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THE CASE SYSTEM OF TAGALOG

VERBS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN LINGUISTICS

MAY 1973

By

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ABSTRACT

'The Case System of Tagalog Verbs' is a study of the underlying
case relationships in the sentence, and the dominant role the verb
plays in dictating the types of cases it allows to cooccur with it.
This linguistic information is used to subcategorize the verbs of
Tagalog in a manner that is sensitive both to the syntactic and
semantic relationships existing between the verb and the cases that
occur with it. The classification proposed not only takes into
consideration the case frame of the verb but also the total semantic
reading of a sentence. To formalize the syntactic-semantic relation-
ships in the sentence, semantic features for the verbs have been made
prominent, a step in a continuing effort to explain the verb in
Philippine languages.

Chapter III gives a modification of Fillmore's case grammar by
the use of semantic features and is the core of this study. These
semantic features of the verb determine the case frames (case co-
occurrence restrictions). The centrality of the verb is emphasized.
The noun complements are predictable from the verb rather than vice
versa as in Fillmore's view.

Base rules given in Chapter III illustrate how the case selec-
tional features of the verb are introduced in a complex symbol, a
matrix of specified features. To match the verbal case features,
nouns also are assigned case features which are described in detail
in Chapter II. Subcategorizational and redundancy rules attribute
features to both nouns and verbs.

The Tagalog deep structure cases are defined in Chapter II.
Most of Fillmore's case designations have been adopted. However,
broad case roles have been redefined as having subcase features to
capture the fine meanings of case roles intuitively perceived for
Tagalog as well as in an attempt to formalize Fillmore's prose de-
scriptions of his cases. On the other hand, where similarities have
been intuitively perceived, Fillmore's cases have been collapsed.
The result is a small inventory of broad cases (i.e., five inherent
cases) with subcases which work toward a more adequate and precise
semantic and syntactic description of Tagalog verbal sentences.

Chapter IV deals with the selectional redundancy rules that
restrict the types of nouns that occur with certain types of verbs
on the basis of the latter's meaning. Case frames are represented as
selectional features instead of in terms of category symbols as
Fillmore does in his grammar. These selectional redundancy rules
account for the cooccurrence of the inherent types of cases with the
verb except for the locatives.

Chapter V presents the major subcategorization of the Tagalog
verbs. Each of the fifteen classes of verbs is described by
matrices consisting of the semantic features as well as the con-
textual case features that distinguish each class from the rest.

The first four chapters of the dissertation discuss the under-
lying semantic-syntactic case relationships of the Tagalog sentence.
The surface case forms (i.e., the case marking particle and the
verbal affixes) that mark case relationships in the surface structure
are discussed in Chapters VI and VII. The many-to-one correspondence

between case function and form is emphasized. The process of subject formation, which is considered a surface phenomenon in this study, is also described in Chapter VII.

While stressing the importance of features for a more precise description of the behavior of Tagalog verbs, no claim is made that the display of verbal and nominal features introduced in this study will completely define all Tagalog verb-noun case relationships, let alone the total meanings of verbs and nouns. The study needs more empirical validation, but has accomplished the following: (1) a more adequate and precise subcategorization of Tagalog verbs by the use of features; and (2) a formalization of the introspective judgements of this native speaker about the case system of Tagalog verbs, thus getting closer to semantic adequacy.

LIST OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

1. agentive (agt)
2. Agentive (A)
3. affected (af)
4. animate (an)
5. Benefactive (ben, B)
6. begun (beg)
7. case (c)
8. case marking particle (K)
9. centrifugal (cf)
10. change of state (cs)
11. common (com)
12. completed (comp)
13. complex symbol (c.s.)
14. concrete (conc)
15. determiner (det)
16. direction (dir)
17. Directional (Dir, D)
18. experiencer (exp)
19. experiential (exp)
20. external (ext)
21. goal (g)
22. inchoative (inch)
23. instrumental (I)
24. Locative (L)
25. meteorological (met)
26. neutral aspect (neut. asp.)
27. noun (N)
28. Objective (O)
29. patient (pat)
30. singular (sg)
31. subject (subj)
32. terminal (ter)
33. total (t)
34. transient (trans)
35. transported (transp)
36. undergoer (und)
37. verb (V)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS (<u>Continued</u>)

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Tagalog Language

Tagalog is one of the eight major languages of the Philippines.
It belongs to the Austronesian or Malayo-polynesian language family
as do the rest of the 70 to 150 Philippine languages. It is regarded
by many Philippine linguists as the dominant language of the country
(Llamzon 1968:731). The 1960 Census of the Philippines indicated
that at that time 44.4% of the population were speakers of Tagalog.
Constantino (1971:117) later estimated that this percentage had increased
to 60% of the population. One of the major reasons for the rising
use of Tagalog over the use of other Philippine languages is that in
1937 Tagalog was chosen by the Institute of National Language as the
basis of the national language, now called Pilipino.

Tagalog is the native language of the following provinces in
the Philippines: Bataan, Bulacan, Batangas, Cavite, Laguna,
Marinduque, Occidental Mindoro, Oriental Mindoro, Nueva Ecija, Quezon,
Rizal, and also Metropolitan Manila. It is also the dominant language
in the northern half of Camarines Norte in the Bikol Region, in some
towns of Zambales, Tarlac and Pampanga in Central Luzon, and in some
provinces of Mindanao, notably Cotabato and Davao. It is widely
taught in the school system, and is used in the various communications
media throughout the country.

1.2 Tagalog Linguistic Studies

Tagalog is not only the most widely used language in the
Philippines, but it is probably the most studied from a linguistic

point of view. Ward (1971) surveys the coverage of Philippine

studies, and shows that the greatest concentration of grammatical

research has been on the following languages, with Tagalog totalling

a full one-third of all the works: Tagalog, Cebuano, Ilokano,

Hiligaynon, Bikol, Waray, Kapampangan, and Pangasinan, arranged here

in a decreasing order by number of speakers per language. Constantino,

in a review of the linguistic research on Philippine languages,

states that Tagalog and the other major languages are the most fre-

quently studied. He writes, 'One can say without exaggerating that

the history of Philippine linguistics is largely the history of the

study of the major Philippine languages, especially Tagalog' (1971:118).

As early as the 1560's, the Spanish missionaries emphasized

the study of the major languages in the Philippines, especially

Tagalog. According to Milner (1963:64), much of their work 'rests

upon the normative preconceptions and traditional pigeonholes of

conventional European grammar.'

During the American occupation of the Philippines (first half

of the 20th century), a new era in Philippine linguistics started.

The U.S. army, which brought the first Americans to the Philippines,

started the study of Philippine languages, again notably Tagalog.

Among the grammars of Tagalog written at this time, Mackinlay's

A Handbook and Grammar of Tagalog is worthy of mention. Three im-

portant grammars of Tagalog were published during this American

Period: Leonard Bloomfield's Tagalog Texts with Grammatical Analysis

(1917), Frank Blake's A Grammar of the Tagalog Language (1925), and

Cecilio Lopez's A Manual of the Philippine National Language (1940).

Of the three, Bloomfield's grammar is considered the first comprehensive and systematic analysis of Tagalog. It is also the best known, and the most influential of American studies on any Philippine language. Blake's grammar 'shows the unmistakable influence of the best Spanish grammarians, particularly Totanes' (Constantino 1971:125). Blake's study, though not published until 1925, actually antedates Bloomfield's 1917 grammar. It is of importance here since Blake was the first to discuss case relations as expressed by the Tagalog verb. Lopez's manual was influenced by Bloomfield's grammatical analysis and also by Jespersen's Philosophy of Grammar (Constantino 1971:131). Though influenced by Bloomfield, Lopez believed as did Blake in the importance of semantic categories as a basis of analysis.

Among the recent works on Tagalog grammar are Kess' doctoral dissertation, A Study of the Syntactic Features of the Tagalog Verb (1967), and Llamzon's Modern Tagalog (1968), the latter a functional-structural description giving particular attention to the problem of verification. Published recently is a Tagalog Reference Grammar by Schachter and Otanes, the only grammar of Tagalog to date written in a transformational-generative framework.

The best known and most widely used of all Tagalog grammars is Lope K. Santos' Balarila ng Wikang Pambansa, written in Tagalog (or Pilipino, the national language). The Institute of National Language has adopted this work as the official grammar of the Philippines. The Balarila, as it is popularly called, thus has become the 'Bible' for Pilipino teachers all over the country. It deserves more study since Tagalog continues to engage the attention of many scholars of Philippine linguistics.

1.3 Theoretical Orientation

1.3.1 Previous studies on the verbs of Philippine languages have described verbal affixes and their role in marking which of the noun phrases in the sentence is 'focused' or 'topicalized'. Probably under the influence of Bloomfield, who in the morphology of his Tagalog grammar indicated that an affix indicates one and only one grammatical relation (1917:226 et seq.), most of the Philippine linguists (generally S.I.L. linguists) had single affixes where actually there are two or more grammatical relations.

Contrary to Bloomfield's analysis, Constantino claims that 'in many Philippine languages two or more affixes may be used to indicate the same grammatical relation between subject and verb' or that 'one affix may indicate two or more different grammatical relations, not only with different stems but also with the same stems' (1971:139). For example three different affixes may mark the grammatical relation goal (or object).

<pre>
                                       O
(1) [i-]   Itapon mo ang basura.
                    throw you   garbage

                    '(You) throw the garbage.'

                                       O
(2) [-an]   Hugasan mo ang pinggan.
                     wash   you   plates

                    '(You) wash the plates.'

                                       O
(3) [-in]   Lutuin mo ang ulam.
                     cook you   viand

                    '(You) cook the viand.'
</pre>

In the next examples, a single verbal affix i- marks three grammatical relations between the verb and the focused noun. This affix may be used to mark the object, the beneficiary, or the instrument.

(4) [Objective]

                    O
Itago mo ang bola.
keep you   ball

'(You) keep the ball.'

(5) [Benefactive]

                    B
Ibili mo siya ng kotse.
buy you for him car

'(You) buy a car for him.'

(6) [Instrumental]

                    I
Ipunas mo ang trapo.
wipe you   rag

'(You) use the rag to wipe (it).'

As Schachter (1961), Constantino (1971:139), and Cena (1971) noted, the same stems may have two or more interpretations. For example, the noun phrase ang alipin 'the slave' may have two functions in the following sentence.

(7) Binayaran ng lalake ang alipin.
     paid   man   slave

    a. The man paid for the slave. (Object-focuser)

    b. The man paid the slave. (Indirect-object-focuser)

Schachter (1961:143) in his article shows how the structural ambiguity of the sentence above can be resolved by assigning it two different derivational histories. He converts the passive sentence into an active sentence using two transformations, one that marks the noun phrase sa and the other ng. The sentence

which contains the Object-focuser is transformed to an unambiguous sentence.

 (8) Nagbayad <u>ng alipin</u> ang lalaki.
     paid slave   man

   'The man paid for the slave.'

On the other hand, the sentence which contains the Indirect-object-focuser is transformed to the following unambiguous sentence.

 (9) Nagbayad <u>sa alipin</u> ang lalaki.
     paid slave   man

   'The man paid the slave.'

However, what Schachter claims as an unambiguous active sentence, 'Nagbayad ng alipin ang lalaki,' can have two interpretations.

 a. The man paid <u>for the slave.</u>

 b. The man used <u>the slave</u> for payment.

The second sentence indicates an instrumental function in opposition to the objective function in the first interpretation.

So even case-marking particles can be interpreted as having different functions. For example, the particle <u>ng</u> in Tagalog may mark an agentive, an objective, or an instrumental phrase.

        A
 (10) Kinuha <u>ng bata</u> anglibro.
     got child book

   'The child got the book.'

           O
 (11) Kumuha ang bata <u>ng libro.</u>
    'The child got a book.'

I

(12) Gumamit siya <u>ng kutsilyo</u> sa manok.
    used   he   knife   on the chicken

'He used a knife on the chicken.'

Other linguists suggest that another way of disambiguating sentences is by 'expanding' the noun phrase (Constantino 1971: 139) or by the 'recovery of deleted elements' (Cena 1971:137). For example, <u>sa mesa</u> in the following sentence exhibits a two-way ambiguity between the source and goal function.

(13) Nahulog siya sa mesa.
    fell   he   table

    a. 'He fell on the table.'

    b. 'He fell from the table.'

The phrase <u>sa mesa</u> may be interpreted as the goal (in #13a) or the source (in #13b) of the verbal action.

By expanding <u>sa mesa</u> (or recovering its deleted elements) into <u>patungo</u> ('going to') <u>sa mesa</u> it becomes unambiguously the goal of the action or into <u>magmula</u> ('coming from') <u>sa mesa</u> unambiguously the source of the action.

All these examples indicate that there is no perfect correlation between surface forms and case functions. They illustrate the fact that a consideration of overtly displayed grammatical facts will not always lead to the same conclusion about the case of a particular structure as will the use of intuitions about the semantic properties of the structure. Chafe (1970:122) states that 'when introspection and surface evidence are contradictory, it is the former which is decisive.' Due to the concentration on a surface syntactic analysis alone by earlier studies,

Tagalog sentences have sometimes been classified together which

are interpreted as different by the native speakers of the

language. Kess (1967) tried to classify Tagalog verbs by using

the notion of 'focus' and verbal affixes of sentences and was

dissatisfied with the results of his study. He concluded in an

unpublished manuscript, the following:

> 'If an accurate system of verb description is
> desired, with correspondent verbal classifica-
> tion, it seems that the only way this can be
> accomplished is with a system that cross-
> classifies its verbs both as to which verbal
> affixes they occur with (previously confusingly
> called focus), as well as which particular
> case relationships these verbal affixes
> happen to mark' (1971:7).

Kess realized that a purely surface structure consideration of

focus is not sufficient for a complete analysis of Tagalog verbal

constructions but represents only a partial approach to the

problem.

Because a surface syntactic analysis alone is not adequate

to explain how sentences are interpreted by native speakers, a

model becomes necessary that can distinguish two sentences marked

similarly on the surface but understood differently due to under-

lying case distinctions. It seems necessary therefore, to have

two levels of analysis to provide an adequate description of

Tagalog verbs. While the surface level of analysis of verb

structure has been described to some extent for several

Philippine languages (see publications of SIL linguists), very

little has been attempted in the way of describing underlying

semantic properties of verbs. The only research suggestive of

this type of analysis is that of Br. Andrew Gonzales (1970) on Kapampangan; though this is not in the framework suggested here. The writer of this dissertation concludes that it is no longer sufficient for a grammar to classify or subcategorize verbs on the basis of the surface structures[1] in which they occur. Deep structure[2] information must be considered as well to account for the manner in which sentences are interpreted or understood by the speakers of the language.

A new way of subcategorizing Tagalog verbs not motivated primarily by morphological considerations but by syntactic-semantic ones is proposed here. This leads the writer, a native speaker of Tagalog, to explain in a systematic way the case relationships in a sentence as indicated by the semantic properties of the verb.

To do this, the grammar model needed must be capable of correlating the observable syntactic facts with a deep structure more semantic than syntactic and therefore further removed from the surface structure than the one proposed by Chomsky. Case grammar as envisioned by Fillmore seems to be able to do this, but unfortunately this model has not been developed far enough to accomplish the goal of explaining adequately the syntactic-semantic relationships existing between the verb and the rest of the sentence in which it occurs.

1.3.2 Fillmore's case grammar model is a modification of the standard transformational theory, which relies upon a clear distinction between deep and surface structures (1968:21). The

simple sentence in Fillmore's theory consists of a 'predicator (verb, adjective or noun) in construction with one of the semantic functions known as (deep structure) cases' (1971:246). In short, case grammar is a modification having a base component that specifies the case structure of sentences.

It is interesting to note here that Fillmore adopted Blake's (1930) definition of case and case form in his current general theory. Fillmore uses the term case (or deep structure case) to identify the 'underlying syntactic-semantic relationship, and the term case form to mean the expression of case relationship in a particular language--whether through affixation, suppletion, use of clitic particles or constraints on word order' (1968a:21). The deep cases identify the roles which the entities serve in the predication, these roles taken from a repertory defined once and for all for human languages.

The case notions comprise a set of universal, presumably innate, concepts which identify certain types of judgements human beings are capable of making about the events that are going on around them, judgements about such matters as who did it, who it happened to, what got changed.

In this dissertation, most of Fillmore's case designations (Agent, Object, Instrument, Source, Goal, Experiencer) have been adopted. However, these designations are too broad to capture the fine meanings of case roles intuitively perceived for Tagalog or too similar in function to be considered separate cases.

For example, Fillmore himself noted three types of agents. He referred to them as 'Agentive-as-objective', 'Agentive-as-goal', and 'Agentive-as-source' (see Cook 1971:15). So where distinctions are present in a case role, subclasses of case are postulated in this study. However, where similarities are detected, the broad case roles have been collapsed into one case role. To illustrate, because of their intuitively perceived similarities (i.e. both being affected or acted on), Fillmore's experiencer and object cases in this study are encompassed by the broad case role of object having the semantic subdivisions of patient and nonpatient types. The result is a small inventory of broad cases with subcases which work toward a more adequate and precise semantic and syntactic description of Tagalog verbal sentences.

Fillmore too, has notation problems in incorporating case in the base component. Acknowledging this weakness, he says, 'the cases are clearly not categories, though in this notation they are treated just like grammatical categories' (1971:263). The notational problem encountered by Fillmore is basically the mixing of function with categorial elements. He had case relations dominating category symbols, e.g. Case is rewritten as Particle + Noun Phrase. In this study, it has been decided to mark case in the lexicon[3] to avoid Fillmore's problem of having a relational term (case) dominate categorial elements.

1.3.3 In an attempt to formalize Fillmore's prose descriptions of his cases as well as some semantic generalizations gleaned from the works of Philippine linguists, particularly

Blake (1906), Lopez (1941), Pittman (1966) and Stevens (1969),

features[4] have been postulated for a more precise characteriza-

tion of case relationships between the predicate (verb) and its

arguments.[5]

Aside from Kess (1967), there has been no analysis of

Tagalog verbs that uses the feature approach. However, his dis-

sertation concentrated on the syntactic features of the verb

whereas this study will concentrate on the semantic-syntactic

features of the verb.

The feature notation has been developed in phonology (Halle,

Jakobson, etc.), and has been applied to syntax by Chomsky (1965).

Syntactic features (not case features) were used by Chomsky to

account for the selectional restrictions governing the cooccur-

rence of lexical items (1965:75-106). However, there seems to be

uncertainty existing in current transformational grammar about

the status and the functions of these selectional features.

McCawley states that selectional restrictions are definable solely

in terms of properties of semantic representations and that to

determine whether a constituent meets or violates a selectional

restriction, it is necessary to examine its semantic representa-

tion and nothing else (1968:135).

McCoy (1969:37), who encountered difficulties in setting up

her features, says that 'answers are still lacking to such basic

questions as how many and which features need to be included in

a lexical entry; how the features of a lexical item are to be

discovered or how far a grammar needs to go in specifying the

features required by the terminal node.' This analysis, which

is designed to be as semantically adequate as possible and to

explain the syntactic characteristics of the verb and its argu-

ments will hopefully contribute to a solution of these questions.

One of the best treatments on semantic features that the writer has studied is found in Chafe's Meaning and the Structure of Language (1970). In this dissertation however, the writer identifies binary features, reducing the number of Chafe's features by as much as one-half. Again, some of Chafe's noun types have been collapsed in this study. For example, his patient and experiencer nouns are both referred to here as objects having different governing verbs. The first is governed by an agentive verb and the second by a nonagentive verb.

In the writer's attempts to formalize the feature approach, Starosta's articles on the case in the lexicon (1971a, 1971b, 1972) have given valuable insights, as well as McCoy's (1969), Taylor's (1971), and Nilsen's (1971) dissertations. McCoy's work is especially important in the use of subcases in the sub-categorization of Spanish verbs.

1.3.4 Linguists disagree on whether to consider the verb or the noun central in the deep structure. Chafe (1970:144) and McKaughan (1958) in his work on Maranao considered the verb central in their analyses. Fillmore (1968:21) and Chomsky (1965) however have their nouns select the verbs and not vice versa. Chomsky's strict subcategorization rules or Fillmore's case frames give the contexts into which verbs are inserted.

In this study the verb is considered central because one can predict the types of arguments that can cooccur with it even when it is not placed in any context with an array of particular nouns. In other words, the syntactic constituents of the

sentence are predicted by the semantic properties of the verb. 'Verb' in this study is understood in the more general sense of Fillmore's 'predicator'.

The verb, therefore, is composed of a bundle of specified semantic features which restrict or dictate the types of case-marked nouns that may cooccur with it. The noun, although marked for the potential case roles it can perform, can only function in any of these roles if assigned by the semantic properties of the verb. These properties or features are inherent to the verb and constitute part of its total meaning.

The semantic features of a particular verb select the types of nouns that the verb allows to occur with it. The inherent semantic features in the verb and the types of nouns that cooccur with it further impose a classification on the verb similar to Fillmore's 'case frame'. However, Fillmore's frames consist only of the cases that may select a verb, while this study adds the inherent semantic features of the verb and refers to both the case frame and the semantic properties as features of the verb, with the former predictable from the latter.

For example, [+external] verbs require more than one argu-ment. These arguments are Agent and Object. The [+external] feature of the verb indicates a type of action having an agent external to that action. The features of this verb class would include [+external], requiring [+A], and [+O]. Example:

(14) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +ext \end{bmatrix}$ [+A]   [+O]
         Naglinis   siya ng bahay.
         cleaned   he   house

'He cleaned the house.'

A verb marked [-external] often requires the presence of just one argument, that of Agent. The action is internal and therefore does not affect an outside object. Such a verb would include the feature [-external], requiring [+A]. Example:

(15) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -ext \end{bmatrix}$ [+A]
        Umiyak   siya.
        cried   she

'She cried.'

The case frames or case cooccurrence restrictions are actually determined by the semantic features of the verb. The case environment of the verb, or said in another way, the nouns co-occurring with the verb, therefore, do not determine the type of verb to be used. The verb has as part of its total meaning the array of cases that its very meaning requires or permits in its environment. The verb 'governs' the introduction of cases into the sentence. The verb's central sense or meaning thus includes its case environment. This important observation seems to be verified in that the classification of the verbs has been found to be possible without having to put them into a context.

It is of interest as an aside to note that when the investigator initially posited semantic features for the verb, no thought was given to a one-to-one correspondence with surface representations. However, some semantic features posited, such as [±centrifugal], have helped to explain surface forms heretofore inadequately described. For example, most MAG-verbs correspond

to the verbal feature [+centrifugal], meaning action away from

the agent, and the majority of UM-verbs correspond to the

[-centrifugal] feature, meaning action toward or benefiting the

agent (Pittman 1966:12). This seems to directly support the

claims here (1) that the semantic features chosen are not purely

arbitrary or ad hoc but do correspond to actual inherent semantic

properties of Tagalog verbs, and (2) that some formal features of

grammar can be accounted for in terms of meaning (cf. Lakoff

1970).

1.3.5 In this study, following Chomsky's notational system

in his standard transformational model (1965), the case selec-

tional features of the verb are introduced in the base by a

complex symbol, a matrix of specified features. As indicated

above, and repeated here for emphasis, verbs have semantic

features which define the basic or central sense of the verb,

and they have also contextual (i.e., case environment) features.

Specifically, the types of verbal features discussed

here focus on their noun selection function.

To match the verbal case features, nouns also are assigned

case features in this study, called 'nominal case features'.

These are in addition to the 'inherent features' of nouns such

as 'animate-inanimate', 'proper -common', etc. But as mentioned

before, nouns as lexical units do not have fixed case roles as do

the verbs. Nouns assume case roles in propositions, the case

role being determined by the verb. These roles are assigned to

nouns by case-related redundancy rules similar to those Taylor

used (1971:264). Subcategorizational and redundancy rules in this approach thus attribute features to both nouns and verbs.

To capture the relational character of case (see Anderson 1971:28), selectional redundancy rules (see Chapter IV) restrict the types of nouns that occur with certain types of verbs on the basis of the latter's meaning. In other words these rules show how the semantic properties of the verb dictate what kind of cases may occur with it.

Case frames are represented as selectional features instead of category symbols as Fillmore does in his grammar. According to Starosta,

> 'This has an advantage over Fillmore's pseudo-strict-subcategorizational case frames in that the case frame need not be handled as a single unanalysable unit, but can be broken up into components which can be handled by redundancy rules in accordance with usual conventions for feature rules.' (1972:1101).

At the risk of further redundancy, the aim here is to describe the core feature matrix for verb classes recognized intuitively by native speakers of Tagalog, but needing a formalization in order to describe this intuitive knowledge. This has been done by noting the inherent features of verbs using a model that will explain why a native speaker can tell what the verb's cooccurrence restrictions are, or what array of nouns a verb demands even when the verb is out of context.

Initially, the writer examined about 800 verb bases for obligatory case environments and checked the results with

another native speaker of Tagalog. Fillmore's universal case list was used for the purpose. It was discovered that a majority of the verbs cluster around a few case frames. When subjectivalized however, the same case frame was found to have different verbal affixes marking it in the surface structure. In some instances different case frames were marked by the same verbal affixes. To eliminate some of these overlaps, it was decided to study the meanings of the verbs. The semantic properties of the verbs as well as the available syntactic information about them were then formalized into features. It was observed that Fillmore's case roles were too broad to handle the finer meanings of the relationship between the verb and its noun phrases so these were divided into subcases which were selected by the verbal features.

Most of the semantic features of verbs have been derived from descriptions of the Tagalog verb by Lopez and Pittman and concepts for the case features from Blake, Fillmore and Chafe's descriptions. Whenever necessary, new features (semantic or case) have been posited, based upon the writer's intuitions as a native speaker of the language. The result is an analysis which explains some of the 'idiosyncratic' behavior of the verbs; some, not all, for there are exceptions which will be discussed in detail in Chapter VII.

Before continuing to a description of deep cases and their meanings in Tagalog, it should be said that this study makes no claim to being the best approach to case determination. The use

of features as an attempt to formalize the various case relationships present in a sentence may not be the perfect solution, but until a better system is found, features appear to be a convenient shorthand 'to express the similarities and differences existing among various cases' (McCoy 1969:37). The writer has tried to approximate her intuitive understanding of the total meaning of the verb by positing the features relevant to an adequate description of the case system in Tagalog. It should also be said that no claim is made either that the display of verbal and nominal features introduced in this study will completely define all Tagalog verb-noun case relationships, let alone the total meanings of verbs and nouns. The study is experimental, aimed toward an ultimate explanation of the underlying case system and consequently how this linguistic knowledge can help in the subcategorization of Tagalog verbs. The writer believes that the semantic features postulated in this study subcategorize verbs with more exactitude than has been possible earlier. Since the surface realization machinery is not developed to a point where one can make precise predictions, the ultimate empirical validity still remains to be tested.

In summary, this dissertation attempts (1) to explain why a deep structure analysis is necessary to make an adequate description of the case system of Tagalog verbs; (2) to explain why a particular verb has a particular case frame in terms of semantic features of verbs; (3) to explain the intuitively perceived differences in case constituents in terms of subcases, thus

getting closer to semantic adequacy; and (4) to formalize the system in a way which avoids the notational problems of Fillmore's case grammar and Chafe's semantic case model. None of the previous works on Tagalog have undertaken any one of these objectives. It may be mentioned in this connection that others recently have attempted the use of subcases in their analyses, but none on Tagalog: see McCoy 1969; Nilsen 1971; Anderson 1971; Taylor 1971; and Harrison 1971.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Surface structure: Chomsky's term for the structure resulting from the application of all pertinent transformations to a deep structure. The surface structure is the basis for the phonological interpretation of the sentence.

[2]Deep structure: Chomsky's term for the structure resulting from the insertion of lexical items into the terminal string generated by the phrase structure rules. The deep structure is the basis for the semantic interpretation of the sentence.

[3]Robinson (1970), Starosta (1971a, 1972) and Taylor (1971) introduce case in the lexicon. Starosta (1972) has developed to some extent the use of lexical redundancy rules as case marking devices.

[4]Feature: a property of a linguistic element according to which the element is classified, or on the basis of which its cooccurrence privileges are stated.

[5]'Argument' is a term used in a logician sense by Fillmore (1968b:373) to refer to objects (or nouns) concerning which a predicate asserts something.

CHAPTER II

TAGALOG DEEP STRUCTURE CASES

As postulated in the introduction, the verb is central to the
Tagalog sentence. Nouns are peripheral and tied to the verb center
by relations such as agentive, objective, instrumental, directional,
locative, and the like. The nature of these case relationships of
the nouns to the verb will be discussed in some detail in this
chapter.

2.1 The Use of Case in Philippine Studies

The notion of 'case' is not new in the analysis of Philippine
languages. In 1906 F.R. Blake wrote a paper entitled 'Expression of
Case by the Verb in Tagalog.' In 1930 he wrote another paper in
which he defined his use of case very clearly. He says, 'the term
case as regularly used refers primarily to form and has to do with
meaning only insofar as that is denoted by the form' (1930:34). But
this use of the term, Blake points out, is limited and does not de-
note the relationship itself. Blake goes on to clarify by using the
phrase case form for 'case' in its usual sense, i.e., the inflections,
and the term case for the relationship without regard to its means of
expression. Fillmore emphasizes this clarification in his current
general theory of case grammar and adopts Blake's usage by, he says,
'using the term case to identify the underlying syntactic-semantic
relationship, and the term case form to mean the expression of case
relationship in a particular language--whether through affixation,
suppletion, use of clitic particles, or constraints on word order'
(1968:21).

Bloomfield did not use the term case since affixes on nouns in Tagalog do not occur to mark such relationships. In general, the term has been avoided by others writing on Philippine languages.

However, avoiding the use of the term case does not do away with the type of relationships often indicated by noun affixes (case forms). These relationships tying noun phrases in the Tagalog sentence to verb centers are indicated by affixes in the verb rather than on the noun and by particles introducing noun phrases. Affixes in Tagalog verbs mark case relationships between the verb and the subject of the sentence, while the particles introducing noun phrases mark the same kind of relationships, but do so between verbs and nonsubject noun phrases.

At least three terms have been used to describe the verb affixes referred to above: focus, voice and case. Summer Institute of Linguistics' personnel introduced the term _focus_ for these affixes (Healey 1960:103). Kerr explains that the verb, by these affixes, 'has an implied focus of attention on the entire expression marked as topic' (1965:17). Others have designated these affixes by the term _voice_, including Bloomfield (1917, 1933), Lopez (1937), and McKaughan (1958, 1962). McKaughan in his earlier writing preferred voice to focus to emphasize that the relationship was verb to subject (he called it 'topic' then) rather than a relationship of emphasis seemingly conveyed by the SIL term 'focus.' Others using the term 'focus' in their descriptions of Philippine languages include Dean (1958), Pike (1963) and other SIL linguists, Capell (1964) and Bowen (1965). Those who have followed Blake (1906, 1930) in his use of

the term <u>case</u> include Kerr (1965), McKaughan (1970) and Gonzales
(1971).

While most Philippine linguists avoided the term <u>case</u> entirely,
McKaughan did refer to 'pronouns inflected for case relations, and
'case marking particles' which 'indicate various case-like relations
to the verb center' in his monograph on the <u>Inflection and Syntax of
Maranao Verbs</u> (1958:7-15). In a footnote (1958:16) he says, 'these
case-relations remind us of the following: nominative, ergative,
accusative, and dative (locative and benefactive).' But in the 1958
monograph, McKaughan used the term 'voice' for verbal affixes that
indicate the 'specific syntactic relations between the <u>topic</u>....and
the verb' (1958:19). In a later article, though not using the term
case he obviously referred to case-like relations between the verb
and the topic as well as the (case) relations between the (case)
particles and the nontopic nominal expressions. In 'Overt Relation
Markers in Maranao' he says, 'verbal affixes thus mark grammatical
relations between verb and topic which intersect the relations marked
by particles used with other than topic substantives' (1962:47).

Taking up from McKaughan's Maranao study, Kerr concluded that
'the case-like relationships marked by the verb voice affixes are the
same types of relationship as those obtaining between the nontopic
nominal expressions and the verb (1965:16). He noted that verb voice
affixes have case-marking functions. This parallels to a certain
extent what Blake wrote in the 1906 article mentioned above. In his
article, Blake stated that 'the case relations of a noun may be ex-
pressed by a verb' and that verbs have 'case indicating functions'

(1906:183). Kerr also used case to encompass both types of relationships: the case-like relations marked in the verb between the verb and its topic and the case-like relations between the verb and the nontopic nominal expressions. Unlike Blake however, Kerr did not distinguish clearly between case form and case (meaning).

Fillmore turned to Blake's use of case in his conceptual framework. In 1968, he postulated that with each underlying predicate expression there is an unordered set of arguments. Each of these arguments is labelled according to its semantic role (or 'case' relationship) with the predicate word. The role types are themselves unanalyzables corresponding to elementary perceptions on the part of human beings concerning matters relative to an action. The roles include relations to actions such as who did it, who experienced it, where it happened, what the result was, and a few others. A number of these role notions may be universal, and can be grouped in each language into a limited number of cases, namely agent, instrument, object, directional, location and so forth. In this study, these role types and their groupings are used to describe the semantic structure of predicates and their arguments.

Fillmore's case grammar model thus has two levels: the deep structure and the surface structure (1968:21). According to McKaughan, this difference between deep and surface structure helps to clarify the 'problem of conceptualizing the cross cutting of the cases marked by verbal affixes and those marked by particles or pronouns' (1970:294). He argues that with the availability of a model that moves from deep to surface structure, instead of just describing what is found on the surface all at one time, '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).

In discussing deep structure, Fillmore describes the underlying sentence as consisting of a 'verb and one or more noun phrases, each associated with the verb in a particular case relationship' (1968:21). Using McKaughan's description of Maranao, he describes 'primary topicalization' for that language as follows: 'one NP is chosen as topic 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' (1968:55). The resultant surface structure indicates what the topic is by the preposed particle so, and in turn what the underlying case relationship of the topic to the verb is by an affix in the verb rather than in the noun. McKaughan says that Fillmore's process of topicalization (or subjectivalization) 'immediately clarifies what has confused our descriptions for so long, and what has made us unintelligible to non-Philippinists in our discussions of voice, focus, case, topic, etc.' (1970:295).

It is interesting to note that the surface structure of a Tagalog sentence is actually quite similar to the deep structure representation of a sentence proposed by Fillmore. The Tagalog verbal sentence on the surface often consists of a verb followed by a series of noun phrases related to the verb as agent, object, instrument, source or goal. The thesis in this study is that the deep structure of a sentence may be stated in terms of these underlying

role relationships rather than starting with surface syntactic
relationships, the role relationships underlying the surface ar-
rangements.

Probably because of the striking resemblance of a surface
Philippine language sentence to Fillmore's suggested universal
structure, recent studies on Philippine languages are heavily in-
fluenced by his case grammar model. Gonzales (1971) worked on the
semantic structure of Kapampangan, using Chafe's generative-semantic
model (1968:70). Chafe's model as used by Gonzales, bears a striking
resemblance to Fillmore's (1968) case grammar and Chafe acknowledges
his debt to Fillmore's work (Chafe 1970:10). The main difference
between the two is that Fillmore's V's and C's (cases) are primitives
of deep structure in syntax, distinct from the interpretative
semantic component, whereas Chafe's V̄‾‾‾N̄ configurations are meant
to be semantic, syntax being incorporated into semantics. So in
Gonzales' study, V (verb) is used as the nucleus of a sentence with
accompanying role-marked N's (nouns). On the basis of the specifica-
tions of V, cooccurring N's are postulated which stand in the follow-
ing possible (case) relations to V: agent, agentive beneficiary,
associate, complement, experiencer, goal, instrument, location,
material, measure, motive, norm, partitive, patient, source, time.

Mirikitani (1971), on Kapampangan, introduced semantic
relationships taken from Fillmore's case grammar, but in general
used Chomsky's generative-transformational model instead of
Fillmore's. The resultant difference is in the notational approach,
since Mirikitani introduced case relationships through

subcategorizational rules (1971:14) to avoid mixing relational and categorial functions, a weakness which Fillmore notes in his model (1971:35).

2.2 Case as Used in This Study

Case as used in this study is adopted from Blake's use of the term (1930:35) to identify a syntactic-semantic relationship without regard to its means of expression. The reason for emphasis upon the relationship without regard to its means of expression comes from the fact that for Philippine languages, surface forms do not always reveal easily the underlying case relations. Surface expressions which indicate case relationships, are called case forms.

Following Fillmore, the deep structure relationships between verbs and the nominal constituents of a sentence are stated in terms of semantic role relationships in this study other than purely syntactic relationships. The description proceeds from these deep structure relationships to the ultimate surface syntactic realizations by transformational rules. Since 'every language has approximately the same case relationships though they differ widely in their use of case forms' (Blake 1930:34), a study of these relationships in Tagalog may also furnish an excellent basis for a comparison of languages of widely differing types. Further, if these relationships can be shown to be comparable across languages, then there would be strong evidence for considering case to be a

universal category of language, and for claiming greater explanatory

adequacy for grammars written within a case grammar framework

(Fillmore 1968:20) with its underlying semantic structure. In the

following sections, the underlying case relations in Tagalog are

discussed.

2.3 Tagalog Cases

There are two types of cases in Tagalog, inherent cases and

noninherent cases. The first, the inherent or nuclear cases are

determined by the central meaning of the verb while the others, the

noninherent or the peripheral cases, are predictable from the

existence of certain inherent cases in the sentence.

2.3.1 Inherent Cases

As stated above, certain cases are conceptually inherent to the

basic sense of the Tagalog verb. These arrays of inherent cases

have the effect of imposing a classification on the verbs according

to the sentence types in which they may be inserted. Case, then,

functions in the subcategorization of Tagalog verbs. Verbs may be

classified, in other words, according to the inherent cases with

which they are closely associated in the deep structure.

The cases inherent to the verb are implied by the meaning of the

verb. This may be illustrated as follows: in Tagalog, the verb

bili 'to buy' in its semantic implications (or features) designates

or assumes (1) an initiator and performer of the action which also

benefits from the performance of the action (is the receiver of that

action), and (2) an object that is affected by the action, i.e., is

purchased, and transferred to the agent (purchaser). On the other hand, _bigay_ 'to give' assumes (1) an initiator of the action who is not the goal or receiver, though that initiator is the source from which the action emanates, (2) an object that is transported away from the agent, and (3) a referent to whom the object is transported (a directional goal of the action).

The roles actants may perform are grouped in Tagalog into five inherent case relationships in the deep structure: the agentive case (A), the objective case (O), the directional case (Dir), the locative case (L) and the instrumental case (I). These five cases are further subcategorized according to the semantic roles involved in each. A single case may designate more than one semantic role. As indicated above, an agent may perform the action and be the recipient thereof (_bili_ 'to buy') or the agent may perform an action and be the source of the action without being affected thereby (_tapon_ 'to throw').

The following sections indicate what the inherent cases are in Tagalog and their semantic characteristics.

2.3.1.1 The Agentive Case

The agentive (A) case is the case of the 'typically animate perceived instigator of the action identified by the verb' (Fillmore 1968a:24). This case applies to the actant who performs the action.

There are two subclasses of the agentive case: the agentive-as-undergoer and the agentive-as-nonundergoer. Other analysts have not

subdivided this case, referring to the agent as the <u>actor</u> whether or not that actor is the source, goal or undergoer of the action (particularly Bloomfield and various SIL linguists).

The first subclass of the agentive case, the agentive-as-undergoer, designates a performer that undergoes the action he initiates. Here the agentive case is coreferential in that the agent both performs the action and is also affected by that action, i.e., is the undergoer of the action. For example, the verb <u>lakad</u> 'to walk' takes an agent that (1) performs the action and (2) is the one in the action that is directly affected by it; i.e., the agent undergoes the action of walking and is therefore both performer and object. Anderson (1971:50) describes the same type of agent as one which 'operates in some sense upon itself.' This type of agentive case cannot take a separate object case since the agent is both performer and the object of the action. Fillmore (see Cook 1971:14) refers to these dual roles as 'coreferential roles' because there are two distinct underlying functions performed by the same referent.[1] The following sentences illustrate this subcase.[2]

A
(1)   Umakyat <u>siya</u>.
      climbed <u>he</u>

'He climbed up.'

Note: If <u>punung kahoy</u> 'tree' is added, it cannot be the object of the verb. The agent involves himself in the action, he does not make the tree 'climb'. Rather, the tree would be the goal of the action and would necessarily be in the directional case (Section 2.3.1.3).

                                          A
    (2)   Tumayo siya.
          stood he

    'He stood up.'

Note: 'He' is the agent-undergoer of the 'standing' action.

As in the sentence above, the agent involves himself in the action

indicated by the verb.

Other verbs that require this type of agent are langoy 'to swim',

lakad 'to walk', tawa 'to laugh', iyak 'to cry', and ngiti 'to smile'.

The second subclass of the agentive case, the agentive-as-non-

undergoer, designates an agent that initiates and performs the action

designated by the verb, but that agent does not undergo the action;

the action relates to an object outside of the agent. There are two

subclasses of this second type of agentive case. One is coreferential

with the source of the action only, whereas the other is coreferential

with the goal or beneficiary of the action.

The first subclass of the agentive-as-nonundergoer case may be

called the agent-as-source case since the agent initiates and per-

forms the action on an object outside of that agent. The agent is

both the performer and the source of the action with the two roles

carried out by one individual. The following sentences illustrate

this subclass.
                                          A
    (3)   Magluluto ang nanay ng[3] ulam.
          will-cook   mother   main dish

    'Mother will cook the main dish.'

Note: Mother initiates and performs the action of cooking and

is the source of the action. The action relates to the main dish,

in no way affecting Mother.

                                A
(4)   Itatapon ng bata ang basura sa labas.
       will-throw child   garbage outside

'The child will throw the garbage outside.'

Note: The child initiates and performs the action, which,
though it emanates from the child, in no way affects this child.
Rather, the action affects the garbage.

Other verbs that require this type of agent are laba 'to
launder', linis 'to clean', hugas 'to put, place', abot 'to hand
over', and walis 'to sweep'.

The second subclass of the agentive-as-nonundergoer case may be
called the agent-as-goal case. Here the initiator and performer of
the action is also the receiver or goal. That is, the agent is the
source of the action, but the action also benefits the initiator.
In this instance, the agent case again subsumes coreferential roles
in that the terminal goal of the action is also the performer.
Pittman (1966:12) refers to this type of action as 'centripetal'
(moving object toward actor) as opposed to 'centrifugal' (removing
object away from actor). The centrifugal action takes the agentive-
as-source case as opposed to the centripetal action here, which
takes the agentive-as-goal case. The objects in the following
examples move toward the performer of the action and the performer
is the goal of that movement.

                           A
(5)   Kumuha siya ng pagkain.
       got   he   some food

'He got some food.'

                          A
(6)   Umabot siya ng saging.
       reached-for he banana

'He reached for a banana.'

Other verbs that require this type of agent are <u>bili</u> 'to buy',

<u>hiram</u> 'to borrow', <u>kain</u> 'to eat', <u>inom</u> 'to drink', <u>ubos</u> 'to consume',

<u>higop</u> 'to gulp down', <u>lulon</u> 'to swallow' and <u>hingi</u> 'to ask for'.

The following feature tree gives a display of the agentive case

and its subcases (or features).

```
                        [+A]
            _____/    _____
  [+undergoer]                    [-undergoer]
                                    /\
                             [+goal]   [-goal]
```
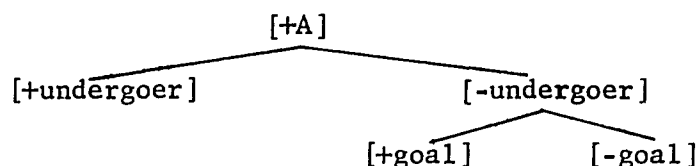
2.3.1.2 The Objective Case

The objective (O) case is the most neutral case semantically.

According to Fillmore (1968a:25) it is the case of anything repre-

sentable by a noun whose role in the action or state is identified

by the semantic interpretation of the verb, limited probably to

things affected by the action or state identified by the verb.

Where Fillmore limits the concept to inanimate objects, the objective

case in Tagalog includes experiencer animate entities too. The term

objective here, therefore, encompasses both Fillmore's objective and

experiencer cases.

There are two major subdivisions of the objective case in

Tagalog, one with agentive involvement and the other with no such

agentive involvement. The first type of object acts as the patient

or is the receiver of an externally induced action and the other type

is not the patient but the experiencer of an internally induced

action.

The case referred to as the <u>object</u> in previous analyses is here termed the <u>objective-as-patient</u>. The following sentence illustrates this type of object.

```
                                        O
(7)  Naglinis ang babae ⌠ng bahay.
                        ⌡nito

     cleaned the woman  ⌠house
                        ⌡this place
```

'The woman cleaned the house/this place.'

When an objective case obligatorily occurs with an agentive-as-source or an agentive-as-goal case, the verb affects the object in four different ways: (1) if motion is involved, it transports the object away from or toward the agent; (2) in such instances it transports toward or away from a directional source or goal; (3) if motion is not involved, the verb changes or does not change the object and (4) when it changes the object, the change is either partial or total.

The object-as-patient is in turn subdivided between centripetal and centrifugal objects referred to above. The <u>centripetal object</u> is brought toward the agent when acted upon, the agent being in the underlying agent-as-goal subclass. There are two types of centripetal objects: the <u>nontransported centripetal object</u> and the <u>transported centripetal object</u>. The first is acted upon by the agent and is moved directly towards it (agent) as goal.

The following sentence illustrates:

```
                              O
(8)  Kinain niya ang mansanas.
     ate     he  the apple
```

'He ate the apple.'

The following verbs also show that the direction of the object is toward the performer: inom 'to drink', lunok 'to swallow', kagat 'to bite', tawag 'to call', igib 'to fetch water', ampon 'to adopt', and kabig 'to draw towards self'.

The second type of centripetal object is acted upon and brought towards the agent from a third argument that is the source of the action. The following sentence exemplifies this kind of object.

<div align="center">

O
(9) Kinuha niya ang mansanas sa mesa.
    got   he   apple   table
</div>

'He got the apple from the table.'

The following verbs also show that the direction of the object is toward the performer from a directional source: abot 'to reach for', hingi 'to ask from', dukot 'to draw out from', bunot 'to pluck out', baltak 'to pull toward source of force', tanggap 'to receive from', agaw 'to snatch from', and hiram 'to borrow from'.

Unlike the action of the verb on the centripetal object, the action of some verbs does not move the object toward the agent. This type of object is referred to as the centrifugal object. The two types of centrifugal objects are the nontransported centrifugal object and the transported centrifugal object.

The first of these is not carried from the agent to a third argument. The action terminates with the object. The following sentence exemplifies this type of object.

<div align="center">

O
(10) Naglinis siya ng bahay.
     cleaned   he   the house
</div>

'He cleaned the house.'

Other verbs that take this type of object are: <u>alaga</u> 'to take

care of someone', <u>akay</u> 'to lead someone', <u>aksaya</u> 'to waste something',

<u>halungkat</u> 'to ransack something' and <u>ayos</u> 'to arrange something'.

When not transported, the centrifugal objects may or may not

undergo a process of change in physical condition when acted upon by

some verbs. The action terminates with the object. The agent with

these objects is the source of the action.

If there is change, that change of the physical condition of

the object may be of two kinds. One type of change is total and the

other is partial. Note the following examples.

$$O$$
(11) Binali niya <u>ang sanga</u>.
broke   he   the branch

'He broke the branch.'

Here the branch is no longer in its original condition. The

agent that performs the action is its source, but it is not the goal

or object of the action. Changes of this sort are considered total

(see also sentence #12) in contrast to partial change illustrated

in sentences #13 - #15 below.

$$O$$
(12) Tinadtad niya <u>ang karne</u>
chopped he   the meat

'He chopped the meat.'

Other verbs that take this type of object are: <u>durog</u> 'to

pulverize', <u>sira</u> 'to destroy', <u>punit</u> 'to tear up', <u>hiwa</u> 'to cut,

slice', <u>giling</u> 'to grind', <u>giba</u> 'to demolish', <u>putul</u> 'to cut',

<u>piraso</u> 'to take a piece of', <u>basag</u> 'to break', <u>tunaw</u> 'to melt',

<u>pitas</u> 'to pick'.

With some verbs the object does not undergo a complete change of state. It is generally an object which is handled by an agent-as-source of the action. The following sentences illustrate.

                                O
(13) Hinugasan niya ang pinggan.
        washed he   the plate

'He washed the plate.'

                                O
(14) Binuksan niya ang radyo.
        turned-on he the radio

'He turned on the radio.'

                                O
(15) Linabhan niya ang damit.
        laundered he the clothes.

'He laundered the clothes.'

Other verbs that take this type of object are: punas 'to wipe off', hilamos 'to wash (face)', banlaw 'to rinse', sara 'to close', bukas 'to open', tali 'to tie' and pahid 'to wipe'.

With some verbs, the object does not undergo any change at all. The following sentences illustrate.

                            O
(16) Inipun niya ang pera.
        saved he   money

'He saved the money.'

                              O
(17) Hinalungkat niya ang bahay.
        ransacked   he   house

'He ransacked the house.'

Some centrifugal objects are carried away from the agent toward a third argument that is the receiver where the action terminates.

Examples:

(18)   Itinapon niya ang basura sa ilog.
      threw   he   the garbage in river

          O

'He threw the garbage in the river.'

(19)   Ibinigay niya ang pera sa akin.
      gave   he   the money to me

'He gave me the money.'

Other verbs that take this type of object are: tanim 'to

plant', tago 'to hide', hulog 'to drop', hatid 'to deliver', balik

'to return', hagis 'to hurl, throw' and latag 'to spread'.

The following feature tree gives a display of the patient sub-

case of the objective case.
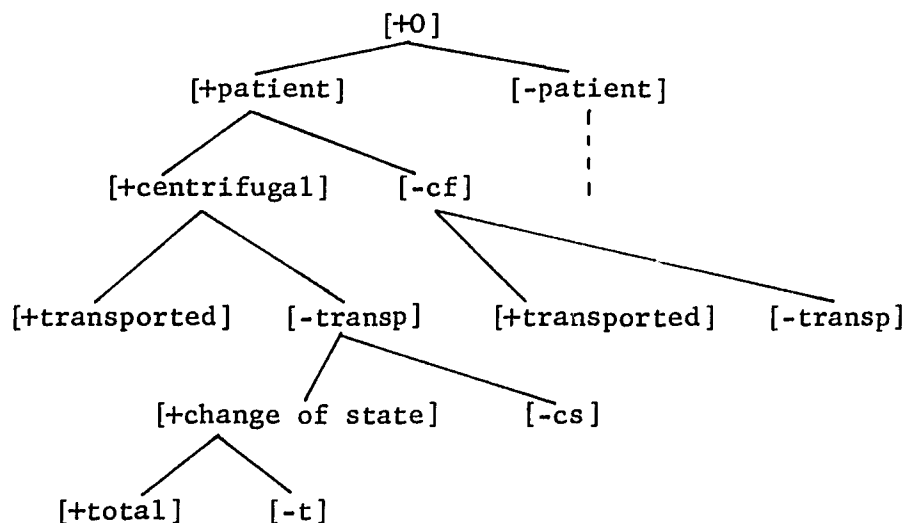
As indicated earlier, the object case basically divides between

those that receive an externally induced action (patient) and those

that do not. The latter undergoes some kind of process stated by

the verb without the presence of an 'animate instigator' of the ac-

tion. Under this subclass, object-as-nonpatient case, there are two

types of objects, one that 'experiences' a sensation or that is

affected by a psychological event, and the other which does not

'experience' or 'feel' the process stated by the verb.

Certain verbs require the <u>experiencer</u> case as referents. These

referents 'suffer' or 'feel' psychological effects from the action

designated. Earlier analysts have not distinguished this case from

the actor or agent case (see Bloomfield and SIL linguists). The

semantic differences are, however, clear. The experiencer does not

perform an action. He is affected by the action, but not because he

initiates it. The syntactic implications are also different in that

this case is often the only case in the sentence. The following

sentence illustrates.

<pre>
                         O
    (20) Nagutom <u>ang mama/pusa</u>.
          felt-hungry man   cat

          'The man/cat felt hungry.'
</pre>

Other mental state or psychological verbs that take this case

are as follows: <u>hilo</u> 'to be dizzy', <u>uhaw</u> 'to be thirsty', <u>lungkot</u>

'to be sad' and <u>tuwa</u> 'to be happy.'

There are two types of <u>nonexperiencer</u> objects. One undergoes a

process of 'becoming' and is called here the 'inchoative' object to

emphasize the beginning of a change, and the other undergoes a

general process stated by the verb.

These objects marked 'inchoative' go through a process of 'be-

coming' something other than their original state. Note the following

examples.

<pre>
                         O
    (21) Gumanda <u>si Neneng</u>.
          become-beautiful Neneng

          'Neneng became beautiful.'
</pre>

                                    O
(22) Pumuti ang buhok niya.
     became-white the hair his

     'His hair became white.'

                                    O
(23) Lumiit ang tinapay.
     became-small the bread

     'The bread became small.'

Although adjectival concepts appear here, this subclass of the
objective case actants differs from the actants of ordinary adjectives
by having been once in a different state, and not being in a partic-
ular nonchanging state or condition as are the latter actants. The
actants in the inchoative subcase must undergo a process of change,
and this process is conveyed by the notion of 'becoming'.

Other verbs that take this kind of object are: laki 'to become
big', tigas 'to harden, become hard', lambot 'to soften, become
soft', bait 'to become good', yaman 'to become rich', taas 'to become
tall', taba 'to become stout', hirap 'to become difficult', lago 'to
become luxuriant', kinis 'to become smooth' and kislap 'to sparkle'.

A subset of the same class of object indicates change of a
temporary or transient nature.

Examples:

                                    O
(24) Namula ang pisngi niya.
     became-red the cheeks her

     'She blushed.'

                                    O
(25) Namutla siya.
     became-pale she

     'She became pale.'

Other verbs that take this type of object are: <u>puti</u> 'to become white', <u>payat</u> 'to become thin, to lose weight', <u>itim</u> 'to become black/gray', <u>dilaw</u> 'to become yellow', <u>tigas</u> 'to become stiff, to faint', <u>ngalumata</u> 'to develop dark rings around the eyes', <u>hina</u> 'to become weak', <u>nginig</u> 'to tremble', <u>kupas</u> 'to fade', etc.

Objective actants that undergo the process indicated by non-stative types of verbs are called here noninchoative objects. These objects are usually inanimate. Again, no agent is involved overtly in the action upon this type of object.

There are two subclasses of the noninchoative object. One type is transported and the other is not. The latter is illustrated by the following sentences.

<div align="center">

O

(26) Bumukas <u>ang pinto</u>.
opened the door

'The door opened.'

O

(27) Kumukulo <u>ang tubig</u>.
boiling the water

'The water is boiling.'

</div>

Other verbs that take this type of object are <u>sara</u> 'to close', <u>buka</u> 'to bloom, to open', <u>hinto</u> 'to stop', <u>galaw</u> 'to move' and <u>kaluskos</u> 'to make a rustling sound'.

A <u>transported noninchoative object</u> is carried to a second argument where the action terminates. The following sentences illustrate.

<div align="center">

O   Dir

(28) Bumagsak <u>ang bola sa putik</u>.
fell   ball   mud

'The ball fell into the mud.'

</div>

```
                       O       Dir
(29)  Bumuhos ang tubig sa lata.
      poured      water      can
```

'The water poured into the can.'

Other verbs that take this type of object are <u>tulo</u> 'to trickle',
<u>taob</u> 'to turn over', <u>lubog</u> 'to sink', <u>litaw</u> 'to appear', <u>lutang</u> 'to
float', <u>tilapon</u> 'to be thrown out' and <u>tapon</u> 'to spill'.

A certain type of object seems to have the characteristic
features of the 'becoming' types of objects and the 'process-
undergoer' types. Like the first type of object, this object fre-
quently occurs with stative types of verbs but instead of undergoing
a process of 'becoming', similar to the second type, it undergoes a
general process stated by the verb.
Example:

```
                  O
(30)  Nabasa ang sahig.
      wet       floor
```

'The floor got wet.'

Other examples are <u>sunog</u> 'to get burned', <u>luto</u> 'to get/be
cooked', <u>bali</u> 'to get broken', <u>tuyo</u> 'to dry up', <u>pisa</u> 'to get
crushed' and <u>baluktot</u> 'to be bent'.

However further analysis indicates that these objects actually
allow an external causer to occur with them. The potential causer
may be either instrumental or agentive.
Examples:

```
                     I(force)
(31)  Nabasa ng ulan ang sahig.
      wet    rain     floor
```

'The rain got the floor wet.'

(32) Nabasa <u>ng bata</u> ang sahig.[4]
                 child

'The child got the floor wet.'

When a causer is present, an element of unintentional or acci-
dental meaning is added to the sentence and the object has unexpected
events happen to it. This object was first thought to be a subclass
of objects not allowing agentive involvement. However, it has been
dropped from this classification because causers may occur with it.

The following feature tree gives a display of the nonpatient
subcase of the objective case.

```
                        [+O]
                       /    \
            [+patient]        [-patient]
                :                      \
                :             [+experiencer]    [-experiencer]
                :                               /            \
                                    [+inchoative]            [-inchoative]
                                    /          \             /          \
                         [+transient]    [-transient]  [+transported]  [-transported]
```
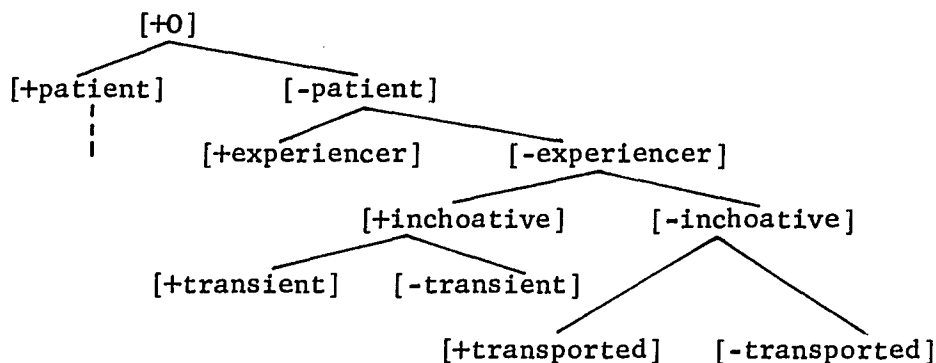
2.3.1.3   The Directional Case

The directional (Dir) case is the case of the animate or inani-
mate object from or toward which the action of the verb is directed.
This case actant occurs with verbs of motion. The directional case
has been previously analyzed as locative or referent (see SIL papers
on Philippine linguistics, 1964).

As with other cases, this one may also be subdivided. The first
subdivision is the directional goal, designating an actant toward
which the action of the verb is directed, or the place where the
action terminates or is terminated. The following sentences exem-
plify the first subdivision of the directional case.

Directional Goals with Agents

$$
\begin{array}{ccc}
 & A & Dir \\
\end{array}
$$

(33) Pumunta ang mangingisda $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \underline{kay\ Maria}. \\ \underline{sa\ kaniya}. \\ \underline{sa\ dagat}. \\ \underline{doon}. \end{array}\right.$

went the fisherman $\left\{\begin{array}{l} to\ Maria \\ to\ her \\ to\ the\ sea \\ there \end{array}\right\}$

'The fisherman went $\left\{\begin{array}{l} to\ Maria.' \\ to\ her.' \\ to\ the\ sea.' \\ there.' \end{array}\right.$

Other verbs that require these cases are dapo 'to alight on',

kapit 'to hold on to', lipat 'to transfer', pasok 'to enter into' and

tingin 'to look at'.

Directional Goals with Agents and Objects

$$
\begin{array}{cccc}
 & A & O & Dir \\
\end{array}
$$

(34) Nagbigay siya ng pera $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \underline{kay\ Maria}. \\ \underline{sa\ kaniya}. \\ \underline{sa\ babae}. \\ \underline{dito}. \end{array}\right.$

gave he money $\left\{\begin{array}{l} to\ Maria \\ to\ her \\ to\ the\ woman \\ to\ this\ one\ here \end{array}\right\}$

'He gave some money $\left\{\begin{array}{l} to\ Maria.' \\ to\ her.' \\ to\ the\ woman.' \\ to\ this\ one\ here.' \end{array}\right.$

$$
\begin{array}{cccc}
 & A & O & Dir \\
\end{array}
$$

(35) Naghulog siya ng pera $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \underline{sa\ bangko}. \\ \underline{doon}. \end{array}\right.$

deposited he money $\left\{\begin{array}{l} in\ bank \\ there \end{array}\right.$

'He deposited money $\left\{\begin{array}{l} in\ the\ bank.' \\ there.' \end{array}\right.$

Other verbs that require these cases are <u>lakip</u> 'to enclose in', <u>salansan</u> 'to file', <u>bagsak</u> 'to drop', <u>akyat</u> 'to carry up' and <u>itsa</u> 'to throw to'.

The second subdivision of the directional case is the <u>directional source</u>, the case in which the actant is the place or person from which the action starts. The following sentences illustrate.

Directional Source with Agents

```
                          A        Dir
        (36)   Nanggaling siya ⎰ sa amin.
                                ⎱ kina Pedro.
                                  sa bahay.
                                  dito.

               came      he ⎰ from us (our place) ⎱
                            ⎱ from Pedro's (place) ⎰
                              from the house
                              from here

        'He came ⎰ from our place.'
                 ⎱ from Pedro's place.'
                   from the house.'
                   from here.'
```

Other verbs that require these cases are the following: <u>umpisa</u> 'to start from', <u>mula</u> 'to come from', <u>simula</u> 'to begin from', and <u>buhat</u> 'to come from'.

The only difference between the directional goal actant and the directional source actant is the direction of the action. Generally only the agent-as-goal cooccurs with the directional source actant.

Examples of verbs that require these cases are <u>agaw</u> 'to snatch', <u>hila</u> 'to pull', <u>sunggab</u> 'to grab', <u>bunot</u> 'to pull out', <u>kaladkad</u> 'to drag', <u>supsop</u> 'to sip', <u>kagat</u> 'to bite', <u>hingi</u> 'to ask for', <u>hiram</u> 'to borrow', <u>abot</u> 'to reach for' and <u>pasan</u> 'to carry on one's back'.

The following feature tree gives a display of the directional case and its subcases.

[+Dir]

[+goal]   [-goal]

(source)
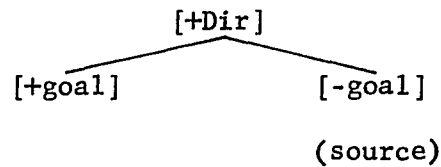
2.3.1.4 The Locative Case

The locative (L) case is the place where the action occurs. In contrast with adverbial expressions of place which can occur with all verb types, this case is required by a limited set of verbs. The following sentences illustrate.

                              L
(37)   Lumangoy ako sa ilog.
        swam   I in river

'I swam in the river.'

                              L
(38)   Tumira ako sa bahay niya.
        lived   I in house his

'I lived in his house.'

A directional case can occur with a locative case in a sentence as seen in the example below.

                        Dir (Goal)   L
(39)   Naghalo ako ng gatas sa kape sa kapetera.
        mixed   I   milk with coffee in coffee pot

'I mixed milk with coffee in the coffee pot.'

In this sentence, the agent 'I' initiates and performs the action of mixing the object, 'milk', with a recipient, the 'coffee' which is its directional goal, in a container which is the location where the action of mixing takes place.

There are very few verbs that take both the directional and the locative case.

Examples of verbs that take the locative case are lipad 'to fly',

tigil 'to stay (at a place)', luto 'to cook (in a utensil)', babad

'to soak', laba 'to launder', hintay 'to wait', duyan 'to swing (in a

swing, hammock)', tampisaw 'to play in water', laga 'to boil' and

sakay 'to ride'.

2.3.1.5 The Instrumental Case (Force)

Among all the cases discussed here, the instrumental (I) case is

classified as belonging to both inherent and noninherent types of

cases. However, only a very small set of the I case belongs to the

inherent category. Words in this set are limited to the forces of

nature that are causally involved in the action stated by the verb.

The natural phenomena nouns such as ulan 'rain', araw 'sun', kidlat

'lightning', when classified as inherent I cases, are implied in the

meaning or semantic properties of the verb. Section 6.3.1.1.2 de-

scribes these actants as 'incorporated instruments' because unlike

their noninherent force counterpart, these actants never surface.

Examples:

I(force)
(40) Humahangin. (ang hangin)
                      wind

'The wind is blowing.'

I(force)
(41) Umaaraw. (ang araw)
      shining   sun

'The sun is shining.'

2.3.2 Noninherent Cases

The inherent cases that have been discussed are implied in the

semantic features of the verbs. They subclassify verbs and are

obligatory in that the semantic implications, even if they are not

brought to the surface, are 'understood' by the speakers of the
language. On the other hand, there are certain cases that also sub-
classify the verbs but in contrast with the first type of cases,
these are predictable. Their occurrence is dependent upon the oc-
currence of one or the other of the inherent cases. For example,
the occurrence of benefactive phrases in the sentence seems more
directly dependent upon whether the agentive phrase is present than
upon the semantic properties of the verb. These are the cases
'compatible with the cases originally chosen' or required by the verb
(Fillmore 1968:87). Cook states that these cases are 'peripheral to
the analysis and simply add in circumstantial detail of the verbal
action' (1971:12). Three noninherent cases are treated here, the
instrumental, the benefactive and the affected cases.

2.3.2.1 The Instrumental Case

The instrumental (I) case expresses the 'force or object
causally involved in the action or state identified by the verb'
(Fillmore 1968:24). In Tagalog there are two subclasses of the in-
strumental case: the instrumental tool and the instrumental force.

The first subclass of the instrumental case, the instrumental
tool, is typically an inanimate object which acts as a tool to bring
about the action identified by the verb. Its presence in the sentence
is dependent upon the presence of the agentive case. Most
Philippine linguists limit the use of the instrumental role to this
subclass. (See publications of SIL linguists; Constantino 1965;
Bowen 1965.)

                                          I(tool)   O
(42)   Pinahiran ng katulong ⎧ng basahan   ⎫ ang dumi.
                              ⎪sa pamamagitan ng   ⎪
                              ⎨   basahan   ⎬
                              ⎩nito   ⎭

       wiped   helper   ⎧with rag   the dirt
                           ⎨by means of a rag
                           ⎩with this

       'The helper wiped off the dirt ⎧with a rag.'
                                      ⎨by means of a rag.'
                                      ⎩with this.'

                    A   O   I(tool)
(43)   Binasag ko ang salamin ⎧ng martilyo.
                              ⎨sa pamamagitan ng martilyo.
                              ⎩nito.

       broke   I the glass   ⎧with hammer
                              ⎨by means of a hammer
                              ⎩with this

       'I broke the glass ⎧with a hammer.'
                          ⎨by means of a hammer.'
                          ⎩with this.'

Verbs with which this case occurs are hiwa 'to cut, slice',

hampas 'to hit', sampal 'to slap', wasak 'to destroy', palo 'to spank',

pukpuk 'to pound', linis 'to clean', ipit 'to press', durug 'to

pulverize', walis 'to sweep (with a broom)', sinturon 'to hit (with a

belt)', talop 'to peel', punas 'to wipe' and hugas 'to wash'.

The second subclass of the instrumental case corresponds to the

case called 'Force' in other case grammar studies (see Huddleston

1970; Fillmore 1971). It refers to the inanimate unintentional

performer or nonresponsible causer of an event. The occurrence of

this case is dependent upon the presence of the objective case in a

proposition where no agency involvement is present. It therefore

never cooccurs with agents.

The force subclass of the instrumental case can be expressed

by impersonal entities limited to the forces of nature or natural

phenomena like <u>ulan</u> 'rain', <u>bagyo</u> 'storm', <u>baha</u> 'flood', <u>kidlat</u>

'lightning', <u>araw</u> 'sun', <u>ambon</u> 'drizzle', <u>kulog</u> 'thunder', <u>hangin</u>

'wind', <u>alon</u> 'wave' and other impersonal entities like diseases,

plants, fire and rock, which cause an event to occur.

Examples:

```
                    O   I(force)
(44)  Nabasa siya ng ulan.
      wet    he  by rain
```

'He was drenched by the rain.'

```
                    O     I(force)
(45)  Naanod ang bakya ng baha.
      carried-away the wooden shoes by flood
```

'The wooden shoes were carried away by the flood.'

```
                    O      I(force)
(46)  Nabuksan ang pinto ng hangin.
      forced-open the door by wind
```

'The wind forced the door to open.' or
'The wind opened the door.'

```
                    O    I(force)
(47)  Nalason siya ng kabuti.
      poisoned he by mushroom
```

'He was poisoned by mushrooms.'

```
                    O       I(force)
(48)  Napatay siya ng tuberkulosis.
      killed  he   by tuberculosis
```

'He was killed by tuberculosis.'

The impersonal entities may refer to inanimate objects that

cause an event to happen. Because of the presence of nonresponsible

causers of the action, an element of unintentional or accidental

meaning is implied in the sentence.

Examples:

```
                         I(force)        O
(49)  Naipit ng makina ang kamay niya.
      crushed  machine    hand  his
```

'His hand was crushed by the machine.'

```
                      O      I(force)
(50)  Nasagasaan ang mama ng trak.
      run over        man     truck
```

'The man was run over by the truck.'

The instrumental force too may function as the stimulus which causes an object to undergo or experience some kind of psychological or mental event. It could be an animate or inanimate cause of the experience.

Examples:

```
                     O      I(force)
(51)  Natakot siya ⎧ sa palabas.
                   ⎨ sa akin.
                   ⎩ sa pusa.

      frightened she ⎧of the movie
                     ⎨of me
                     ⎩of the cat
```

```
'She was frightened ⎧of the movie.'
                    ⎨of me.'
                    ⎩of the cat.'
```

```
                     O    I(force)
(52)  Nabuwisit siya sa inggay.
      irritated she      noise
```

'She was irritated by the noise.'

Again, as in the above mentioned examples, there is no willful or purposeful agent involved in the sentence.

This type of instrumental force differs from the one marked by ng in that it is more a passive cause rather than the active causer of the event. The following sentences show the contrast.

```
                        O    I(force)
    (53)  Natakot siya ng kulog.
          frightened she   thunder
```

'She was frightened by the thunder.'

```
                        O    I(force)
    (54)  Natakot siya sa kulog.
          frightened she thunder
```

'She was frightened of the thunder.'

Fillmore regards 'thunder' in the second sentence as the instrument which is the 'stimulus or reacted-to situation in the description of a mental event' (1971:262).

The writer is of the opinion that _sa_ in the sentence above is actually the reduced form of dahil sa 'because of'. But this needs more testing. The role of phrases marked by dahil sa was treated previously in this study as 'causal case'[5] and defined as the case which gives the nonagentive cause of an action.

Examples:

```
                            I(force)
    (55)  Yumaman si Maria (sa suerte.
          became rich Maria|of luck
                           |dahil sa suerte.
                           |because of luck
                           |dahil sa nagkaroon siya ng suerte.
                           \ because    got      she     luck
```

```
    'Maria became rich ((because) of luck.'
                       | because of luck.'
                       Lbecause she was lucky.'
```

```
                            I(force)
    (56)  Namatay si Juan (sa alak.
          died       Juan | of alcohol
                          | dahil sa paginom niya ng alak.
                          Lbecause of drinking he    alcohol
```

```
    'Juan died (of alcoholic drinks.'
               Lbecause of his drinking.'
```

It is noted that this instrumental cause occurs more frequently in nonagentive sentences but it can occur in agentive sentences too. Example:

(57) Nagipon siya ng pera ⎰dahil sa asawa niya.
     saved he money ⎱because of wife his
                       │dahil sa gusto ng asawa niya.
                       ⎩because of like wife his

'He saved money ⎰because of his wife.'
                ⎱because his wife wants him to.'

Fillmore limited his examples to sentences with the experiencer case only.

Nonagentive cause or 'causal case' has been dropped from this study because the writer noted that the dahil sa phrase could possibly be derived from a sentence. This part of the study is limited to the analysis represented by noun phrases only. So, although mentioned here, this type of case which has an event-causing function is not discussed further.

The following feature tree gives a display of the instrumental case and its subcases.

```
                [+I]
               /    \
         [+tool]    [-tool]
                    (force)
```
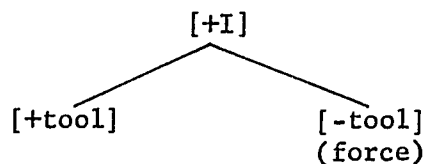
2.3.2.2 The Benefactive Case

The benefactive (B) case is dependent on the presence of an agentive case in the sentence, i.e., the benefactive case cannot occur unless the agentive case also occurs. The benefactive case expresses the animate or inanimate entity for whom or for which, the action of the verb takes place.

Examples:

```
                    A      O       B
(58)  Magluto ka ng adobo ⌠para sa bisita.
                          │para kay Maria.
                          ⌡para sa kanya.

      cook    you   adobo for the visitor
                          for Maria
                          for her

      '(You) cook adobo ⌠for the visitor.'
                        │for Maria.'
                        ⌡for her.'

                A      O         B
(59)  Bumili siya ng kurtina para sa bahay.
      bought  she    curtains for the house

      'She bought some curtains for the house.'
```

In some verbs the benefactive case indicates that the agent

performs an action in place of the benefactor. This happens usually

in sentences where there are no objects.

Examples:

```
               A                      B
(60)  Kumain ka sa handaan para sa akin.
      eat    you at party    for     me

      '(You) eat at the party in my place.'

               A                         B
(61)  Kumanta siya sa palatuntunan para sa akin.
      sang     he  at   program    in-place-of me

      'He sang in the program in place of me (or
            for me).'

              A        B
(62)  Nagluto siya para sa akin.
      cooked   he   for     me

      'He cooked in place of me.'
```

2.3.2.3 The Affected Case

The affected (Af) actant 'is generally human and suffers (ad-

versely) from a patient's action or his state of being' (Sasaki

1971:68). The occurrence of this case in Tagalog is dependent upon
the presence of an objective case which has undergone some kind of
process, the whole event affecting the second actant adversely. The
following paired sentences illustrate.

Process Undergone by Object	Affected Sentence

	O		Af	O
(63)	Namatay <u>ang tatay niya</u>.	Namatayan <u>siya</u> ng tatay.
	died the father his	died he father

    'His father died.'   'He was adversely affected by his father's dying/death.'

	O		Af	O
(64)	Nawala <u>ang pera niya</u>.	Nawalan <u>siya</u> ng pera.
	lost the money his	lost he money

    'His money was lost.'   'He was adversely affected by his money being lost.'

	O		Af	O
(65)	Nasunog <u>ang bahay niya</u>.	Nasunugan <u>siya</u> ng bahay.
	burned the house his	burned he house

    'His house was burned down.'   'He was adversely affected by the burning of his house.'

2.3.3 Summary

In this chapter we have discussed the meaning of the Tagalog
cases, subdividing them when necessary to specify those meanings.
Five inherent cases and three noninherent cases have been discussed.
Subdivisions are made in order to fully understand the intuitive in-
formation a speaker of the language has at his command. Ten opposi-
tions, for example, are needed to characterize the meaning of just
the object case relation.

We now turn to a formalization of this information. To do so,
the Tagalog verb must be put into a framework of generative rules

that will show basically how to account for sentences with these
centers.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Using the notion of 'coreferential roles', Fillmore analyzes the subjects of verbs like walk, run, swim as having two case functions: Agentive and Objective. What he terms as 'agentive-as-objective' is similar to the 'agentive-as-undergoer' in this study. Huddleston (1970:507) analyzes the same set of intransitive verbs as having subjects which occur twice in the deep structure, once as Objective, and once as Causer.

[2]In the sentences illustrating the different cases, the verbs are cited with their affixes.

[3]The symbol ng stands for the particle nang according to the accepted orthography of Tagalog.

[4]The first example with the instrumental force as causer always has the unintentional interpretation. However, with the agentive causer present, the sentence gets two readings. One is accidental and the other abilitative. Some native speakers differentiate the two interpretations by stressing the affix of the verb of the sentence having the accidental meaning. However, most native speakers of Tagalog do not make this distinction.

The second sentence having an agentive causer has the following readings:

a. (Accidental)

The child got the floor wet unintentionally.

b. (Abilitative)

The child was able to get the floor wet.

[5]The causal nominal phrase marked by (dahil) sa/kay may be replaced by (dahil) sa pronouns or demonstratives.

Example:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -tool \end{bmatrix}$$

$$[+O]$$

Yumaman   si Maria $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \text{dahil} \quad \text{sa suerte.} \\ \text{because of luck} \\ \text{kay Lito.} \\ \text{of Lito} \\ \text{sa kaniya.} \\ \text{of him} \\ \text{dito} \\ \text{of this} \end{array}\right.$

became rich   Maria

'Maria got rich because of $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \text{luck.'} \\ \text{Lito.'} \\ \text{him.'} \\ \text{this.'} \end{array}\right.$

When this case is subjectivalized, the verb takes the i-ka- compound affix.

Example:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -tool \end{bmatrix}$$

$$[+O]$$

Ikinayaman   ni Maria   ang mabuting suerte.
caused to become rich Maria   good   fortune

'Good fortune caused Maria to become rich' or

'Maria became rich because of good fortune.'

CHAPTER III

BASE RULES

3.1 Introduction

The base rules needed specifically for a description of the case

system of Tagalog are presented in this chapter. The rules are

general and include only the noun categories pertinent to the sub-

categorization of the verbs. Adverbial phrases of time, manner and

extent are not discussed since they involve complications beyond the

scope of this study. With some modifications, the rules follow

Fillmore's general idea of a grmmar model, being a 'transformational

grammar whose base component specifies the case structure of sen-

tences' (Fillmore 1971:247).

Case relationships are incorporated in the base component as

features of lexical items of the grammar in this study rather than

as dominating category symbols. In this choice, the writer agrees

with Robinson who claims that the lexical component appears to be the

'logical place' where 'formative (terminal) categories are subcatego-

rized and selectional restrictions defined, either by syntactic

redundancy rules if they are general, or by entries in the lexicon

if they are specific' (1969:70). Taylor's dissertation on 'Case in

Japanese' (1971) is a descriptive exemplification of how case is in-

corporated in the base component as features of lexical items.

Instead of rewriting the sentence as a verbal element followed

by a series of cases (i.e., $S \longrightarrow V + C_i...C_n$) as Fillmore does

(1970), KP, a term introduced by Robinson in her article on 'Case,

Category and Configuration' (1969:10), has been substituted here for

$C_i...C_n$. This gives $S \longrightarrow V + KP_i...KP_n$ where in turn KP rewrites as

K + NP. The objection to rewriting C_i (case) as K (preposition or

case marker) plus an NP (noun phrase) is the problem of mixing re-

lational (functional) notions (case) with categorial notions (case

particle + NP), a notational weakness of Fillmore's model (see

Fillmore 1971:35).

The model used in this study is a modified generative transfor-

mational model incorporating case in the base component as features

of lexical items. To do this, Chomsky's use of subcategorization

rules and complex symbols has been adopted. The use of complex

symbols and features described in this study assumes Chomsky's first

of two possible formats of the base component of a grammar as pre-

sented in Aspects (1965:84-111). The base component consists of two

subcomponents: (a) a constituent structure subcomponent, consisting

of context-free 'rewriting rules that apply to category symbols and

that generally involve branching, and rules that apply to symbols for

lexical categories and that introduce or operate on complex symbols

(sets of specified syntactic features)' (Chomsky 1965:84); and (b) a

lexicon subcomponent, which is simply an unordered list of all

lexical formatives and some redundancy rules. More precisely, the

lexicon is a set of 'dictionary entries', each dictionary entry being

a complex of syntactic, phonological and semantic information.

The constituent structure subcomponent defines a set of trees,

whose terminal nodes are labeled by 'complex symbols'. Lexical

categories dominate complex symbols. The features of these complex

symbols are assigned by subcategorization rules which include

context-free rules (usually referred to by Chomsky as 'redundancy
rules') and context-sensitive rules. The context-sensitive subcate-
gorization rules consist of two subtypes, namely '"strict subcate-
gorization rules" which subcategorize a lexical category in terms of
the frame of sister category symbols in which it appears and
"selectional rules" which subcategorize a lexical category in terms
of syntactic features that appear in specified positions in the
sentence' (Chomsky 1965:112-113).

The lexicon subcomponent contains a similar or identical set of
subcategorization rules as well as a set of redundancy rules, which
predict the existence of one feature in the lexical entry in terms
of another. Such redundancy rules may predict context-sensitive
features such as [+ ____ [+A]] as well as context-free features such
as [+animate].

Lexical insertion then follows Chomsky's lexical rule:

> 'If Q is a complex symbol of a pre-terminal
> string and (D,C) is a lexical entry, where C
> is not distinct from Q, then Q can be re-
> placed by D.' (1965:84)

Given, therefore, a lexical entry (D,C), where D is a phono-
logical distinctive feature matrix 'spelling' a certain lexical
formative and C a collection of specified syntactic features (a
complex symbol), the lexical rule above permits substitution of D
for any complex symbol K that is not distinct from C.

The lexical rule simply means that a complex symbol may be
replaced by a lexical item if their feature matrices are nondistinct.
Consequently, Chomsky says that 'lexical entries must be specified

negatively for features corresponding to contexts in which they may

not occur' (1965:110).

In this work, all context-free subcategorization rules will be

assumed to operate both in the categorial component and in the

lexicon. Context-sensitive rules operate only in the constituent

structure subcomponent, not in the lexicon.

The important amplification of the base rules given here, is an

expanded specification of the 'complex symbol' rewriting the verb to

include case-related semantic and contextual features and the complex

symbol rewriting the noun to include case features (Taylor 1971).

As has been stated earlier, certain semantic features of the

Tagalog verb govern the choice of the arguments (nominal expressions)

that may occur with it. These (nominal expressions) in turn must be

specifiable with semantic features compatible with the verbs. The

verbs are subcategorized by the semantic features they contain which

in turn determine the nominal expressions with which they can occur.

Thus, the case-related semantic features of the verb can be deter-

mined by analyzing the potential argument(s) with which it may occur.

The possible base structure configurations can be specified by

rewrite rules which include both the complex symbol (semantic

features) for the verbs and the complex symbol for the nouns.

The following base rules for Tagalog formalize and expand as

well as particularize the information given in the previous chapter.

The allowable semantic underlying cases of the sentence are specified

as part of the meaning of the verb. Semantic information other than

that of case is also needed to rewrite the verb, and will also be

given in the complex symbol suggested in this chapter. Selectional redundancy rules for the nouns must be specified to indicate the choices possible when the verb center has been chosen. The selectional redundancy rules are given in Chapter IV.

3.2 Base Rules

A typical Tagalog verbal sentence consists of a verb (V) accompanied by one or more actants, or case-marked phrases (KP).[1]

BR#1.   S $\longrightarrow$ V + (KP)[5]

Case-marked phrases (KP) are verbal complements. Constantino referred to these KP's as 'complement phrases' (1965:10) and Kerr called them 'nominal expressions' (1965:16). Maximally, five KP's can occur in a single sentence.

	KP_1	KP_2	KP_3	KP_4	KP_5
(1) Naghalo	ako	ng asukal	sa kape	sa tasa	ng kutsarita.
mixed	I	sugar	coffee	cup	teaspoon

'I mixed sugar with the coffee in the cup with a

teaspoon.'

A verb in turn is specified by BR#2, being composed of a complex symbol. In this study, only the semantic characteristics of non-stative verbs (i.e. verbs that express an activity or a process) are described. 'Causatives', 'aptatives', 'distributives', referred to as 'aspect' by McKaughan (1958:26), will not be treated as part of the basic semantic structure of the verb.

BR#2.   V $\longrightarrow$ c.s.

With Base Rule #2, the verb is rewritten as a complex symbol which is then marked by subcategorization and selectional rules for semantic features specifying its aspectual features and types of case

relationships it can enter into. Basically then, the verb may be

marked for [+agentive] or [-agentive],[2] and for [+neutral aspect] or

[-neutral aspect]. This information is contained in the feature

symbolization following.

$$2.i \quad [+V] \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \pm\text{agentive} \\ \pm\text{neutral aspect} \end{bmatrix}$$

The marking of [±agentive] and [±neutral aspect] are independent

of each other.

The [+agentive] feature expresses an activity which somebody

does, typically the participant which Fillmore refers to as the

'animate instigator'. The [+agentive] verbs always require the co-

occurrence of agents.

Example:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agt \end{bmatrix} \quad [+A] \qquad [+0]$$

(2) Nagbukas siya ng pinto.
      opened   he   the door

'He opened the door.'

The [-agentive] feature expresses an activity which is character-

ized as a process undergone by the referent of a nondynamic type of

nominal expression which is affected by the action rather than being

its initiator.

Examples:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -agt \end{bmatrix} \qquad [+0]$$

(3) Tumubo   ang halaman.
      grew   plant

'The plant grew.'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -agt \end{bmatrix} \quad [+O]$$

(4) <u>Bumukas</u> <u>ang pinto</u>.
    opened   door

'The door opened.'

We now turn to the full expansion of the features specified in 2.i.

2.ii [+agentive] $\longrightarrow$ [+external]

The [+agentive] verbs are either specified as [+external] or [-external].

Verbs having a [+external] feature express an activity or verbal action which occurs outside of the agent. It is an action externally induced by an agent.

Example:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +ext \end{bmatrix} \quad [+A] \quad [+O]$$

(5) <u>Nagtayo</u> <u>siya</u> <u>ng bahay</u>.
    built   he   a   house

'He built a house.'

Verbs having a [-external] feature express inner motion or an internally induced action by an agent. Lopez called this type of agent an 'agent or actor (internal)' which initiates 'inner motion' or motion restricted to 'inner parts of the body' or 'putting the whole body in motion' (1941:94).

Example:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -ext \end{bmatrix} \quad [+A]$$

(6) <u>Tumayo</u> <u>siya</u>.
    stood   he

'He stood.'

$$2.\text{iii} \quad [+\text{external}] \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \pm\text{centrifugal} \\ \hline \pm\text{terminal} \end{bmatrix}$$

Verbs having the [+external] feature have a [±centrifugal] feature and a [±terminal] feature.

The verbs that have the [+centrifugal] feature portray a type of action that moves in a direction away from the agentive source. Example:

$$\begin{array}{cccc}
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +cf \end{bmatrix} & [+A] & [+O] \\
\end{array}$$
(7) <u>Nagbili</u> <u>siya</u> <u>ng gulay</u>.
    sold   she   vegetables

'She sold vegetables.'

Verbs with the [-centrifugal] feature specify a type of action which goes back toward its source. Example:

$$\begin{array}{cccc}
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -cf \end{bmatrix} & [+A] & [+O] \\
\end{array}$$
(8) <u>Bumili</u> <u>siya</u> <u>ng gulay</u>.
    bought   she (some) vegetables

'She bought some vegetables.'

When the verb is marked [+terminal], the action terminates with the objective argument. Examples:

$$\begin{array}{cccc}
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +ter \end{bmatrix} & [+A] & [+O] \\
\end{array}$$
(9) <u>Nagipon</u> <u>siya</u> <u>ng pera</u>.
    saved   he   money

'He saved some money.'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +ter \end{bmatrix} \quad [+A] \qquad [+O]$$

(10) <u>Kumain</u> <u>siya</u> <u>ng mansanas</u>.
      ate   she   an apple

'She ate an apple.'

If specified as [-terminal], the verbal action goes beyond the objective argument to the directional argument where it terminates. The object is thus transported to or from the directional argument. Examples:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -ter \end{bmatrix} \quad [+A] \qquad [+O] \qquad [+Dir]$$

(11) <u>Nagtapon</u> <u>siya</u> <u>ng dumi</u> <u>sa basurahan</u>.
     threw she   dirt in garbage can

'She threw some dirt into the garbage can.'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -ter \end{bmatrix} \quad [+A] \qquad [+O] \qquad [+Dir]$$

(12) <u>Kumuha</u> <u>siya</u> <u>ng kanin</u> <u>sa palayok</u>.
     got   he   rice from pot

'He got some rice from the pot.'

2.iv [+terminal] $\longrightarrow$ [±change of state]

Verbs having the [+terminal] feature manifest a type of action which may or may not cause the object to change in physical condition.

Some [+terminal] verbs do not affect the physical condition of the object at all.

Example:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -cs \end{bmatrix} \quad [+A] \qquad [+O]$$

(13) <u>Sinalansan</u> <u>niya</u> <u>ang libro</u>.
     filed   he   books

'He filed the books.'

2.v [+change of state] $\longrightarrow$ [±total]

Verbs with the [+change of state] feature have the effect of changing the physical condition of the object completely or partially. When the change is total, the object is no longer in its original condition and cannot normally return to its original condition. Example:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +cs \\ +t \end{bmatrix} \quad [+A] \qquad [+O]$$

(14) <u>Dinurog</u> <u>niya</u> <u>ang paminta.</u>
     crushed he   pepper

'He crushed the pepper.'

(A pepper after being crushed is no longer <u>a</u> pepper.)

When the change is partial, the effect of the action of the verb on the object is superficial.

Example:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +cs \\ -t \end{bmatrix} \quad [+A] \qquad [+Dir]$$

(15) <u>Pinunasan</u> <u>niya</u> <u>ang mesa.</u>
     wiped   he   the table

'He wiped the table.'

(A table after being wiped is still a table.)

2.vi [-external] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$direction]

The [-external] feature can be either [+direction] or [-direction]. A verb specified with the [+direction] feature is characterized by movement.

Example:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +dir \end{bmatrix} \quad [+A]$$

(16) <u>Tumakbo</u> <u>siya.</u>
     ran   he

'He ran.'

The [-direction] feature indicates nonmovement.

Example:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -dir \end{bmatrix} \quad [+A]$$

(17) <u>Umiyak</u> <u>siya</u>.
     cried   she

'She cried.'

2.vii [+direction] ⟶ [±centrifugal]

The [+direction] feature may be either [+centrifugal] or [-centrifugal]. Though these features are similar in name and function to the features specifying action related to the agent in 2.iii, they are interpreted somewhat differently when they are associated with a directional argument. The [+centrifugal] feature indicates that the direction of the action is toward the directional argument which acts as the goal of the action, whereas the [-centrifugal] feature indicates that the direction of the action is away from the directional argument instead of toward it.

Examples:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +dir \\ +cf \end{bmatrix} \quad [+A] \qquad [+Dir]$$

(18) <u>Pumunta</u> <u>siya</u> <u>sa bayan</u>.
     went   he   to town

'He went to town.'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +dir \\ -cf \end{bmatrix} \quad [+A] \qquad [+Dir]$$

(19) <u>Tumakas</u> <u>siya</u> <u>sa bilangguan</u>.
     escaped   he   jail

'He escaped from the jail.'

The following partial tree shows the different features of the [+agentive] type of verbs discussed in BR#2.i to 2.vii. Verbs are

listed below with their respective features and their places in the

tree specified by numbers corresponding to each verb.

```
                                                        [+V]
                                                          |
                                                          |
                                                        [-agt]
                              [+agentive]
              [+external]              [-ext]
      [+centrifugal]    [-cf]      [+direction]      [-dir]
                                                       (9)
                    [+terminal]  [-ter]
                       (5)        (6)
  [+terminal]   [-ter]                [+centrifugal]        [-cf]
                 (4)                       (7)                (8)
[+change of state]  [-cs]
                     (3)
    [+total]  [-t]
      (1)     (2)
```
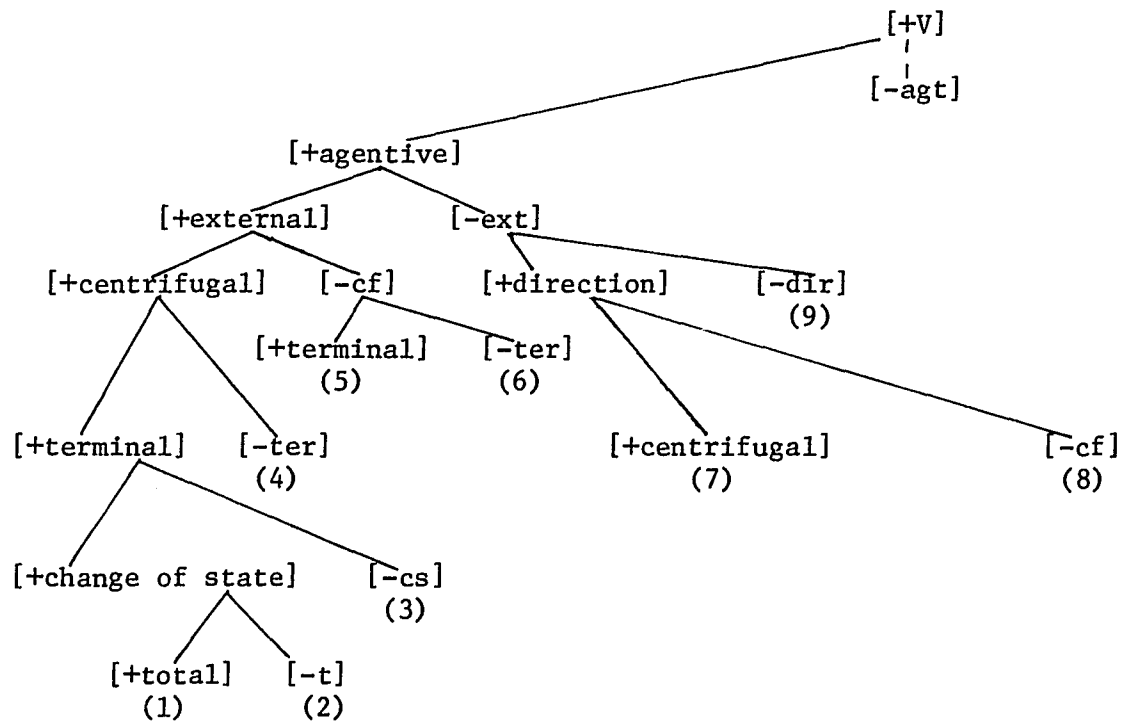
(1) <u>luto</u> 'to cook' [+V, +agt, +ext, +cf, +ter, +cs, +t]

(2) <u>hugas</u> 'to wash' [+V, +agt, +ext, +cf, +ter, +cs, -t]

(3) <u>ipon</u> 'to collect' [+V, +agt, +ext, +cf, +ter, -cs]

(4) <u>tapon</u> 'to throw' [+V, +agt, +ext, +cf, -ter]

(5) <u>kain</u> 'to eat' [+V, +agt, +ext, -cf, +ter]

(6) <u>kuha</u> 'to get' [+V, +agt, +ext, -cf, -ter]

(7) <u>punta</u> 'to go' [+V, +agt, -ext, +dir, -ter, +cf]

(8) <u>takas</u> 'to escape from' [+V, +agt, -ext, +dir, -ter, -cf]

(9) <u>iyak</u> 'to cry' [+V, +agt, -ext, -dir]

2.viii [-agentive] ——> [+experiential]

The [-agentive] verbs are either specified [+experiential] or

[-experiential]. Verbs marked [+experiential] express a psychological

event resulting in a particular mental state in the referent of its

nominal expression.

Example:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +exp \end{bmatrix} \quad [+O]$$

(20)   Nalungkot siya.
       became sad he

'He became sad.'

The [-experiential] feature expresses a nonpsychological change

of state or condition of the referent of the [+O] nominal expression

occurring with the verb.

Example:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -exp \end{bmatrix} \quad [+O]$$

(21)   Lumaki ang bata.
       grew   child

'The child grew.'

Note that this approach does not require the separate experiencer

case discussed by Fillmore. Instead, the experiential aspect of such

sentences is (more appropriately, I believe) treated as a semantic

feature of the verb and a subcase of objects on nouns.

2.ix   [-experiential] ⟶ [±inchoative]

Verbs marked [-experiential] may be either specified [+inchoative]

or [-inchoative]. When specified as having the inchoative feature,

the verbal action expresses a process of 'becoming', of a change of

state in physical condition.

2.x   [+inchoative] ⟶ [±transient]

The process of 'becoming' may be either of a transient or perma-

nent nature. The following sentences illustrate these kinds of changes.

Examples:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -trans \end{bmatrix} \quad [+O]$$

(22) <u>Gumanda</u> <u>ang</u> <u>bata</u>.
became beautiful the child

'The child became beautiful.'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +trans \end{bmatrix} \quad [+O] \quad [+I]$$

(23) <u>Nangitim</u> <u>siya</u> <u>sa</u> <u>init</u>.
became black she sun

'She became tanned/dark (due to) the sun.'

When specified as having the [-inchoative] feature, the verbal

action expresses any kind of nonagentive process of activity that

does not express a state of 'becoming.'

Example:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -inch \end{bmatrix} \quad [+O]$$

(24) <u>Umikot</u> <u>ang</u> <u>gulong</u>.
rotated the wheel

'The wheel rotated.'

2.xi [-inchoative] $\longrightarrow$ [±meteorological]

A verbal action specified as [-inchoative] may be further

specified as either [+meteorological] or [-meteorological]. A

[+meteorological] feature of the verbal action is restricted to acts

of natural phenomena.

Example:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +meteorological \end{bmatrix}$$

(25) <u>Umulan</u>.
(It) rained

'It rained.'

The [-meteorological] feature marks all other types of verbal activity.

Example:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -meteorological \end{bmatrix}$$

(26) <u>Kumulo</u>   <u>ang tubig</u>.
       boiled   the water

'The water boiled.'

2.xii   [-meteorological] ⟶ [±terminal]

The [-meteorological] feature may be either [+terminal] or [-terminal]. The [+terminal] feature indicates that the verb does not require a directional argument to complete its meaning.

Example:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +ter \end{bmatrix} \quad [+O]$$

(27) <u>Sumara</u> <u>ang bintana</u>.
     closed the window

'The window closed.'

The [-terminal] feature requires a directional actant to complete the meaning of the verb.

Example:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -ter \end{bmatrix} \quad [+O] \quad [+Dir]$$

(28) <u>Bumagsak</u> <u>ang ibon</u> <u>sa lupa</u>.
      fell   the bird on ground

'The bird fell on the ground.'

The following partial tree shows the features described in BR#2.viii-xii (pp.72-74) to complete the picture given earlier.

```
                    [+V]
                     |
                     |
      [+agentive]         [-agentive]

           [+experiential]      [-exp]
                 (1)
                   [+inchoative]      [-inch]

             [+transient]    [-trans]
                 (2)            (3)        [+meteorological]      [-met]
                                                (4)

                                          [+terminal]      [-ter]
                                              (5)             (6)
```
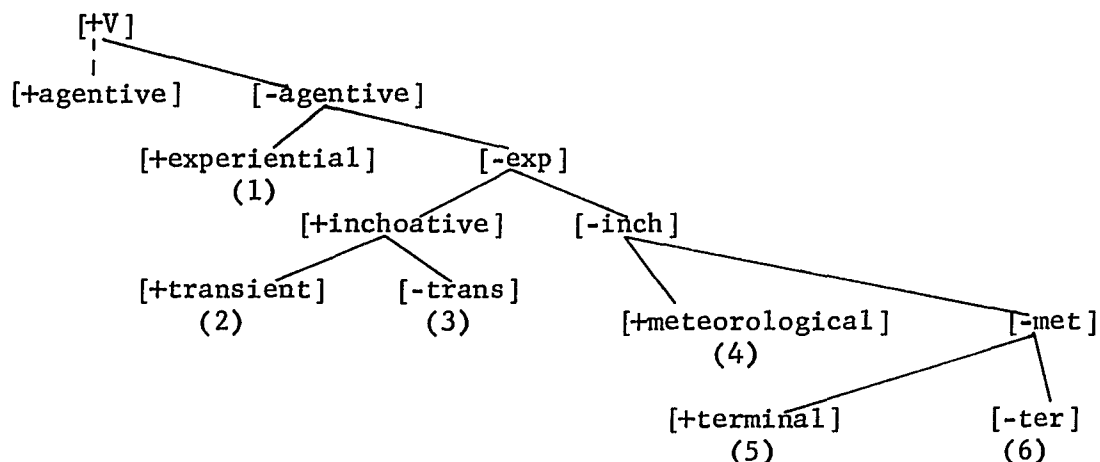
(1) lungkot 'to be sad' [+V, -agt, +exp]

(2) pula 'to blush, become red temporarily' [+V, -agt, -exp, +inch,

     +trans]

(3) pula 'to become red' [+V, -agt, -exp, +inch, -trans]

(4) ulan 'to rain' [+V, -agt, -exp, -inch, +met]

(5) kulo 'to boil' [+V, -agt, -exp, -inch, -met, +ter]

(6) bagsak 'to fall' [+V, -agt, -exp, -inch, -met, -ter]

All verbs have aspect. Pei defines this verbal feature as 'the

action or state denoted by the verb....viewed as completed or in

progress, instantaneous or enduring, momentary or habitual' (1969:19).

The term 'aspect' as used in this study is often referred to in

previous studies as tense (Blake 1916, 1925; Constantino 1965, 1971,

etc.). Aspect is used here to differentiate Tagalog from other non-

Philippine languages that use tense to indicate a different system of

axis orientation. Stockwell (1957:C-47-48) gives a good distinction

between the Tagalog aspect system and the English tense system when

he says:

     'All Tagalog (T) verb forms are oriented toward a
     single temporal axis, what Bull (1960:17) has

> called the Point Present (PP), the instant of
> speaking. T has no verb forms oriented to the
> Retrospective Axis (RP), a recollected moment
> of speaking. Since English verb forms are
> oriented toward both of these axes (present or
> nonpast and past tenses), the most fundamental
> difference between T and E verb systems is
> evidently at this point. The T verbal dis-
> tinctions should not be confused with a system
> that has more than a single axis of orienta-
> tion.'

Bowen used the term aspect for Tagalog and described it as 'some-
what similar to the tense system of English....but the system is not
closely tied to time, as tense systems are' (1965:113).

Otanes (1970:37) gave an excellent feature analysis of aspect
in Tagalog verbs and, except for a few modifications, her analysis
has been adopted in this study.

Verbs are either not marked for aspect [+neutral] or marked for
aspect [-neutral aspect].

Examples:

$$
(29) \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +neut.asp. \end{bmatrix} \quad [+A]
$$
Tumakbo ka.
run (you)

'You run.'

$$
(30) \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -neut.asp. \end{bmatrix} \quad [+A]
$$
Tumakbo siya.
ran she

'She ran.'

$$
(31) \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +neut.asp. \end{bmatrix} \quad [+A]
$$
Matulog ka.
sleep you

'(You) sleep.'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -neut.asp. \end{bmatrix} \quad [+A]$$

(32) <u>Natulog</u> <u>siya</u>.
  slept he

'He slept.'

Features specifying verbal aspect are described in rules

2.xiii-2.xv below.

  2.xiii [-neut.asp.] —→ [±begun]

When marked for aspect, the verbal action is either begun or

not begun.

Examples:

[+begun] <u>naglinis</u>	[-begun] <u>maglilinis</u>
'cleaned'	'will clean'

[+begun]
<u>naglilinis</u>

'is/are cleaning'

  2.xiv [+begun] —→ [±completed]

Forms specified with the feature [+begun] are of two kinds:

completed or noncompleted.

Example:

[+comp] <u>naglinis</u>	[-comp] <u>naglilinis</u>
'cleaned'	'is/are cleaning'

  2.xv [+completed] —→ [±recent]

Completed forms further subdivide into recently completed and

nonrecently completed. The feature [-recent] here means 'unspecified

with respect to recentness.'

Example:

[+recent] kalilinis	[-recent] naglinis
'just cleaned'	'cleaned'

The following tree shows the different aspectual forms of the verb <u>maglinis</u> 'to clean':
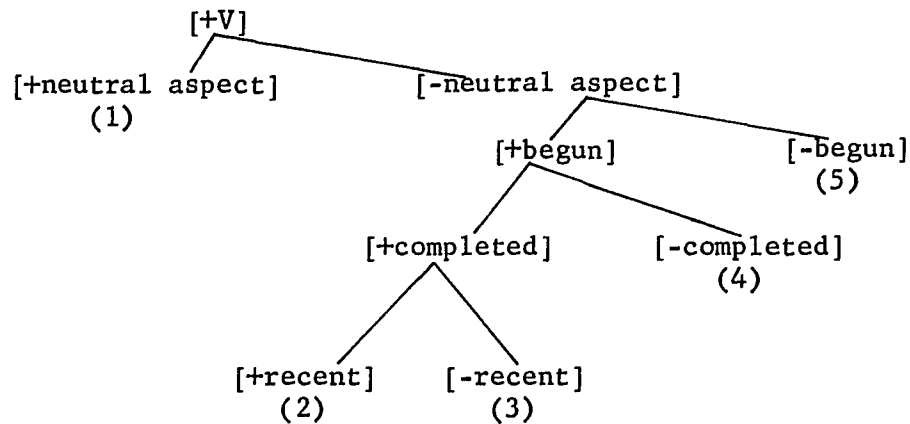
(1) <u>maglinis</u> 'to clean' [+V, +neut. asp.]

(2) <u>kalilinis</u> 'just cleaned' [+V, -neut. asp, +beg, -comp,+recent]

(3) <u>naglinis</u> 'cleaned' [+V, -neut. asp, +beg, +comp, -recent]

(4) <u>naglilinis</u> 'is/are cleaning' [+V, -neut. asp, +beg, -comp]

(5) <u>maglilinis</u> 'will clean' [+V, -neut. asp, -beg]

Base Rule #3 rewrites the case phrase (KP).

BR#3. KP ——> K + NP

The KP expands into its categorial constituents consisting of a case-marking particle (K) and a noun phrase (NP). The case-marking particle (McKaughan 1958), called a 'preposition' by Fillmore (1966a) and a 'complement marker' by Constantino (1965), signals the surface relation of a nominal element to the verb. In his 1970 model, Fillmore eliminated the K and directly adjoined it to the noun phrase

by means of preposition selection rules. (See Cook 1971:11.) Its

retention is preferred here as simpler and more directly representa-

tive of the facts in Tagalog.

Every NP is rewritten as an optional determiner (Det) and a

noun (N). Relative clauses and other N attributes will not be

treated in this work.

BR#4. NP —> (Det)   N

The Noun in turn is rewritten by a complex symbol.

BR#5. N —> c.s.

The complex symbol for nouns includes at least the inherent

features given below which follow generally the matrix of features

of the English nouns given by Chomsky in 1965.

5.i   [+N] —> [±common]

5.ii   [+common] —> [±concrete]

5.iii   [+concrete] —> [±count]

$$5.iv \quad [+count] \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \pm\text{animate} \\ +\text{singular} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$5.v \quad [-common] \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{animate} \\ +\text{singular} \end{bmatrix}$$

These inherent features of the nouns in Tagalog are necessary

for the selectional restrictions of nouns with verbs to avoid deviant

sentences. For example, [+agentive] verbs occur with [+animate] N's

as agents; [-agentive] verbs may occur with [+animate] nouns as ex-

periencers. Verbs may occur with [±animate] N's as objects and di-

rectionals.

The following tree shows these inherent features of the nouns.

```
                              [+N]
                  _____
                 /                        \
           [+common]                   [-common]
          _____                     \
         /            \               [+animate]
   [+concrete]    [-concrete]          _____
      _____        (6)             /        \
     /        \                  [+singular]  [-sg]
 [+count]   [-count]                 (7)       (8)
  _____      (5)
 /       \
[+animate] [-animate]
 _____    _____
/        \  /            \
[+singular] [-sg] [+singular] [-sg]
    (2)      (3)      (4)
```
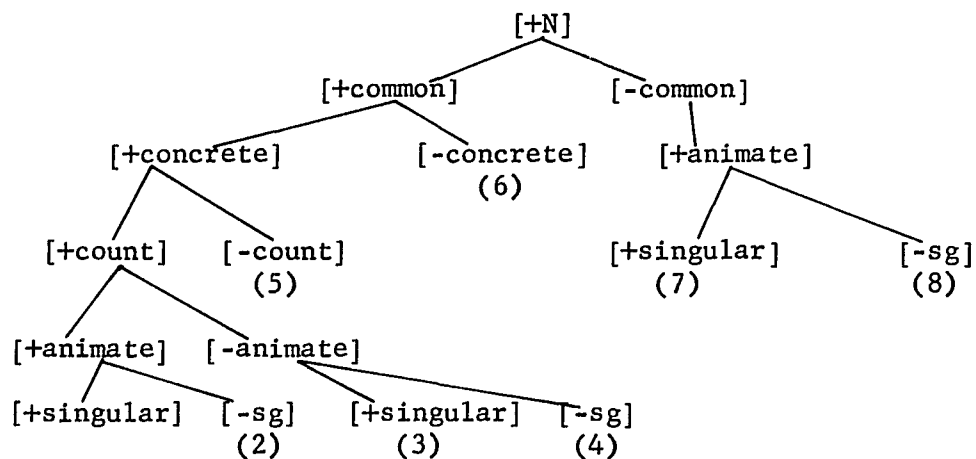
(1) <u>tao</u> 'person' [+N, +com, +conc, +count, +an, +sg]

(2) <u>tao</u> 'persons' [+N, +com, +conc, +count, +an, -sg]

(3) <u>halaman</u> 'plant' [+N, +com, +conc, +count, -an, +sg]

(4) <u>halaman</u> 'plants' [+N, +com, +conc, +count, -an, -sg]

(5) <u>asin</u> 'salt' [+N, +com, +conc, -count]

(6) <u>kaligayahan</u> 'happiness' [+N, +com, -conc]

(7) <u>Pedro</u> 'Peter' [+N, -com, +an, +sg]

(8) <u>Pedro</u> 'Pedro and his companions' [+N, -com, +an, -sg]

The subcategorization rules below assign case features to all N matrices. Chomsky's 'Aspects' model seems to require that this and other subcategorizational rules appear both in the base rules and the lexicon, whereas such rules in Taylor's approach appear only once, in the lexicon. Taylor called these 'case-related redundancy rules' in his description of case in Japa: e (1971:258). There are five case features that may characterize the noun in Tagalog.

5.vi   [+N] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$O]

5.vii [+O] $\longrightarrow$ [-A, -I, -Dir, -L]

5.viii [-O] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$A]

5.ix   [+A] $\longrightarrow$ [-I, -Dir, -L]

5.x   [-A] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$Dir]

5.xi   [+Dir] $\longrightarrow$ [-I, -L]

5.xii   [-Dir] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$I]

5.xiii   [+I] $\longrightarrow$ [-L]

5.xiv   [-I] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$L]

After these rules apply, all N matrices are distinct from all others in at least one feature. Each matrix or segment has a distinctive feature that differentiates or marks it as different from the others. Chomsky referred to a 'distinctive-feature matrix' as representing each lexical formative (1965:81).

With the application of these rules, a given N matrix has at most one of the case features marked positively and each also then has the other four features marked negatively. The following diagram shows these rules applied to [N].

Note that this specifies one matrix which is marked negatively for all cases. In Taylor's work, this corresponds to the predicate of an equational sentence. That sentence type however is beyond the scope of the present study, and will not be discussed further.

```
                        [+N]
            ┌────────────┴────────────┐
          [+O]                       [-O]
            │              ┌──────────┴──────────┐
          ┌───┐          [+A]                  [-A]
          │-A │            │          ┌──────────┴──────────┐
          │-I │          ┌───┐      [+Dir]              [-Dir]
          │-Dir│         │-I │        │          ┌──────────┴──────────┐
          │-L │          │-Dir│     ┌───┐       [+I]                  [-I]
          └───┘          │-L │     │-I │         │              ┌──────┴──────┐
            │            └───┘     │-L │       [-L]           [+L]          [-L]
            │              │       └───┘         │             │             │
            │              │         │           │             │             │
            │              │         │           │             │             │
            │              │         │           │             │             │
        ┌───┐          ┌───┐     ┌────┐      ┌────┐        ┌────┐        ┌────┐
        │+N │          │+N │     │+N  │      │+N  │        │+N  │        │+N  │
        │+O │          │-O │     │-O  │      │-O  │        │-O  │        │-O  │
        │-A │          │+A │     │-A  │      │-A  │        │-A  │        │-A  │
        │-I │          │-I │     │+Dir│      │-Dir│        │-Dir│        │-Dir│
        │-Dir│         │-Dir│    │-I  │      │+I  │        │-I  │        │-I  │
        │-L │          │-L │     │-L  │      │-L  │        │+L  │        │-L  │
        └───┘          └───┘     └────┘      └────┘        └────┘        └────┘
```
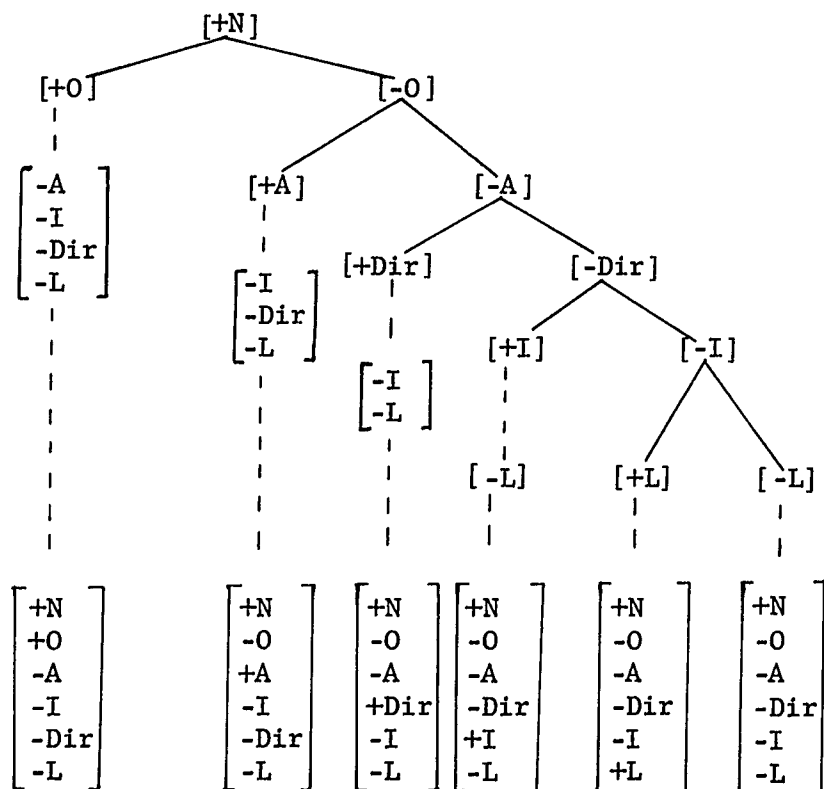
The next set of subcategorizational rules assign different case-related semantic features to nouns marked for each of the five cases assigned to the noun by rules 5.vi-5.xiv. The features are the same as those already described in Chapter II, and so, no further explanation is given here. Only the rules relevant to this part of the complex symbol for nouns are listed with accompanying illustrations.

5.xv   [+O] ⟶ [+patient]

(33)   Nagluto   siya   ng adobo.
         cooked   she   adobo

         [+A] $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +pat \end{bmatrix}$

'She cooked adobo.'

5.xvi   [+patient] ⟶ $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{centrifugal} \\ +\text{transported} \end{bmatrix}$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +cf \\ -transp \end{bmatrix}$$

(34) [+A]

(34) <u>Naglaba</u> <u>siya</u> <u>ng damit</u>.
washed   she   the clothes

'She washed the clothes.'

[+A] $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -cf \\ -transp \end{bmatrix}$

(35) <u>Kumain</u> <u>siya</u> <u>ng mansanas</u>.
ate   he   apple

'He ate an apple.'

[+A] $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -cf \\ +transp \end{bmatrix}$ [+Dir]

(36) <u>Kumuha</u> <u>siya</u> <u>ng kendi</u> <u>sa kahon</u>.
got   he   candy   from box

'He got some candy from the box.'

[+A] $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +cf \\ +transp \end{bmatrix}$ [+Dir]

(37) <u>Naglagay</u> <u>siya</u> <u>ng pera</u> <u>sa bintana</u>.
put   he   money   at window

'He put some money at the window.'

5.xvii [-transp] ⟶ [±change of state]

[+A] $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -transp \\ -cs \end{bmatrix}$

(38) <u>Inipon</u> <u>niya</u> <u>ang pera niya</u>.
saved   he   money

'He saved his money.'

5.viii [+change of state] ⟶ [±total]

[+V] [+A] $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +t \end{bmatrix}$

(39) <u>Binali</u> <u>niya</u> <u>ang sanga</u>.
broke   he   branch

'He broke the branch.'

$$\begin{array}{ccc} & & \begin{bmatrix}+0\\-t\end{bmatrix}\\ [+V] & [+A] & \end{array}$$

(40) <u>Hinugasan</u> <u>niya</u> <u>ang baso</u>.
　　　washed　　she　　　glass

'She washed the glass.'

5.xix $\begin{bmatrix}+\text{animate}\\-\text{patient}\end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [\underline{+}\text{experiencer}]$

$$[+V] \begin{bmatrix}+0\\+an\\-pat\\+exp\end{bmatrix}$$

(41) <u>Nasuya</u> <u>siya</u>.
　　　got　disgusted he

'He got disgusted.'

5.xx $\begin{bmatrix}-\text{animate}\\-\text{patient}\end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [\,-\text{experiencer}]$

5.xxi $[-\text{experiencer}] \longrightarrow [\underline{+}\text{inchoative}]$

5.xxii $[+\text{inchoative}] \longrightarrow [\underline{+}\text{transient}]$

$$[+V] \begin{bmatrix}+0\\+inch\\+trans\end{bmatrix}$$

(42) <u>Namuti</u> <u>siya</u>.
　　　became-white she

'She turned pale.'

$$[+V] \begin{bmatrix}+0\\+inch\\-trans\end{bmatrix} \quad [+L]$$

(43) <u>Pumuti</u> <u>siya</u>　<u>sa Amerika</u>.
　　　became-fair　she America

'She became fair (complexion) in America.'

5.xxiii $[-\text{inchoative}] \longrightarrow [\underline{+}\text{transported}]$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -inch \\ +transp \end{bmatrix} \quad [+Dir]$$

(44) <u>Bumagsak ang eroplano sa lupa.</u>
     fell   the airplane   ground

'The airplane fell to the ground.'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -transp \end{bmatrix}$$

(45) <u>Kumulo ang tubig.</u>
    boiled the water

'The water boiled.'

5.xxiv $\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +animate \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [\pm A]$

5.xxv $\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ -animate \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [-A]$

5.xxvi $[+A] \longrightarrow [\pm undergoer]$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +an \\ +A \\ +und \end{bmatrix}$$

(46) <u>Tumalon siya.</u>
    jumped he

'He jumped.'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +an \\ +A \\ -und \end{bmatrix} \quad [+O]$$

(47) <u>Naglinis siya ng sapatos.</u>
    cleaned he   shoes

'He cleaned the shoes.'

5.xxvii $[-undergoer] \longrightarrow [\pm goal]$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +an \\ +A \\ -und \\ +g \end{bmatrix}$$

(48) <u>Bumili siya ng tinapay.</u>
    bought he   bread

'He bought some bread.'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +an \\ +A \\ -und \\ -g \end{bmatrix}$$

(49) <u>Nagayos</u> <u>siya</u> <u>ng silya</u>.
     arranged   he   chair

'He arranged the chair(s).'

5.xxviii [+Dir] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$goal]

$$\begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ +g \end{bmatrix}$$

(50) <u>Pumunta</u> <u>siya</u> <u>sa tindahan</u>.
    went   he   to store

'He went to the store.'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ +g \end{bmatrix}$$

(51) <u>Nagitsa</u> <u>siya</u> <u>ng bola</u> <u>sa akin</u>.
    threw   he   ball to me

'He threw the ball to me.'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ -g \end{bmatrix}$$

(52) <u>Nanggaling</u> <u>siya</u> <u>sa bahay</u>.
    came   he   from house

'He came from the house.'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ -g \end{bmatrix}$$

(53) <u>Kumuha</u> <u>siya</u> <u>ng pagkain</u> <u>sa kusina</u>.
    got   he   food   from kitchen

'He got some food from the kitchen.'

5.xxix [+I] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$tool]

$$[+A]\quad \begin{bmatrix} +I \\ +tool \end{bmatrix} \quad [+O]$$

(54) <u>Hiniwa</u> <u>niya</u> <u>ng kutsilyo</u> <u>ang karne</u>.
    sliced he   knife   the meat

'He sliced the meat with the knife.'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -tool \end{bmatrix} \quad [+O]$$

(55) <u>Nabuksan</u> <u>ng hangin</u> <u>ang bintana.</u>
     opened   wind   the window

'The wind opened the window.'

The determiner, optional in BR#5, is also rewritten by a complex symbol.

BR#6. Det $\longrightarrow$ c.s.

The determiner always has the plurality feature [-sg].

6.i [+Det] $\longrightarrow$ [-sg]

The determiner can only occur with a noun if the latter is marked [-sg]. If N is marked [+sg], then the determiner does not occur.

6.ii $\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +sg \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow$ [- [+Det] ____]

Example:

$$[+Det] \begin{bmatrix} +N \\ -sg \end{bmatrix}$$

(56) <u>Kumakanta</u> <u>ang mga bata.</u>
     singing   child (pl)

'The children are singing.'

The K (Kasus) that stands for the case marker, or more generally, the category of morphemes that are realizations of the case system, is rewritten as a complex symbol.

BR#7. K $\longrightarrow$ c.s.

7.i [+K] $\longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \alpha common \\ \beta C \end{bmatrix} \Big/ \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +N \\ \alpha com \\ \beta C \end{bmatrix}$

where C is a case feature and is a member of [+A, +O, +Dir, +I, +L].

This states that the lexical category (K) agrees with the noun

in its case feature (C) as well as in its inherent property feature

[±common].

$$7.\text{ii} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +K \\ -common \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +animate \\ \alpha singular \end{bmatrix} \bigg/ \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +an \\ \alpha sg \end{bmatrix}$$

When marked [-common], the K is animate (such as for names) fol-

lowing the feature [+animate] of the proper noun that follows it.

When marked [+animate], the K is either [±singular] depending on the

number of the animate proper noun that follows it. The [±common],

[+animate] and [±singular] features of the K may be represented

graphically as follows.
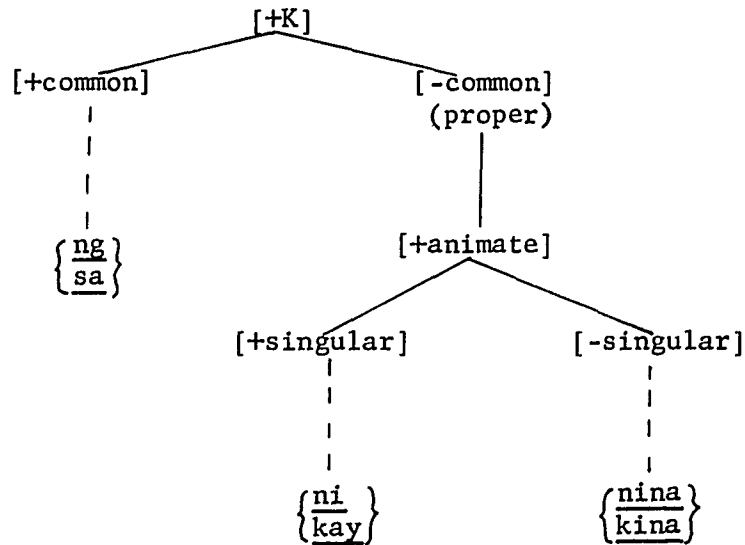
The choice of ng or sa depends on the case of the noun that

follows it.

Ng does not occur before locatives and directionals. Ni/nina

does not occur before objects, locatives and directionals. They are

entered in the lexicon as follows:

ng	ni	nina

$$
\begin{bmatrix} +K \\ +com \\ - \underline{\quad} \ [+L\ ] \\ - \underline{\quad} \ [+Dir] \end{bmatrix}
\begin{bmatrix} +K \\ -com \\ +an \\ +sg \\ - \underline{\quad} \ [+L] \\ - \underline{\quad} \ [+Dir] \\ - \underline{\quad} \ [+O] \end{bmatrix}
\begin{bmatrix} +K \\ -com \\ +an \\ -sg \\ - \underline{\quad} \ [+L] \\ - \underline{\quad} \ [+Dir] \\ - \underline{\quad} \ [+O] \end{bmatrix}
$$

Sa does not occur before objects, agents and instruments.

Kay/kina does not occur before agents and instruments. They are entered in the lexicon as follows.

sa	kay	kina

$$
\begin{bmatrix} +K \\ +com \\ - \underline{\quad} \ [+O] \\ - \underline{\quad} \ [+A] \\ - \underline{\quad} \ [+I] \end{bmatrix}
\begin{bmatrix} +K \\ -com \\ +an \\ +sg \\ - \underline{\quad} \ [+A] \\ - \underline{\quad} \ [+I] \end{bmatrix}
\begin{bmatrix} +K \\ -com \\ +an \\ -sg \\ - \underline{\quad} \ [+A] \\ - \underline{\quad} \ [+I] \end{bmatrix}
$$

FOOTNOTES

[1]The occurrence of KP's in each sentence is limited to a maximum of five.

[2]The verbal feature [-agentive] corresponds to Chafe's selectional unit, 'process' while [+agentive] corresponds to Chafe's 'action and process-action' selectional units. Miller (1970:497) divides his active verbs the same way, agentives and nonagentives.

CHAPTER IV

SELECTIONAL REDUNDANCY RULES

The verb in this study is selectionally dominant. Selectional
ties exist between the verb and the arguments that occur with it.
These ties are expressed by semantic features which are inherent to
the verb, features which determine and restrict the selection of the
nouns occurring with it. These restrictions of cooccurrence between
the verb and the agents, objects, directionals and instrumentals
that may occur with it are generalized by selectional redundancy
rules. These rules function like Taylor's redundancy rules which
'predict the co-existence of Y and X on the basis of the existence
of X alone' (1972:203). Chomsky defines such a rule as a 'selec-
tional relation between two positions in a sentence' (1965:113).
These rules predict one feature uniquely on the basis of the pre-
sence of another.

Selectional redundancy rules specified in this chapter are
perhaps some kind of agreement rules since features in the verb agree
with those in the nouns that complete the proposition in which they
occur. It may be that one could conclude even that these rules are
of government because on the one hand only those nouns may occur with
verbs that are permitted by the verbs' complex symbol. A selection,
in other words, of the possible features assigned to nouns is made by
the choice of the verb in a given sentence. On the other hand,
through later transformational rules, it is the selection of a par-
ticular nominal expression to be subject of the sentence that causes

certain changes in the surface structure of both nominal and verbal
expressions. The selectional redundancy rules follow.

SRR#1 contains the following information.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha agt \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \alpha \underline{\quad} & [+A] \\ \\ - \underline{\quad} & \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\alpha patient \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

SRR#1 generalizes the relationship between verbs and the agents
and objects which may occur with them. All verbs are specified for
[+agentive] or [-agentive]. Verbs having a positively specified
agentive feature occur obligatorily with agents. Those having a
negatively specified feature agentive must have objects but not
agents.

The symbol alpha (α) stands for (+) and (-) values of features.
An α symbol on the left side of the arrow and an α on the right side
of the arrow agree in their +/- feature specifications. In the rule
above, a verb having a positively specified agentive feature requires
a [+ ____ [+A]] or an agentive type of noun while one having a nega-
tively specified agentive feature does not permit an agentive noun to
occur with it.

When present therefore, the α indicates agreement or disagree-
ment of values in various parts of the rule (Harms 1968:59).

SRR#1 is a combination of the following rules.

1.i $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agt \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow$ [+ ____ [+A]]

Agentive verbs always occur with agents.

Example:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agt \end{bmatrix} \quad [+A] \quad [+O]$$

(1) <u>Nagmaneho</u> <u>siya</u> <u>ng kotse</u>.
    drove   he   the car

'He drove the car.'

1.ii $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -agt \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [- \underline{\quad\quad} [+A] \ ]$

Nonagentive verbs never occur with agents. The following is

therefore not possible. (See subrule 1.iv below.)

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -agt \end{bmatrix} \quad [+A] \quad [+O]$$

(2)* <u>Tumubo</u> <u>ang hardinero</u> <u>ng halaman</u>.
    grew   the gardener   the plant

'The gardener grew the plant.

1.iii $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agt \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - & \underline{\quad\quad} & \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -patient \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$

Agentive verbs do not occur with objects interpreted as non-

patients. This implies that agentive verbs may occur only with

objects interpreted as patients.

Example:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agt \end{bmatrix} \quad [+A] \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +patient \end{bmatrix}$$

(3) <u>Nagtanim</u> <u>siya</u> <u>ng mais</u>.
    planted   he   corn

'He planted corn.'

1.iv $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -agt \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - & \underline{\quad\quad} & \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +patient \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$

Nonagentive verbs never occur with objects marked by the feature

[+patient]. This implies that nonagentive verbs can only cooccur

with objects interpreted as nonpatients.

Example:

$$
\text{(4)} \quad \underset{\text{grew}}{\underset{\text{Tumaba}}{\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -agt \end{bmatrix}}} \quad \underset{\text{fat puppy}}{\underset{\text{ang tuta.}}{\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -patient \end{bmatrix}}}
$$

'The puppy grew fat.'

SRR#2 contains the following information.

$$
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha external \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ \alpha undergoer \end{bmatrix} \\ \alpha \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +patient \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
$$

SRR#2 generalizes the relationship between verbs marked [external] and the types of agents and objects that cooccur with them. Verbs having a positively specified feature [+external] require the presence of [+patient] objects. Verbs marked [-external] do not allow [+patient] objects.

SRR#2 is a combination of the following rules.

$$
2.i \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +ext \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ +undergoer \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
$$

Verbs marked [+external] never occur with agents marked with the feature [+undergoer]. It follows from SRR#1 that these verbs always occur with agents marked [-undergoer].

$$
2.ii \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +ext \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +patient \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
$$

Verbs having a positively specified feature [external] must occur with objects marked by the feature [+patient].

Example for #2.i and 2.ii.

$$(5)\quad \begin{array}{ccc} \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +ext \end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -und \end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +patient \end{bmatrix} \\ \underline{\text{Naghugas}} & \underline{\text{siya}} & \underline{\text{ng baso}}. \\ \text{washed} & \text{she} & \text{glass} \end{array}$$

'She washed the glass.'

$$2.iii\quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -ext \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -undergoer \end{bmatrix} \\ - \underline{\quad} \end{bmatrix}$$

Verbs marked [-external] never cooccur with agents marked

[-undergoer]. By implication, they occur with agents marked

[+undergoer].

$$2.iv\quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -ext \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +patient \end{bmatrix} \\ - \underline{\quad} \end{bmatrix}$$

Verbs negatively specified for the feature [external] do not

occur with objects marked by the feature [+patient].

Example for #2.iii and 2.iv.

$$(6)\quad \begin{array}{cc} \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -ext \end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ +und \end{bmatrix} \\ \underline{\text{Tumakbo}} & \underline{\text{siya}} \\ \text{ran} & \text{he} \end{array}$$

'He ran.'

SRR#3 contains the following information.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha cf \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ \alpha goal \end{bmatrix} \\ - \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\alpha cf \end{bmatrix} \\ - \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ -\alpha goal \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

SRR#3 generalizes the relationship between verbs marked for centrifugal and the types of agents, objects and directionals that may occur with them.

SRR#3 is a combination of the following rules.

$$3.i \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +cf \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} & \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ +goal \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Verbs marked with the semantic feature [+centrifugal] never occur with agents marked with the semantic feature [+goal]. By implication, this type of verb can take agents marked [-goal].

$$3.ii \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +cf \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} & \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -cf \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Verbs marked [+centrifugal] do not cooccur with objects marked [-centrifugal]. This implies that they can only occur with objects marked [+centrifugal].

$$3.iii \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +cf \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} & \begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ -goal \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Verbs positively specified for the feature [centrifugal] cannot cooccur with directionals marked [-goal]. By implication, they can only occur with directionals marked [+goal].

Example for #3.i, 3.ii and 3.iii above.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +cf \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -goal \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +cf \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ +goal \end{bmatrix}$$

(7) <u>Naghagis siya ng bato sa ahas.</u>
   hurled   he   stone at snake

'He hurled a stone at the snake.'

$$3.iv \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +cf \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} & \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -goal \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Verbs marked with the semantic feature [-centrifugal] never occur with agents marked [-goal]. By implication, they occur with agents marked [+goal].

$$
3.v \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -cf \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} & \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +cf \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
$$

Verbs marked [-centrifugal] do not cooccur with objects marked [+centrifugal]. This implies that they can only cooccur with objects marked [-centrifugal].

$$
3.vi \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -cf \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} & \begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ +goal \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
$$

Verbs negatively specified for the feature centrifugal cannot cooccur with directionals marked [+goal]. By implication, it can occur with directionals marked [-goal].

Example to illustrate #3.iv, 3.v, and 3.vi above.

$$
\begin{array}{cccc}
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -cf \end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ +goal \end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -cf \end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ -goal \end{bmatrix}
\end{array}
$$

(8) Kumuha siya ng pera sa nanay niya.
     got   he   money   from mother his

'He got money from his mother.'

SRR#4 generalizes the relationship between verbs marked [$\pm$terminal] and the directionals that may occur with them.

$$
SRR\#4. \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha ter \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \alpha \underline{\quad} & [+Dir] \end{bmatrix}
$$

SRR#4 is a combination of the following rules.

$$
4.i \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +ter \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} & [+Dir] \end{bmatrix}
$$

Verbs marked with the semantic feature of [+terminal] do not allow directionals.

Example:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +ter \end{bmatrix} \quad [+A] \quad [+O]$$

(9) <u>Nagwalis</u> <u>siya</u> <u>ng sahig</u>.
      swept   she   the floor

'She swept the floor.'

4.ii $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -ter \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \underline{\quad} & [+Dir] \end{bmatrix}$

All verbs having a negatively specified feature [-terminal] require directionals.

Examples:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -ter \end{bmatrix} [+A] \quad [+O] \quad\quad [+Dir]$$

(10) <u>Itapon</u> <u>mo</u> <u>ang basura</u> <u>sa ilog</u>.
       throw   you   garbage   in river

'(You) throw the garbage in the river.'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -ter \end{bmatrix} [+A] \quad [+O] \quad\quad [+Dir]$$

(11) <u>Kumuha</u> <u>ka</u> <u>ng pagkain</u> <u>sa mesa</u>.
        get   you   food   from table

'(You) get (some) food from the table.'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -ter \end{bmatrix} [+A] \quad\quad [+Dir]$$

(12) <u>Pumunta</u> <u>siya</u> <u>sa ospital</u>.
        went   he   to hospital

'He went to the hospital.'

SRR#5. $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha cs \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} & \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\alpha cs \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$

SRR#5 indicates that verbs marked [+change of state] can only occur with objects having the same semantic feature; conversely, verbs marked negatively for the same feature only allow objects also negatively specified for the said feature.

SRR#5 is a combination of the following rules.

5.i $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +cs \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \quad - \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ -cs \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$

Example:

(13) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +cs \end{bmatrix}$ [+A] $\begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +cs \end{bmatrix}$

Binali niya ang sanga.
broke he   branch

'He broke the branch.'

5.ii $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -cs \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \quad - \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +cs \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$

Example:

(14) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -cs \end{bmatrix}$ [+A] $\begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ -cs \end{bmatrix}$

Inipun niya ang silya.
collected he   chair(s)

'He collected the chairs.'

SRR#6. $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha t \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \quad - \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ -\alpha t \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$

SRR#6 indicates that verbs marked [+total] (change) occur with objects having the same semantic feature. On the other hand, verbs marked negatively for the same feature do not allow objects positively specified for the said feature.

SRR#6 is a combination of the following rules.

6.i $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +t \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \quad - \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ -t \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$

Example:

$$
(15) \quad \underset{\text{crushed}}{\underset{\begin{bmatrix}+V\\+t\end{bmatrix}}{\underline{\text{Pinitpit}}}} \quad \underset{\text{she}}{\underset{[+A]}{\underline{\text{niya}}}} \quad \underset{\text{garlic}}{\underset{\begin{bmatrix}+O\\+t\end{bmatrix}}{\underline{\text{ang bauang}}}}.
$$

'She crushed the garlic.'

$$
6.\text{ii} \quad \begin{bmatrix}+V\\-t\end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{} & \begin{bmatrix}+O\\+t\end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
$$

Example:

$$
(16) \quad \underset{\text{wiped}}{\underset{\begin{bmatrix}+V\\-t\end{bmatrix}}{\underline{\text{Pinunasan}}}} \quad \underset{\text{she}}{\underset{[+A]}{\underline{\text{niya}}}} \quad \underset{\text{table}}{\underset{\begin{bmatrix}+O\\+t\end{bmatrix}}{\underline{\text{ang mesa}}}}.
$$

'She wiped the table.'

$$
\text{SRR\#7.} \quad \begin{bmatrix}+V\\ \alpha ter\end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{} & \begin{bmatrix}+O\\ -\alpha transp\end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
$$

SRR#7 indicates that verbs marked [+terminal] cannot occur with objects having the semantic feature [+transported]; verbs marked negatively for 'terminal' cannot occur with objects having the feature [transported].

SRR#7 is a combination of the following rules.

$$
7.\text{i} \quad \begin{bmatrix}+V\\+ter\end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{} & \begin{bmatrix}+O\\+transp\end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
$$

Terminal verbs never occur with objects marked [+transported]. By implication, only objects marked [-transported] occur with terminal verbs.

Example:

$$
\begin{array}{ccc}
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +ter \end{bmatrix} & [+A] & \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -transp \end{bmatrix}
\end{array}
$$

(17) Nagbunot siya ng sahig.
      polished he   floor
      (husked)

'He polished the floor (with a husk).'

$$
7.ii \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -ter \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} & \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -transp \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
$$

Nonterminal verbs never occur with objects marked [-transported]. This implies that this type of verb can occur only with objects marked [+transported].

Example:

$$
\begin{array}{cccc}
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -ter \end{bmatrix} & [+A] & \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +transp \end{bmatrix} & [+Dir]
\end{array}
$$

(18) Nagsabit siya ng kulambo   sa pako.
      hung   he   mosquito net   nail

'He hung the mosquito net on the nail.'

SRR#8 contains the following information.

$$
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -direction \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} & [+Dir] \end{bmatrix}
$$

SRR#8 states that verbs marked [-direction] do not allow directionals.

Example:

$$
\begin{array}{cc}
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -dir \end{bmatrix} & [+A]
\end{array}
$$

(19) Umiyak siya.
      cried   she

'She cried.'

$$
SRR\#9. \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha experiential \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} & \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\alpha experiencer \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
$$

SRR#9 generalizes the relationship between verbs and objects marked [+experiential] or [-experiential].

SRR#9 is a combination of the following rules.

$$9.i \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +experiential \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -experiencer \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Verbs having a positively specified feature [+experiential] do not cooccur with objects having the semantic feature [-experiencer]. This rule implies that experiential verbs can cooccur with objects marked with the feature [+experiencer].

Example:

$$\begin{matrix} \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +exp \end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +exp \end{bmatrix} \end{matrix}$$

(20) <u>Nagutom</u> <u>siya</u>.
got hungry he

'He got hungry.'

$$9.ii \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -experiential \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -experiencer \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Verbs having a negatively specified feature [-experiential] do not cooccur with objects having the semantic feature [+experiencer]. This rule implies that nonexperiential verbs can occur with objects having the feature [-experiencer].

Example:

$$\begin{matrix} \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -exp \end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -exp \end{bmatrix} \end{matrix}$$

(21) <u>Lumago</u> <u>ang</u> <u>damo</u>.
grew (luxuriantly) the grass

'The grass grew luxuriantly.'

SRR#10 contains the following information.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha\text{inchoative} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} & \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\alpha\text{inchoative} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

SRR#10 generalizes the relationship between verbs and objects

marked [+inchoative] or [-inchoative]. This rule implies that in-

choative verbs can cooccur with objects marked with the feature

[+inchoative].

Example:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +\text{inch} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +\text{inch} \end{bmatrix}$$
(22) Lumaki ang bata.
       grew   the child

'The child grew.'

10.ii $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -\text{inchoative} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} & \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +\text{inch} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$

Verbs having a negatively specified feature [-inchoative] do not

cooccur with objects having the semantic feature [+inchoative].

This rule implies that noninchoative verbs can cooccur with objects

having the feature [-inchoative].

Examples:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -\text{inch} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\text{inch} \end{bmatrix}$$
(23) Kumulo ang tubig.
       boiled the water

'The water boiled.'

SRR#11 contains the following information.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha\text{trans} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} & \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\alpha\text{trans} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

SRR#11 shows that verbs marked [+transient] never occur with

objects marked [-transient] and vice versa. This implies that

transient verbs require only objects marked [+transient] and

nontransient verbs can occur only with objects marked [-transient].

SRR#11 is a combination of the following rules.

11.i
$$
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +trans \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -trans \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
$$

By implication, transient verbs occur only with transient ob-

jects.

Example:

(24)
$$
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +trans \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +trans \end{bmatrix}
$$
Namuti   siya.
became-white she

'She lost color/she became pale.'

11.ii
$$
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -trans \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +trans \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
$$

The rule above implies that nontransient verbs occur only with

nontransient objects.

Example:

(25)
$$
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -trans \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -trans \end{bmatrix}
$$
Pumuti   siya.
became fair she

'She became fair.'

SRR#12 contains the following information.

$$
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha\,agentive \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -\alpha\,tool \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
$$

SRR#12 generalizes the relationship between verbs marked

[-agentive] or [+agentive] and the instrumentals that may occur

with them, except for verbs marked [-direction] which never take

instrumentals specified [+tool].

The following rule expresses this general fact necessary to

SRR#12.

$$12a \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -dir \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\qquad} & \begin{bmatrix} +I \\ +tool \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Example:

$$(26) \quad \underset{\text{smiled}}{\underset{\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -dir \end{bmatrix}}{\underline{\text{Ngumiti}}}} \quad \underset{\text{she}}{\underset{[+A]}{\underline{\text{siya}}}}.$$

'She smiled.'

SRR#12 is a combination of the following rules.

$$12.i \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agentive \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\qquad} & \begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -tool \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Verbs having a positively specified feature [+agentive] may

cooccur with instrumentals interpreted as [+tool].

Example:

$$(27) \quad \underset{\text{broke}}{\underset{\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agt \end{bmatrix}}{\underline{\text{Binasag}}}} \quad \underset{\text{he}}{\underset{[+A]}{\underline{\text{niya}}}} \quad \underset{\text{stone}}{\underset{\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ +tool \end{bmatrix}}{(\underline{\text{ng bato}})}} \quad \underset{\text{glass}}{\underset{[+O]}{\underline{\text{ang salamin}}}}.$$

'He broke the glass (with a stone).'

$$12.ii \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -agt \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\qquad} & \begin{bmatrix} +I \\ +tool \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Verbs having a negatively specified feature [-agentive] may

cooccur with instrumentals that are marked by the semantic feature

[-tool].

Example:

$$(28) \quad \underset{\substack{\text{Nabasa} \\ \text{drenched}}}{\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -agt \end{bmatrix}} \quad \underset{\substack{\text{siya} \\ \text{he}}}{[+O]} \quad \underset{\substack{(\text{ng ulan}) \\ \text{rain}}}{\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -tool \end{bmatrix}}.$$

'He was drenched (by the rain).'

Except for the locatives,[1] these selectional redundancy rules account for the cooccurrence of the inherent types of cases with the verbs.

FOOTNOTE

[1]If the verbal feature tree were expanded to include locative selectional features, the verbal feature [±local] may be added to the [±total] and [-direction] features of the verb. The following tree illustrates.
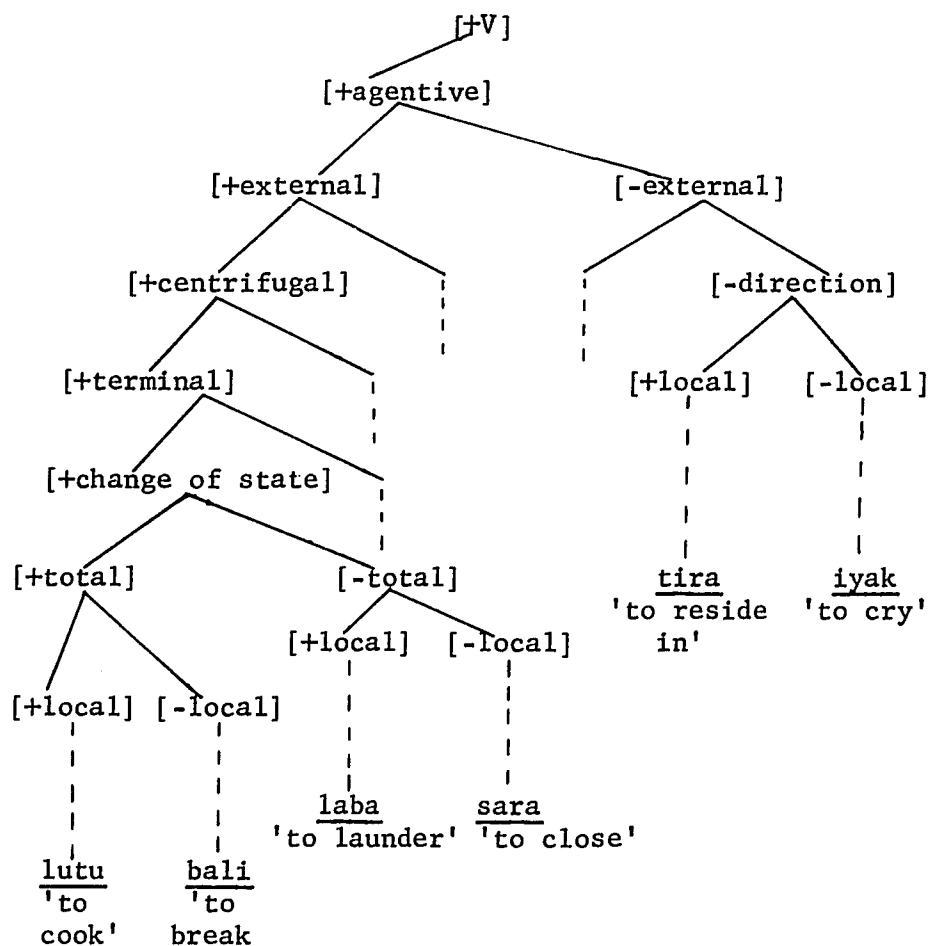
The following rules may be added to the base rules.

$$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text{[-direction]}\\\text{[±total]}\end{array}\right\} \longrightarrow \text{[±local]}$$

Any verb having the semantic feature [+local] dictates the
presence of a locative actant to complete its meaning.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +local \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} + \underline{\quad} & [+L] \end{bmatrix}$$

CHAPTER V

THE SUBCATEGORIZATION OF THE TAGALOG VERBS

As has been indicated earlier, the feature characteristics of Tagalog verbs impose a classification on those verbs. The major sub-categorization of the verbs presented in this chapter is based upon the semantic features as well as the contextual case features that make up verbal matrices. The semantic features that make up the complex symbol of the verb are given in Chapter III. Given certain basic properties of verbs, all their other grammatical properties can be supplied by the application of the selectional restriction rules discussed in the previous chapter. Chapter IV also explains how the semantic properties of the verb dictate what kind of cases may occur with it. The characteristics of these cases which are properties of the nouns are discussed in Chapter II. This chapter describes the verbal matrices as consisting of two types of features, the semantic features and the contextual case features. The verbal matrices of fifteen classes of verbs to which the majority of Tagalog verbs be-long will thus be defined in this chapter.

In Fillmore's case grammar of 1968, verbs were defined in terms of 'case frames', that is, according to the case environments which the sentence provides (1968a:26). In his 1969 article on lexical information (1969:76), he used the term 'case structure' to refer to the combination of cases that might be associated with a given predi-cate. The arrays of cases defining the sentence types of a language, according to him, have the effect of imposing a classification on the verbs in the language (1968a:21). Contrary to Fillmore's view, in

this study the arrays of cases in the nouns do not impose a subclassification on the verbs of Tagalog. The array of cases is not sufficient in itself to do this. Besides, the verb is considered as central in this study, not the noun. Therefore, the semantic and selectional features of the verbs predict the types of cases that may occur with them. Ultimately these semantic and selectional features subclassify the verbs.

Whereas Fillmore's case frames consist of category symbols, the selectional rules here represent case frames in terms of selectional features. Thus [+ ___ A⌢O⌢Dir] in Fillmore's system corresponds to

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{\underline{\hspace{1em}}} & [+A] \\ + \text{\underline{\hspace{1em}}} & [+O] \\ + \text{\underline{\hspace{1em}}} & [+Dir] \end{bmatrix}$$

in the system presented here, though the latter notation does not require the cases to be introduced in some arbitrary order.

Each case, however, is well defined by a cluster of features. This is similar to Fillmore's 'coreferential roles'. But the features go beyond dual roles to capture more distinctions in their use.

For example, Fillmore (see Cook 1971:15) talks of the agentive case as being sometimes coreferential with the source, and sometimes with the goal case. In this study, these features are dominated by still another feature called [-undergoer] which has a positively specified [+undergoer] counterpart. The [+undergoer] type of agent is neither the goal nor the source of the action but both. It undergoes the action it originates. The action of swimming, walking,

running or moving, for instance, dictates the single positive

subfeature [+undergoer] for the agent. The verb <u>kuha</u> 'to get' re-

quires two subfeatures for the agent [-undergoer, +goal], since it

is the nonundergoer recipient or goal of the action. <u>Tapon</u>, 'to

throw', on the other hand, also requires two agentive subfeatures

but it contrasts with the verb <u>k u h a</u>, 'to get', in that the agent

is not the goal of the action. It has the subfeatures [-undergoer,

-goal]. The following verbs then require three types of agents.

$$\underline{iyak}, \text{'to cry'}, \quad \left[+ \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ +undergoer \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

$$\underline{kuha}, \text{'to get'} \quad \left[+ \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -undergoer \\ +goal \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

$$\underline{tapon}, \text{'to throw'} \quad \left[+ \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -undergoer \\ -goal \end{bmatrix} \right]$$
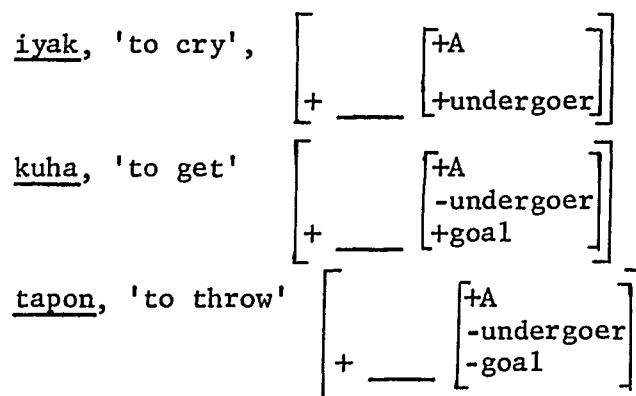
In the following paragraphs inherent and contextual features

necessary to distinguish each class of verbs are listed for each

type of verb. The branching feature diagrams in Chapter III (see

also Appendix A-1), give a graphic view of how the features are

arranged in hierarchical order. The verbs listed below these

diagrams are thus representative of the verbs for the different

classes.

The semantic features are summarized, and these features are

those subcategorizing the verbs. These contextual features of each

type of verb have been determined in the selectional redundancy

rules given in Chapter IV.

There are fifteen classes of verbs resulting from the
contrasting matrices exhibited in the following paragraphs.

1. The first type of verb has the following semantic and
contextual features.

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{+V} \\
\text{+agentive} \\
\text{+external} \\
\text{+centrifugal} \\
\text{+terminal} \\
\text{+change of state} \\
\text{+total} \\
\\
\text{+ \_\_\_\_} \begin{bmatrix} \text{+A} \\ \text{-undergoer} \\ \text{-goal} \end{bmatrix} \\
\\
\text{+ \_\_\_\_} \begin{bmatrix} \text{+0} \\ \text{+patient} \\ \text{+centrifugal} \\ \text{-transported} \\ \text{+change of state} \\ \text{+total} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

The [+agentive] feature indicates that this type of verb requires
an agent which is the source of the action performed externally
(outside of that agent). The [+centrifugal] feature indicates that
the action is directed away from the agent toward an object (re-
quired also by the [+external] feature) where the action terminates.
The [+terminal] feature indicates that the action is not carried
beyond the object. The verb's action upon the object causes a change
in physical condition. In this class of verb, the effect of the
change upon the object is total.

This type of verb then requires two arguments, one having an
agentive case feature which is only the source of the action and an
objective case feature which is not moved toward the agent, [+cen-
trifugal], nor is it transported anywhere. It is a static object,

[+patient], that acts as the recipient of the action which causes it to change in physical condition totally. Thus the verb <u>baluktot</u> 'to bend' from this set has the meaning '(someone) bends (something)'. Examples:

(1)
$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +t \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -g \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +t \end{bmatrix}$$
<u>Binaluktot</u> <u>ng magnanakaw</u> <u>ang rehas</u>.
 bent burglar iron bars

'The burglar bent the iron bars.'

(2)
$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +t \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -g \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +t \end{bmatrix}$$
<u>Winasak</u> <u>ng loko-loko</u> <u>ang kotse</u>.
destroyed madman car

'The madman destroyed the car.'

(3)
$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +t \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -g \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +t \end{bmatrix}$$
<u>Niluto</u> <u>ng nanay</u> <u>ang gulay</u>.
cooked mother vegetables

'Mother cooked the vegetables.'

Other verbs that belong to this class are: <u>pitpit</u> '(someone) crushes (something)', <u>tastas</u> '(someone) rips (something)', <u>patay</u> '(someone) slaughters (something)', <u>yupi</u> '(someone) dents (something)', <u>buhay</u> '(someone) keeps alive (something)', <u>linis</u> '(someone) cleans (something)', <u>ihaw</u> '(someone) broils (something)', <u>tuwid</u> '(someone) straightens out (something)', <u>laga</u> '(someone) boils (something)', <u>buro</u> '(someone) pickles (something)', <u>init</u> '(someone) heats (something)', <u>unat</u> '(someone) removes the crease from (something)', <u>gupit</u> '(someone) cuts (something)', <u>ahit</u> '(someone) shaves (someone)' and <u>basa</u> '(someone) wets (something)'.

2. The second type of verb has the following semantic and contextual features.

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
+V \\
+\text{agentive} \\
+\text{external} \\
+\text{centrifugal} \\
+\text{terminal} \\
+\text{change of state} \\
-\text{total} \\[2mm]
+ \underline{} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -\text{undergoer} \\ -\text{goal} \end{bmatrix} \\[2mm]
+ \underline{} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +\text{patient} \\ +\text{centrifugal} \\ -\text{transported} \\ +\text{change of state} \\ -\text{total} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$
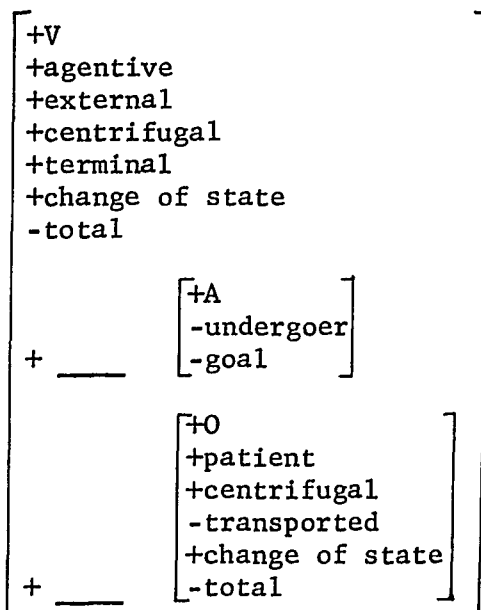
This type of verb differs from the first one in that the effect of the verbal action of the verb upon the object is not to change its condition totally but partially. Otherwise, all the other features function just like those characterizing the first type of verb.

This type of verb, then, requires two arguments, one having the agentive case feature and the other the objective case feature. The verb hugas 'to wash' belongs to this type of verb class and has the meaning '(someone) washes (something)'.

Examples:

$$
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -t \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -g \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -t \end{bmatrix}
$$

(4) Binanlawan niya ang damit.
     rinsed   she   clothes

'She rinsed the clothes.'

$$
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -t \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -g \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -t \end{bmatrix}
$$

(5) Pinunasan niya ang mesa.
     wiped   she   table

'She wiped the table.'

Other verbs that belong to this class are: <u>laba</u> '(someone)
washes (something),' <u>linis</u> '(someone) cleans (something),' <u>hilamus</u>
'(someone) washes the face,' <u>sara</u> '(someone) closes (something),'
<u>bukas</u> '(someone) opens (something),' <u>wisik</u> '(someone) sprinkles (some-
thing),' <u>tagpi</u> '(someone) patches (something),' <u>dilig</u> '(someone) waters
(something),' <u>talup</u> '(someone) peels (something),' <u>tabas</u> '(someone)
cuts (a dress material following a pattern),' and <u>tali</u> '(someone)
ties (something)'.

3. The third type of verb has the following semantic and
contextual features.

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{+V} \\
\text{+agentive} \\
\text{+external} \\
\text{+centrifugal} \\
\text{+terminal} \\
\text{-change of state} \\
\\
\text{+ \_\_\_\_}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{+A} \\
\text{-undergoer} \\
\text{-goal}
\end{bmatrix} \\
\\
\text{+ \_\_\_\_}
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{+O} \\
\text{+patient} \\
\text{+centrifugal} \\
\text{-transported} \\
\text{-change of state}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

The only contrasting feature of this class of verb from the first
and second types is the non-change-of-state effect of the verbal
action upon the object. The rest of the features are the same as
those characterizing the first and second types of verbs.

This type of verb requires two arguments too. One has the
agentive case feature and the other, the objective case feature.
However, the object does not undergo any change of state as the two

earlier types do. Thus the verb <u>ipon</u> 'to gather, collect', has the
complete meaning of '(someone) gathers (something)'.

Examples:

(6) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -cs \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -g \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -cs \end{bmatrix}$
      <u>Inipun niya</u> <u>ang basura.</u>
      gathered he   garbage

'He gathered (collected) the garbage.'

(7) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -cs \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -g \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -cs \end{bmatrix}$
      <u>Inayos niya</u> <u>ang mga silya.</u>
      arranged he   chairs

'He arranged the chairs.'

Verbs of this type are: <u>halungkat</u> '(someone) ransacks (something)',
<u>akay</u> '(someone) guides, leads (someone)', <u>alog</u> '(someone) jars
(something)', <u>uga</u> '(someone) swings (someone)', <u>bitbit</u> '(someone)
carries (something)', <u>buklat</u> '(someone) opens (something)', <u>hintay</u>
'(someone) waits for (something)', <u>tipid</u> '(someone) economizes
(something)', <u>tiklop</u> '(someone) folds (something)' and <u>aruga</u> '(some-
one) takes care of (someone)'.

4. The fourth type of verb has the following semantic and
contextual features.

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{+V} \\
\text{+agentive} \\
\text{+external} \\
\text{+centrifugal} \\
\text{-terminal} \\[4pt]
+\ \underline{\quad}\ \begin{bmatrix} \text{+A} \\ \text{-undergoer} \\ \text{-goal} \end{bmatrix} \\[6pt]
+\ \underline{\quad}\ \begin{bmatrix} \text{+O} \\ \text{+patient} \\ \text{+centrifugal} \\ \text{+transported} \end{bmatrix} \\[6pt]
+\ \underline{\quad}\ \begin{bmatrix} \text{+Dir} \\ \text{+goal} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

Unlike the first three types of verbs, this class is marked by the [-terminal] feature which indicates that a third argument, [+Directional], is needed to complete the meaning of the verb. The [-terminal] feature also indicates that the object is transported or transferred to a third argument, the directional, where the centrifugal action terminates.

This type of verb then requires three arguments, one having the agentive case feature further specified as nongoal and source of the action, another having the objective case feature which is carried away from the agent toward a directional-goal, and lastly, an argument having the directional case feature further defined as [+goal] functioning as the receiver of the object. Thus the verb tapon 'to throw' from this set has the meaning '(someone) throws (something) (somewhere)'.

Examples:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +cf \\ -ter \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -g \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +cf \\ +transp \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ +g \end{bmatrix}$$

(8) <u>Iaabot</u> <u>ng bata</u> <u>ang pako</u> <u>sa karpintero.</u>
will hand-over child nail carpenter

'The child will hand over some nails to the
carpenter.'

$$[+V] \quad [+A] \quad [+O] \quad [+Dir]$$
(9) <u>Ilalagay</u> <u>niya</u> <u>ang pera</u> <u>sa alkansiya.</u>
will put he money piggy bank

'He will put some money in the piggy bank.'

$$[+V] \quad [+A] \quad [+O] \quad [+Dir]$$
(10) <u>Itatapon</u> <u>ni Pedro</u> <u>ang basura</u> <u>sa labas.</u>
will throw Pedro garbage outside

'Pedro will throw some garbage outside.'

Other verbs that belong to this class are: <u>abuloy</u> '(someone) contributes (something) (somewhere)', <u>bagsak</u> '(someone) drops (something) (somewhere)', <u>bigay</u> '(someone) gives (something) (to someone)', <u>bayad</u> '(someone) pays (someone) (something)', <u>lakip</u> '(someone) encloses (something) (somewhere)', <u>salansan</u> '(someone) files (something) (somewhere)', <u>sampay</u> '(someone) hangs (clothes) (somewhere)', <u>sabit</u> '(someone) hangs (something) (somewhere)', <u>sanla</u> '(someone) pawns (something) (somewhere)', <u>hulog</u> '(someone) drops (something) (somewhere)', <u>sabog</u> '(someone) scatters (something) (somewhere)', <u>kabit</u> '(someone) connects (something) (somewhere)', <u>lipat</u> '(someone) transfers (something) (somewhere)', <u>akyat</u> '(someone) carries up (something) (somewhere)', <u>lako</u> '(someone) peddles (something) (somewhere)', <u>budbud</u> '(someone) distributes (some particle-like matter) (somewhere)', <u>halang</u> '(someone) blocks (something) (somewhere)',

tali '(someone) ties (something) (somewhere)', taya '(someone) bets (something)', tago '(someone) hides (something) (somewhere)', sandig '(someone) leans (something) (somewhere)', libing '(someone) buries (someone) (somewhere)' and babad '(someone) soaks (something) (somewhere)'.

5. The fifth type has the following semantic and contextual features.

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{+V} \\
\text{+agentive} \\
\text{+external} \\
\text{-centrifugal} \\
\text{+terminal} \\
\\
\text{+} \underline{\quad} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{+A} \\ \text{+goal} \end{bmatrix} \\
\\
\text{+} \underline{\quad} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{+O} \\ \text{+patient} \\ \text{-centrifugal} \\ \text{-transported} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

This type of verb differs from the previous classes of verbs in that it has a [-centrifugal] feature which indicates that the verbal action is toward the agent where it terminates. As in the first three types of verbs, the [+terminal] feature indicates that the action is not carried beyond the object.

Verbs of this type require two arguments, one having the agentive case feature which is both the source and goal of the action and another having the objective case feature. The object is further marked [-centrifugal] because the object is brought toward the agent, and marked [-transported] because the action terminates at the object. The verb kain 'to eat' from this class has the complete meaning of '(someone) eats (something)'.

Examples:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -cf \\ +ter \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ +g \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -cf \end{bmatrix}$$

(11) Humuli ang mama ng manok.
     caught the man   chicken

'The man caught a chicken.'

    [+V]   [+A]   [+O]
(12) Umamoy siya ng bulaklak.
     smelled she   flower

'She smelled the flower.'

    [+V]   [+A]   [+O]
(13) Uminom siya ng alak.
      drank he   wine

'He drank some wine.'

Other verbs that belong to this class are: kain '(someone) eats (something)', lulon '(someone) swallows (something)', ampon '(someone) adopts (someone)', subo '(someone) takes in (food)', sipsip '(someone) sips (something)', sunggab '(someone) grabs (something)', tikim '(someone) tastes (something)', tawag '(someone) calls (someone)', lagok '(someone) gulps down (something)', igip '(someone) fetches (water)', kabig '(someone) draws (something) towards self', hithit '(someone) smokes (something)', langhap '(someone) inhales (something)' and higop '(someone) sucks in, sips (something)'.

6. The sixth type of verb has the following semantic and contextual features.

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{+V} \\
\text{+agentive} \\
\text{+external} \\
\text{-centrifugal} \\
\text{-terminal} \\
\\
+ \underline{\quad} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{+A} \\ \text{+goal} \end{bmatrix} \\
\\
+ \underline{\quad} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{+O} \\ \text{+patient} \\ \text{-centrifugal} \\ \text{+transported} \end{bmatrix} \\
\\
+ \underline{\quad} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{+Dir} \\ \text{-goal} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

In contrast to the fifth type of verb, the [-terminal] feature indicates the requirement of a directional argument to complete its meaning. The verbal action transports the object from a directional argument to the agent.

This type of verb then, requires three arguments. One has the agentive case feature, but in this instance it is further defined as the goal of the action. The second is marked by the objective case feature further specified as [-centrifugal], because the action transports or carries the object towards the agent from a directional case feature further specified as [-goal]. The verb <u>kuha</u> 'to get' that belongs to this class of verb has the meaning '(someone) gets (something) (from somewhere)'.

Examples:

$$
\begin{bmatrix} \text{+V} \\ \text{-cf} \\ \text{-ter} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{+A} \\ \text{+g} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{+O} \\ \text{-cf} \\ \text{+transp} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{+Dir} \\ \text{-g} \end{bmatrix}
$$

(14) <u>Humiram ang tatay ng pera sa bangko.</u>
     borrowed the father money   bank

'The father borrowed some money from the bank.'

$$[+V] \quad [+A] \quad [+O] \quad [+Dir]$$

(15) Humiling ang bata ng manika sa nanay niya.
asked for the child   doll   mother her

'The child asked for a doll from her mother.'

$$[+V] \quad [+A] \quad [+O] \quad [+Dir]$$

(16) Kumuha siya ng bunga sa puno.
    got   he   fruit   tree

'He got some fruit from the tree.'

Other verbs that belong to this class are: hingi '(someone) asks (from someone) (for something)', dukot '(someone) draws out (something) (from somewhere)', tanggap '(someone) receives (something) (from somewhere)', abot '(someone) reaches (for something) (from somewhere)', agaw '(someone) snatches (something) (from somewhere)', hila, haltak '(someone) pulls horizontally (something) (from somewhere)', bunot '(someone) pulls vertically (something) (from somewhere)', hanap '(someone) searches (something) (from somewhere)', buhat '(someone) lifts (something) (from somewhere)', sungkit '(someone) picks fruits by a pole (from somewhere)', and kalawit '(someone) hooks (something) (from somewhere)'.

7. The seventh type of verb has the following semantic and contextual features.

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
+V \\
+\text{agentive} \\
-\text{external} \\
+\text{direction} \\
+\text{centrifugal} \\
\\
+ \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ +\text{undergoer} \end{bmatrix} \\
\\
+ \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ +\text{goal} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

The presence of the [-external] feature in this type of verb differentiates it from the previous classes of verbs, because this indicates an internally induced action rather than action performed externally. The [+direction] feature indicates that the action shows movement toward or from a directional argument. In this particular class of verb, the movement is toward the directional argument [+centrifugal].

The verbs that belong to this class require two arguments. One argument has the agentive case feature and is the initiator or source as well as the undergoer of the action. The other has the directional case feature which completes the central meaning of the verb as the goal of the action. Punta 'to go' from this class has the meaning '(someone) goes (somewhere)'.

Examples:

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
[+V] & [+A] & [+Dir] \\
\text{Pumunta} & \text{siya} & \text{sa Honolulu.} \\
\text{went} & \text{he} & \text{Honolulu}
\end{array}
$$

(17)

'He went to Honolulu.'

$$
(18)\quad
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +dir \\ +cf \end{bmatrix}\quad
\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ +und \end{bmatrix}\quad
\begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ +g \end{bmatrix}
$$

Umakbay ang lola sa akin.
leaned-on-arm the grandmother on me

'Grandmother put her arm on me (my shoulder).'

Other verbs that belong to this class are: dapo '(someone) alights (somewhere)', kapit '(someone) holds (somewhere)', pasok '(someone) enters (somewhere)', tingin '(someone) looks (somewhere)', luhod '(someone) kneels (somewhere)', upo '(someone) sits down (some- where)', damay '(someone) helps or aids (somewhere)', higa '(someone lies

down (somewhere)', <u>tayo</u> '(someone) stands up', <u>lakad</u> '(someone) walks

(somewhere)', <u>takbo</u> '(someone) runs (somewhere)', <u>gapang</u> '(someone)

crawls (somewhere)', <u>dapa</u> '(someone) lies on his stomach (somewhere)'

and <u>tihaya</u> '(someone) lies on his back (somewhere)'.

8. The eighth type of verb has the following semantic and con-

textual features.

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
+V \\
+\text{agentive} \\
-\text{external} \\
+\text{direction} \\
-\text{centrifugal} \\
\\
+ \underline{\quad} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ +\text{undergoer} \end{bmatrix} \\
\\
+ \underline{\quad} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{Dir} \\ -\text{goal} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

This class of verb contrasts with the seventh type in that instead

of being marked positively for the feature centrifugal, it is marked

negatively, [-centrifugal]. This means that the action moves away

from the directional argument.

The verbs that belong to this class require two arguments. One

has the agentive case feature which is undergoer of the action it

initiates. The other has the directional case feature which com-

pletes the central meaning of the verb by being the source of the

action. <u>Bitiw</u> 'to let go', from this class has the meaning '(someone)

lets go (from somewhere)'.

Examples:

$$
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +\text{dir} \\ -\text{cf} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ +\text{und} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{Dir} \\ -\text{goal} \end{bmatrix}
$$

(19) <u>Bumitiw</u> <u>siya</u> <u>sa</u> <u>sanga</u> <u>ng</u> <u>puno</u>.
    let go   he   from branch tree

'He let go of the branch of the tree.'

$$\begin{array}{ccc} [\text{+V}] & [\text{+A}] & [\text{+Dir}] \end{array}$$

(20) <u>Humiwalay</u> <u>siya</u> <u>sa akin</u>.
　　　separated　she　from me

'She separated from me.'

Other verbs that belong to this class are: <u>kalag</u> '(someone)

releases (himself) (from somewhere)', <u>takas</u> '(someone) escapes (from

somewhere)', <u>alis</u> '(someone) leaves (from somewhere)', <u>layas</u> '(some-

one) runs away (from somewhere)' and <u>balik</u> '(someone) comes back

(from somewhere)'.

9. The ninth type of verb has the following semantic and con-

textual features.

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{+V} \\ \text{+agentive} \\ \text{-external} \\ \text{-direction} \\ \\ + \underline{\qquad} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{+A} \\ \text{+undergoer} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

This class of verb has the feature [-direction] which indicates that

the action does not involve any movement.

A verb of this type requires only one type of argument, one

having the agentive case feature further specified as [+undergoer].

This signifies that the agent is both initiator and undergoer of

the action. The verb <u>iyak</u> 'to cry' belongs to this class of verbs

with the full meaning of '(someone) cries'.

Examples:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{+V} \\ \text{-dir} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{+A} \\ \text{+und} \end{bmatrix}$$

(21) <u>Bumahin</u> <u>ang tao</u>.
　　　sneezed　the man

'The man sneezed.'

(22)
$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{[+V]} & \text{[+A]} \\
\underline{\text{Gumising}} & \underline{\text{si Pedro.}} \\
\text{woke up} & \text{Pedro}
\end{array}
$$

'Pedro woke up.'

(23)
$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{[+V]} & \text{[+A]} \\
\underline{\text{Ngumiti}} & \underline{\text{siya.}} \\
\text{smiled} & \text{she}
\end{array}
$$

'She smiled.'

Other verbs that belong to this class are: <u>galaw</u> '(someone)

moves', <u>handa</u> '(someone) gets ready', <u>hilik</u> '(someone) snores',

<u>iglip</u> '(someone) takes a nap', <u>hiyaw</u> '(someone) shouts', <u>simangot</u>

'(someone) frowns', <u>pila</u> '(someone) falls in line', <u>tahan</u> '(someone)

stops crying', <u>tigil</u> '(someone) stops', <u>ubo</u> '(someone) coughs',

<u>hinga</u> '(someone) breathes' and <u>tahol</u> '(someone) barks'.

10. The tenth type of verb has the following semantic and

contextual features.

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{+V} \\
\text{-agentive} \\
\text{+experiential} \\
\\
+ \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} \text{+O} \\ \text{-patient} \\ \text{+experiencer} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

In contrast to the previous classes, these verbs have a [-agentive]

feature, which means that the verbs do not cooccur with arguments

having the agentive case. The [+experiential] feature indicates

that these verbs exhibit psychological events.

The verbs that belong to this class require an argument having

the objective case which 'experiences or feels' the action stated

by the verb. The verb <u>galit</u> 'to become/feel/get angry' belongs to

this class of verbs.

Examples:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +exp \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +exp \end{bmatrix}$$

(24) Nagalit ang mama.
got angry the man

'The man got angry.'

$$[+V] \qquad [+0]$$

(25) Nalungkot ang babae.
became sad the woman

'The woman became sad.'

$$[+V] \qquad [+0]$$

(26) Naloko ang estudyante.
got crazy the student

'The student got crazy.'

Other verbs that belong to this class are: tuwa '(someone) feels happy, glad', inis '(someone) feels bored', buwisit '(someone) feels exasperated', lito '(someone) feels confused', hilo '(someone) feels dizzy', gutom '(someone) feels hungry', uhaw '(someone) feels thirsty', inip '(someone) feels impatient', takot '(someone) feels frightened' and gulat '(someone) feels surprised'.

11. The eleventh type of verb has the following semantic and contextual features.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -agentive \\ -experiencer \\ +inchoative \\ +transient \\ \\ + \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ -patient \\ +inchoative \\ +transient \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$
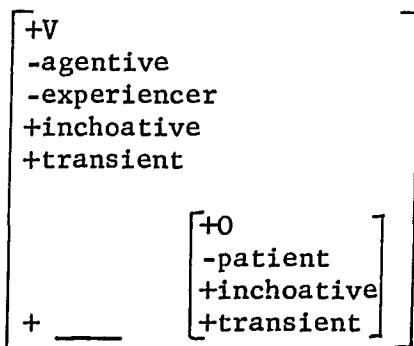
The verbs belonging to this class have the [+inchoative] feature which causes a nominal to undergo a change of state, specifically a process

of 'becoming'. They also contain the [+transient] feature which

means that the referent of a nominal undergoes momentary change.

This class requires only one type of argument, one that has the

objective case feature further subcategorized as [-patient] dictated

by the [-agentive] feature of the verb. The argument is also marked

[+inchoative] to indicate that it may undergo the 'process of be-

coming'. The [+transient] subfeature of the objective case indicates

that the nominal undergoes temporary change.

Pula 'to blush' is an example. It means 'to go through a

momentary process of becoming red'.

Examples:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +trans \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +trans \end{bmatrix}$$

(27) Nangitim siya.
became tanned he

'He was tanned.'

[+V]   [+O]
(28) Namutla siya.
became pale she

'She became pale.'

Other verbs that belong to this class are: puti 'to become

temporarily fair in complexion', payat 'to become momentarily thin',

ngalumata 'to look like one has lost much sleep', kati 'to itch

momentarily, maga 'to become swollen', sakit 'to feel pain' and

ngawit 'to feel tired'.

12. The twelfth type of verb has the following semantic and

contextual features.

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
+V \\
-\text{agentive} \\
-\text{experiencer} \\
+\text{inchoative} \\
-\text{transient} \\
\\
+ \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \quad
\begin{bmatrix}
+O \\
-\text{patient} \\
-\text{experiencer} \\
+\text{inchoative} \\
-\text{transient}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

The verbs belonging to this class contrast from the eleventh class

by being marked [-transient]. This feature indicates that the process

of 'becoming', [+inchoative], is of a nontemporary nature.

Like the previous class, this verb requires one type of argu-

ment, one that has the objective case feature with the subfeature

[-transient]. This feature indicates that the process which the

object undergoes is of a more permanent nature. <u>Ganda</u> is an example

of this type of verb. It means 'to go through a process of becoming

beautiful'.

Examples:

$$
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +\text{inch} \\ -\text{trans} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +\text{inch} \\ -\text{trans} \end{bmatrix}
$$

(29) <u>Lumaki ang halaman</u>.
    grew   plant

'The plant grew.'

    [+V]   [+O]
(30) <u>Gumanda si Maria</u>.
    became beautiful Maria

'Maria became beautiful.'

    [+V]   [+O]
(31) <u>Dumilim ang langit</u>.
    became dark sky

'The sky became dark.'

Other verbs that belong to this class are: <u>pula</u> 'to become red', <u>puti</u> 'to become white', <u>payat</u> 'to become thin', <u>itim</u> 'to become dark', <u>lago</u> 'to become luxuriant', <u>tamis</u> 'to become sweet', <u>alat</u> 'to become salty', <u>dumi</u> 'to become dirty', <u>lala</u> 'to become worse', <u>liit</u> 'to become small', <u>lamig</u> 'to become cold', <u>liwanag</u> 'to become bright, clear', <u>labo</u> 'to become blurred', <u>taas</u> 'to become tall', <u>init</u> 'to become warm', <u>dilim</u> 'to become dark', <u>sikip</u> 'to become tight', and <u>luwag</u> 'to become loose'.

13. The thirteenth type of verb has the following semantic and contextual features.

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
+V \\
-\text{agentive} \\
-\text{experiential} \\
-\text{inchoative} \\
+\text{meteorological} \\
+ \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -\text{tool} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

These verbs have a [+meteorological] feature which is restricted to events of natural phenomena.

This class of verb occurs with an argument marked [+instrumental] which also has the subfeature [-tool]. However, this type of argument never surfaces. An example is <u>ulan</u> 'to rain'.

Examples:

$$
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +\text{met} \end{bmatrix}
$$
(32) <u>Lumindol</u>.
       quaked

'It quaked.'

```
        [+V]
(33)  Humangin.
      blew (wind)
```

'The wind blew.'

```
        [+V]
(34)  Umaraw.
      shone (sun)
```

'The sun shone.'

Other verbs that belong to this class are: kulog 'to thunder',

bagyo 'to storm', kidlat 'to lightning', baha 'to flood' and ambon

'to drizzle'.

14. The fourteenth type of verb has the following semantic

and contextual features.

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
+V \\
-agentive \\
-experiential \\
-inchoative \\
-meteorological \\
+terminal \\
\\
+ \underline{\quad} \quad
\begin{bmatrix}
+O \\
-patient \\
-experiencer \\
-inchoative \\
-transported
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

These verbs have a [-meteorological] feature indicating all types

of action not depicting acts of nature. The [+terminal] feature of

the verb signifies the absence of movement or direction.

Verbs of this class require a type of argument having the ob-

jective case feature which undergoes the process stated by the verb

and such action ending with it [-transported]. The verb kulo that

belongs to this set of verbs has the meaning 'undergo a process of

boiling'.

Examples:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -met \\ +ter \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -inchoative \\ -transported \end{bmatrix}$$

(35) Kumukulo ang tubig.
     boiling the water

'The water is boiling.'

Other verbs that belong to this class are: hinto 'to stop', galaw 'to move', kaluskos 'to make a rustling sound', bula 'to bubble', andar 'to start (motor),' uga 'to shake', bukas 'to open', sara 'to close' and buka 'to bloom'.

15. The fifteenth type of verb has the following semantic and contextual features.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -agentive \\ -experiential \\ -inchoative \\ -meteorological \\ -terminal \\ \\ + \underline{\quad} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -patient \\ -experiencer \\ -inchoative \\ +transported \end{bmatrix} \\ \\ + \underline{\quad} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ +goal \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

These verbs have a [-meteorological] feature and a [-terminal] feature, the latter indicating a directional non-act-of-nature type of action. They require two kinds of arguments. One has the objective feature, which undergoes the process stated by the verb. This object is directed toward the second argument which has a directional case feature where the action terminates or ends. Bagsak 'to fall' which belongs to this class of verbs means 'to fall (somewhere)'.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -met \\ -ter \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -inch \\ +transp \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ +goal \end{bmatrix}$$

(36) <u>Bumagsak</u> <u>ang ibon</u> <u>sa bubong</u>.
     fell   the bird   on roof

'The bird fell on the roof.'

     [+V]   [+O]   [+Dir]
(37) <u>Bumaon</u> <u>ang gulong</u> <u>sa putik</u>.
     sank   wheel   mud

'The wheel sank in the mud.'

Other verbs from this class are: <u>bangga</u> 'to crash (somewhere)',
<u>dikit</u> 'to stick (somewhere)', <u>angat</u> 'to raise (somewhere)', <u>bakas</u> 'to
leave a trace (somewhere)', <u>tagos</u> 'to penetrate (somewhere)', <u>halang</u>
'to block the way or opening (somewhere)', <u>tusok</u> 'to pierce (some-
where)', <u>lubog</u> 'to sink (somewhere)', <u>apaw</u> 'to overflow (somewhere)',
<u>tapon</u> 'to be thrown (somewhere)', <u>tulo</u> 'to drip (somewhere)', <u>litaw</u>
'to appear (from somewhere)', <u>ikot</u> 'to go around', <u>dausdos</u> 'to
slide (somewhere)', <u>lutang</u> 'to float (somewhere)', <u>umagos</u> 'to flow
(somewhere)', <u>ligwak</u> 'to spill (somewhere)', <u>luwa</u> 'to protrude,
bulge' and <u>gulong</u> 'to roll (somewhere)'.

<u>Summary</u>

In this chapter, the major subcategorization of the Tagalog
verbs have been discussed. Only the inherent types of cases such as
the agentive, the objective, the directional and the instrument are
treated in this chapter because these are the nonpredictable and
nuclear cases that make up the verbal structure as understood by
the native speaker. The noninherent cases like the benefactive and
the affected cases are not included in the case frame of the verb
because these are predictable from the inherent cases present in the
proposition.

Locatives which can be attached to any type of sentence are also not discussed in this chapter because these are not relevant to the subcategorization of the verbs. Time has not been discussed as one of the cases in this study. Other studies (Taylor 1971) use Time in the subcategorization of the verbs. In this study, it is treated as being outside the nominal phrases used to subcategorize the verbs. As such, Time falls under the category of modality. 'Modal cases' (Cook 1972:45), or adverbial phrases of time, place, and circumstance are generally optional to the sentence structure because their wide range of use makes them of little help in defining the characteristics of any particular verb.

The underlying structure of the verb and its arguments have been discussed in Chapters II to V. The next chapters will discuss the surface case forms. A superficial examination will show that there is a many-to-one correspondence between case and case forms. While there is no apparent one-to-one correspondence between the two, the next chapters will illustrate that surface forms are not as haphazard as they appear to be. The postulation of verbal semantic features along with the syntactic case frames makes it possible to explain most of the surface forms. However, as will be seen, exceptions remain. The point of this study is that the semantic features must be considered for the explanation of surface forms and at least those postulated are necessary.

CHAPTER VI

SURFACE CASE FORMS IN THE NOUN PHRASES

Nonsubject noun phrases following the verbs in Tagalog are partially marked for case by formal surface distinctions. The case relationships are marked by case forms: the case marking particles and verbal affixes. The case marking particles are ng or sa before common nouns, ni or kay, before proper nouns, ng-pronouns and demonstratives and sa-pronouns and demonstratives.[1] In addition to these NP case markers, there are also compound forms incorporating them: e.g., para sa / para kay 'for', dahil sa / dahil kay 'because of', and sa pamamagitan ng 'by means of'.

The number of surface case forms introducing noun phrases creates a problem. The case marking particles are not in one-to-one correspondence with the number of Tagalog cases; there are more cases than forms. This necessitates a discussion of how the underlying cases are marked in the surface structure. Nonsubject markers will be illustrated first.

6.1 The Inherent Noun Phrases

6.1.1 The Agentive Noun Phrase

The nonsubject agentive (A) noun phrase is marked in the surface structure by the particle ng before common nouns and ni before proper nouns. Ng-pronouns or demonstratives can replace the ng/ni-marked phrases. No surface distinctions are available in the case form to show the subfeatures of this case.

Examples:

                        A

(1) Lulutuin $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\underline{\text{ng babae}} \\ \underline{\text{ni Maria}} \\ \underline{\text{niya}} \\ \underline{\text{nito}}\end{array}\right\}$ ang ulam.

        will cook woman the main dish
                 Maria
                 she
                 this one

$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text{'The woman} \\ \text{Maria} \\ \text{She} \\ \text{This one}\end{array}\right\}$ will cook the main dish.'

                 A   O

(2) Kinuha $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\underline{\text{ng tao}} \\ \underline{\text{ni Pedro}} \\ \underline{\text{niya}} \\ \underline{\text{nito}}\end{array}\right\}$ ang pera.

      got   man the money
              Pedro
              he
              this one

$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text{'The man} \\ \text{Pedro} \\ \text{He} \\ \text{This one}\end{array}\right\}$ took the money.'

6.1.2 The Objective Case

Like the agentive noun phrase, the objective (O) nominal expression is marked by ng before common nouns. But unlike the A phrase, the O phrase is not marked by ni nor ng pronouns. Instead of ni-marked phrases and ng-pronouns, kay-marked phrases and sa-pronouns are used. The O phrase can still be replaced by ng-demonstratives. Again, the many subfeatures of this case are unmarked by case forms.

Example:

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{(3)} & \text{Tumawag ang pasahero} \quad \left\{
\begin{array}{l}
\underline{\text{ng bata.}} \\
\underline{\text{kay Pedro}} \text{ (*ni Pedro).} \\
\underline{\text{sa kaniya}} \text{ (*niya).} \\
\underline{\text{niyan.}}
\end{array}
\right.
\end{array}
$$

called the passenger child
                          Pedro
                          him
                          that one

'The passenger called $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{the child.'} \\ \text{Pedro.'} \\ \text{him.'} \\ \text{that one.'} \end{array} \right.$

6.1.3 The Directional Noun Phrase

The directional (Dir) NP's are marked by <u>sa</u> before common nouns and <u>kay</u> before proper nouns. <u>Sa</u>-pronouns or demonstratives can re-place Dir NP's marked by <u>sa/kay</u>.

Example:

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
& \quad\quad A & \quad Dir \\
\text{(4)} & \text{Pumunta si Maria} & \left\{
\begin{array}{l}
\underline{\text{sa kanila.}} \\
\underline{\text{sa bukid.}} \\
\underline{\text{doon.}} \\
\underline{\text{kay Nena.}}
\end{array}
\right.
\end{array}
$$

went Maria   their place
                     the field
                     there
                     Nena

'Maria went $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{to their place.'} \\ \text{to the field.'} \\ \text{there.'} \\ \text{to Nena.'} \end{array} \right.$

6.1.4 The Locative Noun Phrase

The locative (L) NP's are marked by <u>sa</u>. Unlike the directional NP's, the locative noun phrases are limited to place nouns so the case markers are limited to <u>sa</u> and <u>sa</u>-demonstratives.

Examples:

```
                    A        L
(5)   Nagluto siya ⎰sa kasirola.
                   ⎱dito.

      cooked she  in a sauce pan
                  here

      'She cooked in ⎰a saucepan.'
                     ⎱here.'

                       A        L
(6)   Lumilipad ang ibon ⎰sa langit.
                        ⎱doon.

      flying       bird sky
                        there

      'The bird is flying ⎰in the sky.'
                          ⎱there.'
```

Though necessary to the full meaning of the verb, most of the inherent locatives are not expressed in the surface structure because they are already implied or closely associated with the verb. For example, the verb 'to cook' implies utensils; and 'to fly', the sky as a medium.

There are locative phrases that function like adverbial expressions of place. These, though marked the same way as the inherent locative phrases, can occur with all verb types. The following sentences illustrate:

```
              A        O     L
(7)   Kumain siya ng  mais  sa ilalim ng puno.
      ate    he        corn under a tree

      'He ate corn under a tree.'

              A        L
(8)   Nagaral siya  sa kuwarto.
      studied she      room

      'She studied in the room.'
```

In other words, locatives can occur with all verbs, and particular locatives, the 'inherent' locatives, are implied for certain verbs. Both therefore may occur in a sentence.

Example:

L₁ (adv.place)   L₂ (inherent)

(9) <u>Sa kusina</u> siya nagluto ng adobo <u>sa kasirola</u>.
    in the kitchen she cooked adobo   saucepan

'She cooked 'adobo' in a saucepan in the kitchen.'

Chomsky makes the same distinction in <u>Aspects</u> (1965). He classifies L₁ above as a Verb Phrase Complement and L₂ as a Verbal Complement. 'Verbs', he states, 'will be subcategorized with respect to Verbal Complements but not with respect to Verb Phrase Complements' (1965:102).

6.1.5 The Instrumental Noun Phrase (Force)

As discussed in Section 2.3.1.5, a very small set of natural phenomena nouns belongs to the inherent instrumental-force case category. Since these nouns are suppressed before they reach the surface, there is no way of determining what their case forms look like. This type of case is only marked overtly in the verb (see Section 7.4.1.5).

6.2 The Noninherent Noun Phrases

6.2.1 The Instrumental Noun Phrase

The instrumental (I) NP's are marked by <u>ng</u> or <u>sa pamamagitan ng</u> 'by means of'. Both <u>ng</u>'s have forms identical to the agentive markers. Without an agentive NP present, the <u>I</u> phrase is always marked by <u>ng</u>, otherwise, it can be marked by <u>ng</u> or <u>sa pamamagitan ng</u>, generally with <u>sa pamamagitan ng</u>, to differentiate it from the <u>ng</u>-agentive phrase.

Examples:

With Agents:

                              I(tool)
    (10) Binasag niya ⌠ng martilyo   ⌡ang salamin.
                       ⎮ sa pamamagitan ⎮
                       ⌡   ng martilyo ⌠

          broke   he   with hammer   the mirror
                        by means of
                        a hammer

    'He broke the mirror with a hammer.'

With Implied Agents:

                          I(tool)
    (11) Binangga ng trak ang poste.
          hit   the truck the post

    'The truck hit the post.'

Without the agent expressed (that is, the driver of the truck),

the instrumental NP's are always marked by ng and the sentence im-

plies the presence of an agent. As mentioned in Chapter II, the

instrumental force is often the role of noun phrases in sentences

having impersonal entities such as forces of nature (i.e., rain,

flood, wind, wave, etc.). These noun phrases are marked by ng and

may be replaced by ng-demonstratives.

Examples:

                              I(force)
    (12) Nalunod siya ⌠ng malaking alon.
                       ⌡nito.

          drowned he   big wave
                        this one

    'He was drowned by ⌠a big wave.'
                       ⌡this one.'

```
                        I(force)
       (13)   Nabuwal ng hangin ang puno.
               fell       wind    the tree
```

'The wind blew down the tree.'

When both the agent and the instrument are present in the deep

structure, the instrument is often omitted in the surface structure.

Example:

```
                              A
       (14)   Nasagasaan ang bata ng tsuper.
               ran over   the child    driver
```

'The child was run over by the driver.'

This is also true when the instrument is closely associated

with the verb. 'Run over' is a verb associated with some kind of

vehicle so it is unnecessary in the surface structure. However, it

may appear in the surface structure unlike the next example.

Many concrete nouns which are instrumental in concept can be

used as verb bases. These verbs carry an instrumental meaning and

the identical instrumental NP's that cooccur with them are automat-

ically deleted. This is similar to Fillmore's 'cognate-object'

constructions (1968a:85). In the absence of an instrumental NP, the

agentive NP is often present in the surface structure.

Example:

```
                                             deleted I
       (15)   Isususi ng tatay ang pinto (ng susi).
               lock-with-key father the door   (key)
```

'The father will lock the door.'

6.2.2 The Benefactive Noun Phrase

The benefactive (B) phrase is marked by para sa before common

nouns and para kay before proper nouns. These NP's may be replaced

by para plus sa-pronouns or sa-demonstratives.

Examples:

```
                       A       O       B          L
    (16)  Humiram siya ng libro para kay Ben sa aklatan.
          borrowed he      book      for Ben     library
```

'He borrowed a book for Ben in the library.'

```
                                          B
    (17)  Bumili ka ng pagkain  (para sa anak mo.
                                 |para sa kaniya.
                                 |para kay Mila.
                                 |para sa bahay.
                                 (para dito.

          buy  you food for your child
                              him
                              Mila
                              the house
                              this

          'Buy some food for ( your child.'
                             | him.'
                             | Mila.'
                             | the house.'
                             ( this.'
```

6.2.3 The Affected Noun Phrase

The case-marking particle of the affected (Af) case cannot be determined because it is always in subject form. This case is only marked overtly in the verb by a verbal affix.

Example:

```
                     A      O
    (18)  Nawalan siya ng pera.
          lost     he     money
```

'He lost some money.'
(He was adversely affected by the loss of
his money.)

6.3 Suppressed Noun Phrases in the Surface Structure

In Chapter V, the verbs were subcategorized according to cases and subcases that they require to complete their central meaning.

However, there is no exact correspondence between these and the number of obligatorily present syntactic constituents in expressions containing these verbs. Syntactically, certain conceptually understood arguments or roles may be 'suppressed' in the surface structure under certain conditions.

Fillmore explains the suppression of some cases in the surface structure by the introduction of the case notion of (1) built-in roles, (2) coreferential roles and (3) vacant roles (see Cook 1971:14).

6.3.1 Built-in Roles

There are two types of built-in roles. One has a very high selectivity between a specific verb and a noun expression. The object, directional or instrument complement, is incorporated into the verb itself. Fillmore used the verb 'to dream (a dream)' to discuss 'cognate-object' constructions in his 'Case for Case' article (1968a:85). The term 'incorporated roles' is used here to refer to similar constructions (see Fillmore 1969:82). The other type is the 'lexicalized roles', which are 'built-in roles....implied by the lexical content of the verb itself' (see Cook 1971:14).

6.3.1.1 Incorporated Roles

The following sentences are illustrations of case incorporation in Tagalog not only affecting objects but also instruments, locations and directionals. The identical nominal expression is often not given any linguistic expression because it is redundant. But it is not grammatically forbidden.

6.3.1.1.1 Incorporated Objects

In the following sentences, the verb bases, which are usually
inherently nouns, have identical objects which are not ordinarily
expressed in the surface structure.

Examples:

                                       Suppressed $\underline{O}$

(19) Nangitlog ang manok (ng itlog).
       laid-egg   the hen   egg

      'The hen laid an egg.'

                                         Suppressed $\underline{O}$

(20) Nangisda ang mama (ng isda).
      went-fishing the man fish

      'The man went fishing.'

Other surface verb forms that take incorporated objects are mag-
bahay 'to build a house', magtsinelas 'to wear slippers', mamunga 'to
bear fruit', manganak 'to give birth', managinip 'to dream', etc.

6.3.1.1.2 Incorporated Instruments

Many concrete nouns which can be used in instrumental NP's in
Tagalog may also be used as verb bases. These Tagalog verbs which
carry an instrumental meaning usually suppress an identical $\underline{I}$ case in
the surface structure.

Examples:

                                        Suppressed $\underline{I}$

(21) Binato niya ang mga tao (ng bato).
      stoned   he   the people (with stone)

      'He threw stones at the people.'

                                         Suppressed $\underline{I}$

(22) Isususi ng lalaki ang bahay (ng susi).
      will-lock-with-key man the house (with key)

      'The man will lock the house.'

(23)   Suppressed I

(23) Babarilin ng sundalo ang kalaban (ng baril).
     will-shoot-with gun soldier the enemy (with gun)

'The soldier will shoot the enemy.'

Other surface verb forms that take incorporated instruments are

mamayong 'to use an umbrella', mamana 'to shoot with an arrow',

mambomba 'to bomb (to drop or leave a bomb)', magasarol 'to use a

hoe', magbunot 'to use a coconut husk' and magkamay 'to use the

hands'.

Certain verbs that belong to the natural phenomena set take

suppressed instrumental force.

Example:

                      Suppressed I
(24) Umulan (ang ulan).
     rained   the rain

'It rained.'

Other surface verb forms that incorporate instrumental force are

umaraw 'the sun shone', umambon 'it drizzled' and kumidlat 'the

lightning struck'.

6.3.1.1.3 Incorporated Directionals

A few verbs may take incorporated directionals usually noun

phrases again implied by the lexical content of the verb.

Example:

                              Suppressed D
(25) Kandungin mo ang bata (sa kandungan mo).
     hold-on-lap you the child (on your lap)

'Hold the child on your lap.'

Other verbs that take incorporated directionals are itabi 'to

put beside' and batukan 'to slap at nape of neck'.

6.3.1.2 Lexicalized Roles

Unlike sentences with incorporated roles where the verbs are derived from nouns, sentences with lexicalized (Lex) roles have action verbs. For certain verbs, the nature of the understanding of one of the roles or cases is so clear that it need not be expressed linguistically at all unless quite specific additional information is to be communicated. The missing expression in the surface structure is clearly apparent even if not linguistically expressed. Such an expression may be linguistically manifested only if there is a need to qualify or quantify it in some way. In Tagalog, there are examples of lexicalized objects, instruments and directionals.

6.3.1.2.1 Lexicalized Objects

In the examples below, where the specific object is predictable or conceptually understood by the listener, it is dropped from the surface. The objective NP's of this type are often not expressed because they are closely associated with the central meaning or lexical content of the verb.

Example:

<div style="text-align:center">

Suppressed O

(26) Maglalaba ang babae (ng damit).
wash-clothes the woman (clothes)
</div>

'The woman will wash clothes.'

The O case may surface if qualified or delimited as in the following example.

<div style="text-align:center">

A   O

(27) Maglalaba ang babae ng medyas niya.
wash   woman   nylons
</div>

'The woman will wash her nylons.'

Some verbs are so closely associated with a specific object that the O case is often deleted.

Example:

deleted O

(28) Dumilat ka (ng mata mo).
      open-eyes you eye you

      'Open your eyes.'

The O case may surface again if qualified or modified in a special way.

Example:

O

(29) Idilat mo ang magaganda mong mata.
      open-eyes you the beautiful (pl.) your eye

      'Open your beautiful eyes.'

The O case is left out of the surface structure in the first example because mata 'eye' is subsumed as part of the meaning of the verb dilat 'open-the eyes'.

Other surface verb forms that take built-in objects are maghilamos 'to wash (face)', maghinaw 'to wash (hands)', and magkula 'to bleach clothes'.

6.3.1.2.2 Lexicalized Instruments

Examples of this case notion among instruments are more evident. Again, the missing case is implied by the lexical content of the verb. The typical instrument associated with sampal 'slap' is a hand, and sipa 'kick' is a foot and halik 'kiss' is the lips. These built-in instruments which are so closely associated with the meaning of the verb are not expressed at all in the surface structure unless qualified in some way.

Examples:

Suppressed I

(30) Tinaga niya ang sundalo. (associated I of taga is
hacked he the soldier itak 'bolo')

'He hacked the soldier.'

Expressed I

(31) Tinaga niya ang sundalo ng matalim na itak.
hacked he soldier sharp bolo

'He hacked the soldier with a sharp bolo.'

Suppressed I

(32) Nanaksak siya ng tao. (associated I of saksak
stabbed he man 'to stab' is a pointed
tool or instrument,
'He stabbed a man.' usually a knife)

Expressed I

(33) Sinaksak niya ang tao ng balisong.
stabbed he person jackknife

'He stabbed the man with a jackknife.'

Other surface verb forms that take built-in instruments are

suntukin 'to box (with fists)', kagatin 'to bite (with teeth)' and

kurutin 'to pinch (with fingers)'.

6.3.1.2.3 Lexicalized Directionals

A directional-goal case may be present in the deep structure

but may not always surface because its presence is implied in the

lexical content of the verb.

Examples:

Suppressed Dir
(34) Dumungaw si Maria (sa bintana).
looked-out-from-window Maria (from window)

'Maria looked out of the window.'

                                Suppressed Dir
(35)   Umahon ka na (sa tubig).
       get-out-of-water you (from water)

       'Get out of the water.'

Other surface verb forms that take built-in directionals are:

sumungaw 'to look out (of a portal)', lumuwas 'to go (to the city

from the country)', bumangon 'to get up (from a place where one re-

clined)', magpasan 'to carry (on shoulders)', magkipkip 'to carry

(under arm)' and magsunong 'to carry (on head)'.

6.3.2 Coreferential Roles

Coreferential roles may occur with a single referent when two

distinct notions are apparent. Tagalog reflexive sentences have the

same referent for the A and the O roles or cases. The O case may

surface as ng sarili 'one's self' but it is most often suppressed in

the surface structure.

Examples:

                        A-O
(36)   Nagsanay siya (   ).
       practiced he

       'He practiced (himself).'

                        A-O
(37)   Nagbitay siya (ng sarili).
       hanged   he   (himself)

       'He hanged himself.'

There is a reflexive meaning of the verb when it occurs with

the A-O coreferential case.

                        A-O
(38)   Nagbaril siya.
       shot (self) he

       'He shot himself.'

<u>Siya</u> 'he/him' in the sentence above has two distinct case

notions: one, the agentive instigator of the action and the other,

the undergoer object of the action. Both case notions have only one

semantic referent.

In the underlying structure though, there are two arguments that

the verb takes: one the agent and the other the object. The identi-

cal <u>O</u> is, however, deleted before it reaches the surface. In some

instances, it does surface, especially when subjectivalized.

Example:

<div style="text-align:center">

O
</div>

    (39) Binaril niya <u>ang sarili niya</u>.
            shot   he   himself

    'He shot himself.'

Other surface verb forms that require an A-O case are <u>maggamot</u>

'to treat one's self for an illness', <u>magaliw</u> 'to enjoy one's self',

<u>magahit</u> 'to shave one's self', <u>magkamot</u> 'to scratch one's self' and

<u>magbigti</u> 'to hang one's self'.

6.3.3 Vacant Roles

'Vacant roles' are case notions which are not necessarily manifested

in the surface structure, but must be present in the deep structure

(see Cook 1971:14).

6.3.3.1 Vacant Objective Role

Example:

<div style="text-align:center">

Vacant role=O
</div>

    (40) Nagnakaw siya sa bangko (<u>ng pera</u>).
           robbed   he   from bank   money

    'He robbed the bank.'

6.3.3.2 Vacant Instrumental Role

Example:

	A	O	Dir	Vacant role=I
(41)	Bumili siya ng pagkain	sa palengke	(sa pamamagitan ng pera).
	bought he food	from market	(by means of money)

'He bought food in the market.'

Verbs can have two or more types of roles or noun phrases suppressed.

Examples:

	Vacant O	Lex I	Incorp Dir
(42)	Nambatok siya (ng tao)	(ng kamay)	(sa batok).
	hit-at-nape-of-neck he (somebody)	(with hands)	(at nape of neck)

'He hit (someone, with flat of hand, at the nape of the neck).'

	Lex O	Lex I	Lex Dir
(43)	Nanabunot siya (ng buhok)	(ng kamay)	(sa ulo).
	pulled- she (somebody's hair)	(with hands)	(on
	hair		head)

'She pulled her hair.'

6.4 Surface Realization of Arguments

From the examples given above, it is apparent that the noun phrases that can occur in the surface structure do not match on a one-to-one basis the case roles conceptually required by the verb. For example, the verb maglaba 'to launder' has an obligatory semantic case frame of [____ $\widehat{AO}$] 'to launder clothes' but a syntactic surface case frame of [____ A(O)] where the object may or may not occur with the verb.

Syntactically, the [____ A(O)] case frame can be illustrated as follows.

Examples:

[____ A]

                         A
(44) Naglaba siya.
      laundered she

      'She laundered.'

[____ AO]

                    A   O
(45) Naglaba siya ng maruming damit.
      laundered she   dirty clothes

      'She laundered some dirty clothes.'

In the deep structure all the suppressed expressions mentioned in this chapter are obligatorily present. This study has not attempted to show how the suppressed cases are treated in the surface structure. Fillmore proposes a 'coreference deletion' rule which provides for the deletion of the second of two coreferential cases (see Cook 1971:15). A further study of Tagalog verbs is needed to mark each one for the obligatory or optional occurrence of each accompanying deep structure case in the surface structure.

6.4.1 The next chapter will discuss the other case form that marks case relationships in the surface structure--the verbal affix.

The following is a summary of the case markers in the noun phrase.

	Cases	Common Noun Markers	Proper Noun Markers sg/pl	Pronouns	Demonstratives
A.	**Inherent Cases**				
1.	Agentive	ng	ni/nina	ng-pro	ng-dem
2.	Objective	ng	kay/kina	sa-pro	ng-dem
3.	Directional	sa	kay/kina	sa-pro	sa-dem
4.	Locative	sa	#	#	sa-dem
5.	Instrumental (force)	#	#	#	#
B.	**Noninherent Cases**				
1a.	Instrumental (without agents)	ng	#	#	ng-dem
b.	Instrumental (with agents)	(sa pamamagitan) ng	ni/nina	ng-pro	ng-dem
2.	Benefactive	para sa	para kay/kina	para + sa-pro	para + sa-dem
3.	Affected	#	#	#	#

#means no case form

FOOTNOTE

[1]The ng and sa pronouns and demonstratives follow. 'Pronoun' refers to personal pronouns and 'demonstrative' refers to demonstrative pronouns in this study.

Ng-pronouns		Sa-pronouns	
Singular:			
I	ko	(sa)	akin
you	mo	(sa)	iyo
he/she	niya	(sa)	kaniya
Dual:			
you and I (rare)	nata, ta	(sa)	kanita
Plural:			
we(exclusive)	namin	(sa)	amin
we(inclusive)	natin	(sa)	atin
you	ninyo	(sa)	inyo
they	nila	(sa)	kanila

Ng-demonstratives		Sa-demonstratives
here	nito	dito
there	niyan	diyan
there (yonder)	niyon	doon

CHAPTER VII

SURFACE MANIFESTATIONS OF TAGALOG CASES IN THE VERBS

7.1 Introduction

In a Tagalog sentence, there exists a peculiar relationship between the verb and one nominal expression. This relationship is similar to the Predicate/Subject relationship in English. However, in English generally only two to four nominal expressions can be made the subject, the agent and the object (sometimes the dative or instrument). Tagalog, on the other hand, can subjectivalize one of as many as five to six nominal expressions. These include the agent, object, directional, instrument, locative and benefactive nominal expressions.

Early Philippine linguists referred to this relationship between the verb and one particular nominal expression as 'voice'. Later the relationship was called 'focus'. The subject, the phrase in focus in Tagalog, is marked by the particle ang instead of the case-marking particles ng and sa. When marked ang, the focused phrase loses its original case marker and most investigators of Philippine languages state that the case relationship of the neutralized phrase to the verb is indicated by the verbal affix. Later linguists (e.g., Kess, Schachter, Constantino) however, observed that there is a many-to-one correspondence between the verbal affix and the focused phrase--that verbal affixes are not sure indicators of the case or voice relationship of the verb to its favored nominal expression. It seems imperative therefore, that case relationships instead of being based on surface forms, be determined in the deep structure as advocated by Fillmore.

7.2 Subect as a Surface Phenomenon

Subject is treated in this study as a surface phenomenon and the feature [+subject] is added to the surface structure. It means definiteness. The question then arises as to the role of surface structure in semantic interpretation because this is counter to the theory which stipulates that semantic interpretation must be entirely determined by the deep structure (Chomsky 1971:209).

In support of the position taken here, it may be observed that many aspects of surface structure appear to have a role in determining semantic interpretation. Jackendoff shows by means of strong evidence that this is so. For example, he proposes that negation and quantifier are associated with the phrases of the surface structure, and their interpretation is determined by the phrases in which they appear and their relative order (see Chomsky 1971:209). Chomsky seems convinced by Jackendoff's evidence and states that 'there is no reason at all why properties of surface structure should not play a role in determining semantic interpretation, and the considerations brought forward earlier suggest that in fact they do play such a role' (Chomsky 1971:214).

The model used in this study is an extension of Chomsky's standard transformational theory including a possible semantic interpretative role by the surface structure. The following diagram depicts the relationships held in this study. The surface structure as well as the deep structure have a relationship to the semantics of the language.

semantic reading

BASE ⟶ Deep structure

Transformation

Surface Structure

semantic component

Phonology

Phonetic reading
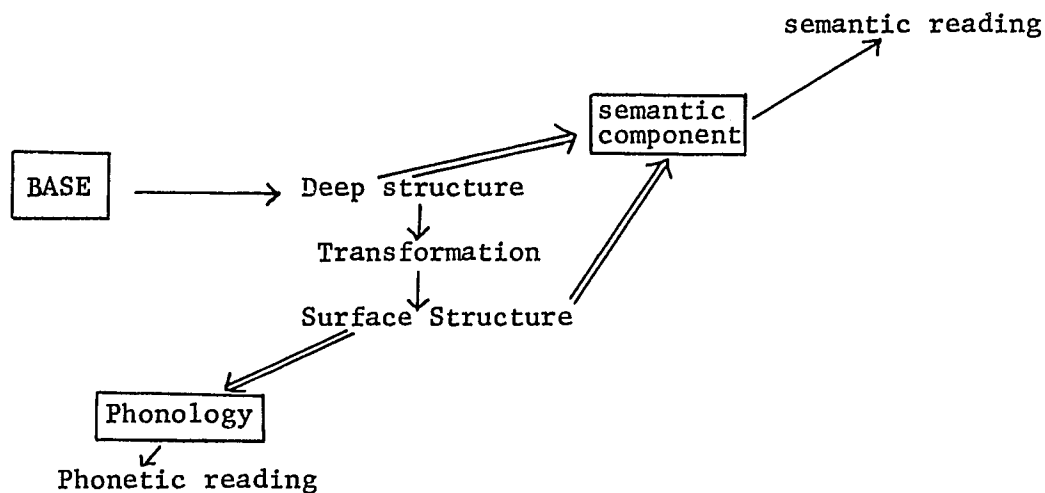
The introduction of 'subject' by a transformational rule is only possible if we assume that surface structure can play a role in semantic interpretation. The use of ang to mark the subject in Tagalog in the surface structure carried with it the meaning of definiteness. The semantic component must have access to the surface structure in order to assign the correct semantic interpretation (definiteness).

7.3 Process of Subjectivalization

In Fillmore's analysis, there is no subject in the deep structure. His base rule consists of a verb followed by case terms later rewritten as categories. One of these verbal complements is chosen as subject by a transformational rule. Fillmore views the relation 'subject' as a 'surface-structure phenomenon' (1968a:17). In other words, nouns that start out as complements as described by Fillmore, in summarizing McKaughan's work on Maranao, become subjects in the surface structure. The process of subjectivalization or primary topicalization is stated as follows by Fillmore for Maranao:

'One NP is chosen topic 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 indi-
cates the case category of the chosen NP.'

The same process occurs in Tagalog. When a complement is chosen
as subject, ang (or si if what follows is a proper noun) replaces the
case-marking particle. Subjectivalization then is a process which
results in a 'neutralization of underlying case distinctions to a
single form, usually called the "nominative"' (Fillmore 1968a:49).

Following Fillmore, this study treats the subject as an aspect
of the surface structure. The author agrees with McKaughan that
'topicalization (or subjectivalization) of one of the NP complements
would best be described in the grammar as a late transformation.'
Southard (1971) gives the opposite view (i.e., subjects exist in the
deep structure).

The writer was influenced in making this decision early in the
analysis of the data. When going through a list of verbs to get the
case environment of each one from its total meaning, the concept of
subject never entered into the analysis as a factor in the subclassi-
fication of the verbs. As Mirikitani (1972:113) says, 'subject in
itself is not a case relation,' rather '....it is the nomination of
a particular phrase or entity as being the favored case in a given
sentence.' In describing this, Mirikitani worked out a detailed
transformational process called 'subject formation' for Kapampangan, a major
Philippine language. Briefly, her subject formation process consists
of four subprocesses: subject marking, subject determiner incorpo-
ration, node changing and case incorporation. However, she intro-
duces the feature [+su] on the PP (prepositional phrase) level

whereas the subject feature is introduced here at the terminal level
(the N level). Except for node changing, the same steps used by
Mirikitani are used here for the process of subjectivalization.

Transformational rules given below show how the following pro-
cesses occur: subject marking and copying, K case feature transfer,
and incorporation in the verb. These rules also handle simultaneously
the lexical spelling of the de-case-featurized K as well as the changes
in its feature specifications.

7.3.1 Subject Marking (Obligatory), TR#1

$$SD: \quad [+V], \quad X \quad + \quad K(Det), \quad \begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +c \end{bmatrix}, \quad Y \quad \Longrightarrow$$

$$ \quad 1 \qquad\qquad 2 \qquad\quad 3 \qquad 4$$

$$ \qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad 3$$

$$SC: \quad 1, \quad 2, \quad [+subj], \quad\quad 4$$

The structural description (SD) refers to any underlying sentence
with a verb [+V] which is followed by a noun which is case marked [+c].
This [+c] may be agent, object, instrument, benefactive, directional
or locative. The particular case-marked noun may be preceded by a
case-marking particle (K), which may be followed by a determiner (det)
and also by any element symbolized by X. It may be followed by any
other element symbolized by Y. The constituents of the sentence are
numbered 1-4.

The structural change (SC) reads that the particular case-marked
noun referred to in the SD which undergoes Transformational Rule #1 is
marked [+subject]. The choice of a particular noun as subject is re-
stricted to the inherent cases that occur obligatorily with the verb.
Generally, all the types of cases discussed in Chapter II can be

subjectivalized. But as discussed in Chapter VI certain cases present in the deep structure do not surface. These suppressed cases are predicted by the semantic properties of the verb. So only those cases that can be realized in the surface structure can be subjectivalized. If there is only one actant in the deep structure of the sentence, then it automatically becomes subject of the sentence. Any of the five KP's that may occur in a sentence (see BR#1) may be marked subject, though only one may be marked subject in a given sentence.

7.3.2 K Case Feature Incorporation, TR#2

$$
\text{SD:} \quad \underset{1}{[+V]}, \quad \underset{2}{X} \quad , \quad \underset{3}{\begin{bmatrix} +K \\ +c_i \\ F_i \end{bmatrix}} \quad , \quad \underset{4}{(\text{Det})}, \quad \underset{5}{\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +c_i \\ +\text{subj} \end{bmatrix}} \quad , \quad \underset{6}{Y} \implies
$$

$$
\text{SC:} \quad \underset{[+c_i]}{\overset{1}{[+c_i]}}, \quad 2 \quad , \quad \begin{bmatrix} +K \\ +\text{subj} \\ F_i \end{bmatrix}, \quad 4 \quad , \quad 5 \quad , \quad 6
$$

Condition: TR#2 obligatorily applies after TR#1.

SD reads that the noun marked [+subject] has a certain case $[+c_i]$ which is shared by a particle [+K] which precedes it (see BR#7.i). The constituents of the sentence are numbered 1-6.

SC reads that the case feature $[+c_i]$ of the particle (K) is transferred to and incorporated in the verb. The feature [+subject] of the N is copied into the feature matrix of the K.

The K that loses its case feature $[+c_i]$ retains the rest of its original features (F_i) plus the feature [+subject]. The K is now specified with the following features: [+K, +subject, ±singular, ±common, +animate].

The subject-marked K which has the feature [+common] is transformationally replaced by ang before common nouns and that which has the feature [-common] is replaced by si or sina in the surface structure.

The subject marker K's with their features follow.

ang	[+K, +subj, +com]
si	[+K, +subj, +sg, -com]
sina	[+K, +subj, -sg, -com]

The incorporated K case feature comes to the surface in combination with aspect and other features of the verb as a verbal affix. This verbal affix is thus the surface marking of the underlying case relationship that holds between the subject of the sentence and the verb, and is therefore the case form (though it also often carries other values). There is however no one-to-one correspondence between the verbal affix and the case relationship it happens to mark. For example a verb marked by the incorporated K case feature [+0] can be marked by the verbal affix i-, -in, -an, ma-, -um- or mang- depending upon the semantic and syntactic characteristics of the verb, something that will be discussed in later paragraphs.

Morphophonemic rules not given here are needed to show the result of the various combinations of case, aspect and other features of the verb.

A sentence demonstrating five NP expansions of the verb hiram 'to borrow' with its different subjectivalization possibilities is given below.

1. Agent as Subject:

```
     V        A(subj)     O       Dir
Humiram    [ang tao]   ng pera  sa bangko
borrowed     man        money     bank
```

```
             I                        B
sa pamamagitan ng bahay niya  para sa anak niya.
by means of house his          for  child his
```

2. Object as Subject:

```
                    O(subj)
Hiniram ng tao   [ang pera]   sa bangko sa pamamagitan
ng bahay niya para sa anak niya.
```

3. Directional as Subject:

```
                              Dir(subj)
Hiniraman ng tao ng pera   [ang bangko]   sa pamamagitan
ng bahay niya para sa anak niya.
```

4. Instrument as Subject:

```
Ipinanghiram ng tao ng pera sa bangko
```

```
I(subj)
[ang bahay niya]   para sa anak niya.
```

5. Benefactive as Subject:

```
Inihiram ng tao ng pera sa bangko sa pamamagitan ng
                          B(subj)
bahay niya   [ang anak niya].
```

'The man borrowed some money from the bank for his son through a mortgage (by mortgaging his house).'

The following example illustrates the locative as subject.

```
                  L(subj)
6. Tinirhan niya  [ang bahay namin].
   lived     he     house   our
```

'He lived in our house.'

Lopez (1941:94), when confronted with sentences having both the
mag- and -um- marking the agentive phrase as subject, confesses that
'such constructions give occasion to the almost unexplainable diffi-
culty of distinguishing when to use -um- and when mag- which results,
he says, in 'the safest way....being an appeal to the Sprachgefühl,
the speech-feeling, a fact which is true also with other languages.'
Pittman (1966) was confronted with the same problem and made an
exhaustive list on the use of mag- and -um-. This dissertation
profits from these discussions, and by the use of subcases or
semantic features, explains formally large numbers of verbs using
mag- and -um-.

Lopez' Sprachgefühl led him to call the -um- verbs agent or
actor (internal) (1941:94) and the mag- verbs as agent or actor (ex-
ternal)(1941:99). But the [±external] feature is not enough to
handle the distinction between the two markers. Semantically, -um-
marks the subjectivalization of two types of agents and three types
of objects.

The following examples will illustrate the different types of
subjectivalized nominals marked by -um-.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -\text{undergoer} \\ +\text{goal} \end{bmatrix}$$

(3) Umiinom ako ng gatas.
     drinking I   milk

     'I'm drinking milk.'

$$\begin{bmatrix} A \\ +\text{undergoer} \end{bmatrix}$$

(4) Pumasok sa bahay si Bino.
     entered   house   Bino

     'Bino entered the house.'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +\text{inchoative} \\ -\text{transient} \end{bmatrix}$$

(5) Pumuti ang buhok niya.
became-white his hair

'His hair turned grey.'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ -\text{inchoative} \\ +\text{transported} \end{bmatrix}$$

(6) Bumagsak siya sa putik.
fell   he   mud puddle

'He fell in the mud puddle.'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ -\text{inchoative} \\ -\text{transported} \end{bmatrix}$$

(7) Kumulo ang tubig.
boiled   water

'The water boiled.'

In examples #3 and #4, the verbs with -um- refer to agents as subjects which undergo the action they initiate or agents that act as the goal toward which the action is directed. Verbs with mag- on the other hand refer to agents as subjects that perform actions away from or external to them.

Between the two agent subject markers in the verb, mag- forms however, are more predictable than -um- forms. Lopez' definition of the type of agent they mark as subject is fairly accurate. There are a few examples that do not indicate 'external' action but these are special uses.

Examples:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +\text{experiencer} \end{bmatrix}$$

(8) Nagtiis siya.
suffered (with fortitude) she

'She suffered.'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +\text{experiencer} \end{bmatrix}$$

(9) Nagantok siya.
became-sleepy she

'She became sleepy.'

In many sentences where there is only one noun phrase, the -um-
affix appears as the case marker.

Examples:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ +\text{undergoer} \end{bmatrix}$$

(10) Tumayo siya.
stood   he

'He stood up.'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +\text{inchoative} \\ -\text{transient} \end{bmatrix}$$

(11) Gumanda ang bahay.
became beautiful house

'The house became beautiful.'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\text{inchoative} \\ +\text{transported} \end{bmatrix}$$

(12) Lumitaw ang aswang.
appeared   ghost

'The ghost appeared.'

Very few verbs take the ma- affix to mark the agentive nominal
phrase as subject. This phrase is the only obligatory nominal
phrase in such sentences.

Example:

$$[+A]$$

(13) Naligo ang bata.
took-a-bath child

'The child took a bath.'

7.4.1.2 The Objective Noun Phrase as Subject

When the objective phrase is subjectivalized, it can be marked in the verb by one of three affixes: i-, -in or -an if the agentive noun phrase is also present. If the objective phrase is the only actant in the sentence, -um-, mang- or ma- in the verb marks the objective phrase as subjectivalized. Again there is no one-to-one correspondence between a subjectivalized objective phrase and the verbal affix that indicates its case relationship to the verb.

The problem of affix overlap, that is, the same case marked by several affixes, may be in great measure resolved by looking into the cooccurrence of the cases, their subcases and the semantic characteristics of the verbs.

Semantically, with agents present in the sentence, there are four types of subjectivalized objects marked by -in in the verb, one marked by i- and another one by -an. Without agents, one type of object is marked by mang- in the verb, one type is marked by ma-, two types marked by -um- and a last type marked by -um- or ma-. Differences of case forms in the verb in combination with the verb features (classes) mark some subcase differences, at least more so than do the particle case forms introducing noun phrases.

7.4.1.2.1 With Agentive Noun Phrases

Examples: (Observations based on the examples follow them.)

$$
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +\text{change of state} \\ +\text{total} \end{bmatrix}
\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +\text{change of state} \\ +\text{total} \end{bmatrix}
$$

(14) Babaliin niya ang buto mo.
      will break he   your bones

'He will break your bones.'

(15)
$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -\text{change of state} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\text{change of state} \end{bmatrix}$$
Iipunin niya   ang salapi.
will save she   money

'She will save some money.'

(16)
$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -\text{centrifugal} \\ +\text{terminal} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\text{centrifugal} \\ -\text{transported} \end{bmatrix}$$
Iinumin niya   ang mainit na gatas.
will drink he   hot milk

'He will drink hot.milk.'

(17)
$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -\text{centrifugal} \\ -\text{terminal} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\text{centrifugal} \\ +\text{transported} \end{bmatrix}$$
Kukunin   niya   ang kotse   sa talyer.
will get   he   car   garage

'He will get the car from the garage.'

(18)
$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +\text{centrifugal} \\ -\text{terminal} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +\text{centrifugal} \\ +\text{transported} \end{bmatrix}$$
Itatapon   niya   ang basura   sa kalye.
will throw he   garbage   on the street

'He will throw the garbage on the street.'

(19)
$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +\text{change of state} \\ -\text{total} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +\text{change of state} \\ -\text{total} \end{bmatrix}$$
Lalabhan   niya ang mga damit mo.
will launder   she   clothes   your

'She will launder your clothes.'

The -in affix marks the objective phrase as subject in examples #14-17. However with the use of features, each of these objects is distinguished from the others, though all are marked identically in the surface structure.

The -in verbal affix indicates four types of objects as subjects. One undergoes total change (#14), another no change at all

(#15), the third is moved toward the agent (#16) while the fourth one

is moved toward the agent from a directional source (#17).

Examples #18 and #19 also indicate by verbal affixes that the

objective phrase is subject. However, unlike the first four examples,

different affixes mark different types of objects.

I- marks a type of object as subject which is transported away

from an agent to a directional goal (#18). -An marks a type of

object which undergoes partial change (#19).

7.4.1.2.2 Without Agentive Noun Phrases

Examples:

$$
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +\text{inchoative} \\ +\text{transient} \end{bmatrix}
\begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +\text{inchoative} \\ +\text{transient} \end{bmatrix}
$$

(20) Namutla   ang pasyente niya.
     became-pale   patient his

'His patient became pale.'

$$
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +\text{experiential} \end{bmatrix}
\begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +\text{experiencer} \end{bmatrix}
$$

(21) Nalungkot   siya.
       sad   she

'She was saddened.'

$$
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -\text{inchoative} \\ -\text{terminal} \end{bmatrix}
\begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ -\text{inchoative} \\ +\text{transported} \end{bmatrix}
\begin{bmatrix} +\text{Directional} \\ +\text{goal} \end{bmatrix}
$$

(22) Bumangga   ang kotse   sa pader.
        hit   car   wall

'The car hit the wall.'

$$
\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -\text{inchoative} \\ +\text{terminal} \end{bmatrix}
\begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ -\text{inchoative} \\ -\text{transported} \end{bmatrix}
$$

(23) Kumaluskos   ang saya niya.
     made a rustling sound skirt her

'Her skirt made a rustling sound.'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +\text{inchoative} \\ -\text{transient} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +\text{inchoative} \\ -\text{transient} \end{bmatrix}$$

(24) Lumago   ang kapital niya.
     became-more   capital   his

'His capital increased.'

Mang- marks a type of object that undergoes temporal change

(#20). Ma- marks a type of object that undergoes some kind of psy-

chological experience (#21). Um- marks three types of objects, one

which undergoes a process of 'becoming' (#24), another which causes

some kind of movement (#23), and another which is transported to a

directional goal (#22).

There is no way of finding out from the sentences above what

the nonsubjectivalized form of the O phrase that occurs alone in a

sentence looks like. However, with the use of an agent in a causative

sense, the nonsubject form of the O phrase can be brought out.

Example:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +\text{causative} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ +\text{causative} \end{bmatrix} \quad [+O]$$

(25) Nagpalaki   siya $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \text{ng halaman.} \\ \text{kay Pedro} \\ \text{nito} \\ \text{sa akin} \end{array}\right.$

     caused-to-grow   he $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \text{plant} \\ \text{Pedro} \\ \text{this one} \\ \text{me} \end{array}\right.$

'He caused $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \text{the plant} \\ \text{Pedro} \\ \text{this one} \\ \text{me} \end{array}\right\}$ to grow.'

7.4.1.3 The Directional Noun Phrase as Subject

When the directional (Dir) phrase is subjectivalized, the verb

takes the -an affix. Semantically, two types of directional phrases

are marked by -an in the verb when subjectivalized.

Examples:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ +goal \end{bmatrix}$$

(26) Pupuntahan niya ang palengke.
    will go   she   market

'She will go to market.'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ -goal \end{bmatrix}$$

(27) Hihiraman niya ng pera ang nanay.
    will borrow he   money   mother

'He will borrow some money from mother.'

7.4.1.4 The Locative Noun Phrase as Subject

The locative noun phrase is rarely subjectivalized. When it is, the verb takes the pag- -an compound affix or -an to indicate its underlying locative case function in the sentence.

Example:

            [+A]   [+L]
(28) Pinaglutuan niya ang kaldero.
    cooked   she the kettle

'She cooked in the kettle.'

Because the directional phrase and the locative phrase are marked similarly by sa, the difference is sometimes made clear by contrasting sentences like the following.

             [+Dir]
(29) Sinulatan niya ang mesa.
    wrote   he the table

'He wrote (directly) on the table.'

             [+L]
(30) Pinagsulatan niya ang mesa.
    wrote   he the table

'He wrote on the table. / He used the table
                        to write on.'

7.4.1.5 <u>The Instrumental Noun Phrase (Force) as Subject</u>

As discussed previously, the instrumental force belonging to the inherent case category never surfaces. Instead its presence is indicated by the affix -<u>um</u>- in the verb.

Examples:

        (31) <u>Um</u>uulan.
                raining

                'It's raining.'

        (32) <u>Um</u>aambon.
                drizzling

                'It's drizzling.'

7.4.2 <u>Noninherent Cases as Marked in the Verb</u>

7.4.2.1 <u>The Instrumental Noun Phrase as Subject</u>

When the instrumental noun phrase is subjectivalized, it is marked in the verb by prefixes <u>ipang</u>- or <u>i</u>- if it functions as a tool and <u>maka</u>- if it acts as an instrumental force [-tool]. When the instrumental tool phrase is subjectizalized, the objective case marking particle <u>ng</u> is often changed to <u>sa</u>.

Examples:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ +tool \end{bmatrix} \quad [+O]$$

  (33) <u>I</u>pi<u>nam</u>basag niya <u>ang martilyo</u> <u>sa salamin</u>.
                      hammer   glass
        'He used the hammer to break the glass.'

$$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ +tool \end{bmatrix} \quad [+O]$$

  (34) <u>I</u>pinunas niya <u>ang trapo</u> <u>sa mesa</u>.
        used-to-wipe she   rag   table

        'She used the rag to wipe off the table.'

$$[+O] \quad \begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -tool \end{bmatrix}$$

(35) Nakabasa <u>ng tao</u> <u>ang ulan</u>.
was drenched person rain

'The person was drenched by the rain.'

$$[+O] \quad \begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -tool \end{bmatrix}$$

(36) Nakamatay <u>ng pasyente</u> <u>ang TB</u>.
was killed patient TB

'The patient was killed by TB.'

$$[+O] \quad \begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -tool \end{bmatrix}$$

(37) Nakasagasa <u>ng mama</u> <u>ang trak</u>.
ran over man truck

'The truck ran over the man.'

$$[+O] \quad \begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -tool \end{bmatrix}$$

(38) Nakasira <u>ng buhay niya</u> <u>ang sugal</u>.
ruined life his gambling

'Gambling ruined his life.'

7.4.2.2 The Benefactive Noun Phrase as Subject

When subjectivalized, the benefactive noun phrase is marked in the verb by the prefix <u>i-</u> (when the corresponding sentence having the agentive noun phrase as subject is marked by the affix -<u>um</u>- in the verb) or <u>ipag</u>- (when the corresponding agentive noun phrase as subject is marked by the affix <u>mag</u>- in the verb).

Examples:

```
            A          O        B(subject)
(39) Ibili mo ng pagkain ang anak mo.
     buy-for      food      child your
```

'Buy food for your child.'

(With agent as subject:
A(subject)   O   B
Bumili <u>ka</u> ng pagkain para sa anak mo.)

```
               A   B(subject) O
(40)  Ipaglaba mo siya ng damit.
      wash (clothes)-for you him clothes
```

'Wash clothes for him.'

(With agent as subject:

```
                 A(subject) O          B
      Maglaba ka ng damit para sa kaniya.)
```

7.4.2.3 The Affected Noun Phrase as Subject

The affected noun phrase is always subjectivalized. It is

marked in the verb by the ma--an compound affix.

Example:

```
             AF       O
(41)  Nabalian siya (ng binti).
      broke    he       leg
```

'His leg was broken.'
(He was adversely affected by the breaking
    of his leg.)

7.4.3 Surface Realization of Tagalog Cases

The following is a summary of the surface realization of

Tagalog cases.

Nominal Phrases Subjectivalized	Nonsubject Case Marking Particles (Common/Proper/Pronoun)	Case Marking Verbal Affixes
A. Inherent		
1. Agentive	ng/ni/ng ⎰-pronoun ⎱-demonstrative	mag-, -um-, ma-
2. Objective	ng/kay/sa ‑pro ng ‑dem	i-, -in- -an
(without agents)	#	-um-, mang-, ma-
3. Directional	sa/kay/sa ⎰-pro ⎱-dem	-an, -in
4. Locatives	sa/ #/sa -dem	pag--an, -an
5. Instrumental (force)	#	-um-

---

no case marking indicator

B. <u>Noninherent</u>

    1. Instrumental   <u>ng</u>   <u>i-</u>, <u>ipang-</u>
       (with agents)   <u>sa pamamagitan ng</u> /
                           <u>sa pamamagitan (ni)</u>,
                           <u>sa pamamagitan ng</u> $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{-pro}\\\text{-dem}\end{array}\right.$

       (without agents)   <u>ng</u>   <u>maka-</u>

    2. Benefactive   <u>para sa</u> / <u>para kay</u> /   <u>i-</u>, <u>ipag-</u>
                           <u>para</u> + <u>sa</u> $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{-pro}\\\text{-dem}\end{array}\right.$

    3. Affected   #   <u>ma--an</u>

Attention is directed to the kinds of verbal affixes that surface when the different cases are subjectivalized. The agentive, for example, may have <u>mag-</u>, -<u>um-</u>, or <u>ma-</u> to indicate the case. The usual way to handle the fact that different forms mark the same case has been by classifying verbs according to the affix, thereby making the affixes allomorphs. All three verbs in this instance are called actor-focus in earlier works, having three subclassifications. Accordingly, the verb bases are classified as <u>mag-</u> verbs, -<u>um-</u> verbs or <u>ma-</u> verbs. However, as indicated elsewhere in this study, this type of classification is not satisfactory.

In order to reach an explanation for the differences in affixes, the central meaning of the verbs has been analyzed and the semantic information formalized by means of features. These features are also used to explain what varied roles are marked by the same affix where a single affix may mark more than one case role.

The next chart (with problems to be pointed out shortly) shows there is a close correspondence between the case function and the case form (verbal affix). The case form is given in the first column

and the case function in the form of features in the second. The

third column gives the significant verbal semantic features.

Surface Realization (Verbal Affixes)	Subjectivalized Cases with Their Features	Semantic Features (Verbal)
1. MAG- _____	<u>Agentive</u> <u>Case</u>	
	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{und} \\ -\text{goal} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{ext} \\ +\text{cf} \end{bmatrix}$
2. -UM- _____	a. <u>Agentive</u> <u>Case</u>	
	(1) $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{und} \\ +\text{goal} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{ext} \\ -\text{cf} \end{bmatrix}$
	(2) $[+\text{und}]$	$[-\text{ext}]$
	b. <u>Objective</u> <u>Case</u>	
	(1) $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{inch} \\ -\text{trans} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{inch} \\ -\text{trans} \end{bmatrix}$
	(2) $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{inch} \\ -\text{transp} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{inch} \\ +\text{ter} \end{bmatrix}$
	(3) $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{inch} \\ +\text{transp} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{inch} \\ -\text{ter} \end{bmatrix}$
	c. <u>Instrumental</u> <u>Case</u>(Force)	
	$[-\text{tool}]$	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{inch} \\ +\text{met} \end{bmatrix}$
3. MA- _____	<u>Objective</u> <u>Case</u>	
	$[+\text{exp}]$	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{agt} \\ +\text{exp} \end{bmatrix}$

4. -IN _____ <u>Objective</u> <u>Case</u>

(1) $\begin{bmatrix} +cs \\ +t \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +ter \\ +cs \\ +t \end{bmatrix}$

(2) $\begin{bmatrix} +cf \\ -cs \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +ter \\ +cf \\ -cs \end{bmatrix}$

(3) $\begin{bmatrix} -cf \\ -transp \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} -cf \\ +ter \end{bmatrix}$

(4) $\begin{bmatrix} -cf \\ +transp \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} -cf \\ -ter \end{bmatrix}$

5. I- _____ a. <u>Objective</u> <u>Case</u>

$\begin{bmatrix} +cf \\ +transp \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +cf \\ -ter \end{bmatrix}$

ipag-[a]

b. <u>Benefactive</u> <u>Case</u>

[+ben]   [+agt]

ipang-[b]

c. <u>Instrumental</u> <u>Case</u>

[+tool]   [+agt]

6. -AN _____ a. <u>Directional</u> <u>Case</u>

(1) [+goal] $\begin{bmatrix} -met \\ -ter \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +cf \\ -ter \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +dir \\ +cf \end{bmatrix}$

(2) [-goal] $\begin{bmatrix} -cf \\ -ter \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +dir \\ -cf \end{bmatrix}$

b. <u>Objective</u> <u>Case</u>

$\begin{bmatrix} +cs \\ -t \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +cs \\ -t \end{bmatrix}$

---

[a]<u>Ipag</u>- is derived from <u>mag</u>- verbs and <u>i</u>- from -<u>um</u>- verbs.
[b]With some verb bases <u>ipang</u>- is in free variation with <u>i</u>-, with others only <u>ipang</u>- is allowed.

7. PAG--AN   Locative Case

$$[+L]$$ $$[+local]$$

8. MANG-   Objective Case

$$\begin{bmatrix} +inch \\ +trans \end{bmatrix}$$ $$\begin{bmatrix} +inch \\ +trans \end{bmatrix}$$

9. MA--AN   Affected Case

$$[+af]$$ $$\begin{bmatrix} +cs \\ +t \end{bmatrix}$$

10. MAKA-   Instrumental Case(Force)

$$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -tool \end{bmatrix}$$ $$\begin{bmatrix} +cs \\ +t \end{bmatrix}$$

The following comments highlight the facts displayed in the chart.

1. The mag- affix marks the agentive case for a subjectivalized noun phrase assigned the nominal subcase features [-undergoer], [-goal] by the semantic features [+external], [+centrifugal] of the verb. In other words, mag- indicates that the agent is neither the undergoer of the action nor the goal of the action. Examples of these verbs are in Classes 1, 2, 3 and 4 of Chapter V. There are some overlaps especially in Class 1 which will be discussed later in this chapter.

2. The affix -um- marks the agentive case of a subjectivalized noun phrase assigned the nominal subcase features [-undergoer], [+goal] by the [+external], [-centrifugal] features of the verb. The difference in the agents for those that take mag- and those that take -um- is obvious; neither are undergoers of the action of the

verb, but the second is the goal of the action, where the first is not. Examples of these i.e., -um- verbs are in Classes 5 and 6 of Chapter V.

The -um- affix also marks another type of subjectivalized agentive phrase which does undergo the action of the verb assigned by the feature [-external]. Classes 7, 8 and 9 of the verb in Chapter V give illustrations of this type of correspondence.

Besides marking the agentive as subject, the affix -um- also signals the object as subject. There are three types of objects characterized by the features that the affix -um- corresponds to. See Classes 12, 14 and 15 respectively for examples. Note that -um- also marks the instrumental case when the feature [-tool] is involved as assigned by the semantic features of the verbs indicated in the chart.

3. The ma- affix signals the object as subject. This type of object is assigned the feature [+experiencer] by the [+experiential] feature of the verb. Class 10 illustrates this type of object.

4. The affix -in also signals the object as subject. Four types of objects are marked by the same affix. The chart above gives the distinctions among these objects.

5. The affix i- marks three types of class roles as subject: the objective, the benefactive and the instrumental cases. Again, each case role is made distinct from each of the others by means of its respective features. I- marks a transported type of object as subject. I- or ipag- verbs mark the beneficiary as subject if the verbal feature [+agentive] is present. I- or ipang- verbs mark the instrument as subject if the same feature is present.

6. The affix -an marks the directional and objective cases as subject.

7-9. The affixes pag--an, mang- and ma--an have a one-to-one correspondence with case function.

10. Maka- marks the instrumental force or cause as subject.

It is clear from this information that a single surface form marks various roles. The differences become apparent through the use of semantic features.

The next chart is rearranged, though it gives the same information as the one just discussed. The arrangement shows that the same case role may be marked by different verbal affixes. Where many forms correspond to a single case function, the features again may be used to predict when to use each affix. Sentence examples from the earlier parts of this chapter are cited for each affix.

Subjectivalized Case		Semantic Features		Surface Realization		Examples
		Verbal	Nominal			
1. Inherent Cases						
a. <u>Agentive</u> <u>Case</u>	(1)	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{ext} \\ +\text{cf} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{und} \\ -\text{goal} \end{bmatrix}$	MAG-		#1
	(2)	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{ext} \\ -\text{cf} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{und} \\ +\text{goal} \end{bmatrix}$	-UM-		#2,3
	(3)	[-ext]	[+und]	-UM-		#4,10
b. <u>Objective</u> <u>Case</u> (with agentive involvement)						
	(1)	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cs} \\ +\text{t} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cs} \\ +\text{t} \end{bmatrix}$	-IN	[MAG-] ∿ [-UM-][a]	#14
	(2)	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cf} \\ -\text{cs} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cf} \\ -\text{cs} \end{bmatrix}$	-IN	[MAG-]	#15
	(3)	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{cf} \\ +\text{ter} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{cf} \\ -\text{transp} \end{bmatrix}$	-IN	[-UM-]	#16
	(4)	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{cf} \\ -\text{ter} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{cf} \\ +\text{transp} \end{bmatrix}$	-IN	[-UM-]	#17
	(5)	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cf} \\ -\text{ter} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cf} \\ +\text{transp} \end{bmatrix}$	I-	[MAG-]	#18
	(6)	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cs} \\ -\text{t} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cs} \\ -\text{t} \end{bmatrix}$	-AN	[MAG-]	#19

[a]Bases that occur with affixes in brackets also occur with the affixes being cited.

Subjectivalized Case	Semantic Features Verbal	Nominal	Surface Realization	Examples
(without agentive involvement)				
(1)	$\begin{bmatrix}+\text{inch}\\-\text{trans}\end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix}+\text{inch}\\-\text{trans}\end{bmatrix}$	-UM-	#5,11,24
(2)	$\begin{bmatrix}+\text{inch}\\+\text{trans}\end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix}+\text{inch}\\+\text{trans}\end{bmatrix}$	MANG-	#20
(3)	[+exp]	[+exp]	MA-	#21
(4)	$\begin{bmatrix}-\text{inch}\\+\text{ter}\end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix}-\text{inch}\\-\text{transp}\end{bmatrix}$	-UM-	#7,23
(5)	$\begin{bmatrix}-\text{inch}\\-\text{ter}\end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix}-\text{inch}\\+\text{transp}\end{bmatrix}$	-UM-	#6,12
c. Directional Case				
(1)	$\begin{bmatrix}+\text{cf}\\-\text{ter}\end{bmatrix}$	[+goal]	-AN	#26
(2)	[+dir]	[+goal]	-AN	#29
(3)	$\begin{bmatrix}-\text{cf}\\-\text{ter}\end{bmatrix}$	[-goal]	-AN	#27
d. Locative Case				
	[+local]	[+L]	(PAG-)-AN	#28,30
e. Instrumental Case (Force)				
	[+met]	[-tool]	-UM-	#31,32

Subjectivalized Case	Semantic Features		Surface Realization	Examples
	Verbal	Nominal		
2. Noninherent Case				
a. Instrumental Case (with agentive involvement)				
	[+agt]	[+tool]	IPANG- I(PANG-)	#33 #34
(without agentive involvement (instrumental-force))				
	[-agt]	[-tool]	MAKA-	#35,36,37,38
b. Benefactive Case				
	[+agt]	[+ben]	I- [-UM-] IPAG- [MAG-]	#39 #40
c. Affected Case				
	$\begin{bmatrix} +cs \\ +t \end{bmatrix}$	[+af]	MA--AN	#41,42

Note that the agentive case as subject is marked by mag- or -um-
in the surface structure. Mag- is differentiated from the first -um-
by the distinctive feature [+centrifugal] and from the second -um-
by the feature [+external].

The objective case which cooccurs with agents is marked by -in,
i- or -an in the surface structure. The feature [-total] distin-
guishes the an- verb from the in- verb, and the features [+centrifugal],
[-terminal] separate the i- verbs from the other two.

On the other hand, where the objective case is the only argument
in the sentence, it is marked as subject by the -um-, ma- or mang-
affixes in the surface structure. Ma- verbs are differentiated from
the -um- and mang- verbs by the feature [+experiential]. Mang- verbs
are differentiated from -um- verbs by the feature [+transient].

In predicting the use of -um- or mag- marking the agent as
subject, the verbal features [+external] and [+centrifugal] are im-
portant.

To predict -an marking the directional goal or the directional
source as subject, the feature [+centrifugal] does not seem neces-
sary. The two functions are not marked distinctly in the surface
structure. Only the features [-ter], [+dir] are relevant.

The significant features that may predict -in (marking the
object as subject) are [+change of state] with [+total], [-change of
state] and [-centrifugal].

To predict ma-, marking the object as subject, the [+experi-
ential] feature is important. To differentiate mang- from the rest,
the [+transient] feature is relevant. The feature nonexperiential

with the exception of the [+transient] feature can predict the
occurrence of -um- verbs (which mark the object as subject). The
rest of the features, [±inchoative] , [±met] , do not seem relevant
in predicting the -um- affix.

7.4.4 Problems and Exceptions

Basically the features [+external] and [±centrifugal] predict in
general the appearance of a mag- verb or an -um- verb in the surface
structure. Where marked [+external] and [+centrifugal] a mag- verb
appears and where marked [+external], [-centrifugal], the -um- verb
appears. However there is one major exception in the set of verbs
marked [+centrifugal]. These verbs behave like Class 1 verbs. Where
one expects a mag- verb to appear from the display of features, -um-
verbs also occur with the same base. If not for this exception,
there would be a neat division between mag- verbs marked by the
[+centrifugal] feature and the -um- verbs marked by the [-centri-
fugal] feature.

Some verbs are clearly mag- verbs. (See Class 1 verbs in
Chapter V.) There is an overlap when the same base may occur with
both -um- and mag- affixes. There are two kinds of explanations
that may account for the overlap. One is semantic and the other
syntactic.

For certain bases like putol 'to cut',[2] the -um- verb denotes
obtaining part of the object and the mag- verb denotes general
action. For example, pumutol means 'to cut off (a part, a piece, a
branch) from the whole' and magputol means 'to cut'. Thus the verbs
differ semantically and because of their specialized meaning, the
-um- verbs may be classified separately from their mag- counterparts.

Another type of <u>mag-</u> and <u>-um-</u> alternation occurs with 'destructive' verbs.[3] In this alternation each affix seems to favor a different type of construction. The <u>-um-</u> verbs occur in what Constantino terms a 'definite' type of sentence (1965:77). The verb follows the subject and is preceded by the subject marker <u>ang</u>. This verb functions as a nominalized form. The <u>mag-</u> verb on the other hand occurs in the regular narrative or 'situational' type sentence (1965:96).

Examples:

<u>Siya ang bumasag ng itlog</u>.
   he   broke   egg

'He was the one who broke the egg.'

<u>Nagbasag siya ng itlog</u>.
  broke   he   egg

'He broke the egg.'

If the writer were to restrict the considerations here to the situational type sentence, the <u>-um-</u> verbs occurring in definite sentences would be eliminated (though the problem is not solved).

The <u>mag-</u> forms also seem most naturally used in imperative sentences.

Example:

<u>Magbasag ka ng tatlong itlog</u>.
  break you   three   eggs

'(You) break three eggs.'

Another difference between <u>-um-</u> and <u>mag-</u> forms results from the restrictions in the type of subject each affix occurs with. Certain <u>-um-</u> forms of the verbs from Class 1 cooccur

with human subjects whereas the mag- forms cooccur with nonhuman but animate objects. Examples: pumatay 'to kill (human beings)', magpatay 'to slaughter or kill (nonhuman beings)'; and bumuhay 'to support or keep alive (human beings)', magbuhay 'to keep alive (plants or nonhuman beings)'.

In a few instances only the -um- form of the verb occurs because the mag- form carries a reflexive meaning. Examples: gumamot 'to cure someone', maggamot 'to cure oneself'; bumaril 'to shoot someone', magbaril 'to shoot oneself'.

Very few examples like basa 'to read', sulat 'to write' and gawa 'to make' appear only as -um- verbs belonging to Class 1. These are mostly 'creative' verbs.

The verbs in question with -um- that behave like Class 1 verbs most frequently appear in the surface structure as in- verbs with the object subjectivalized. The problem is thus usually avoided by speakers.

There are some other exceptions with verbs in other classes to the case function and form correlations given in the summary charts. One is the use of mag- verbs which are characterized as having the features [+external], [-centrifugal], generally attributed to -um- verbs. There are however very few of these exceptions. Quite a number are reflexive verbs. Examples are magnakaw 'to steal' and magbaril 'to shoot oneself'. (The rest of the reflexive examples known to the writer are given above.)

A few ma- verbs too can be characterized by the same features as the -um- verbs, having [+external] and [-centrifugal] features.

Examples are <u>matuto</u> 'to learn' and <u>manood</u> 'to watch'.[4] Other case grammarians have analyzed these as requiring datives or experiencers.

The verbs characterized as [-external] have very few <u>ma</u>-examples: <u>matulog</u> 'to sleep' and <u>maligo</u> 'to take a bath'. A very rare example of the [-external], [-centrifugal] features of the verb is <u>manggaling</u> 'to come from' which is marked by the affix <u>mang</u>-. A few <u>mag</u>-[5] forms also occur.

There are very few examples of verbs marked [+inchoative], [-transient] that take <u>ma</u>-. The writer knows of only one exception. The verb is <u>mamatay</u> 'to die'.

Of the verbs marked [+experiential], there are a few exceptions. One rare example is <u>magantok</u> 'to feel sleepy'. There is also an <u>in</u>-form of this verb (i.e., <u>antukin</u> 'to feel sleepy.). Other exceptions marked [+experiential] are a few <u>mag</u>- verbs, mostly psychological, which seem to imply a deliberateness of action usually associated with agent-undergoers of the activity. An example is <u>magdamdam</u> 'to feel slighted'.[6]

The verbs marked [-external], [+direction] and [+centrifugal] that appear with -<u>an</u> to mark the directional phrase as subject in the surface structure have a few verbs with the -<u>in</u> affix as exceptions. Examples are <u>lakarin</u> 'to walk to', <u>takbuhin</u> 'to run to', <u>langoyin</u> 'to swim', <u>dalawin</u> 'to visit, <u>pasukin</u> 'to enter' and <u>akyatin</u> 'to climb'. The writer is not sure how to classify these verbs. They suggest movement, but the last three examples cooccur with phrases marked by either <u>sa</u> (directional phrase marker) or <u>ng</u> (objective phrase marker) when not subjectivalized.

One possible reason for this overlap may be the syntactic difference between directional phrases marked by -in and those marked by -an. Most of the verb bases that occur with the -in affix in intransitive sentences also occur with the -an affix in transitive sentences. Examples are takbuhin 'to run to', takbuhan 'to take something by running to someone'; pasukin 'to enter', pasukan 'to bring in something to someone'; labasin 'to go out to', labasan 'to bring out something to someone'; akyatin 'to climb', akyatan 'to bring up something to someone'.

The [+external], [+centrifugal] and [-change of state] features which predict a mag- form of the verb sometimes surface as an -um- verb. The only exceptions known to the writer are bumilang 'to count' and gumamit 'to use'.

All of these exceptions underline the perversity of language. The system described here gives many more answers than hitherto cited, but exceptions must still be listed to cover all the data. It may be that with more semantic features the problems cited here can be solved. At any rate exceptions are manageable within the system.

FOOTNOTES

[1]The writer went over this list of exceptions with two other native speakers of Tagalog and there was no agreement on which base was only a mag- verb or an -um- verb. One tended toward the use of -um- over mag- while the other preferred it the other way. Both agreed though that they would prefer to use -in for these verbs. A study of Tagalog dialects may help in explaining the alternation in the use of mag- and -um- affixes.

[2]Other examples are hiwa 'to slice (off)', punit 'to tear (off)', bali 'to break (off)', taga 'to hack (off)' and gupit 'to cut (off) with scissors'.

[3]Examples of verb bases that take -um- or mag- are as follows: durog 'to pulverize', tunaw 'to melt', tabas 'to cut (following a pattern)', bayo 'to pound', sibak 'to split (with an axe)', tadtad 'to chop into small pieces', kudkud 'to grate', tilad 'to chop (wood)', lusaw 'to liquify', katay 'to slaughter', dikdik 'to pound', gayat 'to shred', giba 'to demolish', tastas 'to rip', biyak 'to cleave', basag 'to break', lukot 'to crumple, wrinkle', gusot 'to disarray', tibag 'to cut down (lumber)', pisa 'to crush', pindot 'to squeeze, pinch', tistis 'to operate', giling 'to grind', pukpok 'to pound', likha 'to cause to bring about', bigkas 'to recite', gawa 'to make', katha 'to create', yari 'to bring into being', buo 'to construct', hubog 'to form' and sunog 'to burn'.

[4]Other examples of this type of ma- verbs are makinig 'to listen' and maalaala 'to remember'.

[5]The examples are magbuhat 'to come from' and magsimula 'to begin from'.

[6]Other examples of this type of mag- verbs are magtampo 'to sulk' and maghinanakit 'to feel hurt'.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

According to Reid (1965:11), traditional works on the
classification of verbs in Philippine languages focus on their 'po-
tential occurrence with voice (and sometimes aspect) affixes'. Kess,
after concentrating on the study of 'focus construction types' of
Tagalog verbs, concludes that 'while the verb-topic relationship
appears to be a satisfactory point of departure for such an examina-
tion, a more extensive study should include relationships beyond that
of the verb and topic (1967:102)'. He realizes that a surface
consideration of focus is not sufficient for a complete analysis of
Tagalog verbal constructions. As a matter of fact, in retrospect,
he points out 'that if description of verbal types in Tagalog is to
proceed much beyond the stage of discussion that has been reached,
we will have to drop the notion of focus as such and merely consider
the voice-marking affixes of verbs as surface properties which may or
may not correspond to anything meaningful' (1971:8).

Unlike the previous studies on Philippine verbal classifications,
this study focuses on the complex symbol of the verb. Semantic verbal
features are posited giving a better system of classification. 'Focus'
or the overt manifestation of case in the verb is discussed only after
verbs have been subcategorized according to the different types of
complements or noun phrases they require.

This study is also an attempt to uncover the underlying case
relationships in the Tagalog sentence and the dominant role the verb

plays in dictating the types of cases it allows to cooccur with it. It makes no attempt to match these case relationships with their means of expression in any one-to-one correlation (i.e., verbal affixes or particles that may happen to mark the various cases in the surface structure). As emphasized a number of times in this study, there is no perfect correspondence between the deep cases and overt surface manifestations of these deep cases. However, it is possible to explain a large number of surface structure facts by an understanding of the deep structure case relationships, and by then matching the features of the verbs and the nouns by selectional rules, resulting in the realization that semantics plays an important part in the analysis of the Tagalog case system.

The main purpose of this study has been to explain the case system of Tagalog by classifying verbs in a manner that would be sensitive both to the syntactic and semantic relationships existing between the verb and the cases that occur with it. Each case under discussion has its own subset of cases for a more precise characterization of the relationship between the verb and the noun phrases that occur with it.

To formalize these syntactic-semantic relationships in the sentence, semantic features for the verbs have been made prominent here, perhaps a step in a continuing effort to explain and understand Philippine languages. Kess suggests the feature approach in his dissertation when he says 'future research might well attempt to determine how many additional features may be relevant in describing collocational restrictions which govern syntactic relationships' and

again when he adds, 'minute subcategorization....will lead to ever
more precise characterizations of collocational restrictions' (1967:
103).

Although as stated before, this study is experimental and needs
empirical validation, it is hoped to have accomplished the following:
(1) presented a more adequate and precise subcategorization of
Tagalog verbs by the use of features; and (2) made an attempt to
formalize the introspective judgements of this native speaker about
the case system of Tagalog verbs, thus getting closer to semantic
adequacy, and at the same time avoiding the notational problems
particularly of Fillmore's case grammar.

The fifteen classes of verbs discussed in Chapter V may not be
all inclusive of Tagalog verb types, but the great majority of
Tagalog verbs fall into these classes. This classification has been
made using 11 verbal semantic features, and 5 cases with 13 sub-
cases. Though these features may not all be relevant in the defini-
tion of the underlying case relationships in Tagalog sentences, some
of them surely are significant in formalizing what has been termed
the native speaker's intuition about his language, his understanding
of the full semantic and syntactic meaning of a verb even when it is
out of context.

However, this study has not been developed far enough to be able
to predict the surface realizations of all of these cases. As Chapters VI
and VII illustrate, the underlying case function and the surface case
forms do not match. More rules are needed to correlate surface forms
with deep structure cases. In other words, how can the underlying
case features match the observable case manifestations in a sentence?

What this dissertation hopes to have proven is that the exclusive use of surface information is not sufficient to identify true case relationships in a sentence. It also indicates that the final criterion in deep case identification or the only means of identifying cases lies with the semantic information from the deep structure.

The semantic information presented in this study may serve as a basis for further research in the causative and equational sentences of Tagalog. These topics have been barely touched in the analysis of the Tagalog language. A comprehensive study of the causatives and equationals added to what has been done in this dissertation will contribute toward an ultimate explanation of the underlying case system of Tagalog.

APPENDIX A

SEMANTIC FEATURE DISPLAYS OF THE VERB

AND THE CASES

1. Semantic Features of the 15 Tagalog Verb Classes

```
                                              [+V]
                         ┌──────────────────────┴──────────────────────┐
                   [+agentive]                                    [-agentive]
            ┌───────────┴───────────┐                     ┌───────────┴───────────┐
      [+external]             [-external]          [+experiential]          [-experiential]
                                                        (10)
    ┌────────┴────┐      ┌──────────┴──────────┐                      ┌──────────┴──────────┐
[+centrifugal]  [-cf]  [+direction]       [-direction]          [+inchoative]           [-inch]
                                               (9)
 ┌──────┴──┐   ┌───┴───┐   ┌────────┴────┐                   ┌────────┴────┐      ┌──────────┴──────────┐
[+terminal][-ter][+ter][-ter][+centrifugal][-cf]        [+transient][-trans][+meteorological]  [-met]
           (4)  (5)   (6)      (7)          (8)             (11)      (12)       (13)
                                                                                          ┌──────┴──────┐
 ┌────┴───┐                                                                          [+terminal]   [-ter]
[+change of][-cs]                                                                       (14)        (15)
  state]    (3)
 ┌──┴──┐
[+total][-t]
 (1)   (2)
```

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)

$$\begin{bmatrix}+V\\+agt\\+ext\\+cf\\+ter\\+cs\\+t\end{bmatrix}$$ baluktot 'to bend' (Class 1)

$$\begin{bmatrix}+V\\+agt\\+ext\\+cf\\+ter\\+cs\\-t\end{bmatrix}$$ hugas 'to wash' (Class 2)

$$\begin{bmatrix}+V\\+agt\\+ext\\+cf\\+ter\\-cs\end{bmatrix}$$ ipon 'to collect' (Class 3)

$$\begin{bmatrix}+V\\+agt\\+ext\\+cf\\-ter\end{bmatrix}$$ tapon 'to throw' (Class 4)

$$\begin{bmatrix}+V\\+agt\\+ext\\-cf\\+ter\end{bmatrix}$$ kain 'to eat' (Class 5)

$$\begin{bmatrix}+V\\+agt\\+ext\\-cf\\-ter\end{bmatrix}$$ kuha 'to get' (Class 6)

$$\begin{bmatrix}+V\\+agt\\-ext\\+dir\\+cf\end{bmatrix}$$ punta 'to go' (Class 7)

$$\begin{bmatrix}+V\\+agt\\-ext\\+dir\\-cf\end{bmatrix}$$ bitiw 'to let go' (Class 8)

$$\begin{bmatrix}+V\\+agt\\-ext\\-dir\end{bmatrix}$$ iyak 'to cry' (Class 9)

$$\begin{bmatrix}+V\\-agt\\+exp\end{bmatrix}$$ galit 'to get angry' (Class 10)

$$\begin{bmatrix}+V\\-agt\\-exp\\+inch\\+trans\end{bmatrix}$$ pula 'to blush' (Class 11)

$$\begin{bmatrix}+V\\-agt\\-exp\\+inch\\-trans\end{bmatrix}$$ ganda 'to become beautiful' (Class 12)

$$\begin{bmatrix}+V\\-agt\\-exp\\-inch\\+met\end{bmatrix}$$ ulan 'to rain' (Class 13)

$$\begin{bmatrix}+V\\-agt\\-exp\\-inch\\-met\\+ter\end{bmatrix}$$ kulo 'to boil' (Class 14)

$$\begin{bmatrix}+V\\-agt\\-exp\\-inch\\-met\\-ter\end{bmatrix}$$ bagsak 'to fall' (Class 15)

197

2. Semantic Feature Tree of the Object

[+O]

[+patient]   [-patient]

[+centrifugal]   [-centrifugal]   [+experiencer] (7)   [-experiencer]

[+transported] (1)   [-transported]   [+transported] (5)   [-transp] (6)   [+inchoative]   [-inchoative]

[+change of state]   [-cs] (4)   [+transient] (8)   [-trans] (9)   [+transported] (10)   [-transp] (11)

[+total] (2)   [-total] (3)

(1)   (2)   (3)   (4)   (5)   (6)   (7)   (8)   (9)   (10)   (11)

$$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +pat \\ +cf \\ +transp \end{bmatrix}$$ — Class 4 Verbs + O_1

$$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +pat \\ +cf \\ -transp \\ +cs \\ +t \end{bmatrix}$$ — Class 1 Verbs + O_2

$$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +pat \\ +cf \\ -transp \\ +cs \\ -t \end{bmatrix}$$ — Class 2 Verbs + O_3

$$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +pat \\ +cf \\ -transp \\ -cs \end{bmatrix}$$ — Class 3 Verbs + O_4

$$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +pat \\ -cf \\ +transp \end{bmatrix}$$ — Class 6 Verbs + O_5

$$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +pat \\ -cf \\ -transp \end{bmatrix}$$ — Class 5 Verbs + O_6

$$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -pat \\ +exp \end{bmatrix}$$ — Class 10 Verbs + O_7

$$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -pat \\ -exp \\ +inch \\ +trans \end{bmatrix}$$ — Class 11 Verbs + O_8

$$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -pat \\ -exp \\ +inch \\ +trans \end{bmatrix}$$ — Class 12 Verbs + O_9

$$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -pat \\ -exp \\ -inch \\ +trans \end{bmatrix}$$ — Class 15 Verbs + O_{10}

$$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -pat \\ -exp \\ -inch \\ -transp \end{bmatrix}$$ — Class 14 Verbs + O_{11}

3. Semantic Feature Tree of the Agent

[+A]

[+undergoer]
(1)

[-undergoer]

[+goal]
(2)

[-goal]
(source)
(3)

$$\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -und \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -und \\ +g \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -und \\ -g \end{bmatrix}$$

Verb Classes 7,8,9   Verb Classes 5,6   Verb Classes 1,2,3,4

$+ A_1$ $+ A_2$ $+ A_3$

4. <u>Semantic Feature Tree of the Directional</u>

$$[+Dir]$$

$$[+goal] \qquad\qquad [-goal]$$
$$(1) \qquad\qquad\qquad (2)$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ +g \end{bmatrix} \qquad\qquad \begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ -g \end{bmatrix}$$

Verb Classes 4,7,15   Verb Classes 6,8

$+ Dir_1$ $+ Dir_2$

5. Semantic Feature Tree of the Instrument

$$[+I\,]$$

$$[+\text{tool}]$$
(1)

$$[-\text{tool}]$$
(2)

(phenomenal)

$$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ +\text{tool} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -\text{tool} \end{bmatrix}$$

APPENDIX B

BASE RULES

The following restates the base rules discussed in detail in Chapter III. Details are found in the pages enclosed in parentheses after each rule.

BR#1. $S \longrightarrow V + (KP)^5$ (64)

BR#2. $V \longrightarrow$ c.s.   (64)

2.i $[+V] \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \pm agt \\ \pm neut. \ asp. \end{bmatrix}$ (65)

2.ii $[+agt] \longrightarrow [\pm ext]$ (66)

2.iii $[+ext] \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \pm cf \\ \pm ter \end{bmatrix}$ (67)

2.iv $[+ter] \longrightarrow [\pm cs]$ (68)

2.v $[+cs] \longrightarrow [\pm t]$ (68)

2.vi $[-ext] \longrightarrow [\pm dir]$ (69)

2.vii $[+dir] \longrightarrow [\pm cf]$ (70)

2.viii $[-agt] \longrightarrow [\pm exp]$ (71)

2.ix $[-exp] \longrightarrow [\pm inch]$ (72)

2.x $[+inch] \longrightarrow [\pm trans]$ (72)

2.xi $[-inch] \longrightarrow [\pm met]$ (73)

2.xii $[-met] \longrightarrow [\pm ter]$ (74)

2.xiii $[-neut. \ asp.] \longrightarrow [\pm begun]$ (77)

2.xiv $[+begun] \longrightarrow [\pm comp]$ (77)

2.xv $[+comp] \longrightarrow [\pm recent]$ (77)

BR#3. $KP \longrightarrow K + NP$ (78)

BR#4. NP $\longrightarrow$ (Det) + N   (79)

BR#5. N $\longrightarrow$ c.s.   (79)

    5.i [+N] $\longrightarrow$ [±com]   (79)

    5.ii [+com] $\longrightarrow$ [±conc]   (79)

    5.iii [+conc] $\longrightarrow$ [±count]   (79)

    5.iv [+count] $\longrightarrow$ $\begin{bmatrix} \pm an \\ \pm sg \end{bmatrix}$ (79)

    5.v [-com] $\longrightarrow$ $\begin{bmatrix} +an \\ \pm sg \end{bmatrix}$ (79)

    5.vi [+N] $\longrightarrow$ [±O]   (80)

    5.vii [+O] $\longrightarrow$ [-A, -I, -Dir, -L]   (80)

    5.viii [-O] $\longrightarrow$ [+A]   (80)

    5.ix [+A] $\longrightarrow$ [-I, -Dir, -L]   (81)

    5.x [-A] $\longrightarrow$ [±Dir]   (81)

    5.xi [+Dir] $\longrightarrow$ [-I, -L]   (81)

    5.xii [-Dir] $\longrightarrow$ [±I]   (81)

    5.xiii [+I] $\longrightarrow$ [-L]   (81)

    5.xiv [-I] $\longrightarrow$ [±L]   (81)

    5.xv [+O] $\longrightarrow$ [±pat]   (82)

    5.xvi [+pat] $\longrightarrow$ $\begin{bmatrix} \pm cf \\ +transp \end{bmatrix}$ (82)

    5.xvii [-transp] $\longrightarrow$ [±cs]   (83)

    5.xviii [+cs] $\longrightarrow$ [±t]   (83)

    5.xix $\begin{bmatrix} +an \\ -pat \end{bmatrix}$ $\longrightarrow$ [±exp]   (84)

    5.xx $\begin{bmatrix} -an \\ -pat \end{bmatrix}$ $\longrightarrow$ [-exp]   (84)

5.xxi [-exp] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$inch] (84)

5.xxii [+inch] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$trans] (84)

5.xxiii [-inch] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$transp] (84)

5.xxiv $\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +an \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow$ [$\pm$A] (85)

5.xxv $\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ -an \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow$ [-A] (85)

5.xxvi [+A] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$und] (85)

5.xxvii [-und] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$g] (85)

5.xxviii [+Dir] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$g] (86)

5.xxix [+I] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$tool] (86)

BR#6. Det $\longrightarrow$ c.s. (87)

6.i [+Det] $\longrightarrow$ [-sg] (87)

6.ii $\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +sg \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow$ [- [+Det] ___] (87)

BR#7. K $\longrightarrow$ c.s. (87)

7.i [+K] $\longrightarrow$ $\begin{bmatrix} \alpha com \\ \beta C \end{bmatrix}$ / ___ $\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ \alpha com \\ \beta C \end{bmatrix}$ (87)

7.ii $\begin{bmatrix} +K \\ -com \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +an \\ \alpha sg \end{bmatrix}$ / ___ $\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +an \\ \alpha sg \end{bmatrix}$ (88)

APPENDIX C

Selectional Redundancy Rules

The following restates the selectional redundancy rules discussed

in detail in Chapter IV. Details are found in the pages enclosed in

parentheses after each rule.

$$\text{SRR\#1.} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha agt \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \alpha \underline{\quad} & [+A] \\ \\ - \underline{\quad} & \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\alpha pat \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \qquad (92)$$

$$\text{SRR\#2.} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha ext \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} & \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ \alpha und \end{bmatrix} \\ \\ \alpha \underline{\quad} & \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +pat \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \qquad (94)$$

$$\text{SRR\#3.} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha cf \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} & \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ \alpha goal \end{bmatrix} \\ \\ - \underline{\quad} & \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\alpha cf \end{bmatrix} \\ \\ - \underline{\quad} & \begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ -\alpha goal \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \qquad (95)$$

$$\text{SRR\#4.} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha ter \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [-\alpha \underline{\quad} \quad [+Dir] \ ] \qquad (97)$$

$$\text{SRR\#5.} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha cs \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} & \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\alpha cs \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \qquad (98)$$

$$\text{SRR\#6.} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha t \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} & \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\alpha t \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \qquad (99)$$

SRR#7. $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha ter \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\alpha transp \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$ (100)

SRR#8. $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -dir \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [- \underline{\quad} [+Dir] \,]$ (101)

SRR#9. $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha exp \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\alpha exp \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$ (101)

SRR#10. $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha inch \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\alpha inch \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$ (102)

SRR#11. $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha trans \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\alpha trans \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$ (103)

SRR#12. $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha agt \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -\alpha tool \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$ (104)

MAJOR CLASSES OF TAGALOG VERBS

The following restates the semantic and contextual case features of 15 classes of Tagalog verbs. These classes are discussed in detail in Chapter V.

Class 1.
$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agt \\ +ext \\ +cf \\ +ter \\ +cs \\ +t \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -und \\ -goal \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +pat \\ +cf \\ -transp \\ +cs \\ +t \end{bmatrix}$$ <u>baluktot</u> 'to bend'

Class 2.
$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agt \\ +ext \\ +cf \\ +ter \\ +cs \\ -t \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -und \\ -goal \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +pat \\ +cf \\ -transp \\ +cs \\ -t \end{bmatrix}$$ <u>hugas</u> 'to wash'

Class 3.
$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agt \\ +ext \\ +cf \\ +ter \\ -cs \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -und \\ -goal \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +pat \\ +cf \\ -transp \\ -cs \end{bmatrix}$$ <u>ipon</u> 'to save'

Class 4.
$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agt \\ +ext \\ +cf \\ -ter \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -und \\ -goal \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +pat \\ +cf \\ +transp \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ +goal \end{bmatrix}$$ <u>tapon</u> 'to throw'

Class 5.
$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agt \\ +ext \\ -cf \\ +ter \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ +goal \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +pat \\ -cf \\ -transp \end{bmatrix}$$ <u>huli</u> 'to catch'

Class 6.
$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agt \\ +ext \\ -cf \\ -ter \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ +goal \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +pat \\ -cf \\ +transp \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ -goal \end{bmatrix}$$ <u>hiram</u> 'to borrow'

Class 7.
$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agt \\ -ext \\ +dir \\ +cf \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ +und \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ +goal \end{bmatrix}$$
<u>punta</u>
'to go'

Class 8.
$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agt \\ -ext \\ +dir \\ -cf \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ +und \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ -goal \end{bmatrix}$$
<u>bitiw</u>
'to let go'

Class 9.
$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agt \\ -ext \\ -dir \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ +und \end{bmatrix}$$
<u>iyak</u>
'to cry'

Class 10.
$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -agt \\ +exp \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -pat \\ +exp \end{bmatrix}$$
<u>galit</u>
'to get angry'

Class 11.
$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -agt \\ -exp \\ +inch \\ +trans \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -pat \\ +inch \\ +trans \end{bmatrix}$$
<u>itim</u>
'to get tanned'

Class 12.
$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -agt \\ -exp \\ +inch \\ -trans \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -pat \\ -exp \\ +inch \\ -trans \end{bmatrix}$$
<u>ganda</u>
'to become beautiful'

Class 13.
$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -agt \\ -exp \\ -inch \\ +met \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -tool \end{bmatrix}$$
<u>ulan</u>
'to rain'

Class 14.
$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -agt \\ -exp \\ -inch \\ -met \\ +ter \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -pat \\ -exp \\ -inch \\ -transp \end{bmatrix}$$
<u>kulo</u>
'to boil'

Class 15.
$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -agt \\ -exp \\ -inch \\ -met \\ -ter \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -pat \\ -exp \\ -inch \\ +transp \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ +goal \end{bmatrix}$$
<u>bagsak</u>
'to fall'

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