

The ARCHIVE  
Special Monograph Issue No. 7  
February 1, 1980, pp. 1-55

THE STRUCTURE OF TAGALOG

by

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### ABBREVIATIONS

abs. att. = absolute attribution, absolute attribute; C = consonant;  
conj. attr. = conjunctive attribution, conjunctive attribute; disj. attr.  
= disjunctive attribution, disjunctive attribute; encl. = enclitic; excl.  
= exclusive; incl. = inclusive; loc. attr. = local attribution, local  
attribute; nm = common noun marker; P = predicate; pl. = plural;  
Pm = predicate marker; pm = personal name marker; R1 = doubling;  
R2 = re-duplication of the first CV of the WB; S = subject; ser. rel.  
= serial relation; sg. = singular; WB = word-base.

The colon (:) after a vowel or R2 without space stands for length.

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### 1. The Phonemes

There are 21 segmental phonemes and one supra-segmental phonemic contrast. Of these 14 are consonants, 5 are vowels and 2 are semivowels.

#### 1.1. Consonants

Voiceless and voiced bilabial stops /p, b/: pasáq 'contusion', basáq 'wet'. In unassimilated borrowed words with voiceless and voiced fricatives /f, v/, there is competition between the pronunciation of educated speakers who retain the foreign phonemes and of uneducated monolinguals who convert the foreign phonemes to the closest Tagalog equivalents: Filipinas vs. Pilipinas 'The Philippines', vakasyón vs. bakasyón 'vacation'.

Voiceless and voiced alveolar stops /t, d/: tayáq 'bet', dayaq 'cheat'. In derivations /d/ is often replaced by /r/ when intervocalic: ma- + dunong 'wisdom', marunong 'wise; knowledgeable'.

Voiceless and voiced velar stops /k, g/: kulang 'lacking', gulang 'maturity'.

Glottal stop /q/: bagaq 'lung' (absence of glottal stop, baga 'embers'). Within continuous discourse the glottal stop is often lost, particularly in accelerated speech, except at the beginning of an utterance after a pause and before a final pause.

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Voiced bilabial, alveolar and velar nasals /m, n, ng/: mangga 'mango', nangkák 'jackfruit', ngayón 'now'. Final /n/ is lost before ng, the shortened allomorph of the conjunctive marker na: hanging malamig (fr. hangin na malamig) 'cold wind'. As the first member of a nasal-stop morpheme boundary consonant cluster /ng/ is assimilated to the following stop forming a homorganic nasal combination or nasal substitution: pang- + bilí 'buy', pambilí '(money) for making purchases', mang- + bundók 'mountain' mamundók 'to live in the mountains (fixed or roaming)'.

Voiced alveolar lateral and flap /l, r/: muláq 'from; since', muraq 'immature'. /r/ occurs only in syllable initial within a morpheme: garaw 'day; sun', but in unassimilated borrowed words it occurs freely: regalo 'gift', pareho 'equal', altár 'altar'.

Voiceless grooved alveolar fricative /s/ and voiceless laryngeal fricative /h/: sipón 'catarrh', hipon 'shrimp'. Like /p, b/ competing with /f, v/, in unassimilated borrowed words there is competition between /s/ and the affricate /ts/: tsitsiryá vs. sitsiryá 'gossip'.

Consonant clusters of two members occur only across syllable boundaries, but in unassimilated borrowed words clusters occur freely: tren 'train', klerk 'clerk'. In reduplication the first member of the cluster is followed by a vowel in the manner of vowel harmony: magti:tren 'will take the train'.

All consonants except /h/ occur in initial and final of syllables;

however, /h/ is perceptible in the pronunciation of some speakers of the exclamations /qah/, /qoh/. Some linguists write /h/ in morpheme final after a vowel. I do not follow the practice in this paper because, as far as I am concerned, it is due to over-phonemicization.

## 1.2. Vowels

/a/ is low unrounded, as a in English father: qamá 'father'.

/i/ is high front unrounded, as i in English pity: piliq 'choose'.

/e/ is mid front unrounded and in unassimilated borrowed words contrasts with /i/: tela 'cloth; fabric', tila 'it seems'. In syllable final /i/ alternates with /e/: piliq, pileq 'choose'. Before a suffix alternation does not occur: piliq + -in, piliqin 'to be chosen', but the /i/ of the suffix is susceptible to lowering being in syllable final: piliqen.

/u/ is high back rounded, as spelled oo in English pool: suhol 'bribe'.

/o/ is mid back rounded and in unassimilated borrowed words contrasts with /u/: poso 'artesian well', pusoq 'heart'. Before a suffix /o/ is raised to /u/: putol 'cut' + -an, putulan '(something) to be cut (of a part)', or with -in, putulin '(something) to be cut'.

Sequences of like vowels are interrupted by the glottal stop: daqan 'road; way', liqíg (also leqég) 'neck', doqón 'over yonder'. Hiatus is also heard instead of the glottal stop. Of these sequences -oqo- is often raised to /u/ after loss of -q- and crasis: p-in-a-run-án (fr. pa- + in- + doqón + -an) '(something or somebody) gone to'.

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### 1.3. Semivowels

The high vowels /i/ and /u/ are always non-syllabic when they do not have stress potential and are not adjacent to consonants. They are then written /y/ and /w/: hayop 'animal', hiwaq 'slice'. In syllable final they form diphthongs.

### 1.4. Diphthongs

There are five diphthongs. /ay/ as in English fly: palay 'unhulled rice'; /aw/ as in English how: quhaw 'thirst'; /iw/ is /i/ with the lips drawn back then rounded for /u/, somewhat like the pronunciation of spelled ee-oo in English or of French oui reversed: sisiw 'chick'; /oy/ as in English toy: baboy 'pig'. The fifth diphthong is a sequence of two high front unrounded vowels, the first syllabic /i/ and the second non-syllabic /y/. It occurs in phrases where a word ending in i is followed by the shortened allomorph y of the predicate marker ay in subject-predicate order: kamiy (fr. kami ay) 'we are'.

## 2. The Syllable

There are two types of syllable: CV, qa sa 'hope'; CVC, big kís 'bundle'.

One-morpheme words have the following structures: CV, sa 'to; from'; CVC, qang 'the'; CV. CV, la sa 'taste'; CV. CVC, sú. lat 'write; letter'; CVC. CV, lan. tá 'withered'; CVC. CVC, qis. dáq 'fish'; CV. CV. CV, la. la. ki 'man; male'; CV. CV. CVC, bu. lu. tong 'smallpox'; CV. CVC. CVC, bu. lak. lák 'flower'; CVC. CV. CV, tum. ba. ga 'copper and gold alloy';

CVC. CV. CVC, tang. ha. liq 'noon'.

Not very common one-morpheme words are: CV. CV. CV. CV,  
qa. li. ma. ngo 'a species of crab (Neptunus armatus M. Edw.)', CV. CV. CV.  
 CVC, qa. li. ma. sag 'a species of crab (Neptunus gladiator Fabr.)',  
 CVC. CV. CV. CV, gam. pa. la. yá 'balsamapple (Momordica balsamina L.)',  
 CVC. CV. CV. CV. CV, sam. pa. la. ta. ya 'belief; faith'.

### 3. Accent and Pitch

There is one suprasegmental phonemic contrast, namely, stress. Words differ in meaning depending on the place of the stress: gaso 'dog', gasó 'smoke'. But generally speaking, the place of the stress is unpredictable. In disyllabic words the stress falls either on the penultima (barytone) or on the ultima (oxytone),<sup>1</sup> and the other syllable has no stress. The syllable of a barytone is slightly longer than the following syllable and has a slightly higher pitch. In polysyllabic words a secondary stress may be detected, but since it is non-phonemic only the primary is indicated in this paper, by an acute accent over the vowel of the syllable. For reasons of economy and by tradition, the primary stress is not indicated if it falls on the penultima, whether in unaffixed words or in derivatives.

Some prefixes have potential long vowels and in derivatives, particularly of verbs, length gives rise to differences in aspect: madalá 'to be able to carry (potential)', ma:dalá 'to be carried (unintentional)'. It is highly likely that stress conditions length as

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happens in reduplication: qisá 'one', qi:qisá 'only one'. A long vowel is automatically stressed, so the stress is not indicated.

Intonational features are marked by a comma for non-final pause and a period for the final pause. A capital letter following a period marks the onset of a new intonation contour.<sup>2</sup> Details on intonation are not discussed here because it varies from province to province, even from town to town in the same province, and so far there is not as yet what may be labelled 'standard' intonation.

3.1. Barytone are: (1) disyllabic words with unlike vowels: taqo 'man; human being'; (2) disyllabic words formed by doubling of CV-syllable: pipi 'dumb'; (3) trisyllabic words with the second and last formed by doubling of CV-syllable: halili 'replacement; substitute'; (4) all possessive forms of personal pronouns ending in -in: qakin 'my; mine', qamin, namin 'our; ours (excl.)', qatin, natin 'our; ours (incl.)'; (5) the interrogatives sino 'who' and its derivatives nino 'whose; by whom (encl.)', kanino 'whose (procl.)' and the derivatives of qanó (oxytone) 'what', as gaqano 'how much', paqano 'how', magkano 'how much', magkakano 'how much each'; (6) higher numerals; daqan 'hundred', libo 'thousand', yutaq 'hundred thousand', qangaw 'million', except lakság (oxytone) 'ten thousand'; (7) words ending in a consonant formed by doubling: qalangqalang 'respect; consideration'.

3.2. Oxytone are: (1) disyllabic words of which the first syllable ends in a high vowel followed by its corresponding non-syllabic: tiyán 'belly',



buwan 'moon; month'; (2) words with medial consonant clusters, including diphthongs; pantáy 'level', paypáy 'fan', except minsan 'once', pinsan 'cousin', which are barytone; (3) all nominative forms of the personal pronouns: qakó 'I', qikáw 'you (sg.)', siyá 'he; she', kitá 'you and I (dual)', kamí 'we (excl.)', kayó 'you (pl.)', silá 'they', except tayo 'we (incl.)'; (4) all possessive forms of the personal pronouns ending in a vowel: qiyó 'your; yours (sg.)', kaniyá 'his; her; hers (procl.)', niya 'his; her (encl.)', qinyo 'your; yours (pl. procl.)', ninyó 'your (pl. encl.)', kanilá 'their; theirs (procl.)', nila 'their (encl.)', except the monosyllabic mo 'your (sg.)'; (5) all nominative and possessive forms of the demonstrative pronouns: qitó 'this', nitó 'of this', qiyán 'that', niyán 'of that', qiyón 'over yonder', niyón 'of that over yonder; the locative dito, dine 'here' are barytone, diyán 'there' and doqón 'over yonder' oxytone; (6) the numerals ending in a vowel: qisá '1', dalawá '2', tatló '3', limá '5', pitó '7', waló '8', except sampúq '10'; but those ending in a consonant are barytone: qapat '4', qanim '6', siyam '9'.

### 3.3. Atonics

Monosyllabic particles and some enclitics are atonic.

The most common monosyllabic particles are: qang, the noun marker 'the', qat, the serial marker 'and', qay 'the predicate marker', kung, the conditional marker 'if', na, 'the conjunctive marker (generally used after a word ending in a consonant)', qo 'or', sa, the loc. rel. marker 'to; from', si 'the personal marker'.

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The most common monosyllabic enclitics are: ka 'you (sg.)', ko 'my', mo 'your', kay 'to (a person)', ba 'the interrogative marker', daw quotative 'it is said', din, inclusive 'also', man 'also', na conclusive 'already; certainly; really', pa inconclusive 'more; yet; still'; po, 'marker of respect'.

### 3.4. Shift of Stress

Certain words are nouns when barytone, adjectives when oxytone: bilog 'roundness', bilóg 'round', galit 'anger', galít 'angry'.

Some barytones when used in certain verb derivations have intensified meaning when the stress is shifted forward: sulat 'write; letter', magsulát 'to write much or continuously'.

Some words, whether barytone or oxytone, when used in certain derivations, either do not shift the stress or shift it backward or forward, particularly those expressing occupation: qisdáq 'fish', magqiqisdáq 'fish dealer' (no shift), qaso 'dog', ma:ngangasó 'one who hunts with the help of dogs' (forward shift), singíl 'collect debt', ma:niningíl 'debt collector' (backward shift).

Barytone and oxytone words, where there is syncope resulting from suffixation, shift the stress to the last syllable of the derivative: putol 'cut' (barytone) + -in, putlín '(something) to be cut', qasín 'salt' (oxytone) + -an, qasnán '(something) to be salted', and with words ending in a diphthong, bigáy 'give; given' (oxytone) + -an, bigyán '(someone) to be given to (something)'.

## 4. Morphology

The meanings of WB's are not always distinctly definable. Some are concrete, like qaraw 'day; sun', others are abstract, like sama 'companionship', verblike, as kaqin 'eat', contrastive, like bilí 'buy; sell' depending on the affix, etc. From WB's derivatives are formed in the following manner.

(1) Doubling: qarawqaraw 'every day', tagúntaqón 'every year' (fr. taqón 'year' (without ligature), batambataq 'very young' (fr. bataq 'child; young' with ligature), malakílakí 'somewhat big' (fr. lakí 'size; bigness' without ligature), malakíngmalakí 'very big' (with ligature)'.  
 (2) Reduplication of the first CV of the WB: qa:qalís 'will go away' (fr. qalís 'go away'), sa:sampúq 'only ten' (fr. sampúq 'ten'), su:sulat 'will write' (fr. sulat 'letter; write').

(3) Affixation: prefix: kasama 'companion' (fr. ka- + sama 'companionship'); infix: kumaqin 'to eat; ate' (fr. kaqin 'eat' + -um-); suffix: hugasan 'to be washed' (fr. hugas 'wash' + -an); combination of any two or more of the preceding processes; magtumulin 'to go fast' (fr. mag- + -um- + tulin 'fastness'), tinulungan '(someone) was helped (by another)' (fr. tulong 'help' + -in- + -an), pinaghugasan 'place where something was washed; liquid (usually water) left after something washed in it' (fr. pag- + -in- + hugas 'wash' + -an).

(4) Affixation: R2: magpi:pintá 'will paint' (fr. mag- + pinta 'paint').

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(5) Compounding: asyntactic: hampáslupaq 'vagabond' (fr. hampás 'hit; strike' + lupaq 'ground; earth'); semi-syntactic: sanlámbilí 'mortgage with option to buy' (fr. sanlák 'mortgage; pawn' + -ng+ bilí 'buy; sell'); syntactic: daqantaqón 'century' (fr. daqan 'hundred' + taqón 'year').

(6) Combination of any two or more of the preceding processes:  
qarawqarawin 'to be done every day' (fr. R1 of qaraw + -in),  
pagpu:putulputulín '(something will be cut to pieces' (fr. pag- + R2: and R1 of putol 'cut' + -in), magpahampáshampáslupaq 'will live the life of a vagabond' (fr. magpa- + R1 of hampás + hampaslupaq);  
maglu:lumabáspasok 'will be going out and coming in repeatedly' (fr. mag- + R2: of lumabas 'to go out; went out', WB labás 'outside; go out' + pasok 'enter').

### 4. 7. Formation of Nouns

Nouns are either unaffixed WB's or derivatives formed by the usual morphological processes.

4. 7. 1 Unaffixed WB's: qabó 'ash', bahay 'house'.

#### 4. 7. 2. Derivatives:

(1) -an, -han express place: hi:gaqan 'place for sleeping' (fr. higáq 'lie down'); containers, current price, weights and measures: tubigán 'water container' (tubig 'water'), bi:lihan 'current market-price' (bilí 'buy; sell'), timbangán 'balance; scale' (timbang 'weigh; weight').

(2) hi-, hing- express abstract ideas: higantí 'revenge'

(gantí 'reciprocate'), hinakít, hinanakít 'resentment' (sakít 'pain; sickness').

(3) -in- -hin express color of fowls: qabuhín 'chicken with ashy color' (qabó 'ash'); direct object of action: qinumín 'drinking water' (qinóm 'drink'); + R2, value or buying price: pipisuhin 'one-peso bill; commodity worth one peso' (piso 'peso'); + R2, material: babaruqin 'material for making dress' (baroq 'dress'); susceptibility: si:punin 'susceptible to cold' (sipón 'cold; catarrh'); origin: si:langanín 'from the east' (silangan 'east').

(4) -in- expresses product of action: sinaqing 'boiled rice' (saqing 'cook rice'); + R2, relationship in the compadrazgo system: qina:amá 'godfather as baptismal, confirmational or marriage sponsor' (qamá 'father'); + R2, relationship not legally sanctioned: kina:kasama 'concubinage' (kasama 'companion', sama 'companionship').

(5) -in- ... -an, -han express product: initlugán 'eatables with eggs as one of the ingredients' (itlóg 'egg').

(6) ka- expresses ethnic relationship: kalahiq 'of the same race or nationality' (lahiq 'race'); companionship, participation: katulong 'helpmate' (tulong 'help'); unit: kaputol 'one cut-off piece' (putol 'cut'); co-participation, with asyntactic compounds: kaqagáwsuso 'nursed from the same breast (said of two infants of different mothers but nursed by one of the mothers only)' (qagaw 'snatch', suso 'breast').

(7) ka- ... -an, -han express abstract ideas: kapalalugan 'arrogance; humbug' (paláloq 'arrogant', laloq 'more; exceeding'); abundance: kapawiran 'where the majority of the houses are made of nipa'

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(pawid 'nipa'); collectivity: kasangkapan 'tools, as a carpenter's tools (also a single tool)' (sangkáp 'component part'); center of attraction: kabalitaqan 'place, object, or person of fame or notoriety' (balitaq 'news; famous'); ethnic or geographic entity: katagalugan 'the Tagalog people and the land inhabited by them'; mutuality, with syntactic compounds and affixes in the first constituent: kapala:gayangloqób 'intimate; confidant' (palagáy 'carefree', lagáy 'situation; circumstance', loqób 'inside; interior'); abstract ideas with R2: kagagawan '(something) provoked or incited (by someone)' (gawáq 'work; do').

(8) mag- expresses reciprocal relationship (dual): maggamá 'father and child' (gamá 'father'); plural with R2: magqama 'father and children'; +R2, occupation: magqitlóg 'dealer in eggs; egg vendor' (qitlóg 'egg').

(9) magka- expresses identity, association (dual): magkawikaq 'of, speaking, the same language' (wikaq 'language'); and plural with reduplication of ka: magkakawikaq.

(10) magpa- with reduplication of pa expresses vocation, occupation: magpapalimós 'beggar' (limós 'alms').

(11) mang- + R2 expresses occupation: manggagawaq 'laborer' (gawáq 'do; work'), ma:nanayaw 'taxi dancer' (sayáw 'dance'); value, weight, measure: mamiso 'one-peso bill; worth one peso each' (piso 'peso'), mandipá 'a fathom long each' (dipá 'fathom; length from tips of fingers with arms extended sideways').

(12) pa- expresses concrete ideas: paqunawaq 'notice; announcement' (qunawaq 'understanding; knowledge of'); request, order: pabilí '(something) requested to be bought' (bilí 'buy; sell'); figurative ideas, with asyntactic compounds: pakitanggilas 'grandstand tactics' (kita 'see', gilas 'liveliness; spiritedness').

(13) pag- + R2 expresses abstract ideas: pagqibig 'love' (qibig 'like; desire'), pagqiqisip 'common sense; mentality' (qisip 'mind').

(14) pa:...-an, -han express place: pa:qaralán 'schoolhouse' (qaral 'study; teach').

(15) pagka- expresses abstract ideas: pagkataqo 'human nature' (taqo 'man; human being'); with ka reduplicated, abstract ideas (collective): pagkakagutom 'starvation' (gutom 'hunger').

(16) pagka- ... -an, -han, ka reduplicated with length, express collective-reciprocal ideas: pagkaka:tuwaqan 'merriment' (tuwaq 'joy; happiness').

(17) paki- expresses request: pakibilí '(something) requested to be bought' (bilí 'buy; sell').

(18) pa:ki- ... -an, -han express mutuality; pa:kiramdaman 'feeling each other' (damdám 'feeling').

(19) pala:- ... -an, -han express containers: pala:bigasan 'rice container in the household' (bigás 'rice'); art and science: pala:bigkasan 'phonetics, phonology' (bigkás 'pronunciation'); concrete ideas: pala:qisipán 'riddle' (qisip 'mind').

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- (20) pang- +R2 expresses concrete ideas: panalo 'winnings' (talo 'win lose'); instrument: panulat, or pansulat '(something) used for writing' (sulat 'letter; write'); +R2, abstract ideas: pangangatawán 'physical build' (katawán 'body').
- (21) pang- + ma- adjective ... -an, -han express that which is intended or expected for intensive purpose: pangma:tagalan '(something) destined for long duration or expected to last' (matagál 'long time; delayed')
- (22) pang- + pa- express purpose: pampatabáq '(something) for fattening' (patabáq 'fertilizer', tabáq 'fat; fatness').
- (23) pinaka- (pa- + -in- + ka-) expresses substitute, surrogate: pinakaqamá '(someone) who acts as father' (qamá 'father').
- (24) R1 ... -an, -han express diminution: bayanbayanan 'small community of houses' (bayan 'town').
- (25) sang- ... -an, -han express community, unit: sambayanán 'whole town and people'.
- (26) tag- expresses season: tagqinít or tagqaraw 'hot season' (qinít 'heat', qaraw 'day; sun').
- (27) taga- expresses occupation: tagasulat 'amanuensis' (sulat 'letter; write'); origin: taga-Maynilaq 'from, native of, Manila'.
- (28) taga- + pag- express occupation: tagapaglakoq 'peddler; vendor' (lakoq 'peddle').
- (29) taga- + pang- express occupation: tagapangusinaq 'cook' (kusinaq 'kitchen').



(30) taga- + pag- + pa- express profession: tagapagpaganáp 'executive officer' (ganáp 'complete; exactly; fulfill').

(31) tala:- ... -an, -han express list, record, index: tala:tinigan 'vocabulary' (tinig 'voice').

#### 4. 8. Formation of Adjectives

Like nouns adjectives are formed by the usual morphological processes.

4. 8. 1. Unaffixed WB's express moral or ethical quality: banál 'devout; religious'; physical condition: pandák 'short (of stature)'; psychological condition: qulól 'crazy'; form or shape: likóq 'curved; bent'; color: pulá 'red'. On certain WB's which are nouns when barytone transformed to adjectives when oxytone, see 3. 4. Shift of Accent.

#### 4. 8. 2. Derivatives:

(1) -an, -han often refer to physical condition: qilungán 'big-nosed' (qilóng 'nose').

(2) -in, -hin are habitual: tampuhin 'sulky' (tampú 'sulkiness').

(3) -in- expresses resemblance, similarity: binalimbíng 'shaped like balimbing' (balimbíng 'star apple, Averrhoa carambola').

(4) ka- +R1 or R2: is intensive: kaqawaqawaq 'very pityful' (qawaq 'pity'), kaliga:ligaya 'very happy' (ligaya 'happiness').

(5) ka- ... -an, -han is no more, no less: kaqinaman 'sufficient; just right' (qinam 'neatness; orderliness').

(6) ma- + R2 expresses abundance: mataqo 'populous' (taqo 'man; human being'); physical or moral attribute: matapang 'brave'

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(tapang 'bravery'); potential; maka:kaqin 'edible' with m- substitutable by n-, naka:kaqin (kaqin 'eat'). Unaffixed WB's, particularly those referring to color, are substitutable by ma- derivatives: pula, mapula 'red'.

(7) ma-+R2 ... -in, -hin express predisposed to: masasaktin 'sickly' (sakit 'sickness').

(8) maka- expresses attachment, affection: makabayan 'patriotic' (bayan 'town; nation').

(9) mapag- expresses predilection: mapagbigáy 'tolerant, big-hearted' (bigáy 'give'); mapag- contrasts with mapang-, the former being subjective, the latter objective; mapamigáy 'fond of giving away (things)'.

(10) nag- +R2: ... -an, -han is competitive-collective: nagla:lakihan '(several members) competing in bigness' (laki 'size; bigness').

(11) naka-+R2: is causative, provocative: nakahi:hiyáq 'causing shame; shameful' (hiyáq 'shame').

(12) pala:- is habitual: pala:kaqín '(one who) eats often, is fond of eating (something)' (kaqin 'eat').

(13) R1 is intensive: limútlimót '(very) forgetful' (limot 'forgetfulness')

(14) Compounds, both syntactic and asyntactic: kapúspalad 'unfortunate' (kapós 'lacking; insufficient', palad 'palm of the hand'), pikítmatá 'without deliberation; headlong' (pikít 'close, esp. the eyes', matá 'eye').

## 4. 8. 3. The Degrees of the Adjective

The degrees of the adjective are expressed by unaffixed and derived adjectives, the usual processes, and by particles and words in certain constructions. The degrees are labeled equality, contrast, superlative (collective) and excessive or intensive. These will be obvious in the illustrative sentences below.

## 4. 8. 3. 1. Equality:

(1) sing-, kasing-: of two members compared one is of the same (identical) quality as the other, with the adjective followed by the disj. attr. marker and preceding the second member: Si Pedro y sintaqas (kasintaqas) ni Juan. 'Pedro is as tall as Juan.'

(2) magsing-, magkasing-: two members are of the same (identical) quality collectively, with the members joined by the ser. rel. marker: Si Pedro y si Juan ay magsintaqas (magkasintaqas). 'Pedro and Juan are of the same height.' For more than two members, si of magsing- and ka of magkasing- are reduplicated: Sina Pedro y magsisintaqas (magkakasintaqas). 'Pedro and his companions are of the same height.' The adjective plus the conj. attr. marker followed by the particle para and the disj. attr. marker also express equality: Si Pedro mataqas na para ni Juan. 'Pedro is tall like Juan.' Para is substitutable by gaya, kapara, paris or kaparis, tulad or katulad, all glossable 'like'.

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(3) ga- expresses size, shape, length, etc., with the subject compared with the ga--derivative: Qang bató nang kanyáng singsíng gay gamaqís.

'The stone of his/her ring is like (as big as a grain of) corn.'

(4) ga:ga- is restrictive: Qang qanáq niyáy ga:gakutíng. 'Her child (baby) is like (only the size of, or as small as) a kitten.'

(5) gangga- is plural: Qang mangá bató nang kanyáng singsíng gay ganggamaqís. 'The stones of his/her ring are like (as big as grains of) corn.'

4. 8. 3. 2. Contrast:

(1) Unaffixed adjectives: one quality contrasted with another: Lumaq qang qaking sapatos, bago qang kanyá. 'My shoes are old, his are new.'

(2) Unaffixed or derived adjectives: one member is followed by the adjective plus the loc. attr. marker before the other member: Si Pedroy payát (matabáq) kay sa kay Juan. 'Pedro is thinner (fatter) than Juan.'

(3) R1 expresses moderately higher or lower degree of contrast: Bagubagó pa qang kaniláng qawto. 'Their automobile is still somewhat new.' Malakílakí qang kaniláng bahay sa gamin (or sa qaming bahay).

'Their house is somewhat bigger than ours (or our house).'

(4) Contrast is intensified by placing lalong (laloq 'more' + -ng) or laloq pang 'much more; still more' before the adjective: Qang kanilang bahay qay lalong (laloq pang) malakí sa gamin. 'Their house is much bigger than ours.'

## 4. 8. 3. 3. Superlative (collective):

(1) pinaka-: the adjective is followed by the loc. attr. marker: Siyáy pinakamataqas sa magkakapatíd. 'He/she is the tallest of the siblings.'

(2) ka:- + R1 + -an, -han: the adjective is followed by the loc. attr. marker: Silá qang ka:yamányamanan sa qaming bayan. 'They (that is, their family is) are the richest in our town.'

(3) lahát is preceded by the loc. attr. marker after the adjective and is followed by the disj. attr. marker preceding the collective noun: Siyáy pinakamataqas sa lahát nang magkakapatíd. 'He/she is the tallest of all the siblings.'

## 4. 8. 3. 4. Excessive or Intensive:

(1) na:paka- is followed by the disj. attr. marker: Na:pakaqalat nang sabáw. 'The broth is too (very) salty.'

(2) R1 with conj. attr. marker: Malakíngmalakí qang bahay nilá 'Their house is very, very big.'

(3) Descriptive words in appropriate constructions: Totoqong masakít qang qaking qulo. 'My head is very painful.' or, 'I have a terrible headache.' Totoqong (totoqo 'true' + -ng) is substitutable by lubháng (lubháq 'very much' + -ng), labis + na (before derived adjectives): hariq 'king' + nang and qubod 'core; pith' + nang (both before unaffixed adjectives).

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### 4.9. Formation of Verbs

The formation of verbs is open in the sense that all WB's including particles, can be verbalized, and yet it is closed because not all WB's freely admit formation with any affix whatsoever. To give only a few examples: the WB qubó 'cough' admits both -um- and mag-: qumubó and magqubó with synonymous meaning 'to cough'; from kaqin 'eat', kumaqin 'to eat' can be formed, but not \*magkaqin. On the other hand, from baroq 'dress' can be formed magbaroq 'to put on the upper garment', but not \*bumaroq; from bilí 'buy; sell' can be formed both bumilí with centrifugal meaning 'to buy' and magbilí with centripetal meaning 'to sell', and so forth.

Broadly speaking, Tagalog verbs express mode, tense and voice<sup>3</sup> but what is essential, if not more so than these categories, is the system of aspects or modes of action (Aktionsarten),<sup>4</sup> like 'potential', 'spontaneous', 'involuntary', 'frequentative', 'causative', and so forth. In the following list, I give the form(ation) of the verbs and the respective modes of action of each as conveyed by the affixes, grouped for convenience into active and passive. Due to limitation of space, the forms are highly selective and the modes of action are merely suggestive and not exhaustive.<sup>5</sup>

#### 4.9.1. Active:

Form	Mode of meaning ( <u>Aktionsart</u> )
(1) <u>ma-</u> : <u>malungkot</u> 'to feel	circumstantial; potential

- sad' (lungkot 'sadness')
- (2) ma- ... -an, -han: reflexive  
mabaliqan 'to have a  
fracture' (baliq 'break, as  
a branch of a tree')
- (3) ma:pa-: ma:pahigáq spontaneous; accidental  
'to fall on one's back'  
(higáq 'lie down')
- (4) ma:pasa-: ma:pasaqilalim locative spontaneous-accidental.  
'to be, to fall, under  
(something)' (qilalim  
'underneath')
- (5) ma:pati-: ma:patiluhód spontaneous-accidental  
'to fall on one's knees'  
(luhód 'kneel')
- (6) mag-: magbilí 'to sell' centripetal; comprehensive  
(bilí 'buy; sell')<sup>6</sup>
- (7) mag- ... -an, -han: collective-plural  
magtakbuhan 'to run  
away' (takbo 'run')
- (8) maghing-: maghinakít subjective  
'to harbor a grudge'  
(sakít 'sickness')

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- (9) maging-: magimbató 'to translative  
become, to turn into,  
stone' (bató 'stone')
- (10) magka-: magkasunog 'to circumstantial; possessive  
have conflagration'  
(sunog 'burn');  
magkaqanak 'to have  
child(ren)' (qanak 'child')
- (11) mag- + ma-adjective + pretense of possessing the  
forward shift of accent: quality  
magmarunóng 'to  
pretend to be wise or  
to know better'  
(marunong 'wise')
- (12) magpa-: magpalimós subjective; concessive;  
'to beg for alms' causative  
(limós 'alms');  
magpalabás 'to order to  
go out' (labás 'outside');  
magpatabáq 'to cause  
obesity; to make efforts  
to become fat' (tabáq 'fat')



- (13) magsi-: magsiqalís explicit-plural  
 'to go away' (qaiís  
 'go away; remove')
- (14) magpaka-: magpakabaqít superlative-reflexive  
 'to act, to behave,  
 extremely well' (baqít  
 'kindness; prudence')
- (15) magpati-: magpatibuwál voluntary-violent  
 'to throw oneself down'  
 (buwál 'fall down from  
 erect position')
- (16) mag-+ -um-: magqumiyak intensive  
 'to cry continuously  
 (and loudly)' (qiyák 'cry')
- (17) maka-: makasama 'to be potential  
 able to go with' (sama  
 'companionship')
- (18) maka:-: maka:sama 'to go desiderative; accidental  
 with'
- (19) maki-: makisakáy 'to comitative  
 request to be allowed to  
 ride with (someone in a  
 means of transportation

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- (20) mang-: mandamó 'to cut  
grass for fodder' (damó  
'grass'); manalangin  
'to pray' (dalangin  
'prayer'); mangguló 'to  
make trouble' (guló  
'trouble; tupsy-turvy');  
mamutíq 'to become, to  
turn, white' (putíq 'white')
- (21) -um-: quminóm 'to drink'  
(qinóm 'drink'); bumilí  
'to buy' (bilí 'buy; sell')

occupational; deliberative;  
translative

centripetal; casual

4.9.2. Passive:

- | Form   | Mode of meaning ( <u>Aktionsart</u> ) |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| (1) <u>-an</u> , <u>-han</u> : <u>sulatan</u> 'to<br>be written to (person)<br>or on (thing)' ( <u>sulat</u> 'letter;<br>write'); <u>samahan</u> 'to be<br>accompanied; to be mixed<br>with (something)' | locative                              |
| (2) <u>hing-</u> ... <u>-an</u> , <u>-han</u> :<br><u>hingutuhan</u> '(another's hair)<br>to be picked of lice'  | locative-objective                    |

(kuto 'louse')

- (3) qi-: qisulat 'to be  
written with; (something) to  
be written; qitaním  
'(something) to be planted'  
(taním 'plant');  
qikumustá '(someone)  
to be sent by another or  
to be requested to send  
regards to somebody';  
(kumustá 'wie geht's');  
qiqutos 'to be ordered'  
(qutos 'order')
- (4) qika-: qikalungkót 'to  
be the cause of  
sadness' (lungkót  
'sadness')
- (5) qipa-: qipasulat 'to be  
ordered written'
- (6) qipag-: qipaglutoq  
'(something) to be  
used as fuel for cooking;

instrumental; purposive; benefactive;  
implicative

causative; involuntary

causative

instrumental; benefactive

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- to be cooked for (someone)  
(lutoq 'cook')
- (7) qipang-: qipamili instrumental; benefactive  
'(money) for making  
purchases; (someone)  
to make purchases for  
somebody' (bili 'buy;  
sell')
- (8) qipaki-: qipakibili benefactive; request  
'to be bought for  
(someone); (someone)  
to be asked to buy'
- (9) qisa-: qisaqulo 'to be illative; putting into  
memorized' (qulo  
'head'); qisagawáq  
'to be done' (gawáq  
'do; make')
- (10) -in, -hin: sulatin objective  
'(something) to be  
written'; basahin  
'(something) to be read'  
(basa 'read')

- (11) ka- ... -an, -han: causative; involuntary  
katakutan 'to be the  
source, cause, of fear'  
(takot 'fear')
- (12) ka- ... -in, -hin: inversive  
kaqusapin '(someone)  
to be spoken to' (qusáp  
'talk; speak')
- (13) ma:-: ma:gibáq 'to be potential; accidental;  
demolished' (gibáq injunctive  
'demolished')
- (14) ma:- + qi-: ma:ibalitaq potential  
'to be able to send or give  
notice or news' (balitaq  
'news')
- (15) ma:ka-: ma:kasama accidental  
'to be able to go with  
(someone)' (sama  
'companionship')
- (16) mapa-: mapaqalís potential  
'to be able to send  
away' (qalís 'go away;  
remove')

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- (17) pa- ... -an, -han: order-locative  
pawalisán 'to be  
ordered swept' (walís  
'broom')
- (18) pa- ... -in, -hin: order-objective  
pabasahin 'to be asked  
to read' (basa 'read')
- (19) pag- ... -an, -han: object-locative  
paglaruqán 'to be the  
object or place of  
playing' (laróq 'play;  
game')
- (20) pag- ... -in, -hin: concessive; objective  
paglaruqín 'to be  
allowed to play';  
paghaluqin 'to be mixed'  
(halog 'mix; mixture')
- (21) paki- ... -an, -han: request-locative  
pakisulatan 'to be  
requested to write to  
(someone) or on (something)'
- (22) paki- .. -in, -hin: request-objective

pakisulatín 'to be requested'

'to write (something)'

#### 4.9.3. Mode and Tense

Blake distinguishes four mode and tense forms, namely, modal, (subjunctive, imperative, infinitive), future, preterite and present.<sup>7</sup>

Bloomfield speaks of punctual forms, actual and contingent, and durative which can both be actual and contingent also.<sup>8</sup> For Bloomfield's actual I use real, which envisages the occurrence as already having taken place or is taking place and is expressed by the past and present, and for contingent I use imaginary, which views the occurrence as not actually having taken place and is expressed by the future tense.

Punctual denotes a completed activity and durative an uncompleted continuing one.<sup>9</sup> In this paper I use the traditional terms infinitive and imperative, past, present (actually a continuing activity) and future tense to avoid terminological hair-splitting. Blake's modal is the basic affixed form of the verb whether primary, secondary or tertiary.

The modal expresses the infinitive and the imperative and in certain subordinate clauses it also expresses 'contemporary' tense: Nagalit ang maestro nang kami'y magqingáy. 'The teacher got angry when we made noise.'<sup>10</sup> The present and the future are not restricted to these tenses when used in expanded sentences. For example, Kuma:kaqin siyá nang kami'y dumatíng. 'He was eating when we arrived.'

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where kuma:kaqin is in the present form; Hinintáy ka namit ang sabi moy pari:rito ka. 'We waited for you because you said you were coming.'

where pari:rito is in the future form.

### 4.9.3.1. Past Tense

All primary, secondary and tertiary verbs beginning with m- substitute n- for m- to form the past tense. Primary -um- verbs retain -um-. Primary verbs with -an, -han and secondary and tertiary verbs with hing-, ka-, pa-, pag- and paki- with -an, -han all take the infix -in- after the first C of the primary prefix. Primary verbs with qi- take -in- after the first C of the WB but if the WB begins with q -in- is infixed between q and i. In the secondary and tertiary verbs with qi-, -in- is placed after the first C of the secondary prefix irrespective of the initial C of the WB. All verbs with -in, -hin take -in- after the first C of the WB, except ka- ... -an, -han where -in- is placed after k, and -in-, -hin are lost.

### 4.9.3.2. Present Tense

All primary verbs beginning with m-, including secondary verbs with mag- ... -an, -han, ma- + qi- and maka-, form the present tense by substituting n- for m- with R2:. Secondary verbs with hing-, ka-, pa- and pag- with -an, -han take -in- after the first C of the prefix with R2: while tertiary paki- ... -an, -han verbs take -in- after p and reduplicate ki- becoming ki:-, without R2:. Primary -um- verbs,



of course, retain -um- with R2:. In the case of verbs with qi-, primary, secondary and tertiary, -in- is infix in the same manner as in the past tense, with R2:. All verbs with -in-, -hin take -in- after the first C of the WB, except ka- ... -in-, -hin where -in- is placed after k, with R2: and, as in the past tense, -in-, -hin are lost. Verbs in mang- substitute n- for m- and those in qipang- take -in-, and if there is nasal-substitution the nasal-substitute is reduplicated with the following V, with length; in the case of nasal-accretion, they take the usual R2:.

#### 4. 9. 3. 3. Future Tense

All verbs beginning with m- retain the m-. Those with primary prefix beginning with m-, including those with or without suffixes, and the secondary ma:- + qi-, take R2: to form the future tense. All secondary and tertiary verbs beginning with m- retain the m- and reduplicate the CV of the second prefix, with length. Secondary mag- + -um- verbs reduplicate qu if the WB begins with q and Cu if the WB begins with any other C. Those in pa- and pag- with -an, -han and -in, -hin and ka- ... -an, -han simply take R2:, but ka- ... -in, -hin reduplicates ka-, with length, thus ka:-, instead of R2:. Primary -um- verbs take R2:, and -um- is lost. Those in -an, -han and -in, -hin also take R2: with these suffixes retained. Primary qi- verbs and the secondary with qika-, qipa- and qipag- take R2: while those in qisa- reduplicate sa and those in qipaki- reduplicate ki, both with length, thus, sa:- and ki:-; qipang- and mang- verbs, if there is nasal-substitution,

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reduplicate the nasal-substitute with the following V with length; in the case of nasal-accretion, they take the usual R2:

#### 4.10. Verbal Nouns<sup>11</sup>

Every verb form has a corresponding verbal noun. For example, the verbal noun of the verb qumi:qinóm in Si Juan qay qumi:qinóm nang gatas, 'Juan drinks milk,' is pagqinóm in Qang pagqinóm nang gatas qay mabuti, 'Drinking milk is good.'

All verbal nouns begin with p-. In the following list of correspondences, the verb affixes precede and the verbal noun affixes follow the colon. Magsi-, -um-, qi-, -an, -han, -in, -hin, ka- ... -an, -han: pag- (suffix lost in verbal nouns corresponding to ka- ... -an, -han, and some forms in qi- also have pag-R2 correspondence); mag-, qipag-, ma:- + qi-, pag- ... -an, -han and -in, -hin: pag-R2 (R2: does not occur in verbal nouns); mag- ... -an, -han: pag-R2 with -an, -han retained; ma-, ma- ... -an, -han, maka-, qika-: pagka- (suffix lost in verbal nouns corresponding to ma- ... -an, -han); ma:-, ma:ka-: pagka:-; maka:-: pagkaka:-; maki-: pa- with ki reduplicated; mang-, qipang-: pang-R2 of the nasal-substitute with the following V if there is nasal-substitution in the verb form; magka-, mag- - ma-, magpa-, magpati-, qipaki-, qisa-, mapa-: pag- with the second syllable of the corresponding verb prefix reduplicated; maghing-, maging-: pag- and pa- respectively with CV of the second syllable of the verb prefix

reduplicated; qipa-, pa- ... -an, -han: pagpapa- (suffix lost of the second verb); mag- + -um-: pag- with qu reduplicated if the WB begins with q and Cu if the WB begins with any other C; ma:pa-, ma:pasa-, ma:pati-: pagkaka:pa-, pagkaka:pasa-, pagkaka:pati, respectively; paki- ... -an, -han and -in, -hin: pagpapaki- (suffixes lost).

## 5. Syntax<sup>12</sup>

The syntactic relations between constituents are predication, attribution, and serial relation.

### 5.1. Predication

#### 5.1.1. The declarative sentence:

- (1) Bumaba:sa qang maestro. The teacher is reading.
- (2) Qang maestroy buma:basa. The teacher is reading.
- (3) Matalino si Carlos. Carlos is intelligent.
- (4) Si Carlos qay matalino. Carlos is intelligent.

The common noun S is introduced by the nm qang and the personal name by the pm si and the P, whatever word-class it belongs to, by the pm ay or y in the S-P order. In the favorite P-S order, the Pm is lost. The corresponding pl. of the S-markers are qang mangá and siná. Besides the common noun and personal name, as S occur also the nominative of pronouns (qakó 'I', qikáw 'you, sg.', siyá 'he/she', kitá 'dual', kamí 'we, excl.', tayo 'we, incl.', kayó 'you, pl.', silá 'they'), the nominative of demonstratives (qitó 'this, near speaker', qiyán 'that, near addressee',

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qiyón 'that over yonder, far from both speaker and addressee', and adverbs, all without the preceding nm, geographical names, adjectives, and verbal nouns introduced by the nm, and numerals with facultative nm. As P the same word-classes occur as enumerated for the S and, of course, verbs. In the S-P order, the Pm is substitutable by suspension pitch, which is symbolized by a comma.

#### 5.1.2. The interrogative sentence

##### 5.1.2.1. Supplement question

(5) Qanó ba qitó? Radio. What is this? Radio

(6) Sino ba qang maestro? Si Jose. Who is the teacher? Jose.

The interrogative pronoun begins the question as P followed by the interrogative particle ba (shortened form bagá), which may be facultative. Other interrogative pronouns are qalín 'which', kaqilán 'when', saqán 'where', magkano 'how much', kumustá 'wie geht's', paqano 'how', taga-saqán 'from where (as residence or place of birth)'.

##### 5.1.2.2. Yes-or-no question

(7) Qabogado ba siyá? Qoqo. Is he a lawyer? Yes.

(8) Dumatíng ba silá? Hindíq. Did they arrive? No.

As in the supplement question, the P begins the question, and the interrogative particle is more obligatory than facultative.

##### 5.1.3. The imperative sentence

(9) Pumasok ka! Come in (you, sg.)'

- (10) Pumasok (poq) kayó! Come in, please (you, pl.)!

In commands, familiar but not brusque, the word-order is P-S with ka (enclitic of qikáw) when the S is sg. In sentence (10) kayó is substitutable by silá. Used for a sg. S, kayó is a sign of respect with silá still more respectful. In both cases, the facultative particle of respect poq after the P intensifies the respect when used.

## 5.2. Attribution

### 5.2.1. Conjunctive attribution

- (11) Qang kabayong putíy matulin. The white horse is fast.

- (12) Si Pedroy masipag na taqó. Pedro is an industrious person.

Both S and P can be expanded by conj. attr. by means of the marker -ng or na. The order of head and attribute is reversible, thus putíng kabayo and taqong masipag.

- (13) takbóng kabayo horse trot

- (14) punumpinyá pineapple plant

Certain constructions of conj. attr. are in competition with constructions of compound words.<sup>13</sup>

- (15) putímaputíq in all white

- (16) maputímmaputíq very white

Adjectives, unaffixed or affixed, in R1 with conj. attr. express excessive or intensive quality.<sup>14</sup>

### 5.2.2. Disjunctive attribution

- (17) Qang libro nang batay nawaláq. The book of the child was lost.

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(18) Si Pedro kay ibigan ni Jose. Pedro is Jose's friend.

Both S and P can be expanded by disj. attr. by means of the marker nang when the attribute is a common noun and by ni when a personal name. The corresponding pl. are nang mangá and niná. For animate common nouns like nang bata occur also the possessive pronoun kaniyá 'his/her, sg.' proclitic in conj. attr. to the S or the corresponding enclitic niyá without marker, and if pl. kanilá or nilá, proclitic and enclitic respectively. For personal names the possessive pronouns are qakin 'my', qiyó 'your, sg.', kaniyá 'his/her', qamin 'our, excl.', qatin 'our, incl.', qinyó 'your, pl.', kanilá 'their', all proclitic and in conj. attr. to the S, or the corresponding enclitics ko, mo, niya, namin, natin, ninyó, without marker. For similar function can occur also the possessive of the demonstratives, nitó, niyán, noqón, without markers.

(19) Kaqin nang kaqin si Maria nang manggáng hiláw. Maria always eats (is fond of eating) raw manggos.

R1 of unaffixed verb WB's with the disj. attr. nang expresses habitual or continuing action.

#### 5.2.3. Local attribution

(20) Qang hangin sa bukid qay malamíq. The air in the field is cold.

(21) Si Mariay sumama kay Juan. Maria went with Juan.

Both S and P can be expanded by loc. attr. by means of the marker sa when the attribute is a common noun and by kay when a personal

name. The corresponding pl. are sa mangá and kiná. For both common nouns and personal names occur also the locative of the demonstratives, dito 'here', diyán 'there', doqón 'over yonder', without marker. For personal names occur also the locative of the pronouns, sa qakin 'to, with, me', sa qiyó 'to, with you, sg.', sa kaniyá 'to, with, him/her', sa qamin 'to, with, us, excl.', sa qatin 'to, with, us, incl.', sa qinyó 'to, with you, pl.', sa kanilá 'to, with, them'.

(22) Qang sa batang libroy nawaláq. The book of the child was lost.

(23) Si Pedroy kay Joseng kaqibigan. Pedro is Jose's friend.

Loc. attr. also expresses 'possession' equivalent to disj. attr.

See 2. Disjunctive attribute, sentences (17) and (18).

(24) Qang sa batay nawaláq. The child's was lost.

(25) Qang kay Pedroy hindiq. Pedro's was not.

The use of loc. attr. to express 'possession' makes anaphoric construction possible.

(26) Siláy dairating sa Linggó (sa makalawá). They will arrive  
(next) Sunday (day after tomorrow).

With words of time, loc. attr. expresses future time 'when'.

(27) Kamiy paroroqón sa Maynilaq. We are going to Manila.

With verbs of motion, loc. attr. is 'allative'.

With various word-classes as head, loc. attr. has a 'comprehensive' meaning: nanggaling sa Europa 'came from Europe', malapit sa simbahan 'near (to) the church', qang pagqaqaral sa qibáng bansá

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(the) studying in another country', dito sa Pilipinas 'here in the Philippines'  
qisá sa kanilá 'one of (among) them', dahil sa sakít 'because of sickness',  
paro:roqón kiná Juan 'going to Juan's (house or his family's), etc.

5.2.4. Absolute attribution

(28) Hindiq tamaq qiyán. That is not right.

(29) Qiyáy hindiq tamaq. That is not right.

In abs. attr. the marker between head and attribute is zero.

5.3. Serial relation

(30) Butót balát qang bataq. The child is bone and skin.

(31) Qang batay butót balát. The child is bone and skin.

(32) Magkapatíd si Juan qat si Pedro. Juan and Pedro are brothers.

Both S and P can be expanded by ser. rel. by means of the marker qat (shortened form t) placed between the constituents, if there are two, and before the last constituent if there are several: gulay, manók qat qisdáq 'vegetables, chicken and fish.'

(33) Magmadalíq kat qa:qalís na tayo. Hurry up for we are leaving (already).

In an expanded sentence, ser. rel. expresses 'cause' in the subordinate clause.

(34) Lu:luwás qakót qakóy magpa:pagamót. I am going to Manila because I will have myself treated (with medicine). or, I am going to Manila for medical treatment.



Ser. rel. expresses 'purpose' in the subordinate clause in an expanded sentence.

#### 5.4. The Expanded Sentence<sup>15</sup>

##### 5.4.1. Sentence as S

- (35) Hindíq masamáq qang taqoy quminóm nang qalak. It is not bad  
for a man to drink wine.

The sentence qang taqoy quminóm nang qalak is the S, where quminóm is modal, also past tense, but in the example may be considered 'universal' tense.

##### 5.4.2. Sentence as P

- (36) Qang tingín koy bago qang bubóng nang bahay.

It seems that (as if) (lit. The looking my) the roof of the house  
is new.

The sentence bago qang bubóng nang bahay is the P.

##### 5.4.3. Sentence as conj. attr.

- (37) Padalá niya qang balitang qang mangá taqoy nalunod sa baháq.

He sent (lit. Sent by-him) the news that people drowned in  
the flood.

The sentence qang mangá taqoy nalunod sa baháq is in conj. attr.  
to the preceding sentence by means of the marker -ng in balitang.

##### 5.4.4. Sentence as disj. attr.

- (38) Si Mariay duma:daqíng nang masakít qang qulo niyá.

Maria is complaining (lamenting) that her head is aching

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(she has a headache),

The sentence masakit nang gulo niya is in disj. attr. to the preceding sentence by means of the marker nang, which is, however, substitutable by the conj. attr. marker na.

### 5.4.5. Sentence as loc. attr.

(39) Si Pedro pumasok sa mahirap na ga:wagin. Pedro engaged  
(lit. entered) himself in a difficult task (undertaking).

A sentence as loc. attr. is not very common except an exclamatory sentence, like Mahirap na ga:wagin! 'What a difficult task!'

### 5.4.6. Multiple attribution

(40) Qang mangá taqong may qutang sa buwis qay hindi q  
pinayagang makaboto sa qeleksyón nang presidente. People  
who are in arrears (have debts) in their taxes were not allowed  
to vote in the presidential election.

The different types of attribution occur together in a string particularly in a long sentence.

### 5.4.7. Coordination

(41) Si Mariay kuma:kantá qat si Luis qay tumu:tugtóg sa piano.

Maria is singing and Luis is playing at the piano.

The ser. rel. marker also functions as a coordinating particle joining two complete sentences. The marker is substitutable by suspension pitch and is symbolized in writing by a comma.

## 5. 4. 8. Subordination

- (42) Kung sa:sama ka qay sa:sama rin qakó. If you are coming along,  
I am coming along, too.

The subordinate sentence is introduced by the (conditional) particle kung, which is synonymous to kapág and pagká. Some other particles are dahil sa 'because of', ngunit 'but', kahit 'although', kayáq or kanyáq 'the reason why'. Often the Pm qay is substituted by suspension pitch symbolized in writing by a comma.

## 5. 4. 9. Parenthesis

- (43) Kung gayóy hindiq siyá makasa:sama sa qatin. In that case  
he will not be able to go with us.

Some other parenthetical expressions are sa bigláng sabi 'in short', sa ganáng qakin 'as far as I am concerned', kung gayón 'in that case'. Parenthetical expressions may occur at the beginning, the middle, or the end of a sentence.

5. 4. 10. Modal auxiliaries<sup>16</sup>

- (44) Qibig kumaqin nang bataq. The child likes to eat.  
(45) Qayaw pumarito si Carlos. Carlos does not like to come here.

The modal auxiliaries, qibig and qayaw, are in abs. attr. to the (verb) heads, kumaqin and pumarito. Also heard are Qibig nang batang kumaqin, where qibig stands in disj. attr. to bataq and the latter in conj. attr. to the (verb) head, and Qayaw ni Carlos pumarito, where qayaw is in disj. attr. to Carlos with the latter in abs. attr. to the head.

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When modal auxiliaries immediately precede the head, there is no fixed rule regarding the occurrence of the attribute marker between the two.

Some modal auxiliaries are dapat 'ought', marunong 'know how', madalás 'often', magalíng 'skillful', mahirap 'difficult', all with or without conj. attr., kaqilangan 'necessary; must', with conj. attr.

#### 5. 4. 11. Some particles

- (46) May baríl kami. We have (a) gun(s).
- (47) Waláq siláng qaso. They have no dog(s).
- (48) Hindíq doktór si Pedro. Pedro is not a physician.
- (49) Huwág kang pumasok! Don't enter!
- (50) Bakáq siyá magalit. He might get angry.
- (51) Qitó lamang qang na:tirá. This is all that's left.
- (52) Dumatíng sana silá. I (let's) hope they'd arrive.
- (53) Qumalís na silá. They left already.
- (54) Hindíq pa silá quma:qalís. They haven't left yet.
- (55) Nasaktán daw si Juan. Juan was hurt, someone said.
- (56) Ka:kaqin din akó. I'll eat, too.
- (57) Nasa kusinaq qang nanay. Mother is in the kitchen.
- (58) Laban sa batás qiyán. That's against the law.
- (59) Para kay Maria qitó. This is for Maria.

Some particles precede, others follow, the head in abs. attr. A few, however, also occur in certain type of attribution depending on the word order: Qibig ko sanang siláy dumatíng. I'd like them to arrive.

Qibig ko ring kumagin. 'I'd like to eat, too.' Limitation of space restrains me from elaborating on the word order where these particles occur. All I can do, at this instance, is to give each particle an approximate label: may 'possession; existence', walág 'opposite of may', hindíq 'negative', huwág 'dehortative', bakáq 'dubitative', lamang 'restrictive', sana 'desiderative', na 'conclusive', pa 'opposite of na', daw (raw) 'quotative', din (rin) 'inclusive', nasa 'stative-locative', laban sa (laban kay for personal names, sg.) 'opposite', para kay (para sa for common nouns, including animate) 'benefactive'.

#### 5. 5. Incomplete Sentences

##### 5. 5. 1. Exclamatory

- (60) Qaráv! or Qarúy! Ouch!
- (61) Qadyís! or Qadilús! Look out!
- (62) Sayang! What a pity!
- (63) Nakú! Woe!
- (64) Qanóng gandá! How beautiful!
- (65) Qoy! or Hoy! Hey!
- (66) Qináv! or Qináng! Mother!

The incomplete exclamatory sentences are very much like similar sentences in many languages. They express pain (60), calling another's attention (61), pity or regret (62), pain or surprise (63), admiration (64), or call (65, 66).

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5.5.2. Impersonal anaphoric

- (67) Qoqo! Yes!
- (68) Hindíq! No!
- (69) Máyroqón! There is/are!
- (70) Waláq! There is/are none!
- (71) Huwág! Don't!
- (72) Maraming taqo! (There are) many people!
- (73) Qakin na! (Give it) to me!
- (74) Qamin na! (Give it) to us!
- (75) Halí ka! Come here (sg.)!
- (76) Halí kayó! Come here (pl.)!
- (77) Malamíg! (It is) cold!
- (78) Maqinít! (It is) hot!
- (79) Cumu:qulán! (It is) raining!
- (80) Lumi:lindól! (It is) quaking! There's an earthquake!

Impersonal anaphoric sentences are answers to questions or continuations of a dialogue (67-71), expressions of indefinite quantity (72), (possessive) personal pronouns used idiomatically (73, 74), some unaffixed verb-like WB's of undefined status (75, 76), adjectives and verbs expressing natural phenomena (77-80).

5.6. Active and Passive Sentences

I have selected for illustration only the most commonly used, and to students of Indonesian languages better known, active and passive verb

affixes. To the passive, I have added ma:-, which is perhaps less familiar. The purpose of the illustrations is merely to refresh the memory of the initiate; detailed discussion is dispensed with. <sup>17</sup>

5. 6. 1. Active sentences

5. 6. 1. 1. With -um-:

(81) Si Pedro bumili nang sapatos. Pedro bought shoes.

The S Si Pedro is the actor of the centripetal verb bumili with sapatos the direct object, the goal, introduced by the disj. attr. marker nang (Cf. 5. 2. 2. Disjunctive attribution, sentence (17), and which is substitutable by the demonstrative nitó (See comments after sentence (18))

(82) Silá'y pumasok sa sine. They went to (entered) the cinema.

The -um- verb also takes an indirect object, sine, introduced by the loc. attr. marker sa, in which case the action is centrifugal. For substitution of sa by kay if the indirect object is a personal name, cf. 5. 2. 3. Local attribution, sentence (21) and see the following comments.

5. 6. 1. 2. With mag-:

(83) Si Juan gay nagbili nang kalabaw. Juan sold (a) carabao.

The S Si Juan is the actor of the centrifugal verb nagbili and the direct object kalabaw is likewise introduced by nang, which is again substitutable by nitó.

(84) Qang mangá batay nagsigáq sa likódbahay. The children made a bonfire at the back of the house.

The centrifugal mag-verb also takes an indirect object, likódbahay,

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with sa substitutable by kay.

5. 6. 2. Passive sentences

5. 6. 2. 1. With -in, -hin:

(85) Qang maestroy sumu:sulat nang nobela. The teacher is writing a novel.

(86) Qang nobelay sinu:sulat nang maestro. The novel is being written by the teacher.

As in sentence (81), the S Qang maestro is the focus and nang nobela the goal in sentence (85). In sentence (86) the situation is reversed. The focus is the agent, nang maestro, and Qang nobela becomes the goal, the object of the action sinu:sulat. For substitution for nang, see comments under 5. 2. 2. Disjunctive attribution.

5. 6. 2. 2. With -an, -han:

(87) Qang nobelay sinulatan nang bataq. The novel (book) was written on by the child. The child wrote on the novel.

The agent, nang bataq, as the focus, and the S, Qang nobela, as the goal, here as place of the action, sinulatan, are in similar construction to that in sentence (86).

(88) Si Mariay sinulatan ni Pedro. (Maria was written to by Pedro)  
Pedro wrote Maria.

The place of the action extends to persons as goal.

5. 6. 2. 3. With qi-:

(89) Qisinulat niyá qang qaking pontinpen. (was used for writing



by him/her the my fountain pen) He/she wrote with my fountain pen.

As in sentences (86) and (87), the focus is the agent, niyá, and the S, qang gaking pontinpén, the goal, here as instrument of the action, isinulat.

(90) Qibinilí ko siyá nang baríl. (was bought for by me he/she (a)  
gun) I bought a gun for him/her.

The qi- passive is not restricted to denote the instrument of the action. It is also benefactive.

5. 6. 2. 4. With ma:-:

(91) Na:salubong namin silá kanina. (was met (accidentally) by us  
they a while ago) We met them a while ago.

Like the preceding passive sentences, the focus is the agent, namin, and the S, silá, the goal of the accidental action, na:salubong.

In all the passive sentences, the agent is in disj. attr. to the verb.

## NOTES

- 1) 'Barytone' and 'oxytone' are Bloomfield's (1917). The fact must be made clear that many terms used in this paper are convenient concessions to traditional terminology only.
- 2) See McKaughan (1958), p. 2. According to Householder, the 'phonemic' status of the four pitch levels in Philippine languages is doubtful (In Constar (1965), p. 73, fn. 5).
- 3) In 1906 Frank R. Blake wrote a paper on 'Expression of case by the verb in Tagalog', JAOS, vol. 27, pp. 183-189.
- 4) See Prokosch (1939), p. 52. Tense and Aspect, particularly his comments on Finno-Ugrian, p. 145, which in a manner of speaking is applicable to Tagalog.
- 5) For more exhaustive treatment, see Blake (1925), Bloomfield (1917, II) and Lopez (1937, 1941).
- 6) See Pittman (1966) for exhaustive treatment of -um- and mag-.
- 7) p. 40, § 63.
- 8) 1917, II, p. 226, par. 348.
- 9) 1941, pp. 92-93, § 91.
- 10) cf. Pittman (1966) p. 10.
- 11) Blake (1925), p. 83, § 144 speaks of "verbal abstract nouns of action" and "verbal abstract nouns", p. 144, § 248, and Bloomfield of "abstract of action" or simply "abstract", 1917, II, p. 226, par. 348 ff. I avoided

'abstract' having preempted the term for something else (see 4. Morphology) and instead use 'verbal noun' which, however, should not be confused with my interpretation of the Tagalog verb, which is more nominal than verbal (see Capell).

12) For details, see Blake (1925), Bloomfield (1917, II) and Lopez (1941).

13) See 4. Morphology, 4. 5. Compounding.

14) See 4. Morphology, 4. 1. Doubling and 4. 8. 3. The Degrees of the Adjective, 4.8. 3. 4. Excessive of Intensive (2).

15) The presentation of 5, 4. The Expanded Sentence follows in part Dempwolff's (1941) model. See also Kahler (1956) particularly pp. 160-163, § 59.

16) According to Blake (1925), pp. 154-155, § 270, an "important class of verbs that govern another verb in the infinitive are those which correspond to the English modal auxiliaries 'will', 'would' ...". Bloomfield, 1917, II, p. 194, par. 266-269, calls them 'absolute complements'. This class of verbs (?), however, does not govern another verb exclusively in the infinitive. For example, Dapat (na) natu:tulog na gang bataq. 'The child ought to be sleeping already.', with natu:tulog in the present following the modal auxiliary dapat and the facultative conj. attr. marker. I use 'modal auxiliaries' following Blake instead of 'absolute complements' because the latter may be confused with abs. attr. Both Blake and Bloomfield include in this category ma-derivatives, which are structurally adjectives. Thus,

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marunong 'wise' in Blake's marunong bumasa 'know how to read', malakás 'strong' in malakás kumaqin (Bloomfield's translation 'great at eating', or 'great eater'), that is, 'strong to eat', or 'eat much', or 'heavy eater'. It seems that Bloomfield, more so Blake, are influenced by the English translation. In including the ma-derivatives under modal auxiliaries, I am fully aware that the last word about this type of attribution in Tagalog has not been said yet. For one thing, the ma-derivation of adjectives (and adverbs depending on the construction) is an almost open device in Tagalog.

17) See Capell (1964) and Blake (1925), pp. 289-292, on Government of Verbs. In his prepublication paper 'Topicalization in Maranao - An Addendum' (1970), McKaughan cites Blake's 1906 "extremely valuable paper entitled "Expression of Case by the Verb in Tagalog", where Blake "for Tagalog was certainly clear in his suggestion that case is expressed by verbal affixes". According to McKaughan - who regrets that Blake's "approach was not followed by subsequent writers, at least in the case terminology" -, "the underlying case relations between the verb and its complements seem very much like case relations underlying surface grammars of other languages of other families." Pending further elaboration of the 'pros' and 'cons', at this stage, it would seem preferable to suspend judgment on the "case".

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