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THE CASE SYSTEM OF TAGALOG VERBS

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 co-occur 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 relationships 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 selectional 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 descriptions 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 co-occurrence 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 contextual case features that distinguish each class from the rest.

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

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 frequently 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 important 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 Otones, 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).

	O
(1) [i-]	<u>I</u> tapon mo <u>ang</u> <u>basura</u> .
	<i>throw you garbage</i>
	<i>(You) throw the garbage.</i>

	O
(2) [-an]	Hugas <u>an</u> mo <u>ang</u> <u>pinggan</u> .
	<i>wash you plates</i>
	<i>(You) wash the plates.</i>

	O
(3) [-in]	Lutu <u>in</u> mo <u>ang</u> <u>ulam</u> .
	<i>cook you viand</i>
	<i>(You) cook the viand.</i>

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
ltago mo ang bola.
keep you ball
(You) keep the ball.
- (5) [Benefactive] B
lbili mo siya ng kotse.
buy you for him car
(You) buy a car for him.
- (6) [Instrumental] I
lpunas 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 ng alipin 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 sa alipin 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 for the slave.*
- b. *The man used the slave 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 ng in Tagalog may mark an agentive, an objective, or an instrumental phrase.

- A
- (10) Kinuha ng bata anglibro.
 got child book
 The child got the book.

- O
- (11) Kumuha ang bata ng libro.
 The child got a book.

- I
- (12) Gumamit siya ng kutsilyo 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, sa mesa 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 sa mesa may be interpreted as the goal (in #13a) or the source (in #13b) of the verbal action.

By expanding sa mesa (or recovering its deleted elements) into patungo (*going to*) sa mesa it becomes unambiguously the goal of the action or into magmula (*coming from*) sa mesa 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 classification, 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 underlying 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 study concludes that it is no longer sufficient for a grammar to classify or subcategorize verbs on the basis of the surface structures¹ in which they occur. Deep structure² information must be considered as well to account for the manner in which sentences are interpreted or understood by the speakers of the language.

¹Surface 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.

²Deep 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.

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 study, 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 lexicon¹ 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), features² have been postulated for a more precise characterization of case relationships between the predicate (verb) and its arguments.³

Aside from Kess (1967), there has been no analysis of Tagalog verbs that uses the feature approach. However, his dissertation 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

¹Robinson (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.

²Feature: a property of a linguistic element according to which the element is classified, or on the basis of which its co-occurrence privileges are stated.

³'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.

selectional restrictions governing the co-occurrence 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 representation 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 arguments 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 study 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 subcategorization 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 McLaughan (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 co-occur 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 co-occur 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 co-occur 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 argument. 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 co-occurrence 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 selectional 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 co-occurrence 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 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' behaviour 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 study 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 of 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.

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 denote 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 non-subject 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 case include Kerr (1965), McKaughan (1970) and Gonzales (1971).

While most Philippine linguists avoided the term case 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 *Inflection and Syntax of Maranao Verbs* (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 topic...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 non-topic 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 non-topic 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 expressed 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 non-topic 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 arrangements.

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 influenced 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 $\overline{V} \quad N$ 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 specifications of V, co-occurring N's are postulated which stand in the following 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 non-inherent cases. The first, the inherent or nuclear cases are determined by the central meaning of the verb while the others, the non-inherent 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 actor 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 *lakad 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 siya.
 climbed he
 He climbed up.

Note: If *punung kahoy 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 performs 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.

¹Using 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.

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

- (3) Magluluto ^A ang nanay ng¹ 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*.

- (4) Itatapon ^A 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.

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

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

Other verbs that require this type of agent are *bili to buy*, *hiram to borrow*, *kain to eat*, *inom to drink*, *ubos to consume*, *higop to gulp down*, *lulon to swallow* and *hingi to ask for*.

¹The symbol ng stands for the particle nang according to the accepted orthography of Tagalog.

The following feature tree gives a display of the agentive case and its subcases (or features).

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 representable 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 object in previous analyses is here termed the objective-as-patient. The following sentence illustrates this type of object.

- (7) Naglinis ang babae ^O { 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 centripetal object 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 nontransported centripetal object and the transported centripetal object. 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.

- O
- (9) Kinuha niya ang mansanas sa mesa.
 got he apple table
 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 non-transported 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.

- O
- (10) Naglinis siya ng bahay.
 cleaned he the house
 He cleaned the house.

Other verbs that take this type of object are: alaga to take care of someone, akay to lead someone, aksaya to waste something, halungkat to ransack something and ayos 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 ang sanga.
 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 sentence #13 - #15 below.

- O
- (12) Tinadtad niya ang karne
 chopped he the meat
 He chopped the meat.

Other verbs that take this type of object are: *durog to pulverize*, *sira to destroy*, *punit to tear up*, *hiwa to cut*, *slice*, *giling to grind*, *giba to demolish*, *putul to cut*, *piraso to take a piece of*, *basag to break*, *tunaw to melt*, *pitak 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.

- (16) Inipun niya ⁰ang pera.
saved he money
He saved the money.

- (17) Hinalungkat niya ⁰ang 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 ⁰ang basura sa ilog.
threw he the garbage in river
He threw the garbage in the river.

- (19) Ibinigay niya ⁰ang 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 subcase 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 action. 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 experiencer 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.

- O
- (20) Nagutom ang mama/pusa.
 felt-hungry man cat
 The man/cat felt hungry.

Other mental state or psychological verbs that take this case are as follows: *hilo to be dizzy*, *uhaw to be thirsty*, *lungkot to be sad* and *tuwa to be happy*.

There are two types of non-experiencer 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 'becoming' something other than their original state. Note the following examples.

- O
- (21) Gumanda si Neneng.
 become-beautiful Neneng
 Neneng became beautiful.

- 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 particular non-changing 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: *puti to become white*, *payat to become thin, to lose weight*, *itim to become black/gray*, *dilaw to become yellow*, *tigas to become stiff, to faint*, *ngalumata to develop dark rings around the eyes*, *hina to become weak*, *nginig to tremble*, *kupas to fade*, etc.

Objective actants that undergo the process indicated by non-stative types of verbs are called here non-inchoative 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 non-inchoative object. One type is transported and the other is not. The latter is illustrated by the following sentences.

- O
- (26) *Bumukas ang pinto.*
opened the door
The door opened.

- O
- (27) Kumukulo ang tubig.
 boiling the water
 The water is boiling.

Other verbs that take this type of object are: sara *to close*, buka *to bloom, to open*, hinto *to stop*, galaw *to move* and kaluskos *to make a rustling sound*.

A transported non-inchoative object is carried to a second argument where the action terminates. The following sentences illustrate.

- O Dir
- (28) Bumagsak ang bola sa putik.
 fell ball mud
 The ball fell into the mud.

- 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: tulo *to trickle*, taob *to turn over*, lubog *to sink*, litaw *to appear*, lutang *to float*, tilapon *to be thrown out* and tapon *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 frequently occurs with stative types of verbs but instead of undergoing an internal 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: sunog *to get burned*, luto *to get/be cooked*, bali *to get broken*, tuyo *to dry up*, pisa *to get crushed* and baluktot *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 ^Ang bata ang sahig.¹
child
The child got the floor wet.

When a causer is present, an element of unintentional or accidental 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 non-patient subcase of the objective case.

2.3.1.3. The Directional Case

The directional (Dir) case is the case of the animate or inanimate 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 exemplify the first subdivision of the directional case.

¹The 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.*

Directional Goals with Agents

- (33) Pumunta ang mangingisda
	A	Dir
		{ kay Maria.
		<u>sa kaniya.</u>
		<u>sa dagat.</u>
		<u>doon.</u>
- went the fisherman
	{ to Maria
	to her
	to the sea
	there
- The fisherman went
	{ to Maria.
	to her.
	to the sea.
	there.

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 Agent and Objects

- (34) Nagbigay siya ng pera
	A	O	Dir
			{ kay Maria.
			<u>sa kaniya.</u>
			<u>sa babae.</u>
			<u>dito.</u>
- gave he money
	{ to Maria
	to her
	to the woman
	to this one here
- He gave some money
	{ to Maria.
	to her.
	to the woman.
	to this one here.
- (35) Naghulog siya ng pera
	A	O	Dir
			{ <u>sa bangko.</u>
			<u>doon.</u>
- deposited he money
	{ in bank
	there
- He deposited money
	{ in the bank
	there

Other verbs that require these cases are: *lakup* to enclose in, *salansan* to file, *bagsak* to drop, *akyat* to carry up and *itsa* to throw to.

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

Directional Source with Agents

- (36) Nanggaling siya $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Dir} \\ \text{sa amin.} \\ \text{kina Pedro.} \\ \text{sa bahay.} \\ \text{dito.} \end{array} \right.$
- came he $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{from us (our place)} \\ \text{from Pedro's (place)} \\ \text{from the house} \\ \text{from here} \end{array} \right.$
- He came $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{from our place} \\ \text{from Pedro's place.} \\ \text{from the house.} \\ \text{from here.} \end{array} \right.$

Other verbs that require these cases are the following: *umpisa to start from*, *mula to come from*, *simula to begin from*, and *buhat 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 co-occurs with the directional source actant.

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

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

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.

- (37) Lumangoy ako $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{L} \\ \text{sa ilog.} \end{array} \right.$
 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 non-inherent 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 describes these actants as 'incorporated instruments' because unlike their non-inherent 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. Non-inherent 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 subclassify the verbs but in contrast with the first type of cases, these are predictable. Their occurrence is dependent upon the occurrence 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 non-inherent 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 instrumental 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.)

Examples:

- (42) Pinahiran ng katulong $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{I(tool)} \\ \text{ng basahan} \\ \text{sa pamamagitan ng} \\ \text{basahan} \\ \text{nito} \end{array} \right\} \text{ang dumi.}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{O} \\ \text{ang dumi.} \end{array} \right\}$
- wiped helper $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{with rag} \\ \text{by means of a rag} \\ \text{with this} \end{array} \right\} \text{the dirt}$
- The helper wiped off the dirt $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{with a rag.} \\ \text{by means of a rag.} \\ \text{with this.} \end{array} \right\}$

- (47) O I(force)
 Nalason siya ng kabuti.
poisoned he by mushroom
He was poisoned by mushrooms.

- (48) O I(force)
 Napatay siya ng tuberculosis.
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 non-responsible causers of the action, an element of unintentional or accidental meaning is implied in the sentence.

Examples:

- (49) I(force) O
 Naipit ng makina ang kamay niya.
crushed machine hand his
His hand was crushed by the machine.

- (50) O I(force)
 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:

- (51) O I(force)
 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.

- (52) O I(force)
 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'¹ and defined as the case which gives the non-agentive cause of an action.

¹The causal nominal phrase marked by (*dahil*) *sa/kay* may be replaced by (*dahil*) *sa* pronouns or demonstratives.

Example:

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

Example:

Examples:

- (55) Yumaman si Maria
became rich Maria
- I(force)
 { sa suerte.
 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.
 because she was lucky

- (56) Namatay si Juan
died Juan
- I(force)
 { sa alak.
 of alcohol
 dahil sa paginom niya ng alak.
 because of drinking he alcohol

Juan died { of alcoholic drinks.
 because of his drinking.

It is noted that this instrumental cause occurs more frequently in non-agentive sentences but it can occur in agentive sentences too.

Example:

- (57) Nagipon siya ng pera
saved he money
- { dahil sa asawa niya.
 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.

Non-agentive 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.

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:

- (58) A O B
 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.

- (59) A O B
 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:

- (60) A B
 Kumain ka sa handaan para sa akin.
 eat you at party for me
 (You) eat at the party in my place.

- (61) A B
 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).

- (62) A B
 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 (adversely) 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
(63) ^O Namatay <u>ang tatay niya.</u> <i>died the father his</i> <i>His father died.</i>	^{Af} ^O Namatayan <u>siya</u> ng tatay. <i>died he father</i> <i>He was adversely affected by his</i> <i>father's dying/death.</i>
(64) ^O Nawala <u>ang pera niya.</u> <i>lost the money his</i> <i>His money was lost.</i>	^{Af} ^O Nawalan <u>siya</u> ng pera. <i>lost he money</i> <i>He was adversely affected by his</i> <i>money being lost.</i>
(65) ^O Nasunog <u>ang bahay niya.</u> <i>burned the house his</i> <i>His house was burned down.</i>	^{Af} ^O Nasunugan <u>siya</u> ng bahay. <i>burned he house</i> <i>He was adversely affected by the</i> <i>burning of his house.</i>

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 non-inherent cases have been discussed. Subdivisions are made in order to fully understand the intuitive information a speaker of the language has at his command. Ten oppositions, 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.

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 subcategorization 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 grammar model, being a 'transformational grammar whose base component specifies the case structure of sentences' (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 subcategorized 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 incorporated 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., $S \rightarrow V + C_1 \dots C_n$) 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 $C_1 \dots C_n$. This gives $S \rightarrow V + KP_1 \dots KP_n$ where in turn KP rewrites as $K + NP$. The objection to rewriting C_1 (case) as K (preposition or case marker) plus an NP (noun phrase) is the problem of mixing relational (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 transformational 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 presented 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 subcategorization rules consist of two subtypes, namely "strict subcategorization 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 replaced by D.' (1965:84)

Given, therefore, a lexical entry (D,C), where D is a phonological 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 non-distinct. 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 sub-component, 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 sub-categorized 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 determined 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. $S \rightarrow V + (KP)^5$

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.

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

- (1) Naghalo ^{KP₁}ako ^{KP₂}ng ^{KP₃}asukal ^{KP₄}sa ^{KP₅}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. $V \rightarrow \text{c.s.}$

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],¹ and for [+neutral aspect] or [-neutral aspect]. This information is contained in the feature symbolization following.

$$2.1 \quad [+V] \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{+agentive} \\ \text{+neutral aspect} \end{bmatrix}$$

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:

- (2) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agt \end{bmatrix}$ $[+A]$ $[+O]$
Nagbukas siya ng pinto.
opened he the door
He opened the door.

The [-agentive] feature expresses an activity which is characterized as a process undergone by the referent of a non-dynamic type of nominal expression which is affected by the action rather than being its initiator.

¹The 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 non-agentives.

Examples:

- (3) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -agt \end{bmatrix}$ $[+O]$
Tumubo ang halaman.
 grew plant
 The plant grew.

- (4) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -agt \end{bmatrix}$ $[+O]$
Bumukas ang pinto.
 opened door
 The door opened.

We now turn to the full expansion of the features specified in 2.1.

2.11 $[+agentive] \rightarrow [\pm external]$

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:

- (5) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +ext \end{bmatrix}$ $[+A]$ $[+O]$
Nagtayo siya ng bahay.
 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:

- (6) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -ext \end{bmatrix}$ $[+A]$
Tumayo siya.
 stood he
 He stood.

2.111 $[+external] \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \pm centrifugal \\ \pm terminal \end{bmatrix}$

Verbs having the $[+external]$ feature have a $[\pm centrifugal]$ feature and a $[\pm terminal]$ feature.

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

Example:

- (7) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +cf \end{bmatrix}$ [+A] [+O]
Nagbili siya ng gulay.
sold she vegetables
She sold vegetables.

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

Example:

- (8) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -cf \end{bmatrix}$ [+A] [+O]
Bumili siya ng gulay
bought she (some) vegetables
She bought some vegetables.

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

Examples:

- (9) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +ter \end{bmatrix}$ [+A] [+O]
Nagipon siya ng pera.
saved he money
He saved some money.
- (10) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +ter \end{bmatrix}$ [+A] [+O]
Kumain siya ng mansanas.
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:

- (11) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -ter \end{bmatrix}$ [+A] [+O] [+Dir]
Nagtapon siya ng dumi sa basurahan.
threw she dirt in garbage can
She threw some dirt into the garbage can.

- (12) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -ter \end{bmatrix}$ $[+A]$ $[+O]$ $[+Dir]$
Kumuha siya ng kanin sa palayok.
got he rice from pot
He got some rice from the pot.

2.1v $[+terminal] \longrightarrow [+change\ of\ state]$

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:

- (13) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -cs \end{bmatrix}$ $[+A]$ $[+O]$
Sinalansan niya ang libro.
filed he books
He filed the books.

2.1v $[+change\ of\ state] \longrightarrow [+total]$

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:

- (14) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +cs \\ +t \end{bmatrix}$ $[+A]$ $[+O]$
Dinurog niya ang paminta.
crushed he pepper
He crushed the pepper.

(A pepper after being crushed is no longer a pepper.)

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

Example:

- (15) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +cs \\ -t \end{bmatrix}$ $[+A]$ $[+Dir]$
Pinunasan niya ang mesa.
wiped he the table
He wiped the table.

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

2.v1 $[-external] \longrightarrow [+direction]$

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

Example:

- (16) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +dir \end{bmatrix}$ [+A]
Tumakbo siya.
 ran he
 He ran.

The [-direction] feature indicates non-movement.

Example:

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

2.v11 [+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 2.111, 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:

- (18) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +dir \\ +cf \end{bmatrix}$ [+A] [+Dir]
Pumunta siya sa bayan.
 went he to town
 He went to town.

- (19) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +dir \\ -cf \end{bmatrix}$ [+A] [+Dir]
Tumakas siya sa bilangguan.
 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#2.1 to 2.v11. Verbs are

Example:

- (20) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +exp \end{bmatrix}$ $[+0]$
Nalungkot siya.
became sad he
He became sad.

The [-experiential] feature expresses a non-psychological change of state or condition of the referent of the [+0] nominal expression occurring with the verb.

Example:

- (21) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -exp \end{bmatrix}$ $[+0]$
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.

2.1x [-experiential] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$ 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] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$ transient]

The process of 'becoming' may be either of a transient or permanent nature. The following sentences illustrate these kinds of changes.

Examples:

- (22) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -trans \end{bmatrix}$ $[+0]$
Gumanda ang bata.
became beautiful the child
The child became beautiful.

- (23) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +trans \end{bmatrix}$ $[+0]$ $[+I]$
Nangitim siya sa init.
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 non-agentive process of activity that does not express a state of 'becoming'.

Example:

- (24) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -inch \end{bmatrix} \quad [+0]$
Umikot ang gulong.
rotated the wheel
The wheel rotated.

2.x1 [-inchoative] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$ 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:

- (25) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +meteorological \end{bmatrix}$
Umulan.
(It) rained
It rained.

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

Example:

- (26) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -meteorological \end{bmatrix}$
Kumulo ang tubig.
boiled the water
The water boiled.

2.x11 [-meteorological] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$ 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:

- (27) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +ter \end{bmatrix} \quad [+0]$
Sumara ang bintana.
closed the window
The window closed.

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

Example:

- (28) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -ter \end{bmatrix}$ $[+O]$ $[+Dir]$
Bumagsak ang ibon sa lupa.
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.49-51) to complete the picture given earlier.

- (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, -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 non-past and past tenses), the most fundamental difference between T and E verb systems is evidently at this point. The T verbal distinctions should not be confused with a system that has more than a single axis of orientation.'

Bowen used the term aspect for Tagalog and described it as 'somewhat 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) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +\text{neut. asp.} \end{bmatrix}$ [+A]
Tumakbo ka.
 run (you)
 You run.

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

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

- (32) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -\text{neut. asp.} \end{bmatrix}$ [+A]
Natulog siya.
 slept he
 He slept.

Features specifying verbal aspect are described in rules 2.xiii-2.xv below.

2.xiii [-neut. asp.] $\longrightarrow$ [+begun]

When marked for aspect, the verbal action is either begun or not begun.

Examples:

[+begun]
naglinis
cleaned

[-begun]
maglilinis
will clean

[+begun]
naglilinis
is/are cleaning

2.xiv [+begun] → [±completed]

Forms specified with the feature [+begun] are of two kinds: completed or non-completed.

Example:

[+comp]
naglinis
cleaned

[-comp]
naglilinis
is/are cleaning

2.xv [+completed] → [±recent]

Completed forms further subdivide into recently completed and non-recently completed. The feature [-recent] here means 'unspecified with respect to recentness.'

Example:

[+recent]
kalilinis
just cleaned

[-recent]
naglinis
cleaned

The following tree shows the different aspectual forms of the verb *maglinis to clean*:

(1) *maglinis to clean* [+V, +neut.asp.]

(2) *kalilinis just cleaned* [+V, -neut.asp., +beg, -comp, +recent]

(3) *naglinis cleaned* [+V, -neut.asp., +beg, +comp, -recent]

(4) *naglilinis is/are cleaning* [+V, -neut.asp., +beg, -comp]

(5) *maglilinis will clean* [+V, -neut.asp., -beg]

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

BR#3. $KP \longrightarrow K + NP$

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 representative 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. $NP \longrightarrow (Det) N$

The Noun in turn is rewritten by a complex symbol.

BR#5. $N \longrightarrow c.s.$

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.

5.1 $[+N] \longrightarrow [\pm common]$

5.11 $[+common] \longrightarrow [\pm concrete]$

5.111 $[+concrete] \longrightarrow [\pm count]$

5.1v $[+count] \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \pm animate \\ \pm singular \end{bmatrix}$

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

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 experiencers. Verbs may occur with [$\pm$ animate] N's as objects and directionals.

The following tree shows these inherent features of the nouns.

- (1) *tao person* [+N, +com, +conc, +count, +an, +sg]
 (2) *tao persons* [+N, +com, +conc, +count, +an, -sg]
 (3) *halaman plant* [+N, +com, +conc, +count, -an, +sg]
 (4) *halaman plants* [+N, +com, +conc, +count, -an, -sg]
 (5) *asin salt* [+N, +com, +conc, -count]
 (6) *kaligayahan happiness* [+N, +com, -conc]
 (7) *Pedro Peter* [+N, -com, +an, +sg]
 (8) *Pedro 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 Japanese (1971:258). There are five case features that may characterize the noun in Tagalog.

- 5.v1 [+N] → [±0]
 5.vi1 [+0] → [-A, -I, -Dir, -L]
 5.viii1 [-0] → [±A]
 5.ix [+A] → [-I, -Dir, -L]
 5.x [-A] → [±Dir]
 5.xi [+Dir] → [-I, -L]
 5.xi1 [-Dir] → [±I]
 5.xi11 [+I] → [-L]
 5.xiv [-I] → [±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.

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.
 [+A] [+O] [+pat]
 cooked she adobo
 She cooked adobo.

5.xvi [+patient] → [±centrifugal]
 [±transported]

- (34) Naglaba siya ng damit.
 [+A] [+O] [+cf] [-transp]
 washed she the clothes
 She washed the clothes.

- (35) Kumain siya ng mansanas.
 [+A] [+O] [-cf] [-transp]
 ate he apple
 He ate an apple.

- (36) Kumuha siya ng kendi sa kahon.
 [+A] [+O] [-cf] [+transp] [+Dir]
 got he candy from box
 He got some candy from the box.

- (37) Naglagay siya ng pera sa bintana.
 [+A] [+O] [+cf] [+transp] [+Dir]
 put he money at window
 He put some money at the window.

5.xvii [-transp] → [±change of state]

- (38) Inipon niya ang pera niya.
 [+A] [+O] [-transp] [-cs]
 saved he money
 He saved his money.

5.xviii [+change of state] → [±total]

- (39) $\begin{matrix} [+V] & [+A] & \begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +t \end{bmatrix} \end{matrix}$
Binali niya ang sanga.
 broke he branch
 He broke the branch.

- (40) $\begin{matrix} [+V] & [+A] & \begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ -t \end{bmatrix} \end{matrix}$
Hinugasan niya ang baso.
 washed she glass
 She washed the glass.

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

- (41) $\begin{matrix} [+V] & \begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +an \\ -pat \\ +exp \end{bmatrix} \end{matrix}$
Nasuya siya.
 got disgusted he
 He got disgusted.

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

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

5.xxi1 $[+\text{inchoative}] \longrightarrow [\neq \text{transient}]$

- (42) $\begin{matrix} [+V] & \begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +inch \\ +trans \end{bmatrix} \end{matrix}$
Namuti siya.
 became-white she
 She turned pale.

- (43) $\begin{matrix} [+V] & \begin{bmatrix} +0 \\ +inch \\ -trans \end{bmatrix} & [+L] \end{matrix}$
Pumuti siya sa Amerika.
 became-fair she America
 She became fair (complexion) in America.

5.xxi11 $[-\text{inchoative}] \longrightarrow [\neq \text{transported}]$

- (44) $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -incho \\ +transp \end{bmatrix} [+Dir]$
Bumagsak ang eroplano sa lupa.
fell the airplane ground
The airplane fell to the ground.

- (45) $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -transp \end{bmatrix}$
Kumulo ang tubig.
boiled the water
The water boiled.

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

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

5.xxvi $[+A] \rightarrow [\pmundergoer]$

- (46) $\begin{bmatrix} +an \\ +A \\ +und \end{bmatrix}$
Tumalon siya.
jumped he
He jumped.

- (47) $\begin{bmatrix} +an \\ +A \\ -und \end{bmatrix} [+O]$
Naglinis siya ng sapatos.
cleaned he shoes
He cleaned the shoes.

5.xxvii $[-undergoer] \rightarrow [\pmgoal]$

- (48) $\begin{bmatrix} +an \\ +A \\ -und \\ +g \end{bmatrix}$
Bumili siya ng tinapay.
bought he bread
He bought some bread.

- (49) Nagayos siya ng silya.
 arranged he chair
 He arranged the chair(s).

5.xxviii [+Dir] → [±goal]

- (50) Pumunta siya sa tindahan.
 went he to store
 He went to the store.

- (51) Nagitsa siya ng bola sa akin.
 threw he ball to me
 He threw the ball to me.

- (52) Nanggaling siya sa bahay.
 came he from house
 He came from the house.

- (53) Kumuha siya ng pagkain sa kusina.
 got he food from kitchen
 He got some food from the kitchen.

5.xxix [+I] → [±tool]

- (54) Hiniwa niya ng kutsilyo ang karne.
 sliced he knife the meat
 He sliced the meat with the knife.

- (55) Nabuksan ng hangin ang bintana.
 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].

6.1 [+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.

6.11 $\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +sg \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [- \text{ [+Det] } \underline{\hspace{1cm}}]$

Example:

(56) Kumakanta ang mga bata.
 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.

7.1 [+K] $\longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \alpha\text{common} \\ \beta C \end{bmatrix} \bigg/ \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \begin{bmatrix} +N \\ \alpha\text{com} \\ \beta C \end{bmatrix}$

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].

7.11 $\begin{bmatrix} +K \\ -\text{common} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{animate} \\ \alpha\text{singular} \end{bmatrix} \bigg/ \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +\text{an} \\ \alpha\text{sg} \end{bmatrix}$

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

<i>ng</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>nina</i>
$\begin{bmatrix} +K \\ +com \\ - \quad \quad [+L] \\ - \quad \quad [+Dir] \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +K \\ -com \\ +an \\ +sg \\ - \quad \quad [+L] \\ - \quad \quad [+Dir] \\ - \quad \quad [+O] \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +K \\ -com \\ +an \\ -sg \\ - \quad \quad [+L] \\ - \quad \quad [+Dir] \\ - \quad \quad [+O] \end{bmatrix}$

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:

<i>sa</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>kina</i>
$\begin{bmatrix} +K \\ +com \\ - \quad \quad [+O] \\ - \quad \quad [+A] \\ - \quad \quad [+I] \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +K \\ -com \\ +an \\ +sg \\ - \quad \quad [+A] \\ - \quad \quad [+I] \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +K \\ -com \\ +an \\ -sg \\ - \quad \quad [+A] \\ - \quad \quad [+I] \end{bmatrix}$

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 co-occurrence 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 'selectional relation between two positions in a sentence' (1965:113). These rules predict one feature uniquely on the basis of the presence 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 particular 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.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha \text{agt} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{cc} \alpha & \text{[+A]} \\ - & \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\alpha \text{patient} \end{bmatrix} \end{array} \right]$$

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 negatively specified agentive feature does not permit an agentive noun to occur with it.

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

SRR#1 is a combination of the following rules.

$$1.1 \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +\text{agt} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+ \text{ ______ } [+A]]$$

Agentive verbs always occur with agents.

Example:

- (1) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +\text{agt} \end{bmatrix}$ [+A] [+O]
Nagmaneho siya ng kotse.
 drove he the car
 He drove the car.

$$1.11 \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -\text{agt} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [- \text{ ______ } [+A]]$$

Non-agentive verbs never occur with agents. The following is therefore not possible. (See subrule 1.iv below.)

- (2)* $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -\text{agt} \end{bmatrix}$ [+A] [+O]
Tumubo ang hardinero ng halaman.
 grew the gardener the plant
 The gardener grew the plant.

$$1.111 \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +\text{agt} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left[- \text{ ______ } \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\text{patient} \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

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:

- (3) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agt \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +A \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +patient \end{bmatrix}$
Nagtanim siya ng mais.
planted he corn
He planted corn.

$$1.iv \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -agt \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left[- \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +patient \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

Non-agentive verbs never occur with objects marked by the feature [+patient]. This implies that non-agentive verbs can only co-occur with objects interpreted as non-patients.

Example:

- (4) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -agt \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -patient \end{bmatrix}$
Umaba ang tuta.
grew fat puppy
The puppy grew fat.

SRR#2 contains the following information.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha external \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left[- \quad \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ \alpha undergoer \end{bmatrix} \right] \left[\alpha \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +patient \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

SRR#2 generalizes the relationship between verbs marked [external] and the types of agents and objects that co-occur 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.

$$2.1 \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +ext \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left[- \quad \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ +undergoer \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

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].

$$2.11 \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +ext \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +patient \end{bmatrix}$$

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

Example for #2.1 and 2.11.

- (5) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +ext \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -und \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +patient \end{bmatrix}$
Naghugas siya ng baso.
washed she glass
She washed the glass.

$$2.111 \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -ext \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -undergoer \end{bmatrix}$$

Verbs marked [-external] never co-occur with agents marked [-undergoer]. By implication, they occur with agents marked [+undergoer].

$$2.1v \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -ext \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +patient \end{bmatrix}$$

Verbs negatively specified for the feature [external] do not occur with objects marked by the feature [+patient].

Example for #2.111 and 2.1v.

- (6) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -ext \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ +und \end{bmatrix}$
Tumakbo siya
ran he
He ran.

SRR#3 contains the following information.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ acf \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ +O \\ +Dir \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} agoal \\ -acf \\ -agoal \end{bmatrix}$$

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.

$$3.1 \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +cf \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ - \end{array} \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ +goal \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

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].

$$3.11 \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +cf \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ - \end{array} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -cf \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

Verbs marked [+centrifugal] do not co-occur with objects marked [-centrifugal]. This implies that they can only occur with objects marked [+centrifugal].

$$3.111 \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +cf \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ - \end{array} \begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ -goal \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

Verbs positively specified for the feature [centrifugal] cannot co-occur with directionals marked [-goal]. By implication, they can only occur with directionals marked [+goal].

Example for #3.1, 3.11 and 3.111 above.

- (7) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +cf \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -goal \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +cf \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ +goal \end{bmatrix}$
Naghagis siya ng bato sa ahās.
hurled he stone at snake
He hurled a stone at the snake.

$$3.1v \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +cf \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ - \end{array} \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -goal \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

Verbs marked with the semantic feature [-centrifugal] never occur with agents marked [-goal]. By implication, they occur with agents marked [+goal].

$$3.v \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -cf \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ - \end{array} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +cf \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

Verbs marked [-centrifugal] do not co-occur with objects marked [+centrifugal]. This implies that they can only co-occur with objects marked [-centrifugal].

$$3.vi \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -cf \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{---} \\ - \end{array} \begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ +goal \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

Verbs negatively specified for the feature centrifugal cannot co-occur with directionals marked [+goal]. By implication, it can occur with directionals marked [-goal].

- (12) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -ter \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +A \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +Dir \end{bmatrix}$
Pumunta siya sa ospital.
went he to hospital
He went to the hospital.

$$\text{SRR\#5.} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha cs \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} _ \\ - \end{array} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\alpha cs \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

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.

$$5.1 \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +cs \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} _ \\ - \end{array} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -cs \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

Example:

- (13) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +cs \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +A \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +cs \end{bmatrix}$
Binali niya ang sanga.
broke he branch
He broke the branch.

$$5.11 \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -cs \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} _ \\ - \end{array} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +cs \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

Example:

- (14) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -cs \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +A \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -cs \end{bmatrix}$
Inipun niya ang silya.
collected he chair(s)
He collected the chairs.

$$\text{SRR\#6.} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha t \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} _ \\ - \end{array} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\alpha t \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

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.

$$6.1 \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +t \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} _ \\ - \end{array} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -t \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

Example:

- (15) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +t \end{bmatrix}$ $[+A]$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +t \end{bmatrix}$
Pinitpit niya ang bawang.
crushed she garlic
She crushed the garlic.

$$6.11 \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -t \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} _ \\ - \end{array} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +t \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

Example:

- (16) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -t \end{bmatrix}$ $[+A]$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -t \end{bmatrix}$
Pinunasan niya ang mesa.
wiped she table
She wiped the table.

$$\text{SRR\#7.} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \text{ater} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} _ \\ - \end{array} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ \text{-atransp} \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

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.

$$7.1 \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +ter \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} _ \\ - \end{array} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +transp \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

Terminal verbs never occur with objects marked [+transported]. By implication, only objects marked [-transported] occur with terminal verbs.

Example:

- (17) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +ter \end{bmatrix}$ $[+A]$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -transp \end{bmatrix}$
Nagbunot siya ng sahig.
polished he floor
(husked)
He polished the floor (with a husk).

$$7.11 \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -ter \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} _ \\ - \end{array} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -transp \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

Non-terminal verbs never occur with objects marked [-transported]. This implies that this type of verb can occur only with objects marked [+transported].

Example:

- (18) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -ter \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +A \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +transp \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +Dir \end{bmatrix}$
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.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -direction \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \quad \quad \quad [+Dir] \end{bmatrix}$$

SRR#8 states that verbs marked [-direction] do not allow directionals.

Example:

- (19) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -Dir \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +A \end{bmatrix}$
Umiyak siya.
cried she
She cried.

$$\text{SRR\#9.} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha\text{experiential} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \quad \quad \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\alpha\text{experienter} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

SRR#9 generalizes the relationship between verbs and objects marked [+experiential] or [-experiential].

SRR#9 is a combination of the following rules.

$$9.1 \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +\text{experiential} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \quad \quad \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\text{experienter} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Verbs having a positively specified feature [+experiential] do not co-occur with objects having the semantic feature [-experienter]. This rule implies that experiential verbs can co-occur with objects marked with the feature [+experienter].

Example:

- (20) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +\text{exp} \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +\text{exp} \end{bmatrix}$
Nagutom siya.
got hungry he
He got hungry.

$$9.11 \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -\text{experiential} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \quad \quad \quad \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +\text{experienter} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

Verbs having a negatively specified feature [-experiential] do not co-occur with objects having the semantic feature [+experienter]. This rule implies that non-experiential verbs can occur with objects having the feature [-experienter].

Example:

- (21) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -exp \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -exp \end{bmatrix}$
Lumago ang damo.
grew (luxuriantly) the grass
The grass grew luxuriantly.

SRR#10 contains the following information.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha inchoative \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} - \end{array} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\alpha inchoative \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

SRR#10 generalizes the relationship between verbs and objects marked [+inchoative] or [-inchoative]. This rule implies that inchoative verbs can co-occur with objects marked with the feature [+inchoative].

Example:

- (22) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +inch \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +inch \end{bmatrix}$
Lumak ang bata.
grew the child
The child grew.

$$10.11 \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -inchoative \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} - \end{array} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +inch \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

Verbs having a negatively specified feature [-inchoative] do not co-occur with objects having the semantic feature [+inchoative]. This rule implies that non-inchoative verbs can co-occur with objects having the feature [-inchoative].

Examples:

- (23) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -inch \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -inch \end{bmatrix}$
Kumulo ang tubig.
boiled the water
The water boiled.

SRR#11 contains the following information.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha trans \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} - \end{array} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\alpha trans \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

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 non-transient verbs can occur only with objects marked [-transient].

SRR#11 is a combination of the following rules.

$$11.1 \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +trans \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \quad _ \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -trans \end{bmatrix}$$

By implication, transient verbs occur only with transient objects.

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.

$$11.11 \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -trans \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \quad _ \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +trans \end{bmatrix}$$

The rule above implies that non-transient verbs occur only with non-transient 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.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -agentive \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \quad _ \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -atool \end{bmatrix}$$

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.

$$12a \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -dir \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \quad _ \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +I \\ +tool \end{bmatrix}$$

Example:

- (26) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -dir \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +A \end{bmatrix}$
Ngumiti siya.
smiled she
She smiled.

SRR#12 is a combination of the following rules.

$$12.1 \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agentive \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \quad _ \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -tool \end{bmatrix}$$

Verbs having a positively specified feature [+agentive] may co-occur with instrumentals interpreted as [+tool].

Example:

- (27) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agt \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +A \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ +tool \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \end{bmatrix}$
Binasag niya (ng bato) ang salamin.
broke he stone glass
He broke the glass (with a stone).

$$12.11 \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -agt \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} _ \\ _ \end{array} \begin{bmatrix} +I \\ +tool \end{bmatrix} \right]$$

Verbs having a negatively specified feature [-agentive] may co-occur with instrumentals that are marked by the semantic feature [-tool].

Example:

- (28) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -agt \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +I \\ -tool \end{bmatrix}$
Nabasa siya (ng ulan).
drenched he rain
He was drenched (by the rain).

Except for the locatives,¹ these selectional redundancy rules account for the co-occurrence of the inherent types of cases with the verbs.

¹If the verbal feature tree were expanded to include locative selectional features, the verbal feature [$\pm$ local] may be added to the [$\pm$ total] and [-direction] features of the verb. The following tree illustrates.

(Continued opposite)

The following rules may be added to the base rules.

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} [- \text{direction}] \\ [\pm \text{total}] \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow [\pm \text{local}]$$

Any verb having the semantic feature [+local] dictates the presence of a locative actant to complete its meaning.

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} +V \\ +\text{local} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \left[+ \quad \quad [+L] \right]$$

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 subcategorization 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 belong 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 predicate. 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

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ ____ } [+A] \\ + \text{ ____ } [+O] \\ + \text{ ____ } [+Dir] \end{array} \right]$$

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 *kuha to get* requires two subfeatures for the agent [-undergoer, +goal], since it is the non-undergoer recipient or goal of the action. *Tapon to throw*, on the other hand, also requires two agentive subfeatures but it contrasts with the verb *kuha 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.

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{iyak to cry} \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ ____ } [+A] \\ + \text{ ____ } [+undergoer] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{kuha to get} \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ ____ } [+A] \\ + \text{ ____ } [-undergoer] \\ + \text{ ____ } [+goal] \end{array} \right] \\ \text{tapon to throw} \left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{ ____ } [+A] \\ + \text{ ____ } [-undergoer] \\ + \text{ ____ } [-goal] \end{array} \right] \end{array}$$

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.

<div> <div>+V</div> <div>+agentive</div> <div>+external</div> <div>+centrifugal</div> <div>+terminal</div> <div>+change of state</div> <div>+total</div> </div>	
+ _____	<div> <div>+A</div> <div>-undergoer</div> <div>-goal</div> </div>
	<div> <div>+O</div> <div>+patient</div> <div>+centrifugal</div> <div>-transported</div> <div>+change of state</div> <div>+total</div> </div>

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 (required 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, [+centrifugal], 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 *baluktot* *to bend* from this set has the meaning (someone) bends (something).

Examples:

- (1) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +t \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -g \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +t \end{bmatrix}$
Binaluktot ng magnanakaw ang rehas.
bent burglar iron bars
The burglar bent the iron bars.

- (2) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +t \end{bmatrix}$ Winasak $\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -g \end{bmatrix}$ ng loko-loko $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +t \end{bmatrix}$ ang kotse.
destroyed madman car
The madman destroyed the car.

- (3) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +t \end{bmatrix}$ N luto $\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -g \end{bmatrix}$ ng nanay $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +t \end{bmatrix}$ ang gulay.
cooked mother vegetables
Mother cooked the vegetables.

Other verbs that belong to this class are: *pitpit (someone) crushes (something)*, *tastas (someone) rips (something)*, *patay (someone) slaughters (something)*, *yupi (someone) dents (something)*, *buhay (someone) keeps alive (something)*, *linis (someone) cleans (something)*, *ihaw (someone) broils (something)*, *tuwid (someone) straightens out (something)*, *laga (someone) boils (something)*, *buro (someone) pickles (something)*, *init (someone) heats (something)*, *unat (someone) removes the crease from (something)*, *gupit (someone) cuts (something)*, *ahit (someone) shaves (someone)* and *basa (someone) wets (something)*.

2. The second type of verb has the following semantic and contextual features.

$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agentive \\ +external \\ +centrifugal \\ +terminal \\ +change\ of\ state \\ -total \end{bmatrix}$	
+ _____	$\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -undergoer \\ -goal \end{bmatrix}$
	$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +patient \\ +centrifugal \\ -transported \\ +change\ of\ state \\ -total \end{bmatrix}$
+ _____	

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:

- (4) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -t \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -g \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -t \end{bmatrix}$
Binan awan niya ang damit.
 rinsed she clothes
 She rinsed the clothes.

- (5) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -t \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -g \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -t \end{bmatrix}$
Pinunasan niya ang mesa.
 wiped she table
 She wiped the table.

Other verbs that belong to this class are: laba (someone) washes (something), linis (someone) cleans (something), hilamus (someone) washes the face, sara (someone) closes (something), bukas (someone) opens (something), wisik (someone) sprinkles (something), tagpi (someone) patches (something), dilig (someone) waters (something), talup (someone) peels (something), tabas (someone) cuts (a dress material following a pattern), and tali (someone) ties (something).

3. The third type of verb has the following semantic and contextual features.

$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agentive \\ +external \\ +centrifugal \\ +terminal \\ -change\ of\ state \end{bmatrix}$	
+	$\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -undergoer \\ -goal \end{bmatrix}$
+	$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +patient \\ +centrifugal \\ -transported \\ -change\ of\ state \end{bmatrix}$

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 *ipon* to gather, collect, has the complete meaning of (someone) gathers (something).

Examples:

- (6) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -CS \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -G \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -CS \end{bmatrix}$
inipun niya ang basura.
 gathered he garbage
 He gathered (collected) the garbage.

- (7) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -CS \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -G \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -CS \end{bmatrix}$
inayos niya ang mga silya.
 arranged he chairs
 He arranged the chairs.

Verbs of this type are: *halungkat* (someone) ransacks (something), *akay* (someone) guides, leads (someone), *alog* (someone) jars (something), *uga* (someone) swings (someone), *bitbit* (someone) carries (something), *buklat* (someone) opens (something), *hintay* (someone) waits for (something), *tipid* (someone) economizes (something), *tiklop* (someone) folds (something) and *aruga* (someone) takes care of (someone).

4. The fourth type of verb has the following semantic and contextual features.

$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agentive \\ +external \\ +centrifugal \\ -terminal \end{bmatrix}$	
+ _____	$\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -undergoer \\ -goal \end{bmatrix}$
+ _____	$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +patient \\ +centrifugal \\ +transported \end{bmatrix}$
+ _____	$\begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ +goal \end{bmatrix}$

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 non-goal 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:

- (8) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +cf \\ -ter \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -g \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +cf \\ +transp \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ +g \end{bmatrix}$
laabot ng bata ang pako sa karpintero.
 will hand-over child nail carpenter
 The child will hand over some nails to the carpenter.

- (9) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +A \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +Dir \end{bmatrix}$
lalagay niya ang pera sa alikansiya.
 will put he money piggy bank
 He will put some money in the piggy bank.

- (10) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +A \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +Dir \end{bmatrix}$
itatapon ni Pedro ang basura sa labas.
 will throw Pedro garbage outside
 Pedro will throw some garbage outside.

Other verbs that belong to this class are: *abuloy* (someone) contributes (something) (somewhere), *bagsak* (someone) drops (something) (somewhere), *bigay* (someone) gives (something) (to someone), *bayad* (someone) pays (someone) (something), *lakis* (someone) encloses (something) (somewhere), *salansan* (someone) files (something) (somewhere), *sampay* (someone) hangs (clothes) (somewhere), *sabit* (someone) hangs (something) (somewhere), *sanla* (someone) pawns (something) (somewhere), *hulog* (someone) drops (something) (somewhere), *sabog* (someone) scatters (something) (somewhere), *kabit* (someone) connects (something) (somewhere), *lipat* (someone) transfers (something) (somewhere), *akyat* (someone) carries up (something) (somewhere), *lako* (someone) peddles (something) (somewhere), *budbud* (someone) distributes (some particle-like matter) (somewhere), *halang* (someone) blocks (something) (somewhere), *tali* (someone) ties (something) (somewhere), *taya* (someone) bets (something) (somewhere), *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.

[+V +agentive +external -centrifugal +terminal	
+ _____	[+A +goal]
+ _____	[+O +patient -centrifugal -transported]

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:

- (11)

[+V -cf +ter]	[+A +g]	[+O -cf]
---------------------	------------	-------------

Humuli ang mama ng manok.
caught the man chicken
The man caught a chicken.

- (12)

[+V]	[+A]	[+O]
------	------	------

Umamoy siya ng bulaklak.
smelled she flower
She smelled the flower.

- (13)

[+V]	[+A]	[+O]
------	------	------

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), kabisig (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.

<div> <div>+V</div> <div>+agentive</div> <div>+external</div> <div>-centrifugal</div> <div>-terminal</div> </div>	
+ _____	<div> <div>+A</div> <div>+goal</div> </div>
+ _____	<div> <div>+O</div> <div>+patient</div> <div>-centrifugal</div> <div>+transported</div> </div>
+ _____	<div> <div>+Dir</div> <div>-goal</div> </div>

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 *kuha* to get that belongs to this class of verb has the meaning (someone) gets (something) (from somewhere).

Examples:

- (14)

<div><div>+V</div><div>-cf</div><div>-ter</div></div>	<div><div>+A</div><div>+g</div></div>	<div><div>+O</div><div>-cf</div><div>+transp</div></div>	<div><div>+Dir</div><div>-g</div></div>
<u>Humiram</u>	<u>ang tatay ng pera</u>	<u>sa bangko.</u>	
borrowed	the father money	bank	
The father borrowed some money from the bank.			

- (15)

<div><div>+V</div></div>	<div><div>+A</div></div>	<div><div>+O</div></div>	<div><div>+Dir</div></div>
<u>Humiling</u>	<u>ang bata ng manika</u>	<u>sa nanay niya.</u>	
asked	for the child doll	mother her	
The child asked for a doll from her mother.			

- (16) [+V] [+A] [+O] [+Dir]
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.

[+V	
+agentive	
-external	
+direction	
+centrifugal	
+ _____	[+A
	+undergoer]
+ _____	[+Dir
	+goal]

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:

- (17) [+V] [+A] [+Dir]
Pumunta siya sa Honolulu.
 went he Honolulu
He went to Honolulu.

- (20) $\begin{matrix} [+V] & [+A] & [+Dir] \\ \text{Humiwalay} & \text{siya} & \text{sa akin.} \end{matrix}$
separated she from me
She separated from me.

Other verbs that belong to this class are: *kalag* (someone) releases (himself) (from somewhere), *takas* (someone) escapes (from somewhere), *alis* (someone) leaves (from somewhere), *layas* (someone) runs away (from somewhere) and *balik* (someone) comes back (from somewhere).

9. The ninth type of verb has the following semantic and contextual features.

[	+V	]	
	+agentive		
	-external		
	-direction		
+ _____			
+	[+A +undergoer]		

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 *iyak* to cry belongs to this class of verbs with the full meaning of (someone) cries.

Examples:

- (21) $\begin{matrix} [+V] \\ -dir \end{matrix} \quad \begin{matrix} [+A] \\ +und \end{matrix}$
Bumahin ang tao.
sneezed the man
The man sneezed.

- (22) $\begin{matrix} [+V] \\ \text{Gumising} \end{matrix} \quad \begin{matrix} [+A] \\ \text{si Pedro} \end{matrix}$
woke up Pedro
Pedro woke up.

- (23) $\begin{matrix} [+V] \\ \text{Ngumiti} \end{matrix} \quad \begin{matrix} [+A] \\ \text{siya.} \end{matrix}$
smiled she
She smiled.

Other verbs that belong to this class are: *galaw* (someone) moves, *handa* (someone) gets ready, *hilik* (someone) snores, *iglip* (someone) takes a nap, *hiyaw* (someone) shouts, *simangot* (someone) frowns, *pila*

(someone) falls in line, tahan (someone) stops crying, tigil (someone) stops, ubo (someone) coughs, hinga (someone) breathes and taho! (someone) barks.

10. The tenth type of verb has the following semantic and contextual features.

[+V -agentive +experiential + _____]	[+O -patient +experiencer]

In contrast to the previous classes, these verbs have a [-agentive] feature, which means that the verbs do not co-occur 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 *galit* to become/feel/get angry belongs to this class of verbs.

Examples:

- (24)

[+V +exp]	[+O +exp]
--------------	--------------

Nagalit ang mama.
got angry the man
The man got angry.
- (25)

[+V]	[+O]
------	------

Nalungkot ang babae.
became sad the woman
The woman became sad.
- (26)

[+V]	[+O]
------	------

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.

+V -agentive -experiencer +inchoative +transient + _____	[	+O -patient +inchoative +transient	]

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 becoming*. 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:

- (27)

[+V +trans]	[+O +trans]
----------------	----------------

Nangitim siya.
became tanned he
He was tanned.

- (28)

[+V]	[+O]
------	------

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*, *katl 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.

[	+V	-	agentive	-	experiencer	+	inchoative	-	transient	]	[	+O	-	patient	-	experiencer	+	inchoative	-	transient	]
+	_____																				

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 non-temporary nature.

Like the previous class, this verb requires one type of argument, 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. *Ganda* is an example of this type of verb. It means *to go through a process of becoming beautiful*.

Examples:

- (29)

[+V +inch -trans]		[+O +inch -trans]
-------------------------	--	-------------------------

Lumaki ang halaman.
grew *plant*
The plant grew.

- (30)

[+V]		[+O]
------	--	------

Gumanda si Maria.
became beautiful *Maria*
Maria became beautiful.

- (31)

[+V]		[+O]
------	--	------

Dumilim ang langit.
became *dark* *sky*
The sky became dark.

Other verbs that belong to this class are: *pula* to become red, *puti* to become white, *payat* to become thin, *itim* to become dark, *lago* to become luxuriant, *tamis* to become sweet, *alat* to become salty, *dumi* to become dirty, *lala* to become worse, *liit* to become small, *lamig* to become cold, *liwanag* to become bright, clear, *labo* to become blurred, *taas* to become tall, *init* to become warm, *dilim* to become dark, *sikip* to become tight and *luwag* to become loose.

13. The thirteenth type of verb has the following semantic and contextual features.

[+V	
-agentive	
-experiential	
-inchoative	
+meteorological	
+ _____ [+I	
-tool]	

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 *ulan to rain*.

Examples:

- (32) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +met \end{bmatrix}$
Lumindol.
quaked
It quaked.

- (33) [+V]
Humagin.
blew (wind)
The wind blew.

- (34) [+V]
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.

[+V	
-agentive	
-experiential	
-inchoative	
-meteorological	
+terminal	
+ _____ [+O	
-patient	
-experiencer	
-inchoative	
-transported]	

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 objective 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:

- (35) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -met \\ +ter \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -inchoative \\ -transported \end{bmatrix}$
Kumukulo ang tubig.
boiling the water
The water is boiling.

Other verbs that belong to this class are: *hinto* to stop, *putok* to explode, *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.

$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -agentive \\ -experiential \\ -inchoative \\ -meteorological \\ -terminal \end{bmatrix}$		
		$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -patient \\ -experiencer \\ -inchoative \\ +transported \end{bmatrix}$
		+ _____
		$\begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ +goal \end{bmatrix}$

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)*.

Examples:

- (36) $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -met \\ -ter \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -inch \\ +transp \end{bmatrix}$ $\begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ +goal \end{bmatrix}$
Bumagsak ang ibon sa bubong.
fell the bird on roof
The bird fell on the roof.

- (37) [+V] [+O] [+Dir]
 Bumaon ang gulong sa putik.
 sank wheel mud
 The wheel sank in the mud.

Other verbs from this class are: *bangga to crash (somewhere)*, *dikit to stick (somewhere)*, *angat to raise (somewhere)*, *bakas to leave a trace (somewhere)*, *tagos to penetrate (somewhere)*, *halang to block the way or opening (somewhere)*, *tusok to pierce (somewhere)*, *lubog to sink (somewhere)*, *apaw to overflow (somewhere)*, *taon to be thrown (somewhere)*, *tulo to drip (somewhere)*, *litaw to appear (from somewhere)*, *ikot to go around*, *dausdos to slide (somewhere)*, *lutang to float (somewhere)*, *agos to flow (somewhere)*, *ligwak to spill (somewhere)*, *luwa to protrude*, *bulge* and *gulong to roll (somewhere)*.

Summary

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 non-predictable and nuclear cases that make up the verbal structure as understood by the native speaker. The non-inherent 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. 'Model 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

Non-subject 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*.

¹The *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>I</i>	<i>ko</i>	(sa) <i>akin</i>
<i>you</i>	<i>mo</i>	(sa) <i>iyó</i>
<i>he/she</i>	<i>niya</i>	(sa) <i>kaniya</i>
Dual:		
<i>you and I (rare)</i>	<i>nata, ta</i>	(sa) <i>kanita</i>
Plural:		
<i>we (exclusive)</i>	<i>namin</i>	(sa) <i>amin</i>
<i>we (inclusive)</i>	<i>natin</i>	(sa) <i>atin</i>
<i>you</i>	<i>ninyo</i>	(sa) <i>inyo</i>
<i>they</i>	<i>nila</i>	(sa) <i>kanila</i>
Ng-demonstratives		Sa-demonstratives
<i>here</i>	<i>nito</i>	<i>dito</i>
<i>there</i>	<i>niyan</i>	<i>diyan</i>
<i>there (yonder)</i>	<i>niyon</i>	<i>doon</i>

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. Non-subject markers will be illustrated first.

6.1. THE INHERENT NOUN PHRASES

6.1.1. The Agentive Noun Phrase

The non-subject 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:

- (1) Lulutuin $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{A} \\ \text{ng babae} \\ \text{ni Maria} \\ \text{niya} \\ \text{nito} \end{array} \right\}$ ang ulam.
- will cook $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{woman} \\ \text{Maria} \\ \text{she} \\ \text{this one} \end{array} \right\}$ the main dish
- $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{The woman} \\ \text{Maria} \\ \text{She} \\ \text{This one} \end{array} \right\}$ will cook the main dish.

- (2) Kinuha $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{A} \\ \text{ng tao} \\ \text{ni Pedro} \\ \text{niya} \\ \text{nito} \end{array} \right\}$ ang pera
- got $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{man} \\ \text{Pedro} \\ \text{he} \\ \text{this one} \end{array} \right\}$ the money
- $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{The man} \\ \text{Pedro} \\ \text{He} \\ \text{This one} \end{array} \right\}$ took the money.

6.1.2. THE OBJECTIVE NOUN PHRASE

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:

- (3) Tumawag ang pasahero ^A { ng bata.
kay Pedro (*ni Pedro).
sa kaniya (*niya).
niyan.
- called the passenger* { *child.*
Pedro
him
that one
- The passenger called* { *the child.*
Pedro.
him.
that one.

6.1.3. The Directional Noun Phrase

The directional (Dir) NP's are marked by sa before common nouns and kay before proper nouns. Sa-pronouns or demonstratives can replace Dir NP's marked by sa/kay.

Example:

- (4) Pumunta si Maria ^A { ^{Dir} sa kanila.
sa bukid.
doon.
kay Nena.
- went* *Maria* { *their place*
the field
there
Nena
- Maria went* { *to their place.*
to the field.
there.
to Nena.

6.1.4. The Locative Noun Phrase

The locative (L) NP's are marked by sa. Unlike the directional NP's, the locative noun phrases are limited to place nouns so the case markers are limited to sa and sa-demonstratives.

Examples:

- (5) Nagluto siya ^A { ^L sa kasirola.
dito.
- cooked she* { *in a saucepan*
here.
- She cooked in* { *a saucepan.*
here.

of case is only marked overtly in the verb (see Section 7.4.1.5).

6.2. THE NON-INHERENT NOUN PHRASES

6.2.1. The Instrumental Noun Phrase

The instrumental (I) NP's are marked by *ng* or *sa pamamagitan ng* by means of. Both *ng*'s have forms identical to the agentive markers. Without an agentive NP present, the I phrase is always marked by *ng*, otherwise, it can be marked by *ng* or *sa pamamagitan ng*, generally with *sa pamamagitan ng*, to differentiate it from the *ng*-agentive phrase.

Examples:

With Agents:

- (10) Binasag niya $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{I (tool)} \\ \text{ng martilyo} \\ \text{sa pamamagitan} \\ \text{ng martilyo} \end{array} \right\} \text{ang salamin.}$
 broke he $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{with hammer} \\ \text{by means of} \\ \text{a hammer} \end{array} \right\} \text{the mirror}$
He broke the mirror with a hammer.

With Implied Agents:

- (11) Binangga $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{I (tool)} \\ \text{ng trak} \end{array} \right\} \text{ang poste.}$
 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 implies 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:

- (12) Nalunod siya $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{I(force)} \\ \text{ng malaking alon.} \\ \text{nito.} \end{array} \right\}$
 drowned he $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{big wave} \\ \text{this one} \end{array} \right\}$
He was drowned by a big wave.
this one.

- (13) I (force)
 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:

- (14) A
 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 co-occur with them are automatically 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:

- (15) deleted I
 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:

- (16) A O B L
 Humiram siya ng libro para kay Ben sa aklatan.
borrowed he book for Ben library
He borrowed a book for Ben in the library.

- (17) Bumili ka ng pagkain
	B
	{ 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:

- (18) Nawalan ^A siya ^O 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:

- (19) Nangitlog ang manok ^{Suppressed O} (ng itlog).
 laid-egg the hen egg
 The hen laid an egg.

- (20) Nangisda ang mama ^{Suppressed O} (ng isda).
 went-fishing the man fish
 The man went fishing.

Other surface verb forms that take incorporated objects are *magbahay* 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 I case in the surface structure.

Examples:

- (21) Binato niya ang mga tao ^{Suppressed I} (ng bato).
 stoned he the people (with stone)
 He threw stones at the people.

- (22) Isususi ng lalaki ang bahay ^{Suppressed I} (ng susi).
will-lock-with-key man the house (with key)
The man will lock the house.

- (23) Babarilin ng sundalo ang kalaban ^{Suppressed I} (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 obligatorily suppressed instrumental force.

Example:

- (24) Umulan ^{Suppressed I} (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:

- (25) Kandungin mo ang bata ^{Suppressed D} (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 *latabi 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:

- (26) Maglalaba ang babae ^{Suppressed O} (ng damit).
wash-clothes the woman (clothes)
The woman will wash clothes.

The O case may surface if qualified or delimited as in the following example.

- (27) Maglalaba ang babae ^A ^O ng medyas niya.
wash woman nylons
The woman will wash her nylons.

Some verbs are so closely associated with a specific object that the O case is often deleted.

Example:

- (28) Dumilat ka ^{deleted O} (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:

- (29) Idilat mo ^O ang magaganda mong mata.
open-eyes you the beautiful (pl.) your eyes
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 *itak bolo*)
hacked he the soldier
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 to stab*
stabbed he man 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 jack-knife
He stabbed the man with a jack-knife.

Other surface verb forms that take built-in instruments are *suntuin 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:

- (34) Dumungaw si Maria (^{Suppressed Dir}sa bintana).
looked-out-from-window Maria (from window)
Maria looked out of the window.

- (35) Umahon ka na (^{Suppressed Dir}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 reclined), 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:

- (36) Nagsanay ^{A-O}siya ().
practiced he
He practiced (himself).

- (37) Nagbitay ^{A-O}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.

- (38) Nagbaril ^{A-O}siya
shot (self) he
He shot himself.

Siya *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 identical O is, however, deleted before it reaches the surface. In some instances, it does surface, especially when subjectivalized.

Example:

- (39) Binaril niya ^O ang sarili niya.
 shot he himself
 He shot himself.

Other surface verb forms that require an A-O case are *maggamot* to treat one's self for an illness, *magaliw* to enjoy one's self, *magahit* to shave one's self, *magkamot* to scratch one's self and *magbigti* 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:

- (40) Nagnakaw siya sa bangko ^{Vacant role=O} (ng pera).
 robbed he from bank money
 He robbed the bank.

6.3.3.2. Vacant Instrumental Role

Example:

- (41) Bumili siya ng pagkain sa palengke ^{A O Dir Vacant role=I} (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:

- (42) Nambatok siya ^{Vacant O Lex I Incorp Dir} (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).

- (43) Nanabunot siya (Lex O ng buhok) (Lex I ng kamay) (Lex Dir sa ulo).
pulled-hair she (somebody's hair) (with hands) (on 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 [___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]

- (44) Naglaba ^A siya.
laundered she
She laundered.

[___AO]

- (45) Naglaba ^A siya ^O 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.

CASE	CASE FORMS			
	Common Noun Markers	Proper Noun Markers sg/pl	Pronouns	Demon- stratives
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)	ng	#	#	#
B. Non-inherent Cases				
1a. Instrumental (with- out agents)	ng	ni/nina	ng-pro	ng-dem
b. Instrumental (with agents)	(sa pamama- gitan) 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

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 subjectivize 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. SUBJECT 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.

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 indicates 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 subclassification 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 incorporation, node changing and case incorporation. However, she introduces 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 processes 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

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 restricted 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.¹ 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

Condition: TR#2 obligatorily applies after TR#1.

SD reads that the noun marked [+subject] has a certain case [+c₁] which is shared by a particle [+K] which precedes it (see BR#7.1). The constituents of the sentence are numbered 1-5.

(Footnote 1. opposite)

SC reads that the case feature [$+c_1$] 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 [$+c_1$] retains the rest of its original features (F_1) plus the feature [+subject]. The K is not specified with the following features: [+K, +subject, $\pm$ singular, $\pm$ common, $\pm$ 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.

<i>ang</i>	[+K, +subj, +com]
<i>si</i>	[+K, +subj, +sg, -com]
<i>sina</i>	[+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 [+O] 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
<i>Humiram</i>	<i>ang tao</i>	<i>ng pera</i>	<i>sa bangko</i>
<i>borrowed</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>money</i>	<i>bank</i>

I	B
<i>sa pamamagitan ng bahay niya</i>	<i>para sa anak niya.</i>
<i>by means of house his</i>	<i>for child his</i>

¹Subjects never occur in special types of sentences. An example of a subjectless type of sentence has the verb marked with the feature [-recent] which means recently completed action.

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:

I(subj)
 Ipinanghiram ng tao ng pera sa bangko
ang bahay niya para sa anak niya.

5. Benefactive as Subject:

B(subj)
 Inihiram ng tao ng pera sa bangko sa pamamagitan ng
 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.

7.4. VERBAL AFFIXES AS CASE INDICATORS

Having discussed the case marking particle in the previous chapter as one of the surface variables in case identification, this section will focus on how the underlying cases are marked in the verb when chosen as subject.

7.4.1. Inherent Cases as Marked in the Verb

7.4.1.1. The Agentive Noun Phrase as Subject

When the agentive phrase is subjectivalized, it is generally marked by the prefix mag- in the verb.

Example:

- (1) Magluluto $\left[\begin{array}{c} +A \\ -\text{undergoer} \\ -\text{goal} \end{array} \right] \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ang babae} \\ \text{si Maria} \\ \text{siya} \\ \text{ito} \end{array} \right\} \text{ ng ulam.}$
- will cook the woman main dish*
- $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{The woman} \\ \text{Maria} \\ \text{She} \\ \text{This one} \end{array} \right\} \text{ will cook the main dish.}$

However, -um- also marks the agentive phrase as subject in some verbs.

Example:

- (2) Kumuha $\left[\begin{array}{c} +A \\ -\text{undergoer} \\ +\text{goal} \end{array} \right] \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ang tao} \\ \text{si Pedro} \\ \text{siya} \\ \text{ito} \end{array} \right\} \text{ ng pera sa bangko.}$
- took the man money bank*
- $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{The man} \\ \text{Pedro} \\ \text{He} \\ \text{This one} \end{array} \right\} \text{ took the money from the bank.}$

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 difficulty 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 study 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 (external) (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-.

- (3) Umiinom ako ng gatas.
 drinking I milk
 I'm drinking milk.

- (4) Pumasok sa bahay si Bino.
 entered house Bino
 Bino entered the house.

- (5) Pumuti ang buhok niya.
 became-white his hair
 His hair turned grey.

- (6) Bumagsak siya sa putik.
 fell he mud puddle
 He fell in the mud puddle.

- (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:

- (8) Nagtiis <sup>[+0
+experiencer]</sup> siya.
suffered (with fortitude) she
She suffered.

- (9) Nagantok <sup>[+0
+experiencer]</sup> 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:

- (10) Tumayo <sup>[+A
+undergoer]</sup> siya.
stood he
He stood up.

- (11) Gumanda <sup>[+0
+inchoative
-transient]</sup> ang bahay.
became beautiful house
The house became beautiful.

- (12) Lumitaw <sup>[+0
-inchoative
+transported]</sup> 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:

- (13) ^[+A] 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 co-occurrence 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.)

- (14)

+V +change of state +total	+O +change of state +total
----------------------------------	----------------------------------

Babaliin niya ang buto mo.
will break he your bones
He will break your bones.

- (15)

+V -change of state	+O -change of state
------------------------	------------------------

lipunin niya ang salapi.
will save she money
She will save some money.

- (16)

+V -centrifugal +terminal	+O -centrifugal -transported
---------------------------------	------------------------------------

linumin niya ang mainit na gatas.
will drink he hot milk
He will drink hot milk.

- (17) $\left[\begin{array}{l} +V \\ -centrifugal \\ -terminal \end{array} \right]$ Kukunin niya $\left[\begin{array}{l} +O \\ -centrifugal \\ +transported \end{array} \right]$ ang kotse sa talyer.
will get he car garage
He will get the car from the garage.

- (18) $\left[\begin{array}{l} +V \\ +centrifugal \\ -terminal \end{array} \right]$ Itatapon niya $\left[\begin{array}{l} +O \\ +centrifugal \\ +transported \end{array} \right]$ ang basura sa kalye.
will throw he garbage
He will throw the garbage on the street.

- (19) $\left[\begin{array}{l} +V \\ +change of state \\ -total \end{array} \right]$ Lalabhan niya $\left[\begin{array}{l} +O \\ +change of state \\ -total \end{array} \right]$ 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.

!- 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:

- (20) $\left[\begin{array}{l} +V \\ +inchoative \\ +transient \end{array} \right]$ Namutla $\left[\begin{array}{l} +O \\ +inchoative \\ +transient \end{array} \right]$ ang pasyente niya.
became-pale patient his
His patient became pale.

- (21) $\left[\begin{array}{c} +V \\ +experiential \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} +O \\ +experiencer \end{array} \right]$
Nalungkot siya.
sad
She was saddened.

- (22) $\left[\begin{array}{c} +V \\ -inchoative \\ -terminal \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} +O \\ -inchoative \\ +transported \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} +Directional \\ +goal \end{array} \right]$
Bumangga ang kotse sa pader.
hit car wall
The car hit the wall.

- (23) $\left[\begin{array}{c} +V \\ -inchoative \\ +terminal \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} +O \\ -inchoative \\ -transported \end{array} \right]$
Kumaluskos ang saya niya.
made a rustling sound skirt her
Her skirt made a rustling sound.

- (24) $\left[\begin{array}{c} +V \\ +inchoative \\ -transient \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} +O \\ +inchoative \\ -transient \end{array} \right]$
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 psychological
 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 non-
 subjectivalized 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 non-subject form of the O phrase can be brought out.

Example:

- (25) $\left[\begin{array}{c} +V \\ +causative \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} +A \\ +causative \end{array} \right] \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [+O] \\ \text{ng halaman} \\ \text{kay Pedro} \\ \text{nito} \\ \text{sa akin} \end{array} \right.$
Nagpalaki siya
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:

- (26) Pupuntahan nlya $\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{Dir} \\ +\text{goal} \end{array} \right]$ ang palengke.
 will go she market
 She will go to market.

- (27) Hlhiraman niya ng pera $\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{Dir} \\ -\text{goal} \end{array} \right]$ 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:

- (28) Pinaglutan nlya $\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{A} \\ +\text{L} \end{array} \right]$ 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.

- (29) Sinulatan niya $\left[+\text{Dir} \right]$ ang mesa.
 wrote he the table
 He wrote (directly) on the table.

- (30) Pinagsulatan niya $\left[+\text{L} \right]$ ang mesa.
 wrote he the table
 He wrote on the table. / He used the table to write on.

- (36) Nakamatay ^[+O] ng pasyente <sup>[+I
-tool]</sup> ang TB.
was killed patient TB
The patient was killed by TB.
- (37) Nakasagasa ^[+O] ng mama <sup>[+I
-tool]</sup> ang trak.
ran over man truck
The truck ran over the man.
- (38) Nakasira ^[+O] ng buhay niya <sup>[+I
-tool]</sup> ang sugal.
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 *i-* (when the corresponding sentence having the agentive noun phrase as subject is marked by the affix *-um-* in the verb) or *ipag-* (when the corresponding agentive noun phrase as subject is marked by the affix *mag-* in the verb).

Examples:

- (39) ^A ^O ^{B(subject)}
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 ka ng pagkain para sa anak mo.)
- (40) ^A ^{B(subject)} ^O
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:

(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	Non-subject 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-
B. Non-inherent		
1. Instrumental (with agents)	ng sa pamamagitan ng/ sa pamamagitan (ni), sa pamamagitan ng { -pro -dem	i-, ipang-
(without agents)	ng	maka-
2. Benefactive	para sa / para kay / para + sa { -pro -dem	i-, ipag-
3. Affected	#	ma- -an

Attention is directed to the kinds of verbal affixes that surface when the different cases are subjectivalized. The agentive, for example, may have *mag-*, *-um-*, or *ma-* to indicate the case. The usual way to handle the fact that different forms mark the same case has been by

no case marking indicator.

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 mag- verbs, -um- verbs or ma- 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-	Agentive Case [-und -goal]	[+text +cf]
2. -UM-	a. Agentive Case (1) [-und +goal] (2) [+und]	[+text -cf] [-ext]
	b. Objective Case (1) [+inch -trans] (2) [-inch -transp] (3) [-inch +transp]	[+inch -trans] [-inch +ter] [-inch -ter]
	c. Instrumental Case (Force) [-tool]	[-inch +met]
3. MA-	Objective Case [+exp]	[-agt +exp]

Surface Realization (Verbal Affixes)	Subjectivalized Cases with Their Features	Semantic Features (Verbal)
4. -IN	Objective Case	
	(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. Objective Case	
	$\begin{bmatrix} +cf \\ +transp \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +cf \\ -ter \end{bmatrix}$
ipag- ^a	b. Benefactive Case	
	$[+ben]$	$[+agt]$
ipang- ^b	c. Instrumental Case	
	$[+tool]$	$[+agt]$
6. -AN	a. Directional Case	
	(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. Objective Case	
	$\begin{bmatrix} +cs \\ -t \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +cs \\ -t \end{bmatrix}$

^aipag- is derived from mag- verbs and i- from -um- verbs.

^bWith some verb bases ipang- is in free variation with i-, with others only ipang- is allowed.

Surface Realization (Verbal Affixes)	Subjectivalized Cases with Their Features	Semantic Features (Verbal)
7. PAG- -AN	Locative Case [+L]	[+local]
8. MANG-	Objective Case [+inch +trans]	[+inch +trans]
9. MA- -AN	Affected Case [+af]	[+cs +t]
10. MAK-	Instrumental Case(Force) [+I -tool]	[+cs +t]

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 [+experienter] 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 case 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. Agentive Case	(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) $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{ext} \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{und} \end{bmatrix}$	-UM-	#4,10
b. Objective Case (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

^aBases that occur with affixes in brackets also occur with the affixes being cited.

SUBJECTIVALIZED CASE	SEMANTIC FEATURES		SURFACE REALIZATION	EXAMPLES
	Verbal	Nominal		
(without agentive involvement)				
(1)	$\begin{bmatrix} +inch \\ -trans \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +inch \\ -trans \end{bmatrix}$	-UM-	#5,11,24
(2)	$\begin{bmatrix} +inch \\ +trans \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +inch \\ +trans \end{bmatrix}$	MANG-	#20
(3)	[+exp]	[+exp]	MA-	#21
(4)	$\begin{bmatrix} -inch \\ +ter \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -inch \\ -transp \end{bmatrix}$	-UM-	#7,23
(5)	$\begin{bmatrix} -inch \\ -ter \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} -inch \\ +transp \end{bmatrix}$	-UM-	#6,12
c. Directional Case				
(1)	$\begin{bmatrix} +cf \\ -ter \end{bmatrix}$	[+goal]	-AN	#26
(2)	[+dir]	[+goal]	-AN	#29
(3)	$\begin{bmatrix} -cf \\ -ter \end{bmatrix}$	[-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. Non-inherent 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	[+cs] [+t]	[+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 co-occurs with agents is marked by *-in*, *i-* or *-an* in the surface structure. The feature [-total] distinguishes 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 important.

To predict *-an* marking the directional goal or the directional source as subject, the feature [+centrifugal] does not seem necessary. 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 [+experiential] feature is important. To differentiate *mang-* from the rest, the [+transient] feature is relevant. The feature non-experiential 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 [-centrifugal] feature.¹

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 mag- and -um- alternation occurs with 'destructive' verbs.³ In this alternation each affix seems to favor a different type of construction. The -um- 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 *ang*. This verb functions as a nominalized form. The mag- verb on the other hand occurs in the regular narrative or 'situational' type sentence (1965:96).

Examples:

Siya ang bumasag ng itlog.

he broke egg

He was the one who broke the egg.

Nagbasag siya ng itlog.

broke he egg

He broke the egg.

¹The 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.

²Other 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.

³Examples 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.

If the writer were to restrict the considerations here to the situational type sentence, the -um- verbs occurring in definite sentences would be eliminated (though the problem is not solved).

The mag- forms also seem most naturally used in imperative sentences.

Example:

Magbasag ka ng tatlong itlog.

break you three eggs

(You) break three eggs.

Another difference between -um- and mag- forms results from the restrictions in the type of subject each affix occurs with. Certain -um- forms of the verbs from Class 1 co-occur with human subjects whereas the mag- forms co-occur 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 *matuto to learn* and *manood to watch*.¹ Other case grammarians have analysed these as requiring datives or experiencers.

The verbs characterized as [-external] have very few ma- examples: *matulog to sleep* and *maligo to take a bath*. A very rare example of the

¹Other examples of this type of ma- verbs are *making to listen* and *maalaala to remember*.

[-external], [-centrifugal] features of the verb is *manggaling to come from* which is marked by the affix *mag-*.¹ A few *mag-* forms also occur.

There are very few examples of verbs marked [+inchoative], [-transient] that take *ma-*. The writer knows of only one exception. The verb is *mamatay to die*.

Of the verbs marked [+experiential], there are a few exceptions. One rare example is *magantok to feel sleepy*. There is also an *in-* form of this verb (i.e., *antukin to feel sleepy*). Other exceptions marked [+experiential] are a few *mag-* verbs, mostly psychological, which seem to imply a deliberateness of action usually associated with agent-undergoers of the activity. An example is *magdamdam to feel slighted*.²

The verbs marked [-external], [+direction] and [+centrifugal] that appear with *-an* to mark the directional phrase as subject in the surface structure have a few verbs with the *-in* affix as exceptions. Examples are *lakin to walk to*, *takbuhin to run to*, *langoyin to swim*, *dalawin to visit*, *pasukin to enter* and *akyatin to climb*. The writer is not sure how to classify these verbs. They suggest movement, but the last three examples co-occur with phrases marked by either *sa* (directional phrase marker) or *ng* (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 transitive sentences also occur with the *-an* affix in intransitive sentences. Examples are *takbuhin to run to*, *takbuhin 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.

¹The examples are *magbuhat to come from* and *magsimula to begin from*.

²Other examples of this type of *mag-* verbs are *magtampo to sulk* and *maghinakit to feel hurt*.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

According to Reid (1965:11), traditional works on the classification of verbs in Philippine languages focus on their 'potential 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 examination, 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 co-occur 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 eleven verbal semantic features, and five cases with thirteen subcases. Though these features may not all be relevant in the definition 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 Chapter 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 study 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 study 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 Fifteen Tagalog Verb Classes

2. Semantic Feature Tree of the Object

3. Semantic Feature Tree of the Agent

4. Semantic Feature Tree of the Directional

5. Semantic Feature Tree of the Instrument

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. $S \longrightarrow V + (KP)^5$ (43)

BR#2. $V \longrightarrow \text{c.s.}$ (44)

2.1 $[+V] \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{+agt} \\ \text{+neut. asp.} \end{bmatrix}$ (44)

2.11 $[+agt] \longrightarrow [\text{+ext}]$ (45)

2.111 $[+ext] \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{+cf} \\ \text{+ter} \end{bmatrix}$ (45)

2.1v $[+ter] \longrightarrow [\text{+cs}]$ (47)

2.v $[+cs] \longrightarrow [\text{+t}]$ (47)

2.v1 $[-ext] \longrightarrow [\text{+dir}]$ (47)

2.v11 $[+dir] \longrightarrow [\text{+cf}]$ (48)

2.v111 $[-agt] \longrightarrow [\text{+exp}]$ (49)

2.1x $[-exp] \longrightarrow [\text{+inch}]$ (50)

2.x $[+inch] \longrightarrow [\text{+trans}]$ (50)

2.x1 $[-inch] \longrightarrow [\text{+met}]$ (51)

2.x11 $[-met] \longrightarrow [\text{+ter}]$ (51)

2.x111 $[-\text{neut. asp.}] \longrightarrow [\text{+begun}]$ (53)

2.xiv $[+begun] \longrightarrow [\text{+comp}]$ (54)

2.xv $[+comp] \longrightarrow [\text{+recent}]$ (54)

- BR#3. KP $\longrightarrow$ K + NP (55)
- BR#4. NP $\longrightarrow$ (Det) + N (55)
- BR#5. N $\longrightarrow$ c.s. (55)
- 5.1 [+N] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$ com] (55)
- 5.11 [+com] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$ conc] (55)
- 5.111 [+conc] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$ count] (55)
- 5.1v [+count] $\longrightarrow$ $\begin{bmatrix} \pm an \\ \pm sg \end{bmatrix}$ (55)
- 5.v [-com] $\longrightarrow$ $\begin{bmatrix} \pm an \\ \pm sg \end{bmatrix}$ (55)
- 5.v1 [+N] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$ O] (56)
- 5.v11 [+O] $\longrightarrow$ [-A, -I, -Dir, -L] (56)
- 5.v111 [-O] $\longrightarrow$ [+A] (56)
- 5.1x [+A] $\longrightarrow$ [-I, -Dir, -L] (56)
- 5.x [-A] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$ Dir] (56)
- 5.x1 [+Dir] $\longrightarrow$ [-I, -L] (56)
- 5.x11 [-Dir] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$ I] (56)
- 5.x111 [+I] $\longrightarrow$ [-L] (56)
- 5.x1v [-I] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$ L] (56)
- 5.xv [+O] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$ pat] (57)
- 5.xv1 [+pat] $\longrightarrow$ $\begin{bmatrix} \pm cf \\ \pm transp \end{bmatrix}$ (58)
- 5.xv11 [-transp] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$ cs] (58)
- 5.xv111 [+cs] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$ t] (58)
- 5.xix $\begin{bmatrix} \pm an \\ -pat \end{bmatrix}$ $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$ exp] (59)
- 5.xx $\begin{bmatrix} -an \\ -pat \end{bmatrix}$ $\longrightarrow$ [-exp] (59)
- 5.xx1 [-exp] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$ inch] (59)
- 5.xx11 [+inch] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$ trans] (59)
- 5.xx111 [-inch] $\longrightarrow$ [$\pm$ transp] (59)

$$5.xxiv \quad \begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +an \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [\pm A] \quad (60)$$

$$5.xxv \quad \begin{bmatrix} +N \\ -an \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [-A] \quad (60)$$

$$5.xxvi \quad [+A] \longrightarrow [\pm und] \quad (60)$$

$$5.xxvii \quad [-und] \longrightarrow [\pm g] \quad (60)$$

$$5.xxviii \quad [+Dir] \longrightarrow [\pm g] \quad (61)$$

$$5.xxix \quad [+I] \longrightarrow [\pm tool] \quad (61)$$

$$BR\#6. \quad Det \longrightarrow c.s. \quad (62)$$

$$6.1 \quad [+Det] \longrightarrow [-sg] \quad (62)$$

$$6.11 \quad \begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +sg \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [- [+Det] \quad _] \quad (62)$$

$$BR\#7. \quad K \longrightarrow c.s. \quad (62)$$

$$7.1 \quad [+K] \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \alpha com \\ \beta C \end{bmatrix} \quad / \quad _ \quad \begin{bmatrix} +N \\ \alpha com \\ \beta C \end{bmatrix} \quad (62)$$

$$7.11 \quad \begin{bmatrix} +K \\ -com \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +an \\ \alpha sg \end{bmatrix} \quad / \quad _ \quad \begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +an \\ \alpha sg \end{bmatrix} \quad (62)$$

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.

$$\text{SRR\#1.} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha \text{agt} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \alpha \text{ --- } [+A] \\ \text{---} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\alpha \text{pat} \end{bmatrix} \quad (66)$$

$$\text{SRR\#2.} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha \text{ext} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{---} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ \alpha \text{und} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +\alpha \text{pat} \end{bmatrix} \quad (67)$$

$$\text{SRR\#3.} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha \text{cf} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{---} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +A \\ \alpha \text{goal} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\alpha \text{cf} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{Dir} \\ -\alpha \text{goal} \end{bmatrix} \quad (68)$$

$$\text{SRR\#4.} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha \text{ter} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\alpha \text{ --- } [+Dir] \end{bmatrix} \quad (70)$$

$$\text{SRR\#5.} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha \text{cs} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{---} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} +O \\ -\alpha \text{cs} \end{bmatrix} \quad (71)$$

$$\text{SRR\#6.} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha t \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \quad \quad \quad +0 \\ - \quad \quad \quad -\alpha t \end{bmatrix} \quad (71)$$

$$\text{SRR\#7.} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha_{ter} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \quad \quad \quad +0 \\ - \quad \quad \quad -\alpha_{transp} \end{bmatrix} \quad (72)$$

$$\text{SRR\#8.} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ -dir \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \quad \quad \quad +Dir \\ - \quad \quad \quad +Dir \end{bmatrix} \quad (73)$$

$$\text{SRR\#9.} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha_{exp} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \quad \quad \quad +0 \\ - \quad \quad \quad -\alpha_{exp} \end{bmatrix} \quad (73)$$

$$\text{SRR\#10.} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha_{inch} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \quad \quad \quad +0 \\ - \quad \quad \quad -\alpha_{inch} \end{bmatrix} \quad (74)$$

$$\text{SRR\#11.} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha_{trans} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \quad \quad \quad +0 \\ - \quad \quad \quad -\alpha_{trans} \end{bmatrix} \quad (74)$$

$$\text{SRR\#12.} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ \alpha_{agt} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} - \quad \quad \quad +I \\ - \quad \quad \quad -\alpha_{tool} \end{bmatrix} \quad (75)$$

APPENDIX D

MAJOR CLASSES OF TAGALOG VERBS

The following restates the semantic and contextual case features of fifteen classes of Tagalog verbs. These classes are discussed in detail in Chapter V.

Class 1.	$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agt \\ +ext \\ +cf \\ +ter \\ +cs \\ +t \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -und \\ -goal \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +pat \\ +cf \\ -transp \\ +cs \\ +t \end{bmatrix}$	<i>baluktot</i> <i>to bend</i>
Class 2.	$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agt \\ +ext \\ +cf \\ +ter \\ +cs \\ -t \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -und \\ -goal \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +pat \\ +cf \\ -transp \\ +cs \\ -t \end{bmatrix}$	<i>hugas</i> <i>to wash</i>
Class 3.	$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agt \\ +ext \\ +cf \\ +ter \\ -cs \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -und \\ -goal \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +pat \\ +cf \\ -transp \\ -cs \end{bmatrix}$	<i>ipon</i> <i>to save</i>
Class 4.	$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agt \\ +ext \\ +cf \\ -ter \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ -und \\ -goal \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +pat \\ +cf \\ +transp \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +Dir \\ +goal \end{bmatrix}$ <i>tapon</i> <i>to throw</i>
Class 5.	$\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +agt \\ +ext \\ -cf \\ +ter \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +A \\ +goal \end{bmatrix}$	$\begin{bmatrix} +O \\ +pat \\ -cf \\ -transp \end{bmatrix}$	<i>huli</i> <i>to catch</i>

- Class 6.

+V +agt +ext -cf -ter	+A +goal	+O +pat -cf +transp	+Dir -goal	hiram to borrow
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- Class 7.

+V +agt -ext +dir +cf	+A +und	+Dir +goal	punta to go
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- Class 8.

+V +agt -ext +dir -cf	+A +und	+Dir -goal	bitiw to let go
-----------------------------------	------------	---------------	--------------------
- Class 9.

+V +agt -ext -dir	+A +und	iyak to cry
----------------------------	------------	----------------
- Class 10.

+V -agt +exp	+O -pat +exp	galit to get angry
--------------------	--------------------	-----------------------
- Class 11.

+V -agt -exp +inch +trans	+O -pat +inch +trans	itim to get tanned
---------------------------------------	-------------------------------	-----------------------
- Class 12.

+V -agt -exp +inch -trans	+O -pat -exp +inch -trans	ganda to become beautiful
---------------------------------------	---------------------------------------	------------------------------
- Class 13.

+V -agt -exp -inch +met	+I -tool	ulan to rain
-------------------------------------	-------------	-----------------
- Class 14.

+V -agt -exp -inch -met +ter	+O -pat -exp -inch -transp	kulo to boil
---	--	-----------------

Class 15.

+V
-agt
-exp
-inch
-met
-ter

+O
-pat
-exp
-inch
+transp

+Dir
+goal

bagsak
to fall

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