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DEFINITE OBJECTS AND SUBJECT SELECTION
IN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

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There has been considerable interest of late in the Philippine languages, particularly among adherents of case grammar and relational grammar.[1] There has also been some confusion with regard to the observation that "There is apparently considerable freedom in the choice of topic."[2] While it is true that there is considerable freedom in the selection of sentence subject,[3] this freedom is not so great as has been implied, and it is subject to a number of constraints. One of the most important of these is the main concern of this paper, namely:

> As a general rule, an object complement with definite
> reference cannot occur in immediate construction
> with an unrelativized verb.

This rule applies to Tagalog and Bikol, the two languages to be discussed here, and apparently to a large number of other Philippine languages. This rule accounts for the ungrammaticality of the (d) sentences in each of the following sets of Tagalog sentences:[4]

(T1a)   Nakakíta siyá ng Amerikáno.   'He saw an American.'
  (b)   Siyá ang nakakíta ng Amerikáno.   'He is the one who saw an/the American.'
  (c)   Siyá ang nakakíta sa ákin.   'He is the one who saw me.'
  (d)   *Nakakíta siyá sa ákin.

(T2a)   Bumilí siyá ng sinehán.   'He bought a movie theater.'
  (b)   Siyá ang bumilí ng sinehán.   'He is the one who bought a/the movie theater.'
  (c)   Siyá ang bumilí ng Rizal Theater.   'He is the one who bought the Rizal Theater.'
  (d)   *Bumilí siyá ng Rizal Theater.'

(T3a)   Nagbukás siyá ng pintô.   'He opened a door.'
  (b)   Siyá ang nagbukás ng pintô.   'He is the one who opened a/the door.'
  (c)   Siyá ang nagbukás sa pintô.   'He is the one who opened the door.'
  (d)   *Nagbukás siyá sa pintô.

This rule, as stated, contains three key terms: (1) object complement, (2) definite reference, (3) unrelativized verb. Each of these terms will be explained and discussed in the remaining three sections of this paper. There is another very important phrase contained in the rule, namely, "as a general rule." This means that like all rules,

there are exceptions to this one. However, it is not my purpose here to discuss the exceptions, but rather to present the main features of this rule, which accounts for the ungrammaticality of sentences (T1d), (T2d), (T3d) and thousands of other sentences in Tagalog and other Philippine languages.

One factor that complicates the investigation of this matter is that in Tagalog, in some cases, 'objects' and 'directions' share the same marking and are sometimes difficult to disambiguate. In some other languages, such as Bikol and Hiligaynon, this problem does not exist, since 'objects' and 'directions' are clearly distinguished. For this reason, in each section of this paper, the situation in Bikol[5] will be discussed first. It is hoped that this will make the subsequent discussion of Tagalog easier to understand. The critical sentences in Bikol are:

(B1a)   Nakáhilíng siyá ki Amerikáno.   'He saw an American.'
  (b)   Siyá an nakáhilíng ki Amerikáno.   'He is the one who saw an American.'
  (c)   Siyá an nakáhilíng sakó.   'He is the one who saw me.'
  (d)   *Nakáhilíng siyá sakó.

(B2a)   Nagbakál siyá ki sinihán.   'He bought a movie theater.'
  (b)   Siyá an nagbakál ki sinihán.   'He is the one who bought a movie theater.'
  (c)   Siyá an nagbakál kan Rizal Theater.   'He is the one who bought the Rizal Theater.'
  (d)   *Nagbakál siyá kan Rizal Theater.

(B3a)   Nag-abrí siyá ki pintó.   'He opened a door.'
  (b)   Siyá an nag-abrí ki pintó.   'He is the one who opened a door.'
  (c)   Siyá an nag-abrí kan pintó.   'He is the one who opened the door.'
  (d)   *Nag-abrí siyá kan pintó.

Nominal Complements and Focus. The various 'cases' in Philippine languages are not so clearly or discretely marked as in many languages. Thus, for example, kan Amerikáno (in Bikol) can be either an actor complement or an object complement, as in the following examples:

(B4)   Binakál kan Amerikáno (AC) an Rizal Theater.   'The American bought the Rizal Theater.' (Cf. Binakál ko an Rizal Theater. 'I bought the Rizal Theater.')

(B5)   Siyá an nakáhilíng kan Amerikáno. (OC)   'He is the one who saw the American.' (Cf. Siyá an nakáhilíng sakó. 'He is the one who saw me.')

On the other hand sakó can be an object complement, as in sentence (B1c), or a directional complement, as in the following example:

(B6)   Nagtaổ siyá ki kwartá <u>sakô</u>. (DC)   'He gave me some money.'
       (Cf. Nagtaổ siyá ki kwartá <u>sa</u> <u>Amerikáno</u>.   'He gave the
       American some money.')

Because of this lack of discreteness and because of the alternations to
be discussed below, it is necessary to distinguish 'cases' at three
different levels: surface forms, nominal complements, and deep-structure
variables.

In the common usage of today, 'cases' are considered to adhere to
'noun phrases' or NPs. Actually, I am not in the practice of talking
about noun phrases for the Philippine languages, but rather reference
expressions (RE). My reasons for this choice of terminology are
discussed elsewhere.[6] I can imagine that most of my readers will feel
more comfortable talking about NPs rather than REs. If this is the case,
please write a substitution rule into your reading program, such that
whenever I write 'RE' you will read 'NP' and we should have reasonably
complete understanding.

In most or all Philippine languages, there are four basic types of
RE, or NP if you must. These are personal pronouns (PP), deictic pro-
nouns (DP), personal reference expressions (PRE), and common reference
expressions (CRE). Examples of PP in Bikol are <u>akổ</u> 'I', <u>siyá</u> 'he, she',
<u>sindá</u> 'they'. DP are <u>iní</u> 'this (near speaker)', <u>iyán</u> 'that (near
addressee)', and <u>itổ</u> 'that (near neither)'. A PRE (something like a
proper noun) consists of a PRE article and something taken to be the
name of a human being or a personified entity. The nominative forms
(see below) of PRE articles are <u>si</u> (singular) and <u>sa</u> (plural). Examples
are: <u>si Nardo</u> 'Nardo'; <u>sa Felix</u> 'a group of two or more persons in-
cluding someone named Felix'. A CRE (something like a common noun) in
its most general form consists of a CRE article and a predicate phrase.
One nominative CRE article is <u>an</u>. Examples of CRE are <u>an harổng</u> 'the
house'; <u>an sadít</u> 'the little (one)'; <u>an nagkakantá</u> 'the (one) singing'.
Of course, there are a number of possible combinations derived from these
basic types.

Every RE has a particular form which may be taken to indicate its
'surface-structure case'. However, I reserve the term <u>case</u> for deep-
structure phenomena; therefore I refer to these forms simply as <u>surface
forms</u>. In Bikol, there are three basic surface forms for each type of
RE: the <u>nominative</u>, <u>genitive</u>, and <u>oblique</u>. For the second person
singular pronoun, it is also necessary to distinguish a long and a short
nominative form; these two forms are in complementary distribution.[7]
The complete set of surface forms for Bikol personal pronouns are shown
in the following table:

Nominative	Genitive	Oblique	Meaning
akổ	ko	sakô/sakuyà[8]	I
iká/ka	mo	saímo	you (sg)
siyá	niyá	saíya	he/she

Nominative	Genitive	Oblique	Meaning
kitá	ta	satő/satuyà[8]	we (inclusive)
kamí	mi	samő/samuyà[8]	we (exclusive)
kamő	nindő	saindő	you (pl)
sindá	nindá	saindá	they

The surface forms for deictic pronouns are shown in the following table:

Nominative	Genitive	Oblique	Meaning
iní	kainí	digdí	this
iyán	kaiyán	diyán	that (near add.)
itő	kaitő	dumán	that (far)

Examples of PRE surface forms, using the name Perla, are shown in the following table:

Nominative	Genitive	Oblique	meaning
si Perla	ni Perla	ki Perla	Perla
sa Perla	na Perla	ka Perla	Perla and others

There are five CRE articles in Bikol. These may be arranged according to the three-way distinction for other RE, as in the following table (using the noun haróng 'house' as an example):

Nominative	Genitive	Oblique	Meaning
an haróng[9]	ki haróng[9]	sa haróng	house
su haróng	kan haróng		house

The distinction between an and su is not the same as the distinction between ki and kan.[10] The distinction between an and su is not central to our discussion here. Both an and su are 'definite' and mark the subject of a sentence. For example:

(B7a) Dakulá an haróng. 'The house is big.'
  (b) Dakulá su haróng. 'The house is big.'

In general, su is more specific and more emphatic than an. If we consider an haróng 'the house' and itőng haróng 'that house' to lie along the same continuum, then su haróng 'the house' could be considered to lie on that same continuum halfway between an haróng and itőng haróng. The distinction between ki and kan is one of indefinite versus definite. For example:

(B8a) badò ki akì 'a child's dress'
  (b) badò kan akì 'the child's dress'

For the moment, we will consider the terms 'definite' and 'indefinite' to be sufficiently meaningful. We will return to this matter in the next section.

Because of the nature of Philippine syntax, it is necessary to distinguish an intermediate level of constructs lying somewhere between the surface forms and the deep-structure case forms--the <u>nominal complements</u>.[11] Although there are three types of surface forms for each type of RE, different types of RE having the same type of surface form do not necessarily substitute freely for each other (as we have seen in examples (B4)-(B6)). Rather, there are four different substitution classes which define four primary nominal complements: subject, actor, object, and direction.

The <u>subject complement</u> is drawn from a substitution class containing the nominative forms of all types of RE. For example:

(B9a)   Nagkantá <u>siyá</u>.   'She sang.'
  (b)   Nagkantá <u>itó</u>.   'That one sang.'
  (c)   Nagkantá <u>si Nora</u>.   'Nora sang.'
  (d)   Nagkantá <u>an akì</u>.   'The child sang.'

The <u>actor complement</u> is drawn from a substitution class containing the genitive forms of all types of RE. For example:

(B10a)   Binakál <u>ta</u>.   'We bought [it].'
  (b)   Binakál <u>kainí</u>.   'This one bought [it].'
  (c)   Binakál <u>ni Carlos</u>.   'Carlos bought [it].'
  (d)   Binakál <u>kan babáyi</u>.   'The woman bought [it].'

The <u>object complement</u> is drawn from a substitution class containing the genitive forms of deictic pronouns and CRE and the oblique forms of PP and PRE. In accordance with the rule which is the central problem of this paper, object complements with definite reference can only occur in relativized constructions. Thus the examples:

(B11a)   Sísay an nagbadíl <u>saindá</u>?   'Who is the one who shot them?'
  (b)   Sísay an nagbadíl <u>kaiyán</u>?   'Who is the one who shot that one?'
  (c)   Sísay an nagbadíl <u>ki Dino</u>?   'Who is the one who shot Dino?'
  (d)   Sísay an nagbadíl <u>ki bayóng</u>?   'Who is the one who shot a bird?'
  (e)   Sísay an nagbadíl <u>kan bayóng</u>?   'Who is the one who shot the bird?'

The <u>direction complement</u> is drawn from a substitution class containing the oblique forms of all types of RE. For example:

(B12a)   Itataó ko <u>saindá</u>.   'I'll give it to them.'
  (b)   Itataó ko <u>diyán</u>.   'I'll give it to that one.'
  (c)   Itataó ko <u>ka Clarisa</u>.   'I'll give it to Clarisa's group.'
  (d)   Itataó ko <u>sa mga akì</u>.   'I'll give it to the children.'

There are other types of complements which are composite, consisting
of one of these four types plus some other element. An example of a
composite complement is the <u>benefactive complement</u>, which consists of
the particle <u>pára</u> + a directional complement. For example:

(B13a) Binakál niyá <u>pára sakô</u>.   'He bought [it] for me.'
  (b)   Binakál niyá <u>pára digdí</u>. 'He bought [it] for this one.'
  (c)   Binakál niyá <u>pára ki Rodolfo</u>. 'He bought [it] for Rodolfo.'
  (d)   Binakál niyá <u>pára sa agôm</u>. 'He bought [it] for [his]
        wife.'

Particular attention must be paid to the distinction between object
complements and direction complements, since there are many verbs which
enter into construction with DCs, but not with OCs. Direction comple-
ments with definite reference are <u>not</u> subject to the constraint under
discussion here. Thus the following sentences are fully grammatical:

(B14a) Nagtábang akô <u>saindá</u>.   'I helped them.'
  (b)   Nagtábang akô <u>diyán</u>.   'I helped that one.'
  (c)   Nagtábang akô <u>ka Clarisa</u>.   'I helped Clarisa's group.'
  (d)   Nagtábang akô <u>sa mga akì</u>.   'I helped the children.'

Contrast the following sentences (from sentences (B11)) which are
ungrammatical:

(B15a) *Nagbadíl siyá <u>saindá</u>.
  (b)   *Nagbadíl siyá <u>kaiyán</u>.
  (c)   *Nagbadíl siyá <u>ki Dino</u>.
  (d)   *Nagbadíl siyá <u>kan bayóng</u>.

We now turn to the third level of 'case relationships', that of
the deep structure cases. As has been observed elsewhere the subject
of a sentence in Philippine languages is not marked for (deep-structure)
case. Its case can only be determined by the form of the verb of which
it is the subject, and the alternation into which that verb enters. The
verb form has thus been described as indicating the relationship between
the subject and the verb,[12] or the relationship between the subject and
other complements in the sentence. This relationship is usually de-
termined on the basis of alternations between verb forms and between
complements in sentences which share basically the same meaning.[13]
For example, consider the following sentences:

(B16a) Nagtaô siyá ki kwartá sa babáyi. 'He gave money to the
        woman.'
  (b)   Tinâ-wan niyá ki kwartá an babáyi.   'He gave money to the
        woman.'

Most native speakers would agree that these sentences mean basically the
same thing, with only a slight difference in emphasis. On the basis of
the substitution rules stated above, we can establish that sentence
(B16a) contains a verb (<u>nagtaô</u>), a subject complement (<u>siyá</u>), an object

complement (ki kwartá), and a directional complement (sa babáyi). Sentence (B16b) contains a verb (tiná-wan), an actor complement (niyá), an object complement (ki kwartá), and a subject complement (an babáyi). The structure of the two sentences can be generalized as follows:

    (B17a) Nagtaó - SUBJECT - OBJECT - DIRECTION
      (b) Tiná-wan - ACTOR   - OBJECT - SUBJECT

In these two structures there is an alternation between the verb nagtaó (or magtaó, its basic or infinitive form[14]) and the verb tiná-wan (basic form tá-wan). There are also alternations (1) between the subject complement in (B17a) and the actor complement in (B17b), and (2) between the direction complement in (B17a) and the subject complement in (B17b). On the basis of these alternations we establish that the subject of magtaó (siyá) is in actor case, since it alternates with an actor complement. Likewise, the subject of tá-wan (an babáyi) is in direction case, because it alternates with a direction complement. Going a step further, we say that magtaó is an actor-focus verb because its subject is in actor case, and that tá-wan is a direction-focus verb because its subject is in direction case.

In similar manner, we can establish several other cases and focuses, such as benefactive:

    (B18a) Nagbakál siyá ki kawátan pára sa akì.   'She brought a toy
          for the child.'
      (b) Ibinakál niyá ki kawátan an akì.   'She bought a toy for
          the child.'

    (B19a) Magbakál - SUBJECT - OBJECT - BENEFACTIVE
      (b) Ibakál   - ACTOR   - OBJECT - SUBJECT

Magbakál is in actor focus; ibakál is in benefactive focus.

When we try to fit an object complement into this type of alternation, we encounter a problem—there is a semantic shift. For example:

    (B20)   Itinaó niyá an kwartá sa babáyi.   'He gave the money to
         the woman.'

In this sentence an kwartá is definite (in a sense to be discussed in the next section) and refers to some particular money that has already been introduced in the foregoing context. On the other hand, ki kwartá in sentences (B16) is indefinite and does not refer to any particular set of money. If we attempt to make 'money' in sentences (B16) definite, we end up with ungrammatical sentences:

    (B21a) *Nagtaó siyá kan kwartá sa babáyi.
      (b) *Tiná-wan niyá kan kwartá an babáyi.

This may seem like a small difficulty, and it has been disregarded by some writers. · But it is inconvenient, and it can be circumvented. To do this, we must have a look at the rules for relativization. There are two types of relative constructions which result from the same relativization 'transformation'. These are na relativization and ang relativization.[15]

In na relativization the predicate of a basic sentence is placed in a modifying construction with the subject. Thus from sentences (B16) and sentence (B20), we have the following relativizations:

(B22a) (an laláki)-ng nagtaó ki kwartá sa babáyi   '(the man) who gave money to the woman'
   (b) an babáying tiná-wan niyá ki kwartá   'the woman he gave money to'
   (c) an kwartáng itinaó niyá sa babáyi   'the money he gave to the woman'

In ang relativization, the original subject is deleted, as in the following examples:

(B23a) an nagtaó ki kwartá sa babáyi   'the one who gave money to the woman'
   (b) an tiná-wan niyá ki kwartá   'the one he gave money to'
   (c) an itinaó niyá sa babáyi   'that which he gave to the woman'

With few exceptions any predicate phrase which can undergo ang relativization can also undergo na relativization and vice versa. These two constructions will be referred to collectively as relativized predicate phrases.

In relativized predicate phrases, the constraint on definite object complements does not apply. Thus the following· constructions are completely grammatical:

(B24a) (an laláki)-ng nagtaó kan kwartá sa babáyi   '(the man) who gave the money to the woman'
   (b) an babáying tiná-wan niyá kan kwartá   'the woman he gave the money to'

These constructions can be interpreted as resulting from relativization of the following underlying (and ungrammatical) sentences:[16]

(B25a) *Nagtaó siyá kan kwartá sa babáyi.
   (b) *Tiná-wan niyá kan kwartá an babáyi.

With these underlying sentences we have the desired alternation from which we can establish that itaó (B20) is an object-focus verb.

The appeal to relativized constructions is always necessary for
determining object focus (particularly in the case of certain verbs
which cannot have an indefinite object[17]). It is also necessary in
many cases for the determination of other focuses, such as the locative
focus.[18]

Cases and verb focus cannot be determined solely on the basis of
the verb form.[19] In (B20), itaó (i- + taó) is in object focus; but
ibakál (i- + bakál) in (B18b) is in benefactive focus. In (B16b),
tâ-wan (taó + -an) is in direction focus; but abrihán (abrí + -an)
in (B26c) is in object focus:

    (B26a) Nag-abrí siyá ki pintô. (OC) 'He opened a door.'
       (b) Siyá an (lalâki)-ng nag-abrí kan pintô. (OC) 'He is
            (the man) who opened the door.'
       (c) Iní an pintóng inabrihán niyá. 'This is the door he
            opened.'

It is also very difficult, although some people have tried, to
find semantic criteria for distinguishing object complements from direc-
tion complements, and object-focus verbs from direction-focus verbs.[20]
For example, what is the semantic difference between mag-abrí 'to open'
and magtâbang 'to help', such that mag-abrí takes an object complement
and magtâbang takes a direction complement?

There are other ways of handling case and focus in Philippine
languages, and of defining the object complement, that being the purpose
of this section. However, the approach presented here is the one I find
simplest. We find a number of surface forms, which enter into a
number of substitution classes or nominal complements. Finally, these
complements participate in a number of alternations, which determine
the deep-structure cases and verb focuses.

Let us now repeat the foregoing discussion, in abbreviated form,
as it applies to Tagalog. The surface forms for Tagalog RE are shown
in the following table:

Nominative	Genitive	Oblique	Meaning
akó	ko	sa ákin	I
ikáw/ka	mo	sa iyó	you (sg)
siyá	niyá	sa kanyá	he, she
táyo	nátin	sa átin	we (incl)
kamí	námin	sa ámin	we (excl)
kayó	ninyó	sa inyó	you (pl)
silá	nilá	sa kanilá	they
itó	nitó	díto	this
iyán	niyán	diyán	that (near add.)
iyón	niyón/noón	doón	that (far)

Nominative	Genitive	Oblique	Meaning
si Perla	ni Perla	kay Perla	Perla
siná Perla	niná Perla	kiná Perla	Perla and others
ang báhay	ng (nang) báhay	sa báhay	house

Tagalog has only three CRE articles corresponding to the five CRE articles in Bikol. In terms of translation, Tagalog ang translates both an and su in Bikol. Tagalog ng (pronounced nang) always translates Bikol ki and, in some cases, Bikol kan. Tagalog sa always translates Bikol sa and, in some cases, Bikol kan. (See the discussion of object complement below.)

With the exception of the object complement, the substitution classes which determine the various complements in Tagalog correspond to the Bikol substitution classes.

Subject complement (nominative form of all RE):

(T9a) Umáwit siyá.   'She sang.'
  (b) Umáwit iyón.   'That one sang.'
  (c) Umáwit si Nora.   'Nora sang.'
  (d) Umáwit ang batà.   'The child sang.'

Actor complement (genitive form of all RE):

(T10a) Binilí nátin.   'We bought [it].'
  (b) Binilí nitó.   'This one bought [it].'
  (c) Binilí ni Carlos.   'Carlos bought [it].'
  (d) Binilí ng babáe.   'The woman bought [it].'

Direction complement (oblique form of all RE):

(T12a) Ibíbigáy ko sa kanilá.   'I'll give [it] to them.'
  (b) Ibíbigáy ko diyán.   'I'll give [it] to that one.'
  (c) Ibíbigáy ko kiná Clarisa.   'I'll give [it] to Clarisa's group.'
  (d) Ibíbigáy ko sa mga batà.   'I'll give [it] to the children.'

Benefactive complement (pára + direction complement):

(T13a) Binilí niyá pára sa ákin.   'He bought [it] for me.'
  (b) Binilí niyá pára díto.   'He bought [it] for this one.'
  (c) Binilí niyá pára kay Rodolfo.   'He bought [it] for Rodolfo.'
  (d) Binilí niyá pára sa asáwa.   'He bought [it] for [his] wife.'

The basic substitution class for the object complement in Tagalog is the same as in Bikol: the genitive forms of DP and CRE, the oblique

forms of PP and PRE. However, object complements with definite reference
(restricted to relativized predicate phrases) may also be expressed by
the oblique forms of DP and CRE. For example:

(T11a) Síno ang bumaríl <u>sa kanilá</u>?   'Who (is the one that) shot
           them?'
   (b) Síno ang bumaríl <u>niyán</u>? (genitive)   'Who shot that one?'
   (bb) Síno ang bumaríl <u>diyán</u>? (oblique)   'Who shot that one?'
   (c) Síno ang bumaríl <u>kay Dino</u>? 'Who shot Dino?'
   (d) Síno ang bumaríl <u>ng íbon</u>? (genitive)   'Who shot a/the
           bird?'
   (e) Síno ang bumaríl <u>sa íbon</u>? (oblique)   'Who shot the bird?'

     As in Bikol, particular attention must be paid to the distinction
between object complements and direction   complements. The problem is
complicated in Tagalog since a definite object complement may be formally
identical to a direction complement. However, a definite object comp-
lement is restricted to occurrence in relativized predicate phrases,
whereas a direction complement is not so restricted. The following
sentences (with direction complements) are fully grammatical:

(T14a) Tumúlong akó <u>sa kanilá</u>.   'I helped them.'
   (b) Tumúlong akó <u>diyán</u>.   'I helped that one.'
   (c) Tumúlong akó <u>kiná Clarisa</u>.   'I helped Clarisa's group.'
   (d) Tumúlong akó <u>sa mga batà</u>.   'I helped the children.'

     The following sentences (with definite object complements) are
ungrammatical:

(T15a) *Bumaríl siyá <u>sa kanilá</u>.
   (b) *Bumaríl siyá <u>diyán</u>.
   (c) *Bumaríl siyá <u>kay Dino</u>.
   (d) *Bumaríl siyá <u>sa íbon</u>.

     The system of focus alternations follows the same pattern as in
Bikol. Thus:

(T16a) Nagbigáy siyá ng péra sa babáe.   'He gave money to the
           woman.'
   (b) Binigyán niyá ng péra ang babáe.   'He gave money to the
           woman.'

(T17a) Nagbigáy - SUBJECT - OBJECT - DIRECTION
   (b) Binigyán - ACTOR   - OBJECT - SUBJECT

        Subject of <u>magbigáy</u> (siyá)   = ACTOR CASE
        Subject of <u>bigyán</u> (ang babáe) = DIRECTION CASE

        <u>magbigáy</u> = ACTOR FOCUS
        <u>bigyán</u>   = DIRECTION FOCUS

Similarly:

(T18a)   Bumilí siyá ng laruán pára sa batà.   'She bought a toy
         for the child.'
   (b)   Ibinilí niyá ng laruán ang batà.   'She bought a toy for
         the child.'

(T19a)   Bumilí - SUBJECT - OBJECT - BENEFACTIVE
         Ibinilí - ACTOR   - OBJECT - SUBJECT

         Subject of <u>bumilí</u> (<u>siyá</u>)   = ACTOR CASE
         Subject of <u>ibilí</u> (<u>ang batà</u>) = BENEFACTIVE CASE

         <u>bumilí</u> = ACTOR FOCUS
         <u>ibilí</u> = BENEFACTIVE FOCUS

As in Bikol, the determination of object case and object focus
depends upon an appeal to relativized predicate phrases. The rules
of relativization in Tagalog are basically the same as in Bikol. Thus,
we have <u>na</u> relativization:

(T22a)   (ang laláki)-ng nagbigáy ng péra sa babáe   '(the man) who
         gave money to the woman'
   (b)   ang babáing binigyán niyá ng péra   'the woman he gave
         money to'
   (c)   ang pérang ibinigáy niyá sa babáe   'the money he gave to
         the woman'

And <u>ang</u> relativization:

(T23a)   ang nagbigáy ng péra sa babáe   'the one who gave money to
         the woman'
   (b)   ang binigyán niyá ng péra   'the one he gave money to'
   (c)   ang ibinigáy niyá sa babáe   'that which he gave to the
         woman'

As in Bikol, the constraint on definite object complements does
not apply to relativized predicate phrases. Thus the following con-
structions are completely grammatical:

(T24a)   (ang laláki)-ng nagbigáy ng pérang itó sa babáe
         '(the man) who gave this money to the woman'
   (b)   ang babáing binigyán niyá ng pérang itó   'the woman he
         gave this money to'

These constructions can be interpreted as resulting from relativization
of the following underlying (and ungrammatical) sentences:

(T25a)   *Nagbigáy siyá ng pérang itó sa babáe.
   (b)   *Binigyán niyá ng pérang itó ang babáe.

From such sentences we have the desired alternation from which we can establish that _ibigay_ and many other verbs are in object focus.

Reference. Reference is a very difficult area of linguistics which, to my knowledge, has not yet been fully analyzed, although terms like 'definite reference', 'generic reference', 'co-reference', etc., are frequently encountered in the literature, as though these concepts are clear and easily understood. The following discussion is not intended to be a definitive analysis of reference either in language-specific or universal terms. It is intended solely to clarify what I mean by 'definite reference'.

In trying to understand the operation of reference, it is first necessary to distinguish _referents_--the non-linguistic entities which are talked about, in some manner--and _reference_--the linguistic process whereby referents are identified.

What do we mean by a referent? A referent can be a person, an object, a place, an idea, an imaginary being--in fact, anything that can be talked about can be a referent. And is there anything that can't be talked about? Nothing that can be specified. For if you were to tell me that there is an 'X' that cannot be talked about, you have in the process talked about that 'X' and told me something about it. The only entities that cannot be referents are those which are completely beyond the reach of human experience, such that they cannot even be conceptualized.

As stated above, reference is the process by which referents are identified. This process operates differently in different languages. In all languages, however, it is constrained by three basic parameters: (1) the nature of the referent; (2) the state of the speaker's knowledge; and (3) the state of the addressee's knowledge.

A referent may be _specific_, _non-specific_, or _generic_. In the first case, the speaker is saying something about a particular, i.e. _specific_, individual. For example:

(E1)   _My father_ came home late last night.

The phrase (RE) _my father_ refers to a specific human being. On the other hand, the speaker may be referring to an unspecified individual or an unspecified member of a particular class. The underlined phrases in the following sentences refer to _non-specific_ individuals, quantities, or members of particular classes:

(E2a)   Will _somebody_ help me?
   (b)   Please give me _a glass_ of _water_.
   (c)   I want to buy _a watch_.

Or a speaker may be referring--_generically_--to a whole class of entities, or making a statement intended to apply to all members of that class.

As in the following:

> (E3a) Women are so hard to understand.
>   (b) You can't leave a maid alone in the house.

If the referent is specific, it has an identity. That is, it has
an existence which is distinct from all other referents, even those
which may be very similar to it. For example, two ball bearings may
be so similar that they cannot be distinguished except with very delicate
and sensitive equipment. Yet ball bearing A is distinct from ball
bearing B; it has its own identity.

The identity of a specific referent may or may not be known to
the speaker. When I say that a speaker knows the identity of a referent,
I mean that (1) he is in possession of a file of prior knowledge about
that referent and that (2) he is aware that the referent currently being
discussed is the same as the one to whom this prior knowledge relates.
It is not precluded that the speaker may have two or more files on the
same referent. For example, in a murder case, the detective will build
files of information about all of the suspects. He will also keep a
file on 'the murderer'. 'The murderer' is actually identical to one of
the suspects, but it is only when the case is solved, that the detective
is able to combine the file on 'the murderer' and the particular suspect
into a single file.

The file of information on a referent may be extremely limited,
and may have been obtained from the preceding statement. Or it may be
a very extensive file.

In sentence (E1) it is obvious (or extremely probable) that the
speaker possesses a file of information about his own father; that is, he
knows the identity of the referent of the phrase my father. In the
following examples, the underlined phrases refer to specific referents
whose identity is not known to the speaker:

> (E4a) Somebody stole my watch.
>   (b) There is a man under my bed.
>   (c) I saw John talking to a girl.

If the identity of the referent is known to the speaker, he must
make a judgment as to whether the addressee also knowns the identity.
If he judges that the addressee already possesses a file of information
about a referent, the speaker must choose a linguistic expression which
will enable the addressee to locate that file and to add the new infor-
mation to what is already there. If he judges that the addressee does
not have such a file, he may choose a linguistic expression which indicates
to the addressee that he is not expected to have a file on the particular
referent, and that he may or may not choose to open such a file. Such
information is carried by 'indefinite noun phrases' and existential
sentences. For example:

(E5a)   Come here.   I'm going to inttoduce you to <u>a</u> <u>very</u> <u>nice</u> <u>girl</u>.
(b)   There is <u>something</u> <u>I</u> <u>want</u> <u>to</u> <u>tell</u> <u>you</u>.

With this third parameter, there is considerable latitude for
different semantic interpretations--and mistakes. If the speaker's
judgment about the state of the addressee's knowledge is wrong, no great
harm is done. If you refer me to a non-existent file, I can simply open
a new file. If, on the other hand, you tell me to open a new file on a
referent whose identity I already know, I can simply add your information
to the old file instead of opening a new one. Because of this flexi-
bility in the system, a speaker will frequently find it convenient to
disregard the addressee's lack of prior knowledge, and introduce a new
referent with a definite RE, as though it were already known to the
addressee.

(E6)   Come here.   I'm going to introduce you to <u>Lily</u>.

This outline is very brief and skips many of the ramifications and
exceptions in the operation of reference. It is merely intended to pro-
vide a definition of definite and indefinite reference in Tagalog and
other Philippine languages. In the discussion of Tagalog and Bikol (at
the least) the term <u>definite</u> <u>reference</u> indicates that the referent is
specific <u>and</u> known to the speaker <u>and</u> known to the addressee. The term
<u>indefinite</u> <u>reference</u> indicates that the referent is non-specific <u>or</u>
unknown to the speaker <u>or</u> unknown to the addressee (see Diagram 1).
<u>Generic</u> <u>reference</u> is not distinctively marked in these languages and is
usually treated syntactically like indefinite reference. However, a
subject may have generic reference even though it cannot have indefinite
reference.

DIAGRAM 1
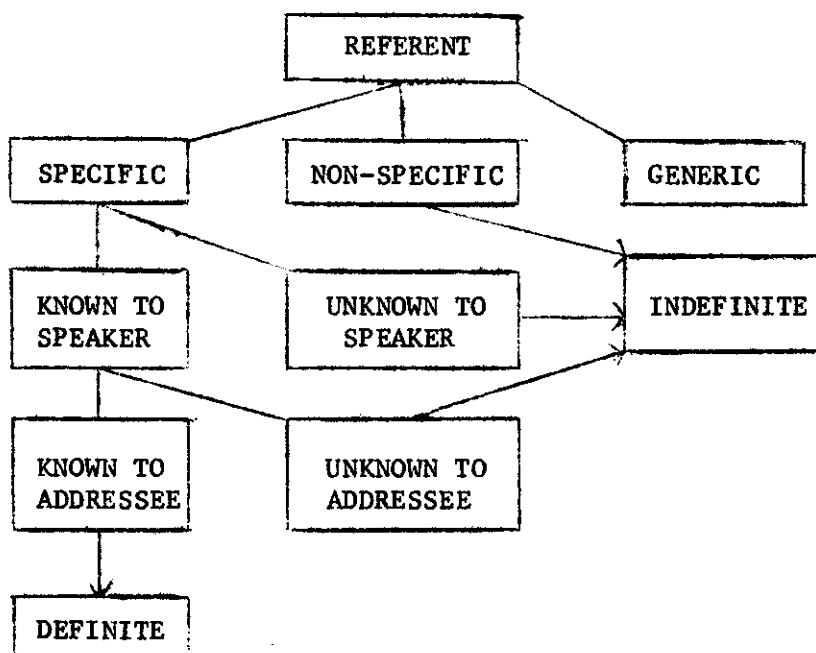
Reference expressions carry various types of reference information, which indicates whether the referent is definite or not, and which also enables the addressee to identify a definite referent, i.e., to find the proper file. There are basically three types of reference information which can be carried by reference expressions: pronominal, label, and predicative. There are basically two types of pronominal reference: personal and deictic. Personal pronouns distinguish referents on the basis of the speaker-addressee relationship. Every language that I know of has pronouns which refer to the speaker (1st person), the addressee (2nd person), someone else (3rd person), and various combinations of these. In a pure pronominal system, only pronominal information is carried by the pronouns. In many languages, various types of lexical or descriptive information are also carried by the pronouns. In English the third person singular pronouns also carry gender information: he (masculine), she (feminine), it (neuter). In Japanese a wide variety of pronouns express various degrees of politeness and humility in addition to pronominal reference information. Philippine languages have relatively pure personal pronominal systems.

Deictic pronouns distinguish referents on the basis of the spatial relationship (nearness or remoteness) to the speaker, and perhaps the addressee. Again, various other types of information may also be expressed by the deictic pronouns of a particular language.

Labels distinguish referents, not on the basis of describable differences, but on the basis that their labels are distinct. There is no necessity that the labels be unique; it is sufficient that they are distinctive within a given context. The labels 'A', 'B', 'C', etc., can be used again and again in different chemistry experiments, as long as within a given experiment, only one substance is labelled 'A', etc. Linguistically pure labels would carry no additional descriptive information. This is true when different individuals are distinguished simply by letters or numbers (consider your social security number). Names, on the other hand, frequently carry a certain amount of lexical information, such as the sex of the person named, his national origin, etc. Names of places (and of persons) frequently contain an overt lexical element; for example, the Rizal Theater, King George, etc. In Philippine languages, labels which are attached to persons and personified beings (personal names) are marked as personal reference expressions. Names of objects and places are marked, and treated syntactically, as common reference expressions.

Finally, referents can be distinguished by being described or classified in some way. It should be clear that no single description or classification can be necessarily unique, or sufficient to distinguish a particular referent from all other referents. Whether or not a particular description is sufficient depends upon the state of the world, our knowledge of it, and the relevant context within which we are speaking. If there is only one male in the relevant context, then an lalâki 'the man' would be sufficient to distinguish or identify him. If there are more than one, a more complete or more distinctive description must

be used: <u>an</u> <u>alkálde</u> 'the mayor', or <u>an</u> <u>laláking</u> <u>náhilíng</u> <u>mo</u> <u>kasubanggí</u> 'the man you saw last night'. If there are more than one mayor in the relevant context, or you saw more than one man last night, still more information is required: <u>an</u> <u>alkálde</u> <u>kan</u> <u>Legaspi</u> 'the mayor of Legaspi'; <u>an</u> <u>matabáng</u> <u>laláking</u> <u>náhilíng</u> <u>mo</u> <u>kasubanggí</u> 'the fat man you saw last night'. In Philippine languages descriptive, or predicative, reference information is carried primarily by common reference expressions.

It should be noted that indefinite referents are also described or classified. However, such descriptive information is not used (primarily) to distinguish or identify referents; it simply becomes the first bit of information to be placed in the new file for the particular referent.

Definite and indefinite reference are distinguished is various ways in Philippine languages. Personal pronouns and PRE are always understood to be definite; thus the constraint on definite object complements always applies to PP and PRE. Deictic pronouns are usually taken to be definite; however a generic reading is available; object complements with generic reference are not subject to the constraint. Thus:

> (B27) Nagbakál siyá <u>kainí</u>. 'He bought this (kind).'

This sentence cannot have the definite reading 'He bought this (particular thing).' CRE can have definite, indefinite, or generic reference.

In different sentence positions, that is, as different types of complement, CRE can be marked for definiteness or indefiniteness. They will also tend to have an unmarked reading, which will vary from one type of complement to another. A CRE can be marked for definiteness through the addition of a deictic pronoun, a restrictive relative clause, or through replacement with a label: <u>an</u> <u>haróng</u> <u>na</u> <u>iní</u> 'this house'; <u>an</u> <u>haróng</u> <u>na</u> <u>binakál</u> <u>ko</u> 'the house I bought'; <u>an</u> <u>Rizal</u> <u>Theatre</u> 'the Rizal Theater'. One way to mark a CRE for indefiniteness is through the addition of a numberal such as <u>saró</u> 'one': <u>(ki)</u> <u>saróng</u> <u>haróng</u> 'a house'.

A subject which is not marked in such a way can have a definite or generic reading, but not an indefinite reading.[21] Definite and generic readings are distinguished by the context.[22] A subject can also be marked as definite:

> (B28a) Nagkakáon ki kinó <u>an</u> <u>ikós.</u> (Definite or generic) 'The cat is eating a rat.' or 'Cats eat rats.'
> (b) Nagkakáon ki kinó <u>an</u> <u>ikós</u> <u>na</u> <u>iyán.</u> (Definite) 'That cat is eating a rat/eats rats.'

An actor complement with the article <u>ki</u> has indefinite reference. An actor complement with <u>kan</u> has definite reference:

(B29a) Pigkakáon ki ikós an kinô. (Indefinite or generic) 'The rat is being eaten by a cat.' or 'Rats are eaten by cats.'

(b) Pigkakáon ki saróng ikós an kinô. (Indefinite) 'The rat is being eaten by a cat.'

(c) Pigkakáon kan ikós an kinô. (Definite) 'The rat is being eaten by the cat.'

An object complement with the article ki has indefinite or generic reference. An object complement with kan has definite reference; such object complements can only occur in relativized predicate phrases.

(B30a) Nagkakáon ki kinô an ikós. (Indefinite or generic) 'The cat is eating a rat.' or 'Cats eat rats.'

(b) Nagkakáon ki saróng kinô an ikós. (Indefinite) 'The cat is eating a rat.'

(c) Iní an ikós na nagkakáon kan kinô. (Definite) 'This is the cat who is eating the rat.'

An unmarked direction complement tends to have a definite reading, but can have an indefinite or generic reading:

(B31a) Nagtaô siyá ki kawátan sa akì. (Probably definite) 'He gave the child (a child) a toy.'

(b) Nagtaô siyá ki kawátan dumán sa akì. (Definite) 'He gave that child a toy.'

(c) Nagtaô siyá ki kawátan sa saróng akì. (Indefinite) 'He gave a child a toy.

Much of what has been said above with regard to Bikol also holds true for Tagalog. However the interpretation of unmarked CRE is somewhat different.

Readings for the subject are the same in Tagalog as in Bikol:

(T28a) Kumákáin ng dagâ ang pusà. (Definite or generic) 'The cat is eating a rat.' or 'Cats eat rats.'

(b) Kumákáin ng dagâ ang púsang iyán. (Definite) 'That cat is eating a rat/eats rats.'

Tagalog has only one article (ng) corresponding to ki and kan in Bikol. An actor complement with ng tends to have a definite reading, but may have an indefinite or generic reading:

(T29a) Kinákáin ng pusà ang dagâ. (Probably definite) 'The rat is being eaten by the cat/a cat.' or 'Rats are eaten by cats.'

(b) Kinákáin ng isáng pusà ang dagâ. (Indefinite) 'The rat is being eaten by a cat.'

(c) Kinákáin ng púsang iyán ang dagâ. (Definite) 'The rat is being eaten by that cat.'

In an unrelativized predicate phrase, an object complement with the article ng can have only an indefinite or generic reading:

(T30a) Kumákáin ng dagá ang pusà. (Indefinite or generic) 'The cat is eating a rat.' or 'Cats eat rats.'

(b) Kumákáin ng isáng dagá ang pusà. (Indefinite) 'The cat is eating a rat.'

In a relativized predicate phrase, an unmarked object complement with the article ng tends to have an indefinite reading, but can also have a definite reading. In addition to the methods mentioned above, a CRE object complement can be marked for definiteness (only in a relativized environment) by replacing the article ng with the article sa:

(T30d) Itó ang púsang kumáin ng dagá. (Probably indefinite)
'This is the cat who ate a rat (the rat).'

(e) Itó ang púsang kumáin ng dagáng iyón. (Definite) 'This is the cat that ate that rat.'

(f) Itó ang púsang kumáin sa dagá. (Definite) 'This is the cat that ate the rat.'

(g) Itó ang púsang kumáin ng isáng dagâ.(Indefinite) 'This is the cat that ate a rat.'

Readings for direction complements are the same in Tagalog as in Bikol:

(T31a) Nagbigáy siyá ng laruán sa batà. (Probably definite)
'He gave the child (a child) a toy.'

(b) Nagbigáy siyá ng laruán doón sa batà. (Definite) 'He gave that child a toy.'

(c) Nagbigáy siyá ng laruán sa isáng batà. (Indefinite) 'He gave a child a toy.'

This discussion has been intended to provide a definition of 'definite reference' as it applies to the Philippine languages, that is, to reveal the semantic motivation for the application of the constraint being discussed to some object complements and not to others. There are many, many more questions to be asked and problems to be discussed with regard to reference. How do we refer to a definite part of an indefinite entity (the head of a pin); to an indefinite member of a definite group (one of my brothers); to a combination of definite and indefinite referents (John and some other guys)? What is the relationship between reference and anaphora? I leave these and other problems for discussion in a paper devoted solely to the matter of reference.

Relativization. In Philippine languages, it is very important to distinguish between relativized and unrelativized predicates, especially verbs. A verb (or any kind of predicate) has two basic functions: (1) a predicative function, in which the verb describes a particular referent or states a relationship holding between two or more referents; and

(2) a reference function, in which the verb identifies the particular
referent, by describing it or stating a relationship. Unrelativized
verbs perform the predicative function; relativized verbs, the reference
function.

In sentence (B32a) below, the verb <u>hinâ-bas</u> is unrelativized, and
states a relationship between an actor (<u>kan akì</u>) and a subject/underlying-
object (<u>an âyam</u>). In sentence (B32b) the same verb is relativized, and
identifies the particular referent (<u>an âyam</u>) in terms of its relation-
ship to the actor:

   (B32a) Hinâ-bas kan akì an âyam. 'The child stole the dog.'
     (b) Nâhilíng ko an âyam na hinâ-bas kan akì. 'I saw the dog
           that the child stole.'

It has frequently been observed that only the subject of a sentence
can be 'relativized', or that relativization can only be applied to the
subject. Thus in sentence (B32a) relativization can be applied to the
subject (<u>an âyam</u>), but not to the actor complement (<u>kan akì</u>):

   (B33)   *Nâhilíng ko an âking hinâ-bas an âyam.

Relativization can be applied to the 'actor' only if the verb is
replaced by an actor-focus verb:

   (B34a) *Naghâ-bas an akì kan âyam. (Ungrammatical underlying
         sentence)
     (b) Nâhilíng ko an âking naghâ-bas kan âyam. 'I saw the child
         who stole the dog.'

Again, from sentences (B16) and sentence (B20) the following rela-
tivizations are grammatical:

   (B35a) (an lalâki)-ng nagtaô ki kwartâ sa babâyi '(the man) who
         gave money to the woman'
     (b) an kwartâng itinaô niyâ sa babâyi 'the money he gave to
         the woman'
     (c) an babâying tinâ-wan niyâ ki kwartâ 'the woman he gave
         money to'

The following relativizations are ungrammatical:

   (B36a) *(an lalâki)-ng itinaô an kwartâ sa babâyi
     (b) *(an lalâki)-ng tinâ-wan ki kwartâ an babâyi
     (c) *an kwartâng nagtaô siyâ sa babâyi
     (d) *an kwartâng tinâ-wan niyâ an babâyi
     (e) *an babâying nagtaô siyâ ki kwartâ
     (f) *an babâying itinaô niyâ an kwartâ

While it is true (1) that relativization can always be applied to the subject and (2) that, in a verbal sentence, relativization can only be applied to the subject, it is also true that there are some non-verbal sentences in which relativization can be applied to an element other than the subject, as in the following examples:

(B37a) Halabà an bûhok kan babáyi. 'The girl's hair is long.'
   (b) Magayón an halábang bûhok kan babáyi. 'The girl's long
         hair is pretty.'
   (c) Magayón an babáying halabà an bûhok. 'The girl with long
         hair is pretty.'

(B38a) Daí kamíng kwartá. 'We have no money.'
   (b) Kamí an daíng kwartá. 'We are the ones who have no money.'
   (c) Kwartá (saná) an daí kamí. 'Money is the (only) thing we
         don't have.'

(B39a) Gustó kong mag-ulí. 'I want to go home.'
   (b) Akó an gustóng mag-ulí. 'I am the one who wants to go
         home.'

The primary environment in which unrelativized verbs are found is a type of sentence called a <u>basic</u> sentence.[23] In addition, there are two other environments which are taken to be unrelativized--embedded sentences in quotative and modal sentences. The constraint on definite object complements applies to these environments as well as to basic sentences. For example:

```
                              (nakáhilíng siyá ki Amerikáno.
(B40)    Sinábi kong  (nagbakál siyá ki sinihán.
                              (nag-abrí siyá ki pintô.

                              (he saw an American.'
             'I said  (he bought a movie theater.'
                              (he opened a door.'

                              (makáhilíng siyá ki Amerikáno.
(B41)    Habô kong   (magbakál siyá ki sinihán.
                              (mag-abrí siyá ki pintô.

                                  (to see an American.'
        'I don't want him  (to buy a movie theater.'
                                  (to open a door.'

                              (nakáhilíng siyá sakô.
(B42)   *Sinábi kong  (nagbakál siyá kan Rizal Theater.
                              (nag-abrí siyá kan pintô.

                              (makáhilíng siyá sakô.
(B43)   *Habô kong   (magbakál siyá kan Rizal Theater.
                              (nag-abrí siyá kan pintô.
```

Compare:

> (náhilíng niyá akó.
(B44)   Sinábi kong (binakál niyá an Rizal Theater.
> (inabrihán niyá an pintô.

> (he saw me.'
> 'I said (he bought the Rizal Theater.'
> (he opened the door.'

> (máhilíng niyá akó.
(B45)   Habô kong (bakalón niyá an Rizal Theater.
> (abrihán niyá an pintô.

> (to see me.'
> 'I don't want him (to buy the Rizal Theater.'
> (to open the door.'

Relativization can apply to the subjects of such embedded sentences, in which case the constraint on definite object complements does not apply. Thus the following sentences are grammatical:

> (nakáhilíng sakó.
(B46)   Siyá an sinábi kong (nagbakál kan Rizal Theater.
> (nag-abrí kan pintô.

> (saw me.'
> 'He is the one I said (bought the Rizal Theater.'
> (opened the door.'

> (makahilíng sakó.
(B47)   Siyá an habô kong (magbakál kan Rizal Theater.
> (mag-abrí kan pintô.

> (to see me.'
> 'He is the one I don't want (to buy the Rizal Theater.'
> (to open the door.'

There are two additional constructions which can be considered to be relativized, and to which the constraint on definite object complements does not apply. One of these is the gerund construction. A gerund refers to a particular event rather than to any of the participants in the event. In a gerund construction, none of the RE is marked as the subject.

(B48a)   an pagkahilíng niyá ki Amerikáno   'his seeing an American'
   (b)   an pagkahiling niyá sakô   'his seeing me'

(B49a)   an pagbakál niyá ki sinihán   'his buying a movie theater'
   (b)   an pagbakál niyá kan Rizal Theater   'his buying the Rizal Theater'

(B50a)   an pag-abrí niyá ki pintô   'his opening the door'
  (b)   an pag-abrí niyá kan pintô   'his opening the door'

The other construction is the existential construction. The
embedded predicate phrase has the same form as a relativized predicate
phrase in a CRE, except that any actor complement in the embedded
phrase is extracted and becomes the subject of the existential.

Consider the following:

(B51a)   Iní an agóm ko.   'This is my wife.'
  (b)   Igwá akóng agóm.   'I have a wife.'
  (c)   Daí akóng agóm.   'I have no wife.'

(B52a)   Iní an maestrá.   'This is the teacher.'
  (b)   Igwáng maestrá.   'There is a teacher.'
  (c)   Daíng maestrá. 'There is no teacher.'

(B53a)   Iní an nagtaó ki kwartá sa babáyi.   'This is the one who
     gave money to the woman.'
  (b)   Igwáng nagtaó ki kwartá sa babáyi.   'Someone gave money to
     the woman.'
  (c)   Daíng nagtaó ki kwartá sa babáyi.   'No one gave money to
     the woman.'

(B54a)   Iní an itinaó niyá sa babáyi.   'This is what he gave to the
     woman.'
  (b)   Igwá siyáng itinaó sa babáyi.   'He gave something to the
     woman.'
  (c)   Daí siyáng itinaó sa babáyi.   'He didn't give anything to
     the woman.'

(B55a)   Iní an tinâ-wan niyá ki kwartá.   'This is the one he gave
     money to.'
  (b)   Igwá siyáng tinâ-wan ki kwartá.   'He gave money to someone.'
  (c)   Daí siyáng tinâ-wan ki kwartá.   'He didn't give money to
     anyone.'

The constraint does not apply to existential sentences. Thus:

(B56a)   Igwáng nakáhilíng sakô.   'Someone saw me.'
  (b)   Daíng nakáhilíng sakô.   'No one saw me.'

(B57a)   Igwáng nagbakál kan Rizal Theater.   'Someone bought the
     Rizal Theater.'
  (b)   Daíng nagbakál kan Rizal Theater.   'No one bought the Rizal
     Theater.'

(B58a)   Igwáng nag-abrí kan pintô.   'Someone opened the door.'
  (b)   Daíng nag-abrí kan pintô.   'No one opened the door.'

The formal difference between relativized and unrelativized verbs is frequently so slight and subtle that it has escaped the attention of many researchers and confounded many students trying to learn Philippine languages. Yet the difference exists, it is well defined, and it is very important in Philippine syntax.

The preceding discussion applies to Tagalog in exactly the same way as it does to Bikol. The following examples are the Tagalog equivalents of the Bikol examples above:

(T32a) Ninákaw ng batà ang áso. 'The child stole the dog.'
  (b) Nákíta ko ang ásong ninákaw ng batà. 'I saw the dog that the child stole.'

(T33) *Nákíta ko ang bátang ninákaw ang áso.

(T34a) *Nagnákaw ang batà sa áso.
  (b) Nákíta ko ang bátang nagnákaw sa áso. 'I saw the child who stole the dog.'

(T35a) (ang laláki)-ng nagbigáy ng péra sa babáe '(the man) who gave money to the woman'
  (b) ang pérang ibinigáy niyá sa babáe 'the money he gave to the woman'
  (c) ang babáing binigyán niyá ng péra 'the woman he gave money to'

(T36a) *(ang laláki)-ng ibinigáy ang péra sa babáe
  (b) *(ang laláki)-ng binigyán ng péra ang batác
  (c) *ang pérang nagbigáy siyá sa babáe
  (d) *ang pérang binigyán niyá ang babáe
  (e) *ang babáing nagbigáy siyá ng péra
  (f) *ang babáing ibinigáy niyá ang péra.

(T37a) Mahabà ang buhók ng babáe. 'The girl's hair is long.'
  (b) Magandá ang mahábang buhók ng babáe. 'The girl's long hair is pretty.'
  (c) Magandá ang babáing mahabà ang buhók. 'The girl with long hair is pretty.'

(T38a) Walà kamíng péra. 'We have no money.'
  (b) Kamí ang waláng péra. 'We are the ones who have no money.'
  (c) Péra (lang) ang walà kamí. 'Money is the (only) thing we don't have.'

(T39a) Gustó kong umuwî. 'I want to go home.'
  (b) Akó ang gustóng umuwî. 'I'm the one who wants to go home.'

                    (nakakíta siyá ng Amerikáno.
(T40) Sinábi kong (bumilí siyá ng sinehán.
                    (nagbukás siyá ng pintô.

```
                      (he saw an American.'
          'I said (he bought a movie theater.'
                      (he opened a door.'

                      (makakíta siyá ng Amerikáno.
(T41)   Áyaw kong (bumilí siyá ng sinehán.
                      (magbukás siyá ng pintô.


                                  (to see an American.'
          'I don't want him (to buy a movie theater.'
                                  (to open a door.'

                      (nakakíta siyá sa ákin.
(T42)   *Sinábi kong (bumilí siyá ng Rizal Theater.
                      (nagbukás siyá sa pintô.

                      (makakíta siyá sa ákin.
(T43)   *Áyaw kong (bumilí siyá ng Rizal Theater.
                      (magbukás siyá sa pintô.

                      (nákíta niyá akó.
(T44)   Sinábi kong (binilí niyá ang Rizal Theater.
                      (binuksán niyá ang pintô.


                      (he saw me.'
          'I said (he bought the Rizal Theater.'
                      (he opened the door.'

                      (mákíta niyá akó.
(T45)   Áyaw kong (bilhín niyá ang Rizal Theater.
                      (buksán niyá ang pintô.


                                  (to see me.'
          'I don't want him (to buy the Rizal Theater.'
                                  (to open the door.'

                              (nakakíta sa ákin.
(T46)   Siyá ang sinábi kong (bumilí ng Rizal Theater.
                              (nagbukás sa pintô.

                                      (saw me.'
          'He is the one I said (bought the Rizal Theater.'
                                      (opened the door.'

                              (makakíta sa ákin.
(T47)   Siyá ang áyaw kong (bumilí ng Rizal Theater.
                              (magbukás sa pintô.

                                          (to see me.'
          'He is the one I don't want (to buy the Rizal Theater.
                                          (to open the door.'
```

(T48a) ang pagkakíta niyá ng Amerikáno 'his seeing an American'
   (b) ang pagkakíta niyá sa ákin 'his seeing me'

(T49a) ang pagbilí niyá ng sinehán 'his buying a movie theater'
   (b) ang pagbilí niyá ng Rizal Theater 'his buying the Rizal
         Theater'

(T50a) ang pagbubukás niyá ng pintô 'his opening a/the door'
   (b) ang pagbubukás niyá sa pintô 'his opening the door'

(T51a) Itó ang asáwa ko. 'This is my wife.'
   (b) May asáwa akó. 'I have a wife.'
   (c) Walâ akóng asáwa. 'I have no wife.'

(T52a) Itó ang gurò. 'This is the teacher.'
   (b) May gurò. 'There is a teacher.'
   (c) Waláng gurò. 'There is no teacher.'

(T53a) Itó ang nagbigáy ng péra sa babáe. 'This is the one who
         gave money to the woman.'
   (b) May nagbigáy ng péra sa babáe. 'Someone gave money to the
         woman.'
   (c) Waláng nagbigáy ng péra sa babáe. 'No one gave money to
         the woman.'

(T54a) Itó ang ibinigáy niyá sa babáe. 'This is what he gave to
         the woman.'
   (b) May ibinigáy siyá sa babáe. 'He gave something to the
         woman.'
   (c) Walâ siyáng ibinigáy sa babáe. 'He didn't give anything
         to the woman.'

(T55a) Itó ang binigyán niyá ng péra. 'This is the one he gave
         money to.'
   (b) May binigyán siyá ng péra. 'He gave someone money.'
   (c) Walâ siyáng binigyán ng péra. 'He didn't give money to
         anyone.'

(T56a) May nakakíta sa ákin. 'Someone saw me.'
   (b) Waláng nakakíta sa ákin. 'No one saw me.'

(T57a) May bumilí ng Rizal Theater. 'Someone bought the Rizal
         Theater.'
   (b) Waláng bumilí ng Rizal Theater. 'No one bought the Rizal
         Theater.'

(T58a) May nagbukás sa pintô. 'Someone opened the door.'
   (b) Waláng nagbukás sa pintô. 'No one opened the door.'

A syntactic model. What then are the consequences of this constraint for the description of the syntax of Philippine languages? The most immediate consequence is that it imposes a severe restriction on the speaker's freedom in selecting the subject of a sentence. It is essential that this constraint be written into our model for Philippine syntax.

Ah, but what is our model of Philippine syntax? I have my own personal model, which I am somewhat hesitant to reveal. However, I am willing to do so, on the condition that you understand that what I present is merely a conceptualization--a way of describing the system I observe, a conceptualization which I may abandon tomorrow in favor of a better description. This model is not essentially based on any of the current linguistic theories (so far as I know); it does not contain underlying sentences, nor ordered rules. The model simply attempts to present, in an organized way, the sets of information which are carried by particular sentences.[24]

The starting point of my model in the predicate, of which there are three major types: nouns, verbs, and adjectives. The basic meaning of every predicate will be found in a lexicon. In the case of verbs, the lexicon will also contain a classification, which specifies the configuration of case-marked variables associated with a particular verb, and the different focus forms that verb may take on. For example, the verb bigáy 'to give' is classified as a mag-/i-/-an verb, meaning that it is obligatorily associated with three variables--an actor, an object, and a direction--and that it will have an actor-focus form magbigáy, an object-focus form ibigáy, and a direction-focus form bigyán. The following are examples of other major classifications:

lutò (mag-/-in)	=	maglutò (AF), lutúin (OF) 'to cook'
káin (-um-/-in)	=	kumáin (AF), kaínin (OF) 'to eat'
simulâ (mag-/-an)	=	magsimulâ (AF), simulán (OF) 'to begin'
damá (maka-/má-)	=	makadamá (AF), mádamá (OF) 'to feel'
unawà (maka-/má-an)	=	makaunawà (AF), máunawáan (OF) 'to understand'
lápit (-um-/-an(D))	=	lumápit (AF), lapítan (DF) ' to approach'
íbig (-um-/-in(D))	=	umíbig (AF), ibígin (DF) 'to love'
tákot (ma-/ka-an(D))	=	matákot (AF), katakútan (DF) ' to fear'
bíhis (mag-)	=	magbíhis 'to get dressed'
hingá (-um-)	=	humingá ' to breathe'
túlog (ma-)	=	matúlog 'to sleep'

In many cases different predicates will share the same verb root. For example:

tayô (-um-) 'to stand up'
tayô (mag-/i-)'to erect'

abót (mag-/i-/-an) 'to hand to'
abót (-um-/-in) 'to reach for'

In addition to verbs, some nouns and adjectives are classified as relational (+rel), meaning that they are obligatorily associated with an actor or direction. For example:

    amá (+rel)   (Cf. ang amá ng guro 'the teacher's father')
    malayò (+rel) (Cf. malayò sa bayan ' far from the town')

For a specific sentence, a verb must be marked for aspect.[25] It may also be marked for a variety of other meanings, such as causative,[26] aptative,[27] etc. For example:

bigáy (mag-/-i-/-an) +Pft	=	nagbigáy (AF) 'gave' ibinigáy (OF) 'was given (to s.o.)' binigyán (DF) 'was given (s.t.)'
bukás (mag-/-an) +Ipf +Caus	=	nagpápabukás (A_1F) 'causing to open' pinabúbukás (A_2F) 'being caused to open' pinabúbuksán (OF) 'being caused to be opened'
kúha (-um-/-in) +Fut +Apt	=	makakúkúha (AF) 'will be able to get' makúkúha (OF) 'will be able to be gotten'

For a particular sentence, a number of variables will be shown in association with the predicate. In addition to the <u>obligatory variables</u> specified in the verb classification, optional variables and peripheral variables may also be associated with a particular verb. An <u>optional variable</u> is one the meaning of which is intimately related to the basic meaning of a verb, but which is not essential to that basic meaning. For example, the basic meaning of the verb <u>bása</u> (-um-/-in) 'to read' necessarily involves the participation of an actor (the one reading) and an object (what is being read). A direction (someone being read to) may or may not be present:

(T59a) Binása niyá ang súlat. 'He read the letter.' (No direction variable)
   (b) Binása niyá ang súlat <u>sa ákin</u>. 'He read the letter to me.'

A <u>peripheral variable</u> is one which can be added to a large number of predicates, but the meaning of which is relatively independent of the basic meaning of any particular predicate. Such a variable is the locative variable. We can add a locative variable to sentence (T59b):

(T60) Binása niyá ang súlat sa ákin <u>sa kusína</u>. 'He read the letter to me in the kitchen.'

At this point our model (for sentence (T60)) looks something like this:

```
                    ┌─────────────┐
                    │    bássa     │
                    │  (-um-/-in)  │
                    │    +Pft      │
                    └─────────────┘
            ┌─────────┬───┴───┬─────────────┐
    ┌────────┐  ┌────────┐  ┌─────────────┐  ┌──────────┐
    │ ACTOR  │  │ OBJECT │  │  DIRECTION  │  │ LOCATIVE │
    └────────┘  └────────┘  └─────────────┘  └──────────┘
```
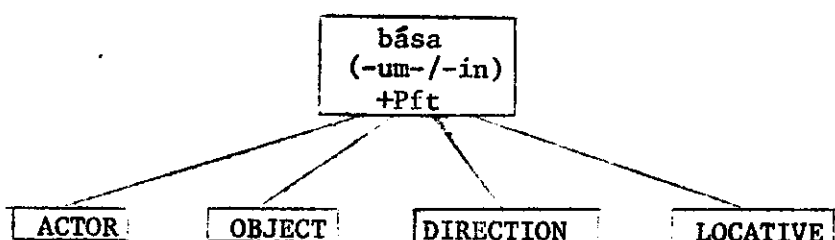
Our next step is to identify the particular referents to which the sentence, or predicate, is being applied. Since these referents are non-linguistic they have to be identified, at this point, in some non-linguistic manner. Obviously the human mind has some system—perhaps a mixed linguistic and non-linguistic system—for keeping the file on one referent distinct from other files. For our purposes it is sufficient to attach index numbers or letters to distinguish the various referents referred to in a particular sentence. In addition, each of these referents will be marked + Definite in the context of the particular sentence. In sentence (T60) all of the referents are marked + Definite. The following diagram indicates the structure of sentence (T16a), up to this point:

```
                    ┌─────────────┐
                    │    bigáy     │
                    │ (mag-/i-/-an)│
                    │    +Pft      │
                    └─────────────┘
            ┌─────────────┼────────────────┐
    ┌────────┐      ┌────────┐        ┌─────────────┐
    │ ACTOR  │      │ OBJECT │        │  DIRECTION  │
    ├────────┤      ├────────┤        ├─────────────┤
    │   A    │      │   B    │        │      C      │
    │ +Def   │      │ -Def   │        │    +Def     │
    └────────┘      └────────┘        └─────────────┘
```
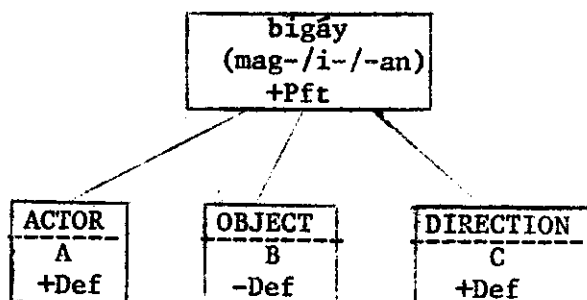
(Nagbigáy siyá ng péra sa babáe. 'He gave money to the woman.')

The speaker must now choose the proper way of referring to each of these referents. He must decide how much, and what kind of, information is appropriate to enable the addressee to identify the referent. In some cases, he may decide that no information at all is necessary, since the identity of the referent is obvious. In these cases, he can use ∅ reference, eliminating that particular variable from the surface-structure sentence altogether. For example, we might have the following sequence:

(T61)   Anó ang naitúlong niyá sa babáe?   'What did he do to help the woman?'

(T62)   Binigyán niyá ng péra.   'He gave /her/ money.'

In sentence (T62), the direction variable has $\emptyset$ reference:

```
┌─────────────┐
│ DIRECTION   │
├──── C ──────┤
│ +Def        │
├──────Ø──────┤
└─────────────┘
```

Or the speaker may provide one of three types of reference infor-
mation: pronominal, label, or predicative. In sentence (T16b) the
actor is referred to pronominally (niya); he is identified as being
some person other than the speaker or the addressee (+3). Our model
would show this in the following way:[28]

```
┌─────────┐
│ ACTOR   │
├────A────┤
│ +Def    │
├──+PRO───┤
│  +3     │
└─────────┘
```

In this particular context, the direction variable might have
been identified by label, that is, by name. For example:

(T63) Binigyán niyá ng péra <u>si</u> <u>Lorna</u>.   'He gave money to Lorna.'

This would be shown as follows:

```
┌──────────────┐
│ DIRECTION    │
├──── C ───────┤
│ +Def         │
├── +LABEL ────┤
│   Lorna      │
└──────────────┘
```

'Lorna' will be specified somewhere, perhaps in the lexicon, as the name
of a human being, so that the referent will ultimately be referred to
with a PRE.

If the referent is identified predicatively, then another diagram
for that predicate will be found, embedded as it were, in the box for
that variable. For example, we might have said:

(T64) Binigyán niyá ng péra ang tumúlong kay Lorna.   'He gave
             money to the one who helped Lorna.'

Thus:

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ ┌─────────────────────────────────────┐ │
│ │           DIRECTION                 │ │
│ │ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ │ │
│ │               C                     │ │
│ │             +Def                    │ │
│ │ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ │ │
│ │             +PRED                   │ │
│ │    ┌────────────────────┐           │ │
│ │    │      túlong         │           │ │
│ │    │  (-um-/-an(D))      │           │ │
│ │    │      +Pft           │           │ │
│ │    └────────────────────┘           │ │
│ │     ┌──────┐   ┌──────────────┐     │ │
│ │     │ACTOR │   │  DIRECTION   │     │ │
│ │     │──────│   │──────────────│     │ │
│ │     │  C   │   │      D       │     │ │
│ │     └──────┘   │    +Def      │     │ │
│ │                │──────────────│     │ │
│ │                │   +LABEL     │     │ │
│ │                │    Lorna     │     │ │
│ │                └──────────────┘     │ │
│ └─────────────────────────────────────┘ │
└─────────────────────────────────────────┘
```
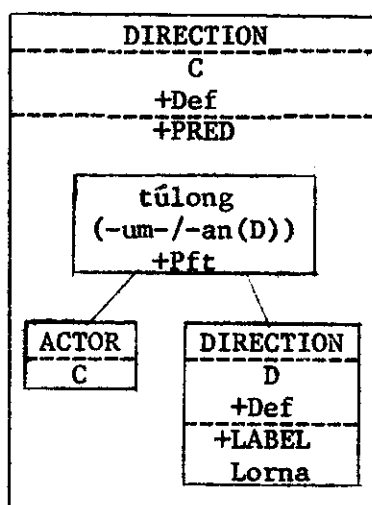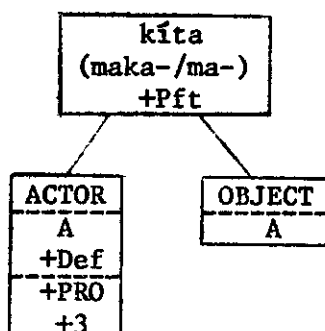
Notice that in this construction, which is a relativized construction, the referent C is mentioned twice, once as the direction variable of the verb <u>bigáy</u> and once as the actor variable of the verb <u>túlong</u>. In such cases, it is only necessary to state the reference information once. This is also true when the same referent appears as more than one variable of the same verb. For example:

(T65) Nắkíta niyá ang saríli niyá. 'He saw himself.'

This would be diagrammed:

```
        ┌──────────────┐
        │    kíta      │
        │ (maka-/ma-)  │
        │   +Pft       │
        └──────────────┘
     ┌──────────┐  ┌──────────┐
     │  ACTOR   │  │  OBJECT  │
     │──────────│  │──────────│
     │    A     │  │    A     │
     │  +Def    │  └──────────┘
     │──────────│
     │  +PRO    │
     │   +3     │
     └──────────┘
```
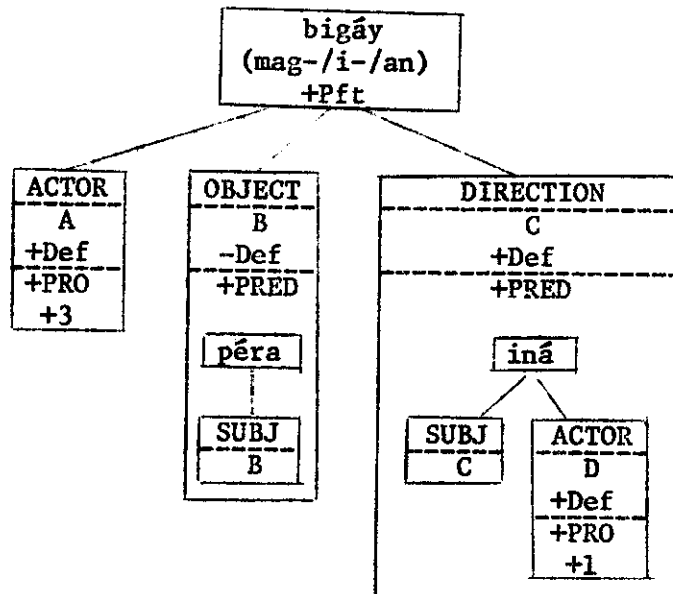
The noun <u>saríli</u> 'self' would be generated by the rules for reflexivization.

This same schematization will be used even for nominal and adjectival relativized predicates. Some of you may find this cumbersome, but I find it more consistent. Another example:

(T66) Binigyán niyá ng péra ang iná ko. 'He gave money to my mother.'

Diagrammed:

  An indefinite referent may be referred to predicatively, as in the last example, or in some cases, by ∅ reference. There is another way in which indefinite, but not definite, referents may be referred to—existentially. They may be marked '+Exist' as in the following sentence:

  (T67) May nắkíta akõ. 'I saw something.'

Diagrammed:
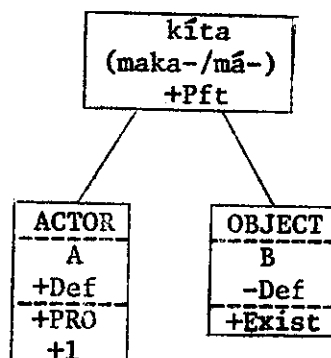
'-Exist' indicates that no such referent exists:

  (T68) Walâ akõng nắkíta. 'I didn't see anything.'

Let me just say a word about 'equational sentences' and sentences with 'definite predicates'. I use neither of these terms in my model. What I do have are <u>co-referential</u> <u>sentences</u>—sentences consisting of two subject complements, as defined earlier. For example:

(T69) Si Luis ang laláking nákíta ko kagabí. 'Luis is the man I
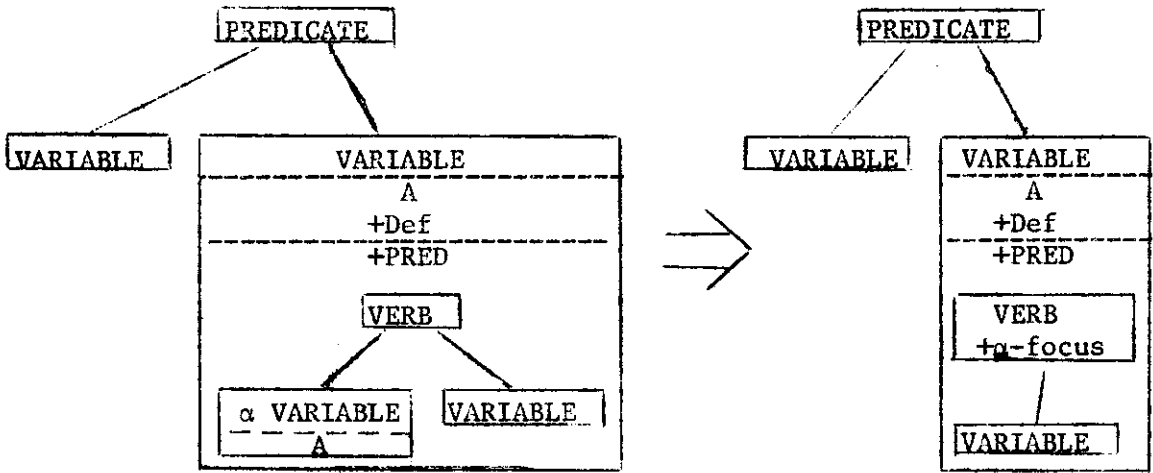   saw last night'

In this sentence <u>si Luis</u> is a nominative-form PRE; <u>ang laláking nákíta ko kagabí</u> is a nominative-form CRE. While it may be possible, in a specific context, to interpret one of these as the semantic predicate, it is more efficient, syntactically, to treat them as equivalent—neither is the subject nor the predicate. Rather, my interpretation would be that (1) <u>si Luis</u> has definite reference and refers to a particular file of information; (2) <u>ang laláking nákíta ko kagabí</u> also has definite reference and refers to a different (undoubtedly shorter) file of information; and (3) the actual message of the sentence is that the referent of <u>si Luis</u> and the referent of <u>ang laláking nákíta ko kagabí</u> are one and the same and, therefore, the two files should be combined into a single file. Co-referential sentences would be diagrammed as follows:
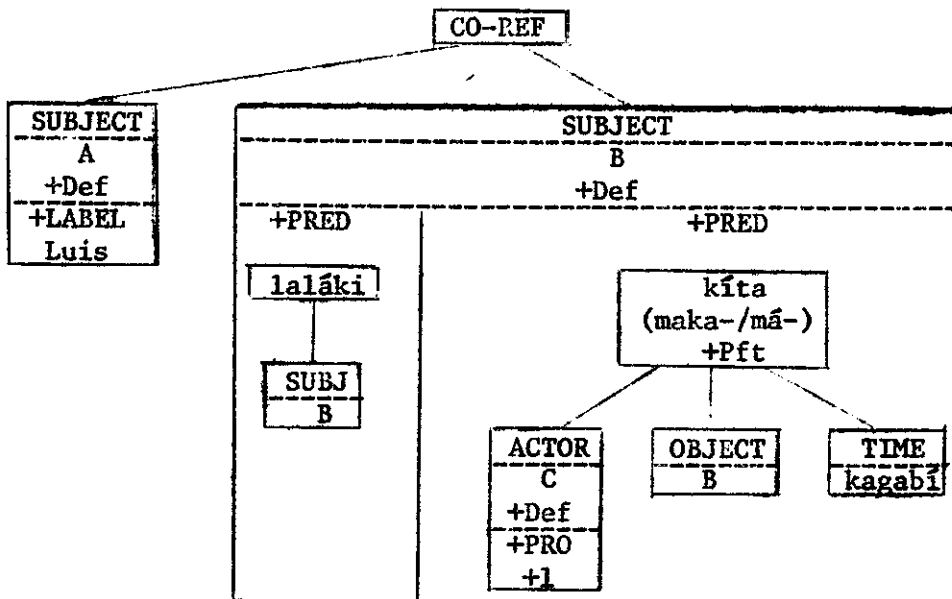
Having come this far, we are now ready to consider the tricky question of subject and verb-focus selection. We may find that it isn't quiete as tricky as we expected. Actually, we can account for a major portion of the problem with five fairly simple rules.

RULE 1. A relativized verb is in a focus which would be appropriate <u>if</u> the variable to which relativization applies were its subject (that variable is deleted).

Stated schematically:

PREDICATE

VARIABLE

VARIABLE
A
+Def
+PRED

VERB

α VARIABLE
A

VARIABLE

⟹

PREDICATE

VARIABLE

VARIABLE
A
+Def
+PRED

VERB
+α-focus

VARIABLE

For example:

kíta
(maka-/má-)
+Pft

ACTOR
A
+Def
+PRO
+1

OBJECT
B
+Def
+PRED

nákaw
(mag-/-in)
+Pft

ACTOR
B

OBJECT
C̄
+Def
+PRED

áso

SUBJ
C

⟹

kíta
(maka-/má-)
+Pft

ACTOR
A
+Def
+PRO
+1

OBJECT
B
+Def
+PRED

nákaw
(mag-/-in)
+Pft
+AF

OBJECT
C̄
+Def
+PRED

áso

(Nákíta ko ang nagnákaw sa áso.   'I saw the one who stole the dog.')
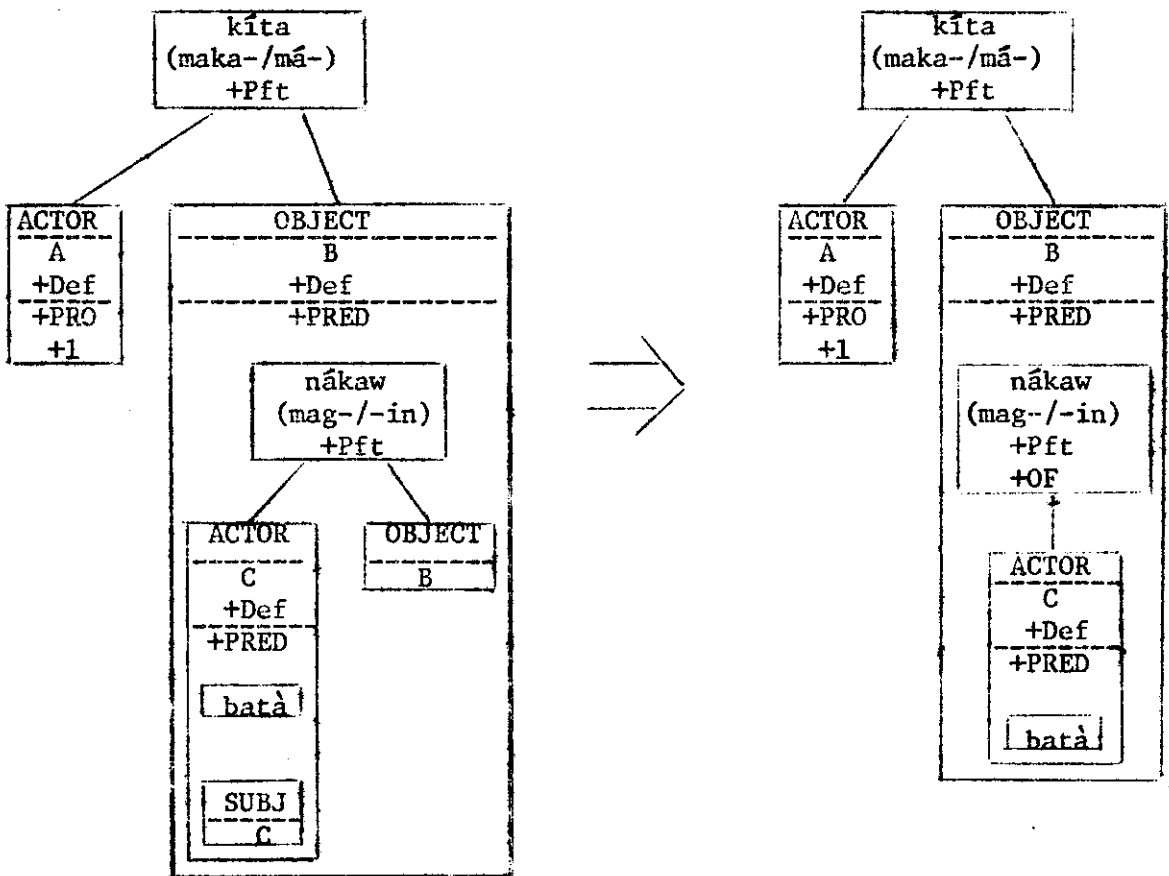
(Nákíta ko ang ninákaw ng batà.   'I saw the one that the child stole.')

RULE 2.   If one of the variables of a predicate is marked '+Exist',
the predicate is transformed into an existential predicate; the original
predicate (if a verb) takes a focus which would be appropriate if the
variable marked '+Exist' were its subject; that variable is deleted;
and if a definite actor variable is associated with the original predicate,
that variable becomes the subject of the existential.

    Schematically:

```
        ┌─VERB─┐                              ┌EXISTENTIAL┐
       ╱    │    ╲                           ╱          ╲
┌─VARIABLE─┐  (┌ACTOR┐)  (┌αVARIABLE┐)      (┌SURJECT┐)   ┌─VERB──┐
            (│  B  │)  (│    Λ    │)   ⟹   (│  B   │)   │+α-focus│
            (│+Def │)  (│  -Def   │)        (│ +Def │)   └───┬───┘
                       (│ +Exist  │)                    ┌VARIABLE┐
```

For example:

```
        ┌──────────┐                              ┌─walâ─┐
        │  bigáy   │                             ╱       ╲
        │(mag-/i-/-an)│                   ┌SUBJECT┐    ┌──────────┐
        │   +Pft   │                      │   A   │    │  bigáy   │
        └────┬─────┘            ⟹        │ +Def  │    │(mag-/i-/an)│
      ╱      │      ╲                     │ +PRO  │    │   +Pft   │
┌ACTOR┐ ┌OBJECT┐ ┌DIRECTION┐             │  +3   │    │   +OF    │
│  A  │ │  B   │ │    C    │              └───────┘    └────┬─────┘
│+Def │ │ -Def │ │  +Def   │                            ┌DIRECTION┐
│+PRO │ │-Exist│ │ +LABEL  │                            │    C    │
│ +3  │ └──────┘ │  Lorna  │                            │  +Def   │
└─────┘          └─────────┘                            │ +LABEL  │
                                                        │  Lorna  │
                                                        └─────────┘
```
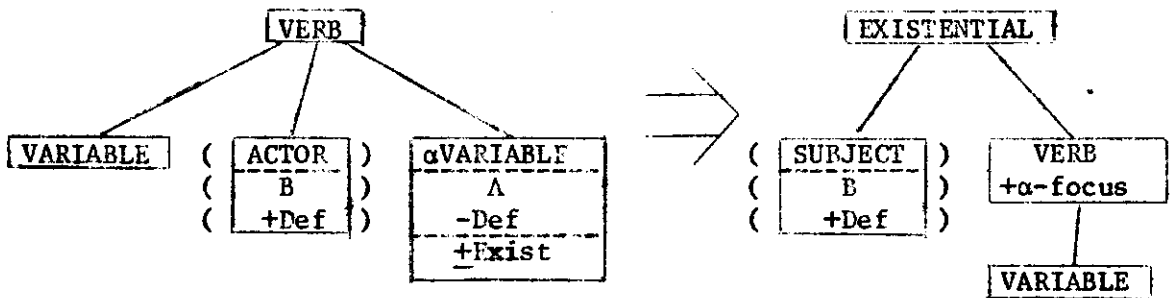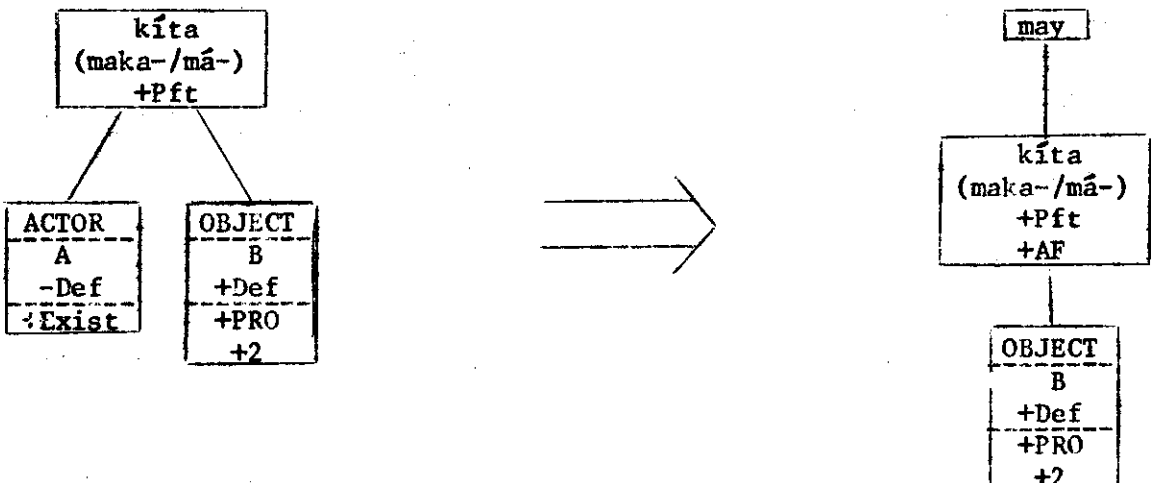
(Walâ siyáng ibinigáy kay Lorna. 'He didn't give Lorna anything.')

```
     ┌──────────┐                            ┌─may─┐
     │   kíta   │                               │
     │(maka-/má-)│                          ┌──────────┐
     │   +Pft   │                           │   kíta   │
     └────┬─────┘              ⟹           │(maka-/má-)│
    ╱      ╲                                │   +Pft   │
┌ACTOR┐ ┌OBJECT┐                            │   +AF    │
│  A  │ │  B   │                            └────┬─────┘
│-Def │ │ +Def │                              ┌OBJECT┐
│-Exist│ │+PRO │                              │  B   │
└──────┘ │ +2  │                              │ +Def │
         └─────┘                              │ +PRO │
                                              │  +2  │
                                              └──────┘
```
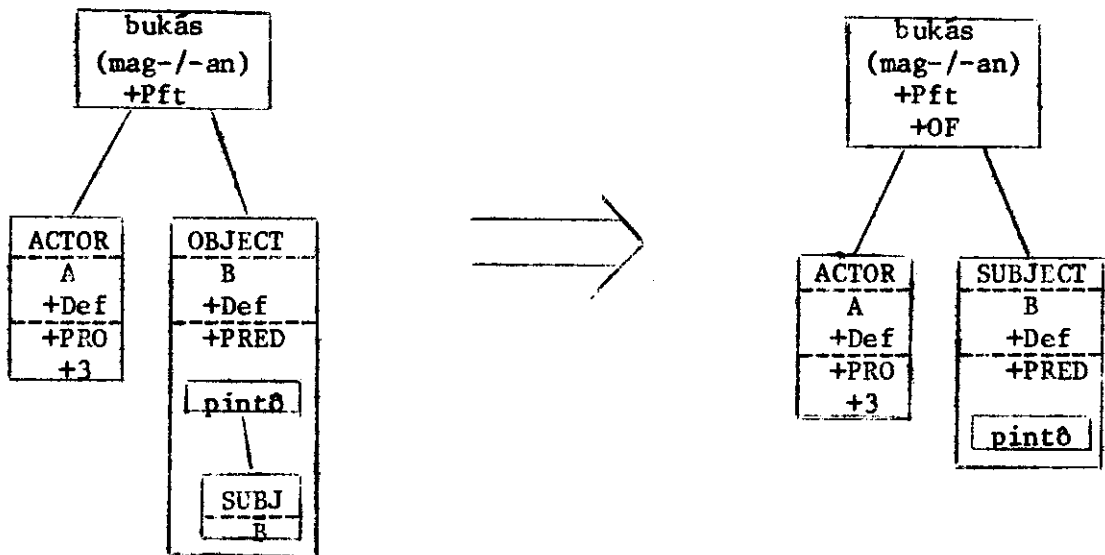
(May nakakíta sa iyó.   'Someone saw you.'

RULE 3. If (a) the verb is unrelativized, (b) none of its variables is marked +Exist', and (c) the object variable is marked '+Def', then the verb will be in object focus, and the object variable will be its subject.
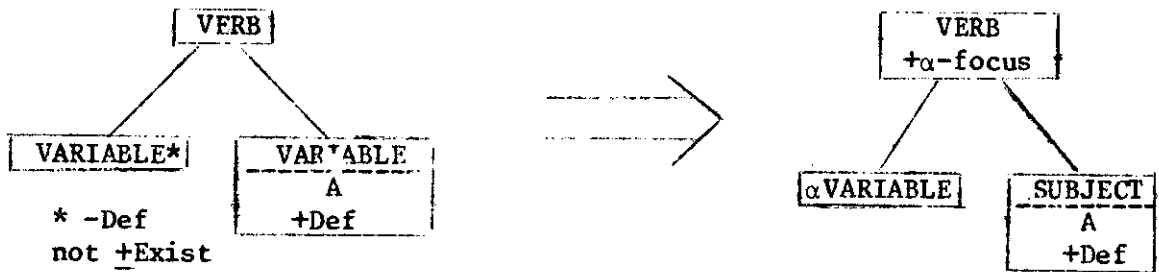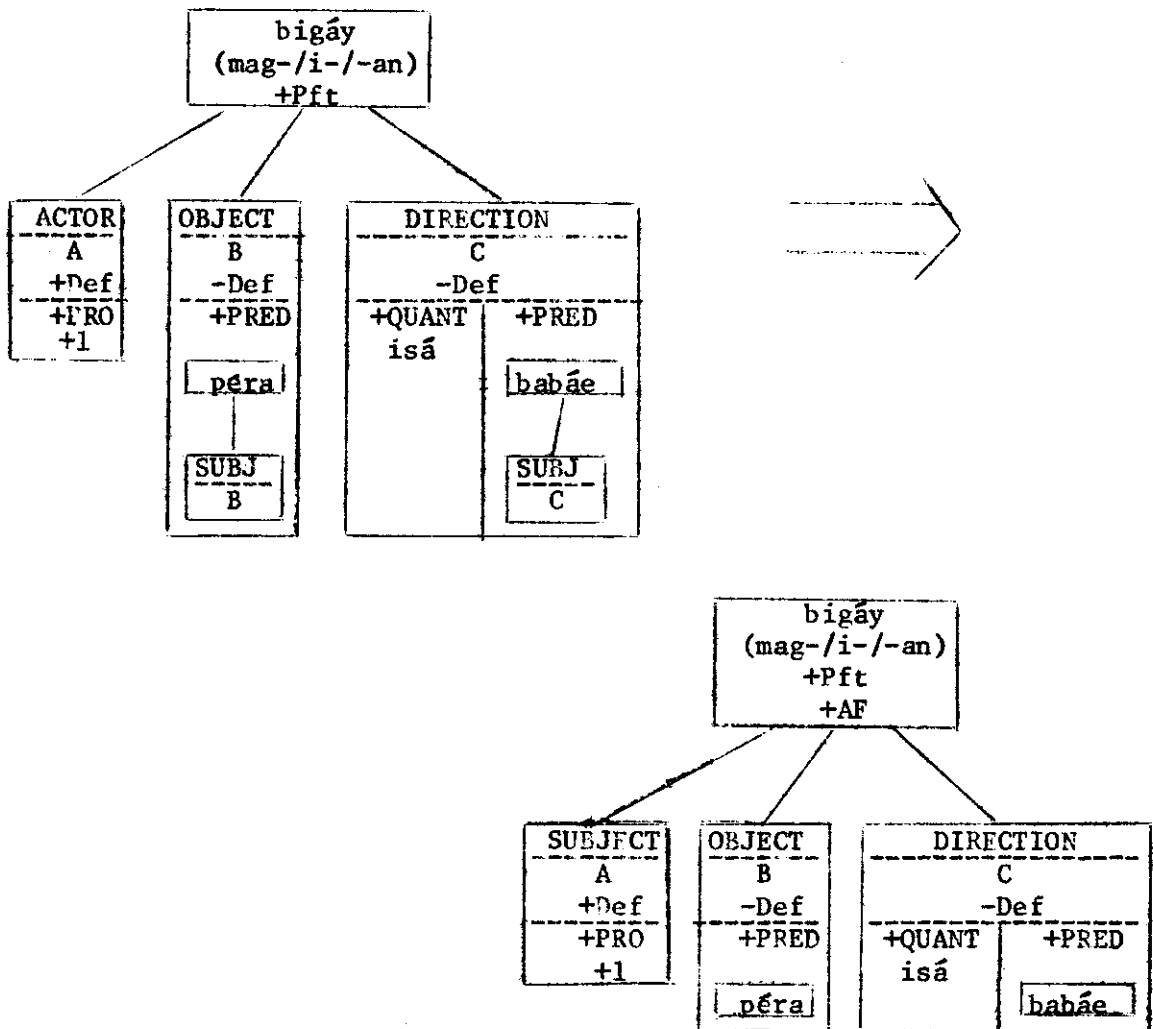
Schematically:
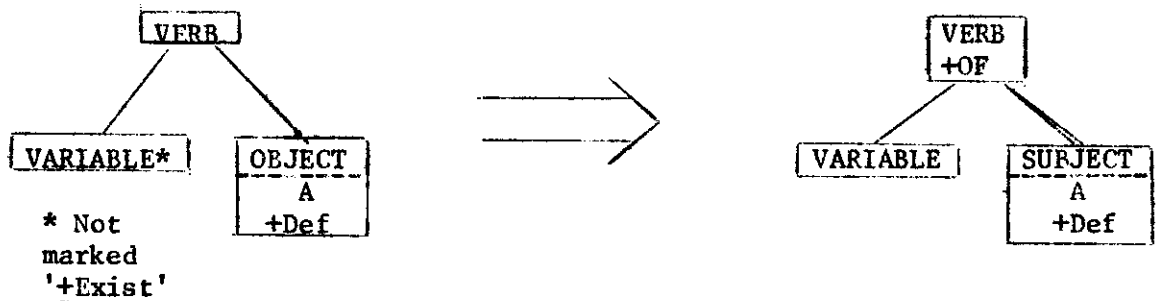
For example:

(Binuksán niyá ang pintô." 'He opened the door.')

RULE 4. If (a) the verb is unrelativized, (2) none of its variables is marked +Exist', (c) it does not have an object variable marked '+Def', and (d) only one other variable is marked '+Def', then that variable will be the subject, and the verb will have the appropriate focus.
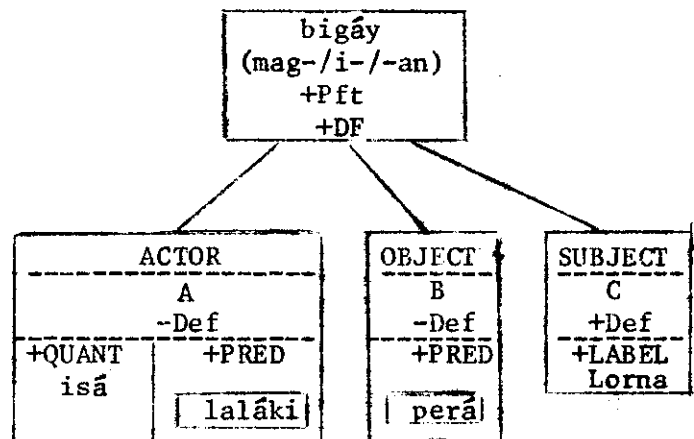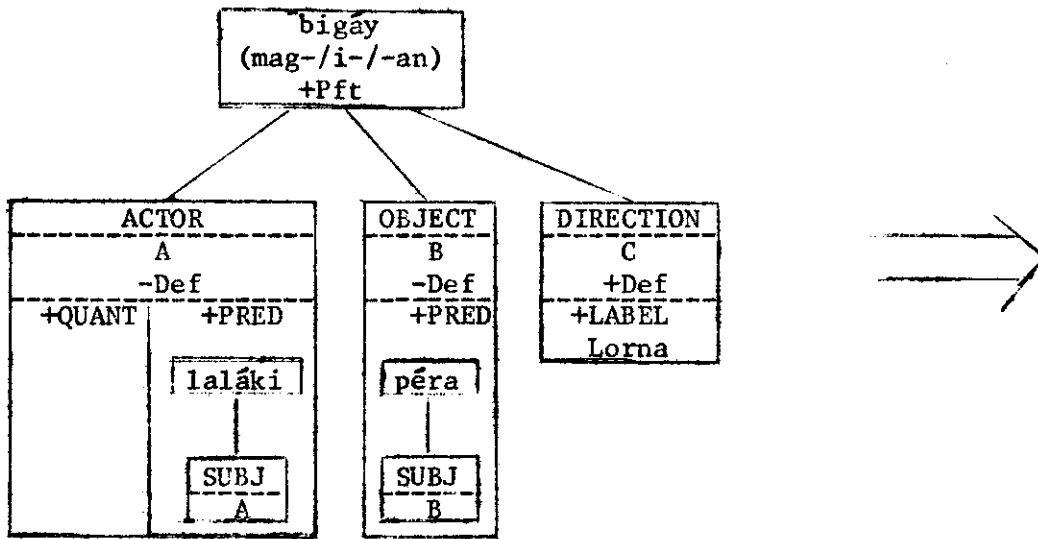
Schematically:

VERB

VARIABLE*

  * −Def
  not ±Exist

VARIABLE
A
+Def

⟹

VERB
+α−focus

αVARIABLE

SUBJECT
A
+Def

For example:

bigáy
(mag-/i-/-an)
+Pft

ACTOR
A
+Def
+PRO
+1

OBJECT
B
−Def
+PRED

péra

SUBJ
B

DIRECTION
C
−Def

+QUANT
isá

+PRED

babáe

SUBJ
C

⟹

bigáy
(mag-/i-/-an)
+Pft
+AF

SUBJECT
A
+Def
+PRO
+1

OBJECT
B
−Def
+PRED

péra

DIRECTION
C
−Def

+QUANT
isá

+PRED

babáe

(Nagbigáy akó ng péra sa isáng babáe. 'I gave money to a woman.'

```
                    ┌─────────────┐
                    │   bigáy     │
                    │(mag-/i-/-an)│
                    │   +Pft      │
                    └─────────────┘
           ┌───────────┼───────────────┐
  ┌────────────────┐ ┌──────────┐ ┌──────────────┐
  │     ACTOR      │ │  OBJECT  │ │  DIRECTION   │
  │- - - - - - - - │ │- - - - - │ │- - - - - - - │
  │       A        │ │    B     │ │      C       │
  │     -Def       │ │   -Def   │ │    +Def      │
  │- - - - - - - - │ │- - - - - │ │- - - - - - - │
  │+QUANT │ +PRED  │ │  +PRED   │ │   +LABEL     │
  │       │        │ │          │ │    Lorna     │
  │    ┌───────┐   │ │ ┌──────┐ │ └──────────────┘
  │    │ laláki│   │ │ │ péra │ │
  │    └───────┘   │ │ └──────┘ │
  │       │        │ │    │     │
  │    ┌──────┐    │ │ ┌──────┐ │
  │    │ SUBJ │    │ │ │ SUBJ │ │
  │    │  A   │    │ │ │  B   │ │
  │    └──────┘    │ │ └──────┘ │
  └────────────────┘ └──────────┘
```

⟹

```
                          ┌─────────────┐
                          │   bigáy     │
                          │(mag-/i-/-an)│
                          │   +Pft      │
                          │   +DF       │
                          └─────────────┘
                  ┌──────────────┼──────────────┐
      ┌──────────────────┐ ┌──────────┐ ┌──────────────┐
      │      ACTOR       │ │  OBJECT  │ │   SUBJECT    │
      │- - - - - - - - - │ │- - - - - │ │- - - - - - - │
      │        A         │ │    B     │ │      C       │
      │      -Def        │ │   -Def   │ │    +Def      │
      │- - - - - - - - - │ │- - - - - │ │- - - - - - - │
      │+QUANT │  +PRED   │ │  +PRED   │ │   +LABEL     │
      │ isá   │          │ │          │ │    Lorna     │
      │       │ ┌──────┐ │ │ ┌──────┐ │ └──────────────┘
      │       │ │laláki│ │ │ │ perá │ │
      │       │ └──────┘ │ │ └──────┘ │
      └──────────────────┘ └──────────┘
```
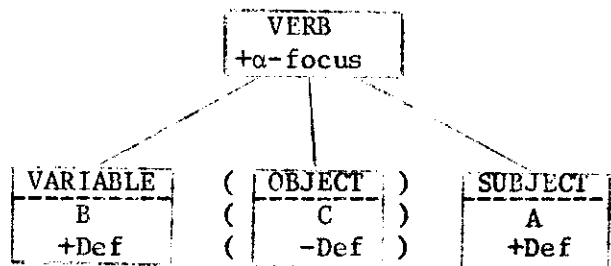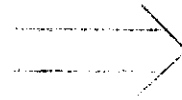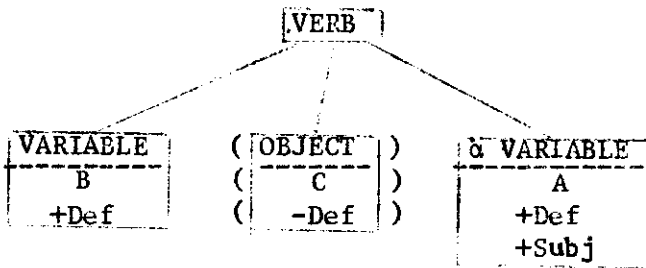
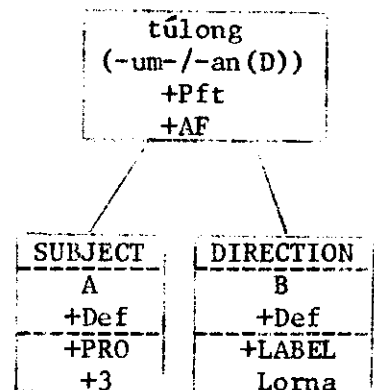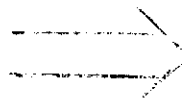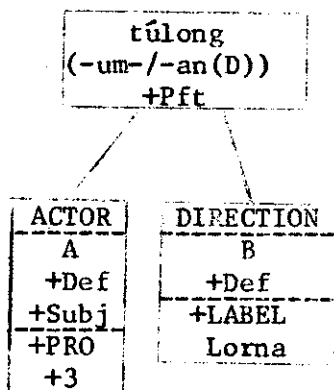(Binigyán ng péra ng isáng laláki si Lorna. 'A man gave money to Lorna.')

RULE 5. If (a) the verb is unrelativized, (b) none of the vari-
ables is marked '+Exist', (c) there is no object variable marked '+Def',
and (d) two or more other variables are marked '+Def', then one of these
variables must be chosen as the subject, and marked '+Subj'.
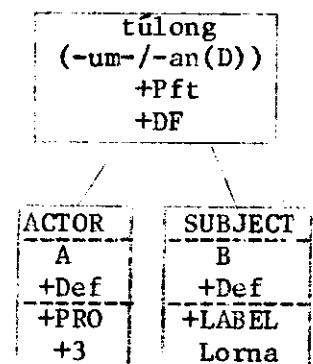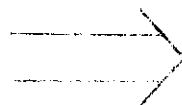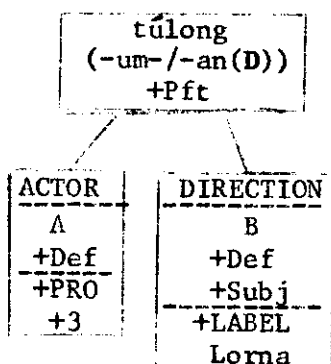
Schematically:

VERB

VARIABLE
B
+Def

(OBJECT)
(C)
(-Def)

α VARIABLE
A
+Def
+Subj

⟹

VERB
+α-focus

VARIABLE
B
+Def

(OBJECT)
(C)
(-Def)

SUBJECT
A
+Def

For example:

túlong
(-um-/-an(D))
+Pft

ACTOR
A
+Def
+Subj
+PRO
+3

DIRECTION
B
+Def
+LABEL
Lorna

⟹

túlong
(-um-/-an(D))
+Pft
+AF

SUBJECT
A
+Def
+PRO
+3

DIRECTION
B
+Def
+LABEL
Lorna

(Tumúlong siyá kay Lorna.   'He helped Lorna.')

túlong
(-um-/-an(D))
+Pft

ACTOR
A
+Def
+PRO
+3

DIRECTION
B
+Def
+Subj
+LABEL
Lorna

⟹

túlong
(-um-/-an(D))
+Pft
+DF

ACTOR
A
+Def
+PRO
+3

SUBJECT
B
+Def
+LABEL
Lorna

(Tinulúngan niyá si Lorna.   'He helped Lorna.')

This is as far as I will go, leaving at least this area of freedom for the speaker to select the sentence subject and verb focus. If we were to go on and explore the operation of reference and other matters within a discourse, we would find additional restrictions on this freedom. In many cases subject selection will be conditioned by the preceding context.

Also, my discussion here has avoided, or neglected, the more complex syntactic structures of Tagalog and other Philippine languages. The model presented is fairly skeletal. However, I am satisfied that the more complex structures can be handled in much the same manner.

Bikol and Tagalog are very closely related languages; it is not surprising that both submit to roughly the same analysis. However, from what I have studied and heard of other Philippine languages, it seems that much of the analysis presented here applies to many of them as well, even remotely related Philippine languages. This is apparently especially true of the constraint on definite object complements. I am eager to hear from students and speakers of other Philippine languages with regard to ways in which those languages resemble or differ from Tagalog in this matter—and of course, with regard to any criticism they may have of this analysis as it applies to Tagalog.

FOOTNOTES

[1]For example, Paul Schachter "The Subject in Philippine Languages: Topic, Actor, Actor-Topic, or None of the Above" and Arthur Schwartz, "On the Universality of Subjects: The Ilocano Case," both in Charles N. Li, (ed.) Subject and Topic (New York: Academic Press, Inc. 1976).

[2]Charles J. Fillmore, "The Case for Case," in Emmon Bach and Robert T. Harms, Universals in Linguistic Theory (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968), p. 55. The statement was made in reference to Maranao, a southern Philippine language which was taken to be representative of Philippine languages in general. As far as I know the constraint discussed here also applies to Maranao.

[3]There has been considerable discussion about what term should be applied to this particular constituent. In this paper I call it the 'subject'. Others call it the 'topic,' as in the Fillmore quote. Paul Schachter and Fe T. Otanes, Tagalog Reference Grammar (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972) use 'topic'. Howard McKaughan was one of the first to use the term 'topic' (The Inflection and Syntax of Maranao Verbs (Manila: Institute of National Language, 1958)), but has since returned to 'subject' ("Subject versus Topic" in Andrew B.

Gonzales (ed.), Parangal kay Cecilio Lopez (Quezon City: Linguistic
Society of the Philippines, 1973)). Relational grammarians treat
'subject' as a universal given, which may or may not be this particular
constituent (cf. the Schachter and Schwartz papers cited above). Some
have opted for a third term, such as 'focused item' (e.g. Lou Hohulin
and Austin Hale, "Notes on Keley-i Relational Grammar - I" Studies
in Philippine Linguistics, Vol. I, No. 2, 1977).

I am myself guilty of some wavering on this matter. I used the
term 'subject' in my dissertation, "The Dialects of the Bikol Area"
(Yale, 1974). In my A Provisional Classification of Tagalog Verbs
(Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia
and Africa, Tokyo Gaikokugo Daigaku, 1976) I tried to stick close to
the Schachter and Otanes terminology and therefore used 'topic'. Now
I am back to 'subject'.

[4]The Tagalog data in this paper have been drawn from my personal
study and use of the language during my current extended stay in Manila,
and from a survey of written Tagalog in the course of preparing my
Provisional Classification.

The transcription used follows the standard Tagalog orthography,
with the addition of accents to indicate vowel length and glottal stop.
This accentual system is similar to the one currently in use at the
Institute of National Language. The essential points are as follows:

$$(C)\acute{V}CV(C) \quad = \quad /CV{:}CV(C)/ \quad (e.g.\ péra = /pe{:}ra/)$$
$$(C)VC(C)\acute{V}(C) \quad = \quad /CVC(C)V(C)/ \quad (e.g.\ kamí = /kami/)$$
$$(C)VC\acute{V} \quad = \quad /CV{:}CV?/ \quad (e.g.\ batà = /ba{:}ta?/)$$
$$(C)VC(C)\acute{V} \quad = \quad /CVC(C)V?/ \quad (e.g.\ pintô = /pintô?/)$$

Any word beginning (orthographically) with a vowel begins phonetically
with a glottal stop; e.g. ákin = /?a:kin/. An orthographic sequence
of vowels is separated by a glottal stop; e.g. babáe = /baba:?e/. A
glottal stop following a consonant is indicated by a hyphen; e.g.
mag-abót = /mag?abot/.

In the numbering of examples, 'T', 'B', and 'E', indicate Tagalog,
Bikol, and English examples, respectively. In most cases, Tagalog and
Bikol examples sharing the same number have the same English translation.

[5]The Bikol presented here is that spoken in Legaspi City. Except
for some minor differences, this is virtually the same dialect spoken
in Naga City and the majority of towns in Camarines Sur and Albay.
The Bikol data were gathered during research for my dissertation, and
also from my wife, Bendeth, who is a native of Bacacay, Albay.

The transcription is the same as for Tagalog. Note, however, that
glottal stop clusters are indicated as follows:

$$(C)\bar{V}-CV(C) = /CV?CV(C)/ \quad (e.g. \; t\grave{a}-wan = /ta?wan/)$$
/o/ and /u/ are not distinctive in Bikol; however, the standard orthography follows the Tagalog u-o spelling rule.

[6]Some of these reasons are brought out in the subsequent discussion of "Reference". See also Provisional Classification, p.3.

[7]The primary distinction is that ka is always enclitic, whereas iká can occur as the first element in a sentence or clause. The same distinction applies to Tagalog ka and ikáw.

[8]These forms are in free variation.

[9]Legaspi su = Naga si; Legaspi ki = Naga nin.

[10]See Dialects, p.

[11]This discussion essentially follows that found in Schacter and Otanes, pp. 71-81. However, my terminology is somewhat different. See Provisional Classification, pp. 6-8.

[12]Schachter and Otanes, p. 69.

[13]This discussion essentially follows Schachter and Otanes, pp. 293ff. Also see Provisional Classification, pp. 15-19.

[14]Schachter and Otanes, pp. 68-69.

[15]See Provisional Classification, pp. 4-5. The treatment here is quite different from that of Schachter and Otanes.

[16]The model presented in the conclusion of this paper does not contain 'underlying sentences'. The term is used here because it will be familiar and convenient to most readers.

[17]E.g. pumatáy 'to kill', Schachter and Otanes, pp. 299-300.

[18]Provisional Classification, p. 18; Schachter and Otanes, pp. 314ff.

[19]Cf. Teresita V. Ramos, The Case System of Tagalog Verbs (Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, Series B--No. 27, 1974), pp. 3-6.

[20]Teresita Ramos in her Case System has found some very interesting semantic criteria for distinguishing the various verb classes. However, a large number of verbs diverge from these criteria.

[21]Schachter and Otanes, p. 96. Actually there are a large number of subjects which might be treated as having an indefinite reading. However Schachter and Otanes' statement is true in most cases.

[22]Generic reference occurs only in a limited number of contexts; it does not play an important role in the subsequent discussion, which is primarily concerned with the distinction between definite and indefinite reference.

[23]Schachter and Otanes, p. 59: "The sentence types whose structure is outlined are considered basic for two reasons: first, they are, in general, the shortest and simplest types of complete sentences that occur in the language; second, the structure of other, more complex, types of sentences may be described as resulting from particular elaborations or combinations of elements from the basic sentence types."

[24]Since this discussion is quite long, and there are no critical differences between Tagalog and Bikol in this matter, the model will be presented only with regard to Tagalog.

[25]Provisional Classification, pp. 12-14; Schachter and Otanes, pp. 66-68.

[26]Provisional Classification, pp. 21-23; Schachter and Otanes, "Indirect-action verbs," pp. 321ff.

[27]Provisional Classification, pp. 19-21; Schachter and Otanes, "Ability and involuntary-action verb," pp. 330ff.

[28]Other pronouns are marked as follows:

akó	'I'	+1
ikáw	'you (sg)'	+2
siyá	'he, she'	+3
táyo	'we (incl)'	+12
kamí	'we (excl)'	+13
kayó	'you (pl)'	+23
silá	'they'	+33