mo reng gule.
go you to store and buy you-them the vege-
tables

'(You) go to the store and buy some vegetables.'

(244) S

Napun miglinis kung kwarto ku
yesterday cleaned I room my
and
silatanan ke ing kaluguran ku
wrote I-her the friend my
menay= kung baru.
sewed I-a dress

'Yesterday, I cleaned my room, wrote (a letter) to my friend, and sewed a dress. '

(245) S

Minuli ku metudtud ku.
got-home I slept I

'I went home (and) I slept.'

The basis for noting the conjunctive as preceding rather than following S is found in such sentences as (246).
And then, Maria went home.

As in other languages, there are two types of coordination in Kapampangan: (1) sentence coordination and (2) phrasal coordination.

4.3.2 Sentence Coordination

In sentence coordination two or more base sentences are conjoined according to PSR 1(a) above. No TR's are needed to derive the surface compound sentence. The following diagram illustrates.

Though conjoining of unlike S's may be possible (e.g. verbal with nonverbal predicative S's), generally the conjoined S's are of like structure, as seen in (247) and (248).
(248) Mestro ya i Juan ampong estudyante ya i Maria. 'Juan is a teacher and Maria is a student.'

There are two forms of the conjunctive 'and' in Kapampangan, ampo and at. These occur in sentence and phrasal coordination (see sentences above for the use of ampo and sentence (249) for at). As illustrated in the sentences, ampo occurs with a final velar nasal, ampong, when conjoining S's.

Some underlying conjoined S's occur differently on the surface from those of (247) and (248). These are sentences where there is a single subject with a compound predicate, a single predicate with compound subjects, agents, objects, etc., or a compound predicate and a compound subject. In these instances, there are identical or shared elements in the base structure which have been deleted on the surface due to redundancy of information. Coordination in such cases require transformations to derive the surface representations. The transformations involved are (1) conjunction reduction (TR 17), and (2) identical conjunct reduction (TR 18) (Jacobs and Rosenbaum 1968:253-57).

4.3.2.1 Shared Subjects

Sentence (249) exemplifies coordination of S's
with a shared subject.

(249) Migkanta kami at mimialung ampong tinirak.
sang we and played and danced

'We sang and played and danced.'

Sentence (249) is derived from the underlying structure illustrated below.

As noted the subject of the three conjoined S's is the agentive pronoun kami 'we'. Where such identical subjects occur in underlying conjoined S's, TR 17 of conjunction reduction may optionally apply. By this TR the identical constituents and/or constituents having the same function are conjoined to form compound constituents. This TR restructures the base tree by introducing the new dominating labels NP and VP for the respective conjoined constituents and deleting the original conjoined S nodes. The following illustrates the derived tree.
The resulting string shows a compound VP of *migkanta* 'sang', *mimialung* 'played', and *tinirak* 'danced' and a compound NP of three identical NP's *kami*. To this string the second rule of identical conjunct reduction (TR 18) is obligatorily applied which reduces the identical NP's to a single NP.

This results in the following string.

*Migkanta at mimialung ampong tinirak kami.*

Finally, the pronoun *kami* is permuted to the position following the first full word by TR 13, producing the surface sentence (249) above.

4.3.2.2 Shared Predicate

In some cases of sentence coordination, the shared constituent may be the predicates of the conjoined S's. In these sentences, then, there is a single predicate and a compound subject on the surface as the following exemplifies.

(250) Migkanta la ri Maria ampo i Juan.
sang they Maria and Juan
'Maria and Juan sang.'

The underlying structure of (250) is that shown below.

```
  S
 /   \\   \
 /     \  \\
/       \ /
VP       NP
```

```
C
NP
```

```
  S
 /   \\   \
 /     \  \\
/       \ /
VP       NP
```

```
C
```

```
NP
```

TR's 17 and 18 apply to the base string above, giving the following derivations.

(TR 17)

```
  S
 /   \\   \
 /     \  \\
/       \ /
VP       C
```

```
  S
 /   \\   \
 /     \  \\
/       \ /
NP       C
```

```
  S
 /   \\   \
 /     \  \\
/       \ /
NP       C
```

When the conjoined subjects are phrases containing explicit N's as in (250) above (Maria and Juan), the subject marking determiner of the compound NP must reflect the plurality of the phrase. In these instances, then, a TR of agreement obligatorily applies. This rule, TR 19, copies the DET of the first con-
joined NP to the left of its dominating NP, and ad-
joined to a higher NP, with the [+singular] feature
of that DET replaced by a [-singular] feature. The
property feature of the N's involved ([^common]) is
also incorporated into the new DET, thus, ensuring
the selection of the proper lexical form as shown
below.

The DET's of all subsequent conjoined NP's which
introduce [-common] N's remain the same on the surface
as seen in (250) above. However, if the N's are
[+common], the DET which introduces these N's under-
goes morphophonemic change (ing $\Rightarrow$ ng). The following
illustrates.
(251)

\[\begin{array}{c}
\text{S} \\
\text{VP} \quad \text{NP} \\
\text{DET} \quad \text{NP} \\
\text{NP} \quad \text{C} \quad \text{NP}
\end{array}\]

Base: Tinerak deng ing mestra ampo ing estudyante.

Surf: Tinerak la reng mestra ampo -ng estudyante. 
danced they the teacher and the student

'The teacher and the student danced.'

4.3.2.3 Shared Object

Object PP's may also be shared in coordinated S's. The TR's of conjunction reduction and identical conjunct reduction apply here too, resulting in sentences such as (252). The shared object PP in (252) is karing mialiwang bunga 'the different fruits' with the additional shared agentive NP la 'they'.

(252) Kuma la at mangan karing mialiwang bunga.
get they and eat the different fruits

'They get and eat the different fruits.'

The agentive and/or subject pronouns (whether PERPRO or REFPRO) occur in fixed distributions in coordinated S's, i.e. they follow the first full word of the appropriate sentence. In contrast, the distribution of the phrases which amplify these entities is freer. Thus, the shared object phrase may occur within the compound VP as shown in (253) where ing lande
'the floor' occurs between *pinalis* 'swept' and *linampaso* 'scrubbed'.

(253) Pinalis de ing lande at linampaso.
swept they-it the floor and scrubbed

'They swept and scrubbed the floor.'

In (252) the shared object ('the different fruits') occurs following the two conjoined verbs.

4.3.2.4 Compound Subject

In English, conjunction reduction of two coordinated S's with nonidentical conjuncts is possible. The coordinated base sentence below (254) may be reduced by conjunction reduction to (255).

(254) John sang and Mary danced.
(255) John and Mary sang and danced (respectively).

The interpretation of such reduction is that of respective action, though the term 'respectively' is generally used in addition for clarification.

In Kapampangan this type of reduction is possible only with identical conjuncts, and, therefore, is not possible with sentences such as (254) above. Although a construction similar to (255) occurs in Kapampangan, its underlying structure, and thus its interpretation, is different from that given for the English sentence. A surface reduction of nonidentical conjuncts in Ka-
pampangan can be interpreted only as two entities occurring as a compound subject performing two actions indicated as a compound predicate.

The Kapampangan construction similar to (255) is as follows.

(256) Tinerak ampong migkanta 1a ri Maria ampo i Juan.
danced and sang they Maria and Juan
'Maria and Juan danced and sang.'

The sentence above indicates that both Maria and Juan performed the dual acts of dancing and singing. The underlying structure, therefore, is that of (257).

(257) S[Tinerak ampong migkanta i Maria]S at S[Tinerak ampong migkanta i Juan]S
'Maria danced and sang, and Juan danced and sang.'

Sentence (257), in turn, is the coordination of the following conjoined sentences.

(258) S[Tinerak i Maria]S ampong S[migkanta i Maria]S
'Maria danced and Maria sang.'
S[Tinerak i Juan]S ampong S[migkanta i Juan]S
'Juan danced and Juan sang.'

The application of TR's 17 and 18 to (258) produce the base sentences coordinated in (257), a possible surface sentence, in which the subjects are the
shared elements. The same TR's may then operate on (257) to produce (256) in which the predicates are the identical conjuncts which have been reduced.

4.3.3 Phrase Coordination

Lakoff and Peters (1969:113-142) have demonstrated that certain NP coordinations in English are not derivable by transformations from underlying conjoined S's, but are generated as conjoined NP's in the base. They have indicated that not only do certain V's require compound NP's semantically (e.g. 'John and Mary are alike'), but that sentences with with phrases or the adjunct together are derived from base compounds (e.g. 'John killed a man with Bill' and 'John and Bill killed a man together').

In Kapampangan, as in many Philippine languages, there are verbal affixes which indicate actions or states that require plural subjects. These are the affixes which denote notions such as (1) doing an action reciprocally with one another, and (2) belonging to, or coterminous with, a given set.

The reciprocal affix occurs with any V (if pragmatically feasible) to indicate the reciprocal nature of the action. The coterminous affix occurs with any N that may represent a coterminous group (generally of people).
As conjoined S's are generated in the base, so are coordinated phrases. The PSR that depicts conjoined phrases precedes that which expands the PP. It is given here as PSR 11(a) but renumbered in the final summary.

\[(\text{PSR 11(a)}) \text{ PP} \rightarrow (C) \text{ PP}^*\]

The asterisk denotes the rule schema which indicates that an infinite series of PP's may occur. The rule states that when two or more PP's occur, each PP may be expanded by an optional conjunctive plus PP. The conditions of the optionality of the C as stated for S coordinations apply here also, except for the C of the initial conjoined PP, which is obligatorily deleted.

The compound subjects that are required by the VP's cited above are limited to underlying agents or essives of the VP. Object PP's also occur in conjoined constructions, but these PP's are always derived by the conjunction reduction transformation in sentence coordination.

The only TR applicable to phrasal coordination is TR 19 of agreement. The TR's of reduction do not apply.

The following illustrates phrasal coordination with a reciprocal V where several rules have already applied (e.g. those for PP*NP).
Another type of phrasal coordination is exemplified with numerals. This is an NP coordination and is generated by a PSR which precedes the expansion of the NP. The rule follows.

\[(PSR \, 12(a)) \, NP \rightarrow (C) \, NP^*\]

The rule has the same reading as that for conjoined PP's above. NP's, or N's, are conjoined according to this rule and require no conjunction TR's. The initial C, however, is obligatorily deleted as with the PP coordination. The following illustrates NP coordination.
Kailangan ka ng adua at kapitna.

'You need two and a half.'
The feature [+R1] (Relational) denotes an adnominal relation as does [+G] (Genitive) and [+Lg] (General locative) discussed in Section 2.5. The particle which designates this relation is -ng. It functions to combine two semantically related N's into what may be interpreted as a compound N. The example bunga ng tanaman in sentence (191) is, therefore, perhaps better expressed in English as 'plant fruits', rather than 'fruits of plants'. The latter equivalent is ambiguous in that it may be interpreted as denoting a possessive relationship, which in Kapampangan is designated by the particle ning.

It will be possible, as indicated by Dr. Reid, to specify the referent of \( \triangle \) in any given discourse. In this case the N could be specified and then deleted according to specifiable discourse rules. Since this dissertation takes the sentence as its domain, the analysis with the \( \triangle \) is preferred.

There is at least one other embedded S attributive to N. An N may also be followed by an S which is appositive in function. The appositive sentence (App S) specifically identifies the N modified. It, like the Rel S, follows the N in the base structure (is one of the \( S^n \)'s in PSR 12).
TR's for the App S are different from the TR's for the Rel S in that there is no App marker and predicate nominalization is obligatory. Like the Rel S, then, equi-NP/PP deletion applies. These TR's produce a surface appositive construction as follows.

Base: \( \text{Datang i Mr. Ruiz}_{\text{AppS}}[\text{mestro i Mr. Ruiz}]_{\text{AppS}} \)

Pred Nom: \( \text{Datang i Mr. Ruiz}_{\text{AppS}}[\text{ing mestro i Mr. Ruiz}]_{\text{AppS}} \)

Equi-NP Dele: \( \text{Datang i Mr. Ruiz}_{\text{AppS}}[\text{ing mestro}]_{\text{AppS}} \)

Surface: Datang ya i Mr. Ruiz ing mestro. Come he Mr. Ruiz the teacher

'Mr. Ruiz, the teacher, is coming.'

Note that were the embedded App S included in the discussion, a rule would be needed to assign \([+\text{Rel}]\) and \([+\text{App}]\) to S's embedded in NP's. Such a rule would be subcategorizational and included in the PSR's: \( S \rightarrow [+\text{Rel}], [+\text{App}] / \text{NP}[N] \). Since further analysis of the kinds of S's possible in NP's is needed, a fuller exposition in the text and incorporation of \([+\text{Rel}]\) and \([+\text{App}]\) in the PSR's have not been attempted.

A similar construction indicates a direct quote; i.e. a sentence followed by a quoted sentence with no particle introducing the latter. However, the direct quote must be preceded by a pause, and also have its
own intonation pattern rather than being incorporated into one sentence. Our analysis implied for quotation, then, is a sequential arrangement of two sentences rather than embedding.

The pronominal form da 'I' is a variant which occurs in place of ku when the [-Su] agent and the [+Su] nonagent ([+O], [+D], or [+B]) pronouns are found in juxtaposed position on the surface, i.e. after permutation. Generally, in such situations the pronouns from the respective sets occur as given in the lexicon with a few exceptions. In addition to da, the other variants for other pronouns are shown in the following examples.

(1) Saupan da ka. (where da occurs instead of mi)
   help we you
   'We'll help you.'

(2) Saupan na katamu. (where katamu occurs instead of tamu)
   help he us of tamu
   'He'll help us.'

In these constructions, therefore, three homophonous forms occur in the set of [-Su] agent pronouns: de 'I', de 'we(excl)', and da 'they'. The motivation for the deletion of the distinction of number in the first person is not apparent, neither the particular selection of the form da.

A similar construction occurs in Bontoc: To-longen daka 'You will be helped'. Here the pronoun
da is interpreted as referring to a nonspecific agent. 

In embedded sentences where the agent pronoun is deleted, there is also an obligatory deletion of the object preposition ng following final consonants (cf. footnote (7) to Chapter III).

7See Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1968:259-63) where the parallel nonrestrictive construction in English is derived from conjoined sentences.

8Discourse analysis would provide for a grammatical relation between sentence (246) and a preceding sentence. Such grammatical relations between sentences have not been provided for in this dissertation.
CHAPTER V
Rules Reordered and Restated

5.1 Introduction
The following restates the rules to include in the PSR's the recursive elements, and also puts the transformational rules in their proper order. Details are found in the referenced sections enclosed in parentheses after each rule. The raised numbers preceding the rules indicate the numbering followed in the discussion in the preceding chapters.

5.2 Phrase Structure Rules

1a (PSR 1) $S \rightarrow (C) S^*$ (4.3.1)
1 (PSR 2) $S \rightarrow (QUES) \text{PredP} (PP^n)$ (2.2, 3.5.2)
2 (PSR 3) PredP $\rightarrow$ VP $+$ PP$^4$ (2.2)
3 (PSR 4) VP $\rightarrow [^{\text{state}}, ^{\text{neutral}}]$ (2.3)
4 (PSR 5) \begin{align*}
&\left\{ \\
&\text{VP } \rightarrow (\text{Aux}) V (\text{Comp}) \\
&[^{\text{state}}] \\
&[^{\text{neutral}}] \\
&\text{NP, PP}
\end{align*} (2.3)
5 (PSR 6) Aux $\rightarrow$ Probability, Suggestive, Dubitative, (Obligative $\text{dapat 'should'}$, Optative $\text{sana 'wish'}$) ... (2.3)
6 (PSR 7) $V \rightarrow (\text{AspTns}) Wb$ (2.4)

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\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Asp} & \rightarrow \text{Stative, Reciprocal, Unintentional, (Possessive miki-, Resultative maka-)} \\
& \text{[+]state } \text{[+]neutral]}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Asp} & \rightarrow \text{Intensive} \\
& \text{[+]state } \text{[+]neutral]}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Asp} & \rightarrow \text{General, Aptative, Distributive, Causative, Aptative-causative} \\
& \text{[+]state } \text{[+]neutral]}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Asp} & \rightarrow \text{Recent completive} \\
& \text{[+]state } \text{[+]neutral]}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(PSR 8)} \quad \text{Tns} & \rightarrow \text{Pres, Prog, Iter, Fut, Pst} \quad (2.4) \\
\text{(PSR 9)} \quad \text{Wb} & \rightarrow \text{v, a, n...} \quad (2.4) \\
\text{(PSR 10)} \quad \text{Comp} & \rightarrow \text{N, S} \quad (2.3, 4.2.3) \\
\text{(PSR 11)} \quad \text{PP} & \rightarrow \text{(C) PP}^* \quad (4.3.3)
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PP} & \rightarrow \{[+Lg],[+T],[+Man]\ldots \\
& \quad \text{/ PredP (PP^)}\}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PP} & \rightarrow \{[+V] \quad \text{[+]state]}\}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PP} & \rightarrow \{[+E] / [+V] \quad \text{[+]state]}\}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PP} & \rightarrow \{[+B],[+T],[+Lg] / [____]_{VP} \\
& \quad [+G],[+Lg],[+Pv] / [N____]_{NP}\}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PP} & \rightarrow \{P + NP \quad (2.5, 4.2.2) \\
& \quad S / [____]_{PP} \quad (4.2.2) \\
& \quad [+O]\}
\end{align*}
\]
\[ 12^a \text{(PSR 15)} \ NP \rightarrow (C) \ NP^* \quad (4.3.3) \]
\[ 12 \text{(PSR 16)} \ NP \rightarrow N \ (PP^n) \ (S^n) \quad (2.6, \ 4.1.1) \]
\[ 13 \text{(PSR 17)} \ P \rightarrow [+P] \quad (2.7) \]
\[ 14 \text{(PSR 18)} \ N \rightarrow [+N], [+PERPRO], [+DETPRO], [+WH] \ldots \]

(2.8)

5.3 Transformational Rules

(TR 1) Subject marking \quad (3.1.2.1)
(TR 2) Subject determiner incorporation \quad (3.1.2.2)
(TR 3) Node changing \quad (3.1.2.3)
(TR 4) Case incorporation \quad (3.1.2.4)
(TR 5) Determiner placement \quad (3.2.2.1, 3.5.3)
(TR 6) Node labelling \quad (3.2.2.2, 3.5.3)
(TR 7) Subject raising \quad (3.2.2.3, 3.5.3)
(TR 8) Topic marking \quad (3.3.2.1, 3.5.3)
(TR 9) Topic copying \quad (3.3.2.2, 3.5.3)
(TR 10) Agentive case preposition replacement \quad (3.3.2.3)
(TR 11) Relativizer placement \quad (4.1.2.1)
(TR 12) Complementizer placement \quad (4.2.2.1, 4.2.3)
(TR 13) Equi-NP/PP deletion \quad (3.3.2.5, 4.1.2.2, 4.2.3)
(TR 14) Relative flip movement \quad (4.1.2.3)
(TR 15) Conjunction reduction \quad (4.3.2)
(TR 16) Identical conjunct reduction \quad (4.3.2)
(TR 17) Agreement \quad (4.3.2.2, 4.3.3)
(TR 18) Pronoun copying \quad (3.4.2.1, 3.5.3, 4.1, 4.2.2.1, 4.2.3, 4.3)
(TR 19) Pronoun permutation \quad (3.4.2.2)
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