THE DEEP STRUCTURES OF THE PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES[1]

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1. Introduction

In his book published in 1965 entitled Aspects of the theory of syntax, Noam Chomsky (p. 16) defines a generative grammar as having three major components: the syntactic, phonological and semantic. The syntactic component, according to him (p. 16), "must specify, for each sentence, a deep structure that determines its semantic interpretation and a surface structure that determines its phonetic interpretation."

This paper deals with the deep structures of the sentences of the Philippine languages. Specifically, it presents this writer's formulation of the base or categorial rules of the 'universal' grammar of the Philippine languages.

My first attempt to construct a universal grammar of the Philippine languages was presented in my paper on the syntax of twenty-six Philippine languages which was published in 1965. In this paper (pp. 110-12), I included a set of phrase structure rules that would generate a highly restricted set of basic strings underlying the sentences of the twenty-six Philippine languages, and possibly of the other Philippine languages as well. Based on this set of phrase structure rules, the sentences of the Philippine languages are in the deep structure simple predicative definite sentences. They are simple in that they consist of only one clause; they are predicative in that

they have a subject and a predicate; and they are definite in that both their subject and predicate are 'marked', that is, each is preceded or followed by an article or affix. (1), (2) and (3) below illustrate this type of sentence.[2]

(1) qaN ba:ta qaN kuma:qin sa maNga
the child the ate the mango
'It was the child who ate the mango.'

(2) qaN ba:ta qaN kuma:qin naN maNga
'It was the child who ate a mango.'

(3) qaN maNga qaN kina:qin naN ba:taq
'It was the mango which the child ate.'

The two other types of sentences in the Philippine languages are the indefinite and situational. They are derived from the definite sentence by simple transformational rules. The indefinite sentence is derived by merely deleting the article of the first constituent (the subject) of the definite sentence. (4), (5) and (6) below illustrate the indefinite sentence.

(4) ba:ta qaN kuma:qin sa maNga
'It was a child who ate the mango.'

(5) ba:ta qaN kuma:qin naN maNga
'It was a child who ate a mango.'

(6) maNga qaN kina:qin naN ba:taq
'It was a mango which the child ate.'

The situational sentence is derived by deleting the predicate marker of the second constituent (the predicate) of the definite sentence and placing this 'unmarked' predicate (or just its verb head) before the marked subject. (7) and (8) below illustrate the situational sentence.

(7) kuma:qin naN maNga qaN ba:taq
'The child ate a mango.'

(8) kina:qin naN ba:ta qaN maNga
'The child ate the mango.'

The predicate of definite sentences is either verbal or nonverbal. All verbal (definite) sentences are active in the deep structure, that is, only active verbs are generated by the phrase structure rules. Thus, all passive sentences are derived from active sentences by transformational rules. For example, (6) above is derived from (2) above by (a) dropping the goal complement marker naN of maNga (thereby making maNga the subject of the sentence), (b) adding to the noun marker qaN of ba:ta(q) the actor complement marker n-, (c) replacing the actor-focus -um- by the goal-focus -in, and (d) placing the 'subjectivalized' goal at the beginning of the sentence.[3]

2. Base rules

By 1967 I started to reexamine my conception of the deep structures of the sentences of the Philippine languages. Somehow I was not satisfied with deriving the indefinite and situational sentences from the definite sentences, and the passive sentences from the active sentences. It seemed to me that the base rules of the grammar should generate the strings underlying every sentence of the three sentence types, including the active and passive sentences and also the nonpredicative (or 'subjectless') sentences.[4] Furthermore, I wondered if the nonverbal sentences could or should be derived from verbal sentences.

Accordingly, I made several revisions of the base rules of my 1965 grammar of the Philippine languages in order to extend their generative power. The latest version of the base rules of my proposed 'universal' grammar of the Philippine languages is as follows (The symbols are explained immediately below.):

(5)(i) S-> DV + CP + (ADV)

(ii) DV-> (PM) + V

(iii) CP-> { AC + (LC) + (BC) | AC + LC + (BC) | AC + GC + (LC) + (IC) + (BC) | AC + GC + LC | AC + RAC | AC + (CC) }

(iv) V-> VS + T + M

(v) [AC | LC | GC | IC | BC | RAC | CC] -> [AM | LM | GM | IM | DM | RAM | CM] + NP

(vi) NP-> (ART) + { N | S' }

On the basis of the base rules above, we can see that the deep structure of every simple sentence of a Philippine language consists of DV plus CP and optional ADV (adverbs). (The last symbol is not developed further in this paper.) DV is expanded as V (verb) and optional PM (predicate marker). V consists (minimally) of VS (verb stem) plus T (tense or aspect) and M (mood). CP stands for one or more verbal complements (or cases). Like Fillmore in his article entitled "The case for case" (1968:21), we require that every complement category occurs only once in a simple sentence. The complement categories included in this paper are the Actor (AC), Locative (LC), Goal (GC), Instrumental (IC), Beneficiary (BC), Reciprocal Actor (RAC), and Causative (CC). Each complement consists of its particular marker plus NP. NP consists of an optional article (ART) plus a noun (N) or an embedded sentence (S').[5]

Every one of the complements holds a special 'case' relation to (the verb of) the sentence. This case relation is signalled by the marker of the complement. The complement marker class of each complement category is distinct from that of any other complement category.

(5iii) above does not exhaust the different combinations of complements that occur in simple sentences. A combination or a set of combinations of complements selects the verb stems that can occur in the sentence. Thus, the verb stems can be subcategorized according to complement environments.

3. Subjectivalization

The set of rules in (5) above generates a highly restricted set of

strings which constitute the deep structures underlying the simple sentences of the Philippine languages. Except for the presence or absence of PM in DV and of ART in NP and for the different combinations of complements, the deep structures generated by the base rules are identical. The deep structures are converted into surface representations of the three (simple) sentence types described in section 1 above by a process which we shall call 'subjectivalization' following Fillmore (1968:47-9).

Subjectivalization in the Philippine languages consists essentially of the incorporation of the complement marker of one of the complements into the verb.[6] The complement that is 'subjectivalized', that is, whose marker is incorporated into the verb, becomes the surface subject of the sentence; the complement marker that is incorporated into the verb becomes the voice- (or focus- or case-) marking element in the surface verbal affix. The surface verbal affix, therefore, consists of the categories of tense, mood and voice.

This account of subjectivalization (or 'topicalization') is different from that given by McKaughan (1962) for Maranao (a Philippine language) and summarized by Fillmore (1968:55) as follows: "One NP is chosen as topic [or subject] of every sentence and is recorded in the following way: its original case preposition is replaced by [article] so, and an affix is inserted in the V which indicates the case category of the chosen NP." In our account of subjectivalization in the Philippine languages, the article like Maranao so does not replace "the original case preposition" of the NP chosen as subject: the article is a part of

the case preposition in the deep structure, that is, in the deep structure every case preposition consists of a complement marker and an article or of a complement marker alone if the complement noun has no article; see Constantino (1965:81). In fact, the NP chosen as subject may not have an article, as in (4)-(6) above and in the Maranao sentence (9).[7]

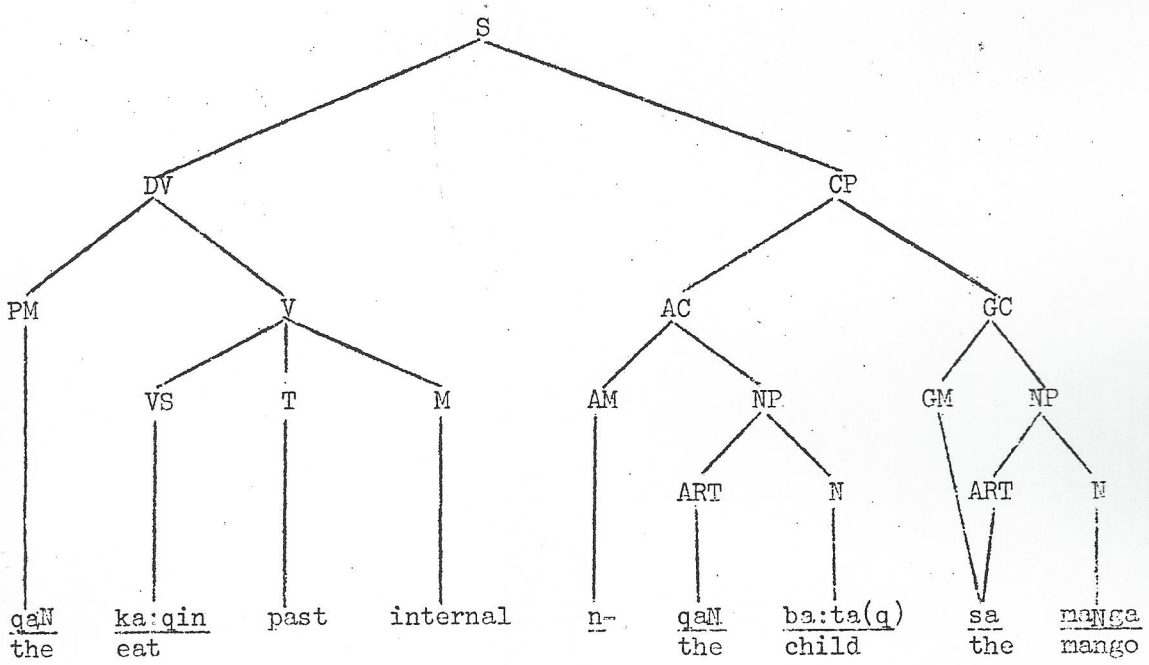
(9) mamaq qi somombaliq sa karabao
man the will-butcher a carabao
'It is a man who will butcher a carabao.'

Also, subjectivalization to us need not involve the "insertion" of an "affix" "into the V which indicates the case category" of the NP chosen as subject (Fillmore 1968:55), nor "the association of the feature [+passive] with the V" (Fillmore 1968:37). In our account of subjectivalization in the Philippine languages, the "case category" of the NP chosen as subject is indicated by its marker in the deep structure which is incorporated into the V and becomes part of the verbal affix.

4. Illustrations

Let us consider the following base representations (6i)-(6vi).

(6i)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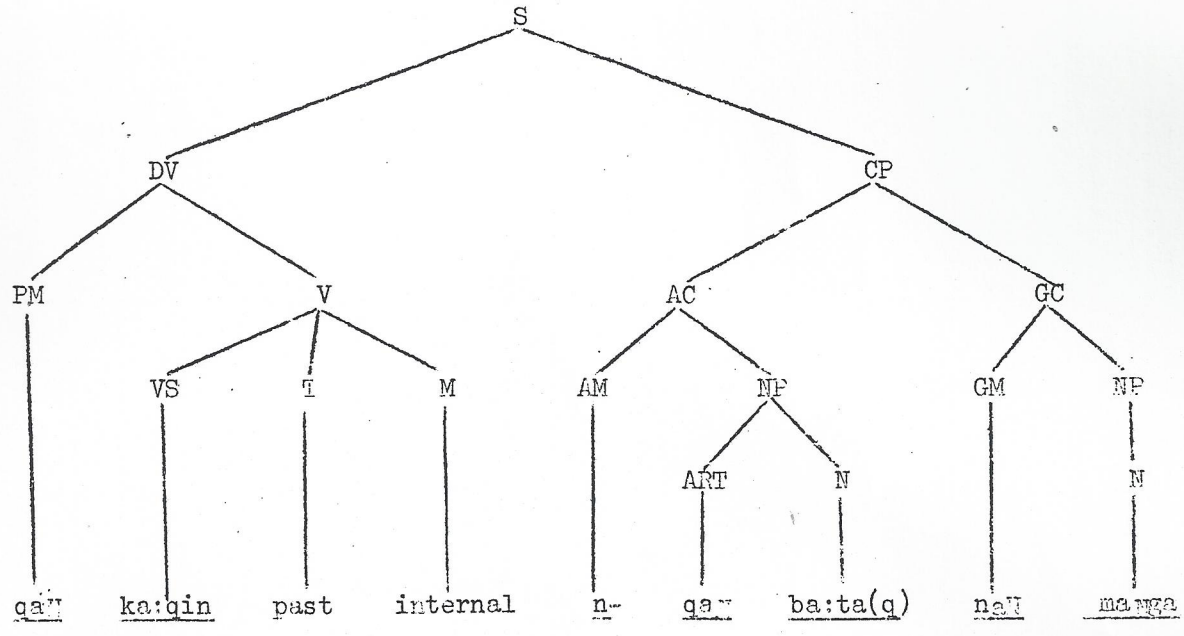
(6ii)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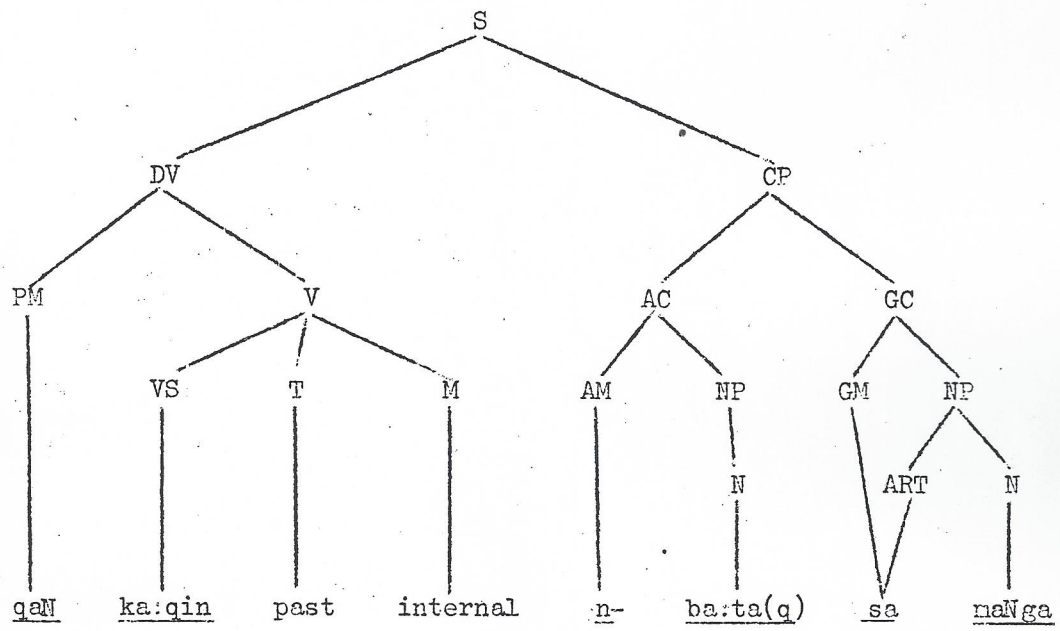
(6iii)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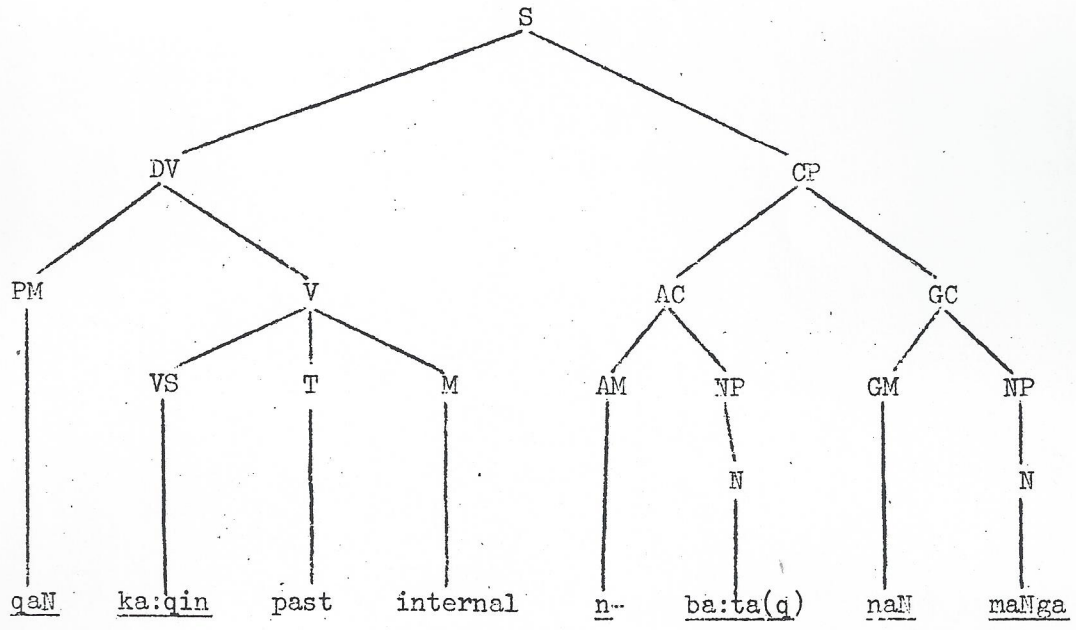
(6iv)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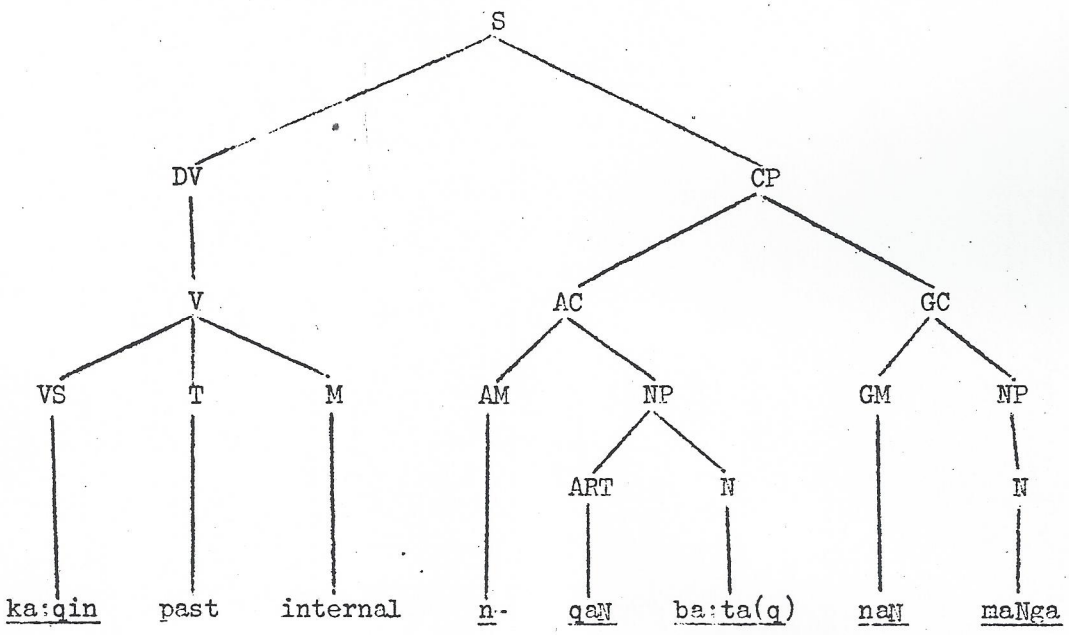
(6v)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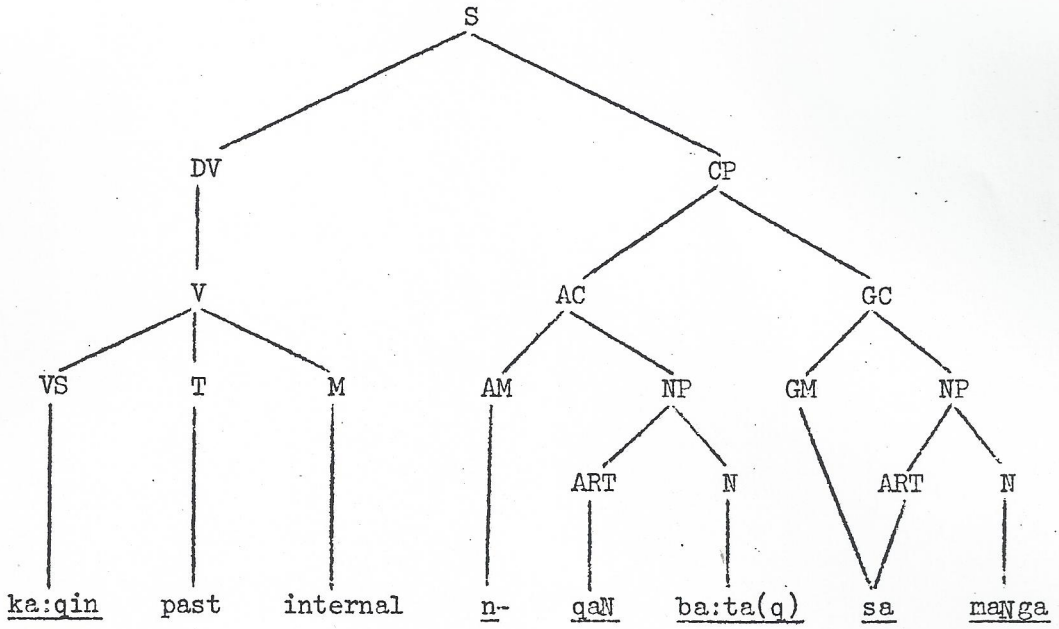
(6vi)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(6i) is the basis of sentences (1) and (3) above. It is mapped into (1) by subjectivalizing its Actor Complement, that is, by incorporating the marker of the complement into the verb thereby making the marker a component of the verbal affix. It is mapped into (3) by subjectivalizing its Goal Complement. Since DV has PM, that is, the predicate is marked, the subjectivalized complements are placed before the predicate. The verb consisting of VS ka:qin 'eat', T 'past completed', M 'internalized action' with the Actor Complement marker indicating actor-focus voice becomes kuma:qin 'ate'. The same verb with the Goal Complement marker indicating goal-focus voice becomes kina:qin 'was (or were) eaten'.

(6ii) is the basis of sentences (2) and (6) above. It is mapped into (2) by subjectivalizing its Actor Complement and into (6) by subjectivalizing its Goal Complement. Since the predicate is marked, the subjectivalized Actor or Goal Complement is placed before the predicate.

(6iii) and (6iv) are mapped into sentences (4) and (5) above, respectively, by subjectivalizing the Actor Complement which is placed before the marked predicate.

(6v) and (6vi) are mapped into sentences (7) and (8) above by subjectivalizing their Actor Complement and Goal Complement, respectively. Since in both sentences the predicate is unmarked, the predicate verb is placed at the beginning of the sentence.

5. Nonverbal sentences

There are sentences in the Philippine languages which have in their surface representations a noun, adjective (ADJ) or particulate phrase (PP) as predicate instead of a verb phrase; see Constantino (1965:88).

These sentences can be derived from verbal sentences if we add the following as an alternative expansion of V in (5iv) above in the environment ___ + AC.

$$VS_{(become)} + T + M + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ ADJ \\ PP \end{array} \right\}$$

This expansion of V is illustrated by (9)-(11) below in which the Actor Complement is qaN baba:qi 'the woman' or qaN maNga 'the mango'.

(9) nagiN titser qaN baba:qi
became teacher the woman
'The woman became a teacher.'

(10) nagiN maganda qaN baba:qi
'The woman became beautiful.'

(11) nagiN pa:ra sa baba:qi qaN maNga
'The mango became for the woman.'

By simply dropping the verb nagiN 'become' from each one of the verbal sentences (9)-(11) above, they are converted into the nonverbal sentences (12)-(14) below.

(12) titser qaN baba:qi
'The woman is a teacher.'

(13) maganda qaN baba:qi[8]
'The woman is beautiful.'

(14) pa:ra sa baba:qi qaN maNga
'The mango is for the woman.'

6. Conclusion

We conclude this paper with the following unexemplified observations on the surface structures of the sentences of the Philippine languages.

(a) The subject of a sentence of a Philippine language is always one of its verbal complements. The marker of the subjectivalized complement is incorporated (or 'copied', cf. footnote 6 above) into the verb, but the complement retains its article just in case it has one. No topicalizing particle (like Maranao so) is, therefore, added to the complement to make it function as subject of the sentence.

(b) In the Philippine languages analyzed, subjectivalization is 'blocked' just in case the predicate has no predicate marker and the noun of the subjectivalized complement has no article. Thus, either one or both of the subject and predicate must be marked. If the predicate is marked, the subject is 'normally' placed before it; if the predicate is unmarked, the subject is 'normally' placed after (the verb of) the predicate.[9]

(c) In some Philippine languages, one or more of the following may happen: (i) The Beneficiary Complement, whenever it occurs, automatically becomes the subject of the sentence; that is, the Beneficiary Complement cannot occur 'unfocused'. (ii) The Instrumental Complement cannot occur 'unfocused' except when the Goal Complement is in focus. (iii) The Locative Complement with an inanimate noun cannot be subjectivalized.

(d) In many of the Philippine languages, two or more complement or case prepositions (each preposition consisting of a complement marker with or without the article of the complement) are phonemically identical. Also, in some Philippine languages, two or three verbal affixes with different complement markers or voices are phonemically identical due to historical sound change or (synchronic) morphophonemic change.

NOTES

1. The research on which this paper is based is supported by grants from the Social Science Research Council of the University of the Philippines.

2. Unless otherwise indicated, the sentence illustrations are from Tagalog.

3. This transformation is slightly changed in section 3 below; see also Constantino (forthcoming: note 39).

4. The derivation of nonpredicative and existential sentences is not included here.

5. The rules for sentence embedding are not included here.

6. In some Philippine languages, the marker of a subjectivalized Locative Complement of place is not incorporated but is merely 'copied' into the verb, as in Ilokano: qidiay qi:li ti napanan diay baba:qi (to the town the went the woman) 'The woman went to town.' in which the subject Locative Complement, qidiay qi:li, retains its marker. Thus, subjectivalization does not necessarily result "in a neutralization of underlying case distinctions to a single form" (Fillmore 1968:49).

7. Some analysts of Philippine languages, especially those from the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc., consider mamaq of (9) not the subject but the predicate.

8. This sentence may also be derived from the verbal sentence gumanda qaN baba:qi 'The woman became beautiful.'

9. The 'reverse' order of the sentence is marked by an order particle or a pause between the transposed constituents; cf. Constantino (1965:101).

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